The Unity between the East and West in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*

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Abstract

When Henry Adams visited Sicily, a juncture point of the East and the West, he realized that the Norman Gothic cathedral he saw there embodies the Western response to an intellectual challenge the East posed in the Middle Ages. The new revelation was woven into his book, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, where neither the Western Europe nor the Middle Ages was static or monolithic; they were on the constant move and undergoing change. What caused such dynamism was clashing and fusion of different cultures; French, Norman, Greek, Roman, Arabian and Byzantine. From among those I extract what can be called Eastern in its broadest sense and discuss it particularly in relation to Virgin, Saint Francis and Thomas Aquinas each of whom Adams admires and calls his “vehicles of anarchism and heresy” in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*.

1 Introduction

Adams’s violent distaste for the modern world is cited by many scholars as an important reason he turned his back on American history and wrote *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* which covers literature, art, architecture, mythology, history and theology in the eleventh to thirteenth-century France. Adams suddenly faced the danger of being reduced to poverty at the age of fifty-five in the 1893 financial panic. In that year, there were more than 15,000 commercial failures and 572 financial establishments went bankrupt. Some of those in Kansas City where Henry Adams’s brother Charles had deposited large amount of money also collapsed, and the Adams Trust, founded after the death of their father, seemed to fail. As a reaction against such modern
evils, many intellectuals praised the Middle Ages and the East that they believed knew nothing of the materialistic values of the modern world.¹

Adams was hoping to realize his dream to visit China and Tibet, the birthplace of the Asian civilizations. It was to be materialized by joining the 1893 expedition of William Rockhill, an Asian expert, to Tibet. But Adams’s plan was frustrated because Rockhill decided not to go to Asia and chose to return to Washington to take up diplomatic service.²

A disappointed Adams drifted here and there around the world. He traveled through Cuba and the West Indies with his friends. In the summer of 1895, Adams visited the cathedrals in northern France, and he was deeply impressed by the Norman Gothic architecture. After a visit to Ravenna, Italy, in the summer of 1896, Adams began to study Byzantine Empire. At the period of its greatest glory, the empire stretched from Spain to the Valley of Tigris and Euphrates and from the Danube River to Upper Egypt. It was a Christian empire and served as a bulwark against invasion from Asia. Yet it inherited ancient Greek civilization and reconciled Christianity with Greek philosophy. It also had close touch with Arab world and strong Asian influence.³

When Adams went to Sicily and saw the Norman Gothic architecture there, a scheme for creating a new book finally took form. Sicily, a historical battlefield of Europe, North Africa and the East for control, is “the birthplace of Norman Gothic architecture” and “the point of junction between Byzantium and the West”. He was struck by the Norman architecture because its builders “united the freedom of the pointed arch of the Arab world with the rich symbolism of the East”. Adams was glad that he remotely inherited the blood of the Norman who had made such a marvelous synthesis and he was convinced that he himself also could “do it nicely, like an artist”.⁴

Throughout Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, Adams tries to picture the European Middle Ages as an on-going search for synthesis between the West and the East just like the Norman architecture in Sicily. Needless to say, the East in this situation does not include far Eastern countries like Japan which Adams actually visited nor central Asian regions like China and Tibet he had long wished to travel through. It refers to the Byzantine Empire and the Arabian world both of which inherited and preserved the Greek learning and philosophy while almost everything was forgotten in west Europe. Greek learning was passed through Byzantine to Syria and Islam,
where it was harmonized with Indian and Persian civilizations, and a high degree of development was achieved in science and poetry. However, the word East, in essence, is used or alluded to describe something more than that. It refers to something which goes against the Western civilization, particularly the correct Christian theology. It seems that, in some of the most crucial arguments in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, the words East and heretical are used interchangeably. The word East is a key to understanding the nearly 400-page travel book because it minutely shows how much unorthodoxy Mont-Saint-Michel, the Virgin of Chartres, Saint Francis, Chanson de Roland, and even Thomas Aquinas, contain. The synthesis between East and West was maintained throughout the Middle Ages. The Renaissance, therefore, marked a departure from this synthesis and the beginning of the rise of the commercial world Adams detested.\(^5\)

