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The Choir of the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand: The Beginning of Construction and the Work of Jean Deschamps

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The cathedral of Clermont exists as an interloper of the northern French Gothic style in a region long faithful to the Romanesque tradition. Without local stylistic antecedent, it appears without warning as an example of the mature Rayonnant style in an area where the preceding phases of Gothic architecture virtually had been ignored. Robert Branner's recent hypothesis, which postpones the beginning of construction from 1248 to 1262–1263, is important for the analysis of the cathedral's chronology, and its place within and impact upon the general development of Gothic architecture in the second half of the 13th century. Is the cathedral choir a monument which took shape in the late 1240s to the 1260s and logically builds upon the premises of Amiens, Reims, Beauvais, and the Paris transepts? Or is it, as Branner states, a tardy example of the restrained Court Style architecture of the mid-13th century? A careful analysis of the surviving documentation, corroborated by a study of the building itself, yields the conclusion that the choir of the cathedral of Clermont was constructed between about 1248 and 1280.

Through a careful study of the plan and the fabric of the cathedral, the sections of the choir which were erected under the supervision of Jean Deschamps may be isolated. Though Deschamps can be credited only with the hemicycle and parts of the forechoir of Clermont, his work was followed scrupulously by his successors. This examination of Clermont and the work of Jean Deschamps sheds new light on the building history of a cathedral which, serving as a model for many of the major Gothic structures of the Midi, takes an important first step in defining the career of one of the key figures in French Gothic architecture of the second half of the 13th century.

LIKE THE 1194 Chartres fire or the 1284 collapse of Beauvais, the 1248 date for the commencement of the cathedral of Clermont appeared to be one of those few incontestable dates in the history of Gothic architecture. Based on the now-lost inscription of the destroyed tomb slab of the architect, Jean Deschamps, this date assumes an even greater importance in the history of the cathedral because of a total lack of corroborating reports and

chronicles.¹ Recently, Robert Branner cast a skeptical eye upon this third-hand evidence and suggested that the cathedral actually was begun only after the marriage of the future Philip III of France to Isabella of Aragon in Clermont in 1262.² Rather than an active member in the progressive developments of the 1250s and 1260s, Clermont, a monument which took shape in the 1270s and 1280s, would become a passive provincial reflection of the Court or Rayonnant Style. The need to establish a firmer dating for the Gothic cathedral becomes more urgent since Clermont occupies a pivotal position as the first in the series of buildings attributed to Jean Deschamps, works which linked the style of the Ile-de-France with the innovative structures of the Midi such as the cathedrals of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Rodez.

This study will survey a new range of documents and dovetail this written evidence with the fabric of the cathedral itself to re-validate the traditional 1248 date for the commencement of construction. Correlating these chronological conclusions with the observable changes in the building, we may arrive at a precise delimitation of the activity of Jean Deschamps at Clermont. We may thus attempt to define a career which is still nebulous and

The research for this study was completed during 1976 and 1977 and forms the essence of chapters 3 and 4 of my doctoral dissertation, "The Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand: History of its Construction, 1248–1512," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1979 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 79-25, 133). My sojourn in France was made possible by a Fulbright-Hays Award, a Rackham Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, and a Rackham Dissertation Fellowship. I wish to thank Mssrs. Bernard Craplet and René Berger, Mme. and Robert Lionnet for opening every nook and cranny of the cathedral to me. A special acknowledgement of gratitude is due the members of my doctoral committee, Christine Bornstein, Ilene Forsyth, Clifton Olds, and Nicholas Steneck of the University of Michigan and Stephen Murray of Indiana University, for their unstinting help and moral support.

1. The inscription was published by Jean Dufrasse, *L'Origine des églises de France prouvée par la succession de ses évêques*, Paris, 1688, 505. It reads, "Memoria sit quod magister Joannis Decampis incepit hanc ecclesiam anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragésimo octavo qui jacet cum Maria uxore sua et liberis eorum in tumulo incise ante valvas Beatae Mariae gratiae."

2. Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1965, 142.

shrouded in mystery, yet viewed as a prime force behind the developments of the 14th and even the 15th centuries.³

The Documents

No contemporary account mentions any significant events which either necessitated or heralded the onset of the first Gothic campaign of construction. The present edifice is apparently not the result of a catastrophe: no wars, fires, collapses, or earthquakes are recorded; no mention is made of an episcopal benediction of the first stone. Pierre Audigier, writing in the late 17th century, simply stated that the old cathedral was not adequate for the august manner in which the divine offices were celebrated by the cathedral chapter.⁴ There is a consensus among previous authors that Bishop Hugues de la Tour's presence at the Ste. Chapelle dedication of 26 April 1248 awakened the region from its Romanesque slumber by providing the major stimulus in the decision to rebuild the aging cathedral.⁵ Four months after this dazzling introduction to the capital's glittering Gothic edifices, the Clermont bishop departed on the Seventh Crusade. In the interim, he had supposedly organized the work force, marshaled the financial resources, hired an architect, and blessed the first stone of the new work. Reference to the primary written sources, however, reveals that the Clermont project had been brewing for several years.⁶

The first gift earmarked for the building occurred in July 1244. Stephen de Mezel, a canon of the cathedral, bequeathed the substantial sum of 100 *sous clermontois* for the construction of the church ("ad edificio ipse ecclesie").⁷ This is a particularly important document as it implies that fund-raising efforts for a building project were under way. Neither prior donations to which Mezel's generosity may be linked, nor hint of any work which might have elicited gifts for the construction are known.⁸

3. See, for example, Lisa Schürenberg, *Die kirchliche Baukunst in Frankreich zwischen 1270 und 1380*, Berlin, 1934; Marcel Durliat, "La Signification de la cathédrale de Narbonne et sa place dans l'architecture gothique," *XLV^e Congrès organisé par la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Narbonne archéologie et histoire, II. Narbonne au moyen âge), Montpellier, 1973, 212–216.

4. Pierre Audigier, "Histoire de l'église d'Auvergne: sixième livre," Bibliothèque Municipale de Clermont-Ferrand, ms. 583, fol. 145^r.

5. Henri du Ranquet, "Les Architectes de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand," *Bulletin monumental*, LXXXVI, 1912, 99; Philippe Gobillot, "La Cathédrale de Clermont," *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, 1907, 225; Pierre Balme, "Visite descriptive et historique de la cathédrale Notre Dame de Clermont," *Auvergne littéraire, artistique, historique*, XXIII, 1947, 11.

6. Francis Salet, "Le Premier Colloque de la société française d'archéologie (Reims, 1–2 juin 1965), Chronologie de la cathédrale," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXV, 1967, 363, has speculated that a full year may have been required for the organization of the Reims cathedral workshop. According to Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger. On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, Princeton, 1946, 153, plans to rebuild St. Denis may have been formulated as early as 1125.

7. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 6, sac B, côte 2.

8. There was apparently a campaign of redecoration and embellish-

This first donation "ad edificio" came at a time when Bishop Hugues had pushed Clermont's claims for primacy over its metropolitan, Bourges, to the breaking point.⁹ Although it is impossible to date the beginning of the reconstruction project precisely to the early 1240s when the struggle was at its most bitter, it is certainly possible that the Clermont ecclesiastical community wished to build a visible symbol of its aspirations which in size and modernity would be worthy of the claimant to the head of an archdiocese. Indeed, the sole architectural rival south of the Loire was Bourges herself.

A second, undated document of apparently the late 1240s names the edifice as the recipient of a 10 *sous* donation.¹⁰ Because of the few surviving documents from this decade, it is difficult to assess the flow of money into the fabric's coffers. It would appear that the chapter's position as an important landholder in the region and its lucrative right of coinage in the city permitted the payment of the first years of construction expenditures from its regular revenues.¹¹ Furthermore, the chapter's purchase of a sizable group of houses in August 1248 might have been part of an attempt to expand revenues through the addition of income from the rental of these very dwellings.¹²

Although the Clermont bishops seem to have played a minor role in the cathedral construction, one of the most important acts regarding the commencement of the Gothic campaigns was the sale of land to the chapter by Hugues de la Tour, bishop of Clermont from 1227 to 1249. Mention of this transaction is buried in the middle of a 1273 document in which Hugues's successor, Guy de la Tour, recognized the receipt of 300 pounds in exchange for the cession of land used in further work on the cathedral.¹³ In consummating the sale, Guy referred to a similar

ment of the Romanesque cathedral that was carried out around 1190–1200. However, the only construction that seems to have been executed involved a portal or porch of the north transept entrance. Consult Henri du Ranquet, "Note sur la cathédrale d'Etienne II," *Revue d'Auvergne*, XLIV, 1930, 40–41.

