

Intertwined Secular and Ecclesiastic Kings: Abbot Suger and His Connection to the French Royal Family as seen through the Artwork of Saint-Denis.

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Abbot Suger was an important figure in medieval France. As well as being an abbot for the prominent French church of Saint-Denis, Suger was intimately connected to the ruling Capetian family. He served as regent for the future King Louis VII during the crusades and had a political relationship with the Capetian King Louis VI. It was this political relationship with the Capetians that Suger used to accomplish his ecclesiastical goals, particularly the reconstruction of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Saint-Denis was reconstructed in the mid-twelfth century, 1135-1144, and became one of the first examples of Gothic art and architecture in the medieval world.¹ While it was reconstructed mainly for the purpose of venerating God through the anagogical concept of light as well as for the ease of viewing the relics housed in Saint-Denis, many examples of kingship and power are just as prevalent in the structure. These examples of Kingship demonstrate the mutual relationship between the ecclesiastical world and the secular spheres. Not only are there multiple examples of Christ in Majesty and religious depictions of power, there are also many examples of power and kingship in connection to the growing power of the Capetian monarchy in France. Through examining Suger's relationship with the Capets, as well as the crusading windows found in the chevet, king statues from the portals, and the tombs of Saint-Denis basilica, the theme of secular kingship can be explained in accordance to Christ's images of kingship in the Abbey-Church of Saint-Denis.

While it is evident from Suger's writing that his primary goal was "not to incorporate the philosophy of Pseudo-Dionysius into religious art, but to maintain claims of contemporaneity amid controversy over monastic life while at the same time pursuing a program of artistic luxury," it seems

Suger sought to incorporate his own experiences and ideas regarding secular and spiritual kingship into the architecture and artwork of Saint-Denis.² In doing so, Suger created a new type of art that intertwined the two images of power, secular and ecclesiastic, into one coherent entity, much like the new gothic architecture that was pioneered at the church of Saint-Denis. Although it is impossible to separate Suger from his ecclesiastical roles, it is still possible to examine Saint-Denis from another perspective.

Abbot Suger was first and foremost an ecclesiastic clergyman. Suger was ten years old when he was given to the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis as a child-oblate in the late-eleventh century.³ While he was raised and schooled in the abbey, it was not until 1122 that he became the abbot.⁴ Prior to this accomplishment, Suger portrayed himself as a strong administrator and military leader "who defended with success his king's and his monastery's possessions against some rapacious feudatories of the land."⁵ Suger wrote a great deal, most notably on the deeds of Louis VI and on the reconstruction of Saint-Denis.⁶ As far as Saint-Denis is concerned, Suger recorded the plans for reconstruction, both administratively and religiously. For example, Suger mentioned in his *De Administratione* that the increase in revenue prompted "the memorable construction of buildings, so that by this thanks might be given to Almighty God by us as well as our successors."⁷ In this one sentence, Suger recognized both the economic side of the reconstruction of the church, yet also identified the main purpose as being for the veneration of God and not economic benefit. In this sense, Suger exemplifies both religious importance as well as a secular understanding in one excerpt of his writing. He successfully represents himself as an ecclesiastic dabbling in the political realm.

As a political figure, not an ecclesiastic power,

Suger oversaw the events and activities of the abbey. There are quite a few correspondences between Suger and others, such as charters and personal letters. When he was elected abbot in 1122, "Suger brought to his office not only a boyhood friendship with King Louis VI and substantial adult experience as a royal emissary to Rome but a tireless energy in promoting both Saint-Denis and the Capetian house."⁸ Apart from his writings on Saint-Denis, Suger also wrote a glorified account of *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, which again reinforced his relationship with the monarchy. It should be noted that Louis VI was "Suger's friend and lived on good terms with the clergy."⁹ Therefore, Suger glorified and justified the king's actions due to Louis' positive relationship with the church. Moreover, most of Suger's experience in the secular and political world revolved around the Capetians. His relationship with the ruling family influenced and helped to create Suger's views about power and kingship, which will be discussed and demonstrated later in association with the church of Saint-Denis.

