

Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Skulptur im
12./13. Jahrhundert. eds. H. Beek + K. Heugevooss-Dürkop.
Frankfurt am Main, 1994

AB03654

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Building and Decorating at Reims and Amiens*

This paper summarizes a series of arguments about the social spaces of two extraordinarily large, technically advanced, and lavishly decorated churches in late medieval France: Reims and Amiens (Figs. 1, 2). Until recently, cathedrals like Reims and Amiens have been treated as unencumbered expressions of the extravagant imaginations of archbishops, bishops, and their architects, unconstrained by the social and urban space they permanently transformed. For this Colloquium, I examined two related ensembles of sculpture, but only at the end of, and in relation to, a discussion of building and decoration in the social spaces of two towns that occupied the opposite ends of a narrow spectrum of medieval political arrangements.

Reims was a "feudal" town whose archbishop was also count, combining supreme spiritual authority with sweeping economic, judicial, and political monopolies under assault in a communal struggle for one hundred years before the new coronation cathedral was built on a particularly lavish scale. The cathedral was the centerpiece and catalyst that catapulted this systemic challenge into outright insurrection.¹ Amiens was Reims' suffragan, a "communal" town whose charter was in place one hundred years before a similarly extraordinary cathedral was built competitively with Reims. Amiens' bishop possessed virtually no jurisdictions within the town, outside the cathedral precinct. This difference was fundamental to the capacity of each chapter to assemble the resources to erect cathedrals that appear self-consciously and competitively similar,² but whose differences can be linked to the distinctive political economy in their respective towns. This argument thus disputes the convention that Amiens was built with the cooperation of its town.

The ease with which this assertion has been passed down from generation to generation of scholars is related to the paradigm for cathedral-building established in its present form more than thirty-five years ago by Otto von Simson, whose account of Chartres dismissed, even obliterated, the equally implausible but provocative version of cathedral building, put forward by Robert Lopez. Lopez characterized cathedrals, specifically Amiens, as "immobilizing surplus in stone" and "killing developing economies in under-developed towns."³ The first (von Simson) modernized a nineteenth-century assertion of medieval social harmony aimed at rescuing the Catholic church and its hegemonic monuments in post-Revolutionary France. Von Simson based himself upon select medieval texts that excluded: episcopal complaints of deficits and insolvencies later assembled by Martin Warnke; miracles associated with building that barely disguise fundamental resource weaknesses;⁴ and the record of urban violence in towns such as Chartres (documented by Chédeville and Jane Williams), and Reims.⁵ Lopez's model was economic. Since Chartres, Reims, Beauvais, among many other costly churches

were all built, there were certainly resources enough, though indeed they were tightly squeezed. At stake in towns like Chartres and Reims was the asymmetric distribution and absorption of resources, which is not an economic, but a political issue.

One might expect that Reims' clergy could have drawn upon atypical resources for the coronation cathedral. Yet its building history follows a characteristic sequence from deficits to insolvency, to a debt of more than 7,000 pounds by 1251.⁶ Nevertheless the building was finished without compromise. Reims represents the extreme expression of artistic ambition and political clout. It is emblematic for how resource weaknesses could be made up by political and ideological strengths.

I have argued elsewhere that economic extraction (reparations) coordinated with liturgical subordination and authoritarian images of the archbishop/count put an end to the communal struggle at Reims. Amiens, on the other hand, has been represented as a model for communal – episcopal cooperation in an extravagant building project. Town and bishop had allied in the communal revolt of 1114–17,⁷ but when the charter of liberties was granted, the *cit * passed from the control of the count entirely to the commune. Episcopal properties remained in the agrarian periphery outside the *cit * and inside the cathedral precinct.⁸ When the cathedral burned, probably in 1218, building the new Gothic church eclipsed repairs, restorations, or rebuilding of all other damaged episcopal churches until the fifteenth century.⁹ Reims, on the other hand, was begun shortly after the abbey church of Saint-Remi was finished (between 1181 and 1200), and shortly before the abbey of Saint-Nicaise was begun (1231).¹⁰

Among the documents assembled at the beginning of the twentieth century,¹¹ three episcopal charters record a claim that the people of Amiens had consented to a new, much larger church. On this basis Amiens has been presented as a paradigm for social consensus and cooperative building between citizens and clergy.¹² However, this claim and its implicit corollary, that the citizens had contributed materially to the project, is undocumented. It appears for the first time sixteen years after building probably began, and only in retrospective accounts of repeated efforts to clear space within the confined episcopal enclosure to erect the much enlarged new cathedral.¹³ The town was otherwise absent from the record until 1244 (see below). The absence of town participation in the building project followed from the absence of episcopal jurisdictions (seigneurial authority) and economic coercion in the town.

The key texts are: a 1232 charter of Bishop Geoffroy d'Eu (1222–36) that transferred land occupied by wardens' houses north of the cathedral to the canons "for building your chapter hall and cloister," north of the new cathedral;¹⁴ and charters dating 1236 (Bishop Geoffroy d'Eu); 1238, and 1241 (Bishop Arnoul de la Pierre, 1236–47) that call for the transfer of two subordinate institutions – a parish church dedicated to Saint-Firmin the Confessor and a hospital, both located within the episcopal precinct and apparently encumbering space needed for the much enlarged, new cathedral.¹⁵ Each charter refers with increasing urgency to the consent of the people of Amiens and of the king to their transfer.

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1236 (charter from Saint-Firmin signed by Bishop Geoffroy): “It was decided by Bishop Evrard (died 1222), of bright memory, with the consent of the clergy and people of Amiens, as the Lord inspired them, to enlarge the foundations of the church ... it was necessary for the church of the blessed Firmin the Confessor to yield to the foundations of its mother [church], and since this church (Saint Firmin) was out of the way and hidden to its parishioners, and since the hospital house was situated to the danger of the whole city, it was added that the church of the Blessed Firmin would be transferred to the hospital house [site], and the hospital to the large bridge, to a place purchased by Jean de Croy, [once] a praiseworthy citizen of Amiens (1151) ... We and the citizens of Amiens, having first requested and obtained the consent of our lord the king, are united in the wish that the transfer of the said places should be accomplished and that in future no obstacle shall stand in the way ...”.¹⁶ Saint Firmin lay either in the north choir aisle (in the view of Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, 1985), or in the north transept (in Stephen Murray’s view).¹⁷

Some urgency in Geoffroy’s charter, not surprising sixteen years after building began, impels the bishop to describe the parish church as impassable and hidden, and the hospital house (or its inhabitants?) as a hazard to the entire town. The very same pressing need to transfer the hospital and Saint-Firmin was repeated in virtually the same words, rhetorically enlarged, by Bishop Arnoul two years later in 1238 and yet again in 1241. From the 1238 charter: “With the consent of the chapter and ‘citizens’ of Amiens, and also with the consent of the lord king ... it was long ago decided to transfer your house and the parish church of the blessed Firmin ... [Again] the chapter was united with the counsel of citizens, inflamed by the consensus of the clergy and people of Amiens, ... [Because of] the pressure of the moment [which] presses us to have the parish church of the blessed Firmin placed where it should be.”¹⁸ The hospital had to be moved “to the Great Bridge” so that the new parish church could be built on its site, which Murray places north west of the facade, where indeed the new parish church was finally built, but not yet”.¹⁹

Then in 1240 the chapter carried the relics of Saint Honoré, whose history had just been sculpted on the south portal tympanum²⁰ (perhaps a coordinated enterprise), around the diocese to collect building funds. Such a quest had not been attempted since 1137 after fire damaged the Romanesque cathedral (according to a thirteenth century report, Saint Firmin’s body refused to move – a variation on a hagiographical topos).²¹ The 1240 relic journey was undertaken in the midst of and in anticipation of funding shortfalls: seven years before, the chapter had increased its distributions to itself (rescinded contributions to the fabric?);²² in the same years donations Durand recorded for the fabric diminished; seven years later a five-year indemnity of fifty “sous parisis” was awarded to the hospital master and brothers in return for their move and the new church of Saint Firmin is said to be under construction on the hospital site (charter of Bishop Gérard de Conchy dated 1247).²³

So at Amiens, as Murray showed for Beauvais and Robert Branner showed for Reims and conjectured for other churches, funds assembled in the first few years fail in the second decade of building. Reims’ archbishop was in a position to extract revenues through his seigniorial monopolies. The bishop of Amiens, without

political authority in the town, had to rely upon his agrarian jurisdictions and the first of a series of relic quests,²⁴ surely less effective in the thirteenth century than for the modest project of the twelfth, when donations of a few precious objects, together with profits from the new port, may have been sufficient to restore the damaged exterior of the cathedral.

Once again in 1241 Bishop Arnoul repeated his requests to transfer the hospital and parish church. In addition he set aside episcopal land with houses adjacent to the new site for Saint Firmin (to the north of the cathedral, on land previously used for the hospital) belonging to Gregory and William,²⁵ and designated for the canons' cloister by Bishop Geoffroy nine years earlier (1232 charter). Now the original plan had to be rescinded, and the canons would be relocated in the south (where they had carved the portal of the golden Virgin). Not until 1247 were the transfers completed and the new church of Saint Firmin under construction, twenty-seven years after originally projected.

Between the 1240 relic journey and the final disposition of the canons' cloister and of Saint Firmin, the town of Amiens appears in the documents once again, but not so happily. In 1244 the bishop of Amiens was awarded from the commune 2,000 pounds reparation to endow six chaplaincies because the bailiff had imprisoned in the commune's belfry seventeen clerics or students under the bishop's jurisdiction, who had been accused of "dishonoring" the bailiff's daughter. One was beaten to death. Five were hanged. Henry Kraus suggested that the award of so large a sum was prompted by funding needs,²⁶ perhaps unsatisfied by the 1240 relic quest. For comparison, at Reims 10,000 pounds Paris exacted from the insurgent burghers a few years earlier would have supported ten years' cathedral construction, using Branner's estimates. What is interesting, however, is that the commune did not pay the fine until 1262, eighteen years later, a measure of the clergy's relative political leverage in the two towns.

Four years before this, in 1258, the citizens of Amiens appear again in the documents – in an inquiry into a fire in the cathedral and a theft by townsmen, prompted, I think, by an unresolved dispute over the reparations. Three leading townsmen were accused of stealing a chest hidden under the wall of the church containing the seal and privileges of the chapter during a night when fire damaged the cathedral.²⁷

The chapter's stolen privileges were reconstituted by Pope Urban IV only in 1262, and only then was the 2,000 pound fine, awarded eighteen years earlier, actually delivered.²⁸ I would suggest that the theft of the same privileges by leading members of the town, under cover of fire, was intended to delay payment to the bishop at a time when the city debt had reached 7,800 pounds (in 1259) and when the fabric's debt had already required contributions from the chapter (in 1260).²⁹ So – do we see for Amiens a version of the same sequence of ambition, debt, local tension in the record for Chartres and Reims, but delayed and muted by the relative political and economic autonomy enjoyed by the communal town?³⁰

In the last phase of building, the commune is an outright obstacle to the cathedral project. A 1294 dispute is recorded in a settlement in 1304 forbidding the

chapter to expand its parvis (plaza) before the west facade in these words of classic legalese: "... Let it be known that the said dean and canons cannot and will not, from now on and in the future, do or have done anything through which the streets, which are and will be between the said parvis and church on the one hand, and the house of the said school master and the other houses of the canons on the other hand, [through which that street] would be narrowed or cut off from the top or the bottom or in any way, [which they might be able to do]". The town was protecting its access route (today the rue Cormont) to the gate of Saint Michael, behind the choir (Fig. 3).³¹

This demeaning language gives us some sense of the relationship between commune and chapter in the last phase of construction. In fact the parvis had to wait six hundred years for Viollet-le-Duc and the Monuments Historiques, together with the state and the city of Amiens, to buy or expropriate adjoining property (Fig. 4).³² What protection members of the commune had against episcopal grandeur in the thirteenth century was lost to the state and the municipality in the nineteenth.

