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Crafting Marian Devotion: The Representation of the Theophilus Legend in Northern
Europe (9th-14th c.)

By
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By

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M.A., Tufts University, 2007

Advisor: Elizabeth C. Pastan, Ph.D.

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
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Abstract

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By Jennifer Lyons

The Theophilus legend is the tale of an apostate clerk, who sold his soul to the devil with the help of a Jewish magician, but was saved, after a period of repentant prayer, by the intervention of the Virgin Mary. Known in the Latin West by the late ninth century as a saint's life, by the thirteenth century, the legend was one of the most well-known stories told about the Virgin in northern Europe, gaining the status as her official miracle. This dissertation traces the history of that transformation, arguing that penance, devotion to the Virgin Mary, and anti-Jewish rhetoric were the driving forces behind the amplification of the Theophilus legend as a narrative in texts and images. The Latin history of the legend provides an essential context for understanding the pictorial tradition that developed alongside it in stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, and exceptionally, in monumental sculpture. While the earliest representations of the legend in the visual arts were influenced by Theophilus's role as a penitent, by the thirteenth century images of the tale focused on the Virgin Mary's presence in the story as an intercessor. Additionally, the figure of the Jew took on a more prominent role in Theophilus imagery by the thirteenth century in parallel to growing anti-Jewish sentiment in northern Europe. Whether depicted in the context of the monastery, the cathedral, or the city, the Theophilus legend served as a catalyst for a brand new image of the Virgin Mary, represented as a dynamic figure who performed her role as intercessor before the beholder.

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Introduction

The Theophilus legend is the tale of an apostate clerk, who sold his soul to the devil with the help of a Jewish magician, but was saved, after a period of repentant prayer, by the intervention of the Virgin Mary. Known in the Latin West by the end of the ninth century as a saint's life, by the thirteenth century, the legend was one of the most well-known stories told about the Virgin, the closest thing she had to an official miracle. This dissertation traces the history of that transformation, showing how the shifting meaning of the Theophilus legend from the story of a penitent saint into a popular exemplar of the Virgin Mary's miracle-working power inspired the pictorial tradition. I begin with the early and often overlooked period between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when the legend circulated in monastic circles. The Latin history of the legend provides an essential context for understanding the visual tradition that developed by the thirteenth-century in stained glass, illuminated manuscripts, and exceptionally, in monumental sculpture. While the earliest representations of the legend in the visual arts were influenced by Theophilus's role as a penitent, by the thirteenth century images of the tale focused on the Virgin Mary's presence in the story as an intercessor. In addition to the Virgin, the figure of the Jew took on a more prominent role in Theophilus imagery by the thirteenth century, in parallel to growing anti-Jewish sentiment in northern Europe. Whether depicted in the context of the monastery, the cathedral, or the city, the Theophilus legend served as a catalyst for a brand new image of the Virgin Mary, represented as a dynamic figure who performed her role as intercessor before the beholder.

The earliest trace of the Theophilus legend dates to a period of intense devotion to the Virgin Mary in the Byzantine East, when her intercessory powers took on new importance. The Greek version of the legend is often attributed to a scribe named Eutygianus, who claims to have witnessed the events and sets the tale in Adana, a city in the southern part of modern Turkey.¹ Though the association with the Greek author was probably fictional, added to the legend at some point to bolster its authenticity, the name Eutygianus continued to be recorded along with the text as it was copied in the centuries to follow.² It is generally agreed that the Greek version of the legend was written during the period spanning the mid-sixth through the mid-seventh century, a particularly vibrant moment for the development of Mary's Eastern cult, when the Virgin was celebrated in Byzantium as both *Theotokos* (Mother of God) and *Mediatrice* (intercessor).³ Thus, from its beginnings in the Greek East, the history of the Theophilus legend was intertwined with ecclesiastical thinking about the Virgin Mary.

¹ Eutygianus's presumed authorship of the Theophilus legend stems from a colophon found in three of the thirteen manuscripts preserving the Greek version of the legend. For the Greek text and an analysis of these manuscripts, see Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage: der zauberer Cyprianus, die erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus* (Wiener: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky a.-g., 1927), 153-219.

² For the argument that the name Eutygianus is a later addition to the Greek text, see Emil Sommer, *Theophili cum diabolo foedere* (Halle: Berolini, 1844), 4-6; Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 59; G. G. Meersseman, *Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7e EEUW) en Haar Latijnse Vertaling (9e EEUW)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1963), 3.

³ Palmer and More date the legend to between 537 and 600, noting that the reference to the Persian invasions of Rome makes the earlier date a possibility. Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 59. Meersseman, who considers the connection to Eutygianus and the date to be fabrications, attributes the legend to the mid-seventh century circle of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638). Meersseman, *Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7e EEUW) en Haar Latijnse Vertaling (9e EEUW)*, 3.

In the Greek Church, theological debates about the Mother of God centered on the question of whether a woman could have given birth to a child who was both human and divine. The debate concerning Christ's dual nature was complicated by the fact that the Evangelists made few references to Mary in the Gospels, meaning that early Christian theologians had to rely on controversial apocryphal texts in order to flesh out her life story.⁴ By the fifth century, this discourse converged around the term *Theotokos* ("bearer of God"), a word referring to both the dual nature of Christ and the role of the Virgin in his birth.⁵ Mary was officially declared *Theotokos* by the Greek church at the Council of Ephesus in 431 and her cult grew steadily throughout Eastern Christendom in the following years.⁶

⁴ Mary appears in Luke's account of the Annunciation (1:18-34), in John's description of the Marriage of Cana (2:3-5) and at the foot of the cross (19:25-27), and very briefly in Mark's gospel (6:3). The main apocryphal account of Mary's life was the Proto-Evangelium of James, which was probably written before 150 CE in Egypt or Syria. For a discussion of the history of this text with relevant bibliography, see Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife" *Speculum* 75/2 (Apr., 2000): especially 392-395; idem., *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History Through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 299-303.

⁵For an overview of these debates and their context in the Byzantine world, see John A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy. Its History, Theology, and Texts*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae XXIII (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1-125. For a review of recent literature on the Virgin Mary during the Byzantine period, see Averil Cameron, "Introduction," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), xxvii-xxxix.

⁶ The Council of Ephesus was instigated in part by the rise of Nestorius to the position of archbishop of Constantinople in 428. In their sermons, Nestorius and his followers argued that it was heretical to refer to Mary as the Mother of God, since it was impossible that a human woman could have given birth to God. Ultimately, the pro-Theotokos side prevailed at Ephesus and in the subsequent years Mary's cult grew steadily throughout Eastern Christendom. For the Council of Ephesus, see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 32-36; Averil Cameron, "The Early Cult of the Virgin," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Benaki

It is easy to imagine the appearance of the Theophilus legend in the context of an empire that turned regularly to the Virgin and her image for intercession. As Bissera Pentcheva has noted, "Byzantine image theory is based on the dogma of the Incarnation. Once the virginal body of Mary received and gave flesh to the divine Word, it offered relative holiness to matter, validated the circumscription of the divine in a human form, and legitimized the production and veneration of images."⁷ According to one storied account dating to the reign of Emperor Leo III (457-474), the Virgin's veil or robe was processed into the city and placed in a reliquary housed in a church dedicated to the *Theotokos*.⁸ By the sixth century, a number of churches had been dedicated to the Virgin in the Constantinople and her image proliferated throughout the city on icons.⁹ Hymns dedicated to Mother of God also grew in popularity during this period, including the famous Akathistos hymn, which presents an image of the Virgin as intercessor comparable to the one found in the Theophilus legend.¹⁰

The Akathistos, which recounts the Incarnation and the Birth of Christ in twenty-four stanzas, has recently been dated to the fifth century, when a civic cult of the Virgin emerged in Constantinople.¹¹ By the year 626, when the city was under siege by the

Museum, 20 October 2000- 20 January 2001, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira Editore S.p.A, 2000), 10; Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 80.

⁷ Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006), 1.

⁸ Cameron, "The Early Cult of the Virgin," 11-12; Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 35; Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London: George Philip, 1985), 159.

⁹ Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," 80; Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*, 158-78.

¹⁰ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*, 13-14.

¹¹ For the imperial patronage of the Virgin in fifth-century Constantinople, see *ibid.*, 10-35. For the argument that the Akathistos hymn is a product of the period in between the

Avars, the Akathistos gained special status as the hymn through which the city communicated with the Virgin in times of crisis.¹² As Pentcheva has observed, "In the course of the hymn the image of the *Theotokos* transforms from a vessel of the Incarnation to an active power able to secure victory and protection."¹³ The Virgin's role as intercessor and protector of the city is highlighted in the final verse of the hymn, which echoes Theophilus's own prayers in the legend, "Oh Mother hymned by all, you who gave birth to the Word, the holiest of holy, accepting this present offering, deliver from every evil and from the punishment to come all those who cry to you: Alleluia!"¹⁴ Thus, the Theophilus legend emerged in the Christian East at a moment when the Virgin Mary's intercessory powers played an important role for an empire under siege and in the grips of the Nestorian heresy. The legend echoes the language of the Akathistos Hymn, through which the Christians of Byzantium communicated with the Mother of God, their *Mediatrix*.

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Theophilus legend may have been known in the Latin West as early as the seventh century. This date is based on G. G. Meersmann's attribution of the Greek version of the legend to Bishop Sophronius of Jerusalem, who fled Palestine for Rome during the Persian invasions.¹⁵ Bishop Sophronius is also credited with recording a Greek version of the legend of Mary of

Council of Ephesus (431) and the Council of Chalcedon (451), when the concept of the Theotokos was under debate among theologians, see L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden, 2001), 113-14.

¹² Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," 79; Cameron, "The Early Cult of the Virgin," 13; Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*, 159.

¹³ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*, 12-13.

¹⁴ Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 19.

¹⁵ Michele Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, Storia e pensiero 9 (Napoli: Giannini, 1961), 139.

Egypt, a penitential saint whose *vita* was paired with the Theophilus legend in Latin manuscripts by the tenth century.¹⁶ Michele Fuiano has suggested that the Theophilus legend could have also reached Rome a century later, as a new influx of refugees arrived in the city, fleeing from the period of iconoclasm in the Byzantine East.¹⁷ Circumstantial evidence aside, the first concrete trace of the Theophilus legend in northern Europe is preserved in a Latin legendary, a liturgical manuscript containing saints' lives organized according to the liturgical calendar, dating to the fourth quarter of the ninth century.¹⁸

Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 341 (289), a late-ninth-century manuscript from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire in Fleury, contains a copy of the Theophilus legend representing the most common version of the tale as it was recorded in the Latin West, found under the rubric *De sancto Theophili vicedomino* or "Saint Theophilus, the Clerk."¹⁹ This text is often attributed to Paul the Deacon of Naples, a

¹⁶ Meersseman, *Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7e EEUW) en Haar Latijnse Vertaling (9e EEUW)*, 3. Sophronius is also known to have authored twelve hymns for the Nativity. For a discussion of these hymns and the suggestion that they may have influenced the iconography of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi in the West, see Egon Wellesz, "The Nativity Drama of the Byzantine Church," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 145-51.

¹⁷ Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, 139.

¹⁸ For an introduction to medieval Latin legendaries, see Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age occidental 24-25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977); Francis Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35, no. 1 (1952), 248-266.

¹⁹ Like the Theophilus legend itself, the position of *vicedominus* was imported from the Greek East, where the institution developed as a means to allow bishops to tend to their flocks without distractions. *Vicedomini* are recorded in the West as early as the pontificate of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), who directed in one of his letters that each bishop should choose an assistant personally from within the ranks of the church. As the position was implemented across France between the sixth and eighth centuries, *vicedomini* were typically chosen from the ranks of high-ranking priests or deacons, but monks and abbots could also serve. The position was active in France until its abolishment during the French Revolution. Felix Senn, *L'institution des vidames en*

theologian active in Italy toward the end of the ninth century, who is named in much of the secondary literature as the translator of the Theophilus legend. We must be careful, however, not to ascribe too much weight to the notion of authorship, since copyists recording the *vita* in Latin legends were just as likely to cite the Greek name Eutygianus as Paul the Deacon, and in many cases, there was no author listed along with the text.²⁰ For this reason, throughout the dissertation, I refer to this widely circulated Latin version of the legend as the *vita* or Life of Saint Theophilus.²¹

The association between the *vita* and Paul the Deacon of Naples stems from the mention of his name as translator in a number of tenth-century manuscripts, including Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1707 (1354), a legendary used at the Carmelite monastery of Saint Joseph in Paris. In this particular manuscript, the Theophilus legend is copied under the rubric *De quodam vicedomino Theophilo* ("Of Theophilus, the Clerk") and follows directly after the *Vita sanctae Mariae Ægyptiacae* (fol. 1-36v.).²² The

France, Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, Fascicule X (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1907), 5.

²⁰ Paul the Deacon of Naples should not be confused with Paul the Deacon (c. 720-c.800), the monk from Monte Cassino who visited Charlemagne's court and who wrote a homily on the Virgin Mary's Assumption.

²¹ See Appendix I for a full list of the manuscripts in which this version of the legend is copied. The Latin *vita* is published in the *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts. Paris, 1844-80, 73.671-72 and in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. Brussels: 1898-1901, 8121. For a serviceable English translation, see Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 60-77.

²² For the textual history of the Life of Mary of Egypt, see Jane Stevenson, "The Holy Sinner: The Life of Mary of Egypt," in *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography*, ed. Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 19-50. For Paul the Deacon of Naples' cultural background, see Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, 143-44. Also see Edmond Faral, "Les Conditions générales de la production littéraire en Europe occidentale pendant les IXème et Xème siècles," in *I problemi comuni dell'Europa post-carolingia*, 6-13 aprile 1954, *Settimane di Studio del*

dedication prefacing the legend of Saint Mary of Egypt includes a reference to a *diacre Paul* (Paul the Deacon), who is named as the translator of both *vitae*. The preface also includes a dedication to a King Charles, a figure whom most scholars have identified as the Carolingian King, Charles the Bald (r. 843-877).²³ Fuiano has posited that the Carolingian ruler may have been presented with both *vitae* when he was crowned emperor in Rome by Pope John VIII (872-882) on Christmas Day in the year 875.²⁴ Alternatively, the pair may have been sent directly to the Carolingian court, as the king is known to have commissioned the translations of many Greek works during his reign.²⁵ As penitential saints, the *vitae* of Theophilus and Mary of Egypt were well suited to the Carolingian realm, where the practice of penance played a part in ninth-century church reforms.²⁶ The two *vitae* were copied together consistently, though by no means

Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1955), 247-94.

²³ Charles the Bald ruled over the western part of the Carolingian empire, which was divided among Charlemagne's three legitimate grandsons according to the terms of the Treaty of Verdun in 843. See Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 2000), 1.

²⁴ Fuiano posited that Paul the Deacon might have brought the *vitae* to Rome at some point, since there were close connections between the city and Naples, the latter of which served as an important point of contact between the Greek East and the Latin West throughout the early medieval period. See Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, 133. For the investiture of Charles the Bald, see Pierre Riché, *Dictionnaire des Francs: Les Carolingiens* (Courtry: Bartillat, 1997), 71; Janet L. Nelson, "The Reign of Charles the Bald: A Survey," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot: Variorum, 1981, 1990), 1-22.

²⁵ Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, 133. For Charles the Bald's royal library, see Rosamond McKitterick, "The Palace School of Charles the Bald," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot: Variorum, 1981, 1990), 326-39. For the Byzantine influences present at the court of Charles the Bald, see F. Dölger, "Byzanz und das Abendland vor den Kreuzzügen," in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma 4-11 Settembre 1955*, ed. G. C. Sansoni (Florence: 1955), 79.

²⁶ Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 67-68.

exclusively, in Latin legendaries through the fourteenth century, even after the Theophilus legend had taken on new life in the visual arts as a tale told about the Virgin Mary. Thus, while there is evidence that Paul the Deacon was associated with the tale from an early date, his authorship was not always attached to the text in medieval manuscripts.

This project provides a more comprehensive picture of how medieval audiences understood this famous Faustian tale. Scholars have largely overlooked Theophilus's sainthood and the Latin tradition in their interpretations of the legend in both text and image.²⁷ The first two chapters of this dissertation demonstrate that the earliest audiences for the Theophilus legend knew the tale primarily as a hagiographical *legenda* or "reading" of the life of a penitential saint. That the *vita* of Saint Theophilus was familiar to ecclesiastics is evidenced by how many manuscripts preserve copies of the text. The majority of these books are legendaries or passionaries, quotidian book listing the saints according to their place in the liturgical calendar.²⁸ The presence of the Theophilus legend in this hagiographical context underscores the importance of reconsidering the apostate sinner as more than a medieval precursor to Doctor Faust, but as a figure known to ecclesiastics as a saint. As Cynthia Hahn has noted, in its most basic form, a saint's canonization was measurable by his or her presence in a calendar or in a manuscript

²⁷ Wiegand, for example, describes Theophilus as "an apocryphal saint...unknown to the liturgical books of East and West." M. Gonsalva Wiegand, "The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrosvitha: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D. , Saint Louis University, 1936), 185.

²⁸ Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, 24-26. Though not common, legendaries were sometimes arranged thematically according to types of saints. Also see Leslie Ross, *Text, Image, Message: Saints in Medieval Manuscript Illustrations*, Contributions to the Study of Art and Architecture 3 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 21-25 and 65-93.

organized according to the liturgical year.²⁹ Saint Theophilus was typically listed in the February section of medieval legends, often on the fourth day of the month, indicating that his life would have been celebrated or read aloud annually in many churches in Western Christendom as part of the community of saints.

Therefore, the earliest audiences for the Theophilus legend were largely ecclesiastical. In the early part of the medieval period, as Julia Smith has pointed out, saints' lives were "generally destined for a monastic or clerical readership, and particularly for liturgical use."³⁰ Monks used legends to read aloud during the Mass and the Office, in the refectory during meals, in the chapter house, and throughout the day as they worked.³¹ This early period between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when the Theophilus legend circulated as a saint's life, adds much to our understanding of how the tale was told in the visual arts in the thirteenth century and beyond.

Given the unconventional nature of Theophilus's sainthood, it is easy to understand why many modern dictionaries of Christian saints apart from the Bollandists omit the penitent sinner from their ranks. In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the compendium of saints' lives published by the Society of Bollandists between 1643 and 1794, Saint Theophilus is included in the volume devoted to February saints, with a feast day

²⁹ Cynthia J. 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), 14.

³⁰ Julia M. H. Smith, "Review Article: Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 1, no. 1 (1992): 73. For the general consensus that saints' lives were produced during the early Middle Ages for monastic use, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), 243; Katrien Heene, "Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 421-27; Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 120-24.

³¹ Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, 112-14.

celebrated on the fourth day of the month.³² Saint Theophilus tends to be overlooked, however, by most modern hagiographers, who classify saints based on the same categories used throughout the Middle Ages, following the hierarchical system found in the litany.³³ Accordingly, the Virgin Mary was the saint of saints, followed in descending order by the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, and confessors.³⁴ Bishops, falling lower in the litany of Christian saints, were also routinely canonized during the Middle Ages. Though Theophilus's life overlaps with many episcopal concerns, he does not quite fit into this category either, since he was offered a promotion to the episcopal seat, but turned it down, preferring to remain in his administrative role. Thus, Theophilus is best understood as a penitential or confessional saint, though this is a descriptive term that does not reflect his place in the medieval litany.

³² "S. Theophilus Poenitens, Vicedominus Adanae in Cilicia. IV Februarii," in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Joannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenus (Paris: 1866), 480-90 (hereafter, *AS*). The text is also published in the *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts. (Paris, 1844-80), 73:671-72 (hereafter, *PL*). The Bollandist's invaluable research on Latin hagiographical texts has been published in a number of formats. Their repertory of Latin hagiographical texts is published as *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (Brussels: 1898-1901), in which the Theophilus Legend is catalogued under *BHL* 8121 and *BHL* 8122. The catalogues of manuscripts in which these texts were copied are published in the series *Subsidia hagiographica* and *Analecta Bollandiana*. These resources have been digitized and usefully cross-referenced in the online database *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina manuscripta* (BHLms), available on the website of the Society of Bollandists: <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>. For a history of the Bollandists, see R. Godding, *Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2007); Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Work of the Bollandists Through Three Centuries, 1615-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922).

³³ Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth Through the Thirteenth Century*, 5-28.

³⁴ For the litany of the saints, see Maurice Coens, "Anciennes litanies des saints," *Subsidia Hagiographica* 37(1963): 131-332. Also see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth Through the Thirteenth Century*, 5-6. For a discussion of the degrees of sanctity possessed by Christian saints, also see Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*, 271.

Theophilus's sainthood is further complicated by the fact that unlike most major Christian saints, he did not inspire a centralized cult.³⁵ Typically, the cult of a medieval saint was composed of a variety of materials, including their *vita*, recorded posthumous miracles, bodily relics, and visual representations.³⁶ Collectively, these texts, sites, and objects of devotion made up a saint's "dossier" and supported his or her cult. There was no church in which worshippers could venerate his bones at his tomb, for instance, nor did he perform posthumous miracles. And yet, Theophilus enjoyed a long history in the books of saints' lives used by monks and other ecclesiastics.³⁷ Sherry Reames has pointed to the importance of restoring the study of saints' lives to their "proper context in the life of the church," advice that rings especially true in the case of the Theophilus legend, a text which scholars have read through later vernacular editions instead of the Latin

³⁵ According to Delehaye's often-cited definition of hagiography, the primary purpose of saints' lives was the establishment of a cult. See Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels: Bureaux de la Société des Bollandistes 1905), 1-12.

³⁶ For Delehaye, a saint's cult was constructed solely from documents, texts which he considered to be historically true. *Ibid.*, 1. Lifshitz broadens Delehaye's definition in an article that usefully reviews much of the recent literature on hagiography and the cult of the saints. However, she does not consider material culture, including relics, reliquaries, and visual representations of the saints, as an essential part of a saint's cult. See Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 24 (1995): 97, note 10. For the ways that relics, reliquaries, and images contribute to the construction of saints' cults, see the following contributions: Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth Through the Thirteenth Century*, 29-58; Patrick J. Geary, "Saint Helen of Athyra and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 221-42; Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161, no. 1 (2003): 3-96; Elizabeth Carson 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 Jane Stuckey, *The New Middle Ages Series* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 97-135.

³⁷ For the argument that monasteries, in particular, fueled the cult of the saints, see Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 47; Smith, "Review Article: Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century," 73.

version more familiar to medieval audiences.³⁸

Modern scholarship on the Theophilus legend began in nineteenth-century Germany, when scholars working on Goethe's *Dr. Faustus* rediscovered the medieval legend as they searched for sources for the literary motif of the pact with the devil.³⁹ Stemming from a philological or literary background, the majority of this work approached the medieval text as if it were a modern legend, a myth or a fable, rather than a hagiographical text.⁴⁰ For medieval audiences, however, the term *legenda* had a specialized meaning, referring to a liturgical reading or *lectio*, which could include sermons, homilies, or accounts of saints' lives.⁴¹ Thus, the medieval meaning of the term *legenda* did not carry the mythological and fantastical connotations ascribed to it in

³⁸ Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History*, 49.

³⁹ Durrani has described these scholars as "a generation of critics eager to atomise Faust into its smallest parts." See Osman Durrani, *Faust: Icon of Modern Culture* (Mountfield, East Sussex: Helm Information Ltd., 2004), 188. For a review of the nineteenth-century literature, also see Karl Plenzat, *Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1926), 7-12.

⁴⁰ Emil Sommer was one of the earliest scholars to classify the Theophilus legend as a fable. See Sommer, *Theophili cum diabolo foedere*, 1-10. In the following year, Dasent published a short study of the Theophilus legend. His text included an apologetic introduction, in which he hopes his reader will think him neither superstitious nor a Mariolater for publishing a collection of legends, George Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and other Tongues from Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Stockholm* (London: William Pickering, 1845), i-vi. Also see Ludwig Etmüller, *Theophilus, der Faust des Mittelalters. Schauspiel aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhunderte in niederdeutscher sprache* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig: Gruck und Verlag von Gottfried Basse, 1849); Ferninand Deycks, *Goethe's Faust. Andeutungen über Sinn und Zusammenhng des ersten und zweiten Theiles der Tragödie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1855).

⁴¹ For a definition of the term *legenda*, see René Aigran, *L'hagiographie: ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Bloud and Gay, 1953; repr., Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000), 126-31. Also, see Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, 20-22; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 22.

modern usage.⁴² This negative association between legends and the supernatural led George Dasant to preface his 1845 study of the Theophilus legend with a long apology, in which he implores his reader not to write him off as a believer in the kinds of stories he ascribes to the "monkery and superstition" of the Middle Ages.⁴³ Dasant's negative perception of medieval legends reflects nineteenth-century methodologies, when scholarship on saints' lives tended to look for truth-value in legends or to dismiss them as folklore.⁴⁴

The fact that Theophilus's sainthood and the Latin history of the legend have been overlooked in much of the literature is connected to the fact that a great deal of recent scholarship on the Theophilus legend tends to focus on two thirteenth-century vernacular versions of tale. The first was written in French verse around 1233 by Gautier de Coinci (c. 1177-1236), a Benedictine prior, poet, and composer active at the Abbey of Saint-Médard near Soissons, while the second was a play composed in 1261 by the poet and jongleur known as Rutebeuf (active 1245-85).⁴⁵ Though both texts are fascinating in their

⁴² Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 1-11. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* 22. Also see Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History*, 44-48 and 61-62.

⁴³ Dasant, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and other Tongues from Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Stockholm*, i.

⁴⁴ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*, 22; Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History*, 44-48.

⁴⁵ For a critical edition of Gautier's work, see V. Frederic Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1955-70); Garnier has published a modern French translation of Gautier's Theophilus legend. See Annette Garnier, *Gautier de Coinci. Le miracle de Théophile ou comment Théophile vint à la pénitence*, Textes et traductions des classiques français du moyen âge (Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 1998); For Rutebeuf's works, see Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, eds., *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (Paris: Picard, 1959); For Rutebeuf's Theophilus play, also see Grace Frank, *Rutebeuf: Le miracle de Théophile, miracle du XIIIe siècle*, 2nd Ed., Les Classiques

own right and will be discussed in subsequent chapters, art historical interpretations of the Theophilus legend have placed too much emphasis on these later vernacular editions, which represent later stages in the telling of a tale with a much older history in the Latin tradition and in the visual arts.

The earliest art historical studies of the Theophilus legend were broad iconographic catalogs that brought together widely dispersed material, but did not provide much in the way of historical context.⁴⁶ Emile Mâle, in his early twentieth-century encyclopedic studies of medieval art, rightly noted the connection between the legend and the iconography of the Virgin Mary, but in general, scholars have overlooked the important role played by the Theophilus legend in the creation of a new image of the Virgin around the turn of the thirteenth century.⁴⁷ Along with Mâle, modern art historians have been drawn to one of the earliest extant visual representations of the Theophilus legend, a relief carved for the Abbey Church of Sainte-Marie in Souillac in first decades of the twelfth century (fig. 1). The Souillac relief depicts three scenes from the legend, beginning with the signing of the pact between Theophilus and the devil, followed by a similar scene in which the pair make a gesture of fealty, and finally, an inventive depiction of the Virgin Mary returning the pact to the sleeping Theophilus, found at the top of the composition. The Theophilus relief, which will be discussed at length in

français du Moyen Age (Paris: H. Champion, 1986). See Chapters Three and Four for a discussion of both of these texts.

⁴⁶ Ernst Faligan, "Des formes iconographiques de légende de Théophile," *Revue des traditions populaires* 5, no. 1 (1890): 1-14; Alfred C. Fryer, "Theophilus, the Penitent, as Represented in Art," *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1935): 287-33.

⁴⁷ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 436; Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 262-66.

Chapter Two, is part of an ensemble of sculptural fragments currently installed on the interior wall of the church's west facade, but which most art historians agree were originally intended for a different location (fig. 2).⁴⁸ One of the earliest scholars to engage with the Souillac relief was none other than Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, the architect and restorer of French monuments, who documented his visit to the church with a pencil drawing dated September 9th, 1842, in which he depicted a man holding a sketchpad as he gazes up at the reliefs (fig. 3).⁴⁹ Viollet-le-Duc's sketch foretells the interest that subsequent generations of art historians will show in the Souillac reliefs, especially the remarkable trumeau, famous for the intertwined beasts and human figures battling on its three sculpted surfaces.⁵⁰

In 1939, Meyer Schapiro published an important article on the Souillac reliefs, in which he described the way that the interlocking, chiasmic forms of the trumeau had the

⁴⁸ See Chapter Two for a discussion of the dating of the Souillac reliefs and a review of the theories concerning the original layout.

⁴⁹ The drawing is dated in the lower right corner, "Souillac, Église Bénédictins, 9 Septembre 1842." It is published in Marie Auzas, *Eugène Viollet le Duc, 1814-1879* (Paris: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1979), pl. 16. A few decades after he visited Souillac and made the drawing, Viollet-le-Duc illustrated the Souillac trumeau in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, remarking that the sculptors must have relied on their observations of nature to produce what he viewed as lifelike depictions of twisted and biting animals running up and down the front face of the pillar. Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, vol. 8 (Paris: A. Morel, 1866), 195-97.

⁵⁰ Meyer Schapiro and Michael Camille were both inspired by the Souillac trumeau to think about the artistic imagination of medieval image-makers during the Romanesque period. See Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), 1-27; Michael Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March 1990*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 43-54.

visual effect of animating its surfaces.⁵¹ In contrast, he characterized the Theophilus relief as one of the "discoordinate" elements of the group, due to the way the composition is dominated by the two scenes in which the devil and Theophilus make their pact, so that the lower half of the relief consists of a repeating pattern made up of their alternating figures (fig. 1).⁵² The centrality of the Theophilus legend at Souillac, prominently displayed on what Schapiro thought was a tympanum, a sculptural space usually reserved for an image of Christ or the Virgin, led him to describe the relief as a composition in which "the contingent, the temporal, and inferior are centralized."⁵³ Thus, for Schapiro, whose reading has influenced later art historical interpretations of the relief and the legend more generally, the figure of Theophilus embodied "the religious and moral struggles of a single lay individual."⁵⁴ Though Schapiro brings the relief to life with his rich visual analysis, he takes for granted that the Theophilus scenes were originally intended for this prominent location, an issue I will take up in Chapter Two. Additionally, his interpretation of the figure of Theophilus as "a layman, whose pact with the devil and change of fortune have an essentially secular nucleus, comparable to the later adventures of Faust," obscures the Marian context of the relief altogether and does not hold up when read against the Latin history of the tale as the life of a penitent saint, since the Latin

⁵¹ Meyer Schapiro, "The Sculptures of Souillac," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* ed. W. R. W. Koehler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939; reprint, *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, 102-130. New York: George Braziller, 1977.). Schapiro's essay was published in a festschrift for Arthur Kingsley Porter, who had, remarkably, written a play based on the Theophilus legend titled "The Virgin and the Clerk" in 1929. Porter's play is discussed at length in my conclusion.

⁵² Schapiro, "The Sculptures of Souillac," 103.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

context shows that ecclesiastical audiences were familiar with the story as saint's life, the *vita* of a penitent cleric.

More recently, Jérôme Baschet has found a slightly different meaning in the formal relationship between the sculptural fragments at Souillac.⁵⁵ Given how little we know about the monastery, Baschet cautions against looking to exegetic traditions or theology to unpack the meaning of the reliefs as a group.⁵⁶ Rather, he suggests looking for a sense of coherence in the "generic significations" (*niveaux de sens génériques*) of the reliefs, in which he reads themes of proper and perverted forms of monastic and feudal authority.⁵⁷ While Baschet is correct that it makes little sense to try to reconstruct the original program at Souillac, it is possible to tease out the meaning of the Theophilus legend in this specific twelfth-century monastic context by looking to the wider Latin tradition.

The most comprehensive study of the representation of the Theophilus legend in medieval art is Michael Cothren's 1981 article focused on its depiction in thirteenth-century stained-glass windows, a medium in which he finds a "distinctive pictorial recension" of the tale.⁵⁸ Cothren draws key connections between the representation of

⁵⁵ Jérôme Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), 189-229. Jérôme Baschet, "Iconography beyond Iconography: Relational Meanings and Figures of Authority in the Reliefs of Souillac," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 23-46.

⁵⁶ Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale*, 189-229. Carol Knically, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac" (Ph.D., University of California, 1992), 34-39.

⁵⁷ Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale*, 189-229. Baschet, "Iconography beyond Iconography: Relational Meanings and Figures of Authority in the Reliefs of Souillac," 23-46.

⁵⁸ This indispensable study brings together a great deal of previously dispersed material and includes useful appendices cataloging examples of the Theophilus legend in stained

new scenes, such as the pact with the devil, and contemporary social ceremonies, so that the panels in Theophilus windows echo with familiar gestures. The expansion of the Theophilus legend as a visual narrative in stained glass, he argues, was a consequence of the sheer number of panels glaziers now had to fill in churches with many tall apertures. My project adds to Cothren's work by demonstrating that penance, devotion to the Virgin Mary, and anti-Jewish rhetoric were driving forces leading to the amplification of the Theophilus legend as a visual narrative in stained glass and in other pictorial and textual contexts.

In spite of the strong connection between Theophilus and the Virgin Mary in both image and text, the legend is surprisingly absent from scholarly works devoted to Mary and her cult.⁵⁹ For example, Theophilus is mentioned only in passing in the comprehensive histories of the Virgin Mary published by Marina Warner and Miri Rubin.⁶⁰ Thus, this dissertation expands our understanding of the intersection between the Theophilus legend and the history of the Virgin Mary. I build on important contributions made by scholars working on the Virgin Mary's history in medieval England, where the

glass, illuminated manuscripts, and sculpture. The best preserved of the windows include Auxerre, Beauvais, Laon, Le Mans, Saint-Julien-du-Sault, and Troyes. See Michael W. Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century" *Speculum* 59, no. 2 (1984): 308-41.

⁵⁹ There are a few exceptions to this general rule. Two studies which consider the connections between the Theophilus legend and the Virgin Mary are Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du sauveur: Des origines à saint Anselme* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1963); Plenzat, *Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters*. For a focus on the Marian connections in German versions of the Theophilus legend, see Hans Heinrich Weber, "Studien zur Deutschen Marienlegende des Mittelalters am beispiel des Theophilus" (Ph.D., Hamburg University, 1966).

⁶⁰ Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976); Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. For an important exception, see the chapter on the presence of the Theophilus legend in prayers devoted to the Virgin Mary in Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du sauveur: Des origines à saint Anselme*.

importance of the Theophilus legend in the context of the history of the Virgin has been noted.⁶¹ My project demonstrates the key role played by the Theophilus legend in the development of the cult of the Virgin in northern Europe between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, with a particular focus on France, where the legend was especially popular and connected to local Marian devotion.

The Theophilus legend was depicted in sculpture, stained glass, and manuscript painting in Western Europe as early as the eleventh century, and with increasing frequency by the turn of the thirteenth century. Although images are my primary concern, I also engage with the written sources circulating during this period, including sermons, hymns, miracle stories, and vernacular renditions in verse. Chapter One establishes the Latin history of the Theophilus legend, providing essential background for the visual representations of the tale discussed in subsequent chapters. I begin with the *vita* of Saint

⁶¹ In the English tradition, Mary Clayton has noted that the Theophilus legend "seems to have been one of the most important texts inspiring devotion to Mary in late Anglo-Saxon England." See Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), 118. For a social history of the intersection of the Virgin Mary, English Jews, the Theophilus legend, and English law, see Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010). See in particular, the recent publication by Oakes, a broad overview of the development of the Virgin Mary's iconography in England from the twelfth century through the later Middle Ages, Catherine Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008). Notably, in his important essay on the English origins of the Marian miracle tradition, Richard W. Southern does not fully consider the relationship of the Theophilus legend to the genre as a whole. Rather, he focuses on the chronology of English collections with identifiable authors. See R. W. Southern, "The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin,'" *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 176-216. For a recent critique of Southern's focus on authorship and the argument that anonymous scribes played a key role in the shaping of the genre, see Katie Ihnat, "Marian Miracles and Marian Liturgies in the Benedictine Tradition of Post-Conquest England," in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500. New Historical Approaches*, ed. by Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014), 63-64.

Theophilus, which was transmitted to the Latin West by the late ninth century, and soon became the most widely distributed version of the legend in circulation. The chapter also discusses the influential eleventh-century version of the Theophilus legend written by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, who embedded the tale in an important sermon written for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, where it served as an illustrative example of Mary's intercessory powers. Both early Latin versions of the Theophilus legend reveal the range of meanings that the story had for its ecclesiastical audiences, encompassing themes of penance and devotion to the Virgin. In addition, the chapter provides an overview of the popularity of the legend with ecclesiastical authors, especially by the twelfth century, when it is cited with increasing frequency in the context of Latin sermons and hymns to the Virgin. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the earliest known illustration of the legend, a pen drawing depicting Theophilus in prayer before the Virgin preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript of saints' lives and homilies from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750). This manuscript includes copies of both the Latin *vita* and Fulbert's sermon, demonstrating that the pictorial tradition grew in tandem with this early ecclesiastical understanding of the legend.

Chapter Two takes up the question of what we can learn about the meaning of the Theophilus legend for its medieval audiences from the choices made by image-makers as they began to illustrate the tale in the twelfth century. The earliest images of the legend stemmed from the monastic tradition, prompted by the penitential meaning of the figure of Theophilus and inspired by ecclesiastical devotion to the Virgin Mary. These examples include a lost panel of stained glass from Canterbury Cathedral (by 1179), a relief from the Abbey Church of Sainte-Marie in Souillac (1115-25), and a small group of

illuminated psalters from the end of the twelfth century. This chapter throws light on the beginning of the visual tradition, demonstrating how image-makers used the form of the *Sedes sapientiae* (Throne of Wisdom), an iconic sculptural image of the Madonna and Child, to portray the Virgin Mary's active role as an intercessor in the Theophilus legend.

Chapter Three examines the Theophilus windows in the cathedrals at Laon and Chartres, which both contain novel imagery depicting the Mother of God in the act of intercession designed to be viewed as part of specially crafted Marian spaces. Glaziers used the form of the Throne of Wisdom to picture the shift from passive to active intercessor, representing the animation of the statue, which comes to life before Theophilus, imbuing the panels with a dramatic, and even experiential quality, an effect that was amplified due to the proximity of the windows to statues, relics, and altars of the Virgin. In addition to presenting a dynamic new image of the Virgin, the Theophilus windows created during the first half of the thirteenth century presented the legend as the Virgin Mary's most important posthumous miracle.

Chapter Four engages with the figure of the Jewish magician, who is represented in the Theophilus legend as a foil for the Virgin Mary, an anti-intercessor and scapegoat for Theophilus's fall into apostasy. I trace the history of this character in text and image, noting that it was not until the thirteenth century, when legend became popular in stained glass in the context of the cathedral that the Jew emerged as an important player in the visual arts. The Jewish magician plays a prominent role in Gautier de Coinci's *Comment Théophile vint à penitence*, in his collection of Marian songs and miracles, the *Miracles de Notre Dame*. That Gautier's illuminators picked up on the negative shading of the magician is demonstrated by the conspicuous role played by the Jew in the illuminated

copies of this text. The last part of chapter examines the two separate reliefs depicting the Theophilus legend that were added to the north side of Notre-Dame in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century respectively. The reliefs were displayed within the private domain of the cathedral chapter, providing them with a semi-private, ecclesiastical audience, who, I argue, viewed the prominent figure of the Jewish magician in both reliefs through a lens colored by the fraught position of the Jews in Paris during this stretch of time.

Medieval audiences used the Theophilus tale as a means to engage with a host of ideas, from penance and the Virgin's role in Christendom as an intercessor, to anxieties about their Jewish neighbors. Monastic audiences were first drawn to the figure of Theophilus as an exemplar of the penitent sinner, but also because he embodied the spirit of Marian devotion at the time. The monastic context also produced the earliest images of the tale, which were keyed to the personal connection between the Virgin and Theophilus. By the thirteenth century, in the monumental space of the cathedral, the visual tradition coalesced around the idea that the Virgin Mary was uniquely accessible in these spaces as an intercessor. Finally, the Theophilus legend moved beyond the confines of monastery and cathedral to the city, where the meaning of the tale shifted once again, as the visual tradition focused on the anti-Jewish elements of the story. Like the Faust legend written centuries later, the Theophilus legend was a captivating tale, which has resonated with medieval and modern audiences for centuries. The visual imagery analyzed within the following chapters attests to the ever new and engaged ways that audiences redefined the meaning of the penitent cleric for themselves.

Chapter One

From Saint's Life to Sermon: The Theophilus Legend and the Ecclesiastical Imagination in the Latin West, 9th-12th C.

This chapter traces the history of the Theophilus legend in northern Europe between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, introducing the two most widely-copied versions of the tale in circulation during this period. The earlier of the two is a Latin *vita* of Saint Theophilus sometimes attributed to Paul the Deacon of Naples, which is based on an earlier Greek version of the legend and was transmitted to the Latin West by the late ninth century. Manuscript evidence will show how extensively the Latin *vita* was transcribed in monastic collections of saints' lives, quickly becoming the most widely-known version of the Theophilus legend in Western Europe.¹ The second text is a condensed version of the Theophilus legend included by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in his

¹ There were a few additional versions of the Theophilus legend circulating in the Latin West by the tenth century, but none were copied with the frequency of the two texts discussed in this chapter. In the tenth century, for example, Abbess Hrotsvit of Gandersheim wrote a versified version of the legend modeled closely on the Latin *vita*. While fascinating in its own right, Hrotsvit's version of the Theophilus legend survives in just one manuscript, meaning that it was unlikely to have been known beyond Gandersheim. See *PL* 137, 1101-10. For an English translation, see M. Gonsalva Wiegand, "The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrotsvitha: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D., Saint Louis University, 1936), 159-91. For a discussion of Hrotsvit's style, which he relates to the use of gesture on the Hildesheim Doors, see Harvey Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 163-76. Aelfric, the Archbishop of York, who also had access to the Latin *vita* included a short reference to the Theophilus legend in an eleventh-century sermon devoted to the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption. See Aelfric, *The Sermones Catholici or Homelies of Aelfric. In the Original Anglo-Saxon with an English Version* trans. Benjamin Thorpe (London: Aelfric Society, 1844), 449. This sermon is discussed by Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), 235-44. For Aelfric's take on the Theophilus legend, also see Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 47-54.

influential eleventh-century Latin sermon written for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. These early texts show how deeply embedded the figure of Theophilus was in the ecclesiastical imagination by the end of the twelfth century. Both Latin texts convey the range of meanings that the Theophilus legend had for its earliest audiences, from the penitential associations conveyed by the *vita*, to the new emphasis on the Virgin Mary's role in the tale as an intercessor as showcased by Bishop Fulbert in his sermon. In addition, this chapter examines the popularity of the legend with ecclesiastical authors, who began to express their personal devotion to the Virgin Mary through the figure of Theophilus with increasing frequency by the twelfth century. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the earliest known illustration of the legend, a pen drawing depicting Theophilus in prayer before the Virgin preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript of saints' lives and homilies from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750). This manuscript includes copies of the *vita* and the sermon, in addition to the earliest extant visual representations of the Theophilus legend, demonstrating that the tale found its way into the pictorial arts through the monastic circles in which it was initially told.

The Latin Life of Saint Theophilus

The Theophilus legend entered the Latin tradition in the ninth century as the *vita* of a little-known saint, who sold his soul to the devil, but was saved by the Virgin Mary after a long period of penitential prayer.² As presented in the *vita*, the life of Saint

² For the Latin text recorded by Paul the Deacon of Naples, see *PL* 73.671-72 and *BHL* 8121. An English translation has been published by Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 60-77.

Theophilus is a conversion story, infused with a monastic understanding of penance.³ A few centuries later, around 1223, the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach explained the act of conversion in his *Dialogue on Miracles (Dialogus Miraculorum)*, a handbook of *exempla* written for the instruction of novice monks:

Conversion at the heart is the return from willfulness to grace, from sin to uprightness, from vice to virtue.

(*Conversio ad cor, est redire de culpa ad gratiam, de peccato ad iustitiam, de vitio ad virtutem.*)⁴

Caesarius goes on to describe the process in the first chapter of the *Dialogue on Miracles*, which is devoted to the subject of *De Conversione (Of Conversion)*. Conversion, he writes, is "a turning of the heart, either from bad to good, or good to better, or from better to best."⁵ Caesarius's explanation of conversion in physical terms as a movement away

³ The connection between the Theophilus legend and conversion story is evident in a tenth-century collection of saints' lives from Lorsch (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican Palace, MS 0846, fol. 55), in which the *vita* is copied under the rubric "*Conversio Theophili vicedomini.*" A. Poncelet, *Catalogue codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Susidia Hagiographica, 11 (Brussels: Apud Socios Bollandianos, 1910). Chauncey E. Finch, "Catalogues and Other Manuscripts from Lorsch," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968): 165-79. Miri Rubin has noted the growing importance of penance, confession in particular, as a practice that was increasingly bound together with the Eucharist by the twelfth century, the former readying the soul for the reception of the latter. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 83-98.

⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. Henry von Essen Scott, Charles Cooke Swinton Bland, and G. G. Coulton, 2 vols., Broadway medieval library (London: Routledge, 1929), I, 8. Also see Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, *York Studies in Medieval Theology* (Woodbridge, Suffolk York Medieval Press, 1998). Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, and Jacques Berlioz, *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles and Its Reception*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁵ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, I, 8.

from and back toward God echoes the path of Theophilus in the *vita*, which follows his turn away from grace into apostasy, and his eventual return to the fold as a repentant sinner.

As told in the Latin *vita*, the Theophilus legend unfolds in three parts, all of which have penance as a central theme. The first part recounts Theophilus's first conversion, describing his fall into apostasy and deal with the devil. The second part describes his return to the church, including his conversion, contrition, and private penance before the Virgin Mary. Finally, the third part of the tale presents Theophilus's public penance before the bishop. In this way, the *vita* functions didactically, using the figure of Theophilus to illustrate the practice of conversion and penance. In addition to this central theme, the text also introduces a captivating cast of characters, including the Jewish magician, who serves in the tale as a foil for the Virgin Mary and as a scapegoat for Theophilus's apostasy, the devil, with whom Theophilus makes his famous pact, the Virgin Mary, who emerges in the legend as a powerful intercessor, and the figure of the bishop, to whom Theophilus ultimately confesses his sin publically.

The Life of Saint Theophilus is set in the city of Adana, in the Cilicia region of Turkey, in the period preceding the Persian invasions of the Roman Empire. The text refers to Theophilus as a *vicedominus*, a Latin term referring to his position in the church. In a monastic setting, a *vicedominus* served as the administrative deputy of the abbot, acting in this capacity as a mediator between the cloister and the outside world. In the episcopal realm, the *vicedominus* functioned similarly as a hinge between the spiritual and the material worlds, in some cases even taking on a military role as “the principal

guardian and administrator of the episcopal palace and possessions."⁶ Theophilus was thus a high-ranking member of the ecclesiastical audience to whom the *vita* was best known.

After setting the scene in Adana, the *vita* describes the virtuous manner in which Theophilus performed his responsibilities as *vicedominus*:

Before the invasion of the detestable Persians into the Roman commonwealth, it came to pass that there lived in a city called Adana, in the second district of the Cilicians, a certain steward of God's holy church, named Theophilus, who was distinguished by his morals and mode of living. Quietly and with all moderation he managed most excellently the sheepfold of Christ and the business pertaining to the church, so that the bishop, because of his happy discretion, depended upon him in all business of the church and of the people in general. Wherefore all, great and small, were grateful to him and esteemed him highly. For to the orphans, the naked and the needy he administered alms very prudently.⁷

Having established Theophilus's saintly character, the text relates the death of the bishop of Adana, a key moment that sets Theophilus's downward spiral into motion. Theophilus is nominated to fill the vacant seat, but insists he is unworthy of the promotion. He refuses numerous appeals by his colleagues to reconsider. In a cruel twist of fate, the man chosen as bishop in his stead dismisses Theophilus from his post as one of his first acts as

⁶ For a history of *vicedomini* as a church institution, see Felix Senn, *L'institution des vidames en France*, Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, Fascicule X (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1907); J. F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, "Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus," in *Medieval Latin Dictionary* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1426.

⁷ "Factum est, priusquam incursio fieret in Romanam Rempublicam execrandæ Persarum gentis, fuisse in vna ciuitate nomine Adana, Ciliciorum secunda regione, quendam Vicedominum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, nomine Theophilum, moribus & conuersationibus præcipuum, qui quieta ac omnimoda moderatione, pertinentes Ecclesiæ res & Christi rationabile ouile optime regebat; ita vt Episcopus eius hilari sobrietate repausaret in eum, & in omnem dispositionem Ecclesiæ seu plebis vniuersæ. Vnde a maiori vsque ad minorem omnes gratias illi agebant, & diligebant eum: nam orphanis, nudis, & egenis prouidentius commoda ministrabat." (*AS*, February IV, col. 483F). For the English, see Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 60.

bishop. According to the *vita*, Theophilus retreats to his house to live out a humble existence in the service of God. His retirement, however, is interrupted when he attracts the attention of the devil, a figure described by the text as the instigating force that drives Theophilus off his moral path:

...the cunning enemy and envious foe of the human race, seeing this man living modestly and passing the time in good deeds, made his heart to beat with perverse thoughts, instilling in him jealousy of the steward's power and the desire of honor, and inclined him toward such abominable and wicked counsels that he sought not for divine but human glory and strove for vain and transitory honor more than divine...⁸

Thus, with a nudge from the devil, Theophilus begins his first conversion, turning away from God and virtue toward sin and vice.⁹

Overcome by his desire for vainglory, the sin of excessive pride, Theophilus seeks out a shadowy figure under the cover of night, described as:

...a certain wicked Jew, a practicer of all sorts of diabolical arts, who had already plunged many into the deep pit of perdition by his unchristian counsels.¹⁰

⁸ "Igitur callidus hostis & humani generis inuidus inimicus, eundem virum modeste degere, & bonis conuersari operibus conspiciens, prauis cogitationibus cor illius cœpit pulsare, immittens illi Vice-dominatus zelum & ambitionis æmulationem, conuertitque illum ad abominanda hæc & iniqua consilia, quibus non Diuinam sed humanam desideraret gloriam, & vanam ac transitoriam magis quam cælestem appeteret dignitatem; intantum, vt etiam maleficorum postularet auxilium." (*AS*, February IV, col. 483F). For the English, see Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 61-62.

⁹ The agency of the devil is not always foregrounded so directly once the story moves into the visual arts, but rather, is often transferred to the Jewish magician, who is typically presented visually as the active agent of Theophilus' fall from grace.

¹⁰ "Erat denique in eadem ciuitate Hebræus quidam nefandissimus, & omnino diabolicæ artis operator, qui iam multos, infidelitatis argumentis, in foueæ perditionis immerserat barathrum." (*AS*, February IV, col. 483F). For the English, see Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 62. The characterization of the Jew as a magician ("pharmakos") is carried over from the Greek version of the legend. My thanks are due to Adam Ployd for assisting me with the Greek text. For the Greek, see Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische quellen zur Faustsage: der zauberer*

The Jew acts as a mediator between Theophilus and the devil, functioning in the scenes to follow as an anti-intercessor, a foil for the Virgin Mary in her role as *Mediatrix*. He leads Theophilus to the *Circum civitatis* (the center of the city) and warns him "*nec signum Crucis tibi facias*" (Do not make the sign of the Cross). Finally, the Jew reveals the court of the devil, which is populated by "creatures clad in white robes, with a multitude of candlesticks, uttering loud cries."¹¹ The Jew takes Theophilus to the center of the group, where the apostate prostrates himself before the devil and kisses his feet, foreshadowing scenes that occur later in the text, when he will take a similar position of supplication before the Virgin. After pledging his loyalty to the devil and renouncing his belief in Christ and the Virgin, Theophilus's oath is reinforced in writing and sealed in wax imprinted with his ring. In exchange for his fealty, the devil arranges to reinstate the Theophilus as *vicedominus*, with the promise of power and prestige.¹² The devil even compels the bishop to publicly apologize for having "sinned because he had demoted so worthy and perfect a person and had promoted one who was useless and less worthy," thus, assuaging Theophilus's desire for vainglory.¹³

Cyprianus, die erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus (Wiener: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky a.-g., 1927), 164-219. For additional analysis of the Greek text, see G. G. Meersseman, *Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7e EEUW) en Haar Latijnse Vertaling (9e EEUW)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1963), 3-14.

¹¹ "Illo autem spondente, subito ostendit ei albos chlamydatos cum multitudine candelaborum clamantes." *AS*, February IV, col. 484C. For the English, see Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing*, 62.

¹² Palmer and More, 63.

¹³ "In crastinum autem, Diuina, vt reor, prouidentia motus Episcopus, cum omni honore reuocato ex secessu Vice-domino, turpiter quem ipse promouerat eiecto, priorem constituit Vice-dominum; præbuitque ei coram omni Clero & populo auctoritatem dispensationis sanctæ Ecclesiæ atque possessionum ei pertinentium, cunctæque plebis, ac duplo tantum quam antea fuerat præpositus, denuo est honore sublimatus, ita vt peccasse se clamaret Episcopus, quod tam idoneam & perfectam personam aliorum regiminibus

Couched in the language of conversion and penance, the second section of the *vita* is staged as a series of long speeches, including Theophilus's internal dialogue and his conversation with the Virgin Mary. At the beginning of this section, Theophilus's conversion is described as a physical turning of his heart away from pride and denial ("*Et in se reuersus de tanta elatione atque abnegatione*"), echoing the language used centuries later by Caesarius of Heisterbach.¹⁴ In his new soberminded state (*sobrietate recepta*), Theophilus devotes himself to fasting, prayers, and vigils (*ieiuniis atque orationibus, & vigiliis*), but not before blaming his spiritual predicament on the Jew.¹⁵ He complains:

Why did I have to become acquainted with that vilest of Jews who should be burned? For this same Jew had been condemned a short time before by law and judge. Why indeed? Thus they are rewarded, who forsake our Lord and Master and follow after the devil. For what did it profit me, the temporal advantage and the vain arrogance of this world? Woe to me wretch, in what manner have I lost the light and entered into darkness? I was well off, when I had retired to the management of my own affairs. Why have I sought for the sake of vainglory and empty fame to consign my wretched soul to Gehenna?¹⁶

As his petulant speech comes to a close, Theophilus grows increasingly despondent, finally groaning to himself, "Woe to me, miserable one, who having stumbled and fallen

subiecisset, & illum inutilem & minus idoneum promouisset." *AS*, February IV, col. 484C. For the English, see Palmer and More, 63.

¹⁴ *AS*, February IV, col. 484F.

¹⁵ *AS*, February IV, col. 484F.

¹⁶ "Quæ mihi fuit necessitas cognoscendi nefandissimum & comburendum illum Hebræum? Erat enim ante paullulum Hebræus ille a lege & iudice condemnatus. Quid enim sic honoratur qui Deum & Dominum derelinquentes accurrunt diabolo? Quid enim mihi profuit temporale commodum, & superciliositas vana huius seculi? Væ mihi misero peccatori & luxurioso, quomodo supplantatus sum? Væ mihi misero peccatori, quomodo lucem perdidisti, & iui in tenebras? Bene eram, quando ad dispensationem propriam secesseram. Quid desideravi, propter vanam gloriam & vacuam opinionem tradere miseram animam meam in gehennam?" *AS*, February IV, col. 485A. For the English, see Palmer and More, 65.

into the abyss, am unable to rise!"¹⁷ Before losing all hope, however, Theophilus decides to ask the Virgin for help:

I will go to that same mother of the Lord, holy, glorious, resplendent, and her alone I shall entreat with all my heart and soul and I will pray and fast in her holy temple without ceasing, until I obtain mercy through her on the day of judgment.¹⁸

Thus, Theophilus sets out to redeem himself in the eyes of the Lord and his Mother through penitent prayer, performed in a church described as the Virgin's "holy temple." As we will see in subsequent chapters, pictorial representations will reinforce this spatial and institutional aspect of the legend, underscoring that conversion and penance must be earned through prayer to the Virgin Mary.

In addition to highlighting the importance of the space in which the miracle occurs, this passage also stresses the function of the Virgin as saint of saints, the chief intercessor between humanity and God. As Theophilus puts it, "She, in truth, hath power to impose healing penance for such sin."¹⁹ The apostate prostrates himself before the Virgin, echoing the position he took before the devil in the previous section of the text. He remains in the church for forty days and forty nights, praying and fasting, illustrating the degree of contrition expected of the repentant sinner.²⁰ This section of the *vita* reflects

¹⁷ "Væ mihi misero, qui supplantatus, & in barathro dimersus, surgere nequeo! *AS*, February IV, col. 485B. For the English, see Palmer and More, 66.

¹⁸ "...tamen ibo ad eandem matrem Domini sanctam, gloriosam & lucidam, & ipsam solam interpellabo ex toto corde & anima mea, faciamque orationes & ieiunia in venerabili eius templo sine cessatione, donec per eam inueniam in die iudicij misericordiam." *AS*, February IV, col. 485B. For the English, see Palmer and More, 66.

¹⁹ "...quia vere potens est huic reatui imponere sanamenta." *AS*, February IV, col. 485C. For the English, see Palmer and More, 66.

²⁰ Caesarius of Heisterbach provides a useful overview of the practice of Contrition in the second book of the *Dialogue on Miracles*. Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, I, 61-124.

the character of penance during the early medieval period, which, Sarah Hamilton has noted, not only required the repentant sinner to prostrate him or herself, but also focused on self-reflection and contrition.²¹

At the end of Theophilus's fortieth night of prayer, Mary appears in the dark church and poses a series of questions to the penitent sinner:

Why, O man, dost thou persist with rashness and pride in asking that I aid thee, thou man who hast denied my son, the Savior of the world, and me? And how can I beseech Him to forgive thee the evil he has done? With what eyes shall I look into the merciful countenance of my son, whom thou hast denied, and presume to entreat Him for thy sake? With what assurance can I appeal to Him, when though has renounced Him? Or in what wise shall I stand before that fearsome tribunal and presume to open my mouth and ask for His most compassionate clemency?²²

With this passage, the text brings Mary to life by presenting her as an embodied and interactive presence in the legend, capable of dispensing mercy, but also stern rebukes.

The Virgin's speech underscores the seriousness of Theophilus' sins, which, as she reminds him, include his renouncement of Christ and his consortium with the devil, setting the stage for Theophilus's confession.

Addressing the Virgin directly, Theophilus presents his argument that he is worthy of her intercession. He builds his case upon the backs of famous penitent sinners from the Bible, all of whom were forgiven despite the gravity of their sins. He begins

²¹ Sarah Hamilton, "The Unique Favour of Penance: The Church and the People c. 800-c.1100," in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge), 231.

²² "Quid sico homo permanes temere fastidio seq; postulans, vt te adiuuem hominem qui abnegasti filium meum Saluatorem mundi & me? Aut quomodo possum postulare, eum remittere tibi mala, quæ gessisti? Quibus oculis aspiciam in vultum illum misericordissimum Filij mei, quem tu negasti, & præsumam eum rogare pro te? Quali fiducia possim postulare eum, cum tu apostataueris ab eo? Quoue modo adstabo tribunali illi terribili, & præsumam aperire os meum, & petere clementissimam illius bonitatem?" (*AS*, February IV, col. 485D). For the English, see Palmer and More, 67.

with an example from the Old Testament, naming Rahab, a Egyptian prostitute who was saved through penance. Next, he names King David, the penitential model of the Psalms who was guilty of sins including fornication and murder. From the New Testament, Theophilus cites the Apostles Peter and Paul, the former who denied Christ not once, but three times, while the latter was transformed from a persecutor of Christians to a follower of Christ. Theophilus concludes his case with a reference to Saint Cyprian, a fellow Eastern saint, who attained conversion and martyrdom despite the severity of his sins.

Theophilus highlights this last case for the Virgin:

If it were not by penitence, how did Cyprian, who had done so many evil things, who cut open pregnant women and was completely entangled in infamy, hasten to penitence and, greatly strengthened by Saint Justina, receive not only remission of such great sins but likewise obtain the crown of martyrdom?²³

Cyprian's *vita* overlaps thematically with Theophilus's own story, as he was a necromancer from Antioch, who had dealings with demons, but was eventually converted.²⁴

Theophilus wins over the Virgin with his argument and she agrees to hear his confession, inviting him to profess his faith in Christ:

Confess to me, O man, that the son whom I bore and whom thou hast denied is Christ, the Son of the living God, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, and I will entreat Him for thee and support thee.²⁵

²³ "Si non esset pœnitentia, quomodo ille Cyprianus, qui tanta perpetraverat mala, qui etiam in vtero habentes inciderebat & totus flagitiis induebatur, vehementius confortatus est a S. Iustina, ad pœnitentiam conuolans, non solum cantorum malorum remissionem accepit, sed & martyrij coronam sortitus est?" (*AS*, February IV, col. 485F). For the English, see Palmer and More, 69.

²⁴ For the legend of Saint Cyprian, see *ibid.*, 41-57.

²⁵ "Confitere mihi, o homo, quia quem ego pepereris filium & tu abnegasti, quia est Christus filius Dei viui, qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & ego rogabo pro te, & suscipiet te." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486A). For the English, see Palmer and More, 69. This passage, reflecting the Byzantine origins of the legend, also reminds the audience of

Theophilus confesses his faith in Christ, the Holy Trinity, and the Virgin, turning back toward the church:

I confess these things with my soul, my heart, and my body. I worship, adore and embrace them and with this my prayerful pledge, made with all the strength of my soul, bring me, holy and immaculate virgin, mother of God, to thy son, our Lord, and do not detest or despise the prayer of a sinner who hath been ravished, tripped up and betrayed, but deliver me from the iniquity which hath seized upon me and from the blast of the whirlwind which possesseth me, who am deprived of the grace of the Holy Spirit.²⁶

Mary, in turn, accepts Theophilus's confession and agrees to take his case before Christ:

Behold, I believe thee because of the baptism thou hast received through my son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, and because of the exceeding great compassion I which I have with you Christians, and I will approach Him and, falling down at his feet, will ask Him for thee how far He will accept thee.²⁷

With the promise of intercession, she leaves Theophilus to continue his penitent prayers in the church. He spends three more days there fasting, praying, sobbing, and beating his face against the floor. All the while, according to the text, Theophilus "regarded continually the pure light and ineffable countenance of our glorious Lady, Mary the

Mary's role in the Incarnation, noting that his humanity, granted to him by his Mother, caused Christ "no weakening of his deity."

²⁶ "Hæc confiteor anima, corde, & corpore colo, adoro, & amplector: & cum hac mea precatoria cautione toto mentis annisu habita offer me, sancta & immaculata Virgo Dei Genitrix, filio tuo Domino nostro: & non abomineris neque despicias deprecationem peccatoris, qui raptus, supplantatus, & deceptus sum, sed libera me ab iniquitatibus, quæ me comprehenderunt & a procella turbinis, quæ me possidet, qui denudatus sum a gratia sancti Spiritus." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486B). For the English, see Palmer and More, 70-71.

²⁷ "Ecce ego, propter baptismum, quod accepisti, per filium meum Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, & propter nimiam compassionem, quam circa vos Christianos habeo, credens tibi, accedo & rogo illum pro te, prouoluta pedibus eius, quatenus te suscipiat." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486C). For the English, see Palmer and More, 71.

mother of God."²⁸ Finally, after three more days of fasting and prayer, the Virgin appears before Theophilus with a "joyful face and cheerful eyes and with gentle voice."²⁹ In the *vita*, this seems to be a vision, an image of the Virgin in Theophilus's mind, however, in subsequent chapters we will see how image-makers experimented with the idea that a statue or two-dimensional depiction of the Virgin could be animated through penitent prayer.³⁰

At this point, Theophilus would seem to be in the clear, his soul redeemed by the Virgin Mary. He has confessed to the Virgin and been judged sufficiently repentant by Christ. And yet, Theophilus continued to fret over the state of his soul because the devil retained the signed and sealed pact. He pleads with the Virgin to grant him one last favor:

For who, O my Lady, immaculate virgin, hath set his hope on thee and been confounded? Or what man hath prayed for omnipotence of thy help and hath been forsaken? Wherefore I too, a sinner and prodigal, call upon thee to bestow the never failing fountain of thy loving kindness, the bowels of thy compassion upon me, erring and deceived man, who am plunged in the deep mire. Give order that I may receive back that accursed writ of denial and the wicked compact, which I did sign, from him who deceived me, the devil, because it is this which doth so sorely torment my wretched soul.³¹

²⁸ "Et per triduum amplius Vice-dominus postulans & enixius in terram faciem percuciens, in eodem venerabili templo sine cibo permanens, lacrymisque locum infundens, non recedebat, conspiciens ad clarum lumen & ineffabilem vultum gloriosæ Dominæ nostræ Dei genitricis Mariæ, ab ea spem salutis suæ præstolabatur." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486D). For the English, see Palmer and More, 71.

²⁹ "... apparuit hilari vultu & lætis oculis & mansueta voce..." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486D). For the English, see Palmer and More, 71.

³⁰ For the idea that the *potentia* of saints to act as a healing channel between God and humans was strongest near their tombs or relics, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Haskell Lectures on History of Religions, 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), especially 86-127.