As a secular and political entity, Suger also functioned as a military leader while the king was away on crusade. This was not a responsibility of an abbot, but was a responsibility he took quite seriously. Suger's first interaction with the French monarchy was in 1118 and his position was solidified when he became a member of the *familia regis*, or royal entourage in 1124.¹⁰ From then on, Suger was an important part of the monarchy, serving as advisor to the kings, that some modern historians even note that: "because he served both Louis VI and Louis VII, Suger represents an element of continuity... He was directly involved in the transformation of royal government from an undisciplined and informal system of rule... to one based on structures and well-defined principles."¹¹ Because of his continuous presence, Suger became an important ecclesiastical facet of the monarchy. It was this presence and continuous influence that led to the incorporation of kingship in the reconstruction of Saint-Denis.

An example of his military role came in 1147 when there was talk of crusade. Although Suger found the crusade to be unwise, he still supported it because of its importance to the power of the king and "accepted its inevitability, and worked hard for its success."¹² Suger supported the monarchy no matter what. When Louis VII left on crusade, he left the monarchy in the hands of Suger who ruled in both the "spiritual and temporal spheres."¹³

Although this is after the consecration of the renovated Saint-Denis, it demonstrates a consistency of loyalty to the monarchy as well Suger's placement of the secular power and that of the ecclesiastical power of the Pope on equal footing indicating their mutual dependency and importance. There is also evidence of this interconnected relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical worlds in his record on *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*. Although Suger records Louis's deeds and accomplishments, he does so carefully and purposefully, recording everything in the best possible light. For example, when Louis laid siege on a church in which a rogue nobleman took refuge, Suger records the events as Louis protecting the church from evildoers.¹⁴ Suger even ends the entry with a positive nod towards Louis, who sent these naughty rebels to "[carry] off their miserable souls in sorrow to hell."¹⁵ Through doing so, it is arguable that Suger sought to justify the actions of the king, perhaps for his own benefit in the eyes of the Capetians, or for the benefit of the monarchy in the eyes of those who read these records. Either way, it clearly demonstrates the relationship between Suger's ecclesiastical world and Louis' secular world.

This theme of a king ruling over both spheres in society is also reflected through the glorified account of Louis VI in *The Deeds of Louis the Fat* as well as Suger's other works. Scholars have also noted this intertwining of the secular and ecclesiastical through the three aspects of kingship in Suger's *Deeds*: "(1) the king as administrator of the kingdom; (2) the king as a figure with special religious associations or attributes; and (3) the king as protector of the churches and of the 'poor.'"¹⁶ Perhaps it is these three aspects that are best represented in Saint-Denis since this is how Suger depicts the ideal ruler. These different aspects of kingship are integral to understanding the expectations of kings of the time and how they were represented in society. Medieval Kings were expected to exemplify these qualities, as seen in *The Deeds* and the way in which Suger portrays the king. This can be taken a step further to explain what Suger expected from God and other rulers. This is all seen in the reconstruction of Saint-Denis, discussed later.

In connection to the monarchy, Suger paints Louis VI or Louis the Fat as a ruler of both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds. When he was crowned king, Louis was not simply the king of the physical land; he became king reigning over

all aspects of his realm. Suger writes: "He took from him the sword of secular knighthood, girded him the ecclesiastical sword for the punishment of evildoers, and joyfully crowned him with the diadem of the kingdom."¹⁷ This represents the king as having power over all spheres as well as the clear relationship between the secular and ecclesiastic realms and therefore demonstrates the importance Suger sees in the growing monarchy. The idea of an ideal 'king' is reflected both secularly and religiously through the iconography of kings in Saint-Denis.

Suger did not miss the chance to depict the king as a defender of the state either in addition to his role as defender of the church. Though not in icons of artistic depictions, Suger's writing still aids in understanding the role of kings in the mid-twelfth century. Suger wrote, "with Homeric flourish, calls the rolls of the 'battles' which King Louis VI mustered in the plains of Rheims in 1124, when the Emperor Henry V was threatening to invade France."¹⁸ King Louis VI was quick to defend Rheims when the country was in danger. This is similar to the crusading mindset of the time, as well as reflects the different aspects Suger expects a king to possess. Not only does he protect the kingdom, he protects the churches and is given a special place within the church, as could be seen with Louis VI's coronation as king,¹⁹ in which he is given power over the land and the ecclesiastic sphere. In accordance with the three facets of kingship exemplified by Louis VI in *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, the depictions of kings in the Church of Saint-Denis follow the same formulaic structure.

