RADICAL ART HISTORY

INTERNATIONALE ANTHOLOGIE

HERAUSGEBER

WOLFGANG KERSTEN

SUBJECT

O. K. WERCKMEISTER
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herausgeber</th>
<th>Wolfgang Kersten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mitarbeit</td>
<td>Joan Weinschein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lektorat und Redaktion</td>
<td>Matthias Wohlgemuth, Susan Marti, Wolfgang Kersten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schlüsselredaktion</td>
<td>Matthias Wohlgemuth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gestaltungskonzept</td>
<td>Stephen England und Stephan Pronto Müller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout und Satz</td>
<td>Stephen England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schrift</td>
<td>Berlin-Grotesk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satzbelichtung</td>
<td>Setzerei Hürlimann AG, Zürich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druck</td>
<td>Druckerei Gassmann AG, Biel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Einband</td>
<td>Buchbinderi Burkhardt AG, Münchaltorf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Editorial

«Radical Art History». Ein akademisches Gespräch über O. K. Werckmeister

Program and Power in the Glass of Reims Barbara Abou-El-Hadj

«...setzt die verwirrende Mannigfaltigkeit zu einem Gehäuse herab, das die Decke des Inneren ist.» (Hegel: Phänomenologie Vol. 1 «Der Werkmieister» Bazon Brock

"War and Peace" – Picasso in Vallauris, 1948–1953 Ruth Maria Capelj

Endocalypse now! Physik, Phantasie und Kunstgeschichte in der "Dekade des Gehirns" Karl Clausberg

The Disunities of German Art Historical Practice in the 1980s David Craven

Kunsthistorische Gedenktag des Jahres 1934. Allein aus der bislang unveröffentlichten Chronik des Kunsthistorischen Seminars der Hamburgischen Universität Heinrich Dilly

Kunstgeschichte als Zeitgeschichte: Das Thälmann-Denkmal in Berlin Gabi Dolf-Bonekämpfer

Max Klinger und Friedrich Nietzsche. Zur Debatte über die Bedeutung des Philosophen für den Künstler Hansdieter Erbsmühl

«Die Blüte Griechenlands» – Das Schaubild als gemalte Staatsidee Andreas Haus

Paradigmen einer feministischen Kunstgeschichte Jutta Held

Toontown in Disneyland. Amerikas Europa-Nostalgie Klaus Herding

«Iljitsch ist tot, aber Lenin lebt» – Parabel und Parameter Berthold Hinz

Lasterdarstellung und Busspraxis am Kreuzzugspfort der Puerta de las Virgenes. Zu dem Bartzieher-Kapitell der Peter K. Klein

Abbildungen

Róger Sánchez: "Humor Erótico" and the "Semana Cómica": a Sexual Revolution in Nicaragua? David Kunzle

George Grosz, the Popular Front, and Postmodernity Barbara McCloskey

Über das Nichtverstehen von Bildern, besonders im Falle Paul Klees Hans-Ernst Mittig

Paul Klee: Buchhaltung, Werkbezeichnung und Werkprozess Osamu Okuda

Building-Miracles as Artistic Justification in the Early and Mid-Twelfth Century Conrad Rudolph

Vermeers Frauenbilder Norbert Schneider


«Il Primo Tempio del Mondo» – Raffael, St. Peter und das Geld Christof Thones

The Virgin's wool Jane Welch Williams

John F. Kennedy and Leonardo's Mona Lisa: Art as the Continuation of Politics Frank Zöllner

Schriftenverzeichnis Otto Karl Werckmeister
Program and Power in the Glass of Reims

Barbara Abou-El-Haj
Reims has been examined, traditionally, within its royal context: a metropolitan cathedral whose archbishop had recently secured the exclusive privilege of crowning the kings of France. Indeed, the importance of the coronation rites can be seen in the design and throughout the decoration of the cathedral. This visibility has prompted most scholars to overlook the local context of communal agitation and rebellions that best explain key elements of the east end decoration, including the high choir glass.