2 The Virgin of Chartres

Almost all the criticism about *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* points out affinity between the Virgin and Eastern Goddesses, particularly Kwannon, a Buddhist goddess symbolizing compassion. Adams had been already familiar with Kwannon through his visit to Japan with John La Farge. La Farge writes in his book *An Artist’s Letters from Japan* that he was impressed by the image of Kwannon which was ubiquitous in Japan. He also writes that in the Buddhist doctrines, compassion is the first of all virtues. Adams keenly felt that compassion is the dominating character of the Virgin. According to Adams, “The convulsive hold which Mary to this day maintained over human imagination...was due to her sympathy with people who suffered...” “Everyone...(except saints)...was criminal, and men differed so little in degree of sin that, in Mary’s eyes, all were subjects to her pity and help.” “Her chief joy was to pardon; her eternal instinct was to love; her deepest passion was pity!”\(^6\) Adams repeatedly emphasizes the Eastern origins of the Virgin of Chartres. Adams writes that the exaltation of Mary started at Byzantine with Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, who was originally from Asia Minor. “Virgin was the patron saint of Constantinople and the Imperial residence.... She was the chief favorite of the
Eastern empire, and her picture was carried at the head of every procession and hung on the wall of every hut and hovel, as it is still wherever the Greek church goes.” The Virgin’s headdress and ornaments were borrowed from the costume of the Empress of the East. It is no wonder that the Virgin has the peculiar Eastern atmosphere. Adams also finds that among the Virgins of Chartres represented in glass are Eastern looking faces. But they are not pure Eastern empresses, continues Adams. While preserving their Oriental dignity, the French artists gallicized them and made up “a poetic French ideal” which Adams thinks surpasses the Byzantine original.7

Adams is particularly conscious about the synthesis between East and West when he faces the Virgins represented in the 12th-century colored glass of Chartres. According to Adams, the critics of the later centuries deprecated them because they are “too refined, too brilliant, too jewel-like for the size of the cathedral”. Adams senses that the use of color came from Asia, probably through the junction points of East and West such as Monreale on Sicily or Venice. He argues that “these 12th-century windows break the French tradition. They had no antecedent, and no fit succession. All the authorities dwell on their exceptional character. One is sorely tempted to suspect that they were in some way accident; that such an art could not have sprung, in such a perfection, out of nothing, had it been really French; that it must have had its home elsewhere...in Italy...in Byzantium... or in Bagdad.” Adams also thinks that the 12th-century French glass is comparable to “any illuminated manuscript, Arab, Persian, or Byzantine,...Oriental rug, Chinese pattern on a Ming jar....”8

The 12th-century glass of Chartres seems to Adams a manifestation of the overwhelming appetite for novelty in the 12th-century France “that took ideas wherever it found them; from Germany, Italy, Spain, Constantinople, Palestine, or...ancient Greece.” It looks like a random absorption of everything from everywhere. Yet, it seems to suggest a certain intellectual flow from the East to the West. Adams cites Ernest Renan, a French historian and philologist, who regards the “intellectual commerce” between East and West as the most exceptional phenomenon of the Middle Ages. Renan writes in 1853 that “Such or such a work, composed in Morocco or Cairo, was known at Paris and at Cologne in less time than it would need in our days for a German book of capital importance to pass the Rhine.” Renan seems to have inspired Adams to
trace routes of the “intellectual commerce” which started from Alexandria or from Syria to Sicily and Spain. Adams reminds the reader of the fact that the 12th-century Europe devoured the books by such people as Avicenna, 10th to 11th-century Islamic philosopher and medical scientist from Central Asia and Averroes, also an Islamic philosopher and medical scientist from Spain, where Europeans and Arabians had resided long before Reconquista and therefore became one of the centers to translate Arabian literature into Latin afterwards.\(^9\)

Consequently, the Virgin that Adams depicts borders on heresy and even defiance of the correct Christian theology. Adams calls the Virgin “the eternal woman” that can be grouped together with the goddesses symbolizing fecundity and sex such as Astarte, Isis, Demeter and Aphrodite. Adams sees in the Virgin a female deity commonly found in early religions. The female goddess, probably of Druism, indigenous to Gauls, was transformed into the Virgin in Christianizing process.\(^10\)

