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THE LATE GOTHIC ABBEY CHURCH OF SAINT-RIQUIER: AN INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Volume I

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
1997

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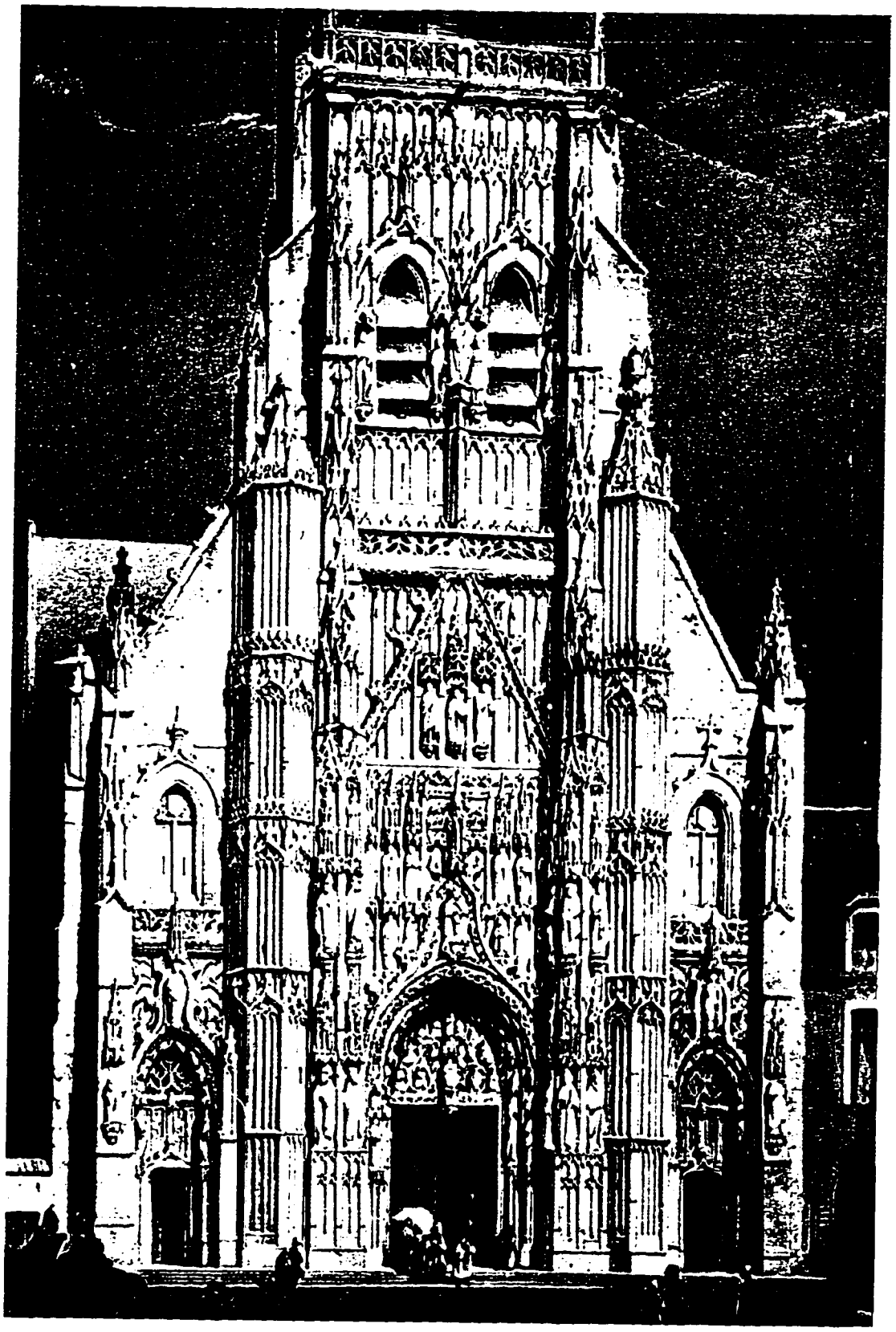
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Introduction

The abbey church at Saint-Riquier, like many churches of the late Middle Ages, was not a new building. The late gothic construction encased a thirteenth-century core, itself founded on stones placed in the eighth and eleventh centuries. The one hundred towers that gave Saint-Riquier its Carolingian name of Centula were no longer to be seen. Nonetheless, the abbey, as landlord and judicial authority, had preserved its position of wealth and power over the centuries. Beginning in the 1470's and extending into the 1530's the abbots of Saint-Riquier undertook a massive construction campaign that included not only restoration, but new construction. Was the early history of the abbey important to the late gothic patrons and masons? Can the building that was built in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries tell one about the late medieval understanding of the earlier building and its history? Given the rich history and abundant architectural heritage of the abbey church, one might assume that there was a historical consciousness guiding the construction of the late gothic building.

Certainly there was an interest in history in this period. It has often been noted that late gothic architecture reflected an interest in the past. The late gothic architectural style was one of quotation, in which the past, especially the thirteenth century, provided a model for new construction. Stephen Murray has suggested a dialectic in which the late

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gothic style was a synthesis of the thesis presented by high gothic architecture and the antithesis seen in the experiments of the fourteenth century.[1] He continues by noting the significance of workshop practice in that most late gothic workshops were completing or repairing early and high gothic buildings, and that there was a certain nostalgia after the Hundred Years War for the time that preceded it. Roland Sanfaçon provides examples of several churches that reflect a thirteenth-century focus. For instance, the Parisian late gothic parish churches of Saint-Sèverin, Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, and Saint-Eustache all recall elements of the high gothic church of Notre-Dame in Paris.[2] This interest in history is seen on a more local level, in that two of the three abbots in office at Saint-Riquier during the late gothic construction had chronicles of the abbey written.[3] These chronicles not only described current events, but traced the history of the abbey over the centuries. But does this interest in history translate itself into a historical consciousness that could guide the late gothic construction at Saint-Riquier?

Richard Krautheimer has led the way in showing how architectural features, such as the numbers of elements or the shapes of certain building types, are repeated in later centuries in an effort to make a visible (i.e., tangible) connection with past monuments. His seminal study of the iconography of medieval architecture made clear the model/copy relationship between early Christian architecture and Carolingian architecture, in which "both immaterial and visual elements are intended to be an echo of the original capable of reminding the faithful of the venerated site."[4] According to Krautheimer, this echo of the past, seen in the reuse of plan types by Carolingian builders, was a conscious attempt to revive the ancient Christian past as perceived by those of the eighth and ninth centuries.[5]

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The idea of using architecture to connect past and present, thereby bringing the past forward, suggests a sense of history in which the past is as alive as the present.[6] As Giles Constable points out this is counter to the modern romantic fascination with the past as a place of ruin; instead the past and present together offer a sense of continuity and permanence.[7]

In the sixth century Cassiodorus recommended that builders of his time should look back to the architecture of antiquity as a model of architectural splendor.[8] The twelfth-century construction at Saint-Denis, annotated in part by Abbot Suger's own words in *De administratione* and *De consecratione*, provides a specific example of the making visible the history of the abbey church.[9] Eric Fernie and William Clark have both recently addressed Abbot Suger's desire to integrate the old building with the new.[10] Fernie argues that while architectural historians have interpreted the twelfth-century construction at Saint-Denis as harking a "new style," in fact, Suger was intent on emphasizing the integration of old and new.[11] According to Fernie, his motivation was not to spark an architectural revolution but to bring about a revival.[12] Clark's analysis of Suger's contribution to the construction of Saint-Denis results in a similar conclusion, though he extends his discussion by suggesting that Suger's desire to connect the twelfth century with the past mirrored the desire of the Capetians to connect their rule with that of the Merovingians. He finds that Suger reused dimensions and architectural elements from the Carolingian and Merovingian phases of Saint-Denis and imitated elements from Early Christian as well as Carolingian and Merovingian architecture elsewhere.[13]

Several historians have addressed the growing historical consciousness of the

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Middle Ages; a sensibility that enabled people to connect their present with their past.[14] Just as today when one works to understand and reconstruct history based on often negligible remains, during the Middle Ages there was rarely a wealth of documentation by which to recreate the past. Perhaps it is as much that lack of records that instigates the desire to write history as any other factor. Richard Southern has noted that "[the] struggle between alienation and desire for union with the past provided the impetus ... for the great outburst of historical activity that we are the heirs."[15] Important to the reading of medieval histories, as well as to the writing of them, is the recognition that the lack of accurate documentation allows the history writer a certain freedom of interpretation and even invention. Peter Linehan has shown that medieval historians of medieval Spain used the past (or their interpretation of it) in the service of the present.[16] Reminding his reader of the need to question the motives of the writer of history, Linehan argues that for Dom Rodriquez, writing in the 1240's, the present was threatening the future, requiring a new understanding of the past to validate the present. Nonetheless, the use of the past to influence the present is not necessarily with ulterior motive. Constable has suggested that in medieval history writing there was often a confluence of symbols of the past with the reality of the present, simply as a way to understand the present and its heritage.[17] One sees the conjunction of the past and present in art and architecture. It is this juxtaposition of styles that leads Willibald Sauerländer to call medieval buildings chameleonic, and to argue that expectations of unity of style lead to a false understanding of architectural history.[18]

Saint-Riquier can be called chameleonic. Is this confluence and juxtaposition of

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architectural styles simply a patchwork resulting from layers of construction? Or, in the late gothic period, did the masons intentionally repeat earlier forms and elements in an effort to make the building work as a unified whole? Did the celebrated history of the abbey influence the late gothic patrons and masons? The repairs to almost every corner of the building tell of its repeated destruction and collapse. While the reuse of earlier portions of the building in later campaigns testifies to its on-going construction and reconstruction, it also infers economic or ideological reasons for keeping the earlier portions. Abundant sculptural decoration suggests a particular understanding and use of space, not to mention an appreciation of story-telling and decoration. Particular themes chosen for decoration, especially exterior decoration, reveal the patrons' desire to influence one's perception of the building and its status. This iconographical study of the building will not be able to tell one specifically how the building was used and perceived by its community, yet by touching many disciplines, such as religion, art history, sociology, economics and history, this study can begin to illuminate one's view of the building as it once existed and one may begin to understand the intentions of the late gothic patrons. The study will focus on three issues: the fifteenth-century construction of the church and its relation to earlier construction, the decoration and function of the interior space, and the composition and function of the west façade and tower.

These foci and the questions they raise will provide several perspectives of the church, which together will describe the role and position of the church within its late gothic community; in other words, its iconography. As Paul Crossley recently suggested, the task of iconography is "to situate the work of art in its cultural milieu."[19] To

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understand architecture in such a way requires not only a broad, contextual analysis, but an understanding of local taste and tradition, site-specific constraints and opportunities, the political and economic struggles that influenced construction, and the intended function of the building. Construction undertaken in the late fifteenth century at Saint-Riquier was a renewal and completion of the building, a making whole. The former building provided a focus, a connection and a reason for undertaking and continuing the construction. The building that was built in the fifteenth century was of both the past and the present, and bridged the span between the two. The question to be explored is whether one can discern from the late gothic building a conscious attempt to make visible relationships with the earlier structures.

The first chapter is devoted to the written history of the abbey church. The majority of documents relating to the abbey and its construction have vanished or have been destroyed. Yet the abbey has long been the focus of attention of writers; initially residents of the abbey and in more recent centuries historians and antiquarians of Picardy. From the medieval accounts of abbots to the modern descriptions of historians, the authors have shared a sense of the abbey's status and importance to the region. Historical events dominate the early writing about the abbey. Since the nineteenth century, the focus has enlarged to include a discussion of the buildings. Our modern view of the abbey and its church, while on the one hand complicated by a dearth of documentation, is enlightened by the variety of approaches taken by various authors over the centuries.

Chapter 2 focuses on the physical and historical settings of the abbey, particularly as they have had an effect on the late gothic building. The geographical setting of the

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abbey is significant for the political turmoil of its particular location as well as for the richness of the land. In his 1492 *Chronicle* of the abbey, Abbot Pierre le Prêtre describes Picardy as "le pays des frontières."[20] His use of the plural, frontiers, brings forward both the ambiguity of the term and the reality of the abbey's location in a region of changing borders and allegiances. Throughout the Hundred Years War, the Ponthieu, often with other areas of northern France, was the rope that slipped back and forth in the tug-of-war played between the kings of France and England and the dukes of Burgundy. Yet, all is not negative in its location, for the Ponthieu is an agriculturally rich and fertile land. As landlord of most of the property in the Ponthieu, the abbey's wealth and power were insured throughout the Middle Ages. From the time of Charlemagne's patronage, the abbey became the focus of religious, economic, and judicial power in the region. The devastation left by the invading Vikings and the subsequent rise in position of Abbeville, once a small dependency of Saint-Riquier, led to the decline of the abbey in the eleventh century. Yet, having known position and splendor once, the abbots of Saint-Riquier were not content to allow the abbey to slip into oblivion. Repair, rebuilding and restoration characterize the abbey through the rest of its history. A discussion of the post-medieval restoration of the abbey is included in the chapter devoted to the history of the abbey because these restorations are so crucial to our understanding of the gothic building.

Sorting out the construction of the church and abbey, complicated by the cycles of construction and reconstruction alluded to above, forms the framework of Chapter 3. Though the Carolingian and Romanesque churches are no longer visible, elements of their presence remain, like familial features appearing through generations. It will be shown

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that the dimensions of the Carolingian church contributed to the dimensions of the gothic church, and that the Romanesque tower, rebuilt from the Carolingian tower, remains as the core of the late gothic tower and façade. The current plan tells of a building founded in the high gothic tradition while the details of carving suggest a new emphasis on the craft of the late gothic mason. The lack of documentary records of the construction in the late thirteenth century and the late fifteenth century further hinders attempts to piece together the puzzle that is Saint-Riquier. The stones provide the richest source of information for understanding the chronology of construction. The story told by the stones, taken together with the few bits of information in respect to the abbots and their intentions, allows one to suggest a general chronology.

The primary function of the building was to provide a sacred space for the carrying out of the daily liturgy by the monastic community, the *opus Dei*. The thirteenth-century plan of the church is unique for the intersection of the south transept and the north cloister gallery. Although a wall separates the cloister path from the sacred space of the church, the shared space is more than simply an attempt to save space. The monk's daily activities of meditation, reading and teaching as well as the more mundane, are brought under the aisle of the church.[21] In Chapter 4 it is argued that the interior of the church is also affected by this intersection. The nave capitals display a world of lush vines inhabited by a variety of characters ranging from imaginary and real beasts to symbols of the four evangelists and reminders of moral behavior. The south aisle in particular is decorated with themes that address Saint Benedict's messages of humility and obedience. There is no clear program and it is unlikely that any specific program was intended, yet the

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identifiable themes presented in the sculpture do have particular relevance to both monastic and lay audiences.

The west façade and its message, discussed in Chapter 5, presents for the architectural historian a different problem. The huge central tower is unusual in French medieval architecture. Although it appears frequently in Flemish and Netherlandish religious architecture, the Saint-Riquier tower with its facing of sculpture is unlike any tower of the north. As will be shown, the determining factor in the form of the tower is not a regional late gothic characteristic, but instead is grounded in the form of the Romanesque tower beneath. Because of the public nature of the western façade, the public role of the abbey and its lay audience becomes the focus of its iconography. The sculptural decoration of the façade presents an encyclopedic view of the history of the abbey. Like Eustache's chronicle, it begins with Christ and his familial heritage as portrayed in the Tree of Jesse.[22] Sculptures of local saints and bishops important to the region look on from the sides at the apostles and the Trinity in the center. Abbots Eustache and Thibault, patrons of the late gothic construction, kneel at the base of the Trinity in homage and devotion. Like a huge altarpiece, the architectural framing and the rows of sculpted figures remind the lay viewer of the important figures of their Christian heritage. Not lost in this message is the crucial and self-conscious role the abbey plays in presenting that message. The concentrated display of Christian imagery, while encouraging public piety and faith, emphatically reminds the viewer of the location and source of that imagery.

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Notes to Introduction

[1]S. Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral* (Princeton, N.J., 1989) 133.

[2] R. Sanfaçon, *L'Architecture flamboyante de France* (Quebec, 1971) 59. One could list many more examples of late gothic churches that imitate a thirteenth-century building. Saint-Pierre at Coutances looks back to the early Gothic Norman cathedral of Coutances. See R. Sanfaçon, "Thèmes anciens et forms nouvelles. L'Evocation des XIIe et XIIIe siècles dans l'architecture du XVe siècle en France," in *Jeux de mémoire. Aspects de la mnémotechnie mèdiévale*, ed. B. Roy and P. Zumthor (Montreal, 1985), 212. Many elements of Saint-Maclou in Rouen were inspired by rayonnant elements of Rouen Cathedral. See L. Neagley, "The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLVII, 4 (1988) esp. 383-86.

[3]Abbot Pierre le Prestre commissioned a chronicle in the late 1470's and Abbot Eustache le Quieux commissioned a chronicle in 1492. See Chapter 1, footnotes 4 and 6.

[4]R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* V (1942), 16.

[5]See also, R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), 1-38.

[6]Erwin Panofsky's, now classic, argument for the distinction of the medieval sense of history from the post-medieval sense of history, sets forth that the Italian Renaissance marked a fundamental shift in historical perception. In the Middle Ages there was a sense of connection with the ancient and Biblical past, whereas in the Renaissance, there was a sense of estrangement, thereby, making such a renaissance possible. E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York, 1972, 2nd ed.).

[7]G. Constable, "A Living Past: The Historical Environment of the Middle Ages," *Harvard Library Review*, n.s. 1 (1990), 57.

[8]In article 5 of chapter VII, Cassiodorus writes "nothing but the newness of the buildings must distinguish them from the constructions of the ancients (...ut ab opere veterum sola distet novitas fabricarum)." And in article 15 of chapter VII, he writes "Let us renew the works of the ancients faultlessly and unmask the new glory of their venerable antiquity (...ut et facta veterum exclusis defectibus innovemus et nova vetustatis gloria vestiamus)." Cassiodorus,*Variae*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus ... Series latina*, vol. 69, (Paris, 1844-1904), p. 711C and 718C.

Beat Brenk uses these citations and other writings by Cassiodorus in his discussion

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of Emperor Theodoric's use of spolia in his construction in Ravenna. Brenk argues that Theodoric had both ideological and aesthetic reasons for using spolia from Rome in his imperial building projects. B. Brenk, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 107-08.

[9]E. Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures* (1946; 2nd ed. by Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, Princeton, 1979).

[10]E. Fernie, "Suger's "Completion" of Saint-Denis," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, eds., V. Raguin, K. Brush and P. Draper (Toronto, 1995) 84-91. W. Clark, "'The Recollection of the Past is the Promise of the Future.' Continuity and Contextuality: Saint-Denis, Merovingians, Capetians and Paris," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, eds., V. Raguin, K. Brush and P. Draper (Toronto, 1995) 92-113.

[11]According to Suger's writings, his "first thought was for the concordance and harmony of the ancient and the new work." Panofsky, 90-91.

[12]Fernie, 86.

[13]Clark, 94-95.

[14]The writing of history through the ages has given historians a wealth of material by which to examine the idea of a historical consciousness. See, for instance, *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981).

[15]R.W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5, 23 (1973), 244. As examples of history writing, Southern looks at the histories compiled by monks living immediately following the Norman Conquest and at monks of the second half of the sixteenth century. He writes that the monks of the eleventh century "were sure thay had a great past, but they were uncertain of their present and future," while the monks of the sixteenth century "were relatively sure of the present but uncertain of their past." In both cases, their search for the past gave credibility to their present. (Southern, 262)

[16]P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), 327.

[17]Constable, 51.

[18]W. Sauerländer, "Style or Transition? The Fallacies of Classification Discussed in the Light of German Architecture 1190-1260," in *Architectural History* 30 (1987), 8. In this article, Rhenish architecture of the gothic period provides Sauerländer a case study in which he shows how "style" becomes confused if one follows the standard definition in which one style changes to another and is distinct from it. He shows that in the Rhineland, architecture tended to be modernized by decoration rather than by architectural innovation, so that the structure might suggest one style while the decoration suggests

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another. The foundation of the problem of one's understanding of the resulting style, then, is not the building but one's definition of style. In order to fully understand the transitions of style, Sauerländer argues that one must both take "a closer look into economic history, history of craftsmanship an technique, patronage and funding," and realize that the term "style" is inadequate (12). One should not expect stylistic unity, but instead should recognize that "the richness and splendour of [buildings] reside[s] in the accumulation of varying and even conflicting ingredients and not in stylistic unity."

[19]P. Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: the Limits of Iconography," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988), 116. He argues for a broad approach noting that there are no simple, over-arching answers applicable to all medieval architecture and there are no unitary meanings, but instead meanings are open and multi-layered. Each building develops "according to the accidents of local taste, site and function."

[20]Pierre le Prêtre, *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XV, 1472, 28. See Chapter 1, footnote 4 for a full citation of Abbot Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle.

[21]P. Mayvaert, "The Medieval Monastic Claustrum," *Gesta* XII (1973), 53-59. Mayvaert discusses the many functions of the cloister, which he divides into two groups: activities during times of silence and activities during times when talking was permitted. The multi-level functions of the cloister are revealed in the range of activities from the spiritual contemplation and reading of each monk to the more mundane, washing of self and clothing at the fountain, usually within the cloister.

[22] See Chapter 1, footnote 6 for a full citation of Abbot Eustache's chronicle.

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Chapter 1

Written History

The bibliography on Saint-Riquier follows a strong history-centered tradition, due in large part to the historical accounts written by monks living at the abbey.[1] In the late eleventh century at the request of his fellow monks, Hariulf composed a chronicle of the abbey for the instruction of the monastery pupils.[2] In compiling the history, Hariulf paraphrased and copied from over three dozen sources, including writings by Angilbert and portions of Abbot Anscher's *Life of Angilbert*, as well as various descriptions of the founding of the monastery, its relics and its liturgy, letters of Charlemagne and numerous oral sources.[3] His *Chronique* has been an invaluable source of information regarding not only the abbey of Saint-Riquier, but the monastic liturgy of the Carolingian period and monastic life in general from the eighth century through the eleventh century. The next surviving chronicles of the abbey date to nearly five centuries after Hariulf's chronicle.

Near the end of his life, in the late 1470's, Abbot Pierre le Prêtre had a chronicle of the abbey written.[4] The chronicle includes a list of the kings of France from 1248 until 1444, with brief notices about the main events of history, and then goes into detail concerning the history of the abbey from 1444 through Pierre's abbacy, beginning in 1457 to his death in 1480. The chronicle has provided historians with descriptions of events of

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the Hundred Years War (especially as they relate to the Somme region), as well as glimpses into the life of an abbot, his concerns about the safety of the abbey and of the maintenance of the abbey buildings. Just twelve years after Pierre's death, Eustache le Quieux, his successor, requested that Jean de la Chapelle, a monk at the abbey, write another chronicle of the abbey. Like Pierre, Eustache hoped to create a document of the history of the abbey, preserving its place in history. Yet there are indications that his intentions were less political than Pierre's, with the focus being the abbey itself rather than the events surrounding it.[5] Whereas Pierre's chronicle was in French and described the recent events of history in almost year by year detail, Eustache's chronicle was in Latin and was divided into chapters by the abbot in office. Rather than beginning in 1248, Eustache began his chronicle with the birth of Christ.[6] The description of each abbacy is marked by the important decisions made by the abbot and his role in the development of the abbey. Eustache's intention was more focused than Pierre's. Where Pierre wanted a history of events surrounding the past three hundred years at the abbey, in which the abbey is more spectator than participant, Eustache focuses his chronicle on the abbey itself, highlighting its Christian heritage from the beginning of Christianity. While the two chronicles are disappointing in the brevity of comment surrounding the construction of the church, they do offer a rich source for tracing the history of the region in the late fifteenth century and first decades of the sixteenth century.

There is little information about the abbey from this period onward, and no surviving writing until the seventeenth century. Victor Cotron, a monk at the abbey during the Maurist Reformation in the late seventeenth century takes on the task of

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continuing Hariulf's *Chronicon Centulense*.[7] The chronicle begins with the abbacy of Anscher, Abbot Gervin II's successor, in 1097 and continues to Cotron's present. As in the chronicles on which Cotron's work is based, the intention is an accounting of historical events, but without particular analysis of those events. This approach begins to change, if only slightly, with the encyclopedia of churches and abbeys compiled and written by the Maurists in the mid-eighteenth century, the *Gallia Christiana*.[8] Although, for the first time the history of the abbey is written by someone not in residence at the abbey, the author's use of chronicles written at the abbey retain the abbey's perspective of its history. In six densely written pages, the author provides an account of the abbey's history from its founding to his present concentrating on the actions of the abbots.

With the growing concern for the architectural heritage of France, the nineteenth century saw several histories of the abbey with a new emphasis on its architecture. The early focus on the abbots now shifts almost exclusively to the buildings and their desperate situation. In order to justify the commitment of the government as well as the enormous sums of money necessary for restoration the restorers had to create an image worth preserving. Descriptions of the church are often tinged with a romantic nostalgia for the early years of Christianity in France when life seemed simpler if not purer, and men devoted themselves entirely to prayer and study. Writing the first post-Revolution history of the abbey, A.P.M. Gilbert imbues his writing about Saint-Riquier with such sentiments.[9] He presents a history of the abbey and its construction up to the restorations of the 1830's, and a description of the church in which he concentrates on the figural sculpture and the liturgical furnishings, such as statuary and paintings added to the chapels in the

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seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The restoration documents of the mid-nineteenth century reveal on the one hand a romanticism for the late gothic building and on the other an attempt to stress the "scientific" (i.e., proportional) nature of the plan and elevation of the building.[10] Guy de Gisors, offering justification for the restoration of the church, writes that the homogeneity of plan and decoration bring a "perfect eurythymy" to the building and place the abbey on the same level as the gothic edifices that are the most commendable and deserving of admiration.[11] The detailed descriptions of the building by the restorers provided a rich descriptive basis for later historians, though there was little attention to distinguishing the actual chronology of the building. It was simply "constructed in the Gothic style."[12]

Jules Hénocque, publishing during the 1880's a three volume work on the history of the abbey and town of Saint-Riquier, was the first to look more carefully at the architectural history of the building.[13] Armed with information accrued by architects working on the building for forty years, he corrects the earlier sweeping remarks about the architecture, noting that parts of the building date to the thirteenth century while others are considerably later. Working at the same time as Hénocque was a local priest and historian, Ernest Prarond. Prarond was a great defender of Abbeville and Saint-Riquier, driven by his love for the abbey.[14] He collected, translated and compiled numerous original documents relating to the history of the region. His publications on Saint-Riquier span the latter half of the nineteenth century, beginning with an 1856 transcription and commentary on Jean de la Chapelle's 1492 chronicle of the abbey, written for Eustache, to an 1899 article on the late fifteenth-century history of Abbeville.[15] Prarond was not alone

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in his study of the Ponthieu. His work was joined by that of two other local historians, François-César Louandre and Léon Bouthors. Though broadly focused and encompassing the entire region, Louandre's work was a careful analysis of history with citations of original documents and earlier opinion. Conversely, Bouthors' history, which concentrated on the abbey and village of Saint-Riquier, was full of romantic, all-encompassing statements without citation or reference.[16]

Both rounding out the publications on the abbey from the late nineteenth century and heralding the more specific object-oriented work of the twentieth century are the publications of Henri Macqueron. Interested particularly in the imagery of the abbey and other churches of the Somme valley, Macqueron brought together lists of regional iconography as well as writing about the medieval wood carving of regional churches.[17] Perhaps the most influential author for the architectural history of the abbey is Georges Durand, who published many descriptions of and guides to the abbey during the first four decades of the twentieth century.[18] The largest of these was a detailed description of the church in a four volume publication entitled, *La Picardie. Historique et Monumentale*, in which the entry on Saint-Riquier fills most of the fourth volume.[19] Durand's guide to the church was published by the Petit Monographie series in 1933, with a revised edition in 1960.[20] His work encompasses the historical research brought together by his predecessors, such as Prarond and Louandre, while at the same time moving forward with a focused analysis of the building itself.

Coincident with the start of Durand's career was the publication by Ferdinand Lot of Hariulf's chronicle of the abbey.[21] This opened the way for numerous studies about the

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plan of the Carolingian church and its liturgical function. Wilhelm Effmann is the first of many to use the new resource in suggesting the original plan of Centula.[22] Utilizing both Hariulf's description of Angilbert's church and the Petau engraving, Effmann proposes a plan of the building along with an account of the richness of the interior, describing the materials, the liturgical furnishings and the relics.[23] Carol Heitz has used Hariulf's document to help understand the liturgy of the Carolingian abbey.[24] With unusual specificity, Hariulf describes the processions of the monks from altar to altar in the church and then along the cloister galleries to the other sanctuaries of the abbey. This has enabled Heitz to describe the function of various parts of the church, particularly the westwork, within the context of the monastic mass. Based on his conclusions regarding the liturgy at Saint-Riquier he has been able to make connections with early Christian liturgy and church plan as well as with other Carolingian church plans. Until the recent suggestions of Honoré Bernard, Effmann's plan has been accepted as a probable replication of the Carolingian church.

Honoré Bernard, who has undertaken several excavations at both the east and west ends of the church, has supplied the most recent discussions of the architecture of Saint-Riquier.[25] Bernard has been able to locate the eastern end of the Carolingian church and to confirm the documentary references to the construction of a crypt during the eleventh century. In the west, Bernard's work has shown that the present structure rests on Carolingian foundations, though there is also evidence of the collapse and rebuilding of the tower in the late eleventh century. While much of the information Bernard has gleaned from his excavations has been in agreement with the proposals given by Effmann, recently

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he has put forth the notion that the two towers of the Carolingian church were octagonal rather than square. He bases this suggestion on both liturgical references and on his reading of the Petau engraving.[26] The richness of Hariulf's writings are made evident by the fact that one hundred years after its publication (1894), it is still a primary focus and source of study regarding Carolingian liturgy and architecture, and that new and interesting conclusions can be drawn. The most recent discussion of Saint-Riquier, by Susan Rabe, focuses on the Hariulf text and how it informs our understanding of Angilbert's intentions (and incidentally, Charlemagne's) in the expansion of the abbey.[27] Rabe examines the documents carefully and argues that they provide evidence of Angilbert's emphasis on Trinitarian Doctrine and his use of it as a theological basis for the church and monastery.

The passionate devotion to and interest in the abbey shown by historians and scholars of Picardy in the nineteenth century, such as Prarond and Durand, continues among a devoted group. There are several historians and architectural historians who continue to gather documentary evidence and investigate various aspects related to the abbey's history and architecture bringing new insight to our understanding of the abbey. The relationship of the architectural style at Saint-Riquier with the style common to the northern edge of France and Flanders has been studied by Pierre Héliot. Of particular note is his analysis of the tower in which he posits a relationship with northern and English towers.[28] The liturgy and its accoutrements have been the focus of Jacques Foucart's research. Although the information available to Foucart is generally no earlier than the seventeenth century, his conclusions are often relevant to the earlier arrangement and use

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of space.[29] Eric Balandra has brought together documents relating to the town and abbey of Saint-Riquier to offer a sense of the topography of medieval Saint-Riquier. This work has led to three articles, one on the layout of the town itself in the thirteenth century, and two relating to the town as a crossroads during the Middle Ages.[30]

This study of the abbey church diverges from previous studies in that the primary focus is the late gothic church. Not until the late nineteenth century was the concept of late gothic, or flamboyant, applied to Saint-Riquier. Even then, the general disdain for the style and belief that it was evidence of a decaying culture led to a general disregard of the late gothic aspects of the church. The restorers emphasized the unity of plan and decoration and the magnificence of the building's proportions rather than the often confusing juxtaposition and blending of styles. The relative wealth of documentary information about the Carolingian abbey has led historians and architectural historians to study and write about the no-longer-extant Carolingian building, entirely ignoring the building that stands. Because of the cycles of construction, repair, reconstruction and restoration that mark the history of Saint-Riquier, one cannot separate the late gothic church from its Carolingian ancestor. In the same vein, one cannot discuss the late gothic church without consideration of the post-medieval restorations that invariably both illuminate and shade our perception of the earlier structure. The following chapters will introduce the reader to the physical and historical settings of the abbey, the construction of the church over time, and issues relating to the iconography of the building, as intended for the monastic audience as well as for the public audience of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

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Notes to Chapter 1

[1]In 1957 Albert Labarre published a complete bibliography of the abbey in the *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie* (pp. 165-204), "Saint-Riquier. Bibliographie concernant l'abbaye, la ville, la paroisse, le petit séminaire, les auxiliaires du clergé." The article was republished in 1958 by the Auxiliaires du Clergé, Abbaye de Saint-Riquier. The useful listing includes primary sources with the library or archive reference number listed as well as numerous secondary sources. In addition Labarre includes references to biographical works about the abbots.

[2]In 1894 Ferdinand Lot published an edition of Hariulf's *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier* with commentary on the history of the book (Lot, *Hariulf. Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier. Ve siècle - 1104*, (Paris, 1894). The chronicle is believed to have been completed by 1088 and revised around 1105. It has been republished several times beginning in the seventeenth century; the edition published by Ferdinand Lot is the most frequently consulted today. In the citations to the chronicle, the roman numerals refer to the book and chapter number (assigned by Hariulf) while the Arabic numerals refer to the page number in Lot.

[3]Lot describes the various sources used by Hariulf listing them as narrative sources, diplomatic sources and oral sources (Lot, xix-xliv). Some of the written sources included the *Gesta regum Francorum* written in 726 and the *Genealogia domus Francorum*, composed during the reign of Louis the Pious for information on the French kings and events in history, the *Miracula S. Benedicti* composed by several authors in the ninth century, the *Vita S. Richarii* written by Alcuin, two books of the *Miracula S. Richarii*, written in 864 by a monk at Saint-Riquier, various other saints lives such as the *Vie de S. Columban* , the *Vita S. Armulfi Metensis*, the *Vie de sainte Rictrude*, the *Vita S. Leodegarii* all written in the seventh century, and the *Libellus* and *Institutio de diversitate officiorum* both written by Angilbert. Perhaps the most interesting are the "oral sources" listed by Lot. These include songs sung about legendary victories of the past, conversations with monks from other monasteries, and accounts of miracles that must have been passed down over the centuries by the monks. One of these recounts the intervention of an angel in the repair of a marble column that had broken in two during Angilbert's reconstruction (Lot, II, vii, 54). Lot suggests that this was a myth used to explain a defect in a marble column (Lot, xliii).

[4]The manuscript of this chronicle is catalogued as MS 94 in the Abbeville Archives. Written at the end of the fifteenth century, the 361 leaf manuscript was acquired by the Archives in 1872. Much of the chronicle is copied from other histories: the part from 1444 to 1448 is copied from Monstrelet, that from 1448 to 1467 from Jacques du Clerq and the part from 1467 to 1472 from Jean de Wavrin. Notations were added in the margins by Pierre le Prêtre. Portions of the chronicle have been published in *Saint-*

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Riquier, II, Chronique de Pierre le Prestre Abbé de Saint-Riquier et Commentaires, (Abbaye de Saint-Riquier, 1971). This edition includes supplemental articles on monastic life by Jacques Hourlier and on the architectural contributions of Pierre le Prêtre by Honoré Bernard. Interestingly this chronicle was written in French, although chronicles of later dates were written in Latin. Excerpts from the chronicle relating to the construction efforts of Pierre le Prêtre are reproduced in Appendix C. References to the chronicle will include le Prêtre's chapter number (in Roman numerals), the year of the entry and the page number in Vasseur's publication.

[5]The audience for each chronicle is not specified. One might imagine that given the political turmoil afoot in Picardy and Pierre's legal training at the university in Paris, that his chronicle was intended as a quasi-public record of the abbey's role in local events; as both proof of their plight and of their station. Eustache's chronicle, on the other hand, was for the insider as an account of events within the abbey walls.

[6]The 1492 chronicle, *Cronica Abbreviata Dominorum et Sanctorum Abbatum Sanctii Richarii*, was written by Jean de la Chapelle at the request of Abbot Eustache le Quieux. Ernst Prarond transcribed and published this chronicle in 1893 with a note to its author. *Joannis de Capella. Cronica Abbreviata Dominorum et Sanctorum Abbatum Sanctii Richarii. Nova Editio Quam Summariis Annotationibusque Illustravit*, (Paris, 1893). Jean de la Chapelle describes himself as "in artibus magistrum, curatum de Honneu, capellanum sancti Benedicti, notariique apostolici" (Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 1). Jean de la Chapelle bases his early history of the abbey heavily on Hariulf's text, although Hariulf begins the history with Saint Riquier's conversion to Christianity.

[7]Written in Latin and entitled *Chronici Centulensis, seu Sancti Richarii Continuato*, the chronicle of Cotron survives in several copies. The original is MS Latin 12.890 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Prarond made a partial copy in the nineteenth century, which is now MS 1814 in the Amiens Bibliothèque Municipale. Prarond evidently saw himself in the same role as Cotron, as he added to his own copy of the chronicle with events of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Another copy of Cotron's chronicle is MS 170 of the Bibliothèque de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie housed in the Municipal Museum of Amiens.

[8]Its full title describes its mission to list and give the history of the episcopacies, the archepiscopacies and the abbeys of the entire region originally called Gaul. The *Gallia Christiana* was published in 1751 in Paris. Volume ten, *De Provincia Remensi, ejusque suffraganeis Ambianensis, Silvanectensi et Boloniensi ecclesis, ubi instrumenta omnium ad calcem colliguntur*, includes the entry of Saint-Riquier, cols. 1241-1263. The Gallia Christiana paved the way for such publications as Montrond's inclusive *Dictionnaire des Abbayes et des Monastères*, published in 1856.

[9]A.P.M. Gilbert, *Description historique de l'église de l'ancienne abbaye royale de Saint-Riquier en Ponthieu* (Amiens and Abbeville, 1836). Gilbert's history and description of the church was the first study of the church written by someone not a member of the

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monastic community and became the foundation for all restoration and scholarly studies until Henocque's and Durand's work at the turn of the twentieth century. Historians such as Gilbert were battling ideas such as those expressed by Emmanuel Woillez, when he wrote that at the end of the fourteenth century the sculptors were no longer talented, the plans of churches were conceptually weak and the system of ornamentation had completely lost touch with the "forms which had characterized the mystical style." He saw the change in style as leading to the decadence of Christian art. E. Woillez, "Etudes archéologiques sur les monuments religieux de la Picardie," *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Picardie* VI (1843), 433.

[10]This approach to restoration, encompassing both the romantic and the scientific camps, mirrors the contrasting attitudes to the Middle Ages taken by John Ruskin in England and Viollet-le-Duc in France. Ruskin had an intense love of the craft and material of gothic architecture. His discussion of the gothic style, especially in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London, 1848; rep. New York, 1974), is infused with a Puginesque morality, even religiosity, and a deep-felt belief that if only architects could return to the style of the Middle Ages the ills brought by the Industrial Revolution would disappear. Viollet-le-Duc, with equal admiration for the gothic style, was driven not by romanticism but by a belief in the structural integrity and rationalism of gothic construction, as well as in the national heritage of the style for the French. In his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1854-68) he addresses many facets of French gothic architecture arguing, in sum, that the forces driving the style were scientific; a search for answers to structural problems. Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste* (London, 1928; rev. ed. New York, 1974), summarizes many of the attitudes of the nineteenth century toward the Middle Ages and the attempts by several architects to recreate what seemed to have been lost. His discussion focuses primarily on English architects and the romantic movement driving the Gothic Revival in England. In his Epilogue to the book, Clark writes that the architecture of the Middle Ages was "beyond revival," by which he implies that the revival was simply a recasting of medieval elements, without a true sense of the spirit behind them (218). This spirit was, of course, lost and irretrievable.

[11]Guy de Gisors, Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:1; letter of Sept. 13, 1818. See Appendix E.

[12]Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:2, letter of Oct. 12, 1841 by L.C. de Belleval, of the 'Comité des Arts et Monuments du Ministère de l'Instruction publique' to the Ministry of the Interior.

The view that the church was completely constructed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seems to have been held until the 1870's. Probably based on Gilbert's book, Hyacinthe Dusevel asserts in an 1843 document entitled, *Notice historique et descriptive sur l'église de l'ancienne Abbaye de St. Riquier*, that the first stone was laid in 1488 by Abbot Eustache le Quieux. In 1874, in a report submitted to the Ministry of the Interior by Duthoit, the author asserts that the crossing, transepts and hemicycle are fourteenth century, while the rest is later. Both of these documents are in Bibliotheque et Archives

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du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:2.

[13]J. Hénocque, *Histoire de l'abbaye et de la ville de Saint-Riquier. Les saints, les abbés, le monastère et l'église. La ville et la commune*, (Amiens, 1880-88), 3 vol., *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, vols. IX to XI.* Previous to this large work, Hénocque had published his thoughts on the building in a short notice of a visit of 1867 by the Congrès scientifique to the building. "Rapport sur la visite à Saint-Riquier," *Congrés Scientifique de France. 1867. 34e session* (Amiens, 1868), 524-36.

[14]In the preface to the 1893 edition of Jean de la Chapelle's chronicle, Prarond addresses de la Chapelle as though in a letter (ii). He writes that while the abbey was in reality first and foremost a powerful religious house with "supra-féodale" authority, he sees it as "a poem of the Ponthieu."

[15]In 1867 Prarond published a history of Saint-Riquier, *Histoire de Saint-Riquier et des dix-huit communes* (Abbeville, 1867), to be followed by a history in three volumes of Abbeville, *La topographie historique et archéologique d'Abbeville* (Abbeville, 1880). In 1893 he published a new edition of the chronicle by Jean de la Chapelle with commentary from comparison with other copies of the chronicle.

[16]F-C. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville et du Comté de Ponthieu jusqu'en 1789, 2 vols.* (Abbeville, 1883); L. Bouthors, *Histoire de Saint-Riquier. Le Bienheureux l'Abbaye, la ville, le petit-séminaire* (Abbeville, 1902).

[17]H. Macqueron, *Iconographie du département de la Somme* (Abbeville, 1886; rpt. Marseille, 1978); "Les charpentes en bois sculpté dans les églises du XVIe siècle," *Congrès d'Archéologique de France. 60e session. Abbeville 1893*, 1895, 368-75; and *Bibliographie du département de la Somme* (Amiens, 1904-07).

[18]Durand (1855-1942) was active in the Société des Antiquaires de Picardie based in Amiens. (In fact, his library forms much of the collection of the Société's library, now housed in a wing of the Musée de Picardie adjoining the Bibliothèque Municipale.)

[19]The full citation for the Saint-Riquier entry is: "Saint-Riquier," in *La Picardie. Historique et monumentale*. vol. IV/2 (Amiens, 1907-11), pp. 133-358. A condensation of this detailed description forms Durand's entry entitled "Saint-Riquier" for the 1936 *Congrès Archéologique* devoted to the Amiens region (96-124).

[20]G. Durand, *L'église de Saint-Riquier, Petits monographies des grands édifices de France* (Paris, 1933; rev. ed. 1960). Durand based the Petits monographies guides of Saint-Riquier on an earlier guide he had written in 1912, with a second edition in 1917; *Guide de Saint-Riquier* (Amiens, 1912). The main difference in the guides is the addition to the 1933 and 1960 guides of a discussion regarding Effmann's work on the Carolingian church.

[21]See footnote 3, above.

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[22]W. Effmann, *Centula. Saint-Riquier. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Baukunst der Karolingerzeit* in *Forschungen und Funde herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Franz Jostes*, II, fasc. 5 (Münster, 1912).

[23]Effmann's plan as well as the Petau engraving will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Carolingian Foundations. Effmann's conclusions were called into question by Irmingard Achter, who noted that he based his discussion of the Saint-Riquier westwork enitrely on his knowledge of German architecture and had never seen Saint-Riquier. Her analysis of the Carolingian building and suggestion that it fits within the later gothic construction is based on the idea that the later constructions may tell one much about the early construction. Her conclusions about the dimensions of the gothic construction and their relationship to the Carolingian structure, and her suggestions about the location of various functions within the abbey complex will be discussed in Chapter 3. I. Achter, "Zur Reconstruktion der Karolingischen Klosterkirche Centula," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 19/2 (1956) 133-54.

[24]Carol Heitz has published his investigations and conclusions in *L'architecture carolingienne*, (Paris, 1980), and *Recherches sur les rapports entre Architecture et Liturgie à l'époque Carolingian* (Paris, 1963).

David Parsons offers an alternative view from Heitz's, suggesting that the Carolingian abbey was smaller than suggested by Heitz. D. Parsons, "The Pre-Romanesque Church of Saint-Riquier: The Documentary Evidence," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 130 (1977) 21-51.

[25]A student of Carol Heitz, Bernard has been most concerned with the Carolingian aspects of the building, although he has also written about the repair work undertaken by Pierre le Prêtre in the late fifteenth century. Bernard has submitted a dissertation on his investigation of Carolingian Saint-Riquier entitled "Saint-Riquier: archéologie et historiographie" (diss. Université de Paris X. Nanterre, 1993). Earlier publications in which he describes his excavations of the church include: "D'Hariulfe à Effmann, a la lumière des récentes fouilles de Saint-Riquier," in *Actes du Quatre-vingt-quinzième Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Reims, 1970* (Paris, 1974) 219-235; "Essai sur la genèse des fondations gothiques dans les régions du Nord et de la Picardie," *Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie*, no. 2 (1975) 85-100; "Une site prestigieux du monde carolingien Saint-Riquier. Peut-on connaitre la grande basilique d'Angilbert?," *Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie*, no. 5 (1978) 241-254; "Les fouilles de la tour du Saveur," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1988) 66-71; and "Saint-Riquier: une restitution nouvelle de la basilique d'Angilbert," *Revue du Nord*, t. LXXI, no. 281 (1989) 307-361.

[26]This proposal by Bernard is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

[27]S. Rabe, *Faith, Art and Politics at Saint-Riquier. The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995).

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[28]P. Héliot, "La façade et la tour des abbatiales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Riquier," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 18 (1949) 12-26. While the connection of the Saint-Riquier tower with the northern tower is compelling and worthwhile, his analysis too quickly ignores the sculpture covering the tower. Particularly useful is Héliot's study on master masons of Picardy; "Eléments d'un répertoire des maîtres-maçons artésiens et picards (XIe - XVIe siècles)," *Revue du Nord* XXXIII/131 (1951) 142-48 and *Revue du Nord* XXXIII/132 (1951) 256-82.

[29]J. Foucart, "La décoration du sanctuaire des églises de Corbie et de Saint-Riquier à la fin du XVIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXVI/2 (1987) 211-24; "La suspense Eucharistique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer," *Dossiers archéologiques, historiques et culturels du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais* II 29 (1989) 6-16; and "Les poutres de gloire des églises de Picardie," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXVII (1991) 5-22.

[30]E. Balandra, "Recherches sur la topographie du XIIIe siècle de Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXV (1984) 21-32; "Saint-Riquier: la topographie d'un carrefour au Moyen-Age," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXVI (1986) 31-48; and "Documents sur le carrefour de Saint-Riquier au Moyen-Age," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXVI (1987) 187-98. In addition Balandra has brought to light a document describing an early eighteenth century visit to the abbey: "Une visite de Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XXV (1982) 123-32.

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Chapter 2

Geographical and Historical Settings of the Abbey

Two factors are particularly important to understanding the church constructed in the fifteenth century: the geographical setting and the historical context of the abbey. This chapter will introduce the reader to the setting of the abbey and to the historical context surrounding its construction, thus laying the groundwork for the physical description of the building and its phases of construction which follow in the next chapter. The church was part of an integrated architectural complex intended to meet every need of the spiritual and physical lives of the monks who lived there.[1] The abbey was foremost a place in which the *opus Dei*, the recitation of Psalms and the performance of the liturgy, and the *lectio divina*, the reading of and meditation on scripture and writings of the church fathers, as well as the copying of religious texts was carried out. In addition it was a place of sleeping, eating, meeting and the carrying out of the necessities of life.[2] While the basilica, the most sacred and hallowed of the monastic spaces, has to be understood within the context of the entire abbey, its construction has to be seen against the backdrop of the historical context of its development and life.

Geographical Setting

From a distance one can see the white stone of the Saint-Riquier abbey church

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rising above the green rolling hills of the Scardon River valley (illus. 1). The approach from Abbeville, following a branch of the Scardon, affords one a view of the western facade and tower seemingly standing alone in the landscape while the now tiny village of Saint Riquier nestles indiscernibly into the hillside.[3] Unlike the modern visitor, the fifteenth-century traveler would be able to see the village, checked only by its embracing defensive walls, spilling over the forested hills surrounding the abbey.[4] The abbey, with its high stone walls and towering church rising above the village, would dominate the view. As one drew near the village, the size and form of the church continued to command one's attention and to overwhelm the surrounding abbey and village buildings.

From at least the thirteenth century two defensive walls surrounded the village; an inner wall with four gates, one at each of the cardinal points, and an outer wall with seven gates (fig. 1).[5] Based on an early thirteenth-century reference to the town of Saint Riquier as "castro Sancti Richarii," Eric Balandra suggests that the two defensive walls were already in existence at that time.[6] Visitors to Saint-Riquier today traverse the same roads as medieval travelers, passing in front of the abbey as they cross the village. There were never a vast number of travelers passing through Saint-Riquier, although a steady flow used the well-established network of roads connecting the towns of the Somme region with more distant commercial centers to the north and east. Saint-Riquier is mentioned on medieval itineraries from Bruges to Bourges and from London to Jerusalem.[7] From Abbeville traveling on rue Abeengue, the medieval traveler would enter first through "le porte desraine" ("la porte dernière") near the Hulin bridge and then continue as the road bends northward through the Saint Nicolas gate. The road becomes rue du Baile and feeds into the marketplace bounded and dominated on the north by the rising square tower

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of the town belfry and on the east by the abbey buildings. Other entrances to this central marketplace could bring travelers in from the north, east and south. Traveling from Rue or other northern towns along the Channel coast one would enter through the Haimon gate and continue down the steep hill along rue de l'hotel Dieu past the Saint Nicolas hospital and the belfry. The traveler from Flanders, Arras or closer villages to the east would enter the village through the Saint Jean gate and follow the northern edge of the abbey walls along rue du Moutier into the marketplace.[8] The traveler coming from villages to the south would enter Saint Riquier through the Hairon gate just past the Notre-Dame parish church and would continue up the hill along rue Notre-Dame.

The abbey buildings fill the southeast section of the village. There is little documentary evidence describing the monastic buildings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and little archaeological work has been conducted to fill this void.[9] Nonetheless, based on the existing walls and buildings such as the church, parts of the cloister and the abbey buildings of the seventeenth century, it is possible to reconstruct the general layout of the abbey. High walls still face rue Saint Jean and rue Notre-Dame, separating the abbey from the village, and remains of the village walls enclose the abbey along the east and south. Though restored and repaired over the centuries these walls define the limits of the abbey during the later medieval period until its dissolution during the Revolution.[10] The church, as one sees it today, was not completed until the first decades of the sixteenth century, yet it stands over and incorporates the earlier church.[11]

The existing claustral buildings date to the reconstruction undertaken by Abbot Charles d'Aligre during the Maurist Reformation of the second half of the seventeenth century.[12] The placement of the existing buildings and plans of the abbey drawn during

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the seventeenth century suggest the likely position of earlier medieval monastic structures. The cloister is the nucleus and hub of the abbey plan, connecting the monks' dormitory, refectory, chapter house, and other abbey structures with the church. Although not entirely accurate this plan from 1658 shows the general arrangement of buildings around the cloister (illus. 2).[13] The cloister's north gallery adjoins the south side of the church and intersects the south transept while the east gallery connects the church with the monastic buildings. The chapter house, with its apsidal east end and central four piers, adjoins the east gallery of the cloister. The position of the still-extant seventeenth-century dormitory along the south gallery of the cloister suggests that it replaced an earlier dorter in the same position. From the south transept the monks could walk by way of the east cloister gallery to the chapter house and then on to the refectory and dorter. The west gallery of the cloister served a more public function as it provided access to and adjoined the abbot's building and the administrative area of the abbey.[14]

While the cloister was the hub of the abbey, the church was certainly its focal point. The complete and restored version of the church standing today, makes it difficult to imagine the many-centuries-long process of its construction. Records of its repeated destructions are non-specific and give little idea of the actual extent of destruction. The abbey's turbulent history, described in the next section of this chapter, was marked particularly by destructions by the Normans in the ninth century, by Count Hugues of Saint-Pol in 1131, by the Burgundians in 1421, by the French in 1475 and by a disastrous fire of unknown cause in 1487.[15] The building one sees today, founded on Carolingian and Romanesque foundations and generated from a thirteenth-century core is the product of construction begun after the destructions of 1475 and 1487. This work, begun as

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restoration by Abbot Pierre le Prêtre continued in new construction by Abbot Eustache le Quieux and completed by Abbot Thibault de Bayencourt, was followed by further destruction and neglect after the installation of the commendatory abbots during the mid-sixteenth century. Post-medieval restoration of the abbey began with the Maurist reformers of the late seventeenth century, to be continued by the Catholic church in the eighteenth century and eventually by the French government in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. An account of the events of the abbey's history and the coincident ebb and flow of the fate of the abbey follows.

Historical Setting

Writing the history of the abbey in 1492, Jean de la Chapelle begins with the birth of Christ.[16] Quickly he moves through crucial events of the New Testament into the mission of saints to Gaul, such as Saint Denis and Saint Martin in the third and fourth centuries. The discussion moves to the Merovingian kings of early France, their pagan rule and the martyrs who died at their hands, and then finally to the baptism of Clovis, heralding the conversion of Gaul to Christianity. As Gilbert explains the situation, the region of Picardy was slow to this conversion, thus bringing the Irish monk, Saint Colomban with twelve of his disciples in 590. Two of his companions, Chaidoc and Frichor, stopped in Centula to preach their Christian message.[17] As the story goes, only one local, Riquier, was receptive to their preaching.[18] After his conversion he worked to convert others, first in his homeland, then in England and then again in the Ponthieu. In 625, with the patronage of Dagobert I, he founded a monastery with its chapel dedicated to the Virgin. As advisor to the king, Riquier gained much respect as well as payment in

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the form of seigneuries and lands to help maintain the divine service of the monastery at Centula. Near the end of his life he sought solitude in the forest of Crécy, just north of Centula. When others followed him there another monastery was founded, Forêt-Moutiers. Riquier died in 645 and his body was brought back to Centula for burial in the church near the tombs of Chaidoc and Frichor.[19]

From the beginning the abbey was well-endowed. The first foundation of the abbey included fifteen fiefs from the surrounding area (fig. 2).[20] The rights to these fiefs established the abbey as a landlord, a profitable and powerful role that it continued to enjoy throughout the Middle Ages. In the mid-seventh century the abbey adopted the Benedictine Rule, but it was in the late eighth century under the patronage of Charlemagne that it experienced tremendous growth. In 789 Charlemagne appointed Angilbert, his theological and religious advisor, abbot of Saint-Riquier. A massive building campaign was undertaken and the abbey was rededicated on Easter of the year 800 in the presence of Charlemagne, Angilbert, Alcuin and other ecclesiastical leaders of the realm. Hariulf, a monk at Saint-Riquier in the late eleventh century, writes that by the year 800, there were 300 monks at Saint-Riquier and 100 students.[21] The library boasted 256 volumes attesting to the monastery's reputation as a center of learning and writing.[22] In the past scholars have seen Charlemagne's patronage of the abbey almost purely as a political tool to gain control of the realm by education and indoctrination.

Susan Rabe has argued recently that both the basis of his patronage and his goal were more complex, inspired by and in response to theological debates of the eighth century.[23] She suggests that the purpose of the abbey was "to put into concrete terms and to develop (and assert) the Carolingian position more fully."[24] At the foundation of the

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Carolingian view was Augustine's model of the Trinity with Christ at the pivot. "Christ, as the epitome of faith and righteousness, was the ultimate source of knowledge about the Trinity."[25] Primary to Angilbert's understanding of these issues was his belief in the power of the liturgy to express this theology in spiritual and intellectual realms as well as in artistic realms. The Trinity was to be worshipped perpetually, not only through the active, daily liturgy of the office, processions, and masses, but also in the architecture and its decoration. The Carolingian abbey, a complex of three churches joined together, "was unique because it was conceived and developed as a whole both liturgically and architecturally, from scratch, as it were, to express a consistent symbolic vision."[26]

In 801 the abbey received various papal exemptions and privileges that they continued to hold over the centuries. Pope Leo III exempted the abbey from "ordinary" jurisdiction, making the abbot the sole spiritual seigneur of Centula. At the same time Angilbert obtained the privilege to carry the mitre, the cross and the lamb of God, a right conferred on his successors also. It was during these early years of the abbey's history that strong connections were made and fostered with other monastic foundations. The abbey had a particularly close relationship with the Abbey of Sainte-Colombe of Sens near Paris and the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer to the north.[27] According to Louandre, the abbey's temporal jurisdiction in 831 included forty villages and 100 nobles had houses on lands owned by the monastery.[28] Despite the pledge of military protection offered by these nobles, Norman invaders threatened life at the monastery throughout the ninth century. The invasion and subsequent destruction of 881 brought an end to the prosperity and intellectual vigor that had characterized Saint-Riquier for nearly a century.[29] Documents are generally silent regarding the abbey until the chronicle written by Hariulf in

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the late eleventh century.[30]

In addition to the early history of the abbey, Hariulf includes references to recent times and abbots. Particularly important to the history of the building were Abbots Gervin I and Gervin II who both had additions made to the east end of the church as well as restoring other parts of the building. In the mid-eleventh century Gervin I was responsible for several projects at the abbey.[31] These included having a chapel built (in which he was interred), adding a crypt to the east end of the church and adding thirty-six volumes to the library.[32] Gervin II (1075-97), nephew of Gervin I, was responsible for strengthening the west tower, both its foundations and its upper masonry. Hariulf describes this "new" construction and the great sacrifice made by the community to build it.[33] Gilbert tells of how, with the advice of Guy the Count of Ponthieu, it was decided to process through the nearby villages and towns with the relics of Saint Riquier to obtain offerings from the pious faithful to fund the new construction. Evidence of the growth of the town in the early twelfth century comes in the form of King Louis' visit in 1126 during which he established the commune of Saint-Riquier, granting it civil and administrative status.[34] This era of rebuilding following the Norman invasions was brought to an end by the siege of 1131. Hugues Campdavesne, Count of Saint Pol, ordered the town and abbey burned because his enemy, the Seigneur of Beaurain, had taken refuge there.[35] The destruction of the monastery at this time was crucial to its future. Despite immediate efforts to reconstruct the abbey by Abbot Anscher, the abbey never regained its former status. Coincident with this was the increasing importance of Abbeville as a seaport, made possible by navigation of the Somme River inland to Abbeville.[36]

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It is unclear from the documents how the abbey was reconstructed, or even how much needed to be rebuilt to function. Although reconstruction on a large scale did not begin until late in the thirteenth century, documents attest to the survival and on-going life of the monastery in the twelfth century. A papal bull of 1172 by Pope Alexander III assures the abbey and its fiefs protection and safe-guard by the Holy See.[37] By the same papal bull, the pope confirmed the abbey's spiritual jurisdiction over several parishes, including the churches of the village and those of the abbey's fiefs. These rights and assurances are confirmed by succeeding popes through the thirteenth century. Early in the thirteenth century the attentions of the monastic community turned to the founding of a hospital in the town. In 1201 the foundation was approved with the religious of the abbey as patrons of the hospital. The permission to build the hospital follows in 1205 and the dedication of the chapel of the hospital of Saint-Nicolas in 1210.[38]

Other documents of the thirteenth century tell of an active community. There was a three day fair each year from the eighth through the tenth of October to venerate Saint Riquier. Pardons were afforded those who came to venerate the saint on the anniversaries of his birth and of the translation of his body. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV offered indulgences of one year for visiting the abbey on the day of Saint Riquier's veneration and forty days for visiting the abbey during the following week.[39] The Monday of Pentecost, another important day in the liturgical calendar, was observed annually by the monastery with a procession through the village with the relics of Saints Riquier and Vigor.[40] The purpose of liturgical festivals was not purely the salvation of the faithful, as attested by an event of 1263, which highlights the commercial aspects of the festivals. Several townspeople, taking advantage of the economic opportunities afforded by the mass of

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devoted pilgrims, falsified relics and staged a miracle in order to profit from the unwary.[41] Many documents of the thirteenth century suggest that it was a time of strife and argument between the town and the abbey, each trying to assert power over the other. The abbots' right to wear the pontifical in processions outside the abbey was reconfirmed in 1252, 1256, 1259 and again in 1266. A lengthy letter of November, 1256 records a settlement struck by Louis IX between the commune and the abbey, which gave the abbey the rights of jurisdiction during and profits from the three day fair.[42] A 1266 bull by Clement IV also reserved the right of the abbey to have jurisdiction over the village despite objections from the Bishop of Amiens.[43]

Cartulary and inventory entries dating to the late thirteenth century show that the abbey bought several properties surrounding the monastery.[44] In Chapter 19 of the Cartulary, the chronicler has entered eight receipts recording the purchase of various properties adjoining or near the abbey.[45] While the documents make no mention of the reason for the abbey's purchase of properties, it is clear in hindsight that it was part of Abbot Gilles de Machemont's (1257-92) plan to rebuild and enlarge the monastery.[46] Historians of the abbey record that Gilles was devoted to constructing new, sumptuous abbey buildings including Drugy, a chateau-residence for the abbot just outside the town.[47] Gilles de Machemont is equally well-known for his defense of the abbey in several temporal affairs during the course of his abbacy.[48] The strong backbone he demonstrated was much admired by abbots of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Jean de la Chapelle goes into great detail regarding the events during which Gilles stood up for the rights of the abbey against those of the town, and calls him the "great father of the family." The chronicler continues, "He subdued the mayors, the *échevins*, the burghers, and the

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commune of Saint-Riquier, who claimed to have rights over our farms and our lands as far as the distance of a league, which is not true; he raised against them infinite queries and suits, always defeating and overcoming them by means of justice and just decision."[49]

Based on the remaining thirteenth-century elements of the church, Gilles had great plans for the rebuilding and enlargement of the monastery. The construction undertaken was not simply a reconstruction of what came before, but a fully new building with a new plan over and around the existing church. As explained more completely in the next chapter, the eastern transept of the church was moved to the west to enlarge the choir area. A hemicycle with an ambulatory and radiating chapels expanding from it were laid out based on the model of Amiens Cathedral. Though not completed in Gilles' lifetime, a broader nave was laid out to the west, eventually to connect with the western tower. No documents survive to tell of this construction, its plan, its progress and its state of completion at Gilles' death. Yet, Jean de la Chapelle mentions in his chronicle, written two and a half centuries later, that Gilles was present at the dedication of the chapel of Saint Andrew in 1274.[50] This chapel is the eastern straight bay chapel on the south side of the church. Though this reference provides the only written indication of Gilles' contribution, the intermediary location of the chapel, along with the thirteenth-century elements still extant, suggest that all the straight bay chapels, the transepts and perhaps the radiating chapels were constructed at this time.

In the year following Gilles' death there was a devastating famine in the region, perhaps an indication of the troubles that only seemed to intensify during the fourteenth century. Twenty years later in 1313 another famine swept across the region, this time bringing even more death. Jean de la Chapelle records that the famine was brought to an

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end when Abbot Jean de Foucaucourt carried the Host in procession at Corpus Christi.[51] From the point of view of the monastic community such experiences justified their perceived role as provider of spiritual and, if necessary, physical nourishment and guidance to the local lay community. The lay perspective was not the same and the power struggle, seen in earlier centuries, continued. In 1318, during the administration of Abbot Bauduin de Guessart, a landmark agreement was reached between the abbey and the commune.[52] The thirteen articles of the agreement were intended as a treaty in the hope of ending the numerous and on-going conflicts. Generally the articles involved the rights of the abbot or of the commune in levying judgements and penalties for various infractions against either party.[53] For instance, it was agreed that when the abbey had no interest in a particular legal battle, then the commune could handle the legal decision, although the abbot retained the right to sentence the offending party. The relations between the abbey and commune were tested soon after this treaty when in 1330 several townspeople rioted against the abbey.[54] The king fined the townspeople, requiring them to pay two thousand *livres parisis* to the king and one thousand *livres* to the abbey.[55]

In addition to the power struggles within the walls of the town, political turmoil outside the abbey began occupying the attention of the abbots. The incredible horror of the destruction of life and property at the battle of Crécy in 1346 marked the start of the Hundred Years War.[56] Amidst the rumblings of war, the abbots of the fourteenth century continued to work on establishing control of the abbey's lands and fiefs, as well as retaining the rights and privileges granted them over the centuries.[57] Abbot Guissard des Salles (1393-1410) was active not only within the monastic realm, acquiring goods for the abbey and founding a mass of the dead, but actually joined the fighting outside the

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monastery. In 1396 he accompanied the Count of Eu and the Seigneur of Coussy (both of whom died in battle) in fighting the infidels of Hungary.[58] The unsettled political situation evidently aided the abbey in gaining allegiance from surrounding fiefs. In 1405 there are records of thirty-four fiefs paying homage to the abbey.[59] While this joining of fiefs in service of the abbey helped present a unified, defensive front to protect the region, it also brought much wealth to the abbey in terms of money, land and produce. Much of the intense fighting of the Hundred Years War coincided with the abbacy of Hughes Cuillerel (1412-57). The chronicle accounts of his abbacy focus almost exclusively on the war; at first the entries record events in surrounding regions but in time the battles come to Saint-Riquier bringing destruction there as it had to many other communities.[60]

Early accounts of the devastation of war relate the general pillaging leading up to the battle of Agincourt in 1414. This was followed by the sieges of Beauvais, Beaumont, Pontoise and Meulant by the Duke of Burgundy. Meanwhile the king of England entered Normandy, laying siege to Rouen a year later in 1418, an event followed by famine and the suffering of its inhabitants. The fighting and massacres of Paris were witnessed by Hughes Cuillerel. In 1417 the English took the Pontoise, and then through political maneuvering by marriage, the English and the Burgundians joined forces. Together they captured Melun just outside Paris. During the siege, Henry V journeyed to the towns of the realm requiring oaths of allegiance to him and recognition that the king of England was the rightful heir to the French throne. The citizens of Saint-Riquier took the oath along with the citizens of Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Boulogne and Saint-Omer.[61] In 1421 while passing through the region the king of England stayed at Saint-Riquier. Upon his departure, forces loyal to the king of France entered Saint-Riquier in defiance of the

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English king's claim to the region. Burgundian forces, strengthened with troops from Amiens, returned to Saint-Riquier to rid the town of the French troops. Throughout July of 1421 skirmishes between the opposing forces resulted in the burning of the town and the destruction of the abbot's chateaux lying just outside the town walls, Drugy and la Ferté. The fighting continued in the region with the English taking Crotoy, the port at the mouth of the Somme, thus giving the English control of all ship traffic entering and leaving the river.

Perhaps due to the destruction of the abbey and perhaps due to the general unsettled nature of the countryside, in 1423 Hughes Cuillerel bought several properties around the abbey's refuge in Abbeville. The house, on rue Saint-Esprit, was originally built in 1236 by Abbot Hughes de Chevincourt. Jean de la Chapelle writes that the 1423 acquisition of properties and construction was funded in part by revenues from Fontaine-sur-Somme, one of the abbey's fiefs.[62] The tide of the war began changing in the 1430's. The English hold on Calais was broken and French took back Crotoy, killing nearly all the English who had occupied the port. In addition, Joan of Arc led the French triumph at Orléans and with the Treaty of Arras in 1435, the towns of the Somme Valley, including Saint-Riquier, were ceded to the French upon a payment of ransom. Although the ransom was not paid until 1463, the conflicts subsided. The devastation to the land and population left the country weakened, enabling a poor harvest to develop into a famine in 1437. The abbey took great pride in being able to feed all the citizens of Saint-Riquier and the needy of the region from their own stores of grain.[63]

Pierre le Prêtre became abbot in 1457, after serving at the abbey for nineteen years, the last five as prevost His tenure as abbot is well documented largely due to his own

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interest in history and its preservation. Near the end of his abbacy he had a chronicle of the abbey written, in part by copying earlier histories from the mid-thirteenth century to his own day and in part by recording events of his own abbacy.[64] The chronicle, tracing his abbacy year by year, is an account of events at the abbey and of Pierre's repeated efforts to repair the building. Lengthy accounts of battles and strategic movements by various political leaders are interspersed with remarks about his efforts at reconstruction or about commissions of liturgical objects for the celebration of mass. One is tempted to imagine that he saw his restoration work on a par with, or at the very least as a sub-text to, the warring efforts of the king of France or the duke of Burgundy. Aside from noting his efforts to repair various damaged sections of the church (reproduced in Appendix C), there is little information about life at the abbey during his abbacy. As Jacques Hourlier notes, the chronicle speaks far more about the secular powers, the king of France and the duke of Burgundy or their lieutenants, oaths of fidelity, investiture, the watch and commanding than about the duties of abbot.[65]

The tragedy of the war and the shared enemy seemed to tame the conflicts between the commune and abbey that had plagued the abbots of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[66] In 1471 the English occupied the woods of the abbey, located about two kilometers to the west, causing much damage to the forest and as well as to the town.[67] Soon thereafter war broke out again between the Burgundians and the French, fueled by disagreements between Louis XI and Charles, the Duke of Burgundy. During this time the abbot left the monastery, intending to travel although his ill health kept him nearby.[68] According to the chronicle, by 1473 despite protests from the abbot, the Burgundians occupied Saint-Riquier while waiting for Charles' return from Normandy.

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The Burgundians stole the harvest and then a plague broke out among them, killing seven to eight thousand. The abbey had stocks of grain that could last for four or five years, so despite the theft of the harvest, the abbey was able to feed all the people of the town and surrounding countryside.[69] Conflicts intensified between the Burgundians and the French and in the summer of 1475 Saint-Riquier was again the site of pillaging and destruction.[70] Just after Christmas Pierre again initiated repairs on the church, beginning with the founding of new bells and repairs to the burned masonry of the tower.[71] Perhaps weary of the continual repairs to the church and insecure about the state of affairs at the abbey, Pierre bought a house in Saint-Omer near the Abbey of Saint-Bertin. His apprehension was justified in that tensions between the Burgundians and the French grew. In 1477 Louis XI gave the revenues of the abbey to his friend, the cardinal of Vienne, thus bringing the repairs to a halt and morale to a low point.[72] In 1478 Pierre retired to Saint-Omer leaving the abbey in the hands of Eustache le Quieux.[73] He died two years later and was buried in the Virgin Chapel of Saint-Bertin.

By this time the conflicts were essentially over and the entire country had set itself to repairing the damage.[74] A listing of the annual rents due the abbey in 1530 tell of the wealth of the abbey and its role as landlord.[75] There is no indication that the proceeds from these rents went for anything other than maintenance of life at the abbey, although given the historical record it seems a large part of their role as landlord was to stockpile the crops in the event of a poor harvest. From the abbey's various land holdings it received payment in roosters and hens, in wheat and oats, in bread, wine and occasionally meat, as well as money.[76] The total of these annual payments, according to calculations by de Bonnault, was 277 *livres*, 13 *sols*, 9 *deniers* in money, 207 hens and roosters (of

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which one third were roosters), twenty-two *setiers*, fifteen *boisseaux* of wheat and nineteen *setiers*, seven *boisseaux* of oats.[77] In addition, the abbey rented out 250 *journaux* of arable land for which it was to receive seven *muids* each of wheat and oats per year. For the four wheat-grinding mills, two water and two wind, the abbey received sixteen *muids* of wheat annually. Finally, the abbey owned 440 *journaux* of forest, of which twenty *journaux* were harvested per year and for which it earned about ten *livres* per *journal*. Thirty-one properties are listed in de Bonnault's account. The abbey had rights of seigneurie as well as high, middle and low justice over all of these properties.[78] In relation to the sums of rent and produce coming into the abbey, their annual payment to the Holy See each year of one ounce of gold, with the approximate value of eighteen *livres*, seems miniscule.

The documentary accounts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, during the abbey's reconstruction, provide little information about the historical events of the time and region. Yet, the chronicles do give brief mention of the reconstruction of the church.[79] Eustache le Quieux did well in this environment of recovery, enjoying his role of reconstructor. Whereas Pierre had been constrained to repairs of damage, Eustache was able to construct from the ground up. The building provides evidence that much of the thirteenth-century construction, including the plan, was salvageable and reused by Eustache. Although Eustache commissioned several documents recording and tabulating the history of the abbey, no documentary records of his efforts to rebuild the church and abbey survive.[80] Nonetheless, there are two dates by which one can make general assumptions about the construction. Because of a devastating and unexplained fire of 1487 that reduced the church and abbey to cinders, it is likely that most if not all the

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extant work by Eustache came after that date. Support for this idea comes from a record of Eustache buying land in 1488 at the quarries of Saint Pierre à Vaux, where most of the stone for the church originated.[81] In addition, in 1487, Charles VIII gave the abbey the right to hold a fair the sixteenth of each May, presumably due to the need to raise funds for new construction.[82] By logic, construction began at the crossing and hemicycle, where the thirteenth-century building left off. The second date important to understanding Eustache's contribution is the date of his death, April, 1511. He died unexpectedly following an injury from a stone falling from the high vaults of the nave. This indicates that the nave was nearly complete and its vaulting underway by 1511. He was buried in the nave of the church.

Thibault de Bayencourt succeeded Eustache.[83] Jean de la Chapelle was still writing the chronicle commissioned by Eustache during Thibault's abbacy and included a note about his years as abbot. He writes briefly that Thibault completed the work begun by Eustache decorating it with much ornament.[84] While the embellishments of the church, including marble paving, new gold reliquaries, a baldequin of golden fabric, not to mention the richly sculpted façade added visual richness to the building, the opulence expressed in the perceived excess of decoration has given rise to blaming Thibault for devoting himself more to the decoration of the church than to the administration of the abbey.[85] Although there are no records to counter the claim that Thibault was responsible for all the excesses of the early sixteenth-century construction, Jean de Bruges, Seigneur of Grutuse and lieutenant general of the king in Picardy, was buried in the church in a black marble tomb in 1512.[86] This wealthy individual is the only person outside the monastery that one can associate with the monastery. Unfortunately his relationship with the abbey has gone

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undocumented, yet one is inclined to believe that the sarcophagus was not Jean de Bruges' only bequest to the abbey. In the last years of Thibault's abbacy there were calls for reform and eventually François I stepped in and appointed the first of a line of commendatory abbots to succeed Thibault.[87]

Post-Medieval Decline and Restoration

François I appointed his spiritual advisor, Claude Dodieu, commendatory abbot in 1536, after yielding to arguments in which Dodieu raised doubts regarding the competency of Thibault.[88] This appointment began a century and a half of decline at the abbey. Dodieu did not reside at the abbey and he not only neglected the spiritual and physical needs of the abbey but stole from it. He removed precious gems from the abbey's reliquaries and took the silver-gilt altar for his own use.[89] At the time of this change from regular abbots to commendatory abbots, the years of peace came to an abrupt end. While in 1554 Montmorency conducted his disastrous campaign across the north of France, Philip, son of Charles V, took possession of Saint-Riquier. In retaliation for the destruction of the abbey of Mont-Saint-Eloi by the French, he destroyed Saint-Riquier. Lacking the money or desire to rebuild the abbey, Dodieu dispersed the monks to other monasteries. After a time the monks returned to live in the ruins of the abbey, making provisionary repairs in order to carry out their duties.[90] The Virgin Chapel and adjacent radiating chapels were still useable for the daily offices, though the high vaults of the nave and choir soon fell, having been damaged by rain and ice. The vaults of the transept remained intact and were covered by a roof around 1600.[91]

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Although the events of the abbey during the commendatory abbots passed without extensive record, it is evident that little was done to the fabric of the church until the Maurist reformation of the later seventeenth century. Charles d'Aligre, abbot from 1644 to 1695, has been credited with the extensive and necessary restoration of the church and abbey. In 1660, at d'Aligre's request, six Maurist reformers joined the fifteen Benedictine monks at Saint-Riquier and the reform and restoration began.[92] At this point the nave, in an increasingly ruined state, was completely open to the weather and only the choir could be used for services. Jean-Denys Plouvier was employed to draw several plans of the abbey for the reconstruction.[93] His plans, dating to 1663 and 1666, are now in the National Archives in Paris with other plans of the abbey (illus. 3-7).[94] Plouvier only provides plans for the claustral buildings leading one to believe either that plans related to the church are now missing or, more likely, they were unnecessary as the masons were extending and covering existing structure. The need of relatively complete plans for the buildings around the cloister reinforces the historical reports that the abbey buildings were entirely destroyed in 1554.

The restoration of the church began with the high vaults, which were completed by the mid-1660's.[95] Repairs to the walls and roofs of the aisles followed in the late 1670's. The exterior balustrade was repaired by 1679 and the windows were glazed in 1680-81. In 1686 attention turned to the abbey buildings. The reconstruction began at the south wing of the abbey, including the refectory with the dorter above. From this point they worked toward the east, first on the infirmary and then on the gardens and abbey walls. In 1689 the large building along the west side of the abbey connecting to the southwest corner of the church was constructed, supposedly reusing part of an earlier construction

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from the fifteenth century.[96] The building is four stories high, with the library on the third floor and additional monks' cells on the second floor. The east gallery of the cloister with a two-story chapter house extending eastward from the center, connected the south wing of the abbey buildings to the church at the south transept. The construction described above was completed by the abbot's death in 1695 and cost over 200,000 *livres*.[97]

In general the Maurists reconstructed in the style of the original building, although there were certain liberties taken.[98] For instance, a spire was placed over the crossing of the church, where one had never existed, and the choir was encased in gray marble with inlaid white and green marble and enclosed by an iron grille and high stone walls.[99] T.H. Cocke has recently suggested that the general conservatism of style in the seventeenth century was due more to the strength of tradition than to an intentionally conservative aesthetic stemming from "confessional propaganda."[100] The architectural tradition of the past, in other words, Gothic, was both omnipresent and, according to Cocke, ongoing because of a renewed interest in history, owing partly to the Maurist reformers.[101] While the decorative parts of the reconstruction are clearly of the seventeenth century, the architectural elements continue their Gothic form. Evidence of this is found in the nave balustrade, which takes on a neo-classical flavor in the framing borders and in the repeated circular motif, whereas the vault ribs were entirely redone as if original to the fifteenth century.

A visitor of 1714 reports on the general state of the abbey.[102] He writes that there are three gates to the village, which has a paved (though in poor condition) main thoroughfare. A crenellated wall surrounds the abbey where he stayed for a short time. He describes the church in general terms as "following the rules of the goths in

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architecture," although he was clearly most impressed by the recent embellishments made by d'Aligre, noting the beautiful proportions of the marble altar, the beauty of the doors and the iron grillwork, and the delicate bronze work of the lectern. The fourteen monks at the abbey evidently took pride in its history, showing him their prized possession, an evangeliary which, they assured him, had served Charlemagne.[103] The visitor also admired the books used for the monastic chants, but notes that the library was in a state of disarray, perhaps having never recovered from a bout of pillaging during the war of the succession of Spain in 1708.

Given the tumultuous history of the abbey, its restored grandeur could only last so long. In March, 1719 a fire caused by lightning ignited the dorter and destroyed many of the claustral buildings. The church, with the treasury and sacristy was preserved, though much of the glass was destroyed. The library was completely consumed by flames, as well as the pharmacy, many candles, stores of wheat, tapestries, and much wood that had been intended for the construction of an organ, thus putting off the construction until the 1730's.[104] Jean Estienne points out that letter writer must have been exaggerating about some of the damage. In 1790, directly after the Revolution, municipal officers came to the abbey to inventory its property. They recorded that the library was in a good state and that it contained nine to ten thousand volumes of various size and shape including one hundred and five manuscripts of various formats.[105]

After becoming part of the national domain in 1790, the abbey buildings were sold on November 12, 1791 to François Cauchy, master locksmith of Abbeville for 40,000 *francs*, and the church became the parish church of Saint-Riquier. According to the sales contract Cauchy was to conserve the integrity of the buildings. Although he did not

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respect the agreement, his mistreatment of the buildings went unpunished.[106] M. l'abbé Callé, pastor at the church at this time, preserved in safekeeping the relics of Saint Riquier, but he could do little to save the building from falling into ruin.[107] Soon thereafter the Bishop of Amiens and the pastor Padé, established a seminary for catholic priests at the abbey, which remained from 1824 to 1906.[108]

One could argue that the church of Saint-Riquier has been, at least since the first Norman invasion, in a constant state of restoration.[109] The state joined the effort in 1818. Arguing that the church "honored France, ... (and) served as witness to the power of the realm, its magnificent architects, and the religion of its people," the commission made the first request for funding. 10,000 *francs* was designated to begin the urgently needed repairs to the south buttresses and the south transept.[110] In addition to the "patriotic" argument for saving the church, the early restorers justified their interest by pointing out the grand proportions of the building. Guy de Gisors, inspector general of civil buildings, was in charge of the early restorations. He described the church as "a veritable model of interior distribution for a catholic temple ... The dimensions of all the parts are aligned with the general dimensions. For example, the length measured from the interior piers that support the tower up to those at the beginning of the hemicycle is twice the width of the nave and the aisles together. The side aisles are each the half the width of the nave. ..."[111] The first real test came in 1819 when the Council of Civil Buildings was asked to decide if only part of the church should be saved, owing to the tremendous cost of restoration and maintenance. Given this decision, the reason for de Gisors' emphasis on the proportions of the whole and the inter-related nature of the building becomes clear. His report evidently served its purpose as the council voted to restore the entire building.

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Work began on the façade and the south side of the building. This included the pierced balustrade crowning the tower and the leading of the roof and the flying buttresses of the south side. Unfortunately de Gisors' classical training left him somewhat unsympathetic to the stylistic details of the late gothic church. He changed the flying buttresses on the south by suppressing their pinnacles, removing the pierced ramped arcades and replacing them with an open flyer, keeping the low arch as the lower flyer.[112] In 1822 a report to Council requested additional funds because it was discovered that the north side also was in need of urgent repair. The north side buttresses were restored to look like the new buttresses of the south side. By 1824 the exterior restorations had been completed, and attention turned to repair of the side aisle and transept vaults. 10,500 francs was approved for this work. By 1828 the accounts of spending show that over 120,000 francs had been spent on the restoration.[113]

1839 marks the creation of the Monuments Historiques under Prosper Merimée as well as the creation of a local commission to oversee the restoration work at Saint-Riquier. In 1840 Saint-Riquier was placed on the list of historically important buildings needing restoration, which placed it under the supervision of the Monuments Historiques. The national attention and support intensified the restoration efforts, as well as the disagreements about how the restoration should be carried out and by whom. Proposals were offered in 1843 by Daniel Ramée and Maximilien Lion. Ramée includes a long history of the abbey in his report, as well as a plea for attention to be paid to the sculpture as well as the architecture. He criticizes earlier restoration efforts, calling them "mutilations" that have "disfigured the monument and compromised its solidity."[114] Lion's proposal is more pragmatic than Ramée's. He lists the necessary work without

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commentary or criticism, and although his estimate was higher, it was accepted at a meeting in May, 1843.[115] For some reason he did not carry out the work. Letters of early 1844 from the Somme office to the Minister of the Interior express concern that the work has not yet begun. The next documents, dating to summer 1847, are from Ramée and they list the work completed and the work yet to be carried out. There are continued requests for ongoing funding over the next years, yet by 1870 a request by Dusevel, reveals that funding had lessened considerably and that the building was in a desperate state.[116]

By 1874 Edmund Duthoit was appointed architect in charge of the repair of the church. He submits a lengthy report providing a history and description of the building, a list of the necessary repairs, and a critique of the management of funds up to that point. He argues that most of the funding is going to architect's fees and not to the restoration. His plans and elevations, done in 1877, continue to be published today. Duthoit remained working at Saint-Riquier until his death in 1888. A document of 1893 suggests that finally there is attention being paid to the state of the sculptural decoration. A Parisian sculptor, Chapot, was hired to repair the exterior sculpture, including the friezes, the fleurons of the gable and gargoyles. His work continues into the twentieth century as evidenced by a receipt from 1902. Adding insult to the injury of de Gisors' "streamlined" flying buttresses, Deneux, an architect hired to repair the aisle and ambulatory roofs in 1908, replaced the pavilion roofs of each aisle bay and ambulatory chapel with reinforced concrete slabs.

In the twentieth century the requests for funding become more formulaic, as does the recording of the requests and repairs. The historical and aesthetic justifications that

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characterize the nineteenth-century requests for restoration funding are replaced by straight-forward itemizations of restoration necessary and restoration completed. Unlike many urban churches of Europe, Saint-Riquier did not suffer bombing in either world war. More problematic was the neglect during each war and then afterward as funds went to the churches and other buildings needing it most.[117] Yet, gradually it seems, the entire fabric of the building is being recarved and replaced, piece by piece. In the 30's and 40's the west tower and the nave and choir glass were the focus of restoration efforts. The roof of the transept and of the nave required further reconstruction in the 40's. Other buildings of the monastic complex were added to the list of historic buildings in 1953. In 1959 some of the statuary of the west façade and interior were put back in place following restoration by a sculptor called Maimpointe.[118] As in 1870 when the piecemeal approach was leaving too much untouched, the deplorable state of the building in 1969 motivated the Deputy mayor of Abbeville to write a letter expressing the need for a more thorough and attentive approach to the restoration.[119] Since the early 1970's there has been increased attention to the restoration of the building. Sizeable amounts of money have been provided for restoration of the clerestory windows, the tower, and the portal.[120] Recently, the restoration of the west façade and tower was completed.

