

Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages

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Edited by

Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce A. Jordan

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P U B L I S H I N G

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Edited by Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce A. Jordan

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PREFACE

While art history usually concentrates its interpretive energies on a work of art's original function and context, most works find the majority of their viewers after the death of their original audience. This anthology looks at the reception of medieval works of art and architecture in the centuries after their creation.

The volume begins with studies of the afterlife of medieval architectural sites. Since the rise of the Picturesque movement in England during the eighteenth century and the creation of a French national patrimony of medieval architecture in the nineteenth, buildings from the Middle Ages have inspired designs steeped in nostalgia for a past time. The Middle Ages came to represent an idyllic notion of pure faith, social order, and rich pageantry to generations of people negotiating the effects of the Enlightenment and continuous bloody revolutions. Unlike the ever popular classical styles associated with Rome and the ancient world, the Romanesque and Gothic styles were associated with the amazing growth of structural technology in Europe. These buildings were also originally designed to market Church power and ideals. Their lofty height conjured equally soaring spiritual effects, and their unabashedly elaborate decoration, complete with gem-like stained glass, offered a sense of luxury and "heavenly" beauty. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the deterioration of medieval edifices sparked interest in their preservation, renovation, and replication among enthusiasts. Collectors and historians worked to have English and French church structures, which had been damaged as a result of the Dissolution and Revolution, recognized as valuable cultural treasures. Architects were drawn to sketch these medieval buildings, copy them into new designs, and even excavate their remains in order to better reconstruct their original appearances. Numerous papers in this collection chronicle and analyze the ongoing history of medieval architecture through imaginary literary and artistic evocations of their initial usage, practical conservation measures on their physical fabric, and/or referential allusions to them in plans for new buildings evocative of historical design.

Other essays consider medieval objects that survived into the modern period. They look at how works of medieval art have been interpreted since their making, or how particular periods understood, appropriated, and reinvented these works relative to the religious, political, and aesthetic agendas of their own age. These historiographical studies engage multiple disciplines and a variety of methodological approaches from scholars in all fields of medieval studies. Through them, the reader is given a view of the layered levels of meaning medieval objects have accrued and, with it, insight to a culture that has been inaccurately perceived as uniformly Christian and rigidly hierarchical. Probing deeper than commonly understood symbolism, consideration of a medieval work's later adaptation or use allows the reader to follow the changing valorization of medieval art and see how it served public and private interests in the centuries after its original function was ended.

The idea for this collection came from papers presented at two conference sessions held under sponsorship of the International Center of Medieval Art (ICMA). The first, entitled "Debates in the Historiography of Medieval Architecture," Janet Marquardt organized for the annual International Medieval Congress at Leeds University in England, July 2004. Meredith Cohen and Mary Shepard presented early versions of the topics included in this volume, and David Walsh spoke on a related subject. Marquardt and Alyce Jordan organized the second session for the 2006 conference of the Medieval Academy of America in Boston, when the ICMA was invited to prepare a special session in commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary. This latter, entitled "Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages," included an introduction by Janet Marquardt chronicling art study during the early history of the Medieval Academy, early versions of three essays in this volume by Elizabeth Emery, Laura Morowitz, and Nancy Thompson, as well as one by Peter Fergusson on John Chessel Buckler. Other essays derive from the proposals we received in the phenomenal response to our calls for papers, which we could not accommodate in the above-named sessions, but are delighted to be able to include in this volume.

We are grateful to the ICMA, the Medieval Academy, and the Leeds Congress for the opportunity to organize the interchange of ideas between colleagues with interests similar to ours. We would also like to thank all the authors who contributed to this volume with their essays and by reading each other's work as internal reviewers. In particular, everyone is indebted to the outside readers who so graciously gave their time and expertise to evaluate the submissions and offer wonderful constructive suggestions for improvement. Although remaining anonymous, they will

see what an important impact their efforts made in the final versions printed here. Finally, Joe Boles's assistance with editing was priceless.

Janet Marquardt
Alyce Jordan
Fall, 2008

INTRODUCTION

JANET T. MARQUARDT

Of all historical periods, the European Middle Ages must be one of the most imagined and romanticized. Contemporary documentation was prolific, but it was shaped so carefully to reference Antique works or present politically-correct panegyrics, that reading between the lines has left much open to modern reconstruction. It is that process of “making history” out of the memories and monuments that survived which informs these essays. How we understand and appreciate medieval art has been filtered through the lens of time. Our authors attempt to unpack the layers of evidence, theories, and opinions that form each work’s provenance. A great deal has been written over the past twenty years deconstructing the scholarship of previous generations in order to show how it has been shaped out of imagination and re-presentation. This process has revealed the extent to which we have hung our notions of history upon objects and monuments which evoke people, motivations, or events, firing our creative interpretations of extant signs in order to form images of a lost world.¹ At the same time, much has been forgotten that did not fit prevailing notions of the past and only the artifacts and monuments which contributed to those notions were preserved.² The essays in this anthology address many different ways of understanding the invocation of memory to fashion what we call the Middle Ages. As each successive contribution to art-historical literature adds new information to the imagined medieval past, scholarship creates a multi-dimensional grid of differing viewpoints, attitudes, and motivations for studying historical topics. The result has been termed “cultural memory” since there is no one set of collective memories, but rather, successive stages of history formation that have created layers of mediated cultural memories.³ We partake in a process of “working memory,” the active and constantly shifting practice that we call “remembering.”⁴

After the Middle Ages, many chronicles continued to be shaped according to political needs, as **Kerry Boeye** explores in “**Re-Framing Saint-Denis for The Sun King: A Spectacular History.**” Designed to encourage Louis XIV’s patronage of the famous monastery and royal

necropolis, Michel Félibien's lavish *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France*, published in 1706, visually emphasizes how Saint-Denis figured within the history of royal ceremony and the construction of monarchy. Here we also learn that illustrations of medieval objects held in the abbey's treasury later served as the only visual documents of their existence.

