THE URBAN SETTING FOR LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH BUILDING: REIMS AND ITS CATHEDRAL BETWEEN 1210 AND 1240

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For more than a century, scholars have developed the architectural history of late medieval churches of staggering magnitude and technical complexity, but so far we have hardly developed an integrated history of these buildings as social and economic, as well as artistic enterprises, undertaken in factionalized urban settings.¹ Reims is a case where it has been hardly suggested that the building initiated in 1211 and the communal insurgency which brought it to a halt between 1234 and 1236 might have been more than marginally related.² This is not only a question of the architectural anomalies and iconographical eccentricities I am about to describe. It is above all a human question. What is missing from almost all efforts to articulate the economic conditions for Gothic building is the history of social burden and dislocation in towns with limited resources, where landlord exploitation was so transparent, so much taken for granted that even those communal challenges which reached revolutionary proportions remained reformist in character and, at least at Reims, failed, while the church was built without compromise. The communal effort failed because the stakes were too high. What role building on an extraordinary quantitative and qualitative scale played in this human struggle, and how it was shaped by clerical monopolies in a feudal town, is the subject of this paper.

For the architectural history of Reims, this shortsightedness has hampered explanations of anomalies in the east end of the cathedral and of features of its decoration. Some time after the east-end campaign was well under way, after the north and south transept façades had been finished with single entrances in the western bays, and triple lancets in the center, the canons decided to refit their processional entrance in the north (plates 9 and 10). They filled the lancets almost to their peaks,³ pulled down a cloister building lying against one of the buttresses, which had been carefully adjusted to it just a few years earlier,⁴ laid a masonry wall between the buttresses, and set within this wall unmatched portals, the left set at right angles, the center more typically splayed, both fitted with sculpture. The original, west bay portal was decorated with a re-used tomb (plate 30).⁵ The discrepant features are
compounded by the arrangement of the cloister walkway, whose single access to the original portal prevented overall visibility.

This retrofit has always been dated prior to the rebellion, although typically we have only three secure dates for the east-end work: the 1210 fire which destroyed the old church, a 1221 document describing the axial chapel in use, and the 1241 liturgical inauguration of the new choir. For a long time the two tympana were thought to have been destined originally for an abandoned, west-façade design. Then in 1975 William Hinkle argued that the Last Judgment tympanum had features designed to accommodate its visibility to the right-angled frame. So, he reasoned, it must have been intended from the beginning to fit within the narrow buttresses of the eastern bay. Seventy years of discussion came full circle without any explanation, perhaps because the explanation lies not within the building, but outside it, in the audience, in the town, in the rupture of metropolitan authority.

This rupture was one instance of a slow shift in feudal relations in northwest Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, especially in ecclesiastical towns seeking to curtail the secular monopolies of their episcopal lords. Although arguably fundamental to the urban history of this period, communal struggles have been relatively absent from discussions of the visual transformation of urban topography by the erection of churches of the magnitude and complexity under discussion. If we are to bring these discrete histories together, we will have to assess the resources which had to be mobilized to bring into existence cathedrals like Paris, Chartres, Reims, Amiens, among others.

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDING AND THE CULT OF CARTS

We have been held back partly by the paucity of records and partly by two histories which tell similar stories, one produced in the nineteenth century, and one medieval. The former was embedded in the political transformation of the role of the Catholic church undertaken in the decades after the riots of 1831 destroyed Maurice de Sully’s episcopal palace at the cathedral of Paris (1163). A new social role for the church, divorced from its Bourbon allies, stabilizing but non-revolutionary, was forged by Catholic intellectuals in the second half of the July Monarchy on the model of a ‘natural’ medieval order. The other history derives from quasi-miraculous accounts written and circulated by clergy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, making similar claims.

Clergy circulated self-congratulatory accounts of miracles of material aid and of popular spiritual enthusiasm, above all among nobles, who harnessed themselves like animals to draw heavy loads of stone to the building sites. This was the so-called ‘Cult of Carts,’ whose rhetoric increased with each repetition, even among contemporaries. What is in the Archbishop of Rouen’s account an undifferentiated, pious population, ‘having confessed with penitence,’ drawing cartloads of stone in Chartres, and in Normandy, becomes in Abbot Haimon’s version ‘princes, mighty men...of noble birth...bind(ing) bridles upon their proud and swollen necks...’, after the
9 Reims, north transept, Last Judgment and saints’ portals (James Austin)

10 Reims, south transept interior (Kimpel and Suckale, pl. 289)
11 Plan showing urban expansion at Reims (Desportes, fig. II, p. 68)

12 City plan of Reims, first half of the fourteenth century (Desportes, fig. XII, p. 467)
fashion of brute beasts, ... sometimes a thousand ... go forward in such silence ... no other voice is heard but confession of guilt, ... prayer for pardon of sins...." These accounts provide relatively clear gauges for shortfalls in labor and material faced by ambitious builders and the social cohesion they had to bring about to carry their programs forward: they required free labor for transportation; and cooperation, especially from the secular aristocracy, which appears as penitential submission on the part of those who drag the loads.

INSOLVENCY AND THE CRITIQUE OF LUXURY

Only occasionally do building accounts include funding miracles, but in an entirely different set of texts assembled by Martin Warnke, builders regularly complain of deficits, and by the twelfth and thirteenth century, insolvency becomes a formula for funding quests. Typically, different documents aimed at different audiences tell different stories. In yet another set of documents these enterprises were attacked by theologians who adapted Bernard of Clairvaux's 1125 blast at the Benedictine pilgrimage trade and over-building to their own urban, episcopal setting. Peter the Chanter (cantor at the cathedral of Paris) charged that 'superfluity and costliness of building' were raised from usury, increasing levels of poverty, referring to Maurice de Sully's new cathedral and palace (the same one pulled down in 1831). Alexander Neckham (1157–1217) called building 'luxury, destroyer of wealth, and deadly ambition subject(ing) men of the city to the yoke of wretched slavery.' This textual spectrum or polemic rarely appears in the secondary literature.

ART HISTORY AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Art and architectural historians usually assume that building and ancillary activities, such as market fairs and pilgrimages, expanded revenues. Particularly influential is Otto von Simson's trickle-down economic incentive explanation for the corporate effort to rebuild Chartres after the 1194 fire. Social and economic historians have been skeptical. Robert Lopez suggested that building 'immobilized surplus in stone,' even 'killed' fragile economies in some northwest European towns, for example, Amiens. This view is partly supported by John James's statistical investigation of building density in the Paris basin, which shows Amiens almost isolated. So besides the different late medieval accounts, we also have to sort out competing and distinct histories, sometimes for the same buildings. Can Amiens be at the same time the apogee of Gothic building techniques and qualitatively reduced in its sculpture; the most refined building of its group and a catastrophe for the town's economy?

So far, then, economic evidence has been partially explored with inconclusive results; this is on-going work. How do we gauge the gap between ambition and resources in materials and in labor for quarrying, dressing, and transporting stone? We could add another area of analysis to this effort, the
social strife accompanying some of the largest projects has hardly been put to use to test contradictory claims, to measure the social and economic consequences of late-medieval building for local populations.\textsuperscript{21} This group needs first of all to be distinguished from visitors for whom liturgy was spectacle deprived of its authority. Reciprocally, we could assess the consequences for the buildings themselves, which has hardly been done with one notable exception: Stephen Murray concluded that the misalignment of Beauvais’s choir and the collapse of its vaults resulted from a funding and personnel crisis tied up in a struggle between the Count-Bishop, the commune and the monarchy.\textsuperscript{22}

Recurrent communal struggle in urban centers was apparently more intense in ecclesiastical than in secular towns,\textsuperscript{23} since in the former the economic, political, and military clout of feudal lordship were combined with spiritual office. Under these circumstances, the sacred setting, the building, can hardly have been neutral. Rebuilding these settings on an infinitely grander scale might have strengthened the often contested position of the clergy, if we take the spiritual to be interlocked with their secular authority. A chronology of Reims’s urban history between 1210 and 1241 suggests how the building enterprise impacted on a town already divided between archepiscopal monopolies andburgher efforts to curtail those monopolies. A discussion of the east end can shed some light on the reverse, how the canons may have responded to these events not only in their spiritual and secular courts, but also in the architectural and decorative elaboration of the new cathedral.

\section*{THE FUNDING CRISIS, COURTS, AND INSURRECTION AT REIMS: 1210–41}

Reims cathedral and part of the Cité burned on May 6, 1210. The new building, begun exactly one year later, was built competitively larger, higher than its predecessors, and finished with a vast array of sculpture, unmatched in quantity or quality.\textsuperscript{24} The early phase of construction, the east end, was brought to a halt between 1233 and 1236 when the burghers drove the clergy out of the archepiscopal town.