The abbey buildings today, largely from the seventeenth century, serve as home to a regional museum, the Centre culturel départemental de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier. The church serves as parish church to the local community. While the battle in the early years of the church's existence was against invaders and conquerors, the battle now is against time and its effects. The historical events which shaped the life of the abbey, also affected its construction and necessitated its restoration. With few documents to describe the

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process of construction and rebuilding, the stones themselves provide the best indication of the church's building history. The next chapter will focus on the fabric of the building, its beginnings and the construction of the high and late gothic periods.

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Notes to Chapter 2

[1]See W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London, 1972; rpt. Princeton, 1980) for a thorough discussion of the development of the monastic plan and complex of buildings.

[2]See esp. P. Mayveart, "The Medieval Monastic Claustrum," *Gesta* 12 (1973) 53-59. See also the entire issue of *Gesta* (1973), devoted to the study of the monastic cloister, its design, its function and its relation to other monastic buildings.

[3]The Scardon River is a tributary of the Somme River, which empties into the English Channel at Crotoy. Though now a shallow creek, in the Middle Ages the Scardon was navigable by flat boats between Abbeville and Saint-Riquier.

[4]The town was at its largest and most prosperous during the Carolingian period. Through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the importance, size and population of Abbeville increased due to its role as a riverport, the size and population of Saint Riquier diminished.

[5]Now only ruins of several of the gate-towers remain. It is unknown when the walls ceased to serve defensively, though they were in use through at least most of the sixteenth century. A 1537 description of the plundering of the village and abbey by fighting German and Spanish soldiers notes the battle with 2,000 men on the walls. "Eroberung, Plunderung und Schleissung des Schloss und Stadt Sanct Paul, der Stadt Monterol and Sanct Rickir, sampt der Belegerung der Stadt Terruana inn Frankreich," printed 1537. Prarond describes the battle a little differently. He writes that the Count of Nassau hoped to surprise and take the village of Saint-Riquier with 2,000 foot soldiers and a few pieces of artillery. Pierrequin the captain of the village with only 100 foot soldiers was able to fend them off for a time. This was made possible in part by the fact that the women of the town poured hot water and coals from the walls to the invading soldiers below. The invaders were forced to retreat in confusion with four wagons full of wounded, leaving two hundred soldiers dead in the moats. Prarond, *Histoire*, 84. (Figure 1 is taken from a map drawn by Bruno Bréart for Balandra, "Recherches," 22.)

[6]Balandra, "Recherches," 21. The reference is to the hospital of Saint Nicolas founded by the abbey in 1201: "fratres domus hospitalarie Sancti Nicholai de castro Sancti Richarii."

Using the earliest possible sources Balandra has established the names and locations of the eleven gates to Saint-Riquier. His documentation for the inner four gates dates to the thirteenth century, while thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents identify the outer seven gates. The paucity of documentation makes it impossible to posit a date for the original construction of the gates or walls. Because both inner and outer walls cross through the known Carolingian abbey property, the walls must postdate the Carolingian period and presumably the Norman invasions of the tenth century (which in

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fact may have instigated their construction). Given the defensive requirements of the village and abbey through the sixteenth century, and lacking any contradictory evidence, one can assume these walls were in place at least until the 1554 invasion and plundering by Philippe of Spain.

[7]Balandra, "Documents," 192-193. Balandra cites two of these itineraries. In a late fourteenth-century itinerary from Bruges to Bourges, the traveler passes through Auxy-le-Château, then Saint Riquier and then on to Abbeville (E.T. Hamy, *Le livre de la description des pays de Gilles le Bouvier, dit Berry..., Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle*. T. XXII, Paris (1908) 179). A thirteenth-century itinerary from London to Jerusalem proposes two land routes, one setting out from Calais and the other from Boulogne. From Calais one heads southeast to Reims without stopping at Saint-Riquier, but following the other possibility from Boulonge to Beauvais, one passes through Saint-Riquier (London, British Library Royal MS 14C VII, f. 2).

[8]Bernard suggests that there was a portal to the abbey near the Saint Jean gate that was something of a service entrance to the abbey entering into the "lower court" or the gardens to the east of the church. H. Bernard, "Oeuvre monumentale de Pierre le Prêtre," *Saint-Riquier. II. Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre Abbé de Saint-Riquier et Commentaires*, ed. G. Vasseur (Saint-Riquier, 1971) 107-08.

[9]Bernard has conducted an excavation under one wing of the Maurist construction. He found what seems to be the foundations of a thirteenth-century chapter house. Bernard, H., "L'abbaye de Saint-Riquier. Evolution des bâtiments monastiques du IXe au XVIIIe siècle sous la règle de Saint-Benoît," *Actes du colloque des 23-25 Octobre 1980*, Genève (Paris, 1982) 499-526.

[10]The size of the abbey changed over time from the abbey's apogee in the early ninth century to its dissolution at the time of the revolution. There are no precise records of the size and population of Saint-Riquier during the medieval period, yet according to a document cited by LeSueur an 831 account records the village as containing 2,500 houses and twelve streets. LeSueur, A., "La ville de Saint-Riquier. Son origine, son extension, son déclin," in *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XVIII (1944) 173. Gilbert suggests that 14,000 people lived in the town in 814 (Gilbert, 24). The Carolingian abbey with three churches and triangular cloister described so carefully in the eleventh century by Hariulf no longer existed except in fragmented ruins in the fourteenth century. By this time there were "scarcely 20 religious" at the abbey, a number that probably increased slightly during the fifteenth century but that had declined again to sixteen (nine priests and seven students of theology) by the Revolution (LeSueur, 179).

[11]Although the church that one sees today is the result of many reconstruction and restoration campaigns, the form and scale of the building were determined by the early sixteenth century.

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[12]D'Aligre was abbot at Saint-Riquier from 1644 through 1695. Having required the monks of Saint-Riquier to accept the religious reform of Saint-Maur, he undertook a massive restoration of the abbey. His work included replacing the nave and aisle vaults of the church which had remained in ruin since the fire of 1554, rebuilding the claustral buildings, and furnishing the church with elegant furnishings, such as marble floors and marble inlaid altar tables, wood wainscotting, statuary, missels, bronze chandeliers, etc. Patrice Cousin includes a listing of the expenses of d'Aligre's renovations and gifts in an appendix to an article on the Maurists at Saint-Riquier. P. Cousin, "Les moines de Saint-Riquier sous la réforme maurist et devant la Révolution," *Saint-Riquier I. Etudes concernant l'Abbaye depuis le huitième siècle jusqu'à la Révolution* (Saint-Riquier, 1962) 175-96.

[13]The inaccuracies of the plan are interesting. They may be indicative of the speed with which the draftsman was working owing to the tremendous number of restorations undertaken by the Maurists. For instance the extra two piers under the western tower and the extra bay in the axial chapel, seem to simply be a misrepresentation. On the other hand, the stairway to the abbot's treasury over the south transept is a spiral staircase in the western straight bay chapel. Now this is a stone staircase entirely filling the chapel. The spiral staircase may be an alternative suggestion or an earlier state.

[14]This administrative and public function continues today, as this area provides access from the parvis to the inner areas of the abbey, now a regional museum of cultural history (Centre culturel départemental de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier) and conference center.

[15]*Gallia Christiana* (Paris, 1751) col. 1242. "Post medium seculum IX a Normannis igne succensa est Basilica tota ruit anno 1075. Hugo Comes Sancti Pauli aliique toparchae hostes suos debellaturi monasterium & oppidum Graecano igne succenderunt anno 1131. A Philippo Burgundiae duce urbs & monasterium devastata an. 1421 & a Francis anno 1475. Voracibus flammis utrumque est absumtum anno 1487."

[16]Jean de la Chapelle wrote *Cronica Abbreviata Dominorum et Sanctorum Abbatum Sanctii Richarii* at the request of Abbot Eustache le Quieux. See Chapter 1, footnote 6 for more information concerning the chronicle.

[17]Centula was the capital of a gallic tribe, the Oromensacii. According to Gilbert, the name Centula attests to its ancient splendor when one hundred towers flanked its walls and is expressed in a verse still known in the nineteenth century, *Turribus à centum Centula dicta fuit* (Gilbert, 5).

[18]There is disagreement in the histories surrounding Riquier's family. One version claims he is the son of paupers and the other the son of Alquaire, Count of Ponthieu and relative of Clovis I (Gilbert, 6).

[19]Later Charlemagne had Saint Riquier's tomb opened and removed his remains to a golden reliquary.

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[20]These included Caours, Buigny, Vaux, Noyelles-en-Chausée, Oneux, Maison-Roland, Bussus, Drugy, Villers-sous-Ailly, Boisbergues, Pommereuil, Hautvillers, Aubin-Saint-Waast, Bray-sur-Somme and Chevincourt. Figure 2 is taken from a map appearing in Dubar, "Les Mairies rurales dans les domaines du monastère de Saint-Riquier," *Revue du Nord* 40 (1958) 94.

[21]Lot, *Hariulf*, II: xi, 70. The chronicle written by Hariulf contained writings by Angilbert and portions of Abbot Anscher's *Life of Angilbert*, as well as descriptions of the founding of the monastery, its relics and its liturgy.

[22]Gilbert, 20.

[23]See S. Rabe, *Faith, Art and Politics at Saint-Riquier. The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995).

[24]Rabe, 75. The "Carolingian position" Rabe refers to is the stance of the Carolingian court in the theological controversies of the period between the Pope, the Byzantines (to whom the Pope was generally favorable) and the Adoptionists. Rabe describes how the controversies were about Adoptionism (issues surrounding the humanity of Christ), the procession of the Holy Spirit and the veneration of images. Though essentially separate, the Carolingian court saw these issues as related and moreover as a challenge to their tradition of belief, to their identity as Franks, and to the Carolingian kingship (Rabe, 21).

[25]Rabe, 112.

[26]Rabe, 146.

[27]The relationship with Sainte-Colombe began in the ninth century when the monks of Saint-Riquier transferred their relics to Sens for safe-keeping. The affiliation with Saint-Bertin began as early as the tenth century and seemed to meet the same function, that of safe-guard for the relics during times of invasion. There were also various sorts of affiliations with chapter in Arras and the abbeys of Saint-Valery-sur-Somme and Saint-Laumer of Blois. With the chapter in Arras and the abbey of Saint-Valery, the monks of Saint-Riquier shared funeral services, remembering each other's dead. With Saint-Laumer there seemed to be a kind of exchange in which the monks of one monastery could visit the other as though they were "members" of either monastery. These connections seemed to have been maintained through much of the abbey's history. Louandre, vol 2, 401-02.

[28]Louandre, vol. 1, 367.

[29]Dom Dekkers notes that invasions of 848 and 865 merely caused the monks to flee to Sens with their relics and holy chalices. In contrast, the invasion of 881 caused extensive damage, virtually preventing further life at the monastery. Dekkers, "La Bibliothèque de Saint-Riquier au Moyen-Age (VIIe - XIIe siècle)," *Bulletin des Antiquaires de Picardie* (1956) 157-97.

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[30]One event that has made its way through the histories of the abbey is the recovery of the relics of Saint Riquier in 981 after the Count of Flanders, who, long desiring possession of the relics, had stolen the reliquary. The Count had gotten as far as the abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer before Hugues Capet demanded that he return it to Saint-Riquier. Gilbert recounts Abbot Enguerran's description of the final leg of the journey, from Montreuil to Saint-Riquier, which Hugues Capet made with bare head and feet and with the reliquary of Saint Riquier on his shoulders. He laid the body at the high altar of the church in the midst of hymns and chants (Gilbert, 30-31). These events are portrayed in an early sixteenth-century mural of eight panels on the wall of the treasury, commissioned by Thibault de Bayencourt.

[31]Helen Cam noticed several references to English villages in Hariulf's chronicle. Perhaps owing to Gervin I's close friendship with Edward the Confessor, Ralph, a Breton and leader in the Confessor's court, gave lands and revenues in England to the abbey. Eight villages in Norfolk were included in these lands: Esperlais, Acra, Pichenham, Suafham, Sculatorpa, Merfort, Achotes and Guenite. As these possessions are not mentioned in the Domesday Inquest, Cam suggests that the abbey lost rights to the lands when Ralph the younger lost his fortunes and the land reverted to the Crown. H. Cam, "The English Lands of the Abbey of Saint Riquier," *English Historical Review* 31 (1916), 444-45.

[32]The foundations of this crypt were excavated by Honoré Bernard in various digs from 1966-1969. He has published these findings primarily in "D'Hariulf à Effmann" and "Une site prestigieux". For further discussion of these and other excavations see Chapter 3, Carolingian Foundations.

[33]Gilbert, 35. Hariulf describes this reconstruction of the tower as "on stronger foundations and to a greater height," ("...renovatam et erectam congaudemus fortiori fundamento et celsiori fastigio elevatam cernimus." Lot, *Hariulf*, IV: xxxvi, 278).

[34]Appendix A, Chap. 17. Augustin Thierry published this document among many other documents in *Recueil des documents inédits de l'histoire du Tiers Etat. Région du Nord*, 4 vols., (Paris, 1970), 578. In a letter signed during a ceremony at Saint-Riquier, King Louis gave the privileges of a commune to the town of Saint-Riquier, thus giving the town limited autonomy from the abbey. For instance, while the townspeople were disallowed from entering the church or ringing the bells without consent of the abbot, the religious could not enter the town without consent of the abbot. (Thierry also notes that it was in the twelfth century that the name of the abbey and town officially changed from Centula to Saint-Riquier, 577.)

[35]Gilbert, 38-39. Gilbert gives the most complete account of this siege, though does not offer his sources. He writes that Hugh's troops used lances with combustible materials to ignite the roof of the church and other monastic buildings. A monk celebrating mass in the Virgin Chapel was killed with others in the church. 2,700 people died in all and the abbey lost its buildings, including the archives and library. The relics were saved by placing them

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in the subterranean crypt. Louandre adds to the story with Hugh's penance and afterlife. As penance Hugh was required to help in reconstructing Saint-Riquier and to found another abbey. Though he gave land and money to build the abbey of Cercamps, he did little to help the reconstruction of Saint-Riquier, and thus was condemned to hell. Local legend has it that one could hear him at night in the streets, dragging chains and howling like a wolf, for which he was called the "bête canteraine." Louandre, 119.

[36]Jacques Godard suggests that the connections between Saint-Riquier and Abbeville were very strong. The early walls of Abbeville extended to the north enclosing part of the Scardon valley. The Scardon, a tributary of the Somme, connected the two towns, inviting settlement along its banks. J. Godard, "Saint-Riquier au Moyen-Age. Economie urbaine et activité commerciale," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* LVII (1959) 16.

[37]See Appendix A, 1. Appendix A (National Archives; LL 1010) is a cartulary of the abbey, composed in 1489 by Jean de la Chapelle for Abbot Eustache le Quieux. Because so few of the actual documents relating to the history of the abbey remain, this listing of various charters, papal bulls, letters and contracts is primary to following the events of the abbey's history. Appendix A is made from an 1844 copy of a seventeenth-century copy of the cartulary, ms 516 of the Amiens Bibliothèque. (Only two folios survive from that manuscript, fol. 110-111.) Another copy, from the eighteenth century, is now in the Amiens Departèmentale Archives, no. 25 H 1. Probably one of the first copies, as its script places it in the early sixteenth century, is ms 854 in the Abbeville Archives.

Many of the documents recorded in the cartulary are also recorded in an inventory of the abbey. Now in the National Archives, NA LL 1008 (Appendix B) the inventory was copied in 1844 from a 1785 inventory of papers and titles of the abbey. Like the cartulary, the listing of now lost documents is one of the few keys to unlocking the events of the abbey's history. Both the cartulary and the inventory are divided into sections defined by the type of document; for instance, royal privileges, papal bulls and transactions, fiefs, etc. The sections of the cartulary are called chapters, while those of the inventory simply have the type of document as the section heading. The references in this paper will refer to the appendix number and the chapter or section heading.

[38]Appendix B, "Bulles, transactions" AAA - ABG.

[39]Appendix A, Chap. 13. This was reconfirmed by Pope Alexander IV in 1257.

[40]The document first granting this privilege is not listed in the extant rights of procession in the Cartulary or the Inventory. In the 1260's Pope Clement IV (1265-68) reconfirmed the abbot's right to carry the relics of Saints Riquier and Vigor in procession. Appendix A, Chap. 14.

[41] The mischief-makers put a dead cat in a box similar to the reliquary of Saint Riquier and the bone of a horse in another box, misrepresenting it as the arm of Saint Vigor. They carried the two "reliquaries" in procession, staged a miracle and then set up a temporary

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altar draped in golden cloth. For two days and nights unsuspecting pilgrims and travelers stopped to pray at the altar, leaving offerings. Once the sacrilege and deception were found out, the schemers' actions were cited as detrimental to the universal Church and they were excommunicated by a papal bull of Pope Urban IV. Louandre, vol 1, 249-51. Louandre cites the *Inventaire des titres de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier* (fol. 33-34), a sixteenth-century inventory of the Abbeville Archives as his source.

Eamon Duffy addresses other instances of fraud related to reliquaries, saints and pilgrimages that occurred in England and Germany in the fourteenth century. E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992) 196-97.

[42]Appendix A, Chap. 18. The settlement reached by Louis IX was reconfirmed by Philip IV in 1289.

The day to day jurisdiction that the abbey enjoyed over its fiefs and domains is also reflected in the documentation and attests to the monetary gain possible by the many fines imposed. During this time, in 1257, there was an agreement reached between the abbey and one of its fiefs, Feuquières, regarding the fines for various criminal offenses. If one is in a fight and draws blood, then one has to pay sixty *sols parisis*, of which forty goes to the abbey and twenty to the mayor and echevins of Feuquières. If one simply takes ones opponent by the hair, hits him with a stick, slaps him, or calls him a name, then the fine is only twenty *sols*, which is divided evenly between the abbey and mayor. If a house is demolished the fine is a minimum of sixty *sols*, though ten *sols* is added if there was extreme violence or arms were used. This fine is divided evenly between the seigneur and the mayor. L. de Bonnault, "Etude sur Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XVI (1887) 28-29. (De Bonnault does not say where this document is, but does indicate that he is translating from an original document of the right of justice.)

[43]This was not the first dispute between the abbey and the Bishop of Amiens. Both Pope Innocent III in 1210 and Pope Honorius III in 1224 attempted to settle disputes with a papal bull. Appendix A, Chap. 14.

[44]In addition to these acquisitions of property near the abbey, there are records of purchases or acquisition by will of land in the fiefs of the surrounding region. De Bonnault, 4-5.

[45]See Appendix A, Chap. 19. From the entries it seems that most of the properties were near the walls of the monastery or adjoining the "basse cour," which in later times was just to the east of the church. Additional acquisitions and rents due from 1269, 1270 and 1276 are recorded in Chapter 20.

[46]It is possible that there were thoughts of rebuilding or expanding the abbey before 1257. A papal bull of 1246 written by Pope Innocent IV records the desire of the abbey to have the church (or chapel) dedicated to Saint Nicolas transferred, arguing that it was too close to the church. The chapel was just to the northwest of the abbey church. Balandra, "Recherches," 25. See also Appendix A, Chap. 8.

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[47]The land for Drugy was acquired by the abbey in 1220, as noted in the Cartulary. (Appendix A, Chap. 26) Though written in 1492, Jean de la Chapelle's *Cronica Abbreviata* of the abbey provides the earliest record of Gilles' building projects. Drugy, built a kilometer west of the abbey just off the road to Abbeville, has been rebuilt over the centuries and is now a farm house. (Its claim to fame is that Jeanne d'Arc was imprisoned there for one night on her journey to Rouen in 1430.) Jean de la Chapelle describes the chateau as having four large towers and eight small ones. In addition, he writes that Gilles had ponds made, had them stocked with fish, and walled in an area of adjacent land in which he had animals placed for hunting (Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 124). ("...fecit aedificare multa magna et sumptuosa aedificia, videlicet castellum de Drugiaco in quo composuit quatuor magnas turres et octo parvas. Ipse fecit componere ibidem stagna ad nutriendos pisces dulces. ...et murare decem jornalia nemoris contigui ad nutrienda animalia sylvestria.")

[48]In addition to the royal letters of the second half of the thirteenth century noted above, Gilles went to Blanche when Louis IX was off on a crusade for a decision on a matter regarding the jurisdiction of the abbey in disputes within their land holdings at the edge of the town. She ruled in favor of the abbey (Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 125-126).

Gilles died in 1292 (the date of 1290 given by Jean de la Chapelle seems to be a mistake because he also wrote that Gilles ruled for thirty-five years, which would mean he could not have died before 1292) and was buried in a tomb in the chapel of Saint Laurent, in the south aisle, near the entrance to the cloister and before the dormitory (Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 129). "...et sepultus est in capella beati Laurentii, circa introitum claustri et ante dormitorium."

[49]Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 124. "Fuit magnus pater familias. Ipse subjugavit maiorem, scabinos, burgenses et communitatem hujus villae dicentes se habere banleucam in villis et territoriis nostris usque ad terminum unius leucae, quod non erat verum; et infinitas quaestiones et processus contra ipsos promovit in judicio, eos semper vincendo et superando, mediante justitia et judicio."

[50]Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 124. "Fecit dedicare capellam sancti Andreae per episcopum Atrebatensem anno Domini 1274."

[51]While Jean de la Chappelle records this event, the first document recording the right of the abbot to carry the body of Christ in procession is from a 1334 entry in the Cartulary. Appendix A, Chap.14.

[52]A. Thierry includes a synopsis of these articles in *Recueil des documents inédits de l'histoire de Tiers Etat*. (See footnote 34 above.) The agreement was ratified by the king in 1330. See also Appendix A, Chap. 21 for partial entry of the 1318 agreement.

[53]The penalties were immediate and efficacious. The penalty for not paying one's taxes was the removal of one's doors, windows and wellheads. At the time of payment, the offender had to make a public statement of remorse to the abbot, or in his absence, a

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monk-priest If one trespassed on the abbey's wheat fields during harvest time, the abbot could have one arrested and jailed.

[54]According to the cartulary record of the event, Mumotus du Braly, nephew of the abbot had been beaten up by several townspeople after he had made fun of them while wearing a mask. He took refuge in the abbey but they continued to attack, throwing stones against the door of the church and shouting "to the towers, to the towers." This incited more people to come, fully armed with stones and strongbows. They gained access to the church by laying straw against the portal and setting it on fire. Once in the church they broke open and destroyed chests and stole money and silver belonging to the abbot. Appendix A, Chap. 21.

[55]A similar event of 1385 is noted in the cartulary as a complaint to the king. Having angered some people, a relative of the abbot sought refuge on the threshold of the abbey. Although the crime of the refugee was never in dispute, the abbey argued that the threshold was part of the abbey and therefore was both holy and beyond the legal limits of the commune. Appendix A, Chap. 21. (There is no document reporting the decision of the king and the outcome of this event.)

[56]Crécy-en-Ponthieu lies approximately fifteen kilometers northwest of Saint-Riquier. A large detachment of the French army crossed the old walls of Centula on their way to the battlefield. It is written that 30,000 men died at the battle of Crécy on August 26, 1346. Prarond, *Histoire*, 57.

[57]Jean de la Chapelle recounts many of the events that had been noted from the tenures of the abbots. Bauduin de Guessart (1318-49), a party to the above-mentioned agreement, also came to agreements regarding the moats and fishing rights with one of the abbey fiefs, Bray-sur-Somme. In addition he arranged to have the convent of Dommartin pay the grain owed the abbey. The entry for the abbacy of Gautier de Guessart (1349-57) is filled with historical accounts of the early years of the war, though mention is made of Gautier having the privilege of exemption of the mitre, the cross and lamb and sandals reconfirmed in Rome. Pierre d'Alouenges (1357-60), had the "basse salle" constructed and painted with the arms of the *hommes liges* of the abbey. It is not known where this room was, although it was his residence, suggesting it may have been just to the southwest of the church, where a later abbot's residence was constructed. D'Alouenges is also known for agreements he worked out with the abbeys at Chevincourt, Dommartin and Val d'Abbeville (Prarond, *Joannis de la Capella*, 132-37).

[58]Prarond, *Joannis de la Capella*, 140-41.

[59]These are listed in BN, Collection Picardie, MS 57, fol. 118v - 119v. The standard oath of allegiance is also provided in Latin and French. The French follows: "tient et avoue tenir de M. l'abbé et couvent de Saint-Riquier, par hommage de bouche et de main, par service de Roussin, de soixante *sols parisis* de Relief, et vingt *sols parisis* de Chambellage, le tout faisant cinq *livres*, et par les plaids par les autres hommes-liges de la

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dite église de quinze en quinze jours quand il est suffisamment ajourné." See also, De Bonnault, 7.

[60]Whereas the entry for most abbots was a paragraph or two, Jean de la Chapelle divides the entry for Hughes Cuillerel into seven lengthy descriptions of events. Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 143-59.

[61]Prarond, *Histoire*, 64. Although these oaths were taken, not all the citizens of these cities were sympathetic to the Anglo-Burgundian forces.

[62]Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 155-56. Prarond notes that this acquisition is recorded in the Inventaire des titres. Supposedly a bronze statue was placed in the garden, as it was recorded that in 1554, it was melted down for canons (*La topographie*, II, 94-95). The cartulary records thirty-nine letters and receipts regarding the acquisition of property in Abbeville. Appendix A, Chap. 58.

[63]Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 155-56.

[64]See Chapter 1, footnote 4 for bibliographic information about Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle and Appendix C for excerpts relating to construction.

[65]J. Hourlier, "La vie monastique," in *Saint-Riquier, II, Chronique de Pierre le Prestre Abbé de Saint-Riquier et Commentaires* (Saint-Riquier, 1971) 76. He notes also that the only mention of episcopal authority is a brief reference to an exemption disallowing the Bishop of Amiens from entering the church during the ceremony in which Pierre became abbot. The bishop gives a benediction and then accompanies the abbot to the parvis of the church. Here, before the doors are opened, the Bishop of Amiens is required to say out loud that he does not intend to infringe on the rights and liberties of the monks and that he will respect their privileges and jurisdiction. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville*, 400 and *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, VI, 1457, 10-13.

[66]The only event that even hints of strife was the requirement in 1465 for the abbot to either provide watchmen on the town walls, or pay the town to provide watchmen. There were to be eight watchmen, of whom three were to be at the town gates during the day and five at night. *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, entry 1465, Chap. X. Also recorded in Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 169. This practice was not new. Two items, dated 1416 and 1417, in Chapter 21 of the Cartulary (Appendix A) pertain to the obligation of the abbey to help in paying for the watchmen at the gates during the day and on the walls at night.

[67]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XIV, 1471, 20. According to the chronicle the English not only brought much physical destruction, they also ate all the cats of the village, preferring them to rabbit.

[68]According to a story by Pierre he was traveling through the forest of Crécy when before him advanced a large number of enemy troops. He could not run because of illness so he

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hid in the woods. There he found a vast number of silver vases and precious objects. Despite hundreds of troops passing by, he was not disturbed. Taking this as an omen from God, Pierre composed himself and returned to the abbey immediately setting himself to its repair. *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XV, 1472, 27-28.

[69]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XVI, 1473, 33. The chronicler is careful to point out that no one went hungry, even when they could not afford to pay for the grain.

[70]According to Louandre, the French troops led by the Sire of Picquigny were allowed in the town with the promise that they would bring no harm. Once inside they began stealing from the townspeople and abbey. The Burgundians pledged to come and help defend the town, while also re-securing the allegiance of the people, but in the meantime were called away to fight Louis' troops along the coast, again leaving the town undefended. Without opposition the French forced the townspeople to flee and pillaged and burned the town, melted down the bells and ravaged the abbey. (Louandre, 338-41; and Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 177-80) During this occupation the abbot stayed in Saint-Omer and bought a house near the abbey of Saint-Bertin.

[71]Appendix C, 1475.

[72]Perceiving the French as enemies to the abbey, in December of 1477 Pierre went to Maximilien, Archduke of Austria, and Marie of Burgundy, his wife, requesting assurrances of safeguard for the abbey and its property. *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XX, 1477, 59. (Although the assurances were granted it seems that as the abbey was in French territory the assurances were meaningless.)

[73]A dispute marred the first years of Eustache's tenure. Another monk at the abbey, Jacques de Haudrechies, who had served as prevost and was much admired by the monastic community, felt he should have been appointed abbot. Eustache, though having been at the monastery since he was five years old, was relatively young and inexperienced in administrative matters. Eventually the situation was settled by the intervention of Pope Sixtus IV who confirmed Eustache's appointment and appointed Jacques abbot of the abbey of Saint-Valery-sur-Mer. Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 187-88.

[74]Michele Bordeaux studied the damage resulting from the Hundred Years War and devised two graphic images to describe her findings. In a map showing the "Damage of the War" the west portion of Picardy is labeled "Ruined Zone," while Rouen is labeled "Zone of Significant Destruction," and Paris as "Zone of Medium Destruction." In another graphic, the author shows "The Construction and Reconstruction of Religious Buildings during the fifteenth century." Northern Normandy and Picardy are shaded to indicate that forty to sixty workshops were active in the area, whereas the area surrounding Paris, Meaux, Sens and Reims had ten to twenty active workshops. The figures referred to are figure B and figure N, respectively. Her source for the number of active workshops is C. Enlart's *Repertoire des eglises de France*. M. Bordeaux, *Le Patrimoine ecclésiastique à la fin du moyen-age, évolution économique des diocèses et*

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abbayes de France aux XIVe et XVe siècles, thesis for doctorate in law (Paris, 1969).

[75]J. N. Hare has studied the role of southern English monasteries as landlords. He notes that in the later fifteenth century there is a change from monasteries actively farming to leasing land and obtaining payment in cash or crop. His research revealed that generally the lands first leased were either newer acquisitions not accustomed to providing food for the abbey, or were the more distant land holdings. By the last decade of the fifteenth century leasing had become so standard that forty year contracts were common. Despite the increased leasing of land, in England many abbeys maintained large flocks of sheep, presumably for both the value of the wool as well as the meat. Although Picardy was also a large producer of wool during this period, there is no mention in the records of Saint-Riquier of sheep farming by the monastery. J.N. Hare, "The Monks as Landlords: The Leasing of the Monastic Demesnes in Southern England," in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society. Essays in Honour of F.R.H. Du Boulay*, ed. C. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1985), pp. 85-87.

[76]This list was published by De Bonnault in 1884 from various documents which he "had the good fortune to have in his possession." Unfortunately he does not provide any more information regarding the whereabouts of these documents. De Bonnault, 9-26.

[77]De Bonnault defines a *setier* of wheat as 133 liters, while sixteen *boisseaux* are in one *setier*. A *setier* of oats is slightly larger, containing 152 liters.

David Potter defines the values as slightly higher. He has found that one *setier* equals 156 liters (dry measure) and that twelve *setiers* are in a *muid*. According to his research, twelve *deniers* are in one *sol* and twenty *sols* are in one *livre tournois*. The *livre parisis* seems to have a slightly higher value, so that fifteen *denier tournois* equal one *sol parisis* (twenty *sols* are in a *livre*). D. Potter, *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy 1470-1560* (Cambridge, 1993) xv.

[78]The fines generated by this judicial role would have further increased the profits of the abbey.

[79]This reconstruction is covered in greater detail in Chapter 3.

[80]Unlike Pierre le Prêtre's profuse descriptions of political maneuverings and events, Eustache adds little of late fifteenth-century history or of his own contribution to the abbey to the chronicle he commissioned. In fact the entry for his own abbacy only describes the first few years of his tenure, ending with the appointment of Jacques de Haudrechies to Saint-Valery-sur-Mer. In 1489 Eustache had asked that Jean de la Chapelle compile a cartulary describing the documents that prove the abbey's rights, privileges and ownership of property. (Appendix A)

There is one mention of the master mason of the church. An expertise held at Amiens Cathedral in 1505 records that one of the consulting masons was Nicolas Lesveillé, master mason of Saint-Riquier. Durand notes that Nicolas Lesveillé met with Jean le Presvot, master mason of Corbie, and Pierre Tarisel, master mason of Amiens

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Cathedral, to examine the movement of piers in the Amiens choir. Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1937) 100. Unfortunately there is no other mention of Lesveillé in documents about Saint-Riquier or about Amiens Cathedral.

[81]Appendix A, Chap. 35.

[82]National Archives, JJ 219, pièce 6. A document from the Trésor des chartes records the establishment of the fair by Charles VIII. Bouthors, 239.

[83]Although without citing a source, Bouthors suggests that Thibault's appointment was primarily political. He writes that the governor of Picardy, Lord of Grutuse, intervened in the election process and convinced the religious to choose an abbot of a strong French family implying that the connections would be beneficial to the abbey. Bouthors, 243.

[84]Funding for Thibault's embellishments may have come from revenues received from a fair that was established by François I in a letter of the ninth of July, 1518. The fair was to be held on the third Wednesday of each month. (The author who cites this event, gives no documentation, so whether the fair was founded for the revenues of the town or for those of the abbey is unknown.) G. De Witasse, *Géographie historique du département de la Somme.*, vol. II, *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* VII (1919) 571.

[85]Dom Victor Cotron describes some of the elaborate liturgical furnishings offered by Thibault, according to a record of 1524. In addition to tapestries and liturgical vestments, he had a baldaquin of golden fabric draped over a square canopy and held by golden cords over the high altar. Adjoining this was a circular pavillion of crimson wool, called "umbella" by chroniclers, which shielded the suspended Eucharist from view during this part of the service. At Thibault's direction the wooden altar retable commissioned by Pierre le Prêtre was replaced with a sumptuous silver gilt retable costing 141 marcs and measuring 7 feet by 13 feet. *Chronicon Centulense*, V. Cotron, Bibliothèque de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, MS no. 170, f. 182. Jacques Foucart describes these decorations provided by Thibault in addition to those of other abbots. See Foucart, "La décoration du sanctuaire."

[86]Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 5260, fol. 55-55v. A notice of the funeral service, conducted by the Bishop of Amiens, is noted in the Cartulary. (Appendix A, Chap. 8)

[87]Prarond suggests that as Thibault reached seventy-six years old, the monks were anxious that he retire. There was discord among the monks, some were sympathetic to Thibault and others were scornful of his presence. The anxiety eventually led one monk to strike the abbot. It happened that just at this time the bishop of Rennes and confessor to the king, Claude Dodieu, was passing through. He noted the problems at the abbey and, as a man of politics and with aspirations of increasing his own wealth and prestige, took advantage of the turmoil. He went to the king saying that the belligerent monk should be removed, the other monks reprimanded and the abbot pensioned. His aim with these suggestions was that the king appoint him abbot of Saint-Riquier. Thibault was replaced

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in 1536 and died in 1539.

[88]The system of commendatory abbots has been described as "one of the worst abuses (that brought the decline of Benedictine monasticism in the late Middle Ages) ..., an outsider, not himself a monk, was appointed abbot of the monastery so that he could collect its revenues, though he did not live as a monk himself and did not perform the traditional role of an abbot." *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1980) 131.

[89]This retable, noted in note 82 above, was returned to the abbey at Dodieu's death in 1558, but then had to be sold in 1564 to pay the royal taxes. Its sale price was 2,336 *livres*. Foucart suggests that a painted wooden altarpiece from Amiens replaced it. Foucart, "La Décoration du Sanctuaire," 219.

[90]A manuscript entitled *L'abbe d'Aligre. Lettres et Mémoires* notes that the monks put tree branches along the east wall of the cloister and the north wall of the church, blocking off three eastern chapels, in order to carry out services. BN MS française 16.827, fol. 15.

[91]Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1937) 101.

[92]Monique Bugner notes that there were often problems when the reformers came to the monastery where monks already lived and worked. The Maurist Reform was widespread, affecting 157 abbeys and 36 priories. Almost all the Benedictine houses of France, with Cluny the most notable exception, were part of the reform. M. Bugner, *Cadre architectural et vie monastique des bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, (Nogent-le-Roi, 1984) 31.

[93]Jean-Denys Plouvier, born at Bapaume in 1601, was one of the most active of restorers for the Maurists. He was trained at Jumièges and restored several abbeys in Normandy, including Saint-Vigor in Bayeux, Saint-Wandrille and Fécamp. Rostand, writing about the Maurist reformers, suggests that Plouvier's plans show him to be more respectful of the existing architecture than most. A. Rostand, "L'Oeuvre architecturale des benedictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur en Normandie (1616-1789)," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* XLVII (1939) 98.

[94]The plans are catalogued N III, Somme 17, #4, #5, #7, #8, #9. Illustration 3 is plan #4, illus. 4 is plan #5, illus. 5 is plan #7, illus. 6 is plan #8 and illus. 7 is plan #9. The drawings are a mixture of truth, abbreviation and expectation. In the plans of 1663 (#4, #5, #7) Plouvier shows a proposed layout of the claustral buildings. The main plan (#4) shows the upper floor with the monks' cells around the east and south wings (illus. 3). Plans #5 and #7 show rooms that would adjoin the west and east galleries of the cloister (illus. 4 and 5). On the back of plan #5, a proposal for the entry way and adjoining rooms along the west gallery of the cloister, someone has written, "Nouveaux bastiments faites et à faire a Saint-Riquier en 1663."

In the plans of 1666 (#8, #9) he draws a more complex design showing the south edge of the church with the claustral buildings. Plan #8 shows the upper level (illus. 6).

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Plan #9 shows the lower level and the juncture with the church (illus. 7). Unlike plan #4, here the chapter house extends off the east gallery of the cloister.

[95]Cousin, 178.

[96]BN MS fran. 16.827, fol. 18v. The building, still standing, is four stories high. The library was on the third floor. Cousin writes that in addition to his restoration of the buildings and grounds, d'Aligre augmented the library's diminished collection by buying two private libraries, one from a man in Abbeville. Cousin, 177.

[97]Some of the expenditures included 32,000 *L* for the iron grilles, the choir stalls and the spire of the crossing, 45,000 *L* for the marble paving of the choir and encasing of the hemicycle piers, 4,000 *L* for the high altar in marble, 12,000 *L* for the paving of the nave, 65,000 *L* for the construction of the claustral buildings, 33,000 *L* per year for wood over eleven years, and many smaller sums of 250 to 2000 *L* for liturgical furnishings such as two missals, a cross, six chandeliers, paintings for the chapels, a large crucifix, etc. Cousin, 195.

Near the end of the reconstruction, perhaps as they were repaving the nave and choir, the tomb of Saint Angilbert was unearthed and d'Aligre had a reliquary made for Saint Angilbert's remains. This event is recorded in a copy of a letter tacked onto a seventeenth-century copy of the chronicle written by Jean de la Chapelle. BN, Collection Picardie ms 27, fol. 131-132.

[98]Rostand notes that generally the Maurists conformed to the architectural models of their predecessors, while at the same time creating a functional, subdued architecture. "Ils ne recherchent nullement à exciter le curiosité ou l'imagination, encore moins à imiter servilement une décoration que l'on ne goûtait plus. Quant aux intérieurs, on ne les connaît pas; on sait seulement qu'un certain confort—tout relatif d'ailleurs—était concédé aux moines." A. Rostand, "Les constructions mauristes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier," *Revue Mabillon* XLIX (1958) 203.

All construction undertaken by the Maurists had to be approved by the Superior General. Early in the reform movement, beginning in 1616, there were strict rules prohibiting excessive ornament. Decoration such as gold or painting was allowed only when it was absolutely necessary for the observance of the offices. As one sees in the projects of Charles d'Aligre these regulations had relaxed somewhat by the 1660's. With the prosperity of the monasteries, more elaborate reconstructions and new construction marked the later Maurist work. So much so that in 1769 a new constitution was drawn up putting limits on spending for construction. Rostand, "L'Oeuvre," 90-91.

[99]According to a restoration proposal of 1843 written by J. Herbault, the spire was lost sometime in the early nineteenth century. In the proposal he suggests reconstructing it on the model of the Amiens spire at a cost of approximately 50,000 *francs*. It has not been reconstructed. Amiens, Archives Départemental de la Somme, 1F. Saint-Riquier 4.

[100]T.H. Cocke, "'Gothique Moderne': The Use of Gothic in Seventeenth-Century France,"

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in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context. Studies in Honor of Peter Kidson.* ed. Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley, (London, 1990) 256-57. He notes also the issues of raising money (generally it is cheaper to rebuild what is already partly there than to start over) and the "principle of conformity," as crucial considerations in understanding the use of Gothic in the seventeenth century.

[101]Edelmann, writing in 1946, interpreted the taste for Gothic in the seventeenth century as a national sentiment. He is quick to point out that this "national sentiment" must not be confused with the nationalism of the early 1940's, but rather can be interpreted as "a strong impulse, a devotion distinct from mere loyalty to the king." N. Edelmann, *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France toward the Middle Ages* (New York, 1946) 46.

[102]Balandra, "Une visite," 123-32. The text of the travel journal in which Balandra found this description was published by Alexander Eeckman, "Un voyage en Flandre, Artois et Picardie en 1714, deprès le manuscrit du sieur Nomis," *Annales du Comité Flamand de France* XXII (1895) 336-572. Balandra proposes that the Nomis referred to is actually an anagram for Simon, who was the director general of fortifications and in charge of drafting the inscriptions placed on the gates of villages and citadels of France. He was born in Paris in 1654 and died in 1719.

[103]The manuscript he saw was indeed an evangeliary commissioned by Charlemagne for Angilbert. It is now in the Abbeville Archives, MS 4. There is some skepticism in Nobis' writing about this evangeliary. He remarks that the monks could not explain the use of the canon tables, claiming that they needed an exemplar of Eusebius to teach themselves how to read it. Balandra, "Une visite," 125.

[104]The description of the damage has been preserved in the form of a letter written only a few days after the fire by a monk, Petro Cresson. The letter is recorded in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Picardie. MS 27, fol. 64-65. The letter has been published as Appendix VIII of *Hariulf. Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier* by Ferdinand Lot. Cresson describes the ruin caused by the fire, including destruction of the dorter, the infirmary, the hospice and the library.

An organ was placed on the loft in the west tower in 1731, replacing an earlier organ. The organ was sold to the abbey by the monks of Chartreuve in the Aisne. From an entry in a late eighteenth-century inventory, now in the regional Monument Historique Archives in Amiens (25 H 2-5, fol. 165), it is known that an organmaker, Louis Labour, was hired to install the organ. "Marché fait entre ladite abbaye et le Sieur Labour facteur d'orgue, par lequel ce dernier s'oblige de faire rendre dans ladite abbaye l'orgue qui se trouvait dans l'abbaye de Chartreuve, et de rétablir ensuite ce qui se trouverait de défectueux moiennant 580 L. qui lui ont été paiées, du 30. août 1731." The organ has been repaired several times and completely restored three times (1857, 1925, 1960). M. Vanmackelberg, "L'Orgue de l'église abbatiale de Saint-Riquier," in *Saint-Riquier. I. Etudes concernant l'abbaye depuis le huitième siècle jusqu'à la Revolution* (Saint-Riquier, 1962) 159.

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[105]J. Estienne, "Quelques incendies de Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* (1959) 11-12.

[106]Gilbert, 57. Cauchy had the cloister destroyed. Because it had functioned as a buttress for the south side of the church, the remaining buttresses had to be reinforced.

[107]There was at least one storm that caused severed destruction in the late eighteenth century. Gilbert and Hénocque describe the destruction of a hurricane in 1800. The walls of the south transept were particularly hard hit, causing structural problems for the sacristy and chapter house. A flèche that had been constructed over the crossing had to be dismantled to relieve the stress on the lower structure. The materials were sold to pay for the repair of what remained. (Gilbert, 83 and Hénocque, IX, 365)

[108]Gilbert, 59. It was agreed that the establishment of the seminary would not only produce able priests, but would aid in the conservation and preservation of the building.

[109]While previous restorations had generally focused on repairing destruction caused by human conflict, the restorations of the last two centuries have been aimed at combating the effects of weather, erosion and decay. The soft stone from which the building is constructed is particularly vulnerable to the humid climate, so the restorers have had to concentrate on removing the water and moisture from the building.

[110]The total request was for 68,250 *francs*, of which 10,000 was for the first year and the rest was to be spent over the next five years. Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:1, letter dated June 20, 1818. Most of the restoration records are reproduced in Appendix E.

[111]Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:1, letter dated Sept. 13, 1818. He continues with more dimensions, adding vertical dimensions as well.

[112]Engravings made by Cheussey, departmental architect, in 1818 show the original state of the flying buttresses with their pierced arcades between the lower and upper flyers. Several of these flyers are now supported by wooden framing, making apparent the structural necessity of the "decorative" ramped arcades connecting the upper and lower flyers.

[113]Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:1, report dated April 12, 1828.

[114]Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 8925:2, 1843 report of Daniel Ramée, (p. 5). He goes on to note that the person in charge of the restoration, Cheussey, is not a architect of buildings, but was trained as a military architect to build bridges and roads. Noting the vast amount of lead used by Cheussey to channel the water away from the building, Ramée wonders whether a plumber was in charge of the restoration! (According to research undertaken by Jacques Foucart, Ramée was an architect from Beauvais. He studied under Vitet, the archaeologiSaint In 1846 he was working on the restoration of Amiens. J. Foucart, "Viollet-le-Duc et la Cathédral d'Amiens," *Bulletin de la Société des*

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Antiquaires de Picardie (1982) 174.)

[115]The notes of a meeting of 26 May, 1843 are kept in a file of "Process Verbaux" (chap. IV, p. 224) in the Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine Library in Paris.

[116]Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 8925:2, letter of Jan. 10, 1870. Dusevel notes that while the commission has sent 1000-1200 *francs* each year for the most urgent repairs, there are now too many repairs that have been put off and there is need for at least 30,000 *francs* to carry out urgent repairs.

[117]Sallez, "L'Oeuvre des Monuments Historiqes à Saint-Riquier," conference paper at *Congrès du XIIIe centennaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, 14. Sept. 1958 (Saint-Riquier, 1959).

[118]In 1964 Maimpointe provided a study of how the central portal and tympanum could be restored. He noted that an iron bar had been placed along the base of the tympanum and was now severely decayed. Maimpointe suggested that a new framework be created onto which the pieces of sculpture could be attached. Direction du Patrimoine, Dossier: Saint-Riquier/Somme.

[119]The author of the letter expresses frustration at the lack of progress of the restoration since the war. Scaffolding was still holding up the tympanum of the central portal, making it unusable. Stones of the tower seem about to fall and they have not been able to ring the bells for twenty years. He also feared for the safety of those inside the church because of loose stones in the webs of the vaulting. He noted particularly that despite the contribution of funds by the community, work was often never carried out. A letter of May 3, 1990 notes that the "provisionary" scaffolding holding up the central portal tympanum was still in place, despite the pleas of 1964 and 1969 for its removal and the repair of the portal. In 1991-92 the portal was repaired, and the Tree of Jesse sculpture of the tympanum has been replaced.

[120]Generally the money comes from three sources: the national government, the departmental government and the commune. For the tower the national government paid 50% of the bill, the departmental government paid 40% and the commune 10%. For the vaults, the national government paid 100% until 1982, because it was considered war damage. From 1982 onward, the national government has paid 55% of the bill, the departmental government 40% and the commune 5%.

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Chapter 3

The Construction–Layers of History in Stone

The aim of this description is to determine what influence, if any, the early constructions had on the fifteenth-century construction. The grand building of the Carolingian period described by Hariulf is long gone and the present building can only begin to hint at what came before. Nonetheless, there are clues, both archaeological and textual, that help in retracing the course of construction, providing one a sense of the building as it existed at the start of the late gothic campaigns. This chapter will look at the layers of construction preceding the late gothic building and then will look at the late gothic building itself. The early parts of the chapter rely heavily on information about the Carolingian and Romanesque buildings as they have been unearthed and discussed by others, whereas the description and analysis of the late gothic building rely on direct observation by the author.

The impression one receives when entering the church of Saint-Riquier is one of calm. The white stone, the broad proportions, the unity of composition all give a sense of repose in which there is balance between vertical and horizontal, between mural and sculptural. Upon closer examination one finds the fabric of the church is like a puzzle in which the pieces have been added and fit together over many centuries, spanning the

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medieval period. Excavations reveal foundation stones from the Carolingian and Romanesque periods. Foliate capitals of the late thirteenth century adorn the crossing and the transept clerestory. Although damaged and now supporting late gothic ribs, thirteenth-century foliate capitals decorate the hemicycle piers as well. Late gothic sculptural decoration of the nave, prismatic moldings of the ambulatory piers and vault ribs affirm the late fifteenth-century construction campaign. Finally, the profusion of ornament and detail on the façade reveals the sixteenth-century completion of the late gothic church. Despite these sometimes ill-fitted and other times seamlessly-fitted puzzle pieces, the unity brought by the consistency of plan and elevation provides a regularity and balance to the building.

The plan of the church, a three-aisled basilica with projecting transepts, radiating chapels and a deeply projecting axial chapel, is regular and straight forward (fig. 3).[1] The nave, nearly thirteen meters across, is approximately twice the depth of each bay and twice the width of each side aisle, resulting in rectangular nave bays of two to one proportions and square aisle bays.[2] The transepts, which project only slightly, share the same width as the nave, so their intersection results in a square crossing. The choir extends two bays beyond the crossing and terminates in a hemicycle of five turning bays. While the first straight bay of the choir adheres to the two to one proportion of the nave bays, the second bay is barely half as deep, resulting in an extremely narrow bay. The single aisle continues around the choir, with four chapels extending from the straight bays, and five chapels radiating out from the ambulatory. The axial chapel is particularly deep, continuing two full bays and terminating in a five-panel apse. The regularity of the plan suggests that it was designed and perhaps even the foundations were laid at one time, although parts of

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the upper structure are much later.

Like the plan, the two-story organization of the elevation is consistent throughout the church, unifying the space. Throughout the building there is a horizontal division between the arcade and the clerestory, marked by a continuous string course and an ornate, pierced balustrade. The foliate string course of the nave continues visually in the carved string courses on the west and east sides of the transepts and in a simple scroll drip-molding encircling the hemicycle. Above the string course, a balustrade which spans each bay with repeated circles of double-curve tracery initiates the second story of the elevation throughout the church.[3] Almost twice as high as it is wide, the nave is open and airy.[4] The broad openings of the nave arcade allow for expansive views across the church. Massive piliers cantonnés and compound piers of the crossing, nave and hemicycle give the building muscularity and sturdiness (illus. 8). This stable core is encased by a skeletal web of continuous filet moldings which form the piers, the wall responds and attached shafts, and the vault ribs of the ambulatory and aisles. There is a sculptural approach to the building, seen in the treatment of the wall surfaces with deeply-set windows and the application of both ornamental and figural sculpture, which is common to all phases of its construction. The unity brought to the building by the regular plan and consistent elevation is threatened by the juxtaposition of elements from the different phases of construction. The following sections of this chapter will untangle some of the complexity of the building by looking at each phase of construction, enabling one to appreciate the building as it existed for the late gothic mason and then to follow the steps taken by him.

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Carolingian Foundations

Despite the magnificent building that stands today, the abbey of Saint-Riquier is perhaps best known for the complex of buildings built during the Carolingian period. Surprisingly, this is not because they exist for one to study, but because an eighth-century description of their form and function has been fortuitously passed down in the writings of a monk at Saint-Riquier from the turn of the twelfth century, Hariulf. In writing the abbey's history in *Chronicon Centulense*, Hariulf included writings by Angilbert, the abbot at Saint-Riquier during the Carolingian period, and Anscher, abbot early in the twelfth century. These writings, Angilbert's *Libellus* and *Institutio* and portions of Anscher's *Life of Angilbert*, contain accounts of the refounding of the monastery, the dedication of altars and the acquisition of relics by Angilbert (under the direction and patronage of Charlemagne), as well as information about the four liturgical stations of the church and a brief account of liturgical processions and rituals. Hariulf describes the monastic complex built by Angilbert in glowing terms.[5] He tells of the columns and beautifully crafted pavement of marble, the western tower dedicated to the Saviour and the eastern tower dedicated to Saint Riquier. He describes the layout of the abbey complex with three churches arranged at the corners of a triangular cloister. The largest church, dedicated to the Saviour and Saint Riquier lay at the northwest corner of the triangle, with the church dedicated to the Virgin to its south and the church dedicated to Saint Benedict to the east. The Scardon River crossed through the abbey property between the churches.

In addition to the written description of the abbey, there are three seventeenth-century engravings made from a drawing which originally accompanied Hariulf's text (illus. 9).[6] While potentially extremely useful, these engravings have been the source of

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much disagreement.[7] Scholars have presented possible layouts of the Carolingian abbey based on these engravings and on the texts preserved by Hariulf's chronicle. Wilhelm Effmann suggested that the Carolingian church had a basilican plan with double transepts, an extended semi-circular apse at the east and two large towers, one over the westwork and one over the eastern transept (fig. 4).[8] He based this suggestion on the textual and graphic evidence handed down by Hariulf and the archaeological evidence at the Carolingian abbey at Corvey. Though only a theoretical reconstruction, Effmann's conception of the Carolingian church at Saint-Riquier has taken on an aura of truth because of its consistent repetition and use as a point of reference. Kenneth Conant agreed with Effmann's assessment of the importance of Corvey and further suggested that the Corvey westwork, a two-story entrance and vestibule with twin stair towers, is the best surviving indication of the Saint-Riquier westwork.[9] Honoré Bernard has recently offered a new theory of the size and shape of the Carolingian church based on several excavations of the site.[10]

Bernard's excavations, beginning in the late 1960's, have concentrated in the east and west ends of the church with the aim of finding the foundations of Angilbert's church and the eleventh-century crypt. He notes that while often in the gothic period earlier foundations were destroyed and new ones built, at Saint-Riquier these early foundations are to a large extent still in place and in some locations still provide much of the support for the present church.[11] His discovery of a pair of pilasters just east of the radiating chapel NEIAII suggests that the easternmost wall of the Carolingian church crossed directly beneath the opening of the ambulatory to the axial chapel in the present church.[12] Bernard believes that these pilasters marked the easternmost point of the Carolingian

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building and later provided a frame for an opening made during the construction of a crypt during the eleventh century.[13] In a later excavation, Bernard investigated the relationship of the Carolingian eastern transept to the current transept. Having bared the foundations at the juncture of the eastern wall of the north transept and the north straight bay chapels, he found masonry typical of the foundations of the church of Notre-Dame, one of the Carolingian churches built at the abbey.[14] He uses the similarity of foundation here, unlike other types of foundation, to suggest that this juncture reveals the edge of the eastern transept of the Carolingian church. Directly opposite these discoveries, he found the masonry on the south side was substantially altered due to destruction of claustral buildings that at one time abutted this section. His most important discovery in this area came at the base of the juncture of the last straight bay chapel and the first radiating chapel (SIIEII).[15] There he found the cornerstone of a foundation lying under the present church, perpendicular to its east-west axis, and concluded that this marks the southeast corner of the Carolingian eastern transept.[16]

The unique plan and appearance of the west end of the present church and the fact that it is narrower than the nave raises important questions; questions that can perhaps be answered by understanding the previous building (refer to fig. 3). On the north side the first bay is slightly narrower than the remaining aisle bays. Extensive restoration of this bay reveals the repeated attempts to reinforce this wall, which is so crucial to the support of the tower, yet it does not explain its reduced width. Likewise, on the south side, the first two bays are narrower than the rest of the aisle, coinciding with the juncture of the church with claustral buildings.[17] Another incongruity of the west end is the way in which the nave arcades do not align with the buttresses of the tower as one might expect, but

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instead correspond to the stair turrets flanking each buttress.[18] On the other hand, the piers supporting the tower, do line up with the façade buttresses. Bernard suggests that these piers are built over those of the early sanctuary, indicating that the dimensions of the late gothic tower are based on a much earlier construction.[19]

In an effort to explain some of these inconsistencies and understand the original plan of the west end, Bernard embarked on excavations there in 1968. He found that under the north aisle wall the foundations are of the Carolingian type found at the east end and appear not to have been reinforced during the later medieval construction. In the debris surrounding these foundations he also ran across fragments of pottery, the form and decoration of which are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as the remains of a wooden window frame. He believes that these are remains from the late eleventh-century collapse of the Carolingian tower and its subsequent reconstruction in the twelfth century.[20] According to Bernard, the south aisle wall shows additional evidence of Carolingian foundations. The western wing of the claustral buildings, now the entranceway to the regional museum housed at the abbey, gives access to the exterior of this south wall. When an outer layer of plaster was removed from the wall, two distinctive courses of stone became visible. These courses, extending two bays, are quite unlike the gothic wall that rests on them.[21] Again, Bernard relates the stone to the foundations of the eastern transept and the small church of Notre-Dame, and suggests that they reveal the original level of the church floor. He points out that if this is the case, the level has hardly changed over the course of its history. Bernard believed these results to indicate the north and south extremes of the Carolingian western transept, although they were not entirely consistent with Effmann's reconstruction of Saint-Riquier.[22]

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Bernard began reconsidering the assumptions that Effmann had made as well as his own conclusions. Two factors led him to hypothesize that the western tower of the Carolingian church was neither square nor rectangular, but was in fact polygonal.[23] The similarity of treatment in the seventeenth-century engravings of the Notre-Dame tower and the towers of Saint-Riquier/Saint-Sauveur, led Bernard to believe that therefore, like the Notre-Dame polygonal structure, the towers of the larger church were also polygonal.[24] The other factor leading Bernard to suggest polygonal towers was the Easter liturgy as described by Angilbert. The liturgy in use by the Carolingians paralleled that in use at the Anastasis in Jerusalem, which took place in a centralized building at the west end of the religious complex marking the Crucifixion of Christ. He cites the work of Carol Heitz, who has shown that there are liturgical parallels between the Anastasis in Jerusalem and Saint-Riquier, and thus argues that one should expect physical parallels in the arrangement of spaces.[25] While the similarity of the Anastasis and Saint-Riquier is compelling, Richard Krautheimer has shown that it is neither definitive nor unique.[26] The many early medieval churches built as "copies" of the Anastasis in Jerusalem follow the original loosely, sharing only a centralized plan.[27] Thus for Bernard to say the building is a copy of the Anastasis provides little specific information about its form and appearance, and cannot be taken as evidence that it is a polygonal structure.

In 1987 Bernard began excavations in the western part of the church to locate the nave of the Carolingian church and to test his hypothesis that the western tower was polygonal. He excavated in three specific places: in the south aisle at the closed off portal leading to the cloister (near the conjunction of the Carolingian wall and the gothic aisle wall), under the west side of south nave arcade pier, sw4 (the nave pier directly southwest

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of the closed portal), and under the north-east side of sw6 (the south-west pier of the tower).[28] Based on his conclusions from these excavations, Bernard provides a new interpretation of the Carolingian structure, in which the western tower of the Carolingian church was octagonal at its core and encircled by a sixteen-sided ambulatory (fig. 5). Yet, there are problems both with his conclusions from the excavation and with his reading of other evidence.

His excavation under sw4 revealed foundation stones, which he claims reflect the "angle of an octagonal structure" with a diameter of approximately ten meters.[29] While it may be possible to ascertain the arrangement of the entire foundation from one stone, it is unlikely that a foundation stone would give such clear indication of the structure above. Additional evidence that Bernard uses to give support to his conclusions are seventeenth-century engravings of the abbey. As the two towers are portrayed the same way in the engravings, Bernard claims that the eastern tower was also octagonal.[30] Such a conclusion would suggest that the eastern transept was as wide as the western transept. Yet, according to Bernard's earlier excavations and observations of the north and south extremities of the eastern transept, it was considerably narrower than the western transept. He provides no new evidence to suggest that this earlier observation was incorrect. Given the fact that Hariulf's description of the eleventh-century work on the tower after the destruction wrought by the Normans only mentions strengthening the foundations and raising it in height, it seems unlikely that nothing of these unique towers remains and that their plan has no bearing on the later construction.[31] In addition, one must consider the use and meaning of the octagonal tower. From the early Christian period forward the octagonal form had specific imperial connotations. It was used by emperors in the

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construction of their private chapels; for instance, SanVitale in Ravenna, San Lorenzo in Milan and the Palatine Chapel in Aachen, which was contemporaneous with construction at Saint-Riquier and also commissioned by Charlemagne.[32] In no instance was the octagonal tower used in pairs. Its use in the singular speaks to the dominance of the emperor and his unique connection to God. For this reason and due to the minimal archaeological evidence that Bernard uses to propose the paired octagonal towers, his proposal seems hardly more than hypothetical.

Clearly more extensive excavations are required to illuminate the possibilities and perhaps settle the issue. Until that time, it is safest to base ones ideas on what exists today. Using Bernard's excavations of the north and south foundations of the east and west transepts, still visible under the present church, one arrives at a plan not too far from Effmann's original proposal (fig. 6).[33] While earlier suggestions of the Carolingian plan have revealed a church generated from square modules, this plan reveals a square crossing, while the transepts, nave and apse are generated from the golden section or "root-2 rectangle" based on the diagonal measure of that square.[34] Most important for this study is to note how the Carolingian plan forms the base for later construction at Saint-Riquier. The first changes come in the eleventh century.

The Romanesque Church

The abbey suffered considerably from the Norman invasions of the ninth century.[35] Hariulf reports on much of this destruction and the necessary repairs undertaken in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He mentions that Abbot Gervin I (1045-75) had a crypt added to the church as part of a building project that included construction of monastic

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buildings in stone to replace wooden buildings.[36] Bernard found evidence of this Romanesque crypt constructed at the east end of the church in the eleventh century. Above, reference was made to Bernard's discovery of two Carolingian piers to the east of the Chapel of Saint Peter (NEIAII). These piers seemed to mark the eastern edge of the Carolingian building and Bernard suggested that they provided an opening to the north apse of the Romanesque crypt.[37] The north chapel of the crypt is defined by a semicircular foundation forming an apsidal space. Bernard notes that the eastern-most edge of this "chapel" is even with the east edge of the first buttress of the Virgin chapel. There appears to be no way to get into these chapels from the east, suggesting that if there was access in the later Middle Ages, one entered from a staircase descending from the ambulatory. Using these discoveries to the north and south of the axial chapel, Bernard proposes a plan for the eleventh-century crypt under the axial chapel. Hariulf describes the crypt as being supported with four piers and as having four altars, one at each of the four cardinal points. Based on work by Pierre Lebouteux at Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu, Bernard suggests that the central portion was a rectangular space with three chapels in niches along the east wall and one chapel to the west, under the high altar in the sanctuary above (fig. 7).[38] Most important about Bernard's discovery is that the eastern terminus of the crypt coincides with the first buttress of the late gothic axial chapel, suggesting the reuse of foundations, and coincidentally of measures, in the high and late gothic periods.

In addition to the construction of the crypt, the Romanesque period saw new construction at the west end of the church. Again, Hariulf provides the starting point of all investigations into the extent of construction. He writes that by the late eleventh century, during the abbacy of Gervin II (1075-97), large cracks had formed in the west

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tower requiring repairs that subsequently brought further damage. According to Hariulf the tower was then rebuilt on stronger foundations and to a greater height.[39] This brief account does not tell how much the structure itself changed from the Carolingian period to the Romanesque period. In fact the brevity of his discussion leads one to believe that the main changes were for strength and did not entail significant changes in the design of the westwork. The reconstruction and reinforcement of the west end is significant for the late gothic construction in that they allowed the tower to survive into the fifteenth-century.[40] Not until Abbot Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle of the late fifteenth century does one find further reference to repairs of the tower.[41]

Summarizing the situation of the church at the end of the eleventh century provides one with a sense of the building in the ensuing centuries. The original Carolingian plan with east and west transepts connected by a nave with single side aisles had been augmented with a crypt extending to the east of the church. The western tower, marked by a multi-layered, wooden superstructure, had been strengthened and raised higher. This church was set on fire in 1131 by Hugh Campdavesne, Count of Saint-Pol, in an effort to defeat his enemy, the lord of Beaurain, who had taken refuge in the abbey. Although Pope Innocent ordered that Count Hugh immediately repair the church, Abbot Anscher grew impatient and had new lead put on the roof himself.[42] The specific and localized nature of the repairs indicates that the structure of the building was not damaged significantly, and suggests that it remained in place until the next mention of reconstruction in the thirteenth century.

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High Gothic Campaign: the Plan

Records and archaeological evidence indicate that the next phase of construction came during the abbacy of Giles de Machemont, who governed the abbey from 1257 to 1292.[43] The reconstruction of the church in the late thirteenth century was a massive, if not unusual, undertaking.[44] While there is much more of the thirteenth-century building extant than of the Carolingian building, imagining the building of the late thirteenth century is still difficult. A comparison of the present plan of the church with the conjectural Carolingian plan reveals the fundamental changes undertaken in the last decades of the thirteenth century (fig. 8). An ambulatory, radiating chapels and a deep axial chapel were built around the earlier apse. The eastern transept was transformed into the straight bays of the new choir and a new transept was placed to the west, in order to enlarge the monks' choir. This unique solution enabled the mason to keep the cloister walk a reasonable length, despite the newly shortened length of the nave due to the relocation of the transept to the west. In addition the nave and side aisles were expanded, incorporating the width of the early western transept. The high gothic plan developed from the crossing, the functional and physical center of the church. Expanding outward from this square, the transept, nave and choir bays adjacent to the crossing form a second square, four times the size and enclosing the first.[45] Understanding how the late thirteenth-century masons arrived at this plan, given the church already standing, reveals interesting correlations between the phases of construction. As with any construction, one needs to add to the mix of constraints, the ingenuity and desires of the masons and patrons.

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The work of Linda Neagley at Saint-Maclou in Rouen and of Stephen Murray and James Addiss at Amiens Cathedral has shown the geometrical basis of gothic plan design.[46] Neagley has shown that Pierre Robin, the master mason of Saint-Maclou in Rouen, used a precise system of constructive geometry based on the rotation of squares to lay out all aspects of the compact plan of the church. On the other hand, as Murray and Addiss have demonstrated, medieval masons at times used constructive geometry in a less rigorous way. They suggest that at Amiens, Robert de Luzarches employed a more empirically determined system; a "collision between two systems of design: one based upon two great concentric circles..., the other forming the rectilinear grid system of the body of the building."[47] On the one hand, this "collision" of design systems allowed the masons to create a visually spectacular crossing, on the other it turned out to threaten the structural integrity of the cathedral.

At Saint-Riquier there seems to be a similar collision, or at least combination, of design systems at work in the plan (fig. 9).[48] Like Amiens Cathedral and Saint-Maclou, the crossing of Saint-Riquier is generated from a square, while the eastern end is based on a concentric construction.[49] Comparing figures 8 and 9 shows that the eastern edge of this square is coincident with the western edge of the Carolingian eastern transept, while the western edge lies at the division of the second and third nave bays of the Carolingian church. The crossing square covers the same east-west dimension as two bays of the Carolingian nave. To make the square the mason has expanded the north-south dimension to equal the east-west dimension. The aisles are approximately half the width of the nave bays, resulting in square bays.[50] The straightforward nature and simplicity of this design system based on squares lends a clarity to the design. The large square of the crossing is

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equal to four aisle-bay squares, and the larger square encompassing the crossing is equal to four crossing squares, or sixteen aisle-bay squares. This basic geometry continues down the nave with each nave bay equal to two aisle-bay squares. While on the one hand this modular approach seems quintessentially additive, the repetition of proportion ensures consistency throughout the design. In addition it makes use of the placement of foundations from the Carolingian construction.

A ten-sided polygon, or points along radiants set 36° apart, determine the placement of the hemicycle piers and the ambulatory piers. The center of this polygonal construction lies at the midpoint of the base of the hemicycle, coincident with the eastern edge of the Carolingian eastern transept.[51] Based on analysis of the plan, the radiating chapels are designed from a similar ten-sided geometric form. Each chapel is half of a ten-sided polygon with the centerpoint along the line that forms the base of the half polygon.[52] As at Amiens where angles are manipulated to allow sections to fit together and to allow for structural integrity, the lateral walls of each radiating chapel bend inward to allow for greater mass in the walls between each chapel which act as buttresses for the choir clerestory.[53]

The two systems used by the master, the concentric system of the hemicycle and the square system of the crossing intersect at the eastern piers, s1e1 and n1e1, of the western straight bay chapels, SIIEII and NIIEII. These chapels are particularly narrow, seemingly occupying left-over space over the Carolingian transept foundations after the wider straight-bay of the choir (SIIEI, SIEI, EI, NIEI and NIIEI) had been designed. As described above, the wider bay is the same width as the nave bays, and is part of the larger square formed around the central square of the crossing. While the purity of the square

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constructions of the crossing would seem to take precedence over other constructions, this narrow bay is not simply left-over space. In fact, it marks the intersection of the two geometrical systems. While it seems clear that the crossing square and its expansion determine the placement of slel and nlel, their position seems also to be determined by (or coincides with) radiants struck to the northwest and southwest of the baseline of the hemicycle. Using an angle of 18° (half of the angle used for the hemicycle and ambulatory piers), one arrives at the placement of slel and nlel.[54]

How did the high gothic architect get to the point of laying out these geometrical systems? A crucial measure seems to have been the east-west width of the Carolingian nave bay. By converting the first two bays to the west of the Carolingian eastern transept into one square bay, the high gothic mason determined the square governing the plan of the new church. Two crucial points in the laying out of the gothic plan are the midpoint along the eastern edge of the Carolingian eastern transept and the centerpoint of the new transept, the eastern edge of which was determined by the western edge of the Carolingian transept. Using a measure consistent with the proportional systems of the early church enabled the mason to reuse many early foundations, while at the same time adapting the church to current liturgical needs. Whereas the Carolingian church consisted of a relatively long processional nave, connecting two specialized altar areas, the plan of the high gothic church focuses on the monks' choir, bringing the observant from the west to the more sacred and more elaborate east end.

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High Gothic Campaign: the Construction

A precise chronology of the late thirteenth-century construction at Saint-Riquier is not available from existing documents, though the archaeological evidence does allow one to suggest a sequence of construction. Because of the intersection of abbey and church both physically and functionally at the cloister and south transept, it is logical to believe that the high gothic construction began there.[55] While it appears that construction proceeded from the intersection of cloister and transept to the crossing, and then to the hemicycle and nave, the actual design process more logically began with the crossing itself. The documentary evidence of this period records the dedication of the eastern straight bay chapel on the south side of the church in 1274.[56] Assuming construction continued throughout Giles de Machemont's tenure, this 1274 date marks a midpoint of construction. As it refers to a portion of the eastern end of the church, it indicates that construction moved from the crossing first to the east and then later to the nave.

Based on stylistic characteristics such as foliate capitals and compound piers of cylindrical shafts, the late thirteenth-century campaign included the crossing piers, the east and west walls of each transept arm and the hemicycle piers. Problematic are the nave piers, which owing to their pilier cantonné form are deeply rooted in the thirteenth century, yet their bases and capitals suggest a fifteenth-century origin. The radiating chapels, including the axial chapel, are based on the geometry of the thirteenth-century plan, yet the bases, shafts, piers and windows that compose these chapels are late gothic in character. The west tower, existing from the early church forward is crucial to the thirteenth-century plan and construction, and continues to play an important role in the late gothic construction.

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The crossing piers are typical of thirteenth-century architecture of northern France and owe their form to the increasing articulation of structure developed throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[57] The compound piers are composed of sixteen shafts with the diameter of each corresponding to its structural role (illus. 10). The base of each pier can be described as a series of horizontal layers corresponding to three parts: plinth, socle, and shaft base (illus. 11).[58] In general the layered base of each crossing pier rises approximately 80 centimeters, except for the northwest pier base which is only 70 centimeters high (see Table I).[59] Like the bases, the capitals of the crossing piers articulate each shaft (illus. 12). A double row of foliage encircles each capital. Despite the varied sizes of the shafts, the height of the capitals remains constant.[60] While following the general outline of the pier, the abacus emphasizes the diagonal shafts in that it forms a square over the diagonals with the corner pointing in the direction of the diagonal. The abacus recedes slightly over the smaller shafts, echoing their function as formerets.

The piers, lower terminal walls, and the east and west walls of each transept arm reveal details that date their construction to approximately the same time as the crossing. The piers marking the east and west bounds of the transepts (nlw, nle, slw and sle) share stylistic characteristics with the crossing piers (illus. 13). Each pier base is composed of three horizontal layers: a plinth formed by a cylindrical drum, a socle with a torus molding base and another narrower cylindrical drum, and a double torus base for each shaft (see Table I). Except for the base of pier nle, which measures nearly 90 centimeters, the transept pier bases measure approximately 70 centimeters. This is similar to the measure of the northwest crossing pier base (69 cm), but shorter than the other

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crossing pier bases, which measure approximately 80 centimeters.

The lower wall of the south transept continues the line of the aisle wall, separating the aisle from the exterior, and hides a complex arrangement of spaces revealing the intersections of several functional areas. One sees these functional spaces clearly in a section drawn for Durand's description of the building (illus. 14). A door at the east end of this wall provides access to the cloister, which lies several steps below the level of the aisle floor.[61] Because the cloister lies about a half-story below the floor level of the church, there is space for another room above the cloister gallery and under the tribune. This room was designated as the church treasury and still serves that purpose. Although the current wall separating the aisle and cloister is of the late gothic campaign, the ends of the wall are coursed in with the late thirteenth-century piers, indicating that there was originally a wall here (illus. 15).[62] This wall, covered with a screen of sculpture since the early sixteenth century, hides the treasury completely, assuredly not coincidental to the needs of the treasury. One gains access to the treasury by a stairway placed in the adjacent straight-bay chapel, SIIEI.[63]

Physical evidence on the exterior of the south transept suggests that the upper level of the cloister gallery provided another entrance to the treasury. The eastern gallery of the cloister connected to the church in the eastern bay of the south transept. From the exterior one can see that the eastern bay of the south transept at both the cloister level and the treasury level is treated differently than the two bays to its west (illus. 16, 17). At the cloister level there is no carved string course, the archivolts are less pronounced, and the cornice and sloped ledge are set slightly higher, while at the treasury level there is no balustrade and no window, excepting a very small round-arch opening.[64] Because of the

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disparities on both levels of the eastern bay, it is likely that the eastern cloister gallery was a two-storied structure, connecting the church to the claustral buildings at two levels.

Construction of the south transept continued above the treasury with the tribune. Delicately carved roses decorate the string course that runs beneath the balustrade around the transept at the tribune level (illus. 18). The balustrade, composed of double-curve pierced tracery, is a later addition, perhaps a replacement for a destroyed balustrade of the late thirteenth-century campaign.[65] The clerestory windows of the east and west walls begin directly above the balustrade, while on the south the tribune extends one bay to the terminal wall of the transept arm. The east and west clerestory windows fill only the north portion of each bay directly over the aisle leaving the southern portion of the bay as a solid wall, adding mass to the buttresses that support the high transept vaults. Rectilinear tracery fills the clerestory windows of the west and east walls. Each window is composed of two lancets subdivided into four smaller lancets with quatrefoil rosettes above each pair of lancets (illus. 19). The mullions of the small lancets continue down through a transom to the base of the window. Trefoil cusping delineates the window panels below the transom, repeating the forms of the lancets above. The design is a distillation of the nave clerestory windows of the abbey of Saint-Denis dating to the mid-thirteenth century.[66] The tracery of these windows has been restored to a large extent with chamfered moldings, especially where the stone and glass meet; for example, the cusping and the vertical mullions. The thick, rope-like tracery remains in places, especially around the oculi and the upper trefoils.[67]

Although the clerestory windows of the south wall of the south transept are late gothic, as is much of the wall surrounding them, the corner shafts of the transept are from

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the late thirteenth-century campaign (illus. 20). In each corner a single shaft, rising to the diagonal ribs of the transept vault, is flanked by a pair of smaller shafts, the formerets framing the walls of the transept. Decorating each of these three shafts is a capital sculpted with a double band of foliage. The capital of the diagonal shaft is placed lower than the other two capitals, reflecting the lower springing of the diagonal arch versus the higher springing of the smaller, less steep wall arch. Although according to records the present vaults over the transept are a product of the seventeenth-century restoration, these high capitals and the thirteenth-century tracery in the transept clerestory windows provide evidence that this area was probably vaulted during the late thirteenth-century campaign.

Unlike the walled lower level of the south transept, the lower level of the north transept is open. As on the south, the space is divided into three bays of equal width. Cylindrical shafts and foliate capitals in the northwest and northeast corners of the transept arm indicate that it was built in the same campaign as the crossing and south transept. Changes made as part of the early sixteenth-century work on the transepts and of later restorations make it difficult to understand the nature of the space during the late thirteenth century. At some point an opening was made in the center bay of the north wall: perhaps it was original to the high gothic plan allowing access to the church from the north. On the interior the sloping ledge and cornice running under the chapel windows are cut out at a former opening in the form of a segment arch, while on the exterior a filled arched opening is still apparent (illus. 21).[68] A window filled with flamboyant tracery spans the upper portion of each of the three bays. The east wall of the north transept is filled with ornate blind tracery composed of a steep gable decorated with foliate crockets and capped by a flowering finial and enclosing a series of superimposed figures, including

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a double-edge trefoil, a quatrefoil and an elongated trefoil (illus. 22). Superimposed over the entire composition and nestled under the arch of the vault are two trefoils and a quatrefoil.[69]

Based on stylistic characteristics, such as the double row of foliage decorating the capitals, the hemicycle piers have been included in the late thirteenth-century campaign, although adaptations of the piers over the subsequent centuries make it difficult to date them securely.[70] Because the placement of the hemicycle piers is integral to the plan of the entire church it seems that at least their positioning was determined early in the thirteenth-century campaign. The piers stand on high bases to compensate for the higher level of the choir floor, which rises up five steps at the line drawn between ne1 and se1 (illus. 23). Each base consists of a high plinth of approximately 90 to 95 centimeters, raising the socle to the level of the choir floor (illus. 24 and see Table II). A torus and scotia molding initiate the socle which rises another 20 centimeters (fig. 12). The plinth and socle are polygonal in form, while the base and shaft are cylindrical. The base of each shaft consists of a scotia, a flattened torus and another scotia.[71]

Each of the piers is formed by a cylindrical core flanked by colonnettes of various dimensions, various placements, and various silhouettes. The reason for the odd arrangement of the colonnettes around each pier is not readily apparent; Durand describes it as "an absolutely inexplicable irregularity."[72] While the abruptly cut-off colonnette segments and the setbacks of the colonnettes are difficult to understand, there does appear to be an underlying regularity and a systematic approach to their placement around the cylindrical core. Piers ne1 and se1, marking the western bay of the choir share the same arrangement, while all the piers of the turning bays share another arrangement (fig. 10, A-

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B). All eight piers have a central cylindrical core around which are arranged four principal shafts, which correspond to the transverse arches of the hemicycle, the ribs of the choir vault and the transverse arches of the ambulatory.[73] Secondary shafts are placed between the principal shafts to express the diagonals of the ambulatory vaults. For ne1 and se1, where the bay is square, these shafts are equidistant from the principal shafts, whereas on the other six piers the shafts are directly adjacent to the ambulatory shaft, as seen in these photographs of se1 and ne2 (illus. 25, 26). This placement of the shafts stems from an attempt to deal with and express the complex geometry of the turning bays of the ambulatory. The foliate capitals and prominent abaci reinforce this interpretation of the piers. The capitals are treated as band capitals, encompassing each pier in double rows of robust foliage in the form of oak, maple, parsley, grapevine, and hawthorn, except for the shaft facing the choir, which remains undecorated except by the horizontal molding of the abacus. The capital is particularly tall on the choir side of each pier with two rows of thick foliage. The capital continues at this height over the shafts of the hemicycle transverse arches, but here three rows of slightly tighter foliage cover the capital. On the ambulatory side, the capital is reduced in height, has only two rows of foliage and is beaked. The abacus juts out over the capital in sharp angles on the ambulatory side, directing one's eye to the diagonals of the turning bays. It follows a much smoother outline around the choir side of the capital.

The most confusing aspect of the hemicycle piers is the abrupt cut-off of many of the shafts into short segments supported by foliate and figural *cul-de-lamps*.[74] Although one might like to assign this apparent butchering of the pier shafts to a post-medieval date, the *cul-de-lamps* are stylistically consistent with late thirteenth-century sculpture of the

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transept arms.[75] As in the positioning of the shafts, the set-back and cut-off colonnettes of ne1 and se1 are treated differently from the other six piers. On these two piers, all the shafts except that of the ambulatory transverse rib are cut off just below the level of the capital (fig. 10A). Below the cut-off of the single shaft on the east side of each pier a single set back shaft connects to the base. Below the cut-off shaft on the west side of each pier (facing the crossing), there is a shaft flanked by two smaller shafts, all three set back under the initial single shaft. On the choir side, where there was a shaft with flanking shafts there is a single, set back shaft below the cut-off. Foliate *cul-de-lamps* mark the cut-off of these shafts, except for the east shaft of ne1 which has a greenman face with a bridle bit in his mouth. On the ambulatory side of ne1 and se1, the shafts from the diagonal ribs have *cul-de-lamps* with carved busts and no shafts below. The six piers of the turning bays are less complex in this sectioning of the shafts (fig. 10B). On the choir side and the sides under the hemicycle arcade, the shafts appear to continue to the base without interruption, though much of each shaft is hidden by the marble facing and the choir screen, both added in the seventeenth century. On the ambulatory side, the shafts of the diagonal ribs are cut off nearly a meter from the lower edge of the capital. At this point there is a sculpted *cul-de-lamp*, except for sa2, where the block of stone remains uncarved. The *cul-de-lamp* covers the transition to a set-back shaft that continues below. It is as though the entire three shaft composition of main shaft and flanking shafts has been squeezed outward, away from the choir and into the ambulatory, to give the pier a more pronounced silhouette, distinct from the flatness of the choir screen.[76]

The arches of the hemicycle arcade are steeply stilted, so that despite the relative narrowness of each turning bay opening the arcade rises almost to the level of the string

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course directly below the clerestory. Durand remarks that the profile of the hemicycle arcade moldings is the same as that of the arches opening out onto the crossing and transept, and characteristic of the thirteenth century.[77] The ambulatory vaults show a mixture of thirteenth-century and sixteenth-century profiles, proving that the hemicycle and ambulatory both existed in the thirteenth century (fig. 11, A-B). An illustration of the vaults over bays A and SEIAI show this juxtaposition of round and elongated ribs (illus. 27). For instance, the diagonal rib between sa2 and s1a1 has rounded torus moldings typical of thirteenth-century ribs, while the transverse rib between sa2 and s1a2 has an elongated, sleeker form typical of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century moldings. Also visible in this illustration is the juncture of earlier ribs rising from the hemicycle piers into the reconstructed ribs stretching over the ambulatory vault, revealing that much of the ambulatory vault was reconstructed along with the reconstruction of the ambulatory piers and radiating chapels.

The straight bays of the ambulatory and the straight bay chapels were also constructed in the late thirteenth century, although much of the articulation one now sees dates to the late fifteenth century.[78] For instance, the transverse arch from s1e1 to s1e, at the opening of the eastern straight bay chapel on the south side, SIIEII, has rounded moldings as seen in figure 11A rather than the streamlined moldings of the remaining chapel openings as seen in figure 11B. This archaeological evidence is backed up by the record of the dedication of this chapel to Saint Andrew in 1274.[79] The proof of the construction of this chapel lies not only in its dedication, but also in its crucial location. This chapel and the other straight bay chapels are built over Carolingian foundations and are an important result of the geometry by which the east end was designed. The location

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of these bays and chapels was predetermined by the placement of the hemicycle piers as well as by the placement of the crossing and aisles.

The elements described above do not include the radiating chapels or the axial chapel, yet because of the integrated nature of the plan, their position had to have been determined by the late thirteenth-century campaign.[80] Because some elements of thirteenth-century vaulting remain in the ambulatory, it is likely that the ambulatory piers were constructed during this campaign. Although based on pier and rib moldings the present radiating chapels and axial chapel could not have been constructed before the last decades of the fifteenth century or the first decades of the sixteenth century, there is documentary evidence that an axial chapel already existed before this late gothic construction. The chronicler of Pierre le Prêtre's abbacy records that in 1460, Abbot Pierre le Prêtre made several commissions for a chapel of Notre Dame. These included an altar, new chairs and painting of the high vaults, as well as the carving and painting of the sepulchre that is in the chapel of Notre Dame and the construction of an oratory for the placement of the sepulchre.[81] In addition, there is a document of the late fifteenth century that mentions the chapel of Notre-Dame that "Pierre le Prêtre had changed."[82] Archaeological evidence of an earlier axial chapel is more difficult to ascertain. There is an arch embedded within the north and south walls of the first bay of the axial chapel (AI), walls that are part of the buttresses for the hemicycle clerestory (illus. 28 and 29).[83] Although the arches do exert a counter thrust to the ambulatory vaults on the other side of n1a2 and s1a2, the sheer size of the buttress minimizes the structural need for these arches. Instead, they offer a suggestion of the height of the walls of an earlier axial chapel. On the west side of each wall the coursing above the embedded arch is laid following the

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curve of the arch suggesting that the arch was used as a supporting frame in an effort to raise the height of the wall. On the east side of each wall, the coursing, neither aligned with the coursing of the west side or with the lower portion of the wall, does resume straight rows.[84] If one can assume from these documentary and archaeological clues that an axial chapel existed from the thirteenth century, then one must consider the possibility that the radiating chapels had also been constructed.

There is no doubt from the documents that the church had suffered tremendously over the centuries. Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle makes several references to this demolition, though it is difficult to know its extent. According to the 1476 entry by the chronicler, while the Duke of Burgundy lays siege to Nancy, Pierre le Prêtre devotes his energy to the repair of the church demolished by war.[85] Earlier in this same entry, the chronicler reports that repairs began in the choir and crossing, which although three hundred years old, seemed as new as if it had been built only ten years before.[86] While this may be hyperbole to justify keeping the older portion of the church, it perhaps also speaks to the dilapidated or incomplete state of the rest of the church.

