May 2019

Window 43 at Chartres Cathedral: a Hagiography of Saint Eustace in Stained Glass

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WINDOW 43 AT CHARTRES CATHEDRAL: A HAGIOGRAPHY OF SAINT EUSTACE IN STAINED GLASS

by

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A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements of the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Art History

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2019

ABSTRACT

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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2019
Under the Supervision of Professor Richard Leson

This thesis looks at window 43 at Chartres Cathedral, France which is one of the fullest versions of the Eustace narrative and features furriers and drapers at work. I exam the window under a narratological lens and establish an alternative order of reading the panels that is more in tune with the story as told in the window. Additionally, I compare the window to other artworks from the time that depict Saint Eustace to establish the saint's relevance within French society at the time of the window's construction.

This one’s for all the non-traditional students

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Richard Leson for putting up with me since my undergraduate days. He has always been encouraging, kind, supportive, understanding and sympathetic. He has guided me through the most challenging things I have ever done academically and for all this I could never repay him. I would like to thank Professor Derek Counts for being my second reader. I am eternally thankful to Professor Tanya Tiffany for encouraging me to go forward when I did not think I could. I would also like to thank Marianna Cecere, she is the best writing coach I have ever had. I'd like to thank my husband, Theo Attewell for being my rock. Additional shout out to Kathy Bowes at the UWM Golda Meir Library for helping me kickstart this project. Lastly, thank you, Aunt Janet, my parents, and also Brett, Allie, Rian, Joe, Alex, Seth, and Derek.

It took a village to write this thesis.

Introduction: the Chartres cathedral, St. Eustace, and scholarship

The Cathedral of Chartres (ca. 1145-1220s), one of the best-preserved French Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth century, remarkably retains almost all of its original stained glass.[1] There are over 150 stained glass windows at Chartres Cathedral, an extraordinary number given their age and complexity. They date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Since the nineteenth century, when art historians began to make the first serious studies of the Chartres windows, the scholarship on the subject has progressed considerably. Until 1845 it was believed that the current cathedral was built by Fulbert (c.952-1028), but it is now clear that the cathedral is the result of a series of campaigns spanning the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[2] With the date of the building confirmed, scholars turned to the decorative program and questions of patronage, iconography and narratology. Where the stained glass was concerned a most intriguing question concerned the meaning of the contemporary tradesmen or laborers pictured in the margins of the windows. Geneviève Aclocque took a serious look at the question in her 1917 *Les Corporations l'Industrie, et le Commerce à Chartres du XIe Siécle à la Révolution.*[3] She maintained a traditional, local belief that the windows were financed by the local trades and merchant groups, adding that in the thirteenth century these groups had begun to identify their professions with biblical or religious figures. Shortly thereafter, Yves Delaporte published

[1] For a layout of Chartres Cathedral see **fig. 1**.

[2] The correct date of the cathedral was established through the study of the thirteenth-century text *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Chartres*. Marcel Bulteau used this new knowledge in his *Description de la cathedrale de Chartres* that was published in 1850. See Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money* (Chicago: 1993): 4.

[3] Geneviéne Aclocque, *Les Corporations l'Industrie et le Commerce: À Chartres du XI^e Siècle a la Révolution,* (Paris: 1917).

his monumental *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres*.[4] This monograph gave a panel-by-panel breakdown of the narratives in each window and sought to explain them by reference to medieval textual sources. Wolfgang Kemp's 1987 *Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, published in 1987, built on the foundation supplied by Delaporte through the application of narratological theory to the windows' lead armatures and narrative iconographic content.[5] A significant portion of Kemp's work involved the use of reception theory in an analysis of the stained glass narratives of the Prodigal Son.[6] Kemp chose the parable of the Prodigal Son for his study because the earliest depictions of the narrative in Europe were, as he put it, "in window form," and there are a full eight of these windows that survive, allowing for in-depth comparative study.[7] Kemp's work was followed in 1993 by Jane Welch Williams' *Bread, Wine, and Money*, where it was proposed that the presence of tradesmen in the stained glass served the propagandistic and coercive purposes of the cathedral canons, a situation born of hostilities between the local clergy and the aristocracy.[8] Welch Williams' work was followed in the same year by Collette Mahnes-Deremble' *Les Vitraux Narratifs de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, an iconographical study of narrative forms based on semiosis.[9] Manhes-Deremble ultimately argued that the Chartres windows together

[4] Yves Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: 1926).

[5] The book was translated to English ten years later. Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, translated by Caroline Dobson Saltwedel (Cambridge: 1997). Wolfgang Kemp, *Sermo Corporeus: De Erzählalung Der Mittelalterlichen Glasfenster* (München: 1987).

[6] Reception theory explores the relationships between author, text, and reader, and how these relationships create meaning.

[7] Kemp, *Narratives,* 10-11.

[8] Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money*, (Chicago: 1993).

[9] See Colette Manhes-Deremble and Jean-Paul Deremble, *Les Vitraux Narratifs de la Cathédrale de Chartres: Étude Iconographique* (Paris: 1993). Semiosis is a theoretical framework for the exploration of the relationship between object, sign, and interpretation.

constituted a coherent thematic program conceived and designed by the clergy to remind the townsfolk of the significant role they played in the church's existence.

Apart from studies that attempt to explain the meaning of the Chartres windows as a whole, a small number of individual windows have received significant focused attention from scholars. For example, Clark Maines 1977 essay, "The Charlemagne window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations On Text and Image" presents a new interpretation of the Charlemagne window based on the discovery that two of the panels switched places when reassembled.[10] The Prodigal Son window treated extensively by Kemp is further examined in Gerald Guest's 2006 article "The Prodigal's Journey: Ideologies of Self and City in the Gothic Cathedral."[11] Lastly, the famous twelfth-century Tree of Jesse window has been studied extensively by several scholars, most notably James R. Johnson (1971) and Margot Fassler (2000).[12] The value of these case studies lies in what they reveal about the ideas or interests at stake in a particular window. Remarkably, many of the narrative windows have yet to receive this sort of meticulous attention. The window scholars

[10] Clark Maines, "The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image," *Speculum* 52, no. 4 (1977): 805, accessed March 15, 2018, http://dx.org/10.2307/2855375. Maines paper is based off of an engraving drawing done by Paul Durrand and published in J. B. Lassus's *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres* published 1842-1867 that shows the window in its intended form. According to Maines, panels 16 and 22 were switched in 1921, but she provides no motive as to why.

[11] Gerald B Guest, "The Prodigal's Journey: Ideologies of Self and City in the Gothic Cathedral," *Speculum* 81, no. 1 (2006) 35-75, accessed March 15, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20463606.

[12] James R. Johnson, "The Tree of Jessie Window of Chartres: Laudes Regiae," *Speculum* 36, no. 1 (January 1961): 1-22, accessed August 20, 2018, https://doi.org/10.2307/2849841. Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75, no. 2 (2000): 389-434. accessed August 20, 2018, http://dx.org/10.2307/2887583.

have dedicated as window 43, located in the north aisle of the nave, is one of these understudied examples.[13] Its subject is the life of Saint Eustace.

The present thesis explores the iconography and narration of window 43 (fig. 2), starting with an account of the most popular hagiography of St. Eustace and an exploration of alternative accounts of his story. After that, I delve deeper into the imagery of the window itself, exploring the story it tells and offering a possible interpretation of the order in which the panels should be read that does not fully agree with previous scholarship. Finally, I examine window 43 in relation to other, similar stained glass windows, and particularly in comparison to a clerestory window placed directly above it. This comparison will then aid me in exploring how the window relates to the society of the time, especially in relation to two groups: noble men who identified with St. Eustace, and the furriers and drapers that feature prominently in the window itself.

[13] This is the most commonly used designation by scholars.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 The Chartres Saint Eustace Window: Date, Patronage and Scholarship

There is no evidence of a specific date for window 43's creation and installation. For the purpose of this thesis, we must therefore defer to the scholarship devoted to the chronology for all of the windows in the north aisle of the nave.[14] Delaporte was the first to assert that the windows were created between 1210 and 1215. He based this statement on his theory that the cathedral was constructed east to west, and south to north.[15] This timeframe was accepted as fact until 1963, when it was challenged by Paul Frankl. Frankl argued that window 43, along with the rest of the windows in the northern aisle, was made between 1214 and 1220. His assertion is based on the structural similarities between windows (such as glazing and armatures) and the chronology of the construction of the various sections of the cathedral.[16] Four years later, Jan van der Meulen dedicated an entire article in *The Art Bulletin* to putting Frankl's chronological theories into question.[17] However, Van der Meulen's efforts did not include his own theories on the chronology. The last major attempt to establish the date of the north aisle windows (and therefore that of window 43) came in 1990, when Claudine Lautier solidified Delaporte's 1210–1215 timeline by

[14] Dating for any of the windows at Chartres includes the construction, glazing, and installation.

[15] Delaporte starts this with creating three groups ("nef et bas côtés"; "choeur, déambulatiore, et chapelles absidales," and lastly, "étage supérieur du transept") to which window 43 is placed in the first group. Then he divides the first group into four campaigns (to which window 43 falls into the second group of.

[16] Paul Frankl, "The Chronology of the Stained Glass in Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 45 no. 4 (December 1963): 315-17.

[17] Jan van der Meulen, "Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral," *The Art Bulletin* 49, no 2 (June 1967): 152-172.

arguing that the windows could not possibly predate the riots of 1210.[18] Her chronology represents the standard for the dating of the windows to this day.

Similarly, in order to discuss the individual patronage of window 43, questions associated with the entirety of the north aisle must be considered. As mentioned above, Acloque argued that trade groups and merchants began to identify their professions with biblical and religious historical figures, and that therefore these groups must have commissioned the construction of the windows.[19] Delaporte also argued this point in his monograph.[20] Manhes-Deremble mentioned the furriers and drapers of window 43 in particular as an example of the trades, adding that the clergy must have acted as editors of the donor's wishes.[21]

After Delaporte, the most important contributions with respect to patronage were made by Welch Williams and Manhes-Deremble, both of whom published studies in 1993. Welch Williams argued that the imagery in the stained glass was the product of the clergy who saw to the creation of the windows on behalf of the tradesmen. Here she went against the earlier notion that the tradesmen might have had some say in the imagery associated with them. For her part, Manhes-Deremble's publication does not make patronage the primary focus, but rather the thematic content

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[18] Claudia Lautier, "Les Peintres-Verriers des Bas-Côtés de la Nef de Chartres au Début du XIIIe Siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* (1990) 41-42, https://www.persee.fr/doc/bulmo_0007-473x_1990_num_148_1_4264. "L'enthousiasme était non seulement éteint, mais encore la population s'insurgea contre le chapitre en raison de l'imposition excessive."

