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HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF REIMS CATHEDRAL, 1210-1241

By ROBERT BRANNER

THE cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims ranks among the largest and most imposing monuments of the Middle Ages. In view of the number of studies devoted to this Gothic church, it is astonishing to note that the early history of its construction is still very imperfectly known.¹ Most students of Reims have been preoccupied by the famous lost labyrinth, which once contained the names of the first architects, their tenures of office, and the parts of the edifice they worked on. But the information now available from the labyrinth, far from clarifying the dates of the work, has obscured them and has in fact given rise to more interpretations than there are authors.² The way out of the impasse seems obvious: the history of the Gothic construction should be examined exclusively from documents other than the labyrinth; the relative chronology of the monument must also be established and tied to the historical dates, and ultimately the secret of the labyrinth may be disclosed.³ The first of these endeavors forms the subject of the present essay.

There are only three precise and indisputable dates for the Gothic work at Reims in the first half of the thirteenth century. On 6 May 1210 the cathedral burned "through carelessness," according to the chronicler Albéric des Trois-Fontaines.⁴ A new building was undertaken at once and on 6 May 1211 the first

¹ Most recently, see Teresa G. Frisch, "The Twelve Choir Statues of the Cathedral at Reims," *Art Bulletin*, XLII (1960), 1-24, with bibliography. The following abbreviations are used here: *Ann. Sci. Nic.*: *Annales Sancti Nicasii*, ed. G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, XIII (Hanover, 1881), 84-87; *Cerf*: Ch. Cerf, *Histoire et description de Notre-Dame de Reims*, 2 vols. (Reims, 1861); *Marlot*, *Histoire*: G. Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, 4 vols. (Reims, 1843-46); *Marlot*, *Metrop.*: G. Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis historia*, I (Lille, 1666); II (Reims, 1679); *RHG*: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle; *Varin*, *Adm.*, followed by volume and page: P. Varin, *Archives administratives de la ville de Reims*, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Collection of documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de France, série 1: histoire politique, 3 vols. in 5 (Paris, 1839-48); *Varin*, *Lég.*, followed by volume and page: P. Varin, *Archives législatives de la ville de Reims* (*idem*), 2 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1840-52). I am indebted to Professor John H. Mundy of Columbia University for suggestions and comments.

² The bibliography can be traced from E. Lambert, "Le labyrinthe de la cathédrale de Reims: Nouvel essai d'interprétation," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 6, LI (1958), 273-280, and M.-L. Wyffels-Simoens, "Note sur le labyrinthe de la cathédrale de Reims," *ibid.*, XLIX (1957), 337-340. The fundamental study is L. Demaison, "Les architectes de la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1894), 1-40.

³ Serious consideration of the relative chronology of the architecture has been made only in abbreviated form, for instance by M. Aubert, "Les campagnes de construction de la cathédrale de Reims," *Comptes-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1943), 203-209, and A. Saint-Paul, "La cathédrale de Reims au XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, LXX (1906), 288-328. The admirable studies by H. Deneux, while extremely precise, do not bring out the general stages of the work ("Des modifications apportées à la cathédrale de Reims . . .," *ibid.*, CVI [1948], 121-140, and CVII [1949], 125-142.

⁴ "Ecclesia beatae Mariae Remensis major et mater caeterarum hujus provinciae, cum majori parte civitatis, hoc anno in vigilia sancti Domitiani combusta est per negligentiam," *RHG*, XVII,

wall above ground was begun.⁵ Finally, on 7 September 1241, the chapter was installed in the completed chevet.⁶ But the tempo of construction from 1210 to 1241 was uneven. Albéric noted that work was actively pursued for twenty years, a reference in round numbers to the period preceding the civil disturbances

777; the chronicle of Elno has “inopinato incendio” (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, v, 16). Most other chronicles concur on the day, e.g., that of Liège (*RHG*, xviii, 621) and that of Laon (*ibid.*, 714); for the difference in date, see L. Demaison, “Notice historique sur la cathédrale de Reims,” *Album de la cathédrale de Reims*, 1 (Reims, 1899), 4. 1210 is generally accepted at the present time. The *Ann. Sci. Nic.*, otherwise most reliable, seem to err in placing the solar eclipse in 1210, since it was visible at Reims on 23 February 1207 (J. F. W. Schroeter, *Spezieller Kanon der zentralen Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse* [Christiana, 1923]).

⁵ “Eodem die, anno revoluto, parietes de novo super fundamenta magnae profunditatis et latitudinis coeperunt institui ex parte domini archiepiscopi,” *Ann. Sci. Nic.* The last phrase probably means “on the south,” where the archiepiscopal palace was situated, and this is confirmed by the earlier character of the outer collateral and radiating chapels there. Cf. “ex parte domus archiepiscopalis,” from a 1232 charter at Bourges, where the palace also lay to the south of the cathedral (Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1274, f. 2a, and R. Branner, “Quelques dates pour servir à l’histoire de la construction de la cathédrale de Reims [1200–41],” *Mémoires de la société d’agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts de la Marne*, LXXV [1960], 78–81). This interpretation rules out the traditional one, according to which the same phrase means a foundation ceremony at which the archbishop presided; the phrase in fact lacks the clarity of another one from the same annals, recording the foundation ceremony at the abbey of St-Nicaise in 1231 (see note 44). The inscription on the 1571 Pascal candle of the cathedral, also commemorating the 1211 ceremony, is not reliable, since its author seems to have used the *Ann. Sci. Nic.* and perhaps Albéric’s chronicle, where, however, the archbishop is not mentioned (H. Jadart-L. Demaison, “Les inscriptions commémoratives de la construction d’églises dans la région rémoise et ardennaise,” *Bulletin monumental*, LXIII (1898), 192–194, esp. 193, note 2). If the archbishop did not preside, then one group of interpretations of the labyrinth, according to which the central figure was Aubri de Humbert, is incorrect. The choice of the day of the fire for the start of the new work above ground seems, however, to have had a symbolic significance and may mark a ceremony of sorts. As at the present time, this generally postdated the real start of construction, which opened with the foundations (cf. K. J. Conant, “The Third Church at Cluny,” *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. Kingsley Porter*, II [Cambridge, Mass., 1939], 327–357, esp. 328). The incomplete, undated and now lost inscription on the exterior of the chevet probably referred to the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, the northwest radiating chapel, rather than to the Gothic work as a whole or to one of the architects (L. Demaison, “Les maîtres de l’oeuvre de la cathédrale de Reims,” *Congrès archéologique*, LXXVIII, Part 2 [1911], 151–168, esp. 168).