The fundamental battle between the two was over the feudal structure of the town whose secular lord and ecclesiastical lord were the same man, archbishop and count Henry of Braisne (1227–40).\textsuperscript{25} A hundred-year effort to establish a commune remained unrealized.\textsuperscript{26} The burghers sought to limit surtaxes (in 1139) and the extent of archepiscopal justice (in 1182) which was an open-ended arena for enlarging revenues.\textsuperscript{27} At Beauvais, for comparison, the bishop’s county court revenues were the only funds left untouched in an otherwise sweeping program to finance the new cathedral.\textsuperscript{28} Because communal development was exceptionally delayed at Reims, when exceptional revenues were needed for the new cathedral, the clergy was in a position to extract the funds through the same seigneurial monopolies the burghers wanted to curtail.

At Reims a pattern of economic absorption can be charted topographically
(plates 11, 12 and 13): the expansion of revenue-producing jurisdictions into the town’s suburbs undertaken by the archbishop and canons from 1160 halted abruptly in 1210, the year the cathedral burned. The borders of the town did not change again until the mid-nineteenth century, despite population growth at least to 1270. 29 We can suppose that the building enterprise absorbed enough revenues to motivate a transfer away from urban investment, or to preclude it altogether, one factor in a long-lasting economic slump, just as Lopez theorized for Amiens. 30

Robert Branner delineated the pattern for assembling building funds and the shortfalls at Reims for the first decade of construction: funding efforts were initiated May 6, 1213, when St. Nicaise’s cranium was translated, and were continued in 1215 when the chapter transferred to a sub-treasurer, under closer supervision, income previously held by the treasurer, and when they contracted an exchange with Saint-Remi relating to revenues from mills. These had to be augmented by an expanding series of papal indulgences beginning with twenty days in 1221, rapidly enlarged to a full year in 1222 together with money quests sent out to suffragan dioceses, quests so aggressive that in 1223 Laon brought a suit against Reims at the papal court which was not settled until 1265, when the west façade was apparently finished. Since clergy normally set aside only a few years of their own income for the initial building stages, Branner supposed a crisis usually within ten years, when the more expensive upper levels were reached. 31 At Beauvais, even with a ten-year pledge, the bishop was bankrupt in five years. At Chartres, Bishop Gauthier’s debts, which comprise almost the whole of his will, amounted in 1234 to 1,425 pounds tournois and 1,350 pounds parisis. 32

What was the impact of mobilizing resources for cathedral building on the social and political configuration of Reims? Warnke supposed that the effort to raise funds depended upon a builder’s capacity to generate a consensus, 33 but at Reims, and apparently elsewhere, the clergy was in a position to act unilaterally, to tighten control over the town’s money-supply, over justice, and in the spiritual courts. In the first decade of building at Reims, as the funding efforts multiplied, so did the sheriff’s oaths to protect the life and limbs of the archbishop (1219–25). In the second decade, the archbishop cancelled burgher out-of-town loans and rents and streamlined his courts (1223–4). In the same years the clergy joined the papal and royal campaign against usurers, attacking the same activities that Henry had cancelled, but with far more serious consequences, since court procedures assimilated usury to heresy. 34 Robert le Bougre, the papal agent installed in Reims and Sens in 1233 with exceptional powers (withdrawn in 1234), was notorious for mass burnings of heretics and for ‘confounding heretics and usurers’ according to Matthew Paris. 35 The most severe attack on burghers came from the papal legate to France, Jacques de Vitry, whose sermons vilified communes and suggested that burghers in communes were particularly susceptible to heresy through usurious practices. 36 This was an old complaint. Already in 1139 Reims clergy complained that communal efforts attracted heterodoxy.

From the violence of their reaction, we can assume the burghers understood this conflation. The chronicle (annales) of Saint-Nicaise, Reims,
states that they particularly feared being accused of usury when in September or October 1234 they harangued the canons marching in a funeral procession, boycotted merchants remaining in the chapter’s service, even threw some into the river to drown, and beat one canon. On November 9, 1234 the chapter fled, leaving the town under interdict. 37

The burghers went on to attack the archbishop’s men after Henry interfered in their financial activities and attempted to reorganize his courts. The archbishop demanded from the burghers his tenth for loans to Auxerre and Troyes to purchase communal charters and annulled a contract of the aldermen to sell out-of-town rents at interest to Arras. 38 He also insisted on his sole right to authorize taxes, because the town was his feudal possession, not a corporate entity. 39 Henry then (1234) moved to consolidate his spiritual and secular court under the same man and transferred the tribunal from his archepiscopal palace to the fortified castle and prison at the Mars Gate 10 on the far side of the merchant quarter, effectively encasing it within two foci of clerical administration.

The burghers responded to the multiple application of spiritual, economic, and judicial levers between April and July 1235 by storming the prison-fortress, killing the archbishop’s marshall, and beating his men in a siege in which they are reported to have built barricades in the streets, bastions in nearby houses and earthen ramparts, using paving, cemetery and cathedral workshop stones(?). 41 For more than two years the clergy, in Desportes’ words, hurled every spiritual weapon in its arsenal at the intransigent town, from interdiction to excommunication, 42 and Henry, together with his sometimes reluctant suffragan bishops, made repeated pleas for royal intervention, 43 with a remarkable lack of success. King Louis held back until he could take advantage of the archbishop’s appeals to expand royal justice in Reims at Henry’s expense, while otherwise preserving all the archbishop’s temporal monopolies. 44

The main outcome of these events was an entrenched clergy, reinforced with huge reparations of 10,000 pounds parisis which was owed to the bishop. 45 According to Branner’s calculations, a sum of this size would have supported ten years’ cathedral construction. Tax records from the early fourteenth century show Reims diocese revenues amounting to 12,573 pounds tournois, compared to the next highest, Soissons, at less than 8,000. 46 The triumph of the clergy was not worked out in cash alone, nor in seigneurial prerogatives. There was also a spiritual element important for understanding the east-end decoration of the new cathedral.

It is a measure of how seriously the clergy took this challenge that they combined the reparations with multiple penitential processions on significant liturgical occasions. The first of these was to the Mars Gate barefoot in January 1237 to meet the archbishop and chapter; later smaller groups repeated the penance at the other sites of the insurrection, in each of the suffragan cathedrals, and in additional prescribed churches throughout the archdiocese, 47 where the archbishop must have had to repair his prestige. The penances were performed before the feasts of Easter and Pentecost; the reparations were due annually on the feast of Saint Remi. So these were
13 View of Reims, engraving by Merian, before 1622 (Desportes, pl. IV)

14 Reims, central tympanum, north transept, Life of St Remi (James Austin)

15 The Girl from Toulouse before St Benedict (detail of plate 14)
16 Exorcism of the Girl from Toulouse, Life of St Remi, Reims (detail of plate 14)

17 Healing of a demoniac, Life of St Cuthbert, Oxford, Bodleian Library, University MS 165, fol. 115r (Bodleian Library)

18 St Heribert heals a demoniac (Ornamenta Ecclesiæ, 2, fig. 10, p. 321)
19 Resurrection of the Girl from Toulouse, Life of St Remi, Reims (detail of plate 14).

20 Resurrection of the Girl from Toulouse (top), ivory book cover, Museum, Amiens (Hinkle, fig. 29).

21 Christ raising Jairus's Daughter, Egbert Psalter, Trier, Staatsbibl., Codex 24, fol. 25 (Trier Staatsbibl.).

22 Christ raising Lazarus, Egbert Psalter, Trier, Staatsbibl., Codex 24, fol. 52v (Trier Staatsbibl.).
23 Job (detail of plate 14)

24 Reims, north transept façade, Last Judgment (James Austin)
coordinated with those liturgical occasions when the archbishop presided over rites exclusive to his office, when he appeared as a type for Christ at Easter, when the origin of the office, the mission of the apostles, was celebrated at Pentecost, and for the feast of the diocesan founder, St Remi. The settlement was temporary; the burghers rioted again in 1238, again took the Mars Gate, this time with eighty hired bowmen. They only settled after Henry’s death in 1240, when they were assessed another reparation: 1,000 silver marks, and another series of penances, this time including public flogging at the cathedral. This coordination between liturgy and financial extraction was the mainstay of the economic, political and juridical subordination of the town. The main testimony to the forced accommodation of the town is the standing cathedral. One could say that the building program at Reims sounded the death-knell for the town’s communal aspirations which had been sought peacefully and violently since 1139.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT FACADE AND EAST-END DECORATIVE PROGRAM

To fit a pre-insurgency date for the north transept retrofit, scholars underplay its remarkably crude appearance in contrast to its accomplished sculpture. This chronology originates with Teresa Frisch’s argument for a close stylistic affinity between the transept sculpture and the buttress angels, which Villard de Honnecourt noted he saw ‘as they were,’ meaning in place. Frisch’s dates also rest on a chronology which derived Reims north from Amiens west. Now that Alain Erlande-Brandenburg has re-dated Amiens west to 1236 at the earliest from documentation for the encumbered site, Reims’s north design may be taken as a source for Amiens west. The most recent archaeological studies continue to coordinate findings with Frisch’s chronology. Accordingly scholars have occasionally aestheticized the north façade, yet its appearance suggests an overriding need to enlarge the use and conception of this façade at the expense of aesthetic considerations, even at the expense of visual access, perhaps because it faced not only the chapter’s cloister and houses, but beyond and slightly to the west, the merchant quarter, along the street leading to the Mars Gate with its newly installed archepiscopal court. Two aspects of the decoration stand out in comparison to comparable pictorial assemblies at Chartres, a particularly selective history of St Remi on the central tympanum, where the Last Judgment would normally have been set, and a preoccupation with liturgies and ceremonial portraits of bishops throughout the east-end sculpture and glazing.