[19] Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money,* 13-14.

[20] Delaporte, *Les Vitraux,* 6-7. Delaporte wrote, "nos vitraux, au dire du plus recent historien des corporations chartraines, nous révèlent l'existence de vingt-deux corps de métier, et leur témoignage est d'autant plus précieux qu'ils remontent à une époque où les documents écrits sur les associations professionnelles de Chartres font encore défaut," and cites Aclocque. *Les Vitraux,* 398.: "Ce sont sans doute les donateurs qui ont indiqué à l'artiste le sujet du vitrail. Voulant probablment honorer un saint dont les occupations avaient eu quelque rapport avec leur métie, ils ont choisi saint Eustache..."

[21] Manhes-Deremble and Deremble, *Les Vitraux Narratifs,* 26-8.

and cohesiveness of the windows as a whole. She argued that these influences by the clergy are centered around "reflection of sin, valorization of the sacraments, and a celebration of the Virgin in her role as co-redemptrix."[22]

Individual attention to the Saint Eustace window in scholarship is therefore limited. Delaporte walked the reader through the Eustace hagiography utilizing two components: a layout of the window wherein panels are numbered in order and a shortened version of the saint's hagiography. Manhes-Deremble discussed the window in passing, noting that the viewer was meant to recognize in Eustace a "new Job," in keeping with Christ's message to Placidus. [23] More recently, however, window 43 has figured in some provocative iconographic studies. In 2002 Judith Golden published an article that focuses on the Eustace prefatory cycle in British Library MS Egerton 745. For comparative purposes, Golden compiled iconographic data from extant artworks depicting Eustace's *vita*. In her appendix she dates the window at Chartres to "ca. 1210."[24]

The only scholar to give window 43 individualized, specific attention is James Bugslag.[25] Bugslag's anaylsis is short because his focus was a jamb sculpture of the north portal, not window

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[22] Alyce A. Jordan, review of *Les Vitraux Norratifs de la Cathédrale de Chartres: Etude Iconographique*, by Colette Manhes-Deremble, with Jean-Paul Deremble, *Speculum*, 1997, doi: 10.2307/3041029. 524-26.

[23] Saint Eustace represented a "new Job" in that his trials were a type of mortal passion. 53-54.

[24] Judith Golden, "Images of Instruction, Marie de Bretagne, and the Life of St. Eustace as Illustrated in British Library Ms. Egerton 745," in *Insights and Interpretations Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art,* edited by Colum Hourihane. Index of Christian Art and Princeton University Press: 2002. 77.

[25] James Bugslag, "St Eustace and St George: crusading Saints in the Sculpture and Stained Glass of Chartres Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2003): 441-464, Accessed March 15, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20055357.

43.[26] He also noted that of the three windows that depict Saint Eustace, window 43 "contains the fullest narrative treatment of the life of St. Eustace in the Chartres Stained glass," and that it was "… a highly standardized version of Eustace's life which coordinates well with the various *vitae* which were being written in significant numbers in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[27] While these *vitae* are not exclusive to a single literary genre, scholars associate window 43's narrative with the prose *Legenda Aurea* by the Italian Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine (1229-1298).[28]

1.2 The Story of Saint Eustace as it appears in the *Legenda Aurea*

According to the *Legenda Aurea*, Saint Eustace (d. 118 CE) was a Roman general named Placidus who converted to Christianity. One day, while hunting, Placidus encountered a stag with an image of the Crucifixion between its antlers. Christ spoke to Placidus through the stag, and afterwards Placidus, his wife, and his two children were baptized. Placidus was given the Christian name Eustace. Eustace then returned to the woods and encountered the stag again. Christ, through the stag, told Eustace that, like Job, he would suffer greatly for his faith. A short time later, Eustace's servants and his animals died from plague and he was robbed of all his wealth. Too ashamed to live in poverty among his neighbors, Eustace and his family fled to Egypt by ship, but once aboard found themselves unable to pay for passage. The captain of the ship demanded Eustace give him his wife as payment or be thrown overboard. Eustace reluctantly did so. Once in Egypt, Eustace and his sons attempted to cross a river. Eustace was able to carry one son to the other side,

[26] According to Bugslag, the window was "probably donated by drapers and furriers."

[27] Ibid., 451-3

[28] There are many other windows at Chartres Cathedral that reward comparison to the *Legenda Aurea.*

but while returning to retrieve the other both boys were abducted by wild animals. Unbeknownst to Eustace, his two sons were rescued and raised in separate, neighboring villages.

Meanwhile, barbarians threatened Rome. The emperor sent out two soldiers formerly under Eustace's command. The two men travelled to Egypt, found Eustace, and persuaded him to return to save the city. During the ensuing war against the barbarians the two sons joined Eustace's army. Eventually they met and discovered that they were brothers. Eustace was reunited with his sons and wife. After the war, Eustace is invited to celebrate at a temple to give thanks to the gods for the Roman victory over the barbarians. The emperor noticed that Eustace neither participated in the rituals nor gave offerings for the return of his family, so he ordered Eustace to do so. Eustace then revealed that he was a Christian. The emperor ordered that Eustace and his family be thrown in the arena to be devoured by lions. Miraculously, the lions left the family unharmed, so the emperor ordered they be executed by being burned alive in an iron bull. Thus, Eustace and his family became martyrs.

1.3 Saint Eustace in other Hagiography and Literature

The *Legenda Aurea*, however, is only one source for the life of Eustace. According to John Roberts Fisher, the earliest account of the Saint Eustace is a Greek prose version, but other literary genres might have informed the Chartres Saint Eustace window.[29] In thirteenth-century France the life of Saint Eustace circulated in both Latin prose and Old French poetry. The story made its way into the vernacular sometime between 1212 and 1217 when Pierre de Beauvais wrote his rhyming *La Vie de Saint Eustache.* This work was based on several Latin accounts of Eustace's *vita*

[29] John Robert Fisher, "La Vie de Saint Eustache par Pierre de Beauvais," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1917).

accessible to Pierre at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, near Paris. The most popular account of the Saint Eustace story, however, and that which the Chartres window seems to relate to best, was certainly the *Legenda Aurea*. De Voragine's *Legenda* was not the first of its kind but was the most popular and widely used compilation of saint lives.[30] Such compilations were created to meet lay demands for sacred stories that were readily accessible and easily shared, desires likewise reflected in the visual content of contemporary stained glass.

[30] Eamon Duffy, "Introduction to the 2012 Edition," In *The Golden Legend*, by Jacobus de Voragine trans. By William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) xi-xx.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Reading the Life of Saint Eustace in Window 43

Window 43 is one of the most complete versions of the Eustace narrative known in medieval art: it presents 33 panels depicting 22 distinct narrative episodes.[31] It is important to know how to follow the Window 43 narrative in order to appreciate this retelling of the Eustace story. For these purposes, it must be noted that the individual panels have been catalogued and compared to textual sources by three scholars: Delaporte, Manhes-Deremble, and Stuart Whatling. Each used a different numbering system: Delaporte numbered the panels based on the order in which he retells the story; Manhes-Deremble also uses a system based on the *Legenda Aurea*; finally, Whatling's numbering system is designed for the purpose of cataloguing the panels on his website, therefore the numbers do not coincide with his identification of the contents of each panel. When discussing the panels, I will therefore reference Whatling's identifications but set his numbering system aside.

The order in which these panels are viewed plays a crucial role in understanding the intent of the artists and, perhaps, the designers and patrons. Disregarding the order in which they intended to display events undermines the message they were sending to their audience. Scholars before me privileged the textual sources when reading the window. The problem with this approach is that the window is not a written version of the story but a purely visual one. An image is not read in the same way as a text and therefore the window must be treated on its own terms. The old approach has resulted in the misidentification of some of Window 43 panels and suggestions that the window makers made mistakes, problems that could have been prevented if the internal

[31] For this section refer to **fig. 3.**

narrative logic of the window was acknowledged. Along these lines, Mieke Bal argues that "if one regards the text primarily as the product of the use of the medium, and the *fabula* (the "material or content that is worked into a story") primarily as the product of imagination, the story could be regarded as the result of an ordering."[32] The material is organized in accordance to the story's own *logic of events* (or rules that must be followed to tell the story).[33] In this section I will argue for a new reading of window 43 by utilizing such a narratological approach to the Eustace narrative. This approach will rely heavily on the placement of the panels. In doing so, I will provide a reading of window 43 that responds to visual cues and structure rather than a strict reliance on textual sources.

Delaporte, Manhes-Deremble, and Whatling agree on the order and contents of Panels 1-17. The window begins with Placidus hunting on horseback (panel 1, **fig. 4**). He blows his horn as an attendant follows. This panel is surrounded by four attendants and their hunting dogs (panels 2-5). Panel 6 (**fig. 5**) depicts his encounter with Christ in the form of a deer. He kneels before the deer as the hand of God blesses him. He is labeled "Placidus" to signify that he has not yet taken his Christian name. This is juxtaposed with panel 7 (**fig. 5**) which depicts his baptism, in which he takes on his Christian name Eustace (his new name is below the baptismal font). By using this composition, the artist is building upon familiar iconography of baptism, as well as connecting with associations established in other similar depictions such as Clovis being baptized, which is on the facade of Reims Cathedral (**fig. 6**). The association via replication forms a typology that places the idea of Eustace among these figures. Next Eustace and his family are depicted fleeing from their home **(**panel 8, **fig. 7**). Four merchants surround this scene: two furriers and two drapers

[32] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (University of Toronto Press: London, 1997) 78, 7.

[33] Ibid.