Through the interplay of secular and sacred, Suger, and ultimately Saint-Denis, "became the cornerstone of royal policy and the fountainhead of that idea of the Christian monarchy which established Capetian ascendancy throughout France"²⁰ It is not only through *The Deeds of Louis the Fat* that Suger's connections to the monarchy can be seen. It is also important to examine the connection of Suger to the secular world as abbot as well as other ecclesiastics of the time and their own connection to the secular world.

Suger was not the only one writing in the twelfth century, and certainly not the only one writing on the topics he covered. Other contemporary authors, mainly Hugh of Saint-Victor, confronted similar issues of kingship and power in his *Didascalicon* and various writings on love.²¹ Both of these examples dealt with the idea of a secular world outside the ecclesiastical sphere in which he

wrote. This separation between the two spheres is markedly different from that of Suger, who clearly finds the two interdependent and inseparable. Hugh still represents another mind contemplating the same issues, and should therefore be studied in accordance with kingship and Suger.

Hugh of Saint-Victor was a contemporary of Abbot Suger, writing during the early twelfth century. Very little is known about Hugh. There are few glimpses into his life that can be found in the *Didascalicon*; he references living abroad, a love of learning, and a connection to a particular Augustinian priory.²² Other than that, his life is open to interpretation. Due to the fact that he was writing and because of the topic he writes about, he was obviously an ecclesiastic clergyman, much like Suger, since the only literate and educated people were typically ecclesiastics.

Also similar to Abbot Suger, Hugh of Saint-Victor wrote on art. Suger saw art as a way to venerate God. In Suger's *De Administratione*, he writes that "we applied to the perfection of so sacred an ornament [the Golden Crucifix] not only these [hycinths, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, topazes] but also a great and expensive supply of other gems and large pearls."²³ To Suger, art was meant to embellish and enhance the veneration of God. This view contrasted Hugh of Saint-Victor. In his view, art came to represent something else in its entirety. He writes that when an image is imprinted upon another material, "which itself is one thing, begins to represent a different thing, not just on the outside, but from its own power and natural aptitude to do so."²⁴ Through this statement, Hugh discusses the importance of art and images. He did not view art as important or even necessary in churches. To Hugh, art was an extravagant luxury that did not belong in a church. This perspective can be applied to the idea of images in churches. Much like the images of kingship in Saint-Denis' art, they can become representations of an idea which is communicable to the viewers—the worshippers and pilgrims. Hugh's musing on art supports the images that promote kingship found in Saint-Denis.

Although Suger and Hugh of Saint-Victor disagreed on the role art should play within a church, their perspectives on kingship and power were quite similar. Hugh of Saint-Victor discusses how man is like God: "Now there are two things which restore the divine likeness in man, namely the contemplation of truth and the practice of virtue."²⁵ This mirrors man's identification with the divine

in Suger's *Deeds of Louis the Fat*; Louis is like God in that he protects the church and the poor as well as his kingdom. In this sense, Louis is acting in divine likeness to God because he is practicing virtuous deeds. Suger was obviously not the only person contemplating the idea of kingship and power therein. The mere fact that Hugh was also discussing these topics in his work demonstrates that the idea of kingship and power were important topics even in other ecclesiastic communities. In addition, even though Hugh of Saint-Victor described these two spheres separately, that the two worlds of secular and ecclesiastic were very much intertwined when portrayed in Suger's work.

Much like Bernard of Clairvaux, who disagreed with the elaborate decadence of the reconstructed Saint-Denis, Hugh of Saint-Victor's *The Praise of the Bridegroom* addresses the idea of physical things demonstrating a deeper meaning.²⁶ For example, the desire for physical things is not necessary; this desire can be dealt with through sufficiency and, in some cases, austerity.²⁷ Hugh states, "Desire runs from the world, when having seen the work of God outwardly changes itself inwardly through wonder and praise to be more ardent toward him."²⁸ Although Hugh and Bernard disagreed with the art Suger chose to include in the church of Saint-Denis, they all view kingship in the same way, as seen through their writing. The difference in opinion may perhaps stem from the differences in the monastic orders. The disagreement over the role of art in a church does not change the fact that the iconography of kingship, such as a crown or a throne, appear in churches alongside Christ in Majesty or other religious images of power.