³¹ "Quis enim, Domina mea, immaculata Virgo, speravit in te & confusus est? Aut quis hominum precatus est omnipotentiam adiutorij tui & derelictus est? Vnde & ego rogo peccator & luxuriosus perennem fontem benignitatis tuæ, viscera misericordiæ mihi impendere erroneo & decepto, qui in profundo cœni dimersus sum, & iube vt recipere possim execrabilem illam abnegationis chartulam atque nefandam cautionem signatam,

Theophilus waits for her answer for three more days in the church. Eventually, he falls asleep and the Virgin returns with the physical pact:

And verily after three days more the blessed Mary delivered unto him, in a vision as it seemed, that bond of apostasy with the seal of wax upon it, just as he had given it. When he rose from his sleep the aforesaid steward found the bond on his breast and, filled with joy at the outcome, he trembled so that the joints of all his members were almost loosed.³²

The *vita* does not provide a description of how the Virgin retrieved the pact from the devil, but focuses instead on her dreamlike appearance before him to deposit the sealed pact with the sleeping *vicedominus*. With the phrase *tamquam in visione* ("in a vision as it seemed"), the text introduces an element of ambiguity in terms of the ontological nature of the Virgin's presence before Theophilus. This passage will inspire artists in the following centuries to imagine the struggle between the Virgin with the devil over the pact and to experiment with ways to picture the moment when she appears before Theophilus to return the document.

The rest of the *vita* recounts the public penance of Theophilus. On Sunday, the day after Mary returned the pact, the redeemed sinner prostrates himself once more, this time at the feet of the bishop, who is performing mass. Theophilus confesses his sin publically, telling the bishop and the congregation of his dealings with the Jewish sorcerer and the pact he made with the devil. His confession prompts the bishop to

ab eo, qui decepit me, diabolo; quia hoc est quod omnino titillat miserrimam animam meam." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486E). For the English, see Palmer and More, 72.

³² "Post tres vero alteros dies, tamquam in visione exhibuit ei S. Maria chartulam cautionis habentem sigillum de cera, sicut dederat illam apostaticam cautionem: & de somno surgens inuenit chartulam super pectus suum prænominatus Vice-dominus, & lætus effectus contremuit, ita vt etiam omnium membrorum eius iuncturæ pene soluerentur." (*AS*, February IV, col. 486E). For the English, see Palmer and More, 72-73.

deliver a sermon in which he presents Theophilus as a model and reinforces the central theme of the legend, underscoring the importance of penance and the Virgin Mary's role in the process as an intercessor:

For Moses, the lawgiver, fasting for forty days, received graven tablets from God; and this our brother, biding for forty days in the venerable temple of the immaculate and glorious ever virgin Mary, hath received from God, through fasting and prayer, the grace which he had lost by his apostasy. Let us with him also glorify the Lord who hath so mercifully given ear to the penitence of him who hath sought refuge in Him through the intervention of the immaculate ever virgin Mary, the mother of God, who is a mighty mediator between god and man, the truest hope of those in despair and the refuge of the afflicted. She hath made milder the curse of human nature. She is the true door of eternal life at which all of us sinners knock and it is opened unto us. She beareth our prayers to Him whom she bore, our Lord, and receiveth indulgence for our sins. Therefore, holy mother of God, be thou mindful also of us who watch for thee with pure faith and who take refuge in thee.³³

Thus, as the legend reaches its conclusion, Mary's role as intercessor is reinforced once more for the penitent sinner.

Following the bishop's sermon, Theophilus burns the charter before the congregation and receives communion. Fully redeemed, his face "shone like the sun," a phrase recalling the countenance of Moses after he received the Ten Commandments from the Lord on Mount Sinai (Exodus 34:29).³⁴ The radiant Theophilus returns to the

³³ "Nam & quadraginta diebus legislator Moyses ieiunans, a Deo conscriptas tabulas suscepit, & hic frater noster quadraginta diebus permanens in venerabili templo immaculatæ & gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, priorem gratiam, quam negando perdiderat, ieiunando & orando a Deo recepit. Demus igitur & nos simul cum eo gloriam Deo nostro, qui sic misericorditer exaudiuit pœnitentiam confugientis ad se, per interuentionem immaculatæ semper Virginis Dei Genitricis Mariæ, quæ est inter Deum & homines ^c potens verissimaque spes desperantium, quæ est refugium afflictorum, quæ maledictionem humanæ naturæ compescuit, quæ est vera ianua vitæ æternæ, ad quam omnes peccatores pulsamus & aperitur nobis: & apud eum quem genuit Dominum nostrum petitiones offert, & accipit peccatorum nostrorum indulgentiam." (*AS*, February IV, col. 487A). For the English, see Palmer and More, 74.

³⁴ Palmer and More, 75.

church of the Virgin, where "dissolved in body" he collapses in the very place where she appeared before him.³⁵ After three days, Theophilus dies, his soul delivered into the hands of Christ and the Virgin Mary, his body entombed in the church.

As recounted in the *vita*, the Theophilus legend presents the tale of a cleric's fall from grace and his subsequent conversion and penance before the Virgin Mary to earn redemption for his sin. The text introduces most of the key elements that will be represented in the visual arts in the following centuries, from Theophilus's descent into apostasy to the devil's power to push humanity off the virtuous path. In addition, the *vita* points to the danger of asking for the wrong kind of intercession, represented in the legend by the Jewish sorcerer. Most importantly, the text illustrates that the Virgin Mary's intercession must be hard won through the work of penance. Theophilus demonstrates the different aspects related to penance in the early medieval period, from the private acts of confession and contrition practiced in the church, to the public confession performed before the bishop and his congregation.

Once the *vita* of Saint Theophilus was transmitted to the Latin West, it quickly spread across northern Europe through networks of monastic scriptoria, being copied in legendaries, manuscripts containing collections of saints' lives. I have located sixty-three manuscripts in which the Theophilus legend is copied as a saint's life and there are likely to be more examples waiting to be discovered. Six of these manuscripts date to the ninth or tenth centuries, and six more date to the eleventh century. The largest number survive from the twelfth century, twenty-six in total, with fourteen more dating to the thirteenth century, and the remainder to the fourteenth century. These manuscripts, most of which

³⁵ Ibid.

were produced for monasteries in northern Europe, particularly in France, provide important evidence of the extent to which the figure of Theophilus was known as a saint before his *vita* was subsumed into the story of the Virgin Mary.³⁶

One of the earliest of these manuscripts, as noted in the Introduction, is a legendary dating to the late ninth or early tenth century from the Abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire at Fleury.³⁷ The presence of the *vita* at Fleury by the turn of the tenth century illustrates how the legend of Saint Theophilus might have travelled through monastic channels in the years immediately following its transmission to the Latin West from the Greek East. The significant library at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire was founded in the seventh century, when Abbot Mummole returned from Monte Cassino with a group of manuscripts produced in Italy, as well as the relics of Saint Benedict.³⁸ While the scriptorium began supplementing this initial endowment as early as the eighth century, it was in the ninth and tenth centuries that the scriptorium at Fleury became a major center

³⁶ See Appendix I for a list of manuscripts in which the *vita* was copied.

³⁷ Orleans BM, MS 341, fols. 133-144. Notably, another early copy of the legend survives in a second tenth-century manuscript from the same site, Orleans BM, MS 44, fols. 326-335. See Élisabeth Pellegrin and Jean-Paul Bouhot, eds., *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux de la bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans*, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 78 (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010), at 44-46 and 489-496

³⁸ For an overview of the translation of the relics of Saint Benedict at Fleury, see D. W. Rollason, "The Miracles of St Benedict: A Window on Early Medieval France," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: The Hambleton Press, 1985), 73-90. For the history of the Fleury scriptorium, see Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, *Middelieeuwse Studies en Bronnen III* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1989), 1-23. For the role of Fleury in the diocese of Orleans, see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 58-59.

of manuscript production.³⁹ By the tenth century, when the Theophilus legend began to spread across northern Europe, Fleury was well connected to monasteries across France and active in the reform movement.⁴⁰ These monasteries included St. Père of Chartres and St. Vincent of Laon, both sites where important versions of the Theophilus legend were produced in the centuries that followed. It is easy to imagine how the *vita* moved from somewhere as well-connected as Fleury through the monastic network of northern Europe. In Paris, for instance, we find the Theophilus legend copied in a tenth-century manuscript of saints' lives and prayers from the Carmelite Convent of Saint Joseph (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1707, f. 37-53.). By the twelfth century, the *vita* was copied in manuscripts produced in monastic scriptoria across northern Europe.

Bishop Fulbert of Chartres's *Approbate consuetudinis*.

In the eleventh century, a second influential Latin version of the Theophilus legend began to circulate in northern Europe, written by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, who told the tale in a sermon written for the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity. Fulbert transformed the legend of Saint Theophilus into an illustrative model of the Virgin Mary's intercessory power, reflecting the heightened devotion to Mary that characterized the period. Henri Barré has described the Marian devotion of the eleventh century as a "humble ferveur," a period when ecclesiastical authors penned many sermons, hymns,

³⁹ Anselme D'Avril, *Les manuscrits de Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire). Exposition réalisé par la Bibliothèque d'Orléans et l'Abbaye de Fleury (Juin-Juillet 1980)* (Fleury, 1980).

⁴⁰ Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, 19; L. Donnat, "Recherches sur l'influence de Fleury au Xe siècle," in *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales*, ed. R. Louis (1975), 165-74.

prose texts and sequences in honor of the Mother of God.⁴¹ The episcopate of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (1006-1028) stands out even in a century of impassioned Marian veneration.⁴² Fulbert oversaw a church and a congregation with exceptional ties to the Mother of God. The cult of the Notre-Dame of Chartres was anchored by the cathedral's famous relic of the Virgin, known as the *Sancta Camisa*, believed to be the tunic that Mary wore when she gave birth to the Christ child.⁴³

Over the course of his tenure, Bishop Fulbert penned a number of sermons and hymns in honor of the Virgin.⁴⁴ The most influential of these texts was *Approbate consuetudinis* ("the approved custom"), a sermon written for the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity, in which Fulbert cites the Theophilus legend as evidence of the miracle-working power of the Virgin of Chartres.⁴⁵ Fulbert's reworking of the *vita* of Saint Theophilus in

⁴¹ Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du savior: Des origines à saint Anselme* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1963), 125-26. For the mariale tradition, also see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 132-65.

⁴² For Fulbert's biography and the history of his episcopate, see Loren C. MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres*, Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education VI (Notre Dame: The Mediaeval Institute, 1957), 5-11; Jeaneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres* (2009), 29-36.

⁴³ For the history of the Virgin's tunic, see Yves Delaporte, *Le voile de Notre Dame* (Chartres: Maison des clercs, 1927); Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161, no. 1 (2003): 29-31. For the argument that the Charlemagne window in Chartres Cathedral presents a genealogy of the Virgin's tunic, see Elizabeth Carson 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 Jane Stuckey, *The New Middle Ages Series* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 116-22.

⁴⁴ Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du savior: Des origines à saint Anselme*, 150-62; Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 80-90; Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75, no. 2 (2000): 402-16.

⁴⁵ For a list of manuscripts preserving copies of Fulbert's sermon, see Appendix II. For the Latin text of Fulbert's sermon, see *PL* 141, col. 320-323. For a recent English

the Marian context of his sermon points toward the way the tale will be told in the visual arts by the thirteenth century, when it was folded into the Virgin Mary's life story, as depicted in the visual arts.

Approbate consuetudinis opens with a passage detailing the function of saints' feast days in the Christian tradition:

The approved custom among Christians is to observe the birthdays of our forebears with careful attention, and especially to read aloud in churches their virtues, ascribed to them in books, for the praise of God, by whose gift they exist, and for the good of lesser folk.⁴⁶

Fulbert alludes to the use of legendaries, the collections of saints' lives in which the *vita* of Saint Theophilus was typically copied. It is likely that Fulbert had access to a manuscript containing the Life of Saint Theophilus, as his telling of the legend draws upon the *vita*, even as he reworked the legend to fit its new context.⁴⁷

translation, see Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 426-29. Gilbert Dahan has also published a French translation. See Gilbert Dahan, "Fulbert of Chartres, sermon IV, sur la nativité de la vierge marie, vierge et génitrice de dieu," *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'eure-et-loire* 94 (2007): 40-46.

⁴⁶ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 426.

⁴⁷ Fulbert had access to a wide variety of texts. See MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres*, 59-60. While no manuscript containing Paul's text survives at Chartres, Fulbert's familiarity with Paul's text is supported by how closely he followed the earlier text. Fulbert also cites Paul's text directly when he describes the way that Theophilus's face "shone like the sun" after he received communion at the end of the legend. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be sure, as the majority of the medieval manuscripts from Chartres were destroyed in 1944 when a stray bomb destroyed the municipal library during World War II. Wright has described the unfortunate circumstances of the fire, "The American Army air force was trying to cut the main railroad line from Paris into Brittany in preparation for D-Day; the French had stored the major treasures of the library in the château de Villebon outside Chartres, but the Germans ordered they be brought back; the mayor of Chartres, a resistance leader, had stored a secret cache of petrol next to the library--and so acts of human heroism and folly were compounded disastrously." See Craig Wright, "The Palm Sunday Procession in Medieval Chartres," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and*

Next, Fulbert introduces the main subject of his sermon, the Virgin Mary, the saint of saints:

Among all the saints, the memory of the most blessed Virgin is more often and more joyously celebrated, since she is believed to have found more favor with God. Hence the devotion of the faithful, not being content with the other, older feasts, added this day's solemn feast of her nativity.⁴⁸

The Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin was a relatively new addition to the annual calendar of Marian feast days and was celebrated in Western Christendom on the eighth day of September.⁴⁹ Over the course of the sermon, Fulbert preaches about the Virgin's genealogy, the story of her Life, her virtuous character, and her intercessory powers, themes appropriate to a reading dedicated to the birth of Mary. The Theophilus legend is found towards the end of the text, one of a series of concluding *exempla* demonstrating the Virgin Mary's role in Christendom as the most important intercessor for penitent sinners.

Fulbert's version of the Theophilus legend is condensed and concentrated, so that the Virgin Mary plays an even more dynamic role in the sermon than she does in the longer *vita*. Fulbert begins his telling of the tale with an image:

Even you, Theophilus, once a sinner, penitent and invoking her aid, Mary snatched powerfully from the very jaws of the devil.⁵⁰

Thus, Fulbert frames the Theophilus legend around a picture of the Virgin Mary performing her role as intercessor, a formidable foe for the devil. The vivid language used by the Chartrain bishop is characteristic of his pedagogical method of "speaking in

Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 366, n. 16.

⁴⁸ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 426.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 81-89.

⁵⁰ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 428.

images" in his sermons, which often incorporated illustrative *exempla*.⁵¹ Fulbert's description of the Virgin facing down the devil brings to life a part of the story glossed over in the *vita*, which, by contrast, does not account for how the Virgin retrieved the pact and freed Theophilus from his bond. Rather, the *vita* moves directly from the penitent sinner's prayers to Mary's appearance before Theophilus in the church to return the charter, framing the episode within a visionary context. Fulbert uses concrete, descriptive language to fill in this gap in the narrative, an addition that will be picked in the thirteenth century as image-makers find creative ways to represent Mary's encounter with the devil.

Next, Fulbert recounts the legend's key events, skimming over the ecclesiastical drama that unfolded in the wake of the bishop's death and which resulted in Theophilus's dismissal. As he tells it:

This man Theophilus was once walking in the country of a certain bishop of the Cilicians, as certain writings testify, when he fell into sorrow on account of his misfortunes. So he betook himself to a certain evil Jew, seeking his counsel and aid. Through this mediator he in fact spoke with the devil, and he denied Christianity, worshipped the devil, and gave to him by his own act a charter signed with his ring.⁵²

In the *vita*, the ecclesiastical drama provides an important backstory for Theophilus's fall into apostasy. Here, however, in the context of a sermon devoted to the Virgin, Fulbert

⁵¹ Deremble describes Fulbert's pedagogical method of "speaking in images," in his sermons, which often incorporated *exempla*. See Jean-Paul Deremble, "Fulbert et Théophile, l'art de la prédication: le IV^e sermon de la fête de la nativité de Marie," in *Fulbert de Chartres, précurseur de l'Europe médiévale?*, ed. Michel Rouche, *Culture et civilisations médiévales* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), 80-85.

⁵² Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 428.

provides a quick summary of the incidents leading up to the Virgin's intercession, focused primarily on the figure of the Jewish magician and the pact with the devil.⁵³

Having set the scene, Fulbert turns to Theophilus's confession and penance. Compared with the *vita*, there is less emphasis on the details of his confession, with more attention paid to the appearance of the Virgin Mary in the legend as an intercessor. Fulbert tells his audience that Theophilus sought "a certain church dedicated to the memory of blessed Mary"⁵⁴ and goes on to describe the moment when the apostate sinner's prayers worked and the Virgin appeared:

What more need I say? The gracious Mother of mercy had regard for him, and, appearing to him in a vision, she exposed his impiety and urged him back to the faith of Christ. She comforted him in his sorrow by promising forgiveness, and, lest he doubt her promise, having powerfully snatched the above-mentioned charter from the devil, she returned it to the captive as a pledge of his liberty.⁵⁵

With this passage, Fulbert reinforces the image of the Virgin Mary snatching the charter from the devil, echoing his introduction to the legend a few lines before.

After reinforcing this emboldened image of Mary in the minds of his audience, Fulbert turns to the end of the legend, when Theophilus "presented himself to the bishop before the people."⁵⁶ Once again, Fulbert makes a direct connection with his audience, and it is easy to imagine him delivering his sermon in Chartres Cathedral on a Sunday just like the bishop in the story (fig. 4).⁵⁷ Fulbert tells us:

⁵³ The significance of the Jewish magician in Fulbert's Theophilus legend is discussed in Chapter Four.

⁵⁴ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 428.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ The passage calls to mind one of the only extant images of Fulbert, which depicts the bishop preaching to his congregation. The portrait survives in a manuscript from Chartres

You should have seen how the people grew fearful at hearing so horrible a transgression, how they wept together when regarding the emaciated face of the penitent. But, when they heard, oh, such pity quickly followed these other feelings. All of them, who, terrified, had grown nearly faint from bad conscience, breathed again with joy at the hope of the pardon.⁵⁸

Fulbert concludes his telling of the tale by underscoring the penitential message of the legend and emphasizing the important role of the Virgin in the process:

Such deeds show that the Lord's Mother is everywhere powerful, everywhere eminent...she is present to both just and sinners who call upon her faithfully, and she never ceases to aid them....Let sinners come with Theophilus, beating their guilty breasts with inner weeping, and they too, if truly penitent, will attain the desired forgiveness.⁵⁹

In this way, Fulbert embodies the role of the bishop in the *vita*, who, in similar fashion, relates the Theophilus legend to his congregation. Fulbert, no doubt, had his own cathedral and the Virgin of Chartres in mind when he described sinners coming, like Theophilus, to find salvation in the Mother of God. Though far shorter than the *vita*, Fulbert's version of the Theophilus legend is no less compelling, conveying the key moments of the tale through evocative language.

that Merlet and Clerval have dated to between 1026 and 1028. St. Etienne (Loire), MS F. 104 was originally part of the library of the cathedral chapter. It contains an inscription "Fulbertus episcopus" near the bishop's head and another inscription reading "Pavit oves domini pastor venerabilis annos quinque quat(er)mensesq(ue) decam cum mensibus octo." (The venerable pastor governed the Lord's sheep for five times four years and ten plus eight months), see René Merlet and Abbé Clerval, *Un manuscrit Chartrain du XIe siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893). Fassler notes that this manuscript survived the fire that destroyed the Bibliothèque municipale in 1944 because it was stolen in the late eighteenth century by a Chartrain canon. When the canon's books were sold, the manuscript eventually found its way to St. Etienne. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 96.

⁵⁸ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 429.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Bishop Fulbert wrote *Approbate consuetudinis* during the first quarter of the eleventh century, sometime before his death in 1028. The sermon began to be copied soon after it was written. The rapid distribution of the text is evidenced by the fact that it was copied in at least fourteen manuscripts dating to the eleventh century.⁶⁰ Twenty-five additional copies of *Approbate consuetudinis* survive in manuscripts dating to the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. The sermon was apparently so well known that by the thirteenth century, Jacobus de Voragine attributed the Theophilus legend to the Chartrain bishop in the *Golden Legend*, making no mention of either Eutychianus or Paul the Deacon of Naples.⁶¹ As Margot Fassler has noted, Fulbert's sermon became the customary reading for matins during the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity in much of Europe.⁶² Moreover, this new link between the Theophilus legend and the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity shifted the association of the penitent saint from February, the month in which his feast day traditionally fell, to September, effectively moving Theophilus in the liturgical calendar and obscuring his identity as a saint in his own right.

Picturing the Theophilus Legend in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750

The earliest extant image of the Theophilus legend was inspired by both of these widely-copied Latin texts. A single initial depicting the figure of Theophilus praying before the Virgin Mary is preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript of saints' lives and homilies from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (Paris, BnF, MS. lat.

⁶⁰ For a list of these manuscripts, see Appendix II.

⁶¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), II, 149-58.

⁶² Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 81.

11750, fol. 51r).⁶³ A relatively large manuscript designed for practical use in the monastery, the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Legendary is similar in size to the liturgical manuscripts discussed above, its pages measuring 360mm by 260 mm. The manuscript opens with a section of Marian texts, including readings for the four major feasts of the Virgin, organized chronologically according to their place in the liturgical calendar (fols. 1-58).⁶⁴ The Marian texts are followed by readings devoted to the saints, grouped hierarchically, beginning with the Apostles, followed by the Church Fathers, and so forth.

Notably, both the Latin *vita* of Saint Theophilus and Bishop Fulbert's sermon for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary are copied in their entirety in the first section of the manuscript. This portion of the book is devoted to the Virgin and opens on the verso of folio one with Fulbert's sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin.⁶⁵ The initial "A" beginning the *Approbate Consuetudinis* is one of the simplest of the decorated initials in the

⁶³ Deslandres included Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750 as one of a group of four manuscripts of saints' lives produced at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the eleventh century under Abbot Morard (Paris, BnF, MS. lat. 11749-11752). According to the author, these four manuscripts share a stylistic unity and were designed by an artist named Ingelard, who is named in the colophon found in MS lat. 11751 as the scribe responsible for decorating the manuscript. Yves Deslandres, "Les manuscrits décorés du XIe siècle à Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Scriptorium* 9 (1955): 3-16.

⁶⁴ The four major feasts of the Virgin include her Nativity (Sept. 8), the Annunciation (March 25), the Purification (Feb. 2), and the Assumption (Aug. 15). According to Fulton, they were added to the Roman liturgy in the second half of the seventh century. See Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 216. The contents of the Marian section of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750 include readings for all the major feasts devoted to Mary including a sermon on the Virgin's Nativity by Jerome (fols. 4v-6r), a sermon on the Virgin's Purification by Ambrose (fols. 6v-8r), and a sermon on the Virgin's Assumption by Augustine (f. 49r). For the complete contents of the manuscript, see *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi*, 4 vols., *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 2 (Brussels, 1889-1893), III, 45-47.

⁶⁵ The title, written in red and green letters, is followed by the date, which indicates that the sermon would have been read on the sixth day of September, rather than the more common date of September 4th.

manuscript (fig. 5). Fulbert is named as the author of the text at the end of the sermon, in the *explicit*, which reads "Sermo Domni Fulberti Epi[-] Carnotensis" (fig. 6). The initial depicting the scene from the Theophilus legend is not found here, at the beginning of the manuscript where we might expect to find it, but rather is found toward the end of the section of Marian readings, where it marks the beginning of the *vita* of Saint Theophilus (fig. 7). The opening of the *vita* is marked with the incipit "*Publica Theophili paenitentiae satisfactio, qui Christum abnegavit et veniam beatae perpetuae virginis Mariae interventu adipisci promeruit*" ("Public satisfaction of the penitent Theophilus, who denied Christ, but deserved forgiveness by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary"). The *vita* is followed by a short series of Marian miracles that conclude this first section of the manuscript. While Fulbert is named in the *explicit* of the sermon, there is no author listed along with the *vita*.⁶⁶

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with one image, a delicate line drawing in brown ink that fills the space of the initial "F" of the "*Factum est*," the opening words of the *vita*.⁶⁷ The body of the letter is decorated with a braided design highlighted with red

⁶⁶ Bishop Fulbert is nearly always named as the author in copies of the *Approbate consuetudinis*. In contrast, there is often no author listed along with the *vita*, though there are a few cases where Fulbert is listed as the author of the *vita*. For instance, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3781, a manuscript of Marian texts from the beginning of the twelfth century, includes both the *vita* and the sermon, but Fulbert's name is linked only with the former, suggesting that as both versions of the legend circulated in monastic scriptoria their associations with a particular author began to fade or be conflated. For the contents of the manuscript, see *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi*, 3, III, 45-47. According to Dufour, this manuscript, which is a collection of Marian texts, is not from Moissac, as it was previously attributed, but rather from Ripoll. See John Dufour, *La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 15 (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1972), 135, n. 81.

⁶⁷ The first line of the text reads: *Factum est, priusquam incursio fieret in Romanam rempublicam exsecrande Persarum gentis, fuisse in una civitate nomine Adana*

ink (fig. 8).⁶⁸ Theophilus is pictured at the left edge of the page, standing along the stem of the letter "F" and reaching up toward the Virgin Mary seated above on a throne.

Flanked by two angels, Mary is crowned and dressed in luxurious robes as she holds the charter retrieved from the devil toward the outstretched arms of the penitent sinner. The placement of the initial here at the beginning of the *vita* makes sense, given the penitential theme running throughout the legend in this longer version, rather than in

Fulbert's sermon, in which the tale presents the Virgin in her more active persona.

Theophilus is depicted kneeling in supplication before the Virgin in the initial, much as he is described in the *vita*, which includes lengthy passages describing his penitent

prayers before the Virgin. The illuminator of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés manuscript,

faced with representing a story that to this point had no discernible visual history, focused on Theophilus's penitent turn toward the Virgin Mary, which is both represented visually in the space of the initial and described in the *vita*. As the sole illustration of the legend in

the manuscript, the initial demonstrates how ecclesiastical understanding of the

Theophilus legend through a penitential lens gave shape to one of the earliest depictions of the tale in the pictorial arts.

Ciliciorum, in secunda regione Persarum, quendam vicedomnum sancte dei ecclesie, nomine Theophilum, moribus et conversatione precipuum, qui quite ac omnimoda moderatione pertinentes ecclesie res et Christi rationabile ouile optime regebat, ita ut episcopus eius hilari sobrietate repausaret in eo in omni dispositione ecclesie seu plebis universe. "S. Theophilus Poenitens, Vicedominus Adanae in Cilicia. IV Februarii," in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Joannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenus (Paris: 1866), 480-91.

⁶⁸ For an introduction to drawing in the Middle Ages, see Melanie Holcomb, "Strokes of Genius: The Draftsman's Art in the Middle Ages," in *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*, ed. Melanie Holcomb (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 3-34.

The appearance of a visual representation of the legend at this moment, seemingly without precedent, is explained by the place of the figure of Theophilus in the monastic imagination. By the eleventh century the wide circulation of the *vita* and Fulbert's sermon signaled that ecclesiastical audiences were familiar with the story. The manuscripts in which the Theophilus legend was copied, both the *vita* and the sermon, were monastically produced collections of saint's lives and other liturgical texts. Many of the legends produced over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries treated the Theophilus legend as an independent saint's life and included his *vita* with those of the other saints celebrated in February. By the twelfth century, however, it was increasingly common to find the text copied in manuscripts devoted to Marian texts. The Saint-Germain-des-Prés Legendary, which includes both the *vita* and Fulbert's sermon illustrates how the meaning of the tale was shifting from a stand-alone life of a penitent saint into a story told because of its connection to the Virgin Mary.

The Theophilus legend became more and more Marian in emphasis as it spread, suggesting that the tale was deeply connected to ways in which ecclesiastical writers thought about their relationship to the Virgin Mary. It was not uncommon to find an author using the figure of Theophilus as a proxy for their own desire for Mary's intercession in their sermons and hymns in honor of the Virgin. The penitent pose taken by Theophilus before the Madonna, described at length in the *vita* and illustrated in the initial in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Legendary, was a common motif in the art and writing of this period. For instance, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres represented himself in supplication before the Virgin in a fifteen-stanza Latin poem penned in the Virgin's honor, titled, *Oratio domni Fulberti Karnotensis episcopi ad sanctam Mariam matrem*

domini ("A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres).⁶⁹ In the poem, which is not as well known as his sermon, Fulbert portrays himself as a penitent sinner, demonstrating a strong connection between the figure of Theophilus and Fulbert's own personal devotion to the Virgin. In the third stanza of the poem, he writes:

Be sweet and merciful to me, Oh my lady, as you were toward this *vicedominus* Theophilus, who renounced our lord, Jesus Christ, and was granted forgiveness through you.⁷⁰

In the final stanza of the poem, Fulbert employs language that mirrors Theophilus's speech to the Virgin in Paul the Deacon's text:

Holy and immaculate, perpetual Virgin Mary, intercede and pray for me, that the almighty and merciful God may deliver me from diabolical vice, from pride and arrogance, and fill me with the spirit of humility, help me find favor in all things human, so that I will not desire vainglory, and will not try to please human eyes in the open, but in private the divine.⁷¹

⁶⁹ See Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du savior: Des origines à saint Anselme*, 185-03. The poem was published by Yves Delaporte, *Une prière de Saint Fulbert à Notre Dame* (Chartres: Librairie Renier, 1928), 17-19. Fulbert's poem was also copied, but on a smaller scale than his famous sermon. It survives in at least five manuscripts, including: Dijon, MS 30, fol. 141-143 (11th c.), Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 83, f. 7-8 (second half of the 12th c.), Paris, BnF MS lat. 15045, fol. 57-61v (12th c.), Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Genviève 1439, f. 49-51 (13th c.), and Vatican, Reg. lat. 121, f. 249 (14th c.).

⁷⁰ My translation. "Domina mea, sis mitis michi et misericors, sicut fuisti illi vicedomino Theophylo, qui Dominum nostrum Ihesum Xpistum negavit, et per te reconciliari meruit." Delaporte, *Une prière de Saint Fulbert à Notre Dame*, 18.

⁷¹ My translation. "Sancta et immaculate, perpetua virgo Maria, intercede et ora pro me, ut omnipotens et misericors Deus liberet me a pestifero morbo et dyabolico vicio, videlicet spiritu elationis et superbiae, et repleat me spiritu humilitatis, ut in omnibus quae ago humanum favorem non quaeam, nec inanis gloriae cupidus sim, et non studeam humanis oculis placer in aperto, sed divinis in occult," *ibid.*, 19.

Fulbert speaks through Theophilus to express his own desire for the Virgin's intercession, representing himself in verse in the same penitent position that the Saint-Germain-des-Prés illuminator evokes in the initial.⁷²

According to a posthumous legend, Fulbert experienced such a personal connection with the Virgin late in his life, when the Mother of God reportedly visited him at his sickbed and nursed him back to health with her milk. Bishop Fulbert's intimate encounter with the Virgin was recorded by the English Benedictine monk, William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-c. 1143) in his *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.⁷³

Later on, Fulbert was bishop in the same city. His assiduity and learning showed itself especially in his love of St Mary. For example, not content with the traditional rites in honour of the ever-loving virgin, he took particular pains by personal example to see that her Nativity should be celebrated throughout the Latin world. To cap her praises, he composed a sermon and responsories which are so well known that they do not need to be recorded by me.

The excellent Lady, knowing how much she owed to him, and never slow to act, made due return. Once, when he was lying sick and almost at death's door, she visited him in person, and made milk from her breasts fall on his face in his despair, after a friendly exchange in which she asked him kindly why he was so fearful at the apparent nearness of death. Recognizing her face, he replied that he had hopes of *her* mercy, but was afraid of the judgment of her Son: through merciful and well-disposed, He is also truthful and just. She said: 'Do not be afraid, my Fulbert, do not be afraid. I, to whom you have so long given your service, will mediate between you and my Son. And to reassure you about the future, I will now ensure that you make a good recovery from this illness.' No sooner had she spoken when she exposed her breast and let fall upon him three drops of the precious and fragrant liquid, before departing. Fulbert was forthwith

⁷² See William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. and ed. by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, Boydell Medieval Texts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015).

⁷³ William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. and ed. by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, Boydell Medieval Texts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), 37-42.

restored to complete health, and ordered the heavenly substance to be taken up in a silver vessel and preserved as a memento of the event.⁷⁴

William's brief account is notable for two reasons. First, he notes Fulbert's deep devotion to the Virgin and underscores the influence of the Chartrain bishop's work in promoting the cult of the Virgin in the Latin West, especially his influential sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin. Second, William echoes the language of Fulbert's Marian hymn when he describes the bishop's penitential posturing before the Madonna in the miracle of Mary's milk. As William tells it, though Fulbert is confident that the Virgin will look favorably upon him, he is not so sure about her son and so confides his fears for his soul. William thus uses the miracle of the milk to illustrate the power of penitential prayer to the Virgin Mary, for if Bishop Fulbert was unsure of his place in heaven, then surely the majority of Christians needed some insurance as well. Moreover, William of Malmesbury's account of the character of Bishop Fulbert's Marian devotion, which was infused with a penitential spirit, reflects the way the tale was told more widely in the monastic sphere. It

⁷⁴ Posterioribus annis fuit in eadem urbe Fulbertus episcopus, cuius industria et litterarum peritia precipue in amore sanctae Mariae excelluit. Denique, non contentus aeternae Virginis ab antiquo celebratis sollemniis, suo potissimum curauit exemplo ut nativitas eius toto coleretur orbe Latino. Preterea laudum adiecit cumulo sermone et responsoria, quae per se satis nota nostras non desiderant. Huic illa debitor egregia, quia tarditatis nescia tale refudit offitium ut quondam ui ualitudinis decumbentem et iam pene in mortis ianua constitutum ipsa per se uisitare, lac mamillarum fatiei desperantis immulgens, conserto ante sermone amicabili, quo de uicinia mortis suspectum quid ita timeret pie interrogauit. Ille, uultu Dominae agnito, de ipsius misericordia se sperare respondit, sed de Filii eius iudicio timere, quod idem qui sit misericors et propitius sit uerax et iustus. Tum illa: 'Ne timeas, mi Fulberte, ne timeas, inquam. Ego cui tanto tempore detulisti obsequium, mediatrix ero inter te et Filium meum. Et ut certorem te fatiam de futuro, nunc te probe conualescere fatiam ex hoc morbo.' Simulque cum dicto, producta e sinu mamilla, pretiosi et balsamiti liquoris tres guttas super eum iecit, et abiit. Ita confestim integrae incolumitati datus, caeleste nexta uase argenteo excipi et ad memoriam seruari precipit. As translated by Thomson and Winterbottom, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 37

was the synchronous forces of penance and devotion to Mary that inspired ecclesiastical writers to include the Theophilus legend in their sermons and hymns.

By the twelfth century, the performance of penitent prayer before the Virgin was a common motif, enacted by some of the most powerful ecclesiastics in the medieval West. Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, for instance, famously portrayed himself as a supplicant before the Virgin in a window devoted to the Infancy of Christ in the axial chapel of his newly constructed choir (fig. 9).⁷⁵ At the base of the window, in a panel devoted to the Annunciation, Abbot Suger is depicted kneeling at the feet of the Virgin, dressed in ecclesiastical robes and barefoot, his crozier at his side, as he reaches out in penitential prayer toward Mary.⁷⁶ An inscription above his head reads "*SUGERVS ABA*," identifying the figure as the abbot of Saint-Denis.

The panel is one of a series of images and inscriptions through which Abbot Suger marked his presence along the axis of his church.⁷⁷ As Maines has noted, several of

⁷⁵ For the glazing of Saint-Denis, see Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis: Etudes sur le vitrail au XIIIe siècle*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, Études 1 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976); Louis Grodecki, *Études sur les vitraux de Suger à Saint-Denis*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, Études 1 (Paris, 1995). For a reconstruction of the original disposition of the panels of the Infancy window, see Michael W. Cothren, "The Infancy of Christ Window from the Abbey of St.-Denis: A Reconsideration," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 398-419.

⁷⁶ Unfortunately, like so many of the windows from Saint-Denis, this aperture conserves very little twelfth-century glass. The Annunciation panel is no exception, counting among its original glass Suger's head, his hands, the inscription, and the crozier crook. Engravings made prior to the destruction of the glass demonstrate that the window accurately reflects its original appearance. For a discussion of the condition of the windows and their restoration history, see Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis: Etudes sur le vitrail au XIIIe siècle*, 81-92.

⁷⁷ As Maines has shown, there were four images of Abbot Suger and seven inscriptions naming him. Along with the image and inscription in the Annunciation panel, further examples were located on the central portal of the west facade, on the main altar, the foot of the Great Cross, and the Altar of the Martyrs. See Clark Maines, "Good Works, Social Ties, and the Hope for Salvation: Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and*

these inscriptions make explicit reference to Abbot Suger's self-identification as a penitent sinner.⁷⁸ For instance, the lintel of the central portal of the west facade, now destroyed, originally included the following inscription:

Receive, O stern Judge, the
prayers of Thy Suger;
Grant that I be mercifully
numbered among Thy own sheep.⁷⁹

In addition, the main altar was inscribed with words that further echoed Abbot Suger's penitent pose in the Annunciation panel and made clear the role of the Virgin in his salvation:

Make worthy the unworthy through thy indulgence,
O Virgin Mary
May the fountain of mercy cleanse the sins of both the
King and the Abbot.⁸⁰

Like Bishop Fulbert before him, Abbot Suger represented himself as a penitent sinner before Mary. Even though the image in the window at Saint-Denis occurs in the context of the Annunciation, it reflects the flavor of ecclesiastical devotion to the Virgin during the twelfth century, a moment in which the Theophilus legend played an important role.

An illustrative example of the penitential spirit of Marian devotion as it was practiced by ecclesiastics is preserved in a late-twelfth-century manuscript of liturgical and historical texts concerning the great Benedictine monastery at Cluny (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 17716). The miniature depicts a monk, who has been identified as Abbot Peter the

Saint-Denis: A Symposium, ed. Paula Gerson (New York: Harry N. Abrams and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 75.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁷⁹ “Suscipe vota tui, iudex districte, Sugerii; Inter oves proprias fac me clementer haberi.” Translation by Maines. See *ibid.*, 79 and 85-86.

⁸⁰ “Indignos venia fac dignos, Virgo Maria. Regis et abbatis mala mundet fons pietatis” Translation by Maines. See *ibid.*, 79

Venerable of Cluny, in a similar pose as Theophilus and Suger (fig. 10).⁸¹ The monk kneels at the feet of the Virgin, who holds the Christ Child in one arm and grasps the end of a scroll, which reads, *Mat[er] mis[ericord]iae, Spes [nostra], et via venire, pia pius, [ora] pro nob[is], ex ora filium* ("Mother of Mercy, you who are the hope and the path of Grace, O pious lady, pray for us before your Son"). The combination of penitent sinner and the Virgin holding a scroll calls to mind the representations of the Theophilus legend depicted in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés initial (fig. 8).

Though they have no direct connection to the depiction of Theophilus in the eleventh-century initial, the penitent figures of the prominent Benedictine monks discussed above stem from the same tradition. Familiarity with both the Latin *vita* and Fulbert's sermon inspired numerous ecclesiastical authors to incorporate the Theophilus legend into their sermons and hymns over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For example, an early edition of the legend was recorded in Latin verse by Marbode of Rennes (ca. 1035-1123), who served as a teacher and master of the cathedral school at Angers, before being elected bishop of Rennes in 1096.⁸² The poem follows the Latin *vita* closely and makes direct reference to Paul the Deacon of Naples as the scribe from whom he copied with the line "*Hinc Paulus scribit.*"⁸³ Marbode, thus, treats the

⁸¹ The manuscript was produced at Cluny, but subsequently ended up in the monastery church of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris. See Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), I. ill. 226-28 and II, n. 93. According to Iogna-Prat, the manuscript may have been copied for William II, Abbot of Cluny (1207-1215), who had been a prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. See Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Études Cluniacensis abbatis* (Paris, 2002), 29-32.

⁸² Marbode's text is preserved in one twelfth-century manuscript (Brussels, KBR MS 08883-08894 (3219), fols. 14v-25v). His Latin verse is published in BHL: Col. 1593A-1604C. For background on Marbode, see L. Ernault, *Marbode, eveque de Rennes. Sa vie et ses oeuvres (1035-1123)* (Rennes, 1890).

⁸³ BHL 1599D.

legend as the Life of Saint Theophilus, rather than incorporating the tale into a Marian context. By the twelfth century, by comparison, most references to the Theophilus legend follow Fulbert's lead and insert the tale into sermons or hymns devoted to the Virgin Mary.

Twelfth-century authors responded to the flexibility of the Theophilus legend, using it to highlight various aspects of their sermons. For example, the theologian Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis), who was active in the early twelfth century, engages the story in two different sermons, which demonstrate the double meaning of the legend as a tale told to illustrate themes connected to penance and the Virgin Mary. In the first, a sermon written ca. 1120 for the first Sunday of Lent, the opening of the penitential season, Honorius includes Theophilus as part of a list of penitential sinners.⁸⁴ By contrast, he includes a longer version of the Theophilus legend in the second sermon, which was written for the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption.⁸⁵

Following Bishop Fulbert, theologians also turned to the Theophilus legend to highlight the Virgin Mary's role as an intercessor. For instance, the Benedictine monk Geoffrey of Vendôme (1093-1132) included the legend in an all-purpose Marian sermon titled "*In omni festivitate B. Mariae Matris Domini*."⁸⁶ Toward the end of the sermon, Geoffrey transitions from a discussion of Mary's function as the vessel of Christ's

⁸⁴ *PL* 172, col. 879-884. For a discussion of this sermon, see Carol Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac" (Ph.D., University of California, 1992), 69.

⁸⁵ *PL* 172, col. 992-994. For the connection between this sermon and the stained glass windows at Laon Cathedral, see Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 54 (2000): 262; For a discussion of the sermon, see Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 76.

⁸⁶ For the text of the sermon, see *PL* 157: Col. 266D. The reference to the Theophilus legend occurs at Col. 269D.

Incarnation to her intercessory role. Notably, Geoffrey leads up to the Theophilus legend with a discussion of the Wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11), the New Testament episode describing the first miracle performed by Jesus and the Virgin's earliest mediation between her son and humanity. According to the gospel, when the wedding party ran out of wine, it was Mary who convinced Jesus to act and turn the water into wine. Peter Abelard (1079-1142) took a similar tack in a sermon written for the Assumption of the Virgin.⁸⁷ Toward the end of the sermon, he shifts to the intercessory role that Mary could now serve from her place in heaven at Christ's side. Like Geoffrey, Abelard cites the Wedding at Cana as his primary example of Mary's intercessory power, before turning to the figure of Theophilus. Thus, by the twelfth century, the Theophilus legend began to take on new significance in the Latin tradition as the Virgin Mary's most important posthumous miracle, a meaning which will be solidified in the visual arts.

This chapter has traced the textual transmission of the Theophilus legend across monastic Europe between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the period leading up to the legend's entry into the visual arts. As we will see in the following chapters, the picturing of the Theophilus legend happened slowly over the course of the twelfth century and then exploded around the turn of the thirteenth century, especially in stained glass and illuminated manuscripts. Though numerous ecclesiastic writers cited the Theophilus legend during the period spanning the ninth through the twelfth centuries, the versions told in the *vita* and in Bishop Fulbert of Chartres' sermon were by far the most influential, copied continuously in manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages. As the following chapter demonstrates, the Theophilus legend occupied a central place in the ecclesiastical

⁸⁷ *PL* 178, Col. 539B-546B. The Theophilus reference is found at Col. 545C.

imagination, inspiring a dynamic visual tradition encompassing the penitential meaning of the legend and its strong connection to the Virgin Mary.

Chapter Two

From the Psalter to Souillac: The Twelfth-Century Beginnings of a Visual Tradition for the Theophilus Legend

*Dum lacrimando gemit Theophilus acta redimit.
In veniens veniam dulcem rogando Mariam.*

(“While he groans in tears, Theophilus redeems his [sinful] deeds, finding pardon by praying to sweet Mary.”)¹

The above inscription, from a late-twelfth-century window once displayed in Canterbury Cathedral, encapsulates the penitential meaning that the Theophilus legend had for its earliest audiences in the Latin West. In addition, the inscription emphasizes the role played by the Virgin Mary in the redemptive process. Image-makers drew upon both of these themes as they brought to life a pictorial tradition for the Theophilus legend during the twelfth century. By this time the legend was well known among ecclesiastical audiences in northern Europe, a group for whom the figure of Theophilus functioned as a stand-in for their own devotion and penitential prayers to the Virgin Mary. This chapter demonstrates how themes connected to penance, devotion to the Virgin Mary, and ecclesiastic familiarity with the Theophilus legend combined in the earliest representations of the tale in the visual arts. The known and extant examples of the story from the twelfth century include the lost panel from Canterbury Cathedral noted above, a handful of illuminated psalters, and a relief from the Abbey Church of Sainte-Marie in Souillac. Though few in number, these examples provide revealing glimpses of the

¹ Transcription and translation from Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain II (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 144-48.

meaning the Theophilus legend had for its twelfth-century ecclesiastical audiences in the years when image-makers first began to picture the tale.

The function of the Theophilus legend as an exemplar of penitential prayer helps explain the inclusion of one scene from the tale in a panel from a lost window glazed for the south-east transept of Canterbury Cathedral by 1179.² Judging from the recorded inscription, it is likely that the lost panel contained a depiction of Theophilus kneeling in prayer before the Virgin Mary, perhaps comparable to the eleventh-century initial from the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Legendary (fig. 8).³ The Canterbury Theophilus panel represents the only scene from the legend included in this aperture, the tenth in a series of twelve typological windows displayed in the south-east transept, part of a program that Madeline H. Caviness has described as "a liturgical cycle, comprising Advent, Lent, and Easter festivals."⁴ The tenth window, according to her proposed reconstruction of the armature, was divided into three large circles stacked vertically, each subdivided into two smaller circles arranged horizontally inside the larger spheres (fig. 11).⁵ The Theophilus

² As noted in the Introduction, the Theophilus legend was in circulation in England as early as the eleventh century, however, to my knowledge, this is the earliest known visual representation of the story in the visual arts on this side of the English Channel.

³ Caviness reconstructed the program of the lower windows in the choir aisles, presbytery aisles, and eastern transepts of Canterbury Cathedral based on the descriptions of the windows and transcriptions of their accompanying inscriptions recorded in three medieval manuscripts. The first is a codex dating to the late thirteenth century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 400, part iv, 121-7); the second is an early-fourteenth-century roll titled *Fenestrae in superiori parte ecclesiae Christi Cant. incipientes a parte septentrionali* (Canterbury, Cathedral Archives and Library, MS C246); and the third, is a fifteenth-century chronicle by William Glastynbury, a monk from Christ Church, Canterbury (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 256, ff. 185v-188). See *ibid.*, 80.

⁴ Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, 80.

⁵ The window measured 5.134 meters (about 17 ft.) in height and 2.312 meters (7.5 ft.) in width, while the concave area containing the smaller circles measured 1.422 meters (4.6 ft.) in height and 0.813 meters (2.6 ft.) in width. *Ibid.*, 144-45.

scene was displayed in the small round panel numbered thirty-eight, located in the concave space in between the two upper spheres. The window as a whole, as Caviness has interpreted it, "takes up the Lenten theme, with a treatment of the kinds of sin as a prelude to the *Entry into Jerusalem*, or the beginning of the Easter Cycle."⁶ In this liturgical context, Theophilus stood as an exemplary figure of the penitent sinner, a meaning underscored by the pairing of this scene with panel number thirty-four, the small round panel dedicated to King Solomon that was located in the corresponding concave area on the left side of the window. According to the recorded inscription, this panel depicted:

*Errat femineo Salomon deceptus amore.
Errorem redimit mens sancto tacta dolore.*

(Solomon, deceived by a woman's love, sins;
his heart touched by holy grief redeems his sin.)⁷

The Theophilus and Solomon panels were both examples "of sin acted upon but repented," thus, appropriate subjects for a window organized around penitential themes.⁸

That the lost Canterbury Theophilus panel reflects an ecclesiastical understanding of the legend is demonstrated not only by the pairing of the penitent apostate with King Solomon, but also by the juxtaposition of the Theophilus panel with a scene from the Life of St. Mary of Egypt, who repented after a life lived as a prostitute and whose conversion was, like that of Theophilus, mediated by the Mother of God.⁹ At Canterbury, the

⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁷ Ibid., 145.

⁸ Ibid., 146.

⁹ For the Life of Mary of Egypt, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, 227-29.

Theophilus scene was placed just above a panel depicting Mary of Egypt (panel 27), which was originally found in the right roundel inscribed inside the central sphere (fig. 11). Although Caviness has noted that it is rare to find the Life of Mary of Egypt depicted in the visual arts, it should not surprise us to find her story represented alongside the Theophilus legend, as the two *vitae* were linked as early as the ninth century, when both were transmitted to the Latin West from the Greek East as a pair of penitential saints' lives.¹⁰ Though lost, the Canterbury Theophilus panel exemplifies the way that this ecclesiastical, often monastic context acted as a catalyst for the earliest depictions of the legend in the visual arts.

The Theophilus legend in the Psalter

In addition to the lost Canterbury panel, one of the earliest traces of a pictorial tradition for the Theophilus legend is found in a small cluster of illuminated psalters produced in northern France and Flanders in the last decades of the twelfth century, including a psalter fragment produced at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F5), the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695), and a related psalter (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 238). The psalters discussed in this section offer valuable insights into the particular aspects of the Theophilus legend that stood out to image-makers depicting the tale in the decades just before the story

¹⁰ For the rarity of the Life of Saint Mary of Egypt in the visual arts, see Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, 146. For the transmission of the Theophilus legend and the Life of Mary of Egypt to the Latin West as a pair of saints' lives in the ninth century, see the Introduction, 6-9.

established a recognizable pictorial tradition. The choices made by the illuminators reflect a monastic understanding of the legend as a story of redemptive prayer.¹¹

Given how widespread the *vita* of Saint Theophilus was in manuscripts of saints' lives produced in the monastic sphere, it was inevitable that tale would be depicted in an illuminated psalter. Used daily in medieval monasteries, psalters contained the psalms of the Hebrew Bible, which monks recited over the course of the week.¹² Psalters were produced in monastic scriptoria and used primarily by ecclesiastics until the thirteenth century, when they became popular with lay patrons.¹³ For novice monks, psalters also served as textbooks as they learned to read.¹⁴ As Joseph Dyer has noted, "Memorization

¹¹ For the argument that manuscripts were produced mainly in the monastic sphere through the end of the twelfth century, see Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 10. Also see Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), I: 20.

¹² Psalters might also include a selection of additional texts including a calendar, the litany of the saints, private prayers, the Hours of the Virgin Mary, and the Office of the Dead. For an introduction to the Psalter, see Victor Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Mâcon: Impr. Protat frères, 1940-41), I: c-cxxxvi. Also see F. O. Büttner, "Der illuminierte Psalter im Western," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 1-106.

¹³ See Nigel J. Morgan and Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Manuscript Illumination of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 148. Also see Adelaide Bennett, "The Transformation of the Gothic Psalter in Thirteenth-Century France," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 211.

¹⁴ For the place of the Psalms in Western monasticism, see James W. McKinnon, "The Book of Psalms, Monasticism, and the Western Liturgy," in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 43-58; Joseph Dyer, "The Psalms in Monastic Prayer," in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York, 1999), 59-89; Susan Boynton, "The Bible and the Liturgy," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J.

of the psalter was a virtually universal monastic requirement...Once committed to memory, the psalms were ever at ready for prayer and the exercise known as "meditation" (*ruminatio*): the constant, slow repetition of scriptural passages aloud."¹⁵ Thus, the psalter was woven into the everyday background of monastic life.

The psalter fragment produced between 1180 and 1200 at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer (The Hague, KB, MS 76 F5) is a particularly useful example of how the Theophilus legend may have found its way into the prefatory cycle of a psalter. The manuscript contains forty-five full-page miniatures, including episodes from the Old and New Testaments, as well as Marian imagery, portraits of the saints, and scenes from their lives and martyrdoms.¹⁶ The Theophilus legend is illustrated toward the end of the hagiography section, grouped with another Marian miracle, the story of a monk saved by the Virgin Mary's milk.¹⁷ The Hague Psalter illustrates the Theophilus legend with five registers stretched across two pages with accompanying Latin inscriptions written along the frames (figs. 12-13). The scenes represent meaningful anomalies within the corpus of

Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 13-19. Also see idem., "Prayer as Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 895-931.

¹⁵ Dyer, "The Psalms in Monastic Prayer," 59.

¹⁶ For the dates of the manuscript and a description of its contents, see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, II, cat. 138, 65-67; Hans Brandhorst, "The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 76 F5: A Psalter Fragment?," *Visual Resources* 19, no. 1 (2003): 15-25.

¹⁷ The monk saved by the Virgin's milk bears a strong resemblance to the figure of Theophilus in the following scenes. The particular juxtaposition of these two Marian miracles raises the question of whether they were linked in the imagination of the image-maker, who was undoubtedly a monk. Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, who was associated with the Theophilus legend as a consequence of widely copied sermon on the Virgin's Nativity, was also known posthumously as the recipient of this very miracle, as noted in Chapter One.

Theophilus imagery, reflecting the penitential lens through which the legend was told in northern Europe before the thirteenth century.

In the Hague Psalter, the Theophilus legend begins with an unusual interpretation of the scene in which the *vicedominus* turns down the promotion to bishop and is subsequently dismissed from his post (fig. 12). Dressed in a short, green tunic and marked with a tonsure, Theophilus is represented standing with his hands clasped in prayer before a seated bishop, who glances toward the left margin of the page, gesturing to a figure or group of figures not pictured. On the right side of the scene, a hairy, hooked-nosed devil leads Theophilus away from the bishop with a rope tied around his neck.¹⁸ The Latin inscription accompanying this scene, "*Gloria Theophili tenebrescit nomine vili*" ("The good name of Theophilus is sullied"), reflects the change in the state of Theophilus's soul that is reflected in the image as his figure is dragged unwillingly by the devil into apostasy. The direct interaction between Theophilus and the devil continues in the following scene, where the apostate is depicted making a gesture of fealty before his new master (fig. 12). The inscription reads "*Cum dolor hunc vincit pact(um) cu(m) demone ivungit*" ("When sorrow conquers him, he makes a pact with the devil"). Thus, the text reflects a similar sensibility, pointing toward Theophilus's personal misery as he stands as an apostate before the devil. In the monastic context in which this manuscript was produced, Theophilus's internal struggle to resist sin and the devil would have been understood as a personal, interior battle.¹⁹

¹⁸ To the best of my knowledge, this is the only example of Theophilus bound by the devil in any known representation of the legend.

¹⁹ Chapter Four includes a comprehensive discussion of the development of the character of the Jewish magician in the visual arts and the connection of this figure to the anti-Jewish sentiment in northern Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For

The remaining episodes from the Theophilus legend in the Hague Psalter are depicted in three interconnected registers on the recto of folio 42 (fig. 13). The top register contains two mirrored scenes in which Theophilus kneels in prayer before a church, from which the Virgin Mary's haloed head is visible peering down at the supplicant from the window of a small tower. The penitential theme of the scene is underscored by the inscription, "*Mox flet opemq(ue) pie petit exoratq(ue) Marie*" ("Soon he weeps and implores Mary for help"), which describes the tears of contrition cried by the apostate sinner. The penitential meaning of the Theophilus legend in this manuscript is further emphasized by a second instance of the bound-sinner motif, in this case, depicting Theophilus with an even stronger, thicker rope around his neck than in the previous scene. Standing in the margin of the lower frame, the devil pulls on the rope, as if Theophilus was a marionette on a string. The devil is connected to scene above in which Theophilus kneels in prayer outside the church, pictured at the beginning of his path to salvation, the rope signifying that he was still the vassal of the devil. In the mirrored scene on the right, by contrast, Theophilus has been freed from his sinful bond and kneels in prayer before the same church. In the last scenes, the hand of God, or perhaps the Virgin, reaches down from heaven to return the pact to Theophilus, who, in the final register, kneels before a bishop to confess and receive communion.²⁰

the internal struggle of monks against sin, see Thomas E. A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michael-de-Cuxa," *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (2001): 402-36.

²⁰ The short inscription beneath the lower left register relates to the Virgin's return of the pact to Theophilus, "*Q(uo)d fuit erratu(m) v(ir)go docet esse piatu(m)*" (The Virgin confirms that the transgression has been forgiven). The final register is accompanied by the inscription "*Exule merore su(m)mo [sic] fruitur meliore / Increpat usque moram peccata fatens sua coram*" (The great sorrow of the exiled sinner is ameliorated/ Chastised and moved, he confesses his sins openly).

Ecclesiastical exegesis on the psalms and the monastic practice of penance help explain the interpretation of the Theophilus legend in the Hague Psalter. Though the boundary between the everyday discipline prescribed by the rule of Saint Benedict and the formal practice of penance was not always clear, various forms of penance were performed by medieval monks for serious sins.²¹ As Sarah Hamilton has put it, "for any community living in accordance with a rule there had to be a procedure for those who offended against it."²² The punishment for the gravest of sins was called *excommunicatio* (excommunication), according to which the guilty monk was exiled from the life of the monastery:

The disciplinary procedure for grave faults ends either with the excommunicate being expelled, if he refuses to make amends, or being reconciled, if he makes satisfaction for his fault. He should do so by lying prostrate outside the oratory doors during prayer and prostrating himself at the feet of all the other members of the community as they leave the oratory. When the abbot judges that satisfaction has been done, the excommunicate should appear and prostrate himself at the feet of the abbot and all the community and then he may be accepted back into the community.²³

This description of the expelled monk lying prostrate outside the church echoes with the depiction of Theophilus kneeling outside the church in the Hague Psalter. Moreover, Theophilus's penitent appearance before the congregation to confess and receive communion is in line with Hamilton's description of the way in which an expelled monk must prostrate himself before the abbot and the community before being readmitted to the fold.

²¹ For an overview of penance as practiced by monks, see Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 81-94.

²² *Ibid.*, 77.

²³ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

The images of Theophilus bound by the devil in the Hague Psalter suggest further connections to ecclesiastical thinking about penance and the psalms. A penitential prayer recorded in a tenth-century pontifical from Aurillac, for example, describes Saint Peter's power to bind and free the sinner:

Lord Jesus Christ who washed away...the sins of the world and who said to his disciplines: Whoever is bound on earth shall be bound in heaven and whoever is loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven; among whose number, he has dained me to be placed, although unworthy as I am of this ministry, interceding through Mary, the Mother of God and St. Peter, the Apostle, to whom was given the power to bind and to loose, and to all saints: thus by my ministry, from all your sins, whether in thought, word or in deed heedlessly carried out, you are absolved by the intervention of his sacred blood, which was poured out in remission of sins and from the chains of sin you are worthy to be led absolved into the reign of heaven.²⁴

These "chains of sin" are depicted quite literally in the Hague Psalter. There is evidence that pilgrims wore chains on their penitent journeys, which were removed once they reached their destination and received absolution for their sins. This practice is recorded at the Marian shrine at Rocamadour, where pilgrims reportedly wore small chains called *catenulae* on their journeys, which they left behind in the chapel devoted to the Virgin.²⁵

The motif of the bound sinner was common in exegesis on the psalms and in other patristic commentaries. Heather Pulliam has noted a tendency for ecclesiastical writers to

²⁴ As cited by Carol Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac" (Ph.D., University of California, 1992), 72. According to the manuscript in which the prayer is recorded, the priest would recite this passage just before sprinkling the penitents with holy water. The prayer is found in Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 34, f. 4v.

²⁵ Edmond Albe, *Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, Les Grands Pèlerinages de France (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1923), 20-25. Also see Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 77.

describe sin as "ropes or bonds of man's own making," an interpretation that resonates with the depiction of Theophilus ensnared by the devil in the Hague Psalter.²⁶ In her work on the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibl. municipale MS 18), a manuscript dating to ca. 800, Pulliam has noted a multitude of initials depicting creatures bound by ropes, and beasts tangled in their own limbs, tails, and tongues. She connects this imagery to the metaphorical use of bound and chained figures in early medieval exegesis on the psalms.²⁷ In the Corbie Psalter, for example, the inhabited initials focus the reader's attention on the words of the psalm, which warn of the danger of being entangled in sin. At Psalm 72, for instance, the initial "Q" of the opening line "*Quam bonus Israel Deus*" (How Good is God to Israel) depicts a man who is doubly bound, first by his beard, which wraps around his right hand, and secondly by his long hair, grasped by the angel standing above in the space of the initial (fig. 14). As Pulliam has noted, this initial illustrates the part of the psalm concerned with the subject of binding, "For my heart hath been inflamed, and my reins have been changed...I am become a beast before thee...by thy will thou hast conducted me" (Psalm 72: 21-24)²⁸ Though the Theophilus scenes in the Hague Psalter were part of a prefatory cycle of full-page miniatures and thus were

²⁶ She cites examples of the use of this metaphor in the work of Gregory, Cassiodorus, Augustine, Bede, and others. Heather Pulliam, "Eloquent Ornament: Exegesis and Entanglement in the Corbie Psalter," in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 29.

²⁷ For the date and the place of production of the Corbie Psalter, see Bernard Meehan, "The Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter (with a Note on Harley 2788)," in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 12-23. For the prevalence of the entanglement theme in the psalter's initials, see Pulliam, "Eloquent Ornament: Exegesis and Entanglement in the Corbie Psalter," 24-33.

²⁸ Pulliam, "Eloquent Ornament: Exegesis and Entanglement in the Corbie Psalter," 30. Pulliam cites folio 101r for this initial, but according to the Enluminures Database directed by the Service du livre et de la lecture and IRHT (www.enluminures.culture.fr) the initial is found on folio 64).

not embedded within the text of the psalms, they reflect a similar sensibility, presenting the penitent Theophilus as a figure bound by his own sin.

Illuminated manuscripts produced in monastic scriptoria during the Romanesque period preserve numerous representations of the bound sinner motif. For example, an eleventh-century manuscript of works by Boethius and Augustine, from the Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre at Jumièges (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 481), contains an historiated initial “N” depicting a man ensnared by a devilish figure standing in the lower portion of the letter (fig. 15). An additional example is preserved in a late twelfth-century psalter from the abbey of Saint Fuscien in Amiens (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 19). In this case, the scene depicting sinners at the Last Judgment includes a bishop, a monk, and a king, all bound by a devil as they wait to be tossed into the gaping hellmouth in the lower register of the miniature (fig. 16).²⁹ One later example, from a Psalter-Hours from Liège (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 183, f. 285v), which dates to the 1280s, follows the example set forth in the Hague Psalter and incorporates the binding motif into the context of the Theophilus legend (fig. 17).³⁰ In this case, it is the devil that is bound by the cord held by the Virgin Mary, depicted in one of the round areas formed by the vegetation along the left border. Thus, while the depictions of Theophilus bound by the devil in the Hague Psalter are unusual within the larger corpus of visual representations of the legend, the binding motif is related to a long-standing exegetical tradition, found in both texts and images, in which humans, and

²⁹ For a description of this manuscript, see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, II, 162-63.

³⁰ In this manuscript and a group of related examples from thirteenth-century Liège, the Theophilus legend is typically illustrated in the context of the Aves. See Judith H. Oliver, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liege: c. 1250-c. 1300* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 278-80.

in the case of the Morgan Psalter-Hours even the devil, are represented ensnared in ropes and chains, symbolizing the struggle of humanity against sin.

As in the lost Canterbury panel and the miniatures in the Hague Psalter, the Theophilus scenes represented in the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 9) are explained by the penitential meaning of the tale (figs. 18-19). In the Ingeborg Psalter, the Theophilus legend is illustrated at the end of the prefatory cycle (fol.s. 35v-36r), just before the Beatus page signaling the opening of Psalm 1, which is marked with an historiated initial "B" depicting scenes from the life of King David (fol. 37v). The placement of the Theophilus legend at the previous opening, I argue, forms a thematic link between the figure of the penitent Theophilus and that of King David, who was also known to medieval audiences as an exemplar of the repentant sinner. In addition, the Theophilus legend is grouped with scenes from the life of the Virgin, foreshadowing the way the tale will be told in the visual arts by the thirteenth century.

The Ingeborg Psalter is a sumptuous manuscript, which includes an extensive prefatory cycle of full-page miniatures depicting scenes from the Old Testament (fols. 10v-14v), followed by a long series of episodes from the New Testament (fols. 10v-36r), all of which are beautifully rendered against a glittering gold ground. The psalter is named for its association with Queen Ingeborg of Denmark, who may have received the book as a wedding gift in 1193 when she married King Philip Augustus of France (1179-1223).³¹ It is generally agreed that the manuscript was produced during the king's reign,

³¹ Philip Augustus requested an annulment immediately following their wedding, sending his bride into exile while he pursued another marriage. For an account of the scandal, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 133.

although there has been a great deal of scholarly debate regarding the exact date that it was finished and presented to the queen.³² The presence of the obits of Ingeborg's parents in the calendar have caused some art historians to argue that the psalter was produced as late as 1213, after the king and queen were reconciled following Ingeborg's exile.³³ By contrast, Florens Deuchler, who believed the obits were later additions to the calendar, has convincingly argued for an earlier date based on stylistic affinities between the illuminations in the Ingeborg Psalter and the sculpture and glass at Laon Cathedral.³⁴ The very presence of the Theophilus legend in the psalter and the way in which the

³² For a review of the issues related the date of the Ingeborg Psalter, see Kathleen S. Schowalter, "The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan, *The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 101.

