Swarthmore College

Works

Art & Art History Faculty Works

Art & Art History

1986

The Seven Sleepers And The Seven Kneelers: Prolegomena To A Study Of The "Belles Verrières" Of The Cathedral Of Rouen

Michael Watt Cothren

Swarthmore College, mcothre1@swarthmore.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-art>

Part of the [Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture Commons](#)

[Let us know how access to these works benefits you](#)

Recommended Citation

Michael Watt Cothren. (1986). "The Seven Sleepers And The Seven Kneelers: Prolegomena To A Study Of The "Belles Verrières" Of The Cathedral Of Rouen". *Gesta*. Volume 25, Issue 2. 203-226. DOI: 10.2307/766982

<https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-art/12>

This work is brought to you for free by Swarthmore College Libraries' Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art & Art History Faculty Works by an authorized administrator of Works. For more information, please contact myworks@swarthmore.edu.

The Seven Sleepers and the Seven Kneelers: Prolegomena to a Study of the "Belles Verrières" of the Cathedral of Rouen

Author(s): Michael W. Cothren

Source: *Gesta*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1986), pp. 203-226

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#) on behalf of the [International Center of Medieval Art](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/766982>

Accessed: 12/01/2015 16:10

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The University of Chicago Press and International Center of Medieval Art are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to Gesta.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The Seven Sleepers and the Seven Kneelers: Prolegomena to a Study of the “Belles Verrières” of the Cathedral of Rouen*

MICHAEL W. COTHREN
Swarthmore College

Abstract

The recomposed, much-altered, and partially dispersed vestiges of the original nave-aisle glazing of Rouen Cathedral—the so-called “Belles Verrières”—constitute one of the most important but least studied ensembles of early 13th-century French stained glass. This article will address two windows represented in the “Belles Verrières” as a means of exploring a working methodology for reconstructing the Rouen nave-aisle glazing. From a close analysis of all remaining fragments, the original design of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and John the Evangelist windows will be reconstructed. Once assembled, each window will be evaluated in relation to stylistic, iconographic and historical contexts. The iconography of the Seven Sleepers, closely tied to the political history of Normandy at the turn of the 13th century, will allow that window to be dated with rare precision to the years between 1200–1202. The stylistic relationship between the John the Evangelist window and other glass at Rouen and Beauvais will argue for a date significantly later, in the 1240s. It thus appears that the glazing of the nave aisle at Rouen extended throughout the first half of the 13th century, rather than being restricted to the first two decades, as is usually assumed.

The “Belles Verrières” of the chapels of St.-Jean-de-la-nef (Fig. 1) and St.-Sever along the north nave aisle of the cathedral of Rouen have long been recognized as masterpieces of early 13th-century painting.¹ Tradition has ascribed their sobriquet to the 14th century;² their very survival may result from an even earlier recognition of their extraordinary quality.³ Originally produced for nave-aisle windows, the panels that now compose the “Belles Verrières” were dismounted with the walls which held them less than a century after their creation. In the 1270s, when liturgical changes called for additional altars at Rouen, chapels were built between the buttresses of both nave aisles (Fig. 3).⁴ Rather than discarding the displaced aisle windows, panels from some of them were reused to fill the narrow lancets of the Rayonnant windows in the newly constructed chapels.

The transformations necessary to accommodate the broad early 13th-century panels to the reduced size of the

FIGURE 1. “Belle Verrière” of the Chapel of St.-Jean-de-la-nef, Cathedral of Rouen (photo: author).

FIGURE 2. *Detail of fig. 1 (photomontage: author)*

late 13th-century openings and the apparent disregard for both the original design and iconography of the earlier windows which characterizes the way these panels were rearranged (Figs. 1, 2)⁵ present serious obstacles to understanding the original disposition of the “Belles Verrières.” Further complications are introduced by the alienation of additional early 13th-century panels, reused in other late 13th-century chapel windows, but now divided among several American collections, a modern “reliquary” window in a choir chapel at Rouen, and the storage dépôt of the French Ministère de la Culture at the Château of Champs-sur-Marne. Thus, to the difficulties of destruction and transformation is added the impossibility of studying the surviving panels in close proximity to one another.

Though daunting, the barriers to a fuller understanding of this glass are not insurmountable. Two windows will be examined here as case studies through which to explore a working methodology for reconstructing the original nave-aisle glazing of the Cathedral of Rouen. The first, devoted to the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, is perhaps the

best known of the early 13th-century windows of Rouen,⁶ although many of its features have never been satisfactorily explained. The second window, which depicted the life of St. John the Evangelist, may be the least well known. Its existence has heretofore been acknowledged only in oblique references,⁷ and its panels have previously been misidentified or overlooked.

The methods to be employed here are far from revolutionary. First, the primary artifacts—the fragmentary, transformed panels themselves—will be examined for clues concerning the original design of the early 13th-century windows which held them. The reconstructions which emerge from this archaeological study will then be addressed as historical documents to discern their original position within their stylistic, iconographic, and political contexts and thus their original meaning to their medieval audience. This investigation will lead to a reevaluation of the dating of the nave-aisle glazing. In the case of the Seven Sleepers window, architectural, historical, and iconographic information will add more reliable chronological clues to the

notions of stylistic evolution which have consistently been used to date this glass. It will be primarily on the basis of style, however, that the John the Evangelist window is dated considerably later than the Seven Sleepers window. This raises the possibility that a rather lengthy campaign or an extended series of isolated campaigns were involved in accomplishing the nave-aisle glazing.

The Seven Sleepers

No trace of a window depicting the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus survives among the reused panels of the two “Belles Verrières” installed in north nave chapels at Rouen, but the association of Seven Sleepers panels with the nave-aisle glazing is well documented. In studies of glass painting published in 1823 and 1832, Eustache Langlois noted the existence of early 13th-century stained glass—including scenes that can be identified with extant Seven Sleepers fragments—in two chapels (now dedicated to the Throne of St. Peter and to Ste.-Colombe) along the south aisle of the nave (Fig. 3).⁸ Presumably, this glass had already been removed by the middle of the 19th century. Neither Guilhermy in 1856 or 1864 nor de Lasteyrie in 1857 mention it.⁹ Although replaced ca. 1870 with modern, tidier windows in medieval style (more in keeping with 19th-century ideas of aesthetic harmony than the patchwork effect of the late 13th-century concoctions),¹⁰ the medieval panels were kept at Rouen on the second floor of the Tour St.-Romain. When Jean Lafond inventoried this dépôt in 1911, some of this glass, including all but one of the “American” panels from the Seven Sleepers window, had already disappeared. Between 1911 and 1932 additional panels made their way to the art market, whereas those that remained were seriously damaged, if only from neglect.¹¹

Considering this history, it is astonishing that eleven figural compositions and numerous other smaller fragments still survive from the Seven Sleepers window and that their provenance can be established with such certainty.¹² Louis Grodecki first associated the “American” Seven Sleepers panels with Rouen on the basis of their stylistic relationship to the work of the John the Baptist master of the north nave “Belles Verrières.”¹³ His identification was confirmed by Lafond’s discovery that Langlois’s notation of one of the inscriptions in the south nave chapel coincided exactly with that on one of the “American” panels cited by Grodecki.¹⁴

The first step in reconstructing the Seven Sleepers window involves close archaeological study of each surviving fragment. The later additions—both late 13th-century and modern—must be eliminated. Occasionally the resulting original cores must subsequently be rearranged to unravel the tangled knots of the later transformations which now hold them together. An examination of the panel in the Worcester Art Museum (Fig. 4a) can demonstrate how this step is accomplished and what it will reveal. A completely modern lattice mosaic ground and white

FIGURE 3. Plan of the Cathedral of Rouen indicating locations of windows pertinent to this study (author after Lanfry).

pearled fillets were added to this panel, presumably by an early 20th-century dealer who sought to transform an irregular panel defined by curving and ragged edges into a regular, and more marketable, rectangle. Once all modern glass is removed and the early 13th-century core revealed (Fig. 4c), it becomes clear that the lower part of the Worcester scene has been shifted to the left. If this strip is moved slightly to the right (Fig. 4d), the composition, though still incomplete, becomes more coherent. More important for the purposes of the present study, further clues to its original design and format are exposed.

When all panels are similarly analyzed, a regular pattern emerges revealing the original disposition of compartment and ornament and allowing a reconstruction of the design of the window of which they were originally parts (Fig. 5). The Seven Sleepers window consisted of a series of cluster medallions formed by the combination of four panels (Fig. 6). Those portions of the quadrants that held figural compositions were defined by three straight sides and by a fourth delineated by an asymmetrically

FIGURE 4. Restoration chart (b) and reconstructed early 13th-century core (d) of the scene of Messengers before Theodosius (Worcester Art Museum, 1921.60), from the Seven Sleepers Window (photomontage: author).

disposed curve. Foliate ornament filled the interstices cut by the curving fillets to complete the rectangle, and a triangle of ornament was reserved from the corner of each panel. When the panels were combined in groups of four, these triangles created a canted square boss to serve as an ornamental clasp at the center, binding the clustered design of each medallion. No complete panel exists from the Seven Sleepers window, but the surviving fragments are compatible with this design.¹⁵

The tall and slender Seven Sleepers window of this reconstruction is dense with figural compositions;¹⁶ comparatively little room remains for ornament. This may initially seem unusual, but there are contemporary parallels elsewhere. Although the designs of the windows are different, a similar narrative density precludes broad areas of ornamental mosaic ground in the basically contemporary Joseph, Redemption, and Dormition windows of the Chartres nave aisle,¹⁷ as well as the Good Samaritan window of Sens,¹⁸ or the St. James and Mary Magdalen windows of Bourges.¹⁹ In its basic organization, the design of the Seven

Sleepers window is reminiscent of the four joined circles that form the medallion patterns of the attenuated flanking windows of the eastern terminal wall at Laon,²⁰ the Sts. Simon and Jude window of Chartres,²¹ or the Apocalypse and St. Eloi windows of Auxerre,²² a design which—without the centralization of the decorative clasp that transforms a series of circular compartments into a cluster medallion—has a 12th-century pedigree in the Passion window of Chartres.²³ The Rouen designer seems only to have suppressed the circular shape of the quadrants to claim more of the panel for figures. In these comparative examples, as in the design of the Seven Sleepers window proposed here, the lancet is composed of a stack of repeated, large, centripetal cluster medallions rather than the synopated alternation between cluster medallions and symmetrically disposed auxiliary forms, a design that characterizes so many other early 13th-century windows. At Chartres,²⁴ Bourges,²⁵ and Soissons,²⁶ similarly serial, stacked designs of circular medallions, which are divided into quadrants for narrative compositions and bound at the center with an

ornamental device, provide further parallels for the proposed arrangement of the Seven Sleepers window.²⁷

A true test of a reconstructed design of the Seven Sleepers window resides in the compatibility of the formal arrangement of the extant panels with the temporal sequence of the legend of the Seven Sleepers. Thus, it is useful to review the legend itself, following the version of Gregory of Tours, the 6th-century Latin account which introduced the Seven Sleepers into the western Christian tradition.²⁸ The story opens during the turbulent persecution of Christians under the Roman emperor Decius, when seven of his noble retainers were converted to Christianity and, while the emperor was in Ephesus, refused to perform the requisite pagan sacrifices. The angered emperor chastised the seven, admonishing them to do penance for their crime until he returned to Ephesus. Instead, the seven men sold their possessions, gave the proceeds to the poor, and retired into a cave to pray. One of them, Malchus, went regularly to Ephesus to buy food and listen for news of Decius's persecutions. When Decius returned to Ephesus, the seven prayed to be delivered from his inevitable wrath, and God answered their prayer by putting them into a deep sleep just as Decius's men closed the opening of their retreat with huge stones, sealing their fate as martyrs. Eventually, the existence of the cave behind the boulders was forgotten. Later, during the reign of the Christian emperor Theodosius II, a wealthy shepherd, seeking stones to build an enclosure for his sheep, unknowingly uncovered the mouth of the cave in which the seven Christians had been sleeping peacefully for almost two centuries. Awaking as if from a night's sleep, Malchus left for Ephesus on his daily visit to buy food and seek news. Immediately upon his arrival he was struck by changes: a cross was set up at the gate of the city; inside there were churches. When he attempted to buy food with an ancient silver coin minted under Decius, he was led before the bishop and the prefect, who were suspicious of how he had obtained it. Although at first skeptical, upon hearing his story they followed him to the cave to witness the survival of his six companions and to glorify God for this wondrous miracle. The bishop and prefect sent messengers to inform Theodosius of what they had discovered. Overjoyed by this sign of the resurrection of the dead, the emperor rode to Ephesus to venerate the seven, who, after talking with him, fell again into sleep.

