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Thierry of Chartres and the west façade sculpture of Chartres Cathedral

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**THIERRY OF CHARTRES AND THE WEST FAÇADE SCULPTURE OF
CHARTRES CATHEDRAL**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the Department of the History of Art
San Jose State University**

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Brian John Knitter

August, 2000

Advisor:

Dr. Anne Simonson

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ABSTRACT

THIERRY OF CHARTRES AND THE WEST FAÇADE SCULPTURE OF CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

by Brian Knitter

The sculptural program on the west façade of Chartres cathedral has been the subject of literally thousands of books, yet its meaning and its originator remain largely unknown. The program has many layers of meaning, and it had two notable firsts: the first representation of Mary in the west, and the first representations of the seven liberal arts. Perhaps one of the functions of the sculptural program was to promote the theological school housed at Chartres cathedral. If this is the case, then the sculptural program should contain some of the curriculum taught at the school. Whoever developed this curriculum in all likelihood was also the originator of the sculptural program on the west façade. This thesis hopes to demonstrate that the sculptural program includes some of the curriculum taught in the school and that Thierry of Chartres, the originator of the curriculum, was the originator of the sculptural program.

DEDICATION

**To my wife
who allowed me to pursue this expensive hobby**

**To my instructors
who taught me so much**

**But mostly to God
who saw me through it all and taught me to love true beauty**

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Chapter One

Introduction

The sculptural program on the west façade of Chartres cathedral has been the subject of literally thousands of books and papers, yet its meaning and its originator remain largely unknown. This thesis hopes to find the best choice for originator of the sculptural program, uncover much of the meaning of the sculptural program, and use that interpretation to make it clear that the chosen candidate was indeed the originator of the program. In order to find the person or persons responsible for the sculptural program, we will need the timeframe in which the sculpture was executed, a list of people who were at the cathedral at that time, or could have been available to design the program, a correct interpretation of the sculptural program, and the ideas of that person or persons that match the interpretation of the sculptural program that is on the west façade of Chartres cathedral.

The city of Chartres has been around since at least Roman times when the city was an outpost on the river Eure. The city was converted to Christianity around the fourth century and the first mention of a church was in 743, when Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine razed it while sacking Chartres. There is evidence, a document naming the first bishops of Chartres, that a church existed as far back as the mid-fourth century. In the mid-eighth century, Pepin the Short gave gifts to the "Church of Saint Mary." From then on, the cathedral would be associated with Mary. In 876, Charles the Bald gave the cathedral at Chartres the *Sancta Camisa*, a garment supposedly worn by Mary while giving birth to Jesus. This relic made Chartres cathedral the holiest of sites for the devotion of Mary.¹ It was around this time, the ninth or tenth century, that a school for monks and clergy

was developed and housed at or nearby the cathedral.

The medieval school for religious instruction used instructional methods that would help the student probe the Bible for its hidden, deeper meaning. Such methods used were the contemplation of small passages of scripture, memorization, the contemplation of religious concepts, pointed questions and answers, reading commentaries, reading the works of early Christian writers, and reading the works of non-Christian philosophers. The last method might seem out of place, but it was not. The early Christian writers had read the works of Plato, Aristotle and other Greek, pre-Christian western thinkers. The Christian writers thought in Greek terms and used Greek thought processes. To understand the thought process of the Christian writers, the monks needed to understand this Greek thought, especially that of Plato. In order to be well rounded, the students also had to learn grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, or logic, so that they could study the Word, preach, and teach. They also learned arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, which were all used in medieval times to contemplate the nature of God through numbers, shapes, sounds, intervals and the stars.

In the late tenth century, a brilliant scholar named Fulbert came to the school that was at the cathedral in Chartres. He transformed the school into a top institution of religious learning. The new status of this school at Chartres did not diminish for the next 150 years thanks to a whole series of fine instructors. In the midst of this 150 year period, the cathedral was destroyed twice by fire. The first time, the cathedral was rebuilt during Fulbert's tenure, starting in 1030. The second time, the cathedral was rebuilt starting in 1134. It was this cathedral of 1134 that is notable because, in addition to the many stained glass windows that surrounded the building, it was the first cathedral on that site that had a full sculptural program on

the western façade, which was the main entry to the church.

The Royal Portal, as the west façade sculpture is known, was not greatly dependent upon earlier models.² It was the first church in the west to present the stories of Mary in stone,³ and the first to include secular subjects. The true purpose the sculptural program seems to be as easily identifiable as the dating of the sculpture itself, which no one knows for sure.⁴ The person or persons who created the sculptural program are also not known, for no documents exist that give us this information. We must then use reason and available evidence to divine the true purpose of the sculptural program, and the one responsible for its creations

The key to understanding who the originator is must begin with the impetus for the sculptural program. In the case of the west façade at Chartres, a fire destroyed the west façade of the previous cathedral in 1134, creating the need for a new façade. The previous façade was unadorned, so there must have been a reason for including a sculptural program on the new façade. The new façade was built sometime after 1134, but there is little evidence as to when the installation of the sculptural program either began or ended. There is also speculation by some art historians that the sculptural program was moved at some point during its initial construction. Some of the elements of the program may have been altered during the move which most certainly would have changed the intended meaning. If the intended message of the sculptural program was lost, we may not be able to know why there was a sculptural program included on the west façade in the first place. Fortunately, it does not appear that the message was altered in the move, if the move even happened. However, even if the program was altered, there are unique elements contained in the program that point us to a possible reason for the inclusion of the sculptural program.

Aside from the Christian doctrine that can be found in many sculptural

programs of the twelfth century, the sculptural program on the west façade of Chartres cathedral contains within it two notable firsts: the first representation of the Virgin Mary in the west, and the first representations of the seven liberal arts. The veneration of the Virgin Mary and her popularity in the west had only just begun at the time of the construction of the west façade, and was not yet standard doctrine for the Catholic Church. Her inclusion must be a clue for the purpose of the sculptural program. Even more important, however, in finding the impetus for the sculptural program is the inclusion of the seven liberal arts. Not only had secular material never before appeared in sculpture, but the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, or logic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) were not considered part of Catholic doctrine in any way. Its inclusion would be hard to explain, and therefore would be very valuable in determining who originated the work. The inclusion of the seven liberal arts within a Christian program without some purpose could be considered heretical. The purpose for the sculptural program must center on the inclusion of the seven liberal arts and on the inclusion of Mary.

There are two facts that make the sculptural program's intention clear: 1) Chartres cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the ninth century, well before Mary's popularity in the thirteenth century; 2) housed in or near the Chartres cathedral was a prestigious religious school for monks and clergy known as the "School at Chartres," which taught theology using the seven liberal arts. The life of Mary was also taught in this school well before it became sanctioned by the Catholic Church.⁵ The sculptural program then reflects what was taught at the school and served the purpose of propaganda for both the school and the cathedral.

If the intent of the sculptural program was to promote not only the teach-

ing of the church, but also what was taught at the school at Chartres, then the sculptural program should, in part, contain within it some of the curriculum that was taught at the school. If this is the case, then in all likelihood, the originator of the curriculum was also the originator of the sculpture.

The sculptural program seems simple and understandable at first to those who see it. It is that way by design. But there are layers of meaning that make the program increasingly difficult to interpret. This is also by design. The person or persons who designed this sculptural program put a great deal of thought into it, because it is coherent across the entire western façade. Because it is so unified in its message, it would seem reasonable that the sculptural program was developed by one person. A committee approach would tend to create less unity. The one man responsible for the curriculum during the time the sculpture was set in stone was the school's chancellor - Thierry of Chartres; one of the brightest intellects in a long history of outstanding teachers at the school at Chartres. It is the intent of this thesis to prove that Thierry of Chartres was the man responsible for the sculptural program on the west façade of Chartres cathedral.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

I. Whom do the experts pick as the creator of the sculptural program?

It seems that everyone has a theory about who created the sculptural program, but no one has extensive proof. In order to answer the "who did it" question, first we need a timeframe of when the sculpture was executed. The fire that destroyed Fulbert's Romanesque church of the eleventh century happened in 1134. The sculpture was completed sometime before 1158, when a sister church was known to be complete, whose sculptural program was derived from the cathedral at Chartres. The most popular and current dating states that the sculpture at Chartres cathedral was executed and placed between 1145-1155.⁶ During that window of time, Geoffrey of Chartres was the Bishop of Chartres and Thierry of Chartres was the school of Chartres' chancellor. The school of Chartres had two officers' positions: chancellor and headmaster, or master. The chancellor was in charge of the school, the school's curriculum, and also conducted the business of the chapter. The job of the headmaster of the school was to give the instruction.⁷ We do not know who the headmaster of the school at Chartres was at that time.

According to Nolan, "scholars" believe that the chapter, a group of lay people who controlled the money for the church, was responsible for the program at Chartres cathedral.⁸ In a review of all the pertinent literature on Chartres, very few, if any, believe that the chapter was responsible, however. The overwhelming opinion seems to be that a committee of people could not have designed the sculptural program due to the unity of the result. Most believe that the program was the design of one man.

Fassler believes that Geoffrey of Chartres was "the designer and executor of the doors," most likely using sermons from his predecessor, Ivo of Chartres, as his guide.⁹ But what does Fassler mean by "doors?" Does that include the sculpture? The statement is vague, and Fassler is the only one promoting Geoffrey of Chartres as the designer of the west façade.

Favier believes that the western façade is based on the teachings of Bernard of Chartres.¹⁰ John of Salisbury records that Bernard of Chartres was a sound grammarian and teacher.¹¹ But while Bernard of Chartres did teach and write on some of the subjects depicted on the west façade, Bernard could not have overseen the project himself because his tenure at Chartres school ended in 1124, which was prior to the fire of 1134. If his ideas were put in stone, then the chapter, or his successor, Thierry of Chartres, would have had to oversee the project. The chapter is an unpopular choice, and Thierry, being "the most complete teacher of the liberal arts of his day," according to Southern, would have used his own ideas, not Bernard's.

The overwhelming choice for originator of the sculptural program is Thierry of Chartres. Williamson states that "the doctrines of Thierry of Chartres are clearly manifested" in the sculpture of the west façade.¹² Kidson agrees with Williamson, noting that Thierry wrote his treatise on the liberal arts sometime between 1120 and 1150 and was probably the author of the program of the west façade.¹³ It is important that Thierry wrote on the liberal arts because the Royal Portal is the first sculptural program in western Europe to include the liberal arts.

In 1970 however, Southern stated that all commentary made about Thierry and the west façade may be false. According to original documents Southern found, Thierry was teaching in Paris, not Chartres at the time the sculpture was made, so he could not have been a part of its creation. Radding and

Clark, like Southern, also believed that Paris is where Thierry and other intellectuals were at the time of the construction of the western sculpture.¹⁴

This is a little hard to believe according to Fredborg.¹⁵ Indeed, the school of Chartres, or at least Thierry's teaching career, seems to have flourished in the 1130's and 1140's because outside sources have testified to this.²⁰ Thierry also became chancellor of the school at Chartres in 1142 according to documents.¹⁶ Even Southern does not dispute this, though he states that Thierry had no connection to Chartres prior to his election, and was in Paris, not Chartres, while chancellor of the school at Chartres. According to Fredborg,

Thierry must have exercised his ecclesiastical and administrative duties at Chartres in the 1130's and early 1140's at the same time as he was teaching in Paris. Such a combination of activities was not uncommon.¹⁷

Thierry may not have been teaching at Chartres, though many experts believe that he was. Southern found in a Vatican manuscript (*Vat. Reg. Lat. 278, fol. 72-73*) a list of masters who were present at the council of Rheims in 1148. Thierry was one of those masters. While Southern states that he was a master in Paris, Giacone believes that his attendance at that meeting was as master of Chartres. Thierry had already been chancellor for many years at Chartres, but as a master, he would have taught there, thus proving that Southern's claims were wrong.¹⁸ Could Thierry have been chancellor of the school at Chartres (in charge of the curriculum), while also teaching there and in Paris? He could have, but no one knows for sure. What we do know is that Thierry published many books, and one of them, the *Heptateuchon*, was the curriculum for Chartres. Thierry was the chancellor, and the school was using his text. Southern claims that there is no mention of Thierry in connection with Chartres prior to his chancellorship. A

cartulary of Notre-Dame of Josaphat states that there was a "Teodericus archidiaconus" there from 1127-1139. This could be Thierry.¹⁹ In the final analysis, Thierry may have taught at Chartres from 1127-1139 then gone on to become chancellor of Chartres from 1142 until his death in 1151, during which time, his curriculum was used at the school. Thierry would seem to have had the most influence at Chartres Cathedral during the time the Royal Portal was executed. As Williamson concludes about the Royal Portal:

It is a rigorously worked out and lucid decorative scheme which could only have been devised by one of the intellectual élite; this was precisely what was to be found at Chartres in the middle of the twelfth century, in the person of Thierry - 'the most complete teacher of the liberal arts of his day' - who was chancellor of the school of Chartres between 1141 and his death in 1151.²⁰

II. What does the sculptural program mean according to scholars?

The west façade is divided into three portals. Running along the bottom of these three portals are a number of kings, queens and saint "jamb" statues that are larger than life size. Above them is a mostly continuous capital frieze that is only interrupted by the three large doors. This capital frieze contains scenes from the life of Christ and from the life of Mary. Above each door is a large lintel called a tympanum. Surrounding each tympanum are a number of individual

Figure 1. West façade

scenes carved on stones called voussoirs, that form an arch around the tympanum. This arch is called an archivolt.