³³ The obits record the death of Ingeborg's parents and her acquaintance Eleanor of Vermandois, as well as the date of Philip Augustus' victory at the Battle of Bouvines in 1214. See *ibid.*, 101, n. 14. According to Delisle, the obits were written in the same hand, which meant that the manuscript could not have reached Ingeborg until 1214. See Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur le Psautier d'Ingeburge," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 20(1866/67): 202-03. Branner also favored a later date, suggesting that the psalter was produced with a royal patron in mind, but a general one. According to his argument, Ingeborg would have received her book after 1213, upon her reinstatement to the throne. See Robert Branner, "Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, ed. François Avril (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 175-78. More recently, Merrill has identified two different hands in the obits, suggesting that Ingeborg received her psalter sometime between 1198 and 1213. See Allison Ann Merrill, "A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier" (Columbia University, 1994), 253-63.

³⁴ For Deuchler's argument for a date in the 1190s, see Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), 149-51, n. 254. Following Deuchler, Kasarska has noted stylistic affinities between the miniatures and the sculpture on the west facade of Laon Cathedral. See Iliana Kasarska, *La sculpture de la façade de la cathédrale de Laon: eschatology et humanisme* (Paris: Picard, 2008), 215-16. Other scholars have settled on a date close to the year 1200. Avril dated the Ingeborg Psalter to ca. 1200, based on her identification of an atelier based in the diocese of Noyon, which also produced the Noyon Psalter (L.A., J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 66). See François Avril, "L'atelier du Psautier d'Ingeburge: problèmes de localisation et de datation," in *Art, Objets d'art, collections: Etudes sur l'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance sur l'histoire du goût et des collections*, ed. Bruno Pfäffli (Paris: Blanchard, 1987), 16-21. For an attribution of the manuscript to the diocese of Noyon around 1200, also see Merrill, "A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier," 425-94.

illuminators told the tale, in particular the link between Theophilus and King David, supports Deuchler's argument for an earlier date, and points toward a monastic context for the book's production. Given what we know about the patronage history of Philip Augustus, it seems reasonable to assume that the manuscript was designed in a monastic scriptoria for the king and then later given to Queen Ingeborg.³⁵

The Theophilus legend is told with four scenes represented on two facing pages with coordinating inscriptions in French (fols. 35v-36r).³⁶ The first scene, in the upper register of the verso of folio 35, depicts the pact between Theophilus and a dark-skinned, hairy, horned devil. The devil holds a scroll inscribed "*Ego su[m] homo tuus*" ("I am your man") and accepts a gesture of fealty from the kneeling apostate (fig. 18). In this first scene, Theophilus has shed a red garment, which is crumpled in a heap on the ground, to signify the rejection of his Christian faith, a term of his deal with the devil. The French inscription accompanying this scene reads simply, "*Si come teophilus fait ommaige au deable*" ("Here, Theophilus swears homage to the devil"). In the following scene, depicted in the register below, Theophilus wears the red garment as he prays before an image of the Virgin, who in turn, is presented as a bust-length figure, gesturing toward

³⁵ For the question of whether Ingeborg or an ecclesiastical advisor designed the psalter, see Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons," 133. For the patronage history of Philip Augustus, in particular his financial support of the glazing program at Soissons cathedral between 1201 and 1223, see idem., "Modular Assemblages: Reconstructing the Choir Clerestory Glazing of Soissons Cathedral," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 48 (1990): 66.

³⁶ According to Deuchler, the gold script of the vernacular *tituli* are written in the same script as the obits of Ingeborg's parents that were added to the calendar, thus providing another personal link between the manuscript and its eventual owner. See Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, 132-33.

the penitent sinner.³⁷ The facing page depicts the Virgin retrieving the pact from the devil in the top register and returning it to the sleeping Theophilus in the bottom scene (fig. 19).³⁸

The presence of the Theophilus legend in the prefatory cycle of the Ingeborg Psalter has puzzled scholars. This confusion, however, has to do with the common misconception that the legend is a vernacular story made popular in the thirteenth century, rather than a much older hagiographical legend that circulated primarily among monks and other ecclesiastics. This premise led Deuchler to explain the inclusion of the Theophilus legend in the Ingeborg Psalter by looking forward to Gautier de Coincy's vernacular version of the tale from the 1220s, written in French verse.³⁹ Another possible explanation was suggested by Caviness, who made a connection between the figure of Theophilus and the marital drama between Ingeborg and Philip Augustus, citing a legendary account that the king rejected his bride because he was possessed by the devil.⁴⁰ As I have argued above, however, the Theophilus legend makes sense in the

³⁷ The French inscription reads " *Si come teophilus se repe(n)t. et il prie merci. et mada(n)me sainte marie saparut a lui*" (Here, Theophilus repents, prays for mercy, and the Virgin appears to him).

³⁸ The French inscription for the third scene reads, "*Si come mada(n)me sainte marie. tout le deable la charte*" (Here, the Virgin Mary takes the charter from the devil). The fourth scene is inscribed "*Si come mada(n)me sainte marie raporte la chartre*" (Here, the Virgin returns the charter).

³⁹ He also cites later mystery plays as a possible source. See Florens Deuchler, *Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift Psalter d'Ingeburge de Danemark = Ingeborg psalter : MS. 9 olim 1695, aus dem Besitz des Musée Condé, Chantilly*, 2 vols., Volumen LXXX der Reihe *Codices Selecti* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1985), 67-68. See Chapter Four for a discussion of Gautier de Coincy's Theophilus legend.

⁴⁰ See Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons," 133.

context of a psalter once we understand how and why the tale was told in the twelfth century.

The linking of the figure of Theophilus with King David, for instance, suggests that the designer of the Ingeborg Psalter associated the apostate sinner with penance, as was evident in the Canterbury panel and in the Hague Psalter. In the Ingeborg Psalter, the scenes from the life of King David are depicted inside the historiated "B" of the Beatus initial that marks the start of Psalm 1 on the folio following directly after the Theophilus legend (fig. 20).⁴¹ The juxtaposition of the figure of Theophilus and King David, the latter of whom was known to medieval audiences as a repentant sinner, guilty of both adultery and murder, emphasizes the penitential theme of the legend.⁴² As Adelaide Bennett has noted, "The psalter was a form of penitential book, and its ascribed author, David, was regarded as the paragon of the repentant sinner."⁴³ As such, scenes from the life of the biblical king were frequently placed throughout an illuminated psalter, depicted inside the historiated initials marking the beginning of an individual psalm, or in the miniatures placed at the divisions between a group of psalms.⁴⁴ For example, an

⁴¹ The scenes include a representation of Samuel anointing David and David versus Goliath.

⁴² King David's adultery with Bathsheba and his murder of Uriah are recounted in the Book of Samuel, chapter 2, verse 11.

⁴³ Bennett, "The Transformation of the Gothic Psalter in Thirteenth-Century France," 213-14.

⁴⁴ The practice of marking the divisions between the psalms with historiated initials grew out of the daily practice of reciting all 150 psalms. By the time Saint Benedict wrote his rule in the sixth century, the daily recitation of the entire psalter was not manageable, which led to the division of the psalms into more reasonable groups distributed over the course of the week and year. It was common to find initials decorated with animals or geometric interlace as early as the seventh century, and filled with human figures by the tenth century. For development of the illuminated psalter tradition, see Rosemary Muir Wright, "Introducing the Medieval Psalter," in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), 2. Also

initial found in the Noyon Psalter (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 66, fol. 41v.), a manuscript dated to ca. 1205, which has been attributed to the Master of the Ingeborg Psalter, resonates with the thematic connection between Theophilus and King David in the Ingeborg Psalter.⁴⁵ The large, initial "D" marking the beginning of Psalm 38 contains an illustration of King David holding a scepter and pointing to his mouth, as an angel appears from the clouds and points to the king's eye (fig. 21). To his right, stands a devil bearing a strong resemblance to the striped, hairy beasts that confront Theophilus and the Virgin in the Ingeborg Psalter. King David's gesture toward his mouth makes a direct reference to one of the first lines of the psalm, "*Dixi: custodiam via meas; locutus sum in lingua mea; posui ori meo custodiam cum consisteret peccator adversum me*" (I said, I will take heed to my ways; that I sin not with my tongue. I have set guard to my mouth, when the sinner stood against me.).⁴⁶ King David's interior struggle is embodied by the devil in the Noyon Psalter, resonating with the depiction of Theophilus clasping hands with a similar beast in the Ingeborg Psalter (fig. 19).

Thus, Theophilus and King David were inevitable bedfellows in the context of the illuminated psalter. As Pulliam has noted, "Both the psalms and patristic commentary

see Stella Panayotova, "The Illustrated Psalter: Luxury and Liturgical Use," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 250. R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), 121-40. For an explanation of Psalm divisions and their use in the liturgy, also see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 226-31.

⁴⁵ The Noyon Psalter features a series of large initials marking the divisions between groups of psalms, found marking Psalms 1, 26, 38, 51, 68, 80, 97, 101, and 109. For the illustrations found in the Noyon Psalter, see Merrill, "A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier," 117-32.

⁴⁶ The illuminator of the Noyon Psalter frequently used the figure of King David to illustrate the first lines of the psalm. See *ibid.*, 117.

emphasize that man by his nature stumbles, and those who fall down and cannot rise are the wicked who trust in their own might, while the penitent and humble man relies upon God's strength when he begins to fall and thereby is saved."⁴⁷ The metaphor of a sinner who fell, but was not fallen is at the heart of the Theophilus legend. This idea was depicted in literal fashion in a leaf from a psalter fragment painted in Oxford around 1240 by William de Braile's (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 330), where we find the Theophilus legend was inscribed around a Wheel of Fortune (fig. 22).⁴⁸

De Brailes's inventive telling of the Theophilus legend is spun around the inner ring of a full-page illustration of the Wheel of Fortune that was once part of the prefatory cycle for a psalter. Fortune, personified as a female figure, turns the wheel clockwise from her seated position at the hub. The outer wheel consists of sixteen medallions representing the Ages of Man, beginning at lower left with the woman holding a banner inscribed "*Incipit rota fortunae* (Here, begins the Wheel of Fortune)."⁴⁹ In the inner ring, eight medallions recount the Theophilus legend, beginning at one o'clock with the scene in which Theophilus turns down the promotion to bishop and starts his fall into

⁴⁷ Pulliam, "Eloquent Ornament: Exegesis and Entanglement in the Corbie Psalter," 25-26, at note 8. She cites Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 72.8 (*PL*, 36, col. 919), Bede, *in Psalmorum librum exegesis* 114 (*PL*, 93, cols 1045D and 1050B), and Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, 114.8 and 117.13 (*PL*, 70, cols 820D and 830C).

⁴⁸ N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I: 1190-1250*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), I, 118-19; Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova, eds., *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: Harvey Millar, 2005), 173-76.

⁴⁹ For the iconography of the Ages of Man, see Elizabeth Sears, "The Ages of Man " in *Die Lebensstreppe, Bilder der menschlichen Lebensalter*, (Cologne: 1983-4), 145-46. For a fascinating discussion of how the representation of the Goddess of Fortune in Roman literature relates to the Wheel of Fortune tradition in medieval literature, see Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortune in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 147-77. For the Wheel of Fortune, see also, F.P. Pickering, *Literature & Art in the Middle Ages* (Berlin, 1966; Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), 168-222.

apostasy.⁵⁰ His plumet continues in the second scene, which depicts Theophilus, naked from the waist up, vomiting up a banderole inscribed "*In Pavp(er)tate Despero*" (In poverty and despair). Nearly at the bottom of the wheel, the third scene represents a naked Theophilus making a pact with a hooked-nose devil. Finally, his fall complete, Theophilus is seated at the base of the wheel surrounded on both sides by devils, reinstated to his former position. Theophilus's long climb back to the top of the Wheel of Fortune is aided by the Virgin Mary, before whom he kneels in prayer in the fifth scene, and who retrieves the pact from the devil and returns it to the penitent sinner in the two subsequent scenes.⁵¹ Finally, at the top of the Wheel of Fortune, the soul of the redeemed sinner is carried to heaven by two angels. Though a bit later than the other examples discussed in this chapter, William de Braile's Wheel of Fortune demonstrates a similarly meaningful connection between the Theophilus legend, penance, and the psalter. Like King David, Theophilus fell, but was lifted to salvation by the Virgin Mary, making the legend of the penitent apostate well suited for the context of the illuminated psalter.

Animating the *Sedes Sapientiae*: The Paris Psalter (BnF, MS lat. 238) and the Theophilus Relief from Sainte-Marie at Souillac

The examples discussed above demonstrate that the development of a pictorial tradition for the Theophilus legend was motivated in part by the meaning of the tale for its early ecclesiastical audiences as the *vita* of a penitential saint. As we approach the turn of the thirteenth century, however, the hagiographical origins of the tale began to fade into the background, and the Theophilus legend was reimagined as an official part of the

⁵⁰ This scene is marked with "*Incipit ystoria Theophili*" (Here, begins the Theophilus legend).

⁵¹ They hold banderoles inscribed: *Miserere Miseri Diablo Cartam Feci, Maria Ad Theophilvm* (The wretched deed done, Theophilus turns to Mary).

Virgin Mary's *vita*. This shift in meaning is evident in the Ingeborg Psalter, discussed above, in which the miniature depicting the Theophilus legend follows directly after a page devoted to the Dormition and Coronation of the Virgin Mary.⁵² Thus, not only is the figure of Theophilus linked with King David, who appears on the subsequent page, but the Theophilus scenes are also joined together with the previous miniature, which presents the Mother of God seated upon her throne in heaven with her son, embodying her role in Christendom as an intercessor. These scenes are separated from the Infancy and Passion cycles by a blank page, placed after the Last Judgment, so that the two scenes from the end of Mary's Life and the Theophilus legend form a cohesive group at the end of the prefatory cycle.

A contemporary psalter produced in northern France or Flanders between 1173 and 1223 (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 238) makes a similar connection between episodes from the end of the Virgin's life and the Theophilus legend.⁵³ The Paris Psalter includes two scenes from the Theophilus legend, delicately rendered against a gold background, represented on a full-page miniature just before Psalm 68, placed at one of the traditional

⁵² The Coronation and Dormition of the Virgin are depicted on the verso of recto of folio 34. There is no illustration on the facing page (fol. 33v).

⁵³ Leroquais dated the Paris Psalter to between 1173 and 1223 based on the inclusion in the calendar of the canonization of Saint Thomas Becket (1173) and the obituary of Philip Augustus (1223). He also noted the large number of Flemish saints in the litany and has suggested that the manuscript was likely produced in northern France or eastern Flanders. See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, II, 37-38. Based on the number of Flemish and female saints listed in the calendar, Hoffman thought the manuscript may have been produced in Cambrai. See Hoffmann and Deuchler, *The Year 1200*, 245. The inclusion of Saints Tanche and Mastidie in the calendar and in the litany has also pointed to the diocese of Troyes. See Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century* (London, Harvey Miller, 1996), II, 166.

psalm divisions (fig. 23).⁵⁴ Part of a series of full-page illuminations distributed throughout the psalter at the divisions between the psalms, the Theophilus miniature follows in sequence after a full-page miniature depicting the Entombment, Ascension, and Coronation of the Virgin Mary, found just before Psalm 52 (fig. 24). The page depicts the Virgin, laid out on a bier at the bottom of the page, surrounded by the Apostles, one of whom cradles her feet in his hands. Just above this scene, two angels carry the Virgin's soul toward heaven. In the center of the diamond-shaped composition, the Virgin is crowned by her son as two angels swinging censers look on from the semi-lobed arches of the quatrefoil. As in the Ingeborg Psalter, the placement of the Theophilus legend just after this page, has the effect of reframing the tale around the figure of the Virgin Mary, in particular, her persona as an intercessor.⁵⁵ Both the inclusion of the Theophilus legend in the Paris Psalter and the particular way it was told,

⁵⁴ In the Paris Psalter, the full-page miniatures are not part of a prefatory cycle, but are inserted into the psalter at the psalm divisions. Hoffman has remarked that this manuscript is unusual in its inclusion of just one image of King David, a depiction of the King and Goliath. See Hoffmann and Deuchler, *The Year 1200*, 245.

⁵⁵ The Marian theme of the miniatures continues at the next division, which precedes Psalm 81, marked with a full-page miniature representing the miracle of the boy possessed by the devil, who is saved by the Virgin. Leroquais, who identified this episode as "le miracle de l'enfant voué au démon et délivré par la Vierge," noted that like the other miniatures found in the Paris Psalter, this image does not relate to the text in any direct fashion. Like the Theophilus legend, this Marian miracle story must have been familiar enough to the illuminator of the manuscript to render it meaningful without an accompanying text. In the top register, a tonsured and haloed monk, bearing a striking resemblance to Theophilus, prays on behalf of a small boy. Two devils stand behind the monk and a third appears from the top of the scene to interrupt his intervention. A fourth devil reclines at the monk's feet with his arms stretched possessively around the child. In the bottom register, the Virgin has presumably chased away the devils, leaving the monk in prayer before the altar. The Virgin stands behind the boy with her hand placed protectively on the boy's head, echoing the way that her hand rests on the back of the sleeping Theophilus in the preceding miniature. Thus, in the Paris Psalter, the Theophilus legend was included because of its Marian associations, depicted as part of a series of full-page miniatures devoted to the Virgin Mary's Life and her miracles. See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 38.

demonstrates how the primary meaning of the legend had shifted by the end of the twelfth century, when the *vita* of the penitent saint became a story told about the Virgin Mary and her intercessory power.

This change in emphasis is evident if we consider the choices made by the illuminators as they represented the tale in the Paris Psalter. In the first scene, depicted in the upper register, Theophilus kneels in supplication before a small image of the Virgin and Child placed upon an altar. Mary and the infant Jesus are painted with fluid brushstrokes, amplifying the visual effect of their gestures to one another, as if a statue come to life to debate the spiritual merits of the penitent sinner praying before them (fig. 23). The scene recalls the long passage in the *vita* of Saint Theophilus in which Mary scolds the apostate at length before agreeing to intercede on his behalf.⁵⁶ In the bottom register, Theophilus sleeps before the same altar, but a gold cross has taken the place of the image of the Virgin and Child. The cross seems to vibrate, calling attention to the transformation of the Virgin, who stands as a fully embodied figure behind Theophilus to return the pact, inscribed "*Tieofile*." The illuminator has outlined Theophilus' tonsure

⁵⁶ The passage from Paul's *vita* reads: "Why, O man, dost thou persist with rashness and pride in asking that I aid thee, thou man who hast denied my son, the Savior of the world, and me? And how can I beseech Him to forgive thee the evil he has done? With what eyes shall I look into the merciful countenance of my son, whom thou hast denied, and presume to entreat Him for thy sake? With what assurance can I appeal to Him, when though has renounced Him? Or in what wise shall I stand before that fearsome tribunal and presume to open my mouth and ask for His most compassionate clemency? "Quid sico homo permanes temere fastidio seq; postulans, vt te adiuuem hominem qui abnegasti filium meum Saluatorem mundi & me? Aut quomodo possum postulare, eum remittere tibi mala, quæ gessisti? Quibus oculis aspiciam in vultum illum misericordissimum Filij mei, quem tu negasti, & præsumam eum rogare pro te? Quali fiducia possim postulare eum, cum tu apostataueris ab eo? Quoue modo adstabo tribunali illi terribili, & præsumam aperire os meum, & petere clementissimam illius bonitatem?" For the English, see Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 67. For the Latin, see *AS*, February IV, col. 485D.

with white dots, as if the Virgin's touch upon his back has caused his head to glow from her presence.

The Theophilus scenes found in the Paris Psalter, the Ingeborg Psalter, and the relief from Souillac discussed below, all offer different solutions to the pictorial problem of how to embody the Virgin Mary as an animated intercessor. In the Paris Psalter, for example, the illuminator used two similar scenes to show the transformation from devotional object into a life-sized figure of the Virgin, who stands behind the sleeping Theophilus, her ivory skin enlivened with rosy cheeks. The right hand of the Virgin grazes his back, a gesture signaling her presence in temporal space. That something remarkable has occurred in this scene is further underscored by the odd way in which the vaulted ceiling has rotated down into the space of the church, enveloping the body of the Virgin. Along with the cross left behind on the altar as a placeholder, this detail points toward the transitory nature of this moment, when the Virgin Mary materializes, *tamquam in visione* ("in a vision as it seemed"), to free Theophilus from his bond with the devil.⁵⁷

The Theophilus imagery produced in this intervening period, when the tale was well-known in ecclesiastical circles, but did not yet have an established pictorial tradition, serves as a fascinating example of the strategies employed by image-makers as they tried to visualize the moment when Theophilus's prayers worked and the Virgin appeared before him in the church. In nearly all of the examples discussed above, this moment hinges on the potential of an image of the Virgin and Child to be effective once activated by the prayers of the penitent sinner. Thus, the figure of Theophilus functions as a model

⁵⁷ For a discussion of this phrase in the Latin *vita*, see Chapter One, 37.

or placeholder for the reader-viewer, providing the means by which the beholder could imagine their own miraculous experience with the Virgin. In her work on the Hedwig Codex, Jacqueline Jung has productively considered "What role did tactile perception play in those encounters with God that, for lack of a more precise term, we have been calling "visionary"? And what part did sculptured images, which appealed to the sense of touch more directly and vividly than any other medium, play in molding imaginative perception?"⁵⁸ While Jung is focused on the phenomenological nature of three-dimensional sculpture, the connection she describes between the tactile and the experiential resonates with the ways that sculptural forms are incorporated into visual representations of the Theophilus legend, as a means to visualize the transformation of the Virgin from image or object into embodied figure. Even in two dimensions, the representation of sculptural form on the page of a manuscript could readily tap into the "imaginative perception" of the viewer.

For example, the four Theophilus scenes in the Ingeborg Psalter envision the experience of Marian intercession for the beholder, emphasizing the moment when the Virgin transformed from a devotional image into an animated figure (figs. 18-19). In the lower scene on the left, Theophilus kneels in supplication before an unusual image depicting the Virgin Mary set upon an altar with a chalice. Like the example in the Paris Psalter, the illuminator has evoked the idea of a three-dimensional sculpture of the

⁵⁸ Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2010), 206. Jung is building on the work of S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 73 (1969): 159-70 and J. F. Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotion," *Viator* 20 (1989): 161-82.

Virgin, but in the form of a three-quarter bust. The Mother of God points toward Theophilus with a gesture that would typically lead the viewer to the infant Jesus, though the infant is not present in her arms. As in the previous example, this scene is paired with a similar one in which the Virgin appears as a full-sized figure to return the pact to Theophilus in the space of the church interior. The enlivened Virgin, standing in the lower register of the facing page, points toward the empty altar to emphasize the miraculous materialization that has taken place in these two scenes. In notable fashion, the top register contains an intervening scene in which the Virgin Mary confronts the devil to retrieve the pact, one of the earliest surviving examples in the visual arts of the Virgin Mary's trip to hell.

The textual variations of the legend in circulation in northern Europe by the end of the twelfth century allude to this moment in the narrative, but did not imagine exactly how the Virgin managed to retrieve the pact from the devil. In the Latin *vita*, for example, the text describes the Virgin's appearance to Theophilus in a vision to return the charter, but does not dwell upon the particulars of how she retrieved the document.⁵⁹ Bishop Fulbert of Chartres includes a brief but tantalizing reference to this moment in his sermon, *Approbate consuetudinis*, when he describes how the Virgin "powerfully snatched the above-mentioned charter from the devil."⁶⁰ The details of Mary's dealings with her diabolical foe, however, were left to the imaginations of image-makers. In the Ingeburg Psalter, the illuminator interpreted this scene with an inventive depiction of the

⁵⁹ Acta Sanctorum Feb. IV, Col. 486E.

⁶⁰ Sermo IV: *De nativitate beatissimae Mariae virginis*. PL 141:320B-324B. As translated by Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 426-29.

Virgin chasing a devil across the page as the beast absconds with the document. Set against the shiny gold background used throughout the manuscript, the Virgin is depicted mid-step, her left foot frozen in space as she chases after the devil.

The four scenes in the Ingeborg Psalter function didactically in the sense that they picture the penitential process for the beholder, reflecting a widening audience for the Theophilus legend as we approach the thirteenth century (figs. 18-19). Yet, these early representations of the story are much more than illustrated penitential handbooks. In these scenes, image-makers drew back the veil, rendering the visionary and the miraculous in more tangible terms, as they tried to pinpoint the moment when the Virgin Mary became fully present before Theophilus. That these early representation of the tale served as a catalyst for thinking about what it means to perform a miracle is clearly illustrated by the last example in this chapter, an overlooked depiction of the Virgin Mary in the Theophilus relief from Souillac.

In the first decades of the twelfth century, a well-known relief depicting the Theophilus legend was carved for the exterior of the former Benedictine Abbey Church of Sainte-Marie in Souillac. The relief presents a fascinating case study of the pictorial strategies employed by the image-makers as they represented a tale for which there is no known visual precedent. The sculptors created an inventive composition comprised of three scenes from the legend enclosed within a rectangular field topped by a trefoil arch (fig. 1). The bottom half of the relief is taken up with two scenes depicting the pact between Theophilus and the devil, while the upper half depicts the Virgin Mary ushered down from heaven by angels to return the pact to Theophilus. By and large, studies of this relief have focused on the two scenes in which Theophilus becomes the vassal of the

devil.⁶¹ In contrast, the unexpected and novel representation of the Virgin Mary materializing beneath the canopy of billowing clouds has been overlooked in art historical interpretations of the Souillac reliefs. And yet, this endearingly awkward rendering of the Virgin Mary has much to tell us about the meaning of the Theophilus legend for its eleventh- and twelfth-century audiences. In the absence of pictorial models, the Souillac sculptors turned to a familiar devotional object known as the Throne of Wisdom or *Sedes sapientiae*, a popular sculpture adorning the altars of many churches in this part of France by the twelfth century.

The Theophilus relief at Sainte-Marie in Souillac is part of a collection of five sculptural fragments dated to ca. 1115-25, which are currently displayed on the interior wall of the west facade, visible upon exiting the church (fig. 2).⁶² The Theophilus relief is

⁶¹ See the Introduction for a full discussion of the historiography. The major study of the Souillac relief is Meyer Schapiro, "The Sculptures of Souillac," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. R. W. Koehler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939; reprint, *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, 102-130, New York: George Braziller, 1977.).

⁶² Very little documentation exists for the monastic church at Souillac. Thus, the sculpture is typically dated according to its stylistic relationship to the contemporary portals at Moissac and Beaulieu. The Moissac portal is generally agreed to be the earliest of the three. It is usually dated to ca. 1115-30, during the abbacy of Abbot Roger (1115-31), due to the inclusion of an inscribed sculptural representation of the abbot located above a column in the east spandrel above the portal. For a recent review of the dating issues at Moissac, see the recent publication by Forsyth, in which she posits a date for the portal of between 1100-1115, placing the reliefs slightly earlier during the abbacy of Abbot Ansquetil (1085-1115). See Ilene H. Forsyth, "The Date of the Moissac Portal," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 77-99. Recent studies by Wirth and Baschet are also in accord with a date for the Moissac portal before 1115. See Jean Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture médiévale*, Titre Courant, 30 (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 26-35; Jérôme Baschet, "Iconography beyond Iconography: Relational Meanings and Figures of Authority in the Reliefs of Souillac," in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 34. Scholars do not agree whether Souillac or Beaulieu was created next, but date both to mid-1130s, based on the later dating of Moissac. Knicely, "Decorative

set into a brick wall, just above the main entrance, where it is visible beneath a stone arch. Additional reliefs found in the jambs on either side of the arched portal depict the prophet Isaiah on the right and the patriarch Joseph on the left. Raised upon a stone base, to the right of the prophet Isaiah, is a stone pillar or trumeau carved on three sides.⁶³ The front face is decorated with stacked and crisscrossed pairs of birds of prey and other beasts, each biting the nearest animal. At the top of the trumeau, a partially disrobed man is represented fighting off an attack from two of the beasts. The story of Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac unfolds on the left face of the trumeau, while the right face depicts pairs of wrestlers. Finally, the ensemble of fragments also includes a small pillar above the head of the patriarch Joseph, carved on the front face with additional crisscrossing and biting animals.

These sculptures were not originally designed for this location, but were moved here at some point. Though the scant archival records for the former Benedictine Abbey at Souillac leave much uncertainty regarding the original configuration of the sculpture now displayed inside the church, there have been convincing arguments that they were created for a portal that was designed, but never constructed.⁶⁴ In support of this hypothesis, Régis Labourdette has pointed out that none of the portals at Souillac are

Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 28. Raymond Ray, *La Sculpture romane Languedocienne* (Toulouse, 1936), 248-56. Recently, Baschet has suggested the date of ca. 1115-25 for the Souillac sculptures, based on the earlier date proposed for Moissac by Wirth and Forsyth. See Jérôme Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), 189-229.

⁶³ It is possible that the fourth side, currently not visible, would have been carved with vegetal ornament in similar fashion as the trumeau from Beaulieu. See Jacques Thirion, "Observations sur les fragments sculptés du portail de Souillac," *Gesta* 15, no. 1-2 (1976): 166-68.

⁶⁴ For a review of this literature, see Carol Knicely, "Food for Thought in the Souillac Pillar: Devouring Beasts, Pain and the Subversion of Heroic Codes of Violence," *RACAR* 24 (1997): 17.

large enough to incorporate a trumeau with the dimensions of the one currently displayed on the interior of the west facade.⁶⁵ Labourdette assumed the sculptures were moved inside to the east-facing wall during the restorations undertaken to address damage sustained to the church during the Religious Wars of the late sixteenth century.⁶⁶ Following Labourdette's proposition that the Souillac fragments were designed for a major portal project, Jacques Thirion and others have suggested that the Theophilus relief was intended for display on one of the walls of the planned porch, as was the case with thematically related reliefs at Moissac and Beaulieu.⁶⁷ The moralizing theme of the legend, Thirion noted, accords with the subjects depicted on the reliefs at these sites.⁶⁸ Though we are unlikely to fit the Theophilus relief into the original program with any certainty, the size and subject of the sculpture points toward a location on the porch that was planned, but never constructed.

⁶⁵ Régis Labourdette, "Remarques sur la disposition originelle du portail de Souillac," *Gesta* 18, no. 2 (1979): 29-35. Labourdette believed that after the new portal project was abandoned, the sculptures were installed on the eastern wall facing the interior of the tower that marked the entrance to the west end of the church. He based his analyses on archeological evidence, which does not support the presence of a porch at Souillac that would support the trumeau, and seventeenth-century plans that point to the presence of a portal on the interior east wall of the tower. For a recent discussion of this hypothesis, also see Baschet, who posited that the trumeau was intended for a portal at least as large as the one at Moissac. Baschet, "Iconography beyond Iconography: Relational Meanings and Figures of Authority in the Reliefs of Souillac," 34.

⁶⁶ Labourdette, "Remarques sur la disposition originelle du portail de Souillac," 29-35.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that while Labourdette believed that the trumeau was designed for the large portal project, he considered the Theophilus relief to be too large for a porch relief. See *ibid.*, 29-31.

⁶⁸ These themes include scenes of hell and the Lazurus and Dives story at Moissac, and the Temptations of Christ and Daniel in the Lion's Den at Beaulieu. Thirion, "Observations sur les fragments sculptés du portail de Souillac," 161-72. Also see Baschet, "Iconography beyond Iconography: Relational Meanings and Figures of Authority in the Reliefs of Souillac," 34. Also see Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 33.

A far more answerable question is raised by the peculiar way in which the sculptors have rendered the figure of the Virgin. As Emile Mâle has noted, the Souillac relief represents the first appearance of the Virgin Mary without her son on a church portal.⁶⁹ In the relief, Mary materializes from beneath the scalloped canopy of clouds framing the top border, accompanied by an angel, to return the pact to Theophilus (fig. 25). Both Mary and the angel are haloed and wear garments embellished with jewels, their drilled eyes focused on the sleeping figure of Theophilus. The Virgin carries the cancelled pact, which she holds out toward the penitent sinner, pointing to the document with her outstretched finger. At first glance, Mary's angelic companion seems to carry the Virgin down from heaven, but the sculptors have granted the Virgin the agency to descend from the sky. Still, the angel places a protective hand on her shoulder, to restrain her from crossing fully over into the terrestrial realm. The angel grasps the scruff of Theophilus's neck with its other hand to rouse the penitent sinner from his sleep, lest he miss the moment for which he had so long prayed.

A close inspection of the Souillac Virgin indicates that when the image-makers conceptualized this miraculous moment, when the Virgin appears before Theophilus, they had in mind the familiar sculptural form of the Throne of Wisdom. The *Sedes sapientiae* or "Throne of Wisdom" is a type of three-dimensional wooden sculpture, often covered in gold or silver, which presents the Virgin seated frontally on a throne, holding the Christ child in her lap (fig. 26). The Throne of Wisdom visualized Mary's role as

⁶⁹ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*. Originally published as *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. Etude sur l'origine de l'iconographie du Moyen Age*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1922, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 434.

Theotokos, or bearer of God, a title pointing to her function in Christianity as the vehicle of Christ's Incarnation.⁷⁰ Over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Throne of Wisdom sculptures were produced for churches all over France, paralleling the period when the Theophilus legend spread across the Latin West.⁷¹ In addition to their theological function, these sculptures also served as cult objects, providing a focus for local Marian devotion and a goal for pilgrimages.⁷² As Ilene Forsyth demonstrated in her 1972 study of these sculptures, the Throne of Wisdom became a widespread phenomenon in medieval France because its form fulfilled an ecclesiastical desire to make the Virgin Mary "experiential."⁷³

The formal similarity between the Souillac relief and the typical form of a Throne of Wisdom statue is evident if we turn the Virgin on her head and view the relief as the sculptors would have done as they carved her figure (fig. 27). Viewed from this angle, the Souillac Virgin recalls the form and appearance of these familiar cult statues, from the characteristic dress, bedazzled with gemstones, to the wide, staring eyes, emphasized by the deep drill holes, and the oversized arm, which does not hold the Christ Child, but rather points toward the pact. The transmission of the form of the *Sedes sapientiae* to the

⁷⁰ Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 1-2. Also see Ilene H. Forsyth, "Magi and Majesty: A Study of Romanesque Sculpture and Liturgical Drama," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968): 215.

⁷¹ Sainte-Marie of Souillac is located in the Lot region, close to Clermont-Ferrand, where a large number Throne of Wisdom sculptures were produced. Forsyth has suggested that Clermont-Ferrand and its environs may have served as a center of production for many of the Throne of Wisdom sculptures surviving in churches from the area. The sculptures had a long history in the region. One of the earliest Throne of Wisdom sculptures, dating to the tenth century, and known only through literary sources, was recorded at Clermont-Ferrand. See Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, 92-133. Also see idem., "Magi and Majesty: A Study of Romanesque Sculpture and Liturgical Drama," 218-19.

⁷² Ibid., 9-12 and 40-49.

⁷³ Ibid., 7.

Souillac relief may even help explain the awkwardly placed arm of the Virgin, with its oversized hand and giant pointing finger, which appears to call attention to the absence of the Christ child in her lap.⁷⁴ It is as if the sculptors could not decide what to do with Mary's arm once they separated mother and child. In later versions of the tale, as we began to see in the Paris Psalter, the sculptural form of Virgin and Child becomes an important pictorial device, a foil for the image of the embodied figure of the Virgin. The Souillac relief represents an early experiment with this idea, as the form of the Throne of Wisdom hovers in the clouds in between heaven and the temporal realm.

There is no record of a statue or relics of the Virgin among the remaining documents from the Abbey Church of Souillac.⁷⁵ Yet, the popularity of the *Sedes sapientiae* in the surrounding area suggest the possibility that the church might have possessed a cult statue of the Virgin. This conjecture is buttressed by evidence that the monks of Souillac were attempting to generate a Marian pilgrimage to their church

⁷⁴ In most cases, Throne of Wisdom sculptures consisted of a wooden core covered with metal sheathing. Due to the specific skills and materials required to produce these objects, Forsyth thought it was unlikely that sculptors would have worked in both stone and wood, though she cites the special case of Adelelmus, who is described as a goldsmith, an architect, and a sculptor in stone in a tenth-century text describing the creation of the lost Madonna of Clermont-Ferrand (Clermont-Ferrand, BM, MS 145, fols. 130v-134v). Forsyth posited that the form of the Throne of Wisdom may have transferred from stone to wood, and from two to three dimensions, or vice-versa. Forsyth noted similarities between a number of objects in her catalogue and contemporary stone sculpture, citing, for example, the formal similarities shared by a twelfth-century capital depicting the Flight into Egypt from Autun and a contemporary Burgundian Throne of Wisdom sculpture, also possibly from Autun (figs. 16-17) See Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 95-99 and 153. For further discussion of the relationship between stone and wood sculptures of the Virgin, see also Forsyth, "Magi and Majesty: A Study of Romanesque Sculpture and Liturgical Drama," 219.

⁷⁵ Most of the archives from Sainte-Marie of Souillac have not survived. See, Knicely, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 44.

during the twelfth century, a campaign which included the circulation of a local Marian miracle-story according to which the Virgin of Souillac healed a blind boy in her church of Sainte-Marie.⁷⁶ At the very least, it is likely that whomever designed and carved the relief was familiar with the form of the Throne of Wisdom. Examples survive from a number of nearby churches, including the Marian shrine at Rocamadour, which was located just twenty kilometers from Souillac (fig. 28).⁷⁷

The nearby church of Beaulieu preserves a statue of the Throne of Wisdom that is roughly contemporary with the Souillac relief (fig. 29).⁷⁸ Dated to the second or third quarter of the twelfth century, the Beaulieu Madonna makes a striking comparison with the Virgin depicted in relief at Souillac.⁷⁹ Unlike the simple robe and veil combination worn by the majority of the Madonnas in Forsyth's corpus, the Beaulieu Madonna is depicted wearing a third garment, a "chalmys-like mantle or *paludamentum* fastened around her neck with a brooch."⁸⁰ The Virgin in the Souillac relief is also depicted wearing this additional layer, similarly adorned with jewels running down the arms of her robe. The fact that this sartorial quirk is shared by the both the Virgin of Souillac and the

⁷⁶ See Abbé P. Pons, *Souillac et ses Environs: Histoire, Archéologie, Tourisme* (Cahors: Quercy Recherche, 1977), 29; Knically, "Decorative Violence and Narrative Intrigue in the Romanesque Portal Sculptures at Souillac," 39.

⁷⁷ Rocamadour, which began to attract pilgrim traffic in the twelfth century, possessed a Throne of Wisdom famous for both its black appearance and for performing miracles. A chapel devoted to the Sainte-Marie of Rocamadour is recorded as early as the eleventh century. The Miracles of Notre-Dame of Rocamadour were recorded in 1172, but were likely based on earlier stories. See Albe, *Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, 11 and 63-68. For the Latin text of the miracle, see Philippe Labbe, *Nova bibliotheca mss. librorum sive specimen antiquarum lectionum latinarum et graecarum in quatuor partes tributarum, cum coronide duplici, poetica et libraria*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1653), II: 298.

⁷⁸ Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 196.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Beaulieu Madonna suggests that a sculptor may have traveled between the two sites.

Alternatively, the similarities between the two Virgins provides circumstantial evidence that the Abbey of Sainte-Marie of Souillac may have possessed a similar sculpture, perhaps one carved by the same workshop that produced the Beaulieu Madonna.⁸¹

Whether referring to a particular sculpture of the Throne of Wisdom or not, it is clear that the Souillac sculptors had this familiar form in mind as they carved the relief.

As the Theophilus legend gained popularity in the visual arts, especially in stained glass, the *Sedes sapientiae* continued to be a useful motif for image-makers as they developed pictorial strategies to visualize the moment when the penitent prayers of Theophilus worked and the animated form of the Virgin broke free from her throne. In order to understand how the Throne of Wisdom fits into the Theophilus tradition, we must understand the function and meaning of these statues as religious images or objects. Invariably, art historians use the Throne of Wisdom to set up a stylistic dichotomy between the static, hieratic Madonnas produced during the Romanesque period and their more engaging and elegant Gothic cousins. Michael Camille, for example, compared the "animate aura" of the Essen Madonna, one of the oldest surviving three-dimensional sculptures of the Virgin and Child, with a "more intimate and suave" ivory Madonna and Child from the Cloisters (figs. 30-31).⁸² Illustrated side by side in his text, Camille drew a comparison between the "glaring" eyes and hieratic pose of the tenth-century Essen Madonna and the easy elegance of the Cloisters' Madonna. The lifelike appearance of the

⁸¹ For the argument that the sculpted portal at Beaulieu is linked stylistically with the Souillac reliefs, see Ray, *La Sculpture romane Languedocienne*, 248-56.

⁸² Michael Camille, *Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 220-21.

later statue is emphasized by the Virgin's gracefully swaying body and the chubby-cheeked infant propped realistically on her hip, who smiles as he plays with his Mother's veil. In contrast, the Essen Madonna was carved from wood and sheathed in gold at the outset of the rediscovery of three-dimensional sculpture in medieval.⁸³ Camille's comparison effectively highlights the way that the Cloister's Madonna is enlivened by the naturalistic style of the carving, but at the expense of the Essen Madonna, whose "animate aura" depended on its shimmering surface and captivating eyes to establish a connection with the beholder.

The problem with art historical juxtapositions of static and stodgy Romanesque statues with active and engaging Gothic Virgins is that this traditional comparison grants the later group greater agency to move the beholder. As Jung has summarized, "Art historians have long located the significance of this type of Gothic sculpture in the new, humanized relationship it conveys between the charming courtly Mother and her adorable infant—a relationship that emerges all the more forcefully through its contrast with the aloof, impersonal *Sedes sapientiae* groups of earlier centuries."⁸⁴ Stephen Jaeger reveals the nature of this stylistic argument in his discussion of the Wise and Foolish Virgins on

⁸³ Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), especially 67-86.

⁸⁴ Jacqueline E. Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2010), 232-33. Alexa Sand makes a similar claim, noting that "The distant, reverential gaze constructed by Romanesque depictions of the Virgin gives way to a far more intimate, eroticized visual relationship cultivated by the Gothic sculptors." See Alexa Sand, "Vindictive Virgins: Animate Images and Theories of Art in Some Thirteenth-Century Miracle Stories," *Word & Image* 26, no. 2 (2010): 150.

the south portal of west façade of Strasbourg Cathedral, a sculptural ensemble from c. 1280-1300, known for the inviting gestures and elegant poses of the figures. He writes:

The move from hieratic stiffness to realism and plasticity that occurs in sculpture in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries poses a problem for the historian of art and ideas. Whose hieratic rigidity of thought and feeling produced the stiffness of early Gothic? And whose humanism created the supple nuanced humanity of high Gothic?⁸⁵

Jaeger reads a sense of *virtus* and *humanitas* in the elegant bodies of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, presenting a stylistic argument that is an extension of his larger project to understand the ideas coming out of the German and French cathedral schools in the twelfth century.⁸⁶ Whether scholars or sculptors were ultimately responsible for the heightened naturalism evident in Gothic sculpture by the 1180s, the correlation between the "capacity to animate the human figure" and a sculptor's ability to create realistic human bodies has the effect of obscuring the evocative power of the earlier statues.⁸⁷

Though stiff and rigid in comparison to the graceful Madonnas produced in the later Middle Ages, the *Sedes sapientiae* was anything but inanimate. The Throne of Wisdom embodied the theological idea of the Incarnation and was also a repository for the miracle-working potential of the Virgin Mary. As portrayed in the Theophilus legend, the Throne of wisdom is an image of an image, a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional sculpture of the Virgin and Child. These statues are the kind of object Hans Belting has defined as a "Holy Image," which "not only represented a person but also was treated like a person, being worshipped, despised, or carried from place to place

⁸⁵ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). 331.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 331-48.

⁸⁷ Jaeger is citing the words of the German art historian Willibald Sauerländer, who located this quality in the work of Nicholas of Verdun, using the sculptor to mark a new naturalism in medieval sculpture to around 1180. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 344-45.

in ritual processions."⁸⁸ To understand how the pictorial representation of the *Sedes sapientiae* functions in the Theophilus tradition, it is helpful to consider the ways in which these statues were similar to relics and icons.

Bissera Pencheva has explained the mimetic function of Byzantine icons in a way that helps illuminate the function and meaning of the *Sedes sapientiae*:

In Byzantine culture, *mimesis* is the word closest to the definition of "performance." It stands for an admixture of presence and absence... While itself an absence (appearance), the Byzantine icon enacts divine presence (essence) in its making and in its interaction with the faithful... In contrast to our Western notion of *mimesis* as the imitation of form, Byzantine *mimesis* is the imitation of presence.⁸⁹

Petcheva's definition of *mimesis* as the imitation of presence over form is key to understanding the meaning of the image of the Throne of Wisdom in the Theophilus tradition. Images of the Theophilus legend rely on the form of the *Sedes sapientiae* to convey what Belting has described as "the ancient antithesis between representing and being present, between holding the place of someone and being that someone."⁹⁰ By juxtaposing a statue of the Throne of Wisdom and an image of the embodied Virgin, image-makers revealed and fixed the moment when the intercessor appeared before the beholder.

Anchored in the physical remains of holy bodies, the function and meaning of medieval relics also helps elucidate the way the Virgin Mary's image works in the Theophilus tradition. Relics, as Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson have

⁸⁸ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), xxi.

⁸⁹ Bissera V. Pencheva, "The Performative Icon," *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 631-32.

⁹⁰ Hans Belting citing Erhart Kästner. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 9.

described them, "transcend the distinction...between representing and being present, between image and sign."⁹¹ The Virgin Mary's relics were special, since she was assumed to heaven and left behind no physical body. In the absence of earthly remains, images of the Virgin helped to harness her power and presence, in the way that bodily relics worked for the wider community of saints.⁹² The *Sedes sapientiae* was thus a potent image, which was brought to life in Theophilus imagery.

To conclude, the Virgin's body, as Margot Fassler has described it, is a "membrane separating the ages" and the form of the *Sedes sapientiae* "depicts the membrane itself, dividing Mary from her son and joining them as well."⁹³ By separating Mother and Son, representations of the Theophilus legend rupture this membrane, if temporarily, in order to highlight the potential of the Virgin to embody her role as intercessor before Theophilus, and by proxy, the beholder. The Theophilus imagery surviving from the eleventh and twelfth centuries hints at the way the tale will be represented in the visual arts by the thirteenth century, particularly in terms of the novel and dynamic picture of the Virgin Mary that emerged from within the Theophilus tradition. This new imagery, which begins to capture the Mother of God in the act of mediating, is a product of the changing meaning of the Theophilus legend during the twelfth century, as the tale transformed from the life of a penitential saint into the Virgin Mary's most famous posthumous miracle.

⁹¹ Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 6.

⁹² Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 297-310.

⁹³ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 206-7.

Chapter 3

From Monastery to Cathedral: The Theophilus Legend in the Palace of the Virgin.

This chapter traces the translation of the Theophilus legend from the monastery to the cathedral, focusing on the appearance of the tale in the monumental art of stained glass around the turn of the thirteenth century. The overwhelming majority of windows depicting scenes from the legend survive in churches in northern France, a geographical area in which the story was woven into the Virgin Mary's local cults over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ Two of the earliest known Theophilus windows were glazed for the cathedrals dedicated to Notre-Dame at Laon around 1200, and Notre-Dame at Chartres between 1205-1215. Though the window at Chartres preserves just four panels from the legend, I argue that it originally contained a full Theophilus cycle comparable to the one at Laon. Both windows build upon the pictorial tradition that developed in the twelfth century, using an image of the *Sedes sapientiae* to depict the Virgin springing to life. In these monumental settings, the Theophilus legend had new meaning as part of a network of sculpture, stained glass, cult objects, relics, and the liturgy, all of which helped craft the devotional spaces in which they were displayed.

The first half of the thirteenth century saw the medium of stained glass gain new prominence in the visual arts in northern Europe in parallel with architectural developments, including the pointed arch and the flying buttress, which led to the

¹ To the best of my knowledge, the Theophilus legend does not survive in any windows produced in Germany or Italy. Windows representing the tale survive at Lincoln and York, and a lost panel is known to have existed in Canterbury, but the vast majority of Theophilus windows were produced for churches in France. For a full list of known and extant Theophilus windows, see Michael W. Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 59, no. 2 (1984): 308-41.

construction of taller and more spacious buildings.² As a consequence, Gothic churches featured massive portals covered with figural sculpture and interiors illuminated by dazzling ensembles of stained glass windows, all of which brought the stories of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints to life for the medieval beholder.³ With a few notable exceptions, the Theophilus legend was not depicted in monumental sculpture, but rather was found inside thirteenth-century churches, close to the relics and miracle-working statues of the Virgin. Before discussing the Theophilus windows at Laon and Chartres, a few words on methodology are in order.

The study of medieval stained glass, or painted glass as it is more accurately termed, raises a number of methodological issues related to the materiality and the visibility of the medium.⁴ Among the most crucial things to consider is the state of

² Madeline H. Caviness, "Stained Glass Windows in Gothic Chapels and the Feasts of the Saints," in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana: Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicolas Bock, *Akten des internationalen Kongresses de Bibliotheca Hertziana und des Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Rom, 28-30 September 1997* (Munich: 2001), 132.

³ For the development of visual narrative in the medium of stained glass, see Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzweid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially 42-65; For a general introduction to visual narrative in medieval art, see Suzanne Lewis, "Narrative," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 86-105.

⁴ I use the term stained glass throughout this study, which is the accepted term among English-speaking art historians, however, the German term *glasmalerei* (glass painting) is more accurate. Glass was not stained in northern Europe until the early fourteenth century, when silver stain was developed, a technique that fuses silver oxide into the glass itself during the firing process to create a transparent yellow or deep red colored glass. Before the development of the silver stain technique, glass painters applied coats of vitreous paint to the surface of the glass, building up the paint with brushes and sticks in varying modulations, from thick outlines to washes used to define forms and details. The paint was fired to bond it with the surface of the glass, but it does not "stain" the glass itself as in the case of the silver oxide. For an introduction to the methods employed by medieval glaziers, see Mary Clerkin Higgins and Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *Stained Glass: From its Origins to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 46-50; For the

preservation, for in most cases, medieval collections of stained glass have suffered significant losses from stray bullets, bombs, and restoration campaigns over the course of the centuries.⁵ Thus, when setting out to read a medieval window, one must first determine which panels preserve original glass and which contain modern restoration work.⁶ A window containing a large percentage of modern panels may still be interpreted iconographically if there is enough evidence to show that the restorers followed the original design.⁷ To this end, the publications of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*

inaccuracies of the term stained glass, see Elizabeth C. Pastan, "Glazing Medieval Buildings," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 443.

⁵ For example, Chartres Cathedral preserves 173 medieval windows out of 186 apertures, an unusually high rate of survival. For this figure at Chartres, see Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Mary B. Shepard, "The Torture of Saint George Medallion from Chartres Cathedral in Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum of Princeton University* 56 (1997): 28, n. 2. Also see Yves Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Chartres: É. Houvet, 1926), 6-7. For further discussion of how scholars count the number of original windows, see Elizabeth Carson 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 Jane Stuckey, *The New Middle Ages Series* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 122, n. 2.

⁶ Restoration work may include modern panels of glass or stopgaps, spare pieces of medieval glass used to patch up a window. For an excellent introduction to the study of glass focused on the problems of restoration and authenticity, see Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The early stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 13-22; For a history of the CVMA, see Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Claudine Lautier, "Recherches récentes sur le vitrail médiéval 1998-2009. Première partie," *Kunstchronik* 63, no. 6 (2010): 261-62; Richard Marks, "Medieval Stained Glass: Recent and Future Trends in Scholarship," *Journal of Stained Glass* 24 (2000): 62-78.

⁷ Questions of workshop, style, and iconography became a focus of the field of stained glass studies in the wake of the two World Wars, as the field transitioned from a decorative or "minor" art to a monumental art. Stained glass windows were removed from churches and cathedrals across Europe at the outset of World War II to protect them from stray bombs and bullets. In practical terms, this meant that medieval windows were unusually accessible, presenting an opportunity for restorations and photographic documentation. The accessibility of stained glass windows during World War II also affected the focus and scope of the field of glass studies. What was formerly considered a

(CVMA), an international society of specialists formed in 1952 to research and publish medieval glass, are an indispensable resource, providing the history of a monument, overviews of iconographic and stylistic issues, an evaluation of restoration campaigns, and a catalogue of the glass for a given site.⁸

In addition to the state of preservation, the question of visibility is important to consider when reading scenes and figures depicted in stained glass windows. Unlike many medieval images and objects, which are relatively accessible to the viewer, whether displayed on a church facade or in a modern museum, it is seldom possible to have a similarly intimate experience with a stained glass window. Few medieval art historians have had the good fortune to study glass closely on scaffolding or in the restoration workshop. Most of us must crane our necks while looking at the glass through binoculars, especially when we view windows in the upper levels of churches. Though the

minor or decorative art, was reframed as a monumental art. With panels at their fingertips and documentary evidence to support their work, scholars focused on questions of workshop, style, and iconography. For the effects of the World Wars on the shape of the field of glass studies, see Kurmann-Schwarz and Lautier, "Recherches récentes sur le vitrail médiéval 1998-2009. Première partie," 261; Michael W. Cothren, "Some Personal Reflections on American Modern and Postmodern Historiographies of Gothic Stained Glass," in *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts and Their Status in Medieval Art History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Index of Christian Art and Penn State University Press, 2012), 255-70; For issues related to workshop and style, see Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys in Reims and Braine: ornatus elegantiae, varietate stupendes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16; Michael W. Cothren, "Production Practices in Medieval Stained Glass Workshops: Some Evidence in the Glencairn Museum," *Journal of Glass Studies* 41(1999): 117-34.

⁸ In the past few years, the internet has made the study of glass exponentially easier, making high-resolution digital images readily available. Painton Cowen's site "The Rose Window" contains an extensive archive of photographs of medieval glass in England and France usefully linked to plans of the monuments: <http://www.therosewindow.com/>. Stuart Whatling's site "The Corpus of Medieval Art," contains an equally useful collection of high-resolution images focused on narrative imagery: <http://www.medievalart.org.uk/>. Used in conjunction with the volumes of the CVMA and the study of windows in situ, these sites are an excellent reference and source of images.

Theophilus legend does make its way into a few clerestory windows, the tale was primarily depicted in apertures located in the lower levels of churches where they are visible without the aid of binoculars.⁹ These windows would have been even more vibrant in the thirteenth century, when not darkened by the pitting and patina that wears away at the surface of medieval glass and inhibits its visibility.

This experiential quality of stained glass helps unlock the question of why the Theophilus legend, a story that had previously received little attention in the visual arts, began to inspire entire windows at the turn of the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The answer has to do with the special status of stained glass as a visual medium that was also part of the devotional space in which it was displayed and viewed. As part of the fabric of architectural settings dedicated to the Virgin, stained glass was an ideal medium in which image-makers could experiment with how to represent Mary's materialization in the Theophilus legend.

The Theophilus Window from Laon Cathedral

One of the earliest extant Theophilus windows was glazed just before the turn of the thirteenth century for Notre-Dame of Laon, a cathedral famous for the stone oxen gazing down from the towers of the west facade, and its dramatic siting atop a plateau

⁹ For the visibility of windows displayed in the lower levels of churches, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?," in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 103-47.

¹⁰ Cothren was the first to argue that the scale of stained glass windows led to the expansion of the visual narrative in this medium. See Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows," 311-312.

that helped fortify the medieval town (figs. 32-33).¹¹ Reconstructed between c. 1155 and c.1220 following a fire, Laon Cathedral is distinguished by its graceful four-story interior and long choir terminating in a flat east wall (figs. 34-35). In addition to its beautiful architectural details, Laon was also famous in the Middle Ages for its Marian devotion. By the twelfth century, Notre-Dame of Laon had a distinct personality and a local cult supported by relics and at least one miracle-working statue. The Virgin's relics, which included part of her robe and some of her hair, helped fund the rebuilding campaign and inspired a local collection of miracle stories.¹² The inspiration for a full window devoted to the Theophilus legend sprung from this richly textured devotional atmosphere, in which the Virgin had local meaning and in which her presence in the cathedral and the town was tangible.

Glazed around the year 1200, the Laon window devotes eighteen panels to the Theophilus legend, making it the longest version of the story to survive in the visual arts to this date (fig. 36). The Theophilus window is displayed in the east end of the cathedral, where it is part of an ensemble of glass made up of three tall lancets surmounted by a majestic rose window (fig. 37).¹³ The central lancet depicts the Passion of Christ, with the

¹¹ According to legend, the oxen miraculously appeared to help carry the heavy stone up the plateau to the building site. See Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 56-57.

¹² According to legend, the cathedral's chief reliquary contained two relics of the Virgin Mary, part of her robe and some of her hair. Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 137-38.

¹³ These four windows represent nearly all of the medieval glass preserved at Laon. In addition, the north transept preserves an important rose window from before 1200, which depicts the Liberal arts and is distinguished by the use of plate tracery. In contrast to the east rose, which incorporates more glass and light into the composition due to the use of delicate bars of masonry supporting the panels of painted glass, the north rose relies on

Crucifixion serving as a focal point for both the window and the ensemble as a whole (fig. 38). The right lancet contains scenes from the Infancy cycle, interspersed with typological panels related to Old Testament prophecies prefiguring the role of the Virgin Mary in the Christological story (fig. 39).¹⁴ The left lancet combines scenes from the Life and Martyrdom of Saint Stephen, found in the lower three registers, with the eighteen

the older method of plate tracery, in which smaller panels of glass are inserted into the wall. See Louis Grodecki and Catherine Brisac, *Gothic Stained Glass, 1200-1300*, trans. Barbara Boehm Drake (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 35-38; The windows were restored by the Parisian atelier Coffetier following an explosion in 1870, when a store of gunpowder exploded, damaging some of the chapels on the north side of the cathedral. For the complete restoration history, see Anne Granboulan, Louis Grodecki, and Françoise Perrot, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la région parisienne, de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, Corpus vitrearum. France. Série complémentaire, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, 1 (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978), 162-3; For a more recent reassessment of the state of the east windows, based on her observations of the windows in the studio of Simon de Reims during the restoration carried out between 1990 and 1995, see Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 54 (2000): 257.

¹⁴ The unusual combination of Old Testament scenes with episodes from the Infancy Cycle led Deuchler to argue that this window represents panels from two separate windows designed for the original choir. See Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgsalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), 154, n. 260. As it is currently displayed, the right lancet begins at the bottom of the window with the Annunciation, the Visitation, and then three full registers devoted to the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi, respectively. The first typological pairing occurs in the fifth register, where the Presentation in the Temple in the panel on the left is juxtaposed with an Old Testament scene depicting Elisha and the Widow of Sarephta (1 Kings 17:7-16) on the right. The next register departs from the New Testament entirely, containing two scenes from the Old Testament side by side. On the left is the story of Gideon's Fleece (Judges 6:36-40) and Moses and the Burning Bush (Exodus 3) on the right. From here, the window returns to the New Testament, with the seventh register depicting the Flight into Egypt and the eighth register containing two panels devoted to the Magi, the Dream of the Magi on the left, and the return of the Magi on the right. The ninth register moves back to the Old Testament, with two panels representing Daniel's Prophecy of the Fall of the Idols (Daniel 3). The tenth register contains a more typical juxtaposition of Old Testament scene on the left (the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel), with the Presentation of the Virgin on the right. Finally, the window concludes with two panels depicting Herod's order of the Massacre of the Innocents on the left and the Massacre itself on the right. This last register of the narrative is crowned by two panels depicting angels, as in the central lancet.

Theophilus panels filling the nine upper registers (fig. 36).¹⁵ The Glorification of the Virgin is represented in the center of the rose, surrounded in the inner ring by the prophet Isaiah, John the Baptist, and two angels, which is in turn, encircled by the 28 elders of the apocalypse in the outermost ring (fig. 40). The unusual combination of the Theophilus legend with scenes from the life of Saint Stephen is a result of these panels being moved to their current aperture when the choir was expanded in the early thirteenth century. To understand how and why these panels were refit into their new configuration, we must first review the history of the building's construction.¹⁶

Like many medieval buildings, Laon Cathedral was rebuilt following a fire. In 1112, a conflagration destroyed the Carolingian cathedral built by Bishop Gerfrid (774-99) and renovated by Bishop Adalbero (997-1030).¹⁷ A rebuilding campaign began soon after, between c. 1155-60, and was finished by c. 1220.¹⁸ Construction began in the east end of the church with a three-bay choir, which originally terminated in a semi-circular apse (fig. 41).¹⁹ The original choir and the east wall of the transept were completed by c. 1170/1175, while the rest of the transept, the crossing and the adjacent five bays were in place by c. 1180/85. Finally, the west end of the nave and the west facade were

¹⁵ It is not unusual for two hagiographical subjects to share an aperture. The choir of Chartres Cathedral, for example, contains many examples of saints sharing windows. See Colette Manhès-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude iconographique*, Corpus vitrearum. France. Etudes II (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1993), 58-68. The combination of Saint Stephen and Saint Theophilus, however, is unusual.

¹⁶ For a history of the building campaign, see W. W. Clark and R. King, *Laon Cathedral: Architecture*, Courtauld Institute illustration Archives (London: H. Millar, 1983), 29-54.

¹⁷ The earliest reference to a church on this site dates to the late fifth century when Saint Remi reclassified the church of Notre-Dame to the status of a cathedral. There is no documentation of the earlier structure aside from this reference. For the churches standing on the site of Laon Cathedral before the present structure, see *ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁸ Clark and King have identified five campaigns. *Ibid.*, 29-54.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

completed between c. 1180/85 and 1195/1200.²⁰ Though the cathedral was by all accounts complete by the turn of the thirteenth century, the bishop and chapter embarked upon one final campaign, expanding the original semi-circular choir by an additional seven bays, which ended in the flat east wall that exists today (fig. 35).

There is convincing evidence that the lateral lancets in the east end of Laon Cathedral, which combine the Theophilus and Saint Stephen legends on the left, and the Infancy cycle and typological scenes on the right, were not designed to be displayed in these apertures, but were refitted into this location when the new choir was ready to be glazed in the early thirteenth century. The left lancet, as Florens Deuchler noted, preserves the clearest traces of this reassembly. In particular, he pointed out that the top panels do not contain censuring angels as in the uppermost panels of the central and right lancets, but instead depict the final two scenes of the Theophilus legend (fig. 42).²¹ Deuchler rightly theorized that these panels were originally round, based on the way they have been cut down to fit this space.²² In the panel on the left, for example, the figure standing to the right of the bishop has been decapitated, indicating that part of the panel was cut away when the window was relocated.²³ A similar tactic was employed in the scene on the right, in which the figures surrounding Theophilus's death bed have been removed to make the formerly round panel fit the pointed apex of the window.

In spite of Deuchler's compelling evidence that the lateral lancets were refit into their current apertures, scholars have endeavored to fit the three lancets and the rose

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Deuchler posited that the window would have originally terminated in two panels representing censuring angels. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, 154, n. 260.

²² Ibid.

²³ The bishop figure is a modern restoration. Ibid.

window into a coherent stylistic and iconographic program. Approaching the issue from a stylistic angle, Louis Grodecki argued that the Passion scenes in the central lancet, the Infancy scenes on the right, and the rose window above, were all painted by the same atelier of glaziers.²⁴ He viewed these panels as exemplary examples of the *Muldenfaltenstil*.²⁵ By comparison, Grodecki judged the Theophilus/Saint Stephen window as stylistically inferior, leading him to ascribe a later date to the left lancet, based on his assumption that it was painted by an atelier working at Laon after the choir was expanded.²⁶ Deuchler and Grodecki agreed that the central lancet depicting the Passion of Christ and the east rose were designed for the new choir, but they differed on date of the lancets, with Deuchler proposing a date of before 1205 for the lateral lancets, based on the similarity he found between the *Muldenfaltenstil* in the panels and in the miniatures of the Ingeborg Psalter, which he dated to c. 1195.²⁷ Ultimately, Deuchler's argument that the Theophilus/Saint Stephen window and the Infancy/typological window were repurposed for the east wall of Laon Cathedral from smaller apertures in the original

²⁴ Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux soissonnais du Louvre, du Musée Marmottan et des collections américaines," *Revue de l'art* 10 (1960): 163-78.

²⁵ In particular, Grodecki pointed to the panels depicting the Carrying of the Cross and the angels in the central lancet, and the Flight into Egypt in the right lancet, as perfect examples of the *Muldenfaltenstil*. Ibid., 176; For an introduction to the *Muldenfaltenstil*, also called the "1200 style," see Michael Watt Cothren, *Picturing the Celestial City: the Medieval Stained Glass of Beauvais Cathedral* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 69-71; Also see the essays in Konrad Hoffmann and Florens Deuchler, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 12 through May 10, 1970*, The Cloisters studies in medieval art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970).

²⁶ Grodecki, "Les Vitraux soissonnais du Louvre, du Musée Marmottan et des collections américaines," 175-76.