9. Hugues had been placed under interdict in 1243 for refusing to attend a provincial synod convoked by the archbishop of Bourges, Philippe Berruyer. The Clermont bishop had refused to recognize the supremacy of the Bourges pontiffs at his election in 1227. Consult Dufraisse, *L'Origine des églises*, 497; Edmund Martene and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 4 vols., Paris, 1717, I, cols. 1023–1024.

10. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 6, sac B, côte 1. "Edificio eccl[es]ie clar[omontensis] X [10] sol[idos]."

11. Gilbert Rouchon, "Notre Dame de Clermont, son chapitre, son quartier," *Auvergne littéraire, artistique, historique*, XI, 1934, 31, states that the chapter was an important landholder by the end of the 11th century with estates in 20 parishes throughout Auvergne. According to Ambroise Tardieu, *Histoire de la ville de Clermont-Ferrand*, 2 vols., Clermont-Ferrand, 1870–1871, I, 270, land tithes and rents formed the single most important source of the chapter's income. For the way in which an ecclesiastical body used revenues derived from their land holdings, see Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 103.

12. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 7, sac N, côte 26.

13. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire

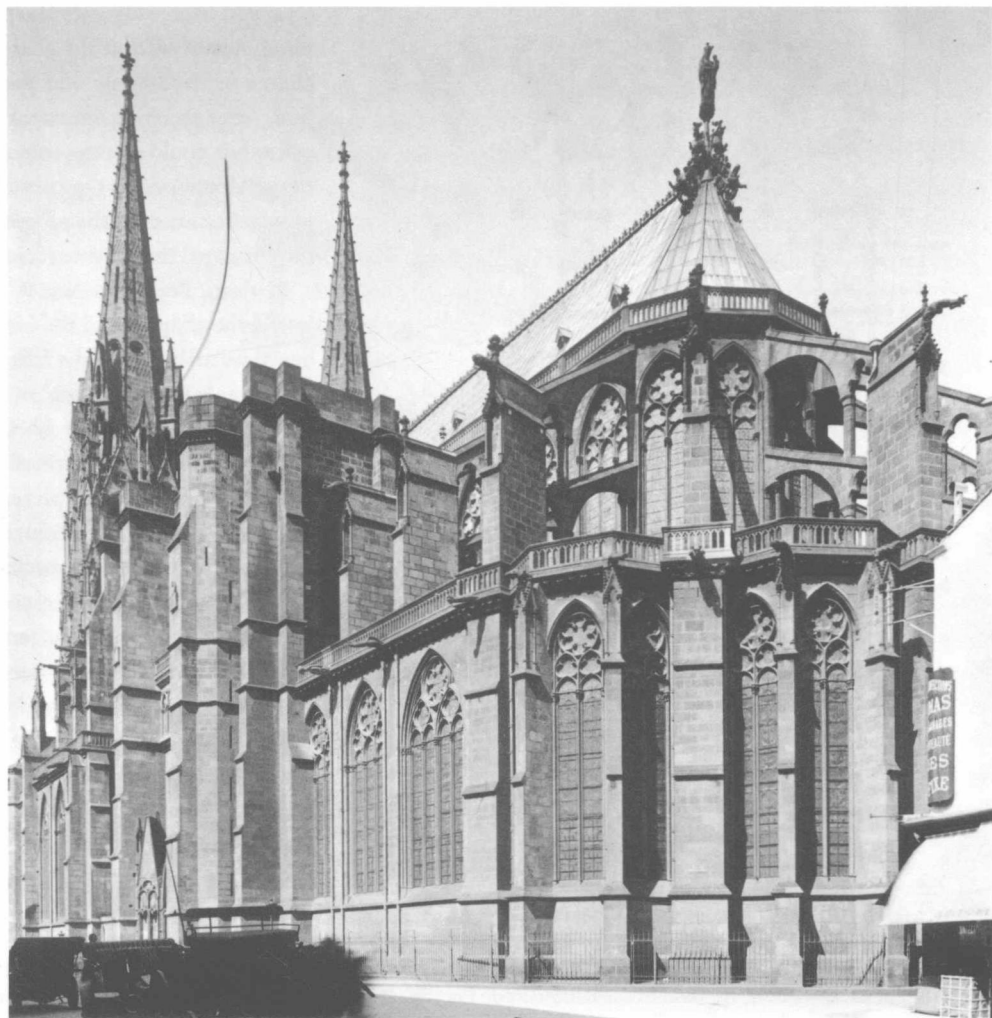


Fig. 1. Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand, a view of choir from the southeast (Arch. Phot., Paris/SPADEM/VAGA, New York, 1981).

concession made by Hugues to the construction as a precedent for his own business.¹⁴

The extent of this initial plot of real estate is unknown, although it is probable that it was located on the site of the projected Gothic choir and was occupied by outbuildings and houses belonging to the episcopal palace complex.¹⁵ The acqui-

sition of this land which lay to the east of the Romanesque chevet would have permitted the construction of the Gothic choir up to bay division 12 while leaving the older structure intact and thus assuring the continuity of religious services (Figs. 1, 2, 3).¹⁶ Furthermore, there is no place, save east of the Romanesque apse, where the land ceded by Hugues might lie. The north side of the cathedral's nave was bordered by a cloister, chapels, and chapter

18, sac B, côte 22. This document was published in a slightly abbreviated though accurate transcription by Dufraisse, *L'Origine des églises*, 500–501.

14. *Ibid.* "... hoc dictis custodibus ad opus dicti edificii et fabrice pro nobis nostrique successoribus confirmamus dicto capitulo concedente et hoc idem prout intelleximus praedecessor noster edificio dicto seu fabrice concessit pro qua concessione confitemur nos habuisse et recepisse . . . trecentas libras claromontenses. . ." The date of this first sale is not mentioned in this later document, although a *terminus ante quem* is furnished by Hugues's August 1248 departure for the Seventh Crusade.

15. Emile Thévenot, "Recherches historiques sur la cathédrale suivies d'un plan de restauration de ses vitraux," *Annales d'Auvergne*, IX, 1836, 4, and J. J. Bourassé, *Les Cathédrales de France*, Tours, 1847, 642, state only that the chapter made several acquisitions of land from the bishops for the cathedral reconstruction. Tardieu, *Histoire de la ville*, I, 173, hypothesized that Bishop Hugues sacrificed the palace itself to the new

work. The view advanced here was proposed by Philippe Gobillot, *La Cathédrale de Clermont*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1912, 18, n. 2. Gobillot stated, "Il me semble qu'il s'agit tout simplement de maisons appartenant à l'Evêché et non du palais épiscopal lui-même. . . Dans un plan de l'ancien évêché [which dates to the 18th century] . . . on voit qu'à cette date encore l'Evêché possédait une maison isolée vers la région de l'abside."

16. This general course of construction was pursued at the cathedrals of Noyon, Bourges, and Troyes among others. For Noyon, see Charles Seymour, *Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, New Haven, 1939, 43–44, 48; for Bourges, Robert Branner, *La Cathédrale de Bourges et sa place dans l'architecture gothique*, Paris and Bourges, 1962, 35–36; for Troyes, Norbert Bongartz, *Die frühen Bauteile der Kathedrale in Troyes. Architekturgeschichtliche Monographie*, Hochschule Sammlung Philosophie, Kunstgeschichte, Band 2, Stuttgart, 1979.