On the left or north side, the tympanum depicts what appears to be a scene of Jesus' Ascension. The surrounding archivolt shows signs of the zodiac and representations of the months of the year. The center tympanum shows Christ Enthroned with animal representations of the four Gospels. The surrounding archivolt shows twelve angels and twenty-four elders with musical instruments. The right, or southern tympanum shows Christ's early life and He and Mary Enthroned in heaven. The archivolt around the tympanum shows allegorical representations of the seven liberal arts and the most prominent author of each of the liberal arts.

It is pretty clear that the major theme of the western façade is the life of Mary and Jesus. This is foremost. Then there are the many jamb statues that seem to represent kings, queens and saints, though there are no inscriptions, and very few attributes to specifically state who they are. The archivolts contain angels, kings, the zodiac, representation of the months and representations of the seven liberal arts. This curious mix in the archivolts makes us think that there must a message, though it is hidden. Just what it all means has been the subject of many a paper.

According to Nolan the sculptural program on the west façade was made with the viewer in mind.²¹ Very few would disagree. Some of the statues seem to be looking at us, and all the scenes are visible and readable from ground level.

To Kidson, the program of the Royal Portal was meant to represent the *Summa Theologica* to the people at that time.²² This may be too sweeping a statement. Katzellenbogen's statement that the sculptural program on the west façade represents the dogma of Chartres may be closer to the truth.²³

Katzellenbogen further states that showing the seven liberal arts on the exterior of the church may have been a rebuttal to a growing movement that wanted to see the use of classical writings greatly diminished in the study of theology.²⁴ If this is so, then the sculptural program is serving the purpose of propaganda.

The theme of the three tympana might very well be depictions of "entrance" as discussed convincingly by Fassler.²⁵ "Jesus enters the earth," "Jesus enters heaven," and "Jesus comes back again" are the themes of the portals according to Fassler, who states that this mirrors the people's entrance through the doors and into Mass. She also notes that the Mass liturgy of the twelfth century had a significant amount of "multilayered symbolic associations connected with it," as did the visual art of this sculptural program that was designed to enhance and explain the Mass.²⁶

Fassler's themes for the three tympana are valid, and are probably all correct to some degree. Chartres cathedral was both a church and a learning institution. If the program was carefully crafted, the sculptural message could serve both the School and the church. It would show what the church believed and what the School taught; in other words, the message would be a form of propaganda. There are many art historians however, who state that the original message of the sculpture may have been lost because the sculpture was moved from one location to another and in that movement, the sculpture was rearranged. If this is so, we may never be able to divine the true intent of the sculptural message.

Chapter Three

The west façade: How did it get to its current condition?

There have been a few churches built on this site. The first was probably built in Roman times. We have documented proof that by the eighth century a church was dedicated to Mary. In the ninth century, Charles the Bald bequeathed to the church a holy relic called *the Sancta Camisa*, a garment supposedly worn by Mary when she gave birth to Jesus. This relic, which still exists today, explains why Chartres Cathedral is known as the most holy site for Mary. The veneration of Mary would seem to explain the many depictions of Mary on the west façade.²⁷

The first church that directly relates to the current sculptural program is the one that Fulbert, the first great teacher of the school at Chartres, built starting in 1020. A manuscript picture of Fulbert by André de Mici shows this church.²⁸ What makes Fulbert's church important to us is that this church set the width of the nave, which is the width of the sculptural program on the west façade. It was the west side of Fulbert's church that was destroyed by fire in 1134, so the new construction was on the west façade. Two massive towers were built at the sides of the nave on the west side, and the sculptural program we see today was placed between them.

The rebuilding of the west façade may not have happened quite that way however. Kidson, among others, believed that the builders of the west façade originally envisioned a porch or a narthex in which the sculpture would be placed. Because there is no evidence of this today, according to Kidson's reasoning, they must have altered their plans during the construction of the towers and the façade. Having the sculpture placed in the narthex would have made the

sculpture more mysterious because of the dim light conditions and more monumental because of the enclosed space. The effect would have been more impressive than it is today where we see the portal swamped by the two lofty towers.²⁹

Some have used the idea that the sculpture was at one time moved from its original location to explain why some of the sculptural program seems to be misplaced or out of order, crammed together, or why ten inches seem to be cut from the right portal. The west façade does indeed look like it could have moved. There are figures that are cut in half on the right side, and the right side is ten inches smaller than the left side. Williamson states that this shortening was done before the two towers were completed. Williamson's argument does not, however, prove one way or another that the sculpture was at one time in a different location.³⁰ The majority of art historians believe that the sculpture was either only placed once, where it sits today, or that the sculpture was moved, but not altered in that movement. The proposal by some that the two zodiac signs on the right portal were originally on the left portal with the other ten signs is ridiculous because they would never fit.³¹ Every other case put forth that tries to justify the movement of a voussoir or a frieze component for the purpose of changing the meaning of the sculptural program fails as well because the proposed swap or movement of components would not physically fit in their new locations. These sculptural elements are currently where they were intended to be placed.

The dating of the sculpture has also been debated. Sauerländer came up with the dates 1145-55 based on medieval documentation. The fire of 1134 caused the need for a new building. Donations were made from 1134-38 and between 1139-42 for the construction of the north tower. Robert de Torigny recorded that by 1145 the south tower construction had begun. Because of this, Sauerländer believes that the carving of the sculpture must have started by that

time. Scholars also believe that the sculptural program at Le Mans was completed by 1158 and since it is clearly based on Chartres, the Chartres sculpture must have been completed well before then.³² Stoddard proposed dates of 1143-48, figuring that it would take five years to carve and place the sculpture. The 1143 date is based on taking nine years to build the north tower after the fire of 1134, then creating the sculptural program after the completion of the tower.³³ Sauerländer's case is much better documented and therefore a better estimate.

The final thing we have to contend with in assessing the current status of the west façade is the originality of what we see today. After the recent cleaning of the sculpture at Chartres, the right lower register seems to be made of newer material, though there is no documentation stating that it was replaced. Perhaps the stone used on the lower right register was just sturdier and has withstood the elements better. It is a different color, and the sculpture carved on it is far better preserved than the sculpture around it. Traces of polychrome were also found on the tympanum during another cleaning so the original west portal could have been painted, which is certainly not what we see today.³⁴

Of the twenty-four original jamb statues, only nineteen remain. Most of these statue columns are original and in remarkably good condition. Of those nineteen, three were replaced with replicas in 1970.³⁵ The three jamb statues on the right side of the south portal are the copies.³⁶ The originals are in the crypt. The angel clock on the south corner of the building is also a duplicate; the original also being in the crypt. The original angel clock was placed on the building in 1564. Before 1564, the angel clock was likely a jamb statue from the Royal Portal. To make the statue a clock, wings were put on it, and the arms were broken to fit the sundial.³⁷ This statue was likely John the Baptist when it was on the Royal Portal, according to Villette, because John the Baptist was the second-

ary saint of Chartres after the Virgin, yet he is not prominent in the west façade today. Villette further states that there is evidence of a one time central jamb structure that stood in the central portal at Chartres. It is his belief that the “angel” once stood in the middle of the central door as John the Baptist.³⁸

To get a mental picture of how the sculpture looked at its conception, we need to start with the structure as it stands today, then add the full compliment of jamb statues that would have existed, then we would possibly add a central jamb structure, see the whole ensemble as possibly polychromed, and possibly indoors in a narthex. The appearance, and possibly the mood created by the sculpture, would have been very different from what we see today, but the message of the sculpture would not have been altered greatly. It would still be a statement of what the church believed and what the school taught.

Chapter Four

The school at Chartres

I. Background

In order to understand some of the complexity of the tympana of the west portal, we must first understand what was taught at the school at Chartres, and by whom. We will also need to know more about the organizational structure of school at Chartres.

To begin with, the cathedral in the town of Chartres was indeed a *cathedra*, or the seat of a Bishop. The Bishop was the head of the clergy for the town and for the region. He may have taught at the school that was housed in or right beside the cathedral as a guest lecturer, but he did not run the school. That was the job of the headmaster and the chancellor. The chancellor was in charge of the curriculum for the school, and worked as liaison to the chapter, the group of people who controlled the money. The headmaster was in charge of the class instruction. What is a little confusing is that medieval plans of the city of Chartres shows what appears to be an abbey right beside the cathedral on the south side, yet there is no mention of an abbot in any document. Could this abbey actually be the school at Chartres? No one seems to know. Some art historians have even called Chartres cathedral a monastic cathedral, but without an abbot, this would not seem to be the case. The most important monastery in the town was just down the hill from the cathedral. Its name was Saint-Pierre or St. Peter. St. Peter is where the earliest library for the school at Chartres was housed, leading one to believe that there was a close connection between St. Peter's monastery and the school at Chartres cathedral. It is likely then that the monks at St. Peter were actually taught at Chartres cathedral.

II. The three foundational early Christian writers and Neoplatonism

Thierry was the last truly great teacher at Chartres, following a 150 year tradition of greatness that had started with Fulbert. However, the curriculum had not started with Fulbert. The curriculum used in monastic schools, like Chartres, had started in the third century with the writings of Origen, followed by the writings of Augustine in the fourth and fifth century, and then by Boethius in the sixth century. All three of these religious writers leaned heavily on Plato, the third-century B.C. philosopher, with small amounts of Aristotle's and Socrates' teaching as well. The writings of Origen, Augustine and Boethius, then are reflected in the curriculum of the school at Chartres.

Origen, the first of our Christian writers, studied philosophy under a relatively unknown philosopher named Ammonius Saccas. Although we have no extant books from Ammonius Saccas, his ideas are preserved through the writings of another of his pupils — Priscian. Priscian's writings make it very clear that Ammonius Saccas is the founder of what became known as *neoplatonic* thought.³⁹

According to Gilson, "Origen was the first ecclesiastical writer to establish on a philosophical basis the immateriality of God. There are four material elements: water, earth, air, and fire, plus a fifth one which is constitutive of celestial bodies: the Quintessence (i.e., the "fifth essence")."⁴⁰ Material is corruptible and therefore imperfect. God is perfect and incorruptible, so he cannot be material.⁴¹ This theme became paramount by the time of Thierry in the twelfth century. Origen, among others, also came to the conclusion that God may not be bound by time and space, but his creation was. God created the world according to number, weight and measure.⁴² This idea that God is not bound by our rules becomes a theme for Thierry as well.