Picturing the nave of the thirteenth century is problematic; on the one hand there are hints of its presence in the late gothic construction yet on the other, it seems that so little of it remains.[87] The proportions of the nave bays are derived from the geometry that defines the plan of the crossing and east end (which in turn are derived from the original Carolingian dimensions). Yet the bases, with their high, scooped plinths are not characteristic of thirteenth-century bases. Likewise the capitals, with thick, twisting oak and vine vegetation and figures in fifteenth-century dress, can not have been carved before the late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth century. The still-standing western tower

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provided an end point for the nave, but otherwise seems to have had little impact on the thirteenth-century construction. Neither thirteenth-century nor fifteenth-century documents mention the construction of the nave, leaving the building itself as the sole source of information.

Looking again at figure 8, a plan of the gothic church overlaid with the Carolingian plan of the church, one sees that the Carolingian nave piers stand slightly inside the north and south bounds of the gothic crossing. The new crossing piers would block the Carolingian aisles and the Carolingian nave piers would block the new crossing. While the Carolingian nave piers could indirectly support the gothic crossing during construction, they would soon be in the way. Therefore, it seems likely that the Carolingian nave was gradually replaced with a broader, higher gothic construction; first the crossing and then the nave. The cloister would have been an important factor in this phase of the building process. This core of the monastic complex was situated along the south aisle of the early church between the two transepts. The widening of the church and the relocation of the eastern transept in the late thirteenth century caused the new north gallery of the cloister to be placed slightly to the south of the early north gallery, enabling the intersection of the cloister and the south transept arm. In moving the north gallery of the cloister the masons had to determine the placement of the south aisle wall. It is clear how the high gothic masons intended the nave to be built, but what remains unclear is how much of the gothic nave was built during this phase of the construction, or how much of it remained at the start of the fifteenth-century campaign.

At the end of the late thirteenth-century campaign one can see a church partially rebuilt. The crossing and transept are completed, including vaulting. The hemicycle,

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enclosing the monks' choir and high altar, is completed to the arcade level. The straight bays of the choir were completed, including the chapels off the ambulatory. Less certain is the state of the turning bays of the ambulatory and the radiating chapels. Given that they are integral to the east end design and that there are remnants of thirteenth-century vaulting in the ambulatory, it seems that the ambulatory piers were constructed, the ambulatory was vaulted and the foundations of the radiating chapels were built. As indicated above, the axial chapel was also constructed, though a smaller version of the late gothic chapel. The nave piers and walls were completed only partially before work came to a halt.[88]

Late Gothic Campaign

The late gothic campaign of construction can be understood as an encasing of the high gothic church. The following analysis of this campaign will show the extent to which the late gothic church relied on the existing structure, as well as the extent to which it makes reference to the earlier structure(s). The masons of the late gothic church were faced with the challenge of at least restoring, if not completing, a fragment of a building that had been standing for nearly two hundred years. While the first phase of construction seems to have focused primarily on restoration, the second phase (under a new patron) indicates a rethinking of the purpose of the construction and an attempt to complete the building.

Histories of the abbey dating as early as the seventeenth century record that the building campaign lasted through the abbacies of three abbots, Pierre le Prêtre, Eustache le Quieux and Thibault de Bayencourt (1457-1536).[89] Abbot Charles d'Aligre (1645-95),

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responsible for the restoration of the church and abbey in the late seventeenth century, writes that "les trois derniers abbas reguliere" undertook a magnificent rebuilding of the abbey and above all of the church, though it was destroyed again as soon as 1554.[90] Beyond this broad assignment of credit to the three abbots, there is little discussion of which abbot is responsible for which part of the construction due to the paucity of documentation. Subtle and not so subtle distinctions of style become the basis for the chronology of the late gothic campaign and the assignment of responsibility to each abbot.

Pierre le Prêtre was abbot of Saint-Riquier from 1457 to 1480.[91] A chronicle written near the end of his twenty-three year abbacy, records many of the political and religious events of the second half of the fifteenth century that had some impact on the region around Saint-Riquier.[92] In addition to numerous references to political events and battles, Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle provides information about his contribution to the reconstruction of the church and abbey. In 1457 work was undertaken to pave the entire church, repair the roof and rebuild the abbot's chateau at Drugy.[93] There is record of his commissions for the Chapel of Notre-Dame in 1460, and by 1465 his attentions had returned to repairs of Drugy. By 1472 Pierre le Prêtre's health was failing and he wrote a will. In this will he provided for the purchase of ornaments for the church including an altar and liturgical vestments, as well as a perpetual mass to be read weekly in the Chapel of Notre-Dame. In 1473 repairs of the walls, the gardens and other areas of the abbey occupied the abbot. Late in 1475, after the troops of Louis XI had burned and plundered the town and abbey, repair efforts turned again to the church.[94]

Restoration began by the founding of new bells, the replacement of burned masonry and work on the tower by three master masons. In 1476 the work on the tower

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had progressed to the point of ordering two boatloads of slate from Dordrecht for the roof. As this work drew to a conclusion, the masons moved to the crossing and choir.[95] The choir was provided with a new roof and wood was bought from Ireland to wainscot the choir and construct new stalls to replace the destroyed stalls. The fact that most references of Pierre le Prêtre's patronage are of liturgical items and church furnishings leads one to wonder if one can credit him with the new construction of the late gothic campaign. The ruin brought by war and time does not seem to have required a complete rebuilding of the church. In fact his chronicle explicitly states that he devoted himself to the *repair* of the church.[96] Political events hindered any further repairs. In 1477 the Duke of Burgundy was defeated in Nancy and the Somme region was returned to Louis XI. The abbey had long been a devoted partisan of the Burgundians and the king and the abbot had never been on good terms, so during one of the abbot's absences from the abbey, the king gave the abbey and its revenues to his own doctor, Angelo Cattho de Sopino, Cardinal of Vienne.[97] Abbot Pierre le Prêtre remained in Saint-Omer where he had taken refuge and died three years later in 1480.

As important as Pierre le Prêtre was to the maintenance and restoration of the church in the mid- to late fifteenth century, there is no documentary evidence to suggest that he envisioned a vast rebuilding of or addition to the church. Instead, the evidence suggests that he was devoted to repairing the church and maintaining its late thirteenth-century state. The vision of rebuilding and transforming the abbey church seems to belong to Eustache le Quieux, le Prêtre's successor.[98] Despite having a chronicle of the abbey written during his abbacy, Eustache's humility keeps him from taking credit for the construction of the church.[99] A fire of 1487, of which the cause is unknown, supposedly

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reduced the town and abbey to cinders. After this event Eustache immediately began the repair and rebuilding of the abbey.[100] The difficulty comes in knowing exactly how much of the church can be credited to Eustache. Writing in 1628, Dom Victor Cotron tells of Eustache's enthusiastic patronage and restoration of the church, though he does not mention specific areas of construction.[101] Using Cotron's chronicle of the abbey as his source Gilbert gives a relatively extensive account of Eustache's role in the reconstruction of the church after the fire of 1487.[102] He credits Eustache with the construction of the choir, the Virgin Chapel, the sacristy and the treasury, and the side aisles, as well as several abbey buildings such as, the chapter house, the refectory and the dorter. There is a clear stylistic break in the carved decoration of the western bays of the nave, suggesting that the nave and side aisles were the final parts of Eustache's campaign and that Thibault de Bayencourt took over at that point.

More difficult than determining the end of Eustache's campaign is determining its beginning. As described above, Pierre le Prêtre's reconstruction included the tower and the crossing. Logic would dictate that construction under Eustache began at the lower level and progressed up to the clerestory. Therefore, one must look first to the ambulatory, the ambulatory piers and the radiating chapels and then to the hemicycle and transept clerestories. The form and dimension of the ambulatory is a result of the high gothic plan. The juxtaposition of high gothic and late gothic is readily apparent in the ambulatory vaults. The ribs rising from the hemicycle piers to the ambulatory vault meet clumsily about one meter above the hemicycle capital, indicating the juncture of the thirteenth-century ribs with the fifteenth-century ribs (illus. 30).[103] On the other side, the shafts and formerets of the ambulatory piers rise to the vaults uninterrupted by capitals or

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awkward joints and fan out in elegant sprays of ribs (illus. 31).

It was suggested above that during the high gothic campaign there were ambulatory piers constructed in order to support the ambulatory ribs and the hemicycle, yet the bases and shafts of the piers now are entirely of the late fifteenth century. Sharing the same basic form and silhouette, the bases consist of a faceted plinth rising to a slightly flared concave molding which acts as a base for the socle above (illus. 32, 33). With more pronounced facets reflecting the number, size and direction of the pier shafts, the socles rise at least again as high as the plinth to the shaft bases. Trumpet bases, composed of two torus moldings connected by a flared surface, punctuate the upper layer of the ambulatory bases. With only a few exceptions, there are three sizes of trumpet bases on each pier (fig. 13-14). The largest, of which there is just one, corresponds to the ambulatory face of the pier. There are several medium sized bases for each pier corresponding to the diagonal ribs of the ambulatory. The smallest-size bases, of which there are several on each pier, correspond to the formerets of the diagonal ribs.[104] The dimensions of the bases are fairly consistent from one to the next, though the overall height ranges from 161.5 centimeters to 181.0 centimeters (see Table II). Except for the plinths, which are generally lower on the south than on the north, the measures indicate a north-south parallel.[105] The measures of s1e1 and n1e1 are similar, as are s1e2 and n1e2 and so on.[106]

Bases similar in style to these were used in the construction of the Saint-Wulfran nave, which dates to around 1502-1510.[107] A different, more successful, effect is achieved in that these piers support a tall, three-story nave vault rather than a one-story ambulatory vault (illus. 34). Because the Saint-Wulfran piers post-date the Saint-Riquier ambulatory

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piers by about a decade, they cannot be considered a source, but they do indicate a local understanding of constructing in this way and perhaps the same workshop.

As noted above, Bernard has discovered thirteenth-century foundations under the radiating chapels. As the visible interior and exterior masonry is of the late fifteenth century, either there was never any construction beyond the foundations, or whatever was constructed was destroyed in the fires of 1475 or 1487. The radiating chapels are relatively shallow and broad, not unlike those of Amiens Cathedral. Each consists of a five-panel space, the two side walls are formed by the buttress wall between each chapel and the three turning sides are glazed. Filet shafts, marking each corner of the space, rise from the floor to the six-part vaults above (illus. 35).[108] A heavy cornice formed from a thick torus molding in which its upper surface slants upward to the wall divides the wall in two. At the corners of the space the cornice meets the slanting window sill. This cornice encircling the walls of the radiating chapels scales down the height of the chapel spaces for the intimacy of the ceremony that is carried out within and like the prominent string course of the nave, provides a horizontal emphasis to a vertical space.

Based on documents dating to Abbot Pierre le Prêtre's tenure, an axial chapel was in place before the fifteenth century. Presumably the need for rebuilding the chapel came from the fire of 1487. The chapel of Eustache le Quieux's campaign is based on the foundations of the earlier high gothic chapel, but as suggested above was raised slightly in height. It extends well beyond the body of the church, while its width is determined by the high gothic east end design. The interior space is higher than the ambulatory, as can be seen when looking back at the entrance, where the western wall of the axial chapel rises above the arched opening (illus. 36).[109] There are three straight bays and an apse of five

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turning bays, based on the geometry of a twelve-sided figure.[110] The north and south walls of the first bay are solid, formed by the buttresses that support the hemicycle clerestory (illus. 28 and 29).[111] Tall windows fill the walls of the remaining bays, with three part windows in the second bay and four part windows in the last straight bay.[112] Each of the five turning bay windows is divided into two vertical panels. As with the clerestory windows, the lower third of the window is separated from the upper two thirds by a transom (illus. 37).[113] The top of each window opening, above and below the transom, is cusped. Flamboyant tracery fills the upper reaches of all the windows.

In 1823, when the abbey served as a seminary, the wainscoting of the turning bays was removed (illus. 38).[114] An oratory niche was found behind the wainscoting in the flat bay at the far east, perhaps replacing the one built by Pierre le Prêtre (illus. 39).[115] In addition a small trefoil cusped niche was found in the turning bay immediately to the south. Unlike the other radiating chapels, the shafts of the axial chapel do not rise from the floor to the vault, but instead begin at sculpted corbels, which are placed about a meter above the window sill. Statues of female saints stand on corbels placed at sill level and fill the space up to the rib corbel. Elaborate vaults cover the axial chapel (illus. 40). An eight-point star vault within a square covers the two western bays, while the eastern straight and turning bays are covered with a variation of a star vault. Half of an eight-point star vault, over the straight bay, joins with four radiating points over the turning bays. Painted roof bosses mark the intersection of the liernes and tiercerons.

With the radiating chapels and axial chapel in place, one can begin thinking about the hemicycle clerestory. The clerestory is a virtual wall of glass (illus. 41).[116] A simple, rounded string course molding marks the division of the hemicycle arcade from the

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clerestory, and balances with the vertical lines of the shafts. This emphasis on the pure horizontal and vertical provides a linear counterpart to the richness and plasticity of the nave string course.[117] Central shafts, first visible at the hemicycle capital where as they pass through a double band of foliage, rise from the hemicycle piers to the high vaults (illus. 42).[118] On the straight bay piers, there are two narrower, flanking shafts that rise to the diagonal ribs of the vault. The projecting, two-layer abaci cut across all of these shafts. The situation reverses at the string course, where the shafts rise without horizontal interruption. Richly carved capitals are placed considerably below the springing of the high vault and have the effect of emphasizing the verticality of the structure, countering the broad dimensions of the building.

On the exterior the windows are deeply set within a series of moldings. A drip molding echoes the frame of these moldings. Two courses above the drip molding there is a pointed relieving arch, the intrados of which descends to meet the sides of the buttresses between each window. The flyers are pierced with a descending arcade of four lancets, each subdivided into two trefoil-cusped lancets under a soufflet (illus. 43). High finials prickly with crockets mark the meeting of the flyer and the buttress upright. A foliate cornice and pierced balustrade ring the entire hemicycle clerestory at roof level.[119]

The construction of the transept terminal walls falls within the sequence of construction under Eustache. As noted above, the lower levels of the transepts remain from the thirteenth-century construction. Apparently the fires of 1475 and 1487 destroyed the upper portion of each of these walls. The rebuilding of these walls could have come earlier in Eustache's campaign, after the construction of the radiating chapels or perhaps not until after the construction of the choir clerestory. The terminal wall of each transept

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arm has three clerestory windows, with each window divided into three cusped lancets rising to ovals filled with interlocking mouchettes, as in the central window of each radiating chapel. From the exterior the windows are deeply set and blind gables with crockets have been placed on the blank wall above each window. Because of the similarity of treatment between the terminal walls of the transept and the choir clerestory and radiating chapels, it is likely their construction was concurrent.

In 1507 three woodcarvers from Amiens, Adam d'Obellemer, Bernard le Barbier and Alexandre de Heudebourg, were hired by Eustache to carve choir stalls. Assuming one places choir stalls only after the completion of the space, this indicates a completion date for the work on the east end and transepts.[120] Although work on the nave could have begun while work progressed at the east end, certainly by this time attention had turned to the nave. As discussed above, the extent of the thirteenth-century nave is unclear. It seems likely that at least the nave pier bases were in place and perhaps part of the south aisle wall. Either due to the incomplete state of the nave or due to the destruction caused in 1487, virtually an entire nave had to be built.

The six bay nave is defined by an arcade of pilier cantonné piers spanning from the high gothic crossing piers to the massive western tower piers. The use of the pilier cantonné in this late gothic nave has been attributed to an intentional retardataire aesthetic: the piers immediately recall the nave of Amiens Cathedral.[121] At the same time, there is much that is late gothic in their style. The pier bases rest on scooped plinths and have trumpet-like forms, and they are narrow, hardly extending beyond the silhouette of the pier itself (fig. 15).[122] In addition the shaft bases, slightly smaller and slightly taller than the pier core bases, are treated independently from the pier core base, a characteristic

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more in line with late gothic pier base design (fig. 16-17). In an effort to explain piers that are neither purely high gothic nor purely late gothic, Honoré Bernard has suggested that the piers are from the thirteenth century and that the bases were recarved in the fifteenth century in order to modernize the nave.[123] The process of recarving architectural elements made of extremely hard stone for aesthetic reasons alone seems unlikely, yet there is evidence of this practice elsewhere. Chenesseau suggested that at Saint-Euverte, just outside the walls of Orléans, the twelfth-century nave piers were recarved in the fifteenth century. The salient corners projecting between each shaft, were scooped out to create channels, hinting at the undulating form so prevalent in late gothic construction.[124] While this intriguing idea solves the problem of late bases supporting apparently early piers, one must consider why the masons or patrons of the fifteenth century felt it necessary to change the appearance of the bases, especially given that the appearance of the crossing and transept bases was not altered. The documents give no hint of this type of reconstruction and a rebuilding, perhaps with the aim of reminding one of the earlier nave, seems more likely than a costly adaptation of earlier elements.

There is no doubt that the capitals now decorating the nave piers date to the late fifteenth century, confirming either that the thirteenth-century piers did not extend to this height or that they were at least rebuilt from that level. A comparison of the masonry courses making up each pier reveals a general consistency in the number of courses of each pier from the eastern piers (sw1 and nw1) to the piers directly before the tower (sw4 and nw4), thus suggesting a unity of campaign.[125] The tower piers have far fewer courses of masonry. This smaller number of courses, and therefore the use of larger stones, is most likely due to the structural necessity of the tower, though it may indicate a different

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campaign of construction. The color and type of stone changes at the capital level from a yellowish sandstone to the white chalk of the region. Likewise the mortar changes from a reddish tone to a gray tone. While it is possible that these slight distinctions reflect a change of campaigns, they seem more closely tied to structural and sculptural distinctions than chronology, and thus do not help sort out the stages of construction.[126]

Details of the measure and appearance of the pier bases bring into focus distinctions between various sections of the nave. Each pilier cantonné stands on a base composed of several horizontal layers (illus. 44). The plinth takes the form of an octagon in which four of the sides have been scooped out into two curved surfaces each. The flat and concave surfaces of the plinth rise approximately fifty centimeters and then transform to the convex surfaces of the cylindrical socles. The socle corresponding to the interior cylinder of the pilier cantonné is surrounded by four taller, but slimmer socles, one for each of the four shafts. While on average the core socle rises 21 centimeters, the shaft socles rise 33 centimeters (see Table III). The bases of the core cylinder and of the shafts are treated similarly, two torus moldings separated by a drum. A sloped, convex molding forms a lip at the top of each base, making the transition to the shaft. The shaft bases are shorter than the core base, so that the top edge of all the bases is shared and encircles the entire pier at the same level.

There are only minor distinctions in the height of the bases of the nave piers. Likewise the aisle wall respond bases vary only slightly in height (see Table III). Nonetheless even these slight differences allow one to group the piers. The pier bases of the three eastern piers of the south arcade, sw1, sw2 and sw3, are shorter than the bases of the other nave piers by about five to ten centimeters.[127] In addition, the corresponding

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wall responds of the south aisle are different from those of the north aisle wall. Looking again at Table III, one sees that generally the south aisle wall respond bases are lower than those of the north aisle (fig. 18).[128] More telling than this slight difference in height is the height of each element within the base. For instance on the south side, the wall respond bases have plinths of approximately 47 centimeters, socles of approximately 60 centimeters and shaft bases of about 16.5 centimeters. These measures can be compared with those of the north, where the plinths average 76 centimeters, the socles average 26.5 centimeters and the shaft bases average 27 centimeters. To this one can add that the south respond bases are composed of four courses of masonry, while the north respond bases are composed of three courses each.[129]

Added to these differences in measure and coursing is a difference in the decorative details of the south and north piers and aisle wall responds. The three eastern piers of the south arcade are decorated with small triangular wedges of stone at the transition of the concave surfaces of the plinth and convex surfaces of the socles (illus. 45, compare with illus. 44). This extra ornamentation continues above at the capital level. The wall responds of the south aisle have small foliate *cul-de-lamps* at the springing of the diagonal lierne ribs of the aisle vault. Conversely, the wall responds of the north aisle have no capitals, instead the ribs emerge from the shafts. As will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, the south nave arcade capitals are carved differently than the others. These capitals display small-scale animal and human figures enmeshed in foliage, while the others are mostly covered with foliage only sparsely populated by large-scale monsters.

These variations in measure and decoration indicate that the piers and responds of the eastern three bays of the south aisle are different from the remainder of the south aisle

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and the north aisle. There are at least two possible explanations: that the south aisle was built at a different time or by a different mason than the rest of the nave, or that there is some other motivation behind these subtle distinctions. Investigation of the first query, that these bays reflect a different campaign or master, requires a closer look at the archaeological evidence and consideration of what would have been necessary structurally. One might expect that at least part of the nave arcade was necessary to support the crossing piers and vault.[130] Shafts with foliate capitals at the clerestory level of the western side of the crossing remind one that this portion was completed to the vault level, and in fact was vaulted (illus. 19).[131] Yet, there is no remaining archaeological evidence to suggest that the nave piers were constructed beyond the capital level.[132] On both the south and north, the arcade spandrel is coursed in awkwardly with the crossing pier masonry, revealing that at least from this point up they were not constructed contemporaneously. Therefore, if the nave arcades were constructed high enough to help support the crossing, they were destroyed before the fifteenth-century construction of the nave.

Because of the intersection with the cloister, it is logical to expect that at least the first three bays of the south aisle were constructed as part of the late thirteenth-century campaign. Following the same logic, the fourth pier, sw4, which shares a greater similarity to the piers of the north nave arcade and is near the intersection of the Carolingian nave and the eastern wall of the Carolingian western transept, would have been built later. These Carolingian walls were perhaps not destroyed until it was decided how to deal with the western transept and tower, thus postponing the construction of sw4. Because the measures of the bases on the north side remain relatively consistent, they do

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not help in postulating a process of construction. Nonetheless, the similarity of their measures with the measures of sw4 suggests they were built during the same campaign.[133] While there is some logic in suggesting an earlier construction for the eastern bays of the south aisle, there is little evidence to confirm the theory.

The second line of investigation introduced above is that the slight differences in measure and decoration of the eastern three bays of the south aisle are due to a motivation other than time or master. The distinction in dimension and decoration may be due to the location of these piers adjacent to the north gallery of the cloister. A portal, now blocked, in the wall of SIWIV provided access to the cloister at its northwestern corner. Another door in the eastern bay of the south transept leads one through the sacristy to the northeastern corner of the cloister. Thus one can imagine the south aisle is essentially a second north gallery of the cloister. Hariulf described how the monks of the Carolingian period processed out the south aisle portal to the other churches of the abbey by way of the cloister galleries, indicating the use of this portal in the processional liturgy of the abbey.[134] The intentional intersection of the cloister and the south transept arm becomes half of a two-part intersection of functional and liturgical spaces. It may be that the extra decoration of the bases and capitals is a reflection of this added processional function of the south aisle. Finding clear evidence of this use of the south aisle as an adjunct cloister gallery is difficult.[135] Yet one can find several instances in which there is more than one entrance from the cloister gallery adjoining the church, suggesting the possibility of such a function. For instance, Horn's plan of Saint-Wandrille during the ninth century shows three entrances from the cloister into the church.[136] Likewise, the eleventh to twelfth century plan of Durham Cathedral, a Benedictine abbey cathedral, has entrances at the

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northwest and northeast corners of the cloister into the south aisle of the church.[137] At Westminster Abbey there are portals to the church from both the east and west cloister galleries. The east gallery path coincides with the west aisle of the south transept, but this area remains part of the cloister, with a wall separating it from the transept space. The typical Cistercian plan has two entrances to the church from the cloister, one is for the monastic community and the other (the westernmost) is for the lay brethren.[138] Therefore, while the archaeological evidence of two portals providing access to either end of the adjoining cloister offers the potential for a processional circuit, more research is required to assert the likelihood of such a function.

As noted above, the nave arcade capitals are in the style of the late gothic period. Though not entirely ignored, the discussion of the capitals through the centuries has been limited to descriptive generalities. In fact, there are three types of carving; some capitals have small scale foliage inhabited with people and animals, some capitals have large scale foliage with large beasts and monsters, while other capitals have tightly woven, almost honeycomb-like foliage (illus. 46, 47, 48). Similar to all types is a density of decoration and a deep undercutting, so that the carving is more like filigree placed over the stonework of the pier. The small-scale carvings are only on the eastern three piers of the south arcade and on sw1 and sw2 the stone facing the west (approximately one quarter of the capital) has large scale decoration on it (see illus. 46). The four eastern piers of the north arcade and sw4 have large-scale decoration around the capitals (see illus. 47). The tower piers, nw5 and sw5, have the tighter, more densely packed decoration (see illus. 48). This variety of architectural sculpture in the nave indicates changes of patronage and perhaps reflects distinctions in the use of various spaces within the nave and aisles. As

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will be shown below, there are further indications of each of these influences on the construction of the nave.

The irregular coursing in the spandrels above the nave arcade suggests extensive restoration of this portion of the structure. The engaged shafts are coursed in, although the masonry blocks themselves vary in width and height.[139] As noted above, the shafts facing the nave rise to the string course without interruption by the capitals. From the abacus onward the shaft is flanked by two extremely thin shafts. These simple round moldings provide a shadow and increase the sculptural quality of the surface, but are too narrow to suggest a structural necessity.[140] The foliate string course and pierced balustrade cut through the vertical lines rising from the nave floor. The string course is a lush, richly carved garden of plants with birds, peacocks and snails inhabiting the two eastern bays (illus. 49).

The construction of the nave clerestory would depend on the construction of the side aisles. The placement of these walls was determined by the thirteenth–century plan, though it is unclear whether either wall had been built at that time. As with the axial chapel and the transept terminal walls, the 1487 destruction required new construction of these walls. Each aisle extends six bays and is dominated visually by the ornate rib vaulting over each bay. The western bay on the north and the two western bays on the south are slightly narrower than the remaining bays, because they rest on the foundations of the Carolingian west transept. From the point where the bays increase in width, a cornice runs the length of each aisle dividing the glazed upper portion from the masonry lower portion. The walls of the western bays over the Carolingian foundations and the rest of the aisle walls below the cornice are composed of small, square white stones that

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are at times awkwardly coursed in with the larger, denser stones of the wall responds (illus. 50).[141] While one might like to blame this on restoration, there are signs that this frame and fill technique of construction was used for the late gothic construction. At the respond n1w5 the smaller courses of the wall fold into the wider courses of the respond (illus. 51). Above the cornice the formerets are coursed in with the walls surrounding the window openings (illus. 52). The large windows are set approximately four meters above floor level. Except where the aisle wall serves as a buttress, each aisle window subdivides into four trefoil-cusped lancets with flamboyant tracery filling the arch opening above.[142]

There are several minor differences between the treatment of the south and the north aisles that may suggest a difference in the date of construction, or may simply indicate a sequence of construction.[143] For instance, one notices distinctions between the south and north aisles in the layering of the respond bases, the treatment of the cornice, and the form and decorative sculpture of the transverse arch.

The general form and overall height of the respond bases is consistent along both aisles, but the height of each element within varies from north to south. Five-sided segments from irregular octagonal plinths form the lowest layer of the respond bases.[144] Recessed slightly, but following the same shape, the socle provides the transition to the trumpet bases of the engaged shafts and formerets. The height of each element varies according to whether it is on the south or on the north (see Table III).[145] On the south side the plinth is low (averaging 47 centimeters) and the socle is relatively high (averaging 60 centimeters), whereas on the north side the plinth is high (averaging 76 centimeters) and the socle is low (averaging 27 centimeters).

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As in the radiating chapels a cornice molding, which coincides with the slanting sills of the aisle windows, cuts the space horizontally. The cornice coincides with the slanting sills of the aisle windows. The mason hints that the cornice runs continuously across the aisle wall by running the cornice through the responds. When the cornice comes to the support it interpenetrates the formeret, reappearing momentarily before passing through the respond to the other side.[146] There is a slight distinction between the south cornice and the north cornice. On the south the cornice descends from the slanting sill into a torus molding which bends back into a scotia molding and ends in a flat edge that cuts back to the wall. On the north the cornice descends from the sill into a sharp edge and flat face under which a scotia scoops toward the wall and then ends in a torus molding. The effect of these contrasting treatments is that on the north side the cornice creates a sharper line and a deeper shadow, thus strengthening the visual effect of the horizontal element.

As noted earlier in the discussion, the south aisle has more decorative sculpture than the north aisle. In the south aisle small foliate *cul-de-lamps* mark the springing of the diagonal ribs, while in the north aisle the responds flow into the ribs without interruption. The faceted responds of the south aisle continue their shape into the transverse arch, with the flat face becoming a filet molding (illus. 53). In the north aisle, the ribs emerge from the respond at the vault level, so that the three-sided respond splits into five equal filet ribs (illus. 54).

The construction of the nave clerestory would necessarily follow the construction of the side aisles. The clerestory windows nearly fill the expanse between supports, leaving less than a meter of wall surface above and on either side of each window.

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Between each window, bundles of prismatic shafts rise to the vault level and then split into the various ribs of the high vault (illus. 55). Although these shafts continue the line begun by the nave shaft of the pilier cantonné, there is an abrupt stop at the balustrade level. The sharp-edged shafts of the clerestory level begin invisibly behind the balustrade, without bases, but rather simply from smooth blocks.[147] Above the balustrade, slanting sills rise to the base of the windows, except at the eastern bay where the base of the window is flat and on level with the top of the balustrade.

The exterior of Eustache's portion of the nave continues the aesthetic of the east end, though much of this has changed with the restoration of the past century. As in the east end, the exterior of the nave is marked by deeply set windows giving the sense of the thickness of the wall. There is a hood molding and a relieving arch over each window (illus. 56). The flying buttresses of the nave, like the choir, had ramped arcades between the lower and upper flyers. In the 1820 restoration, the pierced flyers were replaced with open flyers leaving the two parallel arched flyers.[148] The nave roofline has changed considerably due to early twentieth century restorations.[149] Pyramidal roofs had covered each bay of the aisle and straight bays of the ambulatory as seen in an engraving produced for Migne's *Monasticon Gallicanum* (illus. 57). Due to the leaking that had developed, the restorer replaced them with slightly sloping concrete slabs.[150] A restored, pierced balustrade continues around the building at the roofline.

The vaulting of the church adds a visual richness to one's impression of the interior. Except for the axial chapel, the vaulting is far more elaborate in the west than in the east. Star vaults cover the crossing, each of the transept arms and each of the nave bays. A ridge rib runs the length of the church from the western tower to the hemicycle

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keystone. These high vaults enclose the nave, transept and choir spaces in a lofty, linear web, contrasting with the corporeality of the anchored fabric of the building. Eustache le Quieux died during construction of the nave vault. Without a primary source, this event has come down as a sad anecdote. While Eustache was viewing progress on the construction, one of the workers in the vaults dropped a stone in order to get his attention. He intended for the stone to land at the abbot's feet, but instead it hit his head.[151] Eustache lived for a few days and then died the eleventh of April, 1511. He was buried in middle of the nave in a tomb provided by his successor, Thibault de Bayencourt.[152]

The work undertaken by Eustache was continued by Thibault de Bayencourt, who as seen in his patronage, had a taste for decoration.[153] Jean de la Chapelle, continuing the chronicle begun at Eustache le Quieux's request, includes a brief account of Thibault de Bayencourt's abbacy. He writes simply that Thibault embellished the church that his predecessor had begun with many ornaments.[154] Cotron records that Thibault gave stained glass windows with New Testament scenes in vivid color, and pavement of white and black marble with designs of flowers, fruits and all sorts of figures. In addition, he had a magnificent new reliquary of gold and silver, adorned with gems, created for the relics of Saint Riquier, he decorated the choir with tapestries and a new baldequin over the altar and he had an organ installed.[155] According to Gilbert, the statues of the portal were painted and gilded.[156] The break from one campaign to the other is more evident in the style of the architectural sculpture than in the masonry itself. The dramatic change in the decoration is apparent in the string course of bay WV, directly to the east of the tower, as well as in the capitals of the tower piers (illus. 58, 59). The foliage becomes more attenuated and taut, and the spaces between the leaves are filled with a honeycomb of

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vines and twigs. As Eustache died while the vaulting was underway, virtually the entire structural fabric of the building had to have been completed. The fact that the decorative changes are in the two western bays of the nave and aisles, the bays most affected by the tower, indicates that the nave vaulting was underway for the eastern bays while there were still decisions to be made about how to integrate the new nave and the old tower. This would suggest a staggered sequence of construction in which the nave was constructed from east to west, with the vaults necessarily a few steps behind the construction on the ground. The vaults progressed quickly enough that the eastern bays were vaulted before the completion of the ground level of the western bays.

Based on the areas covered by this style of sculpture, Thibault was responsible for the sculptural decoration of the tower piers, the far western bay and western façade (perhaps as well as the construction of the western piers and walls themselves), and the transept tribune facades. The sculptural embellishments provided by Thibault make clear his desire to attract and minister to pilgrims. The face of each transept tribune is changed dramatically during this period with the addition of statuary of saints known for their intercessory powers on behalf of the sick (illus. 60). A statue of Saint Riquier fills the western section of the wall, the trio of Saint Anthony, Saint Sebastian, and Saint Roch, three saints devoted to the healing of plague victims fill the center, and the Virgin and Child fill the east section.[157] The three in the center stand on decorated pedestals and under elaborate canopies, all enclosed by a wide, trefoil cusped, multifoil flamboyant gable.

The north tribune is subdivided into three bays by two piers along its southern edge. The side of each pier facing the ambulatory is richly composed of three paneled

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shafts that are spherical triangles in section (illus. 21, 61). The tribune itself, which opens out at the finial level, is composed of three elaborately carved arches. Cusping fills the archivolt of each arch, with a pendant keystone accenting the center. Deeply-recessed panels decorate the spandrel surface. A niche and carved, polygonal pedestal continue the elaboration over the central axis of each arch. Now small scale sculpture from the seventeenth century stand on pedestals.[158]

Thibault is often credited with vaulting the two western bays of the south aisle, because these vaults are particularly decorative with the cross ribs sculpted as knotted rope in imitation of the pilgrim's belt. While these vaults are more ornamental than the others, the rich texture and visual intricacy of all of the side aisle vaults are consistent with the flair for ornament that characterizes Thibault's campaign. This suggests that although the spaces were vaulted previous to his tenure, the vaults may have been embellished by him.[159] The small scale and proximity to the viewer of the side aisle vaults, add a sculptural effect to the space.

The construction and enlargement of the tower was surely intended long before Thibault became abbot.[160] The solution of encasing the early tower in new stone allowed the masons to keep and use the tower, while also strengthening it and raising it higher. Despite this economic and time-saving solution, it was clearly important to make the enlarged tower fit in with the new building. The form and dimension of the early piers is unknown, though logically they were centered over the point marked by the intersection of the present transverse arches under the tower. They were expanded to huge octagons with four short sides alternating with four longer sides. The short sides cross the main axes of the church and the long sides run diagonally. The aisle side of each pier was then

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joined to three-quarters of a pilier cantonné, modeled after the nave piers.[161] Thus, from the aisle, each of the tower piers matches the other nave piers. The bases of the pilier cantonné portion of each pier are like the other pilier cantonné bases, whereas the bases of the massive octagonal piers are composed of a high plinth and a base, like the responds along the west wall, nw6 and sw6 (see Table III). For some reason, the masons seem to have run into a problem where the string course comes into the tower from the north and south nave arcades. On the north side the string course continues for a block or two into the pier and the base of the balustrade continues as a cornice around the tower pier (illus. 62). On the south side the string course jumps up above the base of the balustrade when it runs into the tower pier (illus. 63).

The juncture of the octagonal tower pier and the pilier cantonné is made by a curved, undulating surface (illus. 64, 65). On the inner side of each pier, that is the northwest face of sw5 and the southwest face of nw5, a single shaft rises to the high vaults (illus. 66). Now a vault and an organ loft obscure the upper portion of these shafts. The clumsy juncture of the ribs of this vault with the piers indicates that the vault is not original to the pier construction. Given the elaborate nature of the high vault over this narthex bay it is likely that originally this bay was open to the high vaults.[162]

The exterior of the west façade presents a complicated architectural as well as iconographic composition (illus. 67). The massive, bulky proportions and mask of sculpture and ornament characterizing this façade have been cited as representative of the decline of the gothic style. Yet its proportions, its organization and its message convey a specific architectural heritage and iconographic hierarchy understood by the patron and audience of the fifteenth century. From the interior work of Thibault de Bayencourt one is

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already aware of his love of ornament, his appreciation of sculptural decoration as well as his taste for treating the architecture as though it is sculpture. The west façade, its decoration, and its enormous square tower, the most striking feature of the west façade, are the subject of Chapter 5.

Conclusion

The construction of this abbey church from the Carolingian period through the late gothic period reveals a nearly continuous, though not always steady, process of change and adaptation. While the thirteenth-century building appears to have reused many of the foundations of the Carolingian church, there is no emphasis on the Caroligian heritage of the abbey. The church itself was entirely different; broader, taller and using high gothic elements made popular in buildings around Paris and the north of France. The broad proportions of the building and elements such as the decorated string course relates Saint-Riquier to Amiens Cathedral. The hemicycle pier form relates Saint-Riquier to the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer. Like the high gothic construction, the late gothic construction reused what was still useable from the earlier church. The new construction of the late gothic period ranged from the retardataire aesthetic of the nave to the "modern" treatment of the radiating chapels, side aisles and clerestory. The conservative elements, such as the pilier cantonné of the nave, were probably based on piers already begun in the late thirteenth century, themselves based on such models as Amiens Cathedral. The late gothic elements are rooted in the immediate area, and appear, for instance, at almost the same time in Saint-Wulfran in Abbeville and Saint-Esprit in Rue.

The late gothic mason(s) who emerges from this construction, although unnamed,

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was a careful, conservative builder. References to the earlier structures, (e.g., the use of early foundations and the continued use of high gothic elements) are practical and economic. The emphasis on decorative sculpture is more likely to reflect the preoccupations of the patrons than those of the mason, and perhaps was even a hindrance to the mason's ability to build a more architecturally innovative building. The next two chapters will explore ideas relating to the decoration of the building more thoroughly. The discussion of Chapter 4 will focus on the interior sculpture of the nave and how it helps define and articulate the function of the processional spaces of the nave. Chapter 5 will look carefully at the west tower, its physical basis in early construction and its function in confirming the historical lineage of the abbey.

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Notes to Chapter 3

[1]Figure 3, the plan of the church, is taken from the plan by E. Duthoit, published by Durand in his *Petits monographies* volume on Saint-Riquier (1933 and 1960). Plans of the church with the Hamann-McClean nomenclature for supporting elements and spaces are numbered figure 3.1 and figure 3.2, respectively.

[2]These measures are taken from Durand's publications on Saint-Riquier. The nave and aisle measures are from center to center of the piers. Georges Durand remarks on the proportions resulting from these measures (Durand, *L'Eglise de Saint-Riquier* (1933) 32). He marvels at the fact that the Saint-Riquier nave at thirteen meters wide (north-south width) is almost as wide as the Amiens Cathedral nave at fourteen meters and sixty centimeters, yet the vaults of Saint-Riquier are barely over half the height of those of Amiens (24.6m at Saint-Riquier and 42.3m at Amiens). The resulting proportions of width to height are approximately three to one for the Amiens nave and two to one for the Saint-Riquier nave, so that while Amiens has a elongated elegance, Saint-Riquier has an expansiveness.

[3]The repeated circular pattern, the framing of each section and the concave-sided protrusion between the sections and above the shafts reveal a classical treatment suggesting that the balustrade was placed during the seventeenth-century restoration, perhaps to replace an earlier damaged balustrade. The transept balustrade, decorated with paired mouchettes and soufflets, appears to date from the sixteenth-century work on the façades of each tribune, and thus perhaps offers a suggestion of the appearance of the late gothic balustrade of the nave and hemicycle.

[4]The height of the vault is approximately 24.6m while the width of nave and aisles is approximately 26m, resulting in nearly a square. The bright effect is perhaps enhanced by the clear windows that now light the clerestory. Originally there were stained glass windows throughout the church.

[5]Lot, *Hariulf*, II, vii, 56.

[6]The three engravings appeared in two different works: the first two decorated the frontispiece to P. Petau's *De Nithardo* (Paris, 1613) and another was published in J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, IV, pt. I (Paris, 1677) 111. There are two engravings for the Petau publication because it was originally published in both folio and quarto sizes, requiring two separate engravings.

[7]Virginia Jansen, "Round or Square? The Axial Towers of the Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier," *Gesta* 21, 2 (1982) 83-90. Jansen cautions against a literal reading of the seventeenth-century representation.

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[8]W. Effmann, *Centula. Saint-Riquier. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Baukunst in der Karolingerzeit* (Münster, 1912).

[9]The abbey of Corvey was established in 822 by monks from Corbie, a Benedictine monastery near Amiens in Picardy. The Corvey westwork was completed between 873 and 885 and, according to Conant, was influenced by Saint-Riquier, presumably because of its proximity to Corbie. K. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200*, Pelican History of Art, (London, 1968 rev. ed.), 63-64.

[10]Bernard, "Saint-Riquier: une restitution nouvelle de la basilique d'Angilbert," *Revue du Nord* LXXI (1989) 307-361.

[11]Bernard, "Essai sur la genèse," 91.

[12]The Hamann-McClean system of nomenclature for spaces and supports has been used in this study of the church. The spaces of the church are identified by upper case letters and Roman numerals, while the supports are identified by lower case letters and Roman numerals. See plan 3.1 for the identification of supporting elements (i.e., piers) and plan 3.2 for the identification of spaces (i.e., chapels, bays). NEIAII is the north radiating chapel flanking the axial chapel.

Bernard's suggestion of the easternmost wall of the Carolingian church was determined by excavations under the chapel of Saint Pierre where he found the remains of two pilasters with a finely carved molding at their bases. (Remnants of these pilasters are illustrated by Bernard in "Une site prestigieux," fig. 4 ad 5.) In 1969 Felix Kreusch examined these moldings and determined that they were similar to moldings found at the palatine chapel in Aachen and in the Corvey westwork, thus placing them in the eighth or ninth centuries. Refer to fig. 7, taken from Bernard's drawing, where these pilasters are marked c1 and c2. Bernard, "Une site prestigieux," 243.

[13]In fact most of the stones he excavates in the east end relate to this eleventh-century construction undertaken by Abbot Gervin II. The crypt, as indicated by the eleventh-century foundations Bernard uncovered, extended eastward from the Carolingian church as far as the first pier of the present axial chapel and was the same width as the present axial chapel. It was a flat-ended construction with three apsidal niches and flanking apsidal chapels on the north and the south. Hariulf describes the crypt as a vaulted space on four piers having four altars, one at each of the cardinal points. Bernard suggests that these chapels were in the eastern niche, the north and south niches (parallel to the eastern niche) and along the west wall of the crypt so that the western chapel was directly beneath the altar dedicated to Saint Riquier above in the choir. "D'Hariulfe à Effmann," 228.

[14]Bernard began excavations at the site of the church of Notre-Dame, which no longer exists, in the mid-1960's and published his findings in "Les fouilles de l'église Notre-Dame à Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux historique et scientifiques. Nvlle. série 1-2 (1965-66)* (Paris, 1968) 25-47. The church, a few hundred

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meters south of Saint-Riquier, was described by Hariulf and one finds it on the Petau engraving at the base of the image. The Carolingian church seems to have been destroyed but was then replaced in the thirteenth century by a parish church also dedicated to the Virgin, which served the community until its destruction during the Revolution. In his excavations, Bernard unearthed foundations of the nave of the thirteenth-century church, with additions from the sixteenth century, and a polygonal, centralized structure at the east end. While the moldings of this eastern structure are of the sixteenth-century and a small chapel constructed at the east end dates to the seventeenth century, Bernard claims that the foundations are Carolingian. He suggests that the stones he found describe a polygon with a twelve-sided exterior and a six-sided core, in which the sides are of alternating length, some about three meters long and the others about four and a half to five meters long. The stones form a solid base and give no indication of the piers and subsequent openings which would have been required to allow movement between the center and the ambulatory. Nonetheless, Bernard suggests that, like the palatine chapel in Aachen, there was an alternation of rectangular and triangular bays in the ambulatory, although the elongation of the rectangular bays would preclude a similar vaulting treatment to that at Aachen. (It seems, though, that a type of barrel vault would have been possible.) In addition, he finds no evidence of an upper floor here and no trace of stairs. Interestingly, the excavators were continually troubled by water filling the center of the structure, and found vestiges of a well, suggesting that the building was built over a spring and thus perhaps over a Gallo-Roman worship site (46).

[15]Chapel SIIEII is the easternmost chapel in the south straight bays of the choir. See fig. 3.2.

[16]In planning the thirteenth-century church, the masons moved the transept to the west, so that western wall of the Carolingian transept became the eastern wall of the Gothic transept. This allowed them to keep the high altar in the same place, preserving the consecration of that ground. Ingeniously they also kept the original location of the cloister, which, formerly nestled under the arm of the eastern transept, now passed directly through the lower level of the transept itself.

[17]Until the Revolution, these buildings, still extant, housed the administration of the abbey, the hostel and above, the library of the monastery. Now the building provides the entrance to the regional museum housed in the abbey.

[18]Bernard, "Une site prestigieux," 250.

[19]On the plan he provides, this coincidence of measure indeed seems to be the case, though he does not give any measures to reinforce this suggestion.

[20]Bernard, "Une site prestigieux," 250. Hariulf describes this collapse and the subsequent reconstruction of the tower under Abbot Gervin II in the early twelfth century. As Jansen has pointed out, while in one breath Hariulf says that the tower was rebuilt "a fundamentis," in the next breath he notes simply that the new tower was built on stronger

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foundations and to a greater height (Lot, *Hariulf*, IV; xxxvi, 278). The full extent of reconstruction remains unclear (Jansen, 89).

[21]Bernard, "Une site prestigieux," 251. He notes also that one sees here the base of two large openings which have not been repaired or changed in later constructions.

[22]According to Effmann's reconstruction, the two Carolingian transepts were equal in span from north to south. These findings of Bernard show that in fact the western transept was narrower than the eastern transept.

[23]These findings have been published in "Les fouilles de la tour" and "Saint-Riquier: une restitution nouvelle."

[24]His early excavations of Notre-Dame revealed a centralized structure of twelve sides. Yet Virginia Jansen has pointed out that a careful reading of the engravings shows that in fact the treatment of the Notre-Dame tower and the Saint-Riquier/Saint-Sauveur towers are slightly different and that they do not allow the secure conclusions suggested by Bernard (Jansen, 87). In regard to the engraving, Bernard suggests that the niche-like indications around the base of this tower are not really exterior features, but are an attempt by the artist to show that there were altar niches around the interior of the centralized building. One wonders how he expects one to trust specific features of the engravings if needs to read some of it inside-out. Why should one not read these indications as exterior niches or an exterior arcade? Bernard, "Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 321-22, and his footnote 16.

To suggest the way in which the engravings should be read, Bernard cites the small church of San Tomaso in Limine at Almeno San Bartolomeo near Bergame. This church, with its three-tiered silhouette, he writes, provides a way to read the engraving with greater clarity. He introduces this "evidence" without illustration or citation. As the engravings are such a difficult and problematic source of information, it does not seem valid to suggest that a church that looks like the engraving therefore gives us a plausible reading of the engraving. The church is a round, towered church of the late eleventh century, composed of a two-story drum decorated with engaged shafts that rises to a smaller drum, also decorated with engaged shafts, that in turn is capped by a cylindrical lantern tower. (See Günter Brucher, *Die Sakrale Baukunst Italiens im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 1987) 105-109. While the present church at Almeno San Bartolomeo is of the eleventh century, excavations have revealed that a round construction existed at the same site from the seventh or eighth centuries. The central-planned church is clearly related to the central-plan baptistry and mausoleum tradition of Italian architecture. Brucher also suggests influence from Armenian architecture, noting similarities with the seventh-century church of Zwarth'notz.) This of course brings to mind the seventeenth-century engraving of Saint-Riquier with its towers of stacked cylinders. Bernard suggests that this round church allows one to understand the engravings as representing a polygonal structure that rises to a conical roof that then opens up to a series of progressively narrower cylinders, stacked one over the other ("Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 321). Why could this church not also indicate that we could

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understand the engravings to reflect a round structure rising in several layers? And if his point is that one should not follow Effmann's "photographic interpretation" of the engravings, but instead should allow them to "signify" and "suggest" rather than "represent," why does one need such a close comparison? The relationship of a small Lombard church of the eleventh century to the eighth-century church at Saint-Riquier is not clear.

[25]"Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 322; Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports*, 77-113. At the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, there is a western rotunda over the tomb of Christ, a central open-air atrium marks Golgotha (the placement of the Holy Cross), and at the east is the Basilica of the Martyrs. At the Carolingian church of Saint-Riquier these three features are also present, though somewhat compressed; there is a western tower with sanctuary to the Saviour, a central nave with a major altar to the Holy Cross and an eastern complex dedicated to Saint-Riquier. In fact, Bernard's reading of the Carolingian plan is that the nave was a connector of the two sanctuaries, rather than a space of liturgical importance (he describes the church as "bicephalous"). He suggests that, unlike the Saint Gall plan, the altars of the Saint-Riquier abbey church clustered around either of the two sanctuaries, rather than being spaced out in the aisles and nave. ("Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 349.) Jansen has pointed out that the comparative evidence used by Bernard, the churches of Charroux and Ferrières-en-Gâtinais, has been brought into question. The plans of the two churches with a combination of rotunda and basilica forms are not proven to be from the Carolingian era but seem to be from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Jansen, 90, footnote 20).

[26]For a thorough discussion on the Anastasis in Jerusalem and the many "copies" of it built in the early Middle Ages, see Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"," *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institute* (1942) 1-33.

[27]Krautheimer has shown the diversity of these structures. While all are centralized, some are square, some circular, some octagonal and they differ in the number of supports, number of stories and the appearance of details. In the Middle Ages, the notion of copying a building was one of imitating the symbolic content of the building (and thus connecting to it and its sacred meaning) rather than imitating its physical appearance.

[28]In addition to being described in "Saint-Riquier: Une nouvelle resititution," these excavations are outlined and briefly described in a letter from Bernard to M. Brunelle, Head Architect of the Monuments Historiques, dated September 25, 1987 and on file in the regional office of the Monuments Historiques in Amiens.

See the plan in fig. 3.1 for the labeling of the support system of the church.

[29]He provides no illustration of this finding. In his letter of 1987 to the Monuments Historiques he describes the stones as "a curious masonry recalling Carolingian construction at Notre-Dame," despite the fact that the stones rose almost to the level of the current floor. (Letter to Brunelle at DRAC, dated 25. Sept. 1987, p. 2.) Although he describes these stones as "at the base of the pier" he gives no indication of how far down

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the excavation extended. In 1989, when he published these findings, he described these stones, not as Carolingian, but as large, reused ancient stones ("Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 324, footnote 17). Perhaps he is using the term "ancient" rather broadly, but if they are reused, how ancient are they, and do they truly reflect a Carolingian plan?

[30]See esp. "Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle," 332-341.

[31]Lot, *Hariulf*, IV:xxxvi, 276. Jansen has outlined these events thoroughly (Jansen, 89, footnote 10).

[32]See K. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200.* in *Pelican History of Art* (rev. ed. London, 1968).

[33]The plan, figure 6, is schematic in nature. It only attempts to suggest a possible understanding of the basic plan and proportions. Details such as the stairturrets mentioned by Hariulf and the window and door openings are omitted. In the plan, A = the side of the square, B = the diagonal of that square and thus the side of the "root-2 rectangle" formed from that square.

[34]As seen in fig. 6, the diagonal of the crossing square is the same length as the north-south span of each eastern transept arm and the east-west length of the apse. Likewise it equals the measure of two nave bays, so that the six bays are formed by three "root-2 rectangle" segments. The west transept is constructed from three of the rectangles placed side by side. Use of the golden section as a constructional system is known as a classical concept, primarily from the writings of Vitruvius. The golden section is a geometrical construction in which a rectangle is formed by swinging down the diagonal of a square to meet the continuation of a base of the square. The diagonal which forms the side of the rectangle equals the side of the square times the square root of two, an irrational number that is not in a direct integer relationship with the square from which it is generated. In classical times it was thought to be a significant geometrical figure of pleasing proportions. Ernest Born arrived at an interpretation of the plan of Old Saint Peter's which is based on the golden section. W. Horn, "On the Selective Use of Sacred Numbers and the Creation in Carolingian Architecture of a New Aesthetic Based on Modular Concepts," *Viator* 6 (1975) 341-390. Horn notes also that Kenneth Conant arrived at the same conclusion, published in "The After-Life of Vitruvius in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27 (1968) 33-38. It should be noted that the plan and its geometric organization proposed here for the Carolingian church is conjectural, based partially on excavations of the site (by others) and on observations of the plan of the present building.

[35]According to Hariulf, the Normans set fire to the abbey in 881. The monastic buildings were destroyed, but the walls of the church were left standing, leaving the roofs to be repaired. "altaria tamen et ecclesiae parietes inconvulsi persistebant. ...et tectis non plumbo ut prius, sed ligneis tabulatis qualiter poterant obductis..." (Lot, *Hariulf*, III:xxi,

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149).

[36]Lot, *Hariulf*, IV:xviii, 220. "vel quae lignis fuerant compactae, caemento et lapide reficiebantur."

[37]"Une site prestigieux," 244-45. A Carolingian tomb was found under the Romanesque construction, indicating to Bernard that the Romanesque crypt was built outside the bounds of the earlier church. Because of the symmetrical nature of early crypts, Bernard suggests that a similar room existed to the east of the southern chapel (SEIAII). Indeed, he found vestiges of semi-circular foundations, but no tombs, Carolingian pilasters or other indications as on the north. He explains these differences by the fact that on the south the Gothic foundations of the radiating chapels supercede the earlier foundations and that construction of the seventeenth-century "basse-cour" caused destruction to the foundations.

[38]"Une site prestigieux," 247, (See P. Lebouteux, "L'église de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.* Nouvelle série, 1-2, 1965-66 (Paris, 1968) 49-107). The red line across the eastern end of the Romanesque crypt shows its coincidence with the first buttress of the late gothic chapel.

[39]see footnote 20, above.

[40]The assumption that the Romanesque tower remained to the fifteenth century is based on the sometimes dangerous argument that as there are no records contradicting this situation, it is perhaps true. Nonetheless, as will be shown below, the archaeological evidence seems to point in this direction as well.

[41]In his entry for 1476, Pierre le Prêtre notes that three master masons had "remade" the tower, that a new wooden structure for the roof was built and new slate was brought from the Netherlands to cover the roof of the tower as well as the church. "... à troiz maistres machons qui avoient refait ledit clochier lesquelz y ouvrerent une saison. ...Marchanda pareillement ledit abbe de faire les combles dudit coeur et de la croisie de carpenterie a ceulz qui avoient fait la carpenterie dudit clochier marchanda oultre de faire deux demy combles aux deux esles dudit clochier qui y estoient fort necessaires." While the meaning of "remade" is ambiguous, the specific work mentioned wood and slate for the upper reaches, suggesting that the main, lower portion of the tower remained. (Pierrre le Prêtre, *Chronique*, XIX (1476) 45. See Appendix C.)

[42]This is mentioned by Dom Fortet, the eighteenth-century historian, in his notes for *Dictionnaire des monastères benedictines.* Archives nationales, M 725, fol. 4.

[43] Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 124.

[44]The two particular forces that played a role in determining the unique aspects of the church's plan, the foundations and standing remains of earlier constructions and the

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monastic function of the church are certainly not unique to Saint-Riquier. One need only think of the celebrated resting place of the French monarchs, the abbey of Saint-Denis, and its famous reconstructions during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[45]While this square enclosing a square provides a distinct centrality to the plan of the church, this area includes separate spaces that serve very different functions. As one stands in the church, the centrality of this area results from the intersection of adjacent spaces rather than from a distinct center from which all the adjacent spaces radiate.

[46]L. Neagley, "Elegant Simplicity: The Late Gothic Plan Design of Saint-Maclou in Rouen," *Art Bulletin* LXXIV (1992) 395-422; S. Murray and J. Addiss, "Plan and Space at Amiens Cathedral: With a New Plan Drawn by James Addiss," *JSAH* XLIX (1990) 44-66; and S. Murray, *Notre-Dame of Amiens* (Cambridge, 1996, esp. 39-42). The legacy provided by the work of Viollet-le-Duc in his analysis of Amiens Cathedral must also be seen as part of the history of our understanding of Gothic plan design; E.E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, II, 330-336. More recently Niels Prak analyzed the plan of Amiens and suggested the proportional system used by the masons; N.L. Prak, "Measurements of Amiens Cathedral," *JSAH* XXV (1966) 209-12. Murray and Addiss, while acknowledging these early contributions, are able to address many of the inconsistencies and problems with their theories for the design of Amiens.

[47]Murray and Addiss, 58. Murray has also shown that at Beauvais Cathedral the masons seemed to overlap two geometrical systems, one based on a circle and the other on rectangles, in their design of the choir. S. Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral. Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton, 1989) 15.

[48]On this plan, the blue lines radiating out from the choir indicate the concentric-based design, while the red squares indicate the square system based on the Carolingian church.

[49]Based on measurements carried out in 1908 by J. Hardion for the Monuments Historiques, the square of the Saint-Riquier crossing has sides of 12.9 meters. On Plan 13.477 (MH) the north-south dimension of the crossing is 12.9 m, while the east-west dimension is 12.85 m. These measures are centerpoint to centerpoint of the piers. (Note: Due to the presence of the clôture, I was unable to take accurate measurements of the crossing or hemicycle spaces. The 12.9 meter reading by Hardion is consistent with my measures of the north-south width of the nave bays, which varied only slightly from a 12.9 meter average.)

[50]While the north-south width of the nave from pier centerpoint to pier centerpoint averages 12.9 meters, the north-south width of the aisles averages 6.25 meters. NB: These measures were obtained by tape measure, adding distances from point to point. More accurate measurements obtained with more accurate tools would yield results by which one could make more conclusive remarks about the plan design.

[51]The five-segment east end is typical of high gothic church design of the region. The

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closest model for Saint-Riquier is Amiens Cathedral, though as Murray and Addiss point out, at Amiens and Beauvais the centerpoint of the hemicycle design is shifted slightly to the east. Murray and Addiss, 58. More consistent with the Saint-Riquier design, with the centerpoint along the base of the hemicycle, are the plans of the cathedrals of Reims, Tournai, Soissons, Bourges and Notre-Dame of Paris and the collegiate church at Saint-Quentin.

[52]More accurate measurements of the angles of the radiating chapel walls are required for absolute understanding of the geometry of this part of the plan. Nonetheless, it is logical for the masons to use a system already in use at the site to determine the geometry of the chapels.

[53]See Murray and Addiss concerning the radiating chapels of Amiens, 60.

[54]As a caution, it must be noted that this determination was arrived at by working with the plan. To truly test this theory, one would have to more carefully measure, with line and angle, the position of nlel and slel.

[55]Based on style, Georges Durand has suggested that the moldings and capitals of the sacristy, in the lower level of the south transept, are earlier in date than the moldings and capitals of the interior of the transept. He compares the crocket capitals of the sacristy to those of the Amiens Cathedral radiating chapels, but also notes that the 1240's date of the Amiens capitals precedes Giles de Machemont's abbacy and therefore is not a precise indication of date (Durand, *La Picardie*, 249-50).

[56]"Fecit dedicare capellam sancti Andreae per episcopum Atrebatensem anno Domini 1274." Prarond, *Joannis de Capella.*, 124. Pierre de Noyon, the bishop of Arras, oversaw the consecration of the chapel (Durand, "L'Eglise de Saint-Riquier" (1933) 19).

[57]See Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983) esp. Chap. 4.

[58]There are small diamond-shaped points of stone ringing the base at the recessed channel; these are much damaged, worn and in many places lacking entirely.

[59]The ten centimeter difference between nw and the other three piers results from the fact that the lowest portion of the base of nw is ten centimeters shorter than the others. Yet, if one measures the height of the base of nw from the nave floor rather than from the ambulatory floor, as with the others, then this base is approximately the same as the other three. But if one measures nw from the nave floor, one would have to do the same with sw, the measure of which would then be approximately ten centimeters taller than any of the other three bases.

[60]The capital on the pier is split between two levels, the aisle and the clerestory. Seven shafts (two main shafts, their four formeret shafts and one diagonal) correspond to the aisle level and nine shafts (two main shafts, their four formeret shafts and three diagonals)

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rise to the clerestory level.

[61]This portion of the north gallery of the cloister which intersects with the south transept arm is now closed off and serves as the church sacristy. It is a three bay area with simple groin vaults and sculpted keystones with oak and vine leaves. Clusters of shafts are in each corner, decorated with carved crocket capitals, which as Durand notes are not unlike those of the radiating chapels of Amiens cathedral which date to the 1240's ("Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 249-50). He goes on to point out that although Giles de Machemont's abbacy did not begin until 1257, these capitals do not necessarily provide evidence that the construction began before his tenure. Rather, the crocket style capital retained its popularity for several decades.

[62]The Gothic cloister follows the path of the earlier cloister, nestled along the south side of the church and turning at the south transept of the Carolingian/Romanesque church. As the plan of the high gothic church required moving the south transept into the area of the cloister, the decision was made to allow the cloister gallery into the space of the church. No documents survive to tell of this process of the design, but one can imagine that with restrictions of space because of claustral buildings to the south of the cloister that the only logical solution was to incorporate the cloister into the church proper. Therefore this wall separating the south aisle from the cloister was originally planned as part of the late thirteenth-century campaign. The present wall is from the early sixteenth-century campaign and will be discussed in greater detail below.

[63]The stairway is a late gothic construction, so it is unclear how the high gothic plan provided access to the treasury. It seems likely that another stairway preceded the present staircase, as it passes through the eastern buttress of the south transept, which would be difficult to accommodate at any time other than the original construction. The actual treasury is in the western two bays of the transept arm, with the eastern bay as a transitional space, between the stairway and the treasury.

[64]It appears that at the treasury level there has been an effort to fill in the wall openings, the archivolts over the windows are cut off resulting in two narrow windows in the western bays. Whether this was done for security or to physically add mass to the terminal wall of the transept is unclear. The transept had settled over the centuries as evidenced in relatively large cracks that appear in the upper portions of the eastern wall.

[65]The balustrade design, with paired mouchettes between vertical balusters, is part of the early sixteenth-century work of the facade of the south and north tribunes. It is earlier in style than the more classical, repeated circles of the nave balustrade (constructed in the late seventeenth century) and perhaps offers a suggestion of the late gothic nave balustrade.

[66]This window design became particularly popular after its use at Saint-Denis and at Troyes Cathedral. Jean Bony notes the importance and innovation of the design (Bony, 372-73). According to Bony, the developing integration of triforium and clerestory begins

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with Pierre de Montreuil's work at the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Lady Chapel of the mid-1240's, and extends to his work on the south transept facade of Notre-Dame in Paris in the 1260's (Bony, esp. 357-463). As one sees in the Notre-Dame south transept facade, Pierre de Montreuil designs a double row of lancet tracery, blind at the triforium level and glazed at the clerestory level (directly beneath the rose), in which the triforium lancets are equal in width to the clerestory lancets. By the 1270's this feature seems to have become the norm in that one finds a linear interpretation at Saint-Urbain, Troyes, Saint-Germain, Auxerre, and Saint-Thibaut in northern Burgundy and a more austere, simplified version at Saint-Martin-aux-Bois and Mussy-sur-Seine. This development of the linearity and connection of triforium and clerestory over the decades of the second half of the thirteenth century suggest that the Saint-Riquier transept clerestory windows date to the 1280's or 1290's.

Robert Branner discusses the development of this window form in his discussion of mid- to late thirteenth-century French architecture in *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, (London, 1985 rpt.), esp. 93-111. One notes particular similarities with the chapel at Saint-Germer-de-Fly (begun in 1259) where as Branner describes, "the design (of the window) differs from "normal" tracery of the time in that the secondary arch is repeated on the same axis and at the same scale as the lancet-head." (96) This allows the designer to make the window more intricate in the upper part without requiring an exceptionally wide window.

[67]This round molding remains to a greater extent on the western window, outlining the lancets of the lower and upper portions of the window. On the eastern window, the round molding only remains in fragments on the outer edges of the lower section and around the trilobes of the upper lancets and the quatrefoil roses.

[68]Durand notes that before the early twentieth-century restorations, the opening was observed to be filled with crudely cut stones. These were replaced with more finely cut stone, in keeping with the rest of the wall. Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 261, footnote 1.

[69]While the lancets, the trefoils and the quatrefoil are coursed in with the wall, and therefore evidently of the original composition, the gable seems to have been added from another location. The presence of the tracery is not unusual, given the popularity (at mid-century) of such blind tracery in the walls of the radiating chapels of north French churches, such as the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Evreux and Soissons. By the late thirteenth century the tracery is used in front of windows to achieve a delicate, linear effect in the priory church of Saint-Thibault and in Saint-Urbain in Troyes.

[70]Durand suggested that the style of the hemicycle capitals places them a little later than the transept and by another master (Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 265).

[71]Though now destroyed, a nineteenth-century watercolor depicts bases of a similar type, with high plinth and socle, both of polygonal form, in the Saint-Bertin, Saint Omer nave, which was constructed in the early fourteenth century (Héliot, "Abbaye de Saint-Bertin,"

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Congrès d'archéologique de France. 99e session. Amiens 1936 (1937) 537). The Saint-Bertin nave pier capitals were decorated with a double row of foliage, similar to the Saint-Riquier hemicycle capitals. The style of Saint-Bertin has been loosely described as the result of a stylistic compromise between the Picard school of France and the Flemish school with traces of influence from England. (Héliot, "Abbaye de Saint-Bertin," 539.)

[72]Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 265. Some of the difficulty in reading the logic of these piers is due to a layer of whitewash added in more recent centuries and to other changes, such as a layer of marble over the inner side of the piers, in keeping with the refurbishing of the church of the late seventeenth century. It is unclear whether the other changes, such as apparent recarving and replacement of shafts dates to this seventeenth-century restoration. Durand had suggested that the hemicycle piers were constructed after the crossing and transept by another mason. He suggests they were built to a certain height and then another change in the direction of work took place, perhaps the decision of how to vault the ambulatory changed, resulting in a different track for the ribs. Or perhaps it was only shortly after the transept construction so that the style had not changed much or perhaps the capitals had been carved earlier by the transept workshop and then had to fit the "later" construction of the hemicycle.

[73]On ne1 and se1 these secondary shafts are placed at the east, west, north and south faces of the core cylinder. On the piers of the turning bays, the shafts are placed to correspond with the turning of the hemicycle. While the shafts which rise to the ambulatory transverse ribs and to the choir ribs remain directly opposite one another on axis with radiants from the hemicycle center, the axis on which the shafts of the hemicycle transverse arches are placed bends slightly to meet the turning bays. This results in piers that in section, have slightly elliptical form.

[74]This description of the hemicycle piers from the top down is inherently illogical , yet it is easier to see and analyze than from the bottom up.

[75]It is possible that the placement and cutting off of the shafts was done to provide a place for statuary around the ambulatory. Now, there is statuary placed on the shafts that project into the ambulatory from the turning piers (na1, na2, sa2, and sa1). These statues were brought up to this church from the parish church of Notre-Dame after its destruction during the Revolution. Without removing the whitewash finish and the marble choir screen, there is no way to tell if the piers were adapted at that time for the statuary. Alain Villes points out that at Notre-Dame de l'Epine during the construction of the early fifteenth century two sculptures were built into the piers of the nave (in the fifth bay from the west). Probably representing the Annunciation and the Visitation, these sculptures seemed to function as imagery for the pilgrim processing in from the north aisle entrance of the church. A. Villes, "Notre-Dame de l'Epine, sa façade occidentale," *Congrès d'archéologique de France, 35e session, 1977* (Paris, 1980) 789.

[76]Because of this, one wonders if the lower portions of the shafts were added with the seventeenth-century choir screen. Without removing the present screen it is impossible to

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know what the early choir screen looked like and whether it followed the same outline as the present screen.

[77]Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 267.

[78]It is possible that part of the clerestory over these bays was built in the thirteenth-century campaign. Bernard records that he found vestiges of high gothic tracery at the clerestory of the north side of E1 near the juncture with the eastern wall of the north transept ("L'Oeuvre monumental," 90). It is unknown whether this work consisted only of a partial wall or whether it continued around the hemicycle clerestory.

[79]The actual documentation of this dedication no longer exists. In the chronicle of Johannes de Capella there is record that Giles de Machemont, in addition to his numerous building projects, "fecit dedicare capellam sancti Andreae per episcopum Atrebatensem anno Domini 1274." (See Appendix D for the complete entry.)

[80]Bernard writes that during excavations he has discovered the foundations of the ambulatory and chapels. He suggests that the outer walls were not constructed until the late gothic period. p. 4, letter from Bernard to the author; Oct. 10, 1991.

[81]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, VII, 1460, 13. "En cest an mil IIIIC LX labbe pierre fit faire le sepulcre qui est en la chappelle nostre dame taller et paindre et la place la ou ledit sepulcre est pose il fist faire parellement loratoire en ladite chappelle et soubz icelle oratoire fit faire sa fosse pour le metre quand il definira de cest siecle il fist parellement paindre les miracles de nostre dame qui sont en la voute haut et tost apres fit faire les chayeles (chaises) de ladite chappelle nostre dame fist faire la table dautel qui est en ladite chappelle et environ V ou VI ans apres le fist paindre comme elle est de present lesquelz ouvrages qui sont bien somptueux cousterent grans deniers." As there is no mention of a chapel dedicated to Notre-Dame before this time, it is assumed that it refers to the axial chapel. References to the parish church of Notre-Dame, built over the church of Notre-Dame that was part of the Carolingian abbey, are to the "église Notre-Dame," suggesting that the above reference to the "chappelle nostre dame" is different.

[82]Ms. 854, Bibliotheque d'Abbeville, fol. XXXIX verso. Eric Balandra brought this late fifteenth-century document to my attention and noted its importance in proving the early existence of an axial chapel at Saint-Riquier. The text refers to an earlier document in which mention of relics in the chapel of Notre Dame is made. "Nous avons ung instrument en tres grande marge de parchemin signe J. Lambert notaire appostolique qui reprend la magniere comment on trouva grand quantité de reliques dedens le grand hostel de la chapelle nostre dame quand monsieur Pierre le Prestre abbe le fist muer."

[83]Because they are on the inner wall of a thick, angular buttress, there is no evidence of these arches on the exterior.

[84]This may indicate partial destruction of each wall between the thirteenth and fifteenth

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centuries.

[85]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XIX, 1476, 46. "Incontinent ledit partement le duc de bourgongne a tout son armee vint mettre le siege audit nansy la ou il fut une grant espace et jusques a lapres noel ensieuvant auquel siege se firent pluseurs sallies et escarmuces dun coste et daultre. Pendant ce temps ledit pierre abbe de saint riquier contendant de tout son povoir a reparer saditte eglise demolye par les guerres."

[86]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XIX, 1476, 45. "Quant laditte eglise de saint riquier fu brullee comme dit est paravant il y avoit ung commencement deglise cest ascavoir coeur et croisye à laditte eglise moult riche et qui avoit este fait passe trois cens ans mail il sambloit aussi nouvel que sil ny eust eu que X ans." Either the chronicler was exaggerating or mistaken, because the choir and crossing had in actuality been built only two hundred years previously. Nonetheless, there is an appreciation of its decent condition.

[87]Durand suggested that the nave was entirely constructed by Eustache le Quieux (1481-1511), and that the overt references to the high gothic building were due to the late gothic master's good sense to reproduce the details of the thirteenth-century crossing and transepts ("Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 286). This overly simplistic view has already been disputed by Bernard, who argues with reason that the construction of the nave is much more complex ("L'Oeuvre monumentale," 104).

[88]It is assumed that this cessation of construction coincided with the death of Abbot Gilles de Machemont in 1290. The abbot to follow Gilles, Abbot Odon, began governing in 1293. Later chronicles make no mention of his accomplishments or events during his abbacy, other than that a great famine that spread across the country. He was followed in 1303 by Jean de Foucaucourt. Again a famine causing widespread death is noted during his tenure. In response to this event, he receives permission to carry the body of Christ in procession through the town after the celebration of the Corpus Christi ceremony. The only mention of any construction at the abbey between the abbacies of Gilles de Machemont and Pierre le Prêtre is that Abbot Pierre d'Alouinges had the abbot's house rebuilt. In addition he had the crests of all the "vavasseurs et hommes liges" of the abbey painted. (The placement of these paintings is unspecified.) Prarond, *Histoire de Saint-Riquier*, 240-246. The lack of any architectural features that are specific to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries confirms this historical evidence.

[89]These histories were based primarily on chronicles written during the abbacies of Pierre le Prêtre and Eustache le Quieux, and amended after their deaths.

[90]"L'abbe d'Aligre. Lettres et Mémoires," Bibliothèque Nationale MS française 16.827, fol. 15. After the abbacy of Thibault de Bayencourt, the abbots were appointed by the king.

[91]Born in 1418, Pierre le Prêtre entered the monastery in 1438. Quickly he rose through the hierarchy at the monastery as sub-deacon, deacon and then priest, saying his first mass

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in 1442. He was sent to study in Paris and in 1452 was named prevost of the abbey.

[92]See Chapter 1, footnote 4 for a more complete description of this chronicle, MS 94, Abbeville Archives.

[93]See Appendix C for the entries regarding these and other undertakings.

[94]Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle records the destruction of these fires. (See Appendix C, XVIII, 1475.) The chronicler begins the description by noting that the tower of the abbey was burned and its bells destroyed. The remainder of the destruction seems to have been concentrated on the abbey buildings connected to the church as well as various chateaux owned by the abbey in the surrounding countryside. While one assumes some destruction of the church because of its proximity to the destroyed buildings, the chronicler does not specify damage to the church itself (aside from the tower).

[95]*Chronique de Pierre de Prêtre*, XIX, 1476, 45. (Appendix C) The chronicler describes this as "a beginning of the church," which has suggested to historians that this marked the beginning of le Prêtre's work on the church. It seems it could as easily refer to what the fifteenth-century patron thought of as the beginning of the church itself, which the chronicler goes on to describe as having endured three hundred years, though seeming as new as if it had only been ten. Perhaps Pierre le Prêtre did not realize that the tower was considerably older than the rest of the church, and believed instead that the crossing and choir were the oldest surviving portions of the early church.

[96]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, Chap. XIX, 1476, 45. (Appendix C) "Pendant ce temps ledit pierre abbe de saint riquier contendant de tout son povoir a reparer saditte eglise demolye par les guerres."

[97]This event, though recorded in histories of the abbey, is given without reference. Pierre le Prêtre mentions this transfer in his chronicle. *Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XX, 1477, 55. (Appendix C) At the same time, the abbacy was handed on from Pierre le Prêtre to Eustache le Quieux and the Cardinal of Vienne is not mentioned again. By papal bull, Sixtus IV transferred the abbey to the Eustache le Quieux, the abbott selected by Pierre le Prêtre before his death.

[98]Like Pierre le Prêtre, Eustache le Quieux began his education at Saint-Riquier and was then sent to Paris to study grammar and the sciences. At Pierre le Prêtre's resignation in 1478 he was named abbot, but while awaiting papal approval the governor of Picardy, who had the power to fill vacancies, appointed Jacques de Haudrechies. This was disputed and by apostolic bull Eustache le Quieux was established as abbot and Jacques de Haudrechies was named abbot of the nearby abbey of Saint-Valery-sur-Mer.

[99]In 1492 Eustache had Jean de la Chapelle, a monk at Saint-Riquier and curé at Oneux, compose the *Chronique abbrégé de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*. The chronicle begins at the beginning of Christian history, with the birth of Christ, yet its main purpose is to make

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note of the particularly significant events and personalities of the abbey over time. Reading the chronicle, it becomes evident that Eustache's motive is to extol the powerful abbots of the abbey. He praises those abbots who held firmly to the rights of the abbey against attack (mostly political) from the local community. Although Pierre's chronicle was written in French and Eustache's chronicle in Latin, much of Eustache's chronicle is taken directly from Pierre's.

Eustache le Quieux's role in the rebuilding of the church is well known. He has been known through the history of Saint-Riquier as the "grand réparateur de cette église" (Hénocque, *Histoire*, 155).

[100]It is possible that due to Eustache's enthusiasm for the expansion of the church, work may have begun before the fire. Nonetheless, due to the destruction caused by this fire, also known as "the great destruction," it is safe to assume that this late gothic rebuilding of the church postdates the 1487 fire. After the fire Charles VIII gave the abbey the permission to hold an annual fair (franc-marché) on the day of Saint Honoré (16 May) to raise money for the rebuilding.

[101]Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Collection Picardie, MS 27, 399-400.

[102]"L'église Saint-Riquier et les bâtiments du monastère ayant été la proie des flammes en 1487, Eustache le Quieux, cinquante-quatrième abbé, n'épargna ni soins ni dépenses pour faire rebâtir l'église dans des dimensions beaucoup plus grandes que celles de la précédente, par les plus habiles maîtres de cette époque dont nous regrettons de ne pouvoir citer les noms. Cet abbé fit élever le choeur, les bas côtés, la chapelle de la Ste Vierge, la sacristie, l'ancienne trésorie attenante à l'église et plusieurs autres bâtiments dans l'intérieur de l'abbaye, tels que la salle capitulaire, le réfectoir et le dortoir. Après sa mort, les travaux de reconstruction de cette église furent repris et continués sous Thibaut de Bayencourt, cinquante-cinquième abbé, qui fit construire la nef et la tour." ("The church of Saint-Riquier and the monastery buildings having fallen prey to flames in 1487, Eustache le Quieux, fifty-fourth abbot, spared neither trouble nor expense to have the church rebuilt in dimensions grander than before by the most able masters of the epoque, the names of whom we regretfully cannot cite. This abbot had built the choir, the side aisles, the Virgin Chapel, the sacristy, the former treasury adjoining the church and several other buildings inside the abbey, such as the chapter house, the refectory, and the dorter. After his death, the work of reconstruction of the church was taken up and continued under Thibault de Bayencourt, fifty-fifth abbot, who constructed the nave and the tower.") Gilbert, 46.

[103]This juncture of high gothic and late gothic ribs is discussed in the earlier section on the high gothic construction of the hemicycle.

[104]Occasionally there is another size of base, close to the medium size. For instance at pier n1a2, the diagonal shaft bases directly adjacent to the central shaft are slightly larger than the standard medium bases, which are used for the rib and formerets of the chapel opening.

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[105]The singular exception to this is the plinth of n1a1 that rises only 55 centimeters compared to an average of 65 centimeters for the other plinths on the north side.

[106]There are a few exceptions to the general rules that determine the regularity of the bases. Reflecting their roles as straight bay piers, the ambulatory faces of piers n1e1 and s1e1 consist of three broad surfaces, a flat face flanked by receding planes, rather than the shaft and formeret combination of the piers of the radiating chapels. At pier n1e1, the pier of the western straight bay chapel on the north side, the largest base is not on the ambulatory face, but on the southeast face of the pier (illus. 32). This shaft rises directly from the plinth to the diagonal rib connecting to ne2 without the modulation of the socle base or socle. The counterpart to this unusual shaft is the northwest shaft of pier s1e2 connecting it to se1 (illus. 33). Like the n1e1 shaft, this one rises uninterrupted from the plinth to the shaft base. Yet, unlike the northern example, the base here is not the largest of the pier, but one of the medium size bases.

[107]Construction at Saint-Wulfran moved from west to east. According to accounts of the construction, the west towers were completed by 1502 and then funding went to the construction of the nave. P. Héliot, "Saint-Wulfran, Abbeville," *Congrès d'archéologique de France. 99e session. Amiens 1936* (Paris, 1937) 56.

[108]At least since the seventeenth century, wood wainscoting has encased the lower portion of each chapel. Only in chapel SIEII, the eastern straight bay chapel of the south side, can one see the original walls and shafts.

[109]A black curtain, providing separation of the chapel from the ambulatory, hides this archway. The axial chapel is used by the parish for services.

[110]It is unknown if this twelve-sided polygon also governed the plan of the first axial chapel. While the use of the twelve-sided figure may indicate a separate campaign than the rest of the plan, based primarily on ten-sided figures, it may be a result of symbolic or aesthetic requirements, as the number twelve carried great importance in Christian theology.

[111]These are the walls which, as indicated above, have embedded in them arches of the earlier chapel.

[112]The windows of the two straight bays are treated differently from the other windows. In the three panel windows of the western bay the transoms, which cross at about one third of the way up the window, are staggered with the central transom slightly higher than the flanking transoms. The cusped lancets below these transoms have round arches. At the upper portion of the window, the flanking lancets again have round arches, while the central lancet has a pointed ogee that rises into three circles of which the edges all interlock. The four panel window of the eastern straight bay has windows more typical of the rest of the church, in the aisles and clerestory.

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[113]Though the transom is used in the thirteenth century in France, it is more likely that its use here is related to the English Perpendicular style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One does see a transom used in the thirteenth century in France in the reform collegiate church of Saint-Martin-aux-Bois. While elegant, the severity of the architecture of Saint-Martin, was not as influential as the more widespread English Perpendicular style. For a discussion of Saint-Martin-aux-Bois see Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *Die gothische Architektur im Frankreich 1130-1270* (Munich, 1985) and J. Bony, 429-31. Bony suggests that the transom at Saint-Martin is the first true transom in French gothic architecture. For a detailed discussion of the Perpendicular style, see John Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485* (London, 1978).

[114]Sadly, this was in part so that a door could be put through the eastern-most wall, destroying a mural dating to this late gothic campaign.

[115]See footnote 81 above for documentary evidence of Pierre le Prêtre's oratory and sepulchre. The niche is approximately 2.8 meters wide, 2.8 meters high and 1 15 meters deep. At some point a plaster and white-wash coat had been put over the oratory walls. Only with the repairs to the church after the door was put through this wall, were paintings depicting Passion iconography found. The opening is framed by pendant cusping (with some evidence of gilding) and the niche itself is groin vaulted and has a pendant keystone with the crown of thorns around the Pascal Lamb. Small sculpted and painted angel busts with their hands clasped in prayer or song form the corbels for the vault ribs. The paintings depict scenes from the Passion, in keeping with the mis-en-tombe that Pierre le Prêtre had placed in the oratory niche. Only fragments of the original painting are now visible. On the east wall to the left one can make out the soldiers, in vivid red fifteenth-century garb, sleeping at the tomb out of which steps Christ. On the back wall, the Crucifixion is visible. The central cross is empty, while the tormented body of the bad thief and the peaceful body of the good thief still hang from their crosses. Again, the setting is northern Europe of the fifteenth century, as seen in the windmill and trees of the region. Still on the back wall, to the right one can discern the figure of Christ draped in a brilliant red rope leading Adam and Eve from Hell. On the south wall the Noli me tangere scene is barely visible. The vault cells are painted in a dark blue and have a regular pattern of gilded stars. E. Delignières describes the oratory in 1909 and it seems there was not much more visible at that point in time than there is now. He suggests a date of the first half of the sixteenth century. One could more specifically suggest a date of the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Further study of the style could probably help in suggesting an even more specific date. E. Delignières, "Restes des peintures murales de la première moitié du seizième siècle retrouvées à l'église paroissiale de Saint-Riquier," (Paris, 1909).

[116]The windows over the western straight bay have four panels, the eastern straight bay have two panels, while all the turning bay windows have three panels. Like the aisle and transept windows, a transom divides the window into approximately two to one proportions. The upper arched portion of the window is filled with a regular pattern of mouchettes and soufflets. The axial window is further decorated with vertical mullions

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that rise through the soufflets.

[117]Bernard suggests that these very different approaches to the upper level of the hemicycle and the nave indicate the difference between the work of Pierre le Prêtre, who he suggests is responsible for the hemicycle and the work of Eustache le Quieux, who he suggests is responsible for the nave. Given the extent of reconstruction in the east end, it seems this upper portion of the hemicycle belongs to Eustache's campaign. The difference in style between the nave and the choir may have more to do with liturgical function than construction campaign.

[118]From the seventeenth century there has been a marble facing on the choir side of the hemicycle piers, so while it is probable that these shafts rose from the ground level, now they only begin at the necking of the capital.

[119]Both the foliate cornice and balustrade are much restored. The balustrade is filled now with repeating circular designs more typical of neo-classical architecture than late gothic.

[120]Durand, *L'Eglise de Saint-Riquier* (1933) 20. These stalls no longer exist, owing to a fire in 1554. According to Durand, there were sixteen seats on each side between the crossing piers and another seven on each side at the entry to the choir, giving a total of forty-six seats and suggesting an approximate number of monks at the abbey at this time. The cost of the stalls was 900 livres. The year after carving these stalls the woodcarvers were employed to carve the stalls of the Amiens Cathedral. In a note of a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy in 1870, a member notes that according to Dom Cotron the carving of the stalls took four years. They were carved from wood from Ireland at a cost of 900 livres and were to be like the stalls of Saint-Lucien in Beauvais. Employing different spellings, he lists the names of the carvers as Adam Debellemes, Bernard Lebartier and Alexandre Huet. "Séance du 10. Mai 1870," *Bulletin des Antiquaires de Picardie* 10 (1868-70) 352-53.

[121]Durand was the first to propose the idea that the late gothic masons were intentionally continuing the legacy provided by the high gothic masons. Alain Villes argues that at Notre-Dame de l'Epine, the fifteenth-century construction of the church was done in a traditional style to evoke the thirteenth-century cathedral of Reims, whereas the façade, constructed during and after the church itself was constructed in the flamboyant style of the late gothic period. (Villes, 779-801.) Pierre Héliot continues this line of thinking in his suggestion that the pilier cantonné form, used only infrequently after the high gothic period, undergoes something of a revival at Saint-Riquier. (P. Héliot, *Les églises du Moyen-Age dans les Pays-de-Calais*, vol. I (Arras, 1951) 64.) The only other instance of the use of the pilier cantonné in this area during the fifteenth century is the nave of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame (formerly a collegiate church) at Saint-Omer. Like Saint-Riquier, the construction at Notre-Dame, Saint-Omer was a reconstruction of a twelfth-century nave that had burned. (Y. Christ. *Pierres Flamandes* (Paris, 1953) 17. In each case, it is important to ask whether the fifteenth-century reconstruction meant full rebuilding of the nave, or whether earlier structures were reused. The more typical form

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of pier used in this period and this region was the monumental pier, sometimes octagonal and sometimes cylindrical. For instance the naves of Saint-Saulve in Montreuil and Saint-Martin at Fressin have monumental piers.