⁶ “Hoc anno in vigilia nativitatis B. M. V. intravit capitulum Remense chorum suum novum,” *Ann. Sci. Nic.* During the reconstruction the liturgical sanctuary and choir seem to have been temporarily moved to the old Carolingian and Romanesque nave, which was probably refurbished for this purpose. For the first seven and a half months, the displacement probably did not disturb the chapter unduly, since the cathedral was under interdict and mass was said *submissa voce* (until 24 December 1210: *Ann. Sci. Nic.*). Provisional choirs were normal during a building campaign, although they are rarely, if ever, so named in the documents. At Reims the chapter ordered penitence performed “in navi ecclesie ante crucifixum” before 25 December 1228 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 543–544), a definite reference to the nave (probably the old rather than the new one, since the latter was insufficiently advanced as a whole to be used). Earlier, in 1216–17, the chapter ordered the reliquaries of the cathedral, which were probably on a stand behind the high altar, to be placed on the pavement in sympathy with the chapter of Laon, a *confrère* since 1206, where Enguerrand de Coucy had just profaned the church (Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 544 and 783–784); this could only have been a provisional sanctuary and it could hardly have been located in those portions of the edifice that were under construction. This in turn suggests that the old nave had been divided into normal ceremonial parts (sanctuary, choir, and nave) pending the completion of the Gothic church. This is supported by the

of 1233–1236 which effectively interrupted the work.⁷ And the pattern of financing the Gothic monument reveals that the year 1220 was also a significant one in the history of the construction.

The cathedral of Reims belonged to the archbishop and chapter, and it was their responsibility to pay for the new work. In the early thirteenth century prelates generally acted in concert with the canons as a sort of “president of the corporation,” at least in the initial stages of work.⁸ At Auxerre, for instance, where Bishop Guillaume de Seignelay himself formed the project of rebuilding the cathedral about 1215, he not only made donations to the work but also contributed the revenue of the episcopal courts; and his successor, Henri de Villeneuve, left it 1,000 £.⁹ At Beauvais Bishop Robert de Cressonsac (1237–1248?) left 1,000 £ Tur. to the fabric there and 100 £ Par. to the Virgin chapel, the latter a rather large sum, since the architecture of this part of the edifice was already complete.¹⁰ At Reims, however, the archbishops apparently played a very small rôle in financing the reconstruction. The archiepiscopal income may have neared 6,000 £ a year early in the century,¹¹ but the direct participation

presence of the great crucifix there in 1228. If the phrase, “contiguum exterius choro,” was in fact part of the *ordo* of the coronation of Louis VIII in 1223, the hypothesis may still stand, for the dais on which the king and nobles sat would have been located between the *liturgical* choir and nave, not necessarily the architectural one (see Demaison, “Notice” [1899], 6–7; U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l’abbaye de St.-Remy*, Bibliothèque liturgique, 7 [Paris, 1900], pp. 222–223, and P. E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, 1 [Weimar, 1939], 4). It is probable, however, that the coronations of both Louis VIII and Louis IX took place in the old nave. With respect to Cerf’s assumption of a dedication of the edifice in 1213 or 1215 (I, 39 and 576–577), see Demaison, *loc. cit.* and Chevalier, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii. The first date is based either on a text given by Antoine Colard in the sixteenth century, or on one cited by Pierre Cocquault, a canon who died in 1645, the latter recording the dedication of the church of Ste-Balsamie at Reims by Archbishop Aubri de Humbert but not mentioning that he also dedicated the cathedral; the 1215 date is taken from *Gallia christiana*, ix, c. 104 (see also Cerf, “Les dates de la construction de la cathédrale de Reims,” *Bulletin archéologique* [1885], 226–247, esp. 242). Cerf also contends that an office was celebrated in the new work on 8 September, 1232 (I, 41); while this was possible, it seems more likely to be the result of a multiple confusion: (1) of the day of the canons’ installation in 1241, overlooking the fact that it was the vigil of the Nativity of the Virgin, and (2) of the year, interpreting Albéric literally according to a sentence in the *Gallia christiana* and starting with 1212 instead of 1210 (see also Cerf, “Les dates”, p. 227).

⁷ “... cum industria maxima per annos viginti mirabili opere restauratur,” from Albéric’s chronicle (*RHG*, xviii, 777). The connection with the riots of 1233 was noted by Saint-Paul, “La cathédrale de Reims,” p. 300, and Demaison, “Notice” p. 6.

⁸ See Charles Seymour, Jr, *Notre-Dame of Noyon*, (New Haven, 1939), p. 21, n. 132, and Saint-Paul, “La cathédrale de Reims” p. 291.

⁹ *Gesta pontificum Altissiodorensium*, ed. L.-H. Duru, Bibliothèque historique de l’Yonne, 1 (Auxerre-Paris, 1850). 474–486. The giving of money from the courts was not unusual; cf. the same at Bourges in 1195 (L. Raynal, *Histoire de Berry*, II [Bourges, 1844], 559–560).

¹⁰ *Gallia christiana*, ix, c. 744, to be corrected by P. Louvet, *Histoire . . . de Beauvaisis*, II (Beauvais, 1635), 392, where the two gifts are distinguished.

¹¹ This figure is based on a net income of about 2,000 £ for the eighteen-week period when the see was vacant and the king held the regalia, in 1202–1203 (F. Lot, *Le premier budget de la monarchie française*, Bibliothèque de l’école des hautes-études, Science historiques et philologiques, 259 [Paris, 1932], p. 187 and *passim*). At this time the gross income (regalia and taxes only) was 2,262 £ 13 s. 8 d. Par., and the expenses 208 £ Par., giving an average of about 112 £ Par. income per week.

of the prelates in the work seems to have been limited to a small gift of land,¹² to the foundation of two chaplaincies,¹³ and to official acts requiring their seal.¹⁴ In addition, Archbishop Henri de Braine probably offered two stained-glass windows to the building.¹⁵

The burden of paying for the Gothic cathedral seems therefore to have fallen on the chapter, which employed several of the numerous contemporary methods of raising building funds.¹⁶ In the early thirteenth century this institution could look back on a long tradition of independence from the archbishop. It possessed

¹² “... ad ampliandam ecclesiam nostram et cultum ejusdem et ad opus cimiterii dedit nobis magnam partem domus sue,” from the necrological notice of Aubri de Humbert (died 18 December 1218) in Varin, *Adm.*, I, 508–509. The area in question was probably in part that now covered by the extremity of the south transept and the southeastern portion of the chevet. If the capitular cemetery were in fact adjacent to the old chevet, more land would have been needed when the larger Gothic chevet was laid out (see the folding plan in H. Deneux, *Dix ans de fouilles dans la cathédrale de Reims, 1919–1930* [Reims, 1944]). The site of the cemetery might explain the presence of the tomb of Master Adam, the architect, discovered in 1642 along the exterior of one of the southern chapels, without the implication that he had something to do with the construction of the Gothic chevet (as Demaison in *Bulletin archéologique* [1898], 40–48).

¹³ In 1238 Henri de Braine founded two *chapelles*, the locations of which are unfortunately unknown (Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 593, n. 2). It is significant that no cash gifts are recorded as having been given to the work by Aubry (d. 1218), Guillaume (d. 1228) or Henri (d. 1240); cf. especially the necrological notices of Guillaume in *Gallia Christiana*, IX, c. 108; he left 200 £ to the hospital and 350 £ to the church *pro anniversario*, the latter to be construed as a gift to the work only “in return for” memorial services. Despite Henri’s relation to an art-loving family, there is little evidence to support the suggestion that he “took an active interest in the building enterprise” (Frisch, “Twelve Choir Statues,” p. 5).