Since those panels with a decipherable specific subject that survive from the Seven Sleepers window can be arranged according to the design format proposed for the window and at the same time conform to chronological narrative order, a hypothetical but reasonable reconstruction of the original window can be proposed. The early parts of the legend and any indication of a donor, if they were ever depicted in the window, are lost. They would have occupied the lowest cluster medallion (Fig. 5, nos. 1–4), assuming that, like most medieval windows, this one was read from bottom to top. The first surviving narrative scene is that showing Malchus returning to the cave with food for his six

FIGURE 5. *Reconstruction of the design of the Seven Sleepers Window. Extant scenes are identified and iconographic suggestions are offered for those which are lost (author).*

companions (Fig. 6, no. 6), and it formed the lower right quadrant of what was probably the second cluster medallion. The strip that remains from the scene of the sealing of the cave fits logically, by virtue of design and subject, above this scene and within the same cluster (Fig. 6, no. 8). A depiction of Decius ordering the cave to be sealed may once have been to its left.²⁹

The bottom of the third cluster medallion (Fig. 7) contained two panels (nos. 9–10) over which the sleeping seven were distributed, four to the left and three, barely discernible but still documented, within the meager fragment that fits to the right. The single figure in the left panel with eyes open seems to suggest that this scene represented not only the sleep of the seven but also their subsequent awakening.³⁰ As such it would have formed the transition to the register immediately above which would have included the gate of Ephesus with its cross that so startled Malchus.

Three scenes survive from a subsequent, hypothetically the fourth, cluster medallion (Fig. 8) which would have

FIGURE 6. *Reconstruction of the second cluster medallion of the Seven Sleepers Window incorporating the early 13th-century cores of extant panels (photomontage: author).*

concentrated on the events after Malchus's arrival in Ephesus. At the bottom left (no. 13) Malchus attempts to buy food with old money, and to the right (no. 14) he is brought before the bishop and the prefect for doing so. Above this register, to the left (no. 15), messengers arrive at the court of Theodosius to inform him of the miracle. The empty quadrant could have held a group of courtiers in attendance. Though the generic nature of the subject makes it impossible to be certain that it actually belongs here, the panel which survives in the form of a slender strip presenting only the lowest part of several figures (Fig. 8, no. 16) once depicted such a group. From the fifth, presumably the last, cluster medallion only the scene of Theodosius on horseback traveling to Ephesus can be placed with certainty (Fig. 8, no. 17). The register above this probably closed the window by portraying the final sleep of the seven.

The iconography of the Seven Sleepers window, however, may reveal much more interesting information about this window and its place in the Rouen nave glazing than simply a confirmation of the provisional arrangement of extant panels within a deciphered design. Through its association with the complicated political history of early 13th-century Normandy, this subject suggests a means of

determining a date for the Seven Sleepers window and perhaps, through association, for other early windows represented in the "Belles Verrières." Until now style has been the preferred tool for dating all this glass, but it has yielded neither convincing nor widely accepted conclusions.³¹

The illustration of the Seven Sleepers legend is extremely unusual in France during the Middle Ages.³² It did, however, have a certain popularity in the East, especially in the 10th and 11th centuries, when it appeared regularly as the subject of a single miniature among the marginal illustrations of Byzantine Psalters,³³ and was included in the Menologion of Basil II,³⁴ although it seems never to have been the subject of a narrative cycle comparable to that of the Rouen window. Jean Lafond ascribed the appearance of a Seven Sleepers window at Rouen to the general popularity of things Byzantine in Normandy.³⁵ There is, however, a more likely source closer to home.

The story of the Seven Sleepers was not only more popular in England than it was in France, it was also charged with special royal significance.³⁶ While at dinner one Easter, Edward the Confessor was said to have had a vision of the seven turning over in their sleep. This curious anecdote found its way into his biography by the 12th

FIGURE 7. Reconstruction of the third cluster medallion of the Seven Sleepers Window incorporating the early 13th-century cores of extant panels (photomontage: author).

century.³⁷ After his canonization in 1161, Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers became associated with the royal cult.³⁸ By the 13th century it was included in the cycles of illustrations accompanying manuscripts of his life.³⁹ Thus, there seems reason to believe that the subject of the Rouen Seven Sleepers window could be connected with England and its royal saint. Historical circumstances make such a connection likely.

In April 1199, Richard Lionheart died of battle wounds, and John, his brother, inherited both England and Normandy. John did not hold his continental territory for long, however. Philip Augustus marched into the cathedral of Rouen in July of 1204 and claimed Normandy for himself.⁴⁰ Under these circumstances, the installation of a window depicting a singularly unusual subject, which was charged with associations to the English royal house, would have been highly unlikely after 1204 when the political allegiances of Normandy turned from England to France. The historical situation in the early 13th century, therefore, seems to provide a neat *terminus ante quem* of 1204 for the Seven Sleepers window. But in addition to this negative evidence, there is compelling positive evidence to focus its date to the years between 1200 and 1202 and to associate it directly with

King John of England, Duke of Normandy between 1199 and 1204.

A reasonable *terminus post quem* for the window is provided by a fire which severely damaged the cathedral of Rouen in April 1200,⁴¹ almost exactly a year after the Norman capital had given John his first enthusiastic and unqualified acceptance as he was seeking to establish himself as his brother's heir.⁴² A few months after the fire, John promised a generous donation to the campaign to repair the cathedral,⁴³ and between 1200 and 1203 he fulfilled this pledge.⁴⁴ Indeed on 16 October 1202 John, then at Rouen, encouraged general support of the restoration as he authorized fundraising. John explained his special affection for "ecclesia Rothomagensis mater ecclesiarum Normanniae" by the presence there of the tombs of his ancestors and friends.⁴⁵ The dynastic significance he attributed to the building would only have been enhanced by a reference through the Seven Sleepers window to the life of his sainted precursor, Edward the Confessor, whose mother, Emma, was Norman.⁴⁶

Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, would have been receptive to the installation of a Seven Sleepers window carrying this significance at the time when John

FIGURE 8. *Reconstruction of the fourth and the lower register of the fifth cluster medallions of the Seven Sleepers Window incorporating the early 13th-century cores of extant panels (photomontage: author).*

was donating money to the repair of the cathedral. After becoming archbishop of Rouen in 1184, Master Walter—an Englishman in spite of his name—was chosen several times by Henry II to travel as ambassador.⁴⁷ In 1190 he accompanied Richard on crusade, but in April 1191, responding to serious political turmoil in England, the king sent Walter back to reestablish order. The archbishop virtually ruled England until Richard's release in 1194.⁴⁸ Walter was also instrumental in raising Richard's ransom and was one of the

hostages left to ensure its payment. By 1200 Walter of Coutances had devoted much of his life in the Anglo-Norman church to a career in English politics, and thus the English significance of the Seven Sleepers would hardly have been lost on him. He could conceivably have been involved in its choice as the subject of a window at Rouen to express the tie between the dynastically significant Norman cathedral and a monarch and duke who was at that moment its benefactor.

FIGURE 9. *Seven Kneelers (here interpreted as apostles), from the John the Evangelist Window of the cathedral of Rouen. Now in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, the Glencairn Museum of the Academy of the New Church, 03.SG.52 (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art).*

FIGURE 10. *Heads of figures from (a) the Seven Kneelers panel, det. of Fig. 9; and (b) Malchus Led before the Bishop and Prefect, det. of Fig. 8, lower right (Glencairn Museum 03.SG.51) from the Seven Sleepers Window (photos: author).*

Despite John's reputation as an antagonist of the church,⁴⁹ Walter of Coutances may have been particularly pleased by John's accession to the royal and ducal crown. Walter's relationship with Richard had not been cordial after 1194. In 1196 Richard attempted to curtail certain of the archbishop's ecclesiastical prerogatives and to seize the archiepiscopal estate of Les Andelys for his own use.⁵⁰ Although the dispute was resolved in Richard's favor, the king was obliged by the Pope to cede to Walter, in exchange for Les Andelys, possessions that were even more lucrative.⁵¹ The principal problems Richard presented to Archbishop Walter and the Norman church in the second half of the 1190s, however, were generated by the brutal war he was waging with Philip Augustus in Normandy. From 1194 until Richard's death in 1199 turmoil and destruction escalated. To the loss of ecclesiastical revenue was added plague and famine.⁵²

With John's accession peace returned to Normandy until 1202.⁵³ These few years were also characterized by unusually cordial relations between John and the Church he had pledged to support in the ceremony when he was invested as duke in 1199.⁵⁴ He confirmed the generous exchange of property Walter had obtained from Richard in terms that were even more advantageous to the arch-

bishop.⁵⁵ In 1201–1202 John turned to the Church to help him through a time of growing civil insecurity. Concerned by the disloyalty of his barons, John appealed to the Pope for support. Innocent III wrote to the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen on 7 March 1202 ordering them to force the rebels to return to John,⁵⁶ and then wrote to John on 27 March welcoming the king back into the fold of the faithful and challenging him to further deeds of piety.⁵⁷ In return John pledged to found a Cistercian monastery and to send a hundred knights to the Holy Land for a year.⁵⁸ To Walter of Coutances, John must have seemed an exemplary monarch between 1199 and 1202. He was generous; he depended on the Church for support; he maintained peace in Normandy.

This situation changed by 1203. On 20 February 1203, the Pope wrote to John enumerating the king's recent misdeeds, including numerous interferences with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁵⁹ Concurrent with the reversal in attitude between John and the church was the return of hostility to Normandy. Although at first John was successful in battle against Philip Augustus and his allies, by the beginning of 1203 the tide turned against him, just as the theater of the conflict shifted to Normandy. At the end of 1203 John fled to England. In March 1204 Château Gaillard fell to Philip,

and on 23 June Rouen surrendered. Philip was generous to the conquered, especially to the Norman church, and the transfer of allegiance from John to Philip was smooth and quick, even for Walter of Coutances.⁶⁰

Thus a number of factors converge to date the Seven Sleepers window between 1200 and 1202. Since the singularly unusual theme of the Seven Sleepers⁶¹ was linked with the cult of Edward the Confessor, it emerges as a particularly appropriate subject at a time when, in the years following 1199, John was working to solidify his position as inheritor of his brother's lands and titles, and particularly inappropriate after 1204 when Philip Augustus had taken Normandy and Rouen for himself. King John's direct financial involvement between 1200 and 1203 in the restoration of a cathedral he associated with his ancestors makes such an association more likely. It is supported further by Walter of Coutances's cordial relationship with John between 1199 and 1202, a factor that is especially meaningful in the context of the reversal of fortunes and allegiances that transpired in 1203–1204.