On May 6, 1211 a ceremony marked the anniversary of the fire that had destroyed the church enlarged by Archbishop Samson (1148–1169) and the first stones were set upon new foundations of "of great depth and width" on the south or archiepiscopal side of the chevet. When the east end was ready for liturgical use in 1241, it provided a dramatic crossing space for royal coronations, such as those of 1223 and 1226 for Louis VIII and Louis IX (celebrated in the Carolingian nave), set with figures in stone and glass that marked the routes of its processions. These include the upper transept kings discussed recently by Sauerländer, the synod of Archbishop Henri de Braine and his suffragans depicted in the high choir (discussed below), and the clerestory windows of the nave, of which the surviving sixteen pairs of lancets in the eastern four bays present the fiction of an unbroken tradition of Reims' metropolitans enthroned beneath the kings they crowned, their glance directed toward the site of coronations.

Four among fifteen bishops and archbishops are identified by inscriptions. These appear on the south side of the nave, opposite the archbishop's palace. Because they pre-date Remi's baptism of Clovis (496), a precedent introduced in the eighth and ninth centuries for Reims' claim to the coronation rite, none could have anointed or crowned Frankish kings. One king (Bay 126), also on the south side, is inscribed "Karlus", usually identified as Charles the Great. Alternatively, he may portray Charles the Bold, according to Jackson the first king to be crowned and anointed king of Lorraine in the same ceremony (at Metz Cathedral, 863) by Hincmar (archbishop of Reims 845–882) who authored his "Ordo", or Charles III, crowned at Reims in 893. Any among these three candidates would have provided a real or imagined precedent for Reims' coronation privilege.

The nave lancets originally extended from the crossing, the coronation site, almost to the extraordinary inner west wall, with its figurative advice to kings. On the west exterior, in the center of an expansive gallery of kings (fourteenth century) that stretches round the towers, Reims' sainted bishop, Remi, baptizes Clovis, an event transformed by Hincmar into a precedent for the coronation privilege, as both required function. However, the miracle introduced into this event—the Holy Ampulla of oil delivered from heaven to anoint Clovis—although it may have been in
syndical letter written by Henri (26). Louis, however, abstained himself from Reims until he secured control over the archbishop’s secular courts. For two years and two months the chapter and archbishop remained in exile.

Given these events, the nave windows and interior west sculpture seem to appeal to an eroding alliance in which Capetian supremacy is displayed and advice to kings declined. What, then, of the local context for Reims, which has been overlooked, generally, except for Robert Brenner’s outstanding article, “Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210-1241”, published in 1981. (27) However, because Brenner intended to distinguish a relative building chronology, the civil strife in Reims and the chapter’s responses were not coordinated.

Between the 1225 coronation of Louis IX and 1241, when the east end glass was designed and set, (28) the critical issue for Reims’ metropolitan was the restoration of a stable, seigneurial town following two violent insurrections (the second in 1238-1240) by means of reparations, by multiple, humiliating penances (barefoot in January from the Mars Gate to the cathedral, later throughout the province, and by public lobbies), coordinated with the principal feasts of the liturgical calendar that particularly celebrated the archbishop as a type for Christ and as successor to Saint Remi. This conjuncture of economic and spiritual subordination more or less succeeded only with Henri of Brienne’s death in 1240. (29)

This local context for the cathedral decoration provides a logic for the canons’ decision to retrofit their processional entrance in the north with a wall built between the buttresses, set with unmatched portals that carry threatening, eschatological, and authoritarian images highlighting episcopal spiritual monopolies. (30) In my 1988 account of events, I ended with a short passage on Reims’ glass, suggesting that it depicted restored authority most explicitly because it used few narrative devices (shifted to the small roses), and because Archbishop Henri had himself portrayed, with all the signs, real and fantastic, of the spiritual office he had been unable to exercise in four of the previous six years.

Henri appears with his church, inscribed “Anricus Archepiscopo (pus)” and “Ecclesiae Remensis”; beneath Christ crucified and the Virgin and Child in the axial lancets of the high choir. (31) The Crucifixion portrays Christ’s historical death in its sacrificial guise: his blood flows into a huge, golden chalice – the altar offering – in a liturgical formulation adapted from Saint-Remi (c. 1180). (32)

In the center of the sanctuary, then, a diagonal line of sight coordinates metropolitan and Christ, cathedral and the Virgin, with celebrations at the high altar. Henri appears in this alignment as a type of Christ, as he would have been celebrated in his processions into the church at key

---

(26) See Brunner 1981 (as note 16) esp. pp. 312, who related the priorities of building expenditure to the request that the burgheers rather than the canons of Reims contribute to the coronation of Louis IX. The relevant letter from Louis VIII to Reims August 1228 and a charter noting the archbishop’s contribution of 1,688 pounds Paris (November 1229) are reproduced in Vans (as note 19) vol. 1 pt. 2, pp. 397-401. See also Dieter Kimpel/Robert Suckale: Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130-1270, Munich 1985 (French trans. by Françoise Neur: L’Architecture Gothique en France 1130-1270) Paris 1990, pp. 159-164.


