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Prototypes and Archetypes: Redefining the iconographic relationship between St Stephen's Chapel in Westminster and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris

Since its destruction by fire in 1834, numerous studies of St Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster have invited the reader to imagine an English version of the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris. Situated in the heart of the royal palace on the Ile de la Cité, designed in the Rayonnant style to provide an honourable location for the veneration of the Crown of Thorns and other relics of the Passion, and consecrated on 26 April 1248 after less than a decade of construction, this medieval chapel has captivated its visitors for nearly eight centuries. The Sainte-Chapelle has survived at least three fires (in 1618, 1630, and 1776) and, as a potent symbol of the Ancien Régime, it also endured the targeted iconoclasm and ensuing neglect caused by the Revolution. From 1838 until 1870, a dedicated team of architects and artisans worked to ensure its total restoration of its c.1240s decorative programme, salvaging most of the Gothic glass in the upper chapel (Figure 1).¹ The illustration of biblical history unfolds from its kaleidoscopic windows, beginning in the northwest corner with Genesis and proceeding clockwise across the four lateral bays of the north wall until the septpartite apse, where the Passion appears. The programme then continues along the south wall with images of Tobit and Job, the books Judith and Esther, and the book of Kings, culminating in a representation of the recent events of relic translation in the final bay before turning the corner and terminating with the Revelation of Saint John—an eschatological explosion—in the rose window of its west wall.² Nineteenth-century artisans trained at the École des Beaux-Arts also repainted more than half of the so-called "painted medallions," leaving twenty murals in their original state of preservation.
Each of these forty-four murals, which show dynamic scenes of martyrs dying in suspended animation, are executed in oil paint, goldleaf, and glass and embedded in the quatrefoil lunettes of the dado arcade. They reassembled its free-standing, polychromed sculptures of the Apostles affixed to the twelve interior piers of the upper chapel; each figure appears barefoot, perfect, and resurrected, ready to walk into Paradise wearing elegant broad-fold drapery. The restoration team tried to faithfully reconstruct what was lost, such as its portal sculpture showing the Last Judgment on the upper chapel exterior portal, relying on careful archaeological studies. The most conspicuous and symbolic loss to its original design occurred in 1789, when its sacred relics were removed and the grande châsse, the gilded micro-architectural reliquary designed in 1248 to contain the instruments of Christ's Passion, was melted down and turned into coin. Originally, the monumental tribune supported the grande châsse above the high altar in the east end, elevating the relics of Christ at the devotional centre of this sacred space. All that survives of this Parisian building testifies to its brightly coloured appearance and luminescent surface effects (Figure 2).

In contrast, only a few original medieval elements of St Stephen's Chapel could be salvaged from the flames that engulfed Westminster palace. Each of these fragments also indicate its once brilliant, shimmering Gothic fabric. There are a number of panels from an Old Testament wall painting programme executed c.1350–60s that represent scenes from the book of Job and Tobit, coupled with Latin inscriptions (see Jane Spooner’s chapter at pp.XXX-XXX). These harrowing and emotional representations of divine intervention once appeared underneath the lateral windows of the upper chapel. Today, these paintings are preserved in the British Museum alongside other fragments of brightly polychromed stonework (Figure 3). The restored c.1340s bosses showing the animated martyrdoms of saints, which remain in situ at the centre of
the vaults in the lower chapel, also indicate the presence of a sophisticated decorative
programme once covered in dazzling colour. As two-storied palatine chapels created for royal
patrons with resplendent Gothic ornament, the Sainte-Chapelle and St Stephen's Chapel seem to
share a number of features in both their form and function. Because of their aesthetic similarities,
their foundation dates, and the apparent rivalry between their original Gothic patrons, the
Capetian King Louis IX (1214, r. 1234–1270, canonized 1297) and Plantagenet King Henry III
(1207, r. 1216–1272), many historians have assumed that the edifice in Paris directly influenced
the construction of the royal chapel in Westminster. This chapter will suggest something rather
different. After questioning the extent of the influence of the rivalry between these royal patrons,
it will reappraise the connection between these two palatine chapels by untangling their
categorical associations in the historiography, exposing their analogous heritage in a long and
venerable tradition of palatine chapel architecture. Then it will reexamine the set of sources that
could have inspired the designs of these buildings. In the end, it will suggest that the
iconographic relationship between Sainte-Chapelle and St Stephen's Chapel should no longer be
categorized by historians as that of a prototype and one of its many copies. Instead, this chapter
will argue that the original Gothic design of both palatine chapels reflects parallel (and beautiful)
evocations of a specific but universal courtly archetype; the heavenly throne room.

Rivalry and Reality

In 1946, John Harvey wrote a groundbreaking article on the Perpendicular style and St Stephen's
Chapel in which he claimed that its "original scheme [is] unquestionably derived from the
Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, with its lower and upper chapel, its turreted west gable, its two-storied
porch and its wooden flèche" and that "even the dimensions of the two buildings are almost
identical."\(^8\) Maurice Hastings too, in his book on St Stephen's Chapel and the Perpendicular style, wrote that the "dependence of this chapel on, and its derivation from, the Sainte-Chapelle is not in question."\(^9\) More recently, in his general study *A History of Western Architecture*, David Watkin suggested that St Stephen's Chapel was built "in deliberate rivalry with the Sainte-Chapelle."\(^10\) These are just a handful of examples wherein architectural historians have inferred that original designers the Gothic chapel in Westminster emulated and attempted to eclipse the beauty of King Louis IX's edifice in Paris. Sometimes, scholars go so far as to suggest that this idea of personal rivalry between the two kings directly motivated Henry III's architectural patronage. For Robert Branner, "Henry III was a Francophile, and his brother-in-law, Louis IX, was one of his favourite models."\(^11\) Branner believed that Henry "must have been profoundly affected by the idea of the Sainte-Chapelle (in Paris) as a monumental reliquary" so that his projects in and around Westminster were "undoubtedly intended" to create a "super-shrine to rival and surpass the French chapel."\(^12\) This claim is found in Branner's book on *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, wherein he attempted to retrace the spread of the so-called "Court Style" from the radius of Paris.\(^13\) Branner's words are in need of further clarification as they do not seem to distinguish between King Henry III's patronage at Westminster Abbey and the Palace of Westminster. While Henry's patronage of relic cults and French Gothic architects and artisans at Westminster Abbey could imply his interest in cultivating a pious persona and courtly aesthetic in manner similar to King Louis IX's devotional investment in his Sainte-Chapelle,\(^14\) these inferences should not be grafted onto what we know of his initial plans (c.1227–1253) for the Gothic decoration of St Stephen's Chapel.

The most obvious flaw in any assumption about the influence of the Sainte-Chapelle on the Gothic recreation of St Stephen's Chapel is related to chronology. Henry began to divert
funds towards decorative projects associated with St Stephen's Chapel as early as 1227, nearly two decades before the completion of the Sainte-Chapelle and almost three decades after his first official visit to the Parisian palace in 1254. In 1238, there is a record for payment for fine marble step, probably comprised of Purbeck, positioned before the altar. Additional payments for a marble and Limoges "basins" in 1240 are indicative of his desire to embellish this space with lavish materials that were appropriate for the celebration of rituals in a special royal chapel. Another noteworthy payment appears in 1250, when the king requested "images" of Apostles circling the chapel (imagines apostolorum in circuitu eiusdum capelle) with a representation of the Last Judgment placed to the west (judicium in occidentali parte eiusdem). It is possible that these "imagines" of the Apostles were not paintings but statues. For Robert Branner, this Apostolic programme was devised "very likely in imitation of the twelve statues that adorn the interior of Louis's church"; this statement immediately follows another one of his claims that St. Stephen's is "an exact counterpart of the Sainte-Chapelle." To sidestep the inherent chronological issue with this inference, Branner believed that "Henry was taken with the Sainte-Chapelle long before he had actually seen it." Perhaps it is more likely that lavish decorative programmes, which included Apostolic imagery, were a conventional design choice for many high-status devotional spaces, including palatine chapels. As James Hillson has observed, Henry's "use of costly materials was a mark of unusual distinction for St Stephen’s." Moreover, Hillson has clarified that most of Henry's artistic activity in St Stephen's Chapel had occurred before the 1250s, with "approximately half" of these works complete by 1240. In each case, these decorative impulses from the acquisition of precious materials, the creation of an Apostolic audience of "imagines" around the interior perimeter, the depiction of the Last Judgment to the west, and the placement of fine materials (in this instance, marble) surrounding
the high altar—match what is known of King Louis IX’s patronage of his decorative programme in the Sainte-Chapelle. However, these design decisions are not limited to these two sites; they are prominent features in many prestigious buildings, especially palatine chapels, erected throughout the Middle Ages.