Since medieval documents began to be treated as archival sources only during the eighteenth century, their early readers were already well removed from original circumstances.⁵ Most of the historical material consists of monastic charters and the religious treatises written by learned medieval scholars. Like objects and monuments, many texts were modified or even destroyed as ideas about religion changed. Thus what we glean from these surviving records towards the understanding of the art and architecture of their day is both biased and meager. We are lucky that some medieval manuscripts were later chosen by powerful figures for their personal collections, thus often giving them a better chance of survival than those stored in religious libraries. A fourteenth-century psalter that was presented to Mary Tudor and thereafter kept in the royal collection is studied by **Anne Stanton** in her essay, "**Queen Mary and her Psalter: A Gothic Manuscript in Tudor England.**" Stanton finds that the illustrations of the manuscript, which were tailored to the interests of a medieval owner, remained quite personally relevant to Mary in the sixteenth century.

Human fantasy loves to people the unknown, and the Middle Ages has proven a rich source for imagining colorful characters and dramatic ceremonies. Fanciful kings and queens, knights and armor, wars and processions, are drawn from slim descriptions contained in legal documents, surviving architectural spaces, and the imagery of medieval artists. The reality of that period has been nearly entirely lost, but that has not kept novelists, playwrights, historians, and filmmakers from recreating a romantic world of chivalrous culture, firing spectacular histories of nations and serving as both the foundation and the foil for modern revolutions. Those who write the stories of artistic monuments have decided which would be remembered and how they would figure in importance. They have also chosen which manuscripts would be recopied, thus privileging some over others and letting their own preparation affect the result. **Andrea Worm** studies, for instance, which books were reproduced during the nineteenth century in Germany ("**The Study of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts in German Scholarship ca. 1750–1850**"). She finds that vernacular texts were of most interest, along with elaborate reproductions of their illustrations.

Another example of how much our imaginations can obscure the past can be found in the treatment of the Bayeux Tapestry. Not a tapestry at all, but rather a long embroidered linen strip, this work got its popular name from first references to it as “La Tapisserie de la Reine Mathilde.” Although most likely made in Canterbury, England, it has consistently been considered a French artwork associated with Bayeux Cathedral, in whose city it still resides. **Elizabeth Pastan** investigates the earliest presentations of the scenes from this work of art in “**Montfaucon as Reader of the Bayeux Tapestry.**” Bernard de Montfaucon, having seen classicizing drawings of a portion of the story, was led to commission a full set of sketches in the original “primitive” medieval style, much as it was deplored in his day, and in a publication of 1729-1730 tried to reconcile written chronicles of the event with what he saw pictured there.

The power of historians to shape taste cannot be underestimated. Take, for instance, the large number of essays in this very collection that concern medieval French art or architecture. The overwhelming dominance of French topics relative to those engaging other cultures in the proposals that we received for this anthology is reflective of our field. Yet the centrality of French art in historical studies of the European Middle Ages is a fact which brings into question the entire way Western history has, for so long, privileged France. Our awareness of this corresponds to some of the issues recently highlighted in another anthology entitled *Why France?*⁶ In that book, Americans who have made their careers studying French history write about what drew them to the plethora of subjects ranging from Capetian historiography to the Vichy army, from the role of bread in the *ancien régime* to religion during the Revolution of 1848, from eighteenth-century explorers charting the meridian across France to a modern communist suburb of Paris, from France’s aviation industry during World War II to the Algerian war for independence. Reading these testimonies led me to ask the question of my own field of medieval art history: “Why French Art?”⁷ Clearly a dominant choice among art history dissertations and publications, French art has outshone most other areas of medieval cultural studies in status and accessibility. Introductions to medieval art in survey classes would be wholly incomplete without the widely-reproduced images of Carolingian manuscripts, Romanesque sculpture, or Gothic cathedrals. But investigating *why* French art is so essential, so extensively studied, and so well known helps us see the way art has also served the cultural needs of other lands in Europe and the British Isles.

Traditional explanations about French art’s centrality would naturally point to France’s superior artistic achievements, which have been molded

and highlighted into legendary status by collectors and scholars. Yet one could also credit: 1) France's geographic location at the heart of Europe (a crossroads for many during the Middle Ages on their way to Rome or the Holy Land, as well as the political power center of modern Europe); 2) the easy access to monuments during the early days of art-historical scholarship; and 3) the various myths about the nation and its past that have been put forth since the early nineteenth century. All of this went together into forming the reputation of France's "superior artistic achievement."