(28) Calls for donations occurred well past the last phases of building. See Barfarghe Abou- 1783: Building and Decorating at Reims and Amiens, in: Europäische Skulptur im 13./14. Jahrhundert, ed. H. Beck and K HenggENDORF. Copenhagen: 1984, vol. 1, pp. 737-738, and vol. 2 pp. 588-595. The chapter sponsored a money quest in 1241, supported by a papal bull of Innocent III that recommended to the archbishop that his suffragans and all the chapters of the ecclesiastical province help the questions “qui pro fabrica Remensis ecclesiae destinatianem”. Donations were destined for the west façade, begun in 1232 according to Feurer KURMANN: Die Façade de la Cathédrale de Reims. Lauen- saar/Paris 1981, p. 23. Only five years later in 1237, Innocent issued two bulls for the same purpose: “Maximorum cum remensis ecclesiae importabilis, sacrae furtum autemutur, onerating debitos” “Hic est quod cum remensis ecclesiae importabilis, sacrae furtum autemutur, onerating debitos”.

(29) The Crucifixion portrays Christ’s historical death in its sacrificial guise: his blood flows into a huge, golden chalice – the altar offering – in a liturgical formulation adapted from Saint-Remi (c. 1180).

(30) In the center of the sanctuary, then, a diagonal line of sight coordinates metropolitan and Christ, cathedral and the Virgin, with celebrations at the high altar. Henri appears in this alignment as a type of Christ, as he would have been celebrated in his processions into the church at key

---

(31) See Brunner 1981 (as note 16) esp. pp. 312, who related the priorities of building expenditure to the request that the burgheers rather than the canons of Reims contribute to the coronation of Louis IX. The relevant letter from Louis VIII to Reims August 1228 and a charter noting the archbishop’s contribution of 1,688 pounds Paris (November 1229) are reproduced in Vans (as note 19) vol. 1 pt. 2, pp. 397-401. See also Dieter Kimpel/Robert Suckale: Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130-1270, Munich 1985 (French trans. by Françoise Neur: L’Architecture Gothique en France 1130-1270) Paris 1990, pp. 159-164.


(28) Calls for donations occurred well past the last phases of building. See Barfarghe Abou- 1783: Building and Decorating at Reims and Amiens, in: Europäische Skulptur im 13./14. Jahrhundert, ed. H. Beck and K HenggENDORF. Copenhagen: 1984, vol. 1, pp. 737-738, and vol. 2 pp. 588-595. The chapter sponsored a money quest in 1241, supported by a papal bull of Innocent III that recommended to the archbishop that his suffragans and all the chapters of the ecclesiastical province help the questions “qui pro fabrica Remensis ecclesiae destinatianem”. Donations were destined for the west façade, begun in 1232 according to Feurer KURMANN: Die Façade de la Cathédrale de Reims. Lauen- saar/Paris 1981, p. 23. Only five years later in 1237, Innocent issued two bulls for the same purpose: “Maximorum cum remensis ecclesiae importabilis, sacrae furtum autemutur, onerating debitos” “Hic est quod cum remensis ecclesiae importabilis, sacrae furtum autemutur, onerating debitos”.

(29) The Crucifixion portrays Christ’s historical death in its sacrificial guise: his blood flows into a huge, golden chalice – the altar offering – in a liturgical formulation adapted from Saint-Remi (c. 1180).

(30) In the center of the sanctuary, then, a diagonal line of sight coordinates metropolitan and Christ, cathedral and the Virgin, with celebrations at the high altar. Henri appears in this alignment as a type of Christ, as he would have been celebrated in his processions into the church at key
feasts in the liturgical year: Easter and Pentecost, by no coincidence the feasts when reparations and public penances were due from the burgheers (along with the feast of St. Remi).