LOCAL HISTORY AND LOCAL SAINTS

The central tympanum is almost entirely devoted to St Remi, founder of the diocese (plate 14). Reims’s national prestige derived partly from St Remi’s baptism of the Frankish king Clovis in 496, depicted on the lintel and again in
the center of the western gallery of kings, and Hincmar’s addition of the chrism miraculously delivered to St Remi, among his efforts after 869 to secure the archdiocese as the exclusive site for royal coronations. Hinkle interpreted the saints tympanum as a celebration of Reims’s triumph over Saint-Denis’s rival claims to the coronation rite, consolidated in two coronations held in 1223 and 1226, while the east end was under construction. The sculpted and glazed ensemble of the east end can be seen as promoting more than the coronation prerogative, a royal alliance in the face of its disintegration as the Capetians shifted the balance of feudal power in favor of the monarchy by expanding their jurisdictions against both secular and ecclesiastical magnates, just as Louis had done in his calculated arbitration between Henry and the Reims burghers.

A pictorial life of St Remi appears only twice elsewhere, in four scenes on a tenth-century ivory (plate 20), and in a contemporary ambulatory window at Chartres with twenty-two panels, whose distribution of episodes (19 of 39 related by Hincmar) seems relatively conventional when compared with the scope of pictorial hagiographies developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The five-register tympanum seems to have been designed to accommodate such a multi-narrative tradition. Reims by contrast seems exceedingly select. The most common and stereotypical hagiographic scenes of the Chartres cycle, the consecration or acclamation of the saint as a bishop and the saint’s death, are absent at Reims, and the sequence, in contrast to that at Chartres, is neither chronological nor coherent. Strangest of all, it is interrupted by a large central scene of Satan and Job. Also at Reims, scenes contain surprisingly disparate numbers of figures – seven for the three episodes of Remi’s birth – while a multi-figured format is used to give single moments a ceremonial character whether or not they depict ceremonies. This is particularly striking in the scenes of exorcism and resurrection belonging to three episodes from the history of a possessed girl from Toulouse.

The Story of the Possessed Girl from Toulouse

These scenes are unique at Reims; all the others also occur at Chartres. At Chartres and Reims, then, two distinct schemes were employed for the pictorial hagiography. According to Hincmar (and Pseudo-Fortunatus) the girl, possessed from infancy, was brought by her parents to Rome where neither St Peter nor St Benedict cured her; St Remi exorcised her, a Pyrrhic victory for she died while vomiting the demon, but he miraculously resurrected her the next day. The thirteenth-century public hagiography transforms the spontaneity of the early medieval narrative with its ‘prayerful invocations, prostrations and tears’ (actually topoi of resurrection stories) into ceremonial gestures by the fully-vested bishop, accompanied by assistants carrying liturgical instruments. Liturgical images thus substitute for the narratives of the early text. Correspondingly the possessed girl standing before St Benedict, and again before St Remi (plates 15 and 16), appears not at all like those lunatics of eleventh- and twelfth-century hagiographical illustrations who can barely be held down, even with physical restraints (plate 17); just the
opposite, she is completely composed, her hands clasped reverently as she stands before St Benedict and similarly when exorcised by St Remi, as if she were participating in a liturgical rite.

The same style used to depict expressive physiognomy in the later smiling angels or grimacing corbel heads could certainly have been used to depict a shrieking lunatic. Instead the event is visualized as if it were a contemporary ceremony, solemn and composed. Only in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century saints’ lives, and most probably for public settings, are exorcisms depicted as episcopal ceremonies (plate 18). Early hagiographic texts aligned saints typologically with Christ, reproducing, even enhancing, the narrative character of Gospel miracles. The later public images depict solemn liturgies reserved to priests, especially bishops, as successors to the apostles. At Reims the composed demoniac looks more like a penitent than a lunatic, according to the traditional equation between physical illness and spiritual inadequacy. In hagiographical texts, as in the Gospels, the sick are asked to have faith as a pre-condition for healing. In the later images this is converted to penitential behavior, characterized by submissive postures. The girl is so docile that, when she is successfully exorcised, it kills her.

Another transformation was made for the scene of the girl resurrected by the saint (plate 19). She rises upright from her sarcophagus, almost identical to the exorcised figure, with expressive physiognomic adjustments. This appears to be a deliberate assimilation of the two figures, a change from the only surviving version of the story on the tenth-century ivory, which used the narrative arrangement for Christ raising Jairus’s daughter as it appears in the Egbert Psalter (plates 20 and 21). Reims’s alternate is based on Christ raising Lazarus, also depicted in the Psalter, a standing figure called forth from his tomb (plate 22). The Lazarus-resurrection was the main Gospel precedent for the sacrament of penance, a spiritual rebirth, to be an exclusively priestly, in practice, episcopal, prerogative, according to penitential literature. Just as the apostles loosed Lazarus’s shroud, so too the bishops loose/absolve their flock from sin through penance or bind them in anathema. The thirteenth-century version of the girl’s exorcism, and particularly her resurrection, brings the scenes into line with contemporary penitential practices controlled by the episcopal clergy, which were also the decisive spiritual acts of subordination forced by Reims’s clergy on the town.

JOB

Job is the singular, even disruptive element in the tympanum, but also the central one. He lies on his dunghill, occupied by Satan, between the scenes of exorcism and resurrection (plate 23). An almost identical scene was set up at Chartres a few years earlier, also on the north transept (right portal), but there Job occupies the whole tympanum, scraping his boils. At Reims Hinkle suggested that he holds his shard to his breast in a gesture of penitential grief. Since Job generally figured as a type for patience he was commonly depicted as a submissive victim, but in the later Middle Ages he is increasingly
cited for penitence by authors who used Gregory the Great’s commentary, *Moralia in Job*, especially the passages where Job appears as a figure for the soul confident in its perfection, but obliged to acknowledge that it is not without sin, Job as a sinner without reproach, although this aspect is hardly overwhelming in the treatise.\(^{69}\)

This characterization becomes standard by the twelfth century. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois compared Job to Lazarus as exemplars of *poenitentia*.\(^{70}\) The Office of the Dead and the Commemoration of the Dead used nine lessons from Job.\(^{71}\) Late-medieval vulgate versions of the Book of Job emphasize penance and cite Lazarus as a figure of hope, resurrected, together with Job’s prophecy of resurrection and redemption, ending with the Canticle of the Last Judgment; sometimes Job himself invokes Lazarus.\(^{72}\)

Also at Reims the images of penitential behavior embedded in the scenes unique to this tympanum appear side by side with the resurrected, the elect and the damned in their chain of anathema, in the similarly composed, adjacent Last Judgment tympanum (plate 24).\(^{73}\) This coordination between Job, penance and the resurrected of the Last Judgment may explain why the resurrection of the girl from Toulouse just above Job was restructured by adapting the Lazarus format, why the Reims designers interrupted the sequence of possession, exorcism, and resurrection with the story of Job. They seem to have associated the two tympana by reproducing the girl rising from her sarcophagus in two figures of the resurrected, one with similarly clasped hands, the other holding her shroud closed (plate 25). These were apparently added, together with three others, to the figures who rise from individual sarcophagi or kettle-like urns, and were placed in an unusually prominent position directly beneath Christ.