¹⁴ Such as the letters authorizing quests for building funds. See notes 36 and 37.

¹⁵ The archbishop was represented twice in the stained-glass windows, once in the axial window of the clearstory of the chevet (L. Demaison in *Congrès archéologique*, LXXVII, Part 2 [1911], 21, 47) and again on the west side of the south transept (L. Demaison, *La cathédrale de Reims* [3d ed., Paris, 1954], p. 62), the latter probably a rejected design for the chevet (H. Deneux, “Des modifications,” p. 139). L. Grodecki confirms that these were two projects, since the axial window resembles those in the choir bays from the point of view of style and technique, and since the south transept window resembles the other windows in the hemicycle (*Le vitrail français* [Paris, 1958], 140–143). The name ANRICUS can be read in the present axial window. The general program of the chevet clearstory comprised representations of all the sees of the province, each accompanied by two Apostles (by Saints Barnabas, Mathias, Luke, and Mark in the central bays of the choir), with the Crucifixion and the Virgin and Child accompanying the archbishop. There is a strong possibility that the order was taken directly from the order of precedence established for provincial synods at the council of St-Quentin in 1231 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 548 ff.; there is some evidence that Soissons was always the first suffragan, however, since it was he who crowned Louis IX). If this were the source, Cambrai, who sat opposite Reims at table, would have had to be fitted into a lateral position in the window. The order of the lateral windows, especially on the north, may have been disturbed when the second project was executed (cf. Ch. Cahier-A. Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, I [Paris, 1841], plates following 190; V. Tourneur, *Histoire et description des vitraux et des statues de l’intérieur de la cathédrale de Reims* [Reims, 1857]).

¹⁶ C. R. Cheney, “Church-building in the Middle Ages,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXIV (1951–1952), 20–36; O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (New York, 1956), pp. 170 ff.; R. Branner, review of P. du Colombier, *Les chantiers des cathédrales*, in *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII (1955), 61–65. See also L. F. Salzman, *Building in England* (Oxford, 1952).

its own revenues from the ninth century on, separate housing,¹⁷ justice and taxes in specific portions of the city and faubourgs,¹⁸ and a vast array of parishes and other properties in the diocese.¹⁹ The chapter also controlled or had interests in a number of fulling mills which, in view of the important cloth industry at Reims, may have provided a not inconsiderable income.²⁰ There were seventy-two prebended canons, nominally headed by the provost but generally presided

¹⁷ The capitular *mensa* had been separated from the archbishop's before 840, and the cloister is mentioned in 817 (F. Vercauteren, *Etude sur les civitates de la Belge seconde* [Mémoires in oct. de l'académie royale de la Belgique, Classes des lettres et sciences morales et politiques,] ser. 2, XXXIII [1934], esp. 35–105; Varin, *Adm.*, I, 74, note). On the immunity of the cloister, perhaps accorded in the tenth century, see *ibid.*, p. 72, n. 2; it was restated about 1068 (*ibid.*, pp. 223 ff.).

¹⁸ See Varin, *Adm.*, I, 77 ff., notes citing Bidet, and G. Boussinesque-G. Laurent, *Histoire de Reims*, I (Reims, 1933), map, 384, with the bans probably taken from the Colin plan of 1665 (*ibid.*, II, 56–57).

¹⁹ A. Longnon, *Pouillés de la province de Reims* (Recueil des historiens de la France: Pouillés), VI, Part 1 (Paris, 1908), iii–xvii and 1–76.

²⁰ One of the earliest mentions of mills used for cloth-making at Reims is contained in a charter written under Abbot Eudes of St-Remi (1118–1151): “. . . si alium (sc. molendinum) juxta tudentem pannos quem vulgo baterez vocant . . .” (Varin, *Lég.*, II, 170–171, note); another, of about 1141, reads: “. . . pro . . . Hugone debent distribui LX s. qui accipiuntur in molendinis foleres quos reddunt misse . . .” (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 303). The mills were located along the Vesle River, and the specific areas mentioned suggest that some of those referred to in texts of 1067, 1109 and about 1127 may also have been fulling mills (*ibid.*, pp. 221–223, 223–229, 258–260, 281). Of these, the chapter received four by the testament of Archbishop Gervais in 1067 and an eighth interest in another about 1127; some were sold to St-Remi in 1215 (see note 35). In 1195, Archbishop Guillaume gave the chapter a fulling mill in exchange for 10 £ of tonlieu at Cormicy (*ibid.*, p. 426–447, and Delaborde, *Petit-Dutaillis* and Monicat, *Recueil des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, II [Paris, 1943], 22–23). For the Roman industry at Reims, see Ch. Lorient, “Reims pendant la domination romaine,” *Travaux de l'académie de Reims*, xxx (1858–1859), 46–340; Ch. Coyon, “Notes sur le filage et le tissage dans l'antiquité d'après des découvertes faites à Reims,” *ibid.*, cxiii (1902–1903), 187–202, and F. W. Walbank in *Cambridge Economic History*, II (Cambridge, 1952), 71; the name of the hamlet of Tinqueux (Tendente Cauda), to the west of the city and across the Vesle, may be a survival of this early cloth industry. In the Middle Ages Reims probably ranked first among the producers of linen in Champagne; some woollens were also made there in the twelfth century, but production in quantity, as well as in variety, seems to have been begun only in the thirteenth century. The standard, if outdated, study is L. Demaison, “Documents sur les draperies de Reims au moyen âge,” *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, LXXXIX (1928), 5–39; see also F. Bourquelot, *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne*, Mémoires présentés . . . à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, ser. 2, v (Paris, 1865), *passim*; R. L. Reynolds, “The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa, 1179–1200,” *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, VIII (1929), 831–851, esp. 844, 846 and table; H. Laurent, “Nouvelles recherches sur la hanse des XVII villes,” *Le moyen âge*, ser. 3, VI (1935), 81–94; E. Chapin, *Les villes des foires de Champagne*, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes-études. Sciences historiques et philologiques, 268 (Paris, 1937), p. 116. Reims cloth is also mentioned in A. Evans, ed., *F. B. Pegolotti: La practica della mercatura* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 124 and 228; *RHG*, xvi, 510 (1165); A. Teulet, *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. de Laborde, Archives de l'Empire: Inventaire et documents, I (Paris, 1863), 155, no. 361 (before 1189); and E. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland* (Munich, 1955 ff.), nos. 3299 and 6546. There does not, however, seem to be enough detailed information available to support or to contest R. S. Lopez' suggestion that a rising local industry may have been set back by the construction of an enormous monument (“Économie et architecture médiévales. Cela aurait-il tué ceci ?” *Annales: Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations*, VII [1952], 433–438).