The twelfth-century schools taught theology using a philosophical thought process originally developed by Plato. This melding of Plato's Greek thought into the teaching of theology was known as *neoplatonism* ("new" Platonic philosophy), which was developed by Saccas, but popularized by Augustine. This neoplatonic thought, along with a "study and contemplate," or *dialectic* method of teaching became known as *scholasticism*, which was a very popular style of teaching in medieval church schools like the school at Chartres. It was Augustine's works and the scholastic method and philosophy, for scholasticism was both a method of teaching and a synonym for neoplatonic thought, that remained dominant from the fourth century on through the twelfth.⁴³

To St. Augustine, the experience of God was the sole purpose in life. The world of the senses was a snare and a delusion and Reality was to be sought behind mere physical appearances, in the spiritual truth - that reflection of the Divine within all things - discernible only by the inner eye of contemplation. Nature, in fact, ceased to exist, except as a symbol of that supra-natural world revealed by Faith.⁴⁴

Augustine also believed in pre-existence of the soul, and that the body was a prison for the soul.⁴⁵ We cannot see the soul within except by reflection. This reflection within physical things, or physical things as mere shadows of true reality is a notion that goes all the way back to Plato, who also states that the world is an imperfect and transitory version of "heaven." All things on earth are a pale reflection of the true nature of things. Neoplatonic thought developed by Saccas and Augustine used Platonic ideas and applied them to the nature of God, creating the philosophy of neoplatonism.

Neoplatonic thought stated that ideas called "Eternal Forms" are in God's mind. The things we perceive correspond to these eternal forms, but are only a dim reflection of the true forms. We only see "shadows." While this concept was

one of Plato's main theories, turned into the religious thought of neoplatonism, there were at least two sub-categories of this thought, which were the ideas of the Realists and the Nominalists, two groups that have existed to one degree or another from the time of Plato to the present, though they were most active during the middle ages.

Realists believed in the reality of ideas, or "universals" (pure truth). God's ideas are physical manifestations that we can hope to understand. Nominalists believed that the "universals" were just convenient names for talking about the physical world. God's ideas appear physical to us, but are incomprehensible in reality. Neoplatonists tended greatly towards nominalism. Much time was spent on this debate, but this debate between the Realists and the Nominalists was just a skirmish compared to what came next.⁴⁶ The next big debate happened when Aristotle's work was "rediscovered" in the early thirteenth century.

Though Aristotle was somewhat known to the early church fathers, the majority of his writing had not been translated through the twelfth century. Fulbert and Thierry knew of Aristotle through Augustine, Boethius, and others, but only a rough approximation of Aristotle's dialectic logic. As other books by Aristotle were translated, it became clear that prior to the thirteenth century, little was actually known of Aristotle's theories. Aristotle's theories leaned heavily towards the stance of the Realists. This sudden added knowledge of Aristotle's logic was anathema to the Neoplatonists. The two philosophies appeared to be mutually exclusive. Chartres did not embrace this new learning even though the school was, in part, responsible for its translation.⁴⁷ The school of Chartres stuck to their neoplatonic teaching while thinkers like Thomas Aquinas took on the new ideas presented by Aristotle. Dowley writes that this new philosophy was akin to the shock value seen in the nineteenth century with Darwin.⁴⁸

"Augustinians," (Neoplatonists) as Gilson calls them, from then on, strove to maintain a philosophical position against Aristotelianism,⁴⁹ but all this takes place after the time of Thierry.

Boethius, our third major early Christian writer, had intended to translate all the works of Aristotle back in the sixth century, but he never got to it in his lifetime.⁵⁰ It is Boethius' philosophy that we see on the western façade of Chartres more than Origen's or Augustine's. This is because Boethius' books on Arithmetic and Music were widely used at the school at Chartres. Boethius was the originator of the term *Quadrivium*, or the "quadruple road to wisdom," which included Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. He also called Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic or *logic*, the *Trivium*, which when put with the *Quadrivium* formed the seven liberal arts (See Appendix C).⁵¹ Until the thirteenth century the only "Aristotle" anyone knew was Boethius' version, which was more Boethius' logic theory than Aristotle's logic theory.⁵² This might explain why Aristotle's version came as quite a shock. Boethius also intended to write textbooks on all seven liberal arts. Perhaps he did, but we only have evidence that he wrote his *Elements of Music*, his *Elements of Arithmetic* and his *Elements of Geometry*, which were actually summaries of Euclid's works.⁵³

Boethius used Music to create a system of perfect numerical relationships and ratios — the half, the third, fourth, fifth, octave (eight steps, twelve half-steps), echoing Plato's own sentiments by saying that "the ear is affected by sounds in quite the same way as the eye is by optical impressions."⁵⁴ This thought, and some of his thoughts on geometry (Euclid's and Pythagoras' actually), became instrumental in the formation of thought that lead to the creation of the west portal of Chartres.

III. The teachers

Fulbert was the first great scholar at Chartres. His knowledge was said to be encyclopedic, which is why most believe that he set up the first curriculum at Chartres.⁵⁵ Though the school at Chartres likely existed before his time, right around the year 1000, it was his instruction that made Chartres “the” worldclass institution of its day.⁵⁶ A series of fine headmasters all the way up to Thierry kept it that way for the next 150 years. Fulbert’s Socratic style of teaching (questions and answers),⁵⁷ and neoplatonic curriculum, based mostly on the writings of Augustine and Boethius,⁵⁸ did not change drastically through Thierry’s time, making Chartres a very stable institution of learning. Fulbert’s library at the nearby monastery of St. Peter was quite impressive for its day with ninety books: seventy religious, twenty secular. The religious books included many copies of both the Old and New Testaments, Psalters, Commentaries, Thereon, Conciliar Canons, and lives of the Saints by such authors as Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, Cyprian, Dionysius, Gregory the Great, Isidore and Jerome. His secular collection included books like Albinus on Geometry, Donatus and Priscian on Grammar, Josephus on History, Boethius on Music and Arithmetic and Cicero on Rhetoric. (See Appendix A for library list.) All these great works were used in the instruction of the seven liberal arts that were taught at Chartres: Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy. During Fulbert’s time, these seven liberal arts were divided into two separate categories: the *Quadrivium*—Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy—represented the science of intellect, and the *Trivium*—Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric—represented the expression of intellect. To the medieval mind, God was found in the intellectual disciplines of the *Quadrivium* and expressed through the *Trivium*.

Chapter Five

The curriculum

I. What books were available in the city of Chartres at Thierry's time?

This is an important question, because alumni of the school at Chartres, and specifically those of Thierry have stated that Thierry taught from books and that the curriculum of the school at Chartres centered around reading passages from many sources. Thanks to MacKinney, we have the contents of the library at St. Peter and other libraries within the city of Chartres in Fulbert's time as a starting point (See Appendix A). What we do not have are records of what was available at Chartres cathedral itself or its school. True, Fulbert was associated with St. Peter, but would he have used those books for his daily lessons? Was Thierry still associated with St. Peter 150 years later? We have on record that Bernard of Chartres gave twenty-four books to Chartres cathedral upon his death. Ivo gave four. Thierry gave forty-five books after 1161 (ten years after his death) and four books prior to that time (his own works: *Heptateuchon*, the *Institutiones*, *Novellae* and *Digestum* of Justinian). We have no record of what specific books Bernard of Chartres gave, or Ivo, but from the scant evidence we have, some might conclude that the library in Chartres Cathedral was built up only in the last fifty years prior to Thierry's death, which some say was the death of the school anyway. Or, perhaps, all these books resided at St. Peter if the library for the school at Chartres was actually located at the monastery of St. Peter. Fulbert does not record that he owned any books, though he certainly must have. The only book records come from the nearby St. Peter and from the libraries in the city of Chartres. It is not likely that Fulbert borrowed these books to teach from, but that he probably had his own collection of books that he came

with, as did all the other masters after him. Thierry's collection seems to be the most complete, and by far, the most current. Some of his books were only five or ten years old in translation.⁵⁹

II. What was taught there?

Based on Thierry's writing alone, we have a good idea of what was taught there. The main focus was on theology and the seven liberal arts. The texts were the Bible, commentaries on the Bible, the writings of the church fathers, and the classical writers. The lessons were on Biblical thought, neoplatonic thought, and on memory using the scholastic method. The scholastic method, which studied small passages, then contemplated their hidden meaning, was most suited to print medium. Thierry and his predecessors used passages from many different sources to round out the education of their students. A look at the table of contents of one of Thierry's instructional books, *Heptateuchon*, shows the diversity of sources that were used in the school's curriculum. (See Appendix B: Contents of the *Heptateuchon* taken from MS. 497 and MS. 498.)

After Thierry died, his personal collection of forty-five books was donated to the school at Chartres. It does not seem to be a coincidence then that Thierry used excerpts from approximately forty-five different books (forty-nine actually) in his *Heptateuchon*. We can therefore assume that his *Heptateuchon* constituted a compendium of Thierry's personal library, which was also the school at Chartres' curriculum during his tenure.⁶⁰

A. The seven liberal arts

Prior to the time of Thierry, students at the school very likely used the texts from

Martianus Capella, a fifth-century teacher, and Boethius, a sixth-century theologian and philosopher who built on the works of Martianus Capella, for their studies of the seven liberal arts. Fulbert's library had both texts. It was Capella's textbook that was the standard liberal arts text for the early middle ages.

In his textbook, Martianus Capella described the appearance and attributes of the seven liberal arts in his text and it is this description that was used, for the most part, in constructing the right tympanum of the cathedral.⁶¹ Thierry wrote his own text for the seven liberal arts which included some of Martianus Capella's work, but he mostly used Boethius' version, along with many other authors' works.

B. Boethius

The source that Thierry most relied on in his *Heptateuchon* was Boethius. Boethius was important to the west because he knew Greek, which was unusual for a Roman of that time. He spent his youth studying Plato and Aristotle and became well versed in what are now known as the seven liberal arts. In his *Consolation of Philosophy*, he drew upon a large number of classical writers whose works were otherwise lost to the western world until the thirteenth century at the earliest.⁶² Boethius translated and wrote "commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* or *Introduction to the Categories*, which he considered the best introduction to the study of Aristotle." This work alone would have made him famous, but what cemented his place in history was his educational curriculum on the *Trivium* and on the *Quadrivium* which became standard texts throughout the medieval period.⁶³ Thierry used Boethius' complete text of Music and Arithmetic from this series. Neoplatonic thought used mathematics to explain theology, and used numbers (Music) as an analogy for creation.⁶⁴ Boethius was best at explaining these concepts, which is why Thierry used his work.

C. Augustine

Augustine was the chief authority on matters of theology for the school of Chartres, either directly, or indirectly. In the fifth century when Augustine wrote, the philosophical competitors to Plato's philosophy had all but disappeared, so Augustine, who wrote about God using Plato's terms, was a neoplatonist through and through.⁶⁵ Since Chartres' theological philosophy was mostly that of Augustine, the learning institution was neoplatonic in thought.

Saint Augustine and Hugo both saw the seven liberal arts as the "servants of theology," which justified the teaching of secular knowledge as a path towards theological enlightenment. This remained true until the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ Augustine also taught that members of the church in good standing were still likely to be more on the sinful side than on the blessed. This is because, in Augustine's view, a church is not a fortress that keeps its members in on the side of good, but that members go in and out, thus the soul of the Christian member is permeable, changeable and vulnerable to the world around it. Those outside the church may still enter its doors and be saved. Those inside the church can still fail and fall.⁶⁷ Though it appears that Augustine wrote his *City of God* for outsiders, in reality he wrote it for insiders who, due to their lack of faith, could use redemption. This concept was certainly taught at Chartres. Augustine also debated with the ideas contained within Cicero's *Republic* in book one of *City of God*.⁶⁸ Chartres had a copy of Cicero's *Republic* in its library, so this would have made a good compare and contrast study.

D. Mariology

As stated previously, the church at Chartres was dedicated to Mary well before the Cult of the Virgin became a popular concept. At the time of the first mention of the church in the ninth century, Bede was about the only proponent of

Mary, preaching in his Christmas homily that she was the mother of Jesus, both as man and as God. In his sermon on the day of Purification, Bede emphasizes the humility of Jesus and of His mother.⁶⁹ As patron saint of the Cathedral, Mary's life was taught in its classrooms, but this was unusual for the western church before the twelfth century. Fulbert wanted to emphasize Mary's place in the church, but at the time (the eleventh century), the Apocrypha, and the writings on the lives of the saints, where her stories are found, were not part of the church canon. This had changed somewhat by Thierry's time thanks mostly to St. Bernard of Clairvaux who saw the need for a motherly influence within the church. Bernard promoted the veneration of Mary within the Cistercian monasteries which eventually brought about a change within the Catholic church — The Apocrypha and the writings on the lives of the saints became sanctioned by the church right at the time Thierry was teaching at Chartres. The popularity of Mary did not peak until the thirteenth century, so the Marian scenes found on the sculpture at Chartres are much more likely the result of the teachings of the school, and not a requirement of the Catholic Church, making her scenes yet more propaganda for Chartres and its curriculum.⁷⁰

E. Memory

In medieval times, memorization was much preferred to the written word because then you had ideas at your fingertips. This is the exact opposite of today's modern prejudice.⁷¹ There is also the fact that books were rare and prohibitively expensive at that time.