Nothing about the style of the Seven Sleepers window argues against dating it between 1200 and 1202. Parallels for its calm, monumentalizing and classicizing *Muldenfaltenstil* exist as early as the last quarter of the 12th century in the early windows of Canterbury Cathedral and

FIGURE 11. (Above) Panel from the "Belle Verrière" of the Chapel of St.-Jean-de-la-nef, det. of Fig. 1, here interpreted as part of a John the Evangelist Window (photo: © Arch. Photo./SPADEM, Paris/VAGA, New York).

FIGURE 12. (Right) Reconstruction of the upper four registers of the John the Evangelist Window of the Cathedral of Rouen. (The placement of ornament in the lowest register is hypothetical) (photomontage: author).

the metalwork of Nicholas of Verdun.⁶² The figure style is common in architectural sculpture by the year 1200, notably at Laon and Sens,⁶³ and the classicizing glass of Soissons has recently been dated within the first five years of the 13th century.⁶⁴ Fragmentary sculpture from the cathedral of Rouen itself suggests that a portal in this style was a part of the campaign of restoration and reconstruction which immediately followed the fire in 1200.⁶⁵

FIGURE 13. *A group of seated listeners under an arcade, from the John the Evangelist Window of the Cathedral of Rouen. Fragmentary panel now in storage at the Château of Champs-sur-Marne (photo: courtesy of Catherine Brisac).*

FIGURE 14. *The Death of John the Evangelist, from the John the Evangelist Window of the Cathedral of Rouen. Now in storage at the Château of Champs-sur-Marne (photo: Archives photographiques).*

The Seven Kneelers

Conspicuously absent from my reconstruction of the Seven Sleepers window is a panel from the Pitcairn Collection (Fig. 9) that has traditionally been associated with it.⁶⁶ Both the subject matter of this fragment, which portrays seven kneeling figures,⁶⁷ and the fact that it traveled from Rouen in the company of three Seven Sleepers panels,⁶⁸ would seem to qualify it for inclusion in the Seven Sleepers window. There are several reasons, however, for rejecting such a conclusion. The physical character and color of the glass of this panel distinguish it from the panels of the Seven Sleepers window. The blues are more intense, the reds more brilliant, the mureys duller and more corroded. Differences in figure style are equally striking. The mannered, wiry, and dry articulation of the distorted faces of the Pitcairn kneelers (Fig. 10a) makes them almost the antithesis of the more fluidly articulated and more plastically conceived faces of figures of the Seven Sleepers panels (Fig. 10b). The draped bodies of the kneelers seem schematic and flat when compared to the suavely delineated, heavy drapery which emphasizes the volumetric qualities of the sleepers.⁶⁹

Even if distinct from the Seven Sleepers panels, the seven kneelers from the Pitcairn Collection are not without stylistic relatives at Rouen. They find a close formal analogue in a panel which is still installed at Rouen within the “Belle Verrière” of the chapel of St.-Jean-de-la-nef (Fig. 11). Strong stylistic parallels between the figures of these two scenes—especially noticeable in drapery, hands, gestures, and facial features—provide evidence that links the Pitcairn kneelers with the panel in Rouen. Their affiliation is more striking, and also more instructive, once the Pitcairn panel has been reduced to its essential core by eliminating all the modern glass and medieval stop-gaps grafted to it by a dealer to form a rectangle. Extracted from the extraneous (cf. Figs. 9 and 12, second register, right), the core composition reveals a distinctively shaped lacuna at the lower left, comparable in shape to the quarter-quatrefoil of the lower right corner of the Rouen panel, with which it also shares the basic compositional configuration of a quarter circle. A tell-tale fragment of a fillet survives just in front of the heads of the Pitcairn kneelers and seems once to have belonged to the outline of a second quarter-quatrefoil above the figural composition as in the Rouen panel. On the basis of the relationship between these two panels, it is possible to reconstruct the original design of the full panel from which the figural core of the Pitcairn panel was extracted, a panel conceived as the pendant of a panel designed like the Rouen panel, if not the actual Rouen panel itself (Fig. 12).⁷⁰

Two other fragmentary panels (Figs. 13, 14) now in storage at the Château of Champs-sur-Marne can be associated with the seven kneelers and Rouen panels on the basis of figure style; quality and color of glass; and design of compartment, ground, and ornament.⁷¹ They provide further clues and permit a fuller reconstruction of the design

FIGURE 15. *The Death of John the Evangelist from the John the Evangelist Window of the Cathedral of Chartres (photo after Houvet and Delaporte, Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, pl. XII).*

of a window that contained all the fragments associated with the Pitcairn kneelers. Rather than fitting into a circular configuration, the two panels at Champs were once part of a register designed as two opposed half-circles, constructed of a four-panel group like the large circular cluster medallion containing the Rouen and Pitcairn panels and, presumably, alternating with it in the overall design of the window (Fig. 12).

One of the Champs panels (Fig. 14), can be placed within the reconstruction at the top left of the window. When reduced to its early 13th-century core,⁷² the panel reveals a regular, inward curve which truncates the rectangular design quadrant at the upper left so as to conform to the resolution of the lancet which held it in a point. In this instance, however, ascertaining the original appearance of the panel is hindered by subtraction as well as by addition. Three fragmentary colonnettes, also preserved at Champs, can be added to the base of the panel, providing support for the tomb in which the figure of the panel reclines (Fig. 12, top register, left).⁷³ Thus reconstructed, this panel provides the key to the subject of the window.

The scene portrayed is the distinctive death of John the Evangelist,⁷⁴ who, having been informed by Christ that the end of his life was near, took his final communion and, as

he was consumed by a blinding light, voluntarily climbed into his tomb and prepared to die.⁷⁵ A comparable scene, composed in almost identical fashion, but in reverse, closes the John the Evangelist window at Chartres (Fig. 15).⁷⁶ As at Rouen, John is alone in the composition, seated in a raised sarcophagus with hands uplifted toward the descent of heavenly light; architectural towers delineate the background. The comparison even extends to the inclusion of the colonnettes under the tomb. A similar scene, without the colonnettes and background towers, appears in the John the Evangelist windows of Tours, Troyes, and the Ste.-Chapelle,⁷⁷ and on the tympanum of the left portal of the west façade of Rouen.⁷⁸ But the less distinctive, or more enigmatic, subjects of the other panels associated with the Rouen window do not conform so clearly to episodes drawn from the life of St. John. None of the ten extant French 13th-century John the Evangelist windows⁷⁹ contains a scene that parallels either the individual figural compositions of the Pitcairn panel and the panel in Rouen, or the single composition they form when combined on the same register. There are, however, convincing parallels in 13th-century manuscripts, which suggest that the two panels could have represented, over an entire register in the original window, the annunciation of the death of St. John.

FIGURE 16. *The Annunciation of the Death of John the Evangelist*, from the *Trinity Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.16.2, fol. 31r) (photo: Mildred Budny, reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge).

The same sources which describe John's death as depicted in the Champs panel relate that Christ appeared with his disciples to John soon before he was to die and invited him to join his apostolic brothers in heaven.⁸⁰ If the hypothetical register composed of Pitcairn and Rouen panels (Fig. 12, second register) could be associated with this event, the kneeling figure at the right would be John confronting a standing, youthful Christ who gestures toward

an emblematic kneeling apostolic brotherhood, the seven kneelers. The annunciation of John's impending death does figure in windows at Bourges and Chartres, but the compositions there provide no visual analogue to the combination of the Pitcairn and Rouen panels.⁸¹ Close to it, however, is the depiction of this event in the mid-13th-century Trinity Apocalypse (Fig. 16),⁸² where a youthful Christ—with a meager, almost negligible beard, and without a cruciform

FIGURE 17. Details of heads from the *John the Evangelist Window* (a and c) and the *Good Samaritan Window* (b and d), both of the Cathedral of Rouen (photos; a, b, d: © ARCH. PHOTO./SPADEM, Paris/VAGA, New York; c: author).

FIGURE 18. Panel from the *Good Samaritan Window* of the Cathedral of Rouen (photo: © ARCH. PHOTO./SPADEM, Paris/VAGA, New York).

nimbus like the corresponding figure in the Rouen panel—stands between a kneeling figure of St. John and a group of six standing apostles.⁸³ This comparison, providing parallels for some of the seeming irregularities in the portrayal of Christ,⁸⁴ allows a tentative identification of this hypothetical register of the window as the annunciation of John's death.

Thus the extant four panels of the Rouen John the Evangelist window may originate from its top three registers (Fig. 12). Above the appearance of Christ foretelling John's death may have been the scene of John's last celebration of the Mass or his last sermon. Both would have been complemented on the right by the group of observers in the panel from Champs who could be learning of the imminent death of the saint.⁸⁵ Above this, the window would have closed with John's death in the securely identified scene from Champs at the left, which may have been accompanied on the right by a group of witnesses,⁸⁶ an altar,⁸⁷ censuring angels,⁸⁸ or perhaps with a depiction of the ascension of John's soul.⁸⁹

Relative Chronology

The iconography of the Seven Sleepers window, in conjunction with considerations of its style, seems to permit

the window to be dated to 1200–1202, with precision that is rare in the study of early 13th-century stained glass. If the argument presented here for such a date can be accepted, this window will provide a chronological lodestone with which to date some of the other windows of the nave-aisle glazing, by association, to the first decade of the 13th century.⁹⁰ Traditionally, all the early glass of the “Belles Verrières,” including the panel identified here as part of the John the Evangelist window, has been dated together to the same period.⁹¹ The stylistic contrast drawn earlier, however, between the seven kneelers and the Seven Sleepers—between the mannered and fussy, schematic and flat, but nervously energetic style of the kneelers, and the monumental, restrained, classicizing style of the Sleepers—suggests that the John the Evangelist window should be dated somewhat later than the Seven Sleepers window.⁹²

This suggestion of a later date for the John the Evangelist window, grounded in a generalized notion of stylistic evolution during the first half of the 13th century, is reinforced by its formal affiliation with another window at Rouen. In this case it is not another window from the nave, but the Good Samaritan window of the ambulatory, the glazing of which has generally been dated at least a decade

FIGURE 19. *Detail of the Good Samaritan Window of the Cathedral of Rouen* (photo: © ARCH. PHOTO./SPADEM, Paris/VAGA, New York).

later than the “Belles Verrières.”⁹³ Stylistic comparison between these two windows indicates that they must have been made by the same workshop or artists. The relationship between them is easiest to demonstrate through comparisons of heads, where not only is the convention of articulation the same, but the details with which it is rendered are essentially identical. Here (Fig. 17) two head types have been chosen—one plump, round, and youthful (a and b), the other elongated, mature, and ovoid (c and d). In both, bold lines indicate bangs on the forehead and similarly strong lines define eyebrows and jaw, lines whose boldness seems all the more salient in comparison to the wiry, fine lines delineating the straight, elongated eyes, the strands of sweeping or tightly curling hair, and the details of the long, pinched noses. Mouths and ears are crumpled and prominent; upper lips are exaggerated.⁹⁴

Stylistic similarities between the John the Evangelist and Good Samaritan windows extend from facial types to gestures, postures, and figural proportions (cf. Figs. 11 and 18). Draped wrists (cf. that of the kneeling figure in Fig. 11, with that of the standing figure in Fig. 19) conform to a

shared convention; a long, decrescendo-like “V” points to a striated cuff and emphasizes the thinness of these extremities and thus the exaggerated gesturing hands attached to them. Feet are pulled into the same tapering elongated forms and placed on, seemingly pushed onto, the same thin ankles (cf. Figs. 9 and 18). Not only are the feet of figures in the two windows identical in conformation, they are equally similar in articulation with parallel double lines of angled decoration near the toes. The lower parts of robes are defined with the same bold, stiff loops, and the seemingly starched hems are conceived as if seen from below and drawn with stick-lighted undulations picked out of a solid strip of opaque paint.