[122]Admittedly, the trumpet forms of these bases are without the necessary flare. Nonetheless, like trumpet bases they are characterized by two torus moldings connected by a drum. Durand noted the rather crude quality of carving typical of these pier bases and suggested that it was due to the hardness of the stone (Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 286, footnote 2).

[123]This suggestion was made to the author by Bernard in October 1991 during a visit to the church.

[124]Chenesseau, "L'Eglise Saint-Euverte," *Congrès Archéologique de France. 93e session. Orléans 1930* (Paris, 1931) 78-111 (esp. 98 and 107).

[125]From the floor level to the capital of sw1 and sw2, each has nineteen courses of masonry, while nw1 and nw2 have seventeen and eighteen respectively. sw3 and sw4 each have twenty-two courses. nw3 and nw4 each has twenty courses. The number of courses in the aisle wall responds is similar to those of the nave piers; eighteen courses for each of the south aisle responds and seventeen each for the north aisle responds. The tower piers, sw5 and nw5, and the aisle respond to the north (n1w5) have thirteen courses of masonry and the respond on the south, s1w5, has fourteen courses.

[126]Clearly the darker sandstone is more appropriate for the structural members, while the softer, white chalk of the region is appropriate for the sculptural elements. There is evidence of whitewash on several of the piers throughout the church reflecting the desire at one time to unify the white surface of the masonry.

[127]As one sees in Table III, they range from 115.5 to 119.0 centimeters, whereas the other pier bases (excepting the tower pier bases) range from 120.5 to 135.5. Most of the difference comes from the height of the plinth and of the core cylinder socle.

[128]The height of s1w1, s1w2 and s1w3 ranges from 119.5 to 126.5, whereas the height of n1w1, n1w2 and n1w3 ranges from 127.5 to 133.0. It should be noted that while it would be advantageous to be able to use the walls between these aisle supports to corroborate the information gleaned from the responds themselves, the walls are of little help. Made up of smaller, lighter stone, the walls have been entirely reconstructed. The disjuncture of the coursing of the supports and the coursing of the walls is clearly evident on either side of each support (illus. 54-55).

[129]The nave arcade piers on the south and north also have four courses of masonry for each base.

[130]It should be noted that if one uses the fact that the crossing needed support from the west in the form of the new nave arcades, then it follows that the north nave arcade would

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have been constructed at the same time. The evidence does not point to this conclusion.

[131]The capitals referred to by illustration 19 decorate the formeret of the west wall (appearing just above and behind the crossing pier capital) and decorate the outer molding of the clerestory window tracery.

[132]Either this evidence has been destroyed, in the fire of 1475 or in the destruction of 1487, or it simply was never there. If the nave arcade was never constructed in the thirteenth century, one would have to imagine that the existing Carolingian piers and walls provided support for the crossing piers and vault.

[133]The measures of the base for nw1 are something of an anomaly. The total height of the base is consistent with the height of the other north arcade bases, but the division of measures within the parts of the base is different (refer to Table III). The measures of n1w1 are consistent with those of the other north aisle wall responds, giving no hint of a different construction date.

[134]"Thence (from the altar of the Holy Cross) they should go again to the altar of Saint Maurice and through the long gallery to the church of Saint Benedict, as has already been described above." Lot, *Hariulf*, Appendix VI; xvii, 305.

[135]One difficulty is the lack of accurate plans. For instance, the published plan of Saint-Riquier does not show the south aisle portal because it was closed off after the Revolution. A meaningful investigation of this idea would require on-site observation of the buildings.

[136]W. Horn, "On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister," *Gesta* 12 (1975) fig. 47.

[137]W. Braunfels, 156.

[138]This can be seen in the "ideal" Cistercian plan as published by Marcel Aubert in 1947 in *L'architecture cistercienne en France* (Paris). One sees it in reality in the plans of Clairvaux, Royaumont, Fountains, Pontigny, Eberbach and Maulbronn as described by Braunfels.

[139]The greatest irregularity in the coursing comes on the north side, where in the spandrels of WI and WII, the two eastern bays, several of the spandrel courses contain two layers of narrow stones.

[140]These thin, flanking moldings are unusual. They are derived from the more typical practice of placing a pair of shafts with bases on either side of the nave shaft to indicate the diagonal ribs of the high vaults. For instance at the cathedrals of Amiens and Saint-Omer as well as in Saint-Saulve at Montreuil these flanking shafts rest on bases. Because of the abbreviated nature of these shafts at Saint-Riquier, one should consider that they are the product of restoration.

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[141]Sometimes the wall coursing is a regular two stone per one stone of the respond coursing, but other times it is more random. One sees the effects of restoration especially in the walls of the western bay of the north aisle and the two western bays of the south aisle. [illus. 53, 54] (Illustration 53 shows the south wall of the second bay from the west and illustration 54 shows the north wall of the westernmost bay.)

[142]In bays SIWV and SIWVI there are no aisle windows because the church adjoins the abbey buildings here. In bays SIWI, NIWI and NIWVI the aisle windows are narrower with only two panels due to the necessity of a sturdier wall buttressing the west tower and the transepts. The aisle window of NIWV has only three panels due to the size of the wall immediately to its west, which helps to buttress the west tower.

[143]The issue of whether these distinctions indicate a difference in the date of construction, may include not only the notion of the passage of a few decades within the late gothic period, but also the problem of restoration over the centuries. The aisles were reconstructed to a large extent in the seventeenth century and many of these distinctions of details could relate to a restoration that does not follow its model exactly.

[144]The octagons are irregular in that they are composed of four short sides that alternate with four longer sides, so that the outer face of the plinth is narrower than the flanking surfaces that recede on each side.

[145]These measures were discussed specifically above in the context of the thirteenth-century construction.

[146]The exception to this interpenetration of the cornice and formerets are the two western bays on the both sides and the connection to the eastern piers, s1w and n1w, of the thirteenth century.

[147]The upper parts of the church were extensively repaired and reconstructed during the seventeenth century under Abbot Charles d'Aligre, so it is likely that much of this work, though in imitation of earlier shafts, dates to the seventeenth-century restoration.

[148]Sallez, conference paper 1958, no page numbers.

[149]This was done by the Architecte en Chef in 1908, M. Deneux, who, marveling at the wonders of reinforced concrete, replaced the aisle and ambulatory roofs with reinforced concrete slabs. Sallez, 1958 paper.

[150]These are not visible from the ground, but neither is the former interesting silhouette of the pyramidal roofs.

[151]Henocque, "Rapport sur la visite à Saint-Riquier," *Congrès Scientifique de France 34e session. 1867* (Amiens, 1868) 530.

[152]Durand, *L'église de St-Riquier* (1960) 20. Thibault de Bayencourt was elected abbot

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on April 25, 1511. He remained abbot until 1536 when the king replaced him with Claude Dodieu, the first commendatory abbot. Thibault retired at the priory of Chevincourt and died in 1539.

[153]See Chapter 2 for more extensive discussion of commissions by Thibault.

[154]Appendix D, Chap. XLVII.

[155]Prarond, *Joannis de Capella*, 189-90. Cotron writes that the reliquary was inscribed with the date 1519. Amiens Bibliothèque Municipal MS 1814, 651. (In 1524 Thibault had a reliquary made for the head of Saint Vigor.)

[156]Cotron notes that the west portal statuary was painted and gilded (Cotron, *Chronoci Centulensis*. X, 1153). Gilbert notes that in 1836 one can still see traces of the polychrome on the west façade statuary (Gilbert, 47).

[157]Saint Anthony was invoked for a kind of leprosy called "the fire of Saint Anthony." Saint Sebastian was tortured by arrows shot at him and since the fourth century was invoked against the plague. (Saint Sebastian was patron saint of archers, an important group in the fifteenth-century Picard culture.) Saint Roch was known for nursing victims of the plague and then dying of it himself. He is accompanied by his faithful dog.

[158]These sculptures, with those on the hemicycle pier pedestals, were brought from the parish church of Notre-Dame and generally date to the seventeenth century.

[159]All the vaults have been reconstructed since the sixteenth century, owing to destruction of the building in 1554 and subsequent neglect. It is believed that they were reconstructed fairly truthfully, though perhaps with a little less ornament than the original.

[160]There is no indication that any form other than a central tower was intended for the thirteenth-century plan, though a twin-towered west end would be more typical of high gothic planning. Whatever was intended during the thirteenth-century campaign, construction did not reach the west end until the very end of the fifteenth century, leaving the final decision until then.

[161]By comparing the heights of these pier bases with the bases of the other nave piers it becomes evident that the sixteenth-century mason used the eastern nave bases as models for these two bases. The base of sw5, the south tower pier, is similar in measure to the piers of the south aisle, while the base of nw5, the north tower pier, is similar in measure to the piers of the north aisle. (In fact in many respects it seems that sw5 is based on sw2 as its model, while nw5 is based on nw3 or nw4.)

[162]In 1731 the abbey bought an organ from the Premonstran monks of Chartreuve in the Aisne. It is possible this organ loft dates to this acquisition. Maurice Vanmackelberg noted that an early organ, described by Cotron as "...pneumaticum organum presiosissimum" existed at the church during the abbacy of Thibault de Bayencourt, but

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there is no mention of where the organ was placed (Cotron, fol 179v). It could have been on a wooden loft where the present organ is placed, or on one of the transept tribunes. It remained in the church until the fire of September 14, 1554. Vanmackelberg, 158.

Inside the upper level of the narthex, in the organ loft, one can see where the shafts rise through the floor up to the vaults, without bases at that level. This is further indication that the central bay of the narthex was to be open to the high vault. One sees this type of narthex in the north, for instance in the Cathedral of Ghent.

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Chapter 4

The Nave Capitals

The elaborate carving of the nave capitals provides a rich source for close investigation not only for the nave as a physical space, but for the nave as a space that carries meaning for the various communities served by the abbey. In addition, the nave capitals, carved entirely in the late gothic period, provide a sample by which to test the notion that a historical consciousness guided the late gothic construction at Saint-Riquier. Providing the modern viewer a glimpse at the love of craft and ornament characteristic of late gothic sculptural decoration, the nave capitals display a diverse mélange of wild beasts, religious symbols and vignettes of daily life entangled in robust, twisting vines. The juxtaposition of whimsical scenes, religious symbolism and social commentary within a religious context further provides a glimpse into the broad scope of the communities involved in the life of the monastery. The meaning of many of the capitals remains obscure, yet hidden in some of the vines are scenes which allude to stories with recognized religious or moralizing messages. For instance, the symbols of the four evangelists are dispersed along the capitals of the south aisle, while two scenes of fighting couples facing the nave are evidence of the popularity of moralizing comedies in late medieval society. This chapter begins by looking at the types of capitals decorating the entire nave. The

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focus then shifts to three capitals decorating the south aisle and finally to the iconography of one capital in particular.

Unfortunately there is no Hariulf of the sixteenth century to shed light on who commissioned the sculpture, who decided what image to create or where to place it and exactly what purpose the image was to serve. Carol Heitz has been able to use Hariulf's writings to analyze the liturgy and processions of the Carolingian churches, even though the altars and devotional images no longer exist.[1] In this late gothic nave the sculpture remains, but without textual reference to its religious meaning or liturgical role. Nonetheless, the thematic content and placement of some of the sculptures suggest that the imagery served a meaningful purpose. The wealth of architectural sculpture found at Saint-Riquier reflects a long tradition of interior sculptural decoration in Picard churches. The richly carved foliate string course that identifies the thirteenth-century interior of Amiens Cathedral provides a well-known example. The late gothic mason of Saint-Riquier would also have had the thirteenth-century rose-studded string courses of the east and west transept walls at Saint-Riquier itself as indication of this tradition (illus. 18).

Around 1500, at the time of the carving of the Saint-Riquier nave capitals, one finds that the sculptural decoration of Picard churches as well as public and private buildings in the secular sphere was a thriving art form. The beams and rafters of the wooden rural churches were carved with elaborate ornament.[2] Generally the rafters were composed of three layers of carved beams, the lowest of which was the most simply carved, with a spiral or scroll molding or a simple interlace of grapevines.[3] The middle beam was the largest and the most decorated of the three. Sometimes the decoration was purely geometric, though more typically it was filled with vegetal motifs and birds or

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animals of the forest. At the hospital at Rue a wild boar and hare are pursued by a hunter and his dog, while at Moyenneville and Bouillencourt-sous-Miannay there are interlaces of vines, oak leaves and acorns, inhabited by snails nibbling the sprouts of the vines and birds pecking at clusters of grapes. Macqueron suggests that while these motifs are common to late fifteenth-century sculpture in Picard churches, based on the presence of strange beasts and grotesques, the influence may be equally strong from the Romanesque past.[4] The third and highest beam is narrower than the middle beam and more simply carved, often with a rinceau or an inscription.[5] While the sculptural decoration of the horizontal beams draws from a wide range of sources, the blocks placed at intervals between the beams reflect a more focused religious message. These blocks are often carved with a portrayal of a standing saint, such as Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Barbara, Saint Nicolas, Saint Christopher and the Christ child and Saint James the Major.

Several churches within a short distance of Saint-Riquier provide comparative examples of such carving in stone. For instance a comparison of the carved capitals of Saint-Sauve in Montreuil-sur-Mer, the nave decoration of Saint-Martin in Fressin, the spectacular vaults of Saint-Esprit in Rue, and the sculptural decoration of the Abbeville churches with Saint-Riquier reveals similarities of scale, of subject matter and of carving style. All of these churches lie within a relatively short distance of one another. Montreuil-sur-Mer and Fressin lie approximately forty kilometers northwest and north of Saint-Riquier, respectively, whereas Rue is only fifteen kilometers to the northwest and Abbeville only ten kilometers to the southwest.

In many respects the closest comparison is between Saint-Riquier and Saint-Sauve in Montreuil-sur-Mer. Like Saint-Riquier, Saint-Sauve was a Benedictine abbey, and like

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Saint-Riquier it had both suffered considerably and undergone a new building campaign during the last decades of the fifteenth century. After a devastating destruction of 1467 the relics of the abbey were processed throughout the countryside to gain funds for rebuilding of the destroyed church. While in 1537, the siege by the Spanish again destroyed much of the church, the nave piers and their sculpture remain.[6] The carved string course running at the base of the triforium and the nave capitals, of 1470-80, are carved in high relief with "fantastic subjects, representations, more or less bizarre and more or less decent, of animals, birds and various monsters, interlaced in the foliage and thorny branches."[7] The capitals of the south aisle are perhaps the most varied. On one capital one sees the upper torso of a wildman beside a crossbow. On another is an agitated bird between two snarling beasts (illus. 68). A man riding a horse backwards and a man battling a lion are paired on the face of one capital (illus. 69). The capitals of the north aisle are decorated primarily with foliate motifs, the exception being the presence of several cross-bows amidst the foliage.[8]

Saint-Martin in Fressin, a small, rural parish church, was initially founded in 1425 by gifts of Jean IV of Créquy and his wife, Jeanne du Roye, who are both buried in the funerary chapel of the church.[9] The nave was not completed until the "restoration" of the church carried out from 1473 to 1518.[10] The triumphal arch of the nave and the archivolts of the nave arcade are filled with bands of small figures and foliage (illus. 70). Unlike Saint-Riquier, the capitals of the nave piers are not sculpted, but instead are composed of six progressively larger, octagonal layers of stone, each layer in convex profile. A detail from the triumphal arch over the organ loft at the west end of the church shows the carving of each voussoir of the arch with a different figural or vegetal motif (illus. 71).

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The small scale of the sculpture, the mixture of motifs and the intricacy of line and form relate the decoration of Saint-Martin to the nave capitals of Saint-Riquier.

Saint-Esprit in Rue, funded to a large degree by Louis XI, provides the best known comparison to Saint-Riquier, as well as providing a geographically closer comparison.[11] Both the interior and exterior of Saint-Esprit are covered with sculpture, both ornamental architectural sculpture and free-standing figural sculpture. The chapel vaults, with intricate carving of every rib, pendant bosses at each intersection of the liernes and tiercerons and filigreed pendant keystones in the center of each bay, express the epitome of this decorative style (illus. 72). The collegiate church of Saint-Wulfran and several parish churches were under construction during the late fifteenth century in Abbeville. While none of these churches parallels Saint-Riquier in architectural scale or arrangement, correlations can be drawn between their sculptural decoration. At Saint-Wulfran there is a deeply carved string course of foliate and animal motifs separating the nave arcade and triforium levels (illus. 73).[12] At the parish church of Saint-Sepulchre in Abbeville an inhabited foliate band of sculpture decorates an arched opening between the sanctuary and the entombment chapel (illus. 74). As with the sculpture of Saint-Sauve and Saint-Martin, the sculpture of Saint-Esprit and the churches of Abbeville share the small scale, the intricate interlacing of foliate decoration and the inhabitation of the vines with small human and animal figures.

Surprisingly the sculptural decoration of these churches has rarely been discussed. In various studies of Saint-Riquier one must search to find even the briefest mention of the sculptural decoration. Yet the church is replete with both free-standing sculpture and architectural sculpture dating from its thirteenth-century and fifteenth-century construction

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through its seventeenth-century restoration.[13] Reasons for this omission of study date to the nineteenth-century restoration efforts, if not earlier. In their fight to save the building, restorers concentrated on the classic high gothic plan of the church and its impressive, classic proportions.[14] Their rhetoric and efforts necessarily focused on the dilapidated state of the building and the urgency of its restoration. Because the sculpture was not easily understood and often portrayed events or scenes that seemed to have no relation to their religious setting, it was easily discarded as unimportant or even as a distraction to the understanding of gothic (i.e., Christian) architecture.[15] Gilbert's brief description of the nave pier capitals typifies the laconic treatment of the architectural sculpture at Saint-Riquier by scholars of the nineteenth century. He writes, "The nave presents on each side, five arches supported by ten columns, of which the various capitals offer in their composition a system of ornaments taken from the vegetal realm; one also sees several fanciful figures and several very grotesque scenes."[16] Georges Durand, writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, supplies a more detailed description of the nave sculpture, and while he identifies several of the figures he makes no attempt to interpret the subjects.[17] In a lengthier, though equally descriptive account of Saint-Riquier after a 1902 visit, Bouthors writes "the [nave] capitals do not have simple acanthus leaves in bouquet that we notice in the transepts and choir, but the foliage is jumbled with scenes from everyday life, occasionally grotesque, humorous, but irrelevant to the edification that the house of God must still provide."[18]

Chalk from a local quarry was used for the capitals.[19] Because of its extremely soft character, it provides a wonderful medium for carving; conversely, it suffers easily from damage of time and weather.[20] While it is possible that the white stone was at one

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time painted, there is no apparent evidence of polychromy. Each capital is composed of four stones, joined by the uniform treatment of the necking and abacus. The necking, a simple, rounded torus molding encircling the pilier cantonné, provides the artist a curving stage on which to place figures, beasts and vines (illus. 46-47). The artist has carved the capitals to project outward beyond the constricting line of the necking; the figures lean precariously as though over the edge of a precipice. The abacus, more complex in profile with a torus over a scotia molding, projects out over the capital on all sides except the nave, forming both a sheltering canopy for the capital and a solid base for the ribs that rise from it. The pattern of the abacus is derived from octagons: a large octagon defined by and projecting over the edge of the central shaft is intersected by three smaller octagons which are defined by and project over the aisle and nave arcade shafts of the pilier cantonné. The exterior sides of each octagon are then carved out resulting in a series of sweeping concave curves and straight lines intersecting to form the elegant, lilting outline of the abacus. On the nave side the abacus and necking vanish into the engaged shaft that continues uninterrupted to the springing of the nave vault at the clerestory level.

The style of carving divides the nave arcade capitals into three groups. The capitals of the three eastern piers of the south nave arcade (sw1, sw2 and sw3) form one group, the capitals of the four eastern piers of the north nave arcade (nw1, nw2, nw3 and nw4) and the fourth pier of the south nave arcade (sw4) form the second, and the capitals of the tower piers (sw5 and nw5) form the third group (fig. 19). Lush, sinuous, leaf-heavy vines wind around each capital.[21] The treatment of the vines is one of the distinguishing characteristics that enables one to group the capitals. In the first group, twisting vine and oak leaves stem from the vine, sometimes hiding the vine, but never completely (illus. 46).

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Wrapping itself around the capital like a thick rope, the vine connects leaf to leaf embracing the capital. Men and animals inhabit this verdurous, vine-filled world, using the vine as a prop on which to lean or behind which to hide. In sections of each of these capitals where the evangelists are portrayed, the vine is replaced with a curling scroll (illus. 75). The vines winding around the capitals of the second group are completely enveloped in leaves (illus. 76). It is the curving outline of the leaves, bending and twisting as though blown by the wind, that creates the rhythmic curve encircling the capital. These leaves are larger than those of the first group of capitals and, on occasion, they share the space with large, monstrous beasts (illus. 47). Whereas, in the first group the vine provides the backbone for the vegetation, and in the second is concealed by vegetation, in the third group it fractures into thin, tightly curved tendrils and thorns (illus. 48). The crisp carving and brittle forms of the leaves add to the density of the tightly packed foliage. A beast or two are enmeshed in the foliage, their bodies bent like drying leaves camouflaged in the thick underbrush (illus. 77).

The three distinct types of carving and decoration might suggest that there are three different patrons or masons involved in the decisions. Yet, the history and documentation would suggest only two patrons, Abbots Eustache and Thibault. The documents that tell of the construction under these two patrons indicate that Eustache was responsible for the capitals of the first two groups (sw1-sw4 and nw1-nw4) while Thibault was responsible for the third group, the capitals of the tower piers. The disparity between the south and north arcade capitals might indicate that there were two simultaneous sculpture workshops at the church during Eustache's time, or that the initial workshop was replaced at some point by a second. Yet, one cannot assume that differences in style

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are absolute indications of differences in chronology, workshop, or mason. For instance, Murray has shown that at Troyes Cathedral a single master mason, Anthoine Colas, was responsible for two vastly differently carved pier capitals. One was carved while he was under the supervision of another mason and the other was carved while he was master mason.[22]

Another explanation, suggested in Chapter 3, and not exclusive of either the simultaneous or successive workshop theories, is that the differences in sculpture respond to differences in the meaning or liturgical function of each space. The lack of liturgical documents of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries describing processional routes and devotional practices make it difficult to imagine how the liturgy was carried out in the church.[23] Yet, the plan of the church, with the intersection of the cloister and transept and the parallel paths of the south aisle of the church and the north gallery of the cloister, lends weight to the idea that there is a liturgical difference between the north and south aisles. The south aisle, potentially functioning as an interior gallery of the cloister, would have been particularly important to the monk in his passage from the cloister to the church choir and back again.

Is it coincidental that the capitals of the south nave arcade are decorated with the most lively sculpture of the entire building? On the east face of the eastern pier, (sw1) a bagpipe player straddles the vine while his dog stands upright before him dancing to the melody. Just ahead of this pair a swordsman chases another through the vines. The second stands in defiance opposing his attacker. Continuing around the capital to the nave side, a muscular beast, energized by its wide-eyed gaze, alert ears and the twist of its neck, stretches to glance over its shoulder across the nave (illus. 78).[24] Remnants of a scaly

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beast are on the opposite side of the nave shaft, but the restoration of acorns and a spiny oak leaf has replaced most of the original figure. Incongruous with the small-scale figures on the capital, a lion with the bearded head and the hands of a man grasps the leafless vine that crosses his body on the west side of the capital (illus. 79).[25] Facing the aisle from this first capital a man enveloped in a swirling scroll and seated at a writing table created by the vine crossing his lap represents Saint Matthew the evangelist (illus. 75).

Two of the other evangelists are represented on the next capital (sw2). Facing the east is the ox representing Saint Luke and facing south is the lion representing Saint Mark (illus. 80, 81). In each case the winged animal, standing in the overgrown foliage, holds an unfurled scroll in its mouth. The west face of this capital is devoted to a long-bodied monster with a grinning smile and mouse-like ears (illus. 82). The nave side of the capital, unfortunately much damaged, is perhaps the most puzzling. On the east side of the nave shaft, an elephant-like creature, its back heels nipped by a small dog-like dragon, turns its head as though laughing at the small person riding on its back (illus. 83). The rider faces backwards and holds his arms out to catch a somersaulting figure spinning from the dragon's back. While the west side of the nave shaft is damaged, there remains a standing figure who appears to hold an object over his head (perhaps a scroll) in a great arc. A small, four-legged animal crouches behind his legs (illus. 84).

The third capital of the south nave arcade, sw3, is one of the most intricately carved with the juxtaposition of several themes: an angel, a mermaid, a bird, and two couples fighting. On the west and south faces, figures of an angel holding a curling banderole and a mermaid holding a comb in one hand and a mirror in the other (illus. 85, 86). Both of these themes are common to late fifteenth-century art, yet they are more

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typically seen individually. Here the pairing is made obvious by the formal parallels of the fluttering interlace of the scroll before the angel and the sinuous vine supporting the mermaid. On the east face of the capital an eagle represents Saint John the Evangelist (illus. 87). Its presence connects this pier with the two piers directly to the east, with their sculpted images of the other three evangelists. The images on the nave side of the pier are the most perplexing of this capital; bisected by the nave shaft are a pair of scenes of conflict. On the left, two men are frozen at the climactic moment of a sword fight, one pinning the other against the nave pier (illus. 88). Mirroring this drama, the fighting pair on the right are also at the height of their conflict, though here, a woman and a man battle (illus. 89).

Having briefly looked at these capitals, one can now look more closely at the meanings of the images and their juxtaposition. On the three capitals just described, the figures facing the aisle are the evangelists, whereas the more diverse and less clearly religious scenes, reminding one of the figural commentary in the margins of illuminated manuscripts, are spaced around the other sides of the capitals. When one stands at the east end of the south aisle facing west about to enter the south aisle, all four evangelist symbols are easily visible in the capitals while the other figures blend into the foliage (illus. 90). Standing at the opposite end of the aisle, at the now-blocked portal leading from the cloister into the third aisle bay, the evangelist symbols are less obvious (illus. 91). Instead, the paired angel and mermaid and the monstrous beasts on the west faces of the two eastern capitals are most prominent. When standing in the nave the most clearly seen images are those of the chase through the vines, the monster, the elephant and acrobat and the fighting couples. This is not to suggest that certain sides of each capital are intended

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for an exclusive audience, whether monastic or lay. It does suggest that choices were made about where to place certain themes on the capital, in order to most directly relate to a given audience. Looking closely at the themes of the third capital may help in exploring such an idea.

The varied subjects of the first two piers of the south arcade raise many questions of iconography, authorship and chronology, and, excepting the evangelists, their meanings appear virtually indecipherable. The capital of the next pier (sw3) offers greater coherency of theme. The visible meaning of its subjects, the placement of the subjects around the capital and the position of the capital in the nave arcade all add significance and meaning to the capital. Though absorbed in the row of piers, seemingly without particular distinction, this pier is in fact distinguished by both its position and its sculptural decoration. It stands directly to the east of the former aisle portal connecting the church and the cloister, so that the monk entering the church from the cloister would see it first as he processed from the cloister to his position in the church choir (illus. 92). [26] Likewise, in the reversal of this path it marked the last pier passed while leaving the church and entering the cloister. Hariulf describes the Carolingian practice of processing through this area and into the cloister.[27] He writes of the monks alternately dividing into two groups and then meeting together at various stations in the church. Having processed in prayer and song from the altar of the Saviour in the upper room over the west entrance to the altar of the Holy Passion and the altar of Saint Richarius in the choir, they pass back to the west, stopping at the altars of Saints Stephen and Lawrence, from which they process to the altar of the Holy Cross in the crossing. "Thence (from the altar of the Holy Cross) they should go again to the altar of Saint Maurice and through the long gallery to the

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church of Saint Benedict, as has already been described above."[28] According to Hariulf's description, the altar to Saint Maurice was one of the three minor altars in the south aisle and stood just to the east of the south aisle entrance to the cloister.[29]

One of the first images seen by either the pilgrim entering the church from the west or the monk entering the church from the cloister is the angel (illus. 85 and 91). His rounded body, depicted only from the knees up, swells out from the shaft, hovering over the viewer below. The artist has centered him over the western shaft of the pilier cantonné, reinforcing his upright posture and round form. Facing west, he spreads his wings behind him and stretches his arms outward to present a thick, winding scroll. His right arm drops slightly, curving behind the scroll so that his right hand bends up to support it, while his left arm follows its sweep around the capital, directing the viewer's attention and invigorating the linear force of the scroll. Like a broad ribbon, the scroll sweeps before him and then curls and twists into interlaces and knots on either side. There is no visible message painted or inscribed on his banderole, and perhaps there never was; the angel's message is nonetheless clear. As a messenger of God he offers to the faithful the wisdom of God's divine word.[30]

An angel with a flowing, open scroll is a frequently used motif in the fifteenth-century.[31] For instance, angels presenting open scrolls inscribed with words of adoration fill the sky in Campin's *Nativity*, of 1425, now in Dijon. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments*, painted in 1453-55 and now in Antwerp, angels hover amid the aisle piers, one over the depictions of each of the seven sacraments. In each case the angel holds an unfurled scroll with words referring to the sacrament performed below in the church. From the fourteenth century onward the angel Gabriel is

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often portrayed with his words to the Annunciate Virgin inscribed on a banderole. Jan Van Eyck portrayed Old Testament prophets and pagan sibyls bringing prophecies of Christ's coming and of his promised salvation with inscribed banderoles on the outer panels of the Ghent Altarpiece from 1432. The scroll signifies a message from God and thus signifies God's wisdom in the words and his presence and voice on earth. This form of presentation is similar to the angel on the Saint-Riquier capital and thus informs our interpretation of his message as the wisdom of God's word brought to earth. Reinforcing this understanding is the fact that the angel is one of a pair. His partner is the temptress siren beside him and to whom he directs our attention.

The formal similarities of the angel and the mermaid make their thematic relationship absolutely clear. Like the angel, the mermaid faces straight out from the capital, looking out with a similar open, round face (illus. 86). Her long hair falls on bare shoulders and torso while her finned-tail curls upward around a vine, securing her upright position. In her raised, bent arms she holds symbols of vanity–a round mirror and a comb–signifying a preoccupation with worldly concerns. A thick, snake-like grapevine wraps around this portion of the capital beginning where the knotted scroll of the angel ends and continuing around to meet a cluster of oak leaves. Just as the banderole unfurls in front of the angel to form a wide, sweeping banner, the vine, planted in the necking of the capital and having grown to the abacus, bends downward in front of the mermaid holding her figure in place, and then winds back up to the abacus. Thickly carved grape leaves and heavy clusters of grapes stem from the vine except in front of the mermaid. A tendril wraps itself tightly around the vine to the mermaid's left, a visual reminder of her grasp if one succumbs to the temptation of her hypnotic song.

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The mermaid (siren) holding mirror and comb is a popular theme in fifteenth-century art and is seen frequently on misericords and in the margins of manuscripts.[32] Though the mermaid and her enchanting qualities can be traced back to the well-known Greek epic of Odysseus' voyage, the siren took on Christian meaning during the Middle Ages. There are frequent portrayals of mermaids in Romanesque sculpture, though in these portrayals she usually is without attribute and holds her divided tail in each arm.[33] The temptations of worldly pleasure are personified in the siren. In a less purely religious setting, Guillaume of Normandy's descriptive poem from the early thirteenth century of Odysseus' journey includes reference to the sweet song of the siren. Her song puts one under a spell, tempting the listener with luxury, a life of ease and gluttony. And then once the listener is trapped he is killed. By the late Middle Ages the siren acquires attributes of mirror and comb or a musical instrument, and takes on a more sensual, less monstrous character. The warning remains; her carnal temptations are to be avoided by the good Christian.

Though not common, this pairing of an angel with open scroll and a siren with comb and mirror is not unique to Saint-Riquier. In the transept of Sens Cathedral one finds a similar pair of sculptures (illus. 93, 94). These figures, nestled into the corners under the transept clerestory of Sens Cathedral, date to the work undertaken by Martin Chambiges in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Like the Saint-Riquier sculptures they have not been the subject of extensive study. The juxtaposition of the two figures strengthens their individual messages of good and bad, of warning against evil and of praise of the good. The angel and the siren at Saint-Riquier continue the traditional pairing of opposites to emphasize this struggle. According to Saint Benedict's rule for the

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monk, humility is the highest virtue, while self-exaltation is the lowest vice.[34] The goal of the Benedictine monk's life was to be humble; to strive for absolute humility and obedience to God.[35] According to early medieval illustrations of the contrast of good and evil, Humilitas is the root of the Tree of Virtues, symbolizing all that is good, and Superbia is the root of the Tree of Vices, symbolizing all that is bad.[36] The angel and the siren then, represent the wisdom of God brought to those who strive in humility, contrasted with the meaningless life of self-exaltation.

Continuing around the capital to its east face, there is a depiction of an eagle with wings raised (illus. 87). The eagle stands in profile facing the south and spreads its wings behind it as though agitated, perhaps it has just landed or is just about to fly.[37] Though severely damaged, fragments of a scroll extend above the bird's beak and between its feet and behind it. Originally curling from the abacus down, around, under and behind the bird, the scroll identifies the eagle as the symbol of Saint John the Evangelist.[38] A thick vine with robust oak leaves passes behind the eagle and rises in front of it following the rounded form of the capital. This swelling of the vine reaffirms the uplifted form of the bird's head and wings and leads the viewer's eye around the capital to the left (south). This directional emphasis reinforces the east to west path taken by the monk from the choir, as one sees this image while leaving the choir area and continuing along the south aisle toward the west.

The remaining sculpted scenes on this capital face the nave. A fighting couple is placed on either side of the nave shaft as it rises without interruption to the clerestory (illus. 95). As with the angel and siren, the sculptor has carved these figures so that they open before their audience enabling one to read the drama that is enacted.[39] Two

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swordsmen are at the height of a dramatic sword fight on the east side of the shaft (illus. 88). The swordsman to the left is easily identified as the victor by the flare of his cloak as it twists in a great spiral around him and the feathery plume that rises assertively from his hat to break out of the picture frame into the capital's abacus. In the final lunge of the fight, he kneels with right knee down and left knee bent, thrusting his sword against his opponent, pinning him against the nave shaft. The swordsman stands firm while his opponent, semi-clothed and fleeing, is trapped. The victor spreads his arms triumphantly, his cloak surrounding him like an ancient laurel wreath of victory. Who are these gallant fighters? They share the stone with another fighting couple and as with the angel and siren, perhaps this pairing can help in understanding their meaning.

The woman and man to the right of the nave shaft are locked in battle, though clearly the woman, a virtual embodiment of defiance and aggression, has the upper hand (illus. 89). She stands with her knees bent and her back firmly braced against the nave shaft. In her right arm, bent above her head, she holds a distaff ready to strike her combatant, while she stretches her left arm successfully crowning him with a cooking pot. He responds dispassionately, pushing her left knee with his right arm. This action is clearly ineffectual; his left arm hangs lifelessly at his side and his bent posture reveals pain and discomfort rather than aggression. An attribute of the pair, a ring with half a dozen keys held in the man's left hand, seems irrelevant to the conflict yet may help in revealing the meaning of the fight.

The prominent position of this pair of sculptures facing the center of the nave suggests a meaning well-known and relevant to Saint-Riquier's monastic community as well as to its visiting lay community.[40] Further suggestion of the significance of these

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images to the local community is the fact that in addition to their position in the nave the couples appear again in a corbel decorating the south transept, carved three or four decades later in the 1520's or 1530's (illus. 96).[41] A survey of regional late medieval literature has uncovered two related stories that provide a key to understanding the relevance and the moral message of this capital for the Saint-Riquier community. The work of a sixteenth-century Burgundian writer, Bonaventure des Périers, provides this key to unraveling the meaning of the fighting couples.[42] Bonaventure des Périers was born between 1510 and 1515 in Arnay-le-Duc, he studied at the school of the Abbey of Saint-Martin in Autun until 1532, and he wrote for Marguerite de Navarre until his death in the early 1540's.[43] The author of several poems, translations of classical texts and philosophic dialogues, Des Périers is best known for a collection of short stories, the *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis*.[44] Originally published in 1558 the *Nouvelles Récréations* contains two sonnets and ninety *nouvelles*.[45] In only two of these ninety short stories does Des Périers mention the people of Picardy, and in both instances he characterizes them as less than ideal. It is these flawed characters who seem to be represented on the Saint-Riquier capital. Because this pairing of images precedes the date of Des Périers' publication, there can be no doubt that the stories existed before his writing. J.W. Hassell, Jr. found strong evidence that Des Périers was drawing from a long-standing oral tradition of story-telling as well as from other published collections of stories.[46]

The story about the quick-tempered drunkard is the fourth of the ninety stories in the *Nouvelles Récréations*. Des Périers recounts how there was a singer who sang for Notre-Dame in Reims and was known both for his wonderful voice and for his bad behavior. It was said that he could not go through a single day without getting into a fight

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owing in part to his life in the bars playing cards and dice. At the insistence of the canons and having had enough himself, the archdeacon took the singer aside and told him he could only have bread and water for a year for he was nothing but a fool. The singer responds with surprise at the archdeacon's own surprise that he is a fool: a fact, he explains, that is the inevitable consequence of his being a Picard, a singer and a master of arts. He elaborates, saying that a Picard, by definition, wears his hat close to his head, a singer always has something on his mind and that a master of arts is so contentious that no one can endure being near him.[47] The first of his excuses needs an explanation, as Des Périers uses a now-obscure Picard proverb. While the meaning of the proverb about a Picard wearing his hat close to his head is not readily apparent, one could interpret it in several different ways. According to other proverbs, Picards had a reputation for being hot-headed and quick-tempered; the closely-worn hat could cover black-eyes and other wounds of the fight or protect one from the blows of opponents, or it could refer to a Picard's desire to be left alone and unbothered. Although the meaning remains uncertain, the proverb does help in identifying the swordsman with the plumed hat as the protagonist of the story. The singer uses the three excuses to imply that his behavior needs no explanation. He goes on to compare the inevitability of his actions to a monk who made five nuns pregnant and offered as an excuse that when God gives one five talents, one must return five more. The archdeacon is so amused by his quick, witty response that he can only pardon him, as the priest had done for the monk.[48] The amusing surprise ending to the story highlights the tolerance of the archdeacon and his final acceptance of the contentious singer. What appears in Des Périers ' short story as a comical anecdote takes

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on moral overtones in the monastic context.

The choice to represent this story with two fighting swordsmen may suggest that in an oral version of the story the singer was also a swordsman. It is more likely that the artist was drawing on traditional representations of fighting men. Manuscript illumination provides a rich source for such representations. A detail from the lower margin of fol. 123 from the Liège Psalter (Pierpont Morgan Lib. Ms. 183) dating to the 1280's shows an example of this type of image (illus. 97). Framing the text of Psalm 97, two swordsmen with shields raised fight within a rinceau of vines. In the lower margin of fol. 7v of the Gorleston Psalter (British Lib. Add. Ms. 49622), an English manuscript of c. 1310-25, a similar, though more elegant and dramatic battle is enacted (illus. 98). Here the fighters are not confined by their vine-scrolled setting, but parry elegantly on the vine-shoots. The motif continues into the fifteenth century. In the right margin of fol. 133 of the Book of Hours of Marguerite of Orléans (BN Latin 1156B) dating to c. 1450, a pair of miniature swordsmen are hidden in an equally miniature, foliated setting (illus. 99). In these marginal illuminations, the relationship of the swordsmen and the other marginalia with which they share each leaf is uncertain. The Saint-Riquier capital, on the other hand, with its pair of clearly related scenes provides a way to approach the meaning of each scene.

In the sixth story of the ninety, Des Périers' recounts the story of a young woman who is married to an elderly judge of Picardy, after the death of his first wife.[49] Soon it becomes evident that as an elderly gentleman he can no longer satisfy her needs. She begins meeting a young man, and then another and another; before long there are several suitors visiting their home at all hours of the day and night. The pitiful old man takes the blame for his wife's transgressions, realizing it is his fault at having taken such a young

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wife. Rumors spread through the village. Seeming to be more concerned about the appearance of inappropriate behavior than the actual misbehavior, he arrives at a means by which to allow his wife to continue seeing her lovers.[50] He buys the house behind his own and joins the two, intending that the lovers would enter his home through the newly-acquired house, thus avoiding the watchful eyes of curious neighbors.[51] Then at a dinner for her family he presents his wife with half-a-dozen keys which she could, in turn, give to her suitors. Her shame grows in the presence of her relatives and she becomes convinced of the dishonor she has brought to her husband. From that point she was a woman of honor and goodness.[52] Des Périers placed the story within a framework of a story-teller recounting it to the king while on a visit to Soissons. At the end of the story, the king wanted to know who this judge was because he was certainly "one of the most cool-headed and patient men of the kingdom."[53] Like the other story, the moral appears at the end, with a twist in the storyline. What appears at first as purely comical, takes on moral overtones with the virtue of patience extolled. As in the first story, the protagonist pardons the sinner, treating her with patience and tolerance rather than anger and condemnation.

There are discrepancies between this story and the depiction of a woman beating her husband on the capital. Nowhere in the story does the adulterous wife beat her husband. Yet the artist has carefully chosen this vignette to convey the essence of the story both economically and decorously. In the later Middle Ages to be beaten by one's wife brought incredible shame to the household and the husband, shame comparable to that inflicted by an unfaithful spouse. In France and England men who had been beaten by their wives were forced to ride backwards on a horse as both punishment and public

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humiliation.[54] This shame associated with both husband-beating and infidelity on the part of the wife reflected more on the weakness of the husband and his inability to control his wife than on the (assumed) sinful nature of the woman. The imagery responding to this "upturned world" in which the woman has visible control of her weak husband can be found in marginal illuminations from the early fourteenth century. In a scene from the margin of fol. 60 of the Luttrell Psalter (British Lib. Add. Ms. 42130), a woman pushes her husband down and threatens him with her raised distaff (illus. 100). Crouching beneath her, he pleads for mercy. In the late fifteenth century the more typical depiction of a domineering woman controlling her husband was the image of "The Hen-Pecked Husband." Israhel van Meckenam's engraving of the subject, done c. 1495, is one of a set of twelve engravings of couples together, entitled *Alltagsleben* (illus. 101).[55] Except for this engraving the couples are in harmony, and the images reflect the blessings of a good marriage. In this image, a grinning serpent-devil goads the wife on, pushing her left arm with which she has grasped the right hand of her husband. Unable to release himself from her clutch he falls bent to the floor, powerless against her striking arm. As in the Psalter image and on the capital, the distaff, the symbol of the good wife, becomes a weapon. The sculptor of the Saint-Riquier capital has used this familiar imagery to show the weakness of the husband, alluding to the adultery itself in the key-ring with its half-dozen keys held in the man's left hand.

Scholars have argued that images such as the marginal illumination in the Psalter and the van Meckenam engraving were without moral lesson, but instead were made in fun, to ridicule the institution of marriage and the relationships between men and women.[56] While the Saint-Riquier capital may indeed poke fun at the accepted conventions of

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marriage, it is not simply about marriage and it is not simply made in jest. The comedy is being used to convey a moral lesson.[57] Related themes, also with implied moral messages, are carved in other late medieval churches. In the church of Saint Pierre in Caen, there is a depiction of the story of "Phyllis riding Aristotle" in which there is a clear message to men about the guiles of women and the need for men to be resistant to female cunning (illus. 102). Surely all men must be watchful if a philosopher as old and wise as Aristotle is duped into serving as a horse for a woman. One cannot dismiss the tradition of misogynist clerical imagery in which both of these women depict sinful descendants of Eve. But like the Phyllis and Aristotle story, the Des Périers story is more about the weakness of the husband than it is about the adultery and cunning of the wife. While the relevance of a moral based on the relationships of men and women may seem lost on a monastic audience, the broader implications of the moral, that one must accept the responsibilities of one's position in life, are relevant.

The question arises as to the presence and purpose of these primarily secular, and certainly humorous stories decorating the nave of a church, not to mention that of a Benedictine abbey church.[58] In his rule for the virtuous monastic life, Saint Benedict advises that the monk is "not to love boisterous laughter ... [and will always] ... condemn and ban all small talk and jokes."[59] Two of the twelve steps of humility that guide the spiritual life of the monk caution against laughter and frivolity, and instruct the monk "to speak gently, without jest, simply, seriously, tersely, rationally and softly."[60] Yet the presence of capitals that portray amusing situations or refer to humorous stories in the nave suggests either that these admonitions were not taken seriously in the late gothic period, or that humor was permitted for the lessons it can teach.[61] Given the religious

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context of the fifteenth century, a time when preachers used jest to illustrate points in their sermons and moralized stories or *exempla* to further enhance their religious teachings, the presence of secular imagery in a church of the late Middle Ages is not surprising.[62] As secular stories had clearly infiltrated the venerated, cloistered halls of the monastery, one might more appropriately ask if our post-medieval understanding of those "venerated" spaces of the monastery is not overly narrow and restrictive.[63] Although seeming to counter Saint Bernard's warnings and thus antithetical to the message of the monastery, there is no doubt that the sculpture was placed in the nave with purpose and intent.

This use of the vernacular, the humorous, and the dramatic in the church is in keeping with the changing religious context of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Drama became an important component of late medieval spirituality and devotion, both inside and outside the church. The passion plays, dramatic re-enactments of the Passion of Christ that had developed from the liturgy of Easter Week, found their way back into the liturgy in the fifteenth century, prompting a new type of sermon called the "sermon dramatisé."[64] It has been suggested that the humor expressed in the vernacular observation of religious history and doctrine enabled the populace to experience something that was essentially mysterious and incomprehensible.[65] Religious plays, often performed outside the church by confraternities, became a favorite way to express popular devotion.[66]

Understanding the purpose of the sculpture is perhaps less complicated than understanding its presence. In the past, the art historians' and historians' readiness to divide so-called "pious" art from so-called "popular" art has presented a barrier creating these artificially separate realms.[67] Admittedly, church fathers and leaders of monasticism

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themselves have done their part in suggesting that monastic society be viewed as separate from the secular world. As noted above, Saint Benedict was adamant in his belief that the monk be cloistered from the secular world in order to devote his whole being to the *opus Dei*. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's famous *Apologia* suggests that the monks should not *need* art in the same way that the lay *need* art, i.e., instruction.[68] Yet, his criticism is directed more at the excesses of expense and fantasy than at the presence of decoration itself. Despite Saint Benedict's caution against excessive laughter and jest and Saint Bernard's caution against excessive imagery, the valuable message of the capital takes precedence over any possible distractions its humor could cause. In fact, it can be argued that the humorous nature of the sculptural portrayals and of the stories themselves adds to the instructive potential of the capital. Michael Camille has pointed out that in the twelfth century the sculpted margins of the monastery (generally seen in the cloister capitals) were a place for teaching. He argues that the depiction of secular activities such as wrestling, somersaulting, and playing musical instruments, representing pleasures outside the monastery, were reminders to the monks to respect the discipline provided by the cloister. The disorder of the outside is reinforced by the order inside, and by stepping outside the bounds of the cloister, the artist defines the limits imposed by it.[69]

The capitals remind one not only of the important meanings so many of which are lost on the modern observer, but they also remind one that the definition of monastic art cannot be narrow and restrictive.[70] The wide variety of themes presented, ranging from the inspired message of the evangelists, the opposing messages of the angel and the mermaid, the moral warnings of the fighting couples, to the whimsical forest hunt and fantastical beasts, suggest the many levels of reading and understanding imagery available

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to the late medieval viewer. The diversity of themes suggests that the audience was not restricted to the monastic residents and that the capitals were sculpted with this in mind.

Do the nave capitals support the notion that there was a conscious effort on the part of the late gothic sculptors and abbot patrons to reclaim the history of the abbey? Ultimately the carved capitals develop from the Romanesque tradition of portraying religious and secular imagery on nave capitals. On the other hand, there is no evidence of carved capitals remaining from the Carolingian or Romanesque churches here, so no direct connection can be made to the early church. Some of the themes portrayed are "modern" to the late gothic period, suggesting that the carving of the capitals does not reflect a deliberate historical emphasis. Nonetheless, the decoration of the south aisle stands in marked contrast to the minimal decoration of the north aisle and does suggest a particular use for this space. As discussed above, this space (or its earlier counterpart) was used in the Carolingian procession, suggesting that the use of space continued through the centuries and that sculpture was used to reinforce that use. This reference to the past may not be intentional, for there are practical and traditional considerations that continue to be relevant to the monastic community.

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Notes to Chapter 4

[1]C. Heitz, *L'architecture carolingienne*, esp. 56-60. Heitz bases his analysis on Hariulf's description. Aside from the numerous altars in the choir, the aisles and in the nave of the Carolingian church, there were four *imagines* placed at crucial points during the procession; at the entrance to the church, at the entrances to the choir from the aisles and in the center of the nave balancing the high altar in the sanctuary. Heitz suggests that these symbolic images were painted plaster with mosaic decoration. Hariulf describes the *imagines* as marking the beginning and end of Christ's life (Nativity and Passion) and the two principal mysteries of Christian belief (Ressurection and Ascension). Given the labeling of the images by Hariulf, it seems only natural to imagine that they had some sort of iconic or narrative representation of the theme for which each stood. See Chapter 1 for discussion of Hariulf and his chronicle of the abbey, *Chronicon Centulense*.

[2]H. Macqueron, "Les charpentes en bois sculpté dans les églises du XVIe siècle," *Congrès d'archéologique de France. 60e session, Abbeville 1893* (1895) 368-74. These rafters ran the entire length of the church and were often about one meter high. The churches Macqueron studies date to the first third of the sixteenth century. Macqueron addressed the issue of carved rafters in entries to Durand's multi-volume publication on the history and architecture of Picardy. "Sablières sculptés dans les églises," *in La Picardie historique et monumentale, vol. IV. 1. Arrondisement Abbeville* (Amiens, 1907-11) 109-14; and "Moyenneville, l'église," *in La Picardie historique et monumentale, vol. IV. 1. Arrondisement Abbeville* (Amiens, 1907-11) 99-101.

[3]The connection of this late gothic decoration with Hiberno-Saxon interlace of the seventh and eighth centuries has not been studied extensively. The occasional interlace and the decorative use of elongated animal bodies seems deeply rooted.

[4]Without Picard churches surviving from the Romanesque period, it is difficult to substantiate direct connections. The tradition of carved architectural decoration in Romanesque churches of other regions in France is well studied. For an introduction to this vast field see, M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture. The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, 1981), esp. the bibliography of French Romanesque sculpture (pp. 227-230).

[5]The vault ribs, also of wood, frequently have similar carving to these horizontal beams. Often these churches have carved pendant keystones, decorated with saints, religious symbols or crests of donor families. The cross beam is often carved with an inscription dating the work and sometimes naming the sculptor.

[6]R. Rodière, "Montreuil-sur-Mer, Eglise Sainte-Saulve," *Congrès d'archéologique de France. 99e session. Amiens 1936* (1937) 318-40. During this destruction the choir was

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destroyed and the vaults fell. The choir and transept were never rebuilt, and the nave was rebuilt lower than before without the clerestory resulting in a somewhat stunted appearance. Now a small parish church, Saint-Sauve was second only to Saint-Riquier for the wealth of its treasury, which among its relics counted the entire bodies of thirteen saints (340).

[7]Rodière, "Montreuil-sur-Mer," 324-25. "sujets fantastiques, représentations plus ou moins bizarres, plus ou moins décentes d'animaux, d'oixeaux, de monstres variés, entrelacés dans des feuillages et des branches d'épine."

[8]Cross-bows are frequently portrayed in these capitals and Rodière suggests patronage of the two-bay chapel off the north nave aisle by the confraternity of crossbowmen (arbalétriers) of Montreuil. A. Janvier writes that the archers and crossbowmen were popular confraternities of civil and military status. They were seen as defenders of the frontier and given special status and privilege by the king (including free wine at their festivals). The companies were at the command of the king and, like an army, would travel and fight in battles in his name. Their patron saint was Saint Sebastian; in addition to being skilled at archery each member had to be of good morals and manners, married and at least twenty-five years old. Virtually every town had a company of archers, as well as other military confraternities. Those in the area around Saint-Riquier were Amiens, Rue, Montreuil-sur-Mer, Corbie and Beauvais. (The Amiens company included as many as ninety members in the late fourteenth century, and sixty in 1514.) Janvier notes that the archers of Picardy had an international reputation for their marksmanship and skill (67). A. Janvier, "Notice sur les anciennes corporations d'archers, d'arbalétriers, de couleuvriniers et d'arqubusiers des villes de Picardie," *Memoires de la Société Antiquaires de Picardie* 14 (1856) 61-308.

[9]R. Rodière and P. Héliot, "Les églises de Fressin et de Merck-Saint-Liévin et l'architecture flamboyante dans la région picarde," *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes de la Province de Cambrai* XXXV (1935) 37-77.

[10]A fire of 1525 destroyed the vaults, which were restored only in the early eighteenth century. The damage incurred during the Revolution was restored from 1854 to 1865.

[11]R. Rodière, "Rue, Chapelle du Saint-Esprit," *Congrès d'archéologique de France. 99e session. Amiens 1936* (Paris, 1937) 268-92. Louis XI gave 4000 *écus d'or* and 400 *livres* to the chapel in 1480, with directions to decorate the chapel. The existing chapel was renovated and then a porch and two-story treasury were added to the west.

[12]The western triumphal arch archivolt is carved with similar decoration. The present carving is the result of nineteenth-century restoration.

[13]The earliest sculptures still extant, foliate capitals and the rose string course of the transepts, and foliate capitals and corbel heads on the choir and hemicycle piers, date to the thirteenth-century construction. Sculpture of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

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construction includes a wide variety of architectural decoration and free-standing figures in the nave and radiating chapels. Evidence of the seventeenth-century restoration undertaken by the Maurist reformers is seen in sculpture throughout the church; especially the restored nave string course.

[14]In a letter of September 13, 1818 regarding the early restoration efforts at Saint-Riquier, Guy de Gisors extols the plan of the church as a "veritable model of interior arrangement for a catholic temple." Fueled by the spirit of neo-classicism, he praises the proportions in that the dimensions of the parts are aligned with the general dimensions. "Le plan proprement dit, de l'église de Saint-Riquier est un veritable modèle de distribution intérieure pour un temple catholique quelque puisse être le style de l'architecture dont on voudrait le composer. Les dimensions de toutes les parties sont des alignotes de ses dimensions générales." (Bibliotheque et Archives du Patrimoine, Dossier 2985:1, see Appendix E)

[15]Writing in 1843, Emmanuel Woillez blames the capriciousness of flamboyant art on the decay of artistic principles due to the lack of direction on the part of the clergy and the lack of faith on the part of the artists themselves. "Rien ne prouve mieux combien les sculpteurs étaient abandonées à leurs caprices, que la présence dans les monuments religieux de ces caricatures grimaçantes exécutées avec une intention satirique, qui garnissent les couronnements des églises ou les voûssures des portes. C'est évidement le premier germe du scepticisme de la réforme." ("Nothing is better proof of how the sculptors were left to their own whims, than the presence in these religious monuments of grimacing characters executed with a satiric intention ornamenting the cornices of the churches and the voussoirs of the portals. This is evidently the first germ of the scepticism of the reform.") Woillez, 425.

[16]Gilbert, 88-89. "La nef présente, sur chacune de ses faces latérales, cinq arcades soutenues par dix colonnes, dont les chapiteaux variés offrent dans leur composition un système d'ornemens pris du règne végétal; on y voit aussi plusieurs figures chimériques et quelques scènes fort grotesques." This brevity of discussion must be seen in contrast to his discussion of the sculpture of the west facade and the east end. Gilbert devotes several pages to describing the sculpture of the west façade (pp. 65-80) and even more to the sculpture (mostly free-standing) of the transepts, radiating chapels and axial chapel (pp. 96-123).

[17]Georges Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 288.

[18]Bouthors, 407. "La grand nef, en dehors du vestibule, se compose de cinq travées soutennes par dix piliers ronds, cantonnés chacun de quatre colonnes, dont les chapiteaux sont profondément fouillés. Nous sommes ici en plein XVe siècle. Les chapiteaux n'ont plus cette simple feuille d'acanthe en bouquet que nous remarquerons au transept et dans le choeur, mais les feuillages sont mêlés de scènes de la vie quotidienne, parfois grotesques, humoristiques, mais étrangères à l'édification que la maison de Dieu devrait toujours donner. Des querelles de ménage, des animaux plus ou moins grimaçants, voilà

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l'enseignement que nous offre cette floraison de nos colonnes si simples et si pieuses au XIIIe siècle." ("The nave, excepting the narthex, is composed of five bays supported by ten round piers, each with four attached shafts, of which the capitals are deeply carved. We are here firmly in the fifteenth century. The capitals do not have simple acanthus leaves in bouquet that we notice in the transepts and choir, but the foliage is jumbled with scenes from everyday life, occasionally grotesque, humorous, but irrelevant to the edification that the house of God must still provide. These household quarrels, these more or less grimacing animals, that is the lesson that the flowering of our columns so simple and so pious of the thirteenth century offers us.")

[19]The underground quarry from which most of the stone used for the walls and sculpture of Saint-Riquier is Saint Pierre-en-Vaux, located approximately one kilometer southeast of the abbey. It is now closed, and has been since the nineteenth century, though the entrance is still visible in the hillside.

[20]Several of the capitals, particularly those of the south arcade, have damaged areas. The softness of the stone has caused far greater problems where the sculptures are exposed to the elements. The outermost sculptures of the western facade have been virtually washed away over time.

[21]For a thorough discussion of the use and decoration of the foliate capital in French medieval art, see D. Jalabert, *La Flore sculptée: des monuments du Moyen Age en France* (Paris, 1965).

[22]S. Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral* (Bloomington, 1987) 69-75.

[23]The lack of liturgical documentation should in no way suggest that the liturgy had become less important in the later Middle Ages. The life of the church centered on the ceremony carried out within its walls and ecclesiastical domain. The vitality of the liturgy is made evident by the fact that despite both their efforts in the repair and reconstruction of the church, Pierre le Prêtre and Thibault de Bayencourt are known almost exclusively for the liturgical furnishings each gave to the church.

[24]He stares deliberately at a large-eared monster on the southeast face of nw2, who looks back at him. The raised haunches and curling of the beast's tail against the nave shaft give the animal a playful quality. This is matched by the animated stance and attitude of the beast of nw2, with its wide ears, comic face and tail between its legs (illus. 47).

[25]As noted in Chapter 3, the west and north faces of this capital (sw1) and the western stone of the next capital (sw2) contrast, in both style and format, with the remaining sculpture of the south arcade piers. While in all cases the breaks between the four stones composing the capital are easy to discern, in these two areas, they are particularly noticeable. The scale of the figures is more like the north arcade sculptures, but there is still a disparity of carving style that raises questions about their origin. Following the assumption that the south piers were completed first and then the north piers, these two

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stones may indicate a completion of these capitals during a later campaign or perhaps even a later restoration.

[26]This plan, catalogued as N III, Somme 17, #3 in the National Archives in Paris, is one of the Plouvier plans of the late seventeenth century (illus. 92). (See Chapter 2, footnote 94.) The vaulting patterns of the side aisles and nave are drawn carefully though entirely incorrectly and the nave and hemicycle piers are all represented as octagons, equal in size to one another. Despite these adaptations, the plan does show the relationship of the south aisle portal to the piers discussed above.

[27]Lot, *Hariulf*, II; xv, 71. Hariulf describes the monks and pupils in three groups of 133 each processing from the western portal dedicated to Saint Gabriel along the west gallery of the cloister to the church of Saint Maria, to the church of Saint Benedict in the east and then back toward the west entering the church of Saint Riquier "ad sanctum Mauricium" (illus. 9). As described below, this indicates the portal beside the altar of Saint Maurice.

The danger of relying on liturgical ceremony from the eighth century to suggest the use of space in the late fifteenth century is obvious. The necessary liturgical and physical information regarding Saint-Riquier is lacking in the documents from the fifteenth century (i.e., Pierre le Prestre's *Chronique* and Jean de la Chapelle's *Cronica Abbreviata*). While other Benedictine abbeys active in the fifteenth century would potentially help in describing a pattern of use, I have not yet found descriptions of liturgical ceremonies or of the relationship of cloister to church that shed light on the procession through the church. (Unfortunately, plans drawn in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not always true to the medieval appearance of a building. To investigate this question one would need to visit each abbey.) Given that the Saint Maurice portal still existed in the fifteenth century as the sole portal that led directly from the church to the cloister, it seems logical that it would be used in the processions involving the church and cloister spaces.

[28]Lot, *Hariulf*, Appendix VI; xvii, 305.

[29]The portal entering the cloister at this point was in existence in the late gothic period.

[30]He does not symbolize Saint Matthew, as Durand suggests (Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 288). As mentioned above, on the easternmost pier of the south aisle before the crossing there is a seated figure framed by a scroll curling about him. This figure more clearly symbolizes Saint Matthew.

[31]The graphic portrayal of spoken and written language in the form of a scroll has a long tradition in Christian art. Inspired by early Christian and Byzantine representations, Carolingian portrayals of the evangelists with their heavenly-inspired messages represented in a scroll unfurled across their laps, provides the basis of the tradition from which these late gothic representations continue. For instance the evangelist portrait of Saint Mark in the *Coronation Gospels*, written in the late eighth century in Aachen, now in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer, Inv. XIII.18, fol. 76v). The scroll

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as a symbol of the inspired word of God continues into the twelfth century. The scribe and artist Teodericus portrays himself in an early twelfth-century copy of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great as inspired by the holy spirit, portrayed in a dove with a scroll inscribed "Sti. Spiritus" in its beak. (London, British Library, Harley 3011, fol. 69v) In addition to the inspired word of the evangelists and the church fathers, the wisdom of Solomon is represented by a scroll. In the *Bible of Stephen Harding* (1109), in an illustration from the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, Solomon is shown enthroned with a banderole draped across his lap as he teaches wisdom to people clustered about his feet. (Dijon, bibl. mun., ms. 14, fol. 56) In a later twelfth-century representation wisdom herself is personified with the attribute of a scroll. In the *Bible of Manerius*, now in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, wisdom is portrayed as a crowned and enthroned female, holding a banderole arching over her head. (*Bible of Manerius*, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 9, fol. 262.) A fourteenth-century example of this iconography is found in Barthélémy l'Anglais' *Livre des Propriétés des choses*, where one sees wisdom presenting her seven daughters. The crowned, matronly figure of wisdom raises her cloak to reveal seven figures huddled about her. One of the figures holds an unfurled scroll which extends upward, crossing the body of wisdom. (*Livre des Propriétés des choses*, Barthélémy l'Anglais, c. 1350-55, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 1029, fol. 8v.)

[32]A manuscript illumination of a mermaid with comb and mirror can be found in the *Breviary of Charles de Neufchâtel*, 2nd half 15th c., Besançon bibl. mun.; ms. 69, fol. 458. There are numerous examples from choir stalls, especially in northern Europe and Spain, that date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance in the church of Saint-Pierre in Louvain, Westminster Abbey in London and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Rodez. The Besançon manuscript is illustrated in F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen-Age. II. Grammaire des gestes* (Paris, 1989) fig. 55, p. 77. Images of the choirstall misericords are illustrated in C. Gaignebet and J-D Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1985) 148-49.

[33]The siren in sculpture from the ancient through the Romanesque period has been studied by Denise Jalabert. See her seminal study, "De l'Art oriental antique à l'art roman. Recherches sur la faune et la flore. Les Sirènes," *Bulletin Monumental* 95 (1936) 433-71.

[34]In Chapter 7 of the Rule, Saint Benedict quotes from Luke, "Everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he who humbles himself shall be exalted." (Luke 14:11). He continues, "brothers, if we want to reach the highest summit of humility, if we desire to attain speedily that exaltation in heaven to which we climb by the humility of this present life, then by our ascending actions we must set up that ladder on which Jacob in a dream saw angels descending and ascending (Gen 28:12). Without doubt, this descent and ascent can signify only that we descend by exaltation and ascend by humility. Now the ladder erected is our life on earth, and if we humble our hearts the Lord will raise it to heaven. We may call our body and soul the sides of this ladder, into which our divine vocation has fitted the various steps of humility an discipline as we ascend." *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 191-93.

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[35]Saint Benedict writes that "the first step of humility, then, is that a man keeps the *fear of God* always *before his eyes* (Ps 35:2) and never forgets it. He must constantly remember everything God has commanded, keeping in mind that all who despise God will burn in hell for their sins, and all who fear God have everlasting life awaiting them. While he guards himself at every moment from sins and vices of thought or tongue, of hand or foot, of self-will or bodily desire, let him recall that he is always seen by God in heaven, that his actions everywhere are in God's sight and are reported by angels at every hour." *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 193.

[36]Katzenellenbogen notes the original basis of the Christian interpretation is from Christ's sermon on the mount as recorded by Saint Matthew (7:17-20), in which Christ warns that while a good tree bears only good fruit, a bad tree can bear only bad fruit. Identifying the roots of these trees of good and evil with humilitas and superbia is credited to Hrabanus Maurus in *De clericorum institutione III*. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*. Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 10 (London, 1939) 63.

[37]The bird portrayed in the capitals at Saint-Sauve in Montreuil-sur-Mer is similar to the Saint-Riquier bird, both in the carving of the feathers in clumps and in the agitated stance of the bird.

[38]This treatment is similar to the images of the other three evangelist symbols on the two piers directly to the east. In the cases of the three animal symbols, the scroll passes through the animal's mouth as though the animal is biting it. On the other hand in the depiction of Saint Matthew's symbol, the man holds it in his right hand while the scroll surrounds him in an arched flourish of spirals.

[39]Regarding the two fighting pairs Durand writes, "à côté, un homme nu, barbu, poursuivi par un autre homme habillé d'un saye et coiffé d'un chapeau à plumes. ... Du côté de la nef, au nord-ouest, on voit un des sujets qui ont le plus exercé la verve satyrique de nos pères. Une femme, armée de sa quenouille, bat, en le tirant violemment par l'oreille, son mari, qui tient un trousseau de clefs." ("From one side, a nude bearded man is pursued by another man dressed in a ... and wearing a plumed hat. ... From the other side of the nave, to the northwest, one sees one of those subjects which exhibits the most satirical spirit of our fathers. A woman armed with her distaff hits, while pulling violently on his ear, her husband, who holds a keyring.) Durand, "Saint-Riquier," (1907-11) 288.

[40]Surprisingly today no one seems to know the meaning of the sculptures. The only story suggested by the church tour guide and caretaker is that the woman beating the man represents the Monday of Pentecost tradition in which wives were permitted to beat their husbands. No written reference for such a custom could be found. No one suggested a meaning for the fighting pair on the left. Oddly enough, no one suggested that they should be understood as a pair, although they appear again, as a pair, in two corbel reliefs on the south transept façade.

[41]Though the corbel is much damaged and only the scene of the fighting husband and wife

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is identifiable, the pairing with the kneeling figure below gives assurance that one is looking at the same pair of couples. While there is much sculptural decoration in the church from both the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, these are the only scenes that are repeated.

[42]This clue must be credited to the work of G. Vasseur on proverbs and sayings in Picard speech. In an article published in 1961 Vasseur notes that Bonaventure des Périers mentioned two "types" (of characters) typical of Picardy. Gaston Vasseur, "Réflexions sur les 'Proverbes et dictons des parlers vimeusiens'," *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* XX (1957-61) 481.

[43]J. Woodrow Hassell, Jr., "The Proverb in Bonaventure des Périers Short Stories," *Journal of American Folklore* 75 (1962) 35.

[44]The edition used in this research is a recent edition published by the Société des Textes Françaises Modernes: Bonaventure Des Périers, *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis.* éd. crit. Krystyna Kasprzyk (Paris, 1980). The most recent research conducted on Bonaventure des Périers' work is by J. Woodrow Hassell, Jr., who focused on the use of proverbs in des Périers' short stories. Hassell's publications include: *Sources and Analogues of the Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis of Bonaventure des Périers*, 2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1957 and Athens, Georgia, 1969, and "The Proverb in Bonaventure des Périers' Short Stories," *Journal of American Folklore* 75 (1962) 35-42 and "Proverbs in the Writings of Bonaventure des Périers," *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964) 53-68.

[45]In the late sixteenth century the stories of Bonaventure des Périers were translated into English and published in *The Mirror of Mirth, and pleasant Conceits* by Thomas Deloney. (complete title: *The Mirror of Mirth, and pleasant Conceits: containing many proper and pleasaunt inventions, for the recreation and delight of many, and to the hurt and hinderance of none. Framed in French by that worshipfull and learned gentleman Bonadventure de Periers, Groom to the right excellent and vertuous princesse, the Queene of Navara: and englished by R. D.* publ. by Roger Warde, London, 1583.) In English, they were called jestbooks: the one published in 1583 had thirty-nine 'jests' translated from Bonaventure. See *A Hundred Merry Tales and other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Paul Zall, (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963).

[46]In the cases of the two stories which provide the source for the Saint-Riquier capital, Des Périers uses elements of stories he has heard or read, but there does not seem to be a direct source for either story.

[47]"Un Picard ha la teste pres du bonnet: un chantre ha tousjours quelques minimes en son cerveau: un maistre aux arts est si plein d'ergotz, qu'on ne sçauroit durer aupres de luy. Et vrayement, quand ces trois bonnes qualitez sont en un personnage, on ne se doibt pas esmerveiller s'il est un petit peu coquelineux: mais se faudroit bien plus esmerveiller s'il ne l'estoit point." ("A Picard has his head close to his hat: a singer always has some little

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thing on his mind: a master of arts is so full of pride that one can scarcely endure being near him. And truly, when these three good qualities are in one person, one must not be surprised that he is a little cocky: but instead one should marvel that he is not (crazy?)." Des Périers, *Nouvelles Récréations*, 30.

[48]The anecdote at the end of the story about the monk, the five pregnant nuns and the forgiving priest, appears in several renditions in the fifteenth-century. Hassell notes a fable by Abstemius, "De Sacerdote, qui quinque vestales praegnantes fecerat," compared to which Des Périers' version is much more concise and to the point (*Sources and Analogues*, vol. I, 39). He notes that a slightly different version of the same story appears also in Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano*.

[49]This situation is not uncommon in medieval literature, despite the fact that, as Judith Diner notes, "the union of a young girl with an older man was traditionally considered an inappropriate match, often culminating in the wife's infidelity." An early example is Marie de France's twelfth-century courtly romance, *Lai Yonec*, in which an unhappy wife of a jealous old man takes a lover. J. Diner, "Filling in and Fleshing out the Feminine Figure: Innovative Representations of Women in *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*," in *New Images of Medieval Women. Essays toward a Cultural Anthropology*, ed. E. DuBruck, (Lewiston, New York, 1989) 32.

[50]Adultery brought shame to both partners in a marriage, even when only one of the couple was adulterous. Guillaume Pepin, a Dominican theologian and preacher of the early sixteenth century reminded the congregation in one sermon that the "husband is expected to provide love and guidance, and to protect his wife's reputation." L. Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ. Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York, 1992) 163.

[51]In the version of the story mentioned by Vasseur, the husband builds unstable stairs by which his wife's lovers are to leave their home, thus injuring the adulterous men. This is not mentioned in the standard versions of Des Périers' work, in fact, I have not found this version.

[52]The theme of the second story, marital discord, grew in popularity during the fifteenth century, as seen in a collection of secular stories called *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, composed from 1456-1462 for the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. The particular appeal of *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, the first secular collection of prose tales in French, was their situation in the present, not in a fictionalized past. Based on fabliaux, their popularity was due also to the pared down style of the author in which the characters conformed to a few conventional types, and his employment of surprise endings, like des Périers a century later (J. Ferrier, *French Prose Writers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 1966) 64).

Focusing on marital relationships, the stories of *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* are about marriages in which neither the husband nor the wife is particularly virtuous, yet the females are striking because of their "perplexing, unpredictable behavior." Diner writes

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that the "perplexing" behavior of the women may be due to the fact that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* "were written during a period of shifting fictional forms and the breakdown of established genres and styles, ... (and) a new form of thematic and stylistic play between courtly and comic styles" (20-21). Ferrier offers an interpretation based on the sociological situation of the time. She notes that these stories and the imperfect relationships they describe reflect the tensions of a society in which there was no divorce and women were often married at such a young age that they could not respond to the demands made of them (60-61).

Of the one hundred stories there are five that have particular relevance to aspects of the story depicted on the Saint-Riquier capital. In stories thirteen and twenty-three young wives deceive their older husbands. Story forty-seven is about a judge who has a disloyal wife. As punishment for her misdeeds he devises a plan to strap her to a thirsty mule and drown her. (He is unsuccessful.) In story number forty-nine, having found out from his neighbors that his wife is being disloyal, a husband spies on her and then confronts her in the presence of her family. In story number sixty-one a husband who has been cheated on brings the family of his wife to confront her and her lover together. Not one story has all the elements (or even more than one element) of the des Périers story, yet together they illustrate a pattern of literature and story-telling that develops seamlessly into Des Périers' stories. In addition they offer the likelihood that many more versions of these fictive accounts existed in oral form.

[53]Des Périers, *Nouvelles Récréations*, 43. The storyteller laments that he does not know the name of the judge, as surely he deserves to be canonized. "Car il ha esté vray martir en ce monde, et croy qu'il est maintenant bien heureux en l'autre." ("Because he was truly a martyr in this world, and I believe that he is now blessed in the next.")

[54]R. Mellinkoff, "Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil," *Viator* 4 (1973) 153-76. Mellinkoff traces the history of the practice of public humiliation by being forced to ride a horse backwards and notes that it is used from the tenth century onward from Europe to India. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the crimes seemed to be against ecclesiastical authority. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was punishment for a wide range of breaches of ethics, including adultery, cheating, and allowing oneself to be beaten by one's wife. See also K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives. Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago, 1989) 113-14. On one of the pier capitals of Saint-Sauve in Montreuil-sur-Mer is an image of a figure being made to ride a horse backwards (illus. 67). It also appears in misericords and illuminated manuscript margins.

On the subject of public humiliation in the Middle Ages, refer to Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners. Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 1995), esp. Chap. 4, "The Varieties of Public Penance," pp. 92-129.

[55]D. Scillia, "Israhel van Meckenem's Marriage a la Mode: the *Alltagsleben*," in *New Images of Medieval Women. Essays toward a Cultural Anthropology*, ed. E. DuBruck (Lewiston, New York, 1989) 207-54. The twelve engravings include six couples standing in simple landscapes and six couples seated in comfortable interiors. All the scenes are posed and essentially unoriginal in that they relate closely to earlier representations of the

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same theme. The images deal exclusively with love and marriage, but as Scillia points out there is "no overt Christological content" and that the images are unusual for this secular outlook (207).

Nonetheless the underlying morality is undeniable. Given the popularity of the book of Proverbs for artists, writers and preachers of this period in northern Europe, the morals expressed in this "everyday" image are essentially Christian. The good wife and her worth are outlined in Proverbs 31: 10-31. "A good wife who can find? She is far more precious than jewels. The heart of her husband trusts in her, and he will have no lack of gain. ... She seeks wool and flax and works with willing hands. ... She puts her hands to the distaff, and her hands hold the spindle..." (RSV)

See also, W. Gibson, "Some Flemish Popular Prints from Hieronymus Cock and his Contemporaries," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978) 673-81.

[56]T.J. Cooke, in *The Old French and Chaucerian Fabliaux. A Study of their Comic Climax* (Columbia, Missouri, 1978, 139-42), writes that "these tales are not recounted in a spirit of moral or social criticism." Regarding van Meckenam's engravings in *Alltagsleben*, D. Scillia writes (219) that "the sole exception (of the twelve engravings) is 'The Hen-pecked Husband,' in which we see no redeeming moral lesson."

[57]The use of architectural marginalia to express a moral message has been explored by Veronica Sekules in relation to the fourteenth-century construction at Saint Andrew's parish church in Heckington in Lincolnshire. She notes how preachers made reference in their sermons to the appearances and roles of various sculptural elements within the structure of the building. V. Sekules, "Beauty and the Beast: Ridicule and Orthodoxy in Architectural Marginalia in Early Fourteenth-century Lincolnshire," *Art History* 18/1 (1995) 37-62.

[58]Ilene Forsyth has argued convincingly that in the Romanesque period, there was a clear relationship between the sculptural decoration of the cloister and the quest of the monk to imitate the lives of the apostles. The sculpted representations of christ and his apostles presented to the monk a paradigm of the *Vita Apostolica*. I. Forsyth, "The *Vita Apostolica* and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25 (1986) 75-82.

[59]*The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chap. 4, p. 185 and Chap. 6, p 191.

[60]*The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chap. 7, steps ten and eleven, p. 201.

[61]Leon Pressouyre has pointed out an example of a "joke" in sculpture from the twelfth century in the cloister of San Vitale Abbey in Ravenna. He notes that an excerpt from a satiric poem taken from a genre of popular literature is inscribed on a statue column. L. Pressouyre, "Saint Bernard to Saint Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister," *Gesta* XII (1973) 81.

[62]J.A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*

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(New York, 1966, rpt.). See also, L. Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1957) 97-107.

[63]Pressouyre suggests that already in the twelfth century the monasteries were "opening up the cloister" to the laity as the role of the monks as teachers expanded. Rich iconographic programs in the churches and cloisters were justified by the teaching and preaching roles of the monasteries. While this is particularly true of the urban monasteries and later of the mendicant orders, the Benedictines were not unaffected by the changes. L. Pressouyre, 84.

[64]E. Delaruelle, "La vie religieuse dans les pays de langue française à la fin du XVe siècle," *La Piété Populaire au Moyen Age* (Torino, 1975) 467. (First published in *Colloque d'Histoire religieuse* (Lyon, 1963) 7-34.)

[65]N. Coghill, "The Case for University Drama," *The Universities Quarterly* I (1948) 163. David Bevington notes that in the morality play entitled *Mankind*, the author's "use of earthy humor to make a serious point is characteristic of many medieval popular sermons. Addressing his predominantly rural audience through his spokesman, Mercy, the author speaks in homely metaphors and stresses practical Christianity. He urges not asceticism but moderation and common sense." D. Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston, 1975) 794.

[66]Although there is no indication that plays were performed at Saint-Riquier, there were close connections with the dramatic world. For instance, Simon Gréban, a monk at Saint-Riquier in the mid-fifteenth century (and brother of the more famous playwright Arnoul Gréban) wrote liturgical drama. His play, *Triumphant mystère des actes des apôtres*, was performed in Paris in 1537. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville*, 277.

A Benedictine monk at Corbie in Picardy, Eustache Marcadé (d. 1440), is one of the earliest authors of religious plays. Marcadé was poet and playwright, and studied law in Paris and was prevost of Dampierre, a domaine of the abbey of Corbie. The plays, *Mystère de la Passion* of Arras and *Vengeance de Jésus-Christ* have been attributed to Marcadé. J. Desobry, "Moine, Juriste et Compositeur de Théâtre. Eustache Marcadé," *Bulletin des Antiquaires de Picardie* 52 (1967-68) 145-61.

Louandre, who has researched the numerous plays performed by the Abbeville community in the late fifteenth century, categorized them into three groups: miracles and mysteries based on Biblical stories, allegories which were often performed at the entrance of kings and princes, and morality plays, the lightest of the three. Aimed at providing entertaining and vivid examples of moral behavior, morality plays were usually performed on a wagon amid the crowds and invited the participation of the crowd in song. Abbeville bought several plays; in 1452 for ten gold écu they bought the manuscript of the *Mystery of the Passion of Our Lord* and put it in a locked, sealed box until needed for the presentation. The records of 1451-55, 1458, 1493 and 1499 record the performance of plays in the field behind Saint-Gilles, a parish church in Abbeville. In 1452 the *Purification of Notre-Dame* was presented in the cemetery of Saint-Jacques in Abbeville. Louandre, *Histoire d'Abbeville*, 275-85.

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Mervyn James remarks on the status brought to a community by the ownership and production of a play. Often the plays were performed in conjunction with a major feast day, for example, the Corpus Christi cycles performed in English towns for the feast day celebrations. M. James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past & Present* 98 (1983) 13. See also A.C. Cawley, ed., *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays*, (London, 1974).

[67]James Marrow has questioned this distinction, especially in this period. As he notes the lines between lay and monastic "expectations" of art are increasingly blurred through the fifteenth century and artists worked for both groups. Marrow, "Symbol and Meaning: the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Simiolus* 16 (1986) 157.

[68]Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) wrote the *Apologia* as a letter to William, Abbot of Saint-Thierry in 1135. A reformer at heart, he outlines his discomfort at the use of excessive imagery in monastic settings. The *Apologia* is translated and reprinted with extensive commentary by Conrad Rudolph in *The "Things of Greater Importance". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art,"* (Philadelphia, 1990). In chapters 28-29 Saint Bernard writes, "For certainly bishops have one kind of business, and monks another. We know that since they are responsible for both the wise and the foolish, they stimulate the devotion of a carnal people with material ornaments because they cannot do so with spiritual ones. But we who have withdrawn from the world for the sake of Christ, we who regard as dung all things shining in beauty, soothing in sound, agreeable in fragrance, sweet in taste, pleasant in touch–in short, all material pleasures–in order that we may win Christ, whose devotion, I ask, do we strive to excite in all this?" Rudolph, 279-81.

[69]M. Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992) esp. Chap. 2, 56-75.

Along the same lines, Veronica Sekules, writing about the marginal corbel figures decorating the exterior of Saint Andrew's in Lincolnshire, notes that although the images may portray actions that make fun of or defy the authority of the church, they may, by those very transgressions, reinforce the authority of the church (49).

[70]As Jean Leclerq points out, it was only through participation in the new spirituality guiding Christianity that the Benedictine order could maintain any vitality in the late medieval period. According to Leclerq, "Both monks and nuns continued to copy, and to meditate upon, spiritual texts that went back much further than the new schools. ... But on the whole the old Benedictine order, wherever it regained any of its vitality, allowed itself to be greatly influenced by the new conception of the spiritual life." J. Leclerq et al., *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*. in *A History of Christian Spirituality II*, trans. Benedictines of Holme Eden Abbey (New York, 1982) 463.

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Chapter 5

The West Tower and Façade

The west façade of Saint-Riquier has long perplexed architectural historians (illus. 67). The windowless façade masked with sculpture marks it as unique among both French and Flemish church façades. On the other hand, while its massive central tower separates it from most other French façades, it connects it with single-towered west ends of Flemish churches. Scholars have tried to make sense of the Saint-Riquier tower and façade by making stylistic comparisons with other central-tower façades and by searching for the identity or nationality of its anonymous masons. Comparisons with architecture to the north do show a tradition of centralized western towers in Picardy and Flanders. Nonetheless, as will be shown below, these comparisons also show that the form of the Saint-Riquier tower and its integration with the façade are uniquely tied to its own construction history. The late gothic façade is a facing over a structure that dates to the reconstruction undertaken by Abbot Gervin II (1075-97) after the Norman invasions. Echoes of the past are seen not only in its form but also in the sculptural program of the façade which presents to the monk, villager, and pilgrim the important personalities of the history of the abbey, interwoven with those of the history of the Christian Church.

An examination of the west end of Saint-Riquier shows how the façade and tower work together. The flat, broad crown and bulky form of the tower, supported by steeply

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sloping shoulders, give the façade a stocky, squat silhouette. Stair turrets, features usually hidden in a buttress or nestled indiscernibly into a corner, are prominent and activate the surface. Here their robust, octagonal forms, masked with a veneer of perpendicular tracery, organize the façade by dividing it into three vertical units. In a surprising, and perhaps playful switch, the hollow stair turrets are the largest forms of the façade, while the delicately, thin buttresses are the secondary elements, their structural function negated by the fact that their bulk has been eaten away to be replaced with figural sculpture. The outward face of each buttress has been reduced to a thin ribbon of stone, a rigid backbone for the figures it supports (illus. 103). The side portals, sandwiched between the bulky, cloaked stair turrets and the projecting corner buttresses, seem disproportionately narrow and cavernous. The tower, the side portals, the stair turrets and the buttresses act together to frame the central composition, drawing one's attention inward to the vertical panel of applied sculpture (illus. 104). Originally there was a trumeau dividing the central portal, which would have given a stronger central emphasis to the façade, rising through the successive apices above and repeated in the diagonally set support for the figure of Saint Michael at the belfry level.[1]

Sanfaçon and others have compared the façade with a vast retable, as it presents a screen of sculpture revealing the hierarchy of the church including local saints, abbots and bishops of regional importance, French royalty, the lineage of Christ, the Apostles, the Virgin and the Trinity.[2] The side portals, dedicated to Saint Riquier on the north and to the Virgin on the south, act in supporting roles with the primary message portrayed over the central portal. The panoply of Christian history begins at the glazed tympanum in which the tracery forms the branches and kings of the Tree of Jesse (illus. 105). Scenes

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from the life of Saint Riquier are portrayed in the archivolts above. The Trinity, flanked by two rows of figures, including ten of the twelve apostles and two kneeling patron abbots, presides over this union of Biblical and local history (illus. 106). The remaining two apostles and figures of local bishops and abbots encase the buttresses on either side of the central composition. The Coronation of the Virgin, centered under the inscribed gable, is placed within a screen of blind, perpendicular tracery and miniature buttresses. These narrow pseudo-buttresses divide the three figures, so that each occupies a separate niche. An elaborate pierced canopy, in effect, crowns each figure. A pierced balustrade cuts through the apex of the gable, marking the point where the stair turrets and buttresses diminish and the mass of the tower rises upward from behind, creating a clear and precise boundary between the façade below and the tower rising above. The elaborate veil of sculpture cloaking the façade becomes more diffuse as the tower emerges from the façade; at first the wall is left blank and then is covered only with a relatively simple blind arcade. Old Testament figures of Adam and Eve and Moses and David flank the belfry openings, with a statue of Saint Michael standing slightly above the other figures at the center. Above the belfry openings the blind arcading intensifies again, linking the tower with the façade below.