What then do these documents tell us about cathedral building in this communal town? In 1236, 1238, and 1241 the bishops' purpose was to urge the transfer of the hospital and Saint Firmin by criticizing both buildings for their unsuitable locations, and finally by bribing the master and brothers of the hospital. They pressed their case by appealing to an agreement between their predecessors and the citizens of Amiens, fourteen, sixteen, and finally nineteen years earlier, for which no contemporary document survives. Under these circumstances, repeated and rhetorically enlarged appeals to the consent of the citizens appear to be weak levers to pry out of their establishment the reluctant and somewhat greedy master and brothers of the hospital, and perhaps the priest and clergy of Saint Firmin. The town is reticent except for the occasions when ecclesiastical building threatened to encroach on its land and access route in 1294/1304, and except for the two violent confrontations in 1244 (the rape and reparations) and 1258 (the fire and theft).³³

So the town apparently was not impacted by the cathedral enterprise as Lopez thought. Building was, however, confined to the episcopal precinct and limited to agrarian resources.³⁴ Key components of the building and its decoration reveal technical innovations and efficiencies which satisfied an ambitious building and decorative program executed within the constraints dictated by the political economy exercised by the bishops and chapter. Amiens' contracted plan (Murray), the reduced bulk of its compressed facade surmounted by flattened, rectangular towers cantilevered over the lateral portals (Jean Bony), for example, may be viewed as an innovation, almost a screen-facade in Kimpel's view, but also as an accommodation to the narrow space between the lengthened nave and the western termination of the episcopal precinct. (Fig. 5), just as the height of the vault is enhanced by the narrow proportions of the nave.³⁵ Throughout the building, stone mass was reduced,³⁶ an efficiency in labor and materials, as well as in quarrying and transport. Production was streamlined in a new method discovered by Kimpel for cutting pier stones in series to exact patterns, thus reducing by half the number of blocks which had to be cut.³⁷

Amiens' efficiencies make a striking contrast with Reims where, despite 7,000 pounds debt by 1251, no scaling back; quite the opposite when it came to

finishing the sculpture throughout the cathedral which was produced on qualitatively higher and more labor-intensive level than comparable ensembles at Amiens.

Especially the west jamb figures at Amiens seem to have been produced rapidly. In the sequence of Annunciation, Visitation and Presentation on Amiens' Virgin portal (west facade, right or south portal, Fig. 6), five figures repeat the same face, whose continuous rounded surfaces minimize and summarize physiognomic transitions. In Reims' version of these groups (Figs. 7, 8), the same face was carved for Mary the Annunciate, perhaps by the same sculptor. The rest are a composite of figures moved from other locations, whose styles may belong to different campaigns,³⁸ but whose attention to detail, surface, varied facial types is a consistent feature of Reims' style, and I think of its quality, at least in the lower sections.

At Reims (west facade, center portal), Mary's youthful, rounded cheeks contrast with Elizabeth, whose flesh is made to appear thinner, less elastic, by deep lines and compressed folds carved around her nose and mouth. Reims' Gabriel (a figure moved from another position, Fig. 9) advances the experiment of Amiens' Golden Virgin on the south transept.³⁹ His smile engages muscles from cheek to eye to brow, epitomizing the attention to infinitely varied surfaces at Reims. His hair falls in varied clusters of curls and his wing-feathers of varying length overlap one another. At Amiens (Fig. 10), Gabriel's eyes and mouth project from a smooth surface devoid of differentiation. Deeper cuts for his repeated beehive curls were drilled. His wing feathers are incised rather than sculpted in duplicated, shallow layers.⁴⁰

Whereas at Reims the heads are minutely worked to produce continuously varying surfaces and mobile physiognomies, most astonishing for the stunning array of corbel heads, which are invisible to visitors,⁴¹ Amiens' figures seem summary, repetitive, unexpressive, even interchangeable.⁴²

A variety of explanations have been offered for Amiens' summary sculpture from Georges Durand at the beginning of this century to Kimpel and Suckale.⁴³ Only Willibald Sauerländer suggested that the vast array of sculpture produced for the new cathedrals required teams of fast-working sculptors, short-cuts, rationalized practices in large work yards, and new workshop procedures no longer dependent upon graphic modes. This resulted in simplified and generalized figures. The entire labor process from unhewn block to finished figure has been curtailed.⁴⁴

Similarly, Amiens' west facade foliage is cut in flat, repeated rosettes (a change from the south transept) and resembles stamped stucco rather than carved stone, while Reims' flora looks not like chiseled stone so much as modeled clay (Figs. 11, 8).⁴⁵ Similar short cuts can be detected in the interior sculpture and architectural details. Amiens' nave arcade capitals are simple and repetitive florals compared with the stunning diversity and variety of Reims' foliage and figurative capitals (Figs. 12, 13). Some of Amiens' triforium capitals were left unfinished, yet the tracery and stonework of the upper levels appears labor intensive and costly (Figs. 14, 15). Murray points out that the fundamental building innovation at Amiens, the very light but tall members that make the cathedral so refined and advanced, seem to have seriously compromised the structure by the end of the fifteenth century, when the delicate arcade supports and the ambitious size of bays

adjacent to the crossing had to be reinforced with iron chains throughout the nave and transept.⁴⁶

It would appear that this patchwork of high level, innovative, and short circuit, summary production allowed Amiens' chapter, within the constraints outlined above, to build the tallest and lightest cathedral of its day.

At Reims the chapter continued, apparently unimpeded by its debt,⁴⁷ to decorate the cathedral beyond any other, with figures and foliage of enormous variety and dazzling sophistication throughout the exterior and interior, including a unique program of ten to thirteen-foot, two to three-ton figures set on the west interior wall, where the rose windows were doubled.⁴⁸ Altogether two hundred eleven larger than life-size figures, one hundred twenty-six mid-size, nine hundred thirty-six small, and seven hundred eighty-eight animals of all sizes on the exterior, as well as one hundred ninety-one mid-size statues and fifty animals on the interior – more than two thousand three hundred figures – originally decorated the church.⁴⁹ A cushion of images in sculpture and glass insulated Reims' clergy from its restive town, whose commune the project had foreclosed.

Each of these cathedrals was embedded in a network of more or less volatile social and political relations. Each occupied a dialectic space that affected neither its initiation nor its realization, but what could be called the negotiated outcome: a spectrum of decisions about bulk, scale, design, as well as images in glass and stone. We don't yet know what is normative and what is exceptional in these histories. But, as we witness in American cities the poor displaced by urban renewal and monumentalization, I think we know enough to ask ourselves why we would want to project social cohesion into monumental and hegemonic building in a past that was – to invert the cynical terms of American political culture – neither kinder nor gentler than our present.

Notes

* The following is a shortened version of a paper promised elsewhere when I was invited to participate in the Colloquia sponsored by the Galerie Liebieghaus.

¹ See B. Abou-El-Haj, *The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church building: Reims and its Cathedral between 1210 and 1240*. In: *Art History*, 11, 1988, pp. 17–41 with lit.

² One aspect of competitive building in the Paris basin can be seen in the increasing height of nave vaults. Beginning with Laon at seventy-eight feet, each cathedral raised its height substantially. Reims was vaulted at one hundred-twenty feet, and Amiens at one hundred thirty-nine. In design, Amiens' west facade seems to expand Reims' north transept. In turn Reims west radically expanded Amiens' facade by extending to five the gables across the front, displacing tympana sculpture to the gables, and multiplying the rose windows.

³ See O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*. Rev. ed., New York 1962, pp. 164–73, esp. p. 169, and R. Lopez, *Economie et architecture médiévales. Cela aurait-il tué ceci?*. In: *Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations*, 1952, pp. 433–8, debated more than fifteen years later in *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, sec. ser. 4, 1967, and 6, 1969. For this and the following comments, see also my discussion (as in note 1), pp. 10–20 with lit.

⁴ See M. Warnke, *Bau und Überbau. Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen*. Frankfurt am Main 1976. See also my article on resources and political structure for late medieval building *Artistic Integration Inside the Cathedral Precinct. Social Consensus Outside?*. In:

Artistic Integration in Early Gothic Cathedrals. Ed. K. Brush, P. Draper, V. Raguin, University of Toronto Press (forthcoming).

⁵ See A. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XI–XIIIe siècles)*. Paris 1973, and J. Williams, *Windows of the Trades at Chartres*. University of Chicago Press (forthcoming) with lit. For Reims, see esp. R. Branner, *Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210–1241*. In: *Speculum*, 36, 1961, pp. 32–7, and P. Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois au XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Paris 1979.

⁶ The chapter sponsored a money quest in 1246, supported by a papal bull of Innocent IV that recommended to the archbishop that his suffragans and all the chapters and abbeys of the ecclesiastical province help the questors “qui pro fabrica Remensis ecclesie destinantur”. Donations were destined for the west facade, begun in 1252, according to P. Kurmann, *La Facade de la Cathédrale de Reims*. Trans. from German by F. Monfrin and P. Kurmann, Payot, Lausanne & Paris 1987, p. 23. Only five years later, in 1251, Innocent issued two bulls for “Ramensis ecclesia importabili, sicut fertur, prematur onere debitorum”. He asked the religious institutions and dignitaries of Reims’ ecclesiastical province to help ameliorate an enormous debt: “majors ecclesie tamquam matris onera compotare,” though he did not specify the fabric as he had in the first bull; see Kurmann, p. 23, citing H. Reinhardt, *La Cathédrale de Reims*. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France 1963, notes 3 and 5, p. 232, referenced in the text on p. 74. This is also mentioned by Branner 1961, p. 36 (see note 5) with lit. The workshop still needed stones in 1314, and in 1351, another indulgence was offered for “magnis laboribus construitur et expensis.” Relic questors traveled to Reims’ suffragans and also outside the kingdom. In 1372, and again in 1391 new indulgences were needed; see Kurmann, pp. 24–5, citing Reinhardt, p. 206.

⁷ Baron Albéric de Calonne, *Histoire de la Ville d’Amiens*. Vol. 1, Amiens: Piteux Frères, Imprimeurs Editeurs 1899, reprint 1976, chapter eight, including a photograph of a confirmation of Amiens’ communal charter. E. Maugis, *Recherches sur les Transformations du Régime Politique et Social de la Ville d’Amiens des origines de la Commune à la Fin du XVIe Siècle (Etudes d’Histoire Municipale 2)*. Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, Editeurs 1906, chapter one. See also A. Giry, *Documents sur les relations de la royauté avec les villes en France de 1180 à 1314*. Paris, A. Picard 1885, pp. 20–35 for Philippe-Auguste’s confirmation. See J. Massiet de Biest, *La Carte et le Plan considérés comme instruments de la recherche historique. Etudes sur les fiefs et centives et sur la condition des tenures urbaines à Amiens (XIe–XVIIe siècle) avec atlas de 10 cartes*. Tours 1954. H. Kraus, *The Medieval Commune at Amiens as Patron of Art and Architecture*. In: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 78, 1971, pp. 317–30. H. Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar. The Economics of Cathedral Building*. London 1979, chapter 2. R. Hubscher, ed., *Histoire de la ville d’Amiens*. Editions Privat, Toulouse 1986, esp. chapter three, pp. 61–79.

⁸ Except for the new grand canal and port for the woad dye commerce, mid-century, whose costs and profits were shared with the town, see literature in note 7.

⁹ Three parish churches burned in the fire were not rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and three others remained in need of repair or enlargement into the fifteenth. Only those that had to be moved to accommodate the new cathedral were rebuilt; see Kraus 1979, p. 46 (see note 7). See also S. Murray and J. Addiss, *Plan and Space at Amiens Cathedral: with a New Plan Drawn by James Addiss*. In: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49, 1990, pp. 44–65, and Murray, *Creativity and the Dynamics of Change in the Architecture of Amiens Cathedral*. Architectural History Foundation, New York, forthcoming. The fire is mentioned in a 1236 charter of Bishop Geoffroy d’Eu and in 1238 and 1241 charters of Bishop Arnoul de la Pierre, which state it took place in the time of Bishop Evrard (d. 1222); see below.