In other words, although many of France's medieval accomplishments are real enough, plenty of other regions in Europe could have put forth similar claims. It is primarily historical circumstances that have placed France front and center in our memories of medieval art and in our desire to study French topics. The result has been an unbroken construction of France's past, since at least the so-called "generation of 1820" (those scholars who came of age around 1820), which rewrote French history after the Revolution.⁸ These men (exclusively), trained to become the intellectuals of their day, were the children of the Revolution. They did not experience it personally, but everything in their lives was shaped by their parents' sense of "before" and "after," much the way contemporary Europeans regard World War II. This sense was carried directly into the work of historians such as Augustin Thierry, who tried to reform notions of the past by recounting the complex antecedents to self-rule found in the French Middle Ages, or François Guizot, who shaped all French history before the Revolution into a prefiguration of, and preparation for, the "modern" country he was helping administer in various government positions.⁹ For these men, key cultural developments occurred during the Middle Ages, and they claimed for France the origin of many artistic achievements, such as the fusion of Classical and Celtic/Germanic traditions during the fifth to eighth centuries. French historians took Charles the Great for their own under the now more familiar French name used in the English language, Charlemagne, and called his support for learning and artistic production at his court a "renaissance," the *first* European renaissance—from which subsequent revivals would follow. Of course these claims were not universally acknowledged, for instance by German scholars, who, after 1870, claimed Charles the Great for Germany ("Karl der Grosse") as a Germanic predecessor of the Ottonian emperors and leader of the first reich.¹⁰ During the Second World War, German leaders again looked to the medieval past to reinforce nationalistic pride. Medieval art, in particular, represented powerful symbols of wealth and power. In **"The Early Middle Ages in the Exhibition *Deutsche Größe***

(1940-1942).” **William Diebold** examines conflicting interpretations of early medieval art objects in a presentation designed to shape an understanding of the nascent German empire and counter France’s claim to sole artistic achievement.

One of the most influential figures shaping the reception of medieval art during the 1789 Revolution in France was Alexandre Lenoir, who took on the care of monuments removed from their places of origin and brought to a depot in Paris because their messages were considered either too religious or aristocratic. There he gathered examples into rooms by the centuries they were made, effecting atmospheric reconstructions of imaginary pasts that were designed to elicit sympathetic responses from a hostile public. **Mary Shepard** traces Lenoir’s early appreciation of the Gothic style and his attempt to determine the source of the pointed arch (“*L’Oeuf Sacré: Alexandre Lenoir’s Cour Arabe and the Pointed Arch*”). As she shows, Lenoir drew upon the travels of Louis IX and his architect to the Middle East, positing that the origin of the pointed arch could be found in Arab building forms seen in Syria, as well as in the shape of the primal sacred egg.

The engineering of the first seriously monumental buildings since Antiquity acquired a special stylistic name in Europe over the course of the nineteenth century—a style that had previously been described as “pre-Gothic” or defined by elements that pointed to foreign models like “Byzantine” or “Lombard”—as a way of claiming the broad variation of architectural features growing in France. The term “Romanesque” put Western Europe back into the Roman Empire, which Charlemagne had claimed to reunite in the ninth century. For a country like France, then in the process of recovering her medieval heritage, the name avoided ceding innovations to foreigners and suggested that there had been a local continuum of ancient Roman artistic practice of exceptional quality. The Roman models underlying medieval architecture were important in many of the Romantic prints that documented extant monuments during the nineteenth century, particularly those in ruins. Drawings made by artists like Emile Sagot were printed in the new graphic medium of lithography and distributed both singly and in books. **David Walsh** analyzes a multi-layered view of the ruined abbey of Cluny by Sagot, showing how the artist called upon his familiarity with both medieval remains in Cluny, and Roman monuments in nearby Autun, to imaginatively reconstruct an ideal view of the church and abbey precinct gateway (“*An Image of Cluny by Emile Sagot*”).

Nineteenth-century French medievalists were not alone in their appropriation of the medieval past. Georges Petrie, for example, was also

collecting “ancient” artifacts and conducting surveys of early documents, including measurements of buildings and drawings of ruins, only he was working in Ireland. Petrie was devoted to recording as much of medieval Irish culture as possible before it faded from view. The compilation of disparate items made by the Topographical Department of the Ordnance Survey, under his direction, served Petrie’s vision of an idealized Middle Ages for Ireland. His story, as told by **Marion Bleeker** in **“George Petrie, the Ordnance Survey, and Nineteenth-Century Constructions of the Irish Past,”** offers us a glimpse into work comparable to that of more famous restoration theorists such as Viollet-le-Duc.

In Italy, we learn from **Nancy Thompson** that similar ideas were being propagated by a man named Giuseppe Martelli, whose plans for the restoration of the Bargello in Florence from a Medici prison back to a medieval palace served as a source of civic pride during that city’s fledgling struggle to form a Republic, much as Greco-Roman antiquity had been appropriated during the reign of the Medici as a source of Italian pride during their Renaissance (**“Reviving ‘the past greatness of the Florentine people’: Restoring Medieval Florence in the Nineteenth Century”**).

When we put together examples of medieval art for teaching, as art historians in the United States have done since about 1920, we pull from those scholars who pioneered descriptive analyses and comparisons, photographic documentation, and important exhibitions. The photographs of French buildings collected by Henry Hobson Richardson, who brought the Romanesque revival style to architecture with works such as his 1872 Trinity Church in Boston, and those of Lucy and Arthur Kingsley Porter, who scoured central and southern France and northern Spain for examples of Romanesque church sculpture, formed the basis of the visual resources available to early professors. The latter of course, led to Porter’s massive ten-volume work, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*.¹¹ Efforts such as these provided a base for further scholarship and thus advanced the place of France in art-historical studies.

Porter had been influenced by the important work of scholars at European universities from the late nineteenth century through the 1920s.¹² Wilhelm Vöge, one of the first “official” German art historians, traveled extensively in France and was particularly drawn to the cathedral of Chartres. He published a book on the origins of monumental Gothic sculpture, which included a revision of Viollet-le-Duc’s evaluation of Chartres’ west portal as “leftover Byzantinism,” by showing how the statues intimately related architectural and figurative form.¹³ Certainly these scholars also studied German medieval art; Vöge’s dissertation on

Ottonian manuscripts is an obvious example, but many seemed more drawn to study architectural sites in France rather than their own country. Did Chartres represent a transition between Speyer and Cologne not available at home?