The St-Remi tympanum, then, seems to bring together two penitential types: the girl from Toulouse, the hagiographic equation between physical sickness or death and spiritual inadequacy; and Job, the blameless penitent. They look like perfect exemplars of the submissive behavior expected from the feudal town. Especially their docile character is suggestive for the recent subordination of the town since passive submission from the excommunicated was demanded in penitential usage, derived from Gregory’s homily on the Lazarus story, where he urges penitents to accept their sentence, even if unjust.\(^{74}\)

One more image of penitence is depicted on the socle beneath the Last Judgment trumeau. A dishonest cloth merchant makes restitution to the Virgin and Child enthroned on an altar beside a canon, who looks down toward the kneeling merchant (plate 26). The story can be traced only in a post-medieval local tradition.\(^{75}\) At Chartres, in the same position, beneath the Last Judgment trumeau figure of the south center portal, the bishop’s rival, the count, kneels to offer bread as a token of vassalage, while he faces his castle and his urban jurisdiction. In both cases, this position seems to be used for images of spiritual subordination with contemporary significance, perhaps more the hope and expectation than the reality. Ceremonial offerings were one vehicle for enacting spiritual submission within the cathedral. Williams has described how Chartres documents prescribed offerings, like the vassal bread beside the
25 Reims, The Resurrected, detail right, Last Judgment (Sauerländer pl. 239)

26 Reims, north transept, Story of the deceitful cloth merchant. Socle beneath Christ, Last Judgment trumeau (Sauerländer, pl. 242)
27 Reims, choir (James Austin)

28 Reims, choir, buttress angel (James Austin)

29 Reims, choir, Christ (James Austin)
30 Reims, north transept, Virgin and Child portal (Sauerländer, pl. 56)

31 Reims, south transept lancets, A Reims metropolitan, John the Baptist, the Virgin and Reims cathedral (Reinhardt, p. 42)

32 Reims, axial windows upper choir, Virgin and Reims cathedral, Christ and Archbishop Henry of Braine (Reinhardt, p. 43)

33 St Bertin and companions, Lives of Saints Bertin, Folquin, Silvin, and Winnoc, Saint-Bertin ca. 1000, Boulogne. Bibl. mun. MS 107, f.6v (J. Porcher, Medieval French Miniatures, New York, 1959)
34(a) Reims, upper choir window, Apostle and Bishop of Theroanne (Reinhardt, p. 45) (left); (b) Reims, upper nave lancet, King Karolus and Prelate (Hincmar?) (Reinhardt, p. 45)

35 St Heribert invested bishop of Cologne (Oramenta Ecclesiae, 2, fig. 3, p. 318)

36 Reims, choir (Kimpel and Suckale, fig. 286)
count, to be placed before the silver-sheathed Virgin on the high altar, beneath one of the many figures of the Virgin enthroned in the clerestory glass.\textsuperscript{76} According to customary formulas, offerings were made to the patron, not the clergy, a nicety abandoned in Reims's images, where the two beneficiaries of the feudal church, real and fantastic, earthly and celestial, appear together twice. Reims's metropolitan and the Virgin and Child were depicted in the south transept lancets across from Henry's palace, and in the axial windows of the upper choir (see below).

To come back to the tympanum, the fifth-century bishop-saint's acts, structured as ceremonies, are prototypical for thirteenth-century episcopal authority which had been useless during the insurgency. This is the second aspect of the decoration which recurs in the east-end sculpture and glazing. Together with his assistants, St Remi reproduces the contemporary appearance of the clergy inside and outside their cathedral precinct (what is not in Hincmar's text): in the funnel procession when the chapter was attacked, during the repeated processionally structured public penances exacted from the insurgent burgurers, and in the newly elaborated processional appearances called for in the thirteenth-century \textit{Ordo} as distinct from the twelfth-century liturgical manuals.\textsuperscript{77}

\textbf{LITURGICAL USAGE AT REIMS: PUBLIC PROCESSIONS AND THE CALL TO PENCE}

The post-insurgency \textit{Ordo} expand the liturgical use of the canons' cloister by multiplying the number of processions around the cloister, the regular movement in and out of, and before the north transept, over the twelfth-century manuscripts.\textsuperscript{78} They also expand the canons' processions in the Cité, and add to these penitential recitations.\textsuperscript{79} Already in the twelfth century the feast of St Mark called for a city-wide procession, pausing at chapels in the main city-gates, including the Mars Gate.\textsuperscript{80} After the insurgency this must have looked like regular displays of proprietorship enacted along the whole perimeter of the Cité. On these occasions the dramatic setting for spiritual authority was turned outward from the new choir into the town itself.

All the processions added in the thirteenth-century \textit{Ordo} were for liturgies particularly associated with the archbishop's spiritual prerogatives, whether local or general: for the dedication of the church at Reims, for Pentecost and for the Octave of Pentecost: the feast celebrating both the historic Mission of the Apostles and on-going, episcopal authority through the doctrine of apostolic succession.

The thirteenth-century manuals enlarged the penitential element in the form of additional recitations of the Seven Penitential Psalms belonging to the Ritual of Public Penance (Holy Thursday): for the Palm Sunday processions to St-Remi, they were recited as a separate sub-group;\textsuperscript{81} during Ember Days a set was added (beyond the expanded ten already recited), only in the later manuals;\textsuperscript{82} for the Vigil of the dead and a feast dedicated to Reims's archbishop-saints the chief Penitential Psalm, the \textit{Miserere}, Psalm 50, was
read. On Rogation Days before Ascension, the same set was read once in the twelfth century, but twice in the thirteenth. These elaborations are particularly associated with the Easter season, with Pentecost, with the feasts for the church of Reims and its clergy and finally with Ember days, when readings from Job were added to the Ordo.

ST REMI AND JOB

Job is mentioned only once, and only in the thirteenth-century Ordos when his history appears to have been added, read on the first fifteen days of September in preparation for Ember Days, which are also penitential in character. So the new liturgy seems to have been coordinated with the depiction of Job’s story in the center of St Remi’s miracles and the penitential character I would suggest for it.

One last – and particularly aggressive – addition comes for each Rogation Day (before Ascension), and for the feast of St Remi’s translation: only in the thirteenth-century Ordos do the canons, when they approach the Cité, returning from St-Remi, sing the responsory, ‘This city/sinful nation’, Civitatem istam genti peccatrici, two unmatched phrases probably culled from Isaiah’s prophetic warnings, awkwardly joined for a metropolitan antiphonary. They seem to attack the city as a corporate entity, though they denied this status in every legal proceeding. These were appended to recitations of the Penitential Psalms.

The same feasts or liturgical seasons expanded in the thirteenth century were also the occasions for the spiritual and economic humiliations ending the civil suit in 1237: the diocesan-wide penances were performed before Easter and Pentecost, when the bishop appeared as a type for Christ, and when the mission of the Apostles was celebrated; and the reparations were due on the feast of St Remi, Henry’s saintly predecessor. Perhaps there was even a more concrete relationship between liturgy and setting: it has been argued that north portals were used for public penance both at Autun, one hundred years earlier, beneath the more traditional figures of Adam, Eve, and Lazarus, and also at Chartres, by the mid-thirteenth century, where one of the portals was dedicated to Job.

But even if the portal was used this way, it is unlikely to have been intended primarily for the burghers, who would have seen it only on those rare occasions of public subordination; the setting and its ritual use would rather serve the canons to depict episcopal authority, re-entrenched, against the pacified town whose feudal status remained virtually unchanged.

ARCHIVOLTS, BUTTRESS FIGURES AND CHOIR GLASS

Beside the saints’ tympanum, throughout the east-end decoration at Reims are liturgies, some undeciphered, and sequences of authority-figures, enthroned
bishops and archbishops. Seated bishops encase the St Remi tympanum, together with Old Testament precursors and popes. Angels on the outer choir carrying liturgical instruments flank Christ (plates 27, 28 and 29), who faces not east, but north, over the canons’ cloister, toward the suppressed merchant quarter and the Mars prison and episcopal court. This insistent and repetitive image of episcopal authority seems to be the other essential feature of the iconography which has contemporary significance. Schmidt and Hinkle even identified two archivolt bishops as possible portraits of Henry of Braisne. Hinkle went on to suggest that all the voussoirs depict Reims metropolitans, just as the nave clerestory lancets did. The twelfth-century tomb re-used for the Virgin and Child portal (plate 30) may have belonged to Archbishop Henry of France, the authoritarian brother of Louis VII, who put down the communal revolt of 1166–7, Henry of Braisne’s most powerful predecessor, and the one most likely to have been a model for his own archeepiscopy. Branner suggested that the office of the dead or funeral procession of angels and clergy depicted around the tomb may have been repeated in a heavenly version by the choir angels flanking Christ.

Of all the east-end images, the windows most directly express ecclesiastical authority reinstated. Henry had himself, inscribed ‘Henry Archbishop of Reims,’ and his church portrayed together with the Virgin and Child and Christ in the axial windows of the choir (plate 32). These may have been modeled on the portrait of an unnamed metropolitan in the south transept lancets, facing the archepiscopal palace, also accompanied by his church, inscribed ‘The metropolitan church of Reims,’ together with the Virgin and Child. To this group was appended John the Baptist, a panel which does not seem to have been made for the window (plate 31). Henry would have replaced the generic metropolitan, of the type who surround the north central tympanum, with a portrait of himself. Asymmetrically coordinated, the two portraits mark the archbishop’s ceremonial route from his palace through the south transept portal to the high altar as specified in the Ordos (see above, note 78). Henry is coordinated with Christ typologically in his capacity as priest, since Christ is depicted in his sacrificial aspect as the altar offering whose blood flows into a huge gold chalice, perhaps also another specification of the south transept figure of the Baptist holding the lamb of God. Henry belongs to the tradition of commemorative portraits of bishops which sometimes incorporate liturgies or priestly references: Erhard celebrating mass, or St Bertin (plate 33). In both windows it is the authoritative frontal figure of the archbishop on his cathedra, mitred, with pallium, holding his staff which characterizes Henry. The windows, therefore, depict both the archbishop and his office, his spiritual authority and his ecclesiastical properties, through the titulars, his vestments, and the cathedral façades.