over by the dean or cantor.²¹ It is unfortunately all but impossible to form any just idea of the canons' individual or collective incomes in 1210, since the oldest *pouillé* dates only from the fourteenth century, when values had changed considerably. A similar change is implied by the redistribution of prebends which the chapter undertook in 1249, "volentes quod cultores equaliter premientur."²²

Although none are recorded in the first half of the century, oblations were certainly made to the work and it is possible that at first they may have defrayed a significant percentage of the cost.²³ On the other hand, it is likely that the chapter did not rely entirely on such an unpredictable source but at first undertook to pay the major expenditures from its own pocket. While no document to this effect has survived, the chapter sometimes fulfilled pressing and unforeseen demands from regular income, e.g., when the archbishop requested it to help defray the cost of the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1180.²⁴ The procedure of assigning portions of regular income to a construction was rather common. At Chartres, for example, the chapter agreed with the bishop, after the fire of 1194, to give a "not inconsiderable part" of their several incomes to the work for a period of three years.²⁵ More significant was the decision taken at Beauvais, after the fire of 1225, when the chapter and bishop committed themselves to give one tenth of their revenue each year, for a period as long as ten years, to rebuild the cathedral.²⁶ This sliding time-limit seems to have been an attempt to provide security for as large a part of the work as possible;²⁷ and

²¹ Longnon, *Pouillés*, pp. 4–6; cf. Varin, *Lég.*, II, 43, note. The *ancienne congrégation* of thirty-nine chaplains and four coulters is said to have been established in 1220 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, ccxvi).

²² Longnon, *Pouillés*, pp. 3–4.

²³ The oblations made to the cathedral of Canterbury are generally cited as an example. Between 1198 and 1213 they averaged 426 £ 3 s. 7 d. a year, but they may not have been typical, for Becket was a popular saint who had been martyred on the very spot within the memory of many of the people contributing to the various altars of the cathedral. This is indicated by the fact that the sums left at the tomb, and, after the translation of 1220, at the shrine, accounted for between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total offerings. See L. E. Woodruff, "The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIV (1932), 13–22.

²⁴ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 384. F. Duchesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance . . .* (Paris, 1660), where the texts are said to be cited in II, 134 and 137, has not been available to me.

²⁵ *Miracula B. Mariae Virginis*, ed. A. Thomas, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XLII (1881), 509, and Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, p. 162.

²⁶ *Gallia christiana*, x, *Instrumenta*, cc. 264–265, from Louvet, *Histoire*, II, 363–365. Part of the charter seems to have been miscopied or misprinted. In addition to the personal commitments of the bishop and chapter, the work was to receive all the annual income (*annualia*) from vacated parish churches, all the *succursus* of parishes in the diocese, both for the same term, and proceeds from the sale of woods, with certain reservations. The charter is dated 2 November 1225, and the confirmation of the papal legate was obtained on 11 November 1225. The traditional dates of 1227 and/or 1247 for the start of work at Beauvais therefore seem incorrect and are probably the results of modern miscalculations and misprints. There were fifty capitular prebends at Beauvais (Louvet, I [Beauvais, 1631], 45–46).

²⁷ The three-year term was not unusual, although the form of the commitment varied. At Speyer, all vacated prebends were directed toward the work in 1220 for three years (Mone, "Über die Domfabrik zu Speier," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, v [1836], cc. 92–93), while St Gereon in Cologne profited from prebends vacated in the three years following 1219 for two years each (L.

since Bishop Milo de Nanteuil had been the provost of Reims from 1201 to 1217,²⁸ it is likely that the arrangement was the result of a firsthand knowledge of the problems to which the reconstruction had given rise in the metropolitan see. Most probably such an arrangement at Reims was very short-lived, however. Once more Chartres serves as an example, for in 1197, according to the author of the *Miracula* of the Virgin, “transacto eodem triennio, omnibus manifestum apparuit, cum omnis subito pecunia defecisset, ita ut qui preerant operi quod daretur operariis non haberent, aut quid dari posset de cetero non viderant,”²⁹ that is, the chapter of Chartres was no longer willing to forego the enjoyment of its full revenues, and other measures became necessary to continue the work. At Reims such “other measures” were first taken in 1213, just three years after the reconstruction began, and this may mark the moment when the chapter first saw the necessity of seeking help from outside sources.³⁰

In 1213 the cranium of Saint Nicasius, one of the most important relics in the cathedral, was translated to a new shrine.³¹ This refers, not to a dedication, as has sometimes been assumed, but to a public ceremony intended to elicit donations from the faithful and particularly the wealthy.³² Two years later, in 1215, a dispute arose between the treasurer and the chapter concerning, among other things, the disposition of oblations, alms and *capitagia* given in the church,

Ennen and G. Eckertz, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, II [Cologne, 1863], 77–78). Confraternities were organized at Winchester in 1202 for five years, and at Worcester in 1225 for seven (R. Graham, “An Appeal about 1175 for the Building Fund of St. Paul’s Cathedral Church,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ser. 3, x [1945–1947], 73–76).

²⁸ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 448. As his predecessor, Baudouin II, is last mentioned in 1197 (Varin, *Lég.*, II, 171, note), he may have been provost from that year on. Between 1202 and 1204, he was elected to the see of Reims but rejected as being too young through the machinations of Archdeacon Thibault de la Perche (cf. the Laon chronicle in *RHG*, XVIII, 712–713 and *Gallia christiana*, IX, c. 740). He was still in office in 1217 when elected to the see of Beauvais (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 504).

²⁹ *Miracula*, loc. cit., 511.

³⁰ Cf. Troyes, for instance, where a first indulgence was sought in 1213, five years after work began, and a second one two years later. See R. Branner, “Les débuts de la cathédrale de Troyes,” *Bulletin monumental*, CXVIII (1960), 111–122.

³¹ The act was recorded in a charter found in the reliquary by Archbishop Robert de Courtenay when he translated the relic again in 1307 (Marlot, *Metrop.*, I, 627–628). The second translation must not be confused with one performed in 1310 for the relics kept in the abbey of St-Nicaise (Marlot, *Histoire*, I, 603–607 and III, 159).