(panels 9-12, **fig. 7**)**.** Their function in the story will be addressed later. Panel 13 (**fig. 8**) depicts Eustace arranging his family's safe passage to Egypt. The next panel (panel 14, **fig. 8**) shows Eustace and his family boarding the ship. Eustace carries one child as his wife holds the hand of the other. Next, Eustace is being thrown off the boat by the captain of the ship as his wife looks on, distraught (Panel 15, **fig. 9**). Eustace's expulsion from the boat echoes a similar episode in the story of the Old Testament figure Jonah. In the story of Jonah, he is thrown overboard and immediately swallowed by a giant sea monster. Jonah spends three days and three nights in the creature, a direct reference to the three days and three nights that Christ spends in the tomb. While echoing this episode, it is important to note the differences between the two stories: unlike Jonah, who is mercilessly thrown into the water, Eustace is marooned somewhere ashore with his sons.

Panels 16 and 17 (**fig. 10**), which show Eustace's sons being taken by wild beasts, are placed higher up in the window, most likely because of the significance of this scene. That does not mean these panels are out of order, as the *concepteur's* intentions are unknown.[34] The iconography used for this scene seems to have had greater religious significance in later centuries, and the only other Eustace scenes depicted with this much frequency are Eustace's baptism and his martyrdom. This is evident in later examples such as the sculpture from the fifteenth century located at the Cluny Museum in Paris (**fig. 11**) The sculpture represents a single scene, presenting Eustace's sons being taken by the wild beasts as he stands in the river helpless, his hands exposing the palms in surprise (and also to reference the orator pose). While we can only speculate the exact metaphor this single scene harkens, it is clear that the significance of this scene is powerful enough to allow it to be a stand-alone image, as Eustace is identifiable without presenting him in a more typical situation, such as him kneeling to the deer or being burned alive in the iron bull. This later

[34] A *concepteur* is a person who is the director of large scale art projects.

example shows how, over time, the narrative became broken down into smaller components that could be used independently and have their own meanings separate from full story.

There are different opinions as to the proper position of panels 18-26 in the overall pictorial narrative order of Window 43. These controversial probably arise from a failure to acknowledge the window's internal narrative logic. These panels can be placed in two groups: panels 18-21 and panels 22-26. In the first group, Delaporte and Manhes-Deremble both numbered panels 18 **(fig. 12)** and 19 **(fig. 13)** as 21 and 20. As far as the subject, Delaporte, Manhes-Deremble, and Whatling believed that panel 18 shows the reunion of Eustace's sons. I agree with this interpretation. Delaporte and Whatling both held that panel 19 shows the two soldiers sent out to find Eustace. In order for this interpretation to work, Delaporte stated, "it must be admitted that the artist did not follow exactly the chronological order of the scenes and placed the medallion too low."[35] This reading results from a strict adherence to the text of the *Legenda Aurea*. In contrast, Manhes-Dermeble and I believe that the two figures are more likely the sons of Eustace celebrating their reunion. I differ with Manhes-Deremble in that she numbers this panel as 21, which places it awkwardly as the last in the group. However, if we follow the window's natural chronology, this panel should be regarded first. Just as Delaporte did, Manhes-Deremble is following the *Legenda Aurea,* because in that account the brothers discover each other while they serve in Eustace's army (an event that does not happen until further up the window). Next, panel 19 shows the two men drinking. Delaporte labeled these figures as the two soldiers looking for Eustace.[36] When we read the story in the way the window presents it, this cannot be because the panel that is meant to be

[35] Delaporte, 402. ""…il faut admettre que l'artiste n'a pas suivi exactement l'ordre chronologique des scenes, et a place le médaillon trop bas."

[36]Ibid., 402. Delaport states "Un autre petit medallion… reprénte deux personnages assis don't l'un tient une coupe: ce sont probablement nos voyageurs qui se communiquent leurs impressions en l'absence de leur hôtel."

regarded after panel 19 presents the Emperor giving two men orders to go out and find Eustace. I disagree with Manhes-Deremble's placement of this panel (she numbers it as panel 20), but I agree with her that this is most likely depicting Eustace's sons drinking.[37] For panels 20 (**fig. 14**) (the Emperor sending the soldiers to find Eustace) and 21 (**fig. 15**)(the soldiers finding Eustace), both Delaporte and Manhes-Deremble number these as 18 and 19 (my 20 and 21), which, again, is faithful to the story as presented in the *Legenda Aurea*, but not to the narration in the window.

In examining the next group (panels 22-26), previous scholarship on the window likewise focused on the order of events as presented in the *Legenda Aurea*. Panel 22 (**fig. 16**), which shows Eustace being presented to his sons, is labeled as panel 23 by Delaporte and as 25 by Manhes-Deremble. Panel 23 (**fig. 17**) shows a group of people eating at a table. Whatling captions this as "the emissaries telling Eustace's neighbors about his former exploits."[38] I do not agree with his interpretation as there is no mention of this particular occurrence in the *Legenda Aurea*. The panel more likely depicts Eustace, his sons, and a fourth person celebrating Eustace's reunion with his sons. Delaporte has numbered this as panel 25, while Manhes-Deremble counts this as panel 26, possibly because the *Legenda Aurea* mentions that, in the moment in which the family was reunited, "the whole army cheered and rejoiced, both because these people had been reunited and because the barbarians had been conquered."[39] It is therefore possible that Whatling and Manhes-Deremble interpreted the panel as a depiction of this occurrence, with the four figures around the table celebrating the family's reunion and the victory in battle. Delaporte stated that "the family sits around the table," implying all four members are present, therefore each figure represents a

[37] Manhes-Deremble, 362.

[38] Stuart Whatling, "Bay 43- Life of St Eustace," The Corpus of Medieval Narrative Art, 2008, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel23.htm.

[39] Voragine, *Golden Legend,* 657.

family member, but this cannot be as none of the figures are women.[40] Manhes-Deremble believes that this is simply Eustace, his sons, and another figure at a table. Delaporte, Manhes-Deremble, Whatling and I believe panel 24 (**fig. 18**) depicts Eustace's wife running to meet with the general to be ordered back to Rome. Panel 25 (**fig. 19**) is the wife realizing that the Roman general is her husband. Delaporte numbered this panel as the first in the group stating that the other panels lead up to this moment. Manhes-Deremble labeled this panel as 22, it is unclear as why she made this choice because neither the *Legend Aurea* nor the window's structure would lead to this being the first panel in the group.

As mentioned, the narrative order of window 43 is not a matter on which there is complete agreement among scholars. Interpretation of the contents of each individual panel is consistent and/or justifiable (even if it is wrong), with the exception of one panel, panel 26 (**fig. 20**). Delaporte did not know what to make of this scene, simply stating "here, finally, is a little subject we give up trying to identify," choosing to then simply describe it.[41] Manhes -Deremble was only slightly more precise, hypothesizing that the panel might depict "the sons of Eustace (?)"[42] Whatling describes it as "a recruiting officer selects one of Eustace's sons for military service."[43] The purpose of this scene can be teased out by way of reference to other examples of the Eustace narrative in other media, and particularly in stained glass windows in other churches.

The mid-thirteenth century Saint Eustace window at Le Mans Cathedral depicts the story in 13 panels divided between three lancets. These panels are meant to be read right to left and

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[40] Delaporte, 402

[41] Delaporte, *Les Vitraux,* 403. "Voici enfin un petit sujet que nous renonçons à identifier…"

[42] Manhes-Dermeble, 363. "Les fils d'Eustache (?)."

[43] Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel26.htm

bottom to top. They show Eustace hunting, his conversion, baptism, fleeing his home, on the boat heading to Egypt, his sons being taken by wild beasts, the soldiers finding him farming, and his reunion with his wife. After this are scenes of two men interacting with one another, Eustace meeting with the Emperor to let him know the Barbarians are defeated, Eustace refusing to worship the idol, and finally, the execution of Eustace and his family. The two men in Le Mans panel 10 (**fig. 21**) are labeled as Eustace's sons by Whatling. This panel is very similar to panel 26 at Chartres, as both panels depict two men interacting. As with the Le Mans panel, the Chartres panel follows Eustace's reunion with his wife and refusal to worship the idol. The *Legenda Aurea* states that once Eustace and his family were united, "the whole army cheered and rejoiced, both because the family had been reunited and because the barbarians had been conquered… Emperor Hadrian staged a magnificent welcome for the commander and laid on a sumptuous banquet, celebrating his victory and the finding of his wife and sons."[44] While there is no mention of people spreading the word of the spectacular events, the story makes the reader aware that people in the army knew and, separately, Hadrian also knew. It is because of this that I believe that the two figures interacting in panel 26 at Chartres and the two figures at Le Mans represent people sharing the news that the war against the barbarians was won and Eustace was united with his family.

All three scholars agree on the order of panels 27-33. This section begins with the Emperor giving thanks to an idol for Rome's victory against the barbarians (panel 26) followed by Eustace's refusal to worship the idol (panel 27**, fig. 22**). The last panel shows Eustace and his family being executed. The central panel (panel 28**, fig. 23**) depicts the family in the iron bull, within which Eustace reaches up to God in prayer. Surrounding this scene is, on the one side, the Emperor ordering the execution (panel 30) and, on the other, three executioners bring more kindling **(**panels

[44] Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 657.

31-33, **fig. 23**). Having established the order in which window 43 places the Eustace narrative *fabulae* we can now compare the window to other artworks that depict the story of Saint Eustace. These other works will help us to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the appeal of the Eustace narrative in the thirteenth century, who its 'ideal' audience was, and ultimately why the Chartres window is associated with the furriers.

2.2 Saint Eustace outside of Chartres

The popularity of the story of Saint Eustace during the Gothic period is evident from a handful of artworks in various types of media that depict the tale. Saint Eustace seems to have had a special resonance for the nobility on account of his relatable lifestyle: he was part of a military elite, he had a wife and children, and a large part of his hagiography covers the evolution of his political and social status. He begins the story as a general but, through trials brought on by the Devil, he loses his servants, his fortune, and his property, all losses that the French nobility feared. Unable to face the other nobles after these losses, Eustace and his family flee for Egypt. Later in the story Eustace regains his status as general only to be forced to have to choose between the Emperor's orders to worship an idol and God's will. During the thirteenth century, the wars against Cathars and Muslims were regularly figured in terms of Christian piety and proper image use versus pagan idolatry. In other words, the theme of idolatry in the Eustace narrative resonated with the crusader movement, at the core of which were the French nobles (we will further explore this theme in a later section of this thesis). Over the course of the thirteenth century we find examples of the Eustace narrative in multiple media that communicate these themes, many of which seem to have been aimed at noble audiences. An exploration of these other Eustace windows will help us to better understand what is at stake in Chartres window 43.