¹⁰ See D. Kimpel and R. Suckale, *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130–1270*. Hirmer Verlag, Munich 1985, pp. 180–93, 345–7, 533. Reims appears within a dense cluster of important churches built in the same period, while Amiens is relatively isolated; see J. James, *An Investigation into the Uneven Distribution of Early Gothic Churches in the Paris Basin 1140–1240*. In: *Art Bulletin*, 66, 1984, pp. 15–46, esp. map 1.

¹¹ G. Durand assembled most of the surviving documents for Amiens in his outstanding volumes *Monographie de l’Eglise Notre-Dame Cathédrale d’Amiens (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie)*, 3 vols., Amiens & Paris 1901–3. See also Durand, *Ville d’Amiens. Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales Antérieures à 1790*. Département de la Somme. vol. 1: Série AA, vol. 2: Série BB (échevinage Amiens: Imprimerie Typographique et Lithographique Piteux Frères, 1891, 1894; J. Roux and A. Soyez, *Cartulaire du Chapitre de la Cathédrale d’Amiens (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*

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, de Picardie, 14 and 18. Documents inédits concernant la Province). 2 vols.. Amiens & Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils 1905, 1912; and G. Durand, Ordinaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame Cathédrale d'Amiens par Raoul de Rouvroy (1291) (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. Documents inédits concernant la Province 22). Amiens & Paris, Alphonse Picard, n. d. See also note 7.

¹² For Kimpel and Suckale 1985 (see note 10), cooperative relations is the social premise for the model demonstration in which Amiens introduces cathedral building in their superb book, pp. 11–64, esp. 29. Viollet-le-Duc linked post-Revolutionary secularization of the church with communal use of the buildings in the later middle ages. Durand, who also assumed a close relationship between the town and chapter, distinguished the commune's from the chapter's buildings and observed that the phrases that suggest cooperation may have been formulas, or that the good will of the citizens was necessary to move the parish church and hospital, vol. 1, p. 21 (discussed below). Kraus argued that cathedrals were funded when chapter and burghers were on good terms and when there was surplus wealth. He derived his description of Amiens from periodic 'concordiae' in the Cartulaire (Roux and Soyez, vol. 2), and based himself partly on window donations. Durand, however, was careful not to conflate window with fabric donations, for which there is no record.

¹³ According to E. Viollet-le-Duc, La cathédrale d'Amiens. In: La Picardie, vol. 1, 1855, p. 502, Amiens measures 8,000 square meters, compared to Reims 6,650, cited by Kraus 1979, n. 73 on p. 229 (see note 7).

¹⁴ "Noverit universitas vestra quod nos contulimus et concessimus in perpetuum capitulo nostro Ambianensi, ad faciendum capitulum suum et claustrum, domum que fuit domni Gregorii et domni Willelmi de Donno Medardo et domum Matriculariorum cum tota terra que est retro domus illas usque ad clausuram virgulti nostri a muro domus nostre placitorie usque ad murum hospitalarie," Cartulaire du Chapitre, no. 229, vol. 1, p. 279.

¹⁵ Durand scrutinized all aspects of these documents. Later authors tend to use these charters to arrive at a building chronology, as A. Erlande-Brandenburg did (see note 17).

¹⁶ Charter of Saint Firmin the Confessor, dated Easter Monday 1236, signed by Bishop Geoffroy: "Nam si peccatis nostris exigentibus, permiserit Dominus nostram ecclesiam concremari, ad nostrum profectum hoc evenisse credamus... Quoniam per clarae memoriae episcopum Everardum fuerat ordinatum, accedente consensu Ambianensis cleri et populi, tanquam eis fuisset a Domino inspiratum, quatenus fundamenta ecclesiae ampliaret et mundaret, sanctum ut custos vasorum, ad quam ampliacionem et mundationem faciendam, de communi consilio oportebat ecclesiam beati Firmini confessoris matricis suae cedere fundamentis, et quia ecclesia illa parochianis suis erat in via et occulta, et hospitalaria domus periculose sedebat ad totius urbis, sicut visum est, detrimentum, praedictae ordinationi fuit adjectum, quod ecclesia beati Firmini ad domum hospitalariam, et hospitalaria apud magnum pontem, ad locum quem emit Johannes de Croy, quondam civis Ambianorum laudabilis, transferrentur... Nos et cives Ambianenses in hac considimus voluntate, requisito prius domini regis et impetrato consensu, quod dictorum locorum transmutatio fiat, nulla de cetero contradictione obstante, sicut pridem habebatur in proposito faciendam, cum totius civitatis mutatio... In uno latere nostrae matris ecclesiae locus provideretur honestus, in quo sacerdos beati Firmini parochianos suos convocare valeret, et ministrare eisdem tam missarum solemnibus, quam sacramenta, aliave teneretur, canonici quoque ejusdem ecclesiae in choro Ambianensi, pro cultu divino suam praesentiam exhiberent, donec in loco quem praediximus hospitalaria ordinetur ecclesia, tam curato sacerdote quam canonicis sufficiens et honesta, quibus promissimus in bona fide, quod mora non erimus, quantum in nobis erit, dictam ecclesiam construendi, ut ita possint divinum officium exercere, sicut antiquitus faciebant." (An appropriate place was provided on one side of our mother church [for the priest and parishioners]..., while, in the place of the... hospital is established an adequate... church... [which] we have promised... to construct.) See Durand, pp. 15 nn. 1 and 2, 19 nn. 2 and 4, 21 n. 3, 29 n. 4, citing Bibl. Amiens MS 520, fol. 30 v. and Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa... historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Franciae..., 16 vols., Paris, 1715–1865, where the charters appears in its entirety in vol. 10, col. 342, item 68. It is also reproduced in V. Mortet and P. Deschamps, Recueil de textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture et à la condition des Architectes en France au moyen âge, vol. 2, Douzième et treizième siècles, Paris: Picard, 1929, p. 259–61, no. 123. The transaction with Jean de Croy (Johannes de Cruce), dated 1151 is cited by Massiet de Biest, Les Origines de la Population et du Patriciat Urbain à Amiens (1109–XIVe siècle). In: Revue du Nord, 30, 1948, pp. 113–32, esp. 115–8, 122, 128–9.

¹⁷ Murray 1990, p. 45 (see note 9). A. Erlande-Brandenburg, La facade de la cathédrale d'Amiens. In: Bulletin monumental, 135, 1977, pp. 253–93, interpreted the 1241 charter describing Saint-Firmin

“retro sitam”, as directly behind the cathedral, delaying the start of work on transept and choir to 1238–1242 – when problems mentioned in the charter of 1236 were repeated twice in episcopal charters drawn up by Bishop Arnoul (see below). See Murray’s comments (1990), p. 61, n. 28. Erlande-Brandenburg also argued that the west facade was delayed and compromised by the presence of the hospital, which he thought lay directly before it. P. Kurmann supported this late chronology in his article and in his book, both published in 1987: “Nachwirkungen der Amiensker Skulptur in den Bildhauerwerkstätten der Kathedrale zu Reims.” In: *Skulptur des Mittelalters*. Ed. F. Möbius et E. Schubert, Weimar 1987, pp. 121–183; see also his book cited in note 6, p. 185. According to Kimpel and Suckale, as well as Murray, the facade was neither delayed nor compromised, but rose with the nave. Murray would like to reinstate the earliest possible chronology. He argued that the past tense reference to Saint-Firmin in the 1236 charter (it was necessary for the church to yield to the foundations of its mother – “oportebat ecclesiam beati Firmini confessoris matricis suae cedere fundamentis”) suggests that the parish church could have been demolished by the time of Evrard’s death in 1222, which suits his reading of the lower building as a single unit, constructed between c. 1220 and 1236 from the west facade to the western aisle of the transept, and 1236–41/69 for the eastern section of the transept and choir.

¹⁸ 1238: “A nostris praedecessoribus felicis recordationis Evrardo et Gaufrido, Ambianensibus episcopis, et civium Ambianensium consensu, et etiam eundem consensum domino rege favorabiliter prosequente, pridem fuerit ordinatum de translatione domus vestre ... Iterum communicato cum prefatis capitulo et civibus consilio ... Propter instantiam temporis quae nos pulsat ut parochia Beati Firmini ubi debeat collocetur.” From Amiens, *Bibl. mun.* MS 516, fol. 95, quoted in Durand, vol. 1, pp. 17 n. 5, 21, 32 n. 6.

¹⁹ Erlande-Brandenburg believed the hospital lay directly to the west and delayed construction of the facade, p. 260. Kimpel and Suckale think the facade could have been built without compromises, even if the hospital lay directly before it. Murray (1990), p. 45, suggests the hospital lay to the northwest, similar to the arrangement at Reims (see Kurmann, p. 22, citing C. Cerf, *Histoire et description de Notre-Dame de Reims*, 2 vols., Reims 1861, vol. 1, pp. 185–90; J.-P. Ravaux, *Les campagnes de construction de la cathédrale de Reims au XIII^e siècle*. In: *Bulletin monumental*, 137, 1979, pp. 7–66, p. 12, fig. 1; and Desportes (as in note 5), pp. 299–300), and that Saint-Firmin was rebuilt on this site, as stated in the charter of 1247 (see below), and as it appears both in a mid-fifteenth-century plan reproduced in Kraus 1979, p. 50 (see note 7), and in the plan reproduced in Hubscher, p. 67.

²⁰ See D. Kimpel and R. Suckale, *Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée am Honoratusportal der Kathedrale von Amiens*. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36, 1973, pp. 217–65.

²¹ For the 1240 quest, see Durand, vol. 1, p. 34 (see note 11), citing *Cartulaire noir de Corbie*, *Bibl. nat.* MS lat. 17758, fol. 51v. with lit. For the 1137 quest, see Durand, p. 10, and Kraus 1979, p. 43 (see note 7). Kraus suggested a funding crisis prompted the relic quest. See Williams on Chartres’ quest as a sign of insufficiency (as in note 5).

²² According to Durand, vol. 1, pp. 18–19 (see note 11), in 1233. In his view, the numerous donations to and acquisitions of parcels of land and tithes by the chapter allowed it to increase its distributions to its members despite considerable building expenses. This might be compared instead to the canons of Chartres who had given up a portion of their income to initiate the new cathedral but soon tired of this depletion and sought to restore their funds. The short-term self-assessments commonly lasted for no more than three to five years, as Branner pointed out 1961, pp. 30–1 (see note 5), and were completely insufficient even when they were reserved for a decade, as S. Murray showed for Beauvais and its indebted bishop, *The Choir of the Church of St. Pierre, Cathedral of Beauvais: A Study of Gothic Architectural Planning and Constructional Chronology in its Historical Context*. In: *Art Bulletin*, 62, 1980, pp. 533–51, esp. 535–6 and 550–1. See also his *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence*. Princeton 1989. See also Williams (as in note 5) for the thousands of pounds parisis and tournois of debt listed in Bishop Gauthier’s will.

²³ For the indemnity, see Durand, vol. 1, pp. 22–3 (see note 11), citing the hospital archives, and p. 33, n. 1, citing a copy of the 1247 concession by Bishop Gérard: “Cum translatio hospitalis Sancti Johannis Ambianensis, quod esse solebat ante nostram Ambianensem ecclesiam, in quo loco as praesens construitur ecclesia Beati Firmini Confessoris, cujus ecclesia ecclesiae nostrae cessit”.

²⁴ According to Durand, vol. 1, p. 34 (see note 11), fabric quests with the relics of Saint Honoré had to be repeated frequently, into the fourteenth century.