The medieval use of the word "remember" meant to piece together a

picture that had been formed in your mind by the contemplation of something not seen, like heaven or hell. Thus one did not actually “remember” as we use the term today, but it was said to be a rigorous mental exercise.⁷² There was also the memorization of text, which was important and useful, but secondary to remembering. One could lose their place with strict memorization and get lost in a sermon, but building a sermon on remembrances would never fail.

Thierry of Chartres wrote *Ad Herennium* by a full century before the more famous commentaries by Albertus Magnus on Aristotle’s *De memoria*.⁷³ This “tool,” or method of memorization allowed the monks to memorize passages in ordered sequences then recall them, or “scan” them from start to finish, finish to start, or from the middle to the ends. The idea of memory is probably important when considering that the frieze on the western façade starts in the middle, not on the left side.

In *Ad Herennium*, Thierry explains that “*memoria verborum*,” or memory of words, was useful as an exercise only in remembering verses and poetry and was not necessarily useful beyond that. True memory was more like imagining a speaker with an attentive audience reciting the lines of poetry or verse. Then there would be an image to memorize that you could then place in a location in your mind for later retrieval. This was true memorization. Thierry’s work on *Ad Herennium* was brilliant, innovative and current, yet the work seemed to have no influence on his contemporaries or later writers once Albertus Magnus’ version of Aristotle’s *De memoria* took over.⁷⁴

Chapter Six

The teaching of Thierry of Chartres

I. Did he teach? Does it matter?

Thierry taught: it is just a matter of where. Thierry was chancellor of Chartres from 1141-1151, but this does not prove that he taught there.⁷⁵ Adalbert of Mainz (bishop 1137-1141) recorded that he had studied grammar, rhetoric and dialectic with Thierry. John of Salisbury mentioned that Thierry occasionally taught Aristotle's *Topics*, and by Thierry's own admission, he claimed to be a teacher of logic.⁷⁶ No one mentioned where this teaching occurred. Chartres did gain much fame under Thierry for being able to reconcile the Platonic thought on creation with what the Bible had to say.⁷⁷

For the purpose of creating a sculptural program, it would be more relevant that Thierry, as chancellor, was a creator of curriculum, more than a teacher. Being a teacher would have honed his skills and helped him develop his curriculum, but he had already taught. By the time the sculpture was being formed, Thierry was already working on, or had already finished his finest work, *Heptateuchon*, or his series on the seven liberal arts.

II. What did Thierry write?

This question is far more pertinent in answering the question of Thierry's involvement with the creation of the west façade because it is ultimately the curriculum that defines the school. The personality and knowledge of the instructor is a key factor for the student, but how does one put that in stone? A curriculum can be put in stone. Thierry was a writer of curriculum.

We know from his donation record that he wrote *Heptateuchon*, the

Institutiones, Novellae and *Digestum* of Justinian.⁷⁸ He also wrote commentaries on many books of the Bible and on many church fathers' works. His very original work on the book of Genesis, *Expositio in Hexameron*, used concepts in astronomy from Cicero and Arabic learning. Thierry wrote several glosses on Martianus Capella. He wrote commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetoric ad Herennium*.⁷⁹ He wrote his own book, *Ad Herennium*. He wrote quite a few commentaries on Boethius' work. Thierry's contemporaries praised him for his commentary on Priscian.⁸⁰ Thierry also wrote commentaries on rhetorical texts such as the fourth book of *De differentiis topicis* by Boethius, Victorinus's commentary on the *De inventione*, and Horace's *Ars poetica*.⁸¹

In *Hexameron*, Thierry states that God created the four elements from nothing, and that He created the world in six earth days. The prior popular notion, promoted by Augustine in his book *De Trinitate*, was that the world was created in six days of the "angelic apprehension of creation," or an unspecified amount of time from our point of view, from matter that already existed. Thierry challenged Augustine's concept of time, and of pre-existing matter.⁸² The four elements are found in symbolic form on both the left and right tympanum of the west façade, perhaps emphasizing Thierry's views on this matter.

In *Heptateuchon*, Thierry uses some of the latest texts: Aristotle's *Organon* (except for the *Posterior Analytics*), *Prior Analytics*, the *Topics*, the *Sophistici Elenchi*, Al-Khwarizmi's *Tables* on astronomy, and an Arabic translation of Euclid's *Elements* by Adelard of Bath.⁸³ Thierry's epitaph even credits him with being the first scholar in France to study Aristotle's *Analytics* and the *Sophistici Elenchi*, which he used in his book *Heptateuchon*.⁸⁴

Heptateuchon's purpose was to show "how all the liberal arts work together in the service of philosophy."⁸⁵ In creating his textbook for the school of

Chartres, Thierry used the writings of Priscian for grammar, Aristotle for dialectic, Cicero for rhetoric, Boethius for arithmetic and Ptolemy for astronomy. Though he did not use Euclid for geometry directly, he did use the works of those who cited Euclid. These six authors who form the foundation for Thierry's *Heptateuchon* are likely the representations for six of the seven liberal arts shown on the archivolt. The seventh, music, is likely to be Pythagoras because the personification of Music is shown playing bells. Pythagoras was said to have invented the principles for music by using bells.⁸⁶

Thierry had finished compiling his work on the seven liberal arts just as work on the western sculpture began. He was also chancellor for the school of Chartres at the time, so there is a high probability that he suggested the inclusion of the seven liberal arts in the sculptural program. This argument is further strengthened by the fact that Thierry was using the seven liberal arts to explain theological truths.⁸⁷ For example, Thierry wanted to explain the Creator and creation by using the *Quadrivium*, especially Arithmetic and Geometry, in forming a new Neo-Pythagorean kind of thought that had not existed before. This new thought does appear on the sculpture.⁸⁸

This book, Thierry's crowning achievement, was well ordered with unity as its main goal. The texts were arranged in a logical progression starting with grammar, then followed by rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Each discipline is said to be the foundation for the next.⁸⁹ This order sequence does not follow the order set forth by Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis* (grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music). Of the books from *De Nuptiis*, Thierry only used book V (rhetoric) and book VII (arithmetic), probably because of the wealth of sources that he had available for the other subjects. Thierry included "eight or nine pieces on grammar, five on rhetoric,

fourteen on logic, four on arithmetic and scholium, one on music, a dozen on geometry, some scraps on the abacus, and four works at least on astronomy.” Grammar takes up the largest proportion of the book, followed by logic then rhetoric. The Quadrivium subjects take up a much smaller part.⁹⁰

It is interesting that Thierry included the astronomical tables from Al-Khwarizmi (780-850 AD), a virtual unknown in the west up to this point. Adelard of Bath had only translated Al-Khwarizmi’s work five or ten years before Thierry created *Heptateuchon*. Al-Khwarizmi introduced the decimal system, linear and quadratic equations, new geometry concepts, squares of numbers, the term “algebra,” and the term “algorithm,” which is the Latin translation of his last name. Al-Khwarizmi’s *Tables* was an extension of Ptolemy’s work, which Al-Khwarizmi certainly knew.⁹¹ Thierry’s inclusion of *Tables* in his book showed that he wanted to be as current as possible in his curriculum.

Al-Khwarizmi also wrote a treatise on the astrolabe, which was translated by Adelard of Bath sometime before 1148.⁹² No one knows if Thierry had a copy; he did not use it in his textbook. The center tympanum, lower right, does show two angels holding objects that look suspiciously like astrolabes. If Thierry had knowledge about this very modern astronavigational tool, he certainly would have promoted it.

III. Ideas and concepts by Thierry

In explaining *Heptateuchon*, Thierry brings forth many new ideas, though most center around the use of math to explain God and his works. The origin of this thought comes from a verse in *The Wisdom of Solomon* that tells us that God created the world according to number, weight, and measure. To understand the nature of God was then to understand the things of math, or the *Quadrivium*.

Arithmetic was all about numbers; Geometry measured space; Music measured time, and Astronomy measured motion. The *Trivium* had always been taught so that students could study and preach God's word, but Thierry was the first to add the *Trivium* to the *Quadrivium*, creating a unified seven liberal arts whose intent was to discover the nature of God. This combining of the arts and sciences for the single, unifying purpose of discovering God's nature had never been done before, even by Thierry's admission in the introduction to *Heptateuchon*.⁹³ Thierry's *Heptateuchon* was a comprehensive and admirable teaching tool that would have served as the syllabus for the school of Chartres whether or not, as headmaster, he actually taught classes there.⁹⁴ Thierry would have certainly promoted this new conceptual book on the western façade if given the opportunity, because it was integral to the teaching of the school at Chartres.

Another of Thierry's works was the *Expositio in Hexameron*, a brilliant work in astronomy that incorporated some ideas by Cicero, some Arabic learning, and a new, original approach in logic, while using Origen's four elements.⁹⁵ In this work, Thierry uses the four elements to explain the Genesis account of creation. Thierry's theory on creation states that God created heaven (fire and air) and earth (water and earth). God created them all together because they cannot be separated. Fire and air are moveable, water and earth are more rigid. Fire and air make the water and earth rigid. Water and earth make fire and air fluid.⁹⁶ Klibansky states that, "Naive as his account may seem to the modern scholar and scientist, this first systematic attempt to withdraw cosmology from the realm of the miraculous, and to win for physical theory a relative independence from theology, gives Thierry an outstanding place among philosophers."⁹⁷

Thierry's explanation of The Creation was a radical departure from the norm, which was Augustine's "non-linear" interpretation, because he actually

tried to explain creation in purely physical terms. Thierry did not always agree with the church fathers on other issues either; for example, he said that Augustine's premise of pre-existence of souls was nonsense.⁹⁸ He also did not agree on the pre-existence of matter before creation.

One thing he did agree with Augustine and Boethius on was the relationship between mathematics and God. Mathematics, specifically arithmetic and geometry, was seen as the link to God. Thierry, and therefore the school at Chartres, were obsessed with math in their quest to find the nature of God. Thierry was the first to attempt to change theology into geometry using a circle as God (the alpha and omega, first and last, without beginning or end as stated in Revelations 1:8), an equilateral triangle for the equality of the Trinity, and a square as the second person of God, or Christ. Thierry is the one who had the idea to equate Christ to a square; this represents the idea that Jesus was both fully God and fully Man.⁹⁹ These geometrical symbols also served as propaganda against the Arian heresy. This equating of shapes to the various aspects of God shows how important math, and especially geometry, was in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁰ Thierry noted that to understand the Genesis account of creation, theology needed the *Quadrivium*, whose common element is number. Numbers equal unity, and unity becomes the fundamental element upon which everything else is based.¹⁰¹

Augustine had believed that the world would be in chaos without numbers. He applied a Pythagorean and neoplatonic number mysticism to his Christian exegesis. Augustine's neoplatonic numerology remained persistent in Christian thought until the translation of Aristotle in the thirteenth century. Like Plato, Augustine had a distrust of the physical world, but held firm to the consistency that only math (and God) could provide. Boethius promulgated this

idea.¹⁰² Thierry taught from Boethius' math text in his classroom, hence, it is not surprising that there are also a number of numerological themes shown on the western frieze.

In Medieval times, the number four was of particular importance.¹⁰³ There were four evangelists, four horsemen, four corners of the earth, four elements, four temperaments, and Christ was represented as a four-sided shape. Three was also important, mostly because of the Trinity, and if you multiplied the two, you had twelve, as in twelve disciples, twelve months and twelve corresponding signs of the zodiac.

Using the thought of Augustine and Pythagoras as the basis of God's mathematical perfection, the school of Chartres from Fulbert's time on taught that the ratios of 1:1, 1:2, 2:3, 3:4... were God's perfect ratios, as well as that of the classical Golden Mean.¹⁰⁴ Using Boethius' perfect harmonious numbers, Thierry taught that there was perfection to be found in Biblical numerological imagery: the Trinity as three in one, the four Gospels, twelve disciples, forty days and forty nights, seven as God's perfection, six as less than perfect, or evil, and three sixes as really evil. It is not really surprising then to find all these mathematical elements contained within the west tympana.