Peeling away the layers of construction will help in understanding why the tower and façade take the shape they do, but before such an examination it is useful to look at the regional context and its possible impact on the construction. The placement of a single tower at the western end of a church was commonplace in the southern Netherlands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Picardy, while the twin-towered façade continued to dominate, it was not uncommon to construct a single-towered façade.[3] While perhaps

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based ultimately on the westworks and porches of Carolingian and Romanesque churches, the central western tower had by the fifteenth century become a tradition in its own right, having lost the imperial connotations of its early predecessors.[4] The Saint-Riquier tower shares many features with other towers of Picardy and Flanders suggesting that it belongs to a tradition of tower building that Pierre Héliot describes as "picardo-néerlandaise." Héliot suggests that this tradition is defined by a compromise between the northern French school (i.e., Picardy) and the Flemish school of tower design, with traces of English influence.[5] Some of the features of towers of this tradition are: placement over the first bay of the nave, an essentially square plan, a covering of blind tracery (and occasionally sculpture), stair turrets (often behind buttresses) marking the corners, and a flat top capped by a balustrade.

There are numerous examples of towers that show both that the traits were shared and that their use spanned several centuries. A sampling of these includes three in Saint-Omer and a fourth in the nearby town of Aire-sur-la-Lys. Chronologically the first tower of the three in Saint-Omer is that of the abbey of Saint-Denis (illus. 105). Originally built in the thirteenth century and heavily restored in the eighteenth century, the Saint-Denis tower shows the square silhouette, the reinforced corner buttressing and the flat top that characterize this tower tradition. These basic features, updated with screens of perpendicular tracery, are repeated in the tower of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer, built from 1431 to 1500 (illus. 108).[6] The Saint-Bertin tower rises abruptly above the central portal of the abbey church and is shouldered by flying buttresses over the side portals. The mass of the tower, entirely covered with blind perpendicular tracery, is divided into three levels with windows piercing the first and third levels. A balustrade caps the flat top of the

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tower, while the corners are marked by the extension of each stair turret in a small octagonal tower. The tower of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer, constructed from 1473 to 1521, has been described as a "flagrant copy" of the Saint-Bertin tower, though it is shorter than its model (illus. 109).[7] The shared features are the corner buttresses enclosing stair turrets, extensive blind tracery, a flat top and the rather heavy square form. Constructed from 1550-1594, the tower of the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre at Aire-sur-la-Lys, a town lying between Saint-Omer and Saint Riquier, mirrors many of the same characteristics and shows the longevity of the tower tradition in this region (illus. 110).[8]

A comparison of the above towers with the Saint-Riquier tower shows the debt owed the tradition by the Saint-Riquier master mason. Yet there are important features that distinguish the Saint-Riquier tower from its northern neighbors and connect it to towers of Picardy. The tower extends only one level above the façade. Rather than heavy, flat buttresses at the corners, the Saint-Riquier tower has prominent stair turrets and the buttresses are subsumed by applied sculpture. In addition the stair turrets do not extend beyond the upper edge of the tower. There is no piercing of the tower to light the nave behind it. In these features the Saint-Riquier tower has more in common with the towers of twin-towered French façades. For instance, the Amiens towers extend only slightly above the façade, they are only pierced above the mass of the building, and their buttressing is subsumed within the massing of the structure (illus. 111). The façade of Saint-Wulfran, being built in Abbeville at the same time as the west end of Saint-Riquier, provides another nearby example of this treatment of a twin-towered façade (illus. 112). All of these features serve to integrate the tower with the façade and make the relationship between the two subtle and ambiguous. Unlike its northern counterparts, the Saint-

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Riquier tower does not dominate the façade, but instead simply emerges from it, a fact due at least in part to its construction history.

The façade was constructed entirely during the abbacy of Thibault de Bayencourt. Yet, as will be shown, it encases a tower dating to the Carolingian and Romanesque periods. The still-functional tower stood in the west throughout the thirteenth-century campaign during which construction was concentrated in the east, with the laying-out and building of the transepts and chevet and the beginnings of the nave. Perhaps already at that point, the decision was made to incorporate the early tower into the new church plan. While it is possible that a new twin-towered façade, more in keeping with the High Gothic canon, was intended once construction got to that point, such an enormous undertaking is unlikely.[9] Due to the potential defensive function of the old tower for the community as well as the structural function it could serve during construction, there would be no incentive to tear it down before absolutely necessary.[10] In addition, reusing the old tower provides the late gothic mason and patron an opportunity to connect with the early church.

As discussed above in chapter 3, Thibault took over the construction after the death of Eustache le Quieux in 1511. Because Eustache died while the high vaults of the nave were underway, it is likely that much of the lower part of the structure was completed. Yet, the significant change in decorative style in the string course and capitals of the two western nave and aisle bays suggests that Thibault took over the construction while these elements were still to be carved and put in place. This suggests a sequence in which the vaulting of the nave was begun before the completion of the final two bays. The construction of these two bays would have been complicated by the presence of the tower.

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Honoré Bernard has shown that the foundations of the south and north walls of these two bays date from Angilbert's church (illus. 113-114(south walls), illus. 115-116 (north walls)).[11] The masonry of these walls continues relatively consistently from the bays to the east indicating that the lower aisle walls were probably completed during Eustache's campaign (before 1511). As is typical of the rest of the aisle, the stone courses of the walls tend to be smaller than that of the attached piers, reflecting a frame and fill technique of construction.[12]

It was up to Thibault to oversee the construction of the upper parts of the nave arcade, the encasing and strengthening of the tower piers and the erection of the façade over the tower face. The obvious distinction from the earlier campaign comes in the string course and capitals, where the plant forms appear dry and brittle (illus. 77). This stylistic transformation has been used as evidence of a "decline" in art, yet the carving is as impressive as the earlier work with perhaps even more attention paid to the realism of the leaves, the clarity of the forms and the density of the foliage. Although severely eroded by the effects of coastal weather the profusely sculpted façade is consistent with the density of sculptural decoration in the last two bays, thus linking it to Thibault's endeavors.[13] All three portals are decorated with jamb figures, carved tympana, and sculpted archivolts. The sculpture continues above the central portal filling the entire central portion of the façade with figures and ornament.

The most unique aspect of this façade is the curtain of sculpture in place of the traditional western window. As noted above, the visible elements of the tower result from the completion of the late gothic church in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, yet the interior walls of the tower reveal that the core of the structure is of an earlier date.

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Some clues to the dating of the tower's core can be found in the organ loft, which was added in the seventeenth century. The organ loft forms a tribune level over the central western bay, WVI. In the two western corners of the loft there are flamboyant shafts and ribs formed from large masonry coursed in with much smaller and roughly-cut stones, indicating the reuse of an earlier wall (illus. 117). The walls of the rooms flanking the organ loft, the room above the westernmost bay of each aisle, reveal a mixture of masonry types.[14] There is a mixture of rubble-like stonework in the corners and larger cut stones on either side. This stonework must date to Abbot Gervin II's reconstruction of a tower to reinforce and augment the Carolingian tower that had been severely damaged during the Norman invasions of the ninth century and subsequent fires.[15] According to Hariulf this reconstruction consisted of rebuilding the tower on stronger foundations and to a greater height.[16] There is no further record of repairing or rebuilding a tower until the fifteenth century, suggesting that this Romanesque tower remained in some form and therefore that the older masonry dates to the late eleventh century.[17] The fact that the two westernmost south aisle bays and the westernmost north aisle bay of the gothic church are slightly narrower than the remaining aisle bays reflects the use of the foundations of the earlier tower (see fig. 3). The tower is also relatively thin from west to east, as its total depth is hardly more than the depth of one bay (illus. 118).[18] Although the Petau engraving cannot be taken literally, it does give one a sense of the towered west-end of the early church and indicates the importance of these multistage towers on the early medieval landscape (illus. 9).[19] Rather than tearing down the Romanesque tower, the late gothic builders kept the old masonry, encasing it with new stone, inside and out. This was not an

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unusual solution. At the same time, builders were encasing and enlarging the tower of the collegiate church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer.[20]

The reasons for keeping the Romanesque tower and making it the core of the new tower are various. One must take into account possible economic and structural factors as well as the old and new meanings and continuing functions of the tower and façade. Evelyn Lane has suggested that the twelfth-century tower of Notre-Dame de Donnemarie-en-Montois was integrated into the thirteenth-century reconstruction of the church for both structural and aesthetic reasons.[21] Stephen Murray has demonstrated that at Troyes Cathedral the old west tower was kept in place until the completion of the late gothic façade because the early tower was crucial to the support of the nave arcades.[22] It is unclear whether the tower at Saint-Riquier served a similar function, though the construction did proceed from east to west, suggesting that the tower could have served as a prop for the nave construction.

In addition to any structural aid the tower would have provided, it may have held great meaning for the community. From the Carolingian period, the western tower held great significance and authority for the community. Its upper chapel was dedicated to the Saviour and the *capsa maior* (principal reliquary) holding twenty-five relics from the Passion of Christ was in the entry crypt under this chapel. Angilbert, the abbot appointed by Charlemagne, had been buried beneath the entrance portal of the tower in 814.[23] By the mid-ninth century his tomb was moved to the choir, and Hariulf's late eleventh-century description of the tower as "formerly dedicated in the name of the Saviour," suggests that already by this time the dedication of the upper chapel to the Saviour was history.[24]

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There are no written records describing the liturgical function of the west end after the eleventh-century reconstruction. The stones themselves may shed light on this documentary vacuum. Whereas the Carolingian liturgical function of the tower was directed inward to the reliquary in the entry and to the altar in the upper chapel, the iconographic and pragmatic functions of the late gothic tower are directed outward. There was no longer an altar in the entry bay and the archaeological evidence suggests that there was no upper chapel, but rather that the tower bay extended without interruption to the high vaults. The vaults currently in place were added with the construction of the organ loft. The juncture of the late gothic walls and the seventeenth-century loft is distinctly seen in the juxtaposition of the seventeenth-century ribs extending from the early sixteenth-century masonry. Of a whiter stone, the ribs jut clumsily from the smooth, undulating surface of the tower pier (illus. 66, 119). In addition, the front face of the loft, decorated with neo-classical ornament, spans the area between the tower piers but is distinct from them. To understand the late gothic narthex one needs to imagine it without the organ loft (illus. 120). This open narthex bay is not uncommon in Flemish churches of this period; for instance the narthex of the Cathedral of Ghent rises to the high vaults. Yet when one imagines the narthex of Saint-Riquier, one is brought back to its unique aspect, the lack of a western window. The effort to preserve (and use) the solid wall of the Romanesque tower may explain why the western window, a feature of virtually every other church in France and Flanders, is conspicuously absent from the Saint-Riquier façade. Rather than an iconography brought to life in stained glass to be read from the inside, the façade sculpture is directed outward.

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The practical and significant roles of the tower in the monastic and local community were necessarily directed outward to the community. Town documents record the responsibility of the abbot to provide watchmen on the town walls and tower to warn of impending invasion.[25] On a clear day one can see the rolling terrain along the coast to the northeast and the distant woods of the abbey to the west. Likewise, the tower becomes a landmark, visible from distant hills.[26] Another indication of the important role of the tower is Pierre le Prêtre's commission of a clock with three small bells to be placed in the tower.[27] This role as timekeeper for both the monastic and lay communities was not new for the monastery, yet the objectively measured time of a clock was new. In announcing the hours of the day and the passage of time, the clock insured the orderly life of the community, both inside and outside the monastery, and became a symbol of that order.[28] These public and symbolic roles of the clock in the lives of the late medieval community should not be underestimated. A 1481 petition in Lyons records the need for a town clock. The proponent of the acquisition writes, "[in the town] is sorely felt the need for a great clock whose strokes could be heard by all citizens in all parts of the town. If such a clock were to be made, more merchants would come to the fairs, the citizens would be very consoled, cheerful and happy and would live a more orderly life, and the town would gain in decoration."[29] The roles of the Saint-Riquier tower as watchtower and clock tower were more significant than simply defense and time-keeping, for these roles put the monastery and, more specifically, its tower, in a position of authority, of providing the crucial information needed for the town's well-being and in dictating the passage of time in its inhabitants' lives.

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The role of the tower in reminding the monks and townspeople of the authority of the abbey, was reinforced by the historical emphasis of the iconographic program of the west façade.[30] The specifics of the iconography are problematic, because the chalky stone used in this region suffers considerably due both to its softness and to the extremely changeable and generally humid weather patterns crossing the north coast. While one can securely identify the Tree of Jesse, scenes from the life of Saint Riquier, the Trinity, the Apostles, the two patron abbots and the Coronation of the Virgin, one can only suggest the identification of the holy and noble figures in the jambs and on the buttresses. In the mid-nineteenth century, Gilbert suggested that these figures included François I, Louis XII and Saint Benedict, as well as locally venerated saints, such as Saint Firmin, Saint Vulfran, Saint Nicolas, Saint Vigor, and Saint Eloi.[31] Durand, in the first decade of the twentieth century, felt less certain of their identity and offered vague descriptive identifications such as, Benedictine holding closed book, male figure in civil costume, or Church father. The securely identified figures suggest an historical construct, beginning with Isaiah's prophecy of the Messiah descending from the lineage of Jesse.[32] Directly above the portrayal of the family of Christ and beneath the rows of Apostles, the representation of scenes from the life of Saint Riquier including his mission to England, his legendary voyage to Rome, and the translation of his body to Centula, literally insert the abbey into the history of the Christian Church. The Apostles figure prominently, making visible the monastic ideal of the *vita apostolica*.[33] Each one was identifiable by an attribute, though erosion has effaced most of them. Only Saint Peter with his keys, Saint James with the pilgrim's shell, Saint John as a clean-shaven young man and Saint Andrew with his x-shaped cross are

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secure in their identification.[34] The kneeling donor abbots, Eustache le Quieux on the left and Thibault de Bayencourt on the right, reinforce this concept by counting themselves among the apostles yet also, by their humility and devotion, celebrating this history and their role in its presentation in sculptural form. The parallel with Abbot Suger prostrate at the feet of Christ on the west façade of Saint-Denis is clear. Understood in the figures of the abbots kneeling at the base of the Trinity is Suger's prayer inscribed on the Saint-Denis lintel, "Receive, O stern Judge, the prayers of thy Suger; Grant that I be mercifully numbered among thy own sheep."[35]

It has been written that the masons of this period "had to content themselves with remodeling buildings that by 1450 were already over a hundred years old."[36] The reuse of the Romanesque tower and the pointedly historical iconography of the façade suggest that it was not a matter of "contenting" oneself. One might consider whether the late gothic builders and patrons purposefully kept the "old" church with the "new" construction. The fifteenth-century chronicler of the history of the abbey begins with the birth of Christ rather than with the seventh-century founding of the abbey. The attitude that the history of the abbey was part of the continuum of Christian history suggests a similar understanding of the earlier portions of the church and the appropriateness of their continued presence to validate the abbey's long tradition and present status. In reference to the reconstruction after the fire of 1475, the chronicler writes that the construction began in the crossing, "which although three hundred years old seems as new as if it were just built ten years before."[37] In this statement there is an implicit acceptance and appreciation of the past, as well as an understanding that the older parts of the building would exist side by side with the new construction and fit in. By using elements from their

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own past, they sought to preserve and validate their present position. Likewise, the message conveyed in the façade imagery reinforces the abbey's legitimate presence within the venerated history of Christianity.

The purposeful covering of the wall surface with sculpture rather than opening it up with a window, and the deliberate choice of historical themes suggest conscious decisions on the part of the patrons. One would like to imagine a specific function for this rich imagery, yet there are no records to indicate the intentional use of the façade to reinforce a particular liturgical ceremony.[38] A few surviving records describe the processions taken around the church in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, yet it is likely that the parvis before the church would have provided an appropriate setting for processions through the town. One record from 1425 notes that on the day of the Holy Sacrament in 1424 the curé and congregation of Notre-Dame of Saint Riquier (the parish church), the abbot and the religious of the monastery processed through the village "as accustomed."[39] An entry of 1505 records how the abbot and religious must give permission if the curé is to change the order and stations of the procession. This alone tells of the fixed and perpetual nature of the procession, though the actual route of the procession and the role of the abbey are unclear.[40] While possibilities of liturgical meaning exist and the potential for liturgical function remains, at this point there is little firm evidence on which to base a conclusion regarding this role of the façade. If one were able to posit liturgical meaning or function to the façade, it should be remembered that such aspects would be only a small part of the complexity of message and function intended by the façade.

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The unique character of this tower/façade is intricately tied both to the traditions from which it stems and to its own construction history. The geographical proximity and political connections to both Flanders and France allowed a variety of influences to affect the appearance of the tower. While its position in the center of the west end and its square form rely on Flemish tower tradition, the prominence of the stair turrets, the sublimation of the buttresses and the decoration of its face rely more closely on French models. Perhaps more important than either regional tradition is its own history. The presence of the eleventh-century tower beneath the façade enabled the master mason and patron to use the entire façade for sculptural decoration. Thus the façade and tower provide a public and concrete expression of the abbey's presence and history. The historical emphasis of the sculpture indicates the intention of the patron to make known the authority and privilege of the abbey as the active link uniting local history with Christian history. The early core of the tower/façade is structural, and while its reuse may be ideological, as well as economical, it is not reinforced by a reuse of an earlier architectural style. The builders and patrons were not making a conscious reference to any single period of the abbey's history. The reuse of the core tower is evidence of a willingness to combine old and new, yet the historical reference is incidental and non-specific. It is unlikely the mason knew precisely when or by whom the tower had been built. Like the reuse of foundation stones, the early tower's continued presence had practical and economic advantages over a newly built tower (or towers).

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Notes to Chapter 5

[1]Originally there was a sculpted trumeau figure (possibly the Virgin) supporting the central portal tympanum. It was removed during the abbacy of Charles d'Aligre. Bernard suggests that the trumeau was destroyed in the sixteenth-century destructions (1536 and/or 1554) of the church and that Charles d'Aligre simply did not replace it during his restorations (Letter from Bernard to the Regional office of the Monuments Historiques (DRAC) in Amiens, July 1987).

[2]R. Sanfaçon, *L'architecture flamboyante en France* (Québec, 1971) 153. The iconography, with the local patron saints over the side portals and the familial heritage and hierarchy of the Church in the center, reinforces this interpretation. The stair turrets become framing devices, like the hinges that both connect and separate the wings of a triptych. Craig Harbison sees these framing elements as a means to isolate a sacred area. That which lies within a frame is "a precious, isolated object, like a relic; ... [while the frames] suggest the need to limit, to focus on religious archetype and essence." C. Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus* 15 (1985) 108.

An interesting path of investigation to follow would be the relationship of this façade composition and imagery with that of an altarpiece. The compositional similarities invite one to read it on one level as a reminder of the altarpiece inside, though clearly the functions each serves are complex and not entirely overlapping. Harbison notes that both altarpieces and paintings (of which in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there does not seem to be much distinction) were "versatile" items, not "created for a closely defined liturgical purpose" and adaptable to both public and private function. He suggests that inquiry into the meaning of the altarpiece must encompass multiple possibilities and interpretations and their interaction. C. Harbison, "The Northern Altarpiece as a Cultural Document," in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. P. Humfrey and M. Kemp (Cambridge, 1990) 49-75.

[3]Examples include the abbeys of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer and Saint-Vaast in Arras, the collegiate churches of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer and Saint-Pierre in Aire-sur-la-Lys. P. Héliot, "La façade et la tour des abbatiales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Riquier," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 18 (1949) 15.

[4]The literature on the Carolingian westwork is extensive and particularly relevant to the study of the Carolingian abbey of Saint-Riquier, as the abbey presents one of the earliest northern examples of this architectural element. See especially, Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942) 1-38; Kenneth Conant, "The Carolingian Romanesque," in *Carolingian Art and Architecture, Pelican History of Art Series* (London, 1968) esp. Chap. 2; Felix Kreusch, *Beobachtungen an der Westanlage der Klosterkirche zu Corvey, ein Beitrag zur Frage ihrer Form und Zweckbestimmung* (Cologne, 1963); and Carol Heitz, *L'Architecture*

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religieuse carolingienne (Paris, 1980).

[5]P. Héliot, "Abbaye de Saint-Bertin," *Congrès Archéologique de France 99e session tenue à Amiens en 1936* (1937) 517-40.

[6]P. Héliot, "La façade et la tour," 14. (See also F. Salet, review of Héliot's article in *Bulletin Monumental* 109 (1951) 82-83.)

The abbey itself was virtually destroyed during the French Revolution and fell into further ruin due to the subsequent lack of care. Its tower finally collapsed in 1947 following damage from the war.

[7]J. de Pas, "Saint-Omer. Cathédrale," *Congrès Archéologique de France 99e session tenue à Amiens en 1936* (1937) 496. The Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer was a collegiate church until 1561. The Notre-Dame tower is 50.75 meters high, while the Saint-Bertin tower is 58 meters high. From a distance the difference in height is not readily apparent as the collegiate church stands on a hill fourteen meters higher than the abbey church which was built down near the river. See also, L. Deschamps de Pas, "Essai sur l'art des constructions à Saint-Omer à la fin du 15e et au commencement du 16e siècle," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morine* IX (1851), 161-251.

[8]P. Héliot, "Aire-sur-la-Lys, Collégiale Saint-Pierre," *Congrès d'archéologique de France 99e session tenue à Amiens en 1936* (1937) 546-60.

[9]Such a choice would have entailed a drastic rebuilding of the abbey buildings to the south of the west end as twin towers would have required heavy buttresses on both the north and the south of the building, in addition to massive tower piers inside.

[10]The defensive capabilities of the tower come from the fact that it is the highest structure in the town, thereby providing the best vantage point. As noted in footnote 25 below, the abbey served an integral role in the watch of the town by helping to pay for or provide watchmen for the town walls. Although the tower is not mentioned as a location for a watch, it is only logical that it would serve that function as necessary.

Regarding the constructional aid provided by the tower should a new tower be constructed, see the work of Stephen Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, 92-93.

[11]See Chapter 3, Carolingian Foundations. Bernard notes particularly that on the north the Gothic foundations, placed over the Carolingian foundations, are thin and weak. Both foundations are placed on chalk, which does not provide an adequately strong base, as indicated by sizeable cracks in the walls above. Bernard, "Saint-Riquier," 125-26.

[12]The masonry of the south wall of the second bay to the east in the south aisle, SIWV, provides indication of restoration (illus. 112). A few blocks in from either side of the bay there is a jagged seam where the courses are not consistent. (This is different from the seam created where the attached pier courses meet the wall courses.) On the north side, between the two western aisle bays, there is a deeply projecting attached pier, indicating

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the larger buttress behind supporting the northeast corner of the tower. This buttress-shaft is coursed in with the smaller stones of the second bay wall, NIWV (illus. 114).

[13]Scholars have been particularly unsympathetic to Thibault's façade. John Ruskin, defender of Gothic, wrote in 1868, "The carving is elaborately stupid and vulgar, [from] the last phase of flamboyant, [it is] monstrously and to sickness, rich without design. The statues [are] distorted and hideous." (J. Evans and J. Whitehouse, eds., *The Diaries of John Ruskin*, vol. II (Oxford, 1958) 651.) Georges Durand, equally disdainful of the composition and style, writes, "The ornamentation seems to have been flung haphazardly to lure and dazzle the gaze, without regard to line, scale, proportions and above all to logic. Cut-outs, arcades, canopies, pinnacles, gables, false windows crowd and clash without order; the lines tumble, rise, fall, pause, resume, disconnect at random. Nothing seems intended; and despite this overloading of decoration certain parts seem too bare beside others that seem too full. One could say it is the work of a man preoccupied, without inspiration, whose hand has flung at random and without taste forms that have become too familiar." (G. Durand, *L'église de Saint-Riquier* (1933) 69.) "L'ornamentation semble avoir été jetée à tort et à travers pour attirer et éblouir le regard, sans souci de la ligne, de l'échelle, des proportions et surtout de la logique. Découpures, arcatures, dais, pinacles, gables, faux fenestrages, se pressent, se heurtent sans aucun ordre; les lignes sautent, montent, descendent, s'arrêtent, reprennent, se décrochent un peu à l'aventure. Rien ne semble motivé; et malgré cette surcharge de décoration certaines parties paraissent trop nues à côté d'autres trop chargées. On dirait l'oeuvre d'un homme préoccupé, sans inspiration, dont la main a jeté au hasard et sans goût des formes devenues trop familières."

Stephen Murray has pointed out this type of criticism in regard to Troyes Cathedral, in which the mason is deemed too conservative if he repeats earlier forms and destructive of the symmetry of the building if he changes the ordained elements. S. Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, 97.

Interestingly, Jean Bony's analysis of the Amiens Cathedral façade brings out many of the same criticisms that Durand has lodged against Saint-Riquier. Bony writes that the Amiens façade is at odds with its interior because the flat, thin interior aesthetic gives way to "a variety of planes, in recessions and projections, with cavernous porches, deep set arches, detached galleries, and pinnacles of different sizes. That effect of broken surfaces is further increased by the richness of the decoration: as opposed to the spareness of the interior, where the triforium string-course is the only enrichment, the façade of Amiens is ornate to the point of confusion." Bony, 278.

[14]The use of smaller stones for the walls and larger stones for the structure is seen throughout the church and is not viewed as suggestive of vastly different building campaigns. The difference here is that the stones are much smaller, approaching a rubble-like quality. In addition, Honoré Bernard has pointed out that the inner stones of the western wall are smaller than the exterior stones and show damage from fire while the exterior stones are undamaged except by weather. Bernard, "L'Oeuvre monumentale," 101.

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[15]The extent of the necessary reconstruction of the tower is hard to pinpoint. As Virginia Jansen has noted, Hariulf's account of the repairs necessary after the Norman invasions, suggests that only the roofs and upper parts of the walls were destroyed. Walls and altars remained despite the "destruction." Hariulf writes "altaria tamen et ecclesiae parietes inconvulsi persistebant...et tectis non plumbo ut prius, sed ligneis tabulatis qualiter poterant obductis..." (Lot, *Hariulf*, III:xxi, 149). Hariulf also writes of work under Abbot Ingelardus (981-1020) in which the appearance of the buildings was altered: "cuncta pro posse melioravit, claustra reparavit, non tamen ut antiquitus fuerant, sed modo quo adhuc stare videntur" (Lot, *Hariulf*, III:xxiii, 155). Large cracks appeared in the facade in the late eleventh century, requiring the repairs made under Abbot Gervin II (Jansen, 88-89).

[16]"... renovatam et erectam congaudemus fortiori fundamento et celsiori fastigio elevatam cernimus." (Lot, *Hariulf*, IV:xxxvi, 278). Jansen, 89.

[17]Pierre le Prêtre's reconstruction of the tower after Louis XI's "destruction" consisted of founding new bells, rebuilding a wooden flêche, and applying a new slate roof to the structure, yet does not seem to have involved these walls (*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XVIII, 1475, 40).

[18]While this narrow silhouette (from the side) is a result of the early tower dimensions, the narrowness is reminiscent of the Amiens west façade and tower bay. Jean Bony also notes the extreme thinness of the Amiens façade, describing it as a "constructional trompe l'oeil." Bony suggests that the reduction of the façade is due to Luzarches' aesthetic of minimal weight and that in effect, the entire construction is cantilevered over the deeply-set, buttressed portals (Bony, 280). Alain Erlande-Brandenburg suggests the reason for the thinness of the Amiens west end was more political. The town opposed Robert de Luzarches' expansive plan of demolishing the buildings to the west of the church, so that he instead had to settle on a pared-down plan. Even then there was not enough room at the west of the church, so that the primary public entrance was through the south transept portal. It was only in 1304 that the canons of the cathedrals gained permission to build a parvis before the entrance. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, trans. M. Thom, Cambridge Studies in the History of Architecture (Cambridge, 1994; orig. *La Cathédrale*, Paris, 1989) 188.

With Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of the cathedral a parvis was reopened in front of the church. (Viollet-le-Duc had plans for a street to be constructed on the central axis of the church, though this was not undertaken in favor of two streets angled in toward the western corners of the building.) For a complete account of Viollet-le-Duc's contribution to Amiens Cathedral, especially the expansion of the parvis to the west of the cathedral, see J. Foucart, "Viollet-le-Duc et la Cathédrale d'Amiens," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* (1982) 172-238.

Murray and Addiss note the minimal transitional zone between exterior and interior at Amiens that is in part a function of the minimization of the tower depth. Murray and Addiss, "Plan and Space," 52. Murray goes on to explain the genius of the tower design in that the narrow towers provide support for the interior without requiring

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extensive interior masonry. Murray, *Notre-Dame. Cathedral of Amiens*, 90.

[19]See Jansen, 83.

[20]De Pas, 496.

[21]E. Lane, "An Isolated Tower in Notre-Dame de Donnemarie-en-Montois: Integration of 12th and 13th Century Architecture," unpublished paper presented at the *30th International Congress on Medieval Studies*, May 1995, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

[22]Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral*, 92-93. Martin Chambiges was appointed to resolve the problem of the existing tower as it impeded the construction of the late gothic façade. Chambiges designed the west end to enclose the old tower, and then once the new supports were in place, the old tower was demolished.

[23]Durand, *L'église de Saint-Riquier* (1933) 18. Angilbert's body was moved to entry of choir in 842 by Abbot Ribodon. Abbot Charles d'Aligre had Angilbert's remains moved to a silver reliquary after they were unearthed during restoration of the church in the late seventeenth century.

[24]"olim dicatae nomini Salvatoris" Lot, *Hariulf*, IV: xxxvi, 278. Jansen pointed out the significance of this phrase regarding the status of the tower in the eleventh century (89, footnote 10).

[25]Prarond, *Joannis de la Capella*, 169. "Anno itaque 1465, praenominatis dominis abbati et conventui, guerra commota, magna supervenit invidia, quoniam armigeros, suis propriis expensis, in dicto castello habere cogebantur, et octo homines in villa Sancti Richarii dietim excubantes et vigilantes, quorum tres de die portas hujus villae custodiebant, alii vero quinque noctu excubabant; aut dicti domini erga dictae villae capitaneum quinque solidos Parisis dietim persolvere tenebantur."

[26]This is especially true in the late afternoon as the light from the setting sun illuminates the white stone façade against the surrounding green fields and forests.

[27]*Chronique de Pierre le Prêtre*, XIX ,1475, 47. "ledit abbe faire a ung ouvrier dypre une oreloge pour mettre au clochier de saditte eglise pesant VIc libvrez dont il paya XL libvrez et se fist fondre ledit abbe trois petites cloches entonnees pour faire appeaux a laditte oreloge."

[28]R. Glasser, in *Time in French Life and Thought*, (trans. C.G. Pearson (Totowa, NJ, 1972) 72), notes the symbolic nature of the clock as "a model of a meaningful and pleasing co-ordination." Time, he writes, became important in the regulation of public and private life and in the ordering of relations in the rising middle classes.

Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum argues that by the fifteenth century the clock (and its tower) becomes a symbol of community identity. He cites the Abbey of Saint-Sauve in Montreuil as an example of cooperation between an abbey and a community. In 1377 the

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abbot of Saint-Sauve authorized the citizens to rebuild one of the church towers for a clock. The tower had to be constructed so that townspeople could enter it without disturbing the monks. G. Dohrn-van Rossum, *The History of the Hour. Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (Chicago, 1996) 145, (see also 33-43). See also R. Rodiere, "Le clocher de Sainte-Saulve de Montreuil," *Mémoires de la Comm. Departemental des monuments historiques de Pas de Calais* 33 (Arras, 1910) 202.

[29]C. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture 1300-1700* (New York, 1967) 42.

[30]The apparent looseness of this historical framework has eluded scholars, or at least led them to question the overall iconography of the façade. Emil Mâle found both the façades of Saint-Wulfran in Abbeville and of Saint-Riquier to be without a clear message. In discussing the two façades, he writes that on the Abbeville façade there are "statues of prophets, apostles, bishops, male and female saints, all seemingly placed at random. We search in vain for a governing idea, a plan. There is none. After long reflection on this remarkable disorder, we come to the conclusion that many of the statues must have been individually commissioned from the artists by the religious confraternities for the greater glory of their patron saints. The arrangement of the statues of saints and bishops on the façade of the church of Saint-Riquier seems to me neither clearer nor more instructive." Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources. Bollingen Series XC. 3.* trans. M. Matthews (Princeton, 1986, 2nd ed.) 213.

[31]Gilbert, 69-71.

[32]The Tree of Jesse was first portrayed in monumental sculpture in the central portal archivolts of the Abbey of Saint-Denis in the twelfth century. (P. Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis. Restorations and Survivals* (Berkeley, 1992) 61.) Becoming a popular theme in the late Middle Ages, one sees it also portrayed in the central tympanum of Rouen Cathedral.

[33]Another meaning for the apostles has been brought forward by Eamon Duffy, who has researched the state of the church in late medieval England. He notes the growing occurance of the apostles on rood screens, each carrying a banner inscribed with one of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed, owing to the belief that each apostle authored one of the articles of the Creed. He goes on to suggest that "the common arrangement on East Anglian rood-screens in which the dado was occupied by the Apostles, with or without their clauses of the Creed, and the doors or pulpit by the four Latin Doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, symbols of the Church's teaching, suggests a heightened awareness of the importance of preaching and catechesis in parishes in the second half of the (fifteenth) century." Duffy, 65. Both Gilbert and Durand suggest that some of the figures on the buttresses represent Church fathers, though the precise identification is problematic.

[34]These four are all on the lower row of apostles, flanking the two kneeling abbots.

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[35]Pamela Blum has recently shown that despite the extensive restoration of this figure in the nineteenth century, the original figure was a kneeling figure with hands in prayer. Given the lintel inscription, and trusting the nineteenth-century restoration, the identification seems certain. Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis*, 32-33. Inscription translation is from Panofsky's translation of Suger's *De Administratione*, in *Abbot Suger. On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1979) 48-49.

[36]T. Conley, "On Some Figural Problems of Flamboyant Architecture (1480-1520)," in *Image and Code. Michigan Studies in the Humanities*, ed. W. Steiner (Ann Arbor, 1981) 157-66.

[37]*Chronique de Pierrre le Prêtre* , XIX, 1476, 45. The chronicler was either mistaken or exaggerating, for the crossing was actually only two hundred years old.

[38]Pamela Blum's work, which has convincingly illustrated the liturgical role of the façades of Wells and Salisbury Cathedrals, opens up the likelihood of a liturgical context for other church façades. P. Blum, "Liturgical Influences on the Design of the West Front at Wells and Salisbury," *Gesta* XXV/1 (1986) 145-150. See also, Jane Chung, "The Façade of Rouen Cathedral," Masters' Essay University of Michigan, 1991. Chung notes that in chapter deliberations from the sixteenth century, the platform on the west façade from which the response was delivered by two "angels" at the moment of Christ's ascension was called the "viri Galilae." This is in reference to Acts I: 11, in which angels appear from the sky to console the apostles at Christ's ascension. Chung, 26-27.

Several physical features of the Saint-Riquier façade advance the possibility of a liturgical function of the façade. Though apparently symmetrical, there are subtle distinctions between the north and south sides of the façade. The wall of the south side is set back slightly, so that the balustrade over the portal is accessible, while the north balustrade is applied to the wall. The stair turrets that figure so prominently in Hariulf's description of the early liturgy by providing access to the upper chapel remain, but now give access to the south portal balustrade and to the upper balustrade. The upper balustrade is a significant distance from the ground making it an unlikely site for public speaking, though one could imagine musical instruments or choristers on high. The balustrade over the south portal is more suitable for speaking.

[39]See Appendix A, Chap. 14. Also itemized in chapter 14 of the Cartulary are permissions of processions from the late thirteenth century and fourteenth century.

[40]Eamon Duffy, in his research on English liturgical observances, notes the importance of processions through the community. Duffy writes that the Host was carried outside the church only for Holy Week and the Corpus Christi festival (26). At Saint-Riquier the privilege to carry the Host in procession through the village was granted to the abbey in the early fourteenth century. See Chapter 2 above.

Describing the Palm Sunday procession, initiating the Holy Week observances, Duffy writes, "While the palms were being distributed a special shrine supported on two

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poles was prepared, into which the church's principal relics were placed, along with the Blessed Sacrament to represent Christ According to the rubrics, this shrine, carried by two clerks and sheltered by a silken canopy, was now brought in procession to join the parishioners and clergy at the churchyard Palm cross." (Duffy, 23-24) The procession went from the cross around the east end of the church to the south and then to the west entrance.

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Conclusion

Saint-Riquier was one of many churches being built, reconstructed or augmented in Picardy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Following the Treaty of Arras of 1435, the north of France enjoyed something of an economic revival under the government of the dukes of Burgundy. Towns were repopulated, markets were re-established and civic and religious buildings were built.[1] The church of Saint-Riquier is distinguished from much of this construction in that the abbey was rural and its economic well-being was tied to its long-held position as landowner. Because of this status and the intention to maintain such a position, the architectural style tended toward the conservative, even retardataire. There were no daring stylistic or structural experiments at Saint-Riquier. Instead the masons built a respectable, solid building of broad proportions and proven architectural elements.

At the beginning of this study, it was suggested that a conscious historicism may have guided the late gothic construction at Saint-Riquier, especially given the importance of the abbey under Charlemagne's patronage. The expectation that the Carolingian period, arguably the apogee of the abbey's history in terms of size and power, would influence the construction of the abbey over the course of its life is perhaps due to the surviving documentation of that period and relative lack of documentation from other

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periods. With Ferdinand Lot's 1894 publication of Hariulf's chronicle, the emphasis of the literature on Saint-Riquier shifted from the building as it existed in the nineteenth century to the Carolingian building as it may have once existed. The availability of this documentary account of that period (and the lack of comparable records of other Carolingian abbeys) has allowed the building that no longer exists to overshadow the building that does exist. In addition, as Sauerländer argues, we desire to understand gothic monuments as complete monuments and are reluctant to recognize or accept the incomplete and/or composite nature of most medieval architecture.[2] It is easier to imagine and study a building that is unified in style and whole (i.e., the Carolingian Saint-Riquier) than a building that is the result of centuries of construction and reconstruction (i.e., the late gothic Saint-Riquier).

Both written and archaeological evidence has been examined to test the idea that the historic importance of the abbey was a driving force in its late gothic reconstruction. The chronicles written by and for the abbots of the late fifteenth century provide evidence of the awareness of the abbey's history and its place in the course of local history, yet there is no preoccupation with any particular period of the abbey's history. In the late medieval histories of the abbey there is no special attention to the Carolingian heritage of the abbey. Pierre le Prêtre's chronicle omits it entirely, beginning the account of historical events with Louis IX in 1248. Jean de la Chapelle's chronicle begins with the birth of Christ and treats the Carolingian period like any other at the abbey. The written sources do not allow one to conclude that there was any intentional singling out or high-lighting of one period by the late gothic patrons.

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Likewise, this study has shown that at Saint-Riquier there was no deliberate reclaiming of the past through architecture. This is not to say that there was no looking back, for the layering of time characterizes the building. Yet, this layering of time in stone is a natural growth rather than a contrived appropriation of the past. As discussed in chapter 3, elements from the Carolingian, Romanesque and gothic portions of the building can be found in the late gothic building and its plan. The building reflects the Carolingian heritage of the abbey more clearly than the documents in that the basic dimensions of the gothic church are determined by the Carolingian plan.[3] The masons of the gothic church used the Carolingian foundations when possible and, in fact, carefully adapted the gothic plan so that it could take advantage of the earlier structure, despite being markedly different in design. For instance, the south transept was extended to the west to intersect with the cloister. While it is not unusual for there to be direct access from the cloister to the transept or aisle of an abbey church, the intersection of the two spaces here is unique. Like their counterparts of the thirteenth century, the masons of the late gothic construction used the earlier structure in their own construction. In the case of the axial chapel they enlarged the thirteenth-century structure and in the case of the western tower and facade they built around the Romanesque tower, incorporating it into the new construction. The physical presence of the building's past, the Carolingian foundations, the Romanesque tower and later the gothic additions, were used in a practical way to help in the layout and construction of later campaigns. The architectural heritage passed down through the centuries provided a starting point and even served as justification for new construction, but did not present a model to be nostalgically recreated.

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Two specific aspects of the late gothic construction were presented in chapters 4 and 5; the sculptural decoration of the nave capitals and the form and decoration of the western tower. Each aspect illuminates our understanding of the building in a different way. Although founded on the Romanesque tradition of sculptural decoration, the nave capitals provide no direct link to an earlier state of Saint-Riquier. Instead, the themes tell more about the late fifteenth century needs and tastes of the monks and visitors. The placement of various capitals suggests a particular use of space that one can relate to the unusual intersection of cloister and transept and to an earlier, traditional use of space. The western tower provides the clearest example of reuse of the earlier structure. Though providing the core of the new tower, the old tower is hidden from view behind the late gothic sculpture-clad facade. The lack of a western window, a unique feature of Saint-Riquier, results from the reuse of the earlier structure. This unpierced facade, covered with sculptural decoration, gives the abbey an opportunity to address the public with the message of its Christian heritage.

The presence of the past in the late gothic church of Saint-Riquier is subtle and understated. The expectation of a guiding historical consciousness, and therefore an emphasis on the past, derives from a sense of history in which there is a clear delineation between each period of time. To the late gothic patron and builder the past, though distant, was as much of the present as it was of the past.[4] While one may expect to see a nostalgic reuse of earlier elements in the late gothic building, the stones themselves do not reveal the intentions behind their placement or decoration. There is no question the late gothic patrons and masons were aware of their history, but one cannot conclude that they

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were unduly influenced by any one period or that they had any intention other than to continue the life of the church of Saint-Riquier. Perhaps the layers of history in the church of Saint-Riquier will never be entirely understood. For as Durand wrote, "All of the [archaeological] data are difficult to reconcile with the incomplete and imprecise information that one is able to pull from the written documents. After having approached the question from all sides and each time encountering the unlikely and the impossible, I finish, as one says, by giving my tongue to the dogs, and by leaving things in the uncertainty with which they have appeared."[5]

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Notes to Conclusion

[1]For instance, just a few of the more significant constructions in Amiens include the parish churches of Saint-Leu (1481) and Saint-Germain (1477) and the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist (1475) in the choir of Amiens Cathedral as well as the reconstruction of the churches of Saint-Firmin the Confessor (1474) and Saint-Jacques (1478). P. Roy, "L'Art flamboyant en Picardie," *Bulletin Trimestrial de la Société antiquaires de Picardie*, Amiens, 1958, 256-57.

[2]As discussed in chapter 1, Willibald Sauerländer addresses this tendency to expect stylistic unity. See W. Sauerländer, "Style or Transition? The Fallacies of Classification Discussed in the Light of German Architecture 1190-1260," in *Architectural History* 30 (1987) 2-13.

[3]Excavations by Honoré Bernard have shown that the east and west ends and the north and south dimensions of the Carolingian church coincide with those of the gothic church. See chapter 3, Carolingian Foundations.

[4]Giles Constable describes this medieval sense of the relationship of past and present as "...the tendency to combine apparently incompatible and inconsistent elements and to separate form and theme, investing ancient forms with modern meanings and presenting ancient themes in modern form." ("A Living Past: The Historical Environment of the Middle Ages," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1990), 60).

[5]Durand, *La Picardie. Historique et Monumentale, L'Arrondisement Abbeville*, IV.2, "St-Riquier," 246. "Toutes ces données sont bien difficiles à concilier avec les renseignements incomplets et imprécis que l'on peut tirer des documents écrits. Après avoir retourné la question dans tous les sens et m'être heurté chaque fois à des invraisemblances et à des impossibilités, j'ai fini, comme on dit, par donner ma langue aux chiens, et par laisser les choses dans l'indécision avec laquelle elles se présentent à nous."

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THE LATE GOTHIC ABBEY CHURCH OF SAINT-RIQUIER: AN INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Volume II

by

Rebecca Mary Price-Wilkin

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
1997

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Linda Neagley, Rice University, Co-Chair
Professor Ilene Forsyth, Co-Chair
Professor Margaret C. Root
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FIGURES

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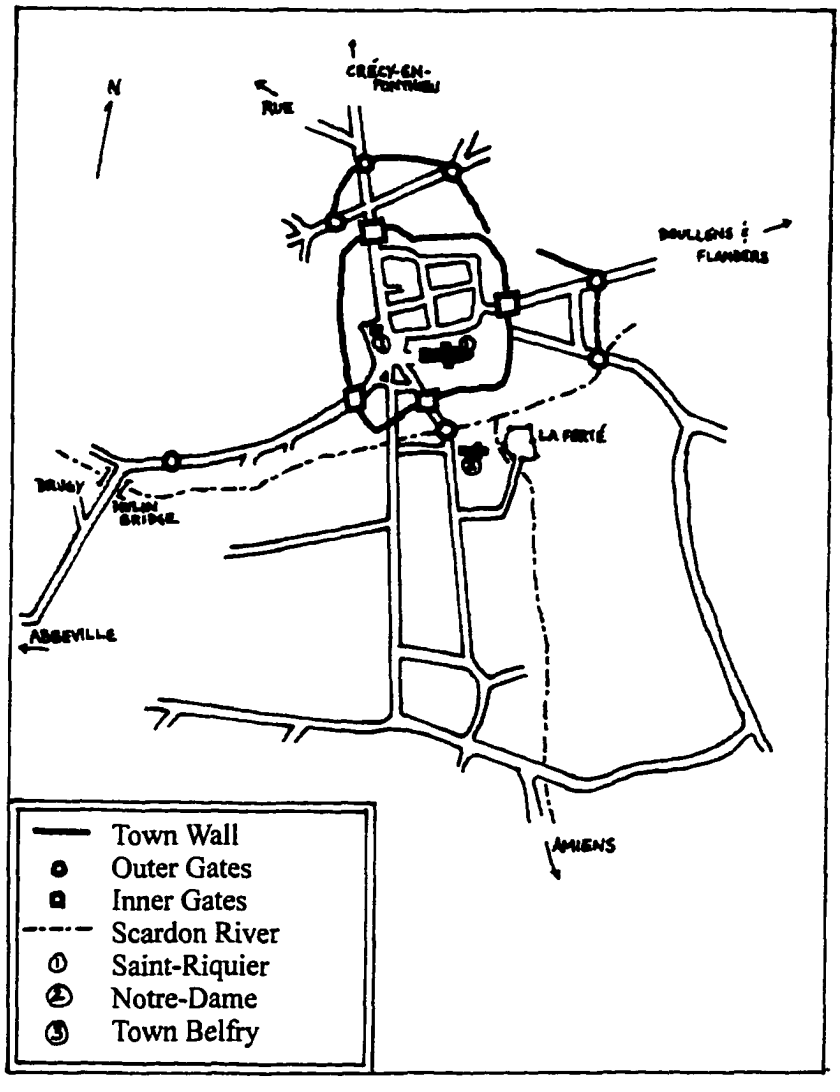


Fig. 1: Map of Saint-Riquier in Middle Ages showing Town Walls and Gates

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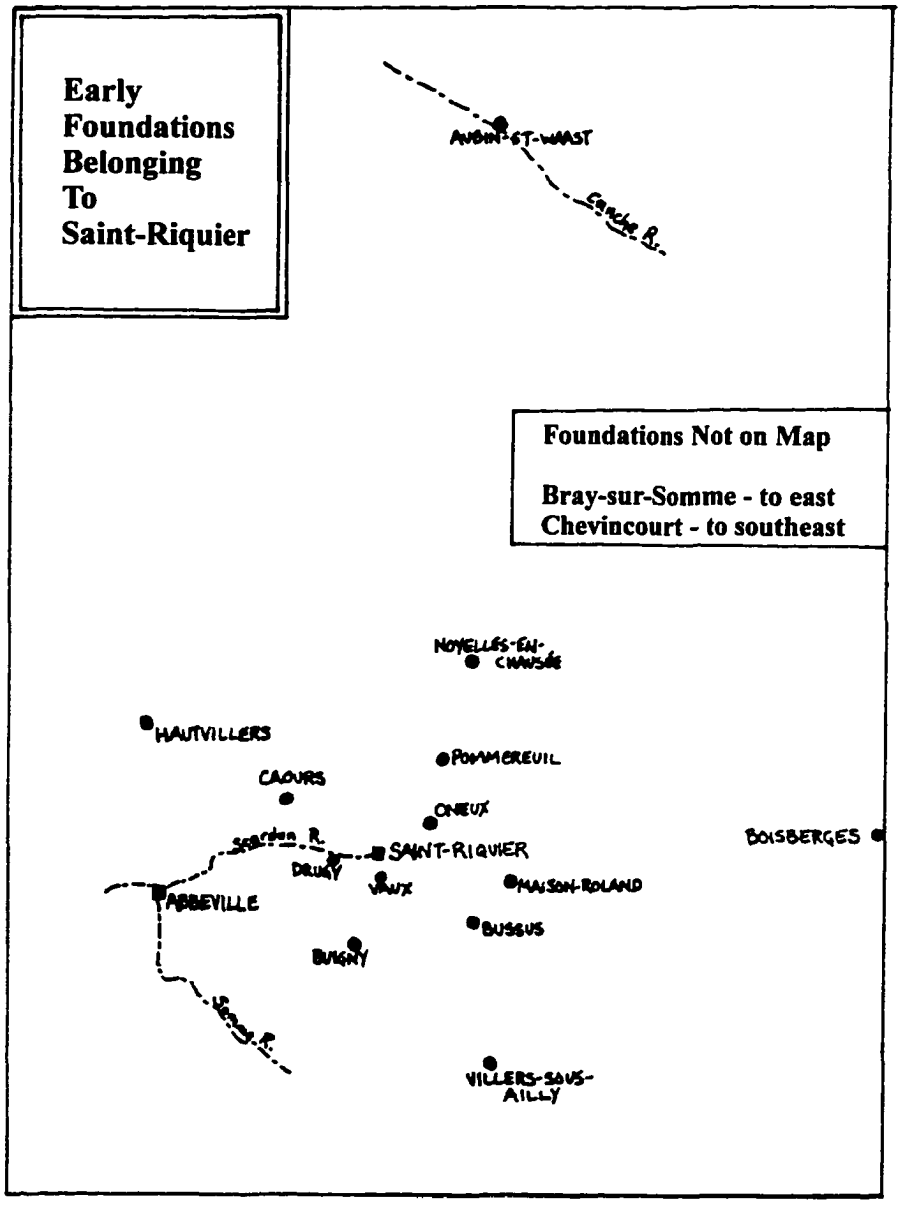


Fig. 2: Map of Early Foundations belonging to Saint-Riquier

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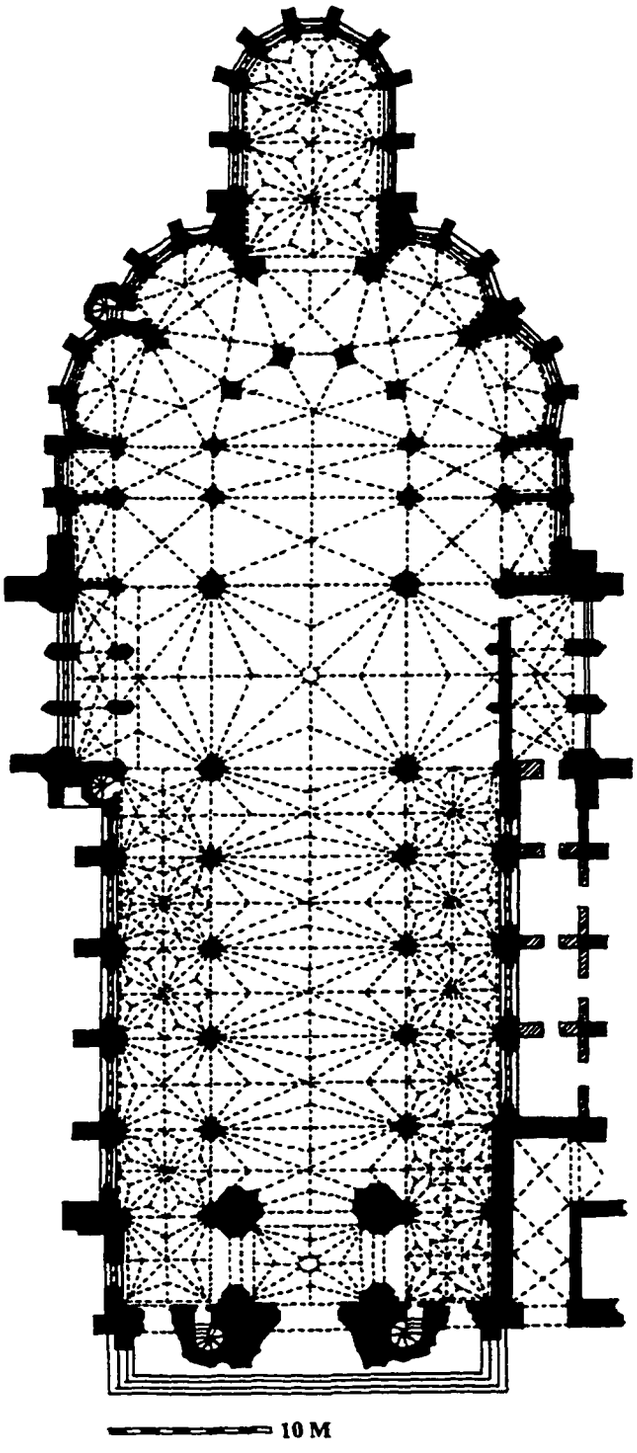


Fig. 3: Plan of the Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier (after Duthoit)

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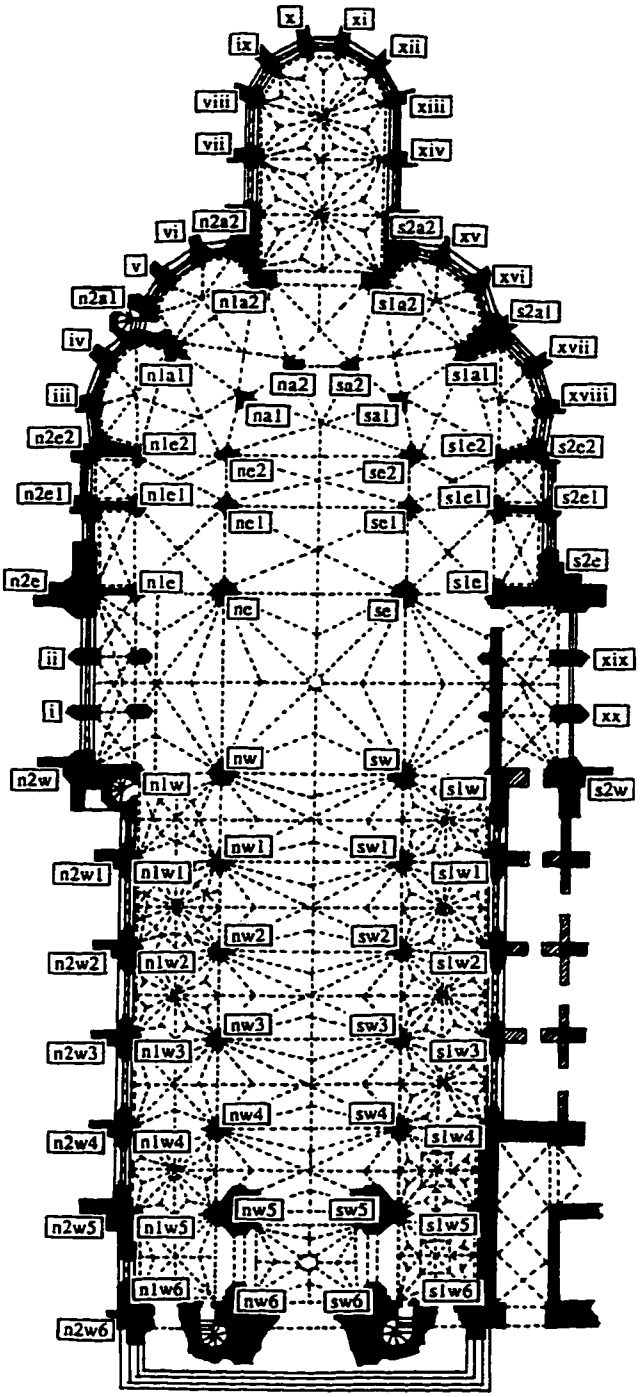


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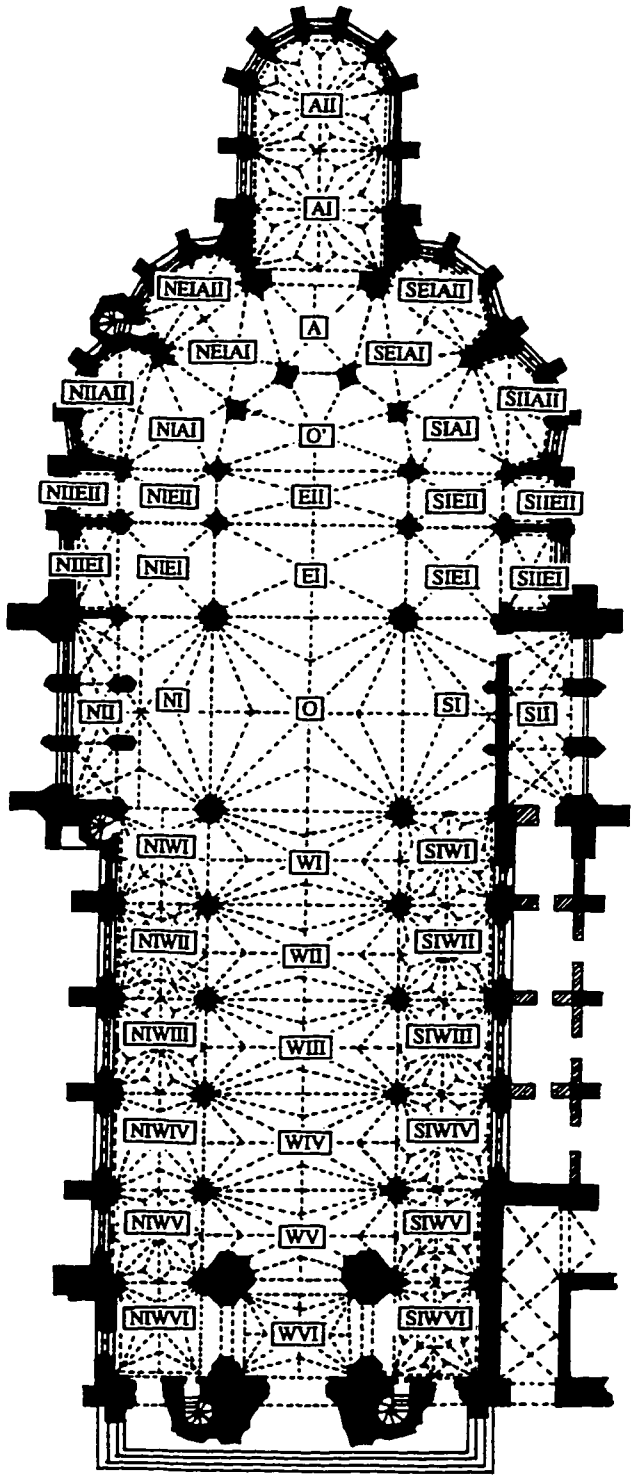


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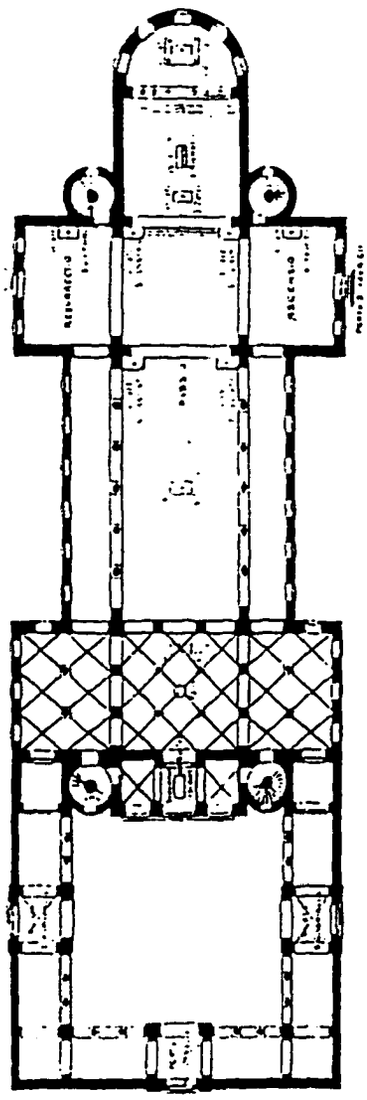


Fig. 4: Proposed Plan of Carolingian Church of Saint-Riquier/Holy Savior (according to Effmann)

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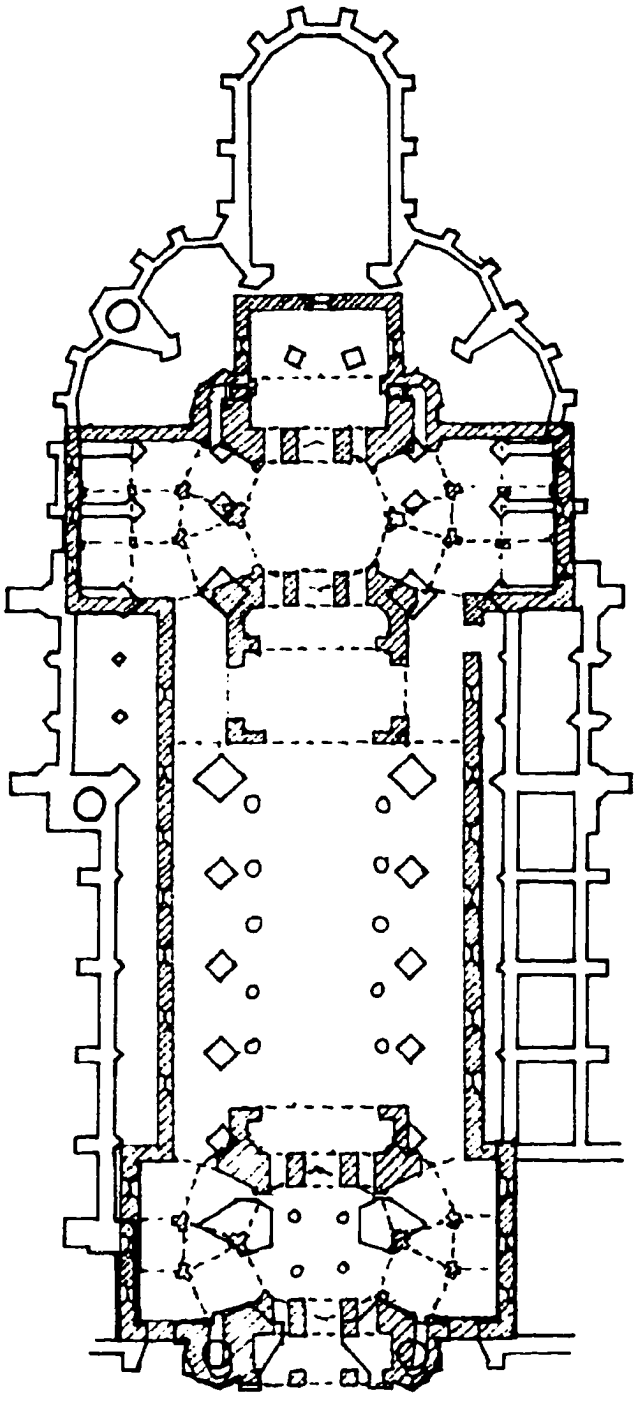


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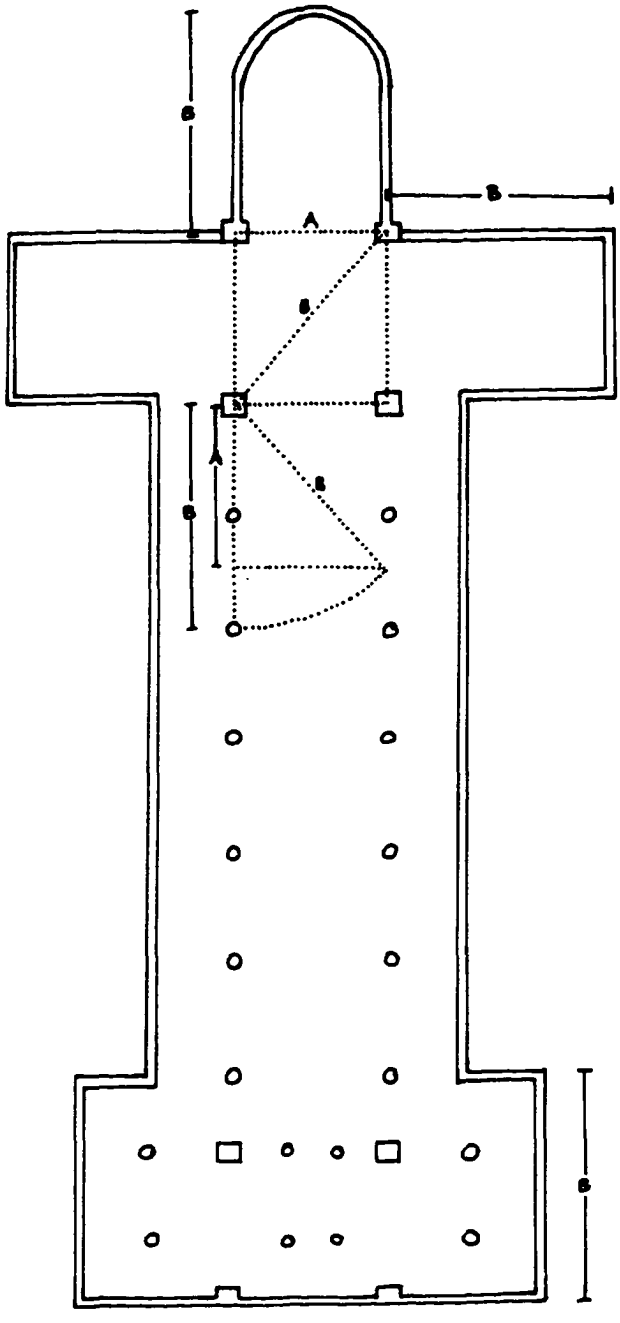


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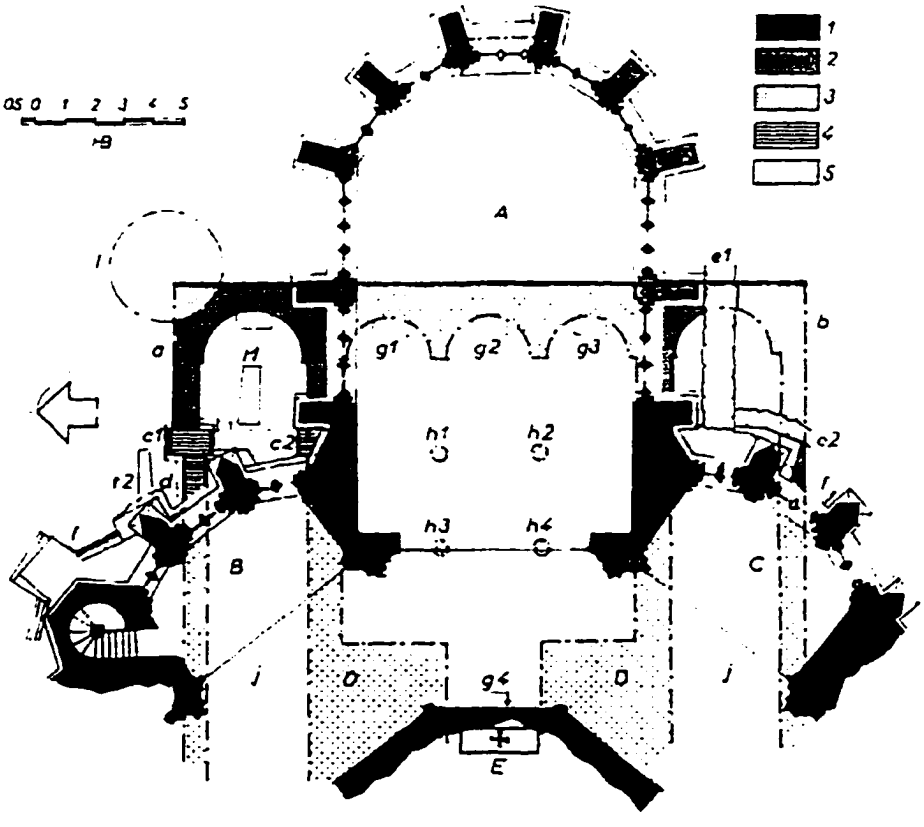


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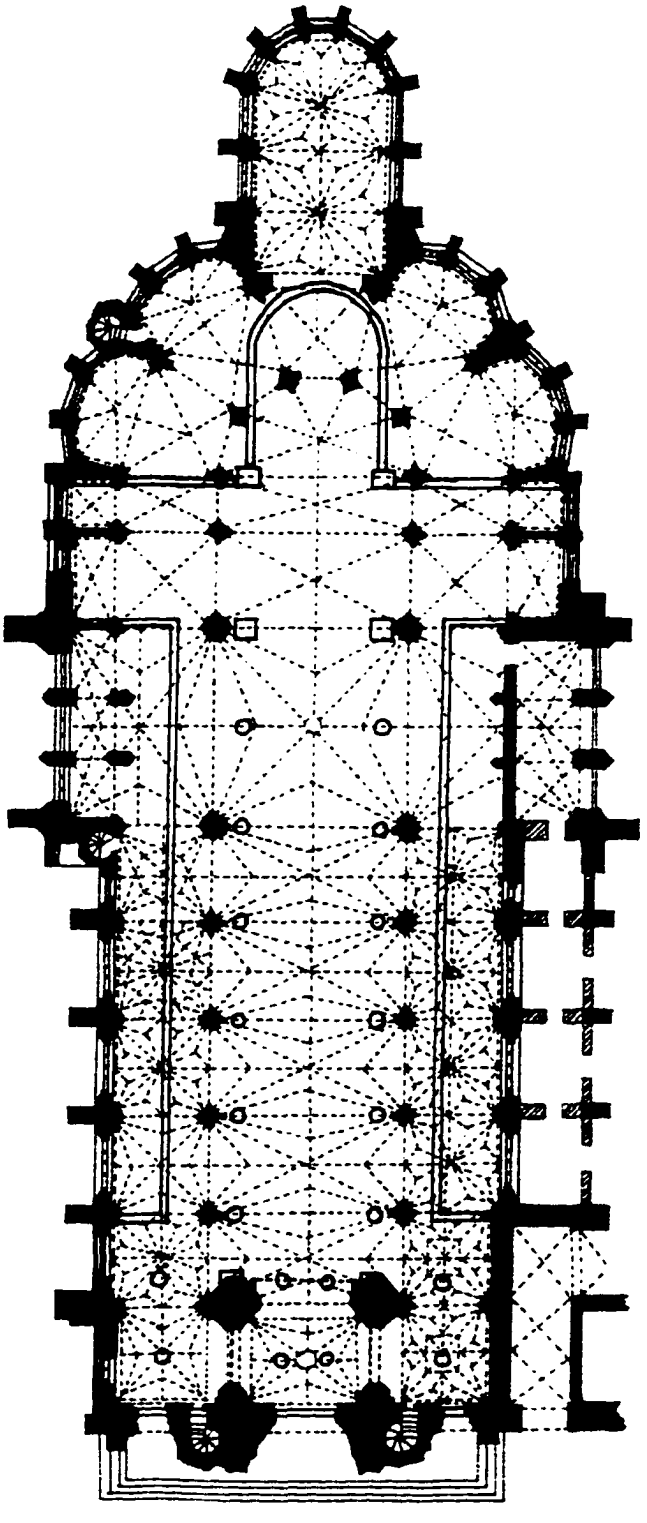


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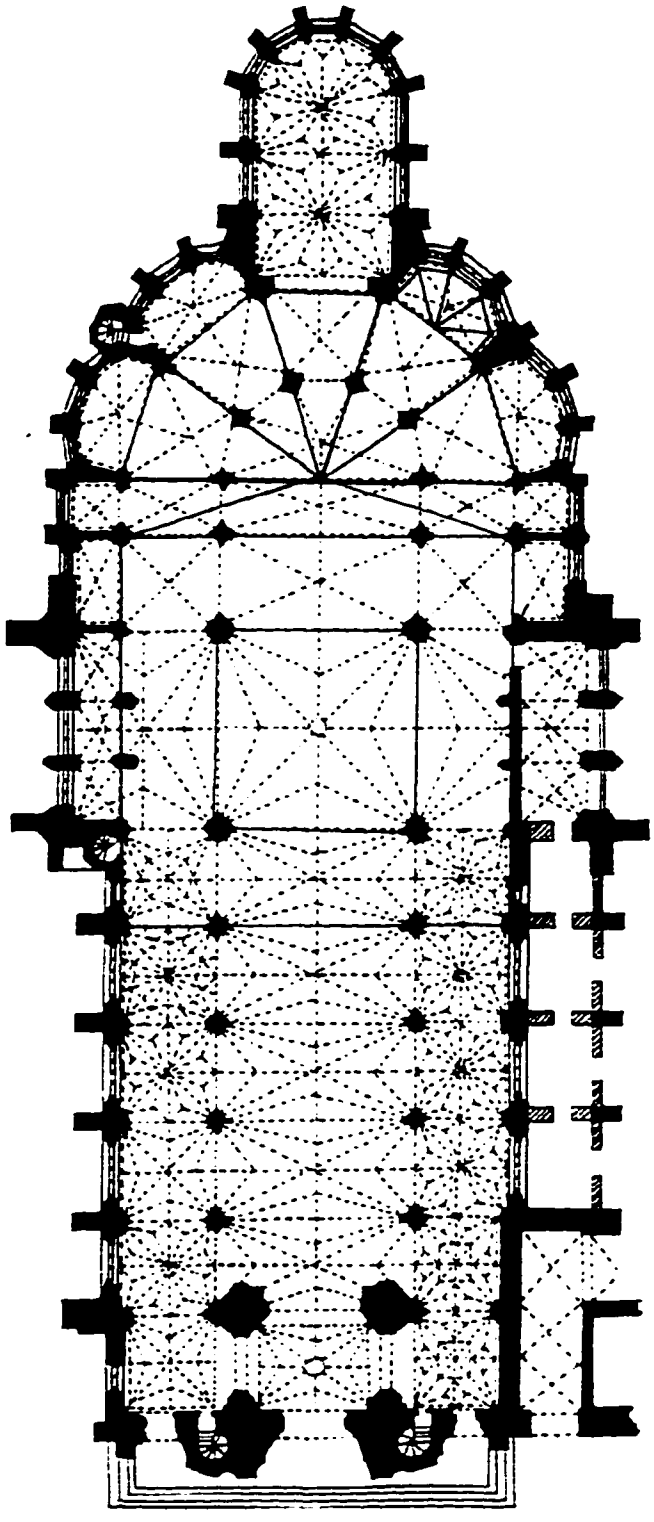


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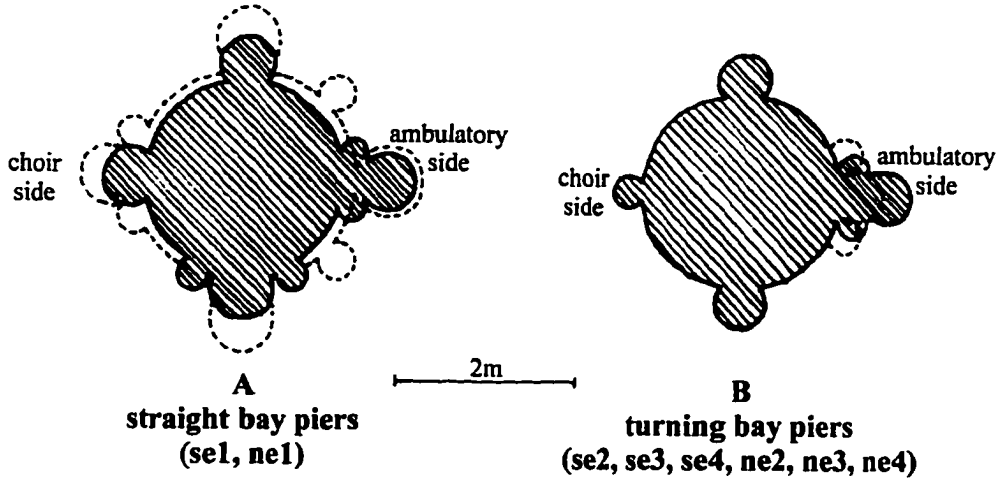


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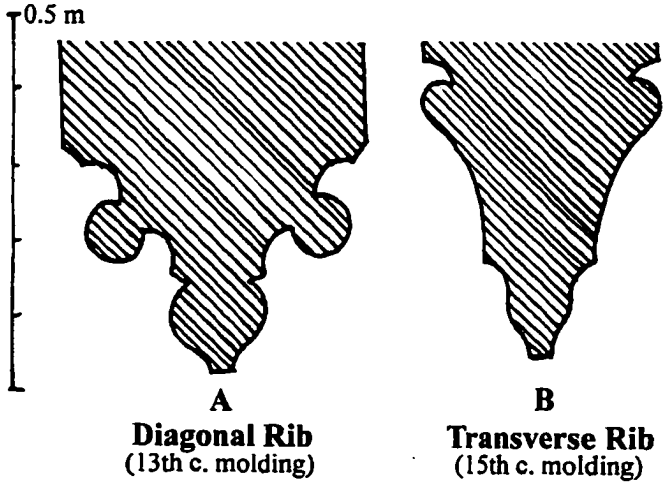


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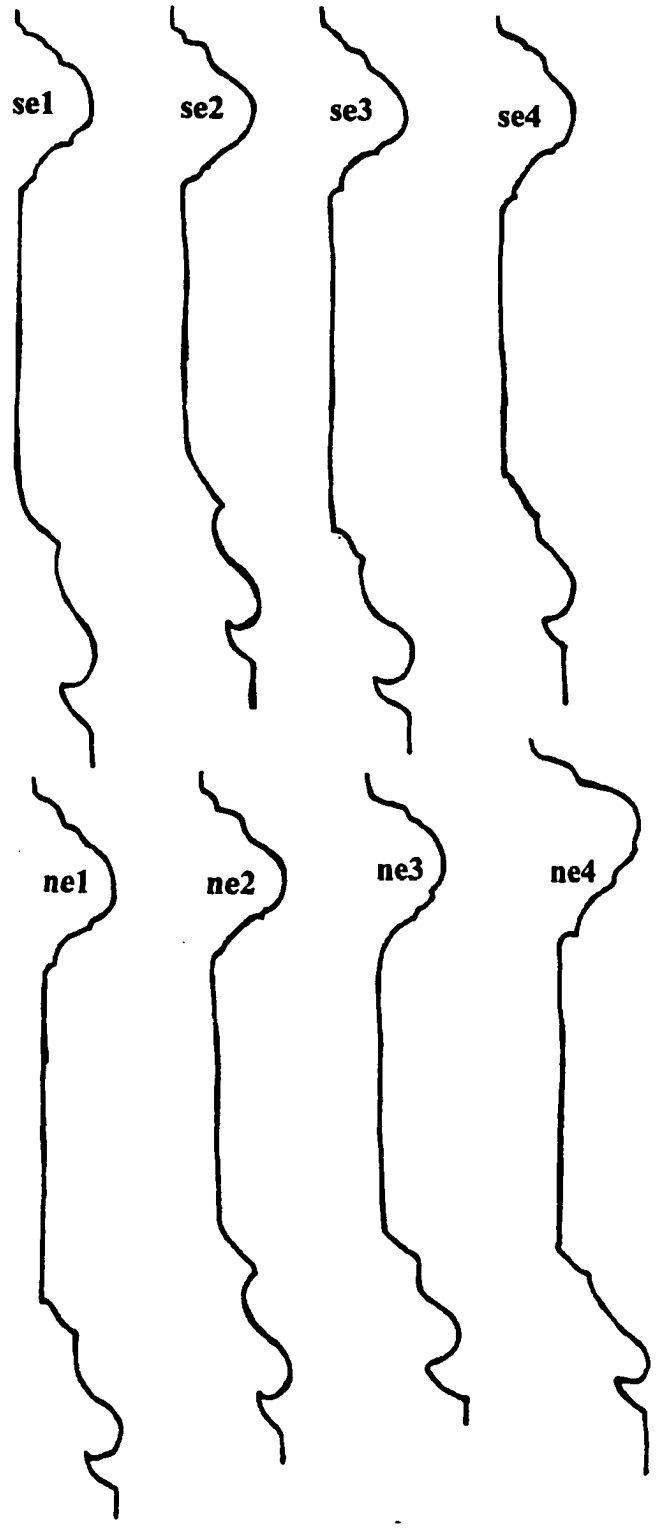


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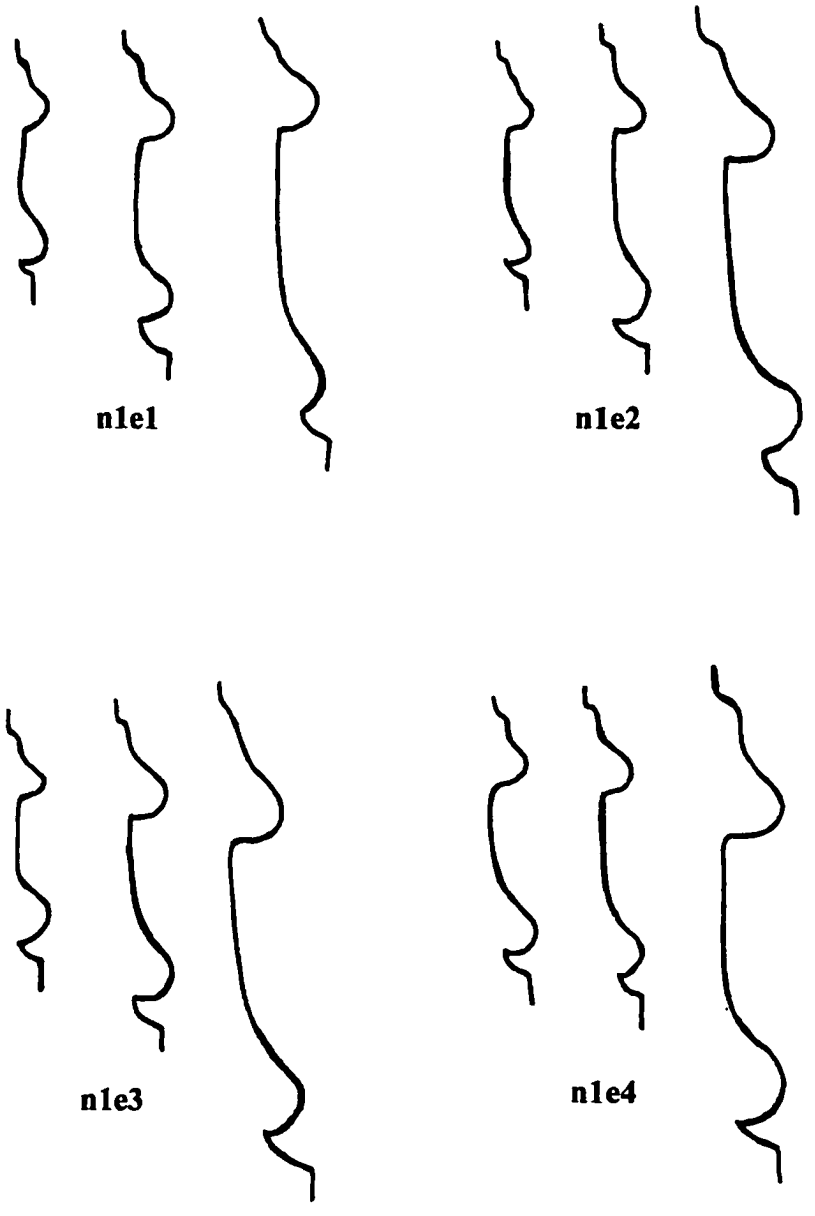