Since Suger held both secular and monastic roles in his lifetime, this is consequently mirrored in the artistic depictions he helped design for Saint-Denis. Although it functioned primarily as a prominent church on a pilgrimage route, the church of Saint-Denis was still a place for secular images of kingship to be intentionally displayed and incorporated. Much like Suger's ideas of kingship, protecting the church, perhaps the images of kingship and power on the church helped communicate this idea of protection. The images of kings may also have been used to communicate their power alongside the power of Christ, as Suger viewed them. Whatever the reason, images of kings still appear repeatedly around the Church of Saint-Denis. It is difficult to identify the exact motives and Suger's intentions behind each image, leaving

the modern viewer to speculate, in an attempt to understand the images through the remaining context of Suger's writing. In this sense, the written word and the image must be reconciled, much like the relationship between the church and the state.

Because of the prominence of illiteracy in the medieval population, visual iconography and images played a vital role in societal comprehension of ideas, especially those of the ecclesiastical world and Christianity. There was a simple reason for all of the artwork that appeared in the church: to communicate the lessons and stories to the illiterate members of the community. As Hugh of Saint-Victor writes: "In the same way that an illiterate who may look at an open book see figures [but] does not understand the letters, so the foolish and carnal man who does not perceive those things which are of God..."²⁹ This identification and purpose of artwork in the church to act as a visual narrative to the illiterate populace, was deliberately thought out by Suger in his intricate stained glass windows. Suger's main concern with the windows "was saturating the church with imagery and the visual effect of the imagery."³⁰ By introducing the crusading windows in tandem with the physical tombs of past powerful kings and other images of kings alongside biblical stories and lessons found in the stained glass, he communicates the importance of both the secular and ecclesiastic worlds to the illiterate viewer. Since the artist or architect creates an image "not by reproducing what he sees in the visible world, but rather by producing what he intuitively 'knows' about the transcendental realm,"³¹ then, intuitively, the artist is rendering how he views kings, kingship, and power. The artist is recording this in the stained glass and other mediums to communicate this idea to the illiterate populous viewing the art.

Because "the primary doctrinal justification of art within the church was to teach the illiterate,"³² these elements of kingship Suger wrote about are visually communicated to a larger audience in Saint-Denis. The aspects of kingship that Suger focuses on grew out of his political relationship with the Capets, mainly Louis VI, since Suger portrayed him as exemplifying all of them. Suger and the reconstruction of Saint-Denis, and therefore, conveys a message of kingship to the illiterate worshippers and pilgrims visiting the church.

The three elements of kingship—as administrator, association with the church, and protector of people and church—can all be seen through the artwork and architecture of Saint-Denis,

not just through the writing of Abbot Suger. All of the ideals and interpretations of kingship can be found in the countless sculptures of kings on the portal, as well as stained glass windows in the chevet, such as the Crusading Window, the tombs of Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian kings in the basilica of Saint-Denis, and even the depictions of Christ in Majesty in stained glass windows.

Kingship is an idea that was actively discussed and considered in both ecclesiastical and secular settings. One place where these ideas were most identifiable is in the portals, the windows, and the tombs of the church of Saint-Denis. "During a period beginning in 1771 and lasting through the French Revolution, there was considerable damage done to the sculptural monuments at the Abbey."³³ Because these sculptures on the portals of Saint-Denis represented kings and a strong sense of kingship stemming from the middle ages, they were destroyed during the revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century because of the populace's frustration with the monarchy. The remaining images of kings that were saved and salvaged obviously represented kingship in a strong way. While churches conveyed a strong message for the viewer of ecclesiastic persuasion and religiousness, messages and symbols of kingship are additionally emphasized and present (see figure 1). Images of kingship are not only found on these decapitated statues, but in the Crusading windows and tombs as well.