Chapter Seven

An interpretation of the west façade

The subject of the seven liberal arts had never shown up on a portal prior to Chartres. Anyone who would want to include the seven liberal arts and representations of the most prominent author for each subject in a religious sculptural program would have to strongly defended the work by stating that the writings of these pagan authors formed the basis by which we study God.¹⁰⁵ This makes Thierry an ideal candidate as the originator of the sculptural program because his program, based on his textbook, would have required their inclusion.

The secular material, in the form of female representations of the seven liberal arts and the prime authors of the seven liberal arts, are found in the arches, and were thus very small, they would have taken a back seat to the Christian material found in the center lintel. To the average unlearned person, these non-Biblical characters would be quickly dismissed. There was already much to contemplate in the lintel.

Mâle was correct when he states,

Certainly the splendid tympana above the portals are one of the chief beauties of the churches. The eye is drawn to them first of all. They invite meditation. They raise the Christian out of his wretched daily cares and prepare him for entrance into the sanctuary. Before crossing the threshold he can already catch a glimpse of another world.¹⁰⁶

That other world was mostly apocalyptic and judgmental on the tympana, but it did tell a story that was understood at a glance, and it prepared your heart and mind for what was beyond the threshold - the "City of God."¹⁰⁷

The entire work is approachable to the average person. Indeed, anyone

who has a familiarity with Bible stories about the life of Christ will immediately understand the subject matters found on the tympana. The main themes are clear - Jesus' Ascension on the left, Jesus' Judgment at the Apocalypse in the center, and Jesus' Incarnation on the right. Jesus was born a man, He ascended into heaven, and he will come again to judge the living and the dead, just as it says in the Apostles' Creed - one of the most ancient and well known creeds in the Catholic church. There is a deeper message though that requires some additional learning. Most people would miss it, others would understand some of it; no one but Thierry and his twelfth-century associates would understand it all.

I. The jamb figures

Figure 2. Jamb statues

At first glance, it might appear that the jamb figures have nothing to do with the frieze or the tympana. They are just a bunch of kings, queens and saints. They do play a crucial role however, both in subject matter and in numerology.

The number of jamb statues contained in each portal from left to right are seven, ten, and seven respectively, which echoes the proportions used in the

construction of the portals themselves. 7 : 10 as a ratio was used throughout the twelfth-century structure according to Kidson.¹⁰⁸ Twenty-four is also the number of books in the Old Testament according to the Hebrew Canon. Rhabanus Maurus points out that the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse, shown in the archivolts of the center portal above, reflect the twenty-four Hebrew Canon books of the Old Testament. The twenty-four kings, queens and saints on the jambs may simply represent the books of the Old Testament.¹⁰⁹ This makes sense, since the tympanum deals entirely with New Testament events. The representation of the Old Testament is below, creating a foundation for the events to come in the New Testament.

John the Baptist, as the messenger for Christ and as the person who ties the New and Old testaments together would have fit best in the central jamb location of the central door, an idea that Villette proposed based on evidence that at one time such a jamb figure existed. If the angel statue now on the side of the cathedral, or another statue now missing, was indeed once the central figure of John the Baptist, then a prominent scene containing John's baptism of Jesus would not have been needed. John the Baptist is not at all prominent in the western façade; he can only be found in one very small section of the capital frieze, which strengthens the argument for the central jamb statue of John the Baptist.¹¹⁰

II. The capital frieze

Fulbert was a proponent of Mariology long before Bernard of Clairvaux. In *Sermo IV*,¹¹¹ Fulbert emphasized that Mary should be celebrated on the day of her Nativity.¹¹² In Fulbert's time, the Nativity of Mary was thought to be apocryphal and therefore not acceptable for inclusion in the curriculum. Mariology was taught, however, because Mary was the patron saint for Chartres cathedral.

A century later, Mary's life would become central in the teachings of the Church and would rival that of Christ.¹¹³ The continuous frieze on the west side of Chartres shows the first depictions of the life of Mary on a western church. The frieze then progresses through the death and resurrection of Christ, her son. Curiously though, the narrative begins at the center door, then goes left, to the end of the north portal, then continues back at the center portal going right. Why start the frieze in the center? One suggestion might be that the people came in the central door. If the capital frieze caught their attention, they could start to read the story from where they stood. On one level, this might be true, but there is a multi-layered meaning to the frieze, as we shall see.

The frieze was not didactic in the sense of teaching the stories for the first time, but instead, took familiar stories and interrelated them to others typologically and symbolically.¹¹⁴ There are a few juxtapositions in the narrative of the frieze that make no sense until you compare them to other sections in the physically separated capitals.¹¹⁵ The Presentation, for instance, appears out of sequence with the Flight into Egypt, which it usually precedes according to western tradition (the Gospels themselves do not tell the order of events after the Nativity, though there is a well established logical order). The Presentation in the Temple, according to Nolan, mirrors that of the rejection of the offerings of Joachim and Anna on the other side. One act of rejection is mirrored by one act of acceptance or one fruitless gesture is mirrored by the perfect offering in this typological pairing.. The opposite outcomes of a similar situation tie the two stories together. The juxtaposition of the Presentation then may help people understand the unfamiliar story of Mary by pairing it up with the familiar story of Jesus.¹¹⁶

If you take each story and pair it up with its opposite within the same

portal, you do get an interesting progression of subjects as you enter the church. It would also explain the reason for the other juxtapositions in the story line. This then becomes the message hidden within the continuous frieze.

Figure 3. Left frieze diagram

Starting with the north portal, the outer subjects are the Flight to Egypt on the left, and the Annunciation, Visitation and Nativity on the right. These face directly out, and do not face the doors, so we will discount them for now. They serve a different purpose which will be explained later. The remaining subjects that do face the door are the Massacre of the Innocents on the left and the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Magi before Herod, their horses, and the Adoration of the Magi. Both sides of this portal, when you think of it, are scenes of "seeking and finding," and there is some travel involved in each case. The bad seeking and finding is on the left, the good seeking is on the right. These events that both seek and find direct you to a door that you might enter. Put seeking, finding and a door together, and you have the following passage from Matthew 7:7-8 or Luke 11:9-10 which says, "Seek and you shall find, knock and the door will be opened to you... he who seeks finds; and to him who knocks, the door will be opened."

The south portal works in the same way, that of a theme that leads to a

door. Discounting the two subjects facing out, we are left with Peter and Malchus and Judas' betrayal on the left and Thomas' disbelief and Peter's denial on the right. All are scenes of turning away from Christ through unbelief and betrayal. The middle scenes are Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem and his Entombment on the left, and Scenes from Emmaus on the right. Both sides depict journeys with surprising endings. On the left, Jesus enters the holy city, only to be crucified and buried. On the right, Jesus meets up with some followers after his death and they travel to Emmaus. The last scenes are those of physical and spiritual cleansing. The three Marys on the left discover that Jesus is no longer dead, but that he has been resurrected. The men on the right discover who Jesus is at dinner in the town of Emmaus. Then, out of traditional order, but an order that makes sense here, Jesus washes the disciple's feet. Jesus came to cleanse us. Betrayal and unbelief are on the outside of the portal, cleansing is right by the doorway to the church. The message is clear - sinners, come in and be forgiven.

Figure 4. Right frieze diagram

The central portal is the most complex, but it is also the door most people entered. As you are walking into the church, the pairings are as follows: The calling of Andrew and Simon and Judas receiving thirty pieces of silver on the

right, and Joseph marrying Mary on the left. Both are God's plan for the fulfillment of Jesus' mission. Next we have Jesus' Temptation, and Mary and Joseph's Betrothal. Both could be considered a time of temptation. After that, we have Jesus' Baptism and Mary being presented to Joseph. Both are scenes of submission. Next are scenes of prophesy with John in the Wilderness and Mary Mounting the three steps to the Temple. The next pairing shows travel with family on both sides. After that are groups of seated figures on both sides perhaps signifying rest or belonging in a group setting. Then the Bath of Mary is paired with Jesus' Presentation in the Temple. Both are scenes of purity. The final grouping pairs Elizabeth and John hiding and a Circumcision with the Annunciation of Anna and Joachim plus their Rejection in the temple. Both are scenes of a promise of God's eventual fulfillment. So as you enter, you pass through: God's plan, temptation, submission, prophesy, a journey, rest and belonging, purification and the promise of fulfillment of God's plan.

Figure 5. Center frieze diagram

It is interesting that the capital friezes in all three portals show some kind of spiritual metamorphosis as you enter through the door, and that all have a

journey in the midst of the cycle. Chartres was a pilgrimage church, so this journey aspect was likely intentional. The north door then becomes the seeking and finding door, the Central door becomes the plan and fulfillment door, and the south door becomes the cleansing door.

There are yet remaining the four scenes that face out: The Flight to Egypt; the Annunciation; Visitation and Nativity; the Last Supper; and the Mission of the Apostles. All four are scenes of going forth into peril. In the Flight to Egypt, the Holy Family departs danger, but enters a strange land. Jesus departs his heavenly home in the Nativity to enter a world of sin which he must redeem. After the Last Supper, Jesus goes out to Gethsemane where he is betrayed. In the missioning of the disciples, Jesus asks them to go out into the world to spread the Gospel. If we combine the message of "enter" within the three portals with the "go forth" of the four scenes, we get the full message of Jesus who asked us to seek him for forgiveness, then go out to preach the Good News.

III. The right tympanum

The right portal shows two important steps in the life of Christ - his entrance into the world and his entrance into the temple.¹¹⁷ The bottom center portion of the lintel contains the Nativity in four parts. Starting on the left side is the Annunciation.

Figure 6. Right tympanum

Figure 7. Right tympanum figure locations

Next to that is the Visitation with a rare version of Mary with a crown. Next to that is the birth in the manger. Jesus is up on top, while Mary rests below. Joseph is off to the left side. Originally, there would have been an ox and ass at the Nativity of Christ, but those figures fell off at some point in time.¹¹⁸ Next to that, an angel announces the birth of the child to some shepherds who will go to adore the baby Jesus. This panel represents Jesus' coming into the world.

The center panel is the Presentation in the Temple. In the wings are a group of people carrying doves for sacrifice while Simeon circumcises the baby Jesus. Mary holds Jesus, and Joseph stands nearby. The Circumcision not only shows Jesus' heritage, but it is also a medieval type for the Crucifixion, which is missing elsewhere on the west façade. Jesus submits, bleeds, and is sacrificed on an altar. The sacrificial doves strengthen the image.

The top panel shows Mary enthroned with Jesus and two angels holding

censors beside them. Here, Jesus is represented as God - he has ascended, and Mary, as head of the Church, is right there with him. If we now read the three panels from bottom up, we find that Jesus came to earth, was sacrificed, and arose. The parallel path to this is that Mary gave birth to Jesus, was obedient to God, and now resides in heaven as the supreme mother. You can draw a vertical line right through the center of this tympanum and right through the three representations of Jesus (See Figure 8).

Numerologically speaking, there are three panels, three representations of Jesus, and five representations of Mary - two with a crown, and three without, forming a 2:3 ratio. There are four figures in heaven, three not including Jesus, twelve people in the

Figure 8. Right tympanum with lines

center panel (not including Jesus), and twelve representations in the bottom panel (not including Jesus), or there were — the ox and ass are missing.

Geometrically speaking, each representation of Jesus also includes a rectangle - the manger, the altar and the throne. These three boxes mirror Jesus' progression through the story line.¹¹⁹ The bottom two panels are also rectangles. The top is roughly in the shape of a triangle, where the Holy Trinity is once again reunited. Since the triangle is twice the height of either of the two rectangles, it has the same area as each rectangle, making the three panels unified by measure

of area. Other less obvious triangles can also be seen. In the center panel, Christ is on the altar as the apex of another triangle. To his left is Simeon who represents the clergy, to his right is Mary who represents the Church.

Figure 9. Right tympanum with shapes

Yet another triangle can be made by finding the five senses. The angels on top have censers whose fragrant smoke rises up to Heaven like prayers. The center panel shows Simeon and Mary touching Jesus. The Annunciation and Visitation speak of Christ's coming. The shepherds hear the good news just prior to the Adoration. All three panels show most everyone looking at Jesus. Another triangle is formed. The two people not looking at Jesus, but instead looking at us, both invite us into their scene - the shepherd in the bottom panel, and Joseph in the middle panel. Their heads form a line to the feet of Jesus enthroned in the top panel. Jesus of the top panel looks at us too, inviting us not only to his panel, but inviting us to communicate with him. He is accessible.