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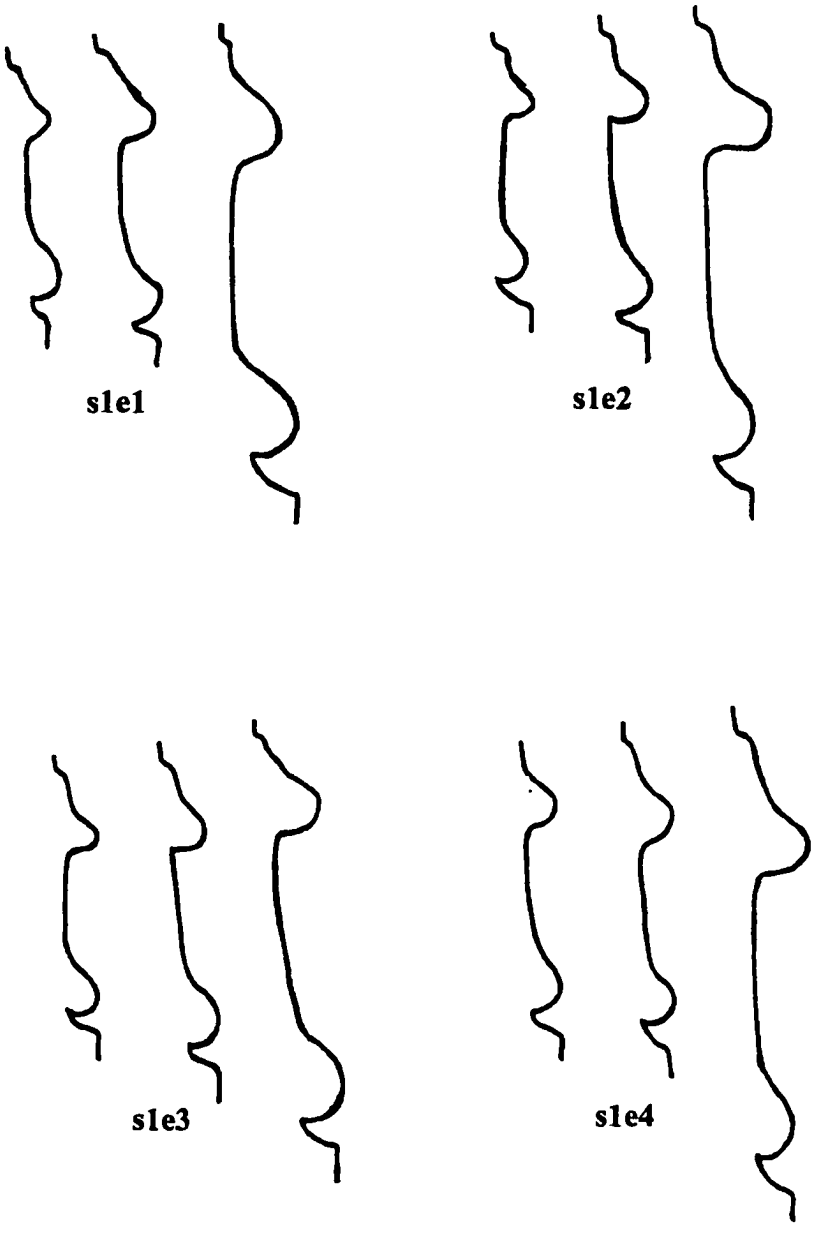


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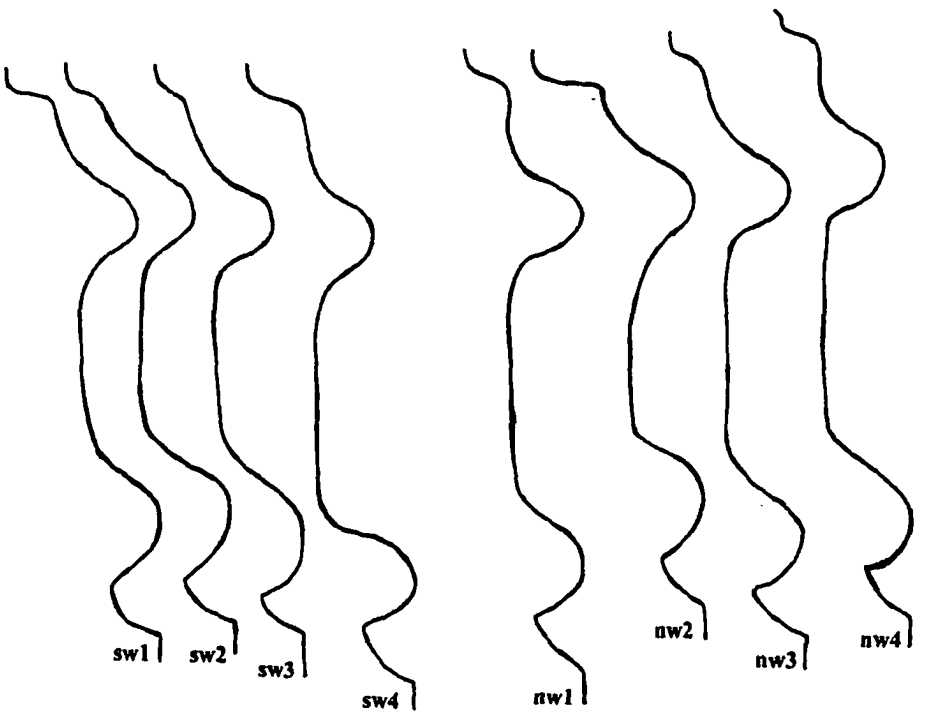


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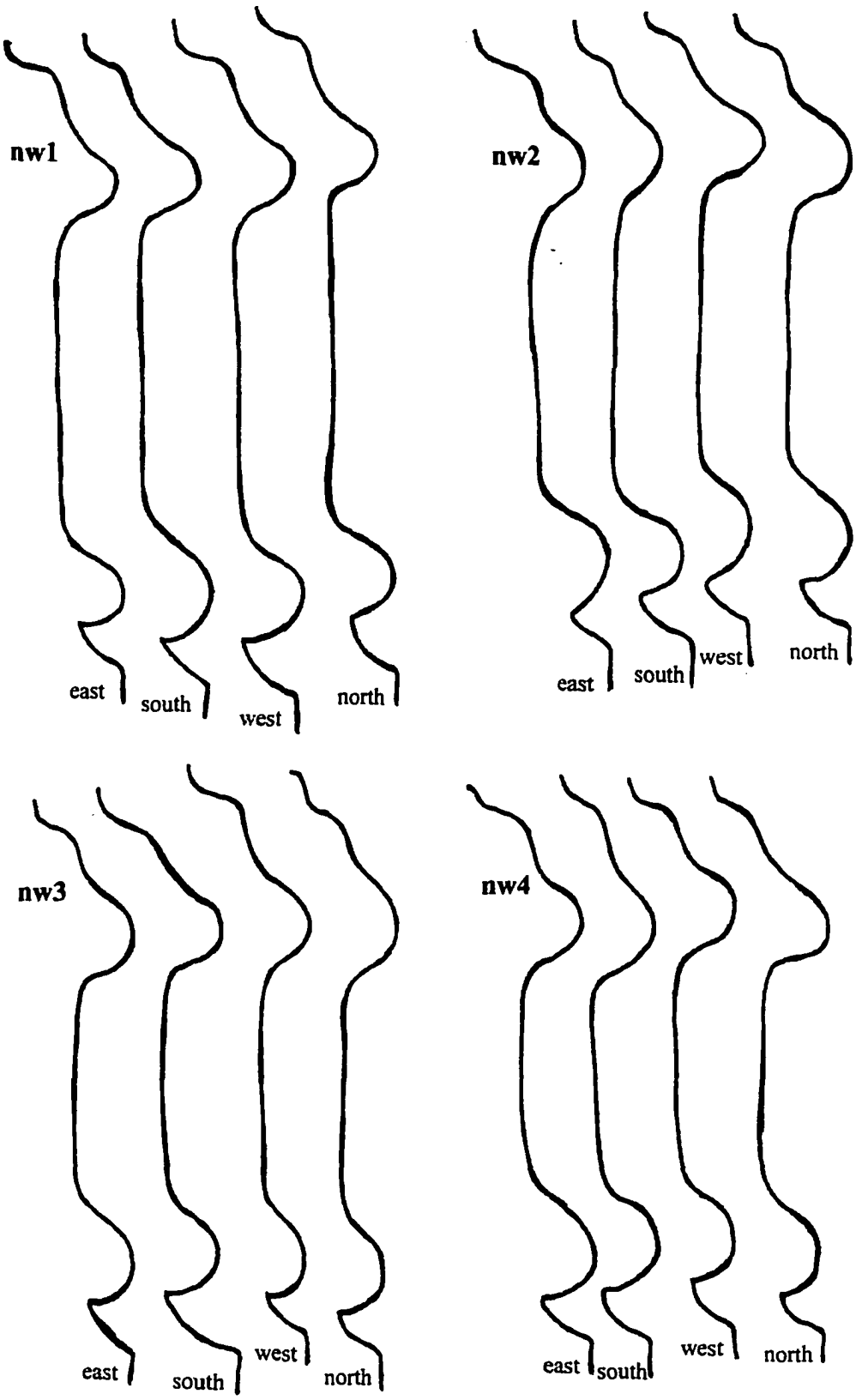


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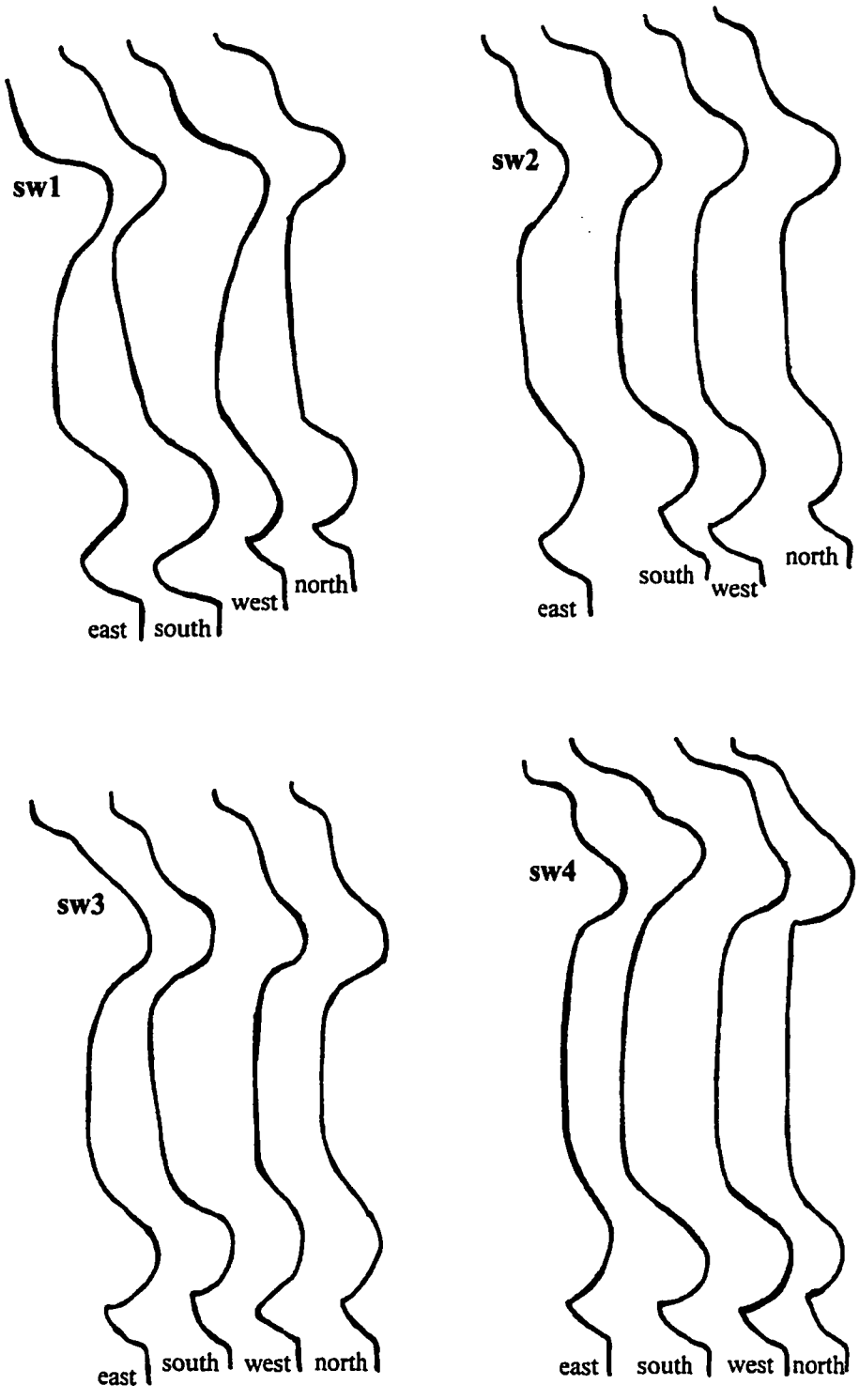


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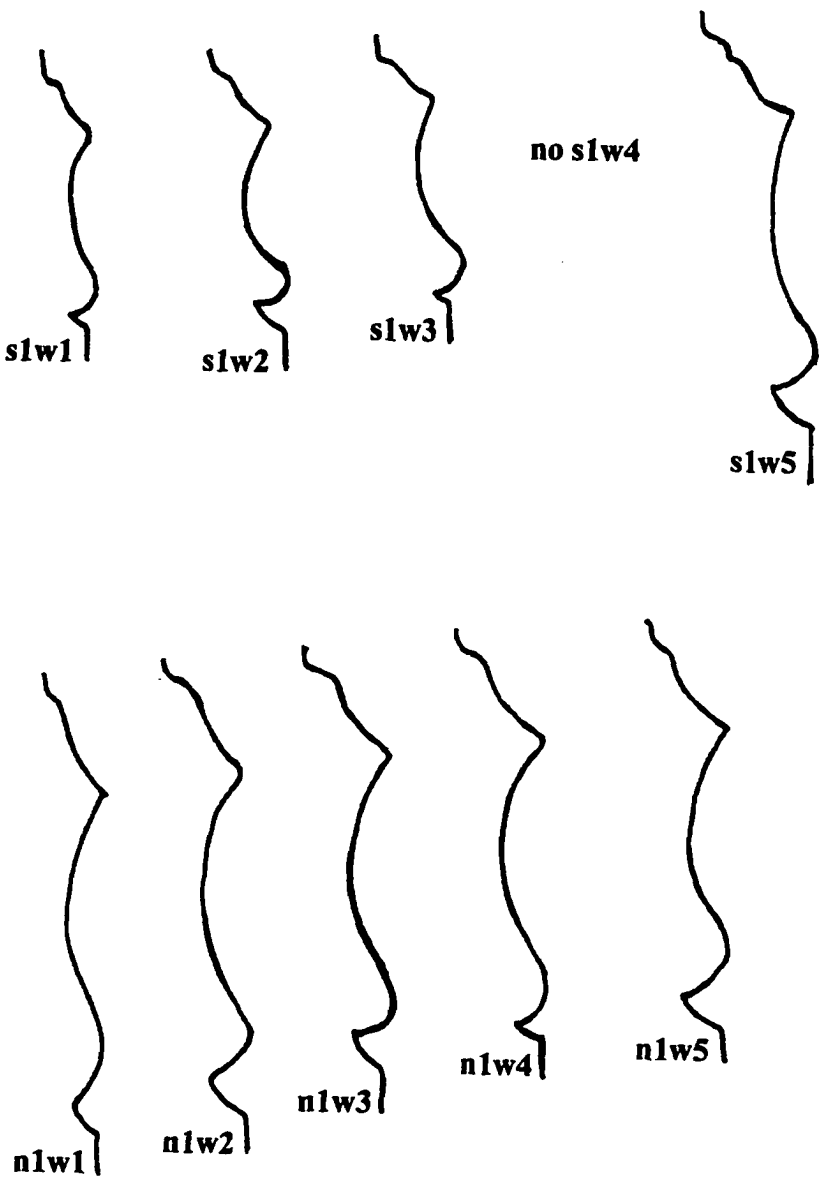


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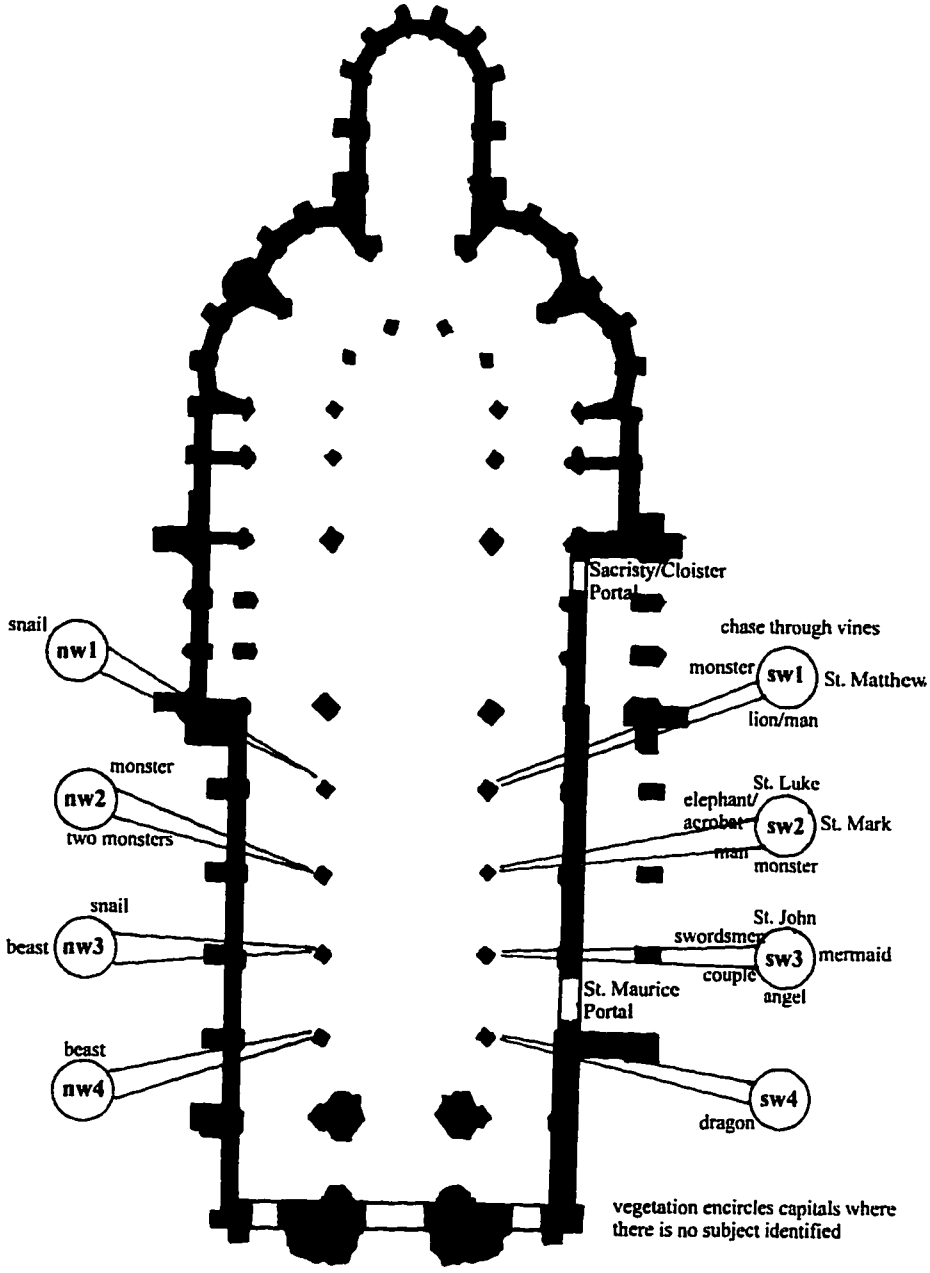


Fig. 19: Plan of Nave with Piers and Subjects of Capitals Identified

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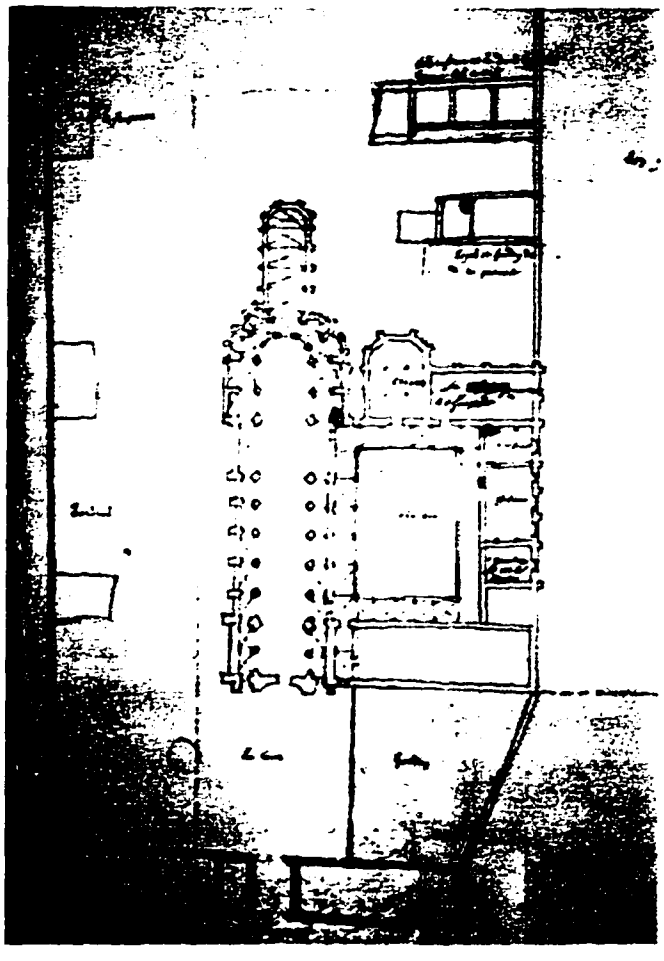
ILLUSTRATIONS

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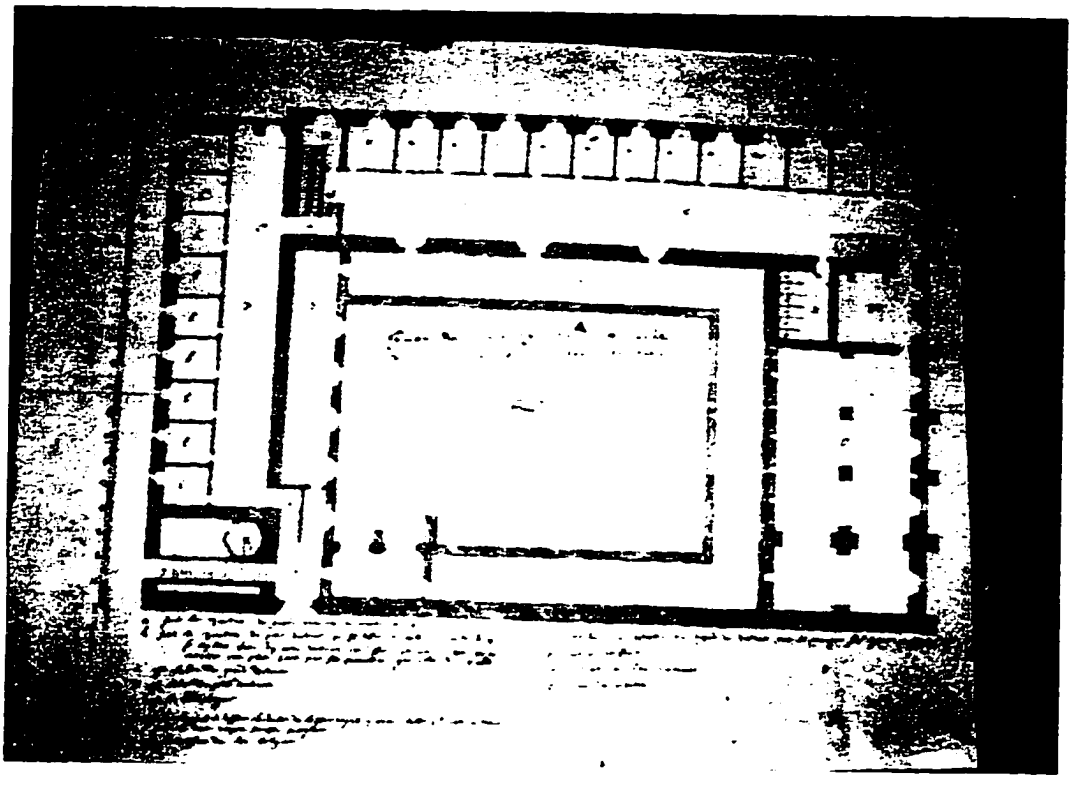
Illus. 1: View of Saint-Riquier from southwest

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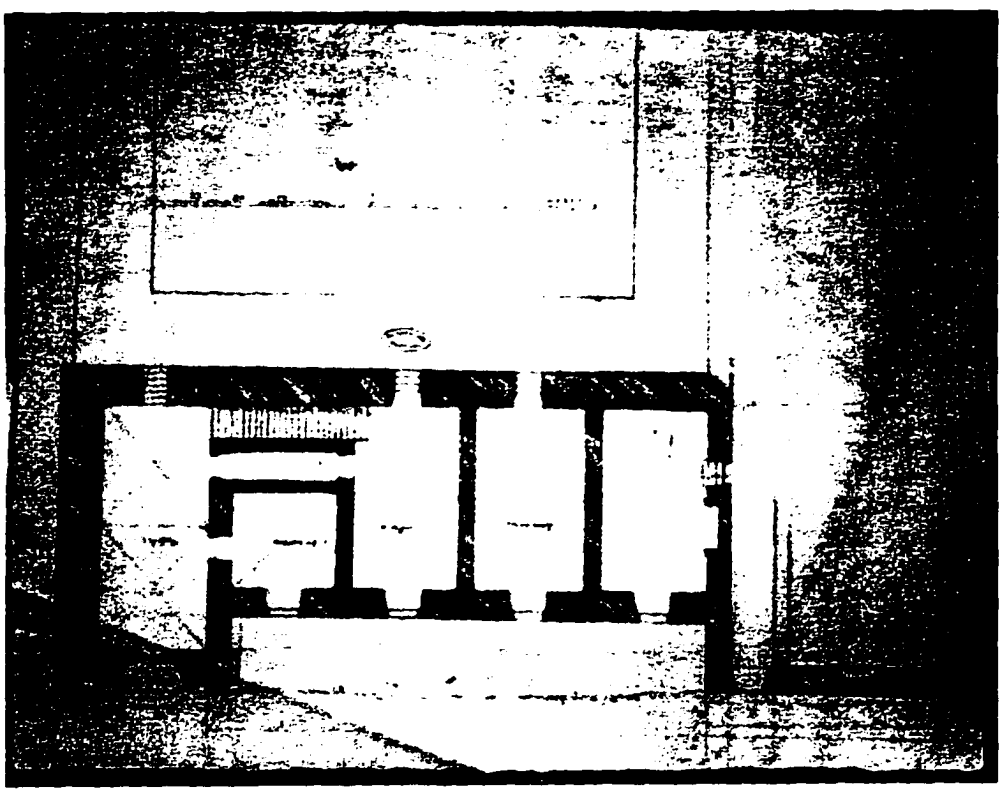
Illus. 2: 1658 Plan of Abbey Buildings (NA; N III, Somme 17, #6)

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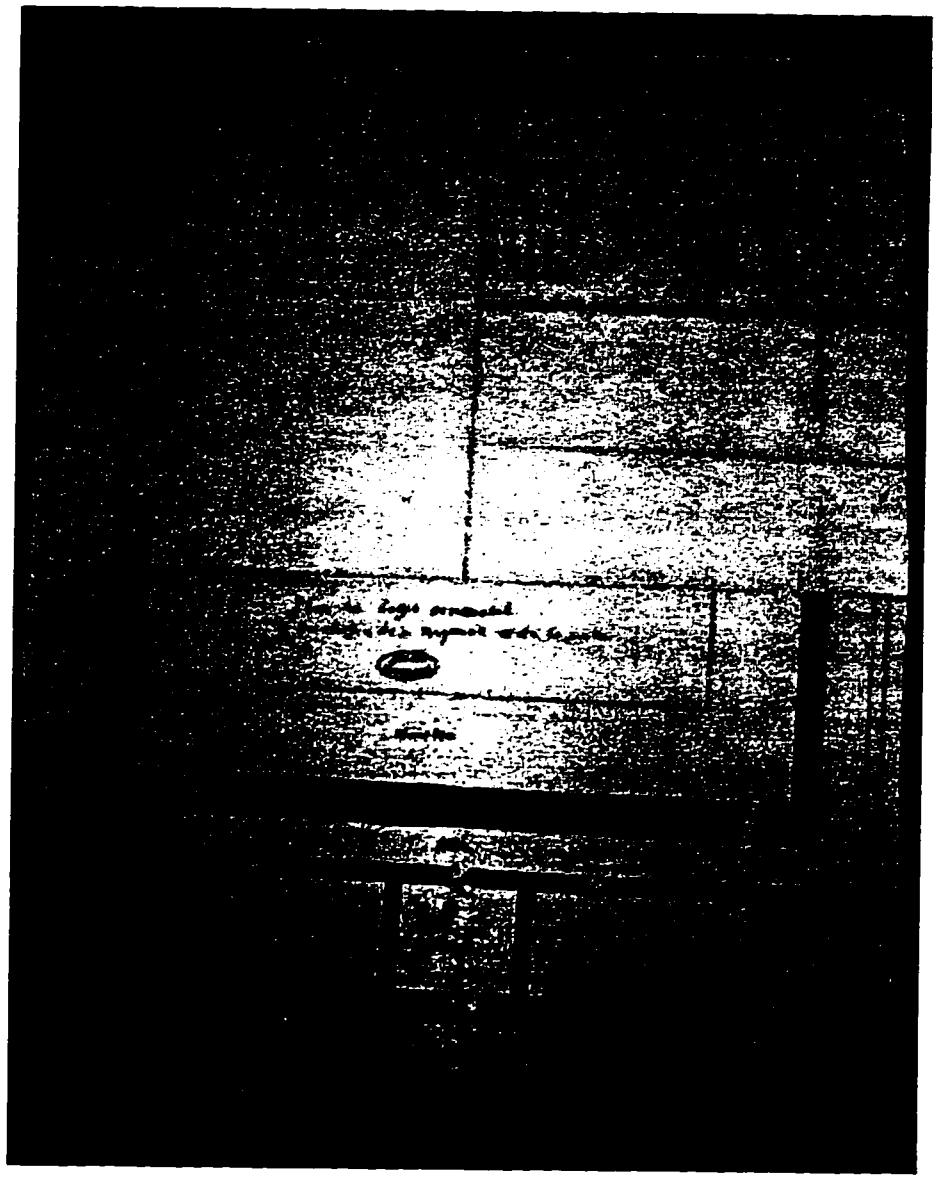
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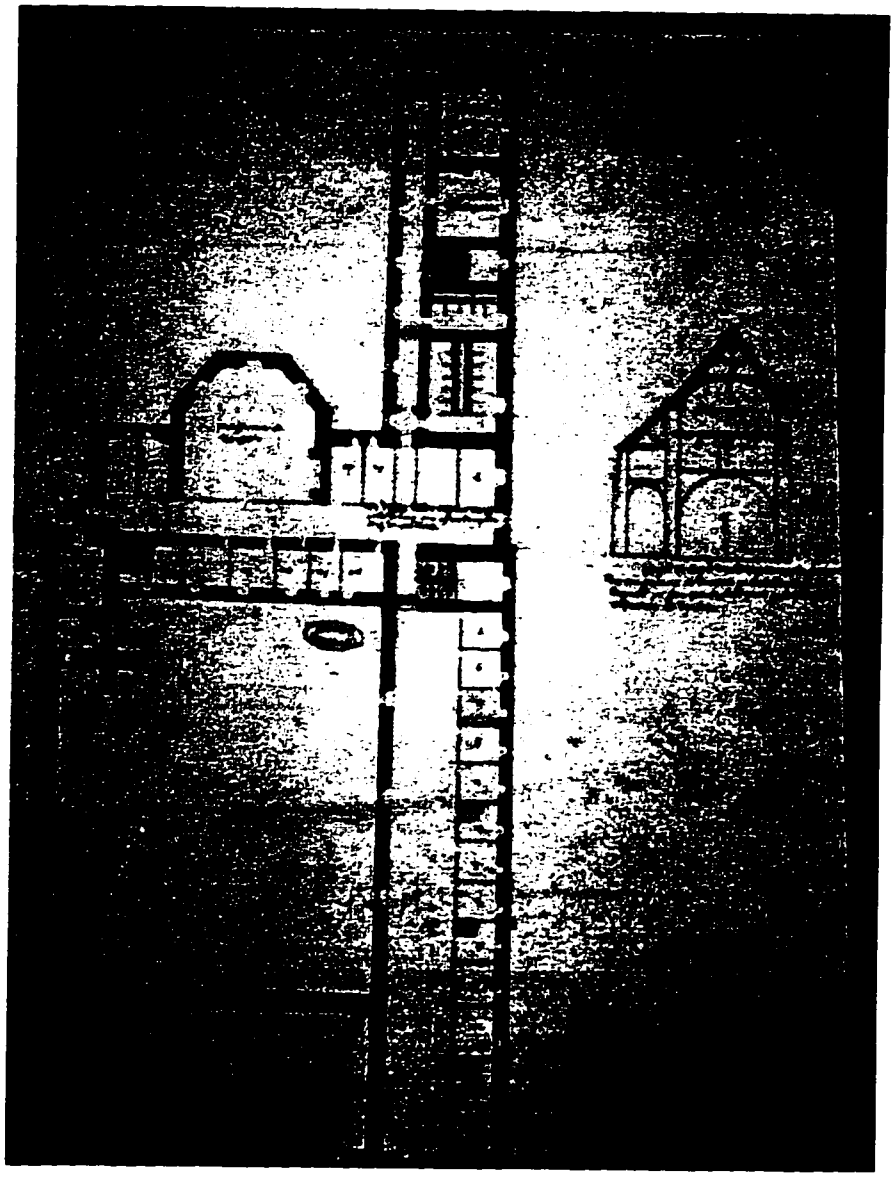
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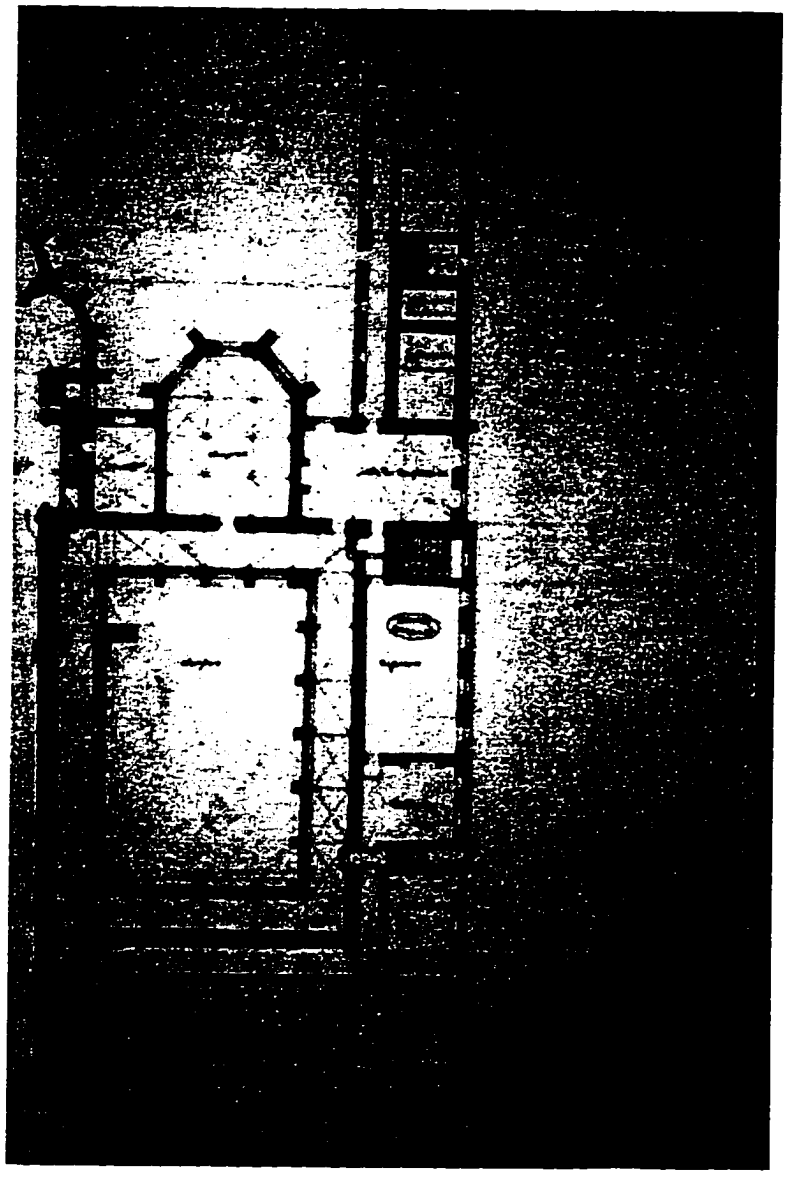
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Illus. 6: 1666 Plan of upper level of Abbey Buildings (NA; N III, Somme 17, #8)

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Illus. 7: 1666 Plan of lower level of Abbey Buildings (NA; N III, Somme 17, #9)

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Illus. 8: View of nave toward the south aisle

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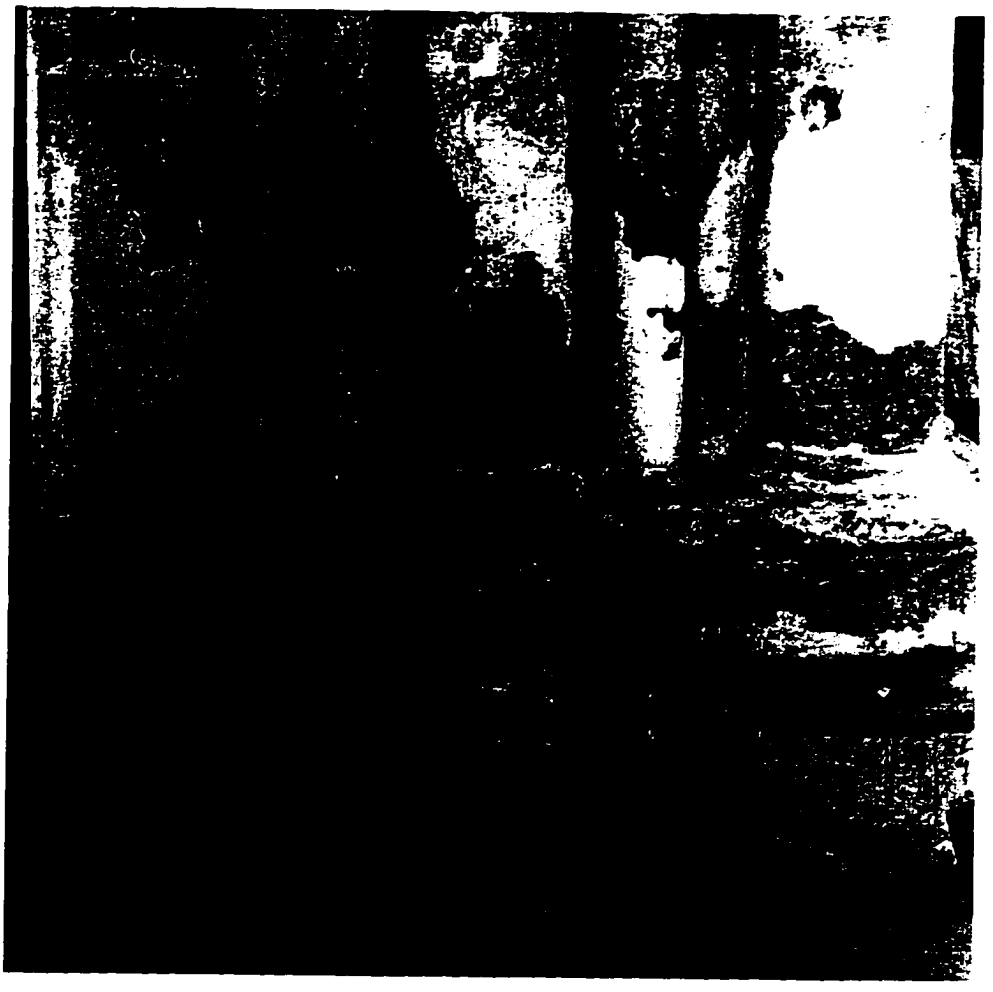
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Illus. 10: View from nave to crossing, north side

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Illus. 11: Crossing pier base (nw)

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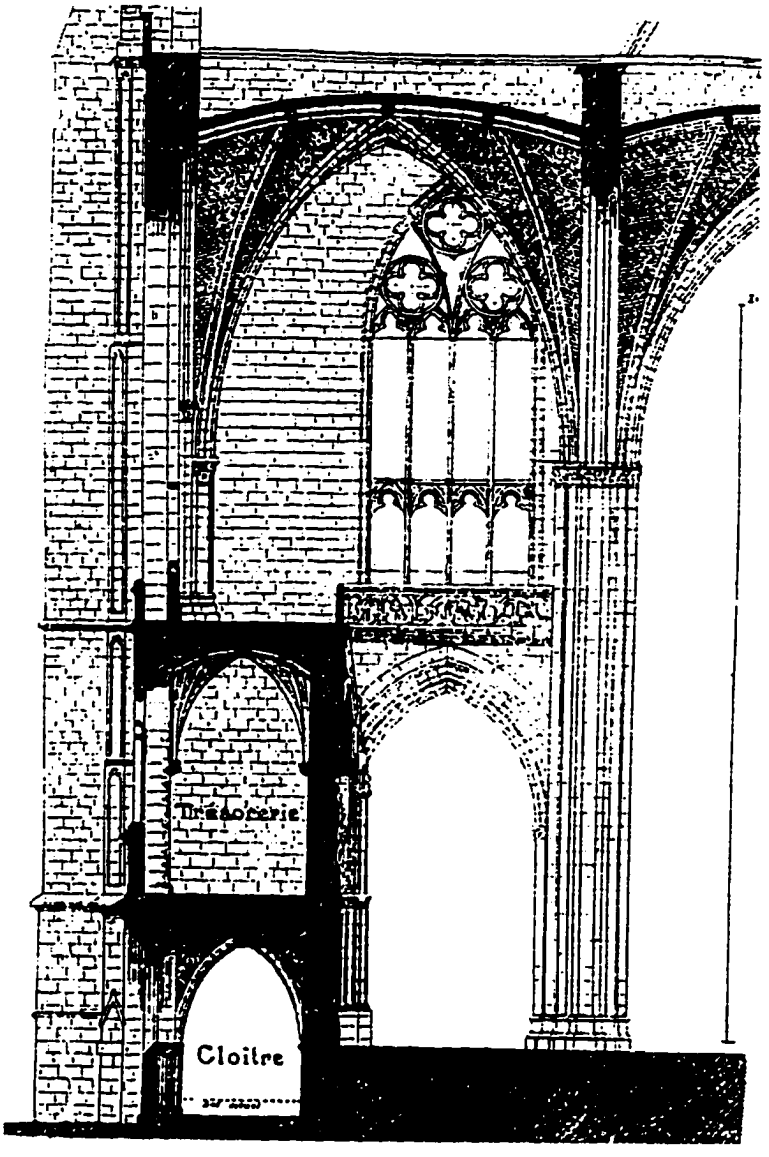
Illus. 12: Crossing pier capital (nw)

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Illus. 13: North transept pier base (n1e)

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Illus. 14: Section of south transept, treasury and cloister

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Illus. 15: South transept pier (s1w)

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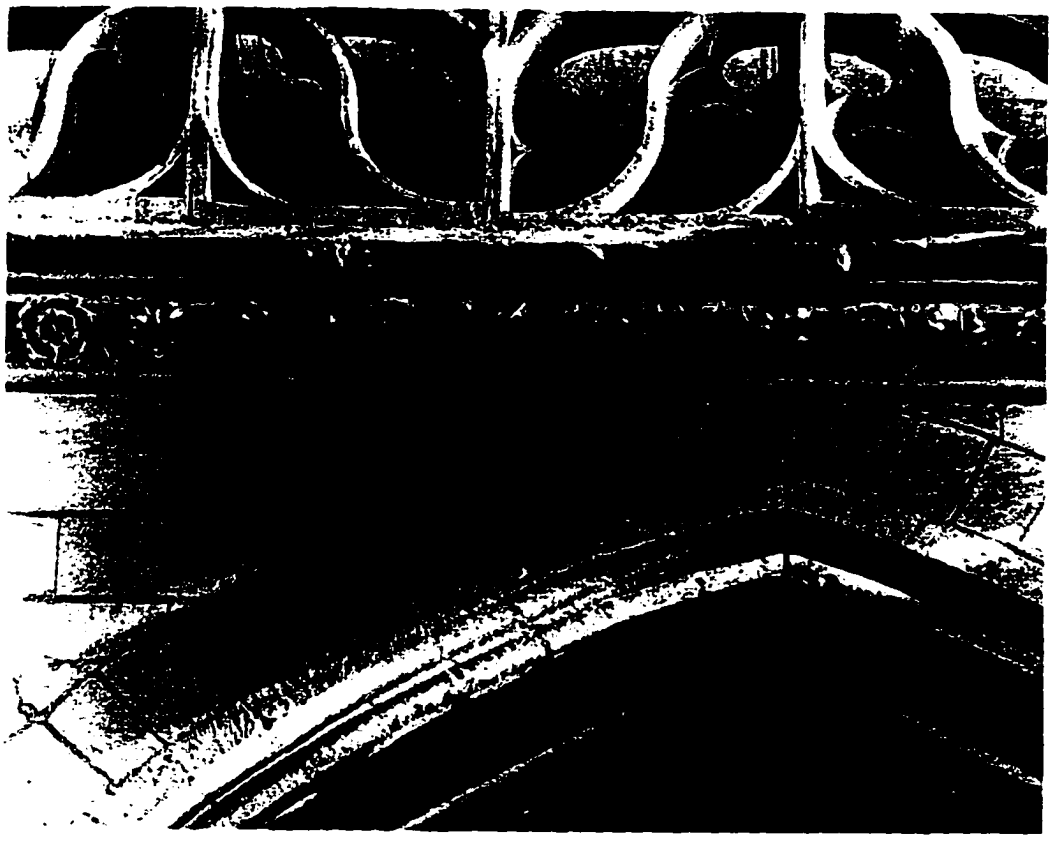
Illus. 16: South transept, exterior wall at cloister level

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Illus. 17: South transept, exterior wall at treasury level

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Illus. 18: South transept, rose string course at eastern wall

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Illus. 19: South transept, western clerestory window

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Illus. 20: South transept, southeast corner shaft at clerestory

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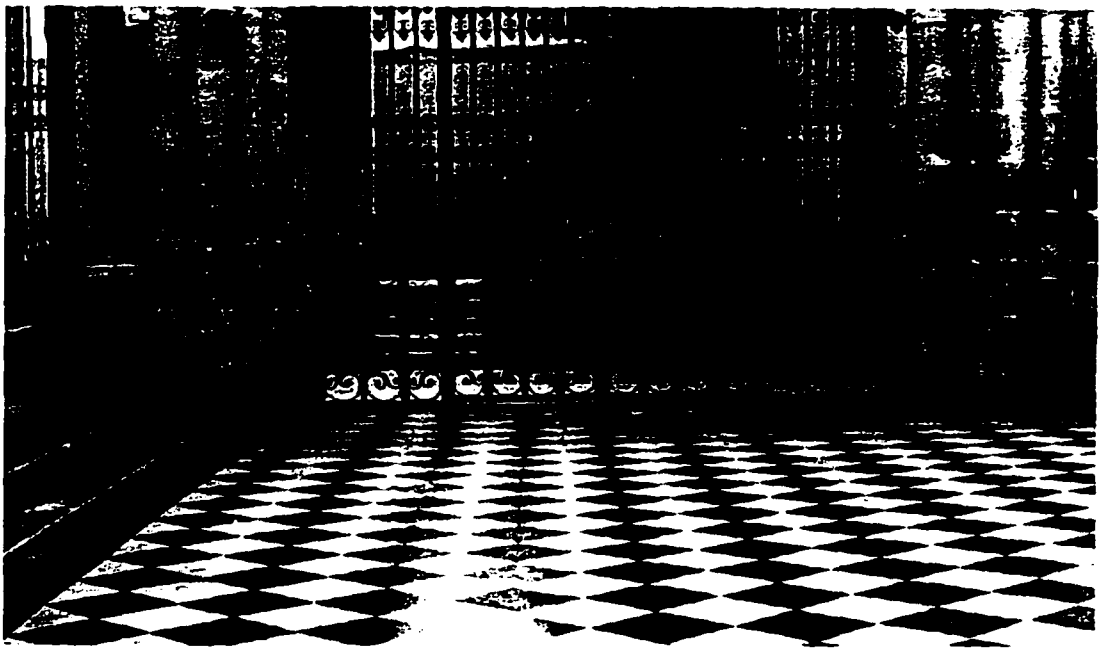
Illus. 21: North transept, view to northwest

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Illus. 22: North transept, eastern wall

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Illus. 23: Choir, bay EI to the south

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Illus. 24: Hemicycle pier base (na2)

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Illus. 25: Hemicycle pier capital (se1)

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Illus. 26: Hemicycle pier capital (ne2)

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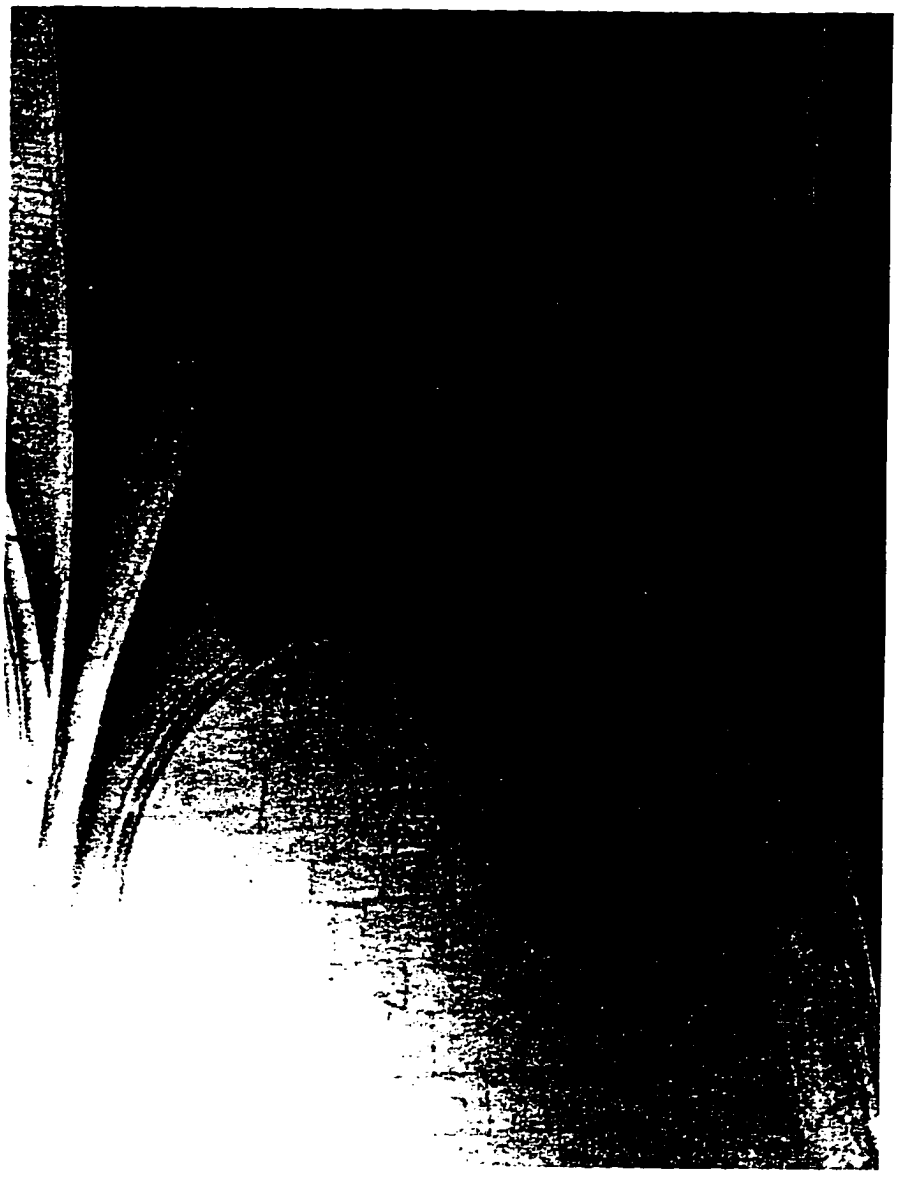
Illus. 27: Hemicycle arcade at sa2

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Illus. 28: Axial Chapel, north wall of AI

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Illus. 29: Axial Chapel, south wall of AI

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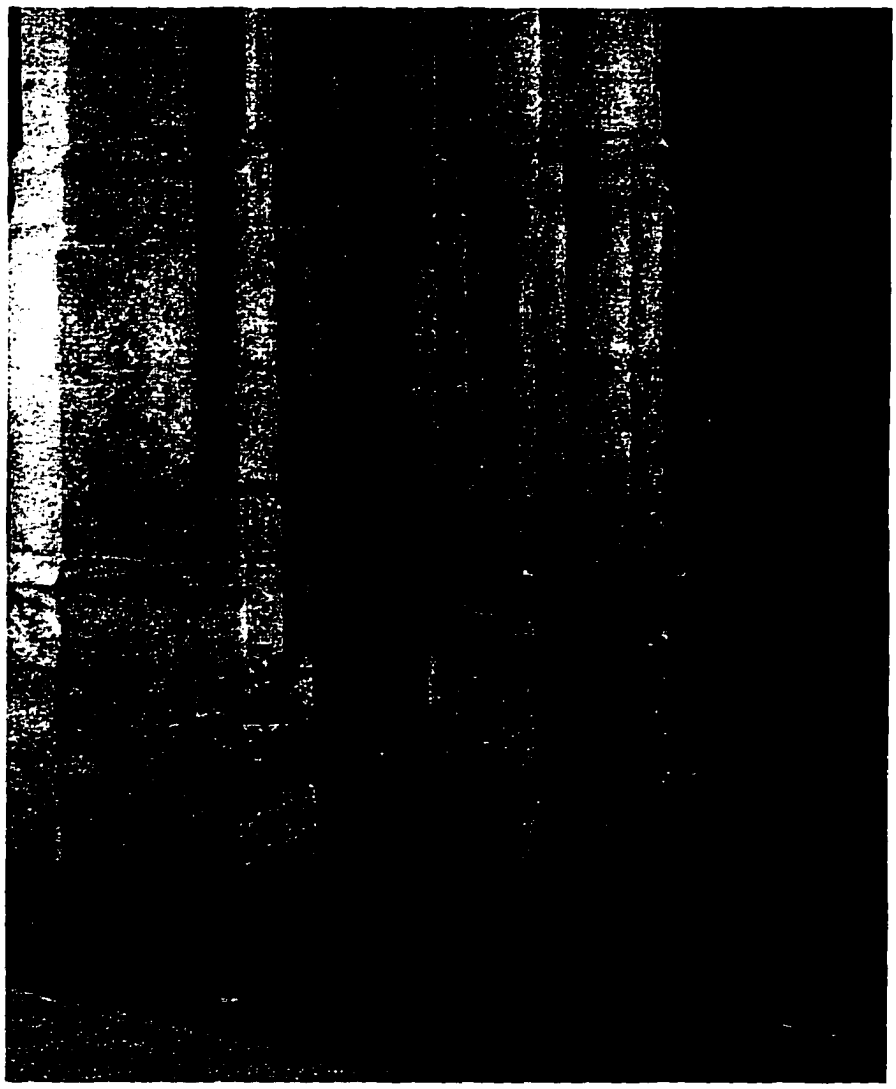
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Illus. 31: Ambulatory pier, shafts, and ribs at s1a1

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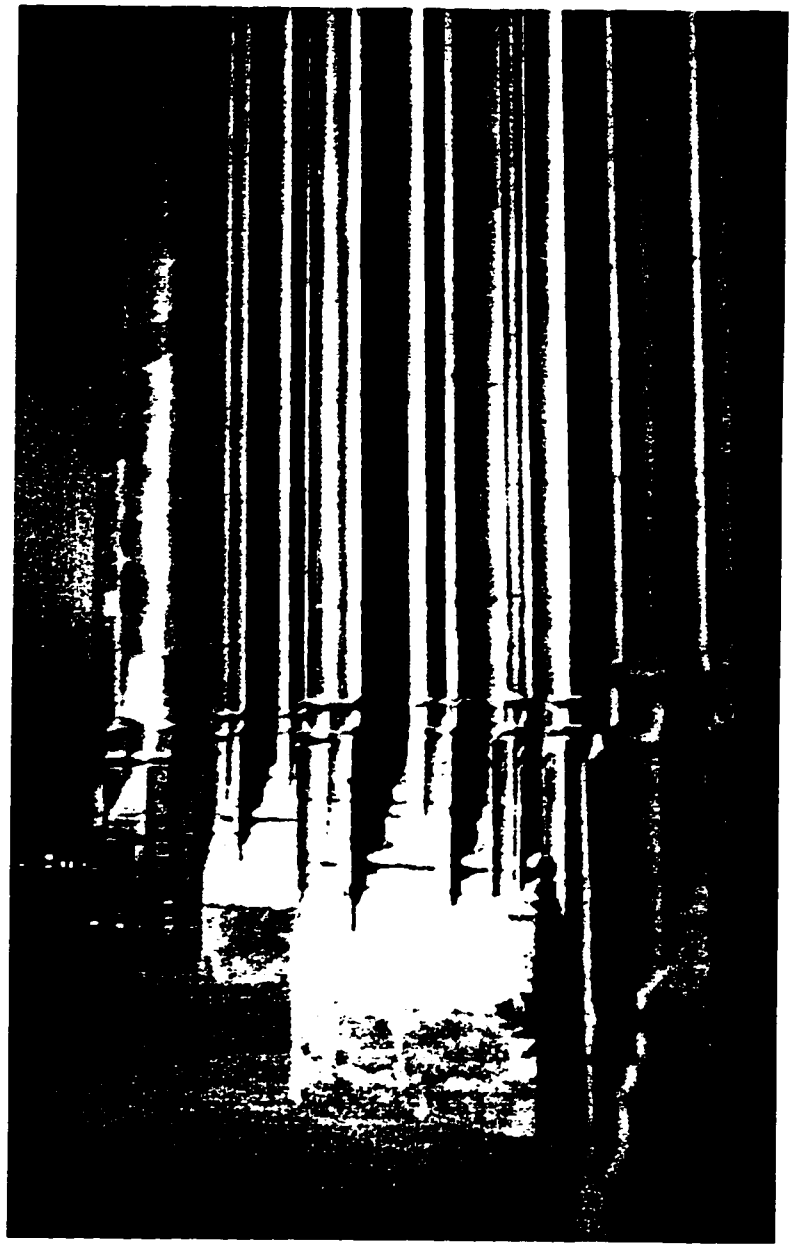
Illus. 32: Ambulatory pier base (n1e1)

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Illus. 33: Ambulatory pier, base (s1e2)

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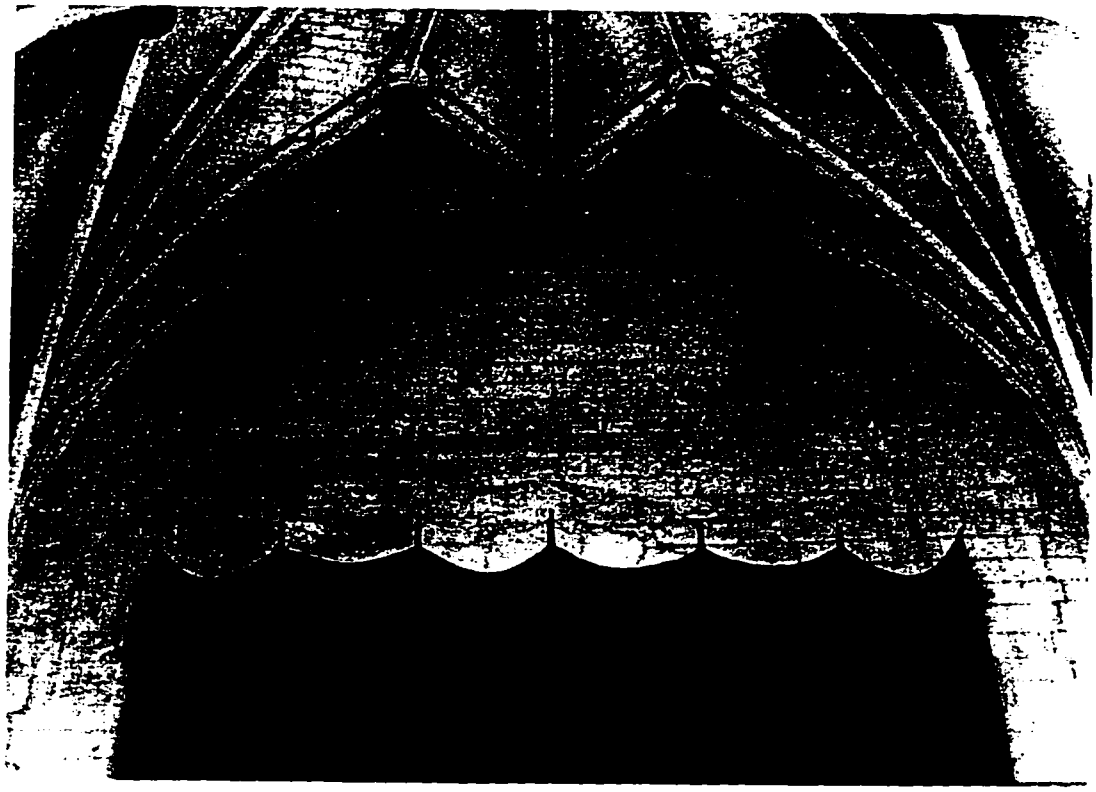
Illus. 34: Saint-Wulfran, Abbeville, nave piers

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Illus. 35: Southeast corner of chapel SIEII

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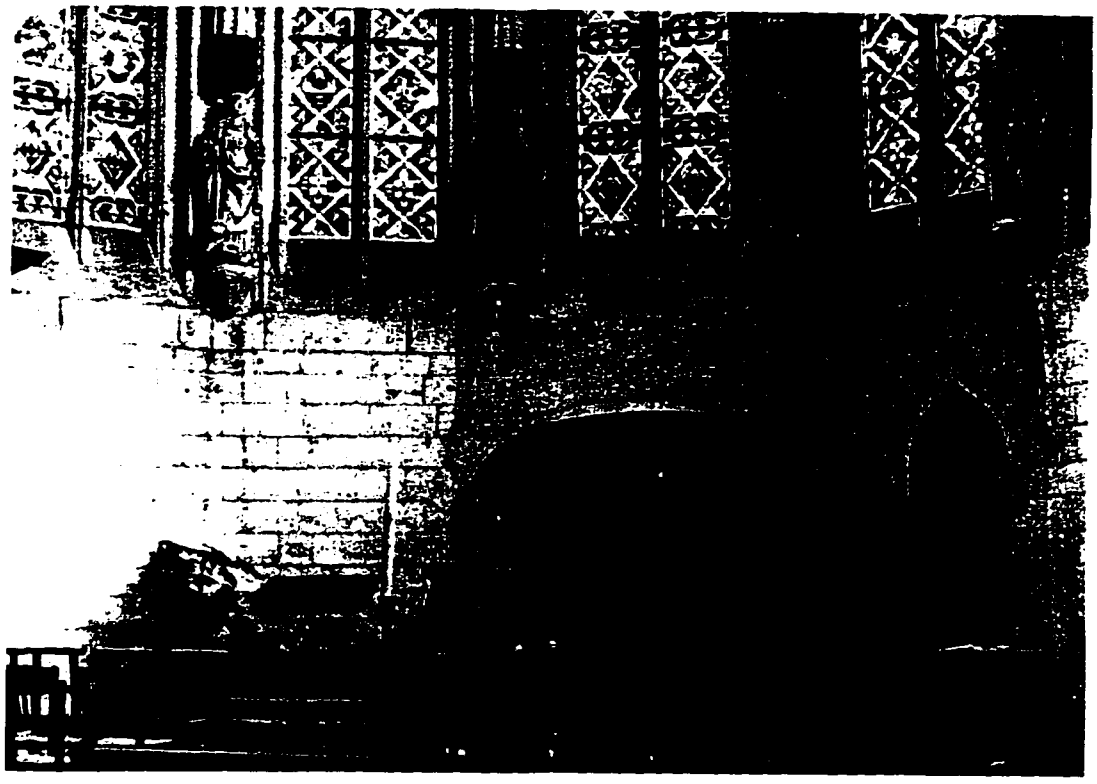
Illus. 36: West wall of axial chapel (A1)

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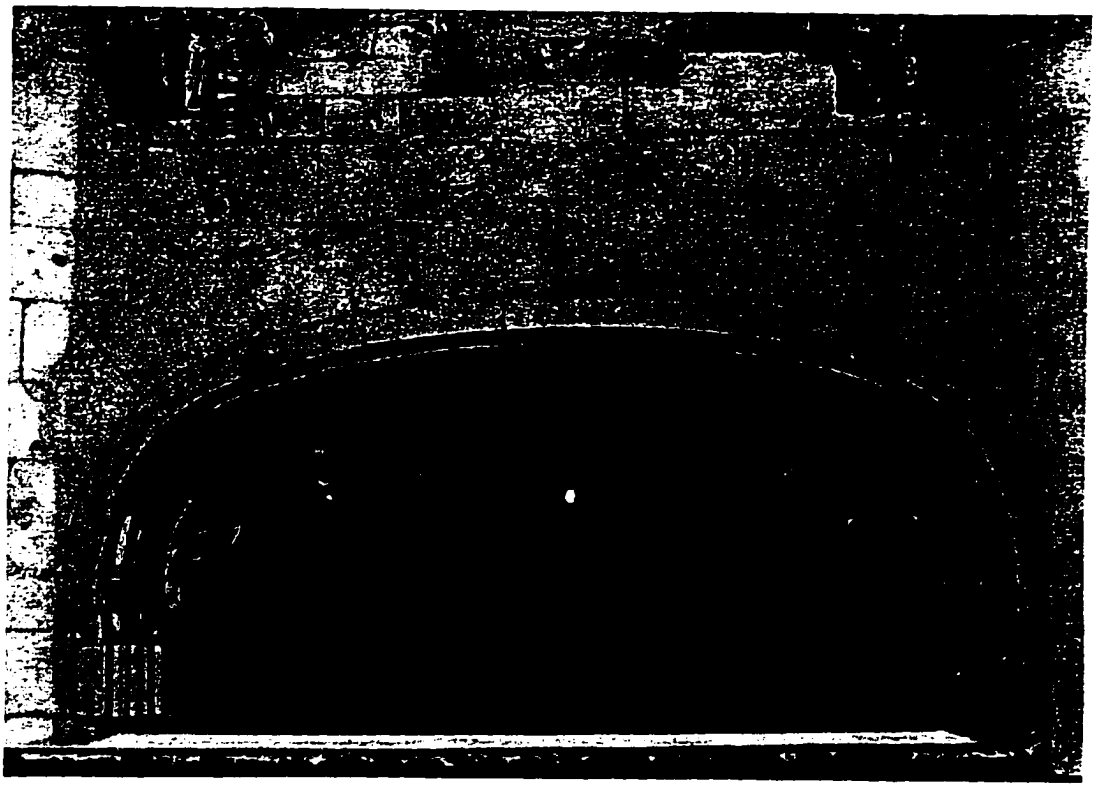
Illus. 37: South windows of axial chapel

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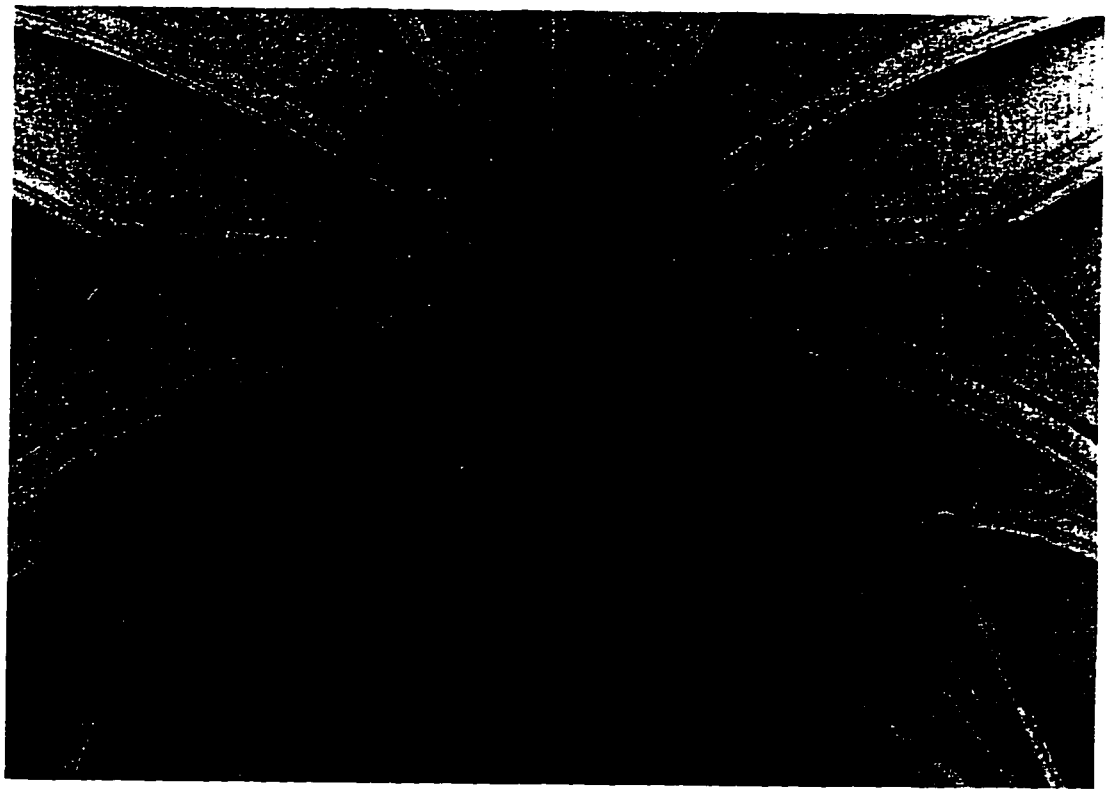
Illus. 38: Eastern walls of axial chapel (AII)

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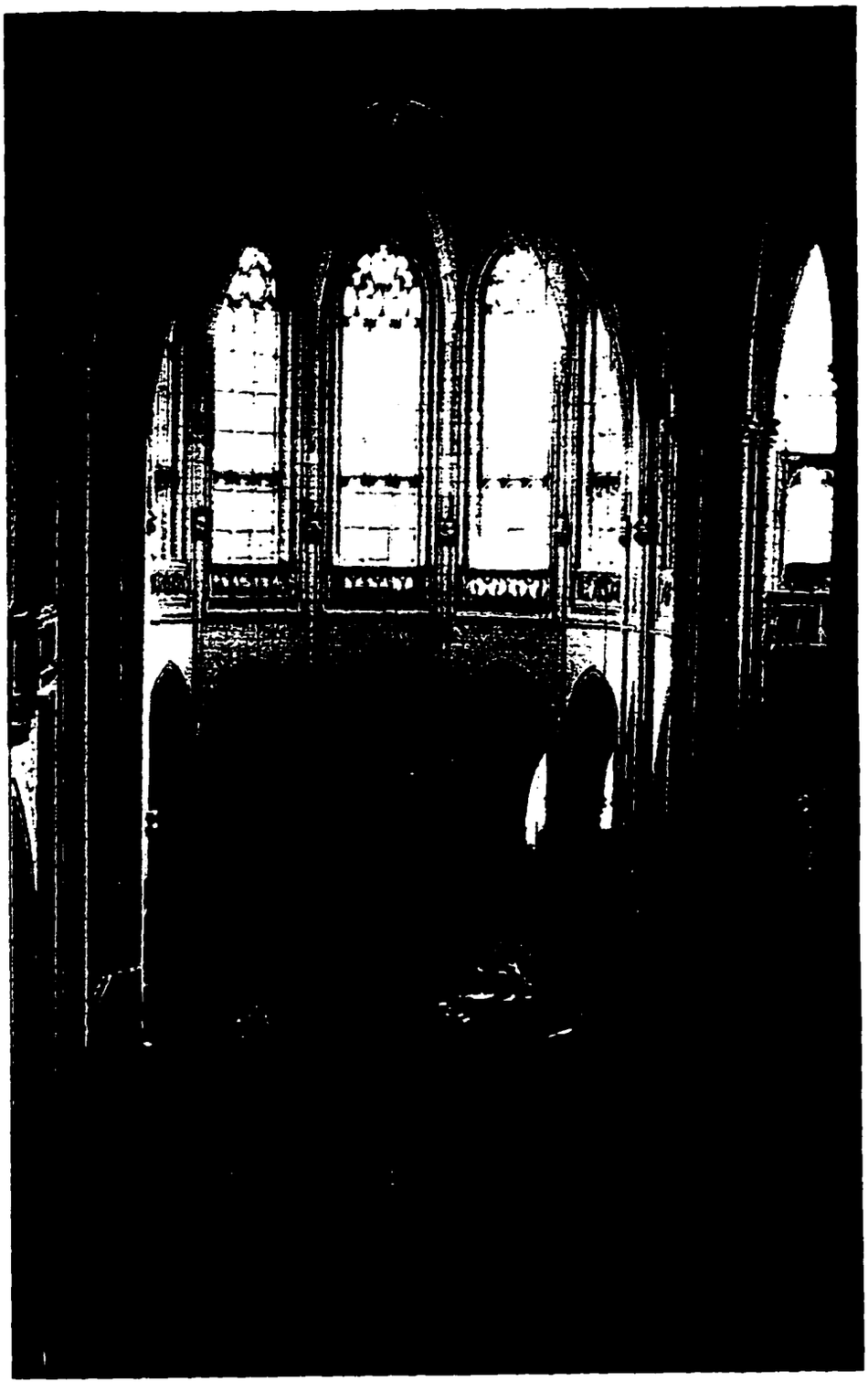
Illus. 39: Detail of eastern niche (oratory) of axial chapel

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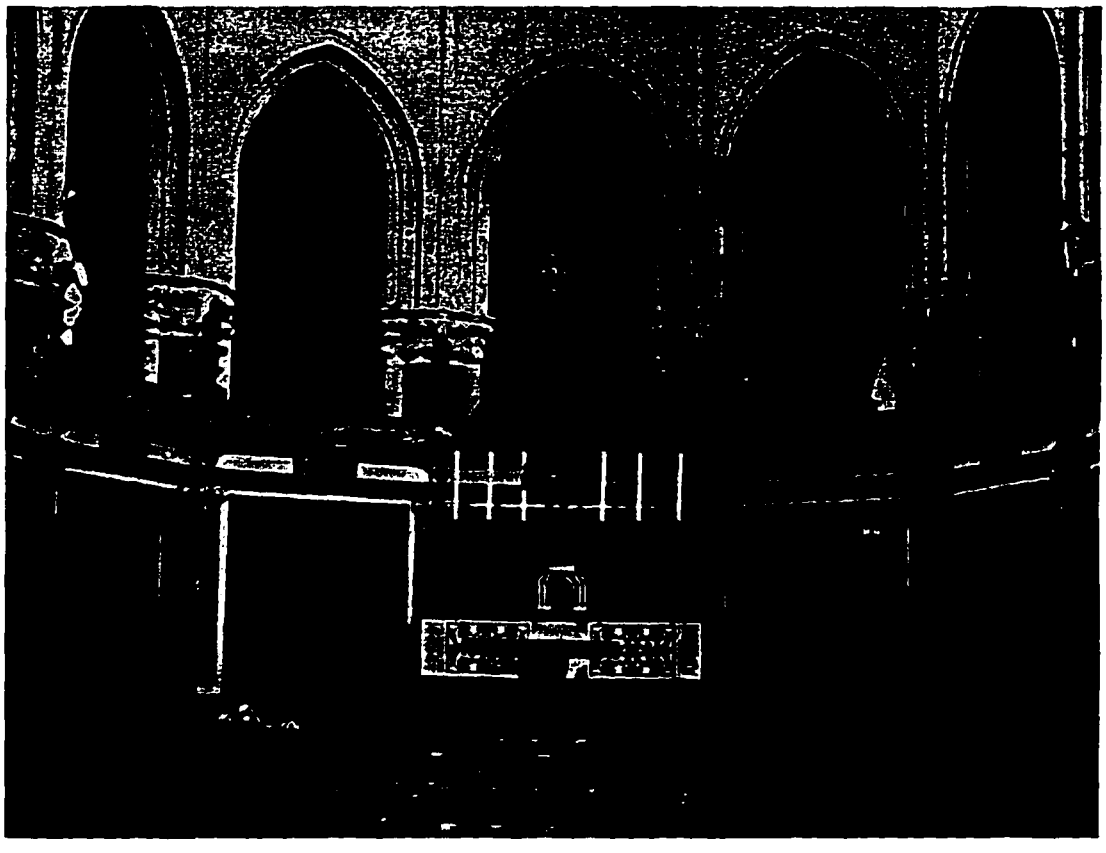
Illus. 40: Vaults of axial chapel (AI)

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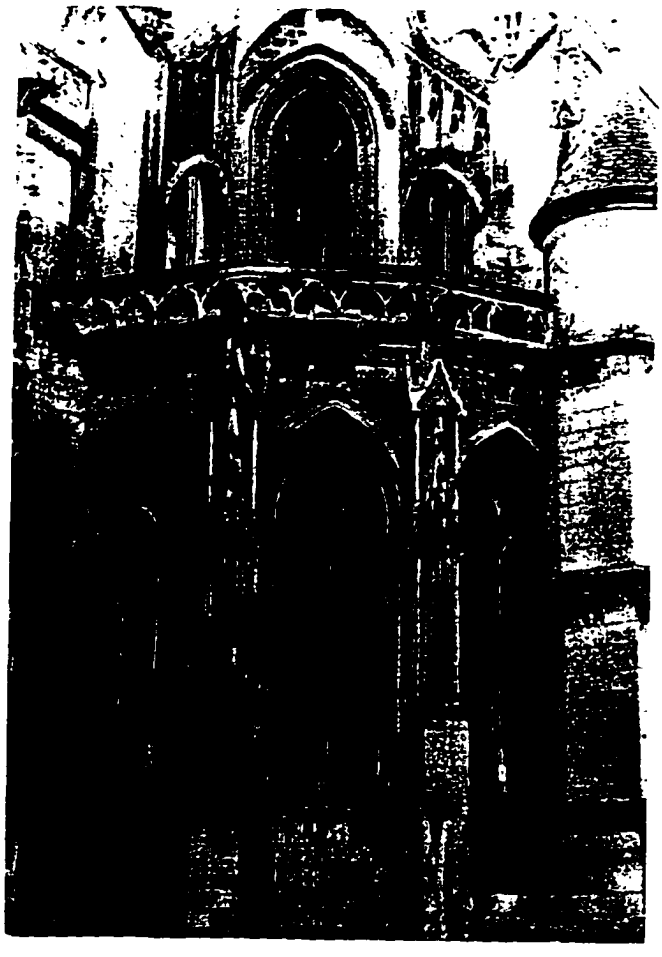
Illus. 41: Choir Clerestory

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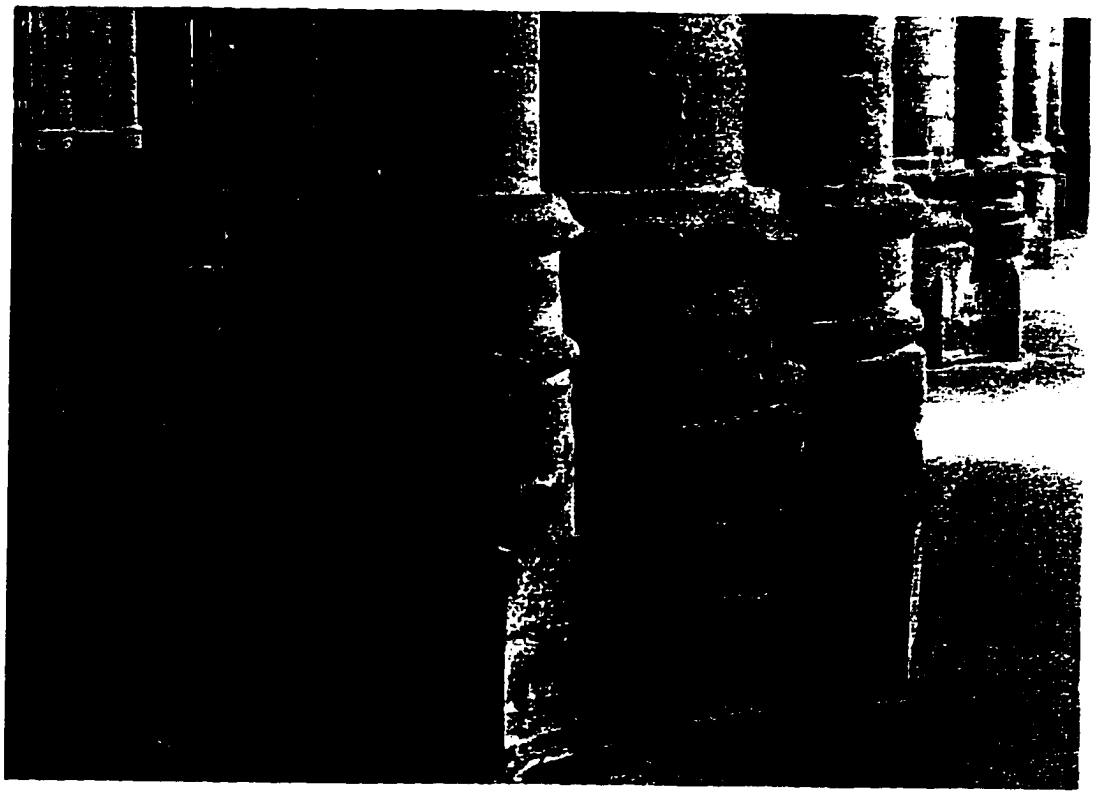
Illus. 42: Hemicycle Arcade

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Illus. 43: Exterior, Chapel NEIAII

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Illus. 44: Nave pier base (sw4)

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Illus. 45: Nave pier base (sw1)

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Illus. 46: Nave, south arcade capital (sw1)

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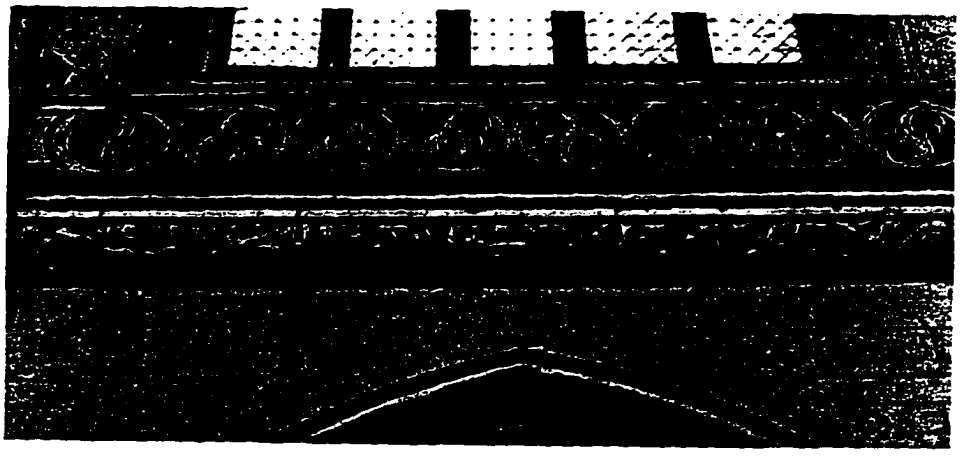
Illus. 47: Nave, north arcade capital (nw2)

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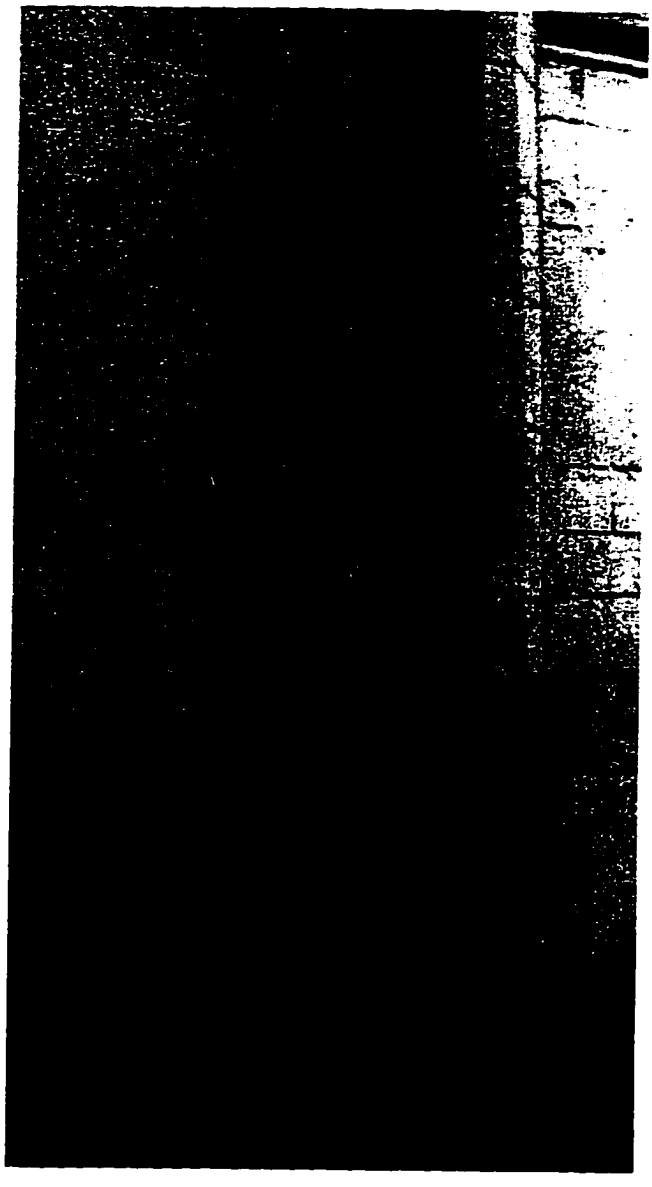
Illus. 48: Nave, south arcade, tower pier capital (sw5)