In terms of pictorial narrative content, the best sources of the Eustace hagiography in Gothic France are found in stained glass. There are five such windows, of which the Eustace window of Sens Cathedral (1207-1215) (**fig. 24**) is possibly the earliest example. This work is unusual compared to the others because of some of the narrative elements included which are not present in any other version of the story. This is the only window to show Eustace and his wife tending to their dying servants in panel 2 (**fig. 25**). Most likely, this was included to show Eustace and his wife as compassionate towards those of a lesser social standing and also to typify Job from the Old Testament.[45] Their stories are very similar, they both lose their servants, property, and families as the result of their unwavering faith in God. Whatling points out that tending to the sick is one of the Seven Acts of Corporal Mercy, therefore, by showing Eustace and his wife in this moment is a reflection of what the ideal Christian would do.[46] A less obvious difference in the Sens window is found in panel 7 (**fig. 26**) where Eustace is shown as a farmer tending to a field. This panel is unusual because it does not depict the moment Eustace is found by the soldiers. This may perhaps be a reference to Noah's humility before the flood. Therefore, what is being depicted is not a scene from the hagiography, but rather the panel is meant to emphasize that Eustace was a farmer which, once again, highlights Eustace's humility.

In the Tours window the emphasis is placed on Eustace's role as a crusader. The Eustace window at Tours (**fig. 27**) dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century and depicts the Eustace narrative in 24 panels. In this version there are two additional panels meant to share a single scene that show Eustace and his army charging into battle (**fig. 28)** Eustace's helmet presents a crusader's cross on it, which signifies the fighting occurring is part of a crusade, and also echoes

[45] Manhes-Deremble, *Iconography*, 94.

[46] Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/21_Pages/Sens_Bay21_Panel02.htm

the iconography of the deer carrying the cross between his antlers. Additionally, in panel 19 (**fig. 29**) Eustace and his wife reunite differently from other depictions of this scene. Here Eustace is shown in armor as he confronts his wife while she works. This scene is meant to be the moment Eustace and her are reunited. All other depictions of this moment show her coming to Eustace, he is sitting and she is kneeling in front of him. These two additions to the narrative give more emphasis on Eustace's role as a warrior that the other windows do, which ties him to current events of the day. Eustace was considered a crusader saint, due not only to his status as a general, but also to his journey (and exile) into Egypt.

Le Mans cathedral, which was discussed in the previous section, depicts a similarly rich and full version of the narrative. As stated previously, the window is made up of three lancets and is meant to be read right to left, then bottom to top. The center lancet, the tallest of the three, shows Eustace refusing to worship the idol (**fig. 30**). The emphasis on Eustace rejecting the idol is also seen at Chartres in the clerestory of the northern transept with window 115. We can assume that this was the most important element of the story to the *concepteurs* at Le Mans because it is placed at the apex of the window. In order to understand the message the *concepteurs* were trying to convey we need to turn back to window 115 at Chartres, which also uses the image of Eustace rejecting the idol.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Saint Eustace as a Model for Nobles and Crusaders

This double lancet window, numbered 115 (**fig. 31**) by Delaporte, provides an abbreviated version of the Eustace narrative relative to its grand counterpart in the nave and the Eustace windows at Sens, Le Mans, and Tours. The left lancet depicts Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais as a knight on horseback and the right lancet his wife.[47] Above the knight is a three-panel version of the Eustace hagiography. Above the donatrix's portrait are three panels from the life of the Virgin. These two donors chose to be depicted beneath these the highly revered servants of God because these figures are shining examples of how a noble might live a God-pleasing life. More than any of the other examples we have seen thus far, the Chartres transept lancets attest to a particular noble interest in the story of Saint Eustace. For if the wife of Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais takes the Virgin as a model of conduct—a typical practice in female devotion by this time—Jean has selected a more obscure role model in Eustace. The only scholar who has written about this pair of windows is James Bugslag, who focused particular attention on the lancet with the knight. Bugslag argued that, "the sequence in window 115, culminating in the order to worship idols is, thus, unique and distinctive and this pointed manipulation of the standard iconography [of Eustace] amounts…to a substantial and deliberate semantic communication."[48] The "semantic" communication Bugslag referred to concerns the substance of the narrative as depicted here and the ideas it communicates, namely a preoccupation with idolatry.

[47] Bugslag incorrectly identifies the knight as one from the house of Beaumont-sur-Oise, but this does not affect the conclusion of his argument.

[48] Bugslag, 454.

As told in the transept lancets, the story of Eustace comprises four panels: the donor image of Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais, Eustace's conversion, his baptism, and finally his rejection of the emperor's idols. Depictions of Eustace's conversion and baptism are common in pictorial narrative of the Eustace hagiography, but to end with the refusal to worship idols is unusual. Much more common is Eustace's martyrdom. The only other artworks to conclude in this fashion are the Eustace window at Le Mans and the ivory oliphant discussed below.

The decision to display the refusal to worship the idol as the apex of the window 115 narrative was a conscious decision intended to project a particular message about Beaumont-Gâtinais. As Bugslag observed, "for the French noble looking at this image during the regency of Blanche of Castile… this sequence would carry a very personal message, for the French nobility was currently having to weigh their allegiances in a comparably individual manner."[49] What Bugslag referred to here was the two crusades that concluded shortly before the time of the window's construction: the Sixth Crusade (1227-1229) and the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229). The Sixth Crusade saw the excommunicated Frederick II make a truce with the Sultan of Egypt for control of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.[50] Frederick's fulfillment of his crusader's vow through a compromise with a "Saracen" was unsatisfactory for a majority of Christians, many of whom were suspicious of what they perceived as Islamic sympathies.[51] As for the Albigensian Crusade, the entire rationale for that campaign was to purge the Cathar Heresy from Southern

[49] Bugslag, 454.

[50] This did not last long, the original agreement made by Al Kamil and Frederick II was that Frederik would rule Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth for 10 years, 5 months, and 40 days. The agreement was not popular with Christians or Muslims and as a result Frederick fled Jerusalem in May of 1229.

[51] Duane Alexander Miller, "Sixth Crusade (1227-1229)" from *War and Religion- An Encyclopedia of Faith and Conflict*, ed. Jeffery M. Shaw and Timothy J. Demy (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2017), 754-755.

France. Window 115's commentary may not deal directly with either crusade, but rather stand as a more general reaction to the existence of threats to Christianity within Christendom (France) and the need to combat non-Christians elsewhere (i.e. the Holy Land). Through this tailoring of the life of the military saint, Eustace, Beaumont-Gâtinais conveyed his unwavering faith in Christ in the face of the Cathar heresy and outright idolatry of Islam using a saintly model of conduct with whom he could identify as a noble. I believe that this sentiment is also relevant to the window at Le Mans.

Jean I Beaumont- Gâtinais' wife is depicted with three scenes from the life of the Virgin above her: The Visitation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. Interestingly, it is precisely this pairing of the story of the Virgin with that of Saint Eustace that features in two other thirteenth-century examples: a Psalter (now at Cambridge, Trinity College Ms. B.11.5) and a fourteenth century ivory casket. The similarity between the Psalter and the Chartres transept window is even more striking because we know the identity of the book's original owners. It is dated to around 1260 and appears to have been made in northwestern France, but belonged to a family from Goring, England. The Psalter includes a liturgical calendar that includes a valuable owner inscription, followed by a prefatory cycle of full-page illustrations of the life of the Virgin and Saint Eustace, all followed by the Psalms. The prefatory cycle illustrations highlight important elements of the New Testament and the Eustace hagiography. They conclude with an image of the Virgin Theotokos.

The original owner(s) of this manuscript, who lived in the thirteenth century, found in the story of Eustace a model for a pious life. We know who owned the Psalter because of an inscription that follows the calendar inside it. It states:

> This book was co-owned by Robert Heryerd and his wife Joan, Prioress of the convent of the church of Saint Mary of Goring, so that they can pray for the sake of the aforementioned

> Robert and Johanna both in life and in death. And for the souls of Thomas Aldrington, Edmund, John, Richard, Alice, Hugh, Agnes and all the deceased faithful so that they will rest in peace by God's mercy. Amen.[52]

From this inscription we can conclude that Joan likely took this book with her to her convent when her husband died and that she kept it to pray for the souls of the family members listed, persons who had passed away. This type of object and Joan's position as Prioress speaks to Joan and Robert's station in society: they were part of the English nobility or aristocracy.

The Eustace narrative is placed at the end of the full-page prefatory illuminations, logically following the Christological cycle. The scenes represented include Eustace hunting, his conversion, baptism, expulsion from the boat on the way to Egypt, crossing the river with his sons, met by his former soldiers as he farms his fields, leading troops into battle, and his martyrdom. The last full-page image is that of the Theotokos, which serves as a reminder to the viewer of where Eustace's faith has taken him- into Heaven. While the Eustace narrative is naturally of secondary importance to the Christological cycle, its selection as the sole hagiographic narrative to follow the Gospel events demonstrates its significance to the Psalter's original owners.

A similar pairing of Christological imagery combined with elements of the Eustace story is found on an ivory casket (ca. 1330-1350) (**fig. 32**) probably made in Paris. The casket's Eustace episodes are not unusual: they show the hunt, conversion, baptism, fleeing the city, boarding the ship, and martyrdom. The lid of the casket, like the Chartres transept window and the Psalter now

[52] "B.11.5," The James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, 2016, http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=107. The original Latin: "*Istum librum contulerunt Robertus Heryerd et Johanna uxor eius Priorisse conventui ecclesie sancte marie de Gorynges. Ut ipse orent pro statu predictoni Roberti et Johanna tam in utia quam in morte. Et pro animabus Thome Aldryngton, Edmundi, Johannis, Ricardi, Alicie, Hugonis, Agnetis et omnium fidelium defunctorum ut ipse per dei misericordiam in pace requiescant. Amen."* I would like to thank Marianna Cecere for her translation of this inscription.

in Cambridge, shares space with the story of the Virgin (the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Presentation in the temple). The casket, like the Psalter, was made for the consumption of a noble audience. While no inscriptions confirm this, the luxurious material—ivory—strongly suggests that the casket was the belonging of a member of the French elite. The Chartres transept window, the Psalter, and ivory casket—three works in different media—all offer compelling evidence that Saint Eustace was a figure of particular interest to the nobility.