Henry had already embarked on the Gothic redecoration of his palatine chapel long before the completion of the Sainte-Chapelle and, after his death on 16 November 1272, two decades of inactivity followed before his son King Edward I initiated its total reconstruction, which included digging trenches for laying its foundation. Then, over the next sixty years (and the reigns of two more kings called Edward), the new two-storied Gothic edifice began to rise in great splendour from the palace of Westminster. Before the launch of the AHRC-funded St Stephen’s Chapel research project, many historiographical discussions of the relationship between these two royal monuments tended to enhance the authority of the Sainte-Chapelle as an influential prototype while simplifying the aesthetic value of the palatine chapel in Westminster as a copy. This appraisal is not only chronologically flawed; it also undermines the status and inventive aspects of imitation in the medieval imagination. Examples of Henry’s apparent emulation of Louis, which are employed by architectural historians as evidence of the Plantagenet king copying his Capetian "cousin," are all too often inserted into the story of the Gothic chapel’s origins in Westminster without due consideration of other possible sources of its design.24

The idea that the rivalry between Louis (as a model) and Henry (as an imitator) directly inspired devotional patronage at Westminster is often supported by references to two biographical episodes. In 1247, on the feast day of his patron saint Edward the Confessor (13 October), King Henry III carried the Holy Blood from Saint Paul's Cathedral through the streets
of London to Westminster Abbey, where he deposited the relic the hope of attracting devotion and generating miracles.\textsuperscript{25} This procession occurred as soon as Henry acquired the relic as a gift from the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, which was a few years after King Louis IX's captivating civic \textit{adventus} of the Crown of Thorns through Paris. This solemn procession of the Passion relic through the city streets brought great joy to the people of Paris. Immediately after the parade's end, which took place in the king's private palatine chapel on 19 August 1239, it was apparent that popular ceremonial event helped to define and project Louis IX's identity as a \textit{rex christianissimus}.\textsuperscript{26} In March and September of 1241, he also paraded his recently acquired relic of the True Cross and, at some point in 1242, he retraced and repeated this solemn parade with the Holy Lance in hand.\textsuperscript{27} According to Nicholas Vincent, "the ceremony of 1247 [in London] can be represented as an attempt to emulate, indeed to better, the splendid reception" in Paris.\textsuperscript{28} In his eyewitness account of this English royal parade, the chronicler Matthew Paris explicitly referred to Louis (and his procession of the Passion relics) as an \textit{exemplum} for Henry and the Holy Blood in his \textit{Chronica Majora}.\textsuperscript{29} Matthew also reproduced the content of the sermon delivered in honour of the relic's reception by the bishop of Norwich, Nicholas Farnham, and the defense of its power and authenticity by the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, who both claimed that the Holy Blood was categorically "more sacred" (\textit{sacratioris-multo sanctior}) than the Passion relics in Paris because each of Louis IX's items—the Crown of Thorns, the True Cross, and the Holy Lance—were only sanctified through the shedding of Christ's blood.\textsuperscript{30} In the end, unlike the royal parades of Passion in Paris, Henry's cult of the Holy Blood failed to appeal to a popular audience despite the organization of this public ceremony and the support of these powerful prelates.\textsuperscript{31}
The second competitive anecdote employed by historians is related to Henry's visit to Paris in December 1254 and, again, the *Chronica Majora* is our primary source. We learn that during his stay, the Plantagenet king "eagerly wished to see" (videre sitienter desideraverat) the "most noble chapel of the king of France" (capellam regis Francorum nobilissimam) and its relics. There, he and Louis prayed and made offerings together in the "most beautiful chapel" (capellam pulcherrimam) in presence of its relics. About ten years later, Henry's encounter with the "noble" and "beautiful" Sainte-Chapelle was immortalized (and exaggerated) in one of the last quatrains of an Old French *lais*, known as *La pais aus Englois* ("The Song of the Peace with England"). In this rather naughty song, King Henry III is imagined as a foolish, brutish man who hates the French people, hopes to "set fire to the river which is called the Seine" ("je bouterra le fu en cele eve qui [fu] Saine"), and takes what he wants from the city of Paris:

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"[P]ar le v plais à Diex, Parris fout mult grant
Il i a i chapel dont je fi coetant;
Je le ferra portier, à i charrier rollant
A Saint Amont à Londres toute droit en estant.
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By the Five Wounds of God, Paris is a very great city
There is a chapel of which I am desirous;
I will cause it to be carried in a rolling cart,
Straight to Saint Amont in London, just as it stands."

This absurd portrayal of King Henry III carrying off the palace chapel in Paris on a "push-cart" appears near the end of this vernacular jonglerie, which Thomas Wright claimed was written in intentionally poor French "to increase the hilarity of the listeners at the expense of the English and their king." These verses are not an accurate historical reflection of Henry's copycat tendencies; they are a creative expression of political satire. Moreover, the apparent rivalry between these two kings did not last; as David Carpenter said, "they started as enemies and became friends."

In the context of architectural history, blunt citations of these bawdy verses give the impression that Henry's desire to decorate St Stephen's Chapel emerged from envy and resulted in a copy. A closer inspection of evidence about the decorative programme of the Sainte-
Chapelle and Henry III's plans for St Stephen's Chapel, alongside an elucidation of the symbolic tradition in which both monuments stand, reveals a more complex relationship. Above all, there is one critical feature that distinguishes the architectural iconography of the Sainte-Chapelle from that of St Stephen's Chapel. As far as we know, the royal chapel at Westminster is totally lacking in a comparable treasury of its own relics. When Henry III acquired his own special Passion relic in 1247, why did he choose to deposit the Holy Blood in the Benedictine abbey at Westminster instead of his own palatine chapel if he was copying Louis IX? And later, when King Edward I acquired the relics of the Crown of Arthur, the Neaith Cross, the Black Rood of Scotland, and the Stone of Scone between 1285–1297, these too would be placed in the abbey near the shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor. Because of the absence of a treasury of relics, St Stephen's Chapel would always be fundamentally different from the Sainte-Chapelle, which– from its inception– was constructed to house the instruments of the Passion and serve as a both a physical and symbolic monumental reliquary.

An iconography of the medieval palatine chapel: From *Martyria* to *Sacrae Capellae*

The idea that the design of St Stephen's Chapel was derived from the Sainte-Chapelle emerged in the wake of early twentieth-century structuralist methodologies. In search of a *Kunstwollen*, some architectural historians began to divide medieval buildings into various categories (defined by their prototypes and copies) by outlining an iconography of medieval architecture. This approach was made popular by Richard Krautheimer (1897–1994). As we shall see, many scholars also have claimed that the royal palatine chapels in Paris and London inherited a specific set of features from the same cluster of influential forerunners, which includes the imperial chapels at Aachen and the Pharos in the Bucoleon palace at Constantinople. According
to André Grabar (1896–1990), the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris belongs to a particularly venerable architectural type, which he labelled a *Sacra Capella*. These tall, thin, vertically divided but rectangular spaces are defined by their extraordinary collections of relics and their royal (or imperial) patronage. In his book, *Martyrium*, which was written during the Second World War, Grabar discussed various types of churches while arguing for the existence of a collective Christian aesthetic, which was united by several design strategies, that emerged from the same set of influential buildings. By placing medieval architecture into an evolutionary system that flourished from a fixed set of popular and powerful progenitors, Grabar claimed that *martyria* took form in countless churches across Christendom. In so doing, his work transgressed the regional, cultural, and synchronic frontiers of conventional architectural analysis. It also allowed for the existence of architectural copies to appear at a great distance from one another and possibly after a long period of time had elapsed between their design and that of their model. While the adoption of this collective approach to the spread and development of Christian architecture is inherently inclusive, it also lead Grabar to implement various taxonomic and hierarchical categories, wherein he classified churches into types alongside their forerunners, their contemporaries, and, wherever possible, their copies. Thus, in recognizing a genealogy of medieval churches, Grabar also sought to make sense of their familial differences.