²⁷ Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, 148-61. For a discussion of this manuscript and relevant bibliography, see Chapter Two.

choir is more convincing than Grodecki's assumption that the left lancet was merely an outlier from a later campaign of glaziers.

More recently, Claudine Lautier has reconsidered the windows from an iconographic perspective, arguing that the entire ensemble was designed for the east wall from the start.²⁸ Lautier's argument is based on her conviction that the bishop of Laon would not have been content to present anything other than a coherent program in the east wall of his episcopal seat.²⁹ Her focus on iconographic consistency, however, means that she must make all of the panels fit into an overarching program, an approach reflecting modern rather than medieval notions of integrated spaces.³⁰ Though Lautier presents a convincing reading of the panels as they are currently displayed, placing them all into a chronological history of salvation, her reading does not disprove Deuchler's argument for reuse, as much as it presents a solution for how to interpret the current ensemble of glass in the east wall of the cathedral.³¹ By contrast, Deuchler presents a

²⁸ For the argument that the ensemble of windows in the east end of Laon Cathedral represents a unified program, see Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," 257-64; L. Grodecki, "Le Psautier de la Reine Ingeborg et ses problèmes," *Revue de l'art* 5 (1969): 73-78; Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century " 308-41.

²⁹ Lautier also thought that Deuchler made too much of the stylistic and iconographic links between the Laon windows and the Ingeborg Psalter, suggesting that the similarity between the two was not evidence of a direct link, but rather of a common artistic milieu. Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," 258.

³⁰ Ibid.; For a collection of essays taking up the question of whether a cathedral presents an integrated space, see Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper, eds., *Artistic Integration in Gothic buildings* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1995); For a recent reappraisal of integration in the context of the Gothic cathedral, see Paul Crossley, "The Integrated Cathedral: Thoughts on 'Holism' and Gothic Architecture," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 157-73.

³¹ According to Lautier's reading of the east windows, the time before Christ is represented by the typological scenes, with the panel depicting Cain and Abel standing in

more convincing case that the Theophilus and St. Stephen panels were designed for the original choir of Laon Cathedral as two separate windows and were moved to their prominent new aperture in the east wall sometime after 1205.

The lateral lancets in the east end of Laon cathedral provide evidence for at least four of the windows that may have been displayed in the original choir, though, only the Theophilus window survives intact.³² It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date it was produced and its original siting in the first choir, though it is possible to make some guesses based on what we know about the older edifice. Completed between c. 1155/60 and c. 1170/75, the first choir consisted of three rectangular bays, flanked by aisles, and terminating in a hemicycle apse (fig. 41).³³ According to Clark and King, the choir vaults may have been in place by the end of the first building campaign, meaning that the choir could have been ready for glazing as early as 1170/75.³⁴ As luck would have it, the architectural frame of one of the apertures from the original choir was preserved when it was filled in in the early thirteenth century when the sacristy was constructed.³⁵ It is still visible in the third bay of the south aisle, giving us some sense of the scale and

for the time before the law (*ante legem*), the Moses scene for the time under the law (*sub lege*), and finally, the scenes from the Infancy of Christ for the time under Grace (*sub gratia*). She also explains the unusual combination of Saint Stephen and Theophilus in the left lancet with her chronological reading of the windows. The source of the Saint Stephen legend, she notes, is the Acts of the Apostles (6:5), thus these panels must represent the time when the church was founded. In turn, the Theophilus legend moves us into the time of humanity and sinners, and finally, the apocalyptic scene in the rose window depicts eschatological time. Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," 260.

³² Aside from the pair of censuring angels that Deuchler guessed may have topped the window, as in the central and right lancets of the east wall. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, 154.

³³ Clark and King, *Laon Cathedral: Architecture*, 31.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 29-36.

appearance of the windows in the original choir (figs. 42-43). In its current configuration, the Theophilus/Saint Stephen window is 29.5 feet tall and 6.5 feet wide. If we remove the St. Stephen panels, the Theophilus window would have been, by my estimate, about 21 feet tall and 6.5 feet wide, which is the right width, but seems too tall for this particular aperture. Nevertheless, at 21 feet tall, the Theophilus window was the appropriate size for an aperture we would expect to find in the ambulatory of the semi-circular apse, perhaps even in the axial chapel.³⁶

Leaving the Saint Stephen panels aside, the Theophilus legend begins in the fourth register from the bottom of the current aperture and zigzags up the window from left to right (fig. 36). The narrative opens with Theophilus's dismissal from his post as *vicedominus*, which is depicted with two scenes at the base of what would have been the first two panels of the original aperture. Following this brief introduction, the narrative unfolds in three subsequent acts. Theophilus's fall into apostasy is presented with six panels, which are followed by six additional scenes devoted to his conversion and penitential prayers to the Virgin Mary. Both of these central parts of the narrative open with an allegorical building scene, marking the beginnings of Theophilus's conversions, first into apostasy and then back to the church. The final act consists of four panels recounting Theophilus's public confession and penance. Thus, the Laon window follows the tradition established by the Latin *vita*, but with meaningful additions and amplifications that infuse the tale with a specific local meaning.

³⁶ The Theophilus window at Chartres, by comparison, is 26.5 feet tall and 8 feet wide, appropriately scaled for the side aisle of Chartres Cathedral, which had a nave ceiling measuring 116 feet in height compared with 79 feet at Laon.

As in the *vita*, the opening drama surrounding Theophilus's decision to turn down the promotion to the episcopal seat and his subsequent dismissal serves as the instigating episode for the ensuing drama (fig. 45). In the opening scene, Theophilus is depicted in a green alb with a red chasuble, seated on a bench along with two other figures in an arcaded interior. In the center of the panel, a bishop, identifiable by his pointed miter, holds a book in his left hand and designates the *vicedominus* as his successor, while, Theophilus, in turn, holds his left hand up in protest. The glazier marked his dismissal in the next scene by placing Theophilus on the left side of the bishop, beyond the boundary of the arcaded interior. From here, the image-makers inserted a pause in the narrative, using an allegorical building scene to focus the viewer's attention on this moment of conversion, as Theophilus turns away from God and begins his fall into apostasy. The panel depicts Theophilus passing by a building that is being dismantled by two devilish beasts (fig. 46). A yellow devil perched at the level of the tribune pries the gable off the top of the building with a bar, while a blue beast with a yellow head carries away a golden box or portable altar. The destructive devils present an allegory of the decrepit state of Theophilus's soul, crumbling beneath the weight of his sin.

Theophilus turns away from the church literally and metaphorically, moving towards the panel to the right to meet with the magician, a figure marked as a Jew by his beard and the moneybag he holds in his left hand.³⁷ The Jewish magician plays a prominent role in the three following scenes, which function together with the allegorical panel to present a full picture of Theophilus's sin, including his conversion, his meeting

³⁷ For the visual devices used to mark Jews as "Other" in medieval art, see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 14-29.

with the Jew, and his pact with the devil. This last scene depicts Theophilus and the devil clasping hands to seal the pact, as the Jewish sorcerer holds up a scroll inscribed with the terms of the deal, represented as simple, illegible dashes (fig. 47). With the pact signed and sealed, Theophilus returns to his former post with the help of the Jew and the devil.

Theophilus's reinstatement is depicted with two panels, the final scenes of this section of the narrative (fig. 48). On the left, the reinstated *vicedominus* sits on a red chair, performing the duties of his office and distributing alms from a pile of coins in his lap, as the Jew supervises.³⁸ That these funds were earned through improper channels is indicated by the presence of a small devil to Theophilus's right with his hand in the pile of coins. Cothren has remarked upon the didactic efficacy of the figure of Theophilus in this scene, pointing out that, "his actions appear to be pious, but since they are accomplished through an alliance with the devil, they remind the viewer that generosity and outward piety do not always indicate inner virtue."³⁹ Likewise, in the scene to the right, Theophilus continues to perform his administrative duties, accepting a fish from a kneeling man dressed in a simple tunic, but once again, the presence of the Jew behind the donor figure reminds the viewer that Theophilus has come by his power and position through his alliance with the devil.⁴⁰

³⁸ The man's face and Theophilus's hand are obscured by corrosion on the surface of the glass.

³⁹ Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century " 327.

⁴⁰ The presentation of a fish is a motif that also occurs in the Theophilus windows at Beauvais, Troyes, and Le Mans. For the suggestion that this motif simply represents a workshop tradition or a lost source text, see Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, 473, n. 226; For a reading of this scene as a representation of a contemporary social ceremony, see Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century " 327.

The second act presents Theophilus's true conversion and penitent prayers. It begins with a second allegorical scene, marking what would have been the midpoint of the original window. As in the first allegorical scene, this panel pauses the flow of the narrative, focusing the beholder's attention on this turning point, as Theophilus begins to rebuild his soul. Theophilus stands as a witness to a building project, but in this case, he watches as a church is constructed instead of destroyed. Glazed in the middle of the reconstruction of Laon Cathedral, this scene would have had special meaning for the bishop and chapter struggling to fund their building project.⁴¹ Theophilus offers a gesture of benediction toward the figure depicted with a chisel and a level at the top of the building, indicating that this is a virtuous endeavor whatever the costs (fig. 49).⁴² In contrast to the first allegorical scene, which leads Theophilus to the doorstep of the Jew, in this case, the apostate moves from the building scene toward a church that was in all likelihood intended to represent Notre-Dame of Laon.

Thus, this pair of panels in the center of the window serves to localize the Theophilus legend, mapping the miracle onto the local cult of the Virgin. In the paired scene, a larger-than-life Theophilus stands before a church distinguished by the flying buttresses springing up from the piers to support the exterior wall at the height of the clerestory. The glaziers have played with scale and perspective in order to focus the viewer's attention on the flyers, an architectural element that was no doubt a source of

⁴¹ Based on what they describe as a "pattern of re-use, Clark and King have suggested that the funds were running out at Laon by the end of the twelfth century. See Clark and King, *Laon Cathedral: Architecture*, 48.

⁴² Barbara Abou-el-Haj has highlighted tensions at Reims, where the cost of building the cathedral resulted in riots in the town. Barbara Abou-El-Haj, "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and Its Cathedral Between 1210 and 1240," *Art History* 11, no. 1 (1988): 17-38.

pride for the bishop and chapter.⁴³ The panel emphasizes both the technical and the aesthetic value of the graceful, spindly flying buttresses, increasingly popular architectural elements in northern France by the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁴ According to Clark, flyers were added to the nave of Laon Cathedral during the fourth building campaign, between c. 1180/85 and c. 1195/1200, just before the builders began expanding the choir.⁴⁵ Though the nave buttresses were rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century, their form is preserved in a number of drawings made before the cathedral was restored (figs. 50-51).⁴⁶ The flying buttresses represented in the Theophilus panel are remarkably similar to the original nave flyers recorded in the nineteenth-century

⁴³ This kind of schematic image-making is characteristic of medieval art. In his sketch of the towers of Laon Cathedral, for example, Villard de Honnecourt plays with scale and perspective in order to focus the viewer's attention on the stone oxen. See Carl F. Barnes and Stacey L. Hahn, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr 19093): A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile*, A special publication in the series AVISTA studies in the history of medieval technology, science and art (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 73-74.

⁴⁴ The invention of the flying buttress is usually credited to the architect of the nave of Notre-Dame in Paris around 1180. See E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Etude historique et archéologique sur l'église de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Congrès archéologique de France* 82(1919): 301-66; See also Jean Bony, *French Gothic architecture of the 12th and 13th centuries*, California studies in the history of art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 180-85; For the argument that flyers were used before Notre-Dame of Paris in the 1180s, see William W. Clark and Robert Mark, "The First Flying Buttresses: A New Reconstruction of the Nave of Notre-Dame de Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 1 (1984): 47-65; Anne Prache, "Les Arcs-boutants au XIIe siècle," *Gesta* 15, no. 1/2 (1976): 31-42; John James, "Evidence for Flying Buttresses before 1180," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51, no. 3 (1992): 261-87.

⁴⁵ W. W. Clark, *Laon Cathedral: Architecture (2): The Aesthetics of Space, Plan and Structure*, Courtauld Institute illustration Archives (London: H. Millar, 1987), 50-52.

⁴⁶ When Boeswillwald rebuilt the flying buttresses in the nineteenth century, he adjusted the style of the earlier ones to reflect the later flyers that were added to the new choir extension during the fifth building campaign in the early thirteenth century. These later flyers were built in a different style, most notably with the addition of pinnacles on top of the *culées*, a detail not included in the earlier nave buttresses according to the nineteenth-century drawings and the depiction of the flyers in the Theophilus panel. See Clark, *Laon Cathedral*, 50-51 and 62.

drawings. In both cases, the thin arm of the flying buttress springs up from the heavy, stepped pier below to meet the wall just below the cornice. The fact that the glaziers showcased the nave flyers in this panel, supports a dating of the window to around the year 1200. Moreover, by showcasing the buttresses, the window was inscribed with local meaning, making it clear to the viewer that it was Notre-Dame of Laon who appears before Theophilus in the following scenes.

The next four panels emphasize the presence of the Virgin in Laon Cathedral as an intercessor, depicting the penitential prayers of Theophilus and the miraculous manifestation of the Virgin before him in her church (figs. 52-53). In the first panel of the series, Theophilus kneels in prayer before a statue of the Virgin and Child set upon an altar, connecting these scenes with the statue displayed in the church near the main altar of Laon Cathedral.⁴⁷ The wooden statue of the *Sedes sapientiae*, called "Notre-Dame-des-Miracles," was destroyed in a fire in 1586, but survives in an engraving from 1578, in which the statue is visible on the altar that was devoted to the Virgin. (fig. 54-55).⁴⁸ In

⁴⁷ Compared with the rest of the glass in this panel, the lack of pitting on the statue and the face of Theophilus indicates that these are likely modern replacements. In 1870, the window was partly damaged by an explosion in the cathedral. It was removed for safekeeping in 1939 along with the other windows in the east wall, which was a stroke of luck, since the modern panels inserted in their place were destroyed in an air raid in 1944. They were reinstalled by Bourgeot in 1947, who may be responsible for the modern panels currently in place. See Granboulan, Grodecki, and Perrot, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la région parisienne, de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, 162; Lautier, "Les vitraux du chevet de la cathédrale de Laon (première approche)," 257-64.

⁴⁸ The altar, known as *l'autel de l'image*, was located in front of the choir screen, where it had been moved by the sixteenth century. It is visible in an engraving made in 1578 by Jehan Boulaese. Martine Plouvier, "Le jubé et le decor du choeur de la cathédrale," in *Laon. [1], Une acropole à la française*, ed. Martine Plouvier, *Cahiers du patrimoine (Paris, France)* (Amiens: Association pour la généralisation de l'Inventaire régional en Picardie; Inventaire général S.P.A.D.E.M., 1995), 312-13; For Notre-Dame-des-Miracles, see Chanoine Auguste Bouxin, *La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Laon. Historique et description* (Laon: Imprimerie du Journal de l'Aisne, 1902), 8 and 229-30. See also

addition to the statue, Mary's cult at Laon was activated by the presence of her relics in the cathedral's chief reliquary, also displayed near the main altar. The relics, which included part of her robe and bits of her hair, were sent out on two tours by Bishop Bartholomew in 1112 and again the following year to raise funds for the rebuilding campaign.⁴⁹ An image of the Laon clerics carrying the relics encased in their golden reliquary box is included in a manuscript from between 1250-1275 containing the miracle collections of Notre-Dame of Soisson, Laon, and Rocamadour (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 17491, f. 91v) (fig. 56). Though we cannot be certain whether the Laon feretory resembled the image in the manuscript, Guibert of Nogent's description of the box as "A splendid little reliquary...made of gold and gems..." suggests that it would have been similar.⁵⁰ The miracles performed by the Virgin of Laon during the two tours across northern France and all the way to the southern coast of England were collected by Hérیمان de Tournai, and were also mentioned by Guibert de Nogent in his autobiography, written in 1115.⁵¹ Supported by the miracles collection, the power and

Willibald Sauerländer, "Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres and Naumburg," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 156-57.

⁴⁹ The first tour left Laon in 1112 and traveled across northern France. The second tour in 1113 traveled across the channel to England. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event*, 135-42; See also trans. and ed. by Alain Saint-Denis, *Les Miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*, Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Historire des Textes 36 (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2008), especially 37-55.

⁵⁰ Guibert's full description of the reliquary reads: "A splendid little reliquary which contained part of the robe of the Virgin Mother and of the sponge lifted to the lips of the Saviour and of his cross. Whether it contained some of the hair of Our Lady I do not know. It was made of gold and gems and verses written on the gold told of the wonders within." As cited by Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event*, 258, n. 28.

⁵¹ For a translation of the Miracles of Notre-Dame of Laon from Latin into French, see Saint-Denis, *Les Miracles de Sainte Marie de Laon*. For Guibert's autobiography, see

presence of Notre-Dame of Laon were concentrated in the choir, harnessed by the statue, "Notre-Dame-des-Miracles," and the relics of the Virgin. To this end, Sauerländer has described the interaction between images, objects, and space in Laon Cathedral as "...an accumulation of usages and rites which were staged in the huge building and connected with objects and images visible in the stained-glass windows, on the destroyed screen and altars, and on the portals."⁵² Thus, the Theophilus window, which depicted the Virgin appearing in the church to perform her most famous miracle, was keyed to the cult objects radiating from the choir, all of which worked in concert to present a dynamic portrait of the Virgin of Laon.

In the window, the emphasis on Notre-Dame of Laon's intercessory presence in the cathedral is evidenced by the juxtaposition of the scene in which Theophilus kneels in prayer before the statue of the Virgin with a panel in which she appears before him in the chapel (fig. 52). This pair of panels moves the gaze of the beholder directly from object to effect, with powerful imagery that must have resonated with the statue and relics of the

John F. Benton, ed. *Self and society in Medieval France; the memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064?-c. 1125)*, Harper torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

⁵² Sauerländer, "Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres and Naumburg," 156. Sauerländer discusses the difficulty of reconstructing these dynamic spaces, which have been changed through centuries of use. He points in particular to Eric Fernie's essay on the liturgical function of the *piliers cantonnés* in the nave of Laon Cathedral, as an example of a study that helps reanimate these lost spaces. Fernie argued that an unusual set of compound piers at the east end of the nave, which combine a central column surrounded by four colonettes, were not the vestiges of the original choir, as scholars have argued, but rather were a deliberate choice intended to mark the boundary between the liturgical space of the new choir and the space of the nave. See Eric Fernie, "La fonction liturgique des piliers cantonnés dans la nef de la cathédrale de Laon," in *Romanesque Architecture: Design, Meaning and Metrology* (London: Pindar Press, 1995), 293-99; For the Laon choir screen, see Yves Delaporte, "Le jubé de la cathédrale de Laon et l'autel de l'image," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire* 16 (1923-36): 143-48; Plouvier, "Le jubé et le decor du choeur de la cathédrale," 311-21.

Virgin displayed nearby, waiting to be activated in like manner by a penitent sinner. That this panel is located directly above the one depicting the church with its prominent flying buttresses, supports my reading that the Theophilus legend was woven into the local cult of Notre-Dame of Laon when the window was refit into the east end of the cathedral in the early thirteenth century.

Mary continues to perform her intercession as we move up the window to the next register (fig. 53). Armed with a cruciform spear, the Virgin wrests the pact, inscribed with Theophilus's name, from a green, hairy devil with a hooked nose and horns. The devil has turned its body away from Mary, as if to flee back into hell, a space depicted in this panel as a doorway in a crenelated tower rather than a gaping mouth. Mary is accompanied on her journey by an angel, who stands to her left with hands clasped together in prayer and a foot placed firmly on the end of the Virgin's green robe, as if to keep her from storming into hell to chase the fleeing devil. This remarkable scene, which is unlike any other image of the Virgin in medieval art to this date, is one of the earliest extant examples of the Virgin's journey to hell in the visual arts.

The idea for a visual representation of the Virgin Mary in hell does not come directly from the textual tradition, but was a product of the translation of the Theophilus legend into the visual arts. In the Latin *vita*, the return of the pact follows the extensive section devoted to Theophilus's penance and forgiveness, a series of scenes in which the Virgin plays an important role as harsh judge and finally, after a great deal of convincing by the penitent sinner, as intercessor. By contrast, the text devotes just a few lines to the return of the pact. Theophilus, who had already been forgiven by Christ and the Virgin,

was worried because the devil retained the physical document. Theophilus prays for three more days that the Virgin would return the document to him:

And again, therefore, with much wailing and exceeding great lamentation the aforesaid man earnestly besought her who is the sole hope of us all and the salvation of our souls and prayed to the ever virgin Mary. And verily after three days more the blessed Mary delivered unto him, in a vision as it seemed, that bond of apostasy with the seal of wax upon it, just as he had given it. When he rose from his sleep the aforesaid steward found the bond on his breast and, filled with joy at the outcome, he trembled so that the joints of all his members were almost loosed.⁵³

The *vita* thus alludes to the Virgin's journey to hell, but does not describe the trip, moving directly from Theophilus's prayers to Mary's appearance before him in his vision to return the pact.

For a more explicit textual reference to the Virgin's trip to hell, we must return to Bishop Fulbert's eleventh-century sermon *Approbate consuetudinis*, in which he describes this episode with vivid imagery:

Even you, Theophilus, once a sinner, penitent and invoking her aid, Mary snatched powerfully from the very jaws of the devil.⁵⁴

According to the Ordinary used in Laon during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Bishop Fulbert's sermon was read aloud in the cathedral each year at Matins of the Feast

⁵³ Iterum ergo lugens valde prædictus vir nimiumque deflens atque instanter postulans omnium vnicam spem, & salutem animarum nostrarum, Sanctam & semper Virginem Mariam deprecabatur. Post tres vero alteros dies, tamquam in visione exhibuit ei S. Maria chartulam cautionis habentem sigillum de cera, sicut dederat illam apostaticam cautionem: [abiurationis chirographum recipit:] & de somno surgens inuenit chartulam super pectus suum prænominatus Vice-dominus, & lætus effectus contremuit, ita vt etiam omnium membrorum eius iuncturæ pene soluerentur. *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. IV, Col. 0486E.

⁵⁴ Illa etiam te, o peccator quondam Theophile, poenitentem et suppliciter invocantem ab ipsis diaboli faucibus potenter eripuit. *PL* 141 Col. 0323B. Fassler's translation. See Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 428.

of the Virgin's Nativity (Sept. 8).⁵⁵ This does not mean that the panel illustrates the sermon in any direct fashion, but rather points to the widespread influence of Fulbert's version of the tale, which was instrumental in transforming the Theophilus legend from a saint's life into a story about the Virgin Mary, a shift in meaning that is illustrated by the Laon panel. Like Fulbert, the glaziers responded to the dramatic possibilities of the moment in between Theophilus's prayers and Mary's return of the pact, imagining a dynamic scene in which Mary faces off against the devil for Theophilus's soul.

In the final panel of this series, the Virgin returns the pact to Theophilus, who has fallen asleep before the altar. Here, depicted in Theophilus's dream, the Virgin is represented as a three-quarter bust (fig. 53). She is neither statue, nor embodied figure, but rather a fleeting vision, who appears in Theophilus's dream to return the pact, but presumably, would have turned back into a statue when he awoke. Read together, this series of four panels functions as a devotional tableau in which the penitent prayers of Theophilus bring the *Sedes sapientiae* to life (figs. 52-53).

In the Laon window, the Theophilus legend is framed around the Virgin Mary, proclaiming her dynamic local presence, however, the panels still reflect the penitential meaning of the tale emphasized in the Latin tradition. This is evident in the last four scenes, in which Theophilus delivers a public confession and receives a scourging, a type

⁵⁵ The Ordinary (Laon, BM, MS 215), which was kept chained in the choir stalls near the cantor's place, was recorded by Lisiard, who became the dean of the cathedral chapter in 1155. The manuscript was edited and published by U. Chevalier in 1897. For the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity, see Ulysse Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon (XIIIe et XIIIe siècles) suivis de deux Mysrères liturgiques publiés d'après les manuscrits originaux*, Bibliothèque liturgique 6 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1897), 339-41; See also Alain Saint-Denis, "Le maître autel de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Laon vers 1165," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre (BUCEMA)* 4, no. Autour de l'autel chrétien médiéval (2011): at note 8, not paginated.

of corporeal punishment that was occasionally included as part of public penitential practices in France (fig. 57-58).⁵⁶ As told in the *vita*, Theophilus's public confession occurred on Sunday, the morning after he received the pact from the Virgin. He confessed before the bishop and his congregation just after the gospel was read, inspiring the bishop to give an impromptu sermon in which he compared the penitent sinner to Moses, who fasted for forty days before receiving the Tablets of the Law from God (Exodus 24:18). Theophilus, the bishop proclaims,

biding for forty days in the venerable temple of the immaculate and glorious ever virgin Mary, hath received from God, through fasting and prayer, the grace which he had lost by his apostasy.⁵⁷

The sermon is depicted in the uppermost panel on the left, where the mitred bishop stands above his congregation with hands raised in a gesture of speech from the top of an architectural structure that represents a pulpit or the choir screen, as his congregation gathers below (fig. 59). In the final scene, the bishop administers the last rites to Theophilus, whose body is laid out and enshrouded on a bier awaiting burial. According to the *vita*, Theophilus was entombed in the church, near the very place where the Virgin appeared before him (fig. 57)

To conclude, when the Theophilus window was moved to the east wall of Laon Cathedral in the early thirteenth century, it took on new importance as part of an

⁵⁶ Mansfield has noted that while corporeal punishment was a more common practice in England, there is evidence for similar practices in the records for France. see Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 107-08.

⁵⁷ Palmer and More trans., *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. IV, Col. 0487A. Nam & quadraginta diebus legislator Moyses ieiunans, a Deo conscriptas tabulas suscepit, & hic frater noster quadraginta diebus permanens in venerabili templo immaculatæ & gloriosæ semper Viginis Mariæ, [& Deiparæ Virginis:] priorem gratiam, quam negando perdiderat, ieiunando & orando a Deo recepit.

ensemble of imagery highlighting the Virgin Mary's role in the Christological drama as intercessor between her son and humanity. The window worked together with the cult statue and relics in the choir to craft a special devotional space in which penitent sinners could access the Virgin. By portraying the Virgin Mary facing off with the devil, the Theophilus tradition transformed the Mother of God into a personification of Virtue. Emile Mâle observed that by the thirteenth century "the central idea of Prudentius, the idea of a battle between Virtues and Vices, was gradually losing its force."⁵⁸ It was precisely at this moment that medieval artists used the language of personification to reimagine the Saint of Saints as the Queen of the Virtues. That image-makers were thinking about the Virgin in this way was evident at Laon Cathedral, where one of the earliest Theophilus cycles was glazed around the same time that the Virtues and Vices were depicted as part of the sculpture of the west façade (c. 1195-1205).⁵⁹ This epic battle between good and evil is carved in the second archivolt of the north portal, where the Virtues, armed with lances and shields, stand triumphantly over the Vices, who are personified as female figures crouched in defeat at their feet (figs. 60-61). At Laon, the *Psychomachia* is inscribed with Marian meaning, as it frames the image of *Sedes sapientiae* depicted in the center of the tympanum and the scenes from the Infancy cycle on the lintel.⁶⁰ As Sauerländer has put it, "this is the first portal to array the Virtues

⁵⁸ Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, 106.

⁵⁹ Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic sculpture in France 1140-1270*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 32-36. Iliana Kasarska, *La sculpture de la façade de la cathédrale de Laon: eschatology et humanisme* (Paris: Picard, 2008), 93-97.

⁶⁰ The west façade at Laon suffered significant damage during the French Revolution and the sculptures have been heavily restored. Plaster casts of the side doorways, now housed in the Musée des Monuments français, were made before the restoration and provide an

around the Virgin, who is the perfect embodiment of all the virtues."⁶¹ The Virgin Mary embodies and performs this role in the window as she triumphs over the devil to save Theophilus' soul (fig. 53). This idea was repeated at Chartres just a few years later, where the Virtues and Vices are similarly arranged around Marian scenes on the left portal of the north transept, part of an even more elaborate ensemble of Marian devotion, which, like its predecessor at Laon, included relics, cult statues, and a window devoted to the Theophilus legend.⁶²

The Theophilus Window from Chartres Cathedral

Four scenes from the Theophilus legend are preserved in the Miracles of the Virgin window in the nave of Chartres Cathedral, glazed just a few years after the window from Laon. The tale was known at Chartres as early as the eleventh century, when Bishop Fulbert wrote his famous sermon, a text which was read aloud annually in the cathedral during the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity (Sept. 8). Though the thirteenth-century panels draw from both the *vita* and the sermon, they represent a new version of the tale, rewritten to serve the needs of the local Chartrain cult. While art historians have assumed that this window originally contained an anthology of Marian miracles, I argue that the upper three-quarters of the window contained a full Theophilus cycle comparable to the one at Laon. The Chartres window was similarly keyed to the relics and objects that sustained the local cult. The window functioned as a complex portrait of the Virgin

idea of their original appearance. See Sauerländer, *Gothic sculpture in France 1140-1270*, 425-28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 425-26.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 32-36; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 56-78.

of Chartres, portraying her presence in the cathedral and calling attention to the powerful potential of her intercessory power.

Glazed between 1205 and 1215, the Miracles of the Virgin window is located in the easternmost aperture of the south nave aisle, just before the transept (fig. 62-63).⁶³ The window measures 26 1/2 feet tall by almost 8 feet wide, rising from a sill placed 15 feet from the floor of the nave (64). The panels are relatively easy to read, though the details in the scenes at the top of the window are more difficult to see clearly without the aid of binoculars. Nevertheless, the upper scenes would have been much easier to see in the thirteenth-century church, lit only by candlelight and natural light filtering in from outside, an ideal viewing experience for glass.⁶⁴

⁶³ The Miracles of the Virgin Window is aperture 9 in Delaporte's text and Bay 38 according to the CVMA's numbering system. Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, 189-95; Martine Callias Bey, Louis Grodecki, and Françoise Perrot, *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire, Corpus vitrearum. France. Série complémentaire, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France II* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), 33; Manhès-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude iconographique*, 50-52 and 354-55. The date of the window is based upon the date the nave aisle vaults were in place based upon a dendrochronological study of the wooden supports used to hold the stone vaults in place during the reconstruction. See Anne Prache, "Observations sur la construction de la cathédrale de Chartres au XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1992): 327-34; Anne Prache, "Remarques sur la construction de la cathédrale de Chartres à la lumière de la dendochronologie," in *Monde médiévale et société chartraine: Actes du colloque international 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. Jean Robert Armogathe (Paris: 1997), 75-79. For an overview of the building campaign, see Jan van der Meulen, "Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *Art Bulletin* 49, no. 2 (1967): 152-72.

⁶⁴ It is possible to get a sense of how much more visible the windows were in the thirteenth century if one visits Chartres on the Saturday before Easter, when the lights are turned off in the cathedral for the Easter vigil. Illuminated with natural light from outside and the glimmer of the Pascal candle, the architecture fades into the background and the glass comes alive, appearing to float and shine against the darkness of the church interior.

The window is arranged into four large quatrefoils stacked vertically in the center and surrounded on both sides by smaller semicircular scenes (fig. 64). The window was damaged in the nineteenth century and retains its original glass only in the quatrefoil at the base of the window and the smaller panels around the edge.⁶⁵ By the time Delaporte described the window in 1926, the damaged scenes in the three uppermost quatrefoils had been removed and replaced with opaque white panels (fig. 65).⁶⁶ The window was restored by Lorin in the 1920s, who replaced the white glass with modern panels that did not recreate the original scenes.⁶⁷ The only record of the subjects depicted in the lost panels is an early eighteenth-century text by a local Chartrain magistrate named Alexandre Pintard (d. 1708), included here as Appendix III(b). Pintard's panel by panel description of the window serves as a valuable resource, permitting us to make some hypotheses about the subjects of the lost panels, which certainly contained addition scenes from the Theophilus legend. Pintard's scene list contains enough clues to suggest that the majority of the upper three quatrefoils were dedicated to the legend. By cross-referencing his descriptions of the panels with the visual and textual sources available to

⁶⁵ The lower part of the window (panels 1-9), preserving the medieval glass, was restored by Gaudin between 1908-1909. The rest of the window was restored by Charles Lorin by the beginning of 1928, when the white panels were replaced with modern scenes that do not reflect the window's original subject. Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 189-90.

⁶⁶ The opaque white panels were installed in 1816. *Ibid.*, 189-90.

⁶⁷ Though Lorin did not reproduce the original subjects of the window, he did include scenes thematically related to familiar motifs found in the cathedral's visual program. The second quatrefoil (panels 10-14) is devoted to the construction of the cathedral, containing panels depicting the architects, the stone-cutters, the masons, and the carpenters. The third quatrefoil (panels 17-21) depict a procession of the cathedral's famous relic, the *Sancta Camisa*. Finally, the topmost quatrefoil represents the Glorification of the Virgin, including depictions of Bishop Yves and Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, Old Testament Prophets, and an image of the Virgin and Child surrounded by censuring angels. *Ibid.*, 189-95.

the Chartrain image-makers, it becomes clear that this window did not depict a collection of Marian miracle stories, as scholars have assumed, but rather was designed as a full Theophilus cycle rivaling the window from Laon.⁶⁸

The Chartres window preserves four scenes from the Theophilus legend, located in the small, semi-circular panels surrounding the third quatrefoil, numbered 15-16 and 22-23 according to Delaporte's chart (figs. 66-69). The first scene (15) depicts Theophilus's meeting with the Jewish sorcerer, who is marked with a long beard and Phrygian cap (fig. 66). Seated on his left, Theophilus holds an illuminated candle, indicating that their meeting occurred under the cover of darkness, as it does in the Latin *vita*, in which the two separate meetings between the apostate and the Jewish sorcerer both occurred *perrexit noctu*.⁶⁹ Pintard, later echoed by Delaporte, described this panel as "un roy assis parlant à une personne," despite the fact that Theophilus is not crowned and clearly holds a candle.⁷⁰ The notion that the seated figure was a king is based upon Pintard's description of the lost panel below to the right (14), which he claimed represented "un roy assis tenant un sceptre; devant lui est un ange." The "scepter" held by the "king" in the lost panel (14) led both Pintard and Delaporte to assume that the figure in panel 15, whom I have identified as Theophilus, was also a king. Thus, if we assume

⁶⁸ The window is referred to as the Miracles of the Virgin window in the literature. Ibid., 189-95; Manhès-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude iconographique*, 50-52.

⁶⁹ Unde festinus perrexit noctu ad præfatum Hebræum, pulsansque ianuam, aditum pandi precabatur. Videns igitur eum Deo odibilis ille Hebræus ita corde contritum, vocavit intra domum, & dixit ei: Cuius rei caussa ad me venisti? At ille corruens prouolutus pedibus eius, dicebat: Quæso te, adiuua me, quoniam Episcopus meus opprobrium in me exercuit, & hoc operatus est in me. Respondit ei execrabilis ille Hebræus: Crastina nocte hora ista veni ad me, & ducam te ad patronum meum, & subueniet tibi, in quo volueris. *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. IV, Col. 0484C.

⁷⁰ Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, I, 189.

that Pintard's identification of both "kings" indicates that he was describing the same figure, then it follows that panel 14 must have also depicted a scene from the Theophilus legend.⁷¹

Moving to the right border of the window, the second extant scene from the legend is found in the semi-circular panel directly across from the meeting between Theophilus and the Jewish magician. In this panel, which Delaporte numbered 16, a reflective Theophilus sits with his head in his hand next to an altar, upon which rests a closed book (fig. 67). Had Delaporte recognized panels 15-16 as scenes from the Theophilus legend, he would have switched the numbering on his chart, since panel 16 makes little narrative sense following the meeting between Theophilus and the Jew in panel 15. To understand the order of the panels, we must return to Pintard's description of the second quatrefoil (panels 10-14). According to his notes, the first scene, found in the lower lobe of the quatrefoil (panel 10), depicted "2 figures dont l'une donne la benediction ou parle d'action à une autre assise et 3 debout."⁷² Pintard's description of this panel evokes the opening scenes of the *vita* of Saint Theophilus, when the *vicedominus* is offered the position of bishop. This is in line with the first panel from the Laon Theophilus window, which contained a scene closely resembling the lost Chartres panel described by Pintard (fig. 45). In the Laon panel, a bishop and a second clerical figure gesture toward Theophilus in a failed attempt to convince him to accept the episcopal seat. This scene is followed in the Laon window by a second, similar composition, in which the bishop removes Theophilus from his post and sends him on his

⁷¹ I am assuming, in this case, that Pintard misidentified the angel he described as standing in front of the "king" in panel 14.

⁷² Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 193.

way. The *vita* tells us that when Theophilus left the church, he returned to his house to live out a simple life of prayer. This is the episode likely depicted in panel 16, where we find Theophilus seated in a contemplative pose in an interior space (fig. 67).

Pintard's description of the second quatrefoil, read alongside the *vita* of Saint Theophilus, and compared with contemporary windows such as the one discussed above from Laon, supports my hypothesis that this group of panels represented scenes from the early part of the legend. Thus, the Theophilus scenes in the Miracles of the Virgin Window began in panel 10 with a scene from the clerical drama, in similar fashion to the contemporary window from Laon. From here, the window reads horizontally across panels 11-13, which also featured gesturing clerics and at least one figure that Pintard identified as a bishop. Thus, with the exception of the problematic "king" in panel 14, all of the scenes described by Pintard in the second quatrefoil are likely candidates for representations of the early part of the legend. In the Latin *vita*, the clerical drama is described in great detail, including a passage in which the people led the reluctant Theophilus *by the arm* to the episcopal consecration ceremony, an episode very similar to the lost scene in panel 11, in which, according to Pintard, several priests led another to an altar, upon which there was a chalice, perhaps indicating such a ceremony. If my hunch is correct, then the remaining scenes would have depicted Theophilus's refusal of the post, the appointment of another cleric in his place, and his ultimate dismissal, moving up the window from panel 10 across the central axis of the quatrefoil from panel 11 to panel 13, and finally up to the top lobe, panel 14, which includes the figure Pintard misidentified as a "king." Based on the conflation of the candle and the scepter, detailed above, it seems more likely that this panel depicted Theophilus's dismissal from his post, presenting the

final scene of the clerical drama that opens the legend. If so, then the extant scene depicted in panel 16 fits easily into the narrative, moving the viewer directly from Theophilus's dismissal to his home, where, according to the *vita* the cleric retreated to live out a reflective life of prayer and service, an important turning point in the narrative, for it was here, in his solitude, that the devil infiltrated his soul and turned his heart toward vainglorious thoughts, ultimately leading him to the sorcerer's doorstep in the next panel (15).⁷³ Thus, it makes good narrative sense to reverse our reading of panel 15 and 16, so that Theophilus's retreat to his house following his dismissal (16) precedes the panel depicting his meeting with the Jewish magician (15).

From panel 15, my reading of the window moves up to the lower lobe of the third quatrefoil. If we concede that these five lost panels (17-21) contained further scenes from the legend, as Pintard's description suggests, then the two remaining extant scenes, found in the semi-circular panels in between the third and fourth quatrefoils (22-23) also fall easily into place within the narrative (figs. 68-69). The first of these panels, on the left, depicts the Virgin's appearance before the repentant Theophilus (22), while the second, on the right, presents the Virgin's retrieval of the pact from the devil (23). As was the case with the first two extant panels (15-16), these disjointed scenes do not make sense as part of an anthology of Marian miracles, but make narrative sense as part of a much longer Theophilus cycle.

Based on Pintard's account, it is likely that the panel following the meeting between Theophilus and the Jew (15) depicted an episode related to Theophilus's pact with the devil, though Pintard's text makes it difficult to pinpoint exactly which scene

⁷³ *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. IV, Col. 0484B.

may have been represented.⁷⁴ His description of the next panel (18), however, is far more detailed, providing a clear reference to a lost scene from the Theophilus legend.

Une personne debout entourée de plusieurs Diabes dont l'un tient un papier ou un Ecu semblant estre d'argent au chevron de Sable à 2 aiglons aussy de Sable, l'un en chef, l'autre en pointe.⁷⁵

Pintard describes a figure surrounded by a group of devils, one of whom holds a piece of paper. This must be a reference to Theophilus's pact with the devil, which is one of the key episodes from the story and rarely left out of visual representations of the legend.⁷⁶

The central panel of the quatrefoil (19), according to Pintard, contained a depiction of two figures approaching a bishop and his chaplain.⁷⁷ This is a likely reference to the scene in which the reinstated *vicedominus* attends to his administrative duties. The Laon glaziers devoted two panels to this episode, depicting Theophilus in the process of accepting gifts and distributing alms, accompanied by a devil in one case, and the Jewish magician in the other (fig. 48). The chaplain identified by Pintard may be the Jewish magician in the Chartres window as well, as it was customary for Theophilus to be marked as an apostate through his proximity to the devil or the Jew in this moment of ill-gained power, since his reinstatement occurs after his pact with the devil, but before he turns in penitent prayer toward the Virgin Mary.

⁷⁴ Pintard describes this scene as "Deux personnes à genoux; des troupeaux autour d'eux. See Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 193.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 192-94.

⁷⁶ In general, the illustrations of the legend made during the eleventh and twelfth century were tailored for the ecclesiastical audiences familiar with the legend and thus, focused on the relationship between Theophilus and the Virgin. See Chapter Two for a discussion of these early representations of the Theophilus legend.

⁷⁷ Pintard's text reads: "Un Evesque assis, son aumosnier prêche, 2 personnes luy viennent parler. Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 192-94.

From here, we move across the window to the last of the three horizontal scenes (20) and then up to the top panel of the quatrefoil (21). Pintard's description of these two scenes does not immediately recall any specific scenes from the legend, but it is likely, given their position in the narrative, that at least one of these panels would have depicted Theophilus's penitent prayers to the Virgin. According to Pintard, the first of these two panels contained a representation of "*Notre-Seigneur parlant à un Saint.*" It seems likely, given that Pintard was frequently imprecise in his descriptions, and since he was also unfamiliar with the Theophilus legend, that he misidentified a standing, possibly nimbed figure, as Christ. The presence of Christ makes little sense in this context, unless Pintard was describing an image of the infant Christ sitting in his mother's lap, making the figure described as a generic male saint Theophilus.⁷⁸ Not only was this a key scene from the narrative, marking the moment when Theophilus began his penitential return to the fold, but it would have also linked the image of the Virgin in the legend with the Chartrain statue depicted in the center of the lowermost quatrefoil of the window (figs. 70-71).

My hypothesis that panel 20 depicted Theophilus in prayer before a Throne of Wisdom type statue is supported by the fact that the next three panels (21-23) introduce scenes involving the Virgin Mary. Of the first of these three panels (21), Pintard writes "*Une Ste. parlant à une personne qui sort d'une maison,*"⁷⁹ shifting from the masculine to the feminine form of saint. My guess is that the house was actually a church or a chapel

⁷⁸ A second possibility is that Pintard described a scene in which the Virgin appears before Christ to intercede. This moment was not depicted very often in Theophilus imagery in any media, but it was included a few years after the Chartres window at Troyes Cathedral in a window in the choir clerestory glazed around 1245. See Elizabeth C. Pastan and Sylvie Balcon, *Les vitraux du choeur de la cathédrale de Troyes (XIIIe siècle)*, Corpus Vitrearum France, vol. II (Paris: Comité français du Corpus Vitrearum et du Centre André Chastel, 2006), 197 and 492.

⁷⁹ Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 193.

interior. The presence of the female saint in this panel makes it likely that this was part of the series of episodes in which Theophilus makes his penitential prayers and the Virgin Mary appears before him. The next two scenes support this identification, as they depict the Virgin standing before the praying Theophilus (22) and her subsequent trip to hell to retrieve the pact from the devil (23).

These two scenes, located in the semicircular panels on the border of the window, in between the third and topmost quatrefoils, represent the last two extant scenes from the legend (figs. 68-69). Pintard's described these two scenes accurately, though not without a few problems, suggesting that he was working quickly or that he did not have a good view of the top part of the window. Moreover, the inconsistencies in Pintard's text point to the fact that he was unfamiliar with the Theophilus legend. Of panel 22, in which the Virgin Mary stands before the kneeling Theophilus, gesturing toward him with her left hand, Pintard notes, "*Une Ste. parlant à un Religiuex assis.*" We may assume that the female saint he indicates here is the same as in the previous panel (21), bolstering my claim that the lost panel was part of this series. The fact that Theophilus is kneeling rather than sitting is characteristic of the kinds of inconsistencies found in the eighteenth-century text. Pintard's commentary on panel 23, which reads "*Un St. qui tient un Livre ou papier, Un Diable est devant luy,*" is similarly uneven. The standing figure of the Virgin Mary depicted in this panel, who Pintard mistakes for a male saint, closely resembles the representation of the Virgin in the previous scene, with identical faces, veiled and nimbed heads, and long dresses topped with mantles. Pintard rightly noted that the "male saint" held an object in his hand, which he identified as either a book or a piece of paper, but is clearly the pact with the devil, inscribed with a kind of pseudo writing. He mentions the

presence of a devil, but neglects to mention the hell mouth from which the beast steps. Nonetheless, from the two extant panels (22-23) and what we can glean from Pintard's imperfect transcriptions of the lost scenes, there is sufficient evidence to assert that this section of the window was devoted to Theophilus's penitent prayers to the Virgin and her appearance before him.

From here, the narrative moves up the window to the fourth quatrefoil, beginning with the lower lobe, for which Pintard provided a detailed account (24):

Un petit autel devant lequel est une personne assise tenant le papier,
auquel une personne semble faire quelque reproche.⁸⁰

The figure described as seated by an altar holding the paper is undoubtedly Theophilus, represented with the pact that the Virgin extracted from the devil in the previous panel. In all likelihood, the figure described as reproaching the seated figure was also the Virgin, reappearing before Theophilus to return the pact and, if Pintard is accurate, delivering a final scolding for good measure. This last detail is in accord with the *vita*, which devotes numerous lines to the Virgin's harsh words in response to Theophilus's apostacy. The lost scene probably resembled the Laon panel, which depicts the Virgin handing over the cancelled document to Theophilus, who is represented sleeping before an altar (fig. 53).

Pintard's descriptions of the next two panels (25-26) also contain references to recognizable episodes from the Theophilus legend. Both panels feature a figure identified as a bishop, indicating that we have reached the last section of the legend, when, according to the *vita*, Theophilus confesses his actions to a bishop and hands over the pact. The top of the Laon window counts four scenes from this part of the legend, including Theophilus's confession, a penitential scourging, the bishop's sermon, and

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 194.

finally the administration of the last rites to Theophilus on his death bed (fig. 57). If Pintard's description is correct, then the Chartrain image-makers devoted at least two panels to this part of the legend. The first of these scenes, found in the left lobe of the quatrefoil (25), reportedly depicted the confession to the bishop and included an interesting twist, as the glaziers inserted a devil, perhaps to remind Theophilus of his oath or, as Pintard suggests, to tempt him back into apostasy. According to the eighteenth-century text, the next scene, found in the center of the quatrefoil (26), depicted a bishop, who places his hand on a figure while three others look on near an altar upon which there are two candles. This could refer to the bishop's sermon, which would have been performed in front of an audience, however Pintard's interpretation that the bishop was touching the other figure suggests that this scene represented a penitential scourging, as at Laon, or a death-bed scene. This latter suggestion is supported by Pintard's description of the final scene (28), in which the Virgin Mary, accompanied by two angels, carried a soul toward heaven.⁸¹

In summary, I have proposed that the Miracles of the Virgin window originally contained a full Theophilus cycle with at least eighteen panels dedicated to the tale. Pintard's record of the lost panels preserves sufficient detail to sketch out the original narrative, especially when read alongside the Laon window and the Latin tradition. With the lost scenes reconstructed, the four extant Theophilus panels fit easily into the narrative. The windows at Laon and Chartres both demonstrate the ways that the translation of the Theophilus legend into the monumental art of glass painting led glaziers

⁸¹ Pintard's description of panel 27, which reads, "Un enfant tenant une Corbeille pleine de pains en presence de 3 personnes," does not immediately recall an episode from the Theophilus legend, although it is possible that it could relate to Theophilus's death since the Virgin carries his soul to heaven in the next panel. *Ibid.*, 194.

to expand their repertory of scenes, effectively carving out a space in which to showcase the dynamic power of the Virgin Mary. Like its predecessor at Laon, the Chartres window was part of a network of Marian images and objects, but one far grander in scale and scope. In addition, the Theophilus legend was inscribed with local meaning through a clever juxtaposition of Marian imagery that linked the Virgin of Chartres with the Virgin represented in the story. The "Miracles of the Virgin" window, presents a layered portrait of the Virgin of Chartres, which telescopes her numerous forms and personalities into an image with special local meaning.

To understand how the "Miracles of the Virgin" window functioned as a portrait of the Virgin of Chartres, we must return to the panels at the base of the aperture (4-7) (fig. 70). Located in the lower quatrefoil along with the donor panels (1-3), these scenes retain the majority of their original thirteenth-century glass, and are generally agreed to be reliable in terms of iconography.⁸² The main focus of the composition is a statue of the Virgin and Child painted in grisaille on yellow glass in the central panel (fig. 72). The statue is placed inside a tabernacle, which is topped with a cross and framed with open doors decorated with bearded prophets from the Old Testament, also painted in grisaille (fig. 71). A crowd of worshippers and pilgrims is gathered around the statue and includes a number of men in short, belted tunics, at least one member of the clergy, a woman, and a small child holding a crutch at the base of the tabernacle, signaling that he has come to pray to the Virgin for a healing miracle. The child kneels near a stout blue column, which, as Delaporte noted, protrudes into the foreground and appears to hold a *tronc* or collection plate, where pilgrims and worshippers could leave a donation in honor of

⁸² Ibid., I, 189-91.

Notre-Dame of Chartres, much as they still do in the cathedral today.⁸³ From the semicircular panels on either side of this central scene, groups of men drag wagons laden with sacs and barrels, as if presenting goods to the Virgin and her cathedral (fig. 70).⁸⁴ Above this central triptych, the top panel of the quatrefoil houses a second image of the Virgin, here depicted in the guise of the Throne of Wisdom (fig. 73). Mary sits frontally on a throne, with crown and halo framing her head against the panel's blue background. Seated in her lap, the infant Christ gives a gesture of blessing with his right hand and raises a staff with his left hand.⁸⁵ Both figures look out at the beholder, flanked by censuring angels who turn their gaze in toward mother and son. This image of the *Sedes Sapientiae* is placed directly above the gilded statue depicted in the panel below, establishing a visual link between the two representations, a connection made even more obvious by the cross topping the tabernacle, which passes through the border of the

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ These panels are usually identified as representations of the "cult of carts," when, according to a legend first recorded in 1144, the people of Chartres were inspired by their love for the Virgin Mary to pull carts of building materials to the cathedral. Haimon, the abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives described this event in a letter to the monks of Tutbury Abbey in England, writing, "Who ever saw, who ever heard, in all generations past, that kings, princes, mighty men of this world, puffed up with honors and riches, men and women of noble birth, should bind bridles upon their proud and swollen necks and submit to wagons which, after the fashion of brute beasts, they dragged with their loads of wine, corn, oil, lime, stones, beams, and other things, necessary to sustain life or to build churches, even to Christ's abode." As cited by Teresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140-c. 1450: Sources and Documents*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (Toronto: Published by University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1987), 25-26; The "Cult of Carts" reportedly recurred after the fire of 1194, inspired by the discovery that the cathedral's prized relic of the Virgin, the Sancta Camisa survived the blaze in the crypt. See Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 31-32.

⁸⁵ The bulbous panel at the top of his staff, decorated with a vegetal motif, appears to be a stopgap. It is likely that the staff was crowned with a cross like the similarly shaped piece of glass depicting a cross on the top of the tabernacle in the panel directly below this one.

roundel and points the viewer toward the representation of the Virgin above, seated on her heavenly throne. This layering of Marian imagery is meaningful on multiple levels. In a general iconographic sense, the depiction of the Virgin in heaven with Christ and the angels underscores her function as an intercessor between Christ and humanity, granting license to her portrayal as a miracle-working cult statue in the lower panel. In terms more specific to Chartres, these two images of the Virgin were keyed to her local cult, linked visually with the Marian statues, relics, and imagery displayed throughout the cathedral, functioning collectively as a multifaceted portrait of the Virgin of Chartres.

The most famous object related to the medieval cult of the Virgin of Chartres was not a statue, but rather a relic, a fragment of silk known as the *Sancta Camisa* or Holy Tunic.⁸⁶ According to Chartrain legend, the Virgin wore the *Sancta Camisa* when she gave birth to Jesus and thus, the relic was doubly powerful because it had touched both Mary and the Christ child.⁸⁷ The tunic was kept inside a wooden reliquary box, the *Sainte*

⁸⁶ The *Sancta Camisa* was donated to Chartres Cathedral in 876 by Charles the Bald. According to legend, the relic was responsible for saving the town from a Norman attack in 911. For an account of its legendary history, see Yves Delaporte, *Le voile de Notre Dame* (Chartres: Maison des clercs, 1927), 1-26; See also James Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*, 104 (Leiden Brill, 2005), 153-55; For the argument that the Charlemagne window in the choir of Chartres Cathedral presents a genealogy of the *Sancta Camisa*, see Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral," 97-135; For a catalog of the extensive Marian imagery in the cathedral's visual program, see Yves Delaporte, *Les trois Notre-Dame de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude suivie la liste des images de la Vierge appartenant à la cathédrale et de quelques mots sur le pèlerinage de Chartres* (Chartres: É. Houvet, 1955), 68-84.

⁸⁷ Since the Virgin was assumed to heaven by angels and left behind no bodily remains, her relics consisted of clothing, bits of her hair, and occasionally a few drops of her milk. As noted above, Laon Cathedral possessed a piece of the Virgin's robe and some of her hair, while Soisson Cathedral boasted one of her shoes. In addition to the *Sancta Camisa*, Chartres purported to have three drops of the Virgin's milk that were preserved from the

Châsse, which was encased in sheets of gold and decorated with a dazzling array of jewels (fig. 74).⁸⁸ The *Sainte Châsse* was displayed on a platform just behind the main altar in the heart of the liturgical choir, where it was moved from the crypt following the fire in 1194.⁸⁹ Between 1205-10 and 1221, as construction continued in the east end of the church, the liturgical choir was provisionally located in the eastern bays of nave meaning that for a short time the *Sancta Camisa* was displayed in very close proximity to

miracle she performed for Bishop Fulbert when she appeared before him as he was near death from a bout with ergotism and nursed him back to health. For the relics of the Virgin scattered across northern France, see Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event*, 132-65; For the story of Bishop Fulbert being saved by the Virgin's milk, see Chapter One.

⁸⁸ According to Lautier, the late-tenth-century *chasse* was covered with precious and semi-precious stones, cameos, antique intaglios, and small secondary reliquaries. It was destroyed during the Revolution, but its appearance was recorded by Nicolas de Larmessin in an engraving dated 1697 that is in accord with seventeenth-century descriptions of the reliquary box. See Claudine Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The Reliquary Chasse of the Virgin in the Liturgical Choir and Stained Glass Decoration," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 175, n. 5-7.

⁸⁹ That the relic was moved to the upper church following the fire is reported in the both collections of the miracles of Notre-Dame of Chartres. See Miracle I in the anonymous Latin collection dating to the early thirteenth century (Vatican, MS Regina 339). See "Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres," in *Bibliothèque de l'école de Chartres*, ed. Antoine Thomas (1881). The translation of the relic to the choir is also mentioned in the collection recorded in French in 1262 by Jean le Marchant. See Miracle III, Jean le Marchant, "Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres," in *Publications Médiévales de l'Université d'Ottawa 1; Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir 26*, ed. Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973). There is evidence for the reliquary's presence in the upper church from at least 1210, when it was placed on the floor of the choir during the excommunication ceremony following a riot in the town. See Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The Reliquary Chasse of the Virgin in the Liturgical Choir and Stained Glass Decoration," 180; A note in the Chartrain Cartulary from February, 1212 reports that Gauthier de Villebéon provided funds for a candle to burn in perpetuity on the high altar before the reliquary (*super majus altare ante sacrum scrinium ejusdem beate Virginis*). As cited by Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," 166, n. 14. For the full passage, see Lepinois and Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres: publié sous les auspices de cette Société d'après les cartulaires et les titres originaux*, III, 153.

the "Miracles of the Virgin" window.⁹⁰ By 1221, however, the relic was moved back to the newly functional choir where it was displayed alongside a silver-gilt statue of the Virgin and Child that had been donated to the cathedral in 1220 by Pierre de Bordeaux.⁹¹ The statue and the *Sancta Camisa* were dramatically staged in the choir, where, illuminated by candlelight they would have been a dazzling sight for the clergy sitting in their stalls during the liturgy. For the local congregation and pilgrims viewing them through the doorway of the choir screen enclosure, the gilded pair formed a powerful locus of Marian devotion.⁹² Their presence within the sanctuary was further highlighted by the purple cloth set up behind the main altar, which served to make the Eucharist visible when it was raised by the officiant during Mass, but must have also provided a dramatic stage setting for the shining statue and the sumptuous reliquary.⁹³

For medieval beholders, the representations of the Virgin Mary in the "Miracles of the Virgin" window would have resonated with the cult statue and the relic displayed in the choir, just a short walk across the transept from the window's location in the easternmost nave bay. The question remains, however, to what degree medieval

⁹⁰ Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The Reliquary Chasse of the Virgin in the Liturgical Choir and Stained Glass Decoration," 178-80.

⁹¹ Delaporte, *Les trois Notre-Dame de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude suivie la liste des images de la Vierge appartenant à la cathédrale et de quelques mots sur le pèlerinage de Chartres*, 38-9; See also Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," 147.

⁹² The choir was enclosed by a choir screen around 1230-40. See Jean Mallion, *Chartres: le jubé de la cathédrale* (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1964); See also Jacqueline Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin* 82, no. Dec. (2000): 634-36; Jacqueline Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Sculpture, Space, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 73-74.

⁹³ Jung describes the way that this cloth served to increase the visibility of the host when it was elevated during the Mass, but the cloth would have also provided a dramatic stage setting for the *Sainte Châsse* and the silver-gilt statue of the Virgin and Child. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," 627.

audiences would have identified these images with specific cult objects displayed in the cathedral. Delaporte argued that the statue of the Virgin and Child painted in grisaille at the base of the window was a representation of the silver-gilt statue placed on the main altar (fig. 72).⁹⁴ Moreover, he dated this panel as a fourteenth-century addition to the thirteenth-century window, suggesting that the insertion of the new panel was not a meaningless stopgap, but rather was intended to connect the window to the cult image displayed in the choir.⁹⁵ More recently, Bugslag has argued that the inclusion of the silver-gilt statue in the visual program at Chartres was part of an concentrated effort to refocus the center of the Virgin's cult in the upper church.⁹⁶ Bugslag's theory is supported by the fact that there is a strong concentration of Marian imagery inside the cathedral, especially on the south side of the nave and choir ambulatory, where the "Miracles of the Virgin" window is one example among many apertures devoted to the Virgin, all of which frame the cult objects in the sanctuary. And yet, we should not forget that there was also an important cult image of the Virgin in the crypt, representing a second locus in the cathedral where Mary's presence was especially strong.

That the "Miracles of the Virgin" window reflects the multi-dimensional nature of the Virgin of Chartres is suggested by the inclusion of the second, more traditional Throne of Wisdom image in the panel just above the grisaille Virgin and Child at the base of the window (fig. 73). Thus, the window points to both the silver-gilt statue in the upper

⁹⁴ Delaporte has dated the gilded statue of the Virgin and Child (panel 4) to the first half of the fourteenth century, attributing it to the glazier responsible for the grisaille panel depicting canon Thierry in the Saint Piat window. Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 190. See also Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," 147. I will return to the implications of this fourteenth-century insertion for my reading of the window below.

⁹⁵ Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, 1, I, 190.

⁹⁶ Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," especially 161-64.

church and the much older cult statue in the crypt, an eleventh- or twelfth-century statue known as *Notre-Dame-sous-terre*. Among the multitude of images of the Virgin displayed in the thirteenth-century cathedral, these two statues had special status, a fact made abundantly clear by their proximity to spaces in the church with special significance for her cult. Though lost to a moment of revolutionary iconoclasm, *Notre-Dame-sous-terre* survives in a number of descriptions and engravings made before its destruction, which tell us that it was a statue of the Virgin Mary as the Throne of Wisdom, holding the Christ Child in her lap. Pintard viewed the statue in 1681 and provided a detailed account of its appearance:

In the chapel erected especially in her honor, the venerable image which appears there, set up in a niche above the altar, is made of wood that seems to be pear wood which the long course of time has given a smoky color. The Virgin is on a chair, holding her Son seated on her knees, while he, with his right hand, gives a blessing, and with his left, carries the orb of the universe. His head is bare and the hair very short. The tunic which covers his body is close-fitting and gathered into pleats by the belt; his face, his hands and his feet, which are bare,, have the color of shiny gray ebony. The Virgin is covered, above her tunic, be a mantle of Classical style, in the form of a dalmatic, which, being gathered up over her arms, appears looped in front upon her knees, down to which it descends; the veil which covers her head rests on both her shoulders, from which it is thrown over her back,; her face is extremely well executed and well proportioned, oval in form and of a shiny black coloration; her crown is very simple, being adorned on top with fleurons in the form of celery leaves; the chair has four supports, of which the two rear ones are 23 inches high [62.26 cm.], with a spread of one foot [32.48 cm.], the chair [width] included; there is a hollow [space] in back, as if it [the figure of the Virgin] were the shell of a tree, three inches thick [8.12 cm.], wrought with carving [i.e. the carved surface of the figure].⁹⁷

An additional text cited by Forsyth gives the height of the statue as not quite three-feet tall, making the lost Chartres statue a fairly standard Throne of Wisdom in terms of its

⁹⁷ As translated by Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 108.

scale and appearance.⁹⁸ Pintard's description of *Notre-Dame-sous-terre* is corroborated by an engraving by Leroux, which dates to the seventeenth century, and a drawing from 1682 by Chanoine Etienne (figs. 75-76).⁹⁹ In both representations, the Virgin sits on what appears to be a simple wooden throne, holding the Christ Child in her lap. As noted by Pintard, the Christ Child gives a blessing with his right hand and holds the orb in his left. In addition, both images include the fleurons or celery leaves that reportedly adorned the Virgin's crown, a detail which was repeated by the glaziers in the fourteenth-century panel at the base of the window (fig. 72). Thus, while this important cult statue does not survive, the surviving documents and images provide us with a good estimation of its appearance in the thirteenth-century crypt.

In an essay investigating how images might help us understand the experiences of medieval pilgrims in Chartres Cathedral, James Bugslag describes the building as "a double church, with distinctive upper and lower levels, each of which functioned in

⁹⁸ The majority of statues catalogued by Forsyth are between 70 and 80 centimeters in height. See *ibid.*, 108-9; See also Delaporte, *Les trois Notre-Dame de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude suivie la liste des images de la Vierge appartenant à la cathédrale et de quelques mots sur le pèlerinage de Chartres*, 20-21.

⁹⁹ Leroux's engraving was preserved in a manuscript that was destroyed when the town's municipal library burned during WWII (Chartres, BM, MS 1011). Etienne's drawing was found in Chartres, Archives départementales, MS G 403, fol. 68r, which was also damaged in the War. Both were published by Delaporte, *Les trois Notre-Dame de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude suivie la liste des images de la Vierge appartenant à la cathédrale et de quelques mots sur le pèlerinage de Chartres*, 15 and 17. A banner reading *VIRGINI PARITVRAE* flies over the Virgin's head in the engraving by Leroux. This detail relates to the legendary history *Notre-Dame-sous-terre* had acquired by the seventeenth century, which endowed the statue with a pre-Christian origin story, according to which prefigured Mary's role in the Incarnation, thus representing her as the *Virgo paritura* (the Virgin about to give birth). As Forsyth has noted, the fact that the Virgin has already given birth and holds her infant son in her lap did not trouble medieval audiences, who were accustomed to viewing the Mother of God in many guises simultaneously. See Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 105.

different ways to construct a powerful and varied experience for pilgrims.¹⁰⁰ *Notre-Dame-sous-terre*, he argues, ruled over the crypt, where she was displayed in a chapel on the north side of the cathedral, which could be accessed directly by pilgrims via a staircase located on the exterior of the cathedral near the meeting of the north transept and the chevet.¹⁰¹ The crypt was also the site of an ancient well, the *Locus Fortis*, believed to have special curative powers and which contained the bodies of a number of early martyrs associated with the town.¹⁰² The presence of both the statue and the sacred well made the crypt one of the main goals of pilgrims visiting Chartres.¹⁰³ This association between the lower church and the Virgin is recorded as early as the eleventh century, when Bishop Fulbert, who may have also commissioned the statue, established an altar in her honor in the crypt.¹⁰⁴ By the thirteenth century, a wall painting of the

¹⁰⁰ Bugslag, "Pilgrimage to Chartres: The Visual Evidence," 182-83.

¹⁰¹ Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The Reliquary Chasse of the Virgin in the Liturgical Choir and Stained Glass Decoration," 177-78; Paul Crossley, "Ductus and memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 220-21.

¹⁰² Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 105. Forsyth notes that this legendary history is recorded in the *Vielle Chronique* of 1389. A much later tradition stemming from the sixteenth century proposed an ancient cult of the Druids at Chartres, which was connected to Marian devotion at the site and the idea that there was an ancient Druid altar in the crypt. For the *Vielle Chronique*, see Lepinois and Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres: publié sous les auspices de cette Société d'après les cartulaires et les titres originaux*, I, 38-39.