²⁵ 1241: “Arnulphus, Dei gratia Ambianensis episcopus ... In litteris bone memorie predecessoris nostri Gaufridi, episcopi Ambianensis, nobis oblati, vidimus contineri quod cum ecclesiam Ambianensem, tempore pie recordationis Everardi episcopi Ambianensis, tunc eidem ecclesie presidentis, contigisset

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incendio corruisse, per eundem Everardum episcopum, accedente consensu cleri et populi Ambianensis, fuerat ordinatum, et erat necesse quatinus fundamentum dicte ecclesie ampliaret, ad quas ampliaciones ecclesiam B. Firmini Confessoris retro sitam cedere oportebat. Et quoniam illa ecclesia parrochianis suis erat in via et occulta, et hospitalaria domus periculose sedebat ad tocius urbis, sicut visum est, detrimentum predicte fuit ordinationi adjectum quod ecclesia beati Firmini ad domum hospitalarium et hospitalaria, apud magnum pontem, ad locum quem emit Johannes de Croy, quondam civis Ambianorum, laudabiliter transferrentur. Attendentes itaque quod hec fuit mutatio dextere Excelsi, administrationis nostre tempore, quod prefati predecessores nostri, eorum interveniente obitu, non potuerunt supplere, volentes, ad instanciam capituli nostri et civium Ambianensium, sedem parochie beati Firmini in domo que fuerat hospitalarie fecimus collocari, sed quoniam locus ille canonicis et parrochianis beati Firmini sufficere non valebat, et presbiteri ejusdem loci curati proprias mansiones non habebant, ex quorum remotione maximum cotidie toti parochie periculum imminerebat; maxime cum ipsi semper debeant esse parati ad exhibenda parrochianis suis, prout necessitas exigit, ecclesiastica sacramenta, ad instanciam et preces multas dilecti filii Roberti, presbiteri ejusdem curati loci, ac parrochianorum suorum, per nos et prefatum capitulum extitit ordinatum ut domus quam Gregorius, quondam sacerdos, ex dono bone memorie Everardi episcopi tenuerat et alia domus eidem contigua que fuerat Willelmi de Dompno-Medardo quondam canonici beati Firmini Confessoris, et eciam terra quam pie recordationis Gaufridus, episcopus predecessor noster, capitulo concesserat circa domos illas, memorati cederent confessoris, et dicti Roberti, presbiteri, ac successorum suorum presbiterorum perpetue mansioni sub annuo censu octo librarum parisiensium, reddendo in perpetuum capitulo memorato a dicto Roberto, presbitero et ejus successoribus presbiteris, pro mansionem sua ibidem habenda, et fabrica superdicte ecclesie amplianda, videlicet in festo sancti Martini Hyemalis, centum solidos, et in dominica in Albis LX solidos, pro quibus idem Robertus, presbiter, tam dictam mansionem quam obventiones altaris ipsum ac successores suos presbiteros contingentes penes dictum capitulum obligavit. Decanus vero et dictum capitulum tam dictas domos quam terram memoratam tenentur erga omnes eidem Roberto ac suis successoribus presbiteris garandire.” See the *Cartulaire du Chapitre*, No. 316, p. 362–4. On the new hospital see Massiet du Biest, *Revue du Nord*, 40, 1958, p. 333. On the fief de Heilly, the land on which it was built, see Massiet de Biest 1954, p. 7 (see note 7). The first part of this charter repeats those of 1238 and 1236. In the second part, translated below, Saint-Firmin is said to be established, if not yet built, at the hospital site. Arnoul goes on to transfer the houses and land to the north, given in perpetuity to the chapter by Bishop Geoffroy, to the priests of Saint-Firmin; And so, noticing that this exchange was favorable to the most high, wanting in the time of our administration to complete that which our predecessors could not because their death intervened, at the urging of our chapter and the citizens of Amiens, we have had the seat of the parish church of the b. Firmin set up in the site where the hospital had been, but since that place was not large enough for the canons and parishioners of blessed Firmin, and the priests, the curates of that place, did not have their own houses – because of their removal very great danger daily threatened the whole parish (the souls of the parishioners), especially since they themselves should always be prepared to administer sacraments of the church to their parishioners as necessity demands – at the urging and many prayers of our beloved son Robert, the priest [and] curate of the place, and of its parishioners, it was arranged by us and the above mentioned chapter, that the house which Gregory, formerly a priest, had held as a gift from Bishop Evrard of good memory, and the other house next to that one, which had been William's, once a canon of the blessed Firmin the Confessor, and also the land which our predecessor Bishop Geoffroy of devout memory, had granted to the chapter around those houses, should fall to the confessor (Firmin) mentioned above, and the said Robert the priest, and his successor priests as a perpetual home by paying under the annual cens eight pounds parisis to the chapter in perpetuity by Robert the priest and his successor priests, in return for keeping his dwelling in the same place, and enlarging the fabric for the above mentioned church, namely 100 sous on the feast of Saint Martin Hyemalis and 60 sous on the Sunday after Easter (Albis). I wish to thank Ruth Anne Lawn Johnson, who kindly helped me with this passage. For the charter of 1232, see above note 14.

²⁸ Kraus 1979, p. 47 (see note 7). Although rape, implied in this language, fell under high justice, exercised by the bailiff as a royal officer, it appears the commune was also held libel because its prison was used. Kraus cites F.-I. Darsy, *Bénéfices de l'église d'Amiens ou état des biens, revenus, charges du clergé du diocèse d'Amiens en 1730*... Amiens, E. Caillaux 1869, p. 59. Two lengthy accounts of the judgment against the bailiff and the commune appear in the *Cartulaire du Chapitre*, items 327 and 328 on pp. 379–83. From item 328: “cum multis injuriis enormibus cum quibusdam ministris suis violenter

duxit ad berefredum, in qua ductione unus scolarium ita fuit graviter vulneratus quod ipsa nocte expiravit, sequenti autem die, quinque de dictis scolaribus a berefredo usque ad furcas distraxit et eos furcis suspendit ita viliter eos tractando in distractione et suspensione quod a seculo non est auditum de aliquo latrone quantumcumque famoso." Durand mentioned the incident when listing communal buildings, p. 22, n. 2, citing Augustin Thierry, *Monuments inédits du tiers d'état*, vol. 1, *Les pièces relatives à l'histoire de la ville d'Amiens, depuis l'an 1057... jusqu'au 15e siècle*. Paris, Firmin Didot Frères 1850, no. 66, for 1244, pp. 208–12, esp. p. 211; see also Calonne, vol. 1, p. 216. Kraus calculated the value of the reparations at \$1,600,000 in his 1979 publication.

²⁷ A town sergeant (Anseau), a patrician burgher – Enguerran de Croy, and a third (Robert Bisaharz) "who caused great injuries (damaged or sacrilegied) to the church in many ways that at night." under Bishop Aleaume de Neuilly (1258–59); see Durand, pp. 35–6, n. 1: "Conquerebantur decanus et capitulum Ambiani, quod ea nocte qua ecclesia sua fuit combusta, quedam arca posita infra murum ipsius ecclesie, in qua erant sigillum et privilegia eorumdem, fuit de eodem loco amota et fracta et inde asportata fuerunt et furtim substracta sigillum et privilegia antedicta, supplicantes domino Regi ut super hoc consilium adhibeat. Per inquestam inde factam ex parte domini Regis, inventi valde suspecti tres infrascripti: videlicet Robertus Bisaharz, qui in multis dampnificavit ecclesiam ipsa nocte; item Ansellus, serviens ville Ambiani, valde suspectus super asportacione et fractione dicte arche; item Injorannus de Croi aliquantulum suspectus inventus est. Placuit domino Regi quod isti tres caperentur per ballivum Ambianensem," citing *Les Olim*, publ. by Count Beugnot in *Documents inédits*, vol. 1, p. 71.

²⁸ Bull of Pope Urban IV, dated July 16, 1262. The reparations were recorded by Bishop Bernard d'Abbeville and the chapter; see Durand, *Inventaire ... Archives Communales*, série AA, p. 10, fol. 155v.: "Quittance par Bernard d'Abbeville, évêque et le chapitre d'Amiens, à la commune d'Amiens, de 2,000 l. de rentes, de laquelle somme ils ont acheté de noble homme Baudoin de Longueval chevalier, des terres à Framerville, pour fonder des chapelles dans la cathédrale. 28 septembre 1262."

²⁹ Dated August 15. See Durand, p. 114. Kraus cites the city debt (1979), n. 54, citing Charles Dufour, *Situation financière des villes de Picardie sous St. Louis*. In: *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, series 2, 5 (1858, p. 593, and for the city's accounts for 1262 and 1263, Giry (as in note 7), doc. 12.

³⁰ Durand asked whether this attack could be compared to the rebellion in Reims earlier in the century. His question has not been integrated into the interpretation of Amiens' commune and its cathedral, except, in a slightly contradictory manner, by Kraus 1979 (see note 7).

³¹ "... li dit dyens et capitres voloient faire li parvis en leur tere pour leur eglise amender par devant le dite eglise Li parvis sera fais a mouvoir de largueche a ligne du parament du piler qui est par devant la maison maistre Paris adonc maistre escole d'Amiens en venant a droite ligne a quatre pies et demi a la mesure du pie de Guillame Thibout deseur dit pres du bousne qui est entre le puch et le dit parvis, et de longueur a mouvoir du dit lieu a aler a droite ligne dusques au bousne qui est devers Saint Firmin le Confes. et sera fais li dis parvis de six pies de hauteur tout en tour au pie de le vile tant seulement et nient plus, tout ainsi ke le cauchie se comporte. Et est a savoir qui li dit diens et chapitres ne pueent ne ne porront des oremais en avant en tans a venire faire cose ne faire faire par coi li quemins [chemin] qui est et sera entre les dis parvis et leglise d'une part et le maison au dit maistre escole et les autres maisons des canones d'autre part soit estrechies ne empeechiees haut ne bas ne en nule autre maniere quele que ele soit ou puist estre." This included the new canonical enclosure, since the old street used by burghers passed through it. My thanks to Marie Gallup, who helped me disentangle the legalistic language of this document. This accord is part of a much larger dispute resolved and recorded in the *Cartulaire du Chapitre*, vol. 2, item 519, pp. 67–70, see esp. p. 69. The canons' cloister (and the projected parvis) bordered an east-west route, today rue Cormont, that passed through the canons' enclosure and gave access to the cloister gate (of Saint Michael). When this had been rebuilt in 1177, a similar dispute was resolved only when two sets of keys were furnished, one for the chapter and one for the commune. Both were concluded by extremely lengthy agreements. In 1177 the whole chapter was listed as witnesses; *Cartulaire du Chapitre*, vol. 1, no. 56, pp. 79–81. Also noted in the *Archives Communales*, série AA, p. 70, fol. 28v. See also Erlande-Brandenburg 1977, p. 258, n. 29 (see note 17).

³² When the interests of the state, the town, and the fabric were reconciled, houses and other buildings were demolished, and Viollet-le-Duc designed (among other restorations of the cathedral) a new parvis executed by local granite and marble artisans between 1864 and 1865. See Durand, pp. 182, 183, 189 (see note 11). In the minutes of the first meeting of the *Monuments Historiques* (1837), Vitet proposed to use to the fullest and even to extend the laws of expropriation against those who possessed houses

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³³ And its well and access to the cloister gate in 1177. The commune was equally harsh with encroachments from outside; See Kraus (1979) on medicant efforts to settle within the town, pp. 51-2 (see note 7).

³⁴ W. W. Clark and R. King, *Laon Cathedral* (Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives). Companion Text, vol. 1, London, 1983 and Clark alone, vol. 2, 1987, esp. 1, p. 22.; Chédeville, pp. 521-5; and Murray in his review of Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar*. *Art Bulletin*, 63, 1981, pp. 152-4, suggest building revenues came principally from agricultural rather than urban jurisdictions. See also W. H. Vroom, *De financiering von de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen in het bijzonder van de dom von Utrecht*. Maarsen 1981, and Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral. The Late Gothic Campaigns*. Bloomington, Indiana 1987. I have commented on funding sources and communal agitation, rural and urban in a forthcoming article (see note 4).