The scalloped roof above the middle panel is a device that is repeated in all three tympana of the west façade. It is the dividing line between Heaven and earth. This horizontal line can be extended through the arches surrounding each lintel, as we shall see, creating a separation of heaven and earth (See Figure 8).

The material in the archivolt is very different from what we have been seeing in the center. Starting in the bottom left of the first arch, we see a fish, two

birds, and three trees. Another triad. This is the sign of Pisces, believe it or not. Above that is the representation of Gemini. These two are the only signs of the zodiac in this tympanum. The other ten are on the left tympanum. Some have suggested that the entire west portal was moved and shuffled during its construction, which is why all twelve signs of the zodiac are not on the left side.¹²⁰ This theory has been refuted be-

Figure 10. Sign of Pisces

cause even if they did not get shuffled, the two errant signs would not fit in the left arch.¹²¹ No, they belong here. Pisces is usually represented as two fish. Gemini is also two. They could both represent the duality of Jesus, who is fully God and fully man. The Greek word for Fish, *iktheos* (ΙΧΘΥΕ) is an acrostic for Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior, and was used as a secret sign by the early Christians. Fish were also represented in a few miracles of Jesus. Jesus is the fish. The tree is a fairly standard model for the cross. And there were three crosses at Jesus' execution. The two birds would then mirror the sacrificial birds found in the central panel, making the allegory fit - Jesus died on the cross as a sacrifice.

Villette sees all four elements in the rendering of Pisces. He states that the flames are beneath the fish and cannot be seen from below. Pisces would then represent the macrocosm of the universe. Gemini, who stands above Pisces, must then represent the microcosm of man who is the reduction of the universe in Platonic thought.¹²² If there are four elements on that *voussoir*, then we might be witnessing some propaganda from Thierry. In *Hexameron*, Thierry states that

God created the four elements from nothing, and created the world in six earth days. The prior popular notion, promoted by Augustine in his book *De Trinitate*, was that the world was created in six unspecified heavenly days from matter that already existed. Thierry challenged Augustine's concept of time, and of pre-existing matter.¹²³ Pisces, as a symbol for the four elements, would then represent Thierry's view of the creation of the world from nothing. The Quintessential element, which means the "fifth element," was God as an incorruptible substance (Col 1:15-17) who made everything from nothing.

The next six sections contain angels that are in the heavenly realm formed by that imaginary horizontal line. They are all looking at the enthroned Jesus in the center panel. Next, back below our heaven/earth line, is an allegorical representation of Music, which begins the cycle of the seven liberal arts. The representation is female, which was first suggested by Martianus Capella in the fifth century.¹²⁴ Below that is Pythagoras, who is said to have discovered the governing laws of music using bells, which are included in the allegory of Music just above. The allegories and patrons of the seven liberal arts are picked up again starting in the bottom left of the second arch. The lady with the scorpion is Dialectic and below her is Aristotle. The next pairing is Rhetoric and Cicero. Next is Euclid and Geometry followed by Arithmetic and Boethius. Astronomy follows that along with Ptolemy and the cycle is completed by Grammar and Priscian or Donatus. The allegory of Grammar shows a lady with a switch looking over one good boy who studies and a bad boy who is naked and

Figure 11. Clockwise from top left: Music, Grammar, Priscian or Donatus, Pythagoras

picks on the other boy (See Figure 11). The two boys represent virtue and vice: those who study and live in the Word of God, and the "impetuosity of the stupid crowd, as John of Salisbury calls it."¹²⁵

The arrangement of these seven liberal arts conforms to the hierarchy of subjects that Martianus Capella used in his books on the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and not the order used by Thierry of Chartres in *Heptateuchon*.¹²⁶ What is new is the addition by Thierry of their relationship to the heaven / earth line. Directly opposite the allegory of Grammar, with its good and bad boys, sits Dialectic who holds a dragon and a torch representing good and evil (See Figure 12).¹²⁷ Between Grammar and Dialectic is Gemini, who also has a dualistic element. These dualistic elements are all in the earthly realm below the horizontal line where we as humans are found. The other sculptural element below the horizontal line is Music, which is mirrored by the flute-playing shepherd in the bottom lintel panel. Grammar and Dialectic are both foundation subjects that are required to achieve the harder, more ethereal subjects of Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic and Astronomy according to Martianus Capella's hierarchy of the seven liberal arts. Music, which is the last thing to be learned in Martianus Capella's hierarchy, is the only attribute on

Figure 12. Clockwise from top left: Dialectic, Gemini, Pisces, Aristotle

the inner ring that also includes angels and celestial symbols. Perhaps the entire inner ring is on the ethereal plane.

All seven disciplines form a circle around Jesus and Mary.¹²⁸ Medieval legend states that Mary was very adept in the liberal arts. This might also show that "Christ rules over all human endeavor."¹²⁹ Boethius does state that human wisdom (in the form of the seven liberal arts) is dependent on Divine Wisdom.¹³⁰

If we start with the center panel of Jesus, we get some interesting rings, or spheres of influence. Jesus radiates out in eight directions like a compass. He is the center, being both God and man. To his left and right are doves that represent peace. Above left and right are censing angels which represent heavenly glory. Directly above is Jesus on his throne. Below left and right are stories of foretold events and directly below is his earthly birth. In the next ring, we have sacrifice and crucifixion below and angels above. If we treat the seven liberal arts as a circle, we have the foundational elements below, and the more ethereal elements above. Rhetoric and Astronomy are considered heavenly subjects. Geometry and Arithmetic are seen as representations of God.

IV. The left tympanum

In the left tympanum, we see what must be an Ascension, but there are also elements of a Second Coming. If this is an Ascension, then the men on the lower register would

Figure 13. Left tympanum

Figure 14. Left tympanum figure locations

have to be the disciples at Pentecost on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The fact that there are only ten men represented and not eleven or twelve is of no consequence according to Villette. According to Pythagoras, ten is seen as the number of perfection. The intellectuals at Chartres knew this and could have chosen ten men to represent perfection.¹³¹

There is another problem with this as a depiction of the Ascension. In view of Chartres' patronage, Mary would be missing from the mix of people. According to Acts 1:9-14 it is reasonably clear that she was at the Ascension.¹³² Perhaps the ten figures represent the Mosaic law of the Old Testament.¹³³

Kidson believes that the north portal could only be that of the Ascension found in Acts 1, though it is not a traditional representation.¹³⁴ Villette suggests that this tympanum can represent both the coming and going of Jesus.¹³⁵ Radding and Clark believe that the north portal might represent Christ's First

Coming, which would fit very well in the scheme of the western façade.¹³⁶ Fassler believes that the left portal does not really represent the Ascension, though it alludes to it. Durand thinks that the tympanum might represent the end of time as depicted in Revelations 22. Van der Meulen sees it as representing the Creation.¹³⁷ Christ was present at the time of creation, in fact, he is said to be "the Word" that God spoke that created the various aspects of heaven and earth. If the left tympanum represents the Creation, then the men below must be the prophets of old who wrote about Jesus at a time before he came. They know that God is up in heaven, and they can write about him, but they cannot see him.¹³⁸ Also, the second group of angels crying out to the people below is not usually associated with the Ascension according to van der Meulen, but is according to McClendon.¹³⁹ Well, who is right? This scene has so many multi-layered meanings that a clear interpretation may not be possible. All these historians make good points, but the subject that seems to make the least sense after careful scrutiny is the one that appears to be the subject on the surface, the Ascension.

Once again, we have three central scenes, or registers, with similar proportions. Jesus is being carried up to heaven on a cloud by two angels in the top panel. Below him are four angels, and below that are the ten men who may be the key to unlocking the mystery of the whole event. If we look at the arches, we will see the other ten signs of the zodiac interspersed with twelve allegorical representations of the months. The zodiac has been a standard symbol representing the duration of time.¹⁴⁰ The archivolts depicting the zodiac and the months would then represent natural law and linear time. Men have been cast out of Eden and must now work by the sweat of their brows. They must work according to the natural law of the seasons and mark time according to the placement of the stars.¹⁴¹

The inner, lower left shows April as a king and a tree. Above that is Aries, the Ram. May is next, represented as a man, a horse and a bird. Above that is Taurus the bull. Next is the month of June. At the apex of the inner arch is a badly damaged dove. March is next, who is shown pruning branches. Aquarius is below that, followed by February who is warming himself by a fire. The goat of Capricorn is next followed by January, a two headed man who is dining on bread and wine. The outer arch starts with July as a reaper, then Cancer the Crab. August is about to thresh some grain, and Leo the lion is above that. Next is September who is pressing grapes into wine. Next to that is Virgo the Virgin. Going down the other side, we have Sagittarius, then December who is a man being served a meal. Scorpio follows, then November is slaughtering a pig. Libra is after that and finally, October is shown knocking acorns out of a tree to feed to pigs. The arrangement of months are in an unusual order, which may mean that an ordered arrangement has been altered for a special purpose.

As in the previous tympanum, there is a scallop design that separates the heavenly events from the earthly ones. That line is once again extended through the arches. Drawing a vertical line down the center reveals that on Jesus' right are warm, productive months and grain. On Jesus' left are the cold, unproductive months and pigs. Already, we are seeing signs of a Judgment, which may account for why the months were arranged in their particular order. Perhaps the ten people in the bottom panel are not disciples, but are judges or martyrs. The angels in the central panel look a bit fierce - maybe they are doing something apocryphal. Jesus is up in heaven with the earth as his footstool. Why then are the angels looking away from him. The top panel could represent Christ in Judgment just before the opening of the seventh seal, whose events to come were so horrible that heaven became quiet for half an hour. The four angels in the

central panel could represent the four angels who hold the four winds shortly after the opening of the sixth seal. The ten below would then be the Martyrs who are vindicated upon the opening of the fifth seal.

April is represented as a king and a tree, which is a pretty obvious allegory for Jesus' crucifixion. This ultimate act of the passion is mirrored on the heavenly plane by December's servanthood. In fact, if you draw a line between the two scenes, it goes right through Christ's heart. Directly opposite April is January, who is represented by the god Janus, who sees the future and the past. God too, sees the future and the past. The items Janus is eating are the elements of the Eucharist — Christ's reminder to us of his sacrifice. If we go diagonally through Jesus' heart once again, we find September making wine, the second element of the Eucharist (See Figure 15). Above April and January is the ram and the goat — both animals of sacrifice. The Ram is shown in a thicket, just like the one Abraham found so he would not have to sacrifice his son Isaac. The goat could also represent that event, though this goat is also stepping on a snake, a representation

Figure 15. Left tympanum with lines

of evil. This mirrors the prophesy in Genesis that states "you will bruise his heel, but he will crush your head," referring to Christ's crucifixion and subsequent resurrection.

Above Aries is May who appears to be hunting and June who is gathering hay. Directly opposite March prunes and February is by a fiery furnace. Judgment once again.

On Christ's right on the outer arch, July reaps and August threshes — both separating the good from the bad. Opposite, on Jesus' left, November slaughters a pig and October knocks acorns out of a tree to be eaten by swine - both scenes of damnation. Right in-between is Libra the scales. In the upper registers, you have a lion juxtaposed with a scorpion, and a man pressing grapes juxtaposed with an image of service and at the top is a virgin and a centaur. Leo and Scorpio represent good and bad. The two months, September and December, may represent sacrifice and Jesus' blood. At the top we have Mary, and what must be God, because below him is a dove and Jesus — the other two elements of the holy Trinity. Sagittarius is controlled by the planet Jupiter. Jupiter is the king of the gods.¹⁴² It is a stretch. (See Appendix C)

If we now look at the arches in light of the book of Revelation, as we did with the center panel, to Jesus' right, we find a lion, a bird, a bull and a man - the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) who come to reveal truth, and to judge. To Jesus' left, Sagittarius has a bow not unlike that of the conqueror, November has a sword like War, Libra has the scales like famine, and October could represent death by the falling acorns. We have the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, which are seals one through four. We now have the entire set of seven. Though not all seven trumpets are shown, we do have five, six and seven., which mirror the fifth, sixth and seventh seals that we have in the middle.