³² Cf. Seymour, *Noyon*, pp. 47–48, for similar translations in the twelfth century, to which should be added that of 1176 at Larchant, unquestionably inaugurating the campaign on the chevet there (Anon., *St-Mathurin de Larchant* [Larchant, 1957], p. 11). In the thirteenth century translations often served the same purpose, e.g., at Nogent-les-Vierges (Oise), where the ceremony of 1241 seems to have inspired Louis IX to pay for reconstruction of the choir (Abbé Delettre, *Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais*, II [Beauvais, 1843], 295–296 and note), and probably also at the abbey of St-Thierry near Reims, where the relics were translated in 1233, six years after the start of the Gothic work (H. Bertrand, “Abbaye de St-Thierry,” *Annuaire-bulletin de la société des amis du vieux Reims* [1929–1930], pp. 89–94). Other unspecified relics are said to have been given to the cathedral of Reims by Milo de Nanteuil, but their exact nature and the date of the donation are obscure (Varin, *Lég.*, II, 91, note); a fragment of Saint Andrew’s cross was acquired in 1212 (Marlot, *Metrop.*, II, 477, and de Riant, “Des dépouilles enlevées à Constantinople . . .,” *Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, ser. 4, VI [1875], 196–197).

which were undoubtedly supposed to go to the fabric agency.³³ The chapter took the opportunity to separate the treasurer's *mensa* from its own, entrusting the administration of the temporal to the sub-treasurer,³⁴ and its intention seems to have been to tighten control over income received. In the same year the chapter sold its interest in a group of mills at Reims to the abbey of St-Remi for 250 £ Rem. and a yearly fee, and both institutions also agreed not to erect any more mills along a considerable stretch of the Vesle River that runs along the western edge of the city.³⁵ Such an agreement was most likely motivated by the chapter's desire to avoid the uncertain rewards or obligations of enterprise.

The need for money within three to five years of the opening of the workshop was not unusual and tells us only that work was proceeding apace. But a series of charters from the early 1220's provides evidence of a quite different order. On 19 April 1221 an indulgence of twenty days was granted to those contributing to the work.³⁶ The measure does not seem to have been very successful, for in the next year the chapter sent questors into the suffragan dioceses with letters

³³ The fabric agency existed at least as early as about 1176 at Reims, when it was called the *opus*, as in most other places at that time (Varin, *Lég.*, II, 91, note; for the date, cf. Varin, *Adm.*, I, 380, and *Gallia Christiana*, IX, c. 172). It received donations in cash and in kind in the late thirteenth century (Varin, *loc. cit.*, 1000 and 1018), when it was called the *fabrica*. The change in terms seems to have occurred early in the century, as elsewhere in northern France. The fabric normally functioned as the agency charged with the upkeep of the building and its furnishings (see M. Clément, "Recherches sur les paroisses et les fabriques au commencement du XIII^e siècle d'après les registres des papes," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xv [1895], 387–418), as is indicated by the *capellanus fabricae*, in charge of the treasury of jewels (fourteenth century: Varin, *Lég.*, II, 74–75) and by the oath taken by the subcustodian before the *magistri fabricae* (fifteenth century: *ibid.*, pp. 23–24). The latter text shows that the masters of the fabric at Reims were administrators and not architects, who were called *magistri operis*, as can be seen in the numerous documents from this and earlier periods. The 1215 charter (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 495–498; it was apparently confirmed in 1220), although it does not specifically mention the fabric agency, nonetheless enumerates its functions. These were the cost and care of lights and candles, decoration and "reparatio" to the church, and the provision and service of parish candles lit therein. The agency is distinctly named in the same capacities in 1325, particularly as the receiver of oblations ("... fabricae, ad quam omnes oblationes que fiunt et offerentur in ecclesia, ubicumque, pertinent et pertinere debent . . .," *ibid.*, II, 411, xvii). The responsibility of this agency toward the reconstruction is evident from two slightly later documents: in 1246, "... questores . . . pro eadem fabrica destinatos . . ." (*ibid.*, I, 674), referring to the quest for new building funds, and in 1265, "... questores fabricae remensis . . ." (*ibid.*, pp. 882–887), referring to general regulations on such quests. The 1215 charter obviously concerns the normal function of the agency, particularly since a carpenter is mentioned. At this time, it would have been charged with the refurbishment of the old nave, where the canons were sitting. Since the chapter had just begun to consider special measures for raising funds, it is likely that the agency was not at once used to channel them to the construction. But such an arrangement was made shortly after, and certainly before 1246. The internal organization of the agency unfortunately remains completely obscure in this period.

³⁴ The provost had been divested of his control of the chapter temporal in 1188 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 411–412 and esp. note 2), although he remained the highest officer of the body, taking precedence over the dean. In 1192, at the death of Provost Hugh, the benefice was re-formed from the then vacant treasurer's prebend (*ibid.*, pp. 421 and 422). According to De la Salle, the temporal of the chapter was henceforth administered by seneschals and receivers (*ibid.*, p. 411, n. 2), but such a procedure probably did not antedate the late thirteenth century.

³⁵ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 498–500.

³⁶ P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii papae III*, I (Rome, 1888), 539, no. 3306.

granting to contributors a full year's indulgence and other privileges clearly designed to increase the flow of money into its coffers.³⁷ Also in 1222 the chapter leased an area called the Potets, in the northern part of the diocese, to Bishop Milo of Beauvais, with certain reservations of income, for 109 £ Rem. a year.³⁸ Purported to have been inherited by the testament of Saint Remi,³⁹ this area had been actively exploited by the chapter early in the century.⁴⁰ Milo was probably the prime mover in its development when he was still provost of Reims,⁴¹ but the lease of 1222 implies that the chapter did not wish to continue the development itself. It is difficult not to see the financial pressure of rebuilding the cathedral behind the agreement. Finally, in 1223 it was the burghers of Reims, rather than the canons, who were requested to subsidize the coronation of Louis VIII.⁴² The succession of measures suggests that the chapter needed considerably more money for the construction than in the preceding years, and the need was probably felt in 1220, just before the first indulgence was granted.

A sharp rise in expenditures after a certain number of years has a simple and logical explanation. In the mediaeval pattern of construction, the first part of a building to be erected was the ground story — the walls, the piers and the vaults over the aisles or ambulatory and chapels. This was also the cheapest portion, for the masonry was relatively simple and the stones did not have to be raised very far from the ground. But the upper stories were a different matter. Not only were there many more specially shaped stones here, but they also had

³⁷ The first record of the quest is a bull of May 1223, when a difference to which it had given rise was before the papal curia (Pressutti, *Regesta*, II [Rome, 1895], 140, no. 4389). The bishop of Laon apparently refused to allow the questors to operate in areas under his control and was excommunicated, together with the dean of the chapter, the deans of Guignicourt and Prouvais and the prior of Neufchâtel, all in the diocese of Laon (Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 517–518 and Pressutti, *loc. cit.*, p. 180, nos. 4595 and 4597). The outcome of the case is not known, but the quest was presumably successful elsewhere in the province. In 1231 it was felt necessary to outlaw all quests by “predicatores mercenarii,” an indication of the general success of the procedure (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 553). Marlot (*Metrop.*, II, 469–471) was probably incorrect in placing another quest in 1210, from which he suggests the dispute between the cathedral chapter and the monks of St-Nicaise arose, since no construction is known to have been in progress at St-Nicaise at that time. The dispute, concerning the precedence of questors from different institutions who arrived in the same locality, probably took place in 1246 (Varin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 674–675, and Demaison, “Notice” p. 7). The legatine decision of 20 April, 1265, gave precedence to the questors of the metropolitan chapter (Varin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 882–887).

³⁸ Varin, *loc. cit.*, 521–524.