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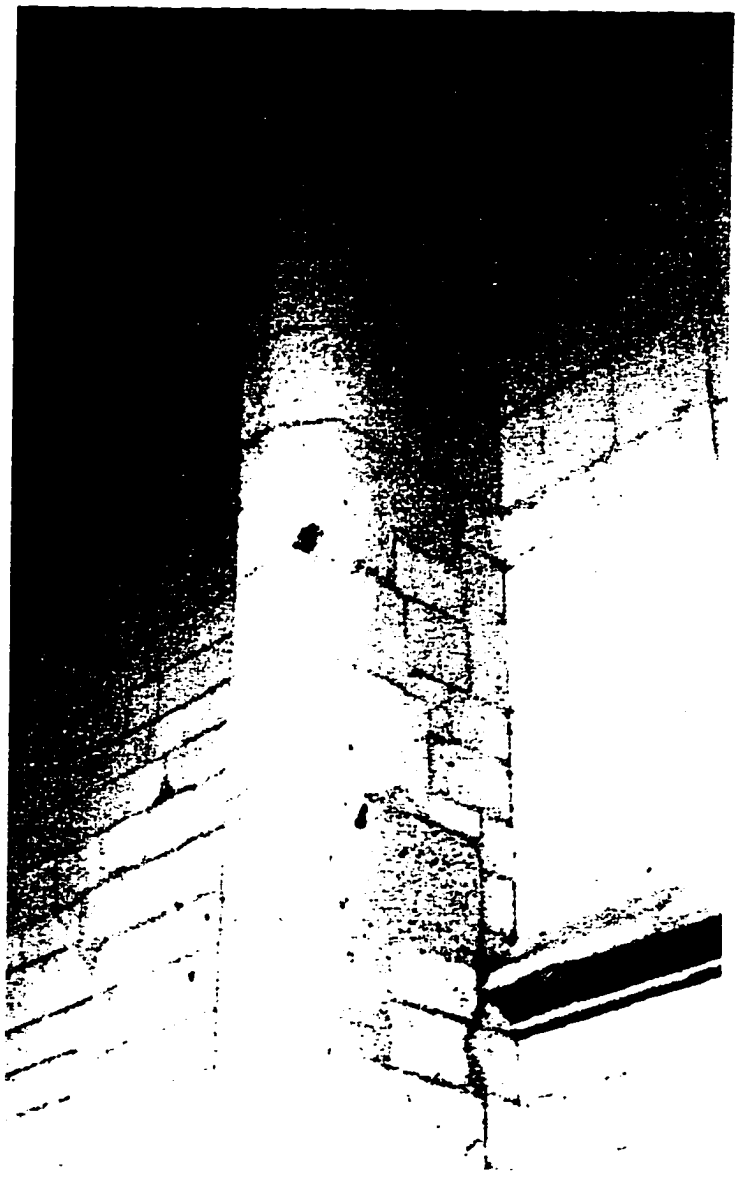
Illus. 49: Nave, north string course at WII

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Illus. 50: North aisle, respond base and wall (n1w4)

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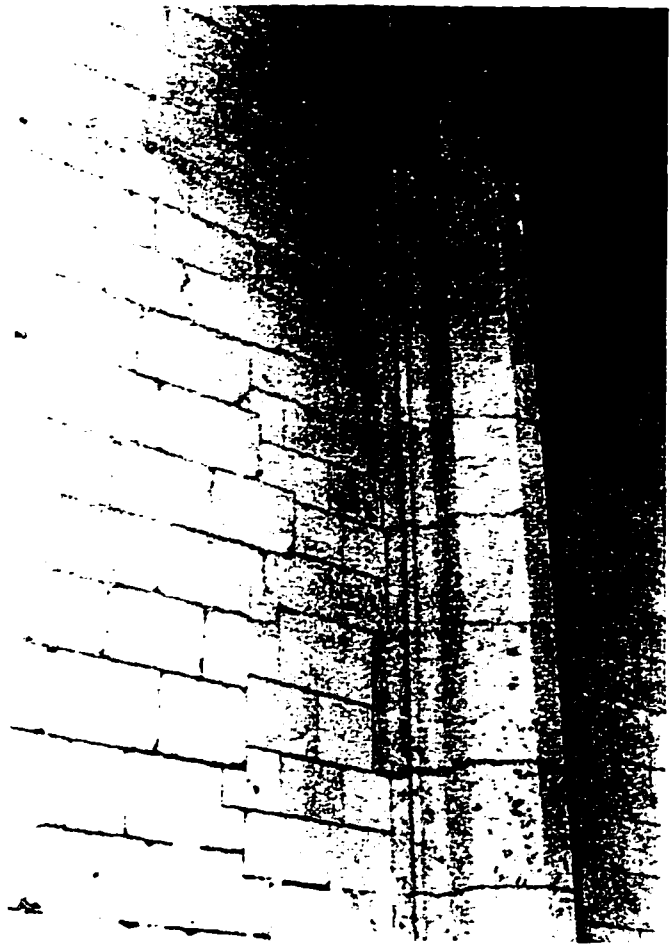
Illus. 51: North aisle, pier and wall (n1w5)

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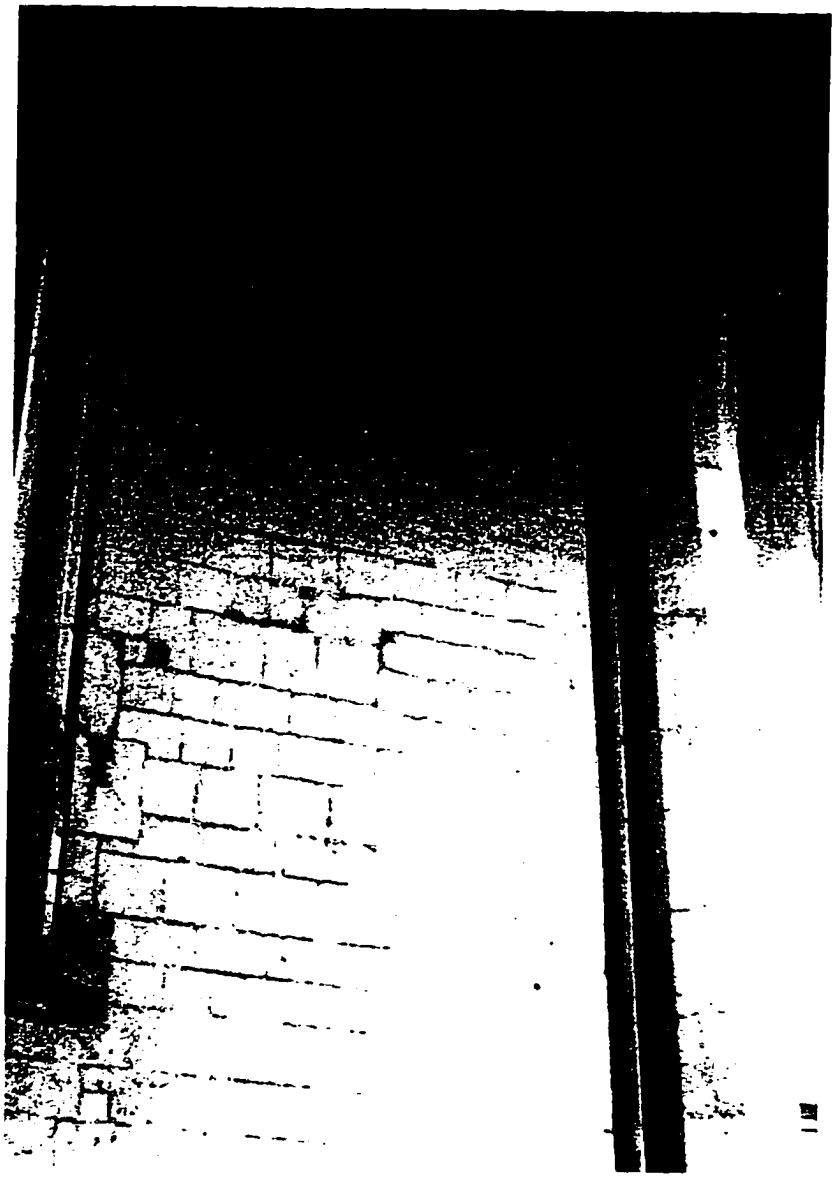
Illus. 52: North aisle, respond and ribs (n1w1)

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Illus. 53: South aisle, south wall of SIWV

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Illus. 54: North aisle, north wall of NIWVI

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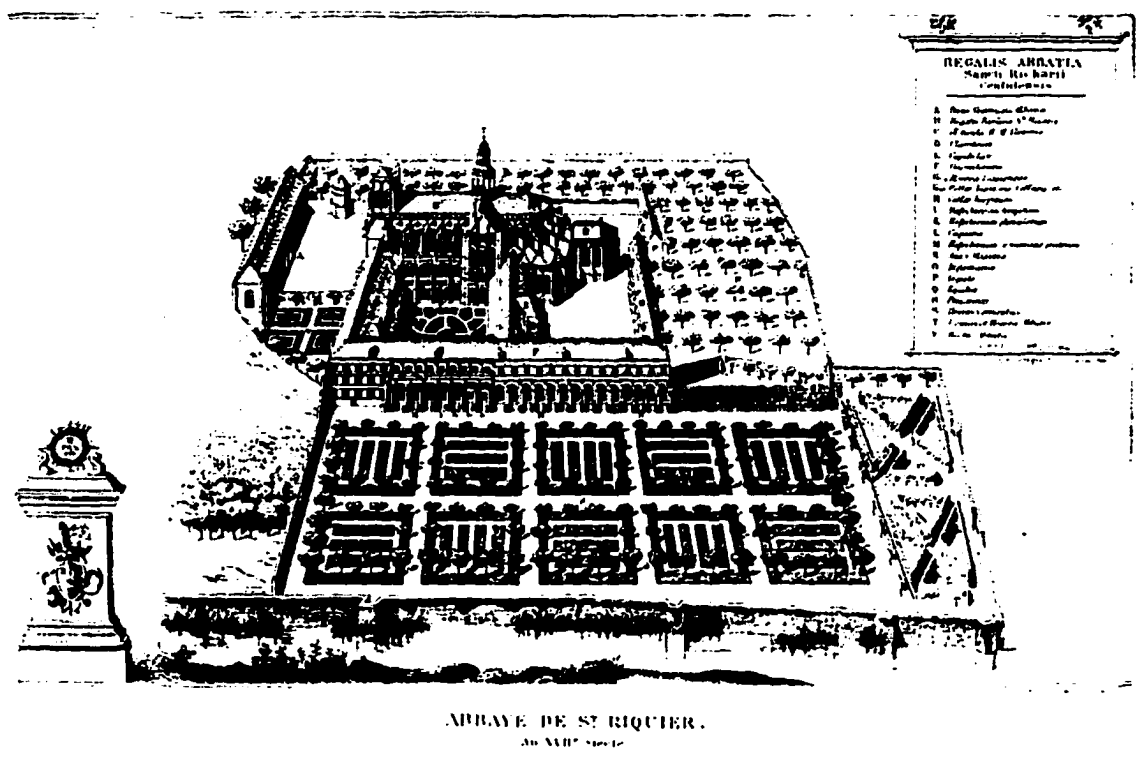
Illus. 55: Nave Clerestory

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Illus. 56: Exterior north nave clerestory (NIWI and NIWII)

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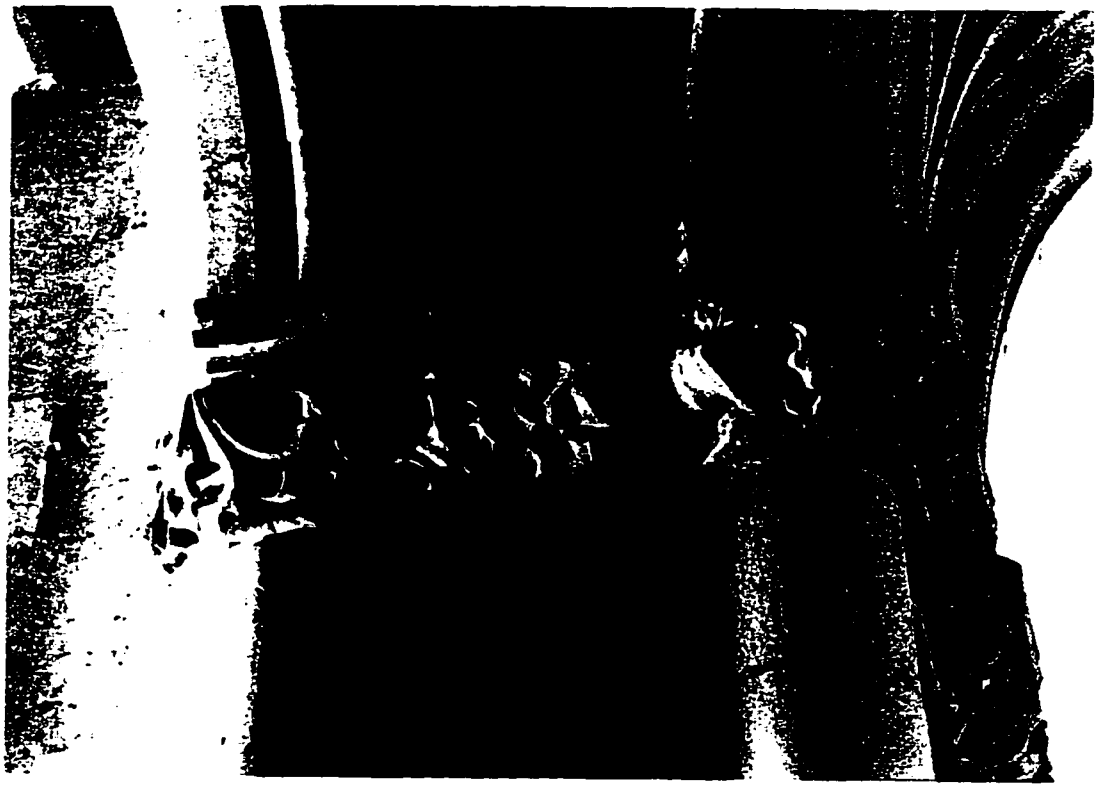
Illus. 57: Engraving of "Abbaye de Saint-Riquier" from Migne, *Monasticon Gallicanum*

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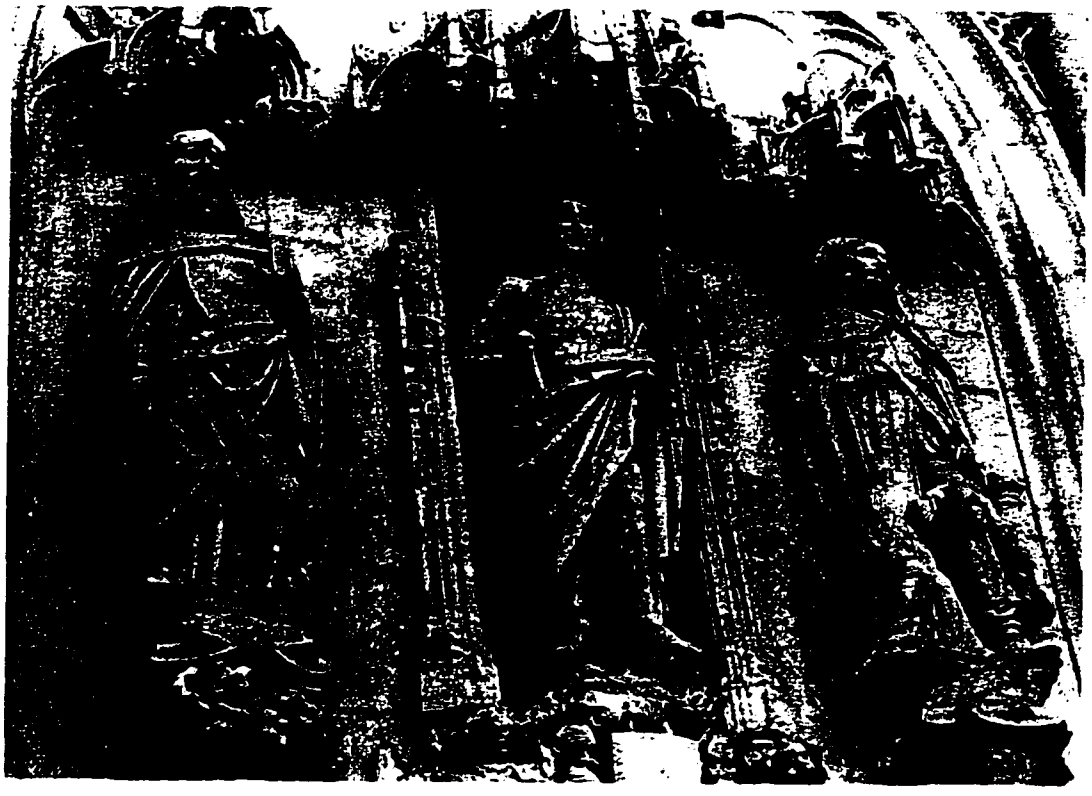
Illus. 58: South string course (SIWV)

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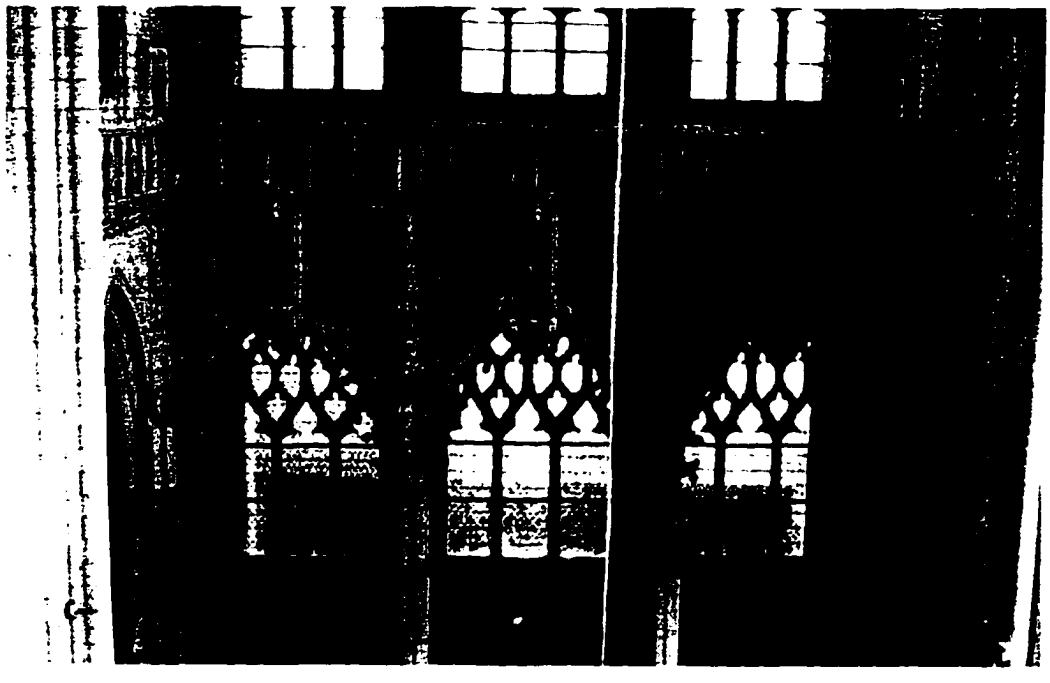
Illus. 59: Tower pier capital (nw5)

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Illus. 60: South transept tribune sculpture

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Illus. 61: North transept tribune sculptural decoration

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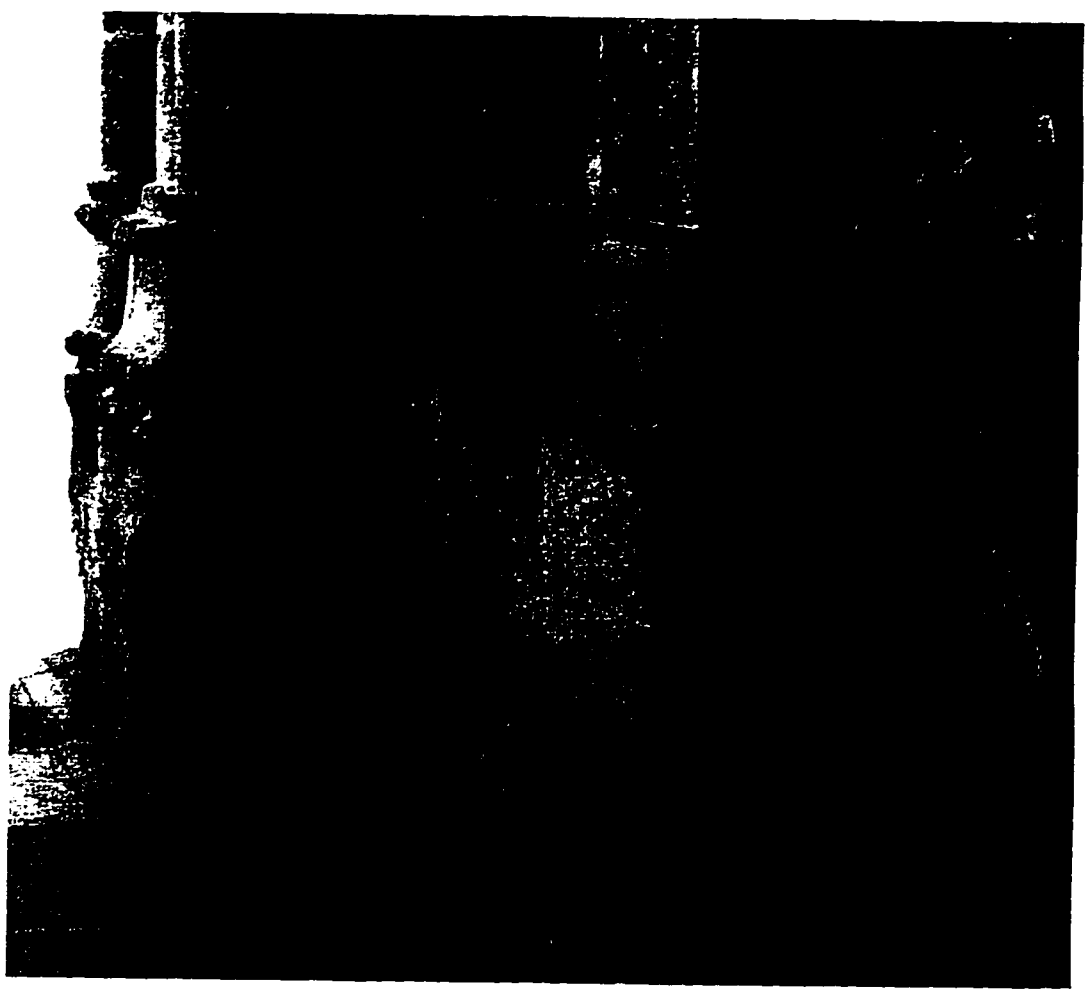
Illus. 62: North nave clerestory and northeast tower pier (nw5)

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Illus. 63: South nave clerestory and southeast tower pier (sw5)

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Illus. 64: Tower pier base (nw5)

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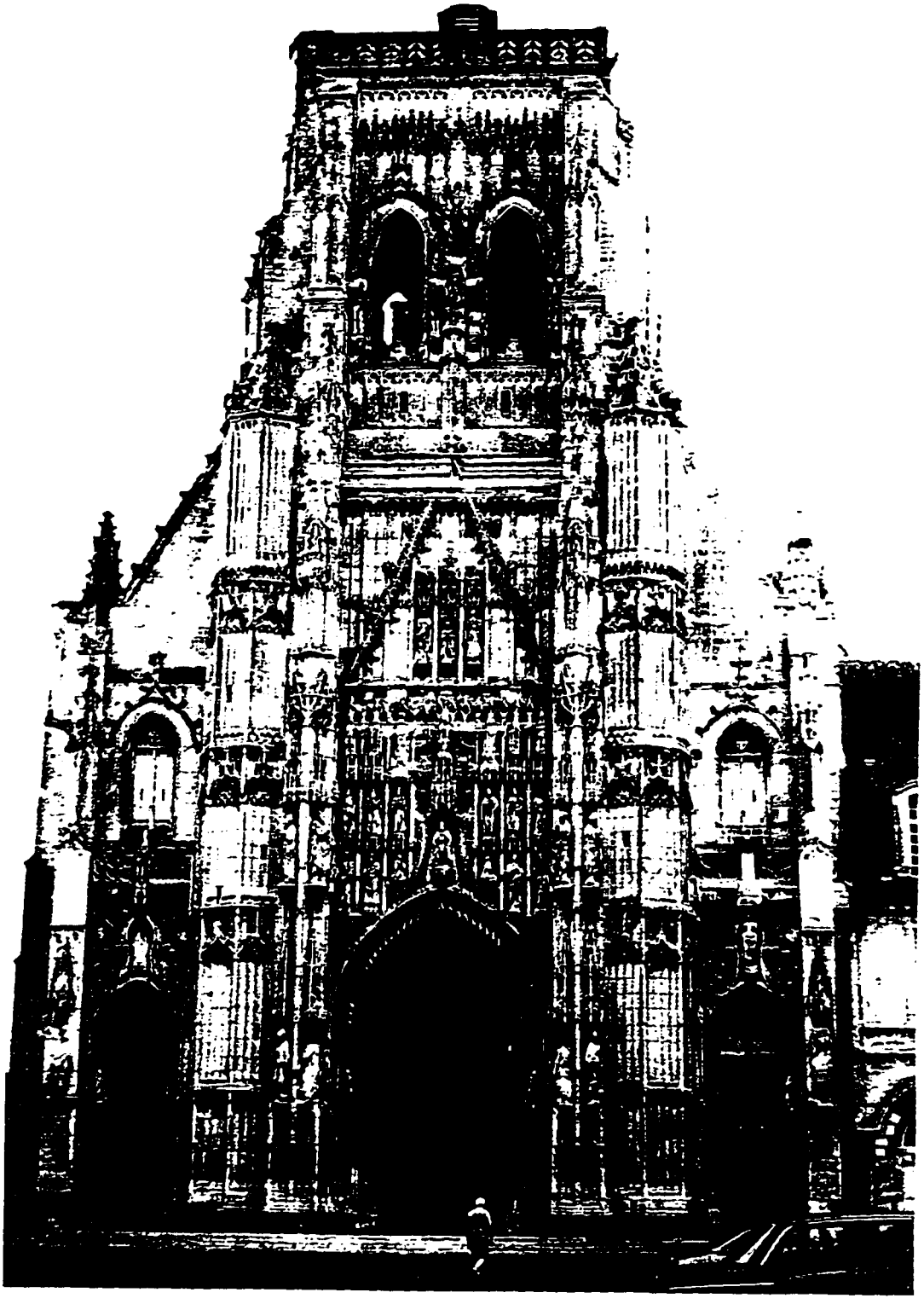
Illus. 65: Tower pier capital (nw5)

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Illus. 66: Tower pier, western side (nw5)

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Illus. 67: Western façade

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Illus. 68: Saint-Saulve, Montreuil, nave capital



Illus. 69: Saint-Saulve, Montreuil, nave capital

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Illus. 70: Saint-Martin, Fressin, nave arcade detail

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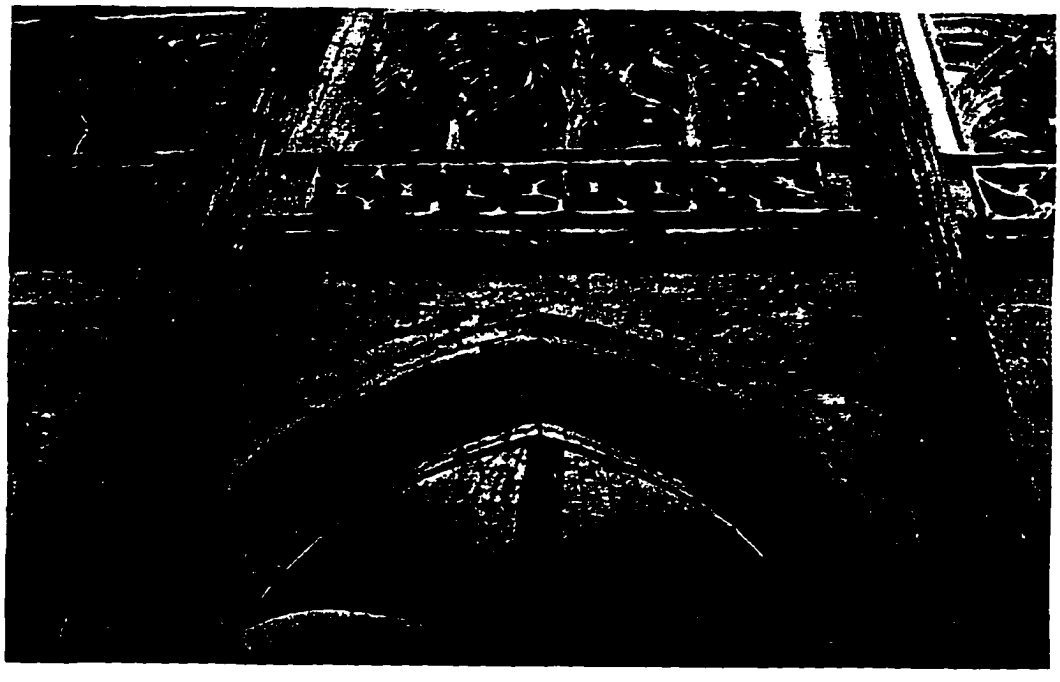
Illus. 71: Saint-Martin, Fressin, west end over organ loft, triumphal arch detail

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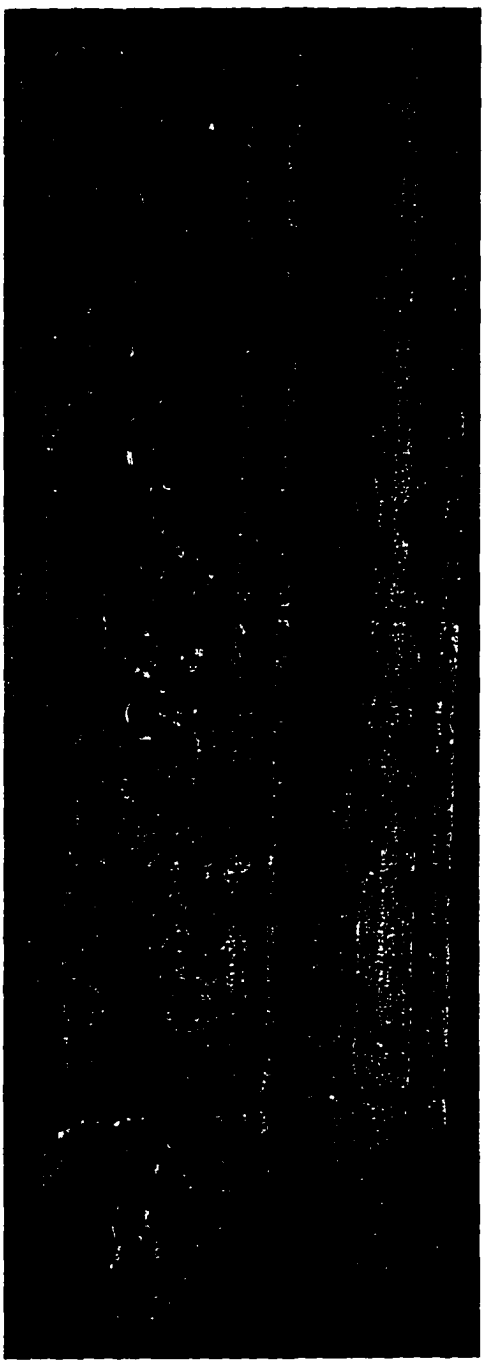
Illus. 72: Saint-Esprit, Rue, chapel vaults

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Illus. 73: Saint-Wulfran, Abbeville, nave elevation

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Illus. 74: Saint-Sepulchre, Abbeville, detail of entrance to Entombment Chapel

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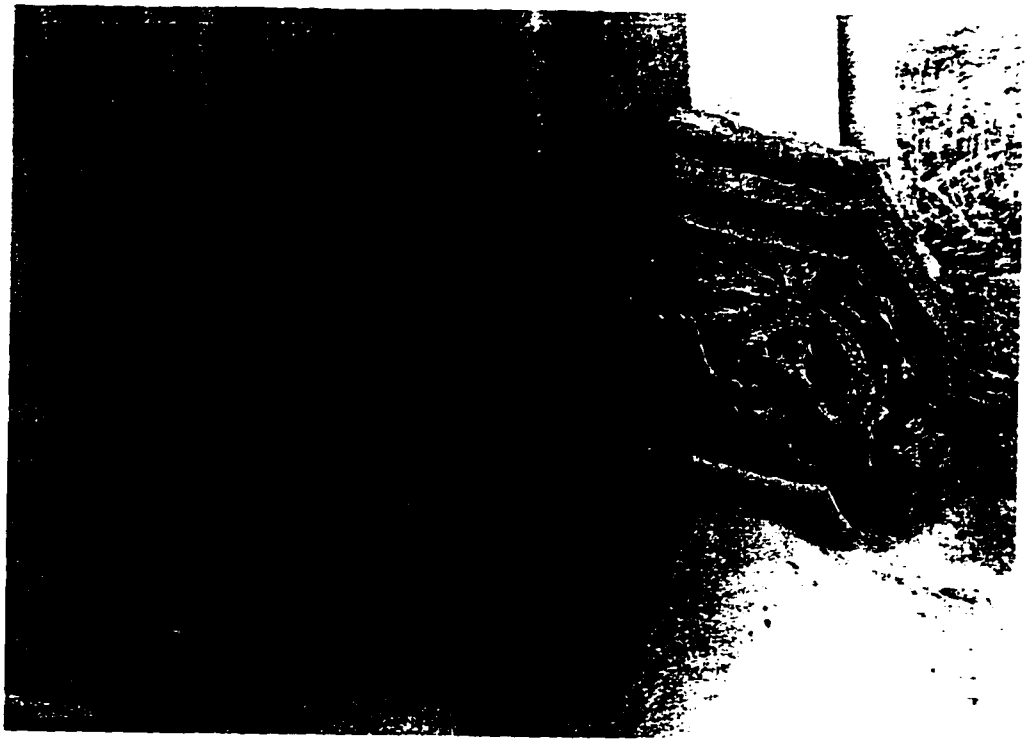


Illus. 75: Saint Matthew the evangelist , south aisle capital, south face (sw1)

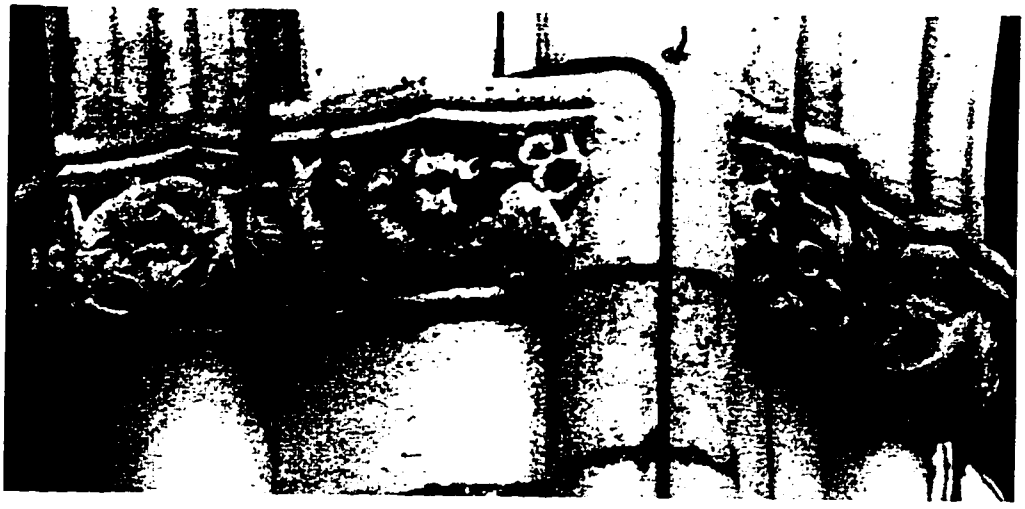


Illus. 76: Foliate decoration, north aisle capital, east face (nw3)

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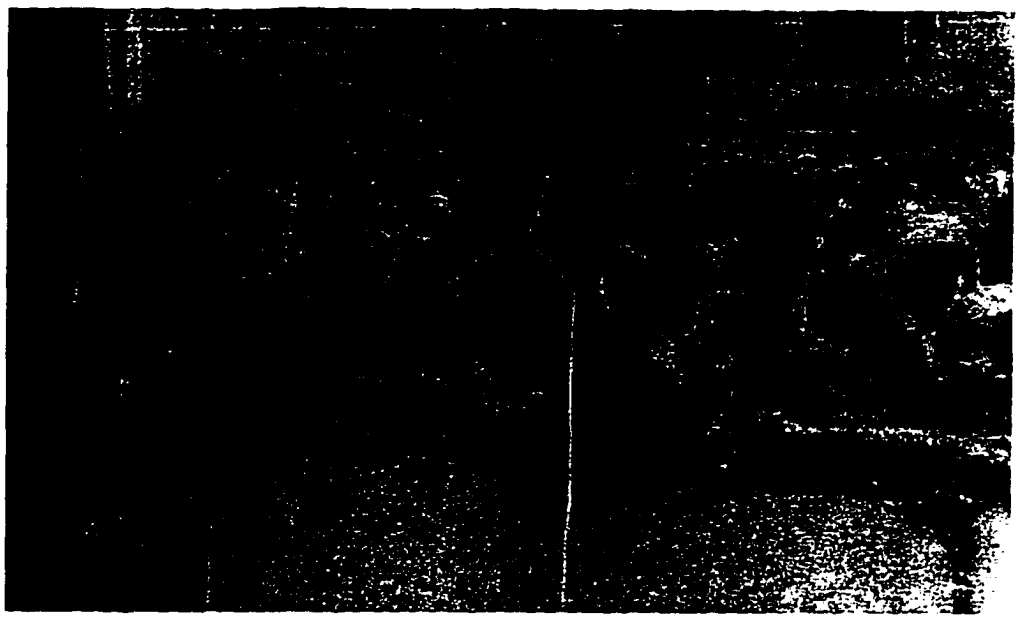


Illus. 77: Foliate decoration with beasts, tower pier capital, east face (sw5)



Illus. 78: Beast in foliage, south arcade capital, northeast face (sw1)

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Illus. 79: Lion/man in vines, south arcade capital, west face (sw1)



Illus. 80: Saint Luke the evangelist, south aisle capital, east face (sw2)

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Illus. 81: Saint Mark the evangelist, south aisle capital, south face (sw2)



Illus. 82: Beast in foliage, south aisle capital, west face (sw2)

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Illus. 83: Fantastic beasts/Somersault scene, south aisle capital, northeast face (sw2)



Illus. 84: Man and animal with foliage, south aisle capital, northwest face (sw2)

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Illus. 85: Angel, south aisle capital, west face (sw3)



Illus. 86: Mermaid, south aisle capital, south face (sw3)

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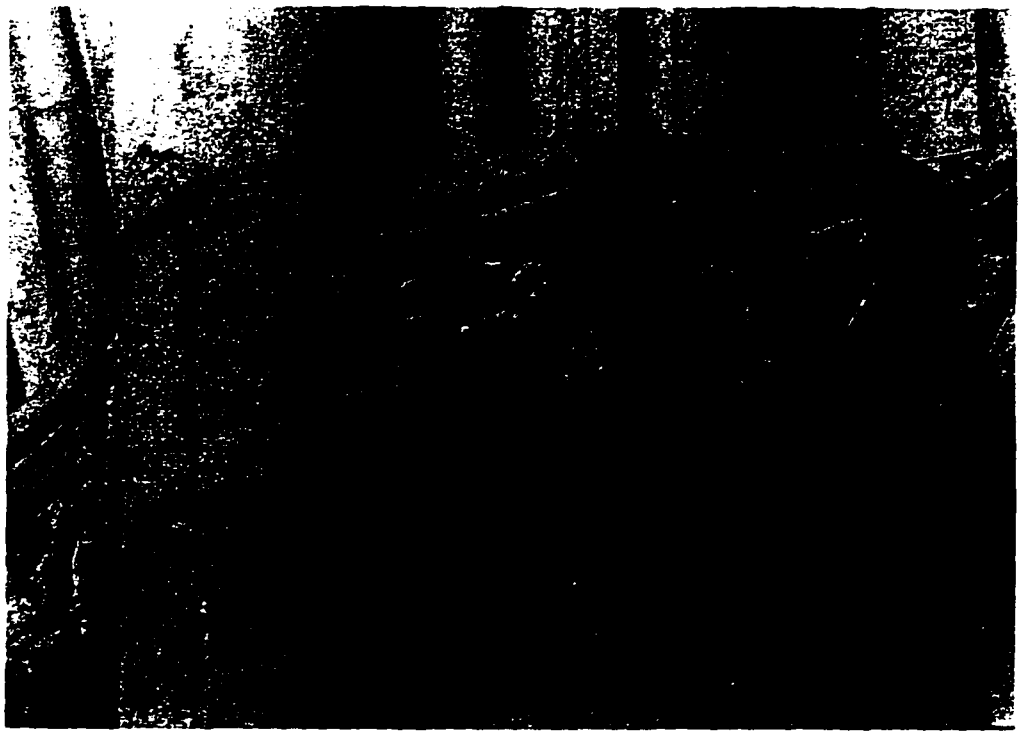


Illus. 87: Saint John the evangelist, south aisle capital, east face (sw3)

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Illus. 88: Swordfight, south aisle capital, northeast face (sw3)



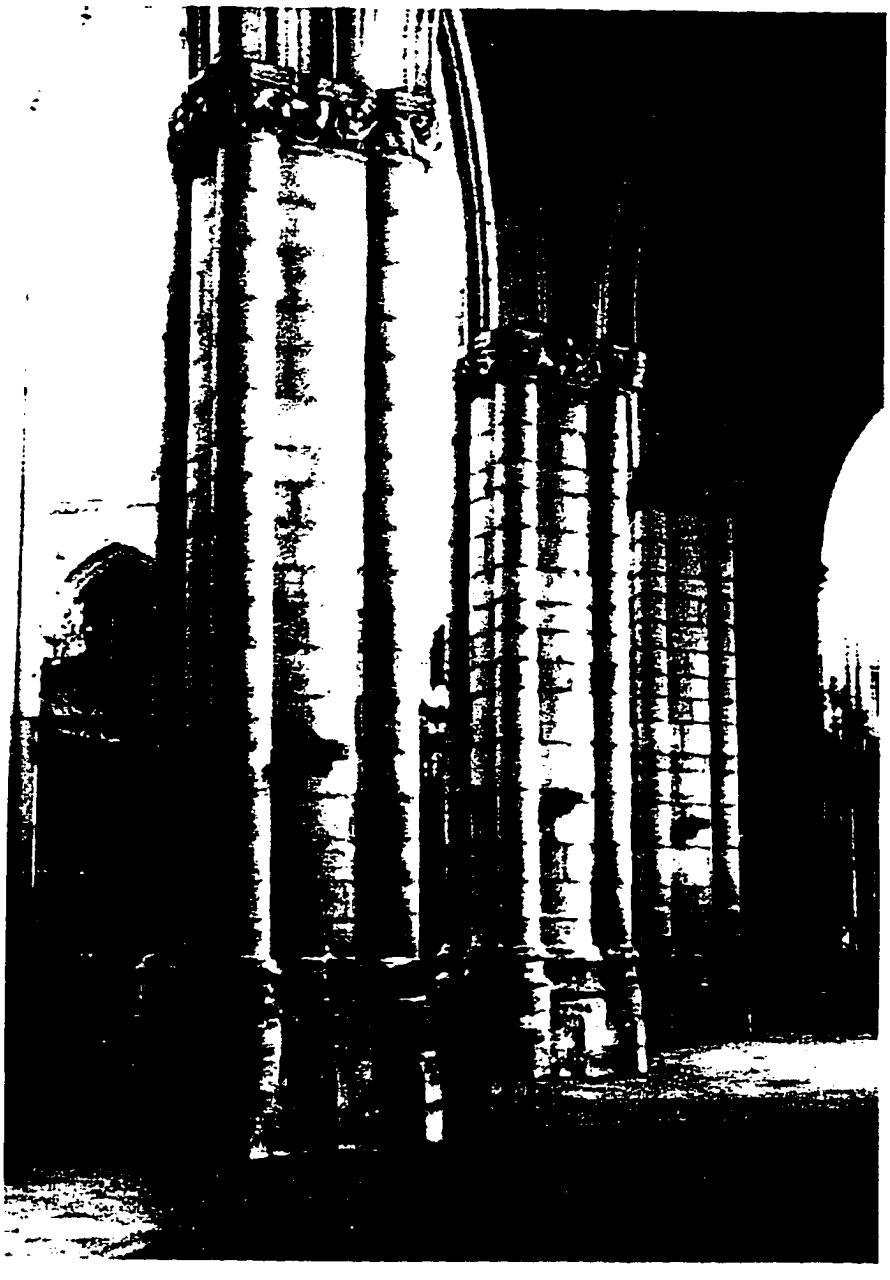
Illus. 89: Marital dispute, south aisle capital, northwest face (sw3)

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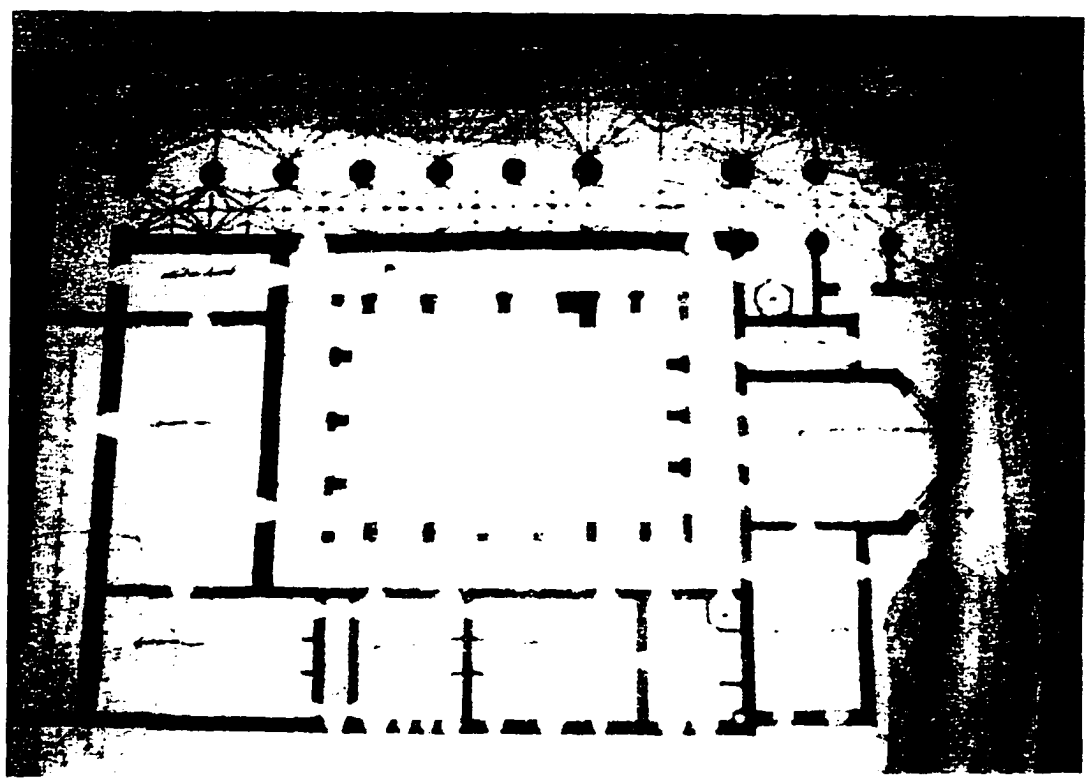
Illus. 90: South aisle, view to the west from sw1

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Illus. 91: South aisle, view to the east from sw3

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Illus. 92: 1658 Plan of Abbey Buildings around Cloister (NA; N III, Somme 17, #3)

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Illus. 93: Sens Cathedral, transept sculpture (angel)



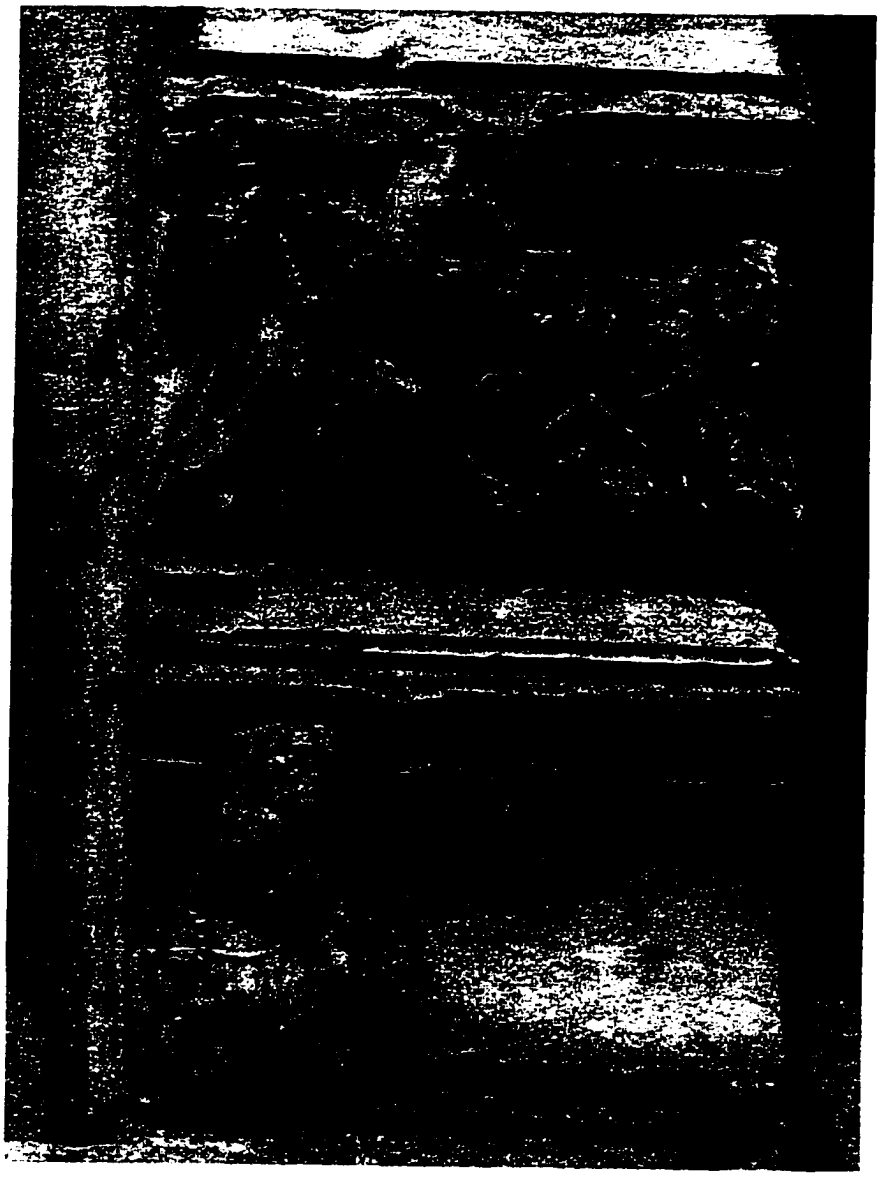
Illus. 94: Sens Cathedral, transept sculpture (mermaid)

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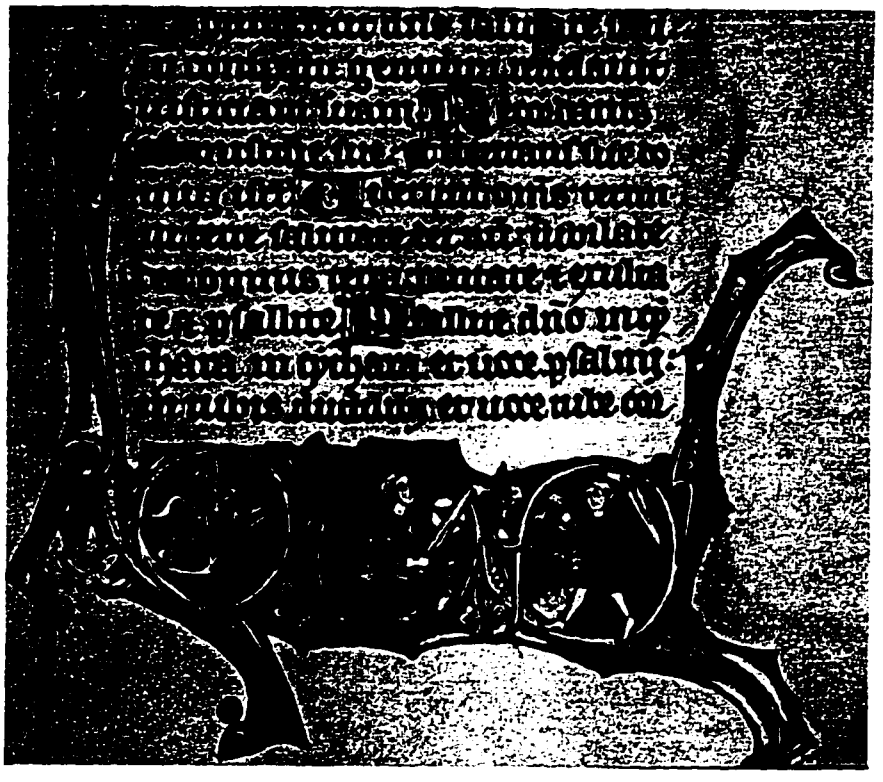
Illus. 95: Fighting couples, south aisle capital, north face (sw3)

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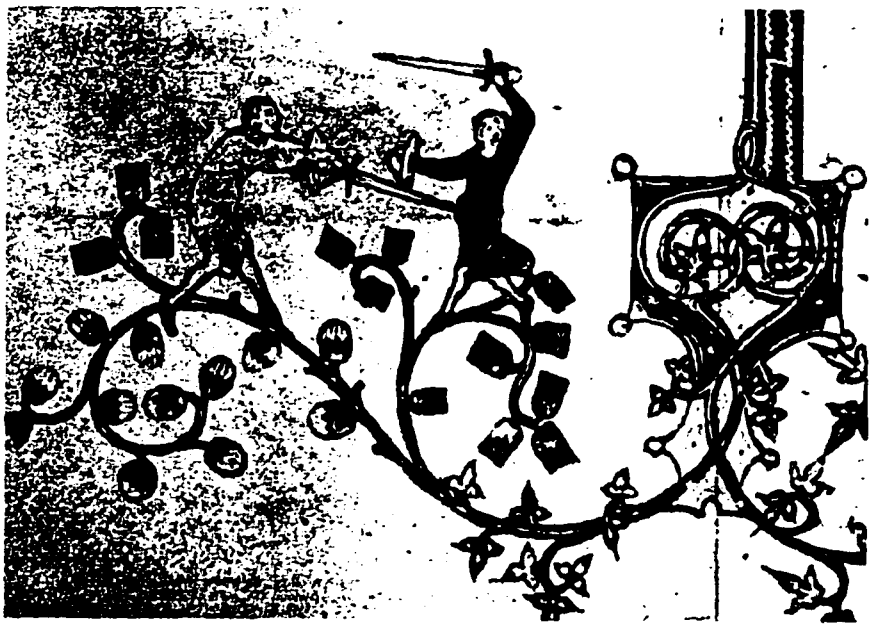


Illus. 96: South transept tribune corbel (fighting couples)

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Illus. 97: Marginalia with fighting swordsmen, Liege Psalter



Illus. 98: Marginalia with fighting swordsmen, Gorleston Psalter

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Illus. 99: Marginalia with fighting swordsmen,
Book of Hours of Marguerite of Orléans

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Illus. 100: Marginalia with wife threatening weak husband, Luttrell Psalter

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Illus. 101: Engraving, "The Hen-Pecked Husband"
Israhel van Meckenem, c. 1495

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Illus. 102: Saint-Pierre, Caen, nave capital detail with Phyllis riding Aristotle

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Illus. 103: West façade, south buttress sculptural figure

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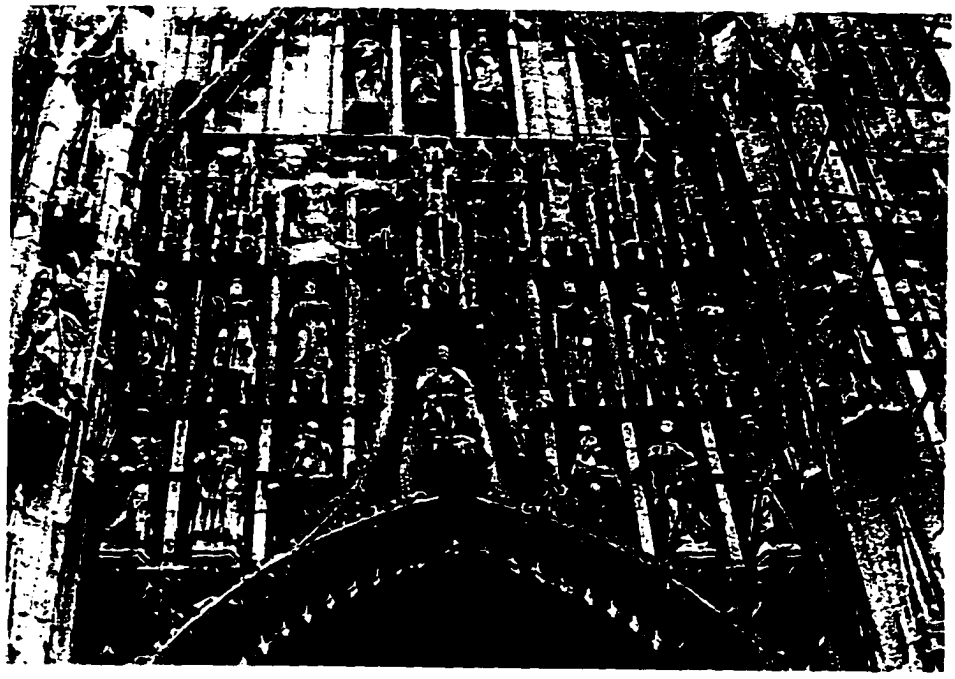
Illus. 104: West façade, central portal

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Illus. 105: West façade, tympanum

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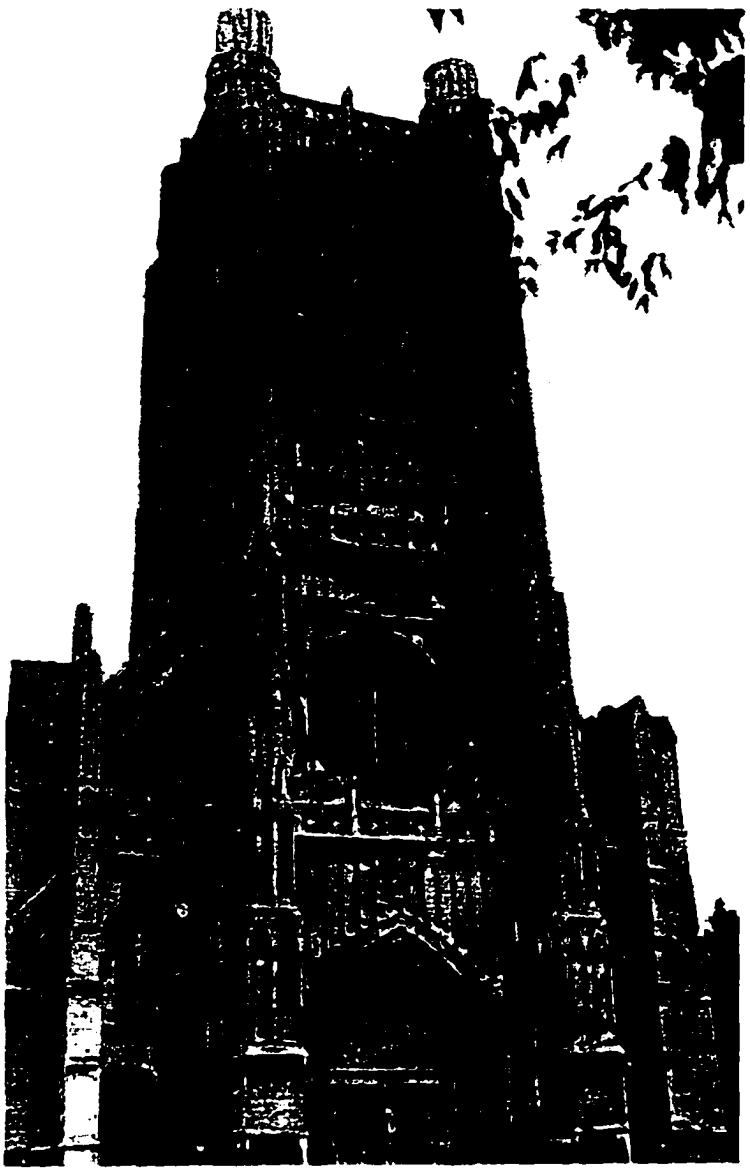
Illus. 106: West façade, central panel of sculpture

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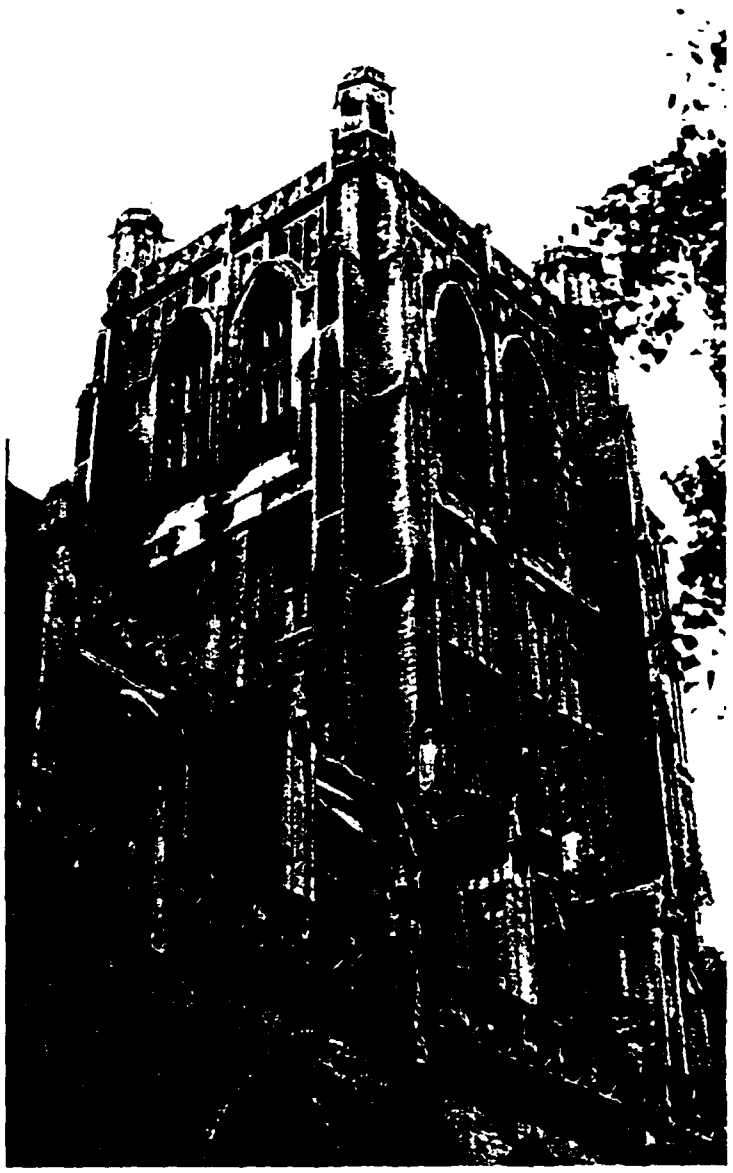
Illus. 107: Saint-Denis, St. Omer, west tower

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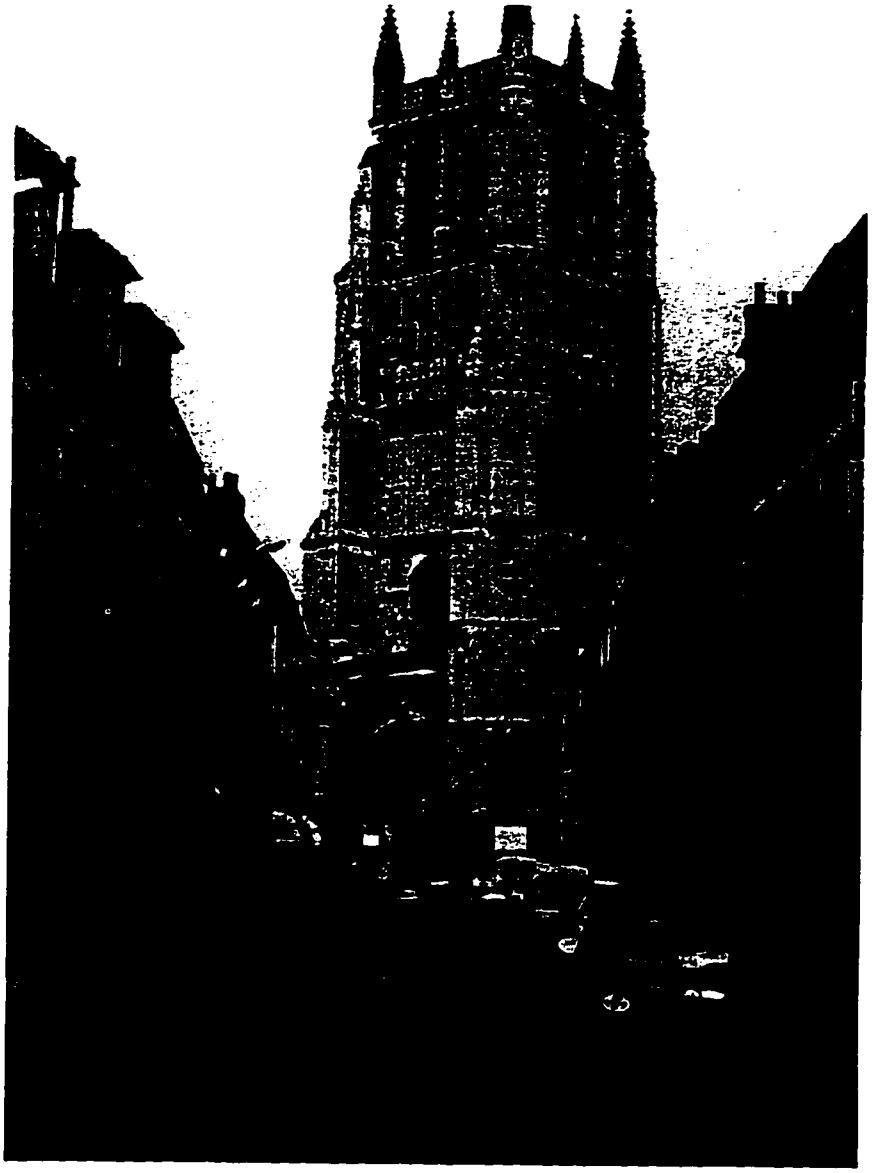
Illus. 108: Saint-Bertin, St. Omer, west tower

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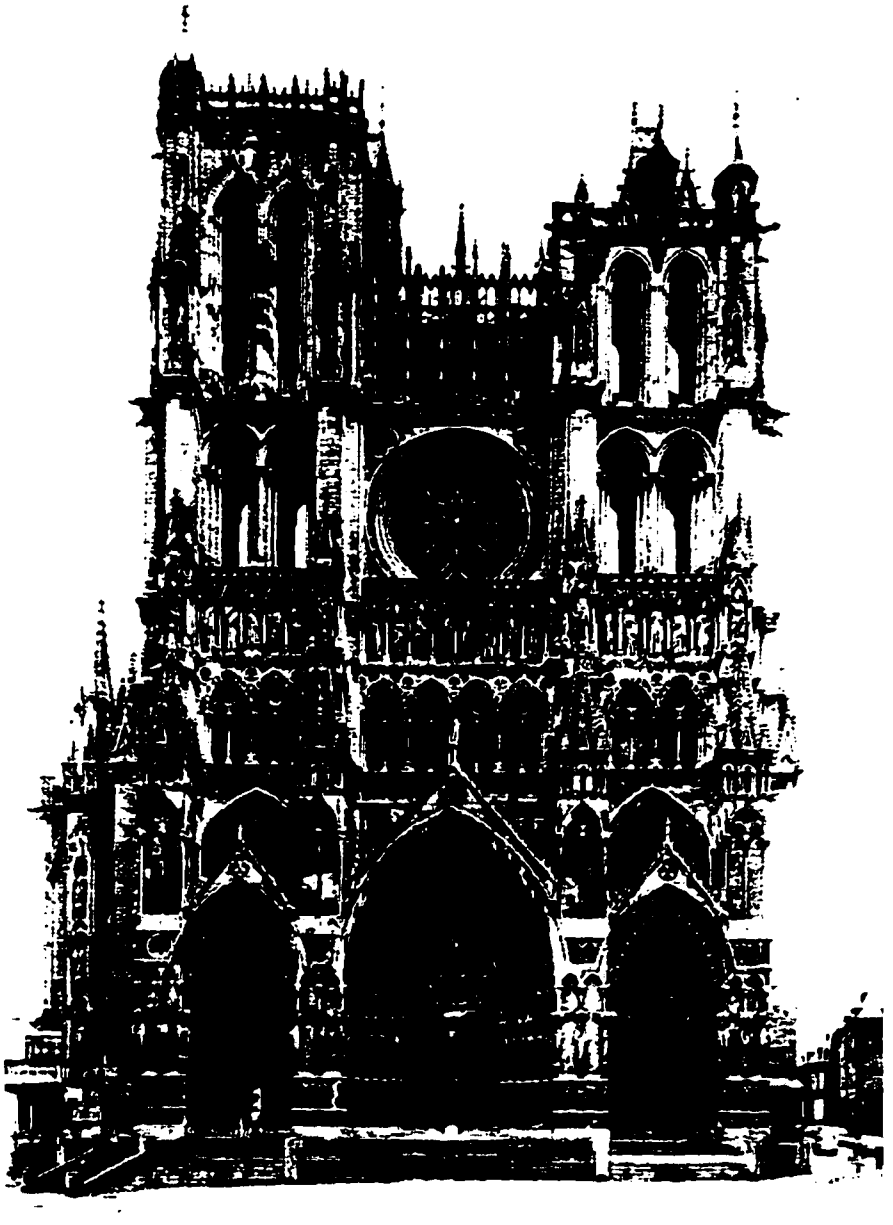
Illus. 109: Notre-Dame, St. Omer, west tower

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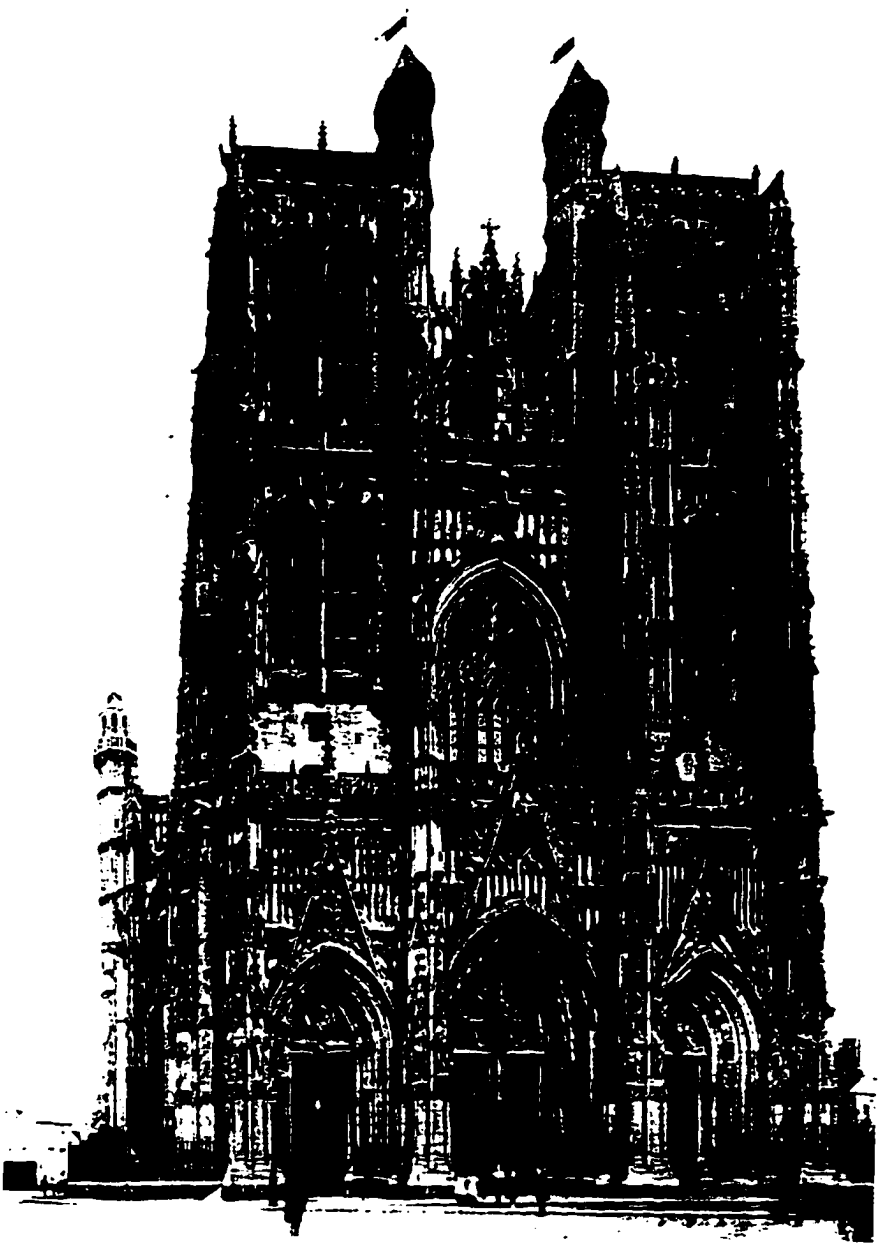
Illus. 110: Saint-Pierre, Aire-sur-la-Lys, west tower

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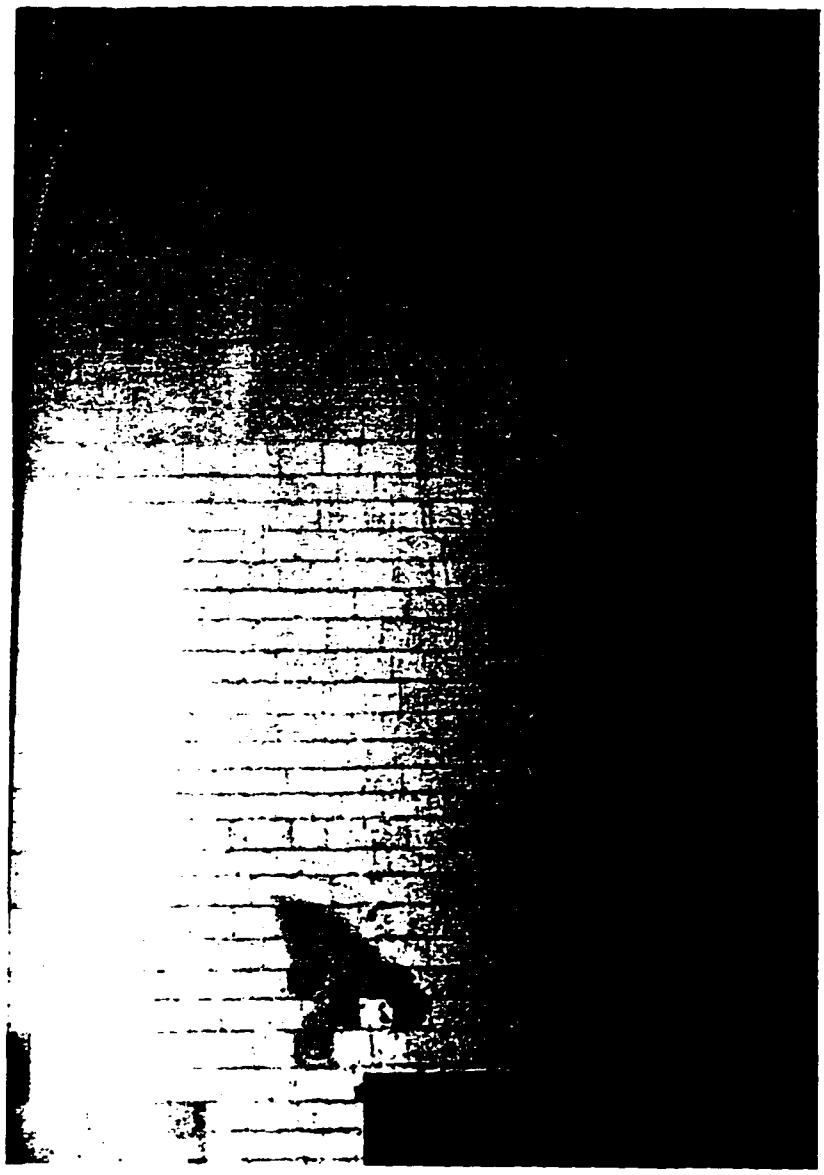
Illus. 111: Notre-Dame, Amiens, west façade

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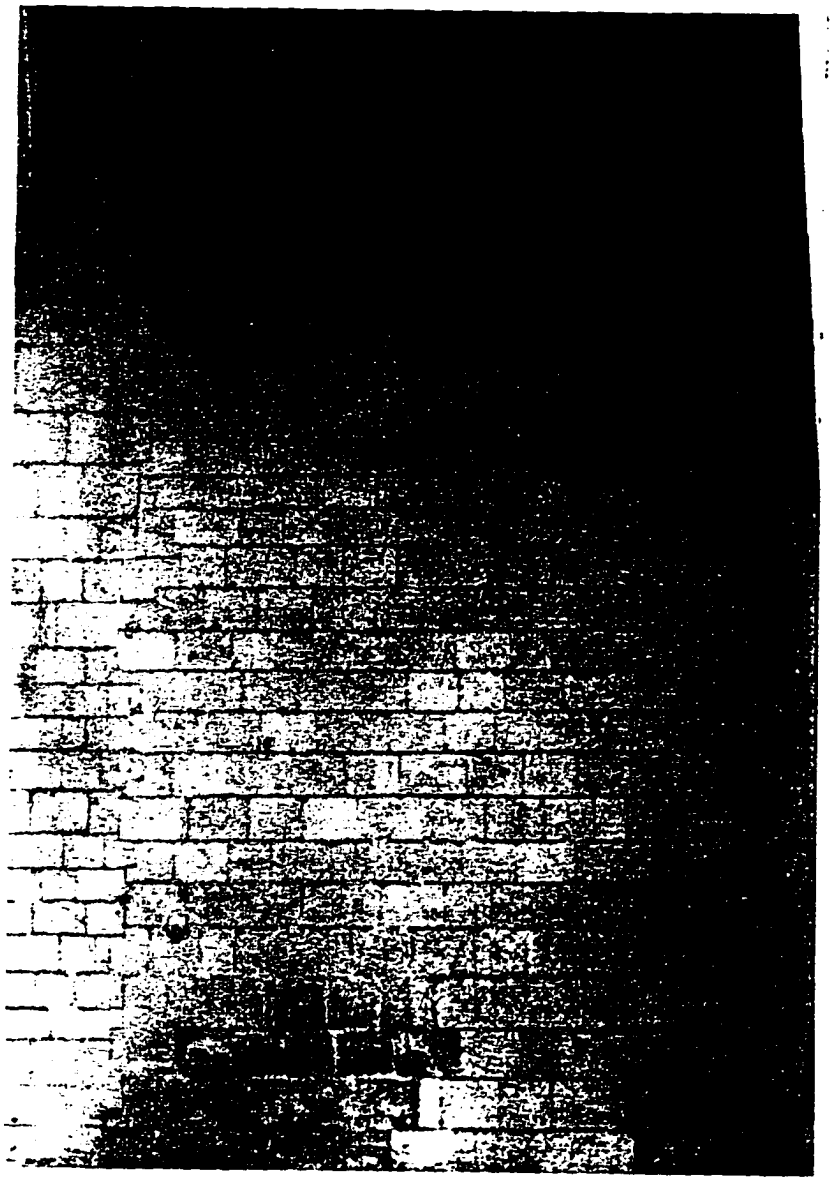
Illus. 112: Saint-Wulfran, Abbeville, west façade

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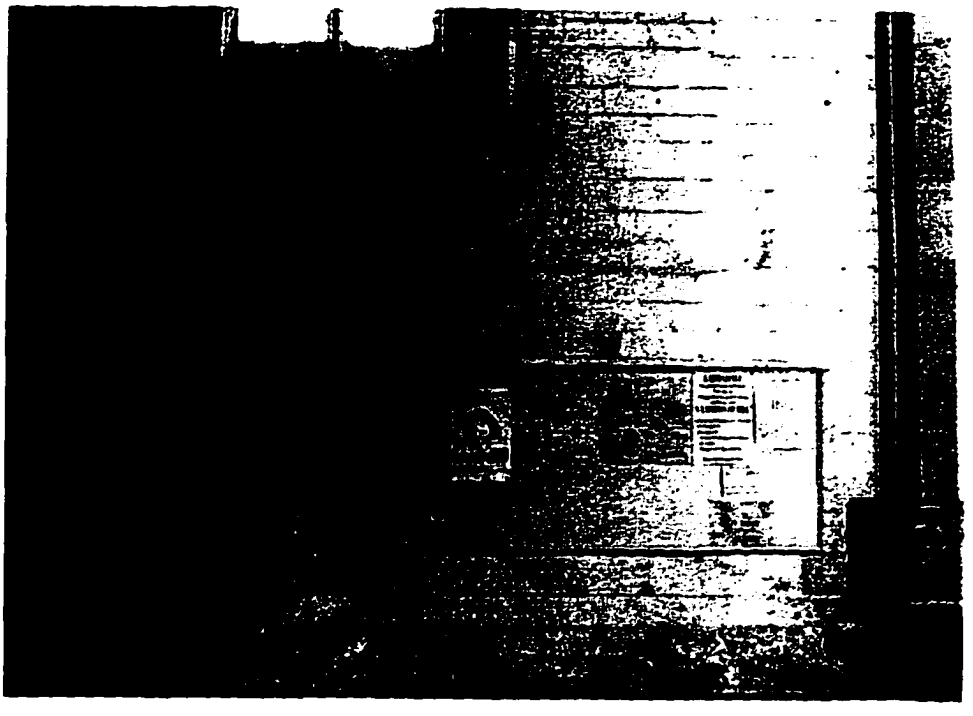
Illus. 113: South aisle, south wall (SIWVI)

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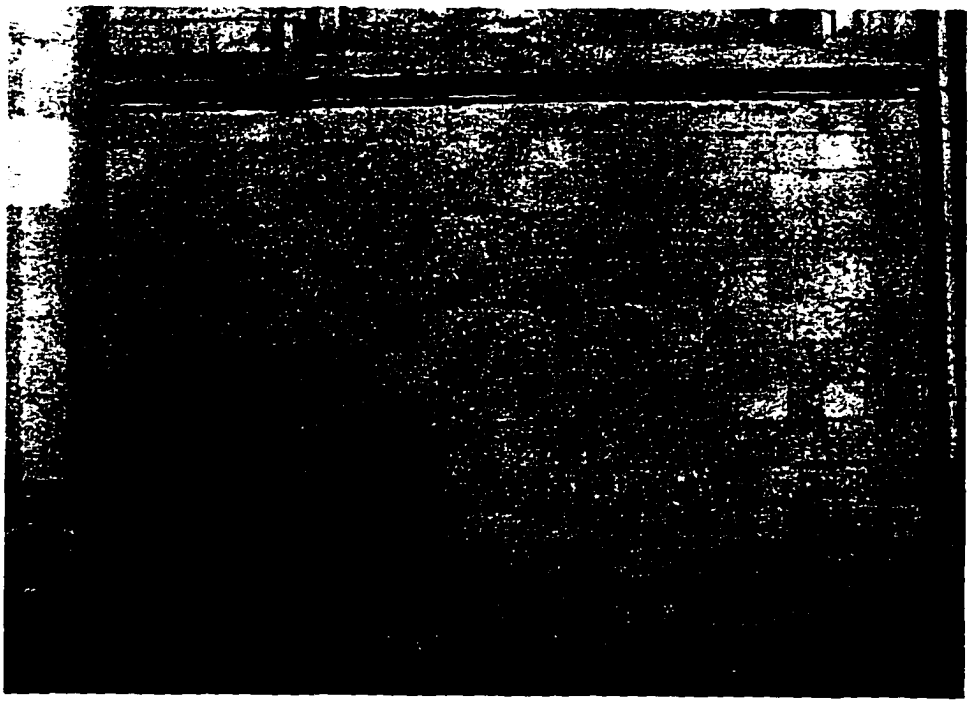


Illus. 114: South aisle, south wall (SIWV)

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Illus. 115: North aisle, north wall (NIWVI)



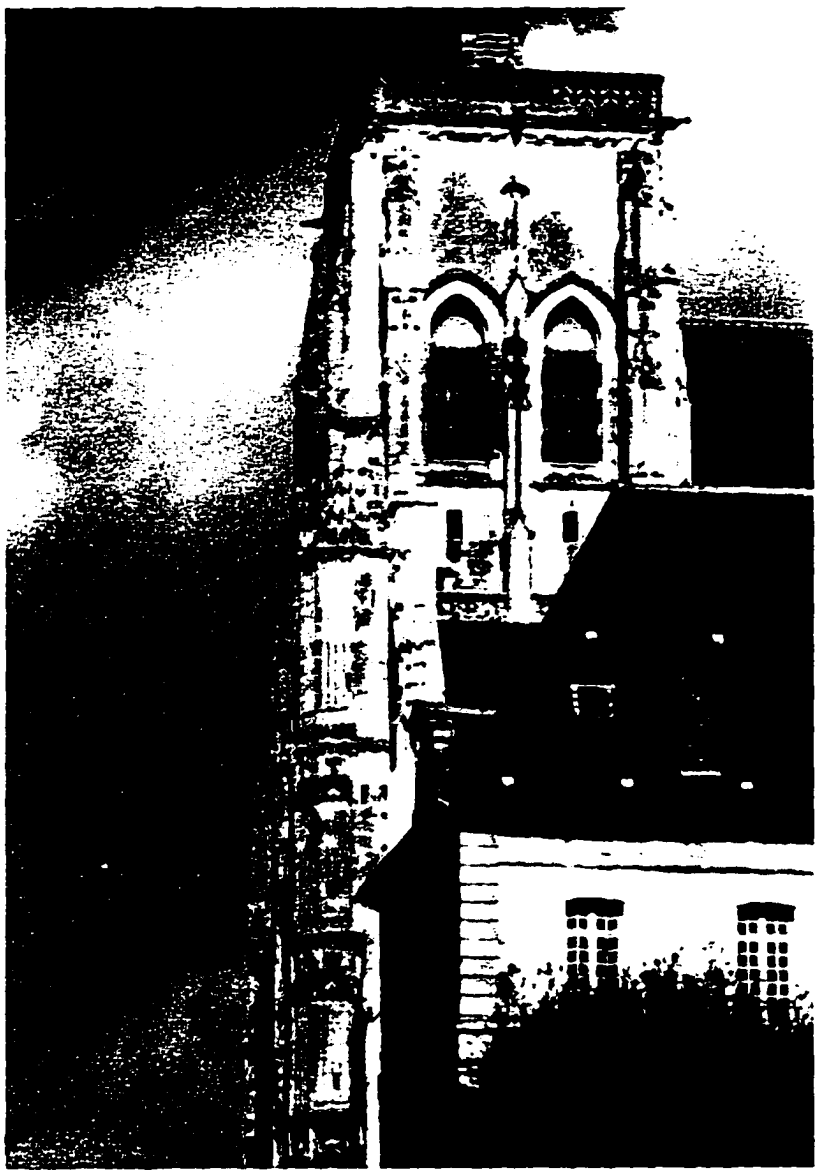
Illus. 116: North aisle, north wall (NIWV)

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Illus. 117: Organ loft , southwest corner shaft (WVI)

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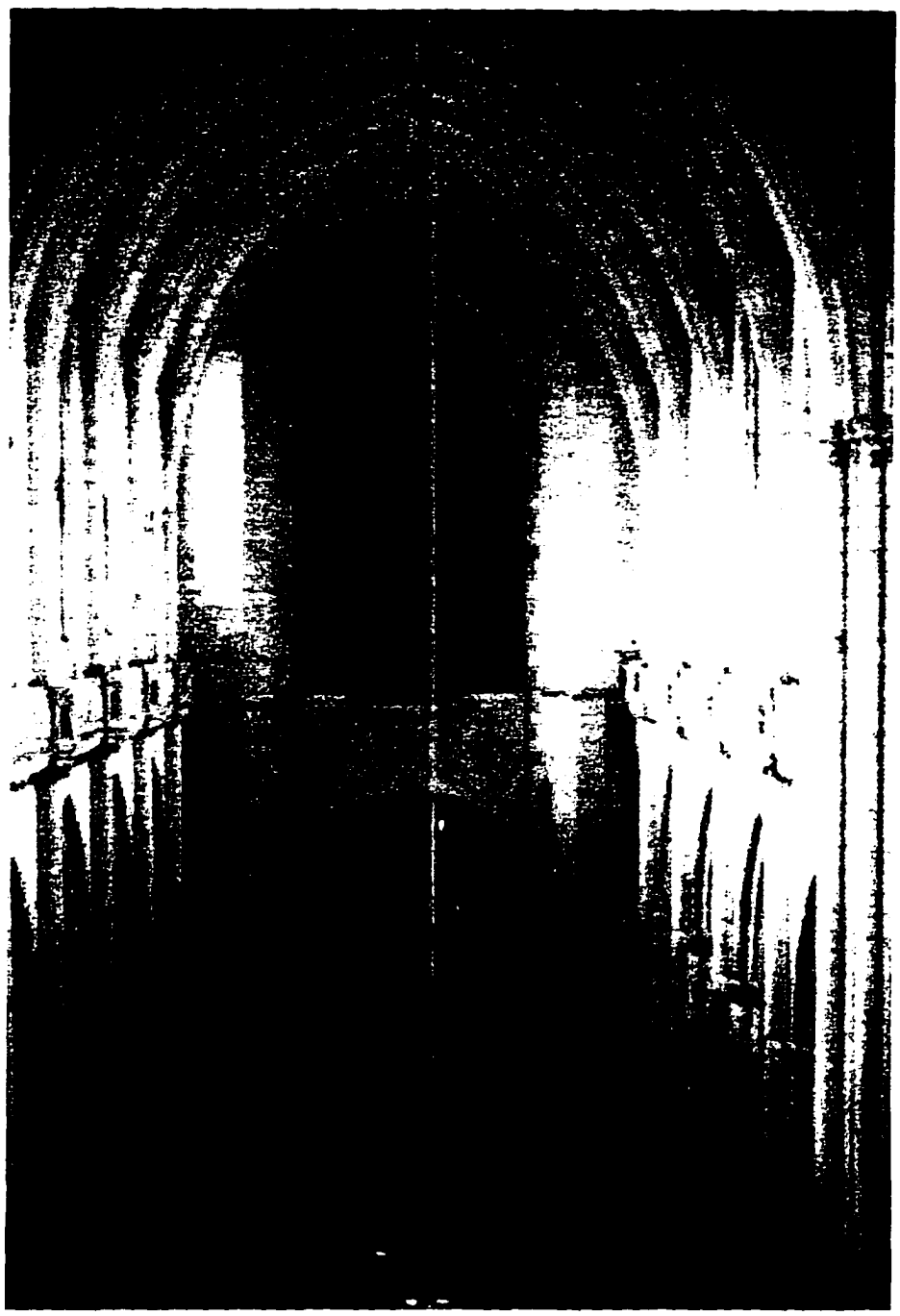
Illus. 118: Exterior, south face of west tower

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Illus. 119: Tower pier at juncture with ribs, southwest face (nw5)

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Illus. 120: Nave view to the west

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TABLES

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Table I: Crossing and Transept Pier Bases (height in centimeters)

Pier ID	Plinth	Socle Base	Socle	Shaft Base	Total Height
se	32.0	11.5	15.5	19.0	78.0
ne	35.0	11.0	16.0	19.0	80.0
sw	32.0	12.0	17.0	18.5	79.5
nw	22.0	12.0	17.0	18.0	69.0
sle	24.0	12.0	15.0	18.0	69.0
nle	46.0	11.0	14.0	18.5	89.5
slw	25.5	12.0	16.0	18.0	71.5
nlw	24..0	12.0	15.0	17.0	68.0

Table II: Ambulatory and Hemicycle Pier Bases (height in centimeters)

Pier ID	Plinth	Socle Base	Socle	Shaft Base	Total Height
sle1	58.0	21.5	61.5	20.5	161.5
sle2	56.0	21.5	64.0	28.0	169.5
sla1	57.5	21.5	57.0	27.0	163.0
sla2	59.0	21.0	66.0	30.0	176.0
nla2	63.0	21.0	67.0	30.0	181.0
nla1	55.0	21.5	56.0	30.0	162.5
nle2	63.5	21.0	65.0	29.5	179.0
nle1	68.5	20.5	62.5	21.0	172.5
se1	93.0	14.0	20.5	10.5	138.0
se2	90.5	13.5	18.0	10.5	132.5
sa1	92.0	13.0	21.5	11.5	138.0
sa2	96.0	11.5	17.5	12.0	137.0
na2	95.5	12.5	19.5	12.0	139.5
na1	93.0	11.0	17.5	11.0	132.5
ne2	90.5	13.5	18.0	10.5	132.5
ne1	93.5	13.0	21.5	11.5	139.0

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Table III: Nave and Aisle Pier Bases (height in centimeters)

	Pier ID	Plinth	Core Socle	Core Base	Shaft Socle	Shaft Base	Total Height
Nave piers	sw1	48.5	21.0	47.5	33.0	35.5	117.0
	sw2	43.0	21.0	50.5	33.5	38.0	114.5
	sw3	48.0	21.0	50.0	33.0	38.0	119.0
	sw4	50.0	22.5	53.0	34.5	41.0	125.5
	sw5	43.0	21.5	48.5	25.0	45.0	113.0
	nw1	57.0	17.5	49.0	21.0	45.5	123.5
	nw2	45.5	27.5	48.0	32.5	43.0	121.0
	nw3	51.0	23.0	51.0	34.0	40.0	125.0
	nw4	52.0	23.0	50.0	33.0	40.0	125.0
	nw5	51.0	24.0	50.0	24.0	50.0	125.0
Nave responds	sw6	95.5		20.0			115.5
	nw6	95.5		20.0			115.5
Aisle responds	s1w1	46.5	61.5	16.5			124.5
	s1w2	49.5	54.5	16.5			119.5
	s1w3	45.0	65.5	16.0			126.5
	s1w4	No respond					
	s1w5	67.0	31.5	25.0			123.5
	n1w1	79.5	26.0	27.5			133.0
	n1w2	76.0	26.5	28.0			130.5
	n1w3	74.5	28.0	25.0			127.5
	n1w4	74.5	28.0	25.5			128.0
	n1w5	59.5	41.0	25.0			125.5

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APPENDICES

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Appendix A*

Cartulaire de l'Eglise et Abbaye de Saint-Riquier renfermant toutes les chartes, bulles des Papes, lettres, instrumens et minimens d'icelle Eglise
(Archives nationales LL 1010)

*Author's note: This appendix includes excerpts from (and occassional commentary on) NA LL 1010. Entries made after the early sixteenth century were not included Illegible letters or parts of words are indicated by a question mark. The dates listed in chapters 26-70 record various entries for those chapters. The entries have not all been transcribed.)