Or perhaps it was merely a matter of finding a reason to spend time in a country where the superiority of the cuisine and wine was undisputed! One of the contributors to *Why France?* quotes the German adage: "To live like a king in France."¹⁴ There is certainly a charm exerted by the French culture upon visitors, particularly those who are not from Romance language countries. One has only to conjure the cliché of "an American in Paris," which suggests both the arty musical film and Hemingway's bohemian café life. Art history survey texts tend to wait until the Renaissance to showcase Italy, and Spain has become a footnote in medieval art-historical studies, mentioned either in regard to its Islamic period or to the northern strip of its French-influenced pilgrimage sites, in other words always with respect to a powerful presence that is perceived (wrongly) as foreign and temporary. American appreciation, as well as that of British and French scholars, for German monuments has also surely been affected by sympathies with our allies in two catastrophic wars with that country.

Émile Mâle, a French scholar, was another great influence on early American art historians. He published his first book, on thirteenth-century French art, only four years after that of Vöge.¹⁵ Mâle was to become the great expert on the theological meanings of French sculptural iconography. Mâle came from a background in the Classics, and thus could determine the Greek and Roman sources of many scenes, and his intense religious convictions, along with his mastery of Latin, led him to apply medieval theories, such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Majus*, as organizing principles.¹⁶ He admired the work of nineteenth-century restorers of medieval monuments, such as Viollet-le-Duc, Merimée, and Vitet, all of whom worked for the *Monuments historiques*, the national conservation institute founded by François Guizot. Their attempts to establish the restored French Gothic as a national architecture resonated with him, and, as a professor at the Sorbonne, he claimed France to be the originator of the Gothic style, specifically refuting an older German claim, and showing through his lectures how the style spread across Europe. He was the first to trace the influence of the monastic orders of Cluny and Cîteaux on Spain and England and to suggest that French medieval mystery plays were the models for Petrarch and Dante, just as French architecture lay at the root of the Renaissance. Mâle taught the reading public, both inside France and beyond, to appreciate the French religious

art of the Middle Ages in the artistic sense, not just as documents of Church history.

The development of art history in the United States first centered on women's colleges such as Vassar and Smith, since it was believed that mothers formed the cultural character of citizens.¹⁷ Incorporating art history as a professional discipline within graduate programs on the more scientific model of German universities occurred at male-dominated institutions, however, initially Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts and Princeton University in New Jersey. Cambridge lies across the river from Boston, the center of the medieval revival in the United States. Harvard benefited from its proximity to this intellectual and artistic movement to draw faculty and acquire works for the Fogg Museum, including cloister capitals from a French medieval abbey, secured through Porter's connections. This story is told by **Kathryn Brush** in **"The Capitals from Moutiers-Saint-Jean (Harvard University Art Museums) and the Carving of Medieval Art Study in America after World War I."** Studies coming out of this circle quickly engaged a larger public interest in French medieval art. Henry Adams's account of *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, published in 1904, has been a non-stop success for over a century, and so many different presses have published it that one cannot even determine how many editions it has gone through except to say that the latest is from 2006. People who have never read any other book on medieval art often have just this one on their shelves. Adams's exposition was compelling because he tried to bring back to life buildings that were considered "dead" to his contemporaries. He wondered about the actual people who built these monuments and how they would have been perceived by their first audiences—a rather rare example of early contextual interest. He wrote as if he were directing the reader on a tour, using his niece as a device, and had a chatty style full of exclamation points. His sympathy for these works, especially his religious fervor in depicting Chartres as a shrine to the Virgin, was apparently irresistible.

Kingsley Porter's most enthusiastic student of the French Romanesque was Kenneth Conant, who studied and went on to teach at Harvard, while simultaneously carrying out excavations at the former abbey of Cluny, beginning with measurements taken on a Guggenheim grant in 1927 and ending around 1950, as he ran out of reasons to keep funding work there. My own publications have chronicled Conant's devotion to France, his efforts towards resurrecting interest in Cluny, and the romantic methodology he employed in order to recreate, on paper, the lost abbey buildings.¹⁸ Conant's work also contributed to the construction of the

medieval past and the central place of France in the development of the Romanesque style in Europe. It became part of a layering process of memory construction by many scholars who, like Conant himself, moved our understanding forward, as evidence was brought to light through excavations and textual analysis, even as it simultaneously offered erroneous reconstructions and romantic theories based upon personal beliefs or faulty methodology.

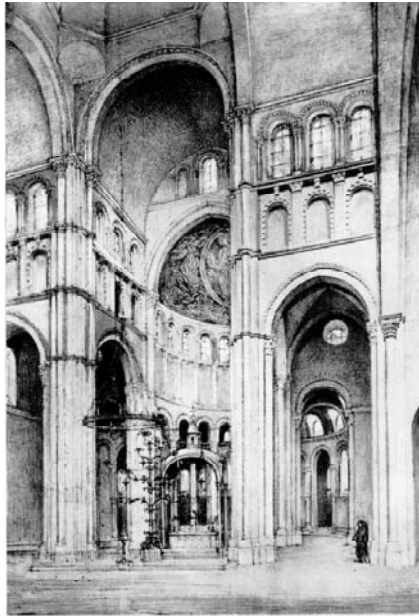


Fig. 1 Kenneth J. Conant, “Cluny III. Le sanctuaire. Vue perspective, restaurée,” drawing, from *Cluny: Les Eglises et la maison du chef d'ordre* (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1968). Pl. 45
(Photo: Cluny Collection, Loeb Library, Harvard University)