³⁵ See Murray (1990), p. 56, and Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century* (California Studies in the History of Art 20). Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1983, p. 280.

³⁶ Amiens used less stone than was used at Chartres or Reims. See Bony, p. 278; on the foundations and stone, see Kimpel and Suckale 1985, pp. 33-6 (see note 10); see James on the use of chalk and local stone, p. 26.

³⁷ So that the choir piers of the second campaign required half the number of cut stones used for the first; see Dieter Kimpel, *Le développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique*. In: *Bulletin Monumental*, 135 (1977), pp. 195-222, and Kimpel and Suckale 1985, p. 503 (see note 10), and (1985), pp. 35-7.

³⁸ See Kurmann, p. 163-85, 245-57, and Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, Eng. trans, London, 1972, color plate IV and figs. 200, 201.

³⁹ See Kimpel and Suckale (1973), and Sauerländer, p. 477 and fig. 277.

⁴⁰ According to Kurmann, the two Annunciate Virgins are almost copies of one another, although "the Reims figure is carved with greater finesse", and the two Gabriels display similar differences, pp. 174-5.

⁴¹ See William B. Wadley, *The Reims Masks: A Reconstruction, Stylistic Analysis, and a Chronology of the Corbel Sculptures on the Upper Stories of Reims Cathedral*. Ph. D. diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1984. See also Sauerländer, fig. 257 for nine corbel heads, and fig. 256 for an atlas figure originally on the choir.

⁴² See also the west facade kings of the right portal and the apostles of the center, the latter reproduced in Sauerländer, fig. 162.

⁴³ Although Durand observed qualitative discrepancies in the decorative, foliage, and figurative sculpture, which he called less fine and delicate than that of the Saint-Chapelle and Notre-Dame, Paris, he ennobled the figurative style against the normative classical canons of the nineteenth century, vol. 1, pp. 33-4. Kimpel and Suckale suggest that stylistic norms changed ad mid-century towards rules that paved the way for the uniform style of the last third of the century (1973), p. 252, just as they did in glass and manuscript painting. But no comparable changes can be observed at Reims.

⁴⁴ Sauerländer, pp. 25, 466.

⁴⁵ For Amiens, see Sauerländer, figs. 168, 169.

⁴⁶ See Murray (1990), pp. 62-3.

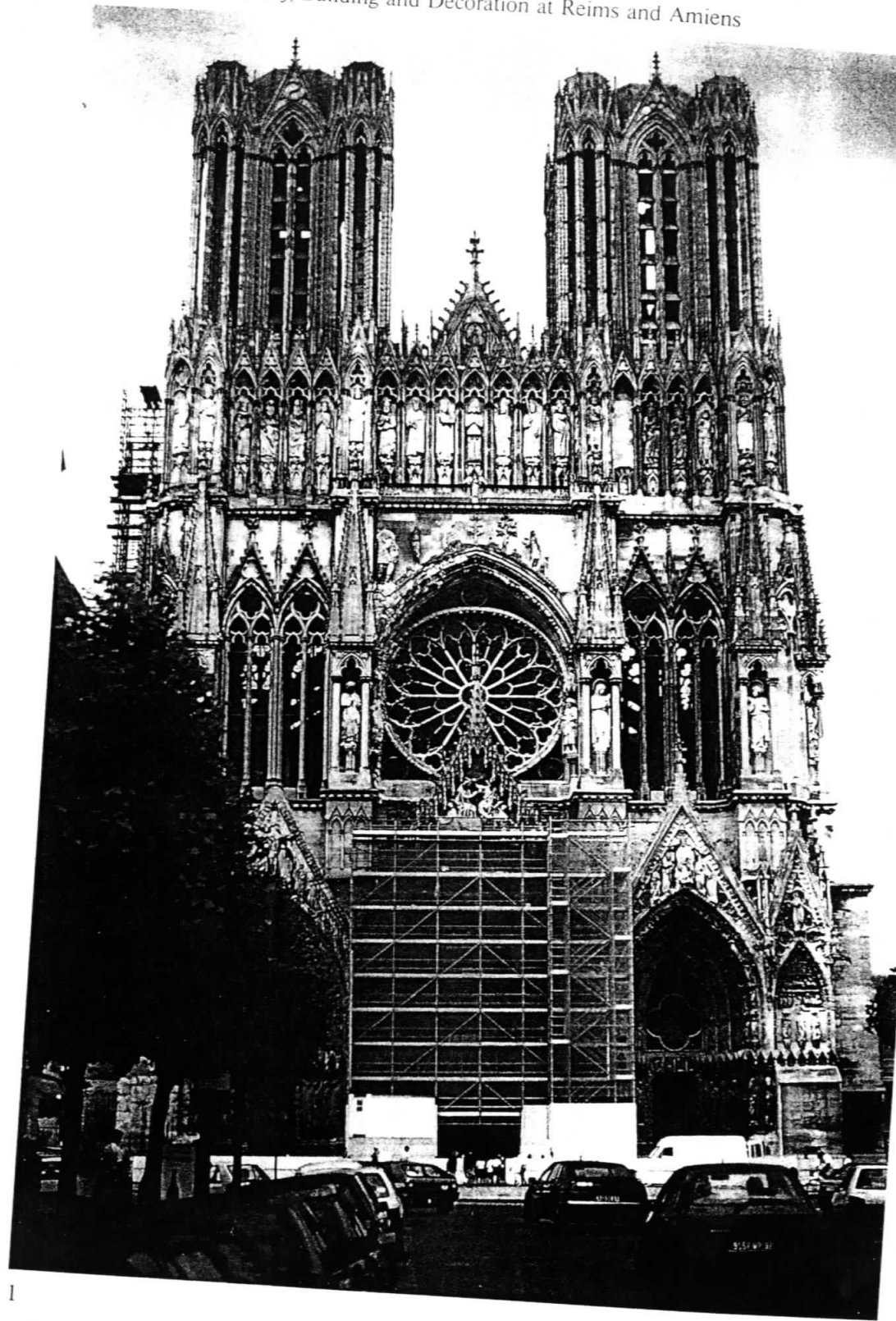
⁴⁷ As late as 1299 the pope addressed the bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons and other prelates of the province of Reims to help the chapter bring together the money necessary to free itself from insolvency and reestablish financial equilibrium. See Desportes on the struggle between canons and archbishop at the end of the century, p. 173 n. 111. At Amiens, as late 1464, parish priests were urged to exhort their congregations to make wills for the fabric on Sundays, at confession, and on feast days; see Durand, vol. 1, p. 121.

⁴⁸ Its gallery of kings circles round the towers; a host of angels appear all along the buttress pinnacles and around the choir; invisible corbel heads and atlantes decorate the upper exterior, every one of them elaborately and individually caricatured; figurative and foliage capitals of enormous variety, using recognizable flora, decorate the interior. For the corbels, see Sauerländer, figs. 190, 229-31, 256, 257. For the west interior, and its coronation meanings, see Donna Sadler-Davis, "The Sculptural Program of the Verso of the West Facade of Reims Cathedral", PhD. diss., Indiana University, 1984, and Kurmann.

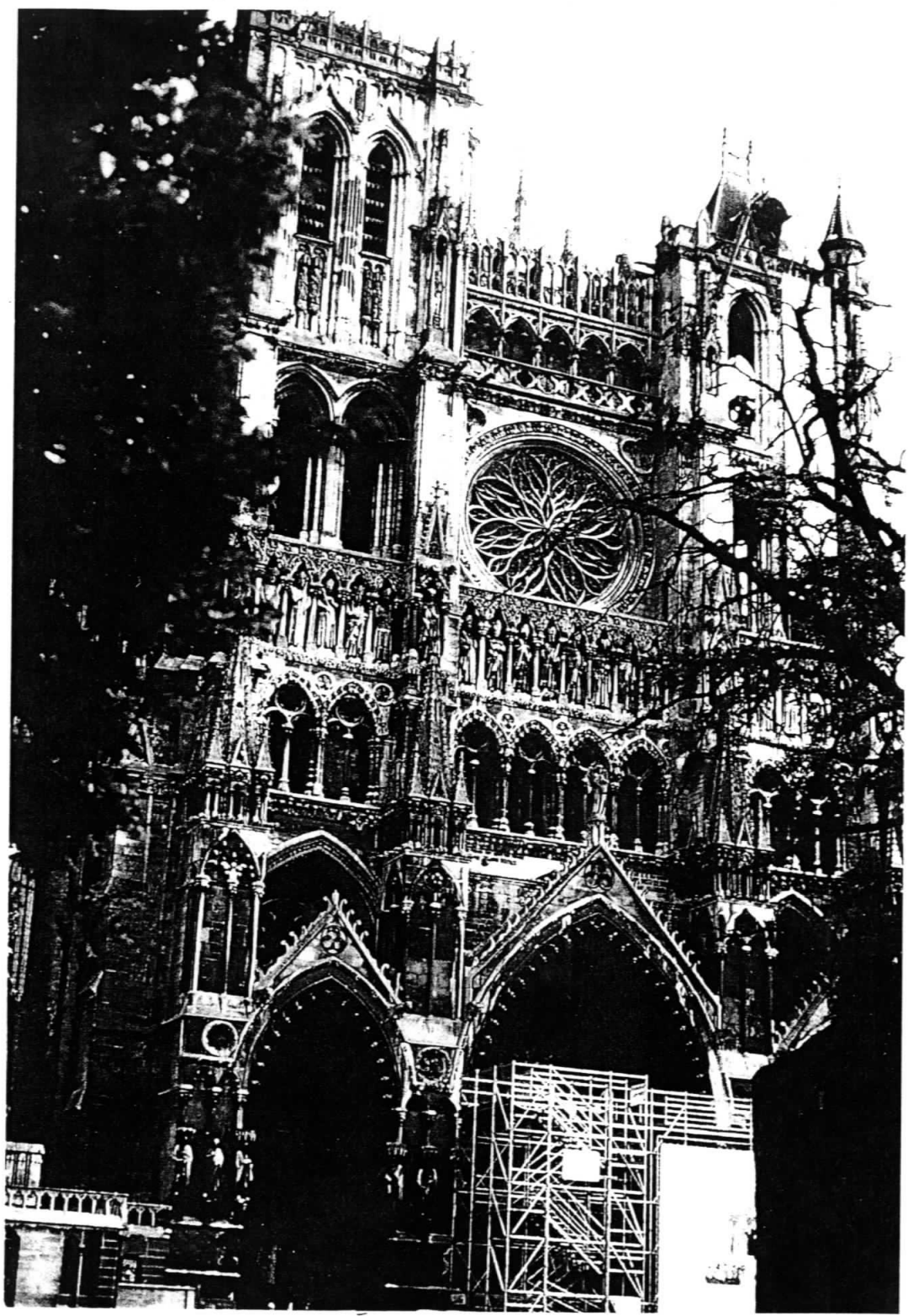
⁴⁹ I would like to thank Donna Sadler, who kindly located this reference in Reinhardt (as in note 6), p. 133, quoting Victor Tourneur, *Description historique et archéologique de Notre-Dame de Reims*. 7e éd., Reims 1911, p. 19. See also by Tourneur, *Histoire et Description des Vitraux et des Statues de L'intérieur de la Cathédrale de Reims*. Reims, P. Regnier 1857; Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *La Cathédrale de Reims*. Paris, Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts 1915, and Sauerländer, pp. 474-88.