This is expanded on either side of the axial choir window by a sequence of lancets depicting apostles above Reims’s suffragan bishops, who also alternate with their church façades (plate 34a), an unusual and explicit image of the lineage of spiritual authority in its liturgical setting. The suffragan bishops beneath the apostles show their authoritative pedigree, an administrative version of apostolic succession, rather than the traditional narrative scene of
Pentecost or the Mission of the Apostles. Branner identified the ensemble as an administrative assembly, the suffragan bishops arrayed around Henry as they were at synods according to the order of precedence established at the Council of St-Quentin in 1231, the same council which set procedures assimilating usurers to heretics. Together with Henry, they preside forever over the sanctuary rites in the town from which their metropolitan had been driven a few years earlier (plate 36). Nothing so peaceful and composed as this ideal assembly characterized the synods Henry convened during the insurgency, when his suffragans were undecided whether and how to press King Louis to intervene, and all the while Laon continued to press litigation against Reims at the papal curia. The windows side-step the recent, violent disintegration of metropolitan authority.

The difference between Henry and his bishops is that only the bishoprics, the administrative districts, not the individual bishops, are identified by inscription. Together with these personified dioceses, the church façades also seem to denote the episcopal sees. They are not carried by founders or donors but designate episcopal properties in the same way as the small church in the investiture scene from the life of St Heribert of Cologne, ca.1160–70 (plate 35), where the sequence and actors in the ceremony are depicted according to the Concordat of Worms. Within, without and before these architectural vistas, the social position of the clergy was embodied in ceremony. In these abstracted and frontal views, Reims cathedral and its suffragans project the image of gothic cathedrals which has passed into our art books, beautiful, timeless, and serene. Nothing could be further from the immediate urban history of Reims. Yet they depict the outcome of this general history: splendid cathedrals, still dwarfing their towns, almost untouched until the Revolution dismantled the last vestiges of medieval feudalism in France.

Only the last four bays of the upper nave lancets at Reims remain, a sequence of metropolitans enthroned beneath the kings they crowned (plate 36). Together with the two coronations celebrated in 1223 (Louis VIII) and 1226 (Louis IX), the sequence projected the alliance originating in the coronation of Clovis depicted on the lintel of the saints’ tympanum of the north façade, and again in the center of the west façade kings’ gallery, but one whose currency had been considerably eroded by Capetian expansion at the expense of ecclesiastical magnates. The glass projects the new reality also to be found on the west façade Gallery of Kings, the uncontested supremacy of the Capetian monarchy.

To sum up, the north transept seems to belong to a program which addresses not only the common spiritual claims of episcopal clergy, but also the communal insurrection. It appears to have been hastily set up after the rebellion by covering the original lancet windows with a particularly ugly masonry wall in order to fit two discrepant portals between the buttress piers without compromising their structural integrity. The building effort crystallized social divisions into insurgency, but the building could nevertheless be finished without any apparent constraints. Only the changes in the canons’ entrance and the ensemble of sculpture and sanctuary glazing coordinated with public rituals of subordination and penitential elaborations suggest how the clergy
undertook to restore its spiritual claims because they were, at the same time, economic and political.

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NOTES

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1 See Branner’s pioneering article (1961a) and Lopez. Recently, Warnke, Kraus (with Murray’s review (1981) and Kraus’s rejoinder (1982); Murray (1980); Kimpel (1985); Mussat, James (1984), Williams. See also note 9 below.


3 Ravaux suggested that the lancet tips were added to repeat as far as possible the south façade design, p. 34, but Branner had seen the walled-in windows behind the eighteenth-century organ (1961b), p. 228 and fig. 9.


6 Frisch, with lit., esp. pp. 2–5, 18–20, 24. Branner (1961a; 1961b, pp. 228, 230), Ravaux, pp. 32–5. Hinkle; Ravaux agrees with Branner (1961b) that the original design was built up to the triforium level before the alteration was made. Kimpel and Suckale (1985, esp. pp. 289, 332) revise Frisch and Ravaux.


9 Economic records enabling scholars to map how labor and materials were mobilized and financed remain for very few churches. For the latest survey, see Vroom. See also Williams and James (1972) on Chartres; Murray on Beauvais and Troyes. I wish to thank Prof. Dr Robert Scheller of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Universität van Amsterdam for calling my attention to Vroom’s study. See also Knope and Jones, and Salzman for England; DuColombier, with Branner’s review (1955).


11 Letter of the Archbishop of Rouen, Hugh d’Amiens, to Thierry, Bishop of Amiens, dated 1145:

At Chartres they commenced ... to draw carts and beams for the construction of the church, and this humility brought forth miracles. ... After this ... they commenced to come from throughout our diocese to their own cathedral church of Rouen, having made this condition, that no one should come ... unless he should first confess and repent, and unless he should lay aside wrath and envy ... they drag with their own arms the carts, advancing in humility and silence, and bringing thus their offering not without discipline and tears. Three conditions ..., confession with penitence, the laying aside of all malevolence, humility and obedience in following their leader we required ... and we received them piously, and absolved and blessed them ... very many miracles took place in our churches, ... And we permitted our diocesan to go out of our see, but we forbade them to go to those excommunicated or under interdict.
THE URBAN SETTING FOR LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH BUILDING


12 From Abbot Haimon, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives to the Monks of Tutbury Abbey in England (1145).

Who ever saw, who ever heard, in all the generations past, that kings, princes, mighty men of this world, pulped up with honors and riches, men and women of noble birth, should bind bridles upon their proud and swollen necks and submit them to wagons which, after the fashion of brute beasts, they dragged with their loads of wine, corn, oil, lime, stones, beams, and other things necessary to sustain life or to build churches. . . . Moreover, as they drag the wagons we may see this miracle that, although sometimes a thousand men and women, or even more, are bound in the traces (so vast indeed is the mass, so great is the engine, and so heavy the load laid upon it), yet they go forward in such silence that no voice, no murmur, is heard; and unless we saw it with our own eyes, no man would dream that so great a multitude is there when again, they pause . . . then no other voice is heard but confession of guilt . . . prayer to God . . . pardon for their sins; and, while the priests there preach peace, hatred is soothed, discord is driven away, debts are forgiven, and unity is restored betwixt man and man. If, however, anyone be so sunk in evil that he will not forgive those who sinned against him, nor obey the pious admonition of the priests, then is his offering forthwith cast down from the wagon as an unclean thing; and he himself, with much shame and ignominy is separated from the unity of the sacred people. . . . and those that are vexed with diverse diseases, arise whole from the wagons. Such sacred scenes had first taken place . . . at Chartres, and . . . spread throughout. . . all Normandy.


For the Latin see Mortet and Deschamps, (1929), pp. 120–1, and (1913) including a discussion, esp. 116–19.

Are the builders of lofty towers striving to take from the spirits, whose dwelling-place is the misty air, their own places and abodes? O affection! O vanity! . . . What shall I say of the carvings and paintings except that wealth gives way to folly? Roofs that keep out the water would suffice. But from the time that luxury, destroyer of wealth, and deadly ambition subjected men of the city to the yoke of wretched slavery, so many and such unlawful inventions have been devised that no one would have the strength to count them. Presumably it was necessary for carved capitals to support the spiderwebdings (ribbed vaults?) Behold the superfluous and vain contrivances connected with buildings, clothing, food, trappings, furniture and finally various adornments, and rightly will you be able to say: ‘O vanity! O superfluity!’


See Mortet and Deschamps, (1929), pp. 179–80 and (1913), esp. pp. 119ff., for Latin text and discussion, including also a discussion of Hugue de Fouilloi. See also Grary (p. 81, from PL vol. 144, col. 465) on Peter Damian’s critique of Richard of Saint-Vanne (ca. 970–1046) in hell, still ‘building towering machines. . . . For this abbot worked in death as he had lived, since he had expended all of his efforts in constructing useless buildings and had wasted much of the church’s resources in frivollities.’

p. 169, on the economic advances of building.

For von Simson there is no distinction between
St-Denis in the twelfth century and Chartres in the thirteenth in the scale of these building projects relative to their local economies or in the financial value of pilgrimage fairs. Thus he suggested that the town of Chartres relied enough on the revenues from pilgrimage coordinated with four market fairs, that trade guilds, together with the canons, had to reconstruct the sanctuary without delay, pp. 164–73. However, Chêdeville had shown the trades were not organized in guilds but ran as feudal monopolies; and Williams has argued that windows of the trades at Chartres conceal a history of violence between the bishop and the count, who divided political and economic authority in the town, and the chapter and tradesmen.

18 Lopez, pp. 434, 436–8; Duby uses similar language to make the same distinction between Italy and northern Europe (pp. 260–1): pious gifts were ultimately 'immobilized in real estate,' though he contradicts this elsewhere (pp. 235, 259) by repeating the traditional view that merchant support for cathedrals was an expression of independence and pride, also Kraus’s position, critiqued by Murray (1981). Art historians dismiss or neutralize Lopez (von Simson, p. 169, Grodecki, pp. 23–6). For Branner (1961a, p. 27, n. 20) it remained an open question whether Reims’s economy might have suffered in the way Lopez proposed.