Perhaps the most remarkable evidence for the use of Saint Eustace as a sign of noble tastes is offered by another ivory object, an ivory Oliphant of around 1300 carved with scenes from the Eustace story (**fig 33**). This object was probably made in Paris or Cologne. There are two straps (on opposite sides of the Oliphant) that depict the arms of the Dutchy of Austria and also of Bavaria. The mouthpiece is carved with a woman's head. The oliphant's version of the Eustace hagiography is as follows: Eustace hunting on horseback, the conversion, and Eustace and his family fleeing their home. Here, the iconographer has clearly selected scenes that resonate generally with the action of the aristocratic hunt itself: the miraculous deer Eustace encounters, the hunt itself, and a speedy escape on horseback. It is worth emphasizing here how material (ivory), configuration of the Eustace narrative (emphasis on the hunt), and the typology of the object itself (Oliphant, or grand hunting horn) collaborate to speak to aristocratic, courtly interests.

The noble interests that have emerged through this study of Eustace narratives—and the material expression of those images in expensive or valuable material like stained glass, painted parchment, and ivory, suggest that materiality was an important dimension of the identity of Saint Eustace as understood by the nobility. This returns us to Chartres window 43 and its particular trade associations.

3.2 Furriers, Drapers and Window 43

The materials pictured in the trades windows at Chartres suggest a great deal about the valences of certain hagiographic narratives and the devotional preferences of certain members of society. The story of Eustace carried connotations friendly to the French nobility, as demonstrated, for example, in the Chartres transept window, the Cambridge Psalter, and other examples. Nobles like Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais are pictured high up in the cathedral, befitting their exalted status. Even so, the association between Eustace and noble tastes is also evident in Window 43 through the material association of the narrative with the furriers, merchants who served a noble clientele like Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais. Similarly, the furriers appear in other ground-level windows that depict hagiographies of interest to the nobility. These include the Charlemagne window (no. 7) and the window of Saint James the Greater (no. 5) in the ambulatory chapels, both from around 1225.[53] They are also present in window 137, which is located directly above 43 in the nave clerestory, which also presents scenes from the life of St. Eustace.

Thus far we have established that the nobility identified with Saint Eustace because of similar and idealized traits nobles had or aspired to have. It is interesting to note, however, that the furriers and drapers that appear around the panel 8 (**fig. 7**) on window 43 remain a largely unexplored element of the window. The furriers and drapers in window 43 surround the scene where Eustace and his family leave their home (beginning their journey to Egypt). Scholars have generally labeled these figures as the donors. In doing this, they have failed to explore whether these figures serve a narrative function within the window. Exploring this possibility does not denounce or address whether furriers or drapers were donors, but rather focuses on the placement

[53] Clark Maines, "The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image," in *Speculum* 52, no. 4, University of Chicago Press (1977). 801 This article also provides an excellent analysis of text-image analysis.

of the panels in the window. The furriers and drapers are found in several places throughout the cathedral. A survey of the windows and the trades reveals that the furriers and drapers are present in more windows than any other trade (four windows in total).[54] The Charlemagne window shows a furrier presenting a robe to someone at the bottom, with the beginning of the legend of Charlemagne above this panel (**fig. 34**). In the Saint James the Greater window there are two panels, one with a furrier and one with a draper both selling their goods, above the two is James receiving his mission to go to Galicia (**fig. 35 and fig. 36**). Between these three windows there is a strong connection between furs and drapery and travel. The tradesmen are found next to moments in which a journey begins, possibly a reference to leaving for the crusade. There is one element that makes this hypothesis inconclusive: that is window 137.

Window 137 is a double lancet (**fig. 37**). The right lancet depicts Saint Nicholas standing above workers making bells. The left lancet shows a furrier presenting a fur to a man holding a coin in the next panel. Above them are the four Apostles (**fig. 38**). The depiction in window 137 which is located in the clerestory and is positioned so that it is above window 43, is worthy of further analysis. This window is grouped together with a twin lancet, with a rose window above them. The three windows are from the thirteenth century, but a precise date has never been established. The rose is very hard to see from the nave, due to the narrow space and the extremely high placement of the window itself, but according to Malcome Miller's *Chartres Cathedral* the figure in the center of the roundel is Saint Thomas of Canterbury.[55] No scholarship exists on this window thus far; a possible explanation for this is the difficulty one has viewing these windows: the nave, though very large, is still too narrow a space to allow to properly see the higher windows.

[54] Technically speaking, the furriers are shown five times and the drapers are shown three.

[55] Malcome Miller, *Chartres Cathedral*, Riverside Book Company, New York: 1985, 4.

Furthermore, as the windows are positioned above the north aisle, the light conditions on that side of the church are rarely ideal for viewing and photographing the window.

The lack of scholarship represents a missed opportunity for what is, in effect, a very interesting piece of iconography. The furrier and patron in this window are unusual compared to the other depictions of traders around the cathedral. This is the only example of a transaction being made (a figure paying for goods), while in all other examples customers are merely admiring the goods. Furthermore, the furrier is holding a different type of fur compared to the ones in the other windows: the peculiar shape of the pattern and the colors, white and light blue (bleu-céleste), characterize this as a vair fur, while in all the other instances the fur is white and black, with the triangular pattern of ermine. It is interesting that the furrier in window 137 and the furrier in panel 11 (**fig. 38**) from window 43 are holding up furs that make up crest-like shapes. This is possibly a reference to a type of heraldry, but due to the lack of scholarship on this window, and the amount of research work necessary to speculate on why the *concepteur* chose these elements in both window 43 and 137 is greater than allowed by the scope of this thesis.

CONCLUSION

The example of window 43 shows how Chartres Cathedral, being covered extensively in the past, still contains many mysteries that have yet to be resolved. My thesis, in particular, contains many unanswered questions that could be explored through further research: in particular the presence of the furriers and the drapers in the windows could help explore the role the trades played in the iconography of the windows at Chartres in greater depth. Furthermore, I believe my approach to the analysis of window 43 could be applied to other windows at Chartres, thus helping uncover unexplored avenues of research. Finally, my thesis proves that Chartres' stained glass windows are far from being fully explored, particularly where it concerns the lancets and rose windows in the clerestory, and that much remains to be done before Chartres can be considered fully explored.

In this thesis I have offered a reading of window 43 which flows naturally from the way the stained glass tells the story. In doing this, I have offered a possible interpretation of the purpose of panel 26, which has thus far been left unexplained by scholarship. I have established a reading of the window that is more consistent with the hagiography of Saint Eustace *and* the contents of the window itself than those offered by previous scholarship. In particular, my interpretation does not require reading the panels in an order that is unnatural, but rather embraces the natural flow of the stained glass. In doing this I have identified in panel 26 an element to the story not yet considered by scholarship.

My thesis also touches several other topics previously unexplored, or only superficially explored. For example, the furriers and drapers are united with Saint Eustace in their appeal to the interests of the social elite. The two trades provide materials only accessible the nobility, and Saint

Eustace is an allegorical figure representing the crusading nobleman of the time, by way of his station (he is a general). Additionally, the Eustace narrative shows his elevated social status by way of the materials used to depict him (ivory, stained glass, and miniature painting). The nobility superimposed Eustace's status as a general to that of a crusader which made him relatable to a contemporary noble of the thirteenth century. This is most evident in the window at Tours where Eustace wears a helm with a crusader's cross as he charges into battle. Nobility such as Jean I de Beaumont-Gâtinais identified with this comparison. This identification is reflected in the window he patronized at Chartres (no. 115).

Finally, I have also surveyed related art from the thirteenth century and established meaningful connections between these works and Chartres cathedral's window 43, using them to support my interpretation of the story as told in the window and the idea of St. Eustace as a point of reference for the Crusading nobleman of the time. In particular, I examined two ivory pieces and a manuscript, all from the thirteenth century, which helped me establish that the figure of St. Eustace did indeed resonate with nobles. Comparing window 43 to other similar stained glass windows from Sens, Tours, Le Mans and window 115 allowed me to further reinforce this idea. In conclusion, I was able to establish that Window 43 is a product of the popularity of St. Eustace as a Crusader saint, and that his refusal of worshiping idols resonated with noble men at the time because of the militaristic ambitions of France against the Cathars and the Sixth Crusade.