Illustrations

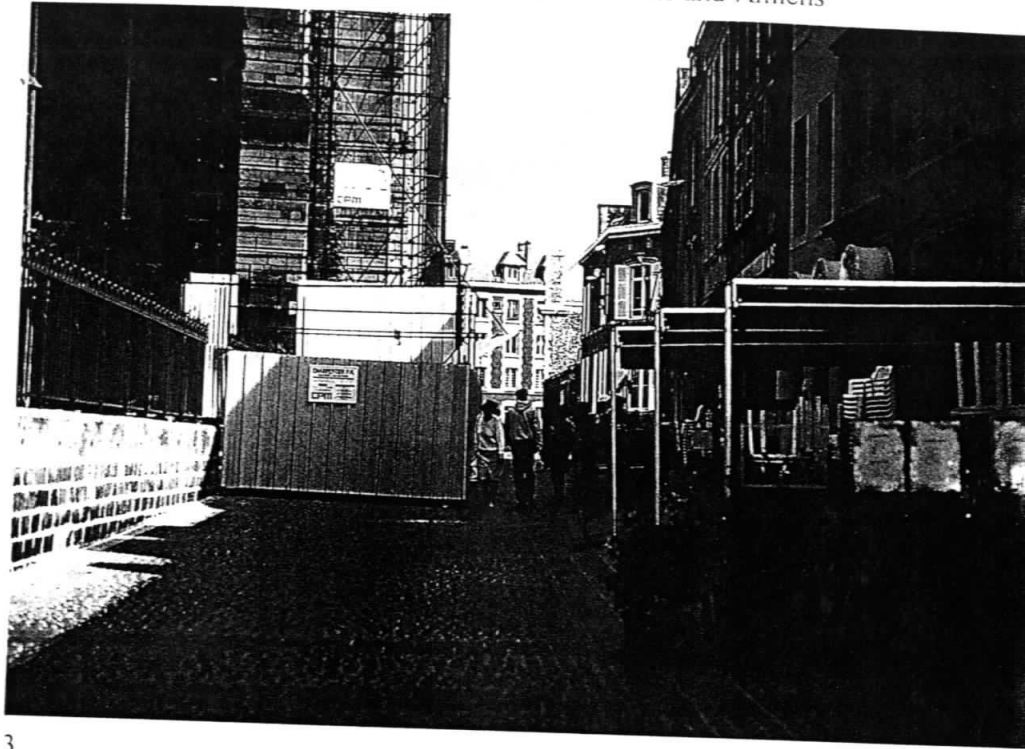
- 1 Reims Cathedral
- 2 Amiens Cathedral
- 3 Rue Cormont, Amiens
- 4 Amiens parvis
- 5 Amiens "compressed" west facade
- 6 Amiens west, Virgin portal: Annunciation, Visitation, Presentation
- 7 Reims west, Virgin portal: Annunciation
- 8 Reims west, Virgin portal: Visitation
- 9 Reims west, Virgin Portal, detail of Gabriel
- 10 Amiens west, Virgin portal, detail of Gabriel
- 11 Amiens west, foliage
- 12 Amiens nave, capital
- 13 Reims nave, capital
- 14 Amiens nave, tracery
- 15 Amiens choir, stonework



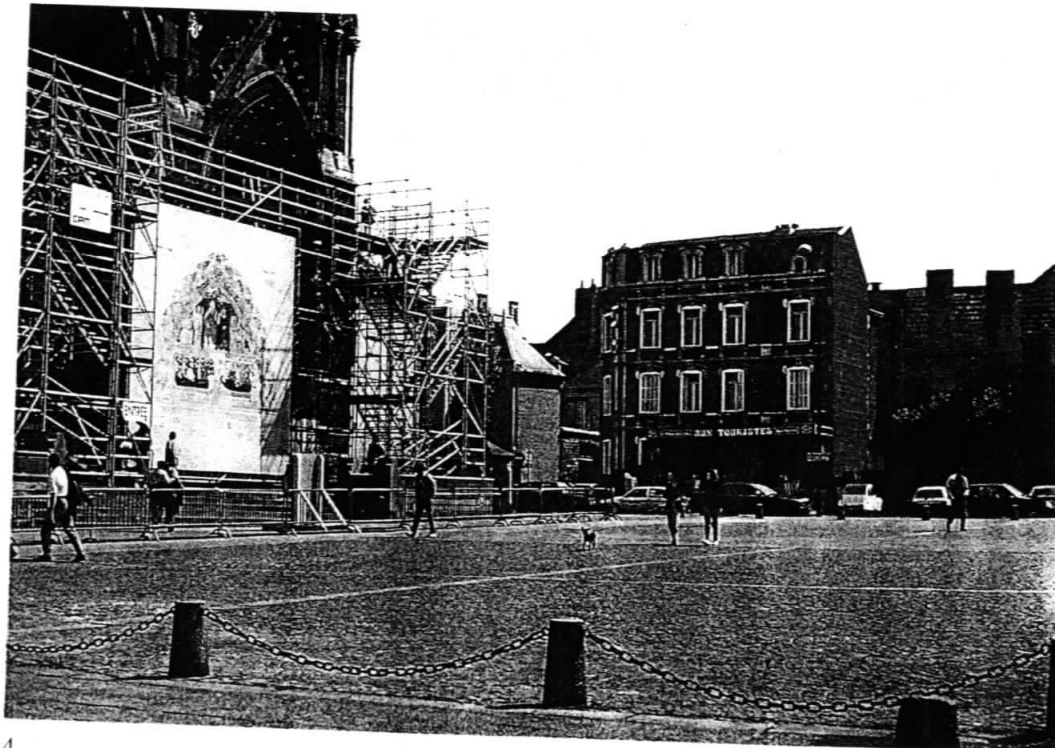
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Barbara Abou-El-Haj, Building and Decoration at Reims and Amiens



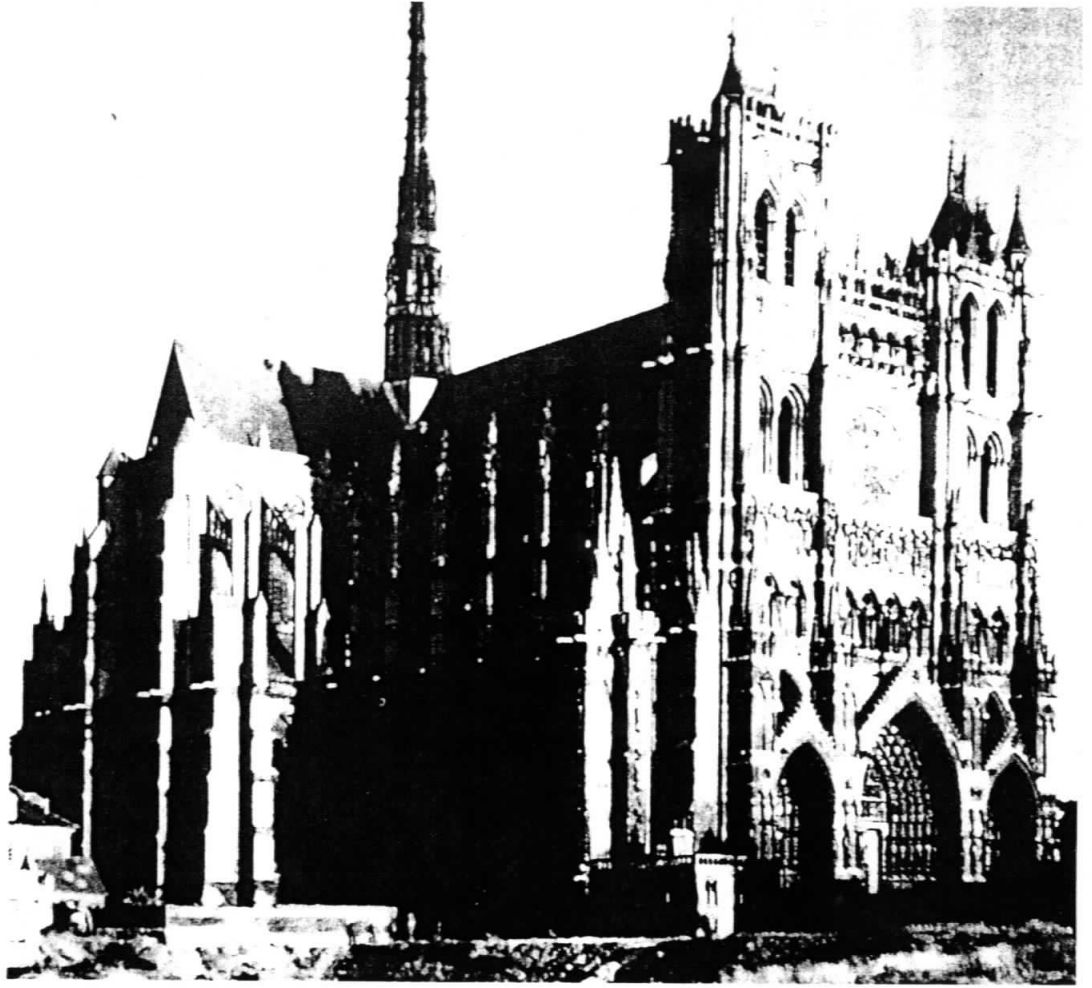
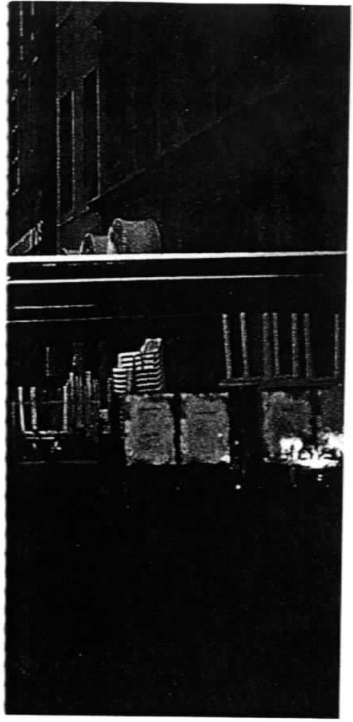
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Amiens

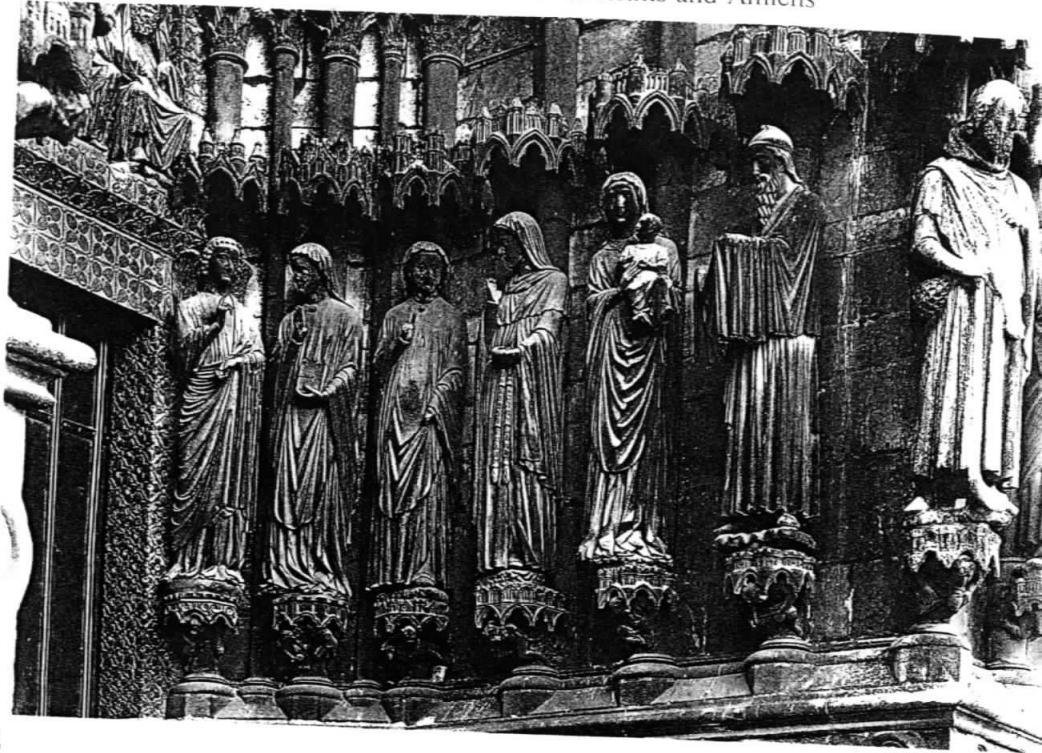
Barbara Abou-El-Haj, Building and Decoration at Reims and Amiens