Most of the original glass in the Crusading Window from the radiating chapels is no longer extant. However, there are sources referring to stained glass windows depicting Charlemagne's pilgrimage East as well as the First Crusade.³⁴ Since churches were a main focal point of the community, the depictions of Charlemagne and the First Crusade on a church would communicate the idea of secular power alongside the spiritual power of God to the illiterate populous. These panels, or the Pitcairn Windows, show the cause and effect of the Crusade and perhaps the *Chanson de Roland's* expedition to Spain (see figure 2). Though no longer extant, these windows can be discovered through other sources and nineteenth century drawings.³⁵ The fourteen supposed stained glass windows were originally in pairs. It is suggested that these medallions followed "a logical historical sequence in ascending fashion and portrayed, in progression from left to right, effort and its reward."³⁶ This is only necessary because; the reward is usually depicted by a crown

or other form of veneration.³⁷

The crown and palms signified martyrs, or people who died fighting for God. Therefore, these martyrs represented a Christian ideal as well as a person who had fervently fought under their king for God. In this way, the Crusading Windows at Saint-Denis represent Suger's secular and religious ideas of kingship and the interconnected relationship between the two worlds. Martyrdom and ascension to heaven is depicted as a kingly crown in the case of these martyrs (see figure 3). For the medieval viewer, perhaps this connection could have been made; a king was akin to a martyr. These windows show the influence the king had on Saint-Denis and the connection to power Suger wished to garner with the people.

Another way in which Suger connected kingship to the church of Saint-Denis was continuing the tradition of 'Necropolis of France' in the basilica of the church. Since the first church was built on the original site of the Dagobert I's Merovingian church, Suger and future abbots continued the already established tradition of burying the kings, queens, and important nobility in the church. Currently, forty-three kings, thirty-two queens, sixty-three princes and princesses, as well as other servants to the kingdom of France are buried throughout the basilica and crypt.³⁸ An image of the deceased was carved on top of the tomb, signifying who was buried there. This also served as a visual reminder of the king in accordance with the visual images of Christ throughout the church (see figure 4). By burying these physical symbols of the French monarchy so close to the visual symbols of God's power, kingship and faith became even more interrelated. Although Suger did not add this feature to the church, he certainly continued it. Even in the mid-thirteenth century during the next set of renovations to the church, several tombs were moved to reinforce the genealogies of the Carolingians and Capetians.³⁹ Through the movement to reinforce genealogies, the church exemplifies the importance of the monarchy to the people and even to the church itself. There would not have been a need to move these tombs if the kings did not matter to the worshippers of Saint-Denis.

In the religious side of the stained glass, there are quite a few depictions of Christ as king. These images portray similar traits to the other images of secular kings that are found in Saint-Denis. In the so-called Anagogical Window or the Saint-

Paul Window, Christ is seen between Ecclesia and Synagoga and wearing a crown that is similar to the crowns worn by the aforementioned French kings on the tombs and the statue heads from the portals (see figure 5).⁴⁰ Christ is also seen depicted similarly to kings and associated with kingship in other various parts of the cathedral. In the infancy window of the chevet, Christ is depicted sitting on a throne with attendants around him in the "Boy Jesus in the Temple" panel (see figure 6).⁴¹ It is significant to note that although Christ is in a temple, he is still depicted similar to a king. This parallels nicely to kingship having a place within the church, as seen with Saint-Denis. Abbot Suger would have felt comfortable showing Christ as a king due to his association with the Capetians and the way in which he depicts the secular kings within Saint-Denis.

The depictions of kingship in the secular world, as seen through the statues, the tombs, and the Crusading window, when compared to the images of Christ enthroned with the iconography of a king, can be understood as a popular theme in the twelfth century and especially in the reconstruction of Saint-Denis. Due to all the different examples of kingship found therein, it is clear to see the connection the church, and more specifically, Abbot Suger, had with the monarchy. This influence can be attributed to Abbot Suger due to his influence and dual role within the Capetian ruling family and the ecclesiastical role at Saint-Denis. His interplay between the secular and the spiritual spheres allowed for the renovations of Saint-Denis in the 1140s to reflect the influence of secular powers on the iconography and depictions of kings in the church.

Figures



Figure 1: Head of so-called "Childebert" as representation of a king at Saint-Denis from the west portals. *Source:* Data from Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Monumental Sculptures from St.-Denis: An Identification of Fragments from the Portal" in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 3, (1940), 92. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20168744>.