Environments are as closely related as figures. Arcades (Figs. 13 and 18) are defined by slim, white fillets with a single, thin, asymmetrically placed line of painted articulation. They are supported by capitals of identical design. In the more substantial architectural forms (Figs. 14 and 20), doorways are painted with similarly designed hinges and walls are composed of stacks of coursed bricks, with individual bricks separated on each course with double lines, and individual stacks separated by stringcourses and capped with a small arcaded form that conforms to the curve of the compartment. In both windows the monumentality of these architectural composites is uncomfortably interrupted by the fillets of the compartmental frame, a compositional habit which reveals part of the defining—at times disturbing—stylistic character of this artist or shop. In the creation of the natural environment, both the John the Evangelist (Fig. 9) and Good Samaritan (Fig. 19) windows employ the same strange, spindly, and sparsely distributed vegetation to indicate an exterior setting. The distinctive design for trees (Figs. 9 and 18) is not only shared, but also rendered in both windows with the same distribution of colors.

Although there is no secure date for any of the windows of the Rouen ambulatory, the Good Samaritan window can be assigned to the 1240s because of its stylistic association with the bishop-saint window of the nearby cathedral of Beauvais (Fig. 21), a window which is dated fairly securely on extra-stylistic criteria to the 1240s, probably close to 1245.⁹⁵ It is likely that they were executed by the same workshop, or at least by closely affiliated workshops trained in an identical stylistic tradition. As at Rouen, the attenuated figures at Beauvais carry small heads and gesture broadly and often awkwardly. The mannered articulation of facial types is strikingly similar (cf. Figs. 10a, 17, 21). Drapery sweeps in broad curves and is delineated with stiff, bold, elongated loops. Scenes in the window at Beauvais share a significant number of the small details already cited at Rouen in the articulation of wrists, hands, feet, hems, foliage, architecture and ornament. The similarly composed monumental architectural forms are uncomfortably restricted at Beauvais (Fig. 21), as at Rouen (Figs. 14 and 20), by the curving frame. These windows, at Rouen and Beauvais alike, witness the same nervous invigoration and hardening schematization of the calm, classicizing, monumental,

FIGURE 20. Panel from the *Good Samaritan Window* of the Cathedral of Rouen (photo: © ARCH. PHOTO./SPADEM, Paris/VAGA, New York).

early 13th-century style represented so eloquently around 1200 by the Seven Sleepers window. Progressive hardening such as this has been cited by Louis Grodecki as the hallmark of stylistic development in the second quarter of the 13th century.⁹⁶

This apparent difference of several decades in the dates of the Seven Sleepers and John the Evangelist windows at Rouen raises some important general questions concerning the “Belles Verrières.” Not all the glass reused in the late 13th-century chapels of the nave aisles appears to date to the very early 13th century when the architecture of the original nave aisle was underway. The detail of the “Belle Verrière” of the chapel of St.-Jean-de-la-nef reproduced here as Fig. 2 contains glass from three distinct moments in the 13th century. At the bottom right appears the justly famous scene of the Baptist preaching, painted by the same artist(s) who executed the Seven Sleepers window in the first few years of the century. Just above it is the familiar scene from the John the Evangelist window dating from the 1240s, and immediately to the left of this scene, a later 13th-century depiction of an episode from the life of St.

Nicholas⁹⁷ that could not have preceded the concoction of the chapel window by too many years.

Two possible explanations for the juxtaposition here of glass of widely different dates come immediately to mind. Either the late 13th-century glaziers of the new chapel openings drew from the later choir windows as well as the earlier, eliminated nave-aisle windows for their collages, or—and this seems by far the most likely alternative—the early 13th-century nave aisle of Rouen was not totally glazed immediately upon the completion of the architectural framework. Openings may instead have been filled gradually over the course of seventy-five years or so. Glazing may have been in progress in different parts of the church at the same time, with the Good Samaritan atelier or artists being responsible not only for a window in the ambulatory but also for a window in the nave, perhaps following the whims of patronage rather than the logical progression of the architectural framework. These difficult questions may be irresolvable for Rouen, but they are important ones to ponder since we so frequently rely on architectural chronology to date stained glass windows.

FIGURE 21. A bishop saint (St. Constantin?) preaching, from a window in the Virgin Chapel of the Cathedral of Beauvais (photo: E. Rousset).

NOTES

* Portions of this study were given in the ICMA Sessions of the Seventeenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, May 1982; at the XIIth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum, Vienna, September 1983; and at a Symposium on Gothic Architecture and Painting in Memory of Robert Branner, Columbia University, April 1984. Since it has demanded the close scrutiny of dispersed artifacts, my work on the "Belles Verrières" could not have been accomplished without continual help and cooperation of both institutions and individuals. Research in France during Fall 1982 was made possible by an NEH Fellowship. Further financial support was provided by the Faculty Research Fund of Swarthmore College. My largest debt is to those who have facilitated my study of panels of stained glass entrusted to their care: the Reverend Martin Pryke and Joyce Bellinger at the Glencairn Museum; Jane Hayward at The Cloisters; Stephen Jareckie at the Worcester Art Museum; Pierre-Marie Auzas, Daniel Lavalle, and Catherine Brisac, of the Ministère de la Culture in Paris; and Sylvie Gaudin of the Atelier Gaudin in Paris. Many colleagues have offered encouragement and advice. I wish here to express special gratitude to Catherine Brisac, whose tireless efforts on my behalf enabled me to gain permission to study the Rouen fragments now in storage; to Françoise Perrot, who provided access to Jean Lafond's notes on Rouen; and to Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Susan Lowry, who have donated patient hours of critical assistance throughout this project.

1. By "Belles Verrières" I will be referring here only to the 13th-century panels installed in these windows (those which presumably originate from the nave-aisle glazing program), and not to the 15th-century panels which now fill the lower parts of the windows in both chapels (for which see F. Perrot, *Le vitrail à Rouen*, Connaître Rouen II, no. 7 [Rouen, 1972], 11, 28–29). The following, in chronological order, compose the basic bibliography on the "Belles Verrières": J. Lafond, "Vitreaux," in A. Loisel, *La cathédrale de Rouen*, Petites monographies des grandes édifices de la France (Paris, 1913), 111–12; G. Ritter, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen: XIIIe, XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Cognac, 1926), 7–8, 37–42, and pls. I–VIII; L. Grodecki, "Les vitraux [de Rouen]," *Les monuments historiques de la France* (1956), 101–02; *idem*, "De 1200 à 1260," in *Le vitrail français* (Paris, 1958), 143; J. Hayward, in *Medieval Art from Private Collections*, ed. C. Gómez-Moreno, Exhibition Catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1968), entries 183–85; F. Perrot, in *L'Europe gothique*, Exhibition Catalogue, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1968), 113–14; J. Hayward, in *The Year 1200, I, The Exhibition*, ed. K. Hoffmann, Exhibition Catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1970), 202–04; J. Lafond, "Un vitrail des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse, Scéance du 14 octobre," *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1970), 262–64; *idem*, "La verrière des Sept Dormants d'Ephèse et l'ancienne vitrerie de la cathédrale de Rouen," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York, 1975, symposium held in 1970), 399–416; Perrot, *Le vitrail à Rouen*, 11–13; A.-M. Carment-Lanfry, *La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Rouen*, Connaître Rouen I, no. 5 (Rouen, 1977), 81–82; C. Fesco, in *Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass in New England Collections*, ed. M. H. Caviness, Exhibition Catalogue, The Busch-Reisinger Museum (Medford, Massachusetts, 1978), 17–19; J. Hayward, in *Radiance and Reflection, Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection*, Exhibition Catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1982), 149–52; L. Grodecki and C. Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique au XIIIe siècle* (Fribourg, 1984), 48–49, 257.
2. Although most modern scholars have claimed a 14th-century date for the association of the term "Belles Verrières" with the early 13th-century glass now in the windows of the chapels of St.-Jean-de-la-nef and St.-Sever, no 14th-century document has ever been cited. Only Lafond ("La verrière des Sept Dormants," 400 and n. 11) notes an earlier source: C. de Beaurepaire, "Procès-verbal de la visite archiepiscopale des chapelles de la métropole [de Rouen] en 1609," *Bulletin de la commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, VII (1885–87), 243–67. De Beaurepaire, however, cites not a 14th-century document but the testimony of a 1609 description of one chapel containing "vulgairement dite des Belles-Verrières" (246); he comments, "On disait les Belles-Verrières dès le XIVe siècle" (254), but gives no source for this information.
3. Hayward, in *Radiance and Reflection*, 150. Cf. Lafond ("La verrière des Sept Dormants," 400) and Perrot (*Le vitrail à Rouen*, 11), who attribute the reuse of the early 13th-century panels to the need to save money rather than to any sense of aesthetic reverence.
4. See J. Loth, *La cathédrale de Rouen, son histoire, sa description, depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Rouen, 1879), 61–64; and L. A. Jouen, *La cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen, 1932), 28–30.
5. The alterations to the original panels are immediately apparent. In addition to Figs. 1–2, see Ritter, *Les vitraux*, pls. I–VIII. Most panels have been cut down, truncating both figural compositions and ornamental design (e.g., *ibid.*, pl. III, d2 and d4). Some were reshaped (e.g., *ibid.*, pl. III, c3) or patched up with stop-gaps or new additions (e.g., *ibid.*, pls. III, c3; IV, d7) to make them conform to the desired rectangular format. It is often difficult to determine whether the attached mosaic ground (e.g., *ibid.*, pls. I, a1; VI, e7) or strips of border (e.g., *ibid.*, pls. I, b1; VI, e8; VII, g1) originally belonged to the window from which the particular panel was taken. Even more

obscure is the original relationship of the reused early 13th-century borders that frame two of the eight lancets (Fig. 3, left; and *ibid.*, pls. Ia, IIa, IIIc, IVc) with the panels to which they are now attached. These borders, as well as those made at the time of the late 13th-century reinstallation (Fig. 2, right), seem to be the only concession to formal continuity in the “Belles Verrières.” There was even less concern for iconographic continuity. Episodes from the lives of various saints from several windows were randomly arranged within a singled lancet as if subject were a matter of little significance.