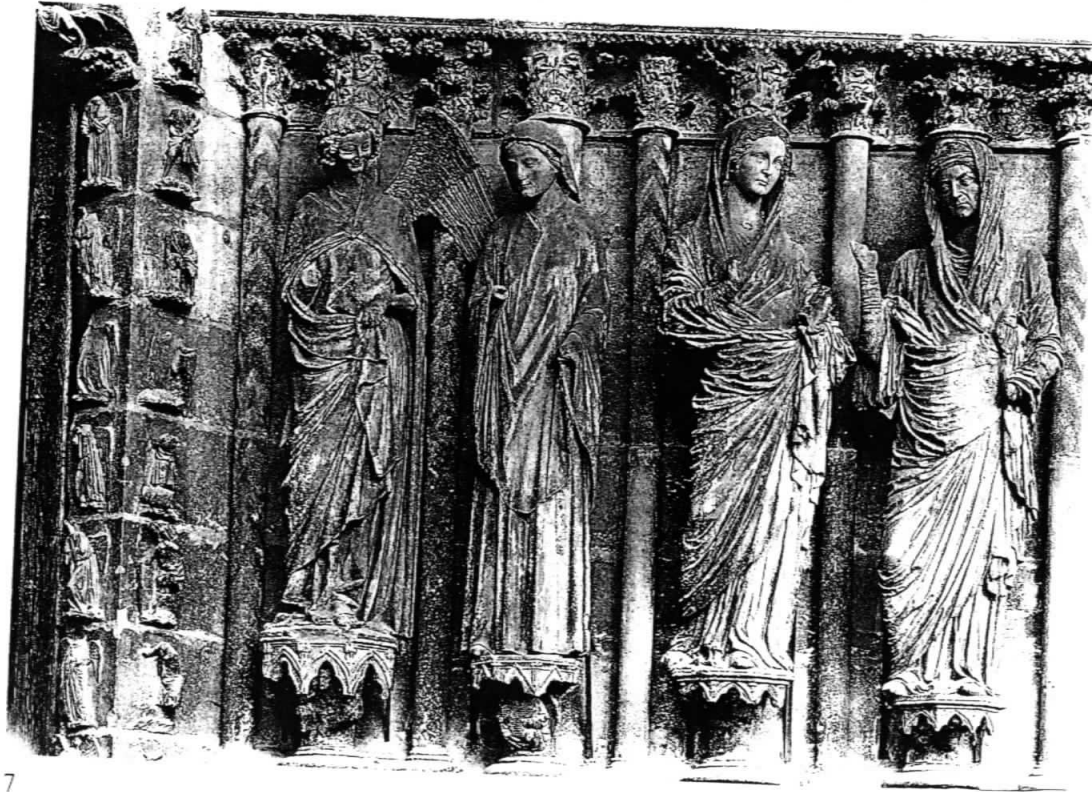
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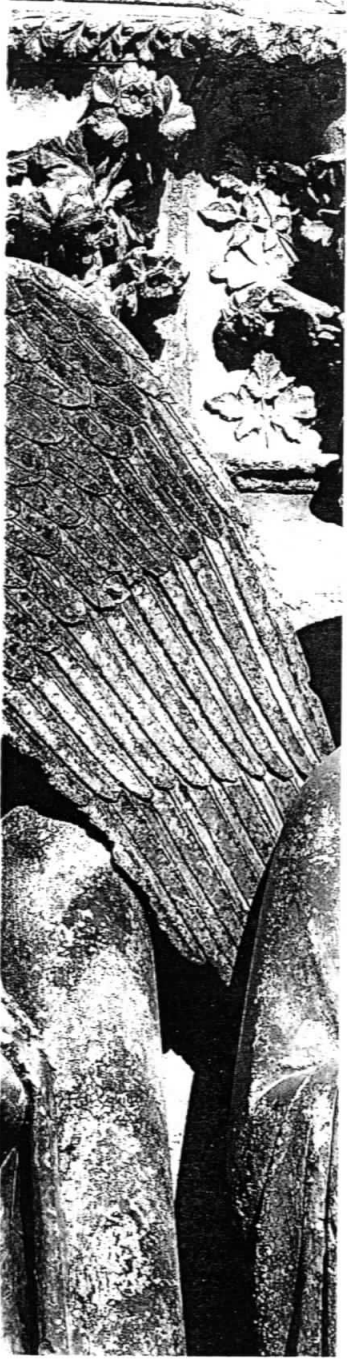


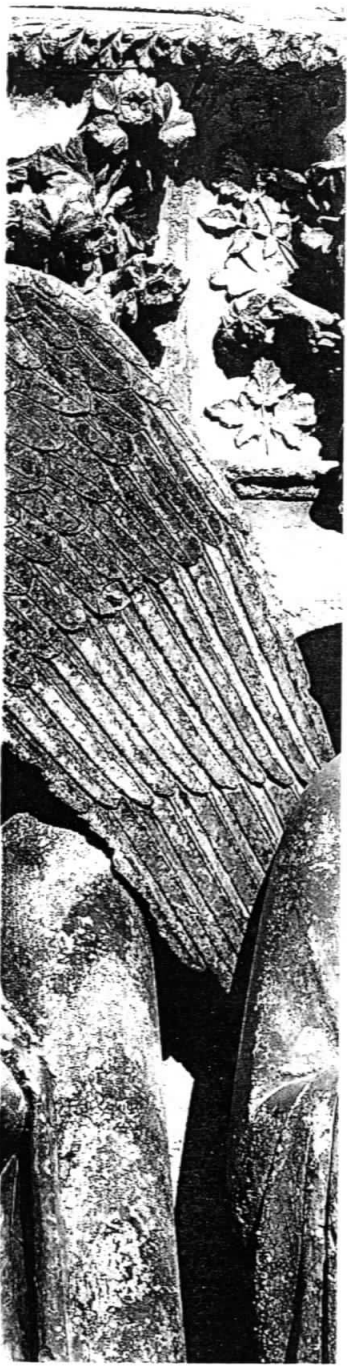
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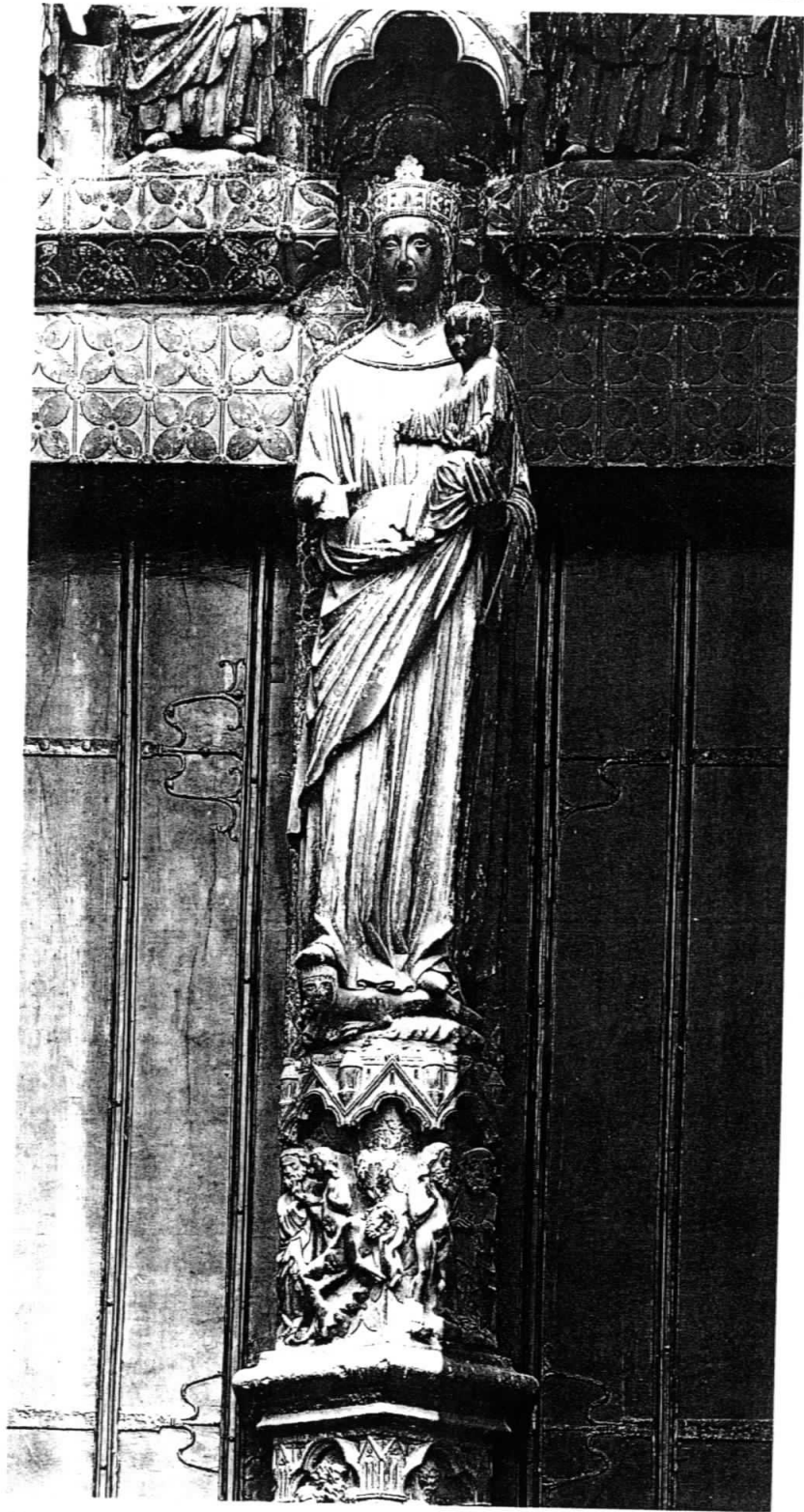