Grabar claimed that a particular strand of *martyria* emerged in the form of special palatine chapels known as *Sacrae Capellae*, which enveloped extremely high-status sanctuaries within a small space ("plus petites que les *martyria* authentiques d'époque ancienne") that was "souvent gracieux et particulièrement soignés." He claimed that this superlative category originated with Constantine, who inserted numerous splendid oratories into his Constantinopolitan palaces, but that it was refined under Charlemagne (742, r. 768–814,
canonized 1165) around 792, when he paid for a mighty imperial chapel adjacent to his residence at Aachen. The first Holy Roman Emperor imported fine materials and spolia (perhaps illegally) from Rome and Ravenna to ensure that his new chapel at Aachen could "guarantee the Christian Roman imperial tradition."41 This centrally-planned, polygonal, and domed edifice enclosed a treasury of relics, containing pignora apostolorum [et] martyrum, in a shimmering structure that would become illa famosissima toto Romanorum orbe capella.42 Charlemagne’s Aachen materialized alongside the very first "named" ancestor of the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris; the so-called Camara Santa at Oviedo, a small rectangular chamber containing multiple Christological relics and martyrs' remains constructed by King Alfonso II of Asturias (c.760–842) after 802.43 This palatine chapel was once covered in resplendent and colourful double-portraits of sculpted Apostles affixed to each of its piers (Figure 4), which surrounded relics of the Victory Cross and a fragment of the Sudarium, allegedly translated to Alfonso from Jerusalem. Today, a cluster of Christological relics, including a True Cross, a piece of the Crown of Thorns, a Sepulchral Stone, and the Milk of the Virgin Mary, remain enshrined its Arca Santa, a large, twelfth-century reliquary casket; it measures 72 x 119 x 93 cm and it is sheathed silver and covered in repoussé decoration.44 The front panel of the Arca Santa contains an energetic image of Christ enthroned in majesty (Figure 5), framed by his mandorla, which is stretched by four rather flexible angles and surrounded by figures of the twelve Apostles wearing flowing robes. The presence of the alpha and omega on either side of Christ's shoulders indicate the eschatological nature of this scene and signify its iconographic inheritance from the book of Revelation. Originally (and still) used as the primary altar in the east end, this casket also functions as the central platform— a sort of holy table— for the performance of mass. Beginning with the Camara Santa, Grabar sketched out the requisite features of a Sacra Capella and stated that each of these buildings to have two
essential non-architectural elements: An imperial or royal patron and a treasury of multiple Christological relics. The requirement of the latter criterion therefore excludes St Stephen's Chapel from Grabar's esteemed category and presents a major challenge to the question of its imitation of the Sainte-Chapelle.

Richard Krautheimer's salubrious review of Martyrium indicates the extent to which Grabar's work vindicated his own ideas about iconographic transference in medieval architecture. He praised Grabar for revealing that "the symbolic significance of a building, its 'content', and the ties between its shape and its dedication or function had been forgotten" and rejoiced that "with Martyrium the iconography of architecture has been rediscovered during the war years." Krautheimer submitted this book review five years after receiving Martyrium (he needed that amount of time to "digest and think through the most significant of these ideas") and eleven years after the publication of his seminal article, "An introduction to the iconography of medieval architecture." In this long essay, he first explored the link between a building's "content" and the existence of an overarching architectural iconography by examining dozens of churches, many of which fall into the so-called "Jerusalem group", scattered across Christendom. Each of these sites seem to evoke the symbolic elements of the Anastasis rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, which demarcates and celebrates the empty tomb of Christ, the site of the greatest martyrion on Earth that witnessed the triumph of the Resurrection. However, he observed that these copies of a singular prototype can look "surprisingly" dissimilar from one another. He applied the same set of parameters to his studies of early Christian mausolea and baptisteries, which form the second half of his 1942 article. In each instance, he showed that it is possible for architectural copies to look "astonishingly different" from their prototype. He observed that "indifference towards precise imitation of given architectural shapes prevails throughout these
copies" and this "inexactness... seems to be one of the outstanding elements in the relation of copy and original in mediaeval architecture."

Krautheimer suggested that the medieval concept of an architectural copy was driven not by precision but rather implication, privileging the "symbolical associations" of a building over its formal elements. He believed that "number consciousness," "height," and other "selective transfers[s] of measurements" were critical factors for a medieval copyist. Because of the "selective" way in which every copy reflects its model, the original unity of the prototype could be "disintegrated" and its elements could be "reshuffled" across a group of copies. Despite the complexity and variety of architectural imitation in the Middle Ages, Krautheimer also recognized a clear characteristic of a building’s iconographic inheritance: Its name and dedication, which could be "sometimes supplemented by the existence of a relic." In the end, he claimed that "the architect of a mediaeval copy did not intend to imitate the prototype as it looked in reality; he intended to reproduce it typice and figuraliter, as a memento of a venerated site and simultaneously as a symbol of promised salvation." However, he also believed that this entire set of principles started "to change gradually after the beginning of the thirteenth century." This tantalizing statement is followed by the claim that after this date "copies, depictions and descriptions strive more and more towards giving a reproduction of the original in its visible aspects."

Published over eighty years ago, Krautheimer's provocative article has provided the groundwork for further exploration of the frontiers of the iconography of architecture, which has been developed by scholars like Günter Bandmann and challenged by others like Paul Crossley. However, there are two major issues with the application of Krautheimer's approach to the question at hand. First, the Gothic construction of both the Sainte-Chapelle and St
Stephen's Chapel occurred after the start thirteenth century, a date that Krautheimer marked as a turning point for the representation of architectural imitation. For Bandmann, this paradigm shift is evident in the transference of elements of formalism (or style) over those of symbolism (or iconography) in cases of architectural imitation from this date onwards. Indeed, as two-storied Gothic monuments of a remarkably similar scale, both the Sainte-Chapelle and St Stephen's Chapel "look" related in part because they share the same precise ratio of measurements: In length and breadth, the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle measures 90 x 30 French Royal feet and that of St. Stephen's chapel measures 90 x 30 English royal feet. This exactitude is no coincidence but it does not immediately imply direct transference from one physical monument to another, especially as the dimensions rely on different units. If the external buttresses are included in the case of the Sainte-Chapelle, it has been suggested that this would bring the total length to 100 royal feet. It is possible that this also applied to St Stephen's Chapel. As Stephen Murray and Daniel Weiss have argued, these dimensions (100 x 30) point to a specific biblical source; the Domus of Solomon described in 1 Kings 7: 1–8.

"It took Solomon thirteen years, however, to complete the construction of his palace. He built the Palace of the Forest of Lebanon 100 cubits long, 50 wide and 30 high, with four rows of cedar columns supporting trimmed cedar beams... He made a colonnade 50 cubits long and 30 wide. In front of it was a portico, and in front of that were pillars and an overhanging roof. He built the throne hall, the Hall of Justice, where he was to judge, and he covered it with cedar from floor to ceiling. And the palace in which he was to live, set farther back, was similar in design."

By acknowledging that the precise implementation of these "proportions and numbers of Old Testament prototypical structures," which would have imbued chapel with a "richly diachronic framework of space and meaning," Murray revealed an aspect of architectural dependence on biblical source material in the design of the Sainte-Chapelle, which also might be applied to St Stephen's Chapel. The Gothic architect's applications of the measurements of Solomon's Domus, "the palace in which he was to live," as a blueprint for his construction of a palatine chapel for King Louis IX, who was praised as a verum Salomonem in his time, infused the
Sainte-Chapelle with the symbolic power of its sacred, long-lost biblical archetype. Weiss pushed this notion even further, arguing that the Sainte-Chapelle's reliquary tribune (Figures 7 and 8), which elevated its collection of Christological relics inside its grande châsse, signified the throne of Solomon, serving as a "timeless" symbol and a manifestation of a rich exegetical tradition." It is possible that the dimensions of St. Stephen's Chapel also reflect the designer's citation of this biblical precedent and even if the same architectural symbolism was employed earlier at the Sainte-Chapelle, the prototype was biblical. The use of the same numbers but different units of measurements might actually suggest parallel adaptations from the text of the Book of Kings.