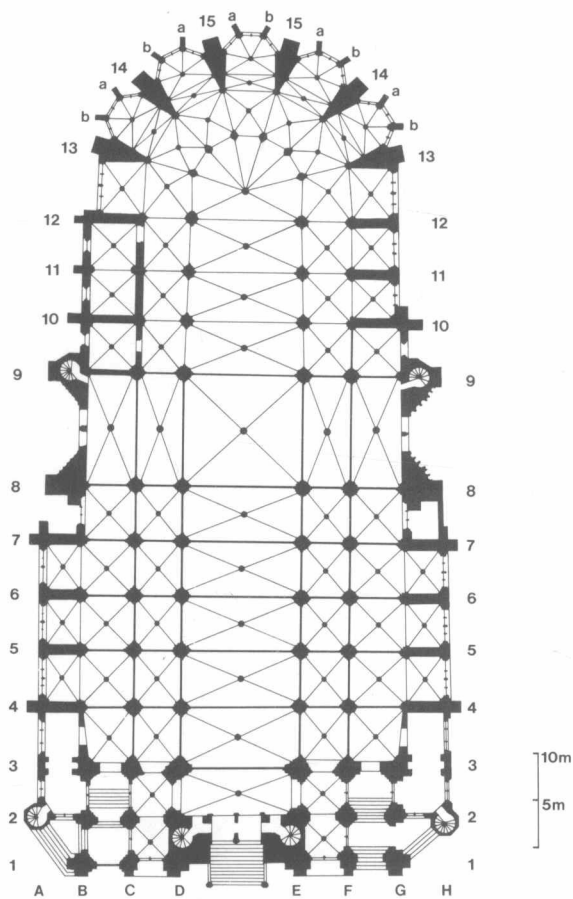


Fig. 2. Clermont-Ferrand, plan of the cathedral (D. Fiegenschue, reworked from Bernard Craplet, *Dossier du visiteur à la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand*, Lyon, 1976, 2, and an 1848 plan by Albert Mallay in the office of M. Gandrille, architect of the Bâtiments de France).

buildings and the south side was hemmed in by the episcopal gardens and the so-called Abbot's House ("Maison de l'Abbé").¹⁷ The west façade of the cathedral was fronted by an esplanade, a cemetery, and a flight of steps which connected with the streets below.¹⁸

Although the land necessary for the initial stages of the new Gothic project had been secured prior to Hugues de la Tour's departure in August 1248, the absence of a bishop from Clermont between 1248 until 1253, when Guy de la Tour was confirmed as bishop, has been viewed as evidence for a complete work stoppage.¹⁹ Robert Branner argued that plans were simply

17. A fairly precise picture of the environs of the cathedral may be pieced together from Tardieu, *Histoire de la ville*, I, 173, 248; Rouchon, "Notre Dame de Clermont," 23.

18. "Le Vieux Clermont," *Avenir du Puy-de-Dôme*, 1 February 1908, 2; Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 5, sac C, côte 41, describes the area west of the cathedral as it appeared in 1481.

19. Hugues de la Tour died in the Holy Land 23 December 1249. Although Guy was elected in 1250, his regalia was seized and held by Blanche of Castille, reportedly because of the chapter's failure to obtain proper authorization from the crown for the election. Consult *Gallia Christiana*, 17 vols., Paris, 1720, II, col. 277. Among those who have

scrapped after Hugues's death in 1249.²⁰ It must be borne in mind, however, that the chapter, as well as the bishop, was in charge of the activity and financing of the cathedral construction. After receiving episcopal sanction for the work, the college of canons could assume responsibility for its execution.²¹ Continued donations to the construction and the receipt of a papal indulgence attest to the progress of work during the years when the episcopal throne was vacant.

In 1250, Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence which allowed the chapter and the bishop to garner revenues of vacant benefices on behalf of the fabric.²² This measure does not necessarily imply that the resultant moneys were destined specifically for construction since the fabric agency would have been charged with the structural and ritual maintenance of the cathedral as well as with such special projects as reconstruction.²³

Nevertheless, at some point during his pontificate, Innocent IV did issue an indulgence specifically for work on the Gothic cathedral. In a 1263 bull supporting the construction, Urban IV referred to two prior indulgences granted by Alexander IV and Innocent IV for the same purpose.²⁴ Because Urban's bull is a virtual reiteration of Alexander IV's measure, it may be assumed that the original concession of Innocent followed the same lines. It would have been addressed to the entire kingdom of France, according an indulgence of 100 days to those who contributed to the cathedral's completion.²⁵

postulated a cessation of work between 1248 and 1253 are Thévenot, "Recherches historiques," 4-5; J. B. Bouillet, *Statistique monumentale du Puy-de-Dôme*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1846, 227; Henri du Ranquet, "La Cathédrale de Clermont," *Congrès archéologique*, LXXXVII, 1924, 99-100.

20. Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, 142.

21. In theory, the bishop and chapter acted in concert during the reconstruction of a cathedral. See Seymour, *Noyon*, 21, n. 132. Though the relative burden of responsibility varied from place to place, it appears that the burden of financing the work at Clermont, as at Reims, fell upon the chapter. Consult Robert Branner, "Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210-1241," *Speculum*, XXXVI, 1961, 25-26. At Clermont, all of the transactions involving the construction were handled by the chapter and its officials, called the "prepositus" and the "custodes" of the edifice.

22. Henri de Surrel de St. Julien, *Les Evêques de Clermont, les abbés des monastères et la collation des bénéfices de ce diocèse d'après les "Schedae" inédites des archives du Vatican*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1899,

27. "Indulgentia pro fabrica ecclesiae Claromontensis" and "Pro capitulo et episcopo Claromontensibus indultum percipiendi fructus beneficio-rum vacantium pro fabrica dictae ecclesiae."

23. Robert Branner, "Fabrica, opus, and the Dating of Medieval Monuments," *Gesta*, xv, 1977, 27.

24. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 20. "Hinc est quod cum sicut venerabilis frater n[ost]e[r] ep[iscopu]s et dilecti filii decanus et capitulum claromontensis nob[is] exponere curaveru[n]t ip[s]i eor[um] eccl[esi]am reparare inceperu[n]t opere nimium sumptuoso et felicitis recordat[i]o[n]is Innoc[entius] et Alexander Romanes pontifices predecessores n[ost]ri ac nos xpi fidelibus per regnum francie constitutis ad eiusdem perfectionem operis adiutorium retribuentib[us] certam indulgentia[m]. . ."

25. For the terms of Alexander's indulgence, see C. Bourcel de la

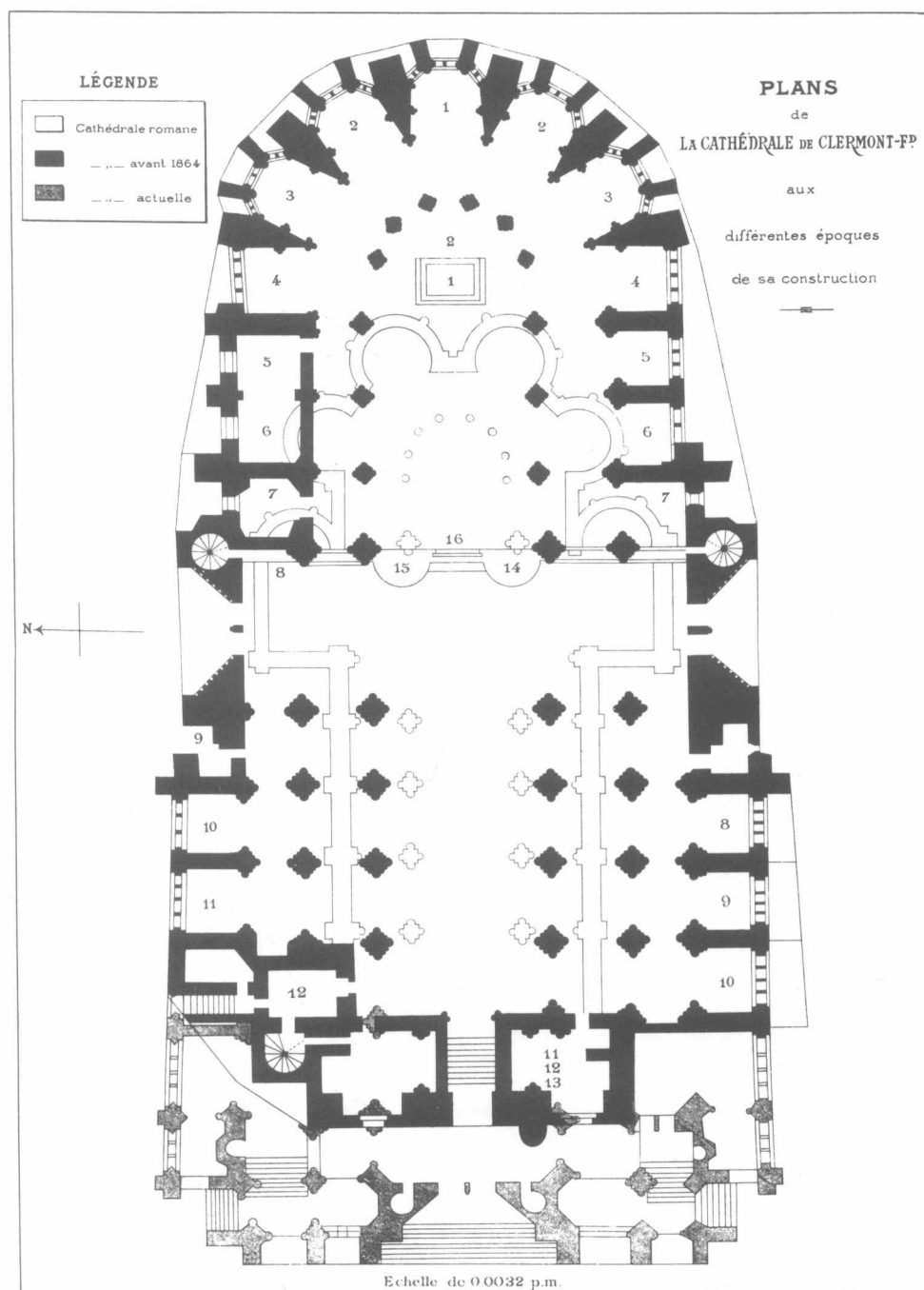


Fig. 3. Clermont-Ferrand, superimposed plans of the Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals by Albert Mallay (Arch. Phot., Paris/SPADEM/VAGA, New York, 1980).