FIGURES

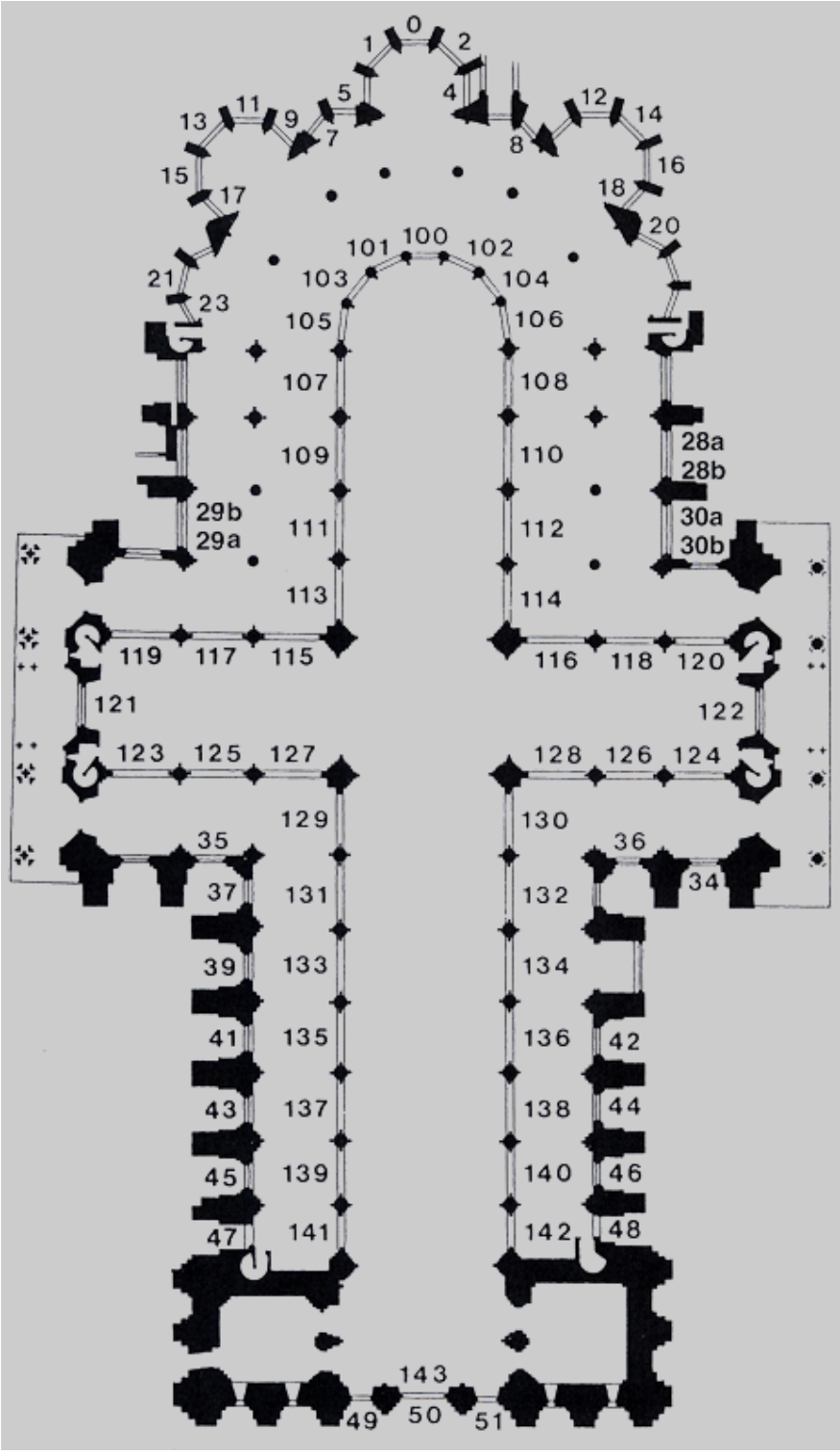

Fig. 1. Floor plan of Chartres Cathedral.
http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/Chartres_default.htm

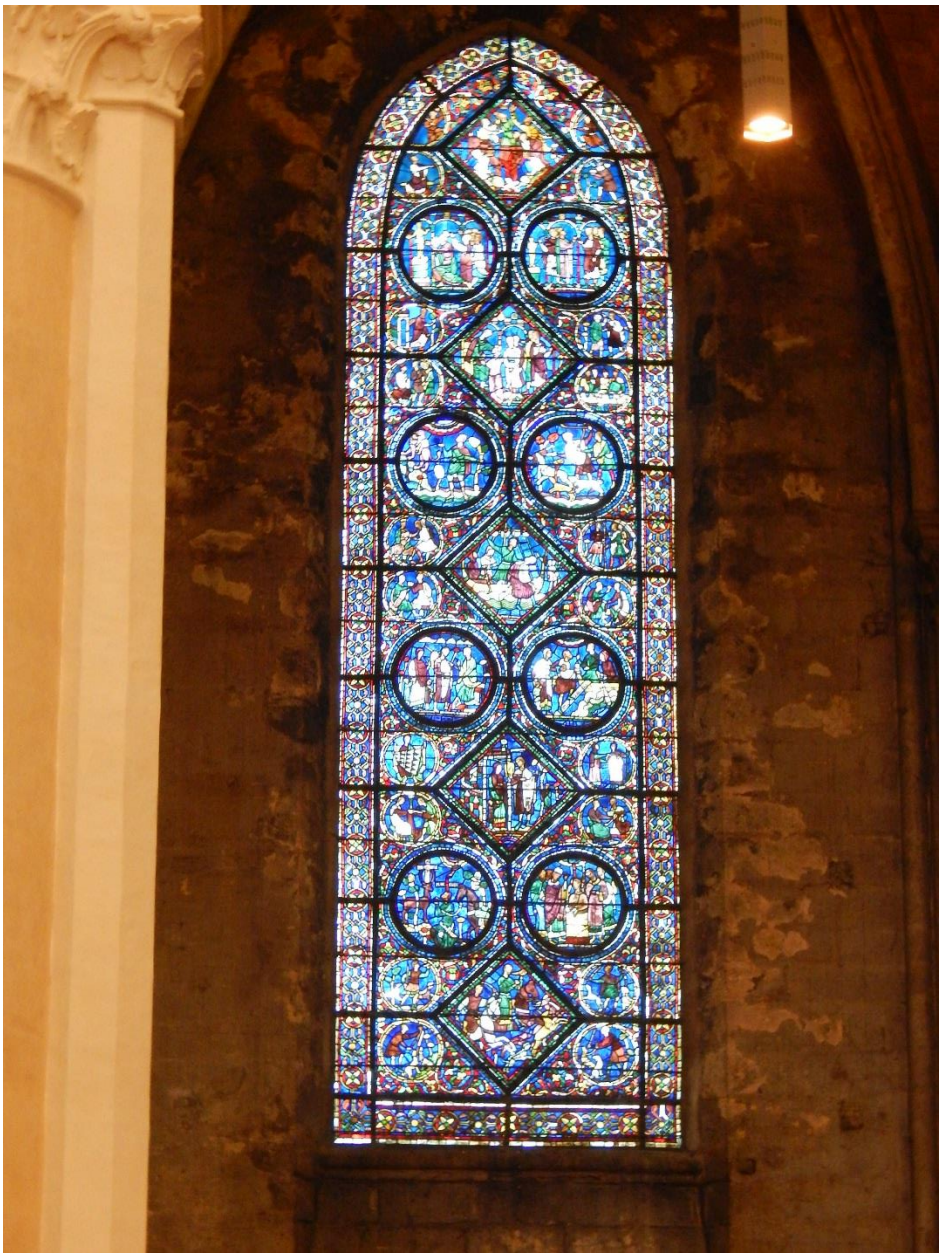

Fig. 2. The Saint Eustace widnow, Chartres Catheral, France

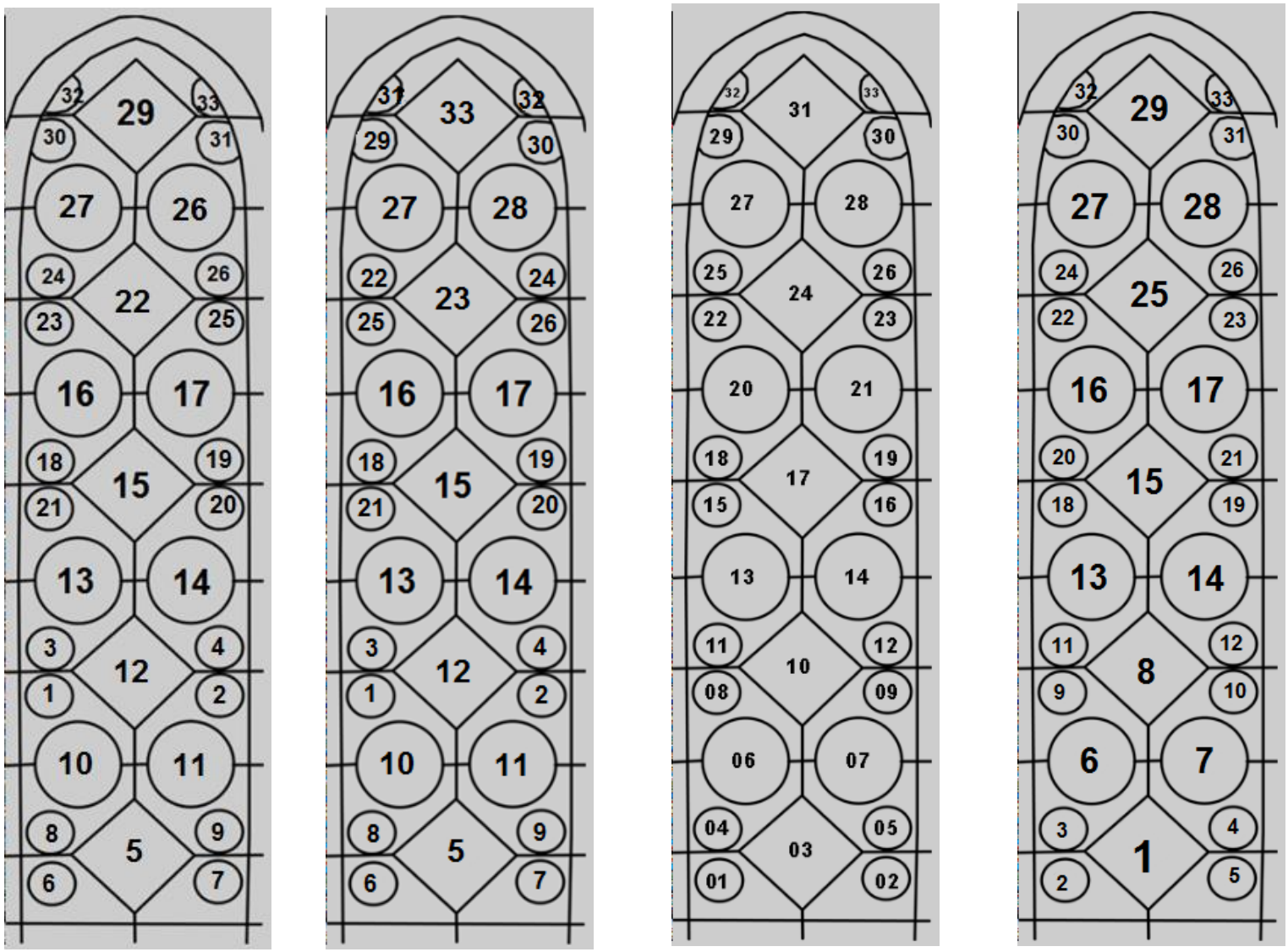

Fig. 3. The order of panels in window 43. Left to right: Delaporte, Manhes-Deremble, Whatling, Attewell (this thesis).