The worship of the Virgin continued and even intensified among the ordinary people. Behind the popularity of the Virgin was the influence from the Citeau. But more than anything else the people were delighted to see the representations of the Virgin expressing human emotions such as love and lamentation. At Chartres are images of the Virgin so close to the human being in real life that they violate prevailing medieval conventions for depicting Mary. One of such representation is in the south aisle of the chancel, right above the Virgin of la Belle-Verriere, who is exposing her breasts to feed the Child. The Virgin also appears in the windows in the nave and the porch “lying in bed, in a stable, ... her baby in a cradle, by the bedside, as though she had suffered like other women, though the Church insisted she had not.”\(^11\)

Adams notices that many of the other windows at Chartres, particularly the best ones, represent personages and legends the Bible does not contain. In the chapter called “The Legendary Windows,” Adams discusses three windows: the window of Saint James the Major, “Chanson de Roland” and “the Prodigal Son.” All of these legends were quite popular in the 12th to 13th centuries and, to please the Virgin, the artists put them, instead of Saint Joseph, Saint John, or doctorinal lesson such as the New Alliance, in the windows in the best place in the church. As for Saint James, who is not contained in the Bible, Adams consults “Golden Legend”,

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more popular history than the Bible itself, written by Bishop James of Genoa around the 13th century. With the help of “Golden Legend”, Adams traces the story in the stained glass:

The story of Saint James begins in the lower panel, where he receives his mission from Christ. Above, on the right, he seems to be preaching. On the left appears a figure which tells the reason for the popularity of the story. It is Almogenes, or in the Latin, Hermogenes, a famous magician in great credit among the Pharisees, who has the command of demons, as you see, for behind his shoulder, standing, a little demon is perched, while he orders his pupil Filetus to convert James. Next, James is shown in discussion with a group of listeners. Filetus gives him a volume of false doctrine. Almogenes then further instructs Filetus. James is led away by a rope, curing a paralytic as he goes. He sends his cloak to Filetus to drive away the demon. Filetus receives the cloak, and sends two demons, with horns on their heads and clubs in their hands, to reason with James; who sends them back to remonstrate with Almogenes. The demons then bind Almogenes and bring him before James, who discusses differences with him until Almogenes burns his books of magic and prostrates himself before the Saint. Both are then brought before Herod, and Almogenes breaks a pretty heathen idol, while James goes to prison. A panel comes in here, out of place, showing Almogenes enchanting Filetus, and the demon entering into possession of him. Then Almogenes is seen being very roughly handled by a young Jew, while the bystanders seem to approve. James next makes Almogenes throw his books of magic into the sea; both are led off; and, at the top, God blesses the orb of the world.12

According to Adams, the proper Bible Dictionaries express embarrassment and shame about this story of Saint James the Major. Adams himself concludes that the story is not religious, but “a tale of magic told with the vivacity of a fabliau to amuse the Virgin and instruct people.” Adams also regards “Chanson de Roland” as “the least religious” and even “profane” because it has no place in the Bible.13

The window of “the Prodigal Son” in the north transept is said to be among the best works in
the church. Adams writes that “the Prodigal Son” seems to symbolize the young man like Abelard who came to Latin Quarter in Paris, and became interested in Aristotle, Realism or Nominalism which the Church had condemned, but later repented it and returned to his father. According to Adams, the story of the prodigal was immensely popular among the people just like the Saint James and “the Chanson de Roland” though both the Church and the Crown persecuted the disciples of Aristotle. The Virgin Mary, however, “showed no prejudice against prodigal sons, or even prodigal daughters,” “she was rather fond of prodigals, and gentle toward the ladies who consumed the prodigals’s substance...She fretted little about Aristotle.”

Adams further devotes one chapter to prove the Virgin’s dislike for conventions and well-regulated authorities. The chapter called “Les Miracles de Notre Dame” is full of legends of the Virgin of the Chartres who wielded illegitimate power for the ignorant, the good-for-nothing, and the helpless before justice and law. She stands “as a shield for the hapless sinner against the rigors of divine justice.”