At about the same time, in 1250, a Cardinal Meliores sent an important parcel of saints' relics enshrined in a golden vessel from Rome to the cathedral.²⁶ The positive financial power of

relics would have been obvious to a chapter which had undertaken the economically arduous task of rebuilding their cathedral. Recall the beginning of the campaign for the choir at St. Denis, when Abbot Suger projected a 150 pound annual revenue

Roncière, et al., eds., *Les Registres d'Alexander IV, recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des Archives du Vatican*, 4 vols., Paris, 1917–1953, II, 699–700. The hypothesis that these bulls simply repeated one another is given added weight by the fact that Urban's indulgence contains no specific mention of the number of days of relaxation to be granted. He simply referred to the previous measures of Innocent and Alexander which obviously were meant to enumerate the precise concessions.

26. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, supplément

15 (registres). This gift is found in the *Canone*, a book of customs written in 1291, fol. 61^v. "Ipso die [iii Idus Maii or 13 May] anniversariu[m] mag[ist]ri melioris p[re]s[b]ite[ri] cardinalis q[ui] misit ec[clesie] n[ost]re reliq[ui]as m[u]lto[r]um s[anc]tor[um] in capse sive navic[u]la aurea contentas . . . quorum reliquie ab urbe roma ad istam ecclesiam fuerunt mi[s]se p[er] manum mag[ist]ri melioris eiusdem urbis presbiteri cardinalis. . ."

from the donations at altars and relics.²⁷ The granting of an indulgence, accompanied or soon followed by a gift of relics, often appears in the early phases of construction.²⁸ The chapter's enlistment of such powerful outside sources in the early 1250s follows this same pattern and indicates that it realized that its own income was insufficient to cover the scope and expense of the project.

The first clear mention of work-in-progress at the cathedral occurs in the indulgence issued on 15 October 1257 by Pope Alexander IV. It is specifically stated that the work of enlarging the cathedral had begun: "... ipsi eorum ecclesiam ampliari ceperint opere nimium sumptuoso. . ."²⁹ Alexander IV in fact dispatched two missives on this day: one to the faithful of France and a second to all prelates of the kingdom advising them to receive hospitably the messengers of the bishop and chapter of Clermont.³⁰ Thus, not only were contributions to the edifice solicited and benefactors rewarded, but a quest was authorized throughout the entire realm.³¹ This double-pronged financial offensive indicates that work was proceeding apace and the chapter undoubtedly was feeling the strain of the ever-growing building expenses. On the strength of this evidence, it can hardly be doubted that reconstruction had commenced well before 1262–1263.

A sparse but steady stream of legacies occurs throughout the 1250s and into the early 1260s. The frequency of chaplaincy foundations intensifies and at least one of them may be located in the new Gothic cathedral.³² In 1253, Canon Durand Gregory

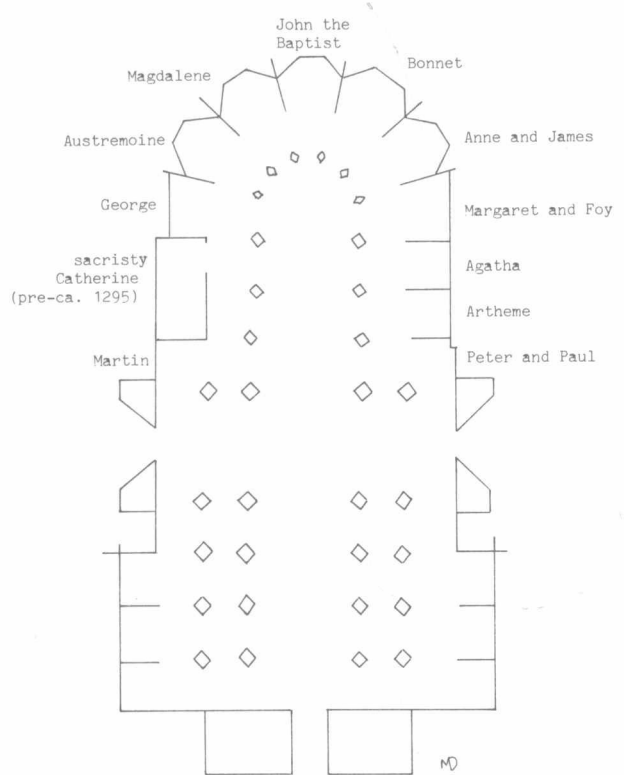


Fig. 4. Clermont-Ferrand, schematic plan of the cathedral with original altar dedications (author).

willed 60 pounds for a vicary which, according to later lists, was located in the chapel of St. Austremonie, that is, the second chapel north of the axial chapel (Fig. 4).³³ Although it is unlikely that this chapel was ready for services less than six years after the opening of the workshop, Gregory's foundation may be viewed as a "sign of confidence" in the building which was in full progress by this time.³⁴

In 1261, Solomon de Royre, a canon of the cathedral, left 12 sous clermontois annually to the confraternity of the edifice for the duration of its existence.³⁵ This is the sole mention of such a confraternity which was devoted specifically to the cathedral

erosity, the fact that the smattering of extant wills includes donations from wealthy burghers and prelates from the parishes about the city, in addition to the cathedral's ecclesiastical community, indicates the visibility of the construction project and its appeal to all quarters of Clermont society. Furthermore, there were no less than nine vicaries founded in the cathedral between 1246 and 1263.

33. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 7, sac P, côte 8a. This chaplaincy was being serviced in 1264, for which see séries 3G, armoire 17, sac F, côte 38. The location of this foundation is derived from a 1675 chaplaincy list, séries 1G, liasse 1, côte 6, which despite its late date and the numerous altar rededications which had been effected throughout the cathedral, consistently refers to the chapels according to their original dedications.

34. This interpretation was applied by Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, 141–142, to the 1263 chaplaincy foundation of Guillaume de Cebazat in the cathedral's axial chapel.

35. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 6, sac B, côte 7. "Ite[m] confrat[ernit]e edificii eccl[esi]e clarom[ontensis]

27. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 103.

28. At Troyes, the bishop received relics from Constantinople which, according to Robert Branner, "Les Débuts de la cathédrale de Troyes," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVIII, 1960, 112, was the probable reason for the reconstruction of the church. However, in the new chronology advanced by Bongartz which places the beginning of work around 1198, the 1204 gift of relics would have been used to raise funds for the work-in-progress. At Westminster Abbey, Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence shortly after the beginning of construction. See Robert Branner, "Westminster Abbey and the French Court Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIII, 1964, 3–5. The beginning of the work at Narbonne cathedral in 1272 was inaugurated by the receipt of both relics and a papal indulgence. Consult Durliat, "La Signification de Narbonne," 209.

29. *Les Registres d'Alexander IV*, II, 699–701.

30. *Ibid.*, II, 701. "Omnibus ecclesiarum praelatis per regnum Francie constitutis notum facit se omnibus ad perfectionem operis ecclesie Claromontensis adiutoribus certam indulgentiam concessisse; supradictos monet ut episcopi et capituli nuntios benigne recipiant et a subditis recipiant."

31. The quest which was authorized by Clement IV in December 1264 virtually repeated the same wording of this second of Alexander's measures. See Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 21. That the quest was given the freedom to range over the entire kingdom of France is not unusual. As Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1956, 170–171, 179–180, has pointed out, these fund-raising drives sometimes went abroad.

32. In the period 1250–1263, I have found 14 gifts "ad edificium" plus two bequests to the fabric. While this is hardly an avalanche of gen-

construction. Its composition, activity, and financial impact upon the works remain completely conjectural. There are no known donations to the cathedral by this organization, either in the form of money, windows, or church furnishings.³⁶ Nevertheless, de Royre's donation is significant since it establishes the existence of such an agency born of popular enthusiasm for the building and, in its open-ended time limit, implies that an extended campaign of construction was envisioned.