The axial lancets duplicate an earlier, similar, but smaller and less specific set of windows in the south transept (Bay 118). They also portray the Virgin and Child adjacent to a reused panel with John the Baptist holding the Lamb of God (another sacrificial guise of Christ) above a cathedral inscribed: "Ecclesia Renensis [I] Metropolis", "The Metropolitan Church of Reims", and an unnamed archbishop of Reims. Art historians have suggested that this and a few choir lancets in an older style[27] are the remains of an earlier set of displaced windows, donated by Henri, and deployed in this final arrangement, just as the two unmatched portals of the north transept had been explained until William Hinkle pointed out in 1975 how the strange unplayed portal of the Last Judgment had been designed to fit between the narrowly-spaced buttresses of the eastern bay.[28]

Such observations seem to compromise an attempt to arrive at programmatic content for the high choir glass. At Reims, however, many figures were duplicated or shifted so that figures of differing dates appear together; yet they were assembled into meaningful narratives. Similarly, the duplicated lancets were asymetrically coordinated along the archbishop's normal processional route - from his palace opposite the south transept façade, through the south portal, turning at the central aisle to approach the altar beneath the choir windows. The beginning and end points of these ceremonial routes were thus marked with images of the archbishop's spiritual office and lineage.

The earlier version is generic. It identifies the metropolitan see of Reims, but not its occupant. Only the later, axial window is specified as that archbishop who had been driven from Reims by communitas, at whose death an uneasy order had been imposed on the town. This seems to me reason enough for Henri to have ordered a new version.

In a lateral array, expanding from the center round the semicircle of the choir, Henri's suffragan bishops appear together with their cathedrals below figures of apostles and evangelists who, in turn, accompany the Virgin and Christ. The two ensembles are thus coordinated laterally and vertically. Just as Henri derives his spiritual authority from Christ, and the cathedral from her titulars, the Virgin and Christ the Savior, his suffragan bishops display their own spiritual lineage through apostolic succession in an arrangement I think of as an administrative version of Pentecost on the Mission of the Apostles.

Two attractive proposals for this double assembly have been advanced. According to Tourneur, the apostles appear, right to left, in the order invoked in the canon of the mass.[28] These would be the
"communicantes", who indeed begin with the Virgin: "First the glorious Mary, Virgin mother of [...]—our Lord Jesus Christ". (42) However, the order was never stable; the glass follows the list in Matthew 18:2-4 only in Bay 102, Soissons. Branner, citing Varin, suggests the bishops appear in the order of provincial synods held in the choir, specified at the Council of Saint-Quentin in 1231. According to Henri's letter: "When a provincial council is celebrated by the archbishop of Reims and his suffragans, the archbishop should sit on his throne in the middle of the choir, and seats should be [placed] before him to the right and to the left" (facing the archbishop to the right and left in a semi circle as in the "Utrecht Psalter", Psalm 78:1-4 (42)), here turned outward and transformed into a ceremonial portrait. Consequently, the sequence to Henri's right and to his left is inverted to correspond not with the archbishop's vista in synod, but with his and the canons' view from the extended crossing. "On the right the bishop of Soissons will sit, after [him] Beauvais, third Noyon, fourth Tournai, fifth Senlis; on the left side, first the bishop of Laon, after [him] Châlons, third Amiens, fourth Thérouanne, fifth Arras; Cambrai should sit opposite the archbishop." (42) Indeed, Soissons, Reims' 'premier suffragan', who possessed the privilege to celebrate coronations in the absence of the metropolitan (as for the coronation of Louis IX), appears beside Christ and Henri (Bay 102), to Henri's left (but from the nave to the right on the south or archiepiscopal side of the cathedral), followed by bishops as specified through Tournai, while Laon, a peer of France, appears beside the Virgin and church of Reims (Bay 101), also following the stipulated order through Thérouanne, except for Senlis, whose bishop appears between Châlons (Bay 103) and Amiens (Bay 105). The two premier suffragans are portrayed, respectively, beneath Christ's chief disciples, Peter and Paul. (42)

The order of the assembly, then, most closely approximates the stipulations issued by the provincial synod of Saint-Quentin, the same council that inaugurated the inquisition against usury in the district of Reims that in turn prompted burgurers to attack the canons two years later. Despite Branner's suggestion, and the text printed by Varin, scholars have rather emphasized anomalies: ten suffragans who could have been evenly distributed, were instead compressed into eight sets of windows, by dividing Bay 105 between the church of Amiens and the Bishop of Senlis; the unnamed church and bishop of Bays 107 and 108 are sometimes identified as Arras and Cambrai to complete the series. (44) The twelve apostles, on the other hand, were increased to twenty figures. (45) The westernmost windows on either side break the scheme altogether by depicting only figures.