Fig. 4. Panels 1-5, Placidus hunting (center panel) Hunting attendants with hounds (bottom left, bottom right, top left, and top right), Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 5. Panel 6 Saint Eustace encountering Christ as the deer (left) and panel 7 Saint Eustace being baptized (right), Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 6. Clovis being baptized, Reims Cathedral, France. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reims_Cathedrale_Notre_Dame_010_clovis_baptism.JPG

Fig. 7. Eustace and family feeing their home (center), furriers (top right and left), and drapers (bottom right and left), Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 8. Panel 13 Eustace and family booking passage on the boat (left) and Panel 14 Eustace and family boarding the boat (right), Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 9. Panel 15, Eustace and his sons are expelled from the boat, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel17.htm

Fig. 10. Eustace's sons are taken by wild beasts, panel 16 (left) and Panel 17 (right), Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 11. Saint Eustace, fourteenth century, Cluny Museum, Paris, France

Fig. 12. Panel 18, Eustace's sons reunite, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel15.htm

Fig. 13, Panel 19, Eustace's sons celebrate their reunion, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel16.htm

Fig. 14. Panel 20, the emperor orders two of Eustace's former soldiers to find their general, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel18.htm

Fig. 15. Panel 21, the two soldiers find Eustace who is now a farmer, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel19.htm

Fig. 16. Panel 22, Eustace is brought his sons, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel22.htm

Fig. 17. Panel 23, Eustace, his sons, and another figure celebrate, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel23.htm

Fig. 18. Panel 24, Eustace's wife leaves to meet the Roman general, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel25.htm

Fig 19. Panel 25, Eustace is reunited with his wife, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel24.htm

Fig 20. Panel 26, two men discuss the good fortunes that Eustace has had, Window 43, Chartres Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/43_pages/Chartres_Bay43_Panel26.htm

Fig. 21. Two men engaging each other, Le Mans Cathedral, Le Mans, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/LeMans/102_pages/LeMans_Bay102_PanelC4.htm

Fig. 22. panel 26, The emperor worshiping the idol (left) and panel 27, Eustace refusing to worship the idol (right), Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig 23. Panels 28-33. Eustace and family being martyred (central panel) Emperor ordering their execution (bottom left). Executioners (top left, top right, and bottom right), Chartres Cathedral, France

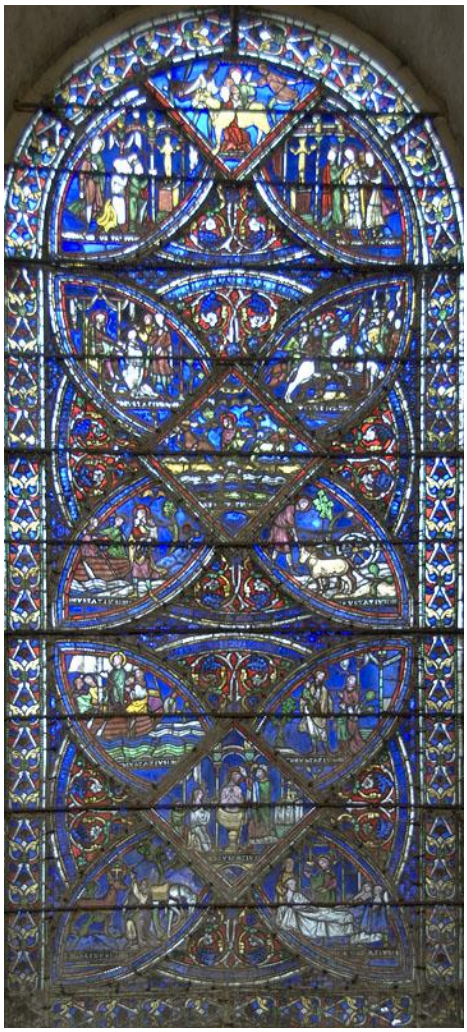

Fig. 24. Saint Eustace window at Sens Catheral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/21_Pages/Sens_Bay21_key.htm

Fig 25. Eustace and his wife tend to dying servants, Sens Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/21_Pages/Sens_Bay21_Panel02.htm

Fig. 26. Eustace as a farmer, Sens Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/21_Pages/Sens_Bay21_Panel02.htm

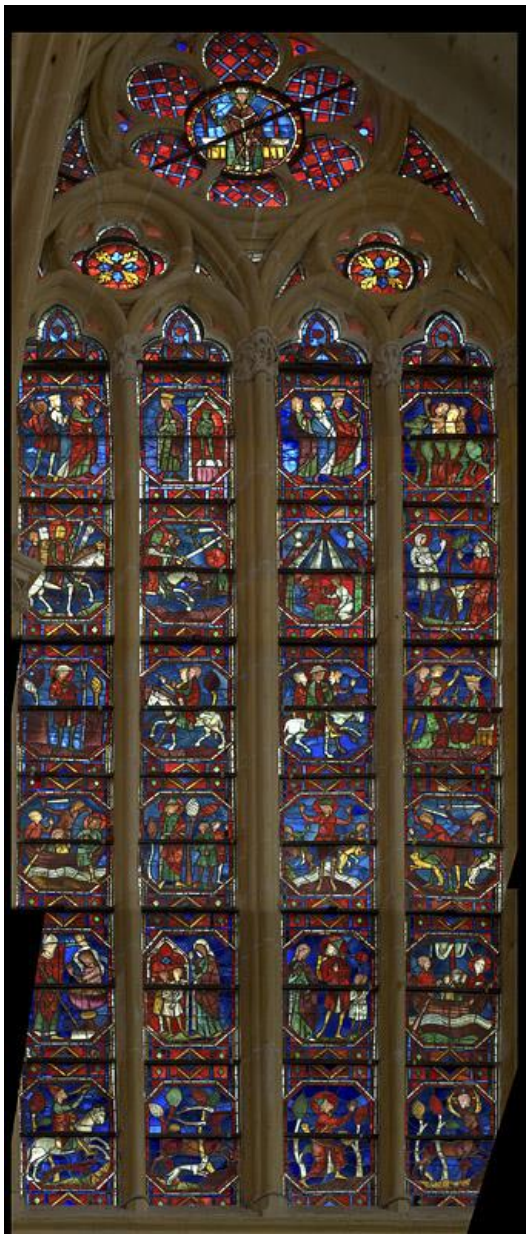

Fig. 27. Saint Eustace window at Saint Gatien, Tours, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Tours/214_Pages/Tours_Bay214_key.htm

Fig. 28. Eustace and his army charge into battle, Saint Gatien, Tours Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling,
http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Tours/214_Pages/Tours_Bay214_PanelA5.htm
http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Tours/214_Pages/Tours_Bay214_PanelB5.htm

Fig. 29. Eustace and his wife are reunited, Saint Gatien, Tours Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling,
http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Tours/214_Pages/Tours_Bay214_PanelD5.htm

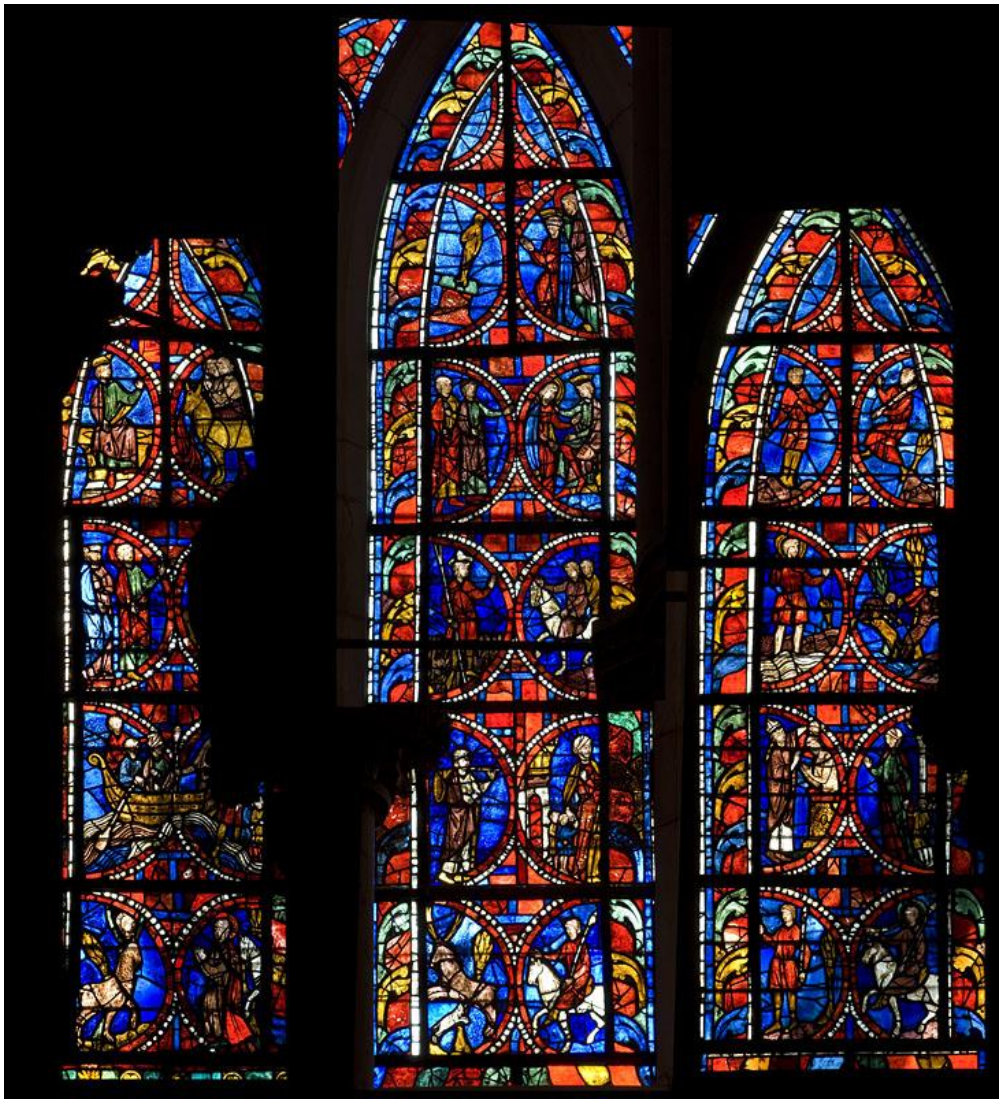

Fig. 30. The Saint Eustace window at Le Mans, Cathedral, France. Photograph by Stuart Whatling, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/LeMans/102_pages/LeMans_Bay102_Key.htm