It seems that Adams, by discussing the windows and the legends of the miracles of the Virgin, emphasizes that the Virgin is not only unconcerned about dogma but makes a protest against it. Adams argues that “the Virgin ... stands forth as the great myth which responded to the felt realities of existence, embodying man’s immemorial protest against usurpation, denial, restraint, against all stiflings and deprivations of nature.”

The passage above, cited in almost every criticism of Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, is interpreted as a cry against reason, logic and science (represented by the Church and authority) replacing intuition, spontaneity, emotion and love the Virgin represents. Indeed, the Virgin is equivalent to ancient goddesses symbolizing fertility. Her first virtue is compassion. She is the incarnation of the deepest human instincts. Her popularity came from her expressions of human emotions.

The Virgin is, on the other hand, never positioned against the followers of Aristotle or Greek philosophy. It was the Church that condemned them and people like Abelard as heretical. Until the 12th century the West European world knew virtually nothing about science or learning of any kind except simple Christian faith and theology. Greek science and philosophy disappeared in
the West and went into the orientalized Byzantine Empire and the Arabian world. In the 12th century when the West began to translate Greek and Arabian literature into Latin, they realized that what they were first encountering was not at all compatible with the doctrines of Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{18}

On the contrary, the Virgin was originally a Byzantine empress, inheritor and protector of Greek science and philosophy. She is seen in the tympanum of the right portal, in the west facade of Chartres, with Pythagoras, Aristotle, Cicero, Euclid, Nichomachus, Ptolemy, and Priscian, all testifying to the Virgin’s intellectual superiority. The seated Virgin surrounded by the heathen scholars in the facade of the church seems to symbolize the reconciliation of West and East, Christianity and natural science. The last word “nature” of the Adams’s famous passage, therefore, means not only human emotions and instincts but also natural science, as opposed to traditional Christian theology. The Virgin has many roots—Druism, Greece, Byzantium, and Christianity. The East and West are synthesized in her.\textsuperscript{19}

3 Saint Francis and Thomas Aquinas

Adams sees in Saint Francis the unity between East and West just as he does in the Virgin. Adams calls him “the nearest approach the Western world ever made to an Oriental incarnation of the divine essence.” But Saint Francis is a mystic, a total disbeliever in human reason. When Adams calls Saint Francis “Greek in his joy of life,” he is referring to Francis’s love for the natural world, not to natural science. Saint Francis’s love for nature is such that it is even described in \textit{Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres} as heresy, total disregard to orthodoxy, just like the Virgin is called heretical. Adams describes Francis’s poems as “the art of cave-dwellers and the age of stone” and his remark implies the close relation between Francis and the early nature worshipping religions. And Saint Francis’s heresy is regarded as the source of his immense popularity exactly the same way as the Virgin’s. After quoting Saint Francis’s sermon to the birds, Adams continues in proof of his heresy:
All were God's creatures, brothers and sisters, and God alone knew or knows whether or how far they understand each other; but Saint Francis, in any case, understood them and believed that they were in sympathy with him. As far as the birds or wolves were concerned, it was no great matter, but Francis did not stop with vertebrates or even with organic forms. “Nor was it surprising, ...if fire and other creatures sometimes revered and obeyed him; for, as we who were with him very frequently saw, he held them in such affection and so much delighted in them, and his soul was moved by such pity and compassion for them, that he would not see them roughly handled, and talked with them with such evident delight in them, as if they were rational beings”.

In making a comparison between Saint Francis and the Virgin in terms of their indifference to orthodoxy, Adams argues that Saint Francis is even more outspoken than the Virgin in insisting on “practices and ideas that no Church could possibly permit or avow.” Then Adams quotes another episode of Saint Francis when he had to have his face cauterized for neuralgic pain:

When the iron was put on the fire for making the cautery, Saint Francis, wishing to encourage himself against fear, spoke thus to the fire: “my brother, fire, noble and usefulest of creatures, be gentle to me now, because I have loved and will love you with the love of Him who created you. Our Creator, too, Who created us both, I implore so to temper your heat that I may have strength to bear it.” and having spoken, he signed the fire with the cross.