On 28 May 1262, the future Philip III was married to Isabella of Aragon in the cathedral of Clermont.³⁷ The chroniclers of the event, preoccupied with the political consequences of the union rather than with the precise location of the ceremonies, fail to mention whether the marriage took place in the Romanesque cathedral or in the new Gothic choir. Nearly all writers, noting the presence of the fleur-de-lys and the *donjons* of Castille in the glass of four radiating chapels, have attributed the choir windows to royal largesse on this occasion.³⁸ Estimates of Louis's generosity run as high as 12,000 pounds, though no mention is made of such a gift in surviving royal accounts.³⁹

Even if the royal nuptials were not celebrated in the new structure, the Gothic hemicycle must have been near completion. Among the five surviving testaments of 1263, the will of Guillaume de Cebazat, dean of the chapter, gives the first indication of the state of the new structure.⁴⁰ In addition to money and land bequests, the dean founded a vicary and selected his tomb site in the new chapel of St. John the Baptist, the axial chapel of the Gothic cathedral (Fig. 4). Branner has argued that Cebazat's chaplaincy was founded, not in a completed chapel, but in a chapel, recently begun, as a gesture of confidence in the rebuild project.⁴¹

q[uam]diu durabit ip[s]a confrat[ernit]a duo decim sol[idos] annuatim reddendos ab h[er]ede meo."

36. Thévenot, "Recherches historiques," 5, remarked rather cryptically that certain indications led him to believe that the city of Clermont and its bourgeoisie gave a sum for the construction around 1262. Henri du Ranquet, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1932, 217, noted the cross of gueules of the city in the lobes of the sexfoil atop the left window in the chapel of St. Anne. Though the connection of this window to possible patronage of the confraternity is nothing more than conjecture, it does seem that the city or a local secular organization did contribute to the cathedral construction or at least its embellishment.

37. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, published by Jules Viard, 10 vols., Paris, 1932, VII, 226–227; S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France*, 5 vols., Paris, 1849, IV, 249–250.

38. Du Ranquet, *Les Vitraux*, 13. The fleur-de-lys and/or the arms of Castille are found in the chapels of St. Austremoine, St. John the Baptist, Sts. Margaret and Foy, and St. Anne.

39. Thévenot, "Recherches historiques," 5.

40. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 11, sac P, côte 9a. "Item lego eccl[esi]e clar[omontensis] q[ui]nd[ecim] sextar[ia] frum[en]ti . . . ad opus uni[us] vicarie . . . q[ua]m vicariam volo [con]ferri p[re]s[ent]ib[us] de choro d[ic]te eccl[esi]e vicari celebret ibid[em] . . . in altari s[anc]ti Joh[ann]is de novo edificio iuxta q[uo]d altare elegi sepelcri."

41. Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, 141–142.

However, all the evidence indicates that the cathedral was begun in the late 1240s and by 1263, after 15 years of active construction, the axial chapel and, by implication, the entire ambulatory would have been completed. This assumption is strengthened by the testament's mention of an altar, obviously in place, at which the private services for the dean were to be held.

Alexander IV's bull which had been issued for a 5-year period was renewed in September 1263 by Urban IV.⁴² The new pope repeated the terminology of his predecessor in referring to the work at the cathedral (" . . . ipsi eorum ecclesiam reparare inceperint opere nimium sumptuoso . . .") and accorded 100 days indulgence to those who contributed to the completion of the building. To argue—as did Branner—that this papal measure marked the effective beginning of construction is to ignore two explicitly mentioned prior bulls, a host of donations for the work, and the choice of a burial site at the foot of an altar in a new chapel.

Urban IV's grant of an indulgence was soon supplemented by the authorization of a quest by Clement IV on 19 December 1264 (14 kalends January 1265).⁴³ The quest was permitted free access throughout the archdioceses of Bourges, Narbonne, and Bordeaux which covered virtually the entire central and southwestern sections of the country.

A pair of documents dated to May 1273 survive as the only other known evidence as to the progress of the work. The first, written on 23 May 1273 (Tuesday after Pentecost), was the aforementioned quittance from Guy de la Tour to the chapter acknowledging the receipt of 300 pounds in exchange for a portion of the episcopal grounds.⁴⁴ Both Henri du Ranquet and Robert Branner viewed the document's crucial phrase, "according to the form begun and now appearing" ("secundam formam inceptam et nunc apparentem"), as a precise description of the state of the Gothic structure at this moment.⁴⁵ However, several objections may be raised against this literal interpretation. Firstly, the language of these 13th-century documents is often incredibly vague. To cite but one example, a 1289 privilege granted by Pope Nicholas IV employs nearly identical wording in its description of the state of the cathedral as is found in the 1257 indulgence of Alexander IV.⁴⁶ Are we to conclude from Nicho-

42. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 20.

43. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 21.

44. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 22.

45. Henri du Ranquet, *La Cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand*, Paris, 1913, 13; Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style*, 141–142.

46. The Alexander indulgence describes the cathedral work thus: ". . . ipsi eorum ecclesiam ampliare ceperint opere nimium sumptuoso . . .," while the measure granted by Nicholas states, ". . . opere sumptuoso de novo construere inceperunt. . ." For the two indulgences, consult *Les Registres d'Alexander IV*, II, 699–700; Ernest Langlois, ed., *Les Registres de Nicolas IV* (1288–1292), Paris and Turin, 1886–1893, 230.

las's missive that no construction had occurred in the intervening 32 years?

Furthermore, it appears that this second land transaction between the bishop and the chapter was occasioned by a certain amount of progress in the cathedral construction and that the workshop had "outgrown" the confines of the initial concession.⁴⁷ Guy not only authorized the immediate extension of work on to episcopal property, but granted the fabric a virtual *carte blanche* for the future use of the grounds. This transaction cleared the way for the extension of the structure and the eventual construction of the nave, the outer envelope of which lay well outside the walls of the Romanesque cathedral (Fig. 3).

A companion document dated a week later, 30 May 1273, brings precious precision to the location of the site in question.⁴⁸ This notice announced the receipt of land from Bishop Guy and enumerated certain conditions of usage of the new edifice. Major attention was devoted to the use of the bishop's entrance into the church and therefore concerns the area around the south transept portal. Because of the imminent rebuilding of the south arm of the transept, the bishop wanted to insure his entrance into the new cathedral as well as his continued privacy. Though the at-

tention is centered on the transept, there is no basis for the assertion that the choir had been completed by this time.⁴⁹

The completion of the ground floor of the cathedral choir during the course of the 1270s is substantiated by burials and endowments which were made in various chapels throughout the choir. On 29 August 1273 (4 kalends September), Johannes Moycho or Moscho was interred in the choir at the sixth pier to the left, near the high altar.⁵⁰ The pier referred to is D15. The entire ambulatory must have been accessible by this time and the ground floor of the choir probably opened to the cult. This burial is complemented by the 1275 foundation of a vicary in the chapel of St. Bonnet by Canon Guillaume de Jeu.⁵¹ It is dangerous, however, to view this date as a precise terminus for the completion of the chapel. As we have seen, the neighboring chapel of St. John the Baptist was ready for services, burials, and outfitted with an altar by 1263. It is unlikely, given the homogeneity of the masonry work and forms, that the St. Bonnet chapel required an additional 12 years of labor for its completion.⁵² Further corroboration for the completion of the ground floor of the choir to the transept during the 1270s is offered by the 1278 testament of Aymeric de Montgascon. This cathedral canon willed a vineyard, land tithes, and corn to the church for memorial services, instituted a vicary, and gave a horse to the fabric.⁵³ This chaplaincy was founded in the chapel of St. Martin which may be located, despite numerous changes of dedication, in the westernmost chapel of the north choir aisle (Fig. 4).⁵⁴

By 1280, the chapter was faced with heavy debts and stringent measures were enacted in response to its financial plight. A capitulary act, dated to August of that year, imposed an assessment of 10 pounds *clermontois* on each of the 40 prebended canons until such time as the debts were paid off or significantly re-

47. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 22. "Nos frater Guido miseratione divina Arvernorum episcopus . . . concedimus . . . ad opus edificii et p[ar]ens alius futurus tempore custodibus edificis et fabrice predictorum capituloque eiusdem ecclesie concedente et expresse consentiente quod operarii et magistri dicti edificii et fabrice de domibus et plateis domorum episcopatus nostri claromontis ad opus edificii et fabrice supradicte tantum occupare possint et accipere auctoritate propria nobis aut quoquam alio ultimus minime requisitis quantum edificium requisitum seu fabrice nunc requirit et quantum et quando processu temporis requirit secundam formam inceptam et nunc apparentem. . . ."

48. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 23. The matters discussed in this crucial document may be divided into three main points. Firstly, episcopal land and houses were conceded to the fabric agency for the extension of the Gothic structure: ". . . Guido . . . ep[iscopu]s . . . concesserit nobis volentibus quod magi[stri] custodes et operarii . . . edificii de domibus et plateis domo[rum] ep[iscopu] alium ecc[lesi]e d[ic]te contiguarum ad opus edificii d[ic]ti tantu[m] occup[ar]et et occupare possi[n]t quantum edificium d[ic]tum et fabrica ipsi modo requirit et quando t[em]poris processu requirit secundum formam modum et dime[n]sionem fabrice iam incepte. . . ." Secondly, the chapter promised to assure the continued private access of the bishop into the church through the south entrance: ". . . nos d[ic]to capitulum et custodes intelligimus et exp[re]sse concessimus eid[em] d[omi]no ep[iscopu]o quod si i[n] edificio d[ic]to a p[ar]te domo[rum] ep[iscopu] aliu[m] . . . construi seu fieri portale magnu[m] quantum cumq[ue] contig[ua]t ex hoc nullaten[us] sit v[e]l fiat ad eandem ecc[lesi]a m a p[ar]te domo[rum] d[ic]tar[um] p[er] ipsum portale via publica seu ad hitus v[e]l ingressus . . . set porta magna ipsius portalis clausa sit et remaneat. . . ." Lastly, the bishop was given permission to rebuild against the cathedral, provided his structures did not block the windows: ". . . d[omi]n[u]s ep[iscopu]s possit et ei liceat tigna i[m]itt[er]e in p[ar]iete ecc[lesi]e et applicare domos ip[s]as et domoru[m] ip[s]aru[m] edificiu[m] p[ar]ietu[m] et edificiu[m] ecc[lesi]e d[ic]te p[ro]ut hui[us]modi hedificiu[m] . . . lumina d[ic]te ecc[lesi]e minime offuscentur. . . ."

49. B. Craplet posited that the entire choir was finished by 1273 and that construction was focused entirely on the south transept. Consult Bernard Craplet, *Dossier du visiteur à la cathédrale de Clermont*, Lyon, 1976, 5.

50. Emile Roux, *Épigraphes et inscriptions des principales églises de Clermont-Ferrand après les manuscrits de Gaignières*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1904, 54.

51. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 4F, 120, notes of the archivist, Gilbert Rouchon.

52. Arnold Wolff, "Chronologie der ersten Bauzeit des Kölner Domes, 1248–1277," *Kölner Domblatt*, xxviii–xxix, 1968, 221–222, 226, demonstrated at Cologne that the chapel of St. John, which was adjacent to the axial chapel on the north, had been completed by around mid-1261 and the lower story of the choir by 1265–1268. The altar of St. John was endowed only in 1285 and had been wrongly used by previous scholars to retard the chronology of the choir construction.

53. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 15, sac C, côte 6.

54. The 1675 vicary list, Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 1G, liasse 1, côte 6, fol. 1^r, mentions the foundation thus: ". . . plus en la chapelle de S. Martin la vicarie fondée par Amery de Montgascon chargée d'une messe d'une semaine. . . ." For the problems in locating the cathedral altars, especially that of St. Martin, see Davis, "The Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand," 117–120.

duced.⁵⁵ The procedure of assigning revenues to the work over an extended period of time was widespread as chapters struggled to assure a continuous flow of funds to the construction. These measures often took the form of the assignment of a percentage of income, as at Chartres or Beauvais, or the perception of the revenues of vacant prebends.⁵⁶ The Clermont chapter not only stipulated that vacant prebends would be assessed the 10 pounds, but in the case of unforeseen emergencies, the canons might be asked to contribute more. The determination with which the chapter was pursuing funds and the open-ended time limit of the measure indicate that the debt was a rather substantial one.

Contemporary sources yield little additional information concerning work on the cathedral or its state of readiness during the 1280s. In 1283, Simon, archbishop of Bourges, visited Clermont where, after a ceremonious welcome at the cathedral façade steps, he was conducted to the main altar to celebrate mass.⁵⁷ Although it is probable that the high altar referred to was set in the Gothic choir, there is no primary evidence to support such an assumption. It was certainly possible to celebrate a full complement of liturgical offices after the completion of no more than the ground floor.⁵⁸ In sum, the simple mention of a high altar sheds little light on the state of the edifice at this time.

The apparent lull in documentation during the 1280s seems to imply that building activity had slackened. Exhausted by the demands of the choir construction, the chapter may well have rested during most of the 1280s in an effort to regroup its financial forces. Such pauses in construction were sometimes planned as is illustrated by Bourges where an 11-year hiatus separated the completion of the choir from the beginning of work on the nave.⁵⁹

Thus the documentary evidence indicates that the reconstruction of the cathedral of Clermont had been envisioned since the mid-1240s. Begun around 1248, work on the choir was nearing completion around 1280. It now remains to turn to the edifice itself where stylistic data and the observable architectural changes may be correlated with the texts in order to arrive at a firm chronology of construction.

The Building and the First Phases of Construction

The choir of Clermont composed nearly half of the medieval building: three straight bays terminated by a seven-sided hemicycle (Figs. 1, 2, 5). The main vessel is bordered by a single aisle and ambulatory. Five polygonal chapels, each preceded by a narrow rectangular bay, form the corona of chapels behind the ambulatory and four slightly rectangular chapels open from the aisle on the south side of the forechoir. On the north, the middle pair of bays is taken up by a two-story sacristy.

The superstructure is composed of three stories: a tall arcade, a dark, gabled triforium, and an ample clerestory (Figs. 6, 7). The wall is treated as an assemblage of two equal colossal units which are outlined by the simple grid formed by the interpenetration of

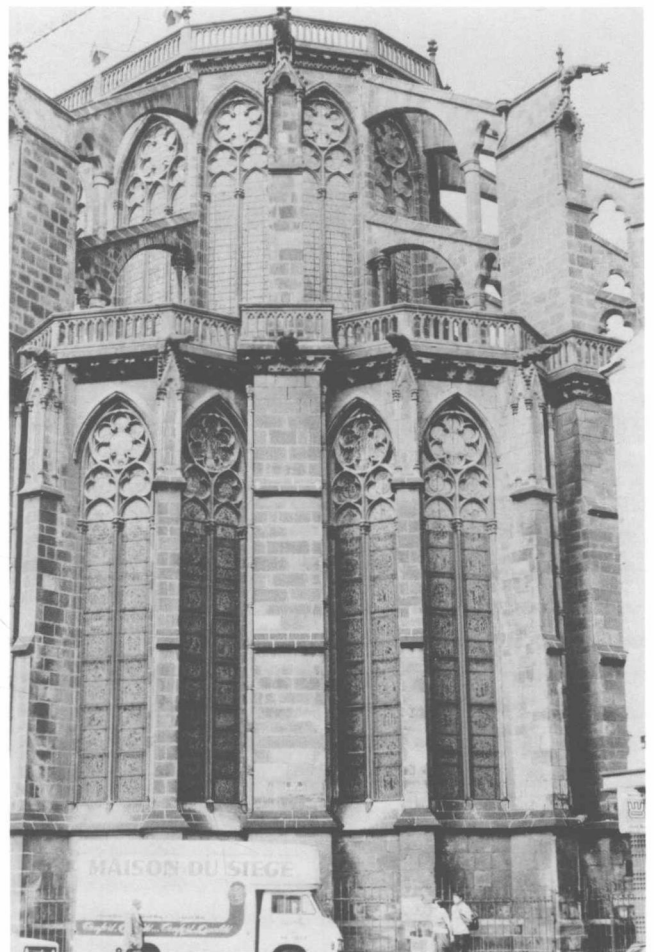


Fig. 5. Clermont-Ferrand, choir exterior (author).

55. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries 3G, armoire 18, sac B, côte 33a.