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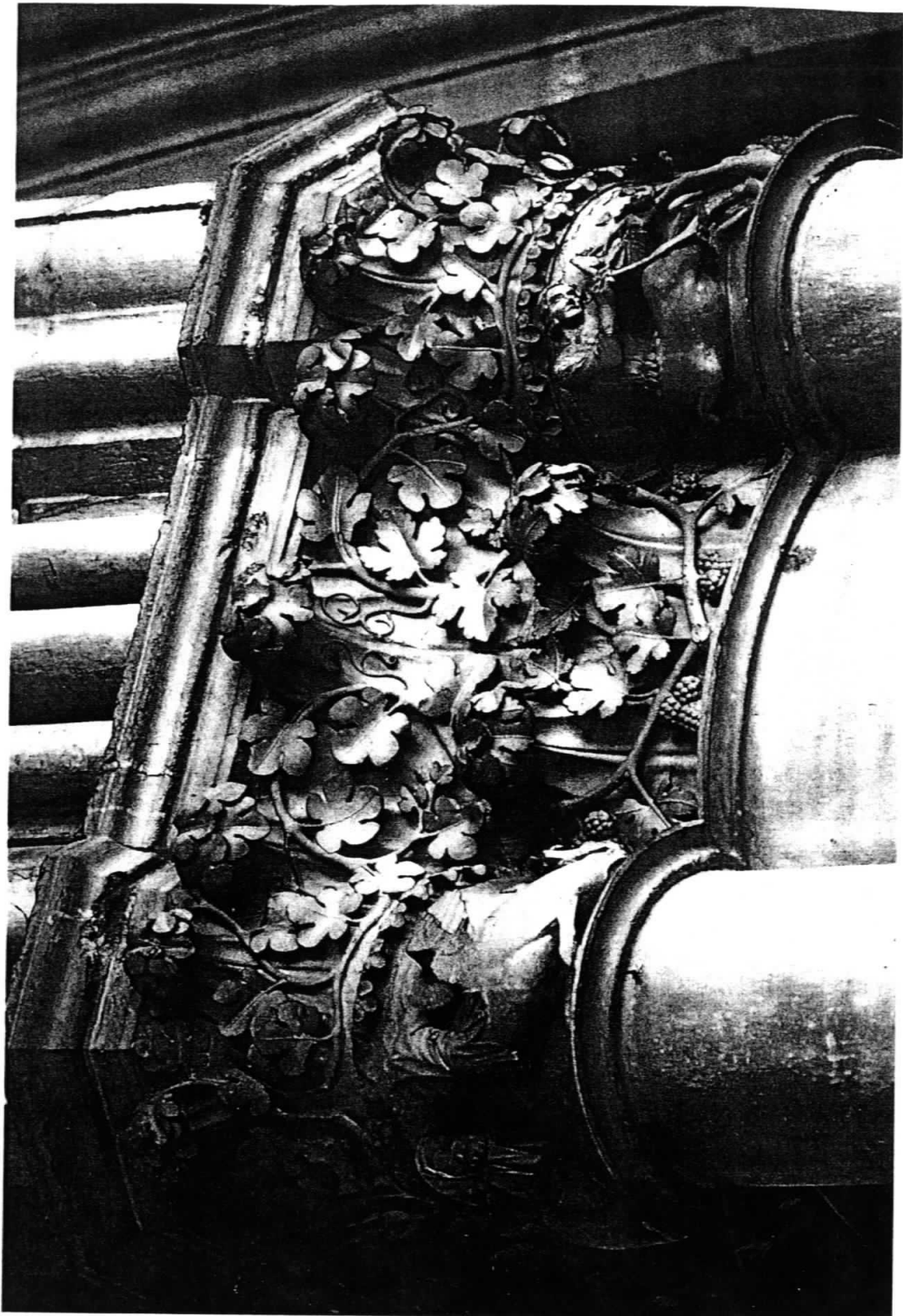


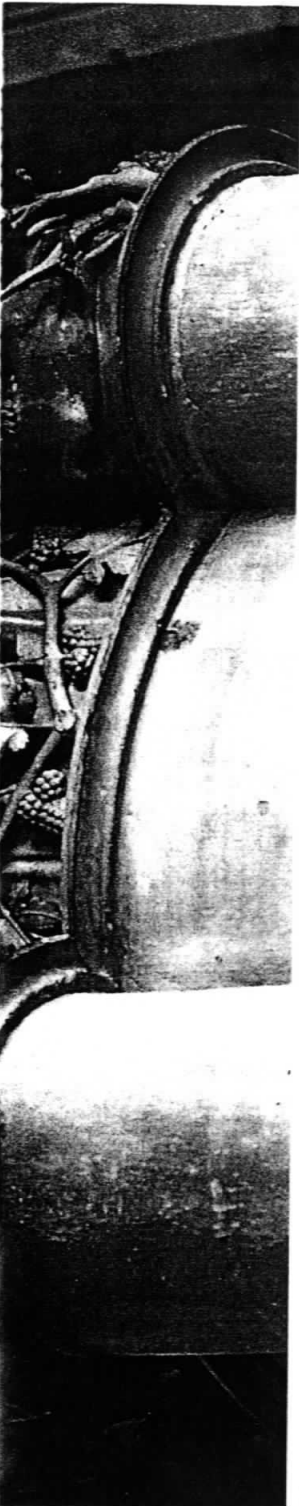




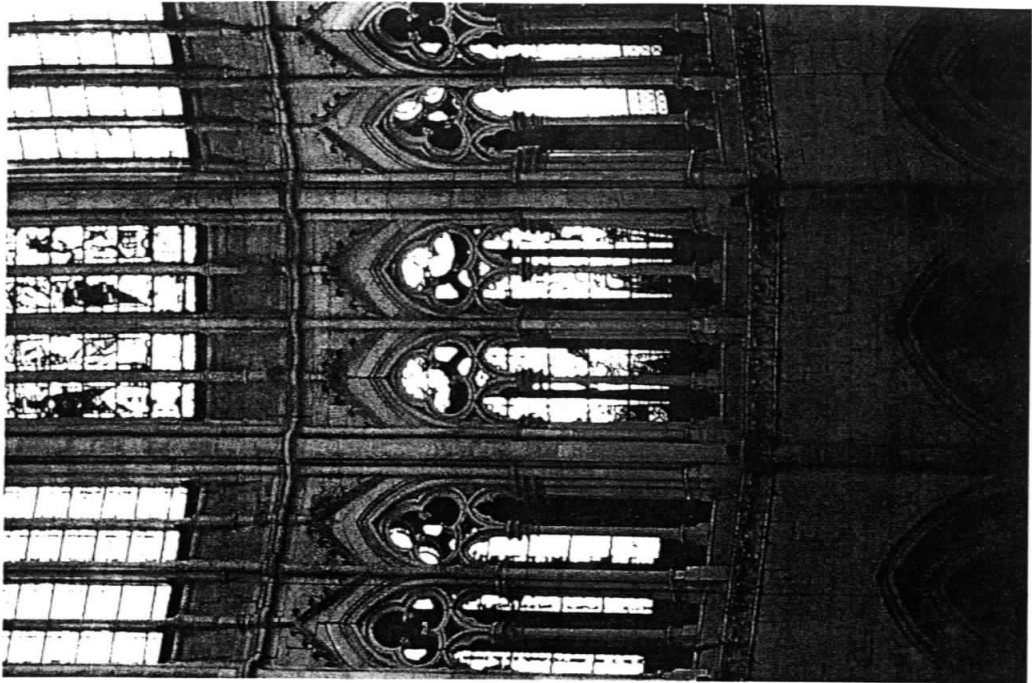
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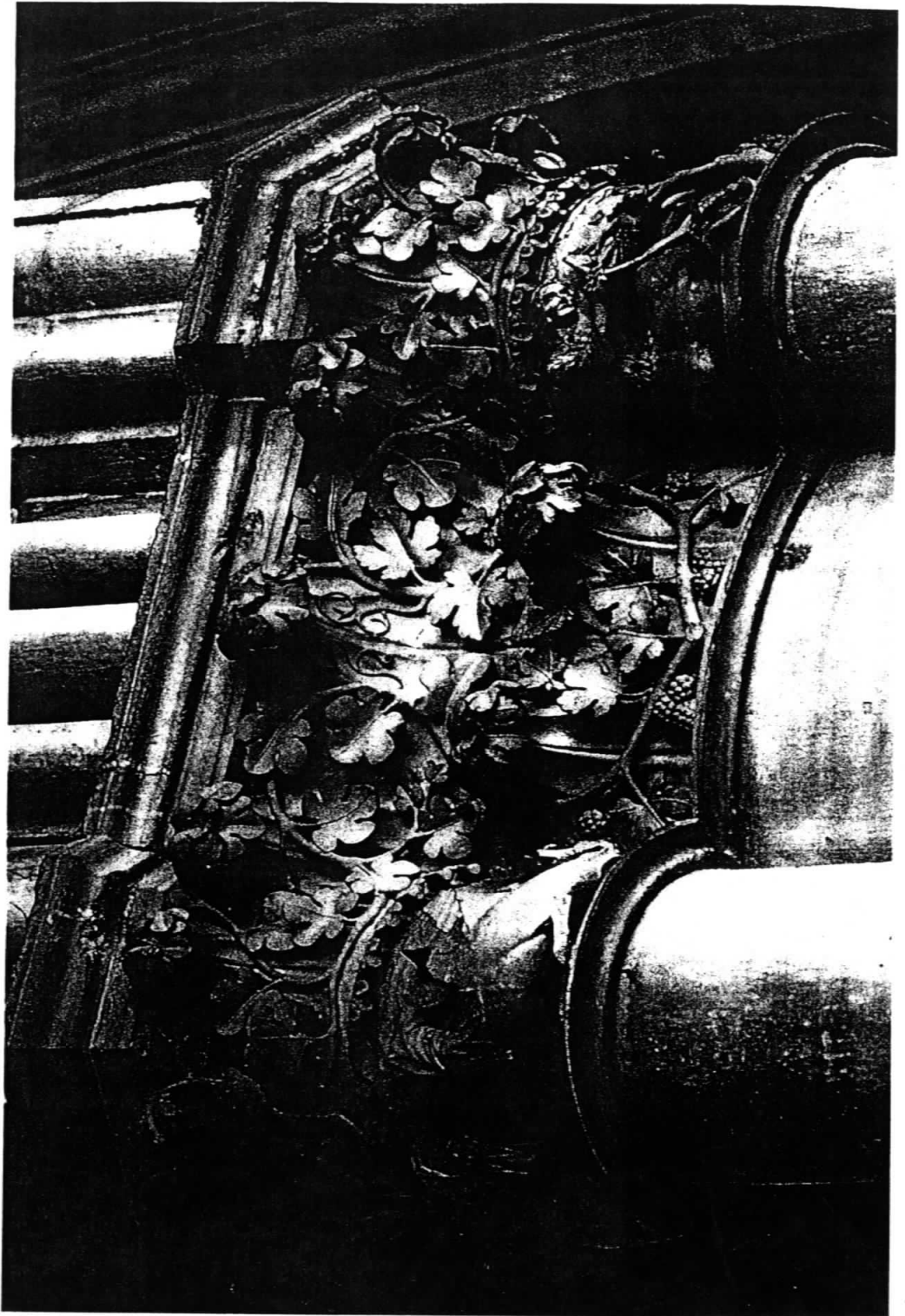
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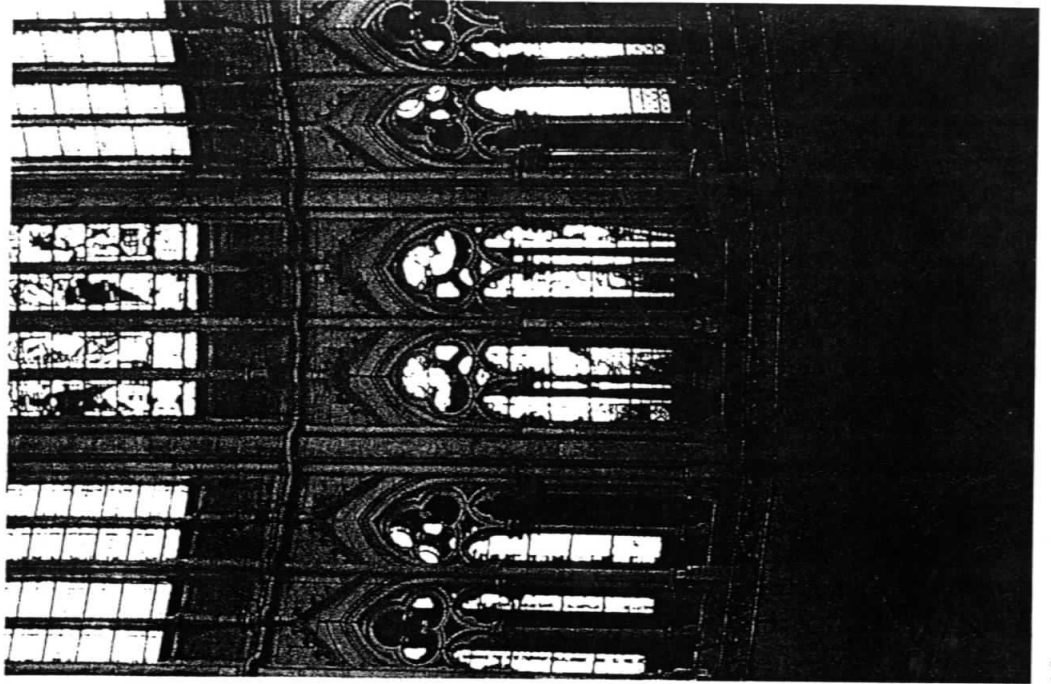


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