Adams describes the amazing inclusiveness of Saint Francis's love for everything from the sun and fire, air and water, sparrows, wolves to bandits and even the devils as “the simplest and most childlike form of pantheism” More amazing to Adams is that in Francis pantheism coexisted happily with love for God, which was, in Scholastic arguments, never realized and denounced as heresy.

Francis's heretical exultation of nature amounts to anarchy in his “Cantico del Sole” (“the
Chant of the Sun”) “Thank you, mi signore, for messor brother sun, in especial, who is your symbol; and for sister moon and the stars; and for brother wind and air and sky; and for sister water; and for brother fire; and for mother earth! We are all family! but we never heard of a Church. We are all varying forms of the same ultimate energy; shifting symbols of the same absolute unity; but our only unity, beneath you, is nature, not law! We thank you for no human institutions, even for those established in your name; but, fruits and coloured flowers!”\(^23\)

While Francis remained suspicious about human institutions all through his life, after his death, his friars founded a learned school system of their own under Francis’s name, and, along with the Dominican that produced Albertus Magnus and his student Thomas Aquinas, became one of the two important orders and dominated the schools of theology all over Europe.\(^24\)

Adams never uses the words East and Orient in discussing Thomas Aquinas in Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres. But general accounts either on philosophy, physical science, or theology of the European middle ages regard Thomas Aquinas as the highest genius to synthesize Christianity and Greek, Aristotelian, and Arabian philosophy and science. More precisely, as Adams writes, Thomas Aquinas “in his efforts to be logical... he forced his Deity to be logical as himself, which hardly suited Omnipotence. He hewed the Church dogmas into shape as though they were rough stones.” Thomas was therefore, during his life time and posthumously, accused of heresy.\(^25\)

Thomas studied at University of Naples. In Naples, the Emperor Friedrich II was familiarized with the Arabian civilization and in his court Islamic and Jewish scholars were welcomed as well as Latin scholars. Also, the Emperor encouraged study and translation of Aristotelian philosophy from Islam. He invited scholars from Toledo, Spain, the European base for translating Arabian literature into Latin. The commentaries by Islamic scholars such as Avicenna and Averroes were essential for Latin scholars to correctly understand Aristotelian philosophy and were closely read. Avicenna and Averroes who were also leading reconciliators between theology and Aristotelian philosophy exerted significant influence on Latin scholars. At University of Paris a school of Averroism was formed by Siger de Brabant, professor of arts and science. Thomas Aquinas, a professor of theology at University of Paris, refuted Averroism. But the way he refuted it is believed to have followed the manner of Arabian rationalism.
Contemporary scholars point out that Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* was influenced by Maimonides, Jewish scholar from Cordova of philosophy, theology, medical science and astronomy whose best known work deals with harmonizing Judaism and Aristotelian philosophy in the Islamic world.26

Probably absorbing the literature from the Islamic world, Thomas Aquinas united Christianity and Aristotelian philosophy in his own innovative way. "The famous junction, then, is made—that celebrated fusion of...God and nature." "The hive of Saint Thomas sheltered God and man, mind and matter, the universe and the atom, the one and the multiple, within the walls of an harmonious home."27

Thomas Aquinas was cannonized fifty years after his death by the efforts of the Dominican Order he belonged to. But his contemporary scholars including some of the Dominicans continued to look at him with suspicion and fear because they thought Thomas had accepted too much from the heathen scholars, leaving very little room for Christian faith. Adams writes that Thomas's doctrine of matter and form seems to naive minds "frank pantheism," and that "No greater heresy could be charged against the worst Arab or Jew...28

The twentieth-century criticism of *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* concludes that the tension between faith and reason in the Middle Ages was not resolved by Thomas Aquinas. They argue that Thomas Aquinas virtually kept "Faith and Reason open except as to origin and conclusions." His system was, therefore, successful as art but not as truth.29