19 James (1984), map I, p. 17, proposed an economic basis for construction in the Paris basin and estimates of the labor force for Chartres in support of Lopez and against Johnson, note 120. He also suggested that buildings like Notre Dame and Reims discouraged peripheral building by soaking up all available funds in the region and that the 1235 rebellion at Reims was one response, p. 22.

20 See Kimpel (1977) for efficiencies in stone-cutting first employed at Amiens; also 1981 and 1986 for general discussions. According to James (1984), p. 24 and n. 66, large buildings tended to need stone carried over greater distances. From Gimpel, The Medieval Machine. The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages, (1976), English edn New York, 1983, pp. 61–2: 20 km by road doubled the cost of stone. Yet work was not noticeably discouraged. Re-used ashlar and rubble-core construction can be taken to indicate continuing scarcity in the face of ever larger enterprises. Provision miracles are equally suggestive, for example, Guibert of Nogent’s story of the ox who suddenly appeared to help pull wood to repair Laon p. 197. Two decades later Abbot Suger tells of the miraculous capacity of seventeen men and boys, some disabled, to lift what normally required 100–140 men, Frisch (1987), p. 13, from E. Panofsky, Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of

21 Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures, Princeton, 1946. Williams suggests the journey as far as England with the Virgin’s tunic after Chartres 1194–fire reveals how difficult it was to assemble funds, rather than popular enthusiasm assumed by von Simson and Warnke. Insurgencies arising from communal and factional struggles accompanied ambitious building projects at Vézelay, Santiago de Compostela, and Laon in the twelfth century; at Chartres, Beauvais and Reims in the thirteenth.

22 Murray, p. 551.

23 Ecclesiastical invective is well-documented (see J. de Vitry, below, p. 21 and no. 37). Communal charters were granted and withdrawn based on short-range considerations. See Petit-Dutaillis, esp. pp. 71–123; Vermersch, esp. pp. 175–83; Vercauteren; Schneider.

24 Over 2,000 large (3–4 m. in height), medium and small figures, and the only building fitted with over life-size figures on the inner west wall. See Reinhardt (p. 133), quoting Tournier; Sauerländer (pp. 474ff); Wadley; and Houvet for pre-World War I photographs. My thanks to William Clark, who has alerted me to a depository of nineteenth century photographs.

25 The following is taken from Desportes, esp. pp. 155–77, also used by Sadler-Davis, see esp. pp. 72–82.

26 Marked by two communes, the first granted and withdrawn by Louis VII in 1139 because he said the town was incapable of living in peace with the canons, who, in turn, were implacably hostile to the charter, and remained so; the second marked by an insurrection in 1166–7 against the authoritarian archbishop Henry of France, brother of Louis VII, when fifty houses were demolished, Desportes, pp. 78–85. Henry of France tried to bring temporal cases under his spiritual court. A similar effort by Archbishop Henry of Braisne preceded the burgher attack on the Mars Gate, see below.

27 In the charter called the Willelmine, after Archbishop Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains, 1182, though not a communal charter since the aldermen had no police, no administrative powers, were allowed no sworn association, and the canons retained their francs-scrupes within their familia, immune to outside jurisdiction, Desportes, pp. 73–4, 85–92. Even in this limited form, the charter was never recognized by the canons.

28 Murray p. 535, note 17. At Lyon, at the time of the insurrection of 1260–70, according to Gregory X’s scathing indictment, temporal courts were operated by the archbishop and canons competitively. The same pleas or contracts had to be argued before multiple tribunals, with multiple fees, Kraus, pp. 91ff.

29 ‘Néanmoins les Rémois des années 1180–1210
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ont définitivement fixé la configuration de leur ville pour plusieurs siècles,' Desportes, pp. 71-3, esp. p. 72, plan opposite p. 68 and Kaiser, plan no. 26, showing Reims in 1844.

30 Stagnation of smaller towns up to the eighteenth century appears characteristic. Braudel attributed this to high mortality rates, pp. 381, 386. Desportes does not suggest the cathedral-building enterprise as the source for this economic pressure.

31 Branner, pp. 30-3. He did not connect the rebellion with the fabric shortfalls.

32 At Beauvais this amounted to a tenth of parish, canonical and episcopal revenues for the decade, but according to the Chronicle of Albéric of Trois Fontaines the bishop was overwhelmed by debts, 'innumeris obligatus debitis' (1230-1) just prior to the revolt 1232-3 and sought papal aid. Murray (1980) pp. 550, 555 and n. 17. My thanks to Jane Williams for giving me a copy of Gauthier's will.

33 The magnitude of projects in the later Middle Ages outstripped revenues of individual lords. Thus they had to seek funds from superiors and from a wider community, weakening traditional claims of authority which went with patronage: 'From the 11th, really from the 12th century a building work could only in rare instances be an expression of a sole, individual will. At all levels of the building activity, the patron's single purpose is fused into the mass of outside resources which must be brought into the building work,' p. 58, which he also describes as a cooperative, common achievement, one level on which a consensus had to be reached, p. 60. Warnke, however, makes little distinction between appeals to superiors and claims on the faithful, whose 'contributions' and benefits are different. Thus he doesn't incorporate records of violent contests over lordship, but rather discusses shifts in power within the landlord class.

34 Initiated by Gregory IX in January 1230, amplified by Louis IX in a December 1230 ordinance against Jews and usurers, and then in a provincial council at St-Quentin in 1231, which adopted procedures already in use against heretics. For the organization of inquisitorial courts in the northern French towns, Desportes, p. 161, with lit.

35 In 1235 and 1236; 183 were burned at Mont-Aimé in 1239, Desportes, p. 161 and nn. 37 and 38 with lit.


   Super omnia mala Babilonice civitates unum est et pessimum, quod vix inventur aliqua comminata in qua non sunt factores, receptatores, defensores vel credentes hereticorum. Quidam enim, dum ab eis munera acipiant, propter avaricam eos defendunt, favorem eis impendentes, et hostes Domini sui receptantes, inimici fidei et proditores Crucifixi. Alii libenter eis credunt, quod rapinas, furta et usuras non jubeant restituere, sed per manus impositionem, absum alicuia satisfactio, salutem eis promittunt in morte; ... [From *Sermo III. ad mercatores et campores*]

Communitates autem seu commune civitatem, communem pecuniam ad usuram dantes, adeo obtenebrante sunt quod dicunt universitatem (diversitatem-Giry) teneri, ita quod nullum de universitate; unde nullus eorum in morte petitet vel confiteatur. Sed si universitas damnarpatur, quomodo ipsi damnamatione evadant; si communia ad infernum vadit, remaneant extra si possunt et non intrent, ... Hoc anno ecclesia Remensi existente in multo pace et honore, cives multi de banno archiepiscopi et de banno capituli ... timentes, no contra eos fieret inquisitio de usura, conspiratione inter se facta, populo contra capitulum sediciose commoto, per injuria et vituperia canonici et subditis suis facta, ipsos canonici metus mortis 5. Idus Novembres de civitate fugere compulerunt.


38 Desportes, p. 159. The bishop of Arras published the annullment of the sale.

39 A long-standing dispute over possession of a seal, keys and supervision of the city gates is recorded. Philip-Augustus ordered the town to return keys and control over the gates in 1211, and prohibited the burghers especially from receiving men whom the archbishop had banned, Desportes, pp. 155-6.

40 Ibid., p. 159.

41 From a brief account in *Chronica of Saint-Nicaine*, Desportes, p. 162, n. 42, and MGH SS, p. 85: for the year 1235 (the next entry after the account of the burgher attack on the canons):

   ac per biennium et duos menses apud Curmissiacum et Curvillam (where the chapter fed) exulare. In qua tempestate cives, favente eis et fonte regia potestate, contra castrum de porta Martis cum petrarii et magonellis communem insultum fecerunt et marasculum archiepiscopi intus quarrellare occiderunt. Civitatem muris terreis subito cinxerunt, quos postea destruerre compulsi sunt. Cepta
est causa de scabinatu a capitula contra
cives, consistente archiepiscopo et
mediatatem expensurarum ministrante in
curia Romana.

Desportes’s description from VA, I, pp. 1061–2.

First the town and its suburbs were placed
under interdict. On November 29, 1234 at
Cormicy the chapter prohibited its members
with threat of excommunication to enter the
interdicted territory, Desportes, p. 160. Henry
had pronounced a general sentence of
excommunication after the attack on his castle.

On April 4, 1235 the Pope wrote to ask the king
to aid the archbishop, but without results,
followed by Henry’s synods in July, September,
and November, 1235, Desportes, pp. 163–4.
Desportes also argues that royal intervention
in Beauvais against Bishop Milo encouraged
Reims burgurers to think they would also have
royal support, p. 157. Reims had loaned money
to a number of towns to purchase communal
charters and a larger number had received
charters from Count Thibaud IV of
Champagne, ibid., p. 158.