6. This is the only window which has attracted serious scholarly attention: Lafond, “La verrière des Sept Dormants.”
7. *Ibid.*, 401.
8. E. H. Langlois, *Mémoire sur la peinture sur verre et sur quelques vitraux remarquables des églises de Rouen* (Rouen, 1823), 12; *idem*, *Essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture sur verre ancienne et moderne, et sur les vitraux les plus remarquables de quelques monuments français et étrangers* (Rouen, 1832), 29–32. These two publications contain the same information concerning the early 13th-century glass of the south nave chapels, the text of 1832 repeating exactly what had been written in 1823. Langlois identified the two chapels of the south nave aisle that contained “ancien” glass as the fifth and sixth from the west. Of the sixth he noted “Fenêtre à menaux, conservant ses anciens panneaux supérieures. Ils offrent quelques faites de la vie d’un saint, accompagnés de plusieurs inscriptions, commençant par l’expression indicative *Hic*, autrefois si communément usitée. . . .” (1823, 12). According to Lafond (“La verrière des Sept Dormants,” 399–400), Langlois’s own plan of the cathedral (present whereabouts unknown) recorded one of these inscriptions in some detail: “hic ante presul (em). . . .” There are earlier published descriptions of the cathedral of Rouen, but Langlois was apparently the first to describe the windows in any detail.
9. François de Guilhermy’s notes made during visits to Rouen in 1856 and 1864 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. MS 6107, fols. 139–140v) record no 13th- or 14th-century stained glass in the south nave chapels comparable to that which he documents and which still exists in the third and fourth chapels (from the west) on the north. Curiously, in the two south chapels where Langlois had seen reused 13th-century panels, Guilhermy noted 15th- and 16th-century glass. Since the “ancien” glass that Langlois cited was located in the “Partie supérieure” of the two windows, the figures and scenes cited by Guilhermy may have remained in the lower portions after the upper portions with medieval glass had been taken out. The testimony of F. de Lasteyrie (*Histoire de la peinture sur verre d’après ses monuments en France*, I [Paris, 1857], 182) supports the notion that the early panels cited by Langlois had been taken out by the middle of the 19th century: “[Langlois] parle de quelques autres verrières contemporaine de celle que je viens de décrire, et en donne une description d’autant plus intéressante, que, depuis l’époque où il écrivait, plusieurs d’entre elles ont déjà disparu.” After describing the south nave chapel windows without referring to any 13th-century glass, he repeated his assertion that additional glass, known to Langlois, had disappeared from the cathedral, this time adding chronological focus to his comment: “outre les verrières qui ont disparu depuis quelques années, beaucoup d’autres, sans doute, avaient déjà eu le même sort, lorsque Langlois composa son livre.” (183).
10. The windows of 19th-century pastiche were destroyed when the cathedral was bombed in 1944. See Lafond, “La verrière des Sept Dormants,” 400.
11. *Ibid.*, 401. Lafond relates that on returning to the dépôt in 1932 to open the crates and choose glass to be included in an exhibition, he found that many panels had been removed and replaced by stones to give the semblance of weight. Of the six panels included in the exhibition, only two seem to have been from the Seven Sleepers series: F. Guey and J. Lafond, *Catalogue de l’exposition d’art religieux* (Rouen, 1931), 103, entries 309–10. The panel listed as No. 9 in Lafond’s 1911 inventory and described as “Trois personnages à cheval” appears to be one of the panels that disappeared between 1911 and 1932. It can be identified with a panel, formerly in the Pitcairn Collection (purchased from Augustin Lambert in 1923) and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Appendix, no. 4.
12. For an inventory of these fragments see the Appendix.
13. Lafond, “La verrière des Sept Dormants,” 405, cites Grodecki’s stylistic identification of the “American” Rouen panels, and Grodecki’s notes made in 1967 as he examined photographs of the glass in the Pitcairn Collection associate the Seven Sleepers panels there with the St. John the Baptist Master of the Rouen “Belles Verrières.” I am grateful to Louis Grodecki for sharing with me all his notes on glass in the Raymond Pitcairn Collection.
14. *Ibid.*, 399–400. The panel is now in the Glencairn Museum (see Appendix, no. 2). For Langlois’s notation of its inscription see n. 8.
15. The only problematic panels are those listed as nos. 9 and 11 in the Appendix, but no. 11 may not actually have been a part of this window, and the current disposition of both panels has been affected significantly by later alteration.
16. If, as Jean Lafond believed (*ibid.*, 400, 408 n. 10), paired lancets originally illuminated the nave aisles at Rouen, such attenuation would have been mandatory. But the architectural evidence for this is not convincing. Single lancets, like those of the Chartres nave aisle, are more likely, but, like the current lancets of the transept aisles at Rouen, they may have been narrow. If so, the size of the openings would have dictated the marginal role played by ornament in the window, as is the case with the ambulatory chapel windows of Bourges. A full architectural study will be necessary before solid conjectures concerning the size of the original openings can be made.
17. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1926), pls. XXII, CLXII, and CLIV.
18. Illustrated in Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, 83.
19. C. Cahier and A. Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges* (Paris, 1841–44), pls. XI and XV.
20. Illustrated in Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, 35.
21. Delaporte and Houvet, *Les vitraux*, pl. XCVII.
22. V. C. Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, 1982), figs. 67 and 73.
23. Delaporte and Houvet, *Les vitraux*, pl. I.
24. The Sts. Catherine, Germain d’Auxerre, and Simon and Jude windows: *ibid.*, pls. LXVIII, XCVII, and CXLVI.
25. The Sts. James, Peter, Vincent, and Lawrence windows: Cahier and Martin, *Monographie*, pls. XIII, XIV, and XV.
26. The Sts. Nicasius and Eutropia window: M. H. Caviness, E. C. Pastan, and M. M. Beaven, “The Gothic Window from Soissons: A Reconsideration,” *Fenway Court 1983* (Annual Report of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), 6–25.
27. It is possible that more extensive ornamental surrounds once accompanied the figural panels of the Seven Sleepers window and were pared down or eliminated during their late 13th-century reintegration. The window might have been wider, for instance, and the curving fillets of each panel could thus have continued to meet and close the cluster medallion with a semi-circular profile on the outside. A study of the panels unleaded, with special attention to the nature of the grozing, might help evaluate this possibility. Alternatively, an ornamental mosaic background could have been created—as it sometimes was—from separate panels rather than being attached to those containing the figural scenes. Without any indication that the Seven

- Sleepers window originally included separate panels of ornament, or that the figural panels were considerably larger, it has seemed more reasonable here to reconstruct the window from what is known—especially since parallels for its figural density do exist—rather than to fantasize from other, comparative examples as to what might have been.
28. For editions of this text see “Gregorii Turonensis Passio VII Dormientium apud Ephesum edidit Bruno Krusch,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 12 (1893), 371–87; and *MGH. Scriptorum rerum merovingicarum*, I, 847–53. For the history, development, dissemination, and textual recensions of the Seven Sleepers legend and cult see J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung. Eine mythologische-literaturgeschichtliche Studie* (Leipzig, 1883); P. M. Hüber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern. Eine literar-geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1910); and L. Massignon, “Les Sept Dormants d’Ephèse (Ahl al-Kahf) en Islam et en Chrétienté, Recueil documentaire et iconographique,” *Revue des études Islamiques* (1954), 59–112; (1955), 93–106; (1957), 1–11; (1958), 1–10; (1959), 1–8; (1960), 107–15; (1961), 1–18; (1962), 1–5. Massignon mentions the Rouen window specifically in the 1959 and 1960 installments.
 29. If, as Lafond proposed (“La verrière des Sept Dormants,” 402), a panel portraying a group of travelers (*ibid.*, fig. 1) represents the Seven Sleepers seeking refuge in the cave, it would have fit at the bottom left of this cluster medallion. There are several other possible identifications for this generic scene, however, and since none of the ornament associated with the Seven Sleepers window appears in the panel, it may not originally have been a part of this window (see the Appendix, no. 11). Because of its enigmatic nature, I have not included it in my reconstruction.
 30. Lafond (*ibid.*, 404) concluded that “Le visage aux yeux ouverts est une interpolation.” Interpolation is always a distinct possibility with panels such as these which have undergone many transportations and transformations, but I see no reason to assume that this is the case. It is worth recalling that Lafond identified these panels with a later moment in the narrative. When Lafond saw them in 1911 each panel included a censuring angel, which might tend to support both his conclusions. These angels could also, however, have assured the peaceful sleep of the “martyrs” at the point in the unfolding of the story where I have positioned the panels. They will not fit so comfortably as whole panels at the top of the window to depict the final sleep of the seven.
 31. There has been little consensus in the literature concerning the date of the earliest glass of the “Belles Verrières” (i.e., the panels associated with the following iconographic themes: Sts. John the Baptist, Stephen, Sever, Catherine, Peter, Nicholas, Job and the Seven Sleepers). The windows represented by these fragments, however, have consistently been dated as a group to the same period. Conclusions have been predicated almost exclusively on stylistic evidence and proposed dates fall into three basic groups: (1) beginning of the 13th century (Perrot, in *L’Europe Gothique*, 113–14; *idem*, *Le vitrail à Rouen*, 11; Carment-Lanfry, *La cathédrale*, 81); (2) ca. 1210 (Hayward, in *Radiance and Reflection*, 149; Lafond, “Un vitrail des Sept Dormants,” 264, where his dating is given as the response to a direct question during the discussion following his presentation; in his published studies he avoids precision concerning the date of the “Belles Verrières”); and (3) ca. 1210–20 (Fesco, in *Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass*, 17; Grodecki, “Les vitraux,” 101; *idem*, “De 1200 à 1260,” 143; Hayward, in *Private Collections*, entries 183–85; and *idem*, in *The Year 1200*, 202).
 32. The only other cycle known to me appears in a late 13th-century legendary: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 23686, fol. 150v. There is no apparent relationship between this four-scene visual narrative and the Rouen window. It has been unnoticed in art historical literature on the Seven Sleepers but is cited in B. S. Merrilees, “La vie des Sept Dormants en ancien français,” *Romania*, XCV (1974), 368.
 33. Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 372, fol. 50v; London, British Library, Additional MS 19352, fol. 36v; Moscow, Historical Museum, MS gr. 129 (Chludoff Psalter), fol. 29r; and Mount Athos, Pantocrator Monastery MS 61, fol. 36r. In each instance the seven, portrayed sleeping as a group, are used to illustrate Psalm 33(32).
 34. Rome, Vatican Library, MS gr. 1613, p. 133. The Seven Sleepers are also portrayed twice in an 11th-century Byzantine Lectionary: Rome, Vatican Library, MS gr. 1156, fols. 242r and 262v.
 35. Lafond, “La verrière des Septs Dormants,” 405–407.
 36. There seems to have been lively English interest in the legend as early as the 11th century in the sermons of Aelfric: *Aelfric’s Lives of the Saints*, Early English Text Society, LXXXII, ed. W. W. Skeat (London, 1885), 488–541; *Aelfric’s Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, V, ed. M. Godden (Oxford, 1979), 247–48. This continued with the vision of Edward the Confessor to be discussed below and the early 13th-century poem of Chardry: *Chardry’s Josaphaz, Sei Dorman und Petit Plet*, ed. J. Koch (Heilbronn, 1879), 76–123. See Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*, 151–61; Hüber, *Die Wanderlegende*, 155–67, 188–90; and Merrilees, “La vie des Sept Dormants,” 365–66, 371.
 37. I am deeply indebted to Elizabeth A. R. Brown who first pointed out to me that the subject of the Seven Sleepers was connected with Edward the Confessor’s life and could thus have a strong English association. For Edward’s vision of the Seven Sleepers, see *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, ed. and tr. F. Barlow (London, 1962), 66–71; and *La vie d’Edouard le Confesseur, poème Anglo-Normand du XIIe siècle*, ed. O. Södergård (Uppsala, 1948), 234–41. Barlow considers the vision of the Seven Sleepers a later addition to the life between 1067 and 1100, but the vision was firmly established as a standard part of the legend by the first half of the 12th century. On this question, see F. Barlow, “The *Vita Ædwardi* (Book II); The Seven Sleepers: Some further Evidence and Reflections,” *Speculum*, XL (1965), 385–97.
 38. On Edward’s canonization and his dynastic significance as a royal saint, see B. W. Scholz, “The Canonization of Edward the Confessor,” *Speculum*, XXXVI (1961), 38–60; and F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley, 1970), 256–88.
 39. A depiction of the seven safely asleep in bed appears among a series of scenes from Edward’s miracles on two inserted leaves now a part of an abbreviated Domesday Book in London, Public Record Office, E36/284 (*ibid.*, pl. 15). A more expansive treatment of this episode in Edward’s life, juxtaposing the seven asleep with Edward dining, appears in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59 (M. R. James, *La Estoire de St. Aedward le Rei* [London, 1920], pl. 46).
 40. For these events, see F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189–1204, Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire* (Manchester, 1960), especially 145–69, 251–63; and K. Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), 81–102.
 41. There is considerable controversy in the literature concerning how much of the cathedral was actually destroyed in this fire. The textual source (the *Chronicon Rotomagensis*, published in 1657 in *Novae Bibl MSS libr.*, I, 370, as cited and transcribed in M. Allinne and A. Loisel, *La cathédrale de Rouen avant l’incendie de 1200. La tour Saint-Romain* [Rouen, 1904], 66) is explicit: “Hoc Anno [1200] quarto Idus Aprilis in noctae Paschae, combusta est tota ecclesia Rothomagensis cum omnibus campanis, libris et ornamentis Ecclesiae et maxima pars civitatis et multae Ecclesiae,” leaving little doubt as to whether a window might have survived. Some have taken this account literally and assumed that the entire cathedral was destroyed: e.g., E. H. Langlois, *Notice sur l’incendie de l’église cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen,