Figure 3: Also from the crusading window at Saint-Denis: Nine seated figures interpreted as martyred crusaders. *Source:* Data from Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 49, (1986), 42. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751288>.



Figure 2: A king leading a marching army, from the proposed crusading window at Saint-Denis. *Source:* Data from Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 49, (1986), 42. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751288>.

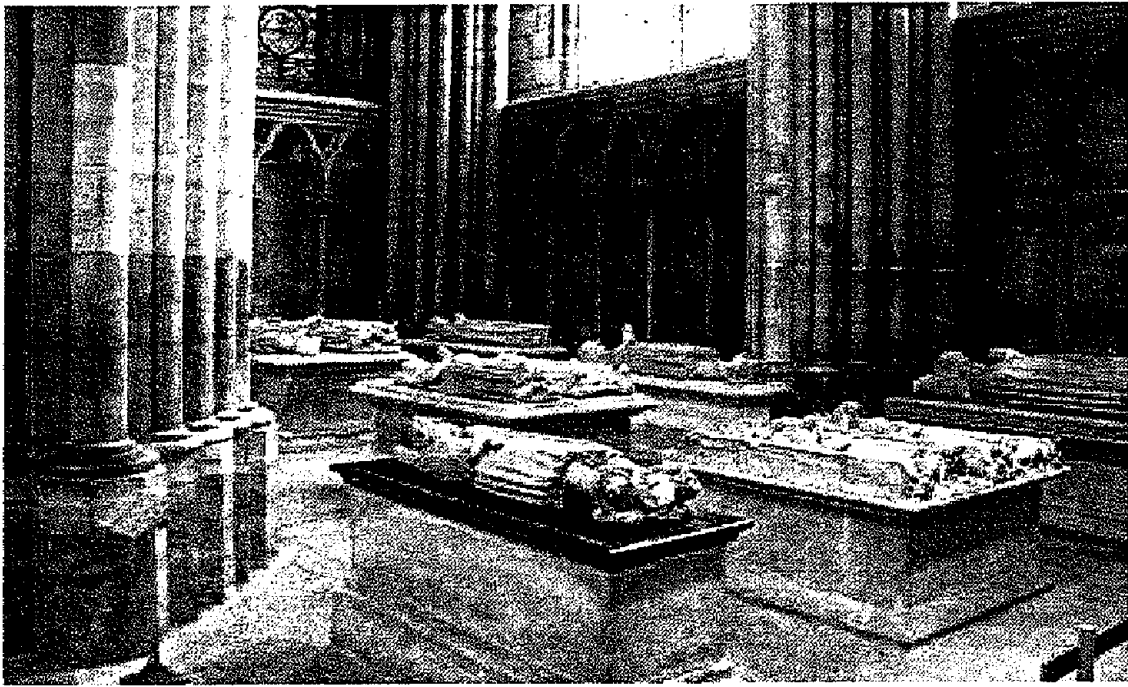


Figure 4: The north transept where many tombs are placed. *Source:* Data from Mary Ann Sullivan, "Introduction to the Basilica or Cathedral of St.Denis, environs of Paris," Bluffton University, <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/france/paris/stdenis/stdenistombs.html> (accessed 25 November 2011).



(Left) Figure 5: Christ as King in the Anagoge Window of Saint-Denis. *Source:* Data from Alison Stones, "Images of Medieval Art and Architecture: France: Benedictine Abbey Church of Saint-Denis," University of Pittsburgh, <http://www.medart.pitt.edu/image/france/st-denis/windows/Anagoge/Sdenwind-Anagog.html> (accessed 24 November 2011).



Figure 6: Christ in Majesty in the Infancy Window at Saint-Denis. Data from Alison Stones, "Images of Medieval Art and Architecture: France: Benedictine Abbey Church of Saint-Denis," University of Pittsburgh, <http://www.medart.pitt.edu/image/france/st-denis/windows/Infancy/m0536bsds.jpg> (accessed 24 November 2011).