56. For Beauvais, see Robert Branner, "Le Maître de la cathédrale de Beauvais," *Art de France*, 11, 1962, 80; Stephen Murray, "The Choir of the Church of St. Pierre, Cathedral of Beauvais: A Study of Gothic Architectural Planning and Constructional Chronology in its Historical Context," *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, 533–551. I wish to thank Dr. Murray for sharing his thoughts and conclusions of Beauvais with me prior to their publication. For Chartres, consult von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 162. At Cologne, at the very beginning of construction, a contract was made for the assignation of offertory money to the work. See Wolff, "Chronologie der ersten Bauzeit," 68. Prior to the beginning of work at Narbonne, the archbishop and chapter pledged 20 years of the revenue of the church of Tourouzelle to the construction of the cathedral. Louis Narbonne, *La Cathédrale Saint-Just de Narbonne*, Narbonne, 1901, 25.

57. Etienne Baluze, *Stephani Baluzii tutelensis Miscellanea novo ordine Digesta et non paucis ineditis monumentis opera ac studio Joannis Dominici Mansi*, 4 vols., Lucca, 1761, 1, 279.

58. For example, at Cologne: see Wolff, "Chronologie der ersten Bauzeit," 226. At St. Denis, masses had been celebrated in the choir prior to the completion of the vaults as shown by Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 109, 224–226.

59. Branner, *Bourges*, 29–31; Robert Branner, review of Pierre du Colombier, *Les Chantiers des cathédrales*, Paris, 1953, in *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, 62.

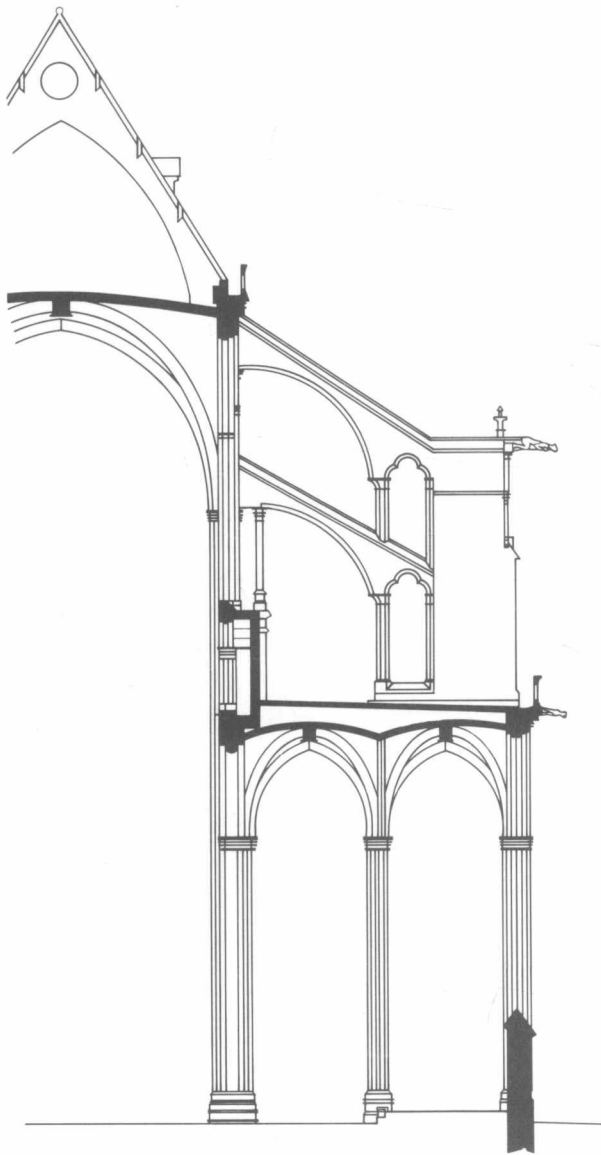


Fig. 6. Clermont-Ferrand, section of choir at bay division 11 (D. Fiegenschue after Henri du Ranquet, *La Cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand*, Paris, 1928, 72).

the pier shafts and the triforium string course. This moulding is the only insistent horizontal element in the interior and creates a subtle benchmark against which the elevation may be measured. All hint of bulbous plasticity has been pressed out of the choir of Clermont. Because the glazed expanse of the clerestory is not set off from the triforium by a moulding or a high sloping sill, but rather slides directly in behind the gables which mark the passage's front plane, the progressive retreat of the three successive stories of the High Gothic elevation is replaced by an essentially flat wall. Relief is all but absent and the chevet elevation is characterized by a subtle manipulation of thin surfaces upon which the mouldings, colonnettes, and tracery patterns are drawn.

Once the purchase of the bishop's land east of the Romanesque choir was made from Hugues de la Tour prior to his Au-

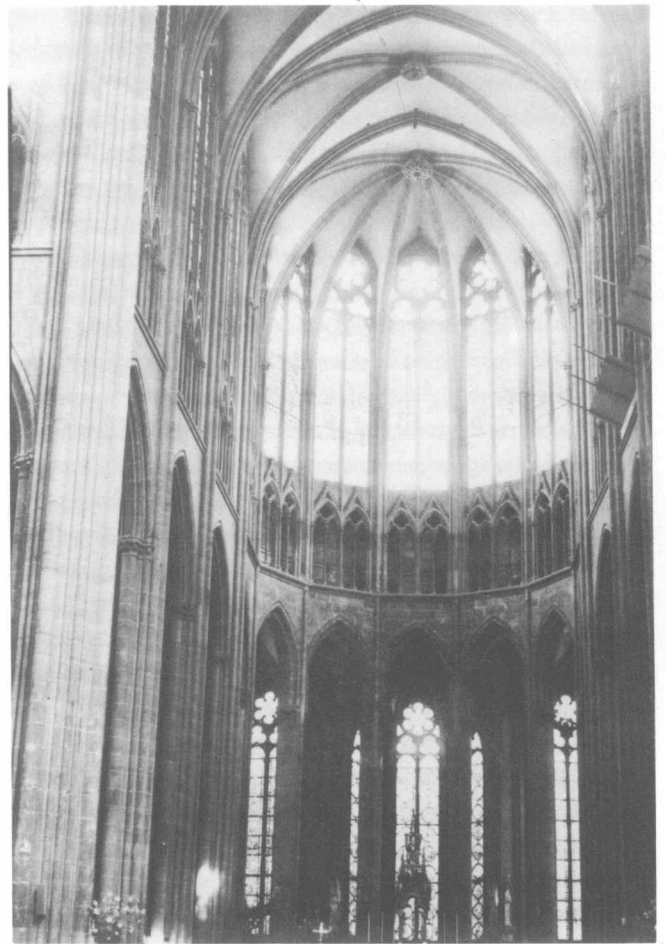


Fig. 7. Clermont-Ferrand, choir interior (author).

gust 1248 departure and the laying out of the plan was completed, actual construction of the Gothic fabric could begin. The first phase of construction of the superstructure focused on the five radiating chapels of the hemicycle which appear to have been erected in a concentrated effort (Fig. 8). The masonry work indicates that the lowest three courses from buttress B13 to buttress G13 were established as a first step, followed by sections of the wall up to the windowsill level which were raised in one or two chapel segments beginning with the axial chapel. The homogeneity of the stonework and the almost machine-like precision of the details make the determination of an exact sequence of building steps extremely difficult, yet several clues can be discerned that shed a bit of light on the progress of construction.

Work on the upper walls of the chapels appears to have concentrated first on the axial chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist (Figs. 4, 8). The capitals of the column bundle on the right wall of the Magdalene chapel are surmounted by hexagonal abaci whereas all other chapel and ambulatory rib shafts are crowned by undulant pear-shaped profiles. The presence of this "trial form" would point to the early erection of pier buttress B15. In addition, the moulding which frames the axial window