- 1823). Others have argued for only partial destruction. Allinne and Loisel (p. 66) propose that "la cathédrale actuelle, dans son gros oeuvre, date entièrement de la fin du XII^e siècle, et que l'incendie de 1200 ne détruisit point, mais qu'il exerça ses ravages seulement sur les combles et les voutes." Jouen (*La cathédrale de Rouen*, 14–23) saw the fire as a minor interruption of a building campaign that began in the late 12th century and continued into the 13th. He noted that the documents witnessing King John's generosity toward the Rouen fabric after 1200 (to be discussed below) refer not to the reconstruction but to the repair of the cathedral. Lanfry, in *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine et la Normandie ducale*, Cahiers de Notre-Dame de Rouen, I (Rouen, 1956), added some focus to Jouen's position, basing his conclusions on a careful reading of texts, extant architecture, and excavations. He maintained that whereas the nave, under reconstruction during the second half of the 12th century, was untouched, the 11th-century choir and transept were totally destroyed. Because the choir and transept had to be reconstructed, the design of the nave, which was originally to have included tribunes, was reconsidered. With the elimination of the tribunes, the nave aisle windows became much larger. Thus, following this argument, regardless of what might have been salvaged after the 1200 fire, the design of the aperture which held the Seven Sleepers window would seem to postdate 1200, and the fire continues to provide a *terminus post quem* for its fabrication.
42. After he had seized the royal treasury at Chinon (14 April 1199) John encountered cool receptions at Fontevault and especially at Le Mans. At Rouen, however, he was welcomed warmly, and on 25 April, in the cathedral, he was proclaimed duke and solemnly invested by Archbishop Walter of Coutances (*Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, LI/4, 87–88). With his Norman followers he then returned to Le Mans to ensure recognition of his authority before crossing the channel in May on his way to be crowned in Westminster. For these events, see Norgate, *John Lackland*, 59–63; and W. L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley, 1961), 49–50.
 43. "Rex etc. G. de Glappon, senescallo Normannie et baronibus de scaccario, etc. Sciatis quod dedimus ecclesie Rothomagensi, ad reparacionem ejus, duo milia librarum Andegavensium, persolvenda ad quatuor scaccaria." The entire document, dated 24 September 1200 at Valognes, is transcribed in *Rotuli Normannie*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), I, 33; and in Allinne and Loisel, *La cathédrale*, 84. This was not the first time that John had made donations to Rouen. In 1189, long before he was king, he gave the archbishops of Rouen a chapel in Blye (England) with a revenue to be divided between four canons of the cathedral. See Loth, *La cathédrale de Rouen*, 66.
 44. The documents are transcribed and discussed in Allinne and Loisel, *La cathédrale*, 68–69, 84–86.
 45. "... quod fratrum et amicorum nostrorum sepultura nobis venerabilem in perpetuum commendat tum quia florent in ea beneficia sanctorum quorum meritis regni nostri et honoris prosperitas augeatur." *Ibid.*, 85. Also published in *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), I, 19.
 46. There is, admittedly, no direct association with Edward himself in the surviving portions of the window. The proposed connection with Edward does not concern the source of the narrative itself (seemingly based on Gregory of Tours), but rather the explanation for why this most unusual subject was chosen for inclusion in the Rouen nave-aisle glazing in the first place. There may be an implied reference to Edward's vision in the especially lavish double-panel depiction of the seven asleep in my reconstruction (Fig. 7). Had the designer of the program not wanted to single out this scene for special attention, all seven could easily have been overlapped in bed within a single panel, as in fact they are in all other representations known to me (for examples, see n. 39).
 47. Before 1184 Walter had already led a distinguished life both as a writer and a public servant. For his early career, see *Gallia Christiana*, XI, cols. 51–59; W. Stubbs, in *Chronica*, Rolls Series 51/3, lix–xcviii; H. R. Luard, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 1276–79; L. Delisle and E. Berger, *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France* (Paris, 1906–27), I, 106–13; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, III (Lincoln), ed. Diana E. Greenway, 2–3, 35; and M. Brial in *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1892), XVI, 535–60.
 48. In addition to the sources cited in the previous note, for this episode in Walter's life, see A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216* (Oxford, 1951), 355–69; and J. T. Appleby, *England without Richard 1189–1199* (Ithaca, NY, 1965).
 49. On John's impiety and animosity toward the church, see S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), 151–53; and S. R. Packard, "King John and the Norman Church," *Harvard Theological Review*, XV (1922), 15–40. Recent scholarship has been more balanced in its treatment of John's character and his relationship to the church, noting his intellectual cultivation and kindnesses as well as his irrationality and cruelties. The early years of his reign (1199–1203) have been cited as a relatively well-balanced interlude between his youthful feistiness and the turmoil that began with the fall of Normandy. See, for example, C. W. Hollister, "King John and the Historians," *Journal of British Studies*, I (1961), 1–19; J. C. Holt, *King John* (London, 1963); and Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 425–29.
 50. F. M. Powicke, "King Philip Augustus and the Archbishop of Rouen (1196)," *The English Historical Review*, XXVII (1912), 106–17; and *idem*, *The Loss of Normandy*, 113–14.
 51. Luard, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1278–79; and Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 115–17.
 52. *Ibid.*, 103, 113, 128–29; and Warren, *King John*, 62–63.
 53. The formal peace was arranged through the treaty of Le Goulet in May 1200. See Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 132–40.
 54. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 87–88.
 55. Packard, "King John and the Norman Church," 29.
 56. Migne, *PL*, CCXIV, 984.
 57. *Ibid.*, 972–73.
 58. The latter pledge was not fulfilled, but in 1202 John founded the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire: Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 247; and Painter, *The Reign of King John*, 157–58, 171–72.
 59. Migne, *PL*, CCXIV, 1175–78. For this reversal and its causes, see Painter, *The Reign of King John*, 158; Packard, "King John and the Norman Church," 20–25; and Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 168.
 60. For the events leading to Philip's victory in Rouen, see *ibid.*, 145–69, 235–63; and Norgate, *John Lackland*, 81–102. For the easy transfer of allegiance to Philip on the part of the Norman clergy, see Packard, "King John and the Norman Church," 26–31. Indeed, as far as Walter is concerned, historians are unequivocal on this point: "On the loss of Normandy by John he had no trouble in transferring his allegiance to Philip, and he invested Philip with the sword of the duchy as he had Richard and John." (Luard, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1279); "He offered no opposition to the change." (Packard, "King John and the Norman Church," 30). Walter was acting in concert with the bishops of Normandy who, after seeking Innocent III's advice in vain, swore fealty to Philip. The Norman church had much to gain from submitting to the French king, who confirmed their possessions and increased their rights. The war had,