The king took over temporal cases involving
clergy, Desportes, p. 164. Louis had responded
to the pope’s initial demands on behalf of
Henry by criticizing the bishops for refusing in
temporal cases to respond before the king’s
court but demanding his intervention in the
insurrection.

The court decided on January 13, 1236 that
burgurers also had to suppress their municipal
organization (the échevinage) and pay 3,000
marks in damages to the canons. Those
designated by the king set this huge indemnity,
though no punitive damages were assessed,
March 27, 1236, Desportes, p. 165.

Quoted by Murray, p. 335, n. 17, from Valor
Decimarum Omnium Provinciarum et Diocesum Regni
in: Recueil des historiens, xxi, 561.

Twenty burgurers ‘particularly compromised’
had to appear at each of the cathedrals of the
archdiocese before Pentecost and another 106 in
groups of six at their respective churches before
Easter, Desportes, p. 166.

The Chronicle of Saint Nicaise, MGH SS,
vol. XIII, p. 85 for the year 1228 states that
Henry came with an army, imprisoned some
and exiled other citizens of his banal
jurisdiction, destroyed many houses in his ban,
creélations on others, placed a general
interdict on the whole city, excommunicated all
the citizens of his ban, but could not end the
insurgency; the sentences were confirmed by
Gregory IX in June 1239.

1238: Hoc anno Henricus de Brana
Remensi archiepiscopus venit in civitate
Remensi cum armis et quosdam scabinos et
aliis cives de banno suo cepit et diu in
carcere detinuit et alios plures qui de banno
suo erant bannivi, nec postea revocati
fuerint, quam vixit archiepiscopus. Eodem
die plures domos in banno suo destruxit,
cranmellos etiam, quos cives facerant in
domibus suis, fecit destruiri, et hec omnia
facta furent, quia scabin et alii cives
balivum et servientes archiepiscopi
fugaverant et alia forefacta contra
archiepiscopum facerant nec emendare
volebant. Eodem anno interdictum generale
posuit archiepiscopus in tota civitate
Remensi et omnes cives de banno suo
excommunicavit.

In the Fall of 1238, according to a vivid letter of
Gregory IX, the burgurers roughed up
the bishop’s bailiff and his sergents and again
laid siege and took over the Mars Gate. From
papal letters summarized by Desportes,
pp. 166–7:

The burgurers are masters of the town. They
guard the gates in arms, exercise strict
control over entering and leaving. . . . They
usurp the exercise of temporal jurisdiction
which belongs exclusively to the archbishop.
They lay siege to the castle of Mars Gate
and have encircled it with palfyss and
wood works. They have assembled all sorts
of arms and appropriated munitions; they
have paid (pris a leur solde) 80 cross
bowmen whose banners are deployed
publicly in the windows all around the
Market square. They have allowed those
whom the archbishop banned to
return. . . . They have bound themselves by
oaths. In fact they know only success,
resistance to oppression having truly been
the initial mover in their action.

Henry’s death and the settlement of 1240 are
also recorded in the Chronicle of Saint-Nicaise
for 1240, MGH SS, vol. XIII, p. 86 and
discussed by Desportes, p. 167.

Successors engaged in all the old disputes. The
first act of Henry’s successor, Joël
de Mathefelon, was to contest the absolution
given the burgurers by the chapter in order to
restore part of the fine awarded March 27,
1236, which he claimed had not been paid,
authorized in pontifical letters of August 1,
1245. His successor also entered into a conflict
with the burgurers, settled by arbitration of
the king in 1258. Again the keys to the city gates
were disputed, Desportes, pp. 167–8.

According to Desportes, the status of the town
did not undergo a single change. ‘Il était trop
lard maintenant pour obtenir une commune; le
roi ne voulait plus en créer, n’ayant plus trop en
l’utilité de l’institution. . . . De cette affaire, le
pouvoir royal sort seul gagnant. Saint Louis a
exploité au mieux des intérêts de la monarchie
l’opposition entre l’archevêque et les bourgeois’
(p. 169).
51 Frisch (1960) intended to specify what she called the free-for-all speculation on dates for this sculpture. She suggests Villard was at Reims by 1232, disputing Hahnloser’s date, 1233, pp. 4–5; for her conclusions linking the jams, tympana and choir statues, pp. 16–17. See Branner’s comments on using sculpture for dating in his review of Reinhardt (1963, p. 376). See also Kimpel and Suckale, p. 289.

52 Frisch (1960), pp. 19–20; Erlande-Brandenburg, esp. pp. 284, 285; he argues that the façade is not a homogeneous ensemble in plan or style, p. 287.

53 Branner, Hinkle and Ravaux. See also Branner’s (1963, pp. 375–6) and Ravaux’s (p. 7) comments on the particular difficulties in archaeological interpretation of Reims.

54 See above note 3. Since the north façade was partly hidden by the cloister walkway, the three doorways would not have been visible as an ensemble: Hinkle (1963, p. 7); Ravaux (p. 33). From Branner (1966): ‘That level (of the lancet tips) marks the top of the block of masonry housing the portals on the exterior, which rises to the same height in the central and eastern bay and now gives the addition a certain uniformity’ (p. 230), this, despite the careful accommodation of the first plan to a claustral building, which then had to be torn down. He goes on to attribute the series of alterations in design to the ‘vitality and initiative of the architects and their chief sculptors’ (p. 237).

55 Kunst suggested that the changed conception of the pictorial program in the north and west portals reflected the burgher-clergy conflict (1976, p. 25, n. 15), and in a slightly changed version (1981, p. 102, n. 15).

56 Hinkle (1965, pp. 23–30, 37–40). These claims and counter-claims had iconographical expression also in St-Denis’s Valois Portal (ibid., pp. 30–1); and in its royal tombs, Sauerländer (pp. 490–1) and Bruzelius (esp. p. 133 with lit). At Reims the upper nave glazing program, showing the archbishops of Reims together with the kings they crowned, and the huge figures of kings on Reims west, with Clovis Baptized in the center, continue the competition with St-Denis whose outcome had to be again stipulated by charter as late as 1261.

57 The Chartres window is located in the Confessor’s chapel on the north ambulatory, Delaporte and Houvet, no. 28, pp. 266–71, pls LXXV–LXXVIII; and Hinkle, figs 32–5; fig. 29 for the Ivory.

58 Abou-El-Haj, Appendix A: chart of subjects illustrated in pictorial hagiographies, and pp. 50–82, iconography. The burial, the most common and stereotypical, is also absent from both.

59 Pseudo-Fortunatus, chapters 6–8; Hincmar, chapter III: 39–41, who adds Saint to the story of Benedict’s unsuccessful exorcism in Rome. Hinkle, p. 50. From Pseudo-Fortunatus and Hincmar with few variations: S. Remigius cum lacrimis ad pavimentam Sanctorum in oratione proesternit, et reliquis, ut ita facerent, adhortatur, et sullus lacrimarum imbro, consurgens suscitavit mortuam, quam prius sanavit aegrotum. [Similar expressions are used for Amand reviving a dead thief, from the 8th-century account] . . . super defuncti membra oratione incumbens, tam diutissime lacrimit profundit ac precibus, donec, iubente Deo, anima in corpore reedit, adique cum viro Dei loqui coepit.


See Wadley.

61 Heribert, fully vested, exorcizes a lunatic kneeling before his episcopal throne; another is healed as he looks on. See Ornamenta Ecclesiae, vol. 2, pp. 314–23 with lit., fig. 10.

62 Not in Hincmar, but standard for many lives, based on Gospel stories. See Abou-El-Haj, p. 69, Healing of the Blind; pp. 147, 151–2; an exorcism of a boy possessed by a demon, who is released only when the saint instructs him to respond to the demon’s taunts. Exorcism formulas sometimes incorporate penitential readings of the seven penitential psalms, but Hinkle was apparently mistaken when he suggested that lunatics came among the penitents to be absolved on the Wednesday before Easter (1965), p. 51, when an exorcism is performed on the chrisms, for the Last Supper on Holy Thursday (Chevalier, pp. 124 ff; and p. 282).


John 11: 43–4. All the Gospel resurrections, but especially Lazarus, were compared in medieval
commentaries with release from sin through confession and penance; and, together with John 20: 23 (from the Jerusalem Bible): ‘For those whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven; for those whose sins you retain, they are retained,’ were cited as the basis for penance to be a priestly prerogative, in practice episcopal, as the Reims Ordo direct. Russo quotes Augustine, sermons 98; 295, 352 (p. 439, PL, 38, col. 1395 and PL, 39, col. 1558). From Gregory the Great: Veniant foras mortuus, id est culpam confiteatur peccator. Venientem vero foras, solutum discipulis ut pastores Ecclesiae et poenam deberunt asservi (ibid., Greg in ev. hom. 26, PL, 76, col. 1200). These sources were used by Wercumbein to explain the figure of Eve together with the story of Lazarus on the north transept portal of St-Lazare, Autun, esp. pp. 15-17 with lit.