¹⁰³ Crossley, "Ductus and memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric," 220-21.

¹⁰⁴ For Fulbert's Marian chapel in the crypt of Chartres Cathedral, see Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 110-11. Éric Palazzo has pointed to the tendency to locate altars dedicated to the Virgin in church crypts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Éric Palazzo, "Marie et l'élaboration d'un espace ecclésial au haut Moyen Age," in *Marie: Le culte de la vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996), 313-24.

Virgin as the Throne of Wisdom was also found here, adding to the concentration of Mary's power over this space (fig. 77). Indeed, as noted above, the *Sancta Camisa* was displayed in this space until 1194, when it was moved to the upper church following the famous fire.

The movement of the *Sancta Camisa* from the lower to the upper church, where it was linked with a new cult statue, demonstrates that the Virgin's likeness was in flux, perpetually reshaped to suit the needs of her audiences. This is a key to unlocking the question of which statue medieval viewers would have seen in the base of the "Miracles of the Virgin" window. In reality, the statues and the relic of the Virgin, in addition to the numerous Marian representations that echoed throughout the cathedral's stained glass and sculpture, were not singular images, but part of a layered portrait of Notre-Dame of Chartres. Together, the images of Mary in the cathedral's visual program fashioned a picture of the Virgin of Chartres, a supernatural figure whose presence was felt in the church, but whose likeness changed over the course of the centuries. The fourteenth-century addition to the "Miracles of the Virgin" window reminds us that her cult was perpetually reinvigorated through the addition of new images. I have argued here that the so-called "Miracles of the Virgin" window was actually a full Theophilus cycle superimposed on representations of the local cult figure. The window makes clear that the famous miracle-working statues and even the *Sancta camisa*, were containers for the Virgin's presence, which had the potential to work, but required activation on the part of the worshipper through prayer.

The windows glazed for the cathedrals of Laon and Chartres in the early thirteenth century demonstrate the enduring influence of the Theophilus legend, a tale

known to medieval audiences through Paul the Deacon's much-copied Latin *vita* of a penitential saint and Bishop Fulbert's Latin sermon, the latter of which sharpened the focus of the tale around the Virgin Mary's thaumaturgical powers. Though ecclesiastical familiarity with both popular versions of the legend are evident at Laon and Chartres, it was not the texts, but rather the dual forces of the medium of glass and the devotional needs of the Virgin's cult, which carried the story into the thirteenth century. There is evidence that at least fourteen Theophilus windows were glazed for French churches during the first half of the thirteenth century, though undoubtedly others have not survived. As Michael Cothren has demonstrated in his important study of the extant windows, the iconography of the legend as it was recounted in glass remained relatively stable in the examples following the early full light at Laon.¹⁰⁵ Though Cothren glosses over the slightly later Theophilus window from Chartres due to its fragmentary state, my reconstruction of the original scenes above suggests that this window also helped establish a place for the legend on the monumental stage.

The Theophilus windows created during the first half of the thirteenth century are notable for the way they set this powerful new image of the Virgin into devotional settings carefully attuned to her intercessory presence. At Laon and Chartres, the Theophilus legend was integrated into spaces in which devotion to the Virgin was a multidimensional experience. Not only did the Theophilus panels represent the miraculous appearance of the Virgin as her statue came to life, but these windows also helped craft the very spaces in which her presence was made tangible and her intercessory powers were accessible. Thus, in the monumental medium of glass, the

¹⁰⁵Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century " 308-41.

Theophilus legend took on a third dimension, displayed in chapels that mirror the one in which the Virgin appears in the tale. This aspect of the legend is evident across the glass recension established by Cothren, which include windows in the cathedrals of Auxerre, Beauvais, Tours, Clermont-Ferrand, and the Collegiate Church of Saint-Julien-du-Sault, where the Theophilus legend was granted a full aperture and displayed as part of a diptych or triptych of lights devoted to the Virgin Mary. The Theophilus legend took on a more official role in these devotional settings, symbolizing the Virgin Mary's most important posthumous miracle. In the 1240s, for example, a full Theophilus window was glazed for the axial chapel of Beauvais Cathedral, displayed alongside windows depicting the Jesse Tree and the Infancy cycle (fig. 78-79).¹⁰⁶ This chapel featured an altar dedicated to Notre-Dame and was called "the Virgin's Chapel" as early as the thirteenth century, when it was endowed with a daily Mass for the Virgin by Bishop Robert of Cressonsac (1238-1248).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ The Theophilus legend is spread across the two lancets and rose occupying the right aperture. The Jesse Tree is represented in the left lancet of the central aperture, while the Infancy cycle is found in the right lancet. These two lancets are topped by a crucifixion scene in the rose. The left aperture depicts scenes related to an unknown bishop saint and was possibly, as Michael Cothren has suggested, designed to be intentionally ambiguous. For the argument for dating these windows and further bibliography, see Cothren, *Picturing the Celestial City: the Medieval Stained Glass of Beauvais Cathedral*, 1-99.

¹⁰⁷ Cothren suggests Bishop Robert of Cressonsac as a possible candidate for the unidentified figure represented in the left window, citing his connection to the Virgin Chapel through this endowment. *Ibid.*, 52-58. For evidence that the axial chapel was known as the Virgin's Chapel by the thirteenth century, see Stephen Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral, Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 159-60. These chapels are frequently referred to in the literature as "Virgin Chapels," but it is not always clear whether or not that term had any meaning in thirteenth-century France. I suspect that the term "Virgin's Chapel" is borrowed from later English churches, where the "Lady Chapel" had clear architectural and liturgical functions. For the lady chapel at Ely Cathedral, see Peter Draper, "Architecture and Liturgy," in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987),

By the mid-thirteenth century, the Theophilus legend was connected to the idea of a setting with special Marian meaning, whether a chapel devoted to the Virgin or an entire cathedral. This new spatial dimension attached to the Theophilus legend is exemplified by a scene from the drama, *Le Miracle de Théophile*, written in French during the 1260s by the poet and jongleur Rutebeuf.¹⁰⁸ In the play, Theophilus prays for intercession before a statue of the Virgin and Child, as he does in most depictions of the tale. When she appears before him, however, the Virgin makes it clear that Theophilus is trespassing in her space:

*Je n'ai cure de ta favele.
Va t'en, is fors de ma chapele.*

(I will not listen to such nonsense.
Go! Get out of my chapel.)¹⁰⁹

In contrast to Theophilus's prayer, which stretches over more than one hundred lines of the play, the Virgin's curt response amplifies the dramatic effect of her order to "*Va t'en, is fors de ma chapele.*" Rutebeuf's presentation of the Virgin is even more vivid in the next scene, as she faces off with the devil in front of a hell mouth. The Virgin reprimands the devil, telling him that he has gone too far with his villainous ways (*Quar tu as fet trop vilain cas*), and when the devil responds that he would rather be hanged than give up Theophilus's soul (*J'aim miex assez que l'en me pende!*), the Virgin counters by

83-91; Nicola Coldstream, "The Kingdom of Heaven: Its Architectural Setting," in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 92-97.

¹⁰⁸ For a modern French translation of *Le Miracle de Théophile* and an overview of Rutebeuf's biography and oeuvre, see Michel Zink, ed. *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 2 vols., Les classiques médiévaux (Paris: Bordas, 1989), 1-21 and 531-83.

¹⁰⁹ Michel Zink, ed. *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 2 vols., Les classiques médiévaux (Paris: Bordas, 1989), II, 61, lines 552-53.

threatening to trample on his belly (*Et je te foulerai la pance!*). Rutebeuf's description of the Virgin as an active and even violent intercessor, who inhabits "her chapel" before storming the gates of hell, reveals the influence of the visual arts on the play, especially stained glass, where this imagery gained popularity during the first half of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ I will return to Rutebeuf in Chapter Four, where I investigate his transformation of the figure of the Jewish magician into a new character, named Saladin, who is never named as a Jew, but rather, embodies a more general sense of otherness, closer to Christian notions of Muslims than Jews.

Chapter 4

Virtue and Vice Personified: The Jewish Magician in Representations of the Theophilus Legend

In most versions of the Theophilus legend the Jewish magician is represented as a foil for the Virgin Mary, an anti-intercessor who leads Theophilus down the path of apostasy. In this chapter, I argue that when image-makers turned their attention to the Jewish magician at the beginning of the thirteenth century, they used this character to put a contemporary spin on the long medieval tradition of depicting Jews as allegorical figures of the Old Testament. I begin with a discussion of how the Jewish magician figured into representations of the Theophilus legend in both text and image. In particular, I focus on the absence of the Jew in some the earliest visual depictions of the legend, and conversely, the new prominence of the magician in the visual arts by the thirteenth century. Next, I look at the conspicuous role that the Jew played in both Gautier de Coinci's *Comment Theophilus vint à penitence* and in the illuminated copies of the text produced during the second half of the thirteenth century. In the third part of the chapter, I examine the reliefs depicting the Theophilus legend on the exterior of Notre-Dame in Paris, suggesting that the meaning of the Jewish magician in this context is connected to the fraught position of the Jews in thirteenth-century Paris. In conclusion, I discuss the representation of the Jewish magician in Rutebeuf's *Le Miracle de Théophile*, a vernacular drama written in Paris in the 1260s. With this series of case studies, I argue that the meaning of the Jewish magician was closely connected to Western Christendom's growing anxiety and negative attitude toward the Jews.

Representing the Jewish Magician in Text and Image

The pact between Theophilus and the devil is brokered by a Jew in most versions of the legend, and yet, in the earliest extant visual representations of the story this character is often omitted, in favor of depicting the apostate and the devil making their deal without any outside intervention. I will suggest some explanations for this phenomenon below, when I take up the question of why it is not until the thirteenth century that the Jewish figure takes on a more prominent role in Theophilus imagery. First, I will review the representation of the Jewish magician in some of the best-known textual versions of the legend. These texts name the figure as a Jew and shade Judaism with a variety of descriptive terms ranging from an association with magic to references to evil. As in previous chapters, my point is not to suggest that the texts influenced the images in a direct fashion, but rather to illustrate the fluidity of medieval storytelling, which moved between the textual, the oral, and the visual as the Theophilus legend was adopted in new contexts and circumstances. By sketching out the treatment of this figure in the textual tradition, we can better understand the range of meanings and associations ascribed to the Jewish magician by the thirteenth century, when he emerged as an important part of the visual tradition.

The characterization of the anti-intercessor as both a Jew and a magician (“*pharmakos*”) carried over from the Greek version of the legend.¹ In the Latin tradition, however, the fact that this figure may have been a sorcerer is far less important than his

¹ My thanks to Adam Ployd for assisting me with the Greek text, which has been published by Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische quellen zur Faustsage: der zauberer Cyprianus, die erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus* (Wiener: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky a.-g., 1927), 164-219. For additional analysis of the Greek text, see G. G. Meersseman, *Kritische Glossen op de Griekse Theophilus-Legende (7e EEUW) en Haar Latijnse Vertaling (9e EEUW)* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1963), 3-14.

Jewishness.² In some of the earliest Latin versions of the legend, including both the ninth-century *vita* attributed to Paul the Deacon of Naples and the tenth-century text by Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, the Jew is referred to with the term *Hebraeus*.³ In both cases, this basic reference to a Jewish figure is painted negatively with the addition of descriptive language. In Paul's *vita*, for example, the *Hebraeus* is portrayed as *nefandissimus* and *execrabilis*, a wicked and detestable Jew, who is also a practitioner of the *diabolicae artis*.⁴ Likewise, Hrotsvit refers to the Jew as not only a *Hebraeus*, but a

² For an overview of the representation of the Jewish magician in the textual tradition, see Gilbert Dahan, "Salatin, du miracle de Théophile," *Moyen Âge* 83 (1977): 448-53.

³ See Chapter One for a detailed discussion of Paul the Deacon's *vita*. For Hrotsvit of Gandersheim's Latin text and an English translation, see M. Gonsalva Wiegand, "The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrosvitha: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D., Saint Louis University, 1936), 159-92

⁴ *Erat denique in eadem ciuitate Hebræus quidam nefandissimus & omnino diabolicæ artis operator, qui iam multos, infidelitatis argumentis, in foueæ perditionis immerserat barathrum. Quippe inani gloria succensus Vice-dominus incurrit miserrimus in ruminatiōnem indigestæ cupiditatis huius seculi, & vrebatur ambitionis desiderio. Vnde festinus perrexit noctu ad præfatum Hebræum, pulsansque ianuam, aditum pandi precabatur. Videns igitur eum Deo odibilis ille Hebræus ita corde contritum, vocauit intra domum, & dixit ei: Cuius rei caussa ad me venisti? At ille corruens prouolutus pedibus eius, dicebat: Quæso te, adiuua me, quoniam Episcopus meus opprobrium in me exercuit, & hoc operatus est in me. Respondit ei execrabilis ille Hebræus: Crastina nocte hora ista veni ad me, & ducam te ad patronum meum, & subueniet tibi, in quo volueris. Ille autem hæc audiens gratulatus fecit ita, medioque noctis venit ad eum. Nefandus vero Hebræus duxit illum ad Circum ciuitatis, & dixit ei: Quod cumque videris, aut qualemcumque audieris sonum, ne terrearis, nec signum Crucis tibi facias.* (Now there was in that city a certain wicked Jew, a practicer of all sorts of diabolical arts, who had already plunged many into the deep pit of perdition by his unchristian counsels. And the wretched steward, incited to vain glory fell to turning over in his mind confusedly the lust of this world and was consumed by the desire of honor. So with all haste he proceeded by night to the aforesaid Jew and, knocking at the door, sought admission. Then the Jew, hateful to God, seeing him thus broken, called him into the house and said to him: "Why hast thou come to me?" And Theophilus ran up and threw himself at his feet and answered: "I beseech thee to aid me, for my bishop has disgraced me and has wrought this against me." The detestable Jew replied: "Come to me tomorrow evening at this hour and I will lead thee to my master and he will help thee in that thou hast desired." Hearing this the vicar was rejoiced and did as he was told, going to him in the middle of the night. And in truth the wicked Jew did lead him to the Circus of the city and said to him: "Whatsoever

perversum Hebraeum ("heretical Jew").⁵ In the following centuries, it is much more common to find the figure identified with the word *Judaeus*.⁶ In his influential eleventh-century sermon, for example, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres describes the figure with the phrase *Judaeum maleficum* (Jewish sorcerer), while in the following century, Honorius of Autun calls him a *Judaei magi* ("Jewish magician").⁷ While the texts may differ in the precise way in which he is described, they all present the figure as a Jew and a scapegoat, who is responsible for introducing Theophilus to the devil. The representation of the Jewish magician as an active agent in the events sets him apart from the traditional depiction of Jews by medieval theologians and image-makers as allegorical figures of the Old Law.

Three details regarding the portrayal of the Jewish magician in Paul's ninth-century *vita* warrant further discussion, as the representation of this character in the text points toward some of the issues surrounding Jews and Jewishness that will be foregrounded in the visual arts at the turn of the thirteenth century. The first detail from the *vita* that bears underscoring is the setting of the two meetings between Theophilus

though seest of whatsoever sound thou hearest, be not afraid and do not make the sign of the cross.") BHL Number: 8121/Acta Sanctorum Feb. IV, Col. 484C. Translation by Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 61-62.

⁵ It should be noted that Hrotsvit's version of the Theophilus legend survives in just one manuscript, meaning that it was virtually unknown beyond Gandersheim. For the Latin and an English translation, see Wiegand, "The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrosvitha: Text, Translation, and Commentary," 162, line 84.

⁶ Irvn Resnick suggested to me in conversation that the terms Hebrew and Jewish were fairly interchangeable in the ecclesiastical writing of the early Middle Ages. Though beyond the scope of this dissertation, it would be interesting to see if the copyists of the *vita* changed the term from *Hebraeus* to *Judaeus* and if so, when this change in terminology occurred.

⁷ See below for a discussion of Fulbert's representation of the Jew. For Honorius of Autun, see *PL* 172: 992-994.

and the Jewish sorcerer under the cover of darkness.⁸ The connection between the Jew and darkness is subtle, but signals an important way in which both the Old Testament and by proxy, Judaism, will be pictured in later centuries in the visual arts. For Christian theologians and image-makers, the Old Testament was shrouded in darkness, containing mysteries that were only revealed with the coming of the New Law.⁹ The connection made in the ninth-century text between the Jewish magician and darkness infuses this character with typological meaning, echoing the way in which the Old Testament was often depicted in medieval art, personified as a defeated and blindfolded female figure.¹⁰ A medallion from the Anagogical window in Abbot Suger's twelfth-century choir at St.-Denis, for instance, depicts the figure of Christ placing a crown on Ecclesia's head as he lifts a veil from the face of Synagoga (fig. 80).¹¹ The medallion originally included an inscription, which made a clear connection between the Old Testament and darkness:

⁸ Unde festinus perrexit noctu ad præfatum Hebræum, pulsansque ianuam, aditum pandi precabatur. Videns igitur eum Deo odibilis ille Hebræus ita corde contritum, vocavit intra domum, & dixit ei: Cuius rei causa ad me venisti? At ille corruens prouolutus pedibus eius, dicebat: Quæso te, adiuua me, quoniam Episcopus meus opprobrium in me exercuit, & hoc operatus est in me. Respondit ei execrabilis ille Hebræus: Crastina nocte hora ista veni ad me, & ducam te ad patronum meum, & subueniet tibi, in quo volueris. *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. IV, Col. 0484C.

⁹ Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 137-82.

¹⁰ For a history of the representation of Synagoga in medieval art, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Géographie historique d'un thème de l'iconographie religieuse: les représentations de Synagoga en France," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers: Société d'études médiévales, 1966); More recently, also see Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 40-85.

¹¹ According to Grodecki, the head of Synagoga and the body of Christ represent modern restoration panels. Louis Grodecki, *Les vitraux de Saint-Denis: Étude sur le vitrail au XIIIe siècle*, Corpus vitrearum Medii Aevi France, Série Études I (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Arts et métiers graphiques, 1976), 98-102.

*Quod Moyses velat
Christi doctrina revelat*

("What Moses had covered with a veil,
the doctrine of Christ revealed.")¹²

Abbot Suger's inscription exemplifies the way that ecclesiastical thinkers and image-makers used the personified figure of the Synagogue to represent notions of the blindness of the Jews. When placed in certain contexts, allegorical figures like Synagoga and the Jewish magician could be charged with contemporary meaning as they were woven into discourses circling around the Jews.

By the thirteenth century, the defeated Synagogue was a popular subject in the monumental arts of stained glass and sculpture. To cite one example, Synagoga was represented repeatedly in the visual program at Chartres, where we also find one of the earliest depictions of the nighttime meeting between the Jewish sorcerer and Theophilus. Notably, the Chartrain representations of the personified Synagogue break with tradition by subjecting the figure to new and sometimes excessively negative portrayals. For instance, in a series of panels from the Passion-Typological window, located in one of the lower apertures on the north side of the nave, directly across from the Theophilus cycle in the Miracles of the Virgin window, Ecclesia and Synagoga are depicted in their traditional places on either side of the Crucifixion, on the right and left side of Christ,

¹² As cited and translated by Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, 179. The inscription is not legible on the medallion, but it was transcribed by Abbot Suger in his *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*. See Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 72-77. Also see, Suger, *Oeuvres, Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age 37 and 41*, ed. Françoise Gasparri (Paris 1996, 2001), I, 146-55.

respectively.¹³ The figure of *Synagoga*, however, is accompanied by a small devil holding a bow, who has just launched an arrow into her eye, drawing further attention to the fact that this blindfolded figure, standing in for the Jews, is unable or unwilling to see the truth of the New Law (fig. 81). This kind of reimagining of well-established visual conventions is related to the emergence of the Jewish magician in the visual arts at the turn of the thirteenth century. If *Synagoga* personified Old Testament Jews, then the Jewish magician symbolized contemporary Judaism. Both Chartrain figures capture some of the anxiety felt by ecclesiastics about the position of contemporary Jews in urban society, a theme present in the *vita* of Saint Theophilus.

The second episode I wish to highlight from the *vita* is the moment when Theophilus presents himself at the door of the Jew and begs to be admitted to his home.¹⁴ Here, the text signals to the reader that the setting has shifted, moving into a non-Christian realm. That Theophilus had such intimate dealings with a Jew would have resonated loudly with ecclesiastics in the period bridging the end of the twelfth century through the first decades of the thirteenth century, when the papacy embarked upon a campaign, set into motion at a series of Church councils, to clearly delineate the boundaries between Christians and Jews within the Latin West.¹⁵ These efforts are evident by the end of the twelfth century, when Canon 26 of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 named excommunication as the punishment for Christians living or working for

¹³Colette Manhès-Deremble and Jean-Paul Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres: étude iconographique*, Corpus vitrearum medii aevi. France. Série Etudes, 2 (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1993), 56-60 and 352-53.

¹⁴Unde festinus perrexit noctu ad præfatum Hebræum, pulsansque ianuam, aditum pandi precabatur. *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. IV, Col. 484C.

¹⁵For the policies of the Church toward the Jews, see Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York Hermon Press, 1966).

Jews in a domestic capacity.¹⁶ And yet, Christian employment in Jewish homes apparently continued, as the decree was reiterated in the Councils of Montpellier (1195), Avignon (1209), and Paris (1213).¹⁷ Thus, the fact that Theophilus goes into the service of the Jew in order to gain access to the devil must have resonated with the clerical audiences who copied and circulated the *vita* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Jews and Christians lived and worked together in the majority of northern Europe.¹⁸

Finally, the third episode from the *vita* contains a reference to Jewish difference, specifically, Jewish ritual practice and dress. When the Jew brings Theophilus to the *Circum civitatis* (center of the city) to meet the devil, he warns the apostate not to make the sign of the cross no matter what he might see and hear. After this reminder of Theophilus's Christian identity, the Jewish magician reveals to him the devil and his court. Paul's description of what Theophilus sees at this moment is revealing:

The Jew showed him suddenly creatures clad in white robes, with a multitude of candlesticks, uttering loud cries, and, seated in their midst, the prince.¹⁹

With this scene, the text uses the court of the devil to stage a scene of unfamiliar worship. Indeed, it is difficult not to read these figures clad in white robes (*albos chlamydatos*) uttering unfamiliar cries and illuminated by candlelight as a fictive Christian picture of Jewish religious practice. As William Chester Jordan has noted, by the thirteenth century,

¹⁶ Ibid., Document I, 296-97.

¹⁷ The decree is reiterated in the ninth canon of the Council of Montpellier, the second canon of the Council of Avignon (1209), and in the text of the Council of Paris. Ibid., Documents III, VI, and VIII, 298-99 and 304-05.

¹⁸ For Jews and Christians living as neighbors in northern Europe, see William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), especially 1-55.

¹⁹ Palmer and More translation. Illo autem spondente, subito ostendit ei albos chlamydatos cum multitudine candelaborum clamantes, & in medio Principem sedentem. *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. IV, Col. 484C.

regulations against the Jews typically included a prohibition against loud chanting.²⁰ Moreover, the choice of the word *chlamys* to describe the garments worn by these figures is notable, as this sort of mantle was associated with antiquity and signified sartorial difference.²¹ The description of these robes as white could be a subtle reference to the white linen prayer shawls worn by Jewish elders on special ritual occasions and at weekly services.²² This appears to be the case in the panel depicting the Jew bringing Theophilus before the devil in the window from Laon Cathedral discussed in Chapter Three, where we find the Jewish Magician dressed in a white garment that calls to mind the one described in the *vita* (fig. 82). In all of the other scenes in which the Jewish magician appears in the Laon window, he is marked with a long beard, a hat, or a money bag, all typical attributes with which Christian image-makers identified Jews in the visual arts.²³ When he conjures up the devil, however, the Jewish magician wears a traditional white prayer shawl, mocking real Jewish practice, a message encoded in the description of the devil's court in the *vita*.

²⁰ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 150.

²¹ Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 248-49.

²² These holidays include the Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement, weddings, and the Seder during the feast of Passover. See Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), 124.

²³ For an overview of the ways in which figures were marked as Jewish in medieval art, see Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History*. For the Jewish cap, one of the most common markers, see Ruth Mellinkoff, "The Round, Cap-Shaped Hats Depicted on Jews in BM Cotton Claius B. iv," in *Anglo-Saxon England 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 155-165. In addition, see Pastan, "*Tam haereticos quam Judaeos*: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," 70-71. For a recent reappraisal of the Jewish hat and other markers of Jewishness, also see Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, 25-39.

In contrast to the description of the Jewish magician in the Latin *vita*, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres drops the reference to magic and simply refers to this character as an evil Jew (*Judaeum maleficum*) in the condensed version of the Theophilus legend included in his sermon for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.²⁴ Notably, Fulbert also describes the Jew with the word *mediatore*, presenting the figure as an anti-intercessor, a foil for the Virgin, who serves as the true mediator for Christians in the sermon.²⁵ How are we to interpret this negative portrayal of the Jew in Fulbert's work? On the one hand, that Fulbert himself wrote three sermons *Contra Judaeos* demonstrates his familiarity with the rhetorical tradition known as the *Adversus Judaeos*, according to which Christian exegetes defined Christianity by negating the belief system of Judaism.²⁶ More difficult to answer, is the question of whether Fulbert had any contemporary living Jews in mind when he wrote his sermons *Contra Judaeos* or when he described the Jewish magician as a *Judaeum maleficum*.

It is possible that a small Jewish community lived in Chartres by the eleventh century, but there is no concrete evidence for one until the twelfth century, when the existence of a Jewry in the town was noted in the cartulary of the Abbey Church of St.-Père of Chartres.²⁷ The passage in question, written between 1101-1129, concerns a

²⁴ See Chapter One for a detailed discussion of this sermon with relevant bibliography.

²⁵ Is ergo Theophilus incedens olim in patria cujusdam episcopi ciliciorum, ut scriptura quaedam testatur, propter infortunia sua in tristitiam cecidit, unde contulit sese ad quemdam Judaeum maleficum, ejus consilium et auxilium petens. Hoc mediatore locutus cum diabolo Christianitatem abnegavit, diabolum adoravit, eique de sua mancipatione chirographum tradidit annulo suo signatum. *PL* Col. 141: 323D.

²⁶ See Margot Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 92-93 and 429-37 for an English translation of the three sermons.

²⁷ The passage indicates that in the twelfth century a man named Raimbaldi Craton owned a house in the Chartrain Jewry and that at least some of the residents of this

census, an annual tax or rent, of four shillings and eight pence promised to the Abbey Church of St. Père by a figure named Stephen upon his deathbed. The cartulary records all of the parties who may have a claim to the payment, naming members of Stephen's family and William, the landlord. The scribe mentions the *Judearia* as a means to mark the *censiva*, the part of town in which the tax applies. In addition to the reference in the cartulary, a *Rue aux Juifs* in contemporary Chartres may also mark the location of the medieval Jewry.²⁸ Moreover, a number of Jewish scholars are known to have lived in the town, though the earliest for whom we have a name, Joseph of Chartres, was not active

neighborhood paid an annual tax to the monastery church of St. Père. See Benjamin Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1840), vol. I, no. 132, clij-clij. I am grateful to Robert Stacey for his assistance interpreting this passage. For the history of the Chartrain Jewry, see Eugène Lépinos, *Histoire de Chartres* (Chartres, 1854), 191-94 and 468-71. Also see Claudine Billot, *Chartres à la fin du Moyen Age*, Civilisations et sociétés (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1987), especially 303-05.

²⁸ For the evidence for a Jewish community in the town through the thirteenth century, see Billot, *Chartres à la fin du Moyen Age*, especially 303-05; Roger Joly, "Les juifs à Chartres au Moyen Âge," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 65, no. 2 (2000): 15-30. My thanks to Laura Hollengreen for sharing with me her research on the Jewish quarter at Chartres. Anne Harris, for example, writes that "Chartres was a town remarkably *unpopulated* by Jews." Anne F. 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, *Brill's series in Jewish studies*, 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 134. The notion that there were no Jews in Chartres is based on what William Chester Jordan describes as the "chimera of the evidence of an expulsion." Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 33. The source of this mistaken notion is a problematic passage in J.-B. Souchet's history of Chartres, in which, with a troubling level of enthusiasm, the historian assumes that the Jews of Chartres were expelled from the town following Philip Augustus's expulsion of the Jews from the royal domain in 1179. J.-B. Souchet, *Histoire du diocèse et de la ville de Chartres*, 2 vols. (Chartres: Imprimerie de Garnier, 1866), II, 508.

until around 1200.²⁹ Whether Fulbert knew any local Jews or not, it is likely, as Margot Fassler has suggested, that he may have studied alongside Jews when he completed his training in the cathedral school at Reims.³⁰ As she notes, the very fact that he wrote three sermons *Contra Judaeos* provides evidence that he understood enough Jewish exegesis to respond to it in writing.³¹ What we can say with certainty is that Fulbert's participation in the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition indicates that he was familiar the influential Augustinian tradition of thinking about Judaism allegorically.

For theologians writing in Latin Christendom before the thirteenth century, Jews did not figure in their texts as living, breathing neighbors, but rather as stand-ins for Biblical Jews. This typological theory of Jewish witness, also referred to by modern scholars as supersession theory, has been defined as "the doctrine that called for the preservation of Jews and Judaism in Christendom so that they might testify to the truth of Christianity."³² The most influential ideas concerning the doctrine of Jewish witness were put forth by Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), first in his *Contra Faustum* and later in his

²⁹ Joseph of Chartres wrote a Hebrew account of the 1190 massacre of the Jews in York. See Anthony Paul Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2010), 171-74.

³⁰ Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*, 93.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Jeremy Cohen, "Review Article: Revisiting Augustine's Doctrine of Jewish Witness," *Journal of Religion* 89 (2009): 564. Some of the early texts implicated in the development of the doctrine of Jewish witness include Paul's Letter to the Galatians, in which he writes that Christ freed Christians from the servitude of the law (Galatians 4). In the second half of the second century, Bishop Melito of Sardis, in his *Peri Pasha* (On the Paschal Sacrifice) introduces the notion of Jews as Christ-killers. John of Chrysostom wrote eight sermons *Adversus Iudaeos* in 386-7, in which he draws a sharp distinction between Christians and Jews, using the term "judaizing" to describe "bad" Christians. For an overview of the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition in patristic preaching, see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1999), 5-15.

exegesis on Psalm 59 (58) in *De civitate Dei*, where he famously suggested that the line "slay them not, lest at any time they forget your law; scatter them in your might" was a message from God to the Christians regarding the Jews.³³ Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) restated Augustine's doctrine of Jewish witness in the twelfth century in the context of preaching the crusade, when he described the Jews as "living letters of the law."³⁴ As Sara Lipton has recently put it, "For six hundred years after Augustine's death, this conception of Jewish witness remained metaphorical, a largely literary abstraction unconnected to Jews' actual visual practices or visual presence within Christendom."³⁵ By the thirteenth century, however, Augustine's hermeneutic was complicated by the presence of real, living Jews, who played an active part in the economic dynamics of urban society.

Scholars have debated the precise moment when Augustine's theological framework weakened and relations between Christians and Jews in northern Europe

³³ Augustine's doctrine of Jewish witness has been studied from a number of perspectives. In the wake of World War II, Blumenkranz and Simon both published studies which tried to read Augustine through the lens of real Jewish polemic. See Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1946); Marcel Simon, *Versus Israel" A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425)*, trans. H. MacKeating (New York, 1986). More recently, Jeremy Cohen, Paula Fredricksen, and others have argued that the Jews in Augustine's work have little connection to actual Jews, but rather represent constructed Jews. Cohen uses the phrase "hermeneutical Jews" and Fredricksen use "rhetorical Jews" to describe Augustine's use of the term Jews in his doctrine of Jewish witness. The two scholars differ, however, in where these ideas develop in Augustine's canon, with Fredrickson pointing to the early work, specifically *Contra Faustum*, while Cohen looks to the later work, especially *De civitate Dei*. See Paula Fredricksen, "Excaecati Occulta Justitia Dei: Augustine on Jews and Judaism," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 225-41; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*; idem., "Review Article: Revisiting Augustine's Doctrine of Jewish Witness," 564-578.

³⁴ Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, 219-45.

³⁵ Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, 5.

began to decline. The violence against the Jewish communities in the Rhineland in 1096 as the Crusaders embarked upon the First Crusade is often cited as a key turning point, when the notion of "slay them not" was cast aside.³⁶ Jeremy Cohen and others have argued that while the situation worsened over the course of the twelfth century, it was not until the thirteenth century that anti-Jewish policies took root in northern Europe, citing the papacy of Pope Innocent III and the church councils he sponsored, most famously Lateran IV in 1215, as instigating factors in the worsening relations between Christians and Jews.³⁷ The emergence of the Jewish magician in the visual arts in the thirteenth century is a sure sign that Augustine's typological framework was bending beneath the pressures of an increasingly urban and money economy, in which Jews bore little resemblance to the imaginary picture of Biblical Jews put forth by medieval Christian theologians.

To turn to the visual evidence, the Jewish magician is conspicuously absent from the earliest extant representations of the Theophilus legend. It is no coincidence that this figure begins to make regular appearances in the visual arts only in the thirteenth century,

³⁶ For the importance of the twelfth century, see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1966); Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order & Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150*, trans. Graham Edwards (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2002); Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

³⁷ For Innocent III's anti-Jewish policies in the thirteenth century, see Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth century: A Study of their Relations during the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period*, Revised edition (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), 85-143. Cohen has also argued that the emergence of the mendicant friars was an important factor in the turn against the Jews he locates in the thirteenth century. See Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

as relations between Christians and Jews worsened. The new prominence of the Jewish figure in Theophilus imagery has to do in part with changing audiences for the legend, as the earlier examples were produced for ecclesiastics who were familiar with the story, and thus, would not have needed all of the scenes and characters presented to them. As discussed in the previous chapters, these first representations focused on Theophilus and the Virgin, reflecting the fervor of Marian devotion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a moment when the figure of Theophilus helped clerics express their personal dedication to Mary. Even in scenes where we would expect to find the Jewish magician, for example, when Theophilus and the devil make their pact, the Jew is not always included. In the relief from Souillac, the sculptors devote two scenes to the pact between Theophilus and the devil, but there is no sign of the Jew (fig. 1). The same is true of both the Hague Psalter and the Ingeborg Psalter, both of which omit the Jewish magician entirely and depict Theophilus interacting directly with the devil (fig. 12-13 & 18). The absence of the Jew in visual representations of the legend produced before the thirteenth century is explained by the ecclesiastical context in which these images were produced. Clerics identified with the figure of Theophilus, and thus, it was only fitting that these images would place the blame for the apostate's sin squarely upon his own shoulders. Without the Jew as a scapegoat, these monastic representations amplify the magnitude of both Theophilus's sin and his redemption.

The Jewish magician plays a prominent role in the legend as it was depicted at Laon, one of the earliest surviving full Theophilus windows. The Jew appears in three of eighteen scenes, playing a part in the series of panels recounting Theophilus's fall into apostasy (fig. 82). This series of panels picks up at the point in the legend where

Theophilus has been removed from his position as *vicedominus* and sent packing by the new bishop. In the *vita*, Theophilus retires to his house to live out a quiet existence in the service of God. His plan for a peaceful retirement, however, is disrupted when the devil finds his way into Theophilus's heart, inflames his soul with vainglorious thoughts, and inspires him to seek out the Jewish magician. The Jewish magician functions as a personification of Vice in these scenes, a fact that is underscored by the placement of these panels in between the allegorical building scenes, which symbolize the major turning points along Theophilus's journey. In this way, the window links the figure of the Jewish magician with the destruction of Theophilus's soul, symbolized by the panel in which devils tear down a building. The three scenes featuring the Jewish magician follow directly after this one, forming a cohesive group in which the figure is clearly personified as vice, marked, as noted above, with various attributes used by medieval artists to indicate Jewishness. The Jewish magician emerged in visual representations of the Theophilus legend in the thirteenth century, as Christian thinkers struggled to redefine their relationship to Judaism in both allegorical and contemporary terms. In this new context, the Jewish magician embodied many of the anxieties surrounding the question of Jews in medieval society.

Representing the Jew in Gautier de Coinci's *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance*

The Laon window, or a similar pictorial narrative now lost, may very well have inspired Gautier de Coinci's imaginative representation of the Jewish magician in his *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance* ("How Theophilus Gained Penance," I Mir. 10), the opening story in his *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*), written in French verse around

1233 at the Abbey of Saint-Médard near Soissons.³⁸ The Benedictine prior and poet's fervent dedication to the Virgin Mary was a product of the same kind of Marian devotion found in the monumental context. His placement of the Theophilus legend as the first story in his collection reflects his knowledge of how the tale was represented in the visual arts, especially stained glass, where it was displayed alongside key stories connected to the Virgin Mary's life, such as the Jesse Tree and the Infancy Cycle.³⁹ In this context, the Theophilus legend took on new meaning, becoming in essence the Virgin Mary's official posthumous miracle. Like the monumental settings from which he likely drew inspiration, Gautier's *MND* was much more than a collection of Marian miracle stories, but rather a multi-dimensional devotional collection, bringing together songs, prayers, and miracle stories all dedicated to the Virgin.⁴⁰ Thus, Gautier translated this monumental Marian sensibility into a more adaptable and portable shape in his vernacular book.⁴¹

Beneath the surface of Gautier's lofty Marian piety, however, lay a festering invective against the Jews, one which, as we will see below, had a significant effect upon

³⁸ For a critical edition of Gautier's work, see V. Frederic Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1955-70); Garnier has published a modern French translation of Gautier's Theophilus legend. See Annette Garnier, *Gautier de Coinci. Le miracle de Théophile ou comment Théophile vint à la pénitence*, Textes et traductions des classiques français du moyen âge (Paris: Honoré Champion Editeur, 1998). I consulted both Koenig and Garnier texts in my translations of Gautier's work.

³⁹ Gautier's *Theophilus* consists of 2092 lines of octosyllabic verse. See V. Frederic Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1955-70), I, I Mir 10.

⁴⁰ As Ardis Butterfield puts it, "Gautier's chansons pieuses act as a magnet attracting many types of (largely Marian) pieces to support and extend their devotional evangelism." Ardis Butterfield, "Introduction: Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Notre Dame*: Texts and Manuscripts," in *Gautier De Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 11.

⁴¹ For a compelling discussion of the way images factored into Gautier's work, see Peggy McCracken, "Miracles, Mimesis, and the Efficacy of Images," *Yale French Studies* 110, *Meaning and Its Objects: Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance France* (2006): 47-57.

the image-makers who illustrated and interpreted the *MND*. Gautier's stance toward the Jews is perhaps best summarized by a quatrain from one of his lyrical poems:

*Ave virge. Gyu nului ne welent croire.
D'aus rouiller et d'aus batre ne se doit nus recroire.
Tant les has noirement je ne le puis noier
S'iere roys, jes feroye tous en un puis noier.*

Ave, Maria. The Jews don't want to believe anyone.
No one should grow weary of beating them.
I hate them so violently, that I cannot deny it,
If I were king, I would throw them all in a well.⁴²

The Benedictine prior did not mince words with his sentiment. As Brian J. Levy has summarized, in Gautier's miracle stories Jews are "at one and the same time marginalized and pushed centre stage, anti-Semitism and Mariolatry marching inexorably side by side."⁴³ Indeed, Jewish characters and anti-Jewish themes make up a small, but potent percentage of Gautier de Coinci's *MND*.⁴⁴ Miri Rubin has noted that "Gautier's Jew-hatred is the obverse of his passion for the Virgin, and his miracles develop a world of opposites: good and evil, courtly and rude."⁴⁵ To better understand Gautier's bitter resentment of the Jews, we must consider the historical context in which he recorded his verses.

⁴² My translation. The poems are found at the end of each book of miracles and were often accompanied by music in the manuscripts in which they are copied. Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 4, 556, v. 253-56.

⁴³ Brian J. Levy, "Or escoutez une merveille! Parallel Paths: Gautier de Coinci and the Fabliaux," in *Gautier De Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 338.

⁴⁴ Gautier included Jews in six of the fifty-nine miracle stories and in three of the twenty-four songs. Gilbert Dahan, "Les juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci," *Archives juives* 16, no. 3 (1980): 41-49; Gilbert Dahan, "Les juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci II," *Archives juives* 16, no. 4 (1980): 61-68; Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, I Mir. 10.

⁴⁵ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 232.

Gautier composed his collection in the 1220s, when he was the prior of the abbey of Vic-sur-Aisne, a town without any extant record of an active Jewish community.⁴⁶ The Jews were expelled from the royal domain by King Philip Augustus in 1182, when Gautier was just a boy, and readmitted to the realm in 1198, when he was around twenty years of age.⁴⁷ By this time, Gautier was a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons, a town just outside the king's territory, which had a Jewish community that seems, as far as the surviving documents indicate, to have weathered the expulsion of the Jews from the royal domain.⁴⁸ Jordan has suggested that this disjunction, the fact that there were Jews in Soissons, while the King's Jews were expelled, may have instigated Gautier's acrimonious anti-Jewish stance.⁴⁹ In any case, the Benedictine's anti-Judaism was well developed by the time he wrote the *MND* in the 1220s.

While Gautier's profound dislike for the Jews may have been initiated in part by his own circumstances, his ecclesiastical training might have also played a part, especially his familiarity with the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition, a rhetorical practice in which the Benedictine was apparently well schooled.⁵⁰ By pointing out that Gautier's stance is at least in part rhetorical, I do not mean to downplay his animosity toward the Jews, but rather to contextualize the Benedictine's stance as part of a long line of writing *Contra Judaeos*, an ecclesiastical tradition discussed above in connection with Bishop Fulbert of Chartres. What sets Gautier's anti-Jewish writing apart from the Latin tradition,

⁴⁶ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 45.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Dahan has pointed out that Gautier's *Miracle d'Ildefonse* reads as a condensed version of a treatise *Contra Judaeos*. See Dahan, "Les juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci II," 68-69.

however, is the fact that he wrote in the vernacular, giving the tales a new currency. Thus, what distinguished Gautier from his contemporaries was not his profound dislike for the Jews, but rather the fact that he popularized and disseminated these opinions by composing them in French. As we will see below, Gautier's representation of the Jewish magician in his *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance* (I Mir. 10) profoundly affected the way that the story was interpreted visually in the illustrated copies of the MND produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Jewish magician makes his first appearance on line 159 of Gautier's *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance*:

*En la vile un giü avoit
 Qui tant d'engien et d'art savoit,
 D'entreget, de foumenterie,
 De barat et d'enchanterie
 Que devant lui apertement
 Faisoit venir a parlement
 Les anemis et les dyables.
 Cilz giüs ert si decevables
 Et tant savoit barat et guille
 Que des plus sages de la vile
 Avoit tornés a sa creance.
 Tant savoit d'art de nigromance
 Que l'anemi faire faisoit
 Toutes les riens qu'il li plaisoit.
 Par son conseil aloit mainte ame
 El feu d'enfer et en la flame.*

In the city, there was a Jew
 who was so cunning and crafty
 in his ruses, tricks, and magic,
 his guile and enchantments,
 that he could conjure up
 before him enemies and devils.
 This Jew was so deceitful,
 and so skilled at ruses and trickery,
 That he had converted
 Some of the wisest in the city.
 So skilled in the art of necromancy was he,

that he could make the enemy
do whatever he pleased.
His mediation had delivered
many souls to the flames of hell.⁵¹

With this passage, Gautier introduces the Jew as both a necromancer in league with the devil and a trickster. In contrast to the Latin *vita*, in which it is the devil who incites Theophilus's soul with vainglorious thoughts and bears the ultimate responsibility for his apostasy, in Gautier's version there is no mention of this diabolical moment of inspiration. Rather, it is the wily Jew who lures his prey with trickery. In this way, Gautier's telling of the tale has more in common with contemporaneous visual representations of the legend, which picture the Jew as a scapegoat for Theophilus's sins. In the window from Laon, for instance, the Jew makes his appearance well before the figure of the devil is introduced. This visual shift places the full blame for the turn of events with the Jew and contrasts with the account in the *vita*, according to which, the magician played a part, but the devil bore the ultimate responsibility for instigating the series of events leading to Theophilus's fall. Dahan has noted that the only other text that attributes Theophilus's apostasy to the Jew in such a direct fashion is the version of the legend written in Latin verse by Marbod of Rennes in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.⁵² While it is possible that Gautier might have known Marbod's text, it is more likely that he was influenced by the representation of the legend in the visual arts.⁵³ In

⁵¹ My translation. Koenig, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 1, 50-176.

⁵² See Chapter Two for a discussion of Marbod's text, which otherwise follows the ninth-century *vita* closely.

⁵³ Laon Cathedral, where there was a full Theophilus window in place by 1200, was only around a day's journey from Soisson or Vic-sur-Aisne. Ellen Shortell has also found evidence for Theophilus panels in the present axial window at nearby Saint-Quentin. See

turn, some of Gautier's illuminators seem to have noted this subtle shift of blame in the text. For example, in an illuminated copy of the *MND* from between 1300-1340 (The Hague, KB, MS 71 A. 24, fol. 1), the Jew reaches out from inside a dark doorway as Theophilus walks by, as if to assault him forcibly (fig. 83).⁵⁴

Gautier devoted around one hundred lines of *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance* (lines 175-288) to the two nighttime meetings between Theophilus and the Jew. As he recounted their interactions, Gautier fleshes out the figure of the Jewish magician, painting him as a much more complicated and nefarious character than the *perversum Hebraeum* or *Judaeum maleficum* whom we met in earlier centuries. For example, when Theophilus first knocks on the Jew's door under the cover of darkness to ask for his help, Gautier uses descriptive language to portray the Jew's character. For his part, Theophilus addresses the Jew politely, pleading with him to "*Mais aidiez moi par vostre grace!*" ("Help me, your grace," line 232). In sharp contrast, Gautier describes the Jew as "*Li gyüs, qui plains de fiel*" ("full of venom," line 233), infusing his greeting of Theophilus, "*Biaus doz amis*" ("dear, sweet friend"), with an air of sarcasm.

Upon his return the next night, the Jew explains to Theophilus that he will take the *vidame* to meet his master, and that if he is lucky, his master will make him into a bishop, an archbishop or perhaps, even a pope (lines 256-292). With these lines, Gautier uses the figure of the Jew to offer a snide comment about the clergy, perhaps pointing to

Ellen M. Shortell, "The Choir of Saint-Quentin: Gothic Structure, Power, and Cult" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 2000), 333-44.

⁵⁴ Richard A. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols and Harvey Miller, 2000), II, 183.

the ecclesiastical practice of borrowing from the Jews.⁵⁵ Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner notes a similar strategy in the Miracle of Ildefonsus (I Mir. 11), in which Gautier represents archbishop Ildefonsus as a model of a perfect cleric, contrasting him with clerics who practice usury.⁵⁶ Gautier makes his dislike of judaizers quite clear in the Miracle of Ildefonsus, when he writes that God hates Christians who lend at interest even worse than Jews.⁵⁷ By the thirteenth century, the term "judaize" meant "to lend at interest" and was a slippery word that could refer equally to Christians or Jews.⁵⁸ As Jordan explains, notions about usurious Jews moved from the Latin circles of

⁵⁵ For themes of clerical pride and ambition in the Theophilus legend, see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 92. For the idea that Gautier uses the figure of the Jew to comment upon the clergy, see Dahan, "Les juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci II," 64-65. For the Christian practice of borrowing from the Jews to fund building campaigns, see Pastan, "*Tam haereticos quam Judaeos*: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," 74-75.

⁵⁶ My thanks to Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner for sharing her unpublished conference paper with me, "Encountering the Jew: Gautier de Coincy and Rutebeuf in Dialogue with the Legend of Théophile," International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 16 May 2015. For the Miracle of Ildefonsus, see Koenig, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, I Miracle 11.

⁵⁷ *Crestien se font, mais il mentent, Diex les heit plus güis ne face* (lines 364-5). As noted by Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "Encountering the Jew: Gautier de Coincy and Rutebeuf in Dialogue with the Legend of Théophile," International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 16 May 2015 (unpublished conference paper).

⁵⁸ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 44-45. Lester Little, "Pride before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *American Historical Review* 76(1971): 44. The burghers of Reims feared being labeled usurers when they confronted the Archbishop/count during the social strife that shut down the building campaign between 1233-6. See Barbara Abou-El-Haj, "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and Its Cathedral Between 1210 and 1240," *Art History* 11, no. 1 (1988): 22. Pastan, "*Tam haereticos quam Judaeos*: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," 71, credits Bernard of Clairvaux with the origin of the verb "to judaize".

ecclesiastics to wider circles of society, influencing the same audiences to whom Gautier may have intended his work when he chose to write in the vernacular.⁵⁹

Next, Gautier turns his attention to the signing of the pact, describing with rich detail the scene that faced Theophilus when the Jew brought him before the devil. Here, Theophilus sees a spectacular scene, dramatically lit with candles, in which 100,000 devils dressed in white mantles make the ground tremble with their cacophony (lines 324-341). The Jew introduces Theophilus to his master, greeting him with *Biaus sire* ("dear, Master") and then fades from the scene, leaving the apostate and the devil to discuss the terms of their deal. The Jew reappears once more a few hundred lines later, after Theophilus has been reinstated to his former position (lines 539-543). Gautier tells us that the Jew visited the *vidame* each night to offer council, a reminder of the nefarious source of Theophilus's newfound wealth and power. This last mention of the magician recalls Gautier's initial description of the Jew as a wily trickster, who operates in the shadows. In this way, Gautier's presentation of the figure borrows from the visual tradition, especially as it developed in stained glass, where the Jew was often pictured standing in the shadows or peering over Theophilus's shoulder, as in a panel from ca. 1230, now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris (fig. 84).⁶⁰

Gautier's portrait of the Jewish magician made a strong impression on the manuscript illuminators who interpreted his text in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

⁵⁹ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 45.

⁶⁰ Françoise Perrot has attributed this panel to a window once in a parish church connected to the Abbey of Gercy in Varennes-Jarcy (Essonne). Françoise Perrot, "Catalogue des vitraux religieux du Musée de Cluny à Paris" (Ph.D., University of Dijon, 1973), 27-39 and cat. 10-16; Sophie Lagabrielle, "L'abbaye des chanoinesses de Gercy et la verrière saint-Martin de l'église de Varennes," in *L'Ile-de-France médiévale*, ed. Isabelle Prince (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 76-78.

Nearly 30 of the 114 manuscripts preserving the *MND* or part of the collection are illustrated.⁶¹ A notable feature of all but three of these illustrated versions of Gautier's *Theophilus* is the choice made by the illuminator to highlight the figure of the Jew. In fact, in some cases a scene involving the Jew is illustrated and the Virgin Mary is omitted completely. The choice to illustrate the legend solely with a scene featuring the Jewish magician has the visual effect of telescoping the anti-Jewish elements of the tale. Thus, the illustrated copies of Gautier's *Theophilus* reveal fascinating insights into the artistic choices made by illuminators when faced with the decision of which scenes from the legend to depict. This is especially true of the examples in which the illuminator was restricted to a solitary miniature or initial. In these cases, we would expect to find the illustration highlighting a scene involving the Virgin Mary, however, as we will see below, the Jew takes her place as the focus of the illustration in a surprising number of cases.

Still, there are a few manuscripts in which the illuminator chose to depict an episode featuring the Virgin, usually a scene in which she returns the pact to

⁶¹ This group includes manuscripts with just a single or a handful of historiated initials or miniatures, in addition to richly illuminated books with illustrations accompanying each miracle tale. Gautier's *Comment Theophilus vint a penitance* (I Mir. 10) is depicted in roughly half of the illuminated copies of the *MND*, illustrated with either an historiated initial or a full miniature. By my count, 13 of the illuminated manuscripts include *Theophilus* imagery. The classic study of the corpus of manuscripts of the *MND* is Arlette Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci* (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société e Littérature Finnoise, 1932). More recently, see Anna Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541" (Ph.D., New York University, 2006). For an updated inventory of all of the manuscripts containing all or part of Gautier's *MND*, see the appendices in Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones, *Gautier De Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). 345-442

Theophilus.⁶² A compilation including the *MND* produced in the province of Reims during the second half of the thirteenth century (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25532), for example, includes just one illustration from the tale, inscribed within the initial "P" of the opening line of the legend, "*Pour chaus esbatre et deporter*" ("For your delight and entertainment"), where the Virgin is depicted standing over the figure of Theophilus, who kneels in prayer before an empty altar (fig. 85).⁶³ The Virgin holds a cruciform staff in her left hand as she returns the sealed charter to the penitent *vidame*. The document is inscribed "*diroger*," which in this context means something to the effect of "cancelled" or "void."⁶⁴ A second manuscript from this group similarly encloses the sole illustration of the legend within the initial "P" of the opening line (Brussels, BR, MS 10747, fol. 7r).⁶⁵ As in the previous example, the illuminator depicts the moment when the Virgin returns of the pact to Theophilus (fig. 86). In this case, Theophilus is not depicted asleep,

⁶² The manuscripts with a focus on Mary include Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25532, fol. 9r; Paris, BnF MS fr. 22928, fol. 42r; and Brussels, BR, MS 10747, fol. 7r.

⁶³ For Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25532, see Kathryn A. Duys, Kathy M. Krause, and Alison Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*: Manuscript List," in *Gautier De Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 345-66. Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 83-88.

⁶⁴ As far as I can tell, the word *diroger* is not used by Gautier de Coinci, but was added by the illuminators. The same word is inscribed on the sealed charter in miniature painted by the same artist in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. v. XIV.9, fol. 45v. *Diroger* seems to be related to the Anglo-Norman word *derogacion*, which refers to a dispensation or exemption in a legal sense. It is also related to the Latin term *derogatio*, *derogationis*, which is a legal term referring to the abrogation of a law. Inscribed on the pact, *diroger* underscored the fact that with the return of the physical sealed charter to Theophilus, his bond with the devil was officially cancelled. For the connection between the St. Petersburg manuscript and Paris, BnF MS fr. 25532, see Alison Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," in *Gautier De Coinci: Miracles, Music and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 79-90.

⁶⁵ For Brussels, BR, MS 10747, see Judith H. Oliver, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liege: c 1250-c. 1300* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), I, 98-99; Duys, Krause, and Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*: Manuscript List," 345-66.

but rather kneels before the standing Virgin, the sealed charter held in between their bodies. The illuminator has made a clever reference to the Virgin's triumph over the devil to retrieve the pact with the addition of a small, catlike devil that she holds on a leash with her left hand. The third manuscript from this group (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22928), a late thirteenth-century copy of Gautier's *MND* includes a similar image, depicted in a miniature placed in between the opening rubric and the first line of the tale (fig. 87).⁶⁶ Here, the illuminator has also focused the illustration on the return of the pact, adding one extra scene in which Theophilus prays before an image of the Virgin and Child. Like the previous initial, when the Virgin returns with the pact, she is accompanied by a defeated devil, in this case, cowering in the folds of her mantle. All of these manuscripts foreground the figure of the Virgin Mary in her role as intercessor, a personification of Virtue, depicted in triumph over the devil. The emphasis on the Virgin in the examples discussed above is not unexpected, especially in manuscripts devoting a single or just a few scenes to the tale. The choice to illustrate the return of the pact instead of Theophilus kneeling in supplication before an image of the Virgin is a new development, one which shifts the focus from the prayers of the apostate to the triumph of the Virgin over the devil.

Mary is upstaged by the Jewish magician in the majority of extant illustrated copies of Gautier's Theophilus legend. In some cases, these representations even highlight the role of the Jew to the complete exclusion of the Virgin, with the visual

⁶⁶ For Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22928, see Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 85-87; and Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-99.

effect of fixing the meaning of the legend around the anti-Jewish themes contained therein. For example, in a late-thirteenth-century copy of the *MND* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1613), the initial "P" of the opening line of the tale is inscribed with an expected image of Theophilus kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child. (fig. 88).⁶⁷ The presence of a small devil hanging off the side of the letter "P" and prodding Theophilus with a long rake-like weapon, points toward the guilt of the apostate sinner as he embarks upon his penitential prayers. At first glance, the choice to illustrate the legend with this particular scene presents nothing out of the ordinary. There are additional illustrations from the Theophilus legend, however, placed at the previous opening at the beginning of the prologue to the *MND* (I Pr I), where two scenes from the legend are depicted inside the initial "A" of "*A la loenge et la gloire*" (fig. 89). The initial is damaged, but it is possible to make out the figures of the Jewish magician, wearing a red hat and a second figure, who must be Theophilus in the midst of their nighttime meeting. A second scene featuring the Jew is depicted in the lower register, where we find his presence at the binding of the pact between Theophilus and the devil. Theophilus, identifiable by his tonsure, kneels in front of a seated figure holding a scepter and the charter. The Jewish magician stands in his usual position behind Theophilus as both instigator and witness, providing encouragement in the face of the devil and bearing the weight of responsibility for his sin and diabolical engagement. Thus, while the illustration accompanying the text of the Theophilus legend itself is not so unusual, the presence of two additional scenes in

⁶⁷Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Duys, Krause, and Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*: Manuscript List," 345-66.

the prologue, in which the Jew plays a prominent role, sets the tone for the rest of the collection.

More than half of the thirteen illuminated copies of Gautier's *Theophilus* open with an episode featuring the Jew, depicting either his presence at the sealing of the pact or the nighttime meeting between Theophilus and the Jewish magician.⁶⁸ In three additional manuscripts from this group, the Jew is not depicted in the opening scenes, but is prominently featured in the miniatures.⁶⁹ In fact, the only illuminated Gautier manuscripts in which the Jew is not highlighted in the illustrations are the three examples discussed above, in which the visual representation of the tale is devoted exclusively to a scene featuring the Virgin Mary.⁷⁰ The focus on the Jewish figure in these manuscripts presents an interesting cross-section of some of the ways in which Christians depicted Jews in the visual arts. In most cases, the Jewish magician is marked with a long beard and a pointed cap, two of the most common attributes with which Jews were depicted by Christian artists.⁷¹ In some cases, as in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 3517, a

⁶⁸ The manuscripts in which the Theophilus legend opens with a scene prominently featuring the Jew include: Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS, 3517, fol. 15r; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533, fol. 37r; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1613, fol. 1r; Paris, BnF, n.acq. fr. 24541, fol. 8v; Brussels, BR, MS 9229-30, fol. 5r; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5204, fol. 33r; and Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS fr. 3527, fol. 106r.

⁶⁹ Besançon, BM, MS 551 is the most extensively illustrated of all the illuminated copies of Gautier's *Theophilus* with twenty-nine illustrations, of which, five scenes feature the Jewish magician. The Jew is represented in one scene in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. v. XIV.9, fol. 45v and in two scenes in The Hague, KB, MS 71 A. 24, fol. 1r and 2v.

⁷⁰ These manuscripts include Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25532, fol. 9r; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22928, fol. 42r; and Brussels, BR, MS 10747, fol. 7r.

⁷¹ For a broad overview of the depiction of Jews in medieval art, see Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History*; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), especially 95-155. For a recent reappraisal of the depiction of

thirteenth-century copy of the *MND*, the Jew is depicted with a loose turban, while in other cases, he is marked with a more typical *pileum cornutum* or horned cap (fig. 90).⁷² The Jew wears a bright red, pointed cap, for instance, in Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 551, and a yellow version in the upper-right register of the miniature in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. v. XIV.9 (figs. 91-92).⁷³ The only example I have found in which the Jew does not wear some sort of head covering is Paris, BnF, n.acq. fr. 24541, a manuscript of the *MND* painted between 1328-1334 attributed to the painter Jean Pucelle. Though Pucelle depicted the Jew unusually with a bare head, the figure is easily identifiable by his long beard and his position behind the kneeling Theophilus, where he stands with one hand on the apostate's back and the other on the devil as they sign the pact (fig. 93).⁷⁴

Jews by Christian artists, see Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, especially 25-39.

⁷² For Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 3517, see Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-98; Duys, Krause, and Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*: Manuscript List," 345-66; Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 79-81.

⁷³ Additional examples in which the Jew is marked with a pointed cap include The Hague, KB, MS 71 A. 24, fol. 1r and 2v; Brussels, BR, MS 9229-30, fol. 5r; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5204, fol. 33r; and Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS fr. 3527, fol. 106r. For the Besançon manuscript, see Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 51-54.; Duys, Krause, and Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*: Manuscript List," 345-66; Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-99. For the Saint Petersburg manuscript, see Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 85-87; Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Western European Illuminated Manuscripts of the 8th to the 16th Centuries* (St. Petersburg, 1996), 66-67; I. P. Mokretsova and V. L. Romanova, *Les Manuscrits enluminés français du XIIIe siècle dans les collections soviétiques, 1270-1300* (Moscow, 1984), 102-47.

⁷⁴ For Paris, BnF, n.acq. fr. 24541, see Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 85-87; Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-99.

This intimate connection between Theophilus and the Jew is played up in many of the illustrations of the story, some of which hint at the erotic. For example, in Hague, KB, MS 71 A. 24, a manuscript of Gautier's *MND* and the *Vie des Pères* illuminated in Paris in 1327, the tale is accompanied by a six-scene miniature, including two scenes in which the bodies of Theophilus and the Jew fuse together (fig. 83). In the first of the two scenes, found in the upper-right register, Theophilus reaches his right hand out toward the figure of the Jewish magician, who wears a pointed red cap, long beard, and holds the pact in his left hand. Here, the Jew's body is turned away from Theophilus, his arm wrapped tightly inside his cloak, with just his gaze making contact with the apostate. In contrast, the bodies of Theophilus and his companion merge together in the next scene, found in the lower left register, where the Jew has removed his right arm from inside his cloak and grasped Theophilus's right hand, their elegantly-swaying bodies joining together as they face a raucous crowd of devils.

A second manuscript produced by the same Paris workshop (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 5204) depicts Theophilus and the Jew appearing before the devil in similarly intimate fashion (fig. 94).⁷⁵ In this example, from a manuscript of the *MND* from between 1326-28, two scenes are depicted within a rectangular miniature placed just below the opening rubric for the *MND*, above the opening text of Gautier's *Theophilus*. Like the scenes in the Hague manuscript discussed above (fig. 83), the illuminator of the

⁷⁵ For Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 5204, see Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 85-87; Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-99. The Rouses have attributed both the Hague manuscript and the Paris manuscript to the workshop of Thomas de Maubeuge in Paris, which was located a stone's throw from the Theophilus reliefs displayed on the north side of Notre-Dame Cathedral. Rouse and Rouse, 2000, vol. II, p. 183.

Paris manuscript foregrounds the intimacy between the apostate and his Jewish companion for the reader-viewer as the text opens.⁷⁶ In the first scene, on the left, the Jew embraces Theophilus from behind, as they approach a cohort of devils playing musical instruments. At right, the Jew stands close behind the apostate as he kneels to sign the charter, their bodies standing as one before the devil.

The bodies of Theophilus and the Jew join together in even more provocative fashion in a partial manuscript of the *MND* (Brussels, BR, MS 9229-30) dating to 1320-40.⁷⁷ In this case, Gautier's *Theophilus* is depicted with one miniature inscribed within a rectangular frame placed just below the rubric marking the opening of the text (fig. 95). The miniature includes two scenes from the legend, both focused on interactions between Theophilus and the Jew. In the first, depicted on the left, the two figures meet outside the gates of a city. As in the previous example, Theophilus reaches out toward the Jew, whose body is turned away from him as he points toward the devil's court in the following scene. At right, the pair kneels before a cluster of fiery devils led by a hairy, horned beast on horseback, who holds a writing implement and the charter, presumably to extract Theophilus's signature in blood. While not the most beautifully painted of the Gautier manuscripts, this image stands out for the homoerotic charge embedded in the depiction of the signing of the pact, as the Jew has been recast as a sodomite, mounting

⁷⁶ One additional miniature illustrating the Theophilus legend is found on folio 34r., which depicts Theophilus kneeling in supplication before the Virgin and Child. The Virgin holds the pact out to Theophilus.

⁷⁷ For Brussels, BR, MS 9229-30, see J. Van den Gheyn, ed. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols., vol. 5 (Brussels: 1901-1948), vol. V, no. 3354; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, I, 189; Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Russakoff, "Imagining the Miraculous: *Les Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541," 85-87; Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 65-99.

Theophilus from behind.⁷⁸ John Boswell, in his 1980 study of medieval homosexuality, pointed out that the Third Lateran Council of 1179 included sodomites as part of the general cluster of people acting "against nature," a group which also included moneylenders, Jews, heretics, and Muslims.⁷⁹ Medieval Christian thinkers were accustomed to blending the categories of non-Christians, so that it should not surprise us to find Theophilus and the Jewish magician depicted as sodomites, quite literally joining forces as they approach the devil. As Stephen Kruger has noted in reference to the eleventh-century writing of the cleric Peter Damien, "Both religious and sexual others are thus associated, in medieval discourses, with an inappropriate gender, and the non-Christian and sodomitical parallel each other in a variety of additional ways."⁸⁰ By depicting Theophilus and the Jew in a compromising position, the Brussels manuscript emphasizes the non-Christian status of both figures, while placing the blame for the apostate's circumstances with the Jew, who takes the position of the sexual aggressor.