³⁹ A. Longnon, *Études sur les pagi de la Gaule*, Part 2, Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes-études. Sciences historiques et philologiques, 11 (Paris, 1872), 63 ff., and Longnon, *Pouillés*, III.

⁴⁰ Maubertfontaine, one of the towns, was incorporated in 1208 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 472–474); gifts are recorded for the construction of *halles* there by Canon Guy de Lagery, who left 30 £ Rem. (Varin *Lég.*, II, 96, note; he may have been the Wido of 1219–1225 [Varin, *Adm.*, I, 491]; see note 55 for the date), and of mills, as a result of the third sale of the provost's house at Reims (Varin, *Lég.*, II, 70, note). The return on the mills, some of which were for cloth, averaged between four and five per centum.

⁴¹ Varin, *Lég.*, II, 91, note, where Milo is said to have “given” the chapter two villas.

⁴² Varin, *Adm.*, I, 527–531, and Marlot, *Metrop.*, II, 508–509. The chapter is nowhere specifically mentioned. The charge seems to have been considered a *droit de gîte* and hence the archbishop's obligation. He contributed 4,000 £ Par. in 1223 (Varin, *loc. cit.*, p. 531), while in 1226 the actual cost of Saint Louis' “restrained” coronation was 5,053 £ 14 s. (*ibid.*, p. 539).

to be hoisted a considerable distance and complex scaffoldings were always required. The upper parts of the building were therefore more expensive. This pattern is clearly revealed in two sets of summary building accounts nearly contemporary with Notre-Dame at Reims. One is from the cathedral of Ely, where expenditures rose from 192 £ 19 s. to 425 £ 10 s. 6 d. in the fourteenth year of work (1246–1247)⁴³ and the other is from the now-destroyed abbey of St-Nicaise at Reims, where costs first rose above 1,000 £ also in the fourteenth year (1244).⁴⁴ That the triforium, clearstory, and vaults of the Reims cathedral were undertaken after only ten years of work probably means that there were more laborers here and that construction advanced more rapidly, even though the edifice is larger than Ely or St-Nicaise. Significantly enough, a change of design has been noted at precisely this level.⁴⁵

The inference that the upper parts of Reims were begun in 1220 may be strengthened by the probability that the Gothic chevet was nearing completion in the late 1220's. Immediately after the interruption of 1233–1236, a number

⁴³ D. J. Stewart, *The Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London, 1868), 68–72.

⁴⁴ “Anno Domini 1231. In Annunciatione Dominica, scilicet feria 3 infra Pascha, Henricus de Brana Remensis archiepiscopus reverentissimus propriis manibus collocavit primum lapidem in fundamentis ecclesiae beatissimi martyris Nichasii, Simone de Dompetra majoris monasterii monacho, sancti Nichasii tunc temporis existente abbate. In quo anno praedicto expensum fuit in opere fabricae ecclesiae praedictae 700 £ et 20 £ Par.” The remaining years, through 1258, follow:

1232: 600 £ et 20 £ Par.	1246: 900 £ et 9 s.
1233: 600 £ et 10 £ Par.	1247: 804 £ et 7 £ et 11 s.
1234: 548 £ et 12 s. Par.	1248: 1032 £
1235: 626 £ et 12 s. et 16 d. Par.	1249: 1054 £ et 12 s.
1236: 448 £ et 7 s. et 11 d. Par.	1250: 1052 £ et 7 s.
1237: 523 £ et 3 s. Par.	1251: 1071 £ et 11 s.
1238: 500 £ et 4 s. et . . .	1252: 1415 £ et 14 s.
1239: 430 £ et 17 d. minus Par.	1253: 1676 £ et 14 s.
1240: 400 £ et . . . £ et 6 s. et 1 d.	1254: 1562 £ et 8 s.
1241: 552 £ et 8 s. et 2 d.	1255: 1500 £ et 26 s. minus
1242: 671 £ et 8 s.	1256: Expensum fuit in omnibus et pro campanis magnis: 1878 £ 4 s. minus
1243: 806 £	1257: 1273 £
1244: 1004 et 9 s. minus	1258: 2480 £ et 11 s.”
1245: 1100 £ et 22 d. minus	

“Summa omnia expensarum ab initio operis fabricae ecclesiae B. Nichasii facturarum usque ad huc diem, videlicet translationem B. Benedicti, qui fuit in isto anno, est 28,191 £ et 11 s.” (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12,688, f. 15 rv [from a collection of seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuscripts called *Monasticon Benedictinum*], ed. Ch. Givélet, “L’église et l’abbaye de Saint-Nicaise,” *Travaux de l’académie de Reims*, xcvi, Part 2 [1894–1895], 347–348). These were undoubtedly £ Remenses. There are obvious gaps and inaccuracies in the list, which continues intermittently through 1282, but I see no reason to doubt its authenticity or the total sum mentioned in 1258. On the basis of this text and the entry in the *Ann. Sci. Nic.*, it is generally agreed that the abbey church was begun in 1231 and not 1229, as inscribed on the tomb of the architect, Hugh Libergier (see Givélet, pp. 465–467).

⁴⁵ H. Deneux, “Des modifications,” pp. 122–126. The change of design can be related to the new project for the west façade, a subject that cannot be discussed here, and hence the date is also significant for the chronology of the sculpture.

of chaplaincies were founded or “renewed” in the radiating chapels (1236–1239),⁴⁶ indicating that the installation of the chapter was then definitely in view. Others dated 1227 and 1230 reveal that the final preparations had started well before the civil disturbances.⁴⁷ Further confirmation may be found in the fact that when Countess Blanche of Champagne willed five marks of gold to the cathedral in 1229, it was not converted into cash for the building but was used for the fabrication of a statue to contain the relic of the Holy Milk of the Virgin.⁴⁸ Of lesser significance is the use of the choir some months before the official opening, as is indicated by the burial of Henri de Braine at the foot of the main altar in 1240.⁴⁹

It is clear from the foregoing that the civil disturbances at Reims deferred the termination of those parts of the building eventually given over to the cult in 1241. The insurrection had various causes which suggest that the burghers of Reims were a force to be reckoned with. During a vacancy of the archiepiscopal chair in 1138 they had obtained a commune from Louis VII, and if it was revoked in 1140, the tribunal continued to function until 1167.⁵⁰ The suppression of the sheriffs in that year provoked a short, violent war, but Archbishop Guillaume aux Blanches Mains resurrected the government in 1182, without, however, allowing the word “commune” to be used. If this was later to be a source of discontent to the burghers, it was more so to the chapter, which claimed at every opportunity that the archbishop had had no authority to install sheriffs without its consent in the first place.⁵¹ Strictly speaking, this was not so, since the archbishop was the count of Reims, a fief which he held from the Crown, and

⁴⁶ In 1236 two *chapelles* of Saint Nicasius were founded by Canon Eudes de Chaumizy (Cerf, I, 139 and 447) and another in 1239 (*ibid.*, 440); in 1238, one of Saint Bartholomew by Archdeacon Henri de Braine (p. 449) and in 1239 one of Saint Anne by Canon Guichard de Château-Porcien (pp. 148 and 447). The chapel of Saint Nicolas, founded in 1211 by Nicolas Baudouin (pp. 145 and 445), and the increment in the incomes of the chaplains of the altars of Saint Nicasius and Calixtus, also made in 1211 (Teulet, *Layettes*, I, 366, no. 966), seem to have been more in the nature of statements of confidence in the new project. According to Cerf, the altars were located as follows: Saint Laict and Saints Peter and Paul in the easternmost bay of the northern collateral; in the radiating chapels, from north to south, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Nicasius, Saints James and Philip (axial), Saint Remigius, and Saint Nicholas; and in the southern collateral, from east to west, Saint Calixtus, Saint Anne, and Saint Bartholomew.