These conclusions lead to the second major issue with the direct application of Krautheimer's framework in this study. Krautheimer focused principally on "Jerusalem churches" and their iconographic imitation of the Holy Sepulchre. His primary case studies, along with his subsidiary chapters on mausolea and baptisteries, posit a dialectical relationship between a specific, fixed, and physical prototype and its copies. In 2003, Robert Ousterhout pushed this idea even further when he argued that the architecture of Holy Sepulchre was respected as a physical relic in and of itself that generated copies with "an immediate visual reference to the validity of the site." However, Krautheimer's iconographic system ignores the possibility that medieval builders might also take direct inspiration from immaterial archetypes, such as the sacred palaces described in the Bible. In addition to the features of Solomon's palace, the Bible also contains an evocative vision of the celestial palace in the Book of Revelation. The architects of medieval palatine chapels did not necessarily look directly at other examples of similar spaces as their prototypes; they could turn to the Bible and in attempt to emulate the ultimate archetypes.
The Pharos and Paris

In his 1998 book, Daniel Weiss followed Grabar's suggestion and claimed that the most significant "symbolic" prototype for the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris was the imperial chapel dedicated to the Virgin located near the Pharos in the Bucoleon palace in Constantinople.68 Like the Capella Palatina in Palermo, another resplendent, two-storied palatine chapel filled with relics and covered in shimmering mosaics constructed for the Norman King Roger II of Sicily (1095, r. 1130–1154) at the start of his reign,69 Weiss wrote that the Sainte-Chapelle "depends" on the same Byzantine source, concluding that "through the use of Byzantine architectural elements and iconography, the religious content of the chapel became a vehicle for the symbolic expression of its patron's secular objectives."70 For Weiss, the "direct" transference of architectural iconography from the Pharos to Paris coincided with the translation of Passion relics and "the symbolic language of Byzantium had been appropriated to serve competitive rather than cooperative interests."71 Edina Bozoky also argued that the "effacité symbolique" and "pouvoir" of the former imperial provenance of the Passion relics was transferred as soon as the sacred items were removed from Constantinople and taken to Paris.72 For Meredith Cohen, the Sainte-Chapelle effectively "succeeded" its predecessor (the Pharos) when King Louis IX acquired the relic of the Crown of Thorns.73 By emphasizing the politics of *translatio*, these appraisals of iconographic influence are rooted primarily in the ideological associations with the movement of relics from one imperial chapel to another.

Built in the eighth century and redecorated after the triumph of orthodoxy in the reign of Emperor Michael III (842–867), the Pharos chapel once contained the greatest assembly of relics in the Byzantine empire.74 Only a few dilapidated stones remain of this once splendid building;
there are no extant images of the Pharos chapel and very few textual descriptions of its likeness survive. Even without any material evidence, many scholars have claimed that it was the fundamental model of the Sainte-Chapelle because it was the provenance of so many of its relics.\textsuperscript{75} Before its translation from the Latin Emperor Baldwin II to King Louis IX in August 1239, the Crown of Thorns was venerated in the Pharos chapel alongside a panoply of other holy treasures contained in Byzantine shrines; this included a large fragment of the True Cross, the Holy Lance, and the Purple Vestments, which once formed part of the sacred "decalogue" of Passion relics in the Pharos praised by its sacristan Nicholas Mesarites in 1200.\textsuperscript{76} A total of twenty-one additional sacred items from Constantinopolitan churches would rejoin the Crown of Thorns in Paris via waves of \textit{translatio} between 1241 and 1247.\textsuperscript{77} Before the Latin invasion in 1204, Constantinople was said to be the "home of saints’ relics," housing over 3,600 shrines.\textsuperscript{78} In this city of saints, the constellation of Christological objects kept at the Pharos, which were used as \textit{palladia} in civic processions as well as apotropaic guardians in battles by many Byzantine emperors, wielded supreme power.\textsuperscript{79} At some point during the reign of the last Comnenian emperors (or, at the start of the Angelid dynasty), a number of Passion relics were gathered together and deposited in the \textit{skevophylakion} of the Pharos. Thereafter, according to Michele Bacci, the Pharos became "the most important shrine of Christological mementoes in the Central Middle Ages."\textsuperscript{80} An external \textit{Heliakos} provided a direct walkway from the chapel to the silver doors of the \textit{Chrysotriklinos}, the imperial throne room, where the emperor could perform "the promotion of imperial officials, banquets, and, especially, the so-called 'everyday processions.'"\textsuperscript{81} Before it fell into disrepair near the end of the thirteenth century, the Pharos chapel had two vertically arranged levels with two separate foundations; the upper oratory contained the Passion relics while the lower chapel was dedicated to the Virgin.\textsuperscript{82} This arrangement is often cited as an
architectural embodiment of the Marian conception of *Theotokos* or *sedes sapientia*. For Weiss, it was also inherently Solomonic.\(^8^3\)

The upper and lower levels of the Sainte-Chapelle also supposedly follow a similar ideological division. In both foundation letters, each vertical zone is distinguished as separate devotional space; the *capella superiori* is the principle space, which should be presided over by the Master Chaplain (who was named "Matthaeus"), but the *capella inferiori* also requires the presence of at least one cleric.\(^8^4\) However, it is perhaps noteworthy that there is no mention of dividing the space according to Marian and Christological devotion in either foundational document. Moreover, this double-chapel type, in which the veneration of Virgin is paired with the celebration of the Passion, was not in any way exclusive to the Pharos. It was a commonplace design feature in Early and High Gothic ecclesiastical and princely palatine chapels throughout the Ile-de-France. Notable examples include the twelfth-century episcopal chapels of Laon and Meaux, the chapel of the Compte de Champagne at Provins.\(^8^5\) In terms of style, many art historians have claimed that the immediate forerunner of the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle is the royal chapel at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, a simple but refined church of the same local "type prééminent" constructed for King Louis IX in the 1230s.\(^8^6\) In terms of its proportions and refinement, the Lady Chapel of Saint-Germain des Près (c.1245–1255) designed by Pierre de Montreuil, is a contemporary analogue (and neighbour) of the upper chapel.\(^8^7\) Recently, Meredith Cohen wisely suggested that one might look to the Sainte-Chapelle's "immediate predecessor," Saint-Nicolas, the former chapel in the Palais de la Cité that was razed to make way for King Louis IX's edifice, as a possible source.\(^8^8\) Despite the paucity of archeological evidence, Jean Guérout believed that Saint-Nicolas also had an apse with two vertical levels of devotional space.\(^8^9\) While it is possible that the two-storied arrangement of the Pharos chapel
could have inspired the design of the Sainte-Chapelle, it seems much more likely that this spatial and devotional division was the product of a much more local tradition.

Robert de Clari, a Frankish knight who participated in the conquest of Constantinople and recorded his crusading experience in a remarkable vernacular memoir in 1216, claimed to have visited the Bucoleon palace. He mentioned his memorable impression of the "marvels" inside the Pharos chapel, which he refers to as "une que on apeloit la Sainte Chaiple." Before listing its arsenal of holy relics, his awe-struck description of its crystalline in appearance reflects several biblical *topoi*:

“There is one called the Holy Chapel, which is so rich and noble that there was not a hinge nor a band nor any other part made of iron that was not all of silver, and there was no column that was not of jasper nor of porphyry nor of rich precious stones. And the pavement of the chapel was of a white marble so smooth and so clear that it seemed to be of crystal. And this chapel was so rich and so noble that no one could ever [sufficiently] tell you of the great beauty and great nobility of this chapel.”

A similar account of its other-worldly splendor led the ninth-century Patriarch, Photius, to proclaim that he felt "petrified with wonder" inside the Pharos chapel:

“It is as if one had entered Heaven itself with no one barring the way from any side, and was illuminated by the beauty in all forms shining all around like so many stars, so is one utterly amazed. Thenceforth it seems that everything is in ecstatic motion, and the church itself is circling around. For the spectator, through his whirling about in all directions and being constantly astir, which he is forced to experience by the variegated spectacle on all side, imagines that his personal impression is transferred to the object.”