- once again, affected the finances of the church, and its end must have come as a considerable relief to Walter and his colleagues (Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, 264). Indeed, Walter worked on Philip's behalf after his change of allegiance. It was he who persuaded the recalcitrant city of Dieppe (which held out longer than any other Norman city as a supporter of John) to recognize Philip in 1207 (*ibid.*). Walter's career as a whole suggests that he was the sort of politician whose allegiances were only as deep as the advantages they brought him and his diocese.
61. Since there is no evidence whatsoever that the Seven Sleepers were venerated in Rouen or Normandy at this time, it would be difficult to interpret the dedication of an entire window to them at Rouen as the casual choice of bishop or chapter.
 62. For a general discussion of the classicizing style and its possible origins in England (an interesting notion in relation to the present topic), see M. H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton, 1977), 151–53. One of the closest stylistic parallels for the glass of the John the Baptist Master of Rouen—a ciborium from St.-Maurice d'Agaune—is English and has recently been dated to 1200–1210: N. Stratford in *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, Exhibition Catalogue, The Hayward Gallery (London, 1984), 288. It would not be surprising, in light of the historical circumstances just discussed, to find the sources of, and closest parallels for, the earliest Rouen glass in England. I will return to this point in a subsequent study.
 63. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (New York, 1972), 416–19, 425–28, pls. 59–64, 69–71; where Sens is dated ca. 1200 and Laon 1195–1205.
 64. Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven, “The Gothic Window from Soissons.”
 65. K. Hoffmann, *The Year 1200, I, The Exhibition*, Exhibition Catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1970), 14. Citing this and other works of art in relationship to the style of the Seven Sleepers window is not meant to suggest a specific association with any of them, but rather to substantiate the early date that seems clearly to be dictated by the iconography of the window.
 66. Lafond, “La verrière des Sept Dormants,” 403; Hayward, in *Private Collections*, no. 185; *idem*, in *The Year 1200*, 202–4; *idem*, in *Radiance and Reflection*, 149–52. In addition to this panel there is another—now incorporated into register 5 of the modern window of the chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rouen—which Jean Lafond assigned to the Seven Sleepers window (“La verrière des Sept Dormants,” no. 3, p. 403, not illustrated) but which I would assign to the St. Peter window of the Rouen nave aisle based on its style and also on the appearance of a set of keys in the hands of one of the two standing figures it depicts. As is the case with the Seven Sleepers window, no trace of a St. Peter window appears in the “Belles Verrières” today since its panels were confined to the two south nave chapels. Only three fragmentary scenes (all disfigured by losses or restorations) and one impressive torso have survived. A second panel is in the Pitcairn Collection (The Glencairn Museum, 03.SG.242, for which see Hayward in *Radiance and Reflection*, 152–55; presumably the panel described in Lafond's 1911 inventory as no. 2), and a third (portraying the fall of Simon Magus) is in storage at Champs together with a torso of St. Peter holding his keys, a series of smaller ornamental ensembles, and many individual pieces of glass. These fragments are discussed in more detail in my “Preliminary Report” of 1983 cited in the Appendix, II. I am preparing a full study of the window.
 67. Four figures are represented by whole heads, and three others, overlapped by these four, are implied simply by slivers of their heads above those in the foreground.
 68. The seven kneelers panel was purchased by Henry C. Lawrence from Bacri Frères in 1918 together with the three Seven Sleepers panels listed in the Appendix, nos. 1–3. See Hayward, in *Radiance and Reflection*, 149–52.
 69. Initially I evaluated this stylistic distinction as evidence of a mid-13th-century restoration of the Seven Sleepers window: “The Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Glazing of the Choir of the Cathedral of Beauvais,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1980 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981, No. 81.13499), 115, n. 1; pl. 75. This idea was followed by Hayward, in *Radiance and Reflection*, 149.
 70. There are additional clues within the current disposition of the Pitcairn kneelers panel to aid in reconstructing this window. Either the late 13th-century glazier who prepared this figural composition for its reuse or the modern dealer who confected the current panel for the art market employed two other fragmentary ornamental ensembles, drawn from the same window, as fillers: pieces of a fish-scale mosaic identical in design to the ground of the Rouen panel here associated with the Pitcairn kneelers. When these ornamental passages are isolated from the modern concoction and correctly oriented they also find a place in the original design of this window. One (Fig. 9, upper right) reveals the by now familiar outline of a quarter-quatrefoil and can be identified as the survivor of yet a third panel from this particular window (Fig. 12, lower left). The other ornamental fragment (Fig. 9, upper left) is less substantial; it seems to originate from the bottom right corner of yet another panel.
 71. Also at Champs from this window are two ornamental ensembles (containing sections of fish-scale mosaic ground and foliate forms from quatrefoil bosses as well as stop-gap drapery fragments) and many isolated pieces of glass (including the outstretched arm of a figure, ornamental foliage, and unpainted pieces of blue ground). For them, see my “Preliminary Report” cited in the Appendix, II.
 72. In this instance we are presumably dealing not with the work of modern dealers, but with that of the late 13th-century adapters who were attempting to accommodate this panel to the Rayonnant lancets of the new chapels. The late 13th-century zigzag borders attached to the sides are comparable to those added to other panels and fragments from the south nave aisle, all of which were apparently grouped together in a single lancet. A “unifying” late 13th-century fillet with similar design was added to panels of lancets b and d of the “Belle Verrière” of the chapel of St.-Jean-de-la-nef (Ritter, *Les vitraux*, pls. I–IV).
 73. With the addition of these colonnettes, the panel regains the dimensions (67 cm. × 65 cm.) it had when Lafond saw it in 1911.
 74. Lafond made this identification in 1911. In his inventory, panel no. 10 is assigned to a St. John the Evangelist window, and described as “Un saint personnage nimbé de rouge se dresse dans sa tombe (ou s’y couche). Quatre rayons rouges descendent vers lui d’un nuage blanc. Beau panneau en bon état.” Lafond also proposed in the inventory that the other Champs panel (no. 11) was part of a St. John the Evangelist window. In 1911 it was also “en bon état.”
 75. This version of John's death is related in the two principal sources for his life used in the West during the Middle Ages: the 6th-century account in Abdias's *Historica Apostolica* and the *Passio s. Johannis* of Mellitus which is based on Abdias. Both texts are contained in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti collectus a Johanne Alberto Fabricio*, 2nd ed., 3 parts (Hamburg, 1719–43). For this event, see part I, 589 (Abdias) and part III, 623 (Mellitus). For John's life and its iconography, see R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 2 vols. (Braunschweig, 1883), especially I, 348–542; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1931), 301–04; E. Westberg, *La vie de Saint Jean l'évangéliste, poème religieux du XIIIe siècle, publié d'après tous les manuscrits* (Uppsala, 1943); and M. Lechner, “Johannes der Evangelist,” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum et al. (Freiburg, 1968–76), VII, cols. 108–30.

76. For this window of ca. 1205–1215, see Delaporte and Houvet, *Les vitraux*, 160–64, pls. X–XIII.
77. For Tours, see H. Boissonnot, *Histoire et description de la cathédrale de Tours* (Paris, 1920), pl. XIV; for Troyes, see Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, fig. 106; for the Ste.-Chapelle, where the death of John is one of only eight extant 13th-century scenes in the window, see L. Grodecki in *Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, I (Paris, 1959), 185–94. Even if John's death is also represented as his voluntary appearance within his tomb, elsewhere in 13th-century windows the compositions are not as close to the scene from Rouen. At Baye no rays descend from heaven and John—whose costume and posture are close to those of his counterparts at Rouen, Troyes, Chartres and the Ste.-Chapelle—directs his attention instead toward a hand of God issuing from the clouds. At Lyon, John is dressed in full episcopal regalia and reclines in his tomb while a crowd of spectators mourn in the background (Mâle, *XIIIe siècle*, 302, fig. 145). At Bourges (Cahier and Martin, *Monographie*, 271–76, pl. XV) a vested John also reclines in his tomb and there is an altar in the background. 13th-century manuscripts contain parallels for both the Rouen type of John seated in his tomb (e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.8, fol. 633v) and the reclining and vested type, which is common in Apocalypse manuscripts (e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 403, fol. 44v; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, fol. 45r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.17, fol. 23v).
78. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, pl. 182, where the scene is misidentified.
79. At Angers, Auxerre, Baye, Bourges, Chartres, Coutances, Paris (the Ste.-Chapelle), St.-Julien-du-Sault, Tours, and Troyes.
80. “Cum esset annorum nonaginta septem, apparuit ei Dominus Jesus Christus cum Discipulis suis, & dixit ei. Veni ad me quia tempus est, ut epuleris in convivio meo cum fratribus tuis. Surgens autem Joannes caepit ire, sed Dominus dixit ei. Dominica resurrectionis meae die, qui post quinque dies futurus est, sic venies ad me; Et cum hoc dixisset, Coelo receptus est.” Mellitus, “Passio s. Joannis,” in *Codex Apocryphus*, ed. Fabricius, part III, 621. For Abdias, see *Codex Apocryphus*, part I, 581.
81. The Bourges and Chartres windows do not include the apostles in the scene. At Bourges John reclines in an exterior setting at the left, and Christ appears in a heavenly arc of light at the upper right; Cahier and Martin, *Monographie*, 275, pl. XV. At Chartres John (standing at the left) and Christ (at the right, bearded and with cruciform nimbus, standing in front of an undulating background of light reminiscent of that behind Christ in the Rouen panel) confront each other: Delaporte and Houvet, *Les vitraux*, pl. XII. Actually, the 13th-century window of S. Francesco at Assisi provides a somewhat closer parallel for the proposed Rouen composition: G. Marchini, *Le vetrate dell'Umbria*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Italy, I (Rome, 1973), 47, pls. XXXVIII and XL.
82. For this manuscript, see P. H. Brieger, *The Trinity Apocalypse* (London, 1967); and G. Henderson, “Studies in English Manuscript Illumination, Part II: The English Apocalypse: I,” *JWCI*, XXX (1967), 104–37. Brieger (p. 14) dates the manuscript between 1242 and 1250, precisely contemporary with the dating to be proposed here for the John the Evangelist window.
83. There has been some hesitancy in the literature concerning the identification of this scene: e.g., “Christ (as it should be: the artist seems uncertain) and Apostles appearing to John forewarning him of approaching death” (M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* [London, 1931], 54); and “On the left St. John (?) kneels before Christ (?) who holds a tabernacle. Behind him on the right stand six apostles” (Brieger, *The Trinity Apocalypse*, 56). Presumably this tentativeness is related to the youthfulness of a Christ lacking the customary cruciform nimbus. In a comparable scene, included in a related Apocalypse (London, British Library, Add. MS 35166, fol. 37r), the relative positions of John and the apostles are reversed, the apostles stand while John sits, and Christ has a cruciform nimbus. The scene of Christ's appearance to John with news of his death should not be confused with John's vision of Christ at the end of the Apocalypse, a compositionally similar scene (it generally portrays John kneeling before a standing Christ) that often appears in 13th-century Apocalypse manuscripts (e.g., Paris, BN MS fr. 403, fol. 43r). The scene of John's vision is based on a biblical text (Apocalypse 22:10–21), whereas the annunciation of John's death has an apocryphal source (see n. 80). There may, however, have been iconographic interplay in the representation of the two scenes. Without the presence of the apostles, the scene in the window at Chartres resembles the compositional tradition in Apocalypse manuscripts for John's vision of Christ more than that for the annunciation of his death, even though the placement of the scene within the narrative of the window seems to indicate that the latter episode is depicted. Perhaps a conflation is attempted of two events with an obvious relationship in meaning. Interestingly, Christ occasionally appears beardless and without a cruciform nimbus in Apocalypse manuscript depictions of John's vision of Christ (e.g., Eton MS 177, fol. 57v; and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 434, fol. 45v) just as in the annunciation of John's death in the Rouen window as I am interpreting and reconstructing it. I am grateful to Nigel Morgan for an illuminating conversation concerning the iconography of the last events in the life of John in English Apocalypse manuscripts.
84. The Trinity Apocalypse Christ is without a cruciform nimbus, but he does have a very slight beard. Its restrained character may be an attempt to render Christ in an unusually youthful guise since elsewhere in this manuscript Christ conforms more clearly to the full-bearded, middle-aged norm. It is possible, of course, that the entire issue of the “beardless Christ” of the Rouen panel has been posed by a stop-gap head. The current head clearly belongs with this window but much alteration of the Rouen panels has occurred since they were installed in the 13th century. There is a further discrepancy in beards here, but it is easier to explain. The bearded John of the Trinity Apocalypse is the result of an aging process internal to this manuscript. In the early events of John's life and the early illustrations of the Apocalyptic vision which follows it, John is beardless. On fol. 9r with the third trumpet John is bearded and remains so throughout the rest of the book.
85. The scene of John's last celebration of the Mass appears at this point in other visual narratives of his life. The John window at Tours not only depicts the Mass itself, but also a group of active spectators comparable to those in the Champs panel, but standing (Boissonnot, *Histoire et description*, pl. XIV). John's last communion also figures in the cycles of the so-called “first family” of mid-13th-century English Apocalypse manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.17, fol. 23v; Paris, BN, MS fr. 403, fol. 44v) and in the De Quincey Apocalypse (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, fol. 45r). In the Trinity Apocalypse (Trinity College Library, MS R.16.2, fol. 31r) John delivers a farewell address to his followers while his grave is dug in the background. Considering the possible closeness of the annunciation of John's death in the window to the depiction in this manuscript, this solution cannot be eliminated for the penultimate register, especially in light of the agitated attitude of the group of spectators in the Champs panel.
86. Observers flank John's descent into his tomb in the window at Baye, in the Trinity Apocalypse (Trinity College Library, MS R.16.2, fol. 31v) and on the upper register of the tympanum of the left doorway, west façade of Rouen (Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, pl. 182, where the misidentified scene is dated to ca. 1240, contemporary, I believe, with the window under consideration here).