Gautier alludes to this kind of imagery in his text when he describes the embrace (*l'acole*) and kiss (*le baise*) with which the Jew greets Theophilus upon his return on the

⁷⁸ The classic study of homosexuality in the Middle Ages is John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980). For a more recent critique of the essentialism within Boswell's thesis, see Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 1999), especially 1-54. See also, the recent collection of essays revisiting Boswell's work, Mathew Kuefler, *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006). For the depiction of sodomy in medieval art, see Robert Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁷⁹ Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*, 277-78.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of how Jewishness and sodomy were woven together by medieval theologians, see Steven F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 87-96.

second night for their rendezvous. This moment of affection between Theophilus and his false friend highlights the function of the Jew in the tale as the Virgin's counterpart, a subtle play on the kind of tender embrace ecclesiastic audiences yearned for in their hymns and sermons penned in honor of the Mother of God.⁸¹ In the three manuscripts discussed above, however, the illuminators amplify the relationship between Theophilus and the Jew, infusing their union with an intimacy bordering on the homoerotic. In most cases, the connection between the two figures is represented by the Jew's gesture of placing a hand on Theophilus's shoulder, cases in which, while not encoded with the hint of sodomy, point toward an inappropriate bodily connection between the apostate and the Jew, linking the two figures through their non-Christian status.

A final example of the intimate connection enacted between Theophilus and the Jew in this group of manuscripts is found in Besançon, BM, MS 551, an elaborately planned, but never finished manuscript of the *MND*, which illustrates the legend with an extensive cycle of twenty-nine small miniatures, five of which picture the Jewish magician by the apostate's side.⁸² The embrace between Theophilus and the Jew is depicted in the first of these five miniatures (fig. 96). The illuminator does not depict the kiss described by Gautier, but focuses instead on their embrace, which is notable for the apostate's tender gestures, as he places his right hand on the Jew's heart and his left arm

⁸¹ For an overview of this tradition, see Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du savor: Des origines à saint Anselme* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1963). As Matilda Bruckner pointed out to me in conversation, this could also be read as a play on "normal" medieval contact.

⁸² Arlette Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Notre Dame de Gautier de Coinci* (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1932), 51-54; Anna Russakoff, "The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551," *Manuscripta* 47/48 (3003/2004): 135-144.

over his shoulder, almost as if they were dancing. Whether bordering on the erotic or simply depicting a physical connection, these manuscripts all blur the boundaries between Christian and non-Christian bodies, resonating with ecclesiastical concerns about interactions between Christians and Jews.

This intersection with anti-Jewish church policy is evident in an illuminated copy of the *MND* attributed to Paris around 1280 (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533), in which the figure of the Jewish magician is marked with a bright yellow badge placed in the center of his chest (fig. 97). The Jew is depicted in the first of three small historiated initials that illustrate Gautier's *Theophilus*, this one placed in a rectangular frame in between the opening rubric and the incipit, "*A la loenge et la gloire*" ("In Praise of the Glorious Virgin").⁸³ The illuminator has foregrounded the magician by positioning him in the center of the scene, where he stands, his curly hair topped by a pointed, red cap, in between Theophilus and the devil. Notably, this example represents a rare case in which the Jew is depicted in sharp profile and with a bright yellow "rouelle" or badge, rather than by his beard or hat. To my knowledge, this is the only example from the representations of Gautier's *Theophilus* in which the Jewish sorcerer is marked with a badge, reflecting contemporary policies toward the Jews.⁸⁴

⁸³ For Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533, see Ducrot-Granderye, *Études sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci*, 18-74; Duys, Krause, and Stones, "Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*: Manuscript List," 345-66; Stones, "Notes on the Artistic Context of Some Gautier de Coinci Manuscripts," 397-406. There is one additional illustration of Theophilus kneeling before an image of the Virgin and Child inscribed within the initial "G" of the *Genme [sic] resplendissant pucele glorieuse* that opens the Prayer of Theophilus on folio 262v. See Chapter Three for a discussion of the Prayer of Theophilus and its illustration in the manuscript tradition.

⁸⁴ The badge does occasionally appear in other contexts, for example, in the Hague, KB 71 A 24, fol. 10v., where the Jew of Bourges is marked with a badge. The Jew of Bourges is another popular legend that was incorporated into the Virgin's miracle stories

Illuminated manuscripts ultimately furnish us with a picture of Jewish dress painted by Christian artists for a Christian audience. Yet the fact that Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533 has been attributed to a workshop in Paris during the last decades of the thirteenth century does open the door for an interpretation of the Jewish magician through the lens of contemporary policies regarding the Jews living within the king's domain. The custom of requiring Jews in northern Europe to mark their clothes with a badge developed out of the decrees issued by a series of church councils that took place during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸⁵ The most famous, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, did not order the Jews to wear a badge specifically, but did insist that "Jews and Saracens must be distinguishable from Christians by a difference in their clothes."⁸⁶ This focus on being able to distinguish Christians and non-Christians is part of the same cluster of clerical worries discussed above, in connection with Jews and Christians mixing in urban centers across northern Europe. The move toward a badge, however, was never universally imposed across western Christendom, but rather came down to local policies. As Lipton puts it, "A papal council may have been the first to decree that distinguishing clothing be

by the thirteenth century. The story tells the tale of a young Jewish boy, who takes communion with his friends in church one day. Upon learning of his son's actions, the boy's father, usually described as a glassmaker from Bourges, throws the boy into his oven. The Virgin Mary miraculously appears in the flames and rescues the boy from harm. For a history of the legend of the Jew of Bourges, see Rubin, *Gentile tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, 7-39. For an English translation of Gautier's version of the Jew of Bourges, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles of the Virgin Mary*," 627-53.

⁸⁵ For a history of the position of the church regarding the Jews, see Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*. For an overview of the history of the Jewish badge, see Irven Michael Resnick, *Marks of Distinction Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 80-88.

⁸⁶ Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 61 and 308-09. For further discussion of Canon 61, see Pastan, "*Tam haereticos quam Judaeos*: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," 70.

imposed on Jews, but it was secular rulers who decided on the form of the badge and who controlled (and profited from) the enforcement (or disregard) of the order."⁸⁷ Thus, to contextualize this particular image of a Jew wearing the badge, we must look not to Rome, but to Paris.

The earliest reference to Jews wearing the badge in France dates to 1217, just a few years after the Fourth Lateran Council. It is recorded in the *Or Sarua* of R. Isaac ben Moses of Vienna, in which the author reports:

And when I, the author, was in France, we used to wear round signs (wheels) upon the clothes, for thus it was decreed against the Jews at that time...Some used to sew them into the garment...Others used to make a circle from parchment and attach it to the garment by means of a needle. And my teacher, R. Samson of Coucy...adjudged them permissible (for wearing on the Sabbath) because wheels were attached to the garment.⁸⁸

However, as Solomon Grayzel has cautioned, this is the only known reference to Jews wearing the badge in France until 1269, suggesting that the practice was not widely enforced in the royal domain until later in the century.⁸⁹ Still, R. Isaac ben Moses's report provides us with an eye-witness account describing the kind of round "wheel" worn by the Jewish magician in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533, the same sort of mark that would be required of Jews living in the royal kingdom a few decades later (fig. 97). The badge was made an official requirement by King Louis in 1268.⁹⁰ Worn by both men and women, it

⁸⁷ Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, 196.

⁸⁸ As cited and translated by Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 65, n. 112.

⁸⁹ Grayzel thinks the badge might have been briefly prescribed by local officials in the immediate wake of the Fourth Lateran Council, but that the practice likely fell to the wayside once the novelty wore off. See *ibid.*

⁹⁰ The decision to impose the badge on the Jews of France followed on the heels of Louis's arrest of the Jews and seizure of their property in preparation for a mass

was "a round piece of felt or linen on the outer garment both front and back, a palm long and four fingers wide."⁹¹ As Grayzel notes, once King Louis established the badge in France, it was continually enforced by the crown.⁹² Thus, the presence of the round badge on the chest of the Jewish magician in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533, a manuscript dating to the second half of the thirteenth century, lends this figure contemporary currency by depicting the figure in the dress of contemporary Parisian Jews. Like the other illuminated copies of the *MND*, this final example demonstrates how Gautier's illuminators seized upon the anti-Jewish elements of the text, portraying the legend in visual terms that contemporaries would recognize. In the last section of the chapter, we will look even more closely at how contemporary policies toward the Jews were woven into depictions of the Jewish magician, this time, on the exterior of Notre-Dame of Paris.

The Theophilus Reliefs in the Cloister of Notre-Dame of Paris: From the Talmud Trial of 1240 to the Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306.

The north side of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris preserves two separate versions of the Theophilus legend, a remarkable fact given how rare it is to find instances of the story depicted in extant monumental sculpture. The earliest of the two Paris examples consists of five scenes from the legend inscribed on the tympanum of the north transept portal around 1250 (fig. 98). The second, dating to the first decade of the fourteenth century, is part of a series of Marian reliefs adorning the eastern end of the north side of the cathedral (fig. 99). Both examples are displayed in what was the domain of the

expulsion. Louis ultimately decided not to expel the Jews, but decreed that they must wear the Badge. *Ibid.*, 66, n. 112.

⁹¹ Failure to wear the badge was punishable by the loss of one's garment and a fine of ten pounds. *Ibid.*, 66, n. 112.

⁹² In contrast, the badge was not regularly enforced in areas outside the royal domain. This is especially true of locales where the Jews played an important role in local commerce, such as Marseille. *Ibid.*, 66, n. 112-13.

cathedral chapter by the thirteenth century, meaning that the primary audience for these images was ecclesiastical. These unusual examples of the Theophilus legend in monumental sculpture may be explained in part by this clerical audience, a group to whom the tale would have spoken most loudly. In addition, the Paris cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin, who was also the focus of the visual program of the north transept, making the Theophilus scenes resonate in this Marian space. To fully grasp the meaning of both representations of the legend, however, we must also read these scenes against the anti-Jewish measures introduced by the crown and the church during the years when both examples were installed on the cathedral's exterior.

The earlier of the two sculpted versions of the legend is found on the tympanum of the north transept portal, which was added to the cathedral during Jean de Chelles reconstruction of Notre-Dame's transept arm around 1250.⁹³ The Theophilus scenes make up the upper two-thirds of the tympanum, with the lower register containing episodes from the Infancy cycle, together forming the focus of a portal dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁹⁴ Comparable to the windows studied in the previous chapter, the Notre-Dame tympanum similarly folds the Theophilus legend into Mary's life story, providing additional evidence that it was in the visual arts that the tale was rewritten as the Virgin's official posthumous miracle. The five scenes begin on the left side of the central register

⁹³ Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 155-63. The transept was extended by a half bay on each end, with a sculpted portal consecrated to the Virgin added on the north, and a portal dedicated the original dedicatee of the church, St. Stephen, on the south side.

⁹⁴ Michael T. Davis, "Canonical Views: The Theophilus Story and the Choir Reliefs at Notre-Dame, Paris," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 103-16. For issues of patronage, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris," *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000): 58-72.

of the tympanum with the pact between Theophilus and the devil (fig. 100). The pair clasps hands to signify their agreement, as the Jew stands witness with his arm around Theophilus's shoulder, exhibiting the same sort of intimacy discussed above in the illuminated manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci's *MND*. In the following scene, the reinstated Theophilus administers alms with the help of a small devil crouching behind him (fig. 101). Next, moving to the right across the register, Theophilus kneels in prayer before a statue of the Virgin and Child set upon a vested altar inside an architectural structure intended to represent a chapel (fig. 102). Finally, the Virgin takes back the charter, armed with a cruciform spear, which she holds back ready to plunge into the face of the devil kneeling before her in supplication (fig. 103). In unusual fashion for this particular scene, Theophilus is present, kneeling behind the Virgin's imposing figure. Lastly, in the apex of the tympanum, the bishop presents the cancelled charter to his congregation, as he delivers a sermon on the Virgin's power to intercede on behalf of penitent sinners like Theophilus (fig. 104).

While this particular telling of the legend is not unusual within the larger corpus of surviving Theophilus imagery, the ecclesiastical audience for the tympanum here in the *cloître* of the cathedral is significant. While the south transept portal was adjacent to the episcopal palace and served as the main entrance for the bishop, the Virgin's portal on the north transept was used primarily by the cathedral's canons.⁹⁵ The *cloître* or close, "was a triangular area delimited by a line that extended from the north tower of the

⁹⁵ The cathedral was originally dedicated to Saint Stephen, then to both the Virgin and Saint Stephen, and then by the end of the tenth century solely to Notre-Dame. As Erlande-Brandenburg has noted, the dedication of the thirteenth-century transepts to the Virgin on the north and Saint Stephen on the south, the territory of the canons' and the bishop respectively, seems to reflect these older spatial configurations within the cathedral. See Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 20 and 158-59.

church to the Seine, followed the river southeast, and then returned to the chevet of the cathedral (fig. 105)."⁹⁶ As Wright describes it,

This tiny clerical city formed a small, separate state, one possessing its own system of weights and measures and its own police force...free from all secular control, exempt from royal taxes, and enjoyed the privilege of direct appeal to Rome when matters of canon law were in dispute. Even the bishop of Paris, should he wish to enter the walled confines of the canons, passing through the cathedral or through one of the four gates to the close, had to first obtain permission from the chapter.⁹⁷

Thus, by the mid-thirteenth century, when the Theophilus scenes were included on the north transept, the cathedral close was with few exceptions the exclusive domain of the canons and their guests.⁹⁸

The Jewish magician must have had special meaning in this ecclesiastical context, viewed against a backdrop of tensions between Christian and Jews on the Île-de-la-Cité. By the twelfth century, there was a significant concentration of Jews living here, at the heart of medieval Paris, which by all accounts was a tightly packed cluster of royal, ecclesiastical, and lay domains.⁹⁹ According to William Chester Jordan, this concentration of Jewish residents so close to the royal palace and the cathedral is explained by the favorable policies toward the Jews during the reign of Louis VII, who

⁹⁶ The cathedral close included thirty-six houses for the canons by the mid-thirteenth century, in addition to three chapels, the chapter house, a jail, and a refectory. See Craig M. Wright, *Music and ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 27.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. Wright has noted that by 1127, in the wake of the scandalous relationship between Abelard and Héloïse that played out within the cloister, the canons had managed to expel the scholars and masters of the cathedral school from the cloister and resituate the disruptive lot within the bishop's territory on the south side of the cathedral. Wright notes that the scholars were moved to the parvis in front of the cathedral when the new cathedral and new bishop's palace were begun around 1160.

⁹⁹ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 9.

ruled from 1137 until his death in 1180.¹⁰⁰ Capetian policy toward the Jews took a turn for the worse during the reign of Louis' son, Philip Augustus (r. 1180-1223), who, not long after his coronation, ordered a raid on the Jews' homes and synagogues.¹⁰¹ The king's biographer, the monk named Rigord, complained bitterly that the Jews ran the city.¹⁰² In 1182, Philip decided to expel all of the Jews from the royal domain, save those who converted to Christianity, confiscating the property of the nearly 2,000 Jewish residents of Paris.¹⁰³ The king changed his mind in 1198, readmitting Jews to the royal domain, a reversal that Jordan suggests was likely connected to his realization that he had expelled a major source of taxation revenue.¹⁰⁴ The Jews who returned to Paris resettled on the right bank, since their residences on the Île-de-la-Cité had passed into Christian hands.¹⁰⁵ The short reign of Philip's son, Louis VIII (r. 1223-1226), saw additional legislation against the Jews making it increasingly difficult for them to lend money at interest and to collect on their debts.¹⁰⁶ The reigns of both Capetian kings overlap with

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 30-31. The exact date of the raid is disputed, but the event is reported by Philip's biographers as well as at least one Jewish source. The king's men reportedly seized objects of Jewish worship were seized and held ransom against objects of Christian worship pawned to Jewish moneylenders to pay for loans.

¹⁰² Ibid., 9-10.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 31-32.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 36-39.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰⁶ For the treatment of the Jews during the reign of Louis VIII, see *ibid.*, 93-104. For an overview of the practice of usury in the Middle Ages and its implications for the Jews, see Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life, Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York, 1988), 17-32; For the argument that the Jews served as a scapegoat for Christians as they negotiated the changing economy, see Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), especially 42-58. For the case of Paris, where the bishop complained about the church borrowing from the Jews to fund building projects, also see Elizabeth C. Pastan, "Tam haereticos quam Judaeos: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," *Word & Image* 10, no. 1 (1994): 48.

campaigns instigated by Pope Innocent III to establish clear boundaries between Christians and Jewish communities, and to control Jewish lending at interest to Christians.¹⁰⁷

While the situation for the Jews living in the royal domain deteriorated during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, it worsened considerably during the long reign of Philip's grandson, Louis IX, known as Saint Louis (r. 1226-1270), and his mother, Queen Blanche of Castile (1188-1252), who ruled as regent during her son's childhood.¹⁰⁸ By the 1230s, usury was forbidden by the crown, though it continued in secret.¹⁰⁹ Jordan describes Saint Louis' policies against the Jews as antagonistic; he did not end the practice of usury, but he implemented harsh penalties on both Jews and Christians caught borrowing or collecting interest.¹¹⁰ At the same time, Louis managed to profit from the collection of Jewish debts with a clean conscience, having received permission from Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) to "purify" his usurious profits by donating them to the Latin Empire of Constantinople.¹¹¹ Thus, by the mid-thirteenth century, when the Theophilus legend was first added to the north side of Notre-Dame, Paris was already an inhospitable home for its Jewish residents.

Around 1240, anti-Jewish policies bled into the private, religious practice of Parisian Jews when the crown, instigated by the pope, shifted its focus from usury to the Talmud, putting the book of Jewish Law on trial. The Pope asserted that the Talmud, a

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 44-55. Also see, Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, especially 87-178.

¹⁰⁸ For Jewish policies under Saint Louis and Blanche of Castile, see Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 128-41.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 136.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 133-34.

book central to rabbinical Judaism, was not a divine text since it was recorded by men, that the very existence of the book was an insult to the Bible and the Old Testament Prophets, and finally, that the Talmud was rife with errors and full of blasphemies against Christ and the Virgin.¹¹² The Pope instructed the bishop of Paris to disseminate his message, ordering clergy throughout Latin Christendom to seize copies of the Talmud from their local synagogues.¹¹³ Thus, as Jeremy Cohen has demonstrated in his work on the preaching friars, the mid-thirteenth century saw a shift in ecclesiastical perceptions of Jews, who became heretics in the eyes of a proselytizing church.¹¹⁴ Following the seizure of their books, the Jews were asked to send representatives to Paris to defend the Talmud against the charges of blasphemy, a meeting which resulted in the setting of a date for a public trial against the Talmud on June 25, 1240.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 29-30 and 339. These events were set into motion by a Jewish apostate from Paris by the name of Nicholas Donin, who made a visit to Rome in 1239, where he secured an audience with Pope Gregory IX. Soon after their meeting, the Pope sent a letter to the bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, enumerating the reasons that the Talmud should be banned. Yosef Schwartz, "Authority, Control, and Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Paris: Contextualizing the Talmud Trial," in *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France*, ed. Elisheva Baumgarten and Karl Galinsky, *The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 97.

¹¹³ The books were to be collected on Saturday, March 3, 1240, when the Jews would be at synagogue, and then given to the Franciscan and Dominican friars, who were tasked with investigating Donin's charges against the Talmud. As Grayzel notes, the Pope's directive was only followed in France, a circumstance he connects to the piety of Saint Louis and to the fact that Donin was from France. See Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 30. Also see Schwartz, "Authority, Control, and Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Paris: Contextualizing the Talmud Trial," 96.

¹¹⁴ For the mendicant friars and their position toward the Jews, see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*. For the development of these ideas, especially, the conflation of Jews and heretics, lepers, prostitutes, etc., see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), especially 6-57.

¹¹⁵ Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 30.

The Talmud Trial was staged over the course of several days in the royal court on the Île-de-la-Cité, where it was overseen by the Queen-Mother, Blanche of Castile.¹¹⁶ Nicholas Donin stood as the accuser, while the Talmud was defended by a council of highly respected Jewish scholars, including the famous Tosafist preacher Moses of Coucy and Yechiel of Paris, the head of the Talmudic Academy of Paris.¹¹⁷ The deck was stacked against the rabbis from the outset, as the trial was led by figures such as the bishop of Paris, whose theological writing was full of scorn for the Jews.¹¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, the Talmud was condemned, and though it took a few years to carry out the sentence, on Friday, June 6, 1242, the king's officials rounded up twenty-four wagonloads of Jewish books and burned them publically in Paris.¹¹⁹

The Talmud Trial thus provides important background for interpreting the meaning of the Jewish magician for the cathedral canons who viewed the Theophilus scenes in the context of the *cloître* of Notre-Dame in mid-thirteenth-century Paris. As the book of the rabbinical tradition, the Talmud personified contemporary Judaism making it a problematical text for Christians clinging to the Augustinian doctrine that supported an allegorical picture of Jews as Old Testament figures, frozen in time, rather than their living, breathing neighbors. Like the figure of Synagoga, the Jew in the Theophilus legend functioned allegorically to help ecclesiastics mediate their anxieties about

¹¹⁶ The case was judged by a panel of Christian clergy including Walter Cornutus, archbishop of Sens (1221-1241), William of Auvergne, the bishop of Paris (1228-1249), Adam de Chambly, bishop of Senlis (1228-1259), Geoffrey of Belleville, the king's chaplain, and likely also included Odo of Chateauroux, chancellor of the University of Paris. Schwartz, "Authority, Control, and Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Paris: Contextualizing the Talmud Trial," 95-102.

¹¹⁷ Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 30-31.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31, n. 55.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

Judaism. Kara Ann Morrow has made a similar connection between the trial and the sculptural decoration of Notre-Dame, pointing to the representation of St. Stephen's disputation with the Jews from around 1258, carved on the tympanum of the south transept portal, the bishop's entrance to the cathedral (fig 35).¹²⁰ Carved in the immediate aftermath of the trial Talmud Trial in 1240, the figure of the Jewish magician on the north transept may have served as a model for the depiction of the Jews on the opposite side of the cathedral a few years later. Both the rabbis disputing with St. Stephen and the Jewish magician are depicted with long beards and Phrygian caps, as Old Testament Jews, in marked contrast to the clean-shaven faces and tonsures of Theophilus and St. Stephen (figs. 106).

The depictions of Jews on both the north and south transept tympana would have further resonated in the decade to follow, as the crown continued its aggressive policies against the Jews. In 1244, Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) wrote to King Louis IX and asked him to renew his campaign against the Talmud.¹²¹ This time, the Jews sent a council of rabbis to Rome to defend the text, arguing that the Talmud was essential to their faith. As Pope Innocent IV describes the visit in a letter to the King in 1247:

When, therefore, the Jewish masters of your Kingdom recently asserted before us and our brothers, that without that book which in Hebrew is called 'Talmut,' they cannot understand the Bible and their other statutes and laws in accordance with their faith, we then, bound as we are by the

¹²⁰ Kara Ann Morrow, "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the St. Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral," in *In Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval, Renaissance and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mirchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 63-86. Also see Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 180-89.

¹²¹ Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 250-51.

Divine command to tolerate them in their Law, thought fit to have the answer given them that we do not want to deprive them of their Law.¹²²

Thus, the rabbis couched their argument in allegorical terms and reminded the Pope that in order to serve Christendom as the "living letters of the law," they must have access to the Talmud, as it was through this book that they understood the Hebrew Bible. The pope was persuaded by the rabbis, at least initially, and called upon Odo of Chateauroux, former chancellor of the University of Paris and Papal Legate in Rome, to reconsider the 1240 ruling against the Talmud. Odo responded with a letter in which he defended the former trial and issued a harsh rebuke to the Pope for changing his position and deciding to let the Jews keep their books, writing:

It would therefore be most disgraceful, and a cause for shame for the Apostolic Throne, if books that had been so solemnly and so justly burned in the presence of all the scholars, and of the clergy, and the populace of Paris, were to be given back to the masters of the Jews at the order of the pope, for such tolerance would seem to mean approval.¹²³

In 1247, a new council convened in Paris, supervised by Odo to reexamine the text, which ultimately ended in the incineration of more Jewish books.¹²⁴

¹²² Sane magistris Judeorum regni tui nuper proponentibus coram nobis et fratribus nostris quod sine illo libro qui hebraice Talmut dicitur, bibliam et alia statuta sue legis secundum fidem ipsorum intelligere nequeunt, nos qui juxta mandatum divinum in eadem lege ipsos tolerare tenemur, dignum eis duximus respondendum quod sicut eos ipsa lege sic perconsequens suis libris nolumus injuste privare. As translated by *ibid.*, 274-76.

¹²³ Et esset scandalum non minimum, et Sedis Apostolice sempiternum opprobrium, si libri coram universitate scholarium et clero et populo Parisiensi tam solemniter et tam juste concremati, mandato Apostolico tolerarentur, vel etiam magistris Judeorum redderentur, hec enim tolerantia quedam approbatio videretur. As translated by *ibid.*, 275-78, n. 3.

¹²⁴ Robert Chazan, *The Trial and Condemnation of the Talmud*, Tikvah Working Paper 11/01 (New York: NYU School of Law, 2011), 53; Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 32 and 277. Further orders to confiscate and burn the Talmud were issued at the Seneschal of Agen, c. 1250, and again at the Council of Beziers in 1255, see Grayzel 336-37 and 41-43.

Thus, circumstances fostered by both the papacy and the French crown aligned in the mid-thirteenth century to make Paris a hostile environment for its Jewish inhabitants. The anti-Jewish climate in Paris was shaped in large part by Saint Louis, who was known for both his piety and his anti-Jewish sentiments. As reported by his biographer, Joinville, the king "once said that the best way for a layman to dispute with a Jew who made a slur against the Christian religion was to run a sword through his belly."¹²⁵ Louis approved of this particular act, according to Joinville, because the Jew had reportedly attacked Mary with the blasphemous claim that when she gave birth to Jesus she was not a virgin.¹²⁶ The king's rhetoric echoes accusations voiced during the trial of 1240, when the prosecution cited passages in the Talmud reportedly containing vicious allegations about the Virgin Mary.¹²⁷

The notion that the Jews were the enemies of the Virgin adds an additional layer of meaning to the Theophilus scenes on the tympanum at Notre-Dame. Indeed, this antagonistic dynamic plays out across the central register, where the figures of the Virgin and the Jew serve as bookends for the drama (fig. 98). In the first scene, on the left side of the register, the Jew stands behind Theophilus and places a reassuring arm around his shoulder as he kneels before the devil to seal the pact. The episode depicted on the far right side of the register mirrors this first scene with the Virgin taking the place of the Jew. The unusual inclusion of Theophilus at the moment when Mary confronts the devil with her cruciform staff serves to emphasize this dynamic between intercessor and anti-

¹²⁵ William Chester Jordan, "Marian Devotion and the Talmud Trial of 1240," in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, ed. Friedrich Niewöhner, *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien*, 4 (Wiesbaden: 1992), 65.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-76

intercessor, as the Virgin leads Theophilus from the devil back to Christ. Thus, when viewed within the anti-Jewish climate in mid-thirteenth-century Paris, it is clear that the arrangement of figures across the central register was intended to mark the Jew as the Virgin Mary's foil, if not her foe.

That the representation of the Jewish magician on the tympanum at Notre-Dame is infused with contemporary anti-Jewish meaning is supported by the presence of a second sculpted version of the Theophilus legend on the north side of the cathedral, carved during the first decade of the fourteenth century (fig. 99).¹²⁸ This second Theophilus relief has sustained some damage, but it is still easy to make out three scenes from the legend, reading from right to left, inside a quatrefoil adorned with vegetal decoration, which is, in turn, inscribed within a square. As in the earlier tympanum, the relief places the Jew and the Virgin in opposition, with the two flanking scenes made up of the signing of the pact between Theophilus and the devil on the right side of the relief, witnessed by the Jewish magician, and the Virgin's trip to hell on the opposite side, where she retrieves the sealed charter from the devil. In the center of the relief, serving as an axis between the two scenes, is a depiction of Theophilus kneeling in supplication before a statue of the Virgin Mary.¹²⁹ The movement of the narrative from right to left relates to

¹²⁸ Davis, "Canonical Views: The Theophilus Story and the Choir Reliefs at Notre-Dame, Paris," 104. Davis dates the series of reliefs to the early stage of construction of new chapels surrounding the ambulatory, a campaign which began in 1296. The reliefs adorn the exterior walls of chapels completed in 1320, but based on the uniformity of construction in the lower part of the wall, he dates the reliefs to the 1310s.

¹²⁹ The head of Theophilus and one of his hands are missing, but the rest his figure is still in place. Though the statue of the Virgin has been damaged, we may presume that she originally held the infant Jesus in her lap, as she does in the similar scene on the tympanum.

the fact that the relief is the last in a series of seven carved Marian episodes running from west to east along the northeastern flank of Notre-Dame (fig. 108).¹³⁰

The series begins just after the Porte Rouge with three reliefs depicting the Dormition, Funeral, and Assumption of the Virgin Mary (figs. 109-111). I will return shortly to the Funeral of the Virgin, which includes the legendary account of the Jews who attacked the Virgin's Funeral bier as it was carried by the apostles. Next, as the viewer walks around the curved exterior of the chapel, three additional reliefs depict Christ and Angels, the Coronation of the Virgin, and Christ in Majesty, episodes pointing towards the Virgin's place in heaven next to Christ, where she serves as the chief intercessor for humanity (figs. 112-114). Finally, the series ends with the Theophilus legend, which reinforces her miracle-working power (fig. 99). As was customary by the fourteenth century, the Theophilus legend is presented here as the official posthumous miracle of the Mother of God.

Scholars have debated whether or not this series was originally designed for this location or moved here later as *spolia* from the Marian reliefs known to have decorated the hemicycle of the now-destroyed choir screen. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg has argued for the latter, pointing to late-seventeenth-century drawings of the rear of the hemicycle, where a number of similar reliefs are depicted, including one closely resembling the relief representing the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 115).¹³¹ Michael T. Davis, however, has

¹³⁰ Davis has described the presentation of the reliefs as more like pages in a manuscript, intended to be read one at a time, rather than the left to right narrative we are accustomed to finding on a tympanum, for instance. See, Davis, "Canonical Views: The Theophilus Story and the Choir Reliefs at Notre-Dame, Paris," 106.

¹³¹ According to Erlande-Brandenburg, the back of the hemicycle was decorated with two rows of reliefs depicting scenes from the Life of Christ and the Virgin, as well as Old Testament scenes. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 175-77 and 205-06.

argued convincingly that the series was designed for the exterior of the cathedral from the outset, pointing out the way in which "the delicate pinnacled frames of each relief are interlaced carefully into the molding at the base of the wall, a sure indication that their exact size and placement was foreseen when construction of the new chapels circling the ambulatory was inaugurated in 1296."¹³² In addition to the physical evidence, I agree with Davis's argument that these reliefs fit thematically into this space. Together, the tympanum and the fourteenth-century reliefs present a fuller picture of Mary's role in the Christological drama, from the Nativity through her Assumption, with the Theophilus legend connecting the Virgin to humanity through her posthumous miracles. Thus, the fourteenth-century series of reliefs builds upon the thirteenth-century tradition of treating the Theophilus legend like an addendum to the Life of the Virgin, a trend we first saw in the monumental context in stained glass, and which is continued here at Notre-Dame in both the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century reliefs.

The ecclesiastical audience helps explain the presence of not one, but two depictions of the Theophilus legend inside the cathedral enclosure at Notre-Dame, where the fourteenth-century series of reliefs is displayed just above eye level on a wall that served as a corridor between the cathedral and the former chapter house. The reliefs were highly visible to the clerics who used this space, which, as Davis has noted, was not only located at the hub of ecclesiastical life, but was used as a processional route for clerics moving between the church of Saint-Jean-le-Rond on the northwest corner of Notre-

¹³² Davis, "Canonical Views: The Theophilus Story and the Choir Reliefs at Notre-Dame, Paris," 104. Davis dates the reliefs to the first decade of the fourteenth century, during the building campaign overseen by Peter de Chelles.

Dame and the church of Saint-Denis-du-Pas, a small church tucked behind the chevet.¹³³ Thus, inscribed within the bustling center of ecclesiastical life, the legend would have had special meaning for the canons, since, Theophilus, the recipient of the Virgin's most famous miracle, was a member of the clergy.

Although it is unusual to find the Theophilus legend depicted on a church exterior, and despite the fact that the tale was already represented on the north transept tympanum, it is clear that this second depiction of the story at Notre-Dame was intended for this space and this particular ecclesiastical audience.¹³⁴ Read together, the mid-thirteenth-century tympanum and the early fourteenth-century reliefs represent important episodes from the Life of the Virgin Mary, from the Infancy Cycle through her Death, and Coronation in heaven, with the Theophilus legend fitting easily into both the earlier and later parts of the ensemble. Moreover, the series of reliefs continues and expands upon the anti-Jewish message infused into the figure of the Jewish magician, in this latter case amplified by the linking of the Theophilus legend and the apocryphal tale of the Jews who attacked the Virgin's funeral bier. Once again, we can look to contemporary events to help interpret how these scenes would have been understood by their clerical audiences.

¹³³ Ibid., 106-07.

¹³⁴ Given the liturgical focus on the Virgin at Notre-Dame and the general popularity of the Theophilus legend it is likely that there was a Theophilus window in the cathedral's program of stained glass. Unfortunately, due to iconoclasm during the Revolution, only a few fragments of medieval glass survive from Notre-Dame, preserved in the west, north, and south rose windows. See Marcel Aubert, *Les Vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, Corpus vitrearum Medii Aevi France, 1: Département de la Seine, 1 (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1959); Henry Kraus, "New Documents for Notre-Dame's Early Chapels," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 74 (1969): 121-34. For the place of the Virgin in the liturgy, see Wright, *Music and ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, especially 98-142.

Davis has dated the Marian reliefs to the first decade of the fourteenth century, placing the series within a period in which Jews were expelled from cities and territories across northern Europe. The Jews were expelled from England in 1290, sending a wave of refugees to Normandy, of which one thousand or so immigrated to Paris.¹³⁵ Jordan has also pointed out the important implications of the adoption of the Feast of Corpus Christi in Paris in 1290, an addition to the liturgy celebrating the real presence of the body of Christ at the moment when the celebrant raised the Eucharist above his head during the Mass.¹³⁶ This feast coincided with a series of accusations against the Jews of ritual host desecration, one of which was recorded in Paris in the same year.¹³⁷ In addition, the anti-usury legislation put in place by Saint Louis was reissued in 1303.¹³⁸ Finally, in 1306, Philip the Fair expelled the Jews from France, an edict that was enforced much more successfully than the similar measure put in place by Philip Augustus in 1180.¹³⁹ It was against this backdrop of continued anti-Jewish sentiment ending in the expulsion of the Jews from the royal domain that the second Theophilus relief was added to the canon's quarters of Notre-Dame in Paris during the first decade of the fourteenth century.

¹³⁵ William Chester Jordan has suggested that King Philip IV (r. 1285-1314), grandson of Saint Louis, resented this influx of Jews into the center of the royal domain. Philip IV continued many of the policies put in place by his grandfather, including restrictions against the practice of usury and exorbitant taxation. See Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 182-83.

¹³⁶ Ibid. For the Feast of Corpus Christi, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), especially 164-220.

¹³⁷ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 192-93. For the development of accusations against Jews of ritual host desecration, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), especially 7-39.

¹³⁸ Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, 199.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 214-38.

That the Theophilus relief was imbued with a contemporary sensibility is underscored by the fact that the composition is nearly identical to scenes found in an illuminated copy of Gautier de Coinci's *Theophilus*. For example, the scene on the right side of the relief, in which the Jewish magician looks on over Theophilus's shoulder as he makes his pact with the devil, bears a striking resemblance to the similar scene in the illuminated manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *MND* and the *Vie des Pères* (The Hague, KB, MS 71 A. 24) that was made just a few steps from Notre-Dame in 1327 (figs. 83 and 99).¹⁴⁰ In this manuscript, the Theophilus legend opens with six scenes from the legend enclosed within a rectangular structure adorned with pinnacles that look very much like the ones framing the series of Marian reliefs on the exterior of the cathedral (fig. 83). Placed at the beginning of the text of the *MND*, just above the opening rubric "*Ci commencent les miracles*," the miniature pits the Virgin Mary and the Jewish magician against one another, as in the Theophilus scenes on the Notre-Dame tympanum and in the relief. The three scenes in the lower register of the miniature form a triptych in which the elegantly swaying bodies of the Jew and the Virgin face off on either side, each vying for the soul of Theophilus. On the left, the Jew leads Theophilus through a chorus of devils playing musical instruments, while on the far right, the final scene from the miniature mirrors this last one, representing the Virgin forcibly removing the pact from the devil. That the Virgin and the Jew were meant to be read as opponents is emphasized by their bodies, but also by their gazes toward one another from their positions on either side of the central scene.

¹⁴⁰ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, II, 183.

Theophilus and the devil are represented cheek to cheek in the center of the composition, as they clasp hands to make their pact (fig. 116). To my knowledge, this manuscript and the Notre-Dame relief are the only two examples in which this intimate moment is interpreted with this cheeky gesture (fig. 99).¹⁴¹ As in the illustration of the Gautier manuscripts, this example underscores the fluid exchange between medieval texts and images, as the similarity between the miniature and the relief suggests that the illuminator must have been familiar with the Theophilus imagery on the exterior of Notre-Dame, a plausible scenario given the attribution of the Hague manuscript to the workshop of Thomas de Maubeuge, which was located on the Rue Neuve, just down the street from the west façade of Notre Dame (fig. 117).¹⁴² The final scene depicted on the miniature, in which the Virgin retrieves the pact, is similarly close to the depiction of this same episode on the left side of the Notre-Dame relief. Though it is damaged and difficult to make out in the relief, the illuminator of the Hague manuscript has borrowed this composition almost verbatim, depicting the Virgin Mary standing elegantly before a cowering devil as she thrusts the tip of her cruciform spear through its gaping jaw (fig. 118). This composition is repeated in one of the three miniatures interspersed throughout Gautier's text, this time without the accompanying figure of Theophilus, although he does appear in the second image from this miniature, when the Virgin returns the pact (fig. 119).¹⁴³ The fact that the illuminator of the Hague manuscript drew inspiration from the

¹⁴¹ Davis has noted the intimate nature of this scene, drawing a comparison to the portrayal of the devil in Rutebeuf's play. Davis, "Canonical Views: The Theophilus Story and the Choir Reliefs at Notre-Dame, Paris," 112.

¹⁴² Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illuminati et uxorati*, I, 18 and 189 and II, 83.

¹⁴³ This scene makes up one half of a rectangular miniature also depicting the return of the pact found on folio 10r. Addition scenes from the legend are illustrated on folio 2v

exterior of Notre Dame demonstrates, as I have argued throughout this thesis, that the relationship between texts and images was seldom one-directional.

That the illuminator of the Hague manuscript was also influenced by the anti-Jewish climate on the Île-de-la-Cité is suggested by the presence of the Jewish badge later in this manuscript, found marking the father in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges, a well-known conversion story that tells the tale of a boy who attends Mass with his friends and takes communion, only to be thrown into his father's fire, where he is saved by the Virgin.¹⁴⁴ In the Hague manuscript, Gautier's vernacular version of the story is accompanied by a miniature depicting the mother wailing as her husband throws the boy into the flames, his navy-blue cloak marked by a large yellow wheel (fig. 120). Thus, the Hague manuscript exhibits the influence of the Notre-Dame relief, but also the anti-Jewish sentiments radiating from Paris at this time, just a few years after Philip IV expelled the Jews from the city.

The strongest evidence, however, that the meaning of the Jewish magician inside the cathedral enclosure was connected to contemporary anti-Jewish policies is the juxtaposition of the Theophilus story with the Funeral of the Virgin Mary, an apocryphal legend that further implicates the Jews as enemies of the Mother of God (fig. 110). The legend centers on a moment in between the Virgin's death and her Assumption, when her body was carried in procession by the apostles.¹⁴⁵ Bishop Melito of Sardis described the event in the second century:

(The Jewish Magician writes out the charter and Theophilus kneels before an image of the Virgin) and folio 5 v (Theophilus prays before a statue of the Virgin and Child).

¹⁴⁴ See above at note 84 for a description of this tale and relevant bibliography.

¹⁴⁵ Carlee A. Bradbury, "Dehumanizing the Jew at the Funeral of the Virgin Mary in the Thirteenth Century (c. 1170-c. 1350)," in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: the*

And behold, one of them who was the prince of priests of the Jews was filled with fury and wrath and said to the rest, 'Behold the tabernacle of the man who troubled us and our nation, what glory it has received.' And he came near and tried to overthrow the bier and cast the body on the earth. And forthwith his hands dried up from his elbows and stuck to the bier, part of him was hanging loose and part stuck to the bier, and he was wrung with extreme torment as the apostles went on and sang. But the angels who were in the clouds smote the people with blindness.¹⁴⁶

This gruesome moment is depicted on the Notre-Dame relief, where two hands are stuck to the side of the bier, while the body of the Jew falls head first to the ground (fig. 110). The Virgin's Funeral was added to the Golden Legend by Jacobus da Voragine around 1263-67, signaling the popularity of the tale.¹⁴⁷ As Carlee A. Bradbury has noted, the legend attained great popularity in English manuscripts, in which illuminators tended to link the imagery with the Passion cycle.¹⁴⁸ The presence of an image of the Jews attacking the Virgin's funeral procession in the chapter's private precinct at Notre-Dame is a product of the increasing prevalence of the notion that the Jews were the enemies of the Virgin Mary, a rhetoric evident in Paris as early as the Talmud Trial in the 1240s.

The anti-Jewish meaning of the Jewish magician in the Notre-Dame cloître was magnified when viewed as part of a narrative that also included a representation of a Jew attacking the Virgin's bier. While these images are connected to anti-Jewish sentiments

York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts, ed. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina C. Watson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 251.

¹⁴⁶ As cited by *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993) II, 81.

¹⁴⁸ Carlee A. Bradbury, "Dehumanizing the Jew at the Funeral of the Virgin Mary in the Thirteenth Century (c. 1170-c. 1350)," 253, n. 11. An early example of this trend is the De Brailes Hours (London, BL, Add. MS 49999), dating to ca. 1240, in which both the Theophilus legend and the Funeral of the Virgin are illustrated in historiated initials in Prime and Terce of the Hours of the Virgin, along with a Passion cycle. Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 69-90.

on the Ile-de-la-Cité leading up to the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, it is also true that this kind of imagery has a meaning that extends beyond contemporary events. As Anthony Bale has written in response to the exceedingly negative portrayal of Jews in post-Expulsion England, "...the Christian image of Judaism *must* be doing something else other than reflecting eyewitness encounters with Jews, Judaism, and Jewish space."¹⁴⁹ Over the course of the thirteenth century, as real Jews were expelled, marginalized, and pushed out of Christian spaces, only their fictive counterparts lived on in the allegorical space mapped out by Augustine.

In conclusion there is no clearer picture of the Jews as a shadowy presence on the margins of Christian society than in Rutebeuf's *Le Miracle de Théophile*, which was written in Paris during the 1260s, and perhaps performed at the university of Paris.¹⁵⁰ The magician plays a key role in the drama, which is the sole example from the Theophilus corpus in which this character is not explicitly named as a Jew. Rutebeuf opens the play with a monologue delivered by the newly destitute Théophile, who complains bitterly that the bishop is to blame for his current poverty, leaving him so poor that he will have to pawn his robe for bread or starve:

Bien m'a dit li evesque 'Eschac!
 Et m'a rendu maté en l'angle.
 Sanz avoir m'a lessié tout sangle.
 Or m'estuet il morir de fain,
 Se je n'envoi ma robe au pain.

¹⁴⁹ Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*, 13. For the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, see Richard Huscroft, *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), 112-64.

¹⁵⁰ Rutebeuf was a French poet and dramatist, who was active in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century. Based on themes in his work, it is likely that he had connections to the University of Paris. For a modern French translation of *Le Miracle de Théophile* and an overview of Rutebeuf's biography and oeuvre, see Michel Zink, ed. *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 2 vols., Les classiques médiévaux (Paris: Bordas, 1989), 1-21 and 531-83.

(The Bishop said to me "checkmate!"
 And cornered me
 Leaving me with nothing.
 And now, I will surely starve,
 unless I sell my robe for bread)¹⁵¹

Thus, the play begins with a subtle reference to Jewish pawnbrokers, though Rutebeuf does not specifically name them as such. Appearing in the next scene, Rutebeuf names the Jewish magician Salatin and describes him as a man who could speak with the devil when he wanted ("*qui parloit au deable quant il voloit*").¹⁵² As Gilbert Dahan has noted, not only is Rutebeuf the only author to obscure the magician's identity as a Jew, but he is the first to give this character a name.¹⁵³ Salatin seems to be a play on Saladin, the name of the Ayyubid ruler who famously defeated the Christian Armies and conquered Jerusalem in 1187.¹⁵⁴ The identity of this figure is unstable, however, signifying, on the one hand, the Jewishness that was attached to the magician in this familiar story, while also calling up associations with Muslims.

Rutebeuf provides few clues regarding the magician's identity. The incantation uttered by Salatin as he conjures up the devil has been interpreted by some scholars as pseudo-Hebrew:

Bagahi laca bachahé
Lamac cahi achabahé
Karrelyos
Lamac lamec bachalyos

¹⁵¹ Ibid., lines 6-10.

¹⁵² The description occurs in one of the stage directions found in between lines 43-44. Ibid., 536-37.

¹⁵³ Dahan, "Salatin, du miracle de Théophile," 453.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 453-54. For an analysis of the Crusades as a theme in Rutebeuf's work, see D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100-1300)*, Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, 256 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988), 211-19.

Cabahagi sabalyos
Baryolas
Lagozatha cabyolas
Samahac et famyolas
*Harrahya.*¹⁵⁵

Dahan convincingly argues that Salatin's incantation is deliberately vague. Had Rutebeuf intended to evoke Hebrew with these nonsense words, Dahan posits, he would have imitated the language more carefully.¹⁵⁶ The only explicit reference in *Le Miracle de Théophile* to Hebrew occurs a few scenes later as Salatin and the devil conspire to capture Theophilus's soul. Over the course of their conversation, the devil grumbles about how often Salatin has pestered him. The first example is found just after Salatin issues his incantation and lures the devil from the Hell Mouth. The devil praises Salatin for correctly pronouncing the spell, but then complains "*Molt me travailles!*" ("You give me no peace!"). The devil repeats his complaint at the end of their conversation, after instructing Salatin to send Théophile to hell to sign the pact, sending the magician away with a reprimand:

Or soiez vers moi plus cortois:
 Ne me traveillier més des mois.
 Va, Salatin,
 Ne en ebrieu ne en latin.

(So be more courteous with me:
 Leave me be for a few months,
 No Hebrew or Latin.
 Go, Salatin!)¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Salatin's incantation occurs at lines 160-168. Zink, *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 546-47.

¹⁵⁶ Dahan based his argument on comparisons with a twelfth-century play in which the three magi speak to King Herod in pseudo-Hebrew. See Dahan, "Salatin, du miracle de Théophile," 460-62.

¹⁵⁷ Lines 200-203. Zink, *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 548-49.

Though Rutebeuf points toward Salatin's potential Judaism in this scene, he does not definitively identify him. Rutebeuf insinuates that Salatin has used Hebrew and Latin in his previous conversations with the devil, however, this is not the same as explicitly describing the magician as a Jew. As Dahan has noted, Jews do not play a prominent role in Rutebeuf's oeuvre, compared with the assertive anti-Jewish sentiments we encountered above in the work of Gautier de Coinci.¹⁵⁸ The character of Salatin is best understood as a composite, a figure signifying otherness that could be understood as Jewish, Muslim, or in a more general sense "other."¹⁵⁹

By obfuscating the identity of the magician, Rutebeuf's treatment of the traditionally Jewish character reflects the way the church and the crown treated the Jews in thirteenth-century Paris, as they implemented the badge, forced them into the risky profession of moneylending, divested them of their books, and eventually, expelled them from the land. The Jewish magician emerged in the visual arts at a time when Augustine's allegorical framework could no longer contain the actual complexities of the relationship between Christians and Jews. Set against the backdrop of the city, the Jewish magician was an ideal figure through which image-makers could channel their deep anxieties and increasingly violent feelings toward Judaism and their Jewish neighbors. From Gautier de Coincy and his illuminators, to the sculptural decoration on the exterior of Notre-Dame in Paris, and finally to Rutebeuf's Salatin, the Jewish magician functioned as a mirror of contemporary sentiment and events, reflecting and magnifying the anti-Judaism spreading across thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, and in some cases,

¹⁵⁸ Dahan, "Salatin, du miracle de Théophile," 468.

¹⁵⁹ The church tended to lump Jews and Muslims in with other categories of heretics. See above, at note 82.

even outshining the Virgin Mary as the focus of Theophilus imagery. As this chapter and the previous ones have demonstrated, the Theophilus legend and its captivating cast of characters moved between texts and images, responding to the devotional and social concerns of the time.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I consider a series of encounters between the Theophilus legend and the modern imagination during the first half of the twentieth century. I have already discussed Meyer Schapiro's famous essay on Souillac, which he published as part of a festschrift for his friend Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883-1933) in 1939. A decade earlier, in 1929, the Harvard medievalist and author of *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* wrote an original play based on the Theophilus legend titled *The Virgin and the Clerk*.¹ A few years later, in wartime Paris, Rutebeuf's *Le Miracle de Théophile* was performed at the Sorbonne by Gustave Cohen (1879-1958) and his students, a theater troupe who named themselves the Théophiliens.² Finally, in 1942, just a few weeks after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Rutebeuf's play was staged in the

¹ Porter is best known for his ten-volume study of the sculpture he studied along the pilgrimage routes in France and Spain, in which he used the nine volumes of plates to present an argument that medieval style moved along the pilgrimage route between France and Spain along with the pilgrims. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 10 vols. (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923). Porter's theory was criticized by art historians subscribing to Emile Mâle's identification of the Languedoc region of France as the source of twelfth-century sculptural styles. Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, Bollingen Series (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 282-315. For Porter's play, see Arthur Kingsley Porter, *The Virgin and the Clerk* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1929).

² Gustave Cohen was a Belgian Jew from a secular family, who served for the French in WWI as a means to gain entry into the French university system, where he studied medieval literature and became the chair of medieval literature at the Sorbonne in 1932. For an analysis of the return to medieval theater by Cohen and his students, see Helen Solterer, "The Waking of Medieval Theatricality, Paris 1935-1995," *New Literary History* 27, no. 3 (1996); Helen Solterer, *Medieval Roles for Modern Times: Theater and the Battle for the French Republic* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

Romanesque gallery of the Cloisters Museum in New York by Curator James J. Rorimer (1905-1966) and Assistant Curator Margaret B. Freeman (1899-1980).³

With *The Virgin and the Clerk*, Porter presented a fascinating version of the Theophilus legend in which he reimagined the tale as an extended clerical drama between Theophilus and his rivals. In addition, Porter added a troubling anti-Semitic dimension to his play by transforming the Jewish magician into a pawnbroker and dealer in false relics. Moreover, the Jew took the place of the devil in the play and even destroyed a statue of the Virgin Mary. Porter seems to have viewed the Theophilus legend as a metaphor for his own life, as the play was published in the midst of a difficult period for the medievalist personally and professionally. According to a letter he wrote to his brother in 1929, the scholar was depressed, feeling "'harassed and dissatisfied' in his position at Harvard, a post he had tried to leave without success."⁴ Thomas Crow has suggested that Porter, who was vocal about his dislike of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policies, was also unhappy with the expanding ranks within the academy, which increasingly opened its doors to the middle classes, Jews, and women.⁵ Porter did eventually retreat from Harvard, abandoning Cambridge for a quiet life in his castle at Glenveagh, in Ireland. His motives for leaving Harvard, however, may have been more personal than political, as

³ James J. Rorimer was the original Curator of the Cloisters Museum in Fort Tryon Park, which he helped plan along with the original Curator Joseph Breck. For Rorimer's biography, see "James J. Rorimer," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25, no. Summer (1966): 35-56. In addition to her scholarship, Assistant Curator Margaret B. Freeman is best known for designing the medieval gardens at the Cloisters. See Peter Barnet and Nancy Y. Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 16-18.

⁴ Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and Its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2009), 37-38.

⁵ Thomas E. Crow, *The Intelligence of Art*, Bettie Allison Rand lectures in art history (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 8-10.

there is evidence to suggest that Porter had recently discovered that he was a homosexual.⁶ In any case, by 1933, he was living in Ireland with his wife Lucy when he disappeared during a trip to his small retreat on Bofin Island.⁷

In the first half of the play, Porter imagines a drama unfolding inside the chapter house as the canons jockey for position after the death of the bishop. In the first scene he introduces Theophilus's main rivals, Fortunatus and Gregory, who collude for the positions of bishop and *vidame* respectively.⁸ In order to garner support from his fellow canons, Fortunatus embarks upon a campaign to tarnish Theophilus's good name, blaming his rival for a multitude of bad decisions during his tenure as *vidame*. Fortunatus tells one canon that it is due to Theophilus's influence that the former bishop refused to pay for a fresco of the *Last Supper* planned for the bare walls of the refectory.⁹ To another canon, he complains that Theophilus has cleaned out the cathedral's treasury by vesting the body of the deceased bishop sumptuously with jewels, as well as an ivory crozier, slippers embroidered with gold thread and precious stones, and a pallium from Byzantium.¹⁰

Porter seems to delight in the machinations and gossip he imagined inside the chapter house between Theophilus and his rivals. For instance, when Theophilus explains to his colleagues that he cannot accept the promotion to the episcopal seat because he feels called to devote his life to finishing his hymn to the Virgin, which, he claims, shall

⁶ Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and Its Sculptural Decoration in Christian Spain, 1000-1120: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities*, 38.

⁷ Linda Seidel, "Arthur Kingsley Porter: Life, Legend, and Legacy," in *The Early Years of Art History in the United States*, ed. C. H. Smyth and P. M. Lukehart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 97-110.

⁸ *Vidame* is the French term for a *vicedominus*.

⁹ Porter, *The Virgin and the Clerk*, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

be "The most beautiful hymn that has ever been written," Fortunatus whispers snidely to Gregory, "Do you suppose the Virgin enjoys bad poetry?"¹¹ The scene ends with Fortunatus elected to the episcopal seat in place of the Theophilus, who, in turn, realizes he has been outmaneuvered and buries his face in his hands.¹²

In the next scenes, Bishop Fortunatus continues his campaign against Theophilus, accusing the *vidame* and the former bishop of wasting the cathedral's funds on expensive codices for the library. In addition, he blames Theophilus for low attendance and donations in the church during his tenure. To Theophilus's dismay, the new bishop suggests spicing up the Mass with the addition of drums in order to attract a bigger audience. Finally, he announces his plan to knock down the current cathedral and replace it with an expensive new building, which, Bishop Fortunatus explains, will be overseen by his friend Gregory as the new *vidame*.¹³ Finding himself out of a job, Theophilus and his closest ally, the archivist, plot their next move in the following scene, now that they have lost their political power and position in the chapter. They complain that not only does Bishop Fortunatus refuse to allocate funds for the purchase of manuscripts, but the new *vidame* will not even provide money to buy wood for the fire. Finally, Theophilus decides he will pawn one of their manuscripts to a Jew he knows in order to buy firewood. Here, as the first half of the play comes to a close, Porter is still deeply entrenched in the political intrigue he imagined inside the chapter house between the different clerical factions.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

¹² Ibid., 22.

¹³ Ibid., 30-31.

It is reasonable to suggest, given the drama unfolding in his academic and personal life, that Porter saw himself in the figure of Theophilus. In turn, the Hymn to the Virgin Mary, which the *vidame* leaves unwritten in the play, may well symbolize the academic career the art historian left behind in Boston. Moreover, the anti-Semitic tenor of the second half of the play suggests that when Porter reimagined the character of the Jewish magician as a pawnbroker and dealer in false relics, he may have had a particular colleague in mind. Though it is purely conjecture, a plausible candidate is Paul J. Sachs, a Jewish banker who left the family business for a career at the Fogg Museum at Harvard during Porter's tenure.¹⁴

Like Rutebeuf and Gautier de Coinci before him, Porter augmented the figure of the Jew, who takes the place of the devil in his play as the procurer of Theophilus's soul. The Jew appears in the middle of the play when Theophilus goes to his house to pawn the manuscript so that he and the archivist can afford to buy firewood. In the course of their conversation, it becomes clear that Theophilus purchased many manuscripts from the Jew for the cathedral's library when he was *vidame*. For his part, the Jew agrees to pay a small price for the manuscript, but Theophilus complains that the offer is too low, prompting the Jew to propose an alternative proposition. He offers to buy Theophilus's soul, promising that the deal "will bring an infinite price."¹⁵ In place of the expected episode in which Theophilus makes a deal with the devil, Porter crafts a new scene, in which

¹⁴ Coincidentally, James J. Rorimer, the Curator of the Cloisters Museum, whose own engagement with the Theophilus legend is discussed below, overlapped with Porter at Harvard as an undergraduate, where he was one of Sachs' protégés. See Charles Dellheim, "Framing Nazi Art Loot," in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 323.

¹⁵ Porter, *The Virgin and the Clerk*, 51.

Theophilus and the Jew meet at dusk at the "Rag-Picker's Fair," a sort of flea market held outside the city.¹⁶ The devil is not named in this scene, though there are hints of his influence over the vendors, who sell things that are not quite what they seem. Theophilus and the Jew encounter various characters plying their wares as they search for a treasure with which the embittered cleric may buy his way back into his old position. They settle on an old yellow bottle, which the Jew convinces Theophilus to pass off to Bishop Fortunatus as a famous relic.¹⁷ Unlike most medieval versions of the legend, Theophilus gains fame and glory from his discovery, but is not reinstated as *vidame*.

The Virgin Mary plays a relatively small part in Porter's play, appearing in the final scenes, when Theophilus finally repents and enters the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral of Adana to pray before her statue. Unusually, this scene does not highlight the Virgin Mary's intercessory powers, but rather serves to vilify the Jew, who appears in the chapel to interfere with Theophilus's prayers. Porter infuses their exchange with an added layer of anti-Jewish sentiment, which climaxes in an act of violence by the Jew against the statue of the Virgin:

The Jew: I have been looking for you.

Theophilus: I am here.

The Jew: I could not find you at your house.

Theophilus: I have been in the church all night.

The Jew: You should not lose your sleep like this.

Theophilus: I have been praying.

The Jew: Can you not pray at home?

Theophilus: Her statue is here.

The Jew: It is only an image.

Theophilus: Still Hers.

The Jew: [*pushes the statue off its pedestal; it falls on the floor and breaks in pieces*]. There is your Virgin!¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid., 57-67.

¹⁷ Ibid., 64.

¹⁸ Ibid., 88.

Thus, Porter depicts the Jew as a pawnbroker and a cheat, but also as an enemy of the Virgin Mary. In this way, the art historian's telling of the tale had much in common with Gautier de Coinci's portrayal of the Jew as a shady trickster and the depiction of the pair in confrontation on the reliefs at Notre-Dame in Paris.

Porter takes one last unexpected turn in the last scene, in which the Virgin appears before the Theophilus to return the pact. Instead of expressing joy at the sight of the Virgin before him, Theophilus grills the Madonna about her dealings with the devil. When the Virgin admits that she has "trafficked with the Devil" in order to save his soul, Theophilus asks in return, "Did not the smoke blacken you dress?"¹⁹ As the play ends, a disenchanted Theophilus abandons his hymn to the Virgin. If Porter saw himself in Theophilus, and his colleague in the Jew, then the Virgin would seem to stand for the academy in his metaphor, tarnished by its democratization and expanding ranks. In the end, *The Virgin and the Clerk* presents a unique and personal take on the Theophilus legend, reimagined through a lens colored by Porter's art historical training, his personal troubles, and his apparent anti-Semitism.

While Porter wrote a new version of the Theophilus legend, the two modern performances of Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile* staged in Paris and New York at opposite ends of World War II were more faithful to the medieval spirit of the play. The earlier of the two was performed in Paris in 1933 by Gustave Cohen, medieval literature professor at the Sorbonne, and his students, whose theater group was named the

¹⁹ Ibid., 95.

Théophiliens after the play.²⁰ According to Helen Solterer, Cohen's project had two goals. One the one hand, he was interested in "rehabilitating the surviving theater of the French Middle Ages."²¹ In addition, "The Théophilien experiment was conceived as a pedagogical and critical exercise."²² As Solterer put it, "Not only did Cohen successfully awaken the enthusiasm of his pupils, but he prompted them to understand the Middle Ages through enactment."²³ For example, in order to infuse his production of Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile* with an authentic sense of thirteenth-century Paris, Cohen sent his students to the Ile-de-la-Cité to study the Theophilus reliefs on the exterior of Notre-Dame.²⁴

For Cohen, medieval art served as a tool through which his students could make contact with the Middle Ages. His goal was to present a theatrical performance that "reconstituted" the character of the original, replicating the medieval gestures, poses, and stage-settings.²⁵ For instance, he pictured his later production of *Robin et Marion* as a medieval miniature coming to life. Cohen described his simple set, in which all of the characters stood on stage simultaneously, as bringing to life the illuminated codex upon which he and his students based their production, writing, "blue, red, yellow, and gold, the miniature is animated like stained glass set in motion."²⁶ Through this "principle of embodiment," which used theatrical performance as a "means of realizing presence,"

²⁰ Solterer, *Medieval Roles for Modern Times: Theater and the Battle for the French Republic*, 17-18.

²¹ Solterer, "The Waking of Medieval Theatricality, Paris 1935-1995," 364.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 366.

²⁴ Ibid., 367.

²⁵ With *Robin et Marion*, for example, Cohen had his students mirror their performance on an illuminated codex, which provided the gestural, musical, and iconographical basis for their play. See *ibid.*

²⁶ Cohen, as cited by Solterer, *ibid.*, 372.

Cohen and his Théophiliens evoked the spirit of the tale as it was told in the Middle Ages.²⁷

In similar fashion, the 1942 production of Rutebeuf's play in New York at the Cloisters Museum was also infused with a medieval sensibility. *Theophilus: A XIII-Century Miracle Play by Rutebeuf* was the co-creation of Curator James J. Rorimer, who translated and adapted the text from French, and Assistant Curator Margaret B. Freeman, who produced the play and designed the costumes.²⁸ It was staged in the Romanesque Hall beneath a mid-thirteenth-century portal from Moutiers-Saint-Jean in Burgundy, which featured the Coronation of the Virgin on its tympanum (fig. 121).²⁹ The actors were furnished by the Neighborhood Playhouse School of Theater, which also provided a rehearsal space in the weeks leading up to the performance.³⁰ Rorimer and Freeman added a choir of angels to their production, who sang Gregorian chants and hymns at various points in the performance.³¹ In a letter to the Reverend Mother Stevens, who offered the choir of angels, Freeman included the following description of their performance:

You will no doubt have heard ere of the joy your girls helped us give to a remarkable audience which gathered here last week for the Theophilus play. The "angelic" costumes scarcely scintillate in the flash-light

²⁷ Ibid. Also see Solterer, *Medieval Roles for Modern Times: Theater and the Battle for the French Republic*, especially 1-92.

²⁸ Margaret B. Freeman, "A Miracle Play for Members at the Cloisters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36, no. 12 (1941): 242.

²⁹ For an introduction to the doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean, see William Holmes Forsyth, "A Gothic Doorway from Moutiers-Saint-Jean," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 13(1978): 33-78. Neil Stratford, "The Moutiers-Saint-Jean Portal in The Cloisters," in *The Cloisters: Studies in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary*, ed. Elizabeth C. Parker (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 260-81.

³⁰ Freeman, "A Miracle Play for Members at the Cloisters," 242.

³¹ The choir of angels was provided by the Reverend Mother G. Stevens from the College of the Sacred Heart. See *ibid.*

photograph which we are sending you under separate cover. The effect, however, in the candle-lighted chapel at the time of the performance, was one of a radiant aura with heavenly voices bringing joy to an excited audience.³²

Freeman relays a sense of the dramatic effect of the angels singing in the chapel, where they stood facing the audience. Along with her letter, she enclosed a photo of the production, depicting the angels arranged inside the chapel before an candlelit altar upon which was placed one of the museum's medieval statues of the Virgin and Child (fig. 122). Though it is difficult to make out in the image, the statue appears to be a fourteenth-century, polychromed wooden statue of the Virgin and Child from the Ile-de-France that was donated to the Cloisters by George Grey Barnard in 1925 (fig. 123).³³ With this prop, Rorimer and Freeman lent the play an authentic touch, as the statue could effectively spring to life before the audience when the Virgin Mary entered the action of the play and emerged from the chapel (fig. 124). That the curators were also thinking of the Notre-Dame reliefs is suggested by the reproduction of the Theophilus scenes on the Notre-Dame tympanum that is tucked into the Cloisters file that contains Rorimer and Freeman's scripts, notes, and correspondences related to the production. By all accounts, the play was a grand success when it was performed for a select group of museum members on January 6th, the Feast of the Epiphany.³⁴

³² Margaret Freeman and James Rorimer to the Reverend Mother G. Stevens, 13 January 1942, The Cloisters Institutional and Administrative Records; The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³³ My thanks to Michael Carter, librarian at the Cloisters Museum, for his assistance identifying the statue in the photograph.