The effect of Conant’s persuasive reconstructive drawings on Cluny’s “working memory” was similar to that of dozens of equally convincing scholars whose work created images in our minds for lost or damaged medieval monuments [Fig. 1]. The way that many of these models and restorations have since been challenged by younger colleagues should also lead us to reconsider the similarly seductive reconstructions we can now devise with access to digital technology. These images satisfy comparable desires to allow viewers a virtual experience of the space in and around an

historical monument. Yet in order to realize the dimensions, it is necessary to input every measurement, even extrapolating ones inaccessible today, thus holding the hard data of “science” together with the glue of guesswork. By the time the project is complete, the lines between the two are blurred, and we want to believe in what we have so painstakingly configured. Thus we all follow a certain romantic methodology as we imagine buildings back to life, just as we can only imagine the past in the framework of our own present, adding to the layers of working memory.¹⁹

Conant’s acquaintance from Harvard undergraduate study, John Nicholas Brown (of Brown University, the institution he later founded), bankrolled the entire Cluny project from the first dig to the final monograph, often anonymously contributing his personal funds to the Medieval Academy for that purpose. Like Porter, he was a wealthy American who considered French culture the epitome of taste and hoped to help Cluny’s renown, in a way comparable to John Simon Guggenheim’s highly-publicized support for the restoration of the palace at Versailles and the cathedral of Reims.

The very way that repairs were realized on surviving monuments could change how contemporaries believed they looked in their original medieval form. Work on the interior and exterior of the west façade of Reims Cathedral is a good example of how easy it was to change appearances, and potentially meanings, of sculptural ensembles. **Donna Sadler** reviews the successive restoration programs carried out at Reims during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in her essay, “**The Persistence of the Royal Past on the West Façade of Reims Cathedral.**” She shows that, in spite of multiple stylistic interpretations and revisions of its architectural sculpture, the cathedral’s role as the royal French coronation church was never lost from its iconographic programs.

The case of Reims suggests another way French art has dominated American consciousness since at least the First World War. **Elizabeth Emery** traces the role of Reims Cathedral in garnering American pro-war sentiment, suddenly bringing Reims front and center in American minds as a quintessential Gothic cathedral and war martyr (“**The Martyred Cathedral: American Attitudes toward Notre-Dame de Reims during the First World War**”). Other French cathedrals, including Amiens and Senlis, were also hit by bombs. In fact, an entire series of woven silk postcards, produced by Neyret Frères and published by E. Deffrene, were devoted to images of French and Flemish sites in flames.²⁰ Each card was captioned with the name of the location and the date it was burned from 1914-1918. The fact that such a series was seen as marketable suggests the intense interest people took in these events.

In 1915, that is, during the second year of the war, Ralph Adams Cram, a Boston medieval revival architect like Richardson, who later supported Conant's project, published a book entitled *Heart of Europe*.²¹ The "heart" to which the title refers was by Cram described as the "beautiful land" "between the Seine and the Rhine," in other words Paris to Cologne and the Alps to the North Sea, where war had laid waste "a sanctuary." He characterized France in the medieval tradition as a Christian society, a "crowning civilization" illustrated by its "impossible romance" with rational yet wholly original masterpieces. Many of the sites covered in the Neyret Frères postcards are key subjects of his narrative: Louvain, Amiens, Reims. British and American readers were primed for this cry of outrage and rallied around the cathedral as a symbol of the victimization of Marianne. Emery argues that such attention weighed heavily on the decision of the United States to finally come in on the French side in 1917, a decision delayed not just because there were those who resisted any military involvement in a European war, but because there was initially strong support for the German cause. Thus the proponents of medieval art and the romantic view of its unfortunate demise again played a role in bringing France to the forefront.

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, **Laura Morowitz** shows us that Reims was one of the most evocative representatives of romantic medievalism in the United States, as evidenced by the lavish holiday displays mounted at Wanamaker's department stores in Philadelphia and New York City ("**The Cathedral of Commerce: French Gothic Architecture and Wanamaker's Department Store**"). There, French artistic styles were mixed with other well-known elements from British medieval art to create glowing interiors suggestive of ethical consumption and Old World quality craftsmanship. The pseudo-medieval objects rendered by Wanamaker's art department and outside fabricating companies fed stereotypical ideas not just about the forms, but also the meanings of medieval imagery. Stained glass, for instance, appeared in a style more reminiscent of Pre-Raphaelite works than authentic thirteenth-century glass. Yet even as these installations were being created, art historians were shaping interpretations of Gothic monuments that would affect the public's appreciation. The Sainte-Chapelle, Louis IX's small model of a complete French Gothic assemblage, has served as the focus of much scholarship defining such "modern" medieval engineering.²² A key proponent in explaining the original form of this building was the art historian Robert Branner, who published an influential book in 1965 that defined a "Court Style" for the architecture built under Louis IX. **Meredith Cohen** traces the powerful effect of the theories Branner

articulated in this book, and the methods employed by his followers to accept, reject, or adapt them, by applying Harold Bloom's theory of literary criticism in her essay **"Branner's 'Court Style' and the Anxiety of Influence."** Many of the elements found in the Sainte-Chapelle today are, in fact, not original, much of the sculpture and stained glass having been not only restored but redesigned in the nineteenth century. In **"Restoration Politics: Recrafting Monarchy in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle,"** Alyce Jordan shows how ideological messages regarding French kingship were revised and how the restorers' work intersected with contemporary religious concerns.

Many medieval objects left in churches had to be modified or reinterpreted according to changing religious tenets. Here we find a great difference between France and the countries that embraced Protestantism. **Grażyna Jurkowlaniec** studies medieval crucifixes still found in German and Swiss sites in her essay, **"Remnants of a Shared Past: Medieval Monumental Crucifixes after the Reformation."** She follows the additions and adjustments made to these artworks as they were newly interpreted by both Lutherans and Catholics alike.