87. An altar appears in a separate panel above John's death at the Ste.-Chapelle, but its inclusion may be an attempt to relate this lancet to its companion lancet depicting the Infancy of Christ, which closes with the fall of the pagan idols at Sotene from a comparable altar. The scene of the death of John in the windows of Tours and Bourges, however, includes an altar in the background, presumably that at which John has just celebrated his last Mass.
88. Censing angels in separate panels accompanying John's death close the windows of Chartres, St.-Julien-du-Sault, and the Ste.-Chapelle.
89. Parallels for this conclusion to John's life can be found at St.-Julien-du-Sault and in a cycle shared by several mid-13th-century English Apocalypse manuscripts: Lambeth MS 209, fol. 45r; BN fr. 403, fol. 44v; Bodleian Auct. D.4.17, fol. 23v.
90. The John the Baptist window, created by the same artist(s), should certainly be dated contemporary with the Seven Sleepers window. The windows dedicated to Sts. Catherine, Nicholas, Peter, Sever, and Stephen, may have been produced at the same time. Striking physical similarities underlie the stylistic distinctions between these windows and suggest that they may have been produced by several artists working within a large, collective shop. It is the premise of this study, however, that such conclusions can only be made after each series has been subjected to the kind of detailed investigation given to the two windows examined here, a project which I am currently undertaking. Only at its conclusion will it be possible to posit with any hope of precision the relationship between and the relative chronology of these windows.
91. For the proposed dates, see n. 31.
92. I use the word "suggest" intentionally since I am convinced that style by itself can only suggest dating within the first half of the 13th century, a period which seems to have been characterized by prodigious stylistic diversity. There does, however, seem to have been a general trend of hardening and schematizing as the century progressed. See L. Grodecki, "Les problèmes de l'origine de la peinture gothique et le 'maître de Saint Chéron' de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Revue de l'art*, XL-XLI (1978), 43-64.
93. As with dates proposed for the "Belles Verrières," since they have depended on relative notions of the place of the windows within a smooth stylistic evolution, suggested dates for the ambulatory glazing have varied: first half of the 13th century (Ritter, *Les vitraux*, 8); 1220-1240 (Lafond, "Vitreaux," in Loisel, *Rouen*, 112-14); 1220-1230 (Perrot, *Le vitrail à Rouen*, 14); 1225-1240 (Grodecki, "Les vitraux [de Rouen]", 103); 1235-1240 (Grodecki, "De 1200 à 1260," 143); 1230-1245 (Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, 107). A much-needed, detailed architectural study of the cathedral of Rouen might help focus the dating of the series.
94. The rendering of profile heads is also the same in the two windows: cf. Figs. 13 and 20.
95. For a more extensive discussion of the relationship between these two windows, see Cothren, "Glazing of the Choir of the Cathedral of Beauvais", 106-19.
96. "Les problèmes de l'origine de la peinture gothique."
97. There are two series of St. Nicholas scenes in the "Belles Verrières": one early 13th-century and comparable, though probably not identical, to the style of the John the Baptist Master (Ritter, *Les vitraux*, identifies these as his panels e1-e8 and a7) and the other the late 13th-century series referred to here (*ibid.*, panels c4 and c5). Since there is iconographic overlap (the scene of the innkeeper welcoming the three clerics appears in both series: *ibid.*, panels e5 and c5), these panels would seem to originate from two windows rather than from a single early 13th-century window restored later in the century.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF GLASS REMAINING FROM THE SEVEN SLEEPERS WINDOW

I. PANELS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

1. Malchus is seized while trying to buy food with an ancient coin
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania; the Raymond Pitcairn Collection, now in the Glencairn Museum, 03.SG.49
(illustrated in *Radiance and Reflection*, 150)
2. Malchus is led before the bishop and prefect ("hic ante presulum ducitur")
Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania; the Raymond Pitcairn Collection, now in the Glencairn Museum, 03.SG.51
(illustrated in color in *The Year 1200*, I, p. xxix)
3. Messengers before the emperor Theodosius
Worcester, Massachusetts; The Worcester Art Museum, 1921.60
(illustrated in color in Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, 49)

These three panels entered their current homes in 1921 when they were purchased at the sale of the Henry C. Lawrence Collection. Lawrence had obtained them from Bacri Frères in 1918 (Hayward, *Radiance and Reflection*, 152). Since they are not included in Lafond's 1911 inventory, all three must have left the Rouen dépôt sometime between the middle of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century. The pearled fillets and lattice grounds are modern, presumably added by a dealer to create neat, more marketable rectangles from irregular fragments. The resemblance of these modern additions to the ornamental design of panels from the St. Vincent window of the Parisian abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés appears not to be coincidental. As Lafond noted ("La verrière des Sept Dormants," 406, n. 16) border strips and other fragments associated with the early 13th-century glass from the south nave of Rouen are now attached to all four sides of a panel from the St. Vincent window in the Victoria and Albert Museum (8-1881). Another panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum (7-1881, a figure of St. Michael) is flanked by strips of the same early 13th-century Rouen border that is attached to the left side of the St. Vincent panel and found on other panels from the south nave of Rouen. The St. Vincent and St. Michael panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Rouen panels that eventually entered the Lawrence Collection seem all to have passed through the hands of the same dealer who mixed and matched their designs to create augmented, framed, rectangular panels. A further complication is provided by the appearance of a strip of a late 13th-century border associated with the Rouen panels at Champs flanking the right side of the St. Vincent panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum and contained within a panel composed from various 12th- and 13th-century fragments, once in an American private collection, and now also in the Victoria and Albert Museum: M. H. Caviness, "Some Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass Restoration, Membra Disjecta et Collectanea; Some Nineteenth-Century Practices," in *Crown in Glory, A Celebration of Craftsmanship-Studies in Stained Glass*, ed. P. Moore (Norwich, 1982), pl. 51 on p. 70. Among the fragments set into this composed panel is a piece of drapery which seems to originate from the Seven Sleepers window.

4. The emperor Theodosius traveling on horseback to Ephesus
New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1980.263.4 (formerly in the Raymond Pitcairn Collection as 03.SG.161)
(illustrated in color in *Radiance and Reflection*, 21)

This panel coincides with an entry in Lafond's 1911 inventory—"No 9—Trois personnages à cheval. Beau panneau en bon état. 70 x 80." Since 1911 it has been reduced somewhat in size, perhaps through the suppression of part of the border of each side and the band of inscription or ornament which would have occupied the top. Even so, unlike the other three "American" panels, this panel has retained a portion of the late 13th-century border added at the time of its initial reuse; it has also conserved parts of the original foliate ornament in the interstices under the figural

composition, all of which was deleted and replaced with modern glass in the other three panels.

II. PANELS SET INTO A MODERN WINDOW AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ROUEN

The following seven panels appear in the 1911 inventory of Jean Lafond. Although they were progressively damaged and diminished, they did remain in Rouen until 1932. Subsequently, they were moved to the storage dépôt at the Château de Champs-sur-Marne. In the early 1980s these seven panels, together with an eighth from the St. Peter window (see n. 66 above), were incorporated by Sylvie Gaudin into a modern “reliquary” window currently installed in a slender lancet opening of the chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul on the north side of the choir (Fig. 3). In the process of designing the new installation, some of the original ornament was removed from the panels, but pre-restoration photographs aid in reconstructing their original appearance. A project to reintegrate these ornamental deletions is underway, in conjunction with which I prepared an extensive inventory of all 13th-century Rouen fragments from the south nave aisle that are still in France. This “Preliminary Report on Fragments of the 13th-Century Stained Glass from the Original Nave Aisle Glazing of the Cathedral of Rouen now Divided between a Choir Chapel at Rouen, the Gaudin Atelier in Paris, and the Storage Dépôt at the Château of Champs-sur-Marne” was filed with the Direction du Patrimoine of the Ministère de la Culture in Paris on 15 February 1983. Copies were also deposited at the Glencairn Museum and The Cloisters.

5. Malchus returns to the cave with food (register 6 of the modern window, numbering from bottom to top)
(pre-restoration photograph in Lafond, “La verrière des Sept Dormants,” fig. 2)
6. A workman seals the cave (hic obturatur rup[es]) (register 2)
(pre-restoration photograph in *ibid.*, fig. 4)
7. Four of the seven sleepers asleep (one awakening?) (register 1)
(pre-restoration photograph in *ibid.*, fig. 11)
8. Three of the seven sleepers asleep (register 4)
9. A cross at the gate of Ephesus (register 3)
(pre-restoration photograph in *ibid.*, fig. 5)
10. The lower part of two seated figures (register 8)
- 11(?). A group of standing figures (register 7)
(pre-restoration photograph in *ibid.*, fig. 1)

It is difficult to determine if panel 11 originated from the Seven Sleepers window. Unlike the other panels, which contain either subject matter appropriate only to this iconographic theme or ornamental motifs that were a part of the design of the original window, this panel portrays a group of generic figures and appears to have been recomposed and augmented with extraneous ornament in the 1270s. The juxtaposition of these figures with the mosaic ground to which they are now attached, and a similar juxtaposition in the panel with the cross before the gate of Ephesus (panel 9 here), does not appear to reflect their early 13th-century disposition, but rather to document a late 13th-century transformation. Comparable concoctions of figural and ornamental fragments from different windows appear frequently among the panels still installed in the north nave chapels (e.g., Ritter, *Les vitraux*, pl. I, 1a). In the case of these two panels, neither the resulting half-circle format defined with a single, bold red fillet, nor the coarse painting and bold design of the mosaic ground are consistent with the other panels of the Seven Sleepers window. Since the John the Baptist Master, whom Grodecki recognized as the author of the Seven Sleepers window, painted glass for at least one other window at Rouen, figure style alone is not sufficient evidence to prove that this panel belongs to the Seven Sleepers series. The strip of a narrow border originally attached to this panel and used as the model for the border of the modern window in Rouen, presents a related problem. Many other fragments of a border of this design (consistent physically, technically, and stylistically with the Seven Sleepers series) are found at Champs. They may be the remains of the original border of the Seven Sleepers window; they could also represent the border of another early 13th-century window from Rouen, perhaps one created by the John the Baptist Master or shop. For these fragments and the fragments of another border which could have been associated with the Seven Sleepers window, see my “Preliminary Report” cited above.

III. FRAGMENTS IN STORAGE AT THE CHATEAU OF CHAMPS-SUR-MARNE

There are two relatively substantial fragments at Champs: a foliate motif from one of the interstices created by the curving fillets and a fragment of a triangular corner motif. There is also a collection of isolated pieces of glass which presumably fell from various Seven Sleepers panels while they were in storage in Rouen or Champs. There are many pieces of drapery, several pieces of architecture (including the crenellated top of the tower representing Ephesus in panel 9), a morsel of an inscription, two feet, and the head of the one of the seven sleepers asleep (illustrated in Grodecki and Brisac, *Le vitrail gothique*, fig. 38) which was once a part of panel 8. Most of these fragments are listed and many are attributed to specific panels in my “Preliminary Report” cited above.