³⁴ For a history of the medieval drama staged in the Cloisters, see Nancy Wu, "Medieval Drama at the Cloisters," *Now at the MET*, blog, Accessed February 21, 2016, 2013, <http://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-museum/now-at-the-met/features/2013/medieval-drama>. In addition to Wu's blog post, see Margaret Freeman's short write up of the Theophilus performance in the museum bulletin. Freeman, "A Miracle Play for Members

In contrast to Porter, who seemed to have felt a personal connection with the figure of Theophilus, or even Cohen, for whom the Middle Ages had nationalistic French meaning, it is less clear what motivated Rorimer and Freeman to stage a version of Rutebeuf's *Le Miracle de Théophile* in one of the galleries of their museum in the middle of World War II. Rorimer described the performance in a letter as:

one of the delightful interludes in a mad world. We must keep burning the fire of beauty which was lighted when man first found a moment of leisure and gave to himself and his fellow-beings that light which has flickered and shone with the ebbing and flowing tides of civilizations.³⁵

That the play was a charming distraction from the War is evidenced by the photographs of the performance, which provide a glimpse of the actors wearing costumes designed by Freeman and present a picture of Rutebeuf's play coming to life beneath the Gothic portal.³⁶ In one of the extant photographs, two devils are entwined around the body of Theophilus, played by the handsome George Hall, as if they were dancing with the apostate (fig. 125).³⁷ Far from the monstrous devils depicted in medieval representations of the Theophilus legend, these modern devils were played by beautiful young women

at the Cloisters," 242. According to a list of names in the archive of the Cloisters Museum, 92 members responded positively. List of Acceptances for Theophilus Play, 6 January 1942, The Cloisters Institutional and Administrative Records; The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³⁵ James J. Rorimer to Irene Lewisohn, 12 January 1942, The Cloisters Institutional and Administrative Records; The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³⁶ There is no definitive evidence that Rutebeuf's play was ever performed in front of the Theophilus reliefs at Notre-Dame, although Craig Wright has pointed to some evidence that the chapter gave permission for a performance of one of the miracles of the Virgin in the cloître in 1424 "provided they do not insert any improprieties." See Craig M. Wright, *Music and ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 29.

³⁷ According to a letter in the Cloisters' archive, Rorimer paid \$100 out of his own pocket for George Hall to travel to New York to take part in the play. See James J. Rorimer to Mr. Greenway, 28 November 1942, The Cloisters Institutional and Administrative Records; The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

and look more like ballerinas than beasts. In another photograph, we find Salatin, marked with a beard and a pointed cap, leaning over to discuss the pact with three devils, a group made up of the two beautiful dancing devils mentioned above, and a third devil played by a male actor (fig. 126). The last devil appears in another photograph, kneeling in supplication before the Virgin Mary, who stands triumphantly over his body holding a cross as he hands over the charter (fig. 127). This photograph highlights Freeman's costumes, as the Virgin is crowned and wears a beautiful cloak lined with what appears to be golden embroidery, as it glimmers even in the black and white reproduction. Thus, Rorimer's description of the play as "delightful" is supported by the photographic evidence.

Nevertheless, the anti-Semitic sub-plot of the Theophilus legend made it an interesting choice for a curator who was quiet about his own Jewishness and who complained privately about the anti-Semitism of some of the museum's board members.³⁸ Charles Dellheim has suggested that Rorimer felt he had to "to watch his back in an institution that was happier to find room for the donations of Jewish collectors than to seat them on its blue-blooded board."³⁹ It is difficult to know if Rorimer simply viewed Rutebeuf's play through an aesthetic lens or whether it had a more personal meaning for him. The Cloister's production occurred in 1942, just a few weeks after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and a year before Rorimer took a leave of absence from the

³⁸ Dellheim, "Framing Nazi Art Loot," 323-24.

³⁹ According to Dellheim, Rorimer advised at least one acquaintance, a Jewish refugee from Belgium, to hide his Jewishness. Rorimer, whose high-blood pressure nearly kept him out of the army, died of a cerebral hemorrhage following a heated meeting with Roland B. Redmond, a museum trustee, and a man who Rorimer had described as an anti-Semite to his protégé Tom Hoving. See *ibid.*, 324.

museum to lead the "Monuments Men" division of the army, a special unit formed to recover and preserve works of art stolen and hidden by the Nazis.⁴⁰

Thus, while the specter of anti-Semitism certainly hovered in the shadows for Rorimer, it does not seem to have factored directly into his decision to stage Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile* at the Cloisters Museum in New York during the War. Solterer has written about the paradoxical nature of Cohen's modern revival of the Theophilus legend, which was similarly staged by a Jew, who had converted to Catholicism, in wartime Paris. "It is disturbing," she writes, "to observe how Cohen's work reenacted a medieval scenario, in the early thirties, that shows a Catholic Parisian prevailing over a demonized Jewish persona."⁴¹ Though Rutebeuf does not refer to Salatin as a Jew directly, Cohen, who was familiar with the wider Theophilus tradition, interpreted the character as a Jew in his translation of the play.⁴² Solterer's explanation of what Cohen and his *Théophiliens* got out of their modern revivals sheds some light on the meaning of the play for Rorimer and Freeman as well. "With their futures darkened by war," she writes, "their medieval role-playing provided for them, imaginatively speaking, a livelihood—a means of living in their modern times."⁴³ Together, these twentieth-century engagements with the tale form a fascinating epilogue to the history of the Theophilus legend.

⁴⁰ Rorimer published an account of his stint in the army with the Monuments Men. See James J. Rorimer, *Survival: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War* (New York: Abelard Press, 1950). Rorimer was the inspiration for Matt Damon's character in the 2014 film, *The Monuments Men*.

⁴¹ Though it is unclear how familiar Cohen was with medieval anti-Jewish rhetoric, Solterer has argued that "he was certainly aware of the anti-Semitic propaganda coming out of Hitler's Germany." See Solterer, *Medieval Roles for Modern Times: Theater and the Battle for the French Republic*, 76.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 23.

The Theophilus legend resonated with medieval and modern audiences, who both responded to the timeless Faustian tale of a man who sold his soul to the devil. The extant corpus of Theophilus material fell chronologically into three general categories, moving from the monastery, to the cathedral, and into the city. Chapter One demonstrated that the Theophilus legend did not appear out of a vacuum in the thirteenth century, but was adapted from the Byzantine tradition, becoming the product of a Latin ecclesiastical tradition anchored in the monasteries of medieval Europe. The figure of Theophilus resonated in this context as a penitent saint whose importance was amplified by ecclesiastical devotion to the Virgin Mary. The Latin Theophilus tradition, which included the widely-copied *vita* of Saint Theophilus and Bishop Fulbert's sermon, provided essential background for understanding the pictorial tradition that developed alongside it. Chapter Two showed how the dual forces of penitential prayer and Marian devotion came together to inspire the earliest representations of the Theophilus legend in the visual arts. The association between the figure of Theophilus and penance provided an explanation for the inclusion of one panel devoted to the legend in a lost twelfth-century window from Canterbury Cathedral, as well as in a small cluster of illuminated psalters from northern France and Flanders dating to the last decades of the twelfth century. This small, but illuminating group shed light on the imagination of medieval image-makers as they decided how to illustrate the tale in the period before it had an established tradition.

Chapter Two also considered the ontological nature of the Virgin Mary's presence in representations of the Theophilus legend. The Souillac relief and the Theophilus miniatures in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 238 helped bring into focus the question of what it

meant to depict the *Sedes sapientiae* springing to life in Theophilus imagery. This idea took root in thirteenth-century stained glass and manuscript illuminations, as image-makers continued to experiment with how to depict the Virgin in the act of mediating for the penitent sinner. At Laon and Chartres, the animation of the Virgin's statue had additional meaning due to the physical proximity of the panels with the real statues of the Virgin and Child that were displayed near the main altar along with the Virgin's relics. In these dynamic settings, the potential for the Virgin's miraculous appearance was harnessed by a network of images, relics, and statues, which could be unlocked through prayer, an idea delivered with visual clarity in representations of the Theophilus legend. The intersection between the Theophilus legend and the visual arts produced some of the most captivating and confounding images of the Virgin Mary to survive from the medieval period. In illuminated manuscripts, stained glass, and sculpture, these images presented the Mother of God embodying and performing her intercessory role with an active and even violent enthusiasm.

While the first chapters focused on Theophilus and the Virgin Mary, Chapter Four considered the meaning of the Jewish magician. That the magician was an extension of the growing sense of anxiety and negativity surrounding the Jews in the Christian imagination was evident in both the visual and textual tradition by the thirteenth century, when the Jewish magician began to be pictured as the scapegoat who led Theophilus into apostasy. Gautier de Coinci's *Comment Theophilus vint a penitence* showed how the Benedictine monk's anti-Jewish message inspired the illuminators of his text to focus their illustrations on the Jew. The new prominence of the magician was also evident at Notre-Dame in Paris, where the Jew and the Virgin were depicted as foes in two separate

Theophilus reliefs, which I connected to the anti-Jewish sentiment and policies radiating from the city of Paris during this period. Against a backdrop of virulent anti-Semitism, the Jewish magician personified contemporary Judaism as portrayed from a Christian point of view.

This dissertation has presented a comprehensive picture of the changing significance of the Theophilus legend, tracing its development from the Greek East to the Latin West, as the tale transformed from the life of a penitent saint into the Virgin Mary's official miracle story. I demonstrated that penance, devotion to the Virgin Mary, and anti-Jewish rhetoric were the driving forces that led to the amplification of the Theophilus legend as a narrative in texts and images. Above all, this project has shown that the Theophilus legend helped articulate the personality and the presence of the Virgin Mary for her medieval audiences, as the tale moved from the monastery, to the cathedral, and into the city.

Appendix I: List of Manuscripts with Copies of the Vita of Saint Theophilus

Key: There are two versions of the text attributed to Paul the Deacon of Naples in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, both of which are included here. BHL 8121 (*Theophilus Poenitens, Vicedominus Adanae in Cilicia*) and BHL 8122, which is Paul's text with slight variations. I have listed the numerous variations in the titles ascribed to BHL 8121 and BHL 8122 in the manuscripts.

BHL 8121:

Incipit: Factum est, priusquam incursio fieret in Romanam republicam...

Desinit: glorificans Deum migravit ad Dominum, cui est gloria...Amen.

BHL 8122:

Incipit: Factum est priusquam incursio fieret in Romanam rempublicam

Desinit: transmigravit. Corpus quoque eius in eodem loco sepultum diem resuscitandum praestolatur ultimum, venienti quoque Domino...occursum, cui cum Patre...Amen.

Sources: This appendix was initially compiled with help of the online database published by the Society of Bollandists, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina manuscripta* (BHLms), which cross-references the Bollandist's *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (BHL) with the catalogues of manuscripts in which the BHL texts are copied (*Subsidia hagiographica* and *Analecta Bollandiana*). Additions to the list were made based on my research in manuscript catalogues and the online databases of manuscript collections. I consulted the manuscripts in person when possible and utilized the collection of microfilms housed by the Institut de recherché et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) in Paris.

1. Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 341 (289)

Collection of Fragments of Saints' Lives and Sermons

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Fleury (Benedictine Monastery)

4th quarter of the 9th century

De sancto Theophili vicedomino (f. 133-144 + 117)

BHL 8121

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

MS 1707 (1354)

Legendary

Paris (Carmelite convent of Saint Joseph)

10th century

De quodam vicedomino Theophilo (f. 37-53)

BHL 8121

3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

MS CLM 19162

Legendary

10th century

Vita Theophili (f. 260)
BHL 8121

4. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
MS 8344-46 (3197)
Legendary

10th-11th century

De quodam vice domino qui fuit in quadam civitate Ciliciorum, nomine Theophilus (f. 006v-015r)

BHL 8121

5. Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 44 (41)

Compilation including the Second Part of Cassiodore's Commentary on the Psalms (*Expositio Psalmorum*), *De transit Virginis Mariae*, and *Vita Theophili*.

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Fleury (Benedictine Monastery)

Late 10th century

Vita Theophili (f. 326-335)

BHL 8121

6. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica,
MS 0846

Legendary

Lorsch, St. Nazarius (?)

10th century

Conversio Theophili vicedomini (f. 55-58v)

BHL 8121

7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 11750

Legendary and Marian texts

Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Prés

11th c.

Publica Theophili paenitentiae satisfactio, qui Christum abnegavit et veniam beatae perpetuae virginis Mariae interventu adipisci promeruit (f. 50v-57r)

BHL 8121

8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 5572

Legendary

Champagne?; Saint-Pierre de Montiéramey (f. 1)

11th century

De Theophilo vicedomino (f. 16r-22r)

BHL 8121

9. Châlons-en-Champagne, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 0053

Legendary

11th c.

BHL 8122

10. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS 0214 (1414)

Legendary

First half of the 11th century

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 136v-151r)

BHL 8121

11. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

MS 9361-67

Compilation including a collection of *vitae* of Eastern saints and additional texts, for

Last quarter of the 11th c.

Incipit narratio de quodam vice domino (f. 102v-105v)

BHL 8121

12. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica

MS Reg. lat. 0493

Legendary

11th-12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (fols. 45v-55r)

BHL 8122

13. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica

MS Reg. lat. 1864

Legendary

11th-first half of the 12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (fols. 45v-55r)

BHL 8122

14. Leiden, Universiteit Bibliotheken

MS VLF 11

Legendary

First half of the 12th c.

Sermo de quodam Theophilo vicedomino qui deum negavit et postea flendo poenituit (f.

50v-52v)

BHL 8121

15. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 871

Legendary

- 12th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 155v-158v)
 BHL 8121
16. Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale
 MS 120
 Fragment of a missel and Legendary
 12th c.
Miraculum de Theophili (ff. 88r-97v)
17. Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale
 MS 227
 Legendary
 11th-12th c.
Vita Theophili (f. 166r-169v)
 BHL 8121
18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 MS latin 3781
 Mariale, possibly from Ripoll
 early 12th c.
Sermo Fulberti episcopi de Teophilo dampnato et suffragiis beatissime Dei genitricis salvato. Factum est priusquam incursio fieret... (f. 48v-55)
 BHL 8122 (Paul's text, but attributed to Bishop Fulbert)
19. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
 MS 039 (Catal. 1391)
 Legendary
 12th c.
Publica paenitentia Theophili, qui Christum negavit et interventu B. Mariae veniam promeruit (f. 100-104)
 BHL 8121
20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 MS latin 5602
 Compilation
 12th c.
Omelia de pietate sanctissimae virginis Mariae erga Theophilum vice-dominum (f. 54r-59v)
 BHL 8121
21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 MS latin 12606
 Compilation of Saints' Lives and Sermons
 12th c.
Miraculum beatae Mariae de Theophilo (f. 95r-96v)

BHL 8121

22. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

23. MS latin 18307

Legendary

12th c.

Publica Theophili paenitentiae satisfactio (f. 52r-58v)

BHL 8121

24. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 2261

Legendary

12th c.

Incipit publica Theophili poenitentiae satisfactio, qui Christum abnegavit et veniam beatae Mariae interventu adipisci promeruit (f. 104v-108r)

BHL 8121

25. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 12277

Legendary

12th c.

Vita seu paenitentia Theophili vicedomini (96r-100v)

BHL 8121

26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 12605

Legendary

12th c.

Publica paenitentia Theophili, qui Christum negavit et interventu beatae Mariae veniam promeruit (f. 143r-147r)

BHL 8121

27. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 16733

Legendary from the Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame de Châalis (Oise)

12th c.

Eodem die, de paenitentia Theophili (f. 2v-5r)

BHL 8121

28. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 17006

Legendary

12th c.

Paenitentia Theophili (f. 8r-10v)

BHL 8121

29. London, British Library

MS Add. 10050

Legendary

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 84v-90r)

BHL 8121

30. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS 1152 (971)

Legendary

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 238r-241r)

BHL 8121

31. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS Sem. 075 (R. IV. 11)

Legendary

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 77v-86r)

BHL 8121

32. Heiligenkreuz Stiftsbibliothek

MS 12

Legendary

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 17v-19v. and 407)

BHL 8121

33. Montpellier, Archives Municipale

MS 030

Compilation

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 81v-84r)

BHL 8122

34. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS U 002

Legendary

12th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 30-33v)

BHL 8122

35. Saint-Mihiel, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 019

Legendary

- 12th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 59r-67r)
 BHL 8122
36. Montpellier, Archives Municipale
 MS 001
 Compilation
 12th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (vol. II, f. 11v-15r)
 BHL 8122
37. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
 MS K.IV.12
 Legendary
 12th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 121r-126v)
 BHL 8122
38. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
 MS U 134 (Catal. 1403)
 Compilation
 13th c.
Publica paenitentia Theophili (f. 224-230)
 BHL 8122
39. Admont, Bibliothek
 MS 24
 Legendary
 13th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 18v.-20v)
 BHL 8121
40. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 MS latin 02873
 13th c.
 Miracles of the Virgin Mary
Alia miracula B. V. M. (f. 21r-39v)
 BHL 8121
42. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 MS latin 02462
 Compilation
 13th c.
De quodam vicedomino qui Filium Dei negavit (f. 197v-204r)
 BHL 8121

43. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 02464
Compilation
13th c
De quodam vicedomino qui Filium Dei negavit (f. 177v-183v)
BHL 8121
44. Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 79
Compilation
13th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 128r-140r)
BHL 8121
45. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 02353
Lectionary from the Abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges
13th c.
Narratio de Theophilo paenitente (f. 77v)
BHL 8121
46. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 05075
Compilation
13th c.
Publica Theophili poenitentia (f. 130v-135r)
BHL 8122
47. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS latin 03549
Compilation
13th c.
Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 83r-91v)
BHL 8122
48. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
MS 07462-07481 (3177)
Compilation (Vitae Patrum, Saints' *vitae*, and the Venerable Bede's *Liber Miraculorum*)
13th c.
Miraculum sanctae Dei Genitricis et virginis Mariae de Theophilo peccatore (f. 205r-207r)
BHL 8121
49. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
MS 00336

Legendary

13th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 23r-25v)

BHL 8121

50. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS Sem. 005 (R. II. 1)

Legendary

13th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 112r-114r)

BHL 8121

51. Rome, Bibliotheca Alexandria

MS Codex 200 (alias I.a.7)

Legendary

13th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 51-61v)

BHL 8122

52. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale

MS codex VIII. B. 10

Legendary

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 339v-344)

BHL 8121

53. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 05353

Legendary

14th c.

Eodem die, paenitentia Theophili (f. 14r-17r)

BHL 8121

54. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 02672

Marian collection

14th c.

Miraculum de Theophilo paenitente (f. 12r-12v, 79r-86v)

BHL 8121

55. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

MS latin 16052

Vie de Pères/Legendary

14th c.

Miraculum beatae Mariae de Theophilo (157r-160v)

BHL 8121

56. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale

MS codex VIII. B. 27

Legendary

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 181-183v)

BHL 8121

57. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

MS Ser. N. 12807

Legendary

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 261v-263v)

BHL 8121

58. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale

MS 08059

Legendary

14th c.

Miraculum beatae Mariae virginis de Theophilo vicedomni (f. 134r-138v)

BHL 8121

59. Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek

MS Hux. 015a

Compilation

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 32-36v)

BHL 8121

60. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica

MS Urb. lat. 0396 (Olim 743)

Legendary/Patrum Vitae

14th c.

Conversio atque paenitentia ad Dominum Iesum Christum facta a quodam vicedomino, nomine Theophilo, orientalis regionis (f. 168v-171v)

BHL 8121

61. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS 1166

Legendary

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 151r-154v)

BHL 8121

62. Trier, Stadtbibliothek

MS 0738 (495)

Legendary/Patrum Vitae

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 236r-239v)

BHL 8121

63. Melk, Stadtbibliothek

MS 4

Compilation

14th c.

Theophilus vicedominus ecclesiae Adanensis (f. 176v-180)

BHL 8121

Appendix II: List of Manuscripts with Copies of Bishop Fulbert's *Approbate consuetudinis*

This appendix is based on the list published by J. M. Canal, "Los sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (Jan.-Dec., 1962): 33-51 with additions based on my research in manuscript catalogues and the online databases of manuscript collections.

1. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 471,
Fécamp
11th century
f. 80-82

2. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1418,
11th century
f. 84-87

3. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1388,
11th century
f. 112-115

4. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1378,
11th century
Jumièges
11th century
f. 149v-152

5. Cambridge, Pembroke College
MS 24,
11th century
f. 140-145

6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS, n.a. lat. 1455
11th century
Cluny
f. 87v-90v

7. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
MS 372
11th century
Fleury

f. 85-92v

8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 3781
11th century
f. 26v-30r

9. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 3003
11th century
f. 1v-5

10. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica
MS Reg. lat. 471
11th century
Reims
f. 37-40

11. Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 444
11th century
f. 206-207

12. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
MS 1011
11th century
f. 1-3

13. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 11750
11th century
Saint-Germain-des-Prés
f. 1-4r

14. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 300
11th-12th century
f. 118v-121

15. Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 162
11th-12th century
Chartres, Destroyed in 1944
f. 7v-18v

16. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

MS lat. 10
12th century
f. 183v-185

17. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 315
12th century
Limoges
f. 41v

18. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 196
12th century
f. 64v

19. Soissons, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 123
12th century

20. Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 277
12th century
Cartuja de Portes
f. 1-5

21. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 293
12th century
f. 263v-267

22. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1394
12th century
f. 5

23. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 261
12th century

24. Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine
MS 1
12th century
Clairvaux

25. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
MS 209

12th century

26. Cambridge, Trinity College Library

MS 315

12th century

f. 48-51

27. Cambridge, Parker Library

MS 451

12th century

f. 189-194

28. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

MS 693

12th century

f. 54v-59

29. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

MS lat. 341

12th century

f. 201v

30. Oxford, Balliol College Archives

MS 240

12th-century (second half) miscellany

fol. 165

31. Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine

MS 30

12th-13th century

32. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 1408

12th century

f. 55-57v

33. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 215-220

12th century

f. 150

34. Évreux, Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 37

13th century

f. 80-82

35. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica
MS lat. 587
13th century
f. 456-458

36. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
MS 945
13th century
f. 57

37. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1409
13th century
f. 199v-202

38. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1403
13th century
f. 8-10v

39. Aberdeen, University Library
MS 137
13th-century collection of the miracles of the Virgin and sermons

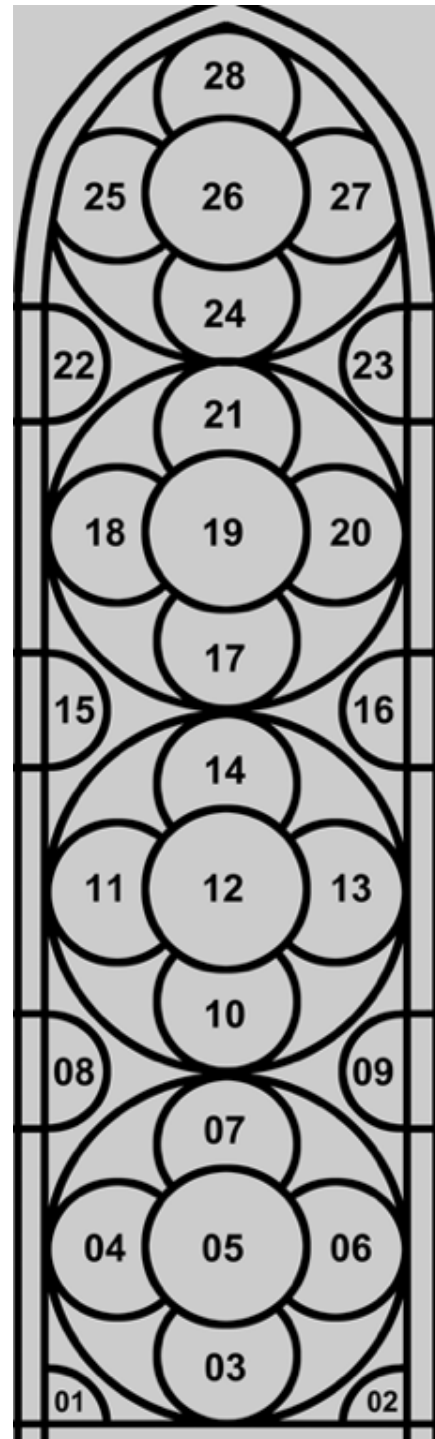
39. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 1617
14th century

40. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 3834
15th century

41. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
MS lat. 5353
15th century

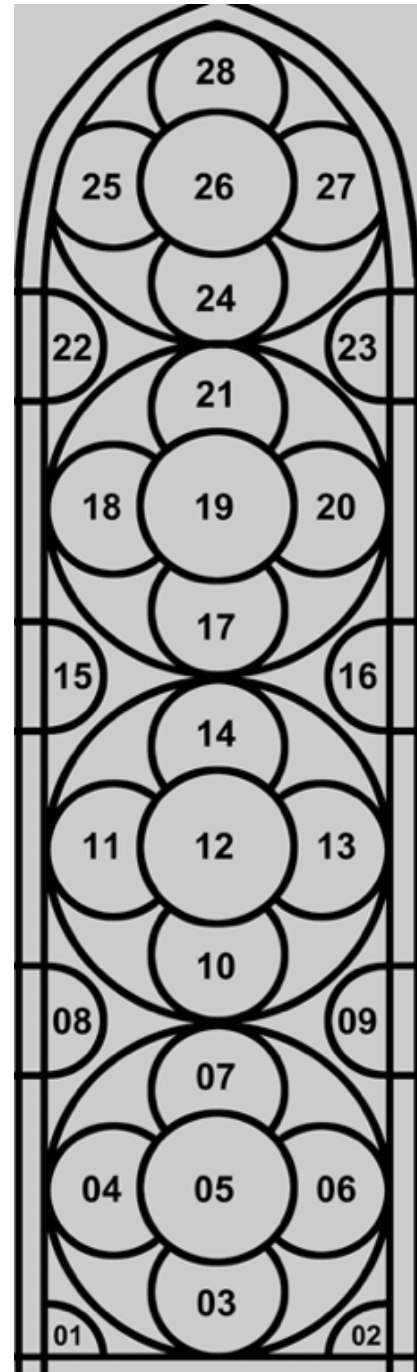
Appendix III(a): Current Layout of the Miracles of the Virgin Window, Chartres Cathedral (Window chart © Dr. Stuart Whatling)

28. Censing Angels (Modern)
27. Old Testament Prophets (Modern)
26. The Virgin and Child Enthroned (Modern)
25. Old Testament Prophets (Modern)
24. Bishops Yves and Fulbert of Chartres (Modern)
23. The Virgin Retrieves the Pact from the Devil
22. The repentant Theophilus prays to the Virgin
21. Marian healing miracle scene (Modern)
20. Procession of the Sancta Camisa (Modern)
19. Procession of the Sancta Camisa (Modern)
18. Procession of the Sancta Camisa (Modern)
17. Marian healing miracle scene (Modern)
16. Theophilus repents
15. Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician
14. Building Scene: The Masons (Modern)
13. Building Scene: The Carpenters (Modern)
12. Building Scene: Workers carrying stones (Modern)
11. Building Scene: Workers carrying stones (Modern)
10. Building Scene: The architects (Modern)
9. Unidentified man holding an animal before an altar (Heavily restored)
8. Notre-Dame of Chartres cures a mute child?
7. Virgin and Child flanked by censing angels
6. Wagon procession toward the Virgin of Chartres
5. Statue of the Virgin of Chartres
4. Wagon procession toward the Virgin of Chartres
3. Donor panel: The Butchers (Heavily restored)
2. Donor panel: The Butchers
1. Donor panel: The Butchers



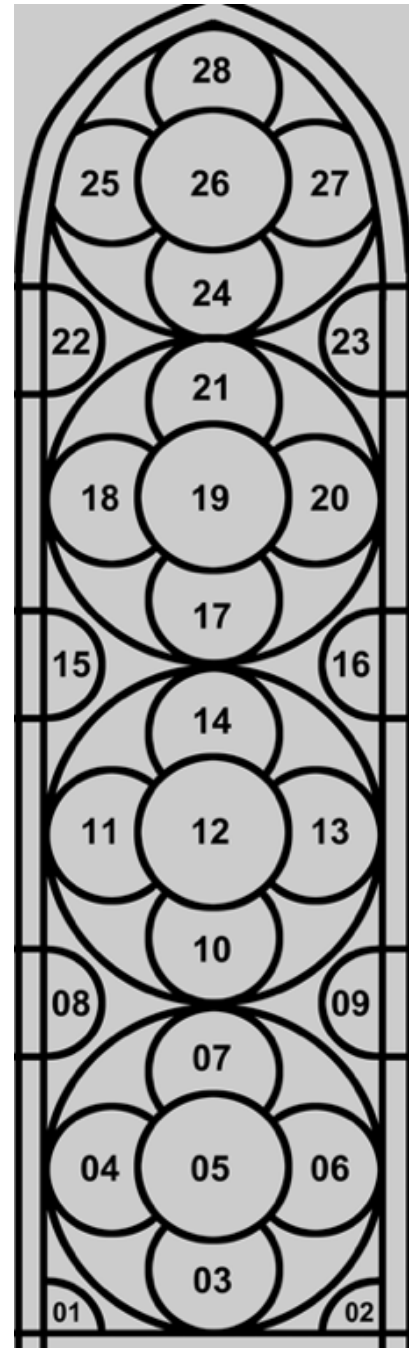
Appendix III(b): Pintard's Description of the Miracles of the Virgin Window as Transcribed by Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, I*, 189 (Window chart © Dr. Stuart Whatling)

28. La Ste. Vierge tenant une âme, 2 anges à ses costez (Lost)
 27. Un enfant tenant une Corbeille pleine de pains en presence de 3 personnes (Lost)
 26. Un Evesque mettant la main sur une personne en présence de 3 autres proche un autel sur lequel il y a deux Chandeliers (Lost)
 25. Un évêque assis parle à un St. malade en presence d'une personne, le Diable à la teste du malade luy présente un papier ou un linge (Lost)
 24. Un petit autel devant lequel est une personne assise tenant le papier, auquel une personne semble faire quelque reproche (Lost)
 23. Un St. qui tient un Livre ou papier, Un Diable est devant luy. (Extant)
 22. Une Ste. parlant à un Religieux assis (Extant)
 21. Une Ste. parlant à une personne qui sort d'une maison (Lost)
 20. N.-S. parlant à un St. (Lost)
 19. Un Evesque assis, son aumosnier prêche, 2 personnes luy viennent parler (Lost)
 18. Une personne debout entourée de plusieurs Diabes dont l'un tient un papier ou un Ecu semblant estre d'argent au chevron de Sable à 2 aiglons aussy de Sable, l'un en chef, l'autre en pointe (Lost)
 17. 2 personnes à genoux; des troupeaux autour d'eux (Lost)
 16. Une personne assise devant un autel (Extant)
 15. Un Roy assis parlant à une personne (Extant)
 14. Un Roy assis tenant un Sceptre; devant luy est un Ange (Lost)
 13. Un Evesque donnant la benediction à une personne en presence de beaucoup d'autres (Lost)
 12. Une personne parlant d'action à 2 autres vestues de blanc comme des prestres (Lost)
 11. Plusieurs prestres vestus de blanc emmènent un autre devant un autel sur lequel est un Calice (Lost)
 10. 2 figures dont l'une donne la benediction ou parle d'action à une autre assise et 3 debout (Lost)
 9. Une personne tenant comme un Enfant devant un autel (Lost)
 8. Un Evesque avec un autre personne à genoux (Lost)



Appendix III(c): Reconstruction of the Lost Theophilus Scenes in the Miracles of the Virgin Window, Chartres Cathedral (Window chart © Dr. Stuart Whatling)

28. The Virgin Carries Theophilus's soul to heaven (Lost)
27. Pintard described this scene as a child holding a basket of bread with three other people. (Deathbed or mass scene?) (Lost)
26. The Bishop blesses Theophilus, possibly a deathbed or scourging scene? (Lost)
25. Theophilus confesses to the bishop, a devil holds the pact? (Lost)
24. Theophilus confesses to the bishop and presents the pact (Lost)
23. The Virgin retrieves the pact from the devil before a hell mouth (Extant)
22. The Virgin appears before Theophilus (Extant)
21. Theophilus praying to the Virgin? (Lost)
20. Theophilus praying to the Virgin? (Lost)
19. Theophilus reinstated? (Lost)
18. Theophilus makes a pact with the devil (Lost)
17. ? (Lost)
16. Theophilus repents (Extant)
15. Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician (Extant)
14. ? (Lost)
13. Theophilus offered the bishop's seat?(Lost)
12. Theophilus offered the bishop's seat?(Lost)
11. Theophilus offered the bishop's seat? (Lost)
10. Theophilus offered the bishop's seat? (Lost)
9. Unidentified man holding an animal before an altar (Heavily restored)
8. Notre-Dame of Chartres cures a mute child?
7. Virgin and Child flanked by censing angels
6. Wagon procession toward the Virgin of Chartres
5. Statue of the Virgin of Chartres
4. Wagon procession toward the Virgin of Chartres
3. Donor panel: The Butchers (Heavily restored)
2. Donor panel: The Butchers
1. Donor panel: The Butchers



Appendix IV: Theophilus Imagery in Illuminated Manuscripts

1. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11750, fol. 51r

11th c.; 260 ff.; 360 x 260 mm.; Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

Latin; Anthology of saints' lives and Marian texts.

Consulted 3/1/2012, 2/5/2013

The legend is illuminated within the initial "F" of the word *factum* opening Paul the Deacon of Naples' *vita* of Saint Theophilus. Though it is not illustrated, Fulbert of Chartres' *Approbate Consuetudinis* is also copied in this manuscript. Both texts occur in the collection of Marian texts found in the beginning of the manuscript.

Fol. 51r.: Theophilus in supplication before the Virgin Mary, enthroned and holding the pact.

Bibliography: Deslandes, (1955), 3-16; Schapiro (1939), 381.

2. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 238, fol. 78v

1173-1223; 206 ff.; 195 x 130 mm.

Latin psalter; Used at Troyes?

Consulted 4/16/12

Two scenes from the Theophilus legend are illustrated as part of a series of full-page miniatures devoted to the life and miracles of the Virgin Mary, which are interspersed within the manuscript at the psalm divisions. The Theophilus legend precedes psalm 68.

Fol. 78v.: Theophilus prays before the Virgin and Child (top register); The Virgin returns the charter inscribed *Teofile* (bottom register).

Bibliography: Leroquais, (Paris, 1940-1941), I, CXXIV; II, 38; Stahl, (1970), pp. 245-46; Camille (1989), 235.

3. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 9, fols. 35v-36r (The Ingeborg Psalter)

ca. 1200; 200 ff.; 305 x 205 mm.

Latin psalter; Prefatory cycle has captions in French.

Consulted facsimile

The Theophilus legend is illustrated at the end of the prefatory cycle, following a series of Marian scenes and just before the Beatus page marking the opening of Psalm 1.

Fol. 35v.: Theophilus makes his pact with the devil. The document is inscribed *Ego su[m] homo tuus*. The French inscription reads: *Si come teophilus fait ommaige au deable* (top register); Theophilus prays before an image of the Virgin. Inscription: *Si come teophilus se repe[n]t et il prie merci et mada[n]me sainte marie saporut a lui*. (bottom register).

Fol. 36r.: The Virgin confronts the devil and retrieves the charter. Inscription: *Si come mada[n]me sainte marie. tout le deable la charte* (top register); The Virgin returns the charter to the sleeping Theophilus. Inscription: *Si come mada[n]me sainte marie raporte la charte.* (bottom register).

Bibliography: Leroquais (1940-1941), I, 138-143; Deuchler (1967), 67-70, pl. XXXI; Avril (1987); Merrill (1994).

4. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5

c. 1180-1200; 46 ff.; 255 x 165 mm.

Psalter fragment with prayers in Latin and French; Abbey of St. Bertin, St. Omer
Consulted 5/25/12

The Theophilus legend appears as part of the prefatory cycle of forty-five full-page miniatures including episodes from the Old and New Testaments and hagiographical subjects. The Theophilus legend is placed at the end of the series of saints' lives, grouped with the miracle of the monk saved by the Virgin's milk.

Fol. 41r.: The top register of this folio contains two scenes from the miracle of the monk saved by the Virgin's milk. Bottom register: Theophilus is dismissed by the bishop and led off by a devil (L) *Gloria Theophili tenebrescit nomine vili*; Theophilus makes a pact with the devil (R) *Cum dolor hunc vincit pact(um) cu(m) demone ivungit.*

Fol. 42r.: Top register: Two scenes depict Theophilus praying to the Virgin. On the left, he is bound by a rope held by the devil in the lower register. On the right, he prays to the Virgin unencumbered by the devil's rope. *Mox flet opemq(ue) pie petit exoratq(ue) Marie*; Lower register: The pact is returned to the sleeping Theophilus by a hand, presumably the Virgin's (L) *Q(uo)d fuit erratu(m) v(ir)go docet esse piatu(m)*; Theophilus receives communion from the bishop (R), *Exule merore su(m)mo [sic] fruitur meliore / Increpat usque moram peccata fatens sua coram.*

Bibliography: Cahn (1996) II, cat. 138; Korteweg (2003), p. 25; Brandhorst (2003), 15-25.

5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 163

1229; 448 ff.; 152 x 216 mm.

Bible in Latin, Corbie Abbey?

Accessed online

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "P" (*Primum*) opening the Acts of the Apostles. The gospel of Luke and Acts (also attributed to the evangelist) both begin with a reference to a Theophilus.

Fol. 391r.: Theophilus makes a pact with the devil. *Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus o Theophile quae coepit Iesus facere et docere* (Acts 1:1).

Bibliography: To the best of my knowledge, the initial illustrating the Theophilus legend has not been published. For studies discussing this bible, see Hourihane (2002); Golden (2005); Morrison and Hedeman (2010).

6. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17401

First half of the thirteenth century; 473 ff.; 550 x 390 mm.

Matutinal Book, Latin, Scheyern Abbey

Consulted facsimile

The Scheyern Matutinal Book includes fourteen scenes from the Theophilus legend stretching across five pages. The majority of the scenes focus on the administrative role of Theophilus in the church, both before his replacement and following his reinstatement after sealing the contract with the devil, who is here, exceptionally, depicted as the Antichrist rather than as a devil. This manuscript is also distinctive in its treatment of the Virgin Mary's intercession, presenting her figure within a mandorla. Rather than deliver the pact personally, the Virgin in the Scheyern manuscript send the cancelled charter with an angel.

Fol. 17v.: Theophilus administers clothing, money, and food to the poor. *Pauperibus magnaue Theophilus hinc ubi dona. Porrigit et multa divino flamine culta* (Upper register); Theophilus receives a ring from the bishop. *Huic dedit officium ut haberent hunc vicedomnum. A quo privatur aliusque per hoc dominatur* (Bottom register).

Fol. 18r.: Theophilus returns the ring and is dismissed from his post (*Perstabat merens prognostica turpia querens*), the bishop gives the ring to Theophilus's replacement, indicated by the inscription in the margin, *Alter vicedomnus* (Upper register); Theophilus returns to his house, inscribed "Theofil" and on the right, the Jewish magician, identifiable by his distinctively German pointed hat, introduces Theophilus to the devil. *Despectoque deo se subdit ipse iudeo. Perficiens pactum quod ei per demonis actum. Gratia donetur ut in officio repareretur* (Bottom register).

Fol. 18v.: The Antichrist is seated on a throne, inscribed "ANTI XC" flanked by attendants, two of whom hold candles. He gestures toward Theophilus, inscribed "THEO," who turns his back to the viewer and stands with the Jewish magician. *Fallaci cura se demon in arce figura. Transtudit angelica deus ut pro sede superna. Augmentando chorum quasi turba foret superiorum. Hinc blasphemando. Christum Mariamque negando. Huic est oblatu que Theophilus reparatus.* (Upper register); Theophilus is reinstated and administers his duties. The Jew is seated next to him and collects money from a figure represented as a Jew in profile with a hooked nose. *Res dispensando gentique sue dominando. Pauperibus dona dedit ut viteque corona* (Bottom register).

Fol. 19r.: On the left, Theophilus administers loaves of bread, a winged devil hovers by his head. On the right, Theophilus presents himself in supplication before the Virgin, who appears above the altar in a cloud. *Hinc sublimetur a demone mox inhibetur. Ex hoc cognovit quod per contraria vovit. Tristis obinde pie repetens altare Marie. Ut succurat*

ei petit ex ratione fidei. (Upper register); On the left, an angel returns the pact to Theophilus, as the Virgin and Child look on from heaven. *Huicque manuscriptum tulit angelus huncque relictum. Cepit ad altare prostratum sic reparare.* On the right, Theophilus presents the sealed charter to the bishop. *Angelicumque datum presul totumque reatum. Post hec cognovit velut hec confessio vovit.* (Bottom register, right); The illuminator of the manuscript and Abbot Conrad of Scheyern are depicted in the inscribed medallions in the bas-de-page. *Hic vice scriptoris ob spem celesti amoris. Hunc feci librum divinis laudibus aptum. / Summe codex iste per me placeat tibi Christe. Abbas dictus eram. Conradus cum faciebam. / Propicietur nobis deus et pia virgo Maria.*

Fol. 19v.: The bishop, Theophilus (Inscribed "THEOF") and a group of men pray before an image of the Virgin (icon?) placed upon an altar in a vaulted space supported by slender columns. *Narrat patratum suadet populumque vocatum. Hoc meritum matris manibus laudare levatis.* (Upper register); Theophilus lies on his deathbed, as his body is transported in a mandorla by angels, who carry his soul to the Virgin in heaven. *Sors pia inde daturque Theophilus ut moriatur. Mater adoptavit animam celoque locavit. Angelico ductu digno plebis quoque luctu* (Bottom register).

Bibliography: Hauke and Kroos (1980); Klemm (1998), 27-33.

7. London, British Library, Additional MS 49999 (The De Brailes Hours, formerly known as the Dyson Perrins Hours)

c. 1240; vii + 105 ff.; 150 x 125 mm.

Book of Hours, Illuminated by William de Brailes

Consulted MF and digital copy on BL website

Ten historiated initials depicting the Theophilus legend are interspersed throughout the hours of Prime, Terce and the opening of Sext in the Hours of the Virgin. William de Brailes, the artist, includes his self-portrait at the end of Terce, so that his image interrupts the legend and is linked visually with the figure of Theophilus. Full-page miniatures from the Passion of Christ are included between each of the Hours of the Virgin. Most of the illustrations are accompanied by Anglo-Norman inscriptions in a small red script.

Fol. 32v.: Prime of the Virgin, Hymn, Psalm 1: Theophilus refuses the promotion to bishop. *Theofle de estre [eveske] il refusa.*

Fol. 33r.: Prime of the Virgin, Hymn, Psalm 1: Theophilus returns to his home. *Theofle enpouri.*

Fol. 34r.: Prime of the Virgin, Psalm 2 (*Quare fremuerunt*): Theophilus seals the charter with a hooked-nose devil. The charter is inscribed " *carta Teofoli* " *Theofle fet humage au deable e lui escrit chartre de sen propre sanc.*

Fol. 36r.: Prime of the Virgin, Psalm 5: Theophilus is reinstated. The caption does not survive.

Fol. 38r.: Prime of the Virgin, Capitulum (*In omnibus requiem*): Theophilus kneels in supplication. *Theofle le repent a n(ot)r(e) dame cria merci.*

Fol. 39v.: Terce of the Virgin, Psalm 119 (*Ad Dominum...*): Theophilus kneel before the Virgin. (*Notre Dame*) *apert a Theofle.*

Fol. 40v.: Terce of the Virgin, Psalm 120: The Virgin retrieves the pact from a hooked-nose devil. The inscription is cut off, but reads *tout la chartre.*

Fol. 41v.: Terce of the Virgin, Psalm 121: The Virgin returns the charter to Theophilus. (*Notre Dame*) *la rent a Theofle.*

Fol. 42v.: Terce of the Virgin, Capitulum, Prayer. The charter, inscribed, "*Carta Teofoli,*" is burned. *Theofle la art.*

Fol. 43r.: Terce of the Virgin, Capitulum, Prayer. The hand of God reaches down to touch the face of William de Brailes. *W. de . Brail' qui me depeint.*

Fol. 44r.: Sext of the Virgin: Theophilus's soul carried to heaven by the Virgin. *N(ot)r(e) Dame Theofle.*

Bibliography: Cockerell (1930), Donovan (1991); Duffy (2006), p. 8, pl. 2.

8. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 330

c. 1240; 250 x 170 mm.

Psalter fragment; Latin; Illuminated by William de Brailes

Consulted 3/5/13

The Theophilus legend is inscribed within the inner ring of a Wheel of Fortune, combined with the Ages of Man in the outer ring and Fortune spinning the Wheel in the center.

Leaf 4: Fortune turns the Wheel clockwise in the center of the full-page miniature. The outer wheel contains sixteen medallions depicting the Ages of Man, beginning at lower left with the woman holding the banner inscribed "*Incipit rota fortunae.*" The inner ring is made up of eight medallions depicting the Theophilus legend. Scene one, reading from top right: Theophilus turns down the promotion to bishop "*Incipit ystoria Theophili.*" Scene 2: Theophilus begins his spiritual fall, a banderole inscribed *In Pavp(er)tate Despero* flows out of his mouth. Scene 3: A naked Theophilus seals the charter with a hooked-nose devil. Scene 4: Theophilus, flanked by devils at the bottom of the Wheel, is reinstated to his former position. Scene 5: Theophilus in supplication before the Virgin. They hold banderols inscribed: *Miserere Miseri Diablo Cartam Feci, Maria Ad Teophilvm.* Scene 6: The Virgin retrieves the charter from the devil. *S(an)cta Maria.* Scene 7: The Virgin returns the pact to Theophilus. Scene 8: Death of Theophilus.

Bibliography: Morgan (1982), I, 118-119, cat. no. 72; Binski and Panyotova (2005), cat. 70, pp. 173-176.

9. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 3517

13th c.; 186 ff.; 280 x 197 mm

Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame* (in two volumes MS 3517 and 3518)

Consulted 8/15/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial opening I Mir 10, "*Pour chas esbatre et deporter*". This is one of just five illustrations included in the first volume.

Fol. 15r.: The Jewish magician points toward the devil and places his other hand on Theophilus.

Bibliography: Stones (2006), pp. 65-98; Duys (2006), 345-366; Russakoff (2006), pp. 79-81.

10. Brussels BR, MS 10747

mid. 13th c.; 240 ff.; 241 x 162 mm

Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*

Consulted 2/13/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "P" opening I Mir 10, "*Pour chas esbatre et deporter*". The illustrations in this manuscript are quite small (1.5-2" x 1.5-2").

Fol. 7r.: Theo kneels in prayer to the Virgin, who holds the sealed charter in her right hand and a bound devil in her left hand.

Bibliography: Gaspar and Lyna (1983), I, 137-40, no. 53, pl. XXIXc; Oliver (1988), I, 98-99; Duys (2006), 345-366.

11. Baltimore, Walters Gallery, Walters Manuscript W.34 (The Carrow Psalter)

mid. 13th c.; 321 ff.; 176 x 247 mm.

Psalter-Hours; Latin; East Anglia, England

Accessed online

The Theophilus legend illustrates the initial "A" of the Suscipe prologue initial before the *Ave porta paradysi*

Fol. 298r.: Theophilus in supplication before the Virgin and Child

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), I, 99; Morgan (1988), no. 118.

12. Paris, BnF lat. 1077

c. 1255-65; 241 ff.; 185 x 120 mm.

Psalter-Hours, Latin, Liège

Consulted 4/16/12

The Theophilus legend illustrates the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi*.

Fol. 202v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the standing Virgin Mary, who holds the sealed pact.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 287-289.

13. Paris, BnF MS fr. 25532

2nd 1/3 13th c.; 336 ff.; 250 x 180 mm

Compilation including Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, Conception of Notre-Dame by Wace, Lives of the Saints, etc.

Consulted MF

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "P" opening I Mir 10, "*Pour chas esbatre et deporter*". The inscription on the charter is the same word (*DIROGAR*) as in the St. Petersburg manuscript.

Fol. 9r.: The Virgin Mary, crowned, haloed, and holding a cruciform staff, stands over the sleeping Theophilus and returns the sealed charter, inscribed "*DIROG[A]R*."

Bibliography: Duys (2006), 345-366; Russakoff (2006), pp. 83-88.

14. Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS. *096/R66

1270s; 269 ff.; 105 x 72 mm

Psalter-Hours, Latin and French, Liège

Accessed digital facsimile online

The Theophilus legend illustrates the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi*.

Fol. 182.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the standing Virgin Mary, who holds the sealed pact.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 273-74.

15. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek MS 965

1270s; 128ff.; 155 x 105 mm.

Fragment of a psalter-hours, Liège

Not consulted.

The Theophilus legend illustrates the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi*. According to Oliver, this manuscript is from the same workshop as Paris, BM, lat. 1077 and is modeled on the Melbourne Psalter.

Fol. 73v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the standing Virgin Mary, who holds the sealed pact.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 255-256.

16. Cambridge, Museum Fitzwilliam, MS 288

1280s; 219 ff.; 203 x 130 mm.

Psalter-hours; Liège

Consulted 3/6/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "A" of the *Aves ki ains ne commenchas*.

Fol. 210r.: The Virgin Mary returns the sealed charter to the sleeping Theophilus, while holding on to a chained, pot-bellied devil. A female supplicant, perhaps the owner of the book, prays in the small initial at the top of the page.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 250-251.

17. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS. IV-1013,

1280s; 250 ff.; 148 x 98 mm.

Psalter-Hours in Latin with French poems; Liège

Consulted 2/13/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "A" of the *Aves ki ains ne commenchas*.

Fol. 242r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin Mary, who stands behind an altar and holds the charter (no seal is visible)

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 247-248.

18. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 183

1280s; 298 ff.; 165 x 115 mm.

Psalter-Hours; Latin and French; Liège

Accessed online

Three scenes from the Theophilus legend illustrate the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi*.

Fol. 285v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin, who stands behind an altar holding the sealed charter (initial "A"). Two additional scenes are found in the roundels lining the lower left margin. In the central roundel, the Virgin wrests the charter from a bound devil. In the lower roundel, a group of devils beat another devil.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 278-280.

19. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209

c. 1260-70; 56 ff.; 272 x 196 mm.

Apocalypse text in Latin with illuminated miniatures and theological commentary.

Made for the Lady Eleanor De Quincy, Countess of Winchester (d. 1274)

Consulted facsimile

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with six scenes depicted on three full-pages, part of a series of full-page miniatures, which, according to Lewis, serve to link the Life of St. John with the transformational legends of St. Mercurius and Theophilus.

Fols. 46r.: The Jew (represented with hooked nose, pointed hat, and money bag) introduces Theophilus to the devil while two additional Jews (also represented with hooked noses, pointed hats, and money bags) look on (top register); Theophilus makes the sealed charter with the devil, seated on top of a building, accompanied by two devils, one of whom records the pact. The Jewish magician pushes Theophilus toward the seated devil, while another devil prods Theophilus forward with a lance (bottom register)

Fol. 46 v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before a golden statue of the Virgin and Child placed upon a vested altar in a Gothic Church. An angel leans out of the west door of the church and fights off a devil with a lance (Top register). The bottom register depicts one of the few instances where the Virgin appears before her son to ask for intercession (the window from Troyes is another example). In this case, the Virgin, along with an angel and a small group of saints plead with Christ, depicted in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, while Theophilus kneels just behind them. The scene is inscribed with the dialogue between Mother and Son: *Tres cher fiz, oez ma ureisun, Pensez de Teophle ke est en prisun; Mere ieo vos voil granter, Alez la chartre purchacer.* (Dearest son, hear my prayer, Think of Theophilus who is in prison; Mother, I agree to your request, Go and recover the bond. Trans. Morgan (1990), 252).

Fol. 47r.: In the top register, the Virgin, holding a scourge, takes the sealed charter from a hooked-nosed devil depicted in sharp profile, who stands inside a gaping hell mouth, which is crowded with souls and more beasts. The Virgin is accompanied by St. Michael wielding his lance, which has pierced the throat of the devil holding the charter, the sharp tip going through the back of its neck. The register is inscribed in the top border: *(R)endez la chartre felun; Deu vos doint sa maliçun. Mut estes plein de felunie. Deu cunfunde voster vie. Ore la bailez ci avant, Ieo vos cunjur par mun fiz pusant.* (Give back the bond, evil one; May God curse you. You are full of wickedness. May God destroy your life. Now give it back at once, I beseech you in the name of my mighty Son. Trans. Morgan (1990), 253). In the bottom register, the Virgin and St. Michael appear before Theophilus, who kneels in front of the empty, vested altar. A strange hybrid flying beast plays a trumpet above their heads.

Bibliography: Henderson (1968), 129-45; Morgan (1990), I, 251-253; Lewis (1995), 276-282.

20. Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 551

Late 13th c.; 180ff.; 345 x 245 mm.

Unfinished manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*

Consulted 4/4/12

Twenty-nine small illuminations are interspersed throughout the text of Gautier's *Theophilus*. The illuminations are contained within square registers roughly corresponding to 14 lines of text.

Fol. 6r.: Theophilus kneels before the bishop

Fol. 6v.: The new bishop takes his episcopal seat in the top register. In the bottom register, Theophilus is dismissed as his replacement is sworn in by the new bishop.

Fol. 7r.: A devil pushes Theophilus into an embrace with the Jewish magician. They embrace outside the gates of the city.

Fol. 7v.: Theophilus kneels before a group of devils and clasps hands with the seated devil in the foreground to bind the pact. The Jewish magician stands behind the apostate and holds the sealed charter.

Fol. 8r.: First scene: Theophilus and the devil negotiate the terms of their agreement as the Jewish magician looks on. Second scene: The devil visits the sleeping bishop and influences him to reinstate Theophilus to his former position.

Fol. 8v.: Theophilus kneels before the devil and hands over the sealed charter in exchange for a chest of coins. The devil touches Theophilus tenderly on the cheek. The Jewish magician witnesses the deal.

Fol. 9r.: Theophilus is reinstated to his former post and collects gifts (a fish and some wine).

Fol. 9v.: Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician.

Fol. 10r.: The hand of God saves Theophilus from falling off his horse into a gaping hellmouth.

Fol. 10v.: Scene 1: Theophilus sits before a chest of coins. The hand of God reaches toward him. Scene 2: Theophilus distributes coins to the needy, as Christ blesses the scene from a mandorla.

Fol. 11r.: Theophilus enters a church, where there is a statue of the Virgin and Child.

Fol. 11v.: Theophilus, with an open book before him, prays before a statue of the Virgin and Child. One of the slender columns supporting the vaulted interior stands in between him and the Virgin.

Fol. 13r.: The first scene is similar to fol. 11v. Theophilus, with an open book before him, prays before a statue of the Virgin and Child. One of the slender columns supporting the vaulted interior stands in between him and the Virgin. Second scene: Theophilus prays before a double image of the Virgin. The embodied Virgin stands before him and gestures toward her statue.

Fol. 14r.: Another double-image of the Virgin Mary, but in this case, she turns away from her statue toward Theophilus, and touches his hands, which are clasped in prayer.

Fol. 14v.: A devil appears behind Theophilus, who has fallen asleep in the chapel in front of the statue of the Virgin and Child.

Fol. 15r.: The Virgin retrieves the pact from the devil, as three souls (?) look on from the sidelines. Flanked by seraphim, Christ watches over the scene from inside a mandorla.

Fol. 15v.: First scene: The Virgin chases off three devils armed with switches with her cruciform lance. Second scene: The Virgin returns the cancelled charter to the sleeping Theophilus, using her cruciform lance to chase off the devil who waits to tempt him.

Third scene: Theophilus holds the pact and then kneels before a double-image of the Virgin.

Fol. 16r.: First scene: Theophilus and the bishop burn the sealed charter before a grown gathered for Mass. Second scene: Theophilus kneels with the crowd as the bishop delivers a sermon.

Fol. 16v.: Theophilus receives communion.

Fol. 17v.: Theophilus returns to the chapel where the Virgin appeared to him and dies near her statue.

Fol. 18r.: The Virgin and an angel appear in the chapel to collect Theophilus's soul.

Fol. 18v.: Scene 1: The bishop gives Theophilus the last rites, witnessed by a mixed crown of clerics and laity, as well as the statue of the Virgin and Child. Scene 2: The bishop gives a sermon.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 51-54; Russakoff (2003/2004); Duys (2006), 345-366; Stones (2006), 65-99.

21. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533

Second half of the 13th c.; 266 ff.; 315 x 215 mm.

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Consulted 8/17/13

Four scenes from the Theophilus legend are illustrated in small initials that measure 1/16 of the page. The first three accompany the text of Gautier's Theophilus legend, while the second is towards the end of the manuscript as part of a series of prayers to the Virgin that includes Theophilus's own prayer.

Fol. 37r.: The Jew, marked with a pointed cap and a yellow badge, leads Theophilus toward a devil.

Fol. 39r.: Theophilus kneels before the devil.

Fol. 42r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin.

Fol. 262v.: Theophilus kneels before an image of the Virgin and Child on an altar in the initial "G" of *Genme [sic] resplendissant pucele glorieuse...*, the opening line of the Prayer of Theophilus.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Duys (2006), 345-366; Stones (2006), 397-406.

22. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1613

late 13th c.; 183 ff.; 256 x 181 mm.

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Consulted 8/17/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with one historiated initial in the prologue to Gautier's collection (I Pr I) and with one additional representation within the initial "P" that begins Gautier's Theophilus legend (*Pour chaus esbatre et deporter*).

Fol. 1r.: The Jewish magician, wearing a pointed cap and Theophilus meet in the top register of the initial "A" beginning I Pr I, "A" la loenge et la gloire. " In the bottom register of the initial, the Jew stands behind the kneeling Theophilus as he makes the pact with the devil.

Fol. 3v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before an image of the Virgin and Child seated on a gabled throne within the initial "P" that opens Gautier's Theophilus (I Mir 10), "Pour chaus esbatre et deporter." A devil, perched along the side of the letter "P," prods Theophilus with a long rake-like weapon. Below the devil, an archer stands in the margin (partially cut off) and shoots an arrow, which appears to have lodged itself in the bird's head at the top of the "P."

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Duys (2006), 345-366

23. Liège, Lib. Bibl. de l'Université, MS 431

c. 1285-1290; 223 ff.; 165 x 120 mm.

Psalter Hours in Latin with French poems and Aves.

Not consulted.

The Theophilus legend illustrated the initial "A" of the *Aves de nostre saignor. Ave ki ains ne commencas.*

Fol. 222 r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before an empty, vested altar. The Virgin Mary stands on the other side of the altar holding her infant son as a small devil holds on to the bottom of her mantle.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 259-262.

24. London, British Library Harley MS. 2930

c. 1280, 203 ff.; 153 x 111 mm.

Psalter-Hours produced in Brabant with Aves in Latin and additional prayers in Latin and French.

Consulted MF

The Theophilus legend is illustrated inside the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi.*

Fol. 174v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin Mary who holds the charter.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 266-268.

25. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS. d. 19

1260s

Cutting from a Psalter-hours, Liège

Consulted 3/1/13

Oliver identifies this as the pact scene from the Theophilus legend based on the context of the initial within the Aves.

Fol. 10, no. 1: A devil reaches down and touches Theophilus lips, as he signs the charter.

Bibliography: Oliver (1998), II, 286-286.

26. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Fr. F. v. XIV.9

c. 1260-70; 286 ff.; 275 x 190 mm

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* produced in northeastern France (Picardy?)

Five scenes from the Theophilus legend are depicted inside a rectangular register placed at the beginning of the text beneath the rubric *De Theophilus*.

Fol. 45v.: Scene 1: Theophilus is relieved from his duties as *vicedominus* by the newly appointed bishop. Scene 2: Accompanied by the Jewish magician, Theophilus kneels in supplication before a crowned devil seated on a throne, who signs the charter, inscribed *dirog[ar]*, witnessed by a small group of devils. Scene 3: Theophilus kneels in supplication before a statue of the Virgin and Child placed on a vested altar. Scene 4: The Virgin travels to hell armed with a cruciform staff to take the pact from the hands of a small devil as a crowd of devils watches. One devil covers its eyes in horror, while another fights off the Virgin with a rake. Scene 5: The Virgin returns the sealed charter, inscribed *dirogar* (?) to Theophilus, who sleeps in front of the altar with the statue of the Virgin and Child.

Bibliography: Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Voronova and Sterligov (1996), 66-67; Mokretsova and Romanova (1984), 102-47.

27. London, British Library, MS Stowe 17

1310-1320, 273 ff.; 94 x 68 mm.

Psalter-hours from Liège, made for a noblewoman
Consulted MF and digital facsimile on BL website

Four scenes from the Theophilus legend are illustrated on two-facing pages at the beginning of the Aves section of the manuscript. The beginning of the text is marked with the historiated initial "A" of the *Aves ki ains ne commenchas*.

Fol. 255v.: Theophilus sits reading in the upper left register. He holds an objects (money bag?) in his left hand. In the second register, Theophilus hands the money bag to a judaized devil, with hooked nose and beard. In the lower register, a devil reaches across the page past the slender column supporting the vaulted interior to fill its quill with blood from Theophilus's lips. Six prophets are depicted around the frame of the main image. Theophilus kneels in prayer in the bas-de-page, gazing toward the image of the Virgin on the facing folio.

Fol. 256r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication inside the initial "A" of the *Aves ki ains ne commenchas*. The Virgin, holding her son, stands across from him in the top story of the gabled tower that forms the right border of the page. Her right hand stretches out of the architectural space toward Theophilus, as she holds out the cancelled charter, inscribed: *tu es red(itus) p(otenti)a diabo(lus)*. A noblewoman kneels in the lower story of the tower.

Bibliography: Oliver (1998), II, 286-286.

28. Escorial, Lib. Real Biblioteca, MS T.I.1. Alfonso X, Cantigas

Begun late 1270s; Preserves 192 of the original 200 songs planned.

Manuscript of Marian songs known as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* produced at the court of Alfonso X (r. 1252-1284) of Castile.

Not consulted

The Theophilus legend (*Cantiga 3*) is illustrated with six scenes in a full-page illumination that follows the page containing the text. In addition, an illustration of the legend accompanies one of the *cantiga de loor*, the short songs of praise honoring the Virgin that were also collected in the manuscript.

Fol. 8r.: Scene 1: Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician. Inscription: *Como Teofilo demandou consello ao judeu encantador* ("How Theophilus asked for counsel from a Jewish enchanter"); Scene 2: Theophilus makes the pact with the devil, who sits beneath a tent surrounded by his court of devils. Inscription: *Como Teofilo negou a Ihesu Xristo & Sancta Maria & deu en carta ao demo* ("How Theophilus denied Jesus Christ and Holy Mary and gave a letter/contract to the devil"); Scene 3: The Virgin Mary sends a group of angels to retrieve the pact from the devil, while Theophilus sleeps before a statue of the Virgin and Child set on an altar. Inscription: *Como Sancta Maria fez trager a carta ao demo & lla tolleu* ("How Holy Mary had the devil return the contract and [She] took it"); Scene 4: The Virgin, accompanied by angels, returns the pact to Theophilus, who sleeps before a statue of the Virgin and Child set on an altar. Inscription: *Como Sancta Maria deu a carta a Teofilo u iazia dormindo* ("How Holy Mary gave the contract to Theophilus where he lay sleeping"); Scene 5: Theophilus presents the charter to the bishop in a crowded church. Inscription: *Como Teofilo contou o feito ao bispo & lli deu a carta* ("How Theophilus recounted the deed to the bishop and gave him the contract"); Scene 6: The bishop displays the charter to the congregation and gestures toward the statue of the Virgin and Child. Inscription: *Como o bispo mostrou aquela maldita carta aa gente* ("How the bishop showed the abhorrent contract to the people").

*Translations by Kathleen Kulp-Hill as cited by Cárdenas (2002), 39-68.

Fol. 196r.: The Virgin returns the pact to Theophilus. The charter is inscribed, "*nego Ihu et mat*" (I deny Jesus and his mother).

Bibliography: Cárdenas (2002), 39-68; Jackson (2007), 75-88; Patton (2008), 233-66.

29. Rochester, Gall., Memorial Art, MS 53.68

1280s; 243 ff.; 165 x 116 mm

Psalter-Hours in Latin with French rubrics and Aves

Not consulted

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "A" of the *Aves ki ains ne commenchas*.

Fol. 232 v.: Theophilus kneels before the standing figure of the Virgin Mary, who hands him the cancelled charter with her right hand and holds a devil on a chain with her left hand.

Bibliography: Oliver (1998), II, 291-293.

30. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22928

Late 13th c.; 325 ff.; 273 x 195 mm

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Consulted MF and digital facsimile on Gallica

Two scenes from the Theophilus legend are depicted in a rectangular frame just below the rubric for the Theophilus legend, *Coment theophil[us] vint a penitance*.

Fol. 42r.: Scene one (reads from right to left): Theophilus kneels in supplication before an image of the Virgin and Child. Scene two: The Virgin, with a small devil clinging to her skirt returns the pact to Theophilus, who has fallen asleep while kneeling in prayer.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Stones (2006), 65-99.

31. London, BL, Roy.2.B.VII. (The Queen Mary Psalter)

between 1310 and 1320; ff. i + 419; 275 x 175 mm

Latin psalter with French image captions

Consulted MF and digital facsimile

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with two scenes as part of a series of thirty-five miracles of the Virgin that illustrate the bas-de-page of Psalm 91 through Psalm 108. The Theophilus legend is the first of the miracles in the collection, corresponding to Psalm 91, *Bonum est confiteri* (God is to be praised for his wondrous works).