In this stirring passage, the dazzling decoration of the Pharos seems to have been so marvelous and so rich with kinetic impact that it felt— for Photius— like he had entered Heaven. In his tenth homily, Photius also expressed his admiration for its white marble, which was so smooth and fitted so close together that it looked continuous, and explained that the sacred relics were positioned on a "holy table" festooned with gold, precious stones, and enamels, which was framed by a ciborium. He mentioned images of Apostles and martyrs that filled its walls and spoke of the presence the Pantokrator in the central dome. Mesarites had explained that the *katapetasma* (ciborium) was pyramidal in shape, sheathed in silver and gold, and comprised of
four columns, which elevated the "holy table" in great richness with its "shine of yellow gold."94

The decorative details of these almost analogical ekphrases seem to recall the description of Saint John the Evangelist's ascent into the heavenly throne room (Revelation 4: 1–6):

"After this I looked, and there before me was a door standing open in heaven. And the voice I had first heard speaking to me like a trumpet said, "Come up here, and I will show you what must take place after this." At once I was in the Spirit, and there before me was a throne in heaven with someone sitting on it. And the one who sat there had the appearance of jasper and ruby. A rainbow that shone like an emerald circled the throne. Surrounding the throne were twenty-four other thrones, and seated on them were twenty-four elders. They were dressed in white and had crowns of gold on their heads. From the throne came flashes of lightning, rumblings and peals of thunder. In front of the throne, seven lamps were blazing. These are the seven spirits of God. Also in front of the throne there was what looked like a sea of glass, clear as crystal."95

The aesthetic features of the Pharos chapel, and perhaps many other high-status palatine chapels with maximalist material impact, seem to reflect a specific apocalyptic iconography, inspired in part by this passage. Later on, after the Lord (still seated on his throne) tells John that "I am the Alpha and the Omega," we learn what the celestial city looks like: "It shone with the glory of God, and its brilliance was like that of a very precious jewel, like a jasper, clear as crystal" (Revelation 21: 9). With its columns of jasper, the ruby-like lustre of its porphyry, and an expansive white crystalline pavement, the ornament of the "riche et noble" Pharos chapel seems to signify the renowned beauty of the celestial court, positioned adjacent to the earthly Chrysotriklinos of the emperor. Here, Christ's miracle-working presence could have lingered in his relics, which were enshrined and "enthroned" underneath that gilded canopy. At Aachen, the evidence for the designer's reliance on the description of the celestial throne room in Revelation is also apparent. In the apocalyptic composition seen in the (now restored) mosaic of its dome, we see an energetic procession of twenty-four elders, who wear white and lift up their crowns towards a figure of Christ enthroned (Figure 6).96 The east end of the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle is dominated by its gilded tribune– an elevated, gabled trelobe, with a quatrefoil punctured into its apex– that supported a phalanx of Passion relics. Here, the grande châsse
containing relics imbued with the presence of Christ would have been enclosed in a curtain of stained glass that elucidated the content of biblical history, surrounded by glittering medallions of crowned martyrs, and encircled by a ring of nearly-life sized figures of the Apostles.

While the resplendent reputation of the Pharos chapel in Constantinople (and the imperial chapel in Aachen) could have reached Paris, perhaps these structures should not be placed into a direct dialectical relationship with the Sainte-Chapelle. Instead, each of these palatine chapels seem to share an affinity for astonishing decoration that evoked a specific iconographic type of Christological architecture; Christ's throne room in his celestial palace. In turn, different groups of craftsmen could have delivered their own aesthetic interpretation of John's divine vision, relying on a prescribed set of forms inspired by a sacred text that could be embellished according to their own local customs. It is perhaps equally helpful to see the chapels in Aachen, near the Pharos, and in the palace of Paris as iconographic analogues inspired by a singular biblical archetype instead of looking for their architectural prototypes (or prototypes of these prototypes–Alexei Lidov recently argued that the Holy Sepulchre was the iconographic model of the Pharos). Located at the administrative centres of each realm and charged with the task of safeguarding authoritative palladia, the praesentia and potentia of Christ's Passion relics were channeled through the emperor/king as a conduit within these highly decorated ornamental sanctuaries. While the Pharos did serve as the provenance of so many of King Louis IX's relics, this does not preclude the existence of a direct symbolic influence on the Sainte-Chapelle. To borrow from Paul Crossley, these palatine monuments appear to be "impregnated with symbolic order, where everything could signify something else." But unlike Krautheimer's "Jerusalem Churches," which evoke the physical site of the Anastasis, extraordinary palatine chapels, a
special category of *Sacrae Capellae*, seem to rely on a singular immaterial archetype inspired by
the theophanic vision of a throne room inside a celestial palace described in Revelation.

Even if the architectural iconography of the Sainte-Chapelle relied on a heavenly model, it still became a prototype in its own right. It spurred a long period of systematic replication in which dozens of French Gothic buildings gained prestige through their symbolic association with the king’s chapel in Paris. Once Grabar had defined *Sacra Capella* as a genre and Krautheimer introduced his idea of architectural iconography, other scholars continued to define and to divide additional types of Christian buildings into various categories. By the 1980s, Claudine Billot began to narrow the requisite conditions that comprise a sub-group of the *Sacra Capella*. In a series of publications throughout the next decade, she clarified that there are not only *Sacrae Capellae*—there are also Saintes-Chapelles, a specific species in Grabar’s taxonomy.99 Before Billot, Inge Hacker-Sück considered Grabar's *Sacrae Capellae*, such as the Santa Camara at Oviedo, Charlemagne's palace chapel in Aachen, and the Capella Palatina at Palermo, to be some of the "chapelles palatines-reliquaires plus anciennes" that served as prototypes for the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris.100 Around the same time, Eugene Kleinbauer examined how Charlemagne's imperial chapel at Aachen became a prototype, claiming that it was the "most frequently copied mediaeval building of the post-Antique period."101 More recently, Meredith Cohen, who adopted Krautheimer's approach and Hacker-Sück's exploration of the influence of *Sacrae Capellae* on the Sainte-Chapelle, stated that its prototypes were "distant kin" that were both "international reliquary chapels, *doppelkapellen*, as well as palace chapels."102 For Billot, because of its prestigious associations with royalty, sanctity, and beauty, the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris sparked the design of several copies of the same name, such as the Sainte-Chapelle de Riom (1395), the Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges (1405), and the Sainte-Chapelle de Châteaudun (1451). Billot's
wider definition of a Sainte-Chapelle requires five spiritual and political criteria. The existence of this category of copies confirms that Sainte-Chapelle de Paris transformed into a prototype.

Thus far, this historiographical discussion has inadvertently revealed the limits of language. One of many major problems with creating and then responding to iconographic categories (and testing their parameters) is the terminology employed. So what is a "Sainte-Chapelle" or "Holy Chapel" and what was the meaning of such a name? We should recall that Robert de Clari spoke of the Pharos chapel as the "one called the Holy Chapel," indicating that even a middle-ranking knight from Picardy was aware of this special title long before the construction of King Louis IX's building. However, the first extant literary references to the new palatine church in Paris do not refer to it as a Sacra Capella. In all of Pope Innocent IV's bulls concerning various indulgences, issued from 1244-1246, he speaks of a Capella Parisius. In the first foundation letter of the Sainte-Chapelle, the king repeatedly refers to the edification of our chapel in our house in Paris: This is the capella which is infra septa domus nostrae Parisiensis. Previously, in the Fundatio Capella Beati Nicolai of King Louis VII in 1160, Louis IX's ancestor twice refers to his "palace chapel" (palatio capella). Soon after presiding at the ceremony of the Sainte-Chapelle's consecration, the papal legate Eudes de Châteauroux returned to the Sainte-Chapelle on Ascension Day (27 May) 1248 to indulgences to those who had attended the dedication of "the chapel of Louis" (capella Ludovici), which was "established in Paris in the palace of the king" (Parisius in eiusdem regis palatio constitutam). This turn of phrase, delivered by an authoritative orator, implies the deeply personal perception of the Capetian king's new devotional space. The first definitive reference to King Louis IX's edifice in Paris as a "Holy Chapel"/Sainte-Chapelle/Sacra Capella occurs just once near the very beginning of the chapel's second foundation letter. Ten years later, the king again referred to
his Sacra Capella, which "we have constructed in our house in Paris" (quae infra septa domus nostrae Parisis construximus) and is "decorated with the presence of sacrosanct relics of our redemption through the glory and praise of our Redeemer" (sacrosanctarum nostrae redemptionis reliquiarum decorata præsentia, ad laudem et gloriam Redemptoris). This seemingly mundane royal letter of 1256, which is about distribution of food in the prefecture of Sens, confirms that King Louis IX called his own royal chapel a Sacra Capella in his lifetime.109