These remaining anomalies are certainly no more striking than those of the unmatched portals retrofitted to the north transept. They have been assessed from the same passive, paradigmatic position: as formal

(32) Troumier, Reinhardt, and Frodl-Krafl note (n), who referred to the transept lancets as abandoned or rejected and the axial set as definitive.


(45) Entrance portals used for various processions are rarely specified in the Reims 'Ordres'; when they are, they usually specify the west. I assume that the transept portals were used on most occasions, as they did for the canons' closet in the north and the archepiscopal palace in the south. For example, on the commemoration of the dedication of Reims, 'd'om et de canons sum processes; sive de palatio in ecclesiis'; see Chevalier (n, 39). For other instances, see above-Eli Hof 1984 (n, 50), pp. 76-78. Robert Branner, The North Transept and the First West façades of Reims Cathedral in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 24, 1961, pp. 209-214, esp. pp. 213, n. 3.

(39) The present south rose, which dates to the sixteenth century, was twice replaced with the same subject, Christ surrounded by the twelve apostles, with angels and prophets in outer portals. This may also have influenced the transept façade with the choir windows, that show Christ and the Virgin accompanied by apostles and evangelists.

(40) The Corpus Vitrearum (n, 29); (Bay 116) identifies the archbishop as Henri; I would suggest that the point of rendering the set was to specify Henri of Braine.

(41) Reinhardt 1963 (n, 50) reproduces the inscriptions, pp. 189-191.

(42) As listed in Matt 10:2-4 Peter and Andrew (Bay 102), James the Lessan and John, transferred order, Bay 104, Philip and Bartholomew (split between Bays 103 and 106). Thomas and Matthew (split between Bays 107 and 108). James the Elder (Bay 101) and Thaddaeus, called Judas in contrast to the canon of the mass, Simon and Judas (split between Bays 109 and 103). The glass also portrays the Evangelists Luke and Mark (Bays 101 and 103), Paul and his companion, Barnabas (Bay 101 and 107), and Matthias (Bay 106). See Troumier 1967 (n, 56), p. 45, also p. 47, where he refers to the group as an 'apostolic college'.


(45) Varin notes (n, 56), p. 50, that Bays 107-108 provide an example of the former period, suggesting that the bishops were arrayed as they might appear in their various assemblies. According to the local guide book, "syndical
Program and Power in the Glass of Reims
Barbara Aboe-El-Haj

modifications in design or decoration. Yet, the local context of communal rebellions and exiled clergy is suggestive for the insistent and expansive depiction of restored episcopal authority that took precedence over aesthetic considerations in the retrofit wall with its unmatched portals in the first case, and for the slightly imperfect glass program in the second.

Like Archbishop Henri, the bishops appear enthroned beside their churches, accompanied by angels, except for Amiens (Bay 105), and Reims in the south transept (Bay 118). The largest is the imposing frontal angel on Reims cathedral in the axial window (Bay 100), who holds an archiepiscopal cross, while the rest (except for Soissons', who holds a scroll, Bay 102) sound apocalyptic trumpets (Revelation 1:20–3:20).

Unlike Henri, however, these are generic suffragans, abstractions to his historical reality.

Their churches, the most unusual feature of the high choir glass, whose scheme was otherwise adapted from Saint-Remi, are, in contrast, given topographical precision and compare in details with built churches, though not necessarily the same ones. Eva Frodl-Kraft compared the decorated flying buttresses on the south transept façade window of Reims (Bay 118) to Detho-Bezo's cross section of the choir and its buttresses, and the Majesty in the gable of Leon (Bay 101) to that of the central portal gable of the built church. There are many such details: both Reims façades (Bays 100, 118) show double roses, with the lower glass set within tympana treated as gables; a striking feature of the present cathedral; the south transept version (Bay 118) shows tributes for the quatrelobes of Reims' lateral portals, while the axial scheme (Bay 100) displays a quatrelobe in the center gable that matches the lateral west portals of the cathedral. Perhaps the design was available to the glaziers, as Frodl-Kraft suggested. The squat arcade stretching across the three-part façade at the lower edge of Leon's rose (Bay 101) is very like one set above the rose on the built façade, and Leon's north transept rose matches Leon's and Soissons' façade roses in the choir (Bays 101, 102).