Whether Thomas Aquinas's system was successful or not, it is undeniable that the medieval Europe's greatest genius created a new world view by responding to the intellectual challenge from the East. Thomas Aquinas and Renan, though five centuries apart and having different reasons and motivations, brought the East into their systems and created a foundation indispensable for the Western development. Thomas's *Summa Theologica* is comparable to the Norman Gothic architecture like the cathedral of Chartres. It is the visible proof of the cultural exchanges going on among Greek, Arabian and Latin worlds in the Middle Ages which had a lasting influence on the West. The cultural exchanges involved the influx into the West of ideas incompatible with Christian theology and thus detrimental to the authoritative position of the
Church. The West first labeled it heresy and tried to suppress it. Natural science and Aristotelian philosophy from the East were the worst of all heresies. The words East and Orient, identified as heretical and anarchical, symbolize challenge or even threat to the West. Artistically speaking, the Church accepted the greatest heresy along with other minor ones within and from outside. Both the Virgin of Chartres, an Oriental Goddess as well as a Byzantine empress, and Saint Francis, pantheistic almost to the level of an anarchist, encompass the East and West just as Thomas Aquinas does.

4 Conclusion

The late nineteenth-century Western cultural interest in the East has been most often described as curiosity and exoticism which connote transiency and even superficiality. Under such vague, elusive sentiments, however, is evident an undercurrent of dissatisfaction or criticism toward its own civilization is running through almost the entire Western intellectual history. Traditionally, the East was regarded as the extreme opposite of the West. To the Western intellectual eyes, the East was the symbol of uncorruptability and natural goodness while the West seemed to be morally, socially and psychologically deteriorating. It was natural that the idealization of the East intensified in proportion to the rapidity and intensity of the social changes in the Western world and to the powerlessness people felt about the emergence of a society hitherto unknown to them. The late nineteenth century when the East was diplomatically opened and became accessible to the West coincided with the advent of a secularized, industrialized, bureaucratized society in the West.

The East, however, was not merely a subject of discussion through which the West could vent dissatisfaction about its own civilization. Nor did it mean only a temporal flight from the busy, stressful Western world. The Western self-criticism through the East involved doubts and disbeliefs on the system of thoughts upon which the authoritative powers or views rested. The major breakthroughs in the Western ways of interpreting the world were made in its efforts to bring in different systems of thought from outside as well as from within.
Henry Adams’s way of viewing the East was shaped by such an intellectual tradition. The aim of his voyages to the East was a search for a cultural system with which he could raise fundamental questions on his own. In *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, Adams depicts the Western European world being questioned by the skepticism which was an important outgrowth of the contact with the East. The West responded to it in quite an imaginative way, and according to Adams, the West reached the highest point, morally and culturally, in its history. He focuses on the reconciliation between Aristotelianism or natural science from the East and the traditional Western theology which is epitomized in the cathedral of Chartres and *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas. By doing so, Adams critically looks at the succeeding centuries up to the late nineteenth during which science and religion were divorced. He contrasts it with the Middle Ages when perilous balance was hit between divine providence and nature, belief and reason, determinism and human free will.

**Notes**


3 Ibid., 296, 306.

4 Ibid., 334.


7 Ibid., 74, 75, 91-92, 135.

8 Ibid., 131, 137, 139.
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9 Ibid., 139, 140-41; Ito, Renaissance, 40, 45, 78-81.

10 Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 198; Mitsuhiko Kuroe, Furansu Chusei Bijutsuno Tabi (Journeys through French Medieval Arts) (Shincho Sensho) 21.

11 Ibid., 25, 26; Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 176; Mitsuhiko Kuroe, “Goshikku Bijutu to wa” (What is Gothic Art), New History of World Art, vol.9 (shogakukan, 1995).

12 Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 167-68.

13 Ibid., 167-68.

14 Ibid., 174-176.

15 Ibid., 251-84.

16 Samuels, Henry Adams, 357.

17 Mane, Road to Chartres, 208-9.

18 Ito, Renaissance, 13.

19 Ibid., 92-94; Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 73.

20 Ibid., 12, 340; Blackmur, Henry Adams, 219.

21 Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 341.

22 Ibid., 300, 344.

23 Ibid., 345.


25 Ito, Renaissance, 106-7; Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 363.

26 Ito, Renaissance, 107-8; Yoshihiro Inagaki, Thomas Aquinas, (Kodansha, 1979), 80-81.

27 Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, 350, 360.

28 Ibid., 362.