Efforts have also been made to identify and catalogue art from the Romanesque period all over Europe, much of which was nearly lost to art-historical awareness. The success of over 300 books and a half century periodical run, under the rubric *Zodiaque*, has helped maintain general public knowledge of medieval artistic patrimony. From 1951 to 2001, the monastery of la Pierre-qui-Vire in Burgundy compiled multiple series of books on medieval art, primarily that from the period 1000-1200 CE usually called "Romanesque."²³ Predominantly picture books filled with rich and strikingly beautiful black-and-white photogravures, these collections were not assembled by art historians or administrative agencies for patrimony and tourism, but by a small group of Catholic monks who determined the sites for each volume, traveled to photograph them, chose texts to accompany the images, and selected the views and details that were included. In order to organize the examples into volumes, as well as find authors who could write authoritatively on groups of works, the first two series, *Les Travaux des Mois* ("Labors of the Months," which eventually ran to thirty-four volumes) and *La Nuit des Temps* (the "Dark Ages," which grew to eighty-eight volumes), were divided into significant individual monuments or arranged by region. The inaugural volume of the latter, *Bourgogne romane*, sold over 40,000 copies in its first edition and subsequently stretched to nine more, adding sites and changing authors in the process. Like Burgundy, other areas of France were designated by traditional regional names, while the monks' geographic scope expanded

to include Spain, Italy, Germany, England, and beyond—eventually reaching from Scandinavia to Ethiopia, from Portugal to Russia, and from Ireland to the Holy Land. There were so many photographs, and the books were so popular, that new series were added regularly, many organized by iconographic themes. The La Pierre-qui-Vire team eventually stretched their chronological coverage forward to the Gothic and back into Early Christian, but always keeping Romanesque as the powerful central core.

As with other grand documentary projects, we must ask what the motivation for the *Zodiaque* series could have been. Here it is compelling to realize that not only did all this come out of a monastery, masterminded by a handful of monks who built much of the labor into a monastic printing atelier—like a latter-day medieval scriptorium—but that it grew from love of *l'esprit nouveau*, the modernist movement in the visual arts beginning around 1920. It is striking how the Romanesque aesthetic answered the new taste for clean, sharp, and orderly compositions while at the same time providing the content for a new sacred art, *l'art sacré*, so elusive but so much on the minds of everyone from Kandinsky to the Catholic Church.

One of the originators, Dom Angelico Surchamp, was allowed to study with Albert Gleizes, a cubist painter who wrote about the connection between modern art and spiritual content. Surchamp returned to the monastery to work with other young monks there on fresco murals executed in the new style, but also heavily dependent upon the figural form of their beloved Burgundian Romanesque. The sharply outlined, elongated figures of the Romanesque style, coupled with a flexible perspectival system predicated on how objects could best be understood in every scene (tables and beds turned up so we might see what lies on their surfaces; façades, interiors, and elevations of buildings merged in single images; exaggerated drapery or gestures employed to indicate movement), must have seemed refreshing after centuries of Renaissance inspired naturalism and resonated with the work of contemporary artists, for whom the play of pattern and line was as important as illusion. Surchamp composed the photographs that fill the *Zodiaque* series to exaggerate this modernist sensibility through the use of side lighting and steep angles.

The popularity of the *Zodiaque* books, both in France and the United States, points to a number of intersecting interests in the second half of the twentieth century. On the one hand, the quality of the photogravure process draws us in with its profound beauty; the monochromic format elegantly echoes the contrasts of the linear Romanesque style that these photographs document better than anything previously published. On the other hand, there is the issue of the growing awareness of the equal stature

of the Romanesque next to the highly popular Gothic style. The attractive dust jackets with bright color photographs also served well to market the books. Descriptions of the series identify their function as “guides for educated travelers” and translations of the text into English and German appeared at the end of each volume. Their focus on regions and religious themes made them ideal personalized gifts for religious occasions in France, such as the sacraments of first Holy Communion and Confirmation, driving up sales among non-academics, and bringing the *Zodiaque* books into regular exchange among the general public.²⁴ The small format, bright cloth covers (forming a counterpoint to the black-and-white photographs inside) and the ribbon bookmarks also suggested associations with religious books. Finally, as with any series, buyers were driven to complete their sets, encouraging a visible display of cultural and artistic awareness.

France had already claimed the Romanesque style, most famously by Pierre Francastel during the Second World War,²⁵ but now there was a new impetus to its appreciation; it could reflect a fresh aesthetic even while standing as a cultural tradition. The way *Zodiaque* editors arranged the monuments by region, beginning in France but quickly expanding beyond its borders, reinforced the way art historians tend to see styles associated with geographical areas and appropriated the non-French examples as mere extensions of the ur-Romanesque of the primary fourteen volumes of *Les Travaux des Mois* and central thirty-nine volumes of *La Nuit des Temps* devoted to French sites. The French word for each region, along with the very repetition of the term “roman(e)” in the titles, helped draw an association between the style and France. The huge number of books and their publication of many previously obscure sites carried an authority and contributed to the breadth of further study in Romanesque topics.

So the answer to “Why French Art?” and the predominance of French examples in historiographic studies such as those contained in this anthology has a lot to do with how French medieval art has been represented in the modern era. From historical nationalism to Romantic regret, the proliferation of published analyses and photographs has made the accessibility of French examples easy to employ as prototypes by which objects and monuments from other places might be measured. Both French and foreigners have contributed to this imbalance, furthering the scholarship on their favorite arts and encouraging others to go study them—and spend time living “like a king in France.”