Amiens' compressed and proportionately large, double-arcaded passages at the gallery level and its arcade set within the gable (Bay 105) match those of the built church. Noyon never had the elegant west rose window that appears on the choir glass (Bay 106), which matches instead one adjacent to the choir; while Amiens, which was built with a rose, is the only façade on the choir glass without one (Bay 105).

Among the conspicuous features of the choir glass façades, then, are the variety of roses, all of which can be found on built churches, though often not those depicted. Tourneur's open rose design (Bay 108) appears everywhere, beginning with the small roses of Reims' transepts and choir. This design can also be found on churches in the suffragans...
dioses, for example, Saint-Martin, Laon. The rose designs of Thérouanne (Bay 107) and the south transept façade of Reims (Bay 118) are also easy to locate. As Tourneur observed, no resemblance is precise. It would be a frustrating positivist exercise to try to coordinate these ensembles of varied architectural components with their real counterparts. They needed only to be persuasive (see for example the detail of Thérouanne reproduced in the "Corpus Vitrearum"), and perhaps only to Henri and his successors. They were made persuasive by selective quotes of salient features, or by inscriptions, or by general design, sometimes corresponding with the cathedrals named, sometimes not, in the way argued by Richard Krautheimer in 1942.

Equally distinctive are the cathedral portals, especially the huge portal of Reims' axial (Bay 109), whose gable, crowned with a royal fleur-de-lis, stretches to the large rose. Other portals – Noyon joined with its sanctuary lamps (Bay 108), Amiens (Bay 109), and Reims on the south transept (Bay 118) – are also highly articulated and differentiated. They suggest the spiritual models and metaphors that aligned church façades with the temple of Solomon and equated their portals with the door into heaven (Revelation 4:1) and with Christ as the door (John 10:9) as in the Laon majesty. Through apostolic succession, the clergy who possessed these churches were the sole mediators between heaven and earth, the sole access to salvation, a doctrine ignored by the excommunicated munarchs and all the more consistent in the ancient façades. Among the façades, only the two of Reims (Bays 100, 118) are crenellated, like the Temple, but also like Santiago de Compostela, crenelated in 1115 and fortified after the assaults of 1118-1117, and even like Saint-Denis, provisioned against hostile or potentially hostile subjects, as Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale observed in Suger's oblique comment in his "De Administratione": "We also committed ourselves richly to elaborate the towers[s] and the upper crenellations of the front, both for the beauty of the church and, should circumstances require it, for practical purposes." In Reims, to my knowledge, crenelations were built not on the cathedral, but on houses belonging to insurgent merchants. They were the first to be demolished by Archbishop Henri and his troops in 1238 after he had jailed some burghers and banned others.

What the ensemble of high choir glass may have lacked in perfection of its scheme, it made up in its imposing, authoritarian, and reassuring design. Passages describing in scandalized detail the events of 1234-1236 and of 1239-1240 that were thus erased suggest how great a leap was required for this fantasy of metropolitan order. From the "Chronicle of Saint-Nicaise" as well as a letter of Gregory IX dated 11 October 1235:

(58) Ibid., fig. 211. See also the south transept gable rose at the collegiate church of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux in Châlons-sur-Marne. Ibid., fig. 186.

(59) See the drawing of St. John the Baptist, Vaux-de-Cernay, by Alphonse Simi of 1819, ibid., fig. 160.


(62) See the 1660 drawing in J. Kenneth Conant: The Early Architectural History of Santiago de Compostela. Cambridge MA 1938, fig. 21, see also pp. 121, 23, figs. 15 and 16, and plates i-iv. V. Conant notes that 'a beiicher' (chapter) capable of throwing large stones half-way across the town, was mounted on one of the towers of the cathedral cloister.' Ibid., p. 24, n. 1. The 1882 drawing is also reproduced in Barbara Althus-Lies, The Audience for the Medieval Cult of Saints, in Geniza 38, 1991, fig 4.


(64) See Despontes 1979 (see note 180), p. 166. It is likely that the Mars Gate, castle was fortified with crenelations. See Varni (see note 57), vol. 1, part 2, p. 586, excerpt from the "Chronicle of Saint-Nicaise" for 1238 (appendix 2, p. 331).
"The assailants put machines to use, stone throwers and mangonneaux, that they had found in the churches [...] The archbishop’s marshal was killed and many of his men were wounded by arrows and stones. [...]"