Though its collection of powerful relics, the piety of its patron, and the reputation of its beauty, the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris transformed into a new prototype that inspired numerous copies. In this instance, Krautheimer's criteria for iconographic imitation holds because so many other edifices called Saintes-Chapelles also reflect direct symbolic appropriations (with a minimal emphasis on formal elements) from their Parisian model. Saintes-Chapelles also only occasionally resemble their esteemed Rayonnant model in appearance and, just like Jerusalem-churches, they tend to look very different from one another. For example, the Sainte-Chapelle d'Aigueperse (1475) is a small Flamboyant edifice with a tiny nave, measuring just 21 meters in length and 7.80 meters in height with just two bays that terminate in a three-light apse. In contrast, the far-larger Sainte-Chapelle de Champigny-sur-Veude (1499) repeats the four bay lateral arrangement of its celebrated model, with similar stepped buttresses capped by a Gothic balustrade, but it terminates in a five-part apse punctuated by segmented piers with Corinthian capitals.110 Billot's wider definition of a Sainte-Chapelle is applied to something that symbolically (and not formally) imitates the prestige of the Parisian model through its royal or princely foundations, or the possession of with powerful Christological relics, and sometimes through the ritual performance of the same liturgy once used by the saint-king in his chapel in Paris. There is also a simple shorthand for recognizing the another Sainte-Chapelle; each of these
copies all share the same name of their source, which serves as a deliberate signification of their esteemed prototype. While they may differ in their status, size, decoration, cult, date, liturgy, and location, dozens of Saintes-Chapelles would be scattered throughout the French royaume between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. By borrowing from the symbolic content of the same prototype, these intentional and aspirational iconographic copies of the palatine chapel in Paris have the potential to function as "centres topographiques du pouvoir" within their own context.\textsuperscript{111} It is clear that Billot successfully implemented Krautheimer's approach to her own case study. With her criteria in place, St. Stephen's Chapel is certainly not an English Sainte-Chapelle in any way, shape, or form. It is also not a \textit{Sacra Capella} but that does not mean that they do not share the same archetypical inspiration.

\textbf{Conclusions}

During the Middle Ages, a palatine chapel could provide a Christian emperor or king (or even a duke or bishop) with an appropriately elegant space for the celebration of mass. \textit{Sacrae Capellae} were an exceptional type of palatine chapel that enveloped a treasury of Christological relics. The use of splendid ornament, like marble, gold, silver, and precious stones in \textit{Sacrae Capellae} both reflected the patron's power and expressed their devotion, serving as persuasive means for channeling their self-image of Christian \textit{imperium}/kingship. In any palatine chapel, the specific choice of materials (like porphyry, jasper, and crystal), the placement of particular holy figures (like Apostles, martyrs, elders, and scenes of Judgment), and even the measurements employed by the architect could signify a specific source. This chapter has argued that model for many of these design decisions was not another physical prototype but rather an immaterial archetype; the celestial throne room described in the book of Revelation. In a \textit{Sacra Capella}, Christological
relics could serve as conduits of divine power and situate Christ in his very own earthly throne. When these relics were enshrined in the east end, where they would effectively protect and honour Christ’s presence, this design strategy could these treasures with their very own throne wrought in gold, positioned before a "sea of crystal," and elevated on high like the katapetasma in the Pharos chapel or the gabled tribune in the Sainte-Chapelle. While it is possible that King Louis IX’s Gothic architect somehow borrowed this idea and other sources of inspiration from the Constantinopolitan chapel that was the provenance of its Passion relics, it is more likely that each edifice independently attempted to bring heaven to earth (to evoke the immaterial through material) by relying on biblical texts and making these words manifest. The same claim applies to St Stephen’s Chapel.

Krautheimer acknowledged that his framework for understanding imitation in architectural iconography began to change radically after the thirteenth century, when the symbolic elements of a copy, including its relic cults, started to become subordinate to its formal features. While some iconographic prototypes endured— the Holy Sepulchre, the chapel at Aachen, and even the Sainte-Chapelle continued to serve as symbolic models throughout the later Middle Ages— the rise of formalism corresponded with significant changes in the aesthetics of devotion. With the advent of the Gothic style, the sheer beauty of materials began to play a catalysing role in igniting an immaterial transformation. This concept is summarized elegantly by Abbot Suger in his personal reflection on an out-of-body experience of wonder triggered by the splendour of decoration:

“Thus, when— out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God— the loveliness of the many-coloured gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect— transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial— on the diversity of holy virtues, then, it seems to me that I see myself dwelling (as it were) in some strange region of the universe, which neither exists entirely in the slime of the Earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and then— by the grace of God— I feel transported from this inferior world to a higher world in an anagogical manner.”\(^{112}\)
This often cited episode was recorded around the year 1144, after Suger had already patronized the transformation of the abbey of Saint-Denis into what would become known as the Gothic style. His anagogical experience of transference, he tells us, occurred while he was reflecting on the "loveliness of the many-coloured gems" of the dazzling, shining gems of the Cross of Saint Éloi. This idea of spiritual transport through material beauty was also felt by a scholar named Jean de Jandun, who wrote of his rapturous impression of the Sainte-Chapelle nearly two centuries later:

"But the most beautiful of chapels, the chapel of the king, appropriately situated within the walls of the royal house, is admirable through its strong structure and the indestructible solidity of the materials of which it is made. The carefully chosen colours of its paintings, the precious gilding of its statues, the transparence of its windows that shine on all sides, the rich cloths of its altars, the wondrous virtues of its sanctuaries, the exotic ornaments of its reliquaries decorated with sparkling jewels, give to this house of prayer such a degree of beauty that upon entering, one feels transported to Heaven and one imagines that one has been ushered into the one of the most beautiful chamber of Paradise."

Jean's awareness that the decoration was "carefully chosen" (electissimi) suggests that he was looking, processing, and enjoying the visual impact of the decoration and that this activity spurred wonder. Whereas Suger felt like he was somewhere between the "slime of the earth" and the "purity of Heaven," the total effect of the interior space of the Sainte-Chapelle felt— for Jean de Jandun— like he was "transported to Heaven" and he had "entered the most beautiful chamber of Paradise." A Byzantine patriarch once said that he felt like he had entered Heaven whenever he walked into the Pharos chapel in Constantinople. Six centuries later, a Parisian scholar described a similar feeling of rapture when he moved through and looked at the decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle. Personalised artistic impressions rarely survive in the Middle Ages and some caution should be applied to our analysis of these encomnia, which laced with conventions of praise found in many mirabilia. Moreover, the writings of Photius and Jean de Jandun are the impressions of visitors and not testimonies of patrons or designers. Nevertheless, these exciting texts suggest that each palatine chapel conveyed, through their forms and their design— their
materials and iconography—a supreme Christian archetype; the celestial palace. Like the Pharos, the supreme inspiration for the iconography of the Sainte-Chapelle is not somewhere else in Christendom; it's in Heaven.