It is the goal of this anthology, through the collection of essays on the interpretation of medieval art and architecture from various countries in

Europe, to introduce some of the best work being done on French subjects today, but also to reach beyond the French bias to increase the medieval works familiar to readers and expand our understanding of how medieval art has served other European cultures. We hope to show how modern understandings of the Middle Ages have been driven by contemporary public and private perspectives. The stories are fascinating, not the least because they remind us that we too are shaped by our environment and that no history is ever truly objective.

We, the editors, were very happy to find the chronological and geographical breadth represented by the proposals for this anthology, along with serendipitous interrelations between the various threads within the essays. We tried hard not only to incorporate articles which treated medieval art outside of France, but also to vary the foci from architecture to manuscripts, glass, textiles, sculpture, and entire exhibitions, in order to encourage scholarship in new directions. We hope that the resulting compilation offers a better appreciation for the multiple appropriations to which medieval art has been subjected and inspires further re-examinations of motivation and method.

Notes

¹ Recent interest in the role of memory has brought back Maurice Halbwachs's notion of collective memory and the popularity of history "from the bottom up" as practiced by Georges Lefebvre and the *Annales* school, as well as the famous series of anthologies on "lieux de mémoire" (memory sites) compiled by Pierre Nora. Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory, The Heritage of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1986); Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France = Les Lieux de mémoire*, trans. Mary Trouille (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, European Perspectives*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

² Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

³ This is a term used by Jan and Aleida Assmann in various publications. See, for instance, Jan Assmann and Rodney Livingstone, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

⁴ This is Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1999).

⁵ I refer here to the age of Jean Mabillon and the first archivists of France under the Benedictine monks of the Order of Saint-Maur at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris from approximately 1640 to 1789, skipping over the work of the Bollandists

whose purpose was more literary and religious than historical. See David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (London: Nelson, 1964). 35-62

⁶ Laura Lee Downs and Stéphane Gerson, *Why France?: American Historians Reflect on an Enduring Fascination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

⁷ I presented a portion of this discussion in a keynote address: Janet Marquardt, "Why French Art?" (paper presented at "Medieval Places: Geographical Approaches to Medieval Culture," University of North Texas Medieval Graduate Student Symposium, Denton, TX, 8-9 November 2007). I wish to thank Mickey Abel for the invitation.

⁸ Alan B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁹ Ceri Crossley, *French Historians and Romanticism: Thierry, Guizot, the Saint-Simonians, Quinet, Michelet* (London: Routledge, 1993).

¹⁰ The unification of 1871 represents the beginning of the second reich and Hitler's rule that of the third.

¹¹ Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1923).

¹² Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹³ Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter* (Strassburg.: J. H. E. Heitz, 1894).

¹⁴ Herman Lebovics, "Tough Love for France," in *Why France*. 52

¹⁵ Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898).

¹⁶ Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). 179-208

¹⁷ Craig Hugh Smyth and Peter M. Lukehart, eds., *The Early Years of Art History in the United States: Notes and Essays on Departments, Teaching, and Scholars* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993).

¹⁸ Janet T. Marquardt, "'Cluny in all its perfection': Ur-Basilica or Romantic Reconstruction?" *Scholion/Kongressakten der Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin* (Zurich: GTA Verlag). (forthcoming)

¹⁹ I am grateful to Michael Davis for the apt expression "romantic methodology."

²⁰ Chris Radley, *The Woven Silk Postcard* (Barking, Essex: Radley, 1978). 55-56, 69-71; <http://www.stevengraphs.com/neyretfreres.html>

²¹ Ralph Adams Cram, *Heart of Europe* (New York: Scribner's, 1915).

²² I am referring to Marvin Trachtenberg's convincing call for renaming the Gothic style in "Suger's Miracles, Branner's Bourges: Reflections on 'Gothic Architecture' as Medieval Modernism," *Gesta* 39 (2000). 183-205

²³ This is the subject of my current research, on which two articles are forthcoming: Janet T. Marquardt, "La Pierre-qui-Vire and Zodiaque: A Monastic Pilgrimage of Medieval Dimensions," *Peregrinations* 3 (2009), 118-129; and Janet T. Marquardt, "Defining French 'Romanesque': The Zodiaque series,"

Journal of Art Historiography 1 (December 2009), 1-JTM/1. I do not introduce the issues raised by the liberal use of the term "Romanesque" in this essay, however, it is addressed in the latter reference and is a central point for the series. All of these matters will be further studied in my monograph on the Zodiaque project to be entitled *Making Medieval Modern: The Zodiaque Publications 1951-2001*.

²⁴ I am grateful to Ilene Forsyth for sharing this observation about the way Zodiaque books entered into French culture.

²⁵ Pierre Francastel, *L'Histoire de l'art, instrument de la propagande germanique* (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1945).

QUEEN MARY AND HER PSALTER: A GOTHIC MANUSCRIPT IN TUDOR ENGLAND¹

ANNE RUDLOFF STANTON

The manuscript now known as “Queen Mary’s Psalter” (London, British Library, MS Royal 2B.vii) was written and illuminated in early fourteenth-century England.² It is one of the most luxuriously illuminated manuscripts from that period, yet neither inscriptions nor coats of arms survive to identify its original owner. Its current name stems from an inscription on its last folio that connects it with the first queen regnant of Renaissance England: Mary I, often remembered as “Bloody Mary,” the daughter of Henry VIII. According to this inscription, in October 1553 the customs official Baldwin Smith confiscated the manuscript from an unknown party, who was on the point of leaving the country, and then presented it to Queen Mary.³ In 1757, the library holdings of Saint James Palace, which included the Psalter, were donated to the nascent British Museum as the Royal Collection, and the manuscript was catalogued as Royal 2B.vii.⁴ In 1854 Gustav Waagen noted the Baldwin Smith inscription and its connection to Queen Mary, and in 1865 Nat Westlake and William Purdue cemented the association by publishing engravings from the manuscript under the title *The Illustrations of Old Testament History in Queen Mary’s Psalter*.⁵