The burghers undertook a siege: they depaved the streets, built barricades, invaded and occupied a number of houses near the castle, among them one belonging to the Frères Mineurs, which they transformed into bastions [...] They quickly constructed earthen ramparts on top of the trenches that already existed. In these improvised works, they used all that fell into their hands: paving stones from the streets, tombstones from the cemeteries, stones from the cathedral workshop" — from the two principal sites of ecclesiastical threats and spiritual coercion. From Pope Gregory IX’s letters of 1239: "The burghers are masters of the town; they guard the gates with arms, exercising strict control of entries and exits which are thus taken at their authorization. They usurp the exercise of temporal jurisdiction which belongs exclusively to the archbishop. They lay siege to the castle of the Mars Gate and have encircled it with palisades and woodworks. They have assembled all sorts of arms and appropriated munitions; they have hired 80 archers whose banners are publicly displayed from windows all around the market square. They have allowed to return to the city those whom the archbishop had banned from it [in 1238]. They encourage each other to disobedience, and they are bound to one another by oaths [...]"

As stipulated by the "ordo ad Inquendum Regem" c. 1350, "Post primam cantum, debet rex cum archiepiscopis et episcopis, baronibus et alis, quos intrinsecus voluerit, in ecclesiam venire, quodam fili beneficio, et debet esse sedes dispare circa altare, ubi honorificis episcopis et archiepiscopis regni patriarum [peers of the realm] sedentibus e contrario altaria non longe a rege, nec multi intercedente-interpsecta. See Chevalier's lex note 256, p. 1227."

Also among his subordinates, Henri had less than the perfect solidarity displayed in the choir. He did not lift a sentence of excommunication imposed by the bishop of Laon and the chapter’s dean, among others in the diocese c. 1223, after they had brought a plea before the papal curia against metropolitan questioners, which was not settled until c. 1265 in Reims’ favor. At the synod of Senlis, 14 November 1235, Louis (among the ten or eleven unproductive episcopal councils Henri convoked between 1233 and 1235 in response to civil strife in Beauvais as well as in Reims), some of his suffragans hesitated to support the archbishop’s decision to interdict royal domains within the province in order to compel the silent king to act. For his part, Louis assembled his own council of barons at Saint-Denis (Reims’ recent rival) who responded to two admonitions addressed by Henri and his bishops to the king in September, by strenuously protesting to the pope. Among the forty-one signatories, two were Henri’s brothers. Among the various occasions for Henri and his suffragans to sit together in council (including coronations celebrated in Reims), the assembly depicted high above the choir may have addressed its royal counterpart at Saint-Denis with a fiction of transcendent spiritual and temporal authority.
The multiple penances imposed in 1236 in all the churches of the archdiocese on the feasts that particularly celebrated Henri as type of Christ, and as successor to Saint Remi, would have been intended to repair metropolitan prestige among the suffragans, whom Pope Gregory had urged without success to come to the aid of their archbishop against his "cives remenses". Similarly, the array of high choir glass can be understood as a key ensemble within the cushion of east-end images that insulated the chapter from its restive town and the archbishop from his uncooperative suffragans.