Fol. 204v.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before a statue of the Virgin and Child on a vested altar.

Fol. 205r.: The Virgin confronts the devil, who holds the sealed charter.

Bibliography: Sandler (1986), I, no. 56; Stanton (2001), 49-51.

32. Wormsley, Buckinghamshire, The Getty Library, (The Madresfield Hours)

c. 1320-30 (fols. 123-83 were added in the fifteenth century); 188 ff.; 248 x 152 mm

Book of Hours, England

Latin with French captions

Not consulted

The Theophilus legend is depicted in two full-page miniatures on facing pages just before Prime.

Fol. 59v.: Theophilus makes the pact with the devil (no Jewish magician). The French inscription reads: *Miracle. coment Teophile le clerke est deliveres de encombrement du deble par vertu de la dame*. An inscription above Theophilus's head identifies him by name. The charter is inscribed in Latin: *Sciant presentes et futuri*.

Fol. 60r.: Theophilus kneels on the left margin before an image of the Virgin and Child. The Virgin appears to Theophilus on the right to return the charter, as a devil lays at her feet.

Bibliography: Backhouse 1975), 19, pl. 6-7; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 42, cat. 37; Getty and Fletcher (1999), 26-27, cat. no. 9.

33. Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541

1328-1334; 246 ff.; 335 x 225 mm.

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

MF and digital facsimile on Gallica

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with one scene, depicted at the beginning of the miracles, at the opening of the text of Gautier's Theophilus legend.

Fol. 8v.: Theophilus kneels before the devil, who is seated on a rocky outcropping, surrounded by a group of devils, who fly around the scene playing instruments and carrying on. The Jewish magician is present, with his arm around the kneeling apostate. The charter, held by Theophilus and the main devil, is unusually inscribed with the devil's face.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Stones (2006), 65-99.

34. Ex-Heidelberg, Tenner Auktion 130 (1980) MS 488

sold in 1978 to G. van de Merckt of Ghent, Private collection

c. 1300-1310; 70 ff.; 137 x 95 mm

Hours of the Virgin with Latin Aves

Not consulted

The Theophilus legend is illustrated in the initial "A" of the *Ave porta paradysi*.

fol. 61r.: According to Oliver, this scene depicts Theophilus kneeling in supplication before the Virgin who holds the charter.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 259.

35. The Hague, KB 71 A. 24

1327; 189 ff.; 432 x 317 mm

Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Vie des Pères* Paris, Jean de Senlis (scribe), Sub-Fauvel Master (illuminator), an artist associated with the workshop of Thomas de Maubeuge in Paris.¹

consulted 3/24/11

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with six scenes enclosed within a rectangular frame outfitted with pinnacles at the beginning of the text of the miracles, just above the rubric *Ci commencent les miracles...* Five additional scenes, some of which repeat episodes depicted in the first image, are interspersed within the text. Two of the scenes depicted on fol. 1r are very similar to the same scenes carved in the fourteenth-century relief at Notre-Dame in Paris.

Fol 1r.: Scene 1: Theophilus, holding a book, performs his duties at *vicedominus* and administers alms/money to the poor; Scene 2: The bishop, standing in a doorway, dismisses Theophilus from his post; Scene 3: Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician, who holds the charter; Scene 4: The Jewish magician leads Theophilus to the court of the devil, where red-eyed devils play musical instruments; Scene 5: Theophilus and the devil make their pact with their hands clasped and their faces cheek to cheek (as in the Notre-Dame relief). The devils hold candlesticks in the background; Scene 6: The Virgin takes the pact back from the devil, thrusting the tip of her cruciform spear through the mouth of the devil, as in the Notre-Dame relief. Theophilus is unusually present, standing witness behind the Virgin.

f. 2v: Scene 1: Unusually, the Jewish magician writes out the charter. Scene 2: Theophilus kneels in supplication before a panel-painting or icon of the Virgin and Child.

f. 5v: Theophilus enters a church and kneels in supplication before a life-sized statue (?) of the Virgin and child. The figures are separated by the heavy column supporting the round-headed arches of the chapel.

f. 10r: Scene 1: The Virgin retrieves the pact (same composition as in fol. 1r); Scene 2: The Virgin returns the pact the Theophilus.

Bibliography: Rouse and Rouse (2000), I, 18 and 189; II, 183.

¹ Rouse and Rouse, 2000, vol. II, p. 183.

36. Brussels, BR MS 9229-30

14th c.; MS 9229: 233 ff.; MS 9230: 190 ff; 420 x 310 mm.

Compilation with a partial copy of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Consulted 2/13/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with two scenes enclosed within a rectangular frame just below the rubric marking the opening of Gautier's Theophilus.

Fol. 5r.: On the left, Theophilus and the Jewish magician meet outside the gates of the city. On the right, the Jewish magician embraces Theophilus from behind, as the devil inscribes the charter with blood from Theophilus's lips. A crowd of devils surrounds the scene.

Bibliography: van den Gheyn (1901-1909), V, no. 3354; Rouse and Rouse (2000), I, 189; Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Stones (2006), 65-99.

37. Paris, Bibl. Arsenal MS 5204

1326-28; 216 ff.; 420 x 310 mm.

Semi-complete manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*

Attributed to an artist associated with the workshop of Thomas de Maubeuge in Paris.²

Consulted 8/13/13

Fol. 33r.: Scene 1: The Jewish magician leads Theophilus before a raucous group of devils playing instruments. Scene 2: Theophilus, holding the charter, kneels in supplication before the devil, who is seated on a throne. The Jewish magician stands behind Theophilus with his hand on his back. He gestures toward the devil, as if speaking to it.

Fol. 34r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin and Child, seated on a bench. The Virgin holds the charter out toward Theophilus.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Stones (2006), 65-99.

38. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS fr. 3527

14th c.; 203 ff.; 287 x 210 mm.

Anthology of poetry in French including Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

Consulted 8/13/13

The Theophilus legend is illustrated with one image in the initial "P" of the opening line of the Theophilus legend, *Pour chaus esbatre et deporter*.

Fol. 106r.: Theophilus meets with the Jewish magician.

² Rouse and Rouse, 2000, vol. II, p. 183.

Bibliography: Ducrot-Granderye (1932), 18-74; Russakoff (2006), 85-87; Stones (2006), 65-99.

39. The Hague, KB 76.G.17

c. 1300-1310; 231 ff.; 180 x 130 mm.

Psalter-Hours with Aves in Latin

Consulted 5/25/12

The Theophilus legend is depicted in the initial "A" of the *Ave qui ainz ne comenchas*.

Fol. 213r.: Theophilus kneels in supplication before the Virgin Mary, who stands on the other side of the slender column supporting the vaulted space. She holds the charter, depicted here as a long scroll, which stretches across the dividing column and unfurls over Theophilus's head.

Bibliography: Oliver (1988), II, 257-259.

40. London, BL, Egerton 2781 (*Neville of Hornby Hours*)

c. 1335-40; 190 ff.; 168 x 113 mm

Book of Hours made in England for a noblewoman, Isabel de Byron

Consulted MF

The Theophilus legend is depicted with two scenes depicted in the historiated initials of a series of Latin prayers to the Virgin.

Fol. 21v.: The Virgin, armed with a switch, retrieves the pact from the devil, who vomits up the charter at her feet. Initial "O" of the prayer *O dulcissima sancta maria que es benedicta...*

Fol. 22r.: The Virgin appears to return the charter, inscribed *Ave Maria*, to Theophilus, who sleep before a small statue of the Virgin and Child set upon an altar. Initial "P" of the prayer *Precor te gloriosissima...*

Bibliography: Sandler (1966), II, 127, no. 115; Smith (2003), 221-230 and 315-324.

41. BL Royal MS 10 E IV, Decretals of Gregory IX with gloss of Bernard of Parma (The Smithfield Decretals)

c. 1300-1340; 314 ff.; 450 x 285 mm.

Latin glossed lawbook written in southern France (Toulouse?) with marginal images added in England (London)

Consulted digital copy on BL website

The Theophilus legend is depicted with around 20 scenes in the bas-de-page of the manuscript, an unusual version of the tale which seems to incorporate elements of the

Prodigal Son parable. There is no clear relationship between the Theophilus images and the text.

Fol. 161r (?) through 172v.:

Bibliography: Sandler (1966), I, no, 101.

42. London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 13 (The Taymouth Hours)

c. 1331; 168 mm x 113 mm, trimmed;

Book of Hours

Five scenes with Anglo-Norman captions (transcribed by Smith) are included as part of a series of Miracles of the Virgin illustrating the *bas-de-page* of the Office of the Dead (fols. 151r-195v).

Fol. 158v The Jewish Magician presents Theophilus to the Devil. The Devil and Theophilus exchange the sealed charter. *Cy theofle fist sun omage a le deable.*

Fol. 159r. Theophilus opens a chest full of coins. *Cy le deable dona tresor a theofle.*

Fol. 159v. Theophilus in supplication before the Virgin with bared breast and Child. *Cy est theofle repenta(n)t et crea mercy.*

Fol. 160r. The Virgin retrieves the charter. *Cy tout n(ost)re Dame la charter du deable.*

Fol. 160v. The Virgin returns the charter to the sleeping Theophilus. *Cy r(e)porte n(ost)re dame a teofle la chartre.*

Bibliography:

Smith (2012), 298-320; James (1902), 50-74, no. 57; Baker [Donovan] (1981), 265-93, no. 14; Sandler, (1986) 2, 107-9, no. 98; Brownrigg (1989), 222-41.

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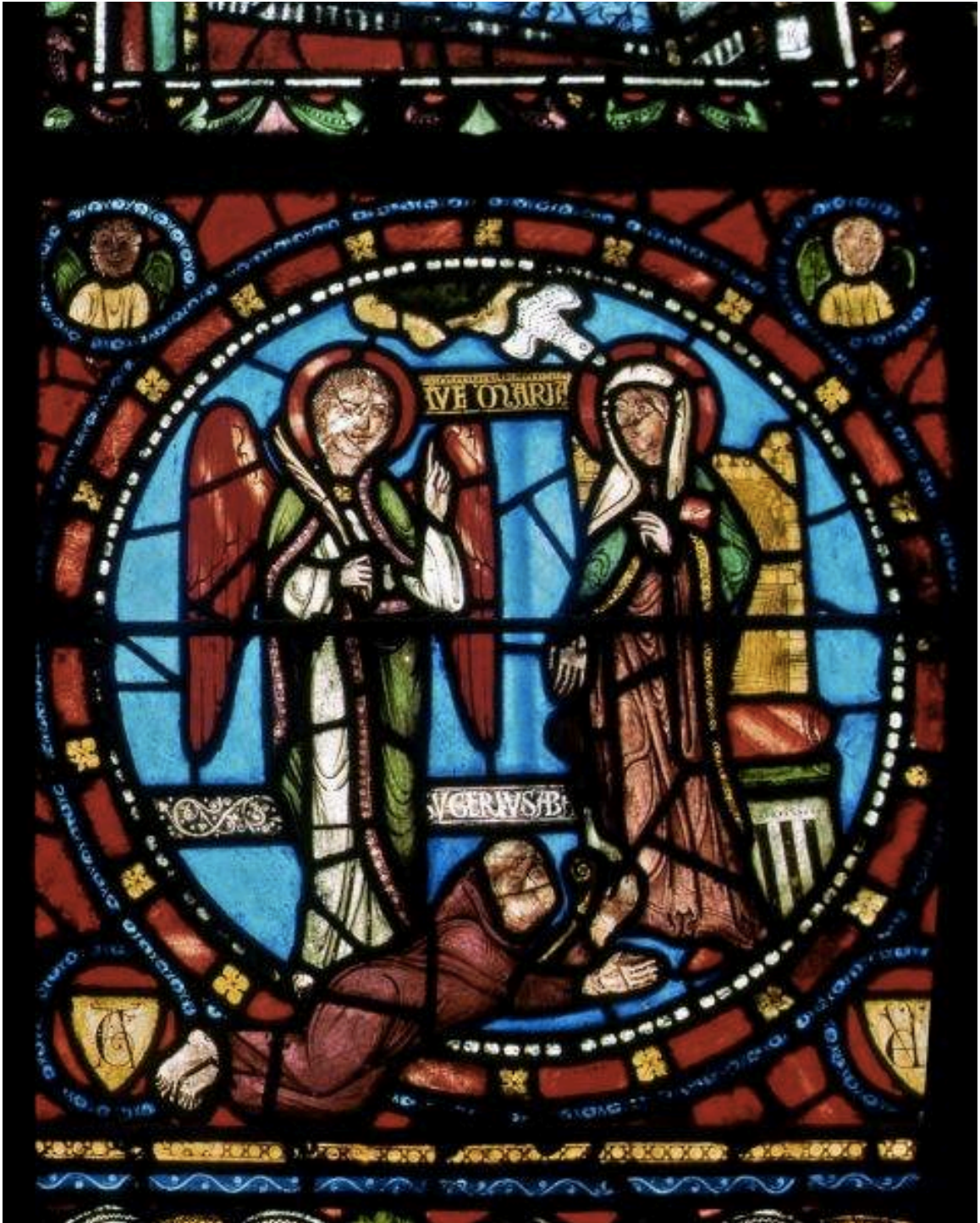


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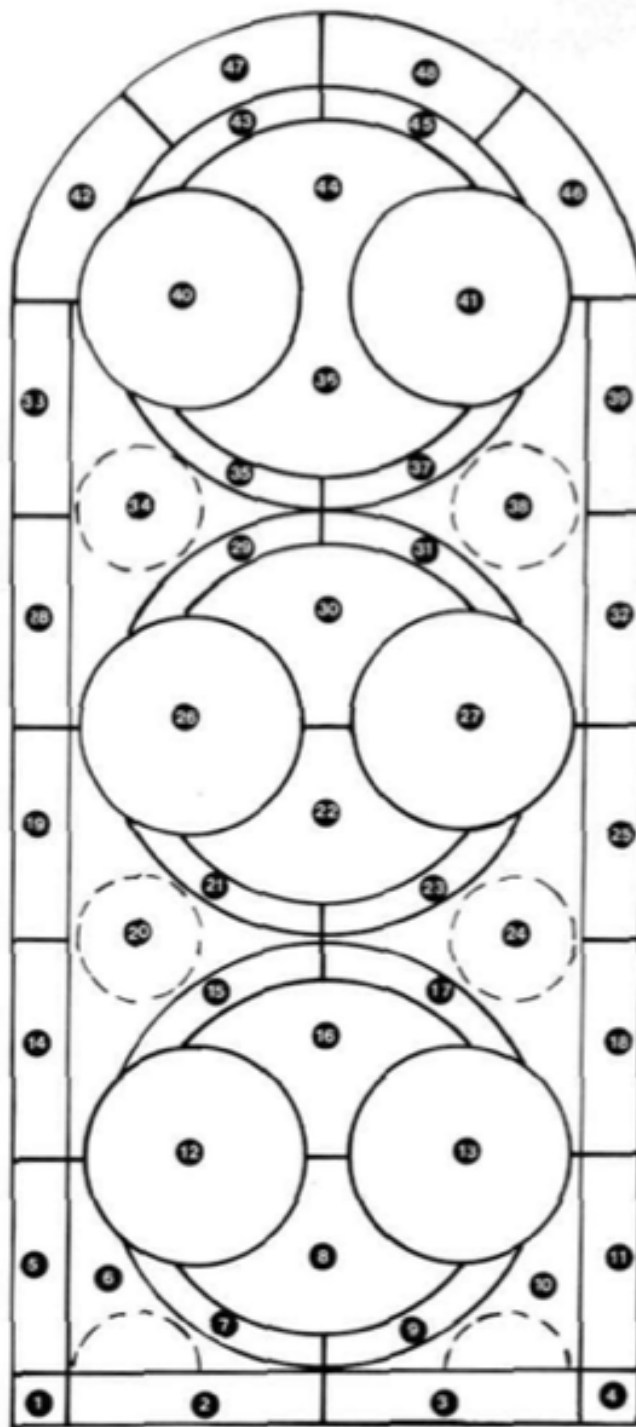


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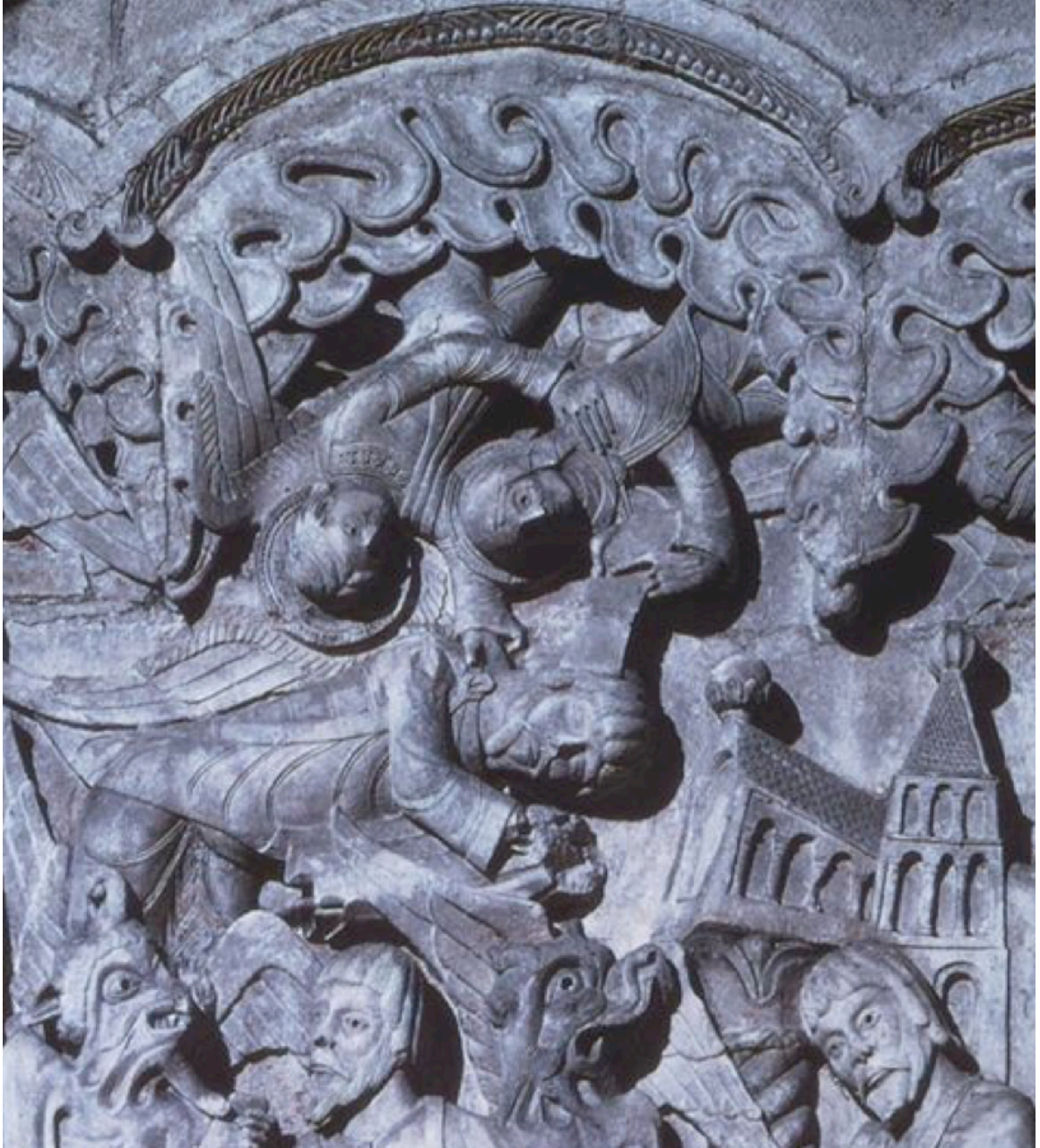


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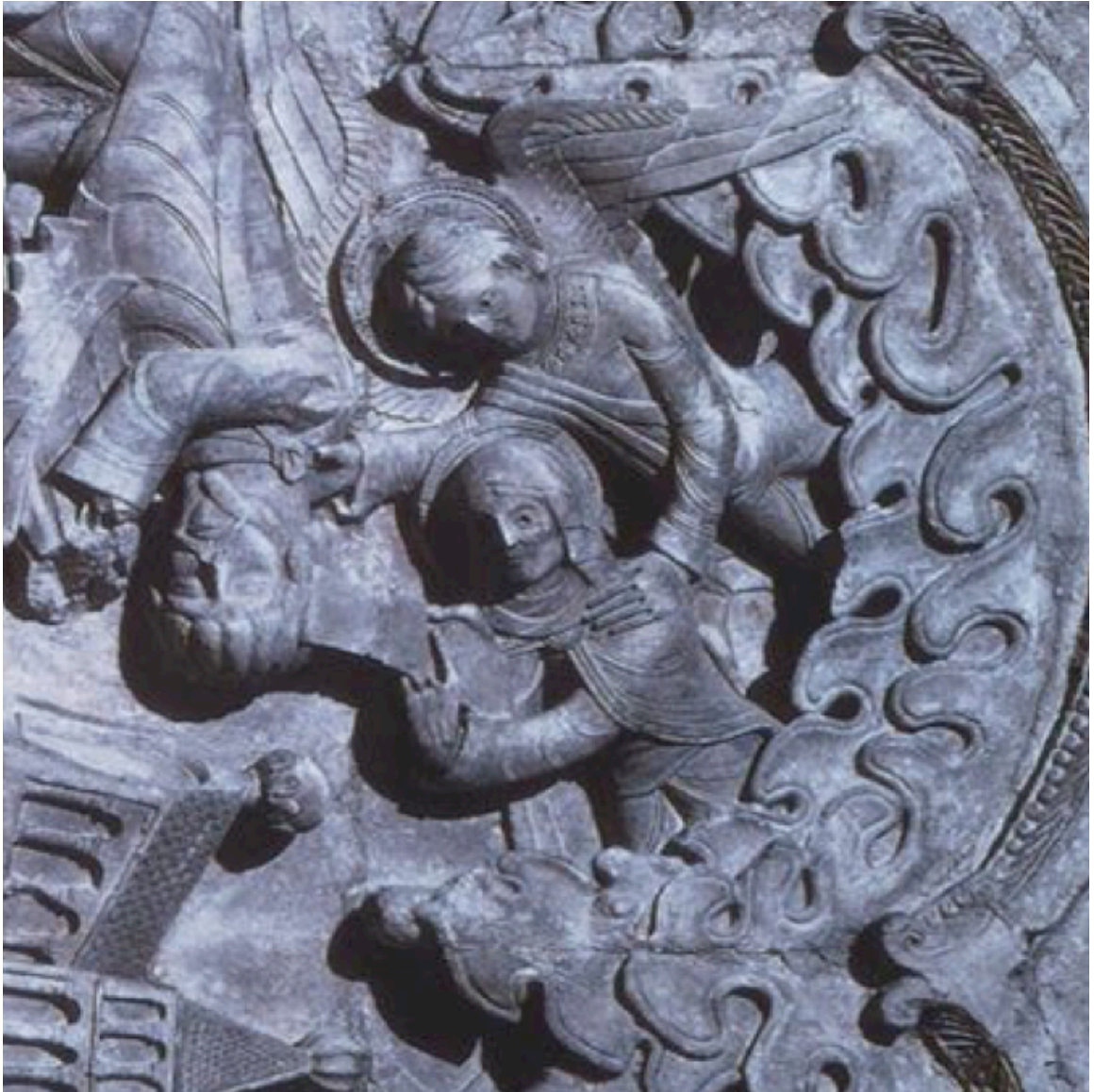


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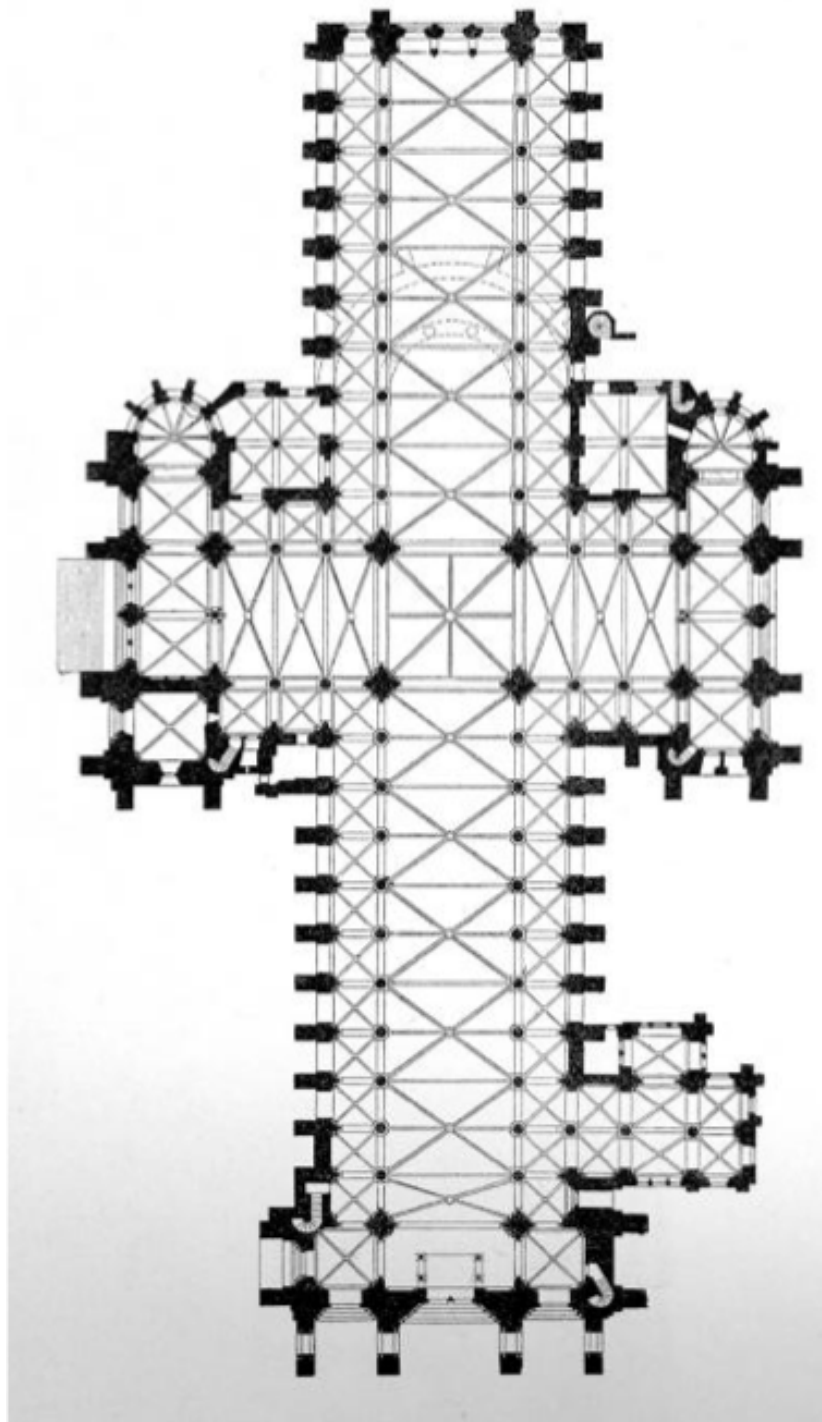


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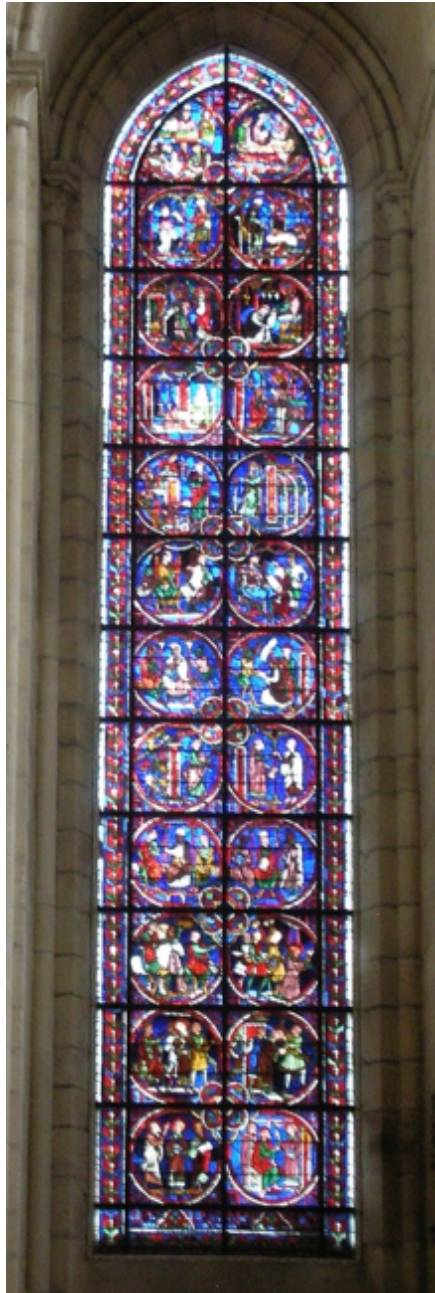


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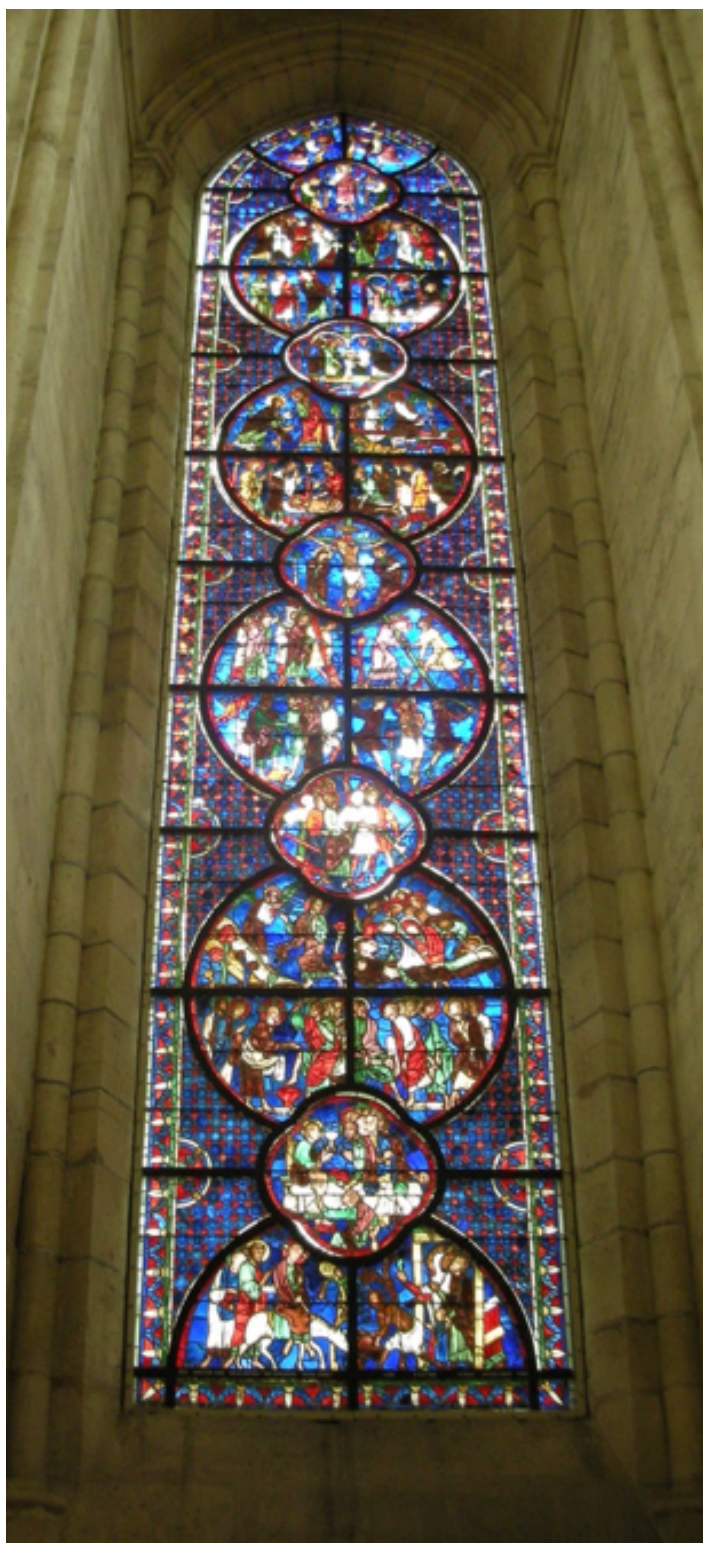


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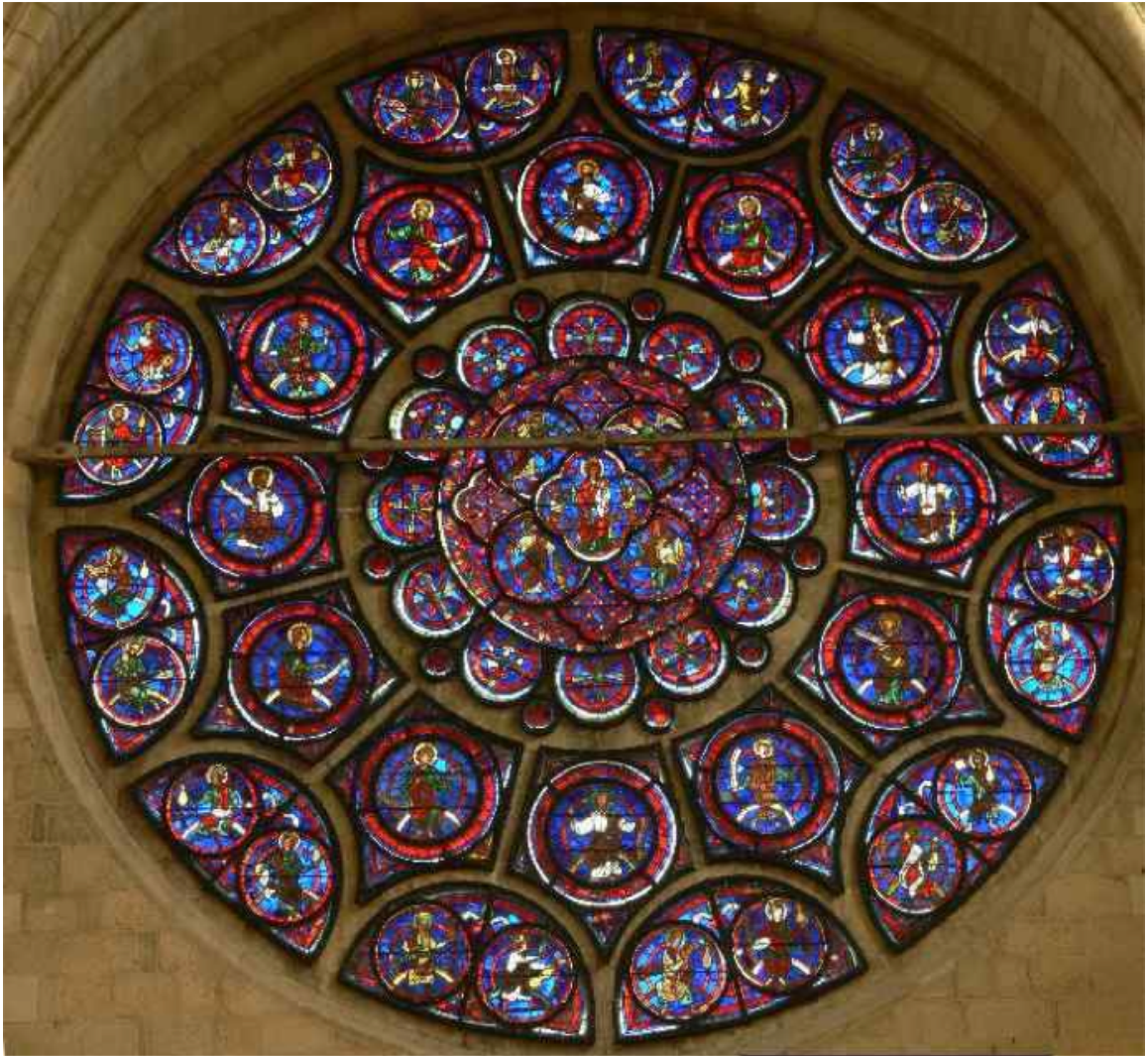


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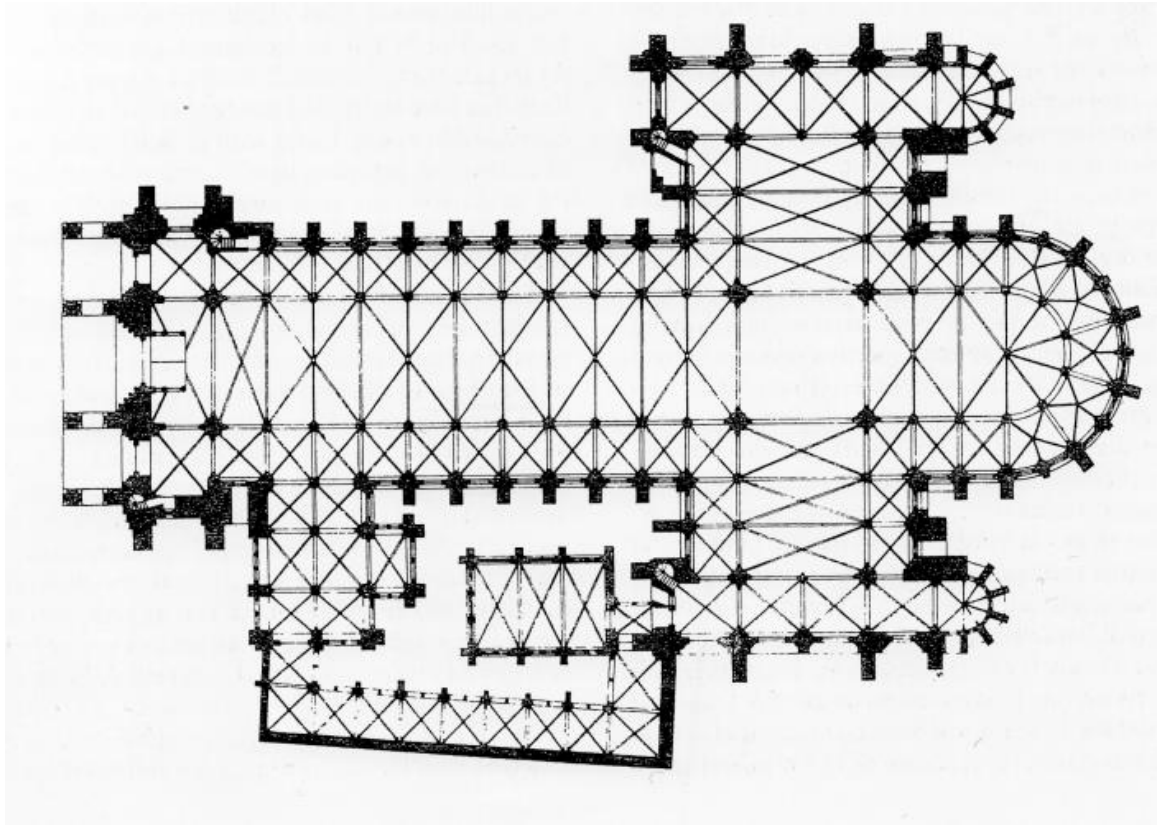


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For Image see Martine Plouvier, "Le jubé et le decor du choeur de la cathédrale," In *Laon. [1], Une acropole à la française*, edited by Martine Plouvier. Cahiers du patrimoine (Paris, France), 311-21 (Amiens: Association pour la généralisation de l'Inventaire régional en Picardie; Inventaire général S.P.A.D.E. M., 1995), 310

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For Image see Martine Plouvier, "Le jubé et le decor du choeur de la cathédrale," In *Laon. [1], Une acropole à la française*, edited by Martine Plouvier. Cahiers du patrimoine (Paris, France), 311-21 (Amiens: Association pour la généralisation de l'Inventaire régional en Picardie; Inventaire général S.P.A.D.E. M., 1995), 310

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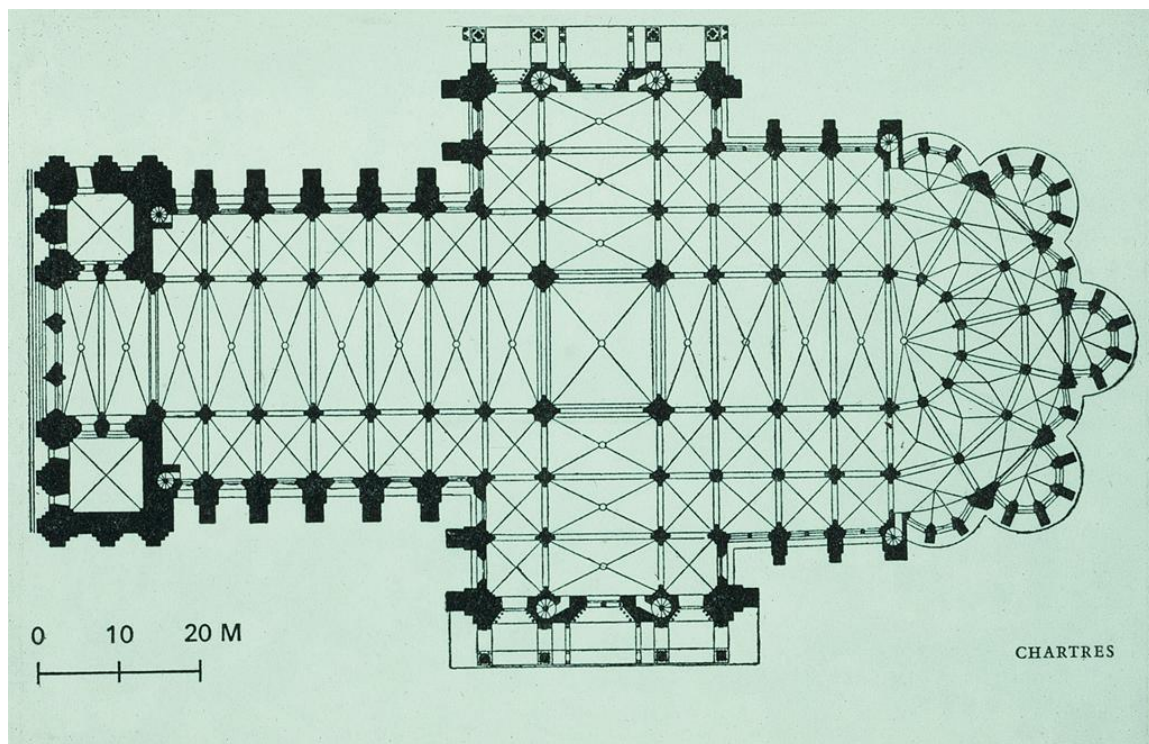


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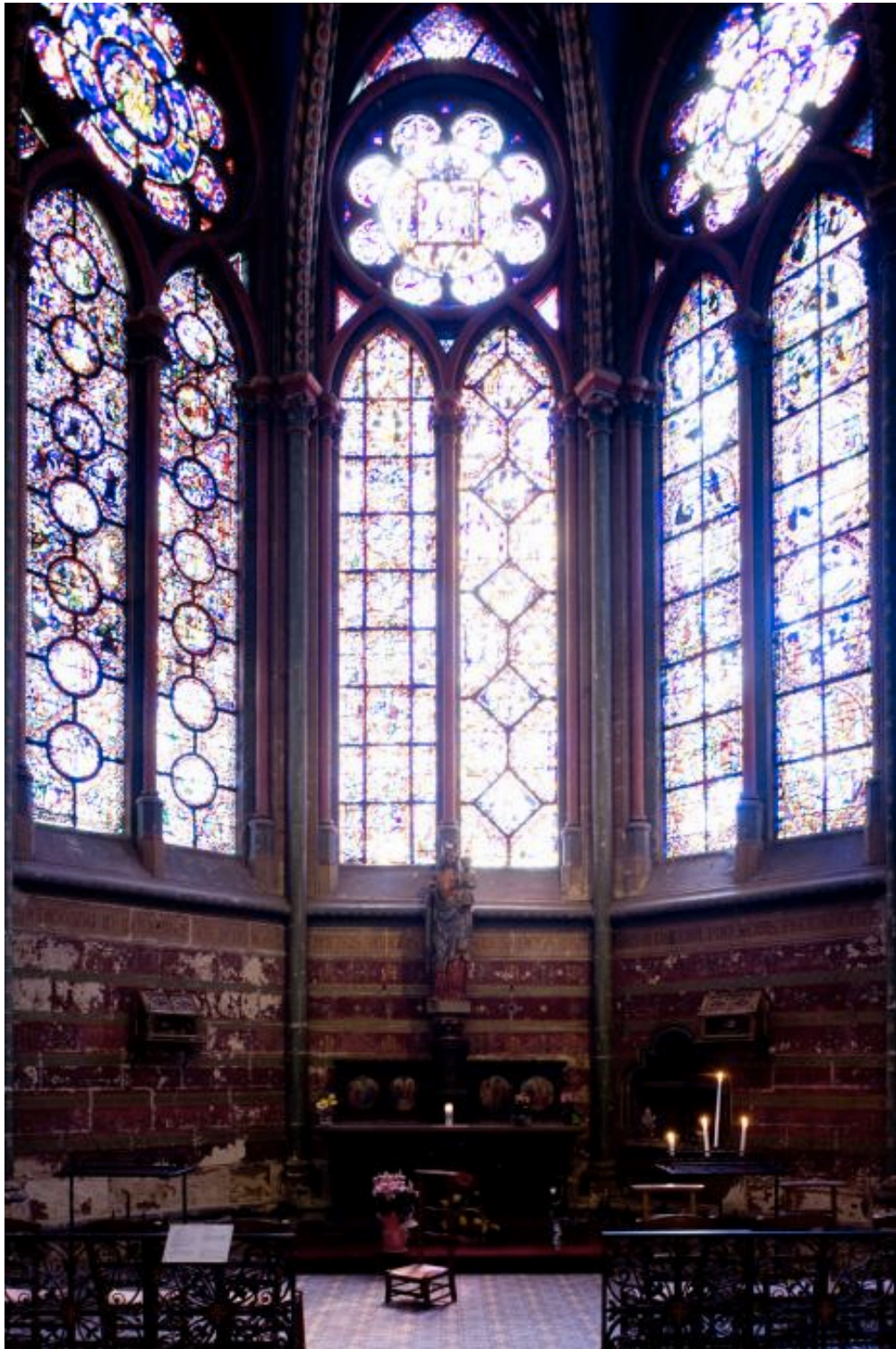


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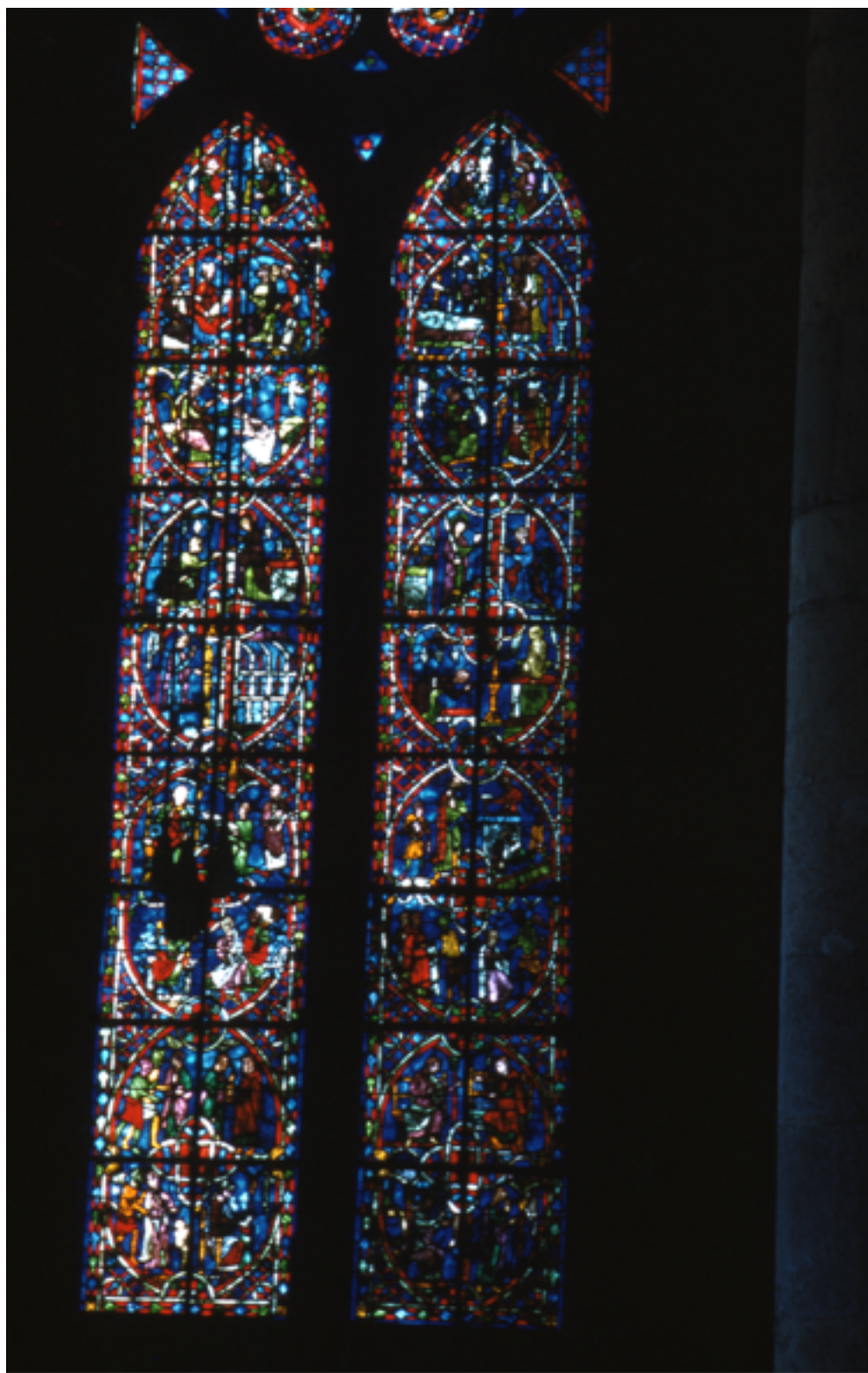


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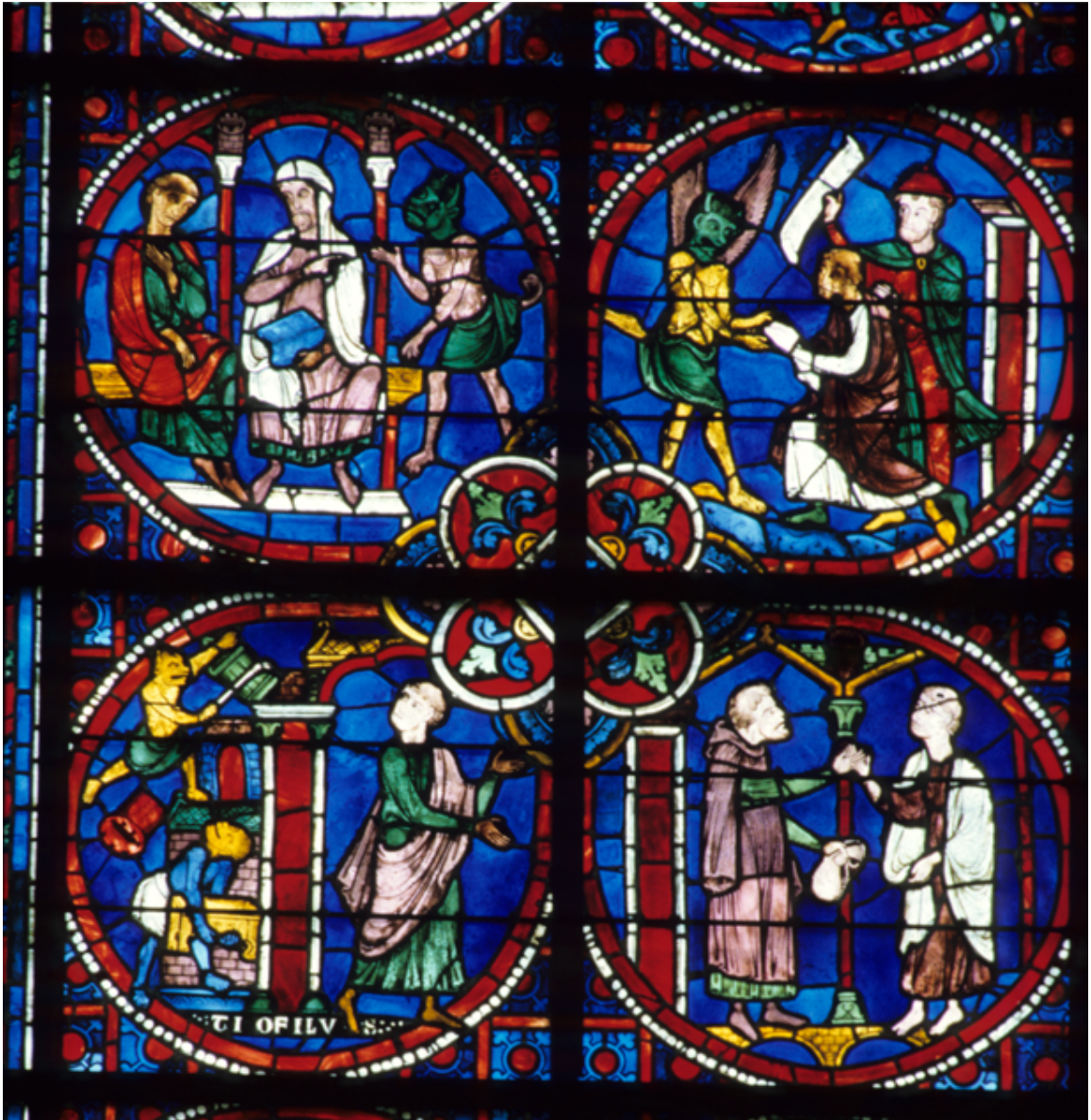


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Fig. 95. *The Jewish Magician Witnesses the Pact*, Compilation with a partial copy of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Brussels, BR, MS 9229-30, fol. 5r.



Fig. 96. *Theophilus and the Jewish Magician*, Unfinished manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*, late 13th c., Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 551, fol. 7r (author's photo, by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon)

Image available on Gallica de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France:
[http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9009683f.r=fr. 1533](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9009683f.r=fr.1533)

Fig. 97. *The Jewish Magician Witnesses the Pact*, Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*, second half 13th c., Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1533, fol. 37r.
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)



Fig. 98. Theophilus scenes, tympanum, North Transept Portal,
Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's photo)



Fig. 99. Theophilus scenes, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's photo)



Fig. 100. *The Jewish Magician Witnesses the Pact*, tympanum, North Transept Portal, Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's photo)



Fig. 101. *Theophilus is Reinstated*, tympanum, North Transept Portal, Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's image)



Fig. 102. *Theophilus Prays to the Virgin*, tympanum, North Transept Portal, Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's image)



Fig. 103. *The Virgin Retrieves the Pact*, tympanum, North Transept Portal, Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's image)



Fig. 104. *The Bishop Displays the Pact*, tympanum, North Transept Portal, Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1250
(author's image)

For image see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre-Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), fig. 7

Fig. 105. View of the cathedral cloître in 1550, Ile-de-la-Cité at the time of Henry II, by Oliver Truschet and Germain Hoyan
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Fig. 106. Saint Stephen scenes, tympanum, South Transept Portal,
Notre-Dame, Paris, c. 1258
(© Mapping Gothic France / Andrew J. Tallon)



Fig. 107. Marian reliefs, cloître, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)

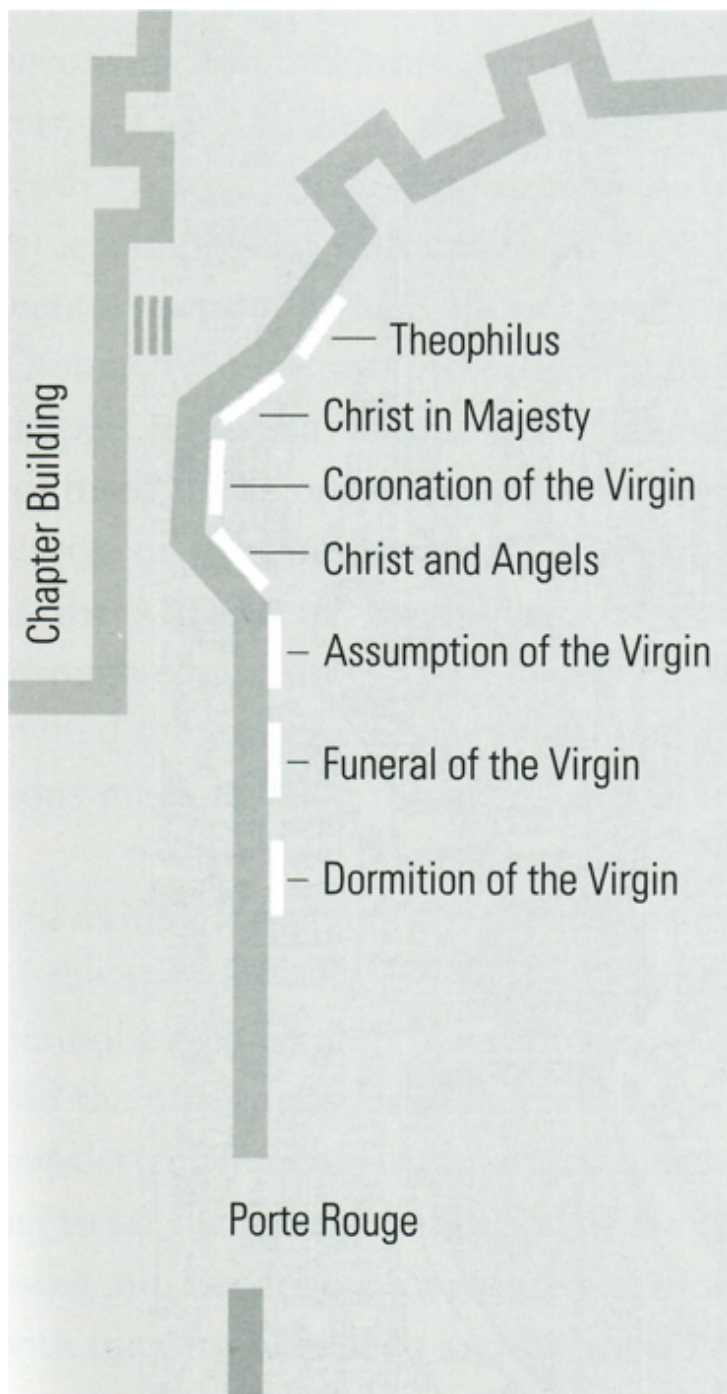


Fig. 108. Paris, Notre-Dame, Plan of reliefs lining the north side of choir
 (After Michael T. Davis, "Canonical Views," fig. 8.4)



Fig. 109. Dormition of the Virgin, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)



Fig. 110. Funeral of the Virgin, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)



Fig. 111. Assumption of the Virgin, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)



Fig. 112. Christ and Angels, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)



Fig. 113. Coronation of the Virgin, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)



Fig. 114. Christ in Majesty, relief, Notre-Dame, Paris, 1310s
(author's image)

For image see Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre Dame*, p. 177

Fig. 115. Drawing of the rear of the hemicycle of Notre-Dame of Paris, Late-seventeenth-century, Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Estampes, Gaignières Collection
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<http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/71+A+24>

Fig. 116. Detail, *Theophilus and the Devil "Cheek to Cheek,"* Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame* and the *Vie des Pères*, 1327
The Hague, KB 71 A. 24, fol. 1r
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

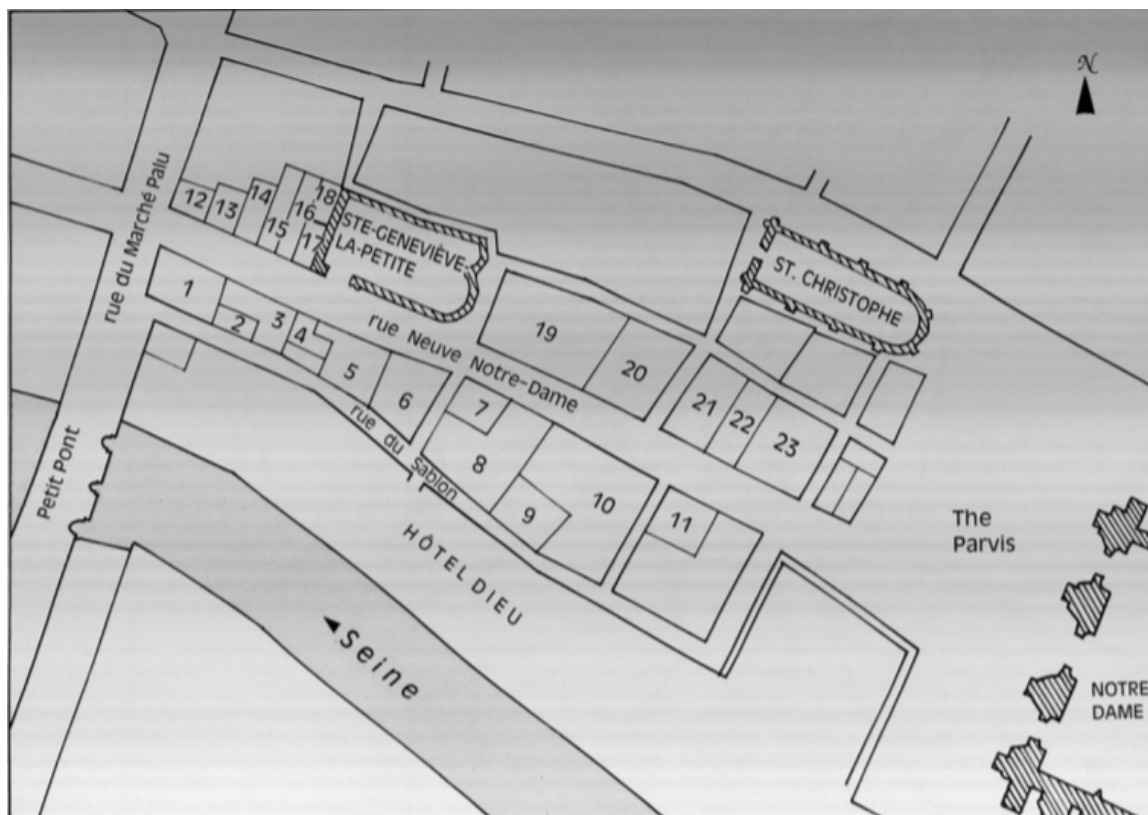


Fig. 117. Residence of Thomas de Maubeuge (#4) on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame
 (After Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, Map 5)

Image available on the website of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek of the Netherlands:
<http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/71+A+24>

Fig. 118. Detail, *The Virgin Retrieves the Pact*, Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's
Miracles de Nostre Dame and the *Vie des Pères*, 1327
The Hague, KB 71 A. 24, fol. 1r
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Image available on the website of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek of the Netherlands:
<http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/71+A+24>

Fig. 119. *The Virgin Retrieves and Returns the Pact*, Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's
Miracles de Nostre Dame and the *Vie des Pères*, 1327
The Hague, KB 71 A. 24, fol. 6v
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<http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/71+A+24>

Fig. 120. *The Miracle of the Jew of Bourges*, Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *Vie des Pères*, 1327
The Hague, KB 71 A. 24, fol. 10v
(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)



Fig. 121. *Coronation of the Virgin*, Tympanum, Portal from Moutiers-Saint-Jean, Burgundy, c. 1250 (Digital Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Open Content Program, www.metmuseum.org)

(Image removed due to lack of copyright permission)

Fig. 122. *Choir of Singing Angels, Performance of Theophilus: A XIII Century Miracle Play by Rutebeuf of Paris, January 6, 1942*



Fig. 123. *Seated Virgin and Child*, Ile-de-France, c. 1300-1350, walnut, paint, gilt
(Digital Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Open Content Program,
www.metmuseum.org)

For image see:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/digital-underground/posts/2013/christmas-past/slideshow>

Fig. 124. *Theophilus, The Virgin, and the Devil*, Performance of *Theophilus: A XIII Century Miracle Play* by Rutebeuf of Paris, January 6, 1942
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For image see:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/digital-underground/posts/2013/christmas-past/slideshow>

Fig. 125. *Theophilus and Two Devils*, Performance of *Theophilus: A XIII Century Miracle Play* by Rutebeuf of Paris, January 6, 1942
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<http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/digital-underground/posts/2013/christmas-past/slideshow>

Fig. 126. *Salatin and the Devils*, Performance of *Theophilus: A XIII Century Miracle Play* by Rutebeuf of Paris, January 6, 1942
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For image see:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/blogs/digital-underground/posts/2013/christmas-past/slideshow>

Fig. 127. *The Virgin Retrieves the Pact from the Devil*, Performance of *Theophilus: A XIII Century Miracle Play* by Rutebeuf of Paris, January 6, 1942
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