Despite its connection with the Tudor queen, the sixteenth-century context of Royal 2B.vii has not been explored beyond a few paragraphs in George Warner’s 1912 *Queen Mary’s Psalter*. Warner lays out the slender evidence from the manuscript itself, which comprises three items. These include the 1553 Baldwin Smith inscription noted above, and another inscription, on fol. 84, that speaks to its ownership earlier in the sixteenth century: “This boke was sume tyme the Erle of Rutelands, and it was his wil that it shulde by successioun all way go to the lande of Ruteland or to him that linyally succedis by reson of inheritaunce in the seide lande.” As Warner notes, this most likely refers either to Thomas Manners, the first Earl of Rutland of that family (d. 1543), or to his son Henry Manners, who was imprisoned in July of 1553 when Mary Tudor came to power.⁶ The

third piece of evidence that may help us reconstruct this part of the Psalter's life is its sixteenth-century velvet binding, which was placed on new boards when the manuscript was rebound early in the twentieth century. The original crimson of the velvet has faded, but it retains its embellishments: an embroidered appliqué of Mary's personal emblem—the pomegranate of Aragon, in honor of her mother—and metal fastenings engraved with the Tudor badges of a portcullis, fleur-de-lys, lion and dragon [Fig. 1].⁷ According to Warner, the use of the pomegranate emblem suggested that Mary “regarded [the Psalter] rather as a cherished personal possession than as an ordinary addition to the royal library.”⁸

This essay both examines and looks beyond the binding of Royal 2B.vii to explore the relevance of a medieval manuscript to a Renaissance queen. After a brief discussion of Mary's life, intellectual milieu, and library, I will turn to the iconography of the Psalter's exceptionally rich illustration program. I have argued elsewhere that this program was originally intended to suit the needs of a medieval queen, part of a broader tradition in which biblical figures provided behavioral and spiritual role models.⁹ Here I will examine how the Psalter could also have engaged the interest of the Renaissance Mary, whose personal and dynastic concerns might well have seemed almost prophetically reflected in its pages.

Queen Mary I

The broad outlines of Queen Mary's biography are well-known. Born in 1516 to Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, Mary was repudiated along with her mother when Henry's hopes for a male successor turned to Anne Boleyn.¹⁰ Mary was the eldest of the three legitimate offspring of the king; Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, was sixteen years younger, and Edward was born to Jane Seymour when Mary was twenty-one. As the only son, Edward came to the throne on Henry's death in 1547, and an even briefer reign followed his death in July 1553 when Lady Jane Grey, the Protestant granddaughter of Henry's sister Mary, was put forward as the next ruler. The reign of Lady Jane, the “Nine Days Queen,” was quickly suppressed when Mary and her supporters entered London.

Mary was crowned queen in London on October 1, 1553. She had remained faithful to the church of her mother and reinstated Catholicism with policies for which she would be remembered as “Bloody Mary.”¹¹ Mary remains best known for this fierce loyalty to the Catholic faith, but she is also remembered as a disappointed wife and mother. Earlier marriage plans having fallen through or been abandoned, she began to

negotiate her marriage with Philip II of Spain almost immediately on her accession to the throne.¹² They married in July of 1554, but for the remainder of Mary's brief reign, Philip was away from her court as often as he was in it. Mary's chronic ill health caught up with her in November of 1558, leaving the English throne to her younger sister Elizabeth I.

Popular evaluations of Mary have been overwhelmingly negative, but, as Judith Richards notes, even Renaissance scholars have remained underwhelmed by Mary's character. Mary is seen as her mother's daughter, so much so that she inherited the scholarly "bad press" devoted to Catherine of Aragon.¹³ But Richards is not alone in observing that Mary was extremely well-educated in the humanist tradition, and that the Catholicism to which she subscribed so fiercely was of a distinctly Renaissance character.¹⁴ She cannot be dismissed simply as a ruler who insisted on a return to a traditional medieval faith. Mary was one of the best-educated princesses in early sixteenth-century Europe, both during her early years at the royal court and later, during her exile with her mother.¹⁵ She was a well-read collector of books, and was conversant with works in several languages. In this she was indeed her mother's daughter, for Catherine had been raised in the progressive court of Aragon, and her patronage was instrumental in humanist developments at the English court.¹⁶

In the context of this essay, Catherine's relationship with Juan de Vives, a Spanish humanist heavily influenced by Erasmus, is particularly interesting. Vives dedicated his *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (*The Education of a Christian Woman*) to Catherine in 1523 and then came to England under her patronage. Later that year, while employed by Thomas Wolsey, Vives wrote *De Ratione Studii Puerilis* (*A Plan of Study for Children*) for Princess Mary.¹⁷ While Mary was not, in the end, able to commission such pedagogical treatises for her own children, Richards suggests that she was very much interested in the production of religious manuals, primers imbued with the humanist teachings that had begun to change Catholicism in the decades before both the continental and the English reformations.¹⁸

Mary was also heir to her father's interest in books. During Henry's reign the number of books under royal control grew exponentially, fed both by an explosion in printed book production and by the monarch's own interests. Many of Henry's volumes are full of notations, scribbles, arguments, comments, and other relics of his interactions with their ideas, leaving rare personal witnesses to a king's reading habits.¹⁹ While Mary's books do not display the copious annotations found in those of her father,