App. 1. *Quodam die dominica, decanus et capitulum in habitu religiosi processionaliter irent ad cuiusdam defuncti monachi exequias celebrandis; et ante se facerent crucem ferri, maxima multitudo civium predictorum, laetones et profitori alto clamore vocantes eodem, post ipsos quasi post canes aut lupos fortiter hulularent; immo quod turpis in gallico idioma sonare dicitur; hulaverunt, in grave ipsorum obprobrium, et divine deducens majestatis, cujus saltam vexillum debebant humiliiter revereri. Paucis dieinde diebus elapsis, burgenses de terris ipsius capituli, et cives quos idem capitulum in terris archiepiscopi pro libris servitius suis habebat, per blanditias et misas subtraxerunt eodem burgenses archiepiscopi, eos sibi et inter se juramenti vinculo colligantes, quod in terram vel in servitium capituli de cetero non regebunt, nisi sub certis conditionibus, quas licet capitulum ipsum ignorat, in honesta tamen estatam et damnosas; paucos aegrum et pauperes qui in terris et servitio capituli remanerunt, tot et tantis contumeliosis et injurias afferere, que et quanta pagani vel heretric commorantibus inter se fidelibus erubescerent irreghare. De mercatoribus etiam terre capitolii, auctoritate vel potius meritoria propria, in suis conveniculis que frequenter congregant, statuere presumerunt, ut nullus eorum merces ad nudinas deferre audet vel referre, eosque, quantum in ipsis est, a communione fidelium expellentes, inhibuerunt districtus ne quis de suis, quandiu dicti mercatores ex domino capituli fuerint, in cohabitatione vel contractu seu commercio aliquo eis in nudinis vel alibi communicare presumat, quorumdam etiam mercatorum ipsorum hospitia per se, et alios sibi de aliis civitatis collocatos, in quibusdem nudinis violenter regerunt, et ipsos, sicut dicitur, occidissent, nisi eos fuge presidium liberasset. Ad hæc, quos filii Sathane qui beatum Job prius suorum ablatione, postmodum proprii corporis afflictione, temptavit, postquam capitulum bona sua, ut predictum est, abstulerunt, ad personarum injurias manus sacrilegas extendere. Post quemdam enim presbiterum ad infirrum quemdam corpus Domini deferentem, in tumulum et ignominia proclamarunt, et usque ad effusionem sanguinis percercerunt unum de canonici sine causa [...]. Cf. note 17, emphasis B. A.
App. 2 Hoc anno Henricus de Brana, remensis archiepiscopus, venit in
civitate remensi cum armis, et quosdam scabinos et alios cives de banno
suo cepit, et dix in carcere detinuit, et alio plures qui de banno suo erant,
bannivit; nec postea revocati fuerunt quamdiu vixit archiepiscopus. Eodem
die plures domos in banno suo destructit, crannellos eciam quos cives
fecerant in domibus suis fecit destrui; et hec omnia facta fuerunt, quia
scabini et ali civis balivum et servientes archiepiscopi fugaverant, et alia
forefacta contra archiepiscopum fecerant, nec emendare volebant. Eodem
anno, interdictum generale posuit archiepiscopus in toto civitate remensi,
et omnes cives de banno suo excommunicavit. Cf. note 64, emphasis B. A.

App. 3a In qua tempestate cives, favente et favente regia potestate, con-
tra castrum de Porta Martis cum petraris et mangonellis commune insul-
tum fecerunt, et marescalcum archiepiscopi intus, quarelo, occiderunt;
civitatem muris terreis subito cinxerunt, quos postea destruere compulsi
sunt. Cepta est causa de scabinae a capitolo contra cives, consentiente
archiepiscopo, et medietatem expensarum ministrante in curia ro[mana],
et actio edita coram domino Gregorio papa IX. Cujus cause acta in the-
sauro ecclesie remensis servantur bullata, et in registro ejusdem Gregorii
habentur scripta. Cf. note 65.

App. 3b idem enim contra dictum archiepiscopum calcaneum erigentes,
ab ecclesiis civitatis ipsius, earum divinitate et usu sacrilege violantis,
quibudam machinis quae petrariae et mangonellii dicuntur violenter ex-
tractis, cum eis quandam domum suam quae dictur Porta Martis armata
manu hostiliter impugnando in familiar ejus existentem ibidem immissis
sagitatis, et quibudam ex eis lethali vulneratis, marescalcum ipsius
ausu diabolic Praetor, et ut domum eadem fortius impugna-
rent, non solum muros extruxerunt in via publica contra eam, sed etiam
domum fratrum Minorum, quam idem fratres habebant ibidem, per vio-
 lentiam occupantes, in ea propugnacula extruxerunt. Praeterea dicti cives
et quidam aliis sub banno beati Remigii constituti, praeter assensum ejus
adversus praefatum archiepiscopum civitatem munientes eandem, ac
supra fossata ipsius muros in ejus circuuito extollentes, assumserunt pro
munitione suarum materiae publicarum, pavimenta viarum, tumbas
coemeteriarum, et lapides ad fabricam majoris ecclesiae deputatos, ac
destructis quibudam domibus ipsius archiepiscopi, quae haec juxta
vocabulum terrae dicuntur, alia sibi, et eidem ecclesiis tot damna et tam
graves injurias intulerunt, quae non solum longum, sed etiam teadiosum
est ea per singula recenseri. Cf. note 65, emphasis B. A.