67 Hinkle, pp. 68 and nn. 57,58; Sauerlander, pl. 90, pp. 435-6.
68 Besserman, p. 164, n. 18.
69 Adam and Eve are Gregory’s main figures for penitence. Hinkle (1965) cites five medieval copies of Gregory’s Moralia still at Reims, one given to the cathedral by Hincmar, the others from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and belonging to St-Remi, p. 59, note 306. On Job admitting sin (but without reproach), Gregory’s dedicatory letter prefacing the Moralia (Gillet and de Gaudemaris, vol. I, p. 120, p. 129), and Job with the aspect of penitence (ibid., p. 203). The newest edition has been published by Corpus Christianorum. See also DLC, col. 726.
71 For Job cited in the Commentatio Animae, DLC, col. 2536. On the Office of the Dead: Besserman, pp. 38, 64, 165, nn. 28, 31, from the Sarum Use, which he says was so widespread by the late eleventh century, it was treated as the official Roman version.
72 Besserman, on a fifteenth-century English text, pp. 57-64, 89-90, where Job invokes Lazarus. The psalms sung between the nine lessons for Job all stress penance and trust in God’s justice, according to Besserman, who describes the Office alternating between Job the contrite sinner and the rebellious figure, from penitential grief, to resignation, to repentance to hope in the resurrection and the Last Judgment.
73 For a direct illustration of Job witness to the resurrection see in Hinkle (1965): Oxford, Moralized Bible, Bodl. MS 270b, f. 218r, illustrating the verse ‘This I know: that my Avenger (= savior, Jerusalem Bible: = Redeemer, Vulgate) lives, and he, the Last, will take his stand on earth. After my awakening, he will set me close to him, and from my flesh I shall look on God.’ (Job 19:25-27). See Sadler-Davis, esp. pp. 201-4.
74 See above, note 66. Gregory the Great, Homily on John 20:19-31 (Doubling Thomas), verse 23, referring to John 11:43, the Raising of Lazarus: ‘Whether the shepherd binds justly or unjustly, the flock fear his sentence, lest, bound unjustly, they earn the sentence by contemning it,’ Vodola, p. 11 and note 50.
75 Sauerländer, p. 482; Desportes, p. 176; Branner (1961b), who suggests a reference to the insurGENCY, p. 237.
76 Williams, pp. 60-4 and p. 80.
77 Chevalier connected elaborations in the ritual with the newly built cathedral, p. xxxi. One may ask whether penitential elaboration in episcopal towns in these decades was a common response to social pressures of the sort recorded for Reims. An eleventh-century usage (King’s College, Cambridge) was written up in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century in a MS not designed for altar use. This is published together with the later Reims Ordo, reproduced by Chevalier as a composite, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century and from the fourteenth; between them most passages with liturgical directions are either identical or only slightly varied in wording.
78 For the canons called upon to walk around the cloister, Chevalier, pp. 115, 119, 132-3, 135 (Easter; 288,290), 150 (Pentecost), 153, 155. Portals are specified rarely, almost only for the west: the archbishop receives penitents pro foribus ecclesie on the Feast of the Last Supper, pp. 123 and 280; and for Ascension: extentes por portam sinistra portas, qui est ante Hospitale, xii versilis antecedentibus, circumstant majus clausuram (according to Chevalier, Le grand cloître de Notre-Dame la cathédrale’ distinguished from the canons’ cloister) contantes, p. 147 (on the south side of the nave, identified as the second palace court in Daudet’s engraving, 1722, reproduced by Kimpel and Suckale, fig. 533, p. 532); on Ember Days most specifically: statim extentes contantes ant, istam ‘Isti sunt vivi sancti.’ Qui finita, . . . nec interdum per portam clausuri, sed procedunt in circuitu murorum archiepiscopi, donec per majorem portam ecclesie chorum ingrediantur, p. 156, suggesting that the transept portals which gave direct access to the canons’ cloister and the archepiscopal palace were used, unless otherwise specified, as Branner noted (1961b), pp. 224-5, n. 13. Reinhardt’s plan shows a direct connection through an enclosed courtyard between the palace entrance on the west and the south transept portal. For the
archbishop: On the commemoration of the Dedication of Reims church: dom. archiepiscopus cum processione deducitar palatio in ecclesiam, p. 213; the same for the All Saints’ Vigil (303–4 and 215); and in the earlier Ordo for Easter, at Vespers: . . . canonicis deducitar archiepiscoporum a palatio in ecclesiam . . . p. 289; and Vigil for Pentecost, p. 296, not mentioned in the earlier Ordo, p. 149. See also Branner (1961b), n. 13.

79 For Easter under the heading Feria III and on the Sundays from Easter to Ascension a cloister procession is added; and for the feast of St. Remi and the Dedication of St. Remi, they proceed to St. Remi in nomine penitentiae, pp. 136, 291.

80 Chevalier, pp. 292–3; 141.

81 The Penitential Psalms are those which lament sin, identified by Cassiodorus, according to the Vulgate numbering: Psalms 6: ‘O Lord rebuke me not in thy anger’; 31: ‘Blessed is he whose iniquity is forgiven’; 37: ‘O Lord rebuke me not in thy anger’; 50, the Miserere, ‘Have mercy on me, O Lord’; 101: ‘O Lord hear my prayer’; 129: ‘Out of the depths I cry to thee, O Lord’; and 142: ‘O Lord, hear my prayer.’ For Palm Sunday, Chevalier, pp. 279; 121.

82 The Three additions to the seven Penitential Psalms were: ‘Usquequom Domine’; 25: ‘Ad te Domine levavi animam meam’; and 123: ‘Ad te levavi oculos meas,’ Chevalier, pp. 296; 152.

83 Ibid., p. 191.

84 Ibid., p. 294 for the twelfth century; 143, 144, for the thirteenth.

85 According to Besserman selected verses from chapters 1–7 were commonly read in lessons for the mass for the first two weeks of September, p. 64.

86 Chevalier, pp. 144, 146. Inverting Civitate et istam would be particularly suggestive for Isaiah 37:35; for genti peccatrici, Isaiah 1:1, I am most grateful to Professor Daniel Willman of the State University of New York at Binghamton for these references and for disentangling the unmatched phrasing.

87 Chevalier, pp. 294; 143–6. Perhaps this characterization of the town appears also in the transformation of the miracle of demon fire. Unlike the earlier hagiographic tradition, Cuthbert, pp. 43, 45, (M. Baker, ‘Medieval Illustrations of Bede’s Life of St. Cuthbert,’ Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 41 (1978), pp. 16–49, pl. 6e) followed in the window at Chartres, where the saint confronts a burning building, at Reims, the saints’ tympanum shows the fire personified exclusively by demons chased by the saint.

88 In Werckmeister’s analysis, it is the combination of Adam and Eve with Lazarus at St. Lazare’s north portal which served the ritual of public penance, pp. 20–3. See Delaporte (1953) p. 46 for Chartres. The only mention of public penance in the Reims Odes is for Holy Thursday, when penitents were called before the archbishop and chapter at the west façade, see above note 64.

89 Schmidt, p. 38, on the lowest leu vosoir, Hinkle (1965), Appendix E, identified Henry at the lower right.

90 Branner (1961b), pp. 225, 227, and Pillion, see note 5, above. See Sadler-Davis, esp. pp. 204–8, Reinhardt, pp. 183–6 and Frodl-Kraft, pp. 54–7. Tourneur suggested the axials were modeled on the transept lancets, p. 39. I am indebted to Meredith Lillich for pointing out to me that the Baptist does not belong to this window.

91 Abou-El-Haj (1985), pp. 13–16, figs 19 and 20; Boeckler on Erhard.


93 Desportes, pp. 163–4, and above, p. 22 and n. 43 on the difficulties between Henry and his suffragans.

94 Abou-El-Haj, (1979), pp. 344, 349. See also Ornamenta Ecclesiae, pp. 318, 319. Reinhardt (p. 186) suggested the angels with their trumpets liken these to the seven churches of Asia Minor called to penitence by John in Revelation, in preparation for the second coming.

95 Reinhardt, pp. 190–2, pl. 45, and Tourneur.

96 Sadler-Davis has given a less conflictual account in her discussion of Reims glass, pp. 238–45. Throughout the century the archbishop lost privileges to the king and to his own ecclesiastical subordinates; the 1269 statutes of the archepiscopal court complain that between his two principal adversaries, the canons and the burgheers, the canons were the worst (Desportes, 173, n. 111 from the Privilegia curiae remensis archiepiscopi). Desportes, without evidence, claims the burgheers helped every building activity except that of the cathedral, mostly modest buildings, by comparison. He also cites the Récits d’un Menestrel de Reims between 1263 and 1271, for continuing ‘virulent anticlericism’ in the town, with the particular complaint that all costs for royal coronations were unfairly born by the laity, p. 177.
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Abbreviations

AA SS Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum
DALC Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie catholique
HF Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France
MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores
PL Patrologiae Latinae cursus complete
VA P. Varin, Archives administratives de la ville de Reims, 5 vols, Paris, 1839-48

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