The fifth trumpet brings with it scorpion locusts, represented by Scorpio. The sixth trumpet brings lion headed horses with snake tails, represented by Leo. The seventh trumpet is all about Mary, who is Virgo.

Other apocalyptic symbolism that works is September, the wine press, representing the grapes of wrath in Revelations 14. The bird found in May could represent the eagle in the middle heaven, which is exactly where he is, who cries woe! just before the seventh seal. Aquarius, who has been out of the symbolism thus far, could represent the water of life in Revelations 7 and 22 or the four rivers of heaven in Revelations 21.

V. The central tympanum

This is indeed the Last Judgment, the most popular tympanum subject of the Middle Ages.¹⁴³ We now have only two panels, but still with the heaven and earth divider.

Figure 16. Center tympanum

In heaven is Christ as judge with his four evangelists of the Apocalypse. In the lower register are the twelve apostles who are going to help Christ judge also, plus two others who are likely the two witnesses of Revelation. Villette thinks that three of the viewers in the central tympanum are Peter, Paul and John, who all have choice seats for the final Judgment.¹⁴⁴ In the inner arch, we have twelve angels and a dove at the top. In the next two arches, we have the twenty-four elders of Revelations and Christ's crown at the top. Two angels on the lower

right archivolt hold metallic objects that appear to be astrolabes, but according to Villette, they are instead portable sundials.¹⁴⁵ Though the history of the astrolabe in the west is uncertain, there is convincing evidence according to

Figure 17. Angels with astrolabes and kings with musical instruments

McVaugh that Fulbert knew of this device and taught about its use.¹⁴⁶ Thierry may also have had in his library the recent translation from Adelard of Bath on Al-Khwarzimi's use of the astrolabe as well. Perhaps the angels are promoting this fact, or at least stating that God is the lord of the heavens.

Everyone in the heavenly realm is looking at Jesus except for Matthew the angel and Luke the bull. They were the two who included the story of Jesus' earthly birth in their Gospels, which might explain why they are looking down. The twelve disciples look at us, as does Jesus. They are judging us as we step into church. The twelve disciples can also represent the allegorical figures of the twelve prophets, the twelve patriarchs, which tie the Old and New Testament together. Jesus' lineage of the twelve patriarchs, the twelve prophets who foretold of his coming, the twelve disciples who were with Jesus on earth, and the twelve angels who come with Jesus back to earth.

Though the middle tympanum has been traditionally associated with Revelations 22 (the Last Judgment), Margot Fassler states that it might actually have more to do with Revelations 3:20, which says, "Here I am! I stand at the

door and knock.
If anyone hears
my voice and
opens the door, I
will come in and
eat with him, and
he with me."

Soon after this
passage, a door is
mentioned again
in Revelations 4:1

Figure 18. Center tympanum detail

which states, "After this I looked, and there before me was a door standing open in heaven. And the voice I had first heard speaking to me like a trumpet said, 'Come up here, and I will show you what must take place after this.' " The four beasts surrounding Christ are mentioned in Revelations 4:7.¹⁴⁷ Sauerländer and others have stated how calm and inviting the central Christ appears — not at all frightening as one might expect a Last Judgment scene to be. This strengthens Fassler's interpretation that the second coming of Revelations 22 has not yet happened.¹⁴⁸ The two figures at the sides of the bottom register are undoubtedly Elijah and Enoch who did not die on the earth, but were swept bodily into heaven. The book of Revelation states that they will preach in Israel and convert 144,000 during the first half of the seven year tribulation, then die, live, and ascend like Jesus (Revelations 11). It is interesting to find another reference to a door at this point. Revelations 11:19a says. "Then God's temple in heaven was opened, and within his temple was seen the ark of his covenant."¹⁴⁹

The twelve apostles between Elijah and Enoch are shown fulfilling the

prophesy of Jesus found in Matthew 19:28 (and Luke 22:28-30) which states, "I tell you the truth, at the renewal of all things, when the Son of Man sits on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."¹⁵⁰

VI. The integrated whole

The right side shows God as ruler and the object of secular learning, the left side shows God as lord of heaven and earth and of time.¹⁵¹ The central portal shows God as judge. The frieze makes it clear that journeying into church can help you find what you are looking for: cleansing from sin and the assurance of God's plan in your life. The outward frieze message tells the people to go forth into the world and preach the Good News. Each portal represents some aspect of entry, either in the life of Jesus, or in allusions to Biblical verses containing door imagery. God blesses our coming in and our going out. All in all, the western façade is both a sculptural benediction and a statement of who God is.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion - The program was designed by Thierry

Von Simson tells us that in Medieval times, the sanctuary was considered the threshold to Heaven. The Church was the House of God, which, unlike today, was seen as something fearful and awesome. God resided here.¹⁵² The cathedral was also designed to be seen as an image - the image of Christ.¹⁵³ This threshold to heaven contained the west portal entry, which at Chartres, displayed a comprehensive ideographic system never before seen.¹⁵⁴ As a writer of curriculum, Thierry was best suited to create a religious sculptural program that resembled the material taught at the school at Chartres. The sculptural program included the first occurrence of secular allegorical figures of the seven liberal arts, which also points to Thierry as the originator of the program. Thierry's book, *Heptateuchon*, a revolutionary book that used all seven liberal arts for the purpose of discovering the nature of God, had just come out when the sculptural program was being developed.¹⁵⁵ It is Thierry's program that we see on the west portal.¹⁵⁶ Saint Augustine and Hugo of St. Victor both saw the seven liberal arts as the "servants of theology," which justified the teaching of secular knowledge as a path towards theological enlightenment. The Sculptural program on the west façade does indeed represent the dogma of Chartres which can be seen as religious propaganda.¹⁵⁷ Thierry was one of the first to develop the portal as an intellectually coherent message.¹⁵⁸

Thierry's work on *Ad Herennium* was brilliant, innovative and current,¹⁵⁹ and greatly influenced thought at the school of Chartres. The monks were able to memorize passages and ordered sequences, then recall them, or "scan" them from start to finish, finish to start, or from the middle, which might best describe

the frieze at Chartres.¹⁶⁰ The sculptural program would have served the purpose of a real image to contemplate, allowing the monks to “remember” all the stories and ideas contained within the west façade, even how to use an astrolabe, if indeed that subject was taught there.

Thierry’s new ideas on the four elements from his book *Exposition in Hexameron* are represented on the western façade. So are many number patterns that Thierry either taught or established from his book *Heptateuchon*.

Mâle states that, “Medieval art is eminently symbolical,”¹⁶¹ and that the entire religious thought of the Middle Ages can be seen in the ten thousand figures painted or sculpted at Chartres even today, making Chartres unique in Europe.¹⁶² While this is true, Chartres also had an unusual and eclectic range of sculptural works on the west façade, designed by Thierry, from which to study, that differed from all other Cathedrals.¹⁶³

The reputation that Plato achieved in the twelfth century was mostly due to ignorance about Aristotle. Once Aristotle was translated, Plato’s influence faded rapidly and the Gothic sculptural programs changed rapidly.¹⁶⁴ Once Thierry died around 1155, the school of Chartres, too, faded away. The school was almost non-existent by 1193, just forty years after Thierry’s death, when new monastic orders began to arrive at Chartres.¹⁶⁵ We also know that Chartres did not become a university, nor could it stand up to the universities that had been established. The school just ceased to exist sometime before the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁶

As for the tympana on the west façade, they are a little more complex than they appear. Both Thierry and Boethius state that there is more than one way to understand things.¹⁶⁷ There is little doubt that only a learned theologian like

Thierry could have conceived of and understood this program. It is fairly unlikely that the chapter would have been able to create this multi-layered work without the help of someone such as Thierry, who was well acquainted with vast array of classical and Biblical subjects, and whose authors and ideas appear in the sculpture as well as in his books. If this one cycle is any indication, the school of Chartres certainly must have been the center of learning in its day. The west façade is intellectual, coherent, and well conceived as a teaching instrument.

Figure 19. The western façade as it stands today

Appendix A **(MacKinney)**

Contents of the library of The Monastery of St. Peter at Chartres at the time of Fulbert:

70 Religious volumes

Old & New Testaments

Psalters

Commentaries

Thereon

Conciliar Canons

Capitularies

Lives of Saints

Works by: Amalarius, Ambrose, Augustine, Bacharius, Bede, Cassidorus, Cyprian, Pseudo-Dionysius, Flugentius, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Isidore, Jerome, Origen, Rabanus, Mavrus, others less eminent

20 Secular volumes

Albinus, Geometry

Antidotaria, Medical Prescriptions

Aphorismi, Yppocratis

Bede, History

Boethius, Music & Arithmetic

Concordia, Yppocratis

Donatius, Grammar

Florus, History

Gregory of Tours, History

Josephus, History

Podismus, Nipsius

Priscian, Grammar

Prophyry, "Isagoge"

Other works by: Fortunatus, Juvenal, Marcianus (Capella), Ovid, Virgil, Cicero (many)

Other libraries in Chartres had: Boethius, Cicero, Livy, Pliny, Quintilian on Rhetoric.

Appendix B

Contents of the *Heptateuchon* taken from MS. 497 and MS. 498

MS. 497

Prologue

A. Grammar

Accessus to Donatus

Donatus *Ars Minor*

Prima declinatio quot litteras terminales...futuri ut audiendus (An elementary dialogue continuing the *Ars Minor*)

Preface to Donatus *Ars Major*

Donatus *Ars Major*

Priscian *Institutiones Grammaticae*

Priscian's own preface to the series of minor works of Priscian

Priscian *De figuris numerorum*

Priscian *De metris fabularum Terentii*

Priscian *De accentibus*

Preface to Priscian *De duodecim versibus Virgilii*

Priscian *De duodecim versibus Virgilii*

Priscian *De nomine, pronomine et verbo*

Que est agnitio prime declinationis pronominis? ... vestras vestratis; cuias, cuiatis.

Donatus *Ars grammatica*

De posituris

B. Rhetoric

Cicero *De inventione*

Rhetorica ad Herennium

Cicero *De partitione oratoria*

Julius Severianus *Ars rhetorica*

Martianus Capella *De nuptiis*, book V

C. Dialectic

Prophyry *Isagage*, Boethius' translation

Aristotle *Categoriae*, Boethius' translation

Aristotle *De interpretatione*, Boethius' translation

Aristotle *Prior Analytics*, Boethius' translation

Aristotle *Topics*, Boethius' translation

MS. 498

*In hoc volumine continentur: liber elencorum Aristotelis logica rethorica
arismetia musica mathematica Iulii firmici materni minori, Geometria
canones tabule et alia de astronomia*

Aristotle *Sophistici elenchi*

Boethius *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos*

Boethius *De syllogismo categorico*

Apuleius *Perihermenias*

Boethius *De syllogismis hypotheticis*

Cicero *Topics*

Boethius *De Differentiis topicis*

Boethius *de divisione*

Marius Victorinus *De definitione* (attributed to Boethius here)

D. Arithmetic

Boethius *Arithmetica*

Gebert of Aurillac *Scholium in Arithmetica*

Martianus Capella *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologie*, Book VII

Euclid *Elements*, Books VII-IX, Adelard of Bath's Arabic translation

E. Music

Boethius *Musica*

F. Geometry

Euclid *Elements*, Books XIV, prop. 7-XV, Adelard of Bath's Arabic translation

'Boethius' *Geometria I*, Book V, chapters 1, 6, 7, 8 (Thierry corrected
Boethius' text)

Excerpts from Nipsus, Epaphroditus and Vitruvius Rufus: *Mensurarum sunt
tria genera ... erit diametrum circuli*

Mensura est quicquid pondere (the opening to Isidore *Etymologiae* XV and
'Boethius' *Geometria V*, sec. A.