⁴⁷ Saint John the Baptist (1227) and Saint Anne (1230); see Varin, *Adm.*, I, clxxvii.

⁴⁸ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 544–555.

⁴⁹ For the use of choirs shortly before their official inauguration, cf. St-Denis (E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger* [Princeton, 1946], p. 108, and S. McK. Crosby, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* [Paris, 1953], p. 45). As for Henri's tomb, the *Ann. Sci. Nic.* say: “Hoc anno apud Curvillam decessit Henricus de Brana . . . et aportatus fuit Remis et sepultus ante majorem altare.” The tomb seems to have been discovered during the excavations after the first World War by M. Deneux (*Dix ans de fouilles*, p. 12). Concerning the suggestion prevalent in the seventeenth century, that Henri was buried at Vaucelles, see Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 593 and *Gallia Christiana*, IX, c. 111.

⁵⁰ Boussinesq-Laurent, *Histoire de Reims*, I, 260–272 and Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises*, L'évolution de l'humanité, 44 (Paris, 1947), pp. 58–59.

⁵¹ This is particularly clear from the case the chapter presented to the papal curia, which was still being argued in January 1236 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 606–608).

as such controlled taxes, justice, and money in the town.⁵²

During the first years of the work on the cathedral the town was in comparative peace.⁵³ In 1211 Philip Augustus ordered the burghers to return to the archbishop the keys to the city, which they had arrogated to themselves, and in 1212–1213 he had to admonish them to observe the archbishop's bans.⁵⁴ These acts must be seen in the light of the prelude to the battle of Bouvines, and although they reveal stresses between the parties, they do not represent major crises. Sometime between 1219 and 1225 the sheriffs took the oath to preserve the *vita*, *corpus*, *membra*, and *honor* of the prelate, just as at Beauvais and Laon,⁵⁵ and in 1224 the archbishop himself was required to swear to preserve the customs and liberties of the chapter.⁵⁶ The oath of 1224 probably culminated the chapter's struggle, dating at least from 1201, to obtain complete jurisdiction over its servants, many of whom lived in the archbishop's bans.⁵⁷

Such a relatively peaceful situation could not last, however, and it ended in 1233. The burghers were in the habit of lending money to other cities and about this time a loan was negotiated with the commune of Auxerre.⁵⁸ Henri de Braine demanded his tenth on the money to be exported, which the lenders and, by extension, the people at large, refused to pay. The archbishop then ordered the burghers not to leave their parishes, and the result was a riot.⁵⁹ Since Henri

⁵² Vercauteren, *Etude sur les civitates* (1934), pp. 35–105, *passim*.

⁵³ See note 7. The *Ann. Sci. Nic.* (1233) read: "Hoc anno, ecclesia Remensi existente in multa pace et honore. . . ."

⁵⁴ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 480–485 (1211) and 486–491 (1212–1213).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 491. Varin's extreme dates of 1212–1238 can be made more precise, for Archdeacon Hugo Burgundus is not elsewhere mentioned before 1219 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 513–514) and in 1226 he is called "quondam archidiaconus" (Pressutti, *Regesta*, II, 406, no. 5847).

⁵⁶ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 533–536.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 438–444 (January 1201). At the same time the archbishop "clarified" the extent of capitular justice (*ibid.*, 445–446). A slight alteration of the customs regarding servants was made in 1212 (*ibid.*, 492) and in 1228 a case judged on the basis of these agreements had to be arbitrated (*ibid.*, 543–544).

⁵⁸ J. Lebeuf, *Mémorial concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre*, ed. Quantin-Challe, III (Auxerre, 1855), 172–173, undated, but placed by Lebeuf about 1235. Shortly after 1230 money had also been lent to the commune of Troyes which was repaid in the period 1241–1246 (Th. Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes*, I [Troyes, 1870], 328). Mercantile connections between Reims and Auxerre were probably based on the importation of Auxerre wine (*Ann. Sci. Nic.*, 1203). The lenders about 1233 were Hélisende d'Ecry, her son Etienne, and Guichard, son of Jean le Nain, all unfortunately unidentified at Reims. According to Lebeuf, the sum was so large that the Auxerrois would have had to pay nearly 50 £ Par. yearly for life, and the debt had not been liquidated by 1241–1242, at the death of Count Guy, who had engaged to pay more than half the sum (cf. also Lebeuf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 175–176 and notes).

⁵⁹ The sequence of events and the dates are not entirely satisfactory. The version given here is based on Cocquault (see Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 582 ff., and A. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, Oeuvres, V, 8th ed. [Paris, 1846], letters xx–xxi, 269–309), but it would be more satisfactory to know that Henri's charter publishing the names of the offenders, burghers who sold "redditus ad vitam" to foreigners, was issued in April 1233, rather than 1234 (Varin, *Adm.*, I, 577–578). There is little question that this was the cause of the riots, for even the *Ann. Sci. Nic.* (1233) says: "cives . . . timentes ne contra eos fieret inquisitio de usura . . .," although the simultaneous interdiction of the province on behalf of the bishop of Beauvais may have aggravated the situation (H. Labande,

was not actually in town at the moment, the burghers attacked his fortified house at the Porte de Mars, one of the city gates, killed his marshal and then erected barricades in the streets.⁶⁰ Joined by men from the burgh of St-Remi, they readied the town for a siege. They also unleashed their wrath on the chapter. While it is not recorded at the time, subsequent events suggest that the chapter may at this juncture have raised the question of their right to elect officers. The burghers not only ridiculed and humiliated canons and priests in public, but they formed a “conspiracy” among the chapter servants, which must have been all the more telling in view of its recent hard-won gains in jurisdiction; they prohibited the delivery of all supplies to the canons and interrupted the transaction of business in the capitular bans.⁶¹ Their feeling toward the cathedral is revealed by the fact that for their barricades they took not only paving stones from the streets, but also tombstones and even the stones which had been prepared in the workshop for the fabric of the new edifice.⁶² The chapter fled the city on 9 November,⁶³ and twenty days later, at Cormicy, issued an edict forbidding any canon to enter the city or faubourgs without its consent.⁶⁴ The canons were in fact unable to enter the city as a body until the air cleared in January 1236.⁶⁵

Attempts at pacification lasted even longer than the quarrel. Both parties had representatives at the papal curia at various times, and it is significant that the archbishop undertook to defray half the expenses of the chapter’s advocates. Here the issue was argued until the burghers ultimately refused to answer the chapter’s allegations, which centered around the right to elect officers.⁶⁶ The solution of course lay in the hands of Louis IX, who finally acted early in 1236. He first exacted a promise that Henri de Braine would not pursue the townsmen

Histoire de Beauvais [Paris, 1892], pp. 73–74). It is strange that Henri made no mention of the affair in his letter to Gregory IX, dated 18 December 1233, when the interdict was lifted, unless he considered it an internal matter (*J. Martène, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I [Paris, 1717], cc. 975–978); but there can be no question that the riots took place in November 1233, for the *Ann. Sci. Nic.* are formal on the day the chapter left the city and the charter it issued at Cormicy is dated 29 November 1233 (see notes 63–65).