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Endnotes

¹ "In architectural terms it involved a change from the typically heavy, barrel-vaulted churches of the Romanesque...to the physically and visibly lighter skeletal structure of Gothic with its ribbed groin vault and stronger more adaptable pointed arch. This combination permitted a much greater opening up of the surface area of the wall to light..." Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis; Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy Over Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 5.

² Ibid, 33.

³ Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis; Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1998), 77.

⁴ Otto Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral; Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 65.

⁵ Ibid.

- ⁶ Please see Abbot Suger. *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*. Translated by Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992, and Panofsky-Soergel, Gerda. *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*. Edited and translated by Erwin Panofsky. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948, respectively.
- ⁷ Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, Erwin Panofsky, ed. and trans. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), 43.
- ⁸ Charles M. Radding and William W. Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 63-64.
- ⁹ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, Lionel Butler and R.J. Adam, trans. (Hong Kong: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1960), 20.
- ¹⁰ Eric Bournazel, "Suger and the Capetians," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, Paula Leiber Gerson, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 55.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis; Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1998), 158.
- ¹³ Ibid, 157.
- ¹⁴ Abbot Suger. *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead, trans. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 36.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Andrew W. Lewis, "Suger's Views on Kingship," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, Paula Leiber Gerson, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 49.
- ¹⁷ Abbot Suger. *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead, trans. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 63.
- ¹⁸ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, Lionel Butler and R.J. Adam, trans. (Hong Kong: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1960), 66.
- ¹⁹ Abbot Suger. *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead, trans. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 62.
- ²⁰ Otto Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral; Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 66.
- ²¹ "They have been unanimous in their assessment of the striking gap between the concepts which are involved in the program as they appear in [Suger's] writings and those same concepts as they appear in the artworks themselves." Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis; Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy Over Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 32.
- ²² Jerome Taylor, trans., introduction to *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor; A Medieval Guide to the Arts*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 36-37.
- ²³ Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, Erwin Panofsky, ed. and trans. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), 59.
- ²⁴ Jerome Taylor, trans., *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor; A Medieval Guide to the Arts*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 47.
- ²⁵ Ibid, 54-55.
- ²⁶ Hugh of Saint-Victor "determines that the bridegroom and the bride represent God and the soul. Within this literal and allegorical framework, he then proceeds through the text phrase by phrase, and in less than 4,000 words conveys a great deal of information both about the meaning of the words and about his understanding of the Christian life." Hugh Feiss OSB, ed., Introduction to *On Love; A Selection of Work of Hugh, Adam, Achard, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2011), 119-120.
- ²⁷ Ibid, 120.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 146.
- ²⁹ Jerome Taylor, trans., *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor; A Medieval Guide to the Arts*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 64.
- ³⁰ Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis; Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy Over Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 65.
- ³¹ Mark Gelemter, *Sources of Architectural Form; A Critical History of Western Design Theory* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 71.

³² Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis; Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy Over Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 15.

³³ Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Monumental Sculptures from St-Denis: An Identification of Fragments from the Portal," in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 3, (1940), 95. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20168744>.

³⁴ Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 49, (1986), 1. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751288>.

³⁵ Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, Paula Leiber Gerson, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 259.

³⁶ Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 49, (1986), 9. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751288>.

³⁷ There are multiple figures depicted with crowns and palms to signify the consequences of aiding the king, thus "balancing timeless celestial glory against fervent temporal activity." Ibid, 11.

³⁸ Federal Hotel, "Saint Denis Basilica, Necropolis of the Kings of France," Webstore, http://en.federal-hotel.com/monument-saint-denis--basilica--necropolis--of-the-kings-of-france-saint-denis_2762.htm (accessed 27 November 2011).

³⁹ Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," in *The Art Bulletin*, vol 56, no. 2 (1974): 224. Found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3049227>.

⁴⁰ Alison Stones, "Images of Medieval Art and Architecture: France: Benedictine Abbey Church of Saint-Denis," University of Pittsburgh, <http://www.medart.pitt.edu/image/france/stdenis/windows/Anagogical/Sdenwind-Anagog.html> (accessed 24 November 2011).

⁴¹ Alison Stones, "Images of Medieval Art and Architecture: France: Benedictine Abbey Church of Saint-Denis," University of Pittsburgh, <http://www.medart.pitt.edu/image/france/st-denis/windows/Infancy/m0536bsds.jpg> (accessed 24 November 2011).