Fragment on hexagon and octagon

Columella *De re rustica*

Gromatici and more Balbus

Fragment of Boethius's translation of Euclid (Book I, definitions)

Gerbert of Aurillac *Geometria*

'Boethius' *Geometria II*

(The Abacus)

Diagram of an abacus

Omnis numerus aut ex digito

Si igitur vis scire ... et sint huiusmodi

The fraction table of Hermannus Contractus

Another table

Blank pages

G. Astronomy

Hyginus *Astronomicon: Studio grammaticae artis ... Qui cum sevisset*

Ptolemy *Canons*

Astronomical Tables of Ptolemy

Al-Khwarizmi, *Tables*, translated by Adelard of Bath

Appendix C

Signs of the zodiac

(www.zodiachouse.com 12/6/99)

Name	Sign	element	quadruplicity	polarity	plane
Aries	Ram	Fire	Cardinal	+	Mars
Taurus	Bull	Earth	Fixed	-	Venus
Gemini	Twins	Air	Mutable	+	Mercury
Cancer	Crab	Water	Cardinal	-	Moon
Leo	Lion	Fire	Fixed	+	Sun
Virgo	Virgin	Earth	Mutable	-	Mercury
Libra	Scales	Air	Cardinal	+	Venus
Scorpio	Scorpion	Water	Fixed	-	Pluto *
Sagittarius	Centaur	Fire	Mutable	+	Jupiter
Capricorn	Goat	Earth	Cardinal	-	Saturn
Aquarius	Water	Air	Fixed	+	Uranus *
Pisces	Fish	Water	Mutable	-	Neptune *

Cardinal = initiates

Fixed = unchangeable

Mutable = changeable

* These planets did not exist in Medieval times.

The Seven Liberal Arts

(Burckhardt)

Trivium:	Grammar Dialectic Rhetoric	Language Logic Speech as Art	Moon Mercury Venus
Quadrivium:	Arithmetic Music Geometry Astronomy	Number Time (harmony) Space (proportion) Motion (rhythm)	Sun Mars Jupiter Saturn

Notes

1. Malcolm Miller, *Chartres Cathedral* (Hampshire: Pitkin Unichrome, Ltd., 1996), 8-9.
2. Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 501.
3. Laura Spitzer, "The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture: Evaluating Opposition in the Chartres West Façade Capital Frieze," *Gesta* 2 (1994): 132.
4. Kathleen Nolan, "Ritual and Visual Experience in the Capital Frieze at Chartres," *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 123-4 (1994): 62.
5. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 10, notes that Fulbert, who taught at Chartres in the early eleventh century, was a proponent of Maryology long before Bernard of Clairvaux. In *Sermo IV* (P.L., CXLI, cols. 320 ff.), Fulbert emphasized that Mary should be celebrated on the day of her Nativity. In Fulbert's time, the Nativity of Mary was thought to be apocryphal and therefore not acceptable for inclusion in the curriculum of the Catholic Church. A century later, Mary's life would become central in the teachings of the Church and would rival that of Christ. Laura Spitzer, "The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture," 132, notes that Chartres was the first church in the west to present the stories of Mary in stone and the first to include the seven liberal arts.
6. Willibald Saurländer, "Sculpture on early Gothic Churches: The State of Research and Open Questions," *Gesta* 9 (1970): 32-33. Kathleen Nolan, "Narrative in the Capital Frieze of Notre-Dame at Etampes," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 169.
7. R. L. Poole, "The Masters of the schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time," *English Historical Review* 35 (1920): 326
8. Nolan, "Ritual and Visual Experience," 62.
9. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 502.
10. Jean Favier, *The World of Chartres* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 112.
11. Poole, "The Masters of the schools at Paris and Chartres," 334.

12. Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 16.
13. Peter Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres* (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1958), 22.
14. Charles M. Radding and William W. Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 58. Southern further assumes that the school of Chartres, if it existed, collapsed immediately after the death of the chancellor Bernard of Chartres in 1124; See R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 68. MacKinney and Dronke both believe, like Southern, that the school of Chartres, if it existed, was highly exaggerated in its importance. Southern doubts that Thierry taught there. MacKinney doubts that Fulbert taught there. Both attack Clerval and other early art historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for interpreting beyond the existing evidence and using speculation as their guide; See Loren C. MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at The school of Chartres* (Notre Dame: The Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1957), 23-34, and Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the school of Chartres." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1971): 117.
15. Karin Margareta Fredborg, ed., *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres* (Wetteren: Universa, 1988), 7.
16. Jean Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Paris: J. M. Garnier, 1994), 41.
17. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, 6.
18. Roberto Giacone, "Masters, Books and Library at Chartres According to the Cartularies of Notre-Dame and St. Peter," *Vivarium: A Journal for Mediaeval Philosophy and the Intellectual Life of the Middle Ages* 12.1 (1974): 38-39.
19. *Ibid.*, 39.
20. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, 15. The internal quote is by Southern, who thought that the intellectual activity in 1140 was at Paris, not Chartres.
21. Nolan, "Ritual and Visual Experience," 53.
22. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 21.
23. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 11.

24. Ibid., 23.
25. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 514.
26. Ibid., 499.
27. Miller, *Chartres Cathedral*, 8-9.
28. Radding and Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning*, 16.
29. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 21. Lefèvre-Pontalis originated this argument in 1904 according to Whitney S. Stoddard, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1987), 15.
30. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, 14.
31. One of the minority was Étienne Houbert, *An Illustrated Monograph of Chartres Cathedral* (Chartres: Chambrin, 1925), 7. He is rebuffed by Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 20, who states that the two signs of the zodiac would never fit on the north tympanum.
32. Saurländer, "Sculpture on early Gothic Churches," 32-33. Also Nolan, "Narrative in the Capital Frieze of Notre-Dame at Etampes," 169.
33. Nolan, "Narrative in the Capital Frieze of Notre-Dame at Etampes," 169.
34. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 30.
35. Radding and Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning*, 18, n. 14.
36. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, 18. Also Carolyn Joslin Watson, "Concepts, Techniques and Motifs in the Jamb Statues of the Royal Portal at Chartres." *South Eastern College Art Conference Review* 11.5 (1990): 344, 347.
37. Radding and Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning*, 112.
38. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 81.
39. Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (London: Sheed and Ward, Ltd., 1980), 35.
40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid. p 40. The last sentence is a quote from the Wisdom of Solomon in the Apocrypha.
43. *Catholic Encyclopedia*. <http://www.csn.net/advent/cathen/cathen.htm>. The section on *Scholasticism*.
44. Wim Swaan, *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York: Dourleday & Co., Inc., 1969), 26.
45. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 78.
46. Tim Dowley, *The History of Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 288.
47. Dronke, "New Approaches to the school of Chartres," 118. Also Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 61-65.
48. Dowley, *The History of Christianity*, 288.
49. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 80.
50. Ibid., 96.
51. Ibid., 97-8.
52. Ibid., p. 106.
53. Ibid.
54. Boethius, *De Musica*, I, 32 (PL, LXIII, 1194) & *De Arithmetica*, II, 6 (PL, LXIII, 1121). Both these references were found in Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), 33.
55. Charles Homer Haskins, *Renaissance of the 12th century* (New York: The World Pub. Co., 1962), 26. Also Cecil Headlam, *The Story of Chartres* (Nendeln-Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1971), 71. Haskins virtually calls Fulbert a Renaissance man before his time.
56. Unless you believe what MacKinney and Southern have to say about the school's possible non-existence, which has been refuted by later experts.

57. Wim Swaan, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 26.
58. Since, by this time, Origen's writings were considered, in part, heretical.
59. Giacone, "Masters, Books and Library at Chartres," 43-44.
60. Ibid.
61. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 16.
62. Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963), 7.
63. Ibid., 8.
64. Lawrence P. Schrenk, "God as Monad: The Philosophical Basis of Medieval Theological Numerology." In *Medieval Numerology: A Book of Essays*. Edited by Robert L. Surles, 3-10. (New York: Garland Pub., 1993), 3.
65. James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine* (Boston: Twayne Pub., 1985), 44.
66. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 21.
67. James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine*, 41.
68. Ibid., 44.
69. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 12.
70. Nolan, "Ritual and Visual Experience," 56.
71. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 74.
72. Ibid., 150.
73. Ibid., 150-151.
74. Ibid., 151-152.
75. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 66-67.

76. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, 1-2.
77. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 22.
78. Giacone, "Masters, Books and Library at Chartres," 43-45.
79. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, 1.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 12.
82. Charlotte Gross, "Twelfth-Century Concepts of Time: Three Reinterpretations of Augustine's doctrine of Creation *Simul*." *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 23.3 (1985): 325-326, 328, 330.
83. Gillian R. Evans, "The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres." *History of Universities* 3 (1983): 1, 3. Also Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, 2.
84. Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, 2.
85. Evans, "The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres," 2.
86. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 21.
87. Ibid., 18-19.
88. Ibid., 19.
89. Evans, "The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres," 2.
90. Ibid., 3.
91. J. J. O'Connor and E. F. Robertson. *Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi* (<http://www-groups.dcs.st-and.ac.uk/~history/Mathematicians/Al-Khwarizmi.html>)
92. Ibid.
93. Charles Homer Haskins, *Renaissance of the 12th century*, 377. Also Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 18.

94. Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," 119.
95. Ibid., 126, 133.
96. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 147.
97. R. Klibanski, "The school of Chartres." In *Twelfth Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 8.
98. Dronke, "New Approaches to the school of Chartres," 134.
99. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 19.
100. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 27-8.
101. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 147.
102. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 22, 24.
103. Eco, Umberto. *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 35.
104. Ibid., 36
105. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 23.
106. Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, 50.
107. The name of one of Augustine's books, whose premise is that the church was a heavenly portal on earth. abbot Suger, Thierry, and the other Gothic churchmen truly believed in this notion, which is why they invested so much time in creating a perfect church.
108. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 11.
109. Ibid., 18.
110. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 82.
111. *Patrologia Latina*, CXLI, cols. 320 ff.
112. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 10.

113. Ibid., 25
114. Nolan, "Ritual and Visual Experience," 65.
115. Ibid., 57.
116. Ibid., 60.
117. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 511.
118. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 38.
119. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 9, states that the central axis is enhanced by the insistence on rectangular shapes.
120. Étienne Houvet, *An Illustrated Monograph of Chartres Cathedral* (Chartres: Chambrin, 1925), 7. Also Swaan, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 119.
121. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 20.
122. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 46-47.
123. Gross, "Twelfth-Century Concepts of Time," 325-326, 328, 330.
124. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 20.
125. Ibid., 24.
126. Ibid., 20.
- 127 Ibid., 21. Katzenellenbogen states that the dragon alone represents good and evil. I see the dragon as evil and the torch as good.
128. Ibid.
129. Miller, *Chartres Cathedral*, 28.
130. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 17.
131. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 55-56.
132. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 508.

133. Ibid., 511.
134. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 12.
135. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 55.
136. Radding and Clark, *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning*, 109.
137. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 508-509.
138. Ibid., 509.
139. Ibid., 508.
140. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, 21.
141. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 509.
142. Titus Burkhardt, *Chartres and the birth of the Cathedral*, (London: Golgonooza, 1996), 71.
143. Mâle, *Religious Art*, 51. The Apocalyptic Christ surrounded by four beasts was the most common theme for the Central West portal in Gothic times.
144. Villette, *Les Portails de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, 35.
145. Ibid., 32.
146. Michael McVaugh, "Fulbert of Chartres' Notes on Arabic Astronomy," *Manuscripta* 15.3 (1971): 172-174.
147. Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History," 514.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., 516.
150. Ibid.
151. Augustine, The Confessions of St. Augustine (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1977), 24.

152. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, xv.
153. Ibid., xviii.
154. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 7,9.
155. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, 2.
156. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 18.
157. Ibid., 19. It is too bad that today, *Heptateuchon* is only available in microfilm and is not likely to be put in print any time soon. Some passages are illegible, other parts are missing, or as Evans feels, uncompleted by Thierry; See Evans, "The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres," 1.
158. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, 11.
159. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 152.
160. Ibid., 72.
161. Mâle, *Religious Art*, 61.
162. Ibid., 93.
163. Dronke, "New Approaches to the school of Chartres," 123.
164. Haskins, *Renaissance of the 12th century*, 345.
165. Jan van der Meulen, Rüdiger Hoyer and Deborah Cole. *Chartres Sources and Literary Interpretation: A critical bibliography* (Boston: Reference Publications in Art History, 1989), 2.
166. Haskins, *Renaissance of the 12th century*, 376-7.
167. Gillian R. Evans, "Thierry of Chartres and the Unity of Boethius' Thought," *Studia Patristica XVII: Papers of the 8th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford* 1 (1982): 441.

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- . "Thierry of Chartres." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*. edited by Peter Dronke, 358-385. New York : Cambridge University Press, 1988.
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