⁶⁰ A detailed description of the events is contained in the bull of 11 October 1235 (L. Auvray, *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, ser. 2, II [Paris, 1902], cc. 185–187, no. 2811; cf. also the bull of 13 January 1236 [Varin, *Adm.*, I, 606–608]).

⁶¹ Cf. the bull of 11 June 1239 (Auvray, *Registres*, III [Paris, 1910], cc. 62–65, no. 4880).

⁶² “. . . assumerunt pro munitione suarum materia publicarum pavimenta viarum, tumbis coemeteriorum et lapides ad fabricas majoris ecclesiae deputatos . . .” (Auvray, *Registres*, no. 2811).

⁶³ *Ann. Sci. Nic.* (1233). The flight was not unique, for the annals say, under 1201: “. . . quadam persecutione imminente, canonici proprias relinquentes mansiones, apud Bodillum (Boult-sur-Suippe) per duos menses et dies duos morati sunt.” The cause is obscure.

⁶⁴ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 566–567.

⁶⁵ “(Cives) ipsos canonicos metu mortis V idus Novembris de civitate fugere compulerunt ac per biennium et duos menses apud Curmissiacum et Curvillam exulare” (*Ann. Sci. Nic.* 1233–1235), hence from November 1233, to January 1236, when Saint Louis’ delegates were permitted to compose the affair (*Gallia Christiana*, x, *Instrumenta*, cc. 63–64). The bulls of the period frequently mention the chapter’s exile.

⁶⁶ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 611–612.

and then obliged the latter to pay a fine and submit to penitential measures, without, however, resolving the original argument or seriously weakening their power.⁶⁷ The fine was 10,000 £ Par., 4,000 £ to be paid in May 1236 and 2,000 £ on 1 October of 1236, 1237, and 1238. The last payment seems not to have been made, however, and Henri de Braine's answer was to impose an interdict on the town and finally to assault the burghers.⁶⁸ Only his death on 6 July 1240, permitted a conclusion to be reached, at which time the burghers found no difficulty in paying the debt to the chapter, "sede vacante."⁶⁹

The riots effectively interrupted the construction of the cathedral, and the chapter, residing at Cormicy and Courville, was undoubtedly unable to continue the operation before January 1236.⁷⁰ Construction probably came to a complete standstill, for most of the labor was in all likelihood foreign and would have left the city in search of more regular employment.⁷¹ The exodus is confirmed by the appearance of Rémois sculptors at Bamberg and Mainz in these very years.⁷²

The insurrection also seems to have stifled the earlier *élan* of the work. A quest for building funds had to be sent out in 1246, another in 1251, and in that decade the debt is said to have reached some 7,000 £,⁷³ part of which may well have remained from the work terminated in 1241. In addition, the 1240's proved to be unhappy years for the chapter. For five years no one could be found to succeed Henri de Braine,⁷⁴ and when the pope finally appointed Johel de Mathefelon in 1245, this archbishop turned out to be one of the poorest administrators in the history of the see.⁷⁵ More important, however, was the lack of interest at this time. Construction had been under way for nearly half a century and much still remained to be done. But the enthusiasm of the 'teens and 'twenties was gone and whatever energies and funds could be mustered were largely directed toward completing the body of the cathedral.

The documents thus indicate that the reconstruction of Reims cathedral was

⁶⁷ *Gallia christiana*, x, *Instrumenta*, cc. 61–62.

⁶⁸ *Ann. Sci. Nic.* (1238) and Marlot, *Histoire*, III, 589–590.

⁶⁹ *Ann. Sci. Nic.* (1240); Varin, *Adm.*, I, 639–640 and 640–642.

⁷⁰ The abbey of St-Thierry near Reims sent out quest(s) for building funds precisely during this period (Bertrand, "Saint-Thierry" [1929–1930], 89).

⁷¹ One mason, Arnoul, had a house on the *parvis* of the Cathedral, and it is interesting to note that in November 1234, he raised 20 £ on it. While he does not seem to have left the city, this act may reveal that he no longer had steady employment. It is, of course, not certain that he worked at the cathedral. See Demaison in *Congrès archéologique*, LXXVIII, Part 2 (1911), 159. Unfortunately the date of this document does not serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the start of the present façade, for the *parvis* also existed in front of the twelfth-century cathedral (Varin *Lég.*, II, 70, note, and Chevalier, *Sacramentaire*, pp. 277–280).

⁷² E. g., E. Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, I (Munich, 1924), 131–138 and 147–148; L. Grodecki, "La première sculpture gothique," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVII (1959), 265–289, esp. 267, note 2.

⁷³ Varin, *Adm.*, I, 670–687 (20 April 1246); *ibid.*, 722–725 (6 March 1251; another bull, almost identical in phrase, was copied by Cocquault [31 May 1251]; see Demaison, "Notice," p. 8).

⁷⁴ *Gallia Christiana*, IX, c. 111.

⁷⁵ Cf. the 1269 report in Varin, *Lég.*, I, 3–33.

undertaken immediately after the fire of 1210 and energetically pursued until the end of the building season in 1233; that in 1220, costs seem to have risen abruptly, probably because the triforium and clearstory had just been begun; and finally that by about 1227–1230, the termination of the chevet was in view but was delayed by the civil disturbances of three years later. The twenty-nine years of active work between 1210 and 1241 were certainly no longer than was strictly necessary. At Chartres twenty-six years were required for the completion of the body of the cathedral, and the transepts and towers had not been terminated when the canons were installed in 1221.⁷⁶ At Bourges the construction of the eastern half of the cathedral consumed nearly nineteen years, and at Amiens the nave and a large part of the west façade, alone, took about sixteen. But much less stone was employed in these last two buildings than at Chartres or Reims, where a veritable *volonté d'épaisseur* predominated. Without interruptions and changes of plan Reims might well have been as far advanced in a quarter of a century as Chartres.

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⁷⁶ L. Grodecki, "The Transept Portals of Chartres Cathedral," *Art Bulletin*, xxxiii (1951), 156–164.