As far as we know, there is no surviving description of a visitor's encounter with St Stephen's Chapel during the lifetime of King Henry III or any of his Plantagenet descendants. Fortunately, the wealth of records related to the Gothic decoration of the royal chapel in Westminster help us to comprehend its appearance and the digital reconstruction, funded by the AHRC, enables a virtual visitor to enjoy the marvels of the medieval chapel, as it appeared in the 1360s, as a whirling spectacle of light, polychromy, and sacred images.114 Originally Henry had instigated its redesign with fine marble and sacred images and his descendants continued to build a colourful, shimmering, two-storied edifice. Without a caché of Christological relics, St Stephen's Chapel would always be categorically different from the Sainte-Chapelle. However, with its material splendour and the calculated design choices of its Plantagenet patrons, this Gothic palatine chapel also could convey the presence of Paradise by evoking the same celestial archetype, building a Heaven in London.
Figure 1. Watercolour showing the north side of bays three and four plus an Apostle and a tribune angel by Félix Duban, "Vue intérieure de la Sainte-Chapelle," 1847, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, RF 1905, height 0.496cm x length 0.352cm
Figure 2. View of the restoration of the dado arcade seen in bays 2–4 in the north wall of the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle, c. 1240s/1860s. Photo by the author, reproduced with kind permission of the Centre des Monuments Nationaux.
Figure 3. Polychromed stone fragment from the upper chapel interior of St Stephen's Chapel, London, The British Museum, 1814. 0312.21814, photo AN1613356040. Reproduced with kind permission of the Trustees of The British Museum.
Figure 4. Sculptures of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Oviedo Camara Santa. Reproduced with permission from the Catedral de San Salvador de Oviedo.
Figure 5: Christ enthroned in majesty surrounded by the Apostles, detail of the front panel of the *Arca Santa*, silver repoussé, twelfth century, Oviedo, Camara Santa. Reproduced with permission from the Catedral de San Salvador de Oviedo.
Figure 6: View of the restored Apocalyptic mosaics in the dome of the palatine chapel at Aachen. Photograph by Emily Wood. *AWAITING PERMISSION FROM AACHEN CATHEDRAL.*
Figure 7: "Vue du Sanctuaire de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais," Paris, BnF Estampes, Gaignières 78. Reproduced with permission from the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Figure 8: View of the restored reliquary tribune in the east end of the upper chapel in the Sainte-Chapelle in the present day. Photography by Emily Guerry. Reproduced with kind permission of the Centre des Monuments nationaux.


12 Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, 125.

13 Eric Fernie succinctly explained that one of Branner’s aims with this book was "to establish why Rayonnant became so popular," and in "as attempting to firm this up" he claimed that "other patrons knew that [this] style had the *imprimatur* of Louis and his court." Eric Fernie, "Robert Branner's treatment of architectural sources and precedents," *Gesta* Vol. 39, no. 2 (2000), pp. 157–160 at 156.


The use of the word *imagine* can be elusive in high medieval Latin accounts of aesthetics. In Jean de Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323), he offers a rapturous ekphrasis of the Gothic decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle. He celebrates both "the carefully chosen colours of its paintings (picturae)" and "the previous gilding of its statues (imagines)" (picturarum colores electissimi, imaginarium deauratio preciosa). The proximity of the word *picturae* to *imagines* suggests that *imagines* is not used to refer to paintings. A copy of this Latin text is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms Lat. 14884, f. 170v–176v. An English translation of Jean's use of *imagines* is interpreted simply as "images" by Eric Inglis, "Gothic architecture and a scholastic: Jean de Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323)," *Gesta*, Vol. 41, no. 1 (2003), pp. 63–85 at p. 67. However, *imagines* is translated as "statues" according to Michael T. Davis, "Frames of Vision: Architecture and Stained Glass at Clermont Cathedral," *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honour of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (New York: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 197–216 at 197.

Branner, "Westminster and the Court Style," p. 16.

Branner, "Westminster and the Court Style," p. 17.

Hillson, "St Stephen's Chapel," p. 41.


Louis was married to Marguerite de Provence (1221, r. 1234–1295) and Henry was married to Eleanor de Provence (1223, r. 1236–1291). Marguerite's younger sister (and their other younger sister, Béatrice de Provence, was married to Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall).


"Dominus autem rex, utpote princeps Christianissimus, ab Augusto Eraclio victoriosissimo ac piissimo imperatore, crucem sanctam exaltandi, et a rege Francorum tunc superstite, crucem eandem, ut praescribitur, Parisius honorante, sumens exemplum, devoto spiritu ac contrito in vigilia sancti Edwardi in pane et aqua jejunans, et nocte violans, cum ino-enti lumine et devotis orationibus se ad crastinam sollemnitatatem prudenter præparatoribus." See the transcription in *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronicæ Maioræ* [CM], ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., The Rolls Series, 7 Vols. (London: 1872–84), IV pp. 640–645 at 641. The *Chronica Maiora* is preserved at Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College MS 16 II, and the six chapters that recount the procession of the Holy Blood are found on ff. 216r–v.

Bishop Farnham apparently said "Est enim pretium mundi, et ejus effusio salus generis humani; et ut condigne illud magnificaret amplius, addidit illud philosophi, 'Omne propter quod, dignius quam illud quod.' Re vera crux sancta sanctissimum quid est. Sed ipsa sacra fact propter sacratioris sanguinis aspersionem, non sanguis sacer propter crucem. Et haec eum dixisse credimus, ut in possessione tanti thesauri non minus gaudeat et glorietur Anglia quam Francia in adeptione sancte crucis, quam dominus rex Francorum. non immerito diligit, et super aiurum et topazion amplexitetur et veneratur." *CM* IV: p. 642. And Bishop Grossteste apparently claimed " Unde asserunt nonnulli, quod
generosiioi modo possidet illud munus rex Anglise H[enricus] tantaque dignitatis reliquias quam rex Francorum suas, quas paucis antea annis evolutis insitiorie adquisivit. Et si sancta nimis sit crux vera, propere contactum sancti corporis Christi, et corona, et lancea, et clavi, multo sanctior fuit sanguis ipse Christi; precium videlicet humanae redemptionis, quia proper crucem et in crucu sanctificata est crux et caetera; et non propere crucem vel propere alia Passionis instrumenta.” CM VI, p. 142–143.

31 For the many reasons (political, financial, and theological) behind the cult's failure, see Vincent, The Holy Blood.
33 "Diebus quoque sub eisdem, quia a multo tempore dominus rex Anglorum videre sitiener desideraverat regnum Francorum et dominum regem sororium suum et dominam reginam Francorum, sororum domine reginae Angliae, et civitates, ecclesias, et gestus et habitus Francorum, et capellam regis Francorum nobilissimam, quae est Parisius, simul cum incomparabilibus, quae in eis habentur reliquis." CM V, p. 475–476
34 "Et dum in crastino hora prima et tertia pauperes reficerentur, dominus rex Angliae, rege Francorum ducente, visitavit capellam illam pulcherrimam, quae in curia est ejusdem regis Francorum, et reliquias ibidem existentes orans regalibus oblationibus & obsequiis." CM V, p. 479.
35 The original song is preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript of "fabliaux" in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. Fr. 837, f. 220v–221r. It was originally written at some point around 1264, during the "intervention" of King Louis IX at Lewes. Transcription and translation from Thomas Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II (London: John Bowyer Nichols, 1839), pp. 63–68, at 67. A later copy of this song, dated to 1299, is discussed in Gaston Raynaud, "Nouvelle charte de la Pas aus Englois (1299)," Romania Vol. 14 (1885), pp. 279–280. It was suggested that Le pas aux Englois could have been written as early as 1263, see Victor Le Clerc, "Poésies historiques," Histoire littéraire de la France (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1856), 23: pp. 449–454.
42 AA SS January II: 889. See also J. P. J. Beissel, Description des saints reliques... dans l'église collégiale d'Aix-la-Chapelle (Aix-La-Chapelle: 1860).
45 Krautheimer wrote that "Grabar's volumes (ie his Martyrium) are among the most outstanding contributions to the interpretation of Christian art made anywhere during the past fifty years Richard Krautheimer, "Reviewed


49 Krautheimer, "Introduction," p. 3.


54 Krautheimer, "Introduction," pp. 15–16.


59 Bandmann, p. 47 and p. 74.

60 Cited from Hillson, "St Stephen's Chapel," p. 95.


64 The composition of the antiphon for the new office of the French feast of the Crown of Thorns, which was based on Archbishop Cornut's Historia Susceptionis Coronae Spineae (1240), dates to around the mid thirteenth century. The versicle following the first lesson reads, "Visitat Rex omnium/ Nos trum regionem/ Et se nobis exhibet Verum Salomonem," (The king has cared for all of our regions and he has shown us a true Solomon). This appears in a thirteenth-century Séniois office preserved as BnF Ms Lat. 1028, ff. 286r–297r at 286v. Discussed in Guerry, Crowning Paris.