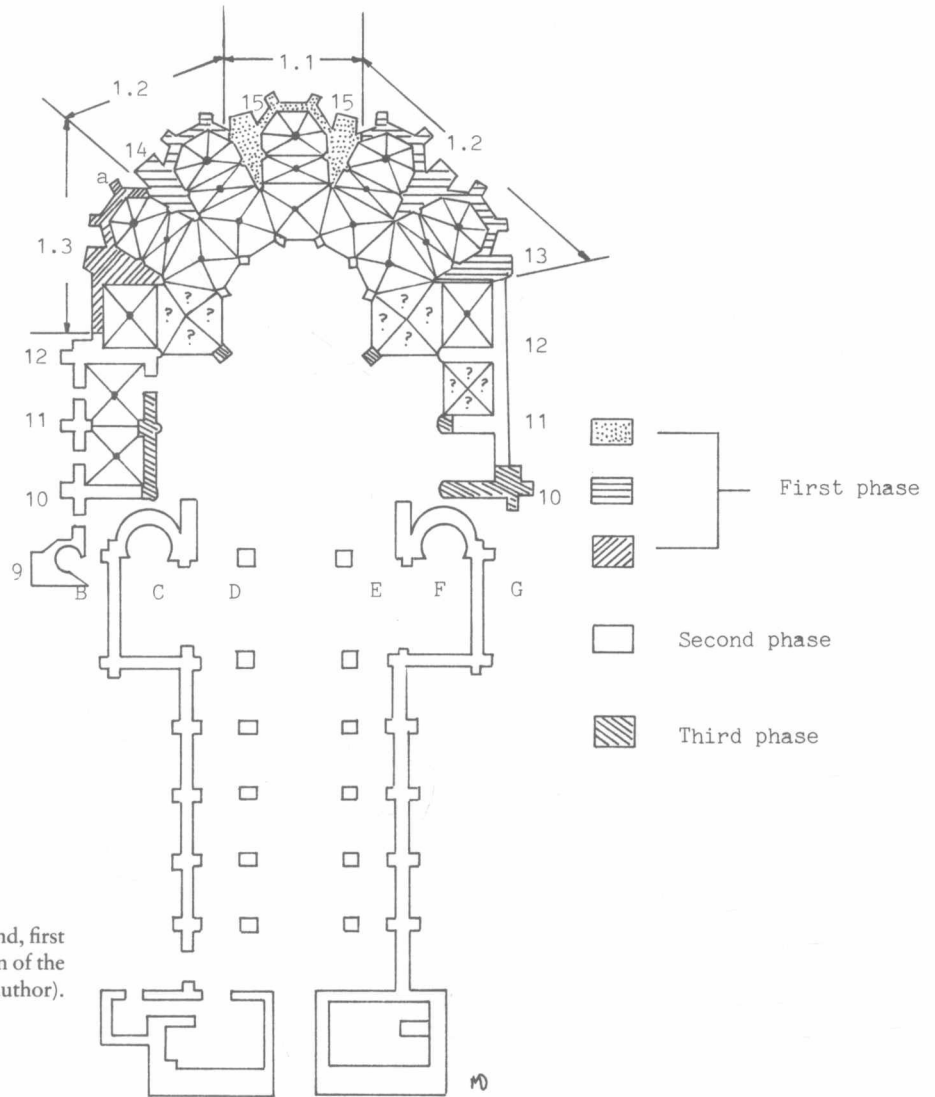


Fig. 8. Clermont-Ferrand, first campaign for construction of the Gothic cathedral (author).

of the St. John chapel is borne by a pair of grimacing monsters. This sculptural elaboration of a moulding corbel is unique in the cathedral and suggests that these animal supports were trial details, abandoned in favor of the more quickly produced leaf corbels which decorate the remaining chapel windows.⁶⁰

A further pair of architectural details indicates that the southern periphery of the chapel corona was raised in advance of work on the north side. Firstly, a prominent masonry break is visible above the wall footings in section B14-B14a and continues up to the cornice level in the angle formed by buttress B14 and the

re-entrant wall of the St. Austremoine chapel. This suture is complemented by the adoption of a higher cornice section atop the St. Austremoine wall which is subsequently continued around the north side of the choir (Fig. 9). It thus appears that the Magdalene chapel and, by implication, its neighbors to the south were erected to the height of the cornice prior to work on the upper half of the St. Austremoine chapel.

Secondly, the capitals set atop the shafts of ambulatory pier F13 along the eastern wall of the chapel of Sts. Margaret and Foy were not cut with their present position in mind (Fig. 10). Although they are used to support the ribs of a quadripartite vault measuring approximately 4.9 by 4.0 meters, the capitals and their abaci are arranged in the manner of the other ambulatory piers which carry the 4.6 by 1.7 meter chapel forebay vaults. In order to accommodate the new position, the diagonal rib is turned sharply inward and disaligned from the abacus below. The rib is also broken abruptly, changing direction above the springing, and its outer roll is rudely amputated at the same level thus

60. Similar monsters also appear on the wall spandrels above the chapel windows at Beauvais. They apparently served to evacuate water which might seep on to the chapel vaults. Nothing suggests any function, other than a decorative one, for the Clermont beasts. It is also possible that their placement on this window was intended as a decorative flourish to emphasize the axis of the cathedral. However, there is no analogous embellishment of the flanking buttresses or the clerestory window above, which might be expected were this the case.

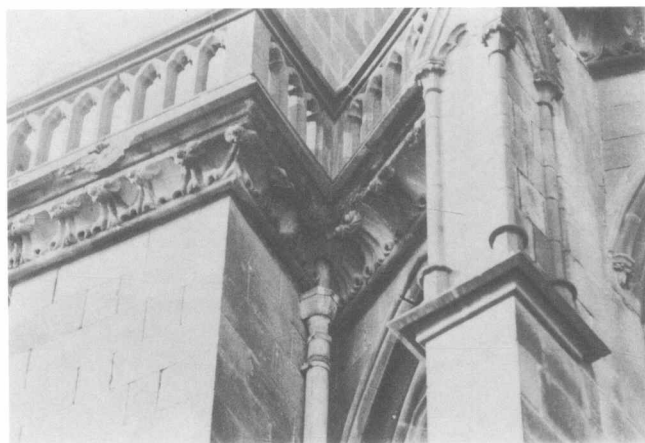


Fig. 9. Clermont-Ferrand, cornice atop buttress B14 and wall of chapel of St. Austremoine (author).



Fig. 10. Clermont-Ferrand, pier F13 capitals, eastern wall of chapel of Sts. Margaret and Foy (author).

rendering the capital corbel useless. In the matching chapel of St. George on the north, the junction of the capitals, abaci, and ribs is effected smoothly. Moreover, this latter chapel shows the introduction of a square abacus form which accords more harmoniously with its right-angle corners. The form and set of the capitals of F13 tempt one to postulate that the chapel of Sts. Margaret and Foy originally was intended to reproduce the plan of a hemicycle chapel; this suspicion is strengthened by the indication of an intermediate colonnette bundle along the eastern wall of the Sts. Margaret and Foy chapel in several older cathe-

dral plans (Fig. 3).⁶¹ These shreds of evidence might suggest that at the moment buttress G13 was raised, two more polygonal chapels were envisioned. The resultant chevet plan would have maintained the usual High Gothic disposition in which the number of sides of the hemicycle, in this instance seven, was echoed by an equal number of polygonal chapels. As a consequence, Clermont's restriction of the polygonal chapels to five, which led to a rather precocious streamlining of the exterior envelope, would have been effected in the midstream of construction, while the original plans for the cathedral would have been much more traditional and conservative.

However, had such chapels been intended, one would expect to find the usual provisions for blind tracery and a thick sill in the outer half of the western wall of buttress G13 (Fig. 11). The masonry and moulding of the chapel wall are continuous and show no sign of alteration. Moreover, there seems to be no extant trace of the would-be colonnette bundle. The most logical if somewhat more prosaic explanation of the awkwardness of pier F13 lies in the probable use of a prefabricated element in an unintended position.⁶² Nevertheless, it does work together with the above-mentioned clues to indicate that the chapels of the Magdalene, St. John the Baptist, St. Bonnet, and St. Anne were the first to be erected.

With the virtual completion of these four chapels, construction then focused upon the chapels of St. Austremoine and St. George (Figs. 4, 8). The homogeneity of the keystones and their foliate embellishment suggests that all five radiating chapels were vaulted within the same phase of construction (Figs. 12, 13). This phase appears to have been followed immediately by the extension of the exterior walls into the forechoir and the founding of the hemicycle piers D13 through E13 (Fig. 8). The masonry work indicates that the western extremity of the lower exterior wall section of the chapel of St. George was built along with the walls of bays 10 through 12 and possibly the eastern half of bay 9-10 to the buttress of the north transept.⁶³ The base mouldings of the hemicycle piers change to a three tori profile without scotia, an apparently more "modern" form than the ambulatory

61. In addition to the Mallay plan (Fig. 2), this colonnette bundle also appears in a plan of the cathedral drawn by Ruprich-Robert and published by du Ranquet, *La Cathédrale*, frontispiece.

62. For a discussion of the series production of forms, see Dieter Kimpel, "Le Développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXXV, 1977, 197-206.

63. This phase of work may have seen the founding of the footings of the eastern buttress of the north transept, for the lowest four courses of the buttress are continuous with the walls to the east. The fabric of the lower choir walls of the cathedral has undergone extensive restoration as a result of the damage inflicted by the building of houses between the buttresses and against the walls. The addition of a water closet to the sacristy has further blurred the state of the original stonework. For the damage to the cathedral walls, see the report of Albert Mallay, 1 December 1850, Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, séries T, O 231.