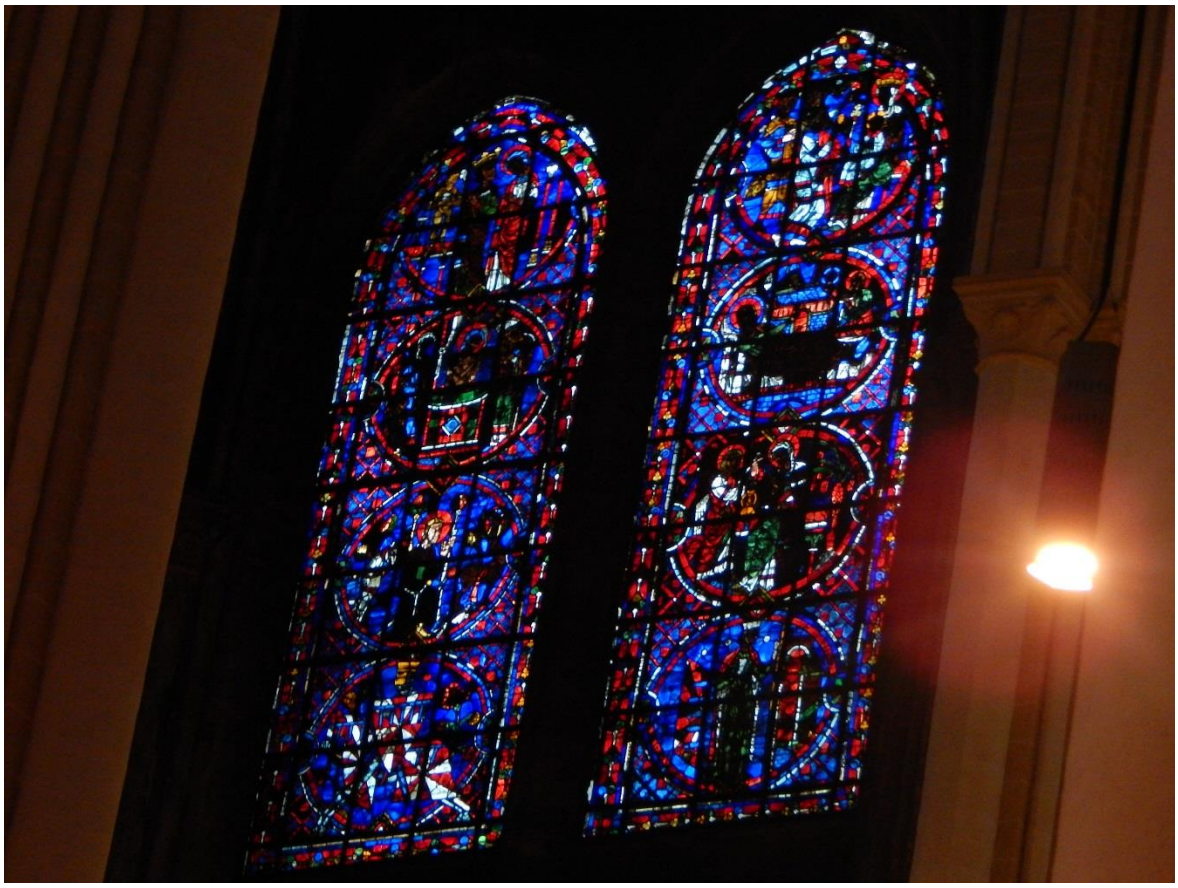

Fig. 31. Window 115 at Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 32. Ivory casket with Eustace hagiography, 1330-1350, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O312887/saint-eustace-casket-unknown/

Fig. 33. Eustace Oliphant, ca. 1300, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O312375/story-of-saint-eustace-oliphant-unknown/

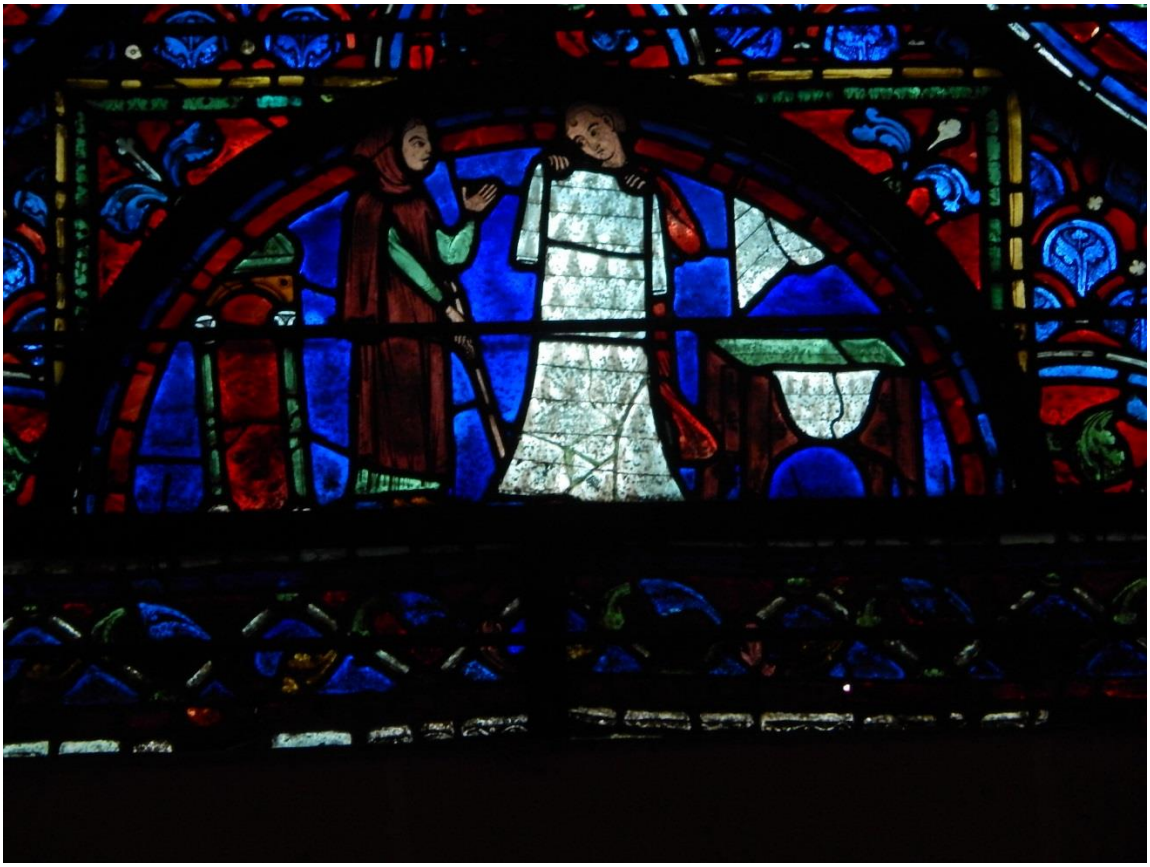

Fig. 34. Furrier displaying robe to customer, Charlemagne window (no. 7), Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 35. Furrier displaying fur to customer, Saint James the Greater window (no. 5), Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 36. Drapers, Saint James the Greater window (no. 5), Chartres Cathedral, France

Fig. 37. Window 137, Chartres Cathedral, France

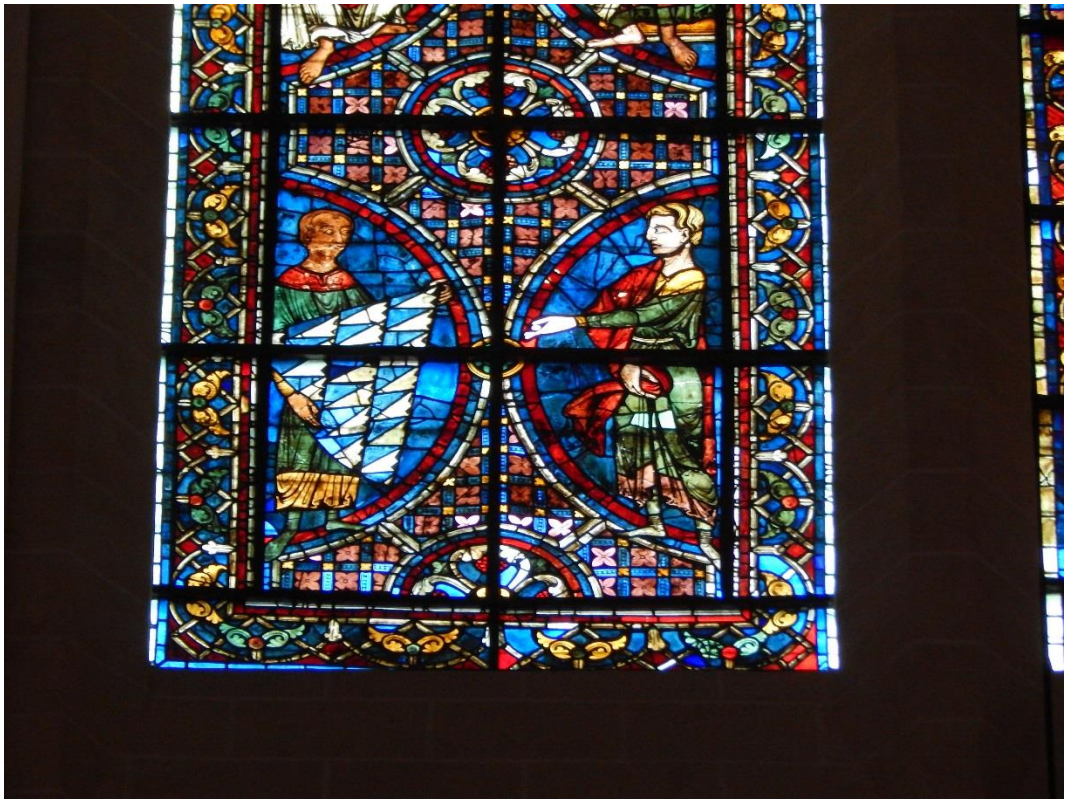

Fig. 38. Closeup of left lancet bottom. Furrier displaying vair with customer holding out a coin, window 137, Chartres Cathedral.

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