69 I should note that Kitzinger, who wrote extensively about the decorative programme in the Capella Palatina, totally disagreed with Grabar's suggestion that it should be categorized as Doppelkapellen because it lacks an essential feature; there is no accessible connection between the lower and upper church by way of a central opening." See Ernest Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects," The Art Bulletin Vol. 34, No. 4 (1949), pp. 269–292 at p. 270, note 6.

70 Weiss, Art and Crusade, 22.

71 Ibid.


74 For original references to Michael and his patronage of the Pharos, "which he had built," see ed. Tafel, Theodosius Melitenus, Monumenta Sacularia (Munich: 1859), III: Cl. 1, p. 174; Continuator of Georgius Hamartolus, ed. Muralt (St Petersb: 1859), p. 746. See also the remarks of Photius, who stated explicitly that it was "built by Michael" in Romilly J. H. Jenkins and Cyril A. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," Dumbarton Oaks Papers Vol. 9–10 (1956), pp. 125–140 at 130 and 135.

75 Yet again, because the Pharos chapel is lost, it seems that historians have relied on a comparisons with another prestigious but extant building of the same categorical type. For references to the Pharos chapel as a model for the


80 Bacci, "Relics of the Pharos Chapel," p. 234.


82 Ebersolt, Le grand palais, p. 104; see also Rodolphe Guillard, L'église de la Vierge du Phare, Byzantinoslavica, Vol. 1 (1951), pp. 311–325.


84 "De capella autem inferiori duximus providendum et omni die, salvo capellae superioris servitio, per aliquem de capellanis principalis, sive de sub capellanis eorum, uno sibi ad minus de clerics assistente, divina officia celebrentur ibidem." See this portion of the foundation letters in the transcription in Morand, Histoire, pièces justificatives, for the first foundation letter, p. 5 and, for the second, p. 12.


86 See for example Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130-1270 (Munich: Hirmer, 1985); I have cited the French translation, L'architecture gothique en France: 1130-1270 (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), pp. 393–400. More recently, Cohen has argued that "the closed formal source for the Sainte-Chapelle was in fact a palatine chapel that Louis IX had constructed in the palace at Saint-Germain en Laye," see Cohen, The Sainte-Chapelle, p. 131.

87 The portal of La Chapelle de la Viège de Saint-Germain des Près is preserved in the Musée du Cluny, Cl. 18986. Fragments of its Rayonnant dado, pillars, and balustrade and are displayed in the public garden at Square Laurent-Prache. Its unfinished (and abandoned) sculpted trumeau of the Virgin and Child is currently displayed in one of the apsidal chapels of Saint-Germain. For the discovery of the trumeau in a parking lot, see Meredith Cohen and Xavier Dectot, Paris, Ville Rayonnante (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010), pp. 92–93. For the Lady Chapel, see


92 Jenkins and Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius,” p. 131.

93 Jenkins and Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius,” p. 132.

94 Jenkins and Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius,” p. 136. See the discussion of the richness of the "sainte table" beneath the silver ciborium in Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople*, p. 104


103 First, it could be founded in a "palais" or "château" by King Louis IX or one of his dynastic descendents; second, it could resemble the plan of the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris; third, it could contain a relic of the Passion; fourth, this Passion relic could have been delivered from the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris; and finally, the chapel in question could follow the liturgical calendar used in the Sainte-Chapelle de Paris. With these criteria in place, Billot deduced that technically there are only three "authentique" Saintes-Chalpelles; these are the edifices paid for by Louis IX at the royal palaces at Paris, Vincennes, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye as they fulfill every requirement. For example, the fifteenth-century Sainte-Chapelle erected Duke Philippe le Bon contained the "Sainte-Hostie", a unique Eucharistic archeiropoieta containing an image of Christ enthroned, delivered from Pope Eugenius IV in 1434. Even though it possessed miracle-working relics related to the Passion of Christ, followed the required liturgical rites, and
resembled the Parisian chapel in their plans, it was founded by a dukes (not royalty) and its supreme relics did not come from the Sainte-Chapelle. See Billot, "Les Saintes-Chapelles de Saint Louis," p. 171.

104 The earliest extant letter is as follows [emphasis mine]: "Innocentiuce, episcopas, servus servorum Dei...Cum igitur sicut ex parte tua fuit propositum coram nobis, capellam Parisiis, infra septa domus regiae, opere superane materiam, ut ibidem praedicae corona sanctissimi, alia pretiosae reliquiae quas de ligno crucis, & aliiis sacris habere dignoscere, sub veneranda custodia conserventur..." The "Privilégium quo persone in Sancta Capella instituita & instituenda non possunt excommunicari, suspendi, vel interdictr," authorized at Lyons on 24 May 1244, is preserved in Arch. nat., L 619, n. 2 and transcribed in Riant, Exuviae, II: pp. 128–129. The same phrase, "Cum igitur sicut ex parte tua fuit propositum coram nobis, capellam Parisiis, infra septa domus regiae, opere superane materiam..." appears again in the privileges issued on 3 June 1244, preserved in Arch. Nat., L 619, n. 5 and transcribed in Morand, Histoire, pièces justificatives, pp. 2–3.

105 "In nomie sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, amen. Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex... fundavimus & aedificavimus infra septa domus nostrae Parigraphis, Domino concedente, capellam, in qua eadem sacrae corona Domini, crux sancta, et alia quamplures pretiosae reliquiae repositae continentur." The "Prima Funcatio Sancta Capella" is preserved in Arch. nat. L 618, no. 2 and transcribed in Morand, Histoire, pièces justificatives pp. 3–7.

106 "Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex... in honore beati confessoris Nicolai Parisiis in palatio capellam constituit..." The "Fundatio Capella Beati Nicolai" (1160) is transcribed in Morand (1790), pièces justificatives, 2.


108 "In nomie sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Amen. Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Etsi ad omnes ecclesias quae non solum in regno, sed in toto terrarum orbem consisteunt, sincerae devotionis habeamus affectum, speciali tamen prerogativa sinceritatis ampleximir venerabilem illam et sacram capellam, quam pro salute animae nostrae..." See Arch. nat. L 618, no. 3, which is transcribed as "Secunda Fundatio Sancta Capella" in Morand, Histoire, pièces justificatives pp. 8–13 at 8. This text, composed four months after the chapel's consecration in August of 1248 at Aigues-Mortes during preparations for the disastrous Seventh Crusade, repeats much of the content of the first, completed in January 1246; it outlines the additional responsibilities of its master chaplain (and his deacons), requirements about the number of candles for specific feasts, and even some security issues. As such, the king's palatine chapel had become a Sacra Capella (and notably not a Capella Regis) in its own time only after its dedication. An additional caveat about the chapel's name must be established. Robert Branner clarified that the king's palace chapel is to be distinguished from references to the Capella Regis, which denoted the itinerant group of clerics who catered to the devotional needs ("the utensils, books, and relics") of the French king when he traveled beyond his kingdom. Both institutions were conflated by a number of scholars, including Morand, Vidier, and Leroquais. See Robert Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the thirteenth century," Gesta, Vol. 10 (1971), pp. 19–22.

109 "In nomie sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Amen. Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Notum facimus universis tam praesentibus quam futuris, quod nos pietatis, et pro salute animae nostrae, ne non inclitae devocari, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum, de materialibus et immaterialia transferendo, honesto meditatio insistere persuaderet, video videor me quasi sub aliqua extranea orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit terratum faece nec tota in coeli puritate, demorari, ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem analogico more..." Cited from

43

113n Sed et illa formosissima capellarum, capella regis, infra menia mansionis regie decentissime situata, integerrimis et indissolubilibis solidissimorum lapidum gaudet structuris. Picturarum colores electissimi, imaginum deauratio preciosa, vitrearum circumquaque rutilantium decora pervietas, altarium venustissima paramenta, sanctuariorium virtutes mirifice, capsularum figurationes extraneae gemmis adorante fulgentibus, tantam utique illi orationis domui largiuntur decoris hyperboleum, ut, in eam subingrediens, quasi raptus ad celum, se non immerito unam de Paradisi potissimis cameris putet intrare." See above footnote 19.

114 See https://www.virtualststephens.org.uk/explore/section1.