{Copie fait sur un Manuscrit en Latin (papier) Nº 516 de la bibliothèque d'Amiens. compulrée et collationée sur le *Gallia Christiane*. Armoires: de la collection du docteur Goze d'Amiens. 1844}

L'an mil quatre cent quatre [vingt neuf] Messire Eustache Le quieux abbé de cette Eglise de S. Riquier a l'aide de M. Jean de la Chapelle, curé de Onneux, Chapelain de St. Benoit et notaire apostolique composa et fit a présent répertoire ou Cartulaire ou quel sont comprins tous les chartes, lettres, instrumens et munimens d'icelles Eglise, les translate celles de Latin en Français en repredant les principaux points d'icelles lettres, les mit en ordre par chapitres, terrois, seigneuries chacun à par lui, les mit, fit mettre distinguement par layettes ou coffres et ycelles layettes fit écrire de Grosses lettres chacun article ...

Chapitre Premier: Privilegeae

Primo Nous avons une bulle donné de Alexandre Pape quatriem dattée quarto Lrt Augusti judictione quinta l'an mil cent soixante et douze et de son pontificat l'an XIIIe signée au dos de ce signe: Primum Privilegium

Contient la ditte bulle que le d. Alexandre prend l'Eglise de S. Riquier sous la protection et sauvegarde de S. Pierre et de S. Paul et par expres le réserve et retient sujette au S. Siege Apostolique et ordonna et promis le d. Alexandre que la d. Eglise pouit jugr? et possesser de tous les biens, possessions rentes et revenus qu'elle possedoit au d. jour et de toutes confessions faities par Evêques, dons et largitions de Roys et de prinches, oblatives de peuples au tems futur et advenir et dans laquelle bulle sont expressement exprimées et déclaré les villes, paroisses, nations, églises, dixmages et autres choses comme il s'ensuit.

1. La ville de S. Riquier en laquelle est située la d. Eglise avec toute la justice ecclesiastique d'icelle ville et faubourgs.

Item l'Eglise Ste Marie et les chapelles d'icelles ville Foresmoutier; la ville de Bugnon et les dixmes des bleds, Neufville, Bussu, Buigny ..... Mayoc, Noyeres, rivières, Arguma, Chevincourt et la cure, terres, vignes et bois d'icelui lieu, les terres, vingnes et bois de Saufraco, l'Eglise de Lully, la couture et ses appendances, les molins de Gricourt, Vieulaines, Boisbergues, les dixmes de hemmemont de Wivrench, Coulonvillers, Grambus, Gaspanes, Millencourt, Nuermont et Vaux.

Item conferma le Jeudi qui se célebroit le lundi après Pentecostes chacun an lequel Judis se entend un Capitre General la ou se pronouchoient le commandemens, institutions et ordonanches chacun

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an et defend par la d. bulle que nulle ne soit sy hardy de offenser, molester, ne travelier ceux qui sont et seront évoqués au d. Judis.

Avec ce ordonna que l'abbé du d. lieu, ou ses successeurs nul ne fut si ose de soy présumer par violence accepter la dignité abbatiale se du commun accord ou de la plus seigne partie des Religieux du d. monastere n'étoit élu selon la régle monsieur S. Benoit et que icelui élu fut du coliege ou d'autre monastere se ou n'en pouit en icelui trouver un idoine et le quel élu sera consacré abbé par tel Evêque qu'il plaira aux d. religieux sans profession permission de quelconque obbedience.

Item contient par exprès que nous devons prendre de l'Evèque diocesain le cresme?, l'oeulle Sainte, et les conservations des Austeux et églises, les ordinations des ordres des moines ou des clercs à promouvoir mais le d. diocesains soit Catholique et institué du Siège apostolique, et qu'il le veuille faire gratis sans en prendre aucune chose et sans prainte ou mal naitre et se ainsi ne le veut faire nous puons aller vers tout tel autre Evêque qu'il nous plait, auquel le d. Alexandre donne poissance et auctorité de nous octoyer ce que en tel nous demandons.

Item defend le d. Alexandre que nul archevêque, Evêque, archidiacre ou doyen ou d. monastère sur les prêtres et bourgeois d'icelle ville ne exerce juridiction ne icelle ville demander droit parochial.

Item nul ne soit sy osé de présumer, coeuiller ne lever droit de diesme sur les novalles ne sur ce qui est en laboure par nous ou à nos dépends ne pareillement des nourrissemens de nos bêtes.

En autre defend ne nul vivant ne en la mort ne aliens aucunes possessions de d. monastère sans la licence ou congé de l'abbé ou du Capitre.

Item que nul ne peut perturbé le d. monastère ou ses possessions ne aucune chose, ôter, retenir, diminuer, traveiller, mais tout soit conservé entier che qui est concédé pour la substentation d'icelui.

Item fait exempt le d. monastère responsable au S. Siège Apostolique, le met sous la protection de S. Pierre et de S. Paul en payant chacun an au d. Siège une onche (once) d'or.

Item se aucune personne Ecclesiastique ou séculière va au contraire des choses dessus dittes et il est amonesté une fois, 2e et tièrche et ne se corrige il soit privé de dignité de honneur et fait étrange et aliené du précieux Corps et Sang de Jesus Christ notre redempteur.

Et à tous ceux qui le conserveront et garderont ses droits soit donné paix et fruit de bonne action et troennechent loiers du Grand juge éternel; et est signée du grand chercle rond, autour duquel y a ecrit: Vias tuas domine Demonstra Michy, et une des quartiers écrit: Sanctus Petrus, ou Second: Sanctus Paulus; et au IIIe et IVe Alexandre Pape III avec XII signes des Cardinaux présens et assistans.

L'Abbaye qui impetra avoit nom Richarius et fut XXXe abbé de cette Eglise et tantôt après il resigna son abbaie, et fut fait Cardinal et Evêque Sabianensis.

Confirmation & Vidimus de la présente bulle

Item un vidimus ou transcrit qui est sain et entier en écriture et sceau et est donné sans le sceau du couvent de cheuns et est écrit auprès que faire se peut de l'original de la bulle dessus transcritte de mot en mot: icelle Bulle Nihil audito vel remoto. Tous les privilèges transcrits en la bulle précédente et est signée au dos de cette signe: Vidimus prime Bulle.

Ratification of privileges by Innocent III (30 Janvier? 1205)

Une Bulle donnée de Innocent Pape IIIe contenant confirmation et consentement des franchises

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et libertés données à cette Eglise pour tous les papes prédécesseurs de tous archevêques. evêques. prinches séculiers avec toutes autres coutumes locales observées en ce monastère. les quelles choses de d. Innocentius a pour le présent et pour tout le temps futur pour agréable donnée a S. Pierre en Lrt. februarii de son pontificat anno octavo et est signée au dos de ce signe Innocentius papa tertius.

Bull of Pope Sixtus (1483)

Nous avons une bulle apostolique donnée du Pope Sixte en l'an millesimo quadragintesimo octuagesimo tertio quarte diurno Kal Augusti et de son Pontificat l'an XII^{e} qui se commence Sixtus et XP l'angle sont excommunies ceux et celles qui retiennent aucuns biens de l'Eglise signé au dos Sententia ... excummunications.

Comment nous poous avoir cappelles et ocusteux en nos lieuse, manoirs et places.

Innocentius pape quart nous a donné Bulle perusii X Lrt. Decembris l'an X^{e} de son pontificat adressant aux Evêques de Beauvais et d'Amiens contenant que en iceux Dioceses il nous donne pouir de construire poissance de y célébrer & et est signée au dos de ce signe Capellas et oratoria.

Comment nous poous avoir mittre et pontifical sur tous.

Innocentius pape III nous donna Bulle perusii X Lrt. Marti de son pontificat l'an X^{e} contenant que l'abbé de chiens et ses possesseurs perpetuellement peuvent user de la mittre. les auniaulx?. tunique. dalmatique. sandalles avec ce peut benistre les palles et nappes ou drapes d'autels calixes. vetemens sacerdotaux pour le usage et necessité du d. monastère. et contient les clauses: Nully et siguis (liguis?) et est signée de ce signe mitra.

Chap. 8: Patronage

Complaint sur sir Hue Bochu curé de N^{e} Dame pour offrandes reullés. retardées. compositions de mariages appointemens d'hochocleques et funerailles en notre préjudice.

Cette lettre est condamnation donnée de Liénard Dauquernes Sr de Saxegny Lieutenant de M. le bailly d'Amiens en l'an 1441 et sellé de son signe Candas et contient que nous avons fait convenir au Siège du baillage d'Amiens Sire hue Bochu curé de N^{e} Dame de S. Riquier en complaignant et contient la d. lettre en sa majeure comment nous sommes patrons d'icelle et à cause de notre droit de patronnage nous avons droit es dismes es ofrandes funérales d'icelle cure de III coses les deux sans rien excepter et avons droit de faire lever icelles deux parts pour nous. notre trésorier ou fermier sans contredit neantmoins le d. curé le jour de Paques avoit levé l'offrande que laissant et offrent lesparochiens à la table de Dieu et sy avoit delayer et retarder aucunes autres offrandes en notre detriment et dommage.

Item il avoit composé en notre desseu de trois mariages chacun en sa portion t qui sont en restes déclarés sans que il nous y vausist laisser avoir nos deux parts et après le jour assigné et suivant le dit Bochu en personne accorda avoir tort et que nous fussions maintenus et gardés en iceux droits nomme l'avons fait proposer et par le d. Lieutenant y fumes maintenus et gardés de par le roi et est signée au dos: Complainte contre le curé de S. Riquier pour les deux parts de tous droits.

Letter regarding construction of parish church S. Nicholas, 1270

Cette lettre se commenche universis presentes litteras inspecturis miserationem et est dattée de l'an 1270 in crastino assumptionis et contient procuration et fait spécial du d. Evêque, par laquelle il nomme maistre Jean de Chyromente Chanoine d'Amiens et son official auquel il donne pouir auctorité de accepter en son nom l'oeuvre de la fabrique de l'Eglise parochial S. Nicolay en S. Richier. la quelle oeuvre et fabrique est par nous en commenchiée et se devait confermer selon les conventions d'entre lui et

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nous et de demander amélioration ainsi que bon lui sembleroit et même de recevoir de nous la somme de 400L tournois que nous devions par composition pour diverses questions et selon autres lettres de lui et de nous et lui donnait pouvoir de sur tout ordonner et promettoit avoir tout pour agréable ce que par lui eleroit fait et la quelle est signée au dos de ce signe: Prima Sancti Nicolay.

Bulle apostolique pour réedifier l'Eglise S. Nicolay et autres lieux pour ce que les hommes et les femmes passoient par notre enclos ce qui étoit contre honnêteté de religion. [21 Mars 1246]

Cette Bulle est donnée de Innocentius IV Episcopus servus servorum Dei, vatum Lugdû? XII Lrt. applis de son pontificat anno quarto et contient que nous exposames? au d. Pape Innocent que notre monastère est situé au lieu de la ville de S. Riquier fort populé et que d'anchienneté une Eglise parochiale de S. Nicolas en notre patronage étoit construite et édifiée et joignant en notre monastère et lequel avoit entrée et issue par icelui pour homme et pour feme qui n'étoit point congrue ni decent à nous ne à la religion, mais impugnoit et contradisoit tant en honnêteté que autrement pour lesquelles raisons nous la requierions être mûs et ôté à nos dépens et remise enn autre lieu couvenable pour les parochiens et adressoit sa Commission au Prieur des frères précheurs de Rouen auquel étoit mandé se ainsi étoit que le pussions muer et changer de lieu et est signée au dos: Quinta littera Sti. Nicolay.

La lettre précedente n'avoit point été exécutée en temps dû pourquoi il fut mandé à l'abbé de Boulogne la mettre à exécution. July 1266 [The letter is addressed to Abbot of Ste. Marie du Boulogne-sur-Mer as when it was addressed to the chancellor of Rouen 20 years earlier nothing happened. Evidently the abbey is trying to move church of St. Nicholas a little away from the abbey.]

Association avec doyen et Chapitre d'Arras

Nous avons association avec Doyen et Chapitre d'Arras et le IIIe monas Julii chacun an d'un côté et d'autre st célébré anniversaire.

Cette lettre commenche Ide Canus et Universus atrebateure Capitulum et est selée en l'an 1196 contient que comme il soit ainsi que iceux chanoines et nous devons penser de notre issue de che monde et même avoir cure de nos prédecesseurs et frères trespasser à la requête de Richier lors abbé de cette Eglise et le quel fut le XXXe abbé iceux nous firent association de tous leurs bienfaits et même in monas Julii chacun nous doivent faire anniversaire Général et donner aux poures (pauvres) Vs et distribuer aux chanoines XVs et nous pareillement devons faire pareille anniversaire le d. Jour III monas Julii et donner aux pitames de ceux qui y seront des Religieux XXs et l'abbé doit avoir toutes et quant fois qui se trouve au d. lieu d'Arras pain et vin de Chapitre comme un chanoine et est signée au dos de ce signe association et fraternité avec Chapitre d'Arras.

Association et fraternité avec doyen et chapitre de St. Valery sur la mer.

Nous avons lettre donnée de l'abbé et couvent de S. Valery sous leurs sceaux en chire verte en l'an 1303 Sabbato anno festum beati Mikaelis commenchant Noverunt universi et contessant que entre les Eglises de S. Valery et d. Riquier ou diocèse d'Amiens sujettes sans moyen au S. Siège Apostolique et du tems de Reverends PP Jean abbé du d. S. Valery et Jean abbé du d. S. Riquier avoit été constitué et ordoné en icelles Eglises, societe, fraternité, en telle manière que toutes et quantes fois que brevet ou message seroit envoyé de abbaie d'autre pour abbé ou frère ou Religieux deffunts et morts et la table pour ce sonnée et incontinent pour celui religieux pour qui tel brevet seroit envoyé ou célébreroit et doit en celebrer en icelle Eglise pour icelui ou pour plusiers pour chacun III messes et le jour en suivant ou le plutôt que faire se porra et ou monastère qui avoit envoyé le d. brief a l'autre lendemain du Dimanche que ou chante letare Jerusalem ou le plutôt qu'il sera possible, chacun an se célébrera une messe générale pour les deffunts de l'autre monastère et si seront les chapitres communs c'est a dire que l'abbé venant en l'autre abbaie sera

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vicegérant de l'abbé du d. lieu et porru absoudre et despechier un religieux excommunié ja soit qu'il ne soit point son abbé sauf le rigueur de l'ordre et est à noter que le d. Jean abbé de chiens chestoit Jeande Faucoucourt XXXVI[e] abbé car il regnoit l'an 1303 cette est en la layette de St. Riquier un l'espirituel signée au dos de ce signe Fraternitas y abbe et couventue Sancti Walarii.

Association et fraternité avec abbé et couvent de St. Launomarus de Blesenson ou trouvé en sa legende que on lit en Janvier quil étoit Carnoten Diocesis.

Cette lettre commenche quod ad mortalibus temporaliter geritur clavis memorie & donnée sous le seau de abbé et Couvent de Sti Lannomari de Blesenson en las de soye vermeille en l'an 1248 in crastino Beati Lannomari et contient que iceux abbé et couvent et Capitre connaissent avoir société, association et fraternité avec l'église de St. Riquier en telle manière que se l'abbé de l'une d'icelles Eglises alloit dans l'autre le d. abbé a pleniere et entière poissance de l'autre en qui il entre soit en capitre ou correction de coulpes et ara la poissance de donner absolution et de dispenser de discipline régulière comme à son propre sujet.

Item en la mort de un abbé chacune Eglise sera comme du sien propre et tant qu'il touche un religieux ou moines d'icelles Eglises le chapitre sera commun et sera reclus de l'une Eglise en l'autre non point comme hostes ou passons mais comme propres Religieux et moines et profés.

Item par exprès se it advenoit que un religieux fut envoyé d'Eglise à l'autre pour eviter exclande il ne doit point être rechut en icelle comme fugitit nostre repute fugitil mais doit être reçu comme vrai profés et illec doit vivre régulierement jusques à ce qu'il ait obtenu grace ou misericorde de son abbé et couvent dont il est parti et rentrer de rechef.

Item de la mort de moines et Religieux de chacune Eglise doit être fait pareille service l'un pour l'autre quand il sera denouchiet c'est assavoir que chacun prêtre d'Eglise là ou l'autre Eglise denouchera aucun religieux être mort ou plusieurs pour chacun mort sera par chacun prêtre dit et célébré une messe et pour les prêtres non clerus seront dits pur chacun X L. Pater nostre, avec ce l'Eglise S. Riquier pour ses trespasses chacun an envoyer un brief à Blesenson en la fête Sti. Lannomari en la quelle en couvent sera fait solemnel service et unum tercessarum integrum l'Eglise de Blesenson pour ses trépasses envoyera un brief à S. Riquier la ou en fera autant et pareillement des enfans de chacune Eglise chacun abbé en l'abbaye de son compagnon pora estaler et promouvoir iceux ou l'un d'iceux enfans en tel degré et manière que il lui verra être bon et expédient.

Item ceux de S. Lannomarus célébrerons le fête S. Riquier et ceux de S. Riquier célébrerons l'office de S. Lannomarus et chacun an et sine icelle lettre nos autem abbas et couventus Beati Lannamari de commi? assensu et voluntate totus Capituli nostri proesentem societatum sigillorum nostrorum numine dignum duximus roborare actum & laquelle est signée au dos dans la layette de S. Riquier en l'espirituel de ce signe: Societas associate et fraternitas Beati Lannomari Blenensis.

Association et fraternite de cette Eglise avec l'Eglise et monastere de St. Bertin de St. Omer au diocese de Thérouanne

Cette lettre commenche universis Sante Matris Ecclesiae Feliis et hus specialiter qui sub habitu regularii et donnée sous les seaux de Abbé et Couvent de S. Bertin de S. Omer ou diocese de Thérouanne en l'an 1353 Die X[e] Septembris et contient qu'iceux desirant le salut de leurs freres trépasses et desirans pouvoir au jour de leur mort ____ de vrai que en cette Eglise de S. Riquier gist et répose le précieux corps de M. S. Riquier comme les anchiennes historiographes et de trés ancien temps le mande par exprès et même que en leur Eglise y a reposé là oú y a été requis durant le d. tems que le d. precieux corps y étoit en icelle leur Eglise y avoit observance régulière et iceux ayant souvenance et memoire que de leur Eglise et monastère naguères étoit issu un trés notable religieux nommé Pierre lequel étoit docteur en Sainte Théologie et abbé de cette Eglise de St. Riquier et qui avoit recu avec eux trés louablement, pour

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lesquelles choses ils vouloient avoir avec nous fraternité et société indisoluble en cette manière que chacun an VI° trh maij Iceux doivent celebrer la disposition de Monsieur Saint Riquier à II. Lrt. Lechons et lendemain un service solomnel pour les trépassés de cette Eglise ou le plus brief que faire se porra avec ce toutes et quantes fois que leur envoyrons no rolle pour les trépassés de nouvel ils célébreront un obit solemnel, et pareillement nous célébrerons la fête de la disposition S. Bertin chacun an le V. de Septembre et lendemain un obit solemnel pour les nouveux trépassés, avec ce le IX^e de Octobre es matiner. vêpres et messe matutissale chacun an ils feront solemnité de la translation S. Riquier et nous ferons pareil service de la translation S. Bertin qui est XVI^e die Julii et est signée au dos en la layette de S. Riquier à l'espirituel de ce signe: Association, franternité avec ceux de S. Bertin de S. Omer au diocèse de Thérouanne.

Nota: Que cette letre est bien au propos que nous abons tout le corps de Monsieur S. Riquier car il cognoissent que il est chiens entier et s'ils l'ont eu en leur monastère et le d. Petrus qui fut leur religieux che fut Magister Petrus de Aloueges docteur en Sainte Théologie 39^e abbé de cette Eglise et lequel est inhumé et enterré en la chapelle du Cardinal le Moiesse à Paris et y a une tome? écrité sur son corps qui contient qu'il étoit abbé de cette Eglise.

Protests of Pierre le Prêtre's first sermons. 7 Nov. 1457

Nous avons un instrument donné de M^e Jean de S. Riquier maitre es arts litencié en décrets notaire apostolique et impérial en l'an 1457 en l'an 3^e du Pape Sixte signée de son signe et contient que le 7^e Jour de novembre au dit an M^e Pierre Pbri abbé de cette Eglise fut venu par R.P. en Dieu Monsieur Ferii de Biauvoir Evêque d'Amiens et après sa bénédiction qui fut faite en l'Eglise N^e D^e de S. Riquier de cette Eglise et en intention après que il avoit fait les sermens en ce cas requis accoutumés et introduits prendre son repas et diner avec le dit abbé et à la quelle porte premier et auparavant que le d. abbé entra en cette Eglise ne que il feist les sermens contenus en un feuillet de papier que tenoit en sa main Raul de Leslau soy fossdant procureur du Couvent somma le d. M. L'Evêque que il lui d'eclarat ce pour cette bénédiction qu'il avoit du d. M. Pierre abbé ensemble de prendre en cette Eglise son repas il voloit pretendre aucun droit su seigneurie tout en visitation ou subjection que autrement considerée que cette Eglise est exemté de liu et de tous autres prélats Diocesans et responsable et au S. Siege Apostolique sans moyen et aux quelles sommations et signiffications et remontrances le d. M. Ferri Evêque de lui même à haute et intelligible voix dit et déclara que pour icelles benedictions entrées et repas prins ou à prendre il n'entendoit ne vouloit entendre que ce fut en aucune manière qu prejudice de cette Eglise ne en troublant icelle en libertés et franchises par quelconque manière que ce fut et incontinent furent lus iceux sermens au d. M. Pierre qui les Jura et prosniit? observer et garder en tout et depuis se approcha Me Pierre le Ramburelles maître es arts doyen de S. Vulfran en Abbeville executeur de certaines Bulles données de M. Alain tituli sanctae praxedis Cardinal et vulgairement appellé le Cardinal d'Avegnan en ce royaume de France légat qui bailla au d. M. Pierre la possession Corporelle, réelle et propriétaire de cette Eglise et les assit en la cherre abbatialle et lui fit toucher les quatre corner du grand autel que incontinent fut par les religieux de chiens chanté le cantique Te Deum laudances et que icelui fini, M. Pierre à deux genoux les mains jointes les yeux dressés au ciel remerchui Dieu notre créateur sa benoite Mère et M. S. Riquier son patron et étoient présens à ce Don Jacques de Laudrechies aumonier, Hugues de pmarin chantre et les autres religieux, messire Jacques de Biauvoir chevalier Enguerrand Sarpe Basse de Boffles?, Jean de Maisons Fremin Darliel écuyers, maitres Martin Malingue, Robert Denguissehault, Antoine Giel, Gilles de Champs, Jean Salomon, Guillaume Wynart, Bauduin Roussel, témoins à ce évoquiés et appellés et est signée au dos de ce signe: Protestationes in benedictione abbatis per Episcopum Ambianensis.

Protestations de l'Evêque faites le jour que M. de la Grutuse lieutenant Général de Nre Sire le Roy fut enterré et inhumé en l'Eglise et monastère de chiens. 15. Aoust 1512

Nous avons instrument donné en l'an 1512 le XV^e jour Daust par Me Jean de Roussem Banelier

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et décrit et notaire public apostolique faisant mention que reverend père en Dieu M Franchis de Hallemin evêque d'Amiens visit comme invité de grands prélats pour faire le service obseque et sépulture de defunt M. Jean de Bruges en son vivant Sr de la Grutuse et lieutenant Général du roi Ne Sire en Picardie par le congiet de Messieurs abbé et Couvent de cheans lequel a dit et protest'?e en présence de R.P. en Dieu Monsieur l'abbé de S. Fosse sur la Mer et honorables et discrètes personnes maitre François Parent et Extasse de Calonne licencié en loix, avocat et bailly de cette Eglise, qu'il n'entendoit ne voloit entendre que che fust en aucune manière ou préjudice d'icelle Eglise ne en tourblant icelle en libertés et franchises par quelque manière que che fust, signé qu dos: Protestation de l'Evêque d'Amiens pour l'obseque de seu Monsieur Jean de Bruges Sr de la Grutuse.

Une autre Protestation faite au d. M. Ferry de Bauvoir Evêque d'Amiens pour la benediction par lui faite en la personne de M. Pierre Pbry abbé de cette Eglise 1457

Nous avons instrument sous le signe apostolique de Me Jean de S. Riquier maitre en arts et litencié en décret, Tabellion publique, apostolique et impérial notaire, juré de la Cour espirituelle de Paris et de la conservation des privilèges de l'université de Paris donné l'an 1457 inditions sexta le 7e jour de Novembre en l'an de M. Sixte pape IIIe et contenant que Dom Jacques de Hauldrechies religieux prevôt de cette Eglise litencié en décret comparut devant M. Ferry de Biauvoir Eveque d'Amiens et lui declara à haute et intelligible voix que cette Eglise est exemte de la jurisdiction de l'Evêque d'Amiens et de tous autres Diocesains subjettes sans moyen an S. Siège Apostolique doctée et a orné de plusieurs grandes libertés et franchises, tant en spirituel comme en temporel et pour ce que icelles choses n'étoient point venues à l'avanture à sa connoissance et que à cette fin il non puist prendre on acquérir droit de domination pour la d. benediction en icelle Eglise lui qui parloit par tous les autres religieux présens et assistans protesta devant le d. notaire et les temoins que ce ne fust ne poeust tourner en préjudice de cette Eglise ne par ce peut acquérir droit de possession le quel M. Ferry Evêque répondit que pour faire cet acte de bénédiciton seulement il étoit venu comme prié et non autrement et auxquelles sommations et protestations étoient présens iceux Messire Jean et Messire Jacques de Biauvoir chevaliers, maître Pierre de Ramburelles doyen de S. Vulfran en Abbeville, Martin Malingre bachelier en décret et en loix, Robert Denquehault maître en arts, Guillaume Misnart et Auchons Goel bacheliers en Théologie et plusiers autres en l'Eglise parochialle Ne De de S. Riquier et laquelle est signée au dos: Instrumentum protestations ... episcopum pro benedictione abbatis.

Item: Il est à noter et assavoir que il y a une layette et laquelle ara un brevet atachiet à icelle en laquelle on peut trouver grant quantité de quittances autentiques et qui sont saires et entières en seaux et en écritures touchant les compositions faites noie procurationis par nous avec les Evêques d'Amiens, archdiacre de Ponthieu et d'Amiens tant sous les seaux d'iceux comme de leurs procureurs, et lesquelles quittances en grant nombre ne excédent jamais la somme de 7 livres au d. Evêque, par an au d. archidiacre de Ponthieu 30s ps et au d. Archidiacre d'Amiens pour Bray 30s ps et pour Lully 35s ps et avec icelles quittances y a très grant quantité de quittances touchant plusieurs desismes payés à plusieurs fermes et desquelles particulierement ny n'est faite aucun spécification ou déclaration pour ce que ou les peut facilément recouvrer en icelle layette et sy en y a qui ne portent point grant effet ne pourfit.

Chap. 12: Priory of Bredene

Mai 1087 — Lettre faisant mention comment l'Evêque de Tournay nous accorde le privilège et personnage perpetuel de Bredene situé en son Diocèse.

[There are several letters of 1230's - 1270's regarding property and ownership of Bredene, confirmation of ownership, 2 curés there. Then, no mention after 1271 until abbacy of Pierre le Prestre.]

Un petit chapitre par lequel il appert la grande dixme de Bredene avoir été mis hors de nos mains par viàgre et sans rien payer et depuis remis en viagre par nous rendant certaine redevance en après par succession de tems et diligence qui de ce fut monsieur Pierre Psbri abbé rachettée et remise en notre main

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tellement que en joyssons paisiblement pour le bailler a notre volonte et la receuiller? à notre command.

Lettres de minute faite en l'an 1453

Par cette lettre qui n'étoit que une minutte ou dresse pour recouvrer la grande dixme de Bredene il appert clairement que le d. dixme étoit viagerement en main séculière sans nous aucune chose rendre et ou d. an le tenoit viagrement un nommé Soyer de Hostende pour le tems de sa vie, et pour éviter tel viage Monsieur Hugues abbé de cette Eglise par le conseil et deliberation des officiers et autres, avec le couvent se disposérent la bailler parellement en usage non point par telle manière, mais par la tenant de nous à chertaine redevance et à deux viages c'est assavoir à Me Pierre Chou Chancelier de Tournay et Pierre Chou son cousin le dernier vivant tout tenant, et ce pour le prix et somme de neuf vingt francs chacun an rendus à nous à Bruges et est à premposer que on leur en bailla la déclaration des limites et termes esquels le d. dixme se coeuille et doit coeuiller et est signée cette minutte au dos de ce signe: Le bail de la grande dixme de Bredene.

Lettres devant auditeurs comment le d. M. Pierre Chou Chanoine et trésorier de Tournay soy faisant faort de Pierre Chou son cousin viagers de la dixme de Bredene, la remit en notre main à la diligence que en fit M. Pierre Pbry abbé. 18 Decembre 1461

Cette lettre est donnée sous la seau de la baille d'Amiens dont étoit garde Jacques de Bailly Bourgeois de S. Riquier passée devant Jean Houdain et Jean Raoul Delessau auditeurs le vendredij 18 Decembre l'an 1461 et contient que Me Pierre Chou chanoine et trésorier de Tournay lui faisant fort de Me Pierre Chou Chanoine le Torue son cousin demourant à Paris le d. Me Pierre Chou traita comme viagers de la dixme de Bredene et la tenoient à ferme annuelle de nous par neuf vingt francs avec M. Pierre Psby abbé qui racheta d'iceux les d. Viagers et ferme pour la reussir, remettre au net à nôtre Domaine et pour en pouir faire notre profit et ou dit traitie après remonstration de conscience fut permis au d. M. Pierre Chou pour la d. remonstration la somme de sept vingt et seize livres pour une fois moyement qu'il apparsit deument du consentement du d. Me Pierre Chou le Tosne son cousin concert et viager et laquelle est signée de ce signe: redemptis decimo magne de Bredene.

Consentement portant procuration specialle de Me Pierre Chou le Tosne écolier à Paris pour remettre es mains de cette Eglise la Gde dixme de Bredene de la quelle il étoit ex fruitière viager pr. chertain tems.
13 Janvier 1461

Cy ensuite la lettre prècedente et le contenu d'icelle Me Pierre Chou trésorier de Tournay viager avec Me Pierre Chou le Tosne son cousin, de la grande dixme le Bredene après plusieurs remonstrations et pour appaisier et deschergier leurs consciences afin que icelles dixmes fut remise duement en notre main le dit Me Pierre Chou écolier qui ne pouit comparoir en personne à Tournay passa procuration irrévocable pour ce passer selon le contrat que en avoit fait Me Pierre Chou son cousin avec Monsieur Pierre le Pstre abbé de chiens est donnée du Prevost de Paris sous le seau d'icelle l'an 1461 le 13e Jour de Janvier signé et chastiau et V le Wast, et est signée au dos de ce signe: Ratificatis emptionis decim de Bredene.

Après le dit traité très bien fait et passé et que de noter part il falloit bailler et delivrer ou d. Chou VIIxx et XVI livres pour qu'il fit renonciation de noter marchie et que je rendit nos lettres obligatoires il y eut contredit.

Cette lettre fait mention que par devant Jean Haymarde Tabellion juré de Tournay Dom Jacques de Haudrechies prévôt de cette Eglise comme procureur souffisament fondé se approcha de Me Pierre Chou trésorier de d. lieu et le summa qu'il entretint le traitié qu'il avoit promis pardevant auditeurs à S. Riquier à M. Pierre Pstre abbé sur ce qui devoit rendre le marchiet de la grande dixme lui et son cousin avec nos lettres et firent plusieurs protestations l'une contre l'autre comme il appert et semble que le d.

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Chou delayait mal tout fut par consummé comme il apperra en la lettre séquente et est signé Protestationis pour la grande dixme de Bredene.

La totale réduction et réunion à notre Eglise de la grande dixme de Bredene
25 Janvier 1461

Cette lettre est donnée de Guillaume Delayens Bachelier en loix licentié en décret, chanoine de Tournay et garde du sel ordonné en icelle ville de Tournay et fait mention que pardevant Jean Hausaude clerc tabellion juré d'icelle ville le 25e Jour de Janvier l'an 1461 monsieur Me Guillaume Révet chanoine de Ne Dame de Tournay et procureur de nous abbé et couvent de S. Riquier et laquelle sa procuration est incorporu de mots après autre en cette présente et Me Pierre Chou trésorier du d. Tournay en son nom privé et procureur de Me Pierre Chou le Josne, son cousin étudiant à Paris ayant sa procuration passée au Chatelet portant fait spécial, le d. Rivet notre Procureur paya furny promptement la somme de VIIxx XVI livres pmmismez?au dessus dit Me Pierre Chou l'ainé et le Tosne pour ratraire et ravoir la Brande dixme de Bredene de laquelle ils étoient fermiers viagers pour IXxx francs l'an de chense ou redevance et se fait et rechupt le d. Me Pierre Chou ou son nom et comme procureur de son dit cousin remit delaisser à notre profit la dit dixme, rebailla nos lettres sur ce faites comme cassez et nulles et en quitta le dit Monsieur Pbri abbé et le d. couvent et fit toutes les obligations et suretés accoutumés à faire en tel cas au d. Tournay qui sont très prolixent ? exprimées et déclarées en icelles lettres et lesquelles sont signées au dos de ce signe: la conclusion du rachapet ? qui fit Me Pierre abbé de la grande dixme de Bredene.

Nous avons un rolle en parchemin qui contient VII rolles attachés l'un à l'autre et cousus par soye verte et si contient 53 articles qui se commenchent les noms de ceux qui doivent redevance à la prioré de Bredene en latin et le résida est moitié latin moitié Flammand la ou est contenu la redevance qui se coeuilloit l'an 1312 mense Junii et contient argent, bled, oeufs et beure, fromage et autres choses et est signé au dos: Cent cinquante trois articles [even though scribe has written "53" above and not "153"] de redevanche au Prieure de Bredene en 7 rolles.

Chap. 13: Indulgences

Pope Nicolas IV:

Bulle de Nicholas Pappe quart donnée apud Sanctum Mariam majorem V. jour novembris de son pontificat l'an second contient que aux vrais penitens et confessés visitans iecelle Eglise devôtement le jour de la saint Riquier, le Purification, annunciation, assomption et nativité de la vierge marie, et par les VIII. jours des octaves d'icelle sertinentes tous les ans il donne un an et quarante jours de vrais pardons, et est signée au dos de ce signe Indulgentia.

Pope Alex. IV:

Alexander Pape IIIIe donna à Viterbe XV. Lrt. Jullij de son pontificat l'an IIIe a tous vrais penitens qui devotement visiteront chacun an l'eglise de St-Riquier les jours de la nativité qu'il appelle in die natalieu et le jour de sa translation. Chacun d'iceux jours cent jours de vrais pardon et pour les sept jours ensuivans iceux pour chacun jour quarante jours de vrai pardon, et est signée au dos de ce signe Indulgentia Specialis.

Pope Innocent IV:

Innocentis Pape quart donna à Péronne V. Lrt. décembris en l'an de son pontificat Xe donna à tous vrais penitens confesséz et qui visiteront icelle eglise le jour de la Saint Riquier et les sept jours ensuivans pour chacun jour et chacun an quarante jours devrais Pardons et est signé au dos de ce signe Relaxamus.

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Chap. 14: Privileges

Une bulle de committimus qui se commenche Clémens IIIIe pape donnée à Viterbe IIII non Junii et adressée au doyen et archediacre et maitre Gui Desprez chanoine de Noyon et contient que comme de coutume anchienne et approvée pacifiquement il nous laissat parter à procession par la ville de S. Riquer accompagné de grande multitude de gens, néantmoins l'official d'Amiens au commandement de l'Evêque du d. Amiens ou content de ce que l'abbé étoit à la d. procession en habits Pontificaux comme il est et étoit permis du S. Siège apostilique et octroyé et ja soit que par le S. Siege fut plubé et defendu étroitement que nul ne messiert et mesdit à Iceux abbé et couvent ne à ceux qui étoient présens en la d. procession ils excummunia iceux présens et interdit le d. monastère pour lesquelles choses corrigier, annuller et mettre au nient fut à iceux bailliet ce présent mandement obstant opposition ou appellation leur donnant pouir donné de évoquier et appeler iceux qui étoient a appeler par censure eccleiastique appelation mise arrière et est signé au dos de ce signe: Pentecostes.

Une très bonne bulle sur ce Propos.

Bulle de Clement pape donée à Viterbe IIII Lrt. Augusti de son Pontificat l'an second et adressé à la personne de l'Evêque d'Amiens en le incerepart ? et blasmant des choses faites par lui es lettres précédentes contenues et reprend comme lui que devront ermouvoir inciter et inviter son peuple de venir aux processions la ferie IIe après Pentecoustes faites par l'abbé et religieux de S. Riquier; en laquelle chacun an est porté honorifiquement le corps de M. S. Riquier de S. Vigor en deux fretus et les chiefs et bras du dit S. Vigor en vachiaulx d'argent comme il est permis à nous par le S. Siège apostolique et deffendu que il ne soit mal fait ne mal dit à ceux que y seront assistans et suyans l'abbé en Pontificat, néantmoins en contempnant icelles ordonnances apostoliques de sa volunté indue il avoit fait inhibition et deffense aux cleris et seculiers de nous y compoir et même aux prêtres et chapelains de non ouvrir leurs Eglises pour recevoir icelles processions et en leur faisant cloze et fermer les portes d'icelles et ja fust que il ne fût point convenable au d. Evêque aller au contraire des privileges apostoliques ne nous traveiller et ne lui étoit quement ne honnête retraire de dévotion ses subjets. Le d. nôtre S. Père le pape le amonesta cesser et commander cesser de telles choses soy abstenir au tems futur et soy corrigier adfin que il se peusist rentrer au sa grâce au autrement il déclaroit qui ne pouroit venir de ses yeux telles insolences et de ce avoit rescript au doyen, archidiacre et Guy Desprez chanoines de Noyon en leur dommart ? en mendement que se tu étoit négligent de nous obeir que meissent à exécution le mendement adrechant à eux obstant opposition ou appellation en contraindrant les contredisans nonobstant que se aucuns par le siège apostolique étoit octroyé le contraire iceux exécuteurs ne porroient être interdits suspens ne excummunies par lettres apostoliques non faisant pleine mention et expresse de ce don et est moult prolipe ? reprendant plusieurs autres lieux point que ne font point ici reprins au long à cause de breveté et que ils se peuvent trouver facilement en l'original et lequel est signée au dos de ce signe: Mandata.

[Followed by a letter confirming the above letter: lettre de Vidimus de l'official de Paris faisant par exprès mention de l'exécution des lettres ci dessus transcrites et annulation des sentences jettées par l'Evêque d'Amiens.]

Pope Clemnt IV:

Nous avons une lettre qui se commenche à tous ceux ? donnée de Beudin Ternisien Prévot réal de St-Riquier en l'an mil Ve et cinq, faisant mention quele curé de cette ville nommé sire Antoine Pallet au jour du Saint Sacrement en faisant la procession accoutumée de long tems s'est injur'd'aller ès mettes ès lieux non accoutumés lequel a recognut comme ayant tort que ce qu'il en avoit fait il ne volloit aucunement ne que che fust par manière de volloir accoutumer chose nouvelle che que faire ne peut sans le congiet et permission de Messieurs les Religieux, abbé et couvent dudit St. Riquier signé au dos Recougnoissance dele procession de sire Antoine Pallot.

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Autre entreprese pour procession faite le jour du S. Sacrement autrement que document par un vice gérent de Notre Dame de S. Riquier.

Jacques de Bailli Garde du scel royal en la Prévoté de S. Riquier pardevant Jacques Heudain et Colart de Bersacles auditeurs royaux le IX^de^ Juin de l'an 1425 signé L. Balveul sellé d'iceux III sceaux contient que Sire Nicole David prêtre vice gérant du Curé de N^e^ Dame de S. Riquier comparut devant iceux et recognutque le jour du Sacrement de l'an 1424 il étoit venu portant le Corps Jesus Christ avec son peuple en cette Eglise et avec M. l'abbé et les Religieux avoit été à procession avant la ville comme il est accoutumé et au retour en son Eglise de N^e^ Dame en rapportant le Sacrement de l'autel lequel il avoit apporté ne s'en ralla point par le rue du mont Pelerin devant le puchet mais s'en ralla pardevant le porte S. Nicolay et reposa le Corps de Jesus Christ au devant de la maison Bernard Lengler qui est le Carrefour devant l'hotel du noir mouton et un autre repos devant l'hotel Bernard de Vaulte lequel chose il ne pouit faire il accorda que nous nous peussions complaindre après l'an expiré se bon nous sembloit pour corrigier icelle faulte que ne se pouit ne devoit faire et est signé au dos de ce signe: Le Curé de N^e^ Dame est tenu le jour du Sacrement de soy en raler comme il est venu à notre Eglise. [Same passage as written in BN ms fr 12036.]

Composition, ordonnance et pacification sur les processions du jour du S. Sacrement et comment ou doit le corps de J. Christ par la ville à la procession. 23. Oct. 1334

Nous avons lettres de Joannes miseratione Divina Ambianensis Episcopus de l'abbé de cheans du Couvent et du prêtre et curé de S. Riquier en l'an 1334 le 23 d'octobre et est sellée de quatre sceaux c'est a savoir du d. Evêque, du d. abbé du seau du Couvent et du seau du curé de S. Riquier et contient que question controversie étoit mutte entre nous parties sur la procession qui se fait ordinairement tous les ans par la ville de S. Riquier le Jour du Sacrement et en laquelle on porte honorifiquement le Corps Jesus Christ et lesquelles questions et prochés il fut ordonné comme il s'ensuit en apposunt chacun les conditions.

Se l'Evêque d'Amiens étoit personnellement en l'Eglise de S. Riquier le Jour du S. Sacrement et il lui plaisoit porter a la procession le Corps de Jesus Christ il le porteroit et non autre lui présent et sy ne le voloit parter ou pouit il le porroit ? commander porter par le Curé ou autre idoine tel qu'il lui plairoit que en sa présence le porteroit et ne porrions faire procession par la ville autrement que en notre cloitre et Eglise.

Se l'Evêque d'Amiens étoit absent et que personnellement il ne peusist? être le d. Jour du S. Sacrement en cette ville le Curé porroit faire sa procession le d. Jour et porter le Corps Jesus Christ en son Eglise et chimentiere seulement.

Et se le d. Curé veut faire procession le d. Jour hors de son Eglise et chimentiere il le doit nottifier et faire savoir à nous abbé et Couvent à heure de prime pour et adfin que l'abbé et couvent se preparachent.

Et ce faite le d. Curé doit venir tout droit en procession partant de son Eglise portant le Corps de Jesus-Christ et nous devons aller solemnellement pour obvier au corps Jesus Christ et au d. Curé en procession et le recontrer jusque à l'entrée et porte de notre Eglise et monastère et doit mettre le d. Curé le corps de Jesus-Christ qui la apporté sur le grand autel de notre Eglise.

Et incontinent sans grand intervale Monsieur l'abbé doit prendre le corps Jesus-Christ et le porterà procession solemnelle par tous les lieux la ou on a accoutumé le porter. Et le d. Curé devant Monsieur à la d. procession selon lui semble incontinent que il ara mis le Corps Jesus-Ch. sur notre Grand autel. Il ne vendru point à notre procession et se il lui plaint il y vendru comme dit est.

Et incontinent que Monsieur de cheens ara fait sa procession par la ville es lieux accoutumées lui retourné en notre Eglise il doit remettre le Corps Jesus-Christ sur notre Grand autel devotement comme il appartient.

Et incontinent le d. Curé prend le Corps J.-Ch. et Couvent le doit le couvrier jusques à la porte de notre monastère et s'en retourne à Notre Dame.

Et se il advenoit que le d. curé a dit jour ne vaurist faire sa procession que autour de son Eglise et chimentière Monsieur de chéans porru porter de lui seul et accompagné du Couvent seulement le Corps de

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Jesus-Christ par la ville en procession comme dit est sans autre dans son Eglise et chimentière.

Et ce par cas d'aventure le d. Evêque et le d. abbé étoient absens ou par fortune de maladie ou autrement ne vausissent ou peusissent porter à la procession ce d. Jour de Corps Jesus-christ ou par mort d'abbé ou autrement le curé porra porter le Corps Jesus-Christ à procession et faire icelle par la ville solemnement et lieux accoutumées.

Et pour la retrence ? du Corps Jesus Christ chacun à qui il plaira pour porter ou faire porter torches chierges luminaires en notre Eglise et par toute la ville et les remporter sans licence la ou bon leur semblera sans impugnance contrariété ne autrement et est cette signée au dos de ce signe: Ordinatio totalis processionis corporis Christi.

Comment la procession du S. Sacrement ne se peut faire en lieux non accoutumés sans le licence de M.M. les religieux abbé et couvent. 1505

Nous avons une lettre qui se commenche à tous ceux et donnée de Beudin Ternisien Prévot riul de S. Riquier en l'an 1505 faisant mention que le curé de cette ville nommé Sire Antoine Pullet au Jour du S. Sacrement en faisant la procession accoutumée de long tems s'est ingeré d'alles en mettes et lieux non accoutumés lequel a recognut comme ayant tort que ce qu'il en avoit fait il ne volloit aucunement ne que che fust par maniere de volloir accoutumer chose nouvelle che que faire ne peut sans le congiet et permission de Messieurs les Religieux abbé et couvent du d. S. Riquier signé au dos: Recognoissance de la procession de Sire Antoine Pallut.

[Note about letter complaining how abbey has to give consent for all processions in town; dated 1399. The confraternity of S. Nicholay had processed around holding a cross before them] "... sans notre congiet et autorité ou licence et fut icelle complainte exécutée et opposition baillée ? jour assigné pardevant le bailli d'Amiens pour escherer les frais, iceux deux prévôts recognurent pour tous les autres et eux faisans fort d'iceux outre nôtre volonté sans congiet et licence et nous recognurent nos droits, possessions et saisines comme les demandions, et accordant que ce qui étoit fait ne nous puit porter préjudice en saisine ne autrement, et est signie de ce signe au dos: Les Confrères ne peuvent aller quérir le batonniere par forme de procession.

Comment la juridiction spirituelle de cette ville nous apportient.
[Clement IV — 1265-68]

Clémens Pape quart donna à Viterbe Idus Julii de son pontificiat l'an second adressant au doyen archidiacre de Noyon et Me Guy Desprez Chanoine de d. Noyon contenant que La ? fust qui la jurisdiction ecclesiastique et spirituelle de cette ville de long tems que n'est mémoire du contraire et de droit nous appartiéngue tant par privilège apostolique que autrement, néantmoins l'Evêque d'Amiens y mit contredit et empêchement fut mandés à iceux ou à deux se le IIIe ny pouit être que nonobstant appellation ou opposition que fussions reintegrés et remis en notre jurisdiction et possession de la d. Justice spirituelle la ? fust il que le d. Evêque eut mandement apostolique au contraire par exprès il ne contenoit ce privilège et lui fut prohibé de user de excommunication ou interdit en ce cas est signée au dos de ce signe: Juridictio ecclesiastica

Chap. 16: [Disputes between abbey and the Bishop of Amiens (usually settled by Papal Bull), all date to early 13th c. (Pope Innocent III (1210) - Pope Honorius III (1224)]

"En ce capitre seront comprimes plusieurs Bulles faisant mention de plusieurs procès que nous avons eu contre l'Evêque d'Amiens pour le exemtion et pour son senne entre lesquels y en y a une portant sentence deffinitive au préjudice du d. Evêque."

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Chap. 17: Royal Privileges

Le très anchien privilege donné du roi Louis l'an mil cent XXVI (1126) Cette lettre se commenche:

In nomme sanitae et individue trinitatis amen Ego Ancherus & contient que pour notre utilité et proufit le roi Louis vint en cette ville de S. Riquier et y constitum et établit commune en y baillant statuts, mais cieux de la commune consiant en leur grand nombre et multitude nous voudrent ôter nos droits et privileges comme tailles pour l'exercité du Roy que il appele taillons no poast nos mesures et reliefs et avec ce nos hommes de notre cour francs d'icelle taille de guet et de fossés au paravant les vaurent à sujectir et mettre en servitude d'icelles choses à fissis ab excabiis a talione et autres coustumes injustement pour les quelles choses corrigier et nous remettre en notre premier état. Il depria notre Sire le Roy Louis et sollicita tellement que à la requête du d. Ancherus abbé de chiens il reuni à S. Riquier pour nous remettre en liberté et franchise et revoquier icelles exactions et coustumes et icelui Roy venu pacifia icelles divisions en telle manière que ceux de la commune accordèrent que nous fussions francs comme nous étions auparavant la comession d'icelle commune et ne serions tenus à payer icelle taille pour l'exerité et guerre du Roi maintenir fut gardé ou petite quand elle verroit.

Item ne serions plus tenus à payer past au Roy fust past petit ou grand, mais le payeront dorinavant les bourgeois et rastins d'icelle ville et si ariesmes nos mesures, nos reliefs franchement comme nous les aviesmes auparant.

Item nous prenames et mismes hors de la d. commune tous nos hommes vassaux servans le Roi et leurs fiefs en armes et furent francs d'icelles coutumes sts a talione a fous [or 'four'?] ab excubiis apeé tous nos serviteurs et varlets vivant du pain de chiens que du consentement des bourgeois furent francs de telles coutumes et si privasmes hors d'icelle commune tous les rastins demouvans hors le Corps d'icelle ville hantant les champs vollait entrer en icelle commune en laissant le droit et la terre à son seigneur il y porra entrer, mais les chitoyens et capitaulx hommes de S. Riquier sans congeit et licence de l'abbé ny porront entrer et qu'il y mette son consentement.

Item en la présence du Roi fut établi et ordené que Guillaume Comte de Ponthieu ne nul autres princhе ayant castel sans le consentement du Roy et de nous ne porroit entrer en la d. Commune ne désormais mayeur d'entre les Bourgeois ne sera ordonné ne statue sans l'autorité et consentement du Roi et de nous et sy autrement y étoit mis on établi, il n'y demourra non plus que il nous plaira avec se Robert de Denileburgo et ses frères perpetuellement furent privés de la perfecture de toute la poissance du droit de vicomte.

Item il fut prohibé et deffendu à tous les Bourgeois que jamais pour quelque offense n'entressent en notre Eglise et se entrere y volloient pour faire oraison il le pouit faire, mais il lsur est deffendu former nos cloches sans notre consentement pour quelque chose que a soit, lesquelles choses furent jurées observer et tenir perpetuellement par iceux Bourgeois en la presence du Roi par luer foi et serment et hipotêques de tous biens présent le comte de Flandres et Stephanus écuier ou essanson du roi qui à vive voix le prononchérent et lesquelles chose le Roi Louis Roy de France les établi et conferma et pour grande seureté affin que rien de ce fut oublié de son autorité et commandement il fit metre à cette son seau donné à S. Riquier publiquement en l'an 1126 en l'an de son règne 20e et signée ainsi en bas G. Stephani Dapistri, G. Gileberti, Buticulari S. Hugonis commentabilis, Sauberti Camerarii S. Mathey, Comitto de Bellomonte, S. Guidonis de Curse, S. Muardi de Pissis, S. Guillaume de tua, S. Thome Regis ludovici filii, phi Regis laquelle cheste lettre est en clause seul en une petite layette de bois et si en est le vidimus de mot en mot au premier du petit livre de Répertoire qui est en papier et est au premier feuillet du d. répertoire.

Comment le roi Charles vint en cette ville et son past tauxé à cent frances desquels nous payames cinquante fr. qui nous furent restituez p la ville. (1392)

Nous avons mandement du roi Charles donné à Paris le 17e Jour d'Aust l'an de grace 1392 et contient que le roi Charles vinte de nouveau en cette ville et fut son part que on disoit lui être dû tauxé à cent francs et par ses maitres des hotel fumes justiciés et contraints payer la moitié qui étoit cinquante francs, à lemontre des maire et Echevins qui refusarent payer la totalité et ja fut que pur nous fut montré le

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Privilege dessus declairiet ils nous contraindrent sont nous obtimes ? ce mandement en forme de complainte qui adresse au premier huissier ou sergent pour contraindre cieux mayeur, bourgeois et habitans de nous restituer le dit somme de cinquante francs par nous payée avec les dépens adresant au prévôt de S. Riquier et qui fut exécuté par Colart de Brivis lors sergent en cielle Prévôté comme il appert par sa relation annexée au dit mandement sous son sease, et lesquels sont signés au dos de ce signé Restitu.

Chap. 18: Temporal Rights

Lettre d'accord par Louis roi de France sur chinq articles contenus au long sur les différens mûs entre nous et les maire bourgeois et communauté. (Nov. 1256)

Louis Roi de France nous a donné lettre en chiri vert et soye vermeille donnée à Paris en l'an mil deux cent LVI où mois de Novembre contenant pacification de controversi sur V points desquels le premier point est.

Que nous maintenons que le jurisdiction et tous les proufits des trois jours de la franche fête de S. Riquier en Octobre nous appartient ce que les d. maire et Echevins ne volloient à plain confesser appointié est que icelle Jurisdiction et proufis de la d. fête touchant le droit de vicomté nous demourent mais les Jugemens se seront par iceux Mayeur et Jurés.

Le second article étoit que l'abbé et couvent disiesmes que durant les trois Jours d'icelle franque fête de S. Riqueir en Octobre il y devoit avoir trois vicomtes, un à notre nomination et volonté et cieux maire et Jurés disoient du contraire que il ne y devoit avoir que un seul de leur commune ordené mis et eslut, surguué ? fut ordené que en la d. fête ny avoit qu'un seul vicomte mis de par nous et à notre nomination et volonté, mais qu'il ne fut point notre clerc ou homme lige et lequel en nos prisons mettra les malfaiteurs et deliquans mais icelles prisons seront hors de chéans et de notre grange et seront ou ? et enclos d'icelle ville comme ou a coutume.

Le IIIe article fait mention que nous disons et maintenons que juridiction de tous les frocs et rues avec les froufis d'iceux nous appartiennent, surgivi il fut ordené que nous dourons les congiés de ouvrer et édifier sur iceux comme seigneurs, mais iceux Mayeur et Jurés porront venir voir les lieux là où on voiroit ouvrer et édifier pour jugier si à la ville il porteroit grief ou dommage et y contridire.

Item porrons et nous sera lecite de prendre les sourquiez au siens ainsi que l'avons accoutumé en deux rues seulement c'est à savoir de la porte haron jusques à l'hopital et de la première porte de la rue Abengue jusques à la maison Thomas le Sellier et sauf tout notre autre droit, mais durant iceux trois jours de la franque fête ne poous lever iceux estaux portables.

Le IVe article fait mention que les maire et jurés ne peuvent appeller bamsier [bassier?] ny apprehender personne les serviteurs de chiens qui servent dedans l'hotel ne cheux qui demeurent dehors vivant du pain de chiens et qui sont à terme et loyer ne les porront prendre ne justicier si ne les predoient en présent délit ou mal fait que ne desirat point preuve et que le délit soit tel que on doive faire justice seulement et se le delit étoit en doute [soute?] non notaire ou fort magnifeste il les déliveroit à nous et les puygnirions selon la faculté du delit ou quantité autrement en notre deffaulte les dit Mayeurs et Echevins se porroient traire vers le bailli d'Amiens ou autres officiers du Roi avec ce se nous predons pour serviteur un étant de leur commune les d. Mayeur en ce qui touche la communauté le puigniront comme un autre de la d. Commune.

Item le d. Mayeur et Echevins ne porront faire convenir devant eux nos hommes demourant hors de banlieue ne pour deffaut de citation ou évocation les barmiers avec ce comme il est ja dit, iceux mayeur et Jurés ne peurent citer ne évoquier nos hommes demourans en leur banlieue, mais en tel cas les d. maire et jurés le porroient contraindre et justiser.

Du cinquième et dergnier article les d. mayeur et jurés et Bourgeois disoient que touchant les reliefs de terres et de maisons tenues de nous par iceux bourgeois que outre raison et coutume du pays en étoient travellés. Il en est ordonné que les bourgeois de chacun journel de terre qu'ils tiennent de nous pour relief ne paierons que quatre sous parisis.

Item pour chacun journal de terre vendu pour issue le bourgeois ne payera désormais que quatre

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sous parisis et l'acheteur autant pour l'entrée.

Avec ce est ordonné que un bourgeois qui ara à relever une maison il payera de relief autant que on le loueroit et sera monnoye tournois et met exemple comme se on lourit une maison 40s parisis le bourgeois qui la vorra relever de nous n'en paiera que 40s tournois du plus le plus du mains le mains. mais le parisis est tournée en tournois et pareillement de venditions d'icelles maisons appartenantes aux bourgeois ils paieront autant de somme de tournois que on le loueroit pour un an au parisis et ce pour son issue, et l'acheter pareille somme pour son entée et se pour povreté on de volonté celui à qui il appartient la relever ne voloit la relever ou qui differat nous le prendrons en notre main et aront le prouffit d'un an pour notre relief quelleque chose qu'elle vaille et le tenrons et ferons tenir un an, en outres toutes autres censives de cette ville et leurs circonstances cont n'est faite mention ci dessus elles seront comme elles étoient auparavant cheste ordination, et est signée cette au dos de ce signée: Composition super V articles.

Vous trouverez le vidimus de cette précedente et de la subséquente écrit au répertoire petit que est en papier au 2e 3e et 4e feuillet et se commenche Philipus et porte en la fin V articles.

Le 1er fait mention que toute la juridiciton de la franque fête nous appartient.

Le 2e fait mention que nous pouns fair à la S. Riquier telle vicomté que il nous plait.

Le 3e fait mention que nous appartient la juridiction de tous les froes pouns lever les fourquier à siens et les estiaulx portatibles.

Le 4e fait mention de la Juridiction qui fut otée aux maire et Echevins touchant nos serviteurs familliers et subjets dedans et dehors banlieue et que ne les peuvent évoquier, citer ne adjouner, appréhendre ne banir pour nous comparoir.

Le 5e fait mention des reliefs, ventes, issues, entrées des maisons et terres des Bourgeois de S. Riquier et qu'ils tiennent de nous.

[Ratification of above 5 privileges by King Philip; 1289]

Pareille privilege sur cinq articles transcrits tout au long en la précédente lettre comme après s'ensuit en brief.

Philipus Roi de France ratiffié de mot en mot la précédente donnée de Louis roi de france son grand Père et spécifie les V articles de mot en mot nichil a dito vel remoto et est saine et entière sellée en chire verte et soye verte et vermeille donnée à Paris l'an 1289 ou mois de Decembre et est contenue de mot en mot par manière de extrait ou vidimus dedans le petit repertoire en papier au 2e, 3e et 4e feuillet et est signée au dos de ce signe: Ratificatio Regio.

Privilege sur les 3 Jx de la franque fête; Aout 1275

Lettre d'arrêt de Parlement donnée de Philipus von de franche de Paris l'an 1275 menase Augusti elle porte en la conslusion ce qui d'ensuit auditis et intllectis et visys in questa pronunchiet fut que l'abbé et Couvent de S. Riquier demoura en saisine de prendre durant le franque fête tous malfaiteurs et délinquans et détroite voye les mener en leurs prisons et que mayeur et Echevins durant la franque fête teuront les portes ouvertes de nuit et de Jour se mestier est, avec ce restitueront deux recouses faites en notre prejudice, l'une faite par Bernard Pinchon au command d'iceux maire et Echevins et l'autre par une autre et de nuit et ce le nous amenderoient, mais ils recevront le serment de Notre Vicomte de bien exercer et justement, et est signée au dos de ce signée; Numidos.

Accord fait sur le fait de la banlieue hors des murs de la ville. Item sur la mutation du Belfroy et partie de la basse Cour.
Juin 1279

Philippus Dei Gratia francorum Rex donna ses lettres à Paris en las de soye vermeille et verte sellée en chire verte l'an de grace mil CC LXXIX mense Junio et reprend que pardevant Gautier Bardine nayvères bailli d'Amiens et à présent bailli de Normandois fut fait accord de deux choses entre nous et les

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maire, Echevins, Bourgeois de cette ville et lequel le d. Philippus roi ratifié comme vien trouvé en la Cour de Parlement.

Le premier point c'est que nous donnanses {domanes?] aux d. Bourgeois, Mayeur et Echevins banlieue hors l'enclos de la ville comme les barnes et mettas sont bien afixées et par cette concession les d. maire Echevins et bourgeois nous quittarent et laisserent cloze une petit ruelle qui se appeloit la Cour S. Riquer située entre notre Eglise et notre Grange et encloses les maisons par nous acquises.

Le 2e clause étoit que iceux consentirent que un petit vieil et anchien Befroy étant trop près de l'abbaye et fort misible à nous fut ôté et autre part construit et réedifié et pour lequel construire et réedifier nous leur ballames pluie convenable sur nos froqs et terres competentes sur lequelle ils avoient ja commenchie fort édifié, et pour cette concession ils accorderent autant que en eux et vaurent et consentirent que l'Eglise S. Nicolay du d. lieu à eux ? ou misible ? fut mutte et otei neantmoins les d. mayeur Echevins et Bourgeois vaudrent contredire et en furent devant le Roi Louis père du d. Philipus non voeulsans tenir cet accord ou paix alleguant certaines raisons pardevant icelui Louis et lequel accord ainsi fait par le d. bailli le d. Louis père du d. Philipus ordena que la paix et accord ainsi fait tenroient et sur le proces que en que en avoit été fait contre nous par iceux Mayeur, Echevins et bourgeois comme il fut trouvé en bonne recordation et memore la Cour ordena que le dit accord tenroit et que ces présentes lettres nous en seroient données, et est de mot en mot transript par vidimus ou petit répertoire en papier ou X et XIe feuillet et est signée au dos de ce signé: Befredum.

Lettre sur ce que Jean Briet dit Gavain bourgeois et Echevin après la seconde destruction qui fust l'an 1487 le Ve d'aust lui refugé en la maison Jean de Hesdin son neveu que on appelle Thiboutost qui est en notre seule juridiction et seigneurie iceux de la ville le Elurent leur mayeur lequelle Mairie fut par lui appréhendré de notre congiet en compassion de la dit destruction pour cet an seulement et sans qui nous peut tourner à préjudice ne déroguier à nos autres compositions et seigneuries et lesquelles non obstant la d. licence demeura comme non avenue considéré que le dit Briet n'étoit propriétaire ne loungier d'icelle maison mais seulement refugié tant que la sienne fut reédiffiée.

Chap. 19: [Receipts from the late 13th c. (1270's-90's)]
[Receipts indicate that the abbey was buying up the land/houses around the monastery, perhaps indicating wish to expand the monastery and/or church.]

Pour partir de la basse cour vers la poissonnerie (1265)

Lettre de l'official d'Amiens donné 1265 mdense decembris contient que Regnier le Mansiaux, demoiselle Mehault sa femme, du consentement de Jacques leurs fils et héritier nous quitta le droit qu'il avait en un manoir joignant à le Cour S. Riquier qui est notre Basse cour et bailler eschange de douaire à icelle mehault firent toutes remonstrations & et est signée cette de ce signe: Remerius p managio.

Autre acquestes et dules de la poissonnerie (1264)

Une lettre du d. official d'Amiens donnée l'an 1264 ou mois de Septembre par lequel il appert que Bethemieu Lucas du consentement Marguerite de Primereuil sa femme et pour la somme de 25# ps il nous vendit une maison de pierre située et renuncha à tout & et est signée de ce signe: Dominus Bartolomei Lucas.

Vidition de deux maisons l'une vers la porte horon et l'autre contre notre porte de la basse court. (Juin 1278)

Lettre de l'official d'Amiens dattée de l'an 1278 mense Junio III vigilia pentecostes addessu de la cuisigne nous vendit deux maisons l'une a la porte haron et faut presupposer que cet hotel appellée l'hotel S. Vigor que tient Rault Roussel et l'autre joignant à notre porte qui deveroit être chelle qui est la première de notre Basse Cour contre le Jardin qui fut Madame Udde de Fransières et en payames cent et quinze livres et partant il renoncha & laquelle est signée au dos de ce signe: pro centum et XV livres.

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Quittance de donaire de la maison hue Lucas. (1286)

Une lettre de l'official d'Amiens donnée l'an 1286 et appert que Marie Dausas veuve de Jean Mareseul pour 60^{s} nous quitta le donaire de la maison henri Lucas séante en notre basse Cour en le rue de le poterne et est signée Dotaliturem.

Une acquisition d'un manoir enclos en notre basse cour (1263)

Elle commenche off^{s} Ambianensis l'an 1263 et contient que pour 20 livres parisis Regnier Fleuris vendit du consentement Agnès Paupière sa belle mère un tenement seant devant le Portal du monastère S. Benoit et est signée: ante monasterium Santé Benedicti.

Acquisition d'une maison contre les murs de notre église devant le portal S. Benoit (1288)

Cette ce commenche universis donnée de l'official d'Amiens l'an 1288 et fait mention que Gilles de Vinchesseul et Maguerite sa femme moyement la somme de 86 livres parisis que nous lui paiames il nous vendit une maison seante derrière les murs de notre Eglise en la rue de S. Benoit et est signée de ce signe: in vio Sti Benedicti.

Une quittance sur une maison qui étoit en la basse-cour (1241)

Lettre de M^{e} Thiebault official d'Amiens l'an 1241 contient que Robert de Moremain nous quitta le droit qu'il avoit sur une maison seante la ou est le basse cour et est signée. Robert.

Acquisition de 6^{s} p^{s} de rente que deviesmens à Colart de Moliens. (1405)

Collart de Molliens dit Miallart en l'an 1405 nous vendit VI^{s} de rente que lui debrions chacun an pour un tenement enclavé en notre basse court et en rechupt de nous 17 fleurins à l'esru et coiny du roi et est signée de son seau signée au dos: VIs revendus.

[several (5-10) entries of 13th c. (1277, 1193, 1263, 1225,...) regarding properties bought/sold and mostly rents paid by various people]

Un bail à cens de plusieurs tennemens (1354)

Une lettre de Pierre abbé et du Couvent en l'an 1354 contenant que on bailla à cens à Mikiel de Franssièren plusieurs tenemens situés entre deux portes en la rue de Neufville et est signée Plusieurs tenemens.

[In all, chap. 19 (acquisitions) had 31 entries — mostly of 13th century, some of 12th or 14th — the above are all of the 14th and 15th centuries.]

Chap. 20: Temporel

Une lettre de Messire Mahieu de Roye pour trois maisons encloses en notre basse cour et sy porte de le mutation du belfroy de S. Nicolay et de la vicomte touchant la franque fête et de la banlieue. 1269

Cette lettre se commenche: je Mahieu de Roye Sire de la ferté et n'a point de datte, mais ici après on peut trouver en la question du moulin de Mirendeul que le d. Mahieu Regnoit l'an 1269 cette présente est sellée de sousigne, armoye de ses armes, et fait mention d'une question qui étoit entre nous et lui pour trois maisons devant l'Eglise S. Benoit il accorda que tant qui lui touchoit quelles nous demourassent mais que on empechat point le ruissiau par lequel les pavez se écoulent.

Pour le Beffroy

Item il accorda que le lieu la ou étoit le beffroy tant qui liu touchoit nous demourat quittement à faire notre volonté.

Et aussi octroya que on le peut rassir en le ville la ou il plairoit sauf que se on le raseoit sur sa terre il vouloit avoir récompense de cens à lui dus pour le tennement la ou y seroit mis et assis.

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Pour la Viscomté

Le d. Mahieu de Roye déclare de lu d. Vicomté confusement et prolixement et retient son fauchillage et corvées, mais par exprès il nous consent et octroye notre vicomté et garde de la franque fête comme l'avons accoutumé et puer ci dessus trouver devant en la lettre Philippus Dei gratia francorum rex datée de l'an 1279 mense Junio et signée Belfredum, la où vous trouverez tout le contenu et appointement fait sur la mutation et changement du lieu du beffroy et contient 2 articles cette est signée au dos de ce signe; Mahieu de Roye pour le beffroy et la vicomté.

Vingt huit sous parisis de rente achetes par nous sur la deresguière partie de nos grands jardins sur la grande rue du Dumoustier. 1270

Lettre de l'official d'Amiens en l'an 1270 Willame de Bersacques et Jeanne sa femme nous vendirent XXVIIIIs de cens que leur devions sur un tennement enclavé en nos grands jardins sur la rue Dumoustier et en eurent XXVIII livres parisis et est signée au dos XXVIII livres parisis exempte de redditum anno.

Hue Vicomté chevalier nous fit aucun tort qui n'est point specifié et fut condamné à aller servir sa vie en outre mer en la terre Sainte. 1260

Cette lettre est sellée du seau du d. Hue en l'an 1260 et contient que sur confiscation de corps et de biens endedans V mois pour avoir paix à nous de aucun tort fait qu'il confesse avoir fait à malvaise cause contre nous sans le déclarier, il se soumis à aller demourer outre-mer et illec estre jusques au rapel de Monsieur le Roy et passer le Gresse et est signée: Hue le vicomte alla outre-mer.

Acquisition d'une maison de présent enclavée an nos grands jardins en la rue Dumoustier. (1276)

Cette lettre est donnée de l'official d'Amiens à la relation de notre doyen de S. Riquier l'an 1276 et contient que hue Tampons moyennant la somme de 28# parisis qu'il rechut de nous il nous vendit une maison qui de présent est enclavée en nos grands jardins sur la rue Dumoustier et est signée de ce signe: acquisitio.

Pour un onseul de sien à faire les chandelles du convent chacun an par chacun boucher de St. Riquier vendant à détail et qui est dû au terme de Noël et poise 18 livres de sien. (1469)

Lettres de condammation données de Riquier de Maisons prévôt de S. Riquier en l'an 1469 le 4e de Mars appert que Jean Seyart bouchier fut par nous contraint à payer ce d. droit de un oncheul pesant 28 livres pour terme echu au Noël précédent dont il fut refusant ou du mains delarant et print aucuns delais ordinaires et ce dit Malieu Lorue son conseiller accorde être condammé on d. nom envers nous et le trésorier de cette Eglise ou d. oncheul de 38 livres de sien pour le d. droit et comme bouchier ayant vendu à détail fut levée commission qui est annexée à icelle condammation pour justiluer le d. sergent condammé et est signée cette au dos l'oncheul de sien de 38 livres.

[In all, there are 15 entries in chap. 20, generally 13th-14th century, about rents/sales of land. A couple acquisitions, a couple receipts, a couple items related to legal proceedings—both of which were copied.]

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Chap. 21: Privileges

[Repeats those given by Philippe in early 14th c and late 13th c. — outlining relationship between abbey, mayor, echevin (nothing new from what already copied)]

Composition sur treize articles entre nous les maire et échevins, bourgois et communauté de la ville. (1318) [13 articles are written out in 2 charters: given and sealed on day of S. Remy, 1318. The 4th article, which describes rights of abbey to rents, etc., follows.]

Le 4e porte que nous pouons justichier de prima face les tennemens tenus de nous sans moyen pour cens non payez, pour les amendes de non payer à Jour et terme éclue et pouons prendre les yeulx, les portes, les fenêtres, les soues des puis, et tout apporter en notre Eglise, mais iceux contredisans doivent être crus sur leur serment fait pardevant l'abbé, le Prieur, le Prévost au receveur examinez se ils ont payé le censive due ou non en tel cas ils doivent ravoir leur huis, portes, fenêtres et souez, et se il n'y avoit nul de aventure eut autorité de rechevoir iceux sermens les guages levez leur doivent être rechus jusques à la venue d'iceux et seroit tenu le première religieux, prêtre sur le requis faire la d. recréame et se les parties ne veullent point Jurer, mais vaussissent faire prochés et prouve le Roy en avoit le connoissance.

Comment mayeur et Echevins nous firent plusieurs injures dont furent grievement punis par le Roi et son parlement. (1330)

Philippus Dei gratia francorum rex en l'an 1330, 20e d'Avril nous donna un arrêt contre la commune de cette ville contenant que pour chertaines injures et enormes forfaits perpétués par iceux ou vitupe et scandale de notre mère Ste Eglise et nous et ou content de la majesté Royalle fait à son de la cloche comme il fut fait bonne enquête par commissario députez par le Roi et la Cour de Parlement et que en firent leur rapport l'eullement sur le contenu en nos complaintes par lequel nous demandions confiscation et laquelle Enquête fut vue par la cour et fut trouvé par iceux de la commune grièvement avoient batu navré un nommé Mumotus du Braly neveu de l'abbé de chiens pour ce qu'il avoit été à un joyeusté nommé Carivari et porté un faux visage, lequel pour ce qu'il avoit été batu d'iceux de la commune grièvement et de peur de pis avoir il se refugia en cette Eglise abec plusieurs autres du d. monastère, iceux de la communauté a fait des armes portans et jettans pierres et blechèrent un des réligieux et autres plusieurs du d. monastère qui furent batus et navres et pour iceux éviter les d. esclaudres et péril et être en seur lieu clozent et fermerent les portes de notre Eglise à grande difficulté caz il avoit grand peuple jettant pierres contre la d. porte et iceux réfugians et crient iceux de la commune aux cloches! aux cloches! aux quels cris vindrent le Mayeur et ceux de la commune en grande multitude et la pluspart de ville devant notre porte en armes et noces assaillirent de dolores et coignées, d'arbalestris, d'ares et jettez avec pierres, et aboient en jettant détruisson ce monastère et ribaux moiesnes soient tues, brulons leurs privilèges et firent apporter grand quantité de estrain devant la porte et le feu mettre dedans, quoquis post modum ad ecclesiam Sancti Nicolay dicto monasterio quontiquum, rompirent un huis ou porte par laquelle on entre de l'un en l'autre firent un trou ou un pertruys et ja fut que les sergens ou officiers du Roi leur fissent deffenses d'eux cesser de telles invasions par le d. trou et pertruis y en entra de 4 à 5 personnages portans armes qui nous invasarent et en ayrent advint que à cette heure l'abbé de chiens venoit de lieu à autre pour entrer en son Eglise durant la noise, iceux trouverent en une charette ses harmois ou ornemens d'argent dedans des sacs et des coffres et qu'il faisoit reporter à la d. Eglise eux sonnans les cloches de leur commune despecherent iceux sacs et coffres de la d. charette et les ruerent sur la terre en les rompant, en après ils prirent Cambellanum & dicti abbatis... ...le menérent au Mayeur et de sa cuvette lui firent rompre une autre porte et par là entrer ou d. monastère et par sarch ? d'y harter.

Par amende iceux de la commune furent condamnez par le Roi vers nous en mille livres parisis et en tous nos dépens, et vers le Roy en deux mille livres et est signée sur le ploy ... Et au dos de ce signe grans exces tauxés à mille livres et dépens.

[Among the articles confirmed in 1396 by Joannes Dei gratia francorum rex, is one relating to sale of fish near Abbey.]

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Le tonlieu du Val

Le 2e article est sur l'Etat des poissons et disions que il nous appartient de privilege prendre et lever les poissons y continent qui sont aprochies et deschendus et les mettre en notre Eglise pour illec les acheter et retusir ? notre provision auparavant tout autre. Il fut accordé que dorenavant nous et nos gens porrons prendre le poisson de la ville quand il sera deschendu ainsi que use et accoutumé l'avons par le manière qui s'ensuit c'est às savoir que lorsque le d. poisson sera venu et deschendu avant l'heure de prime sonnée nous le pourons prendre comme didt et icelui apporter ou faire apporter en notre Eglise et le porrons tenir sans icelui rendre jusques à ce que Prime sera sonné pour en prendre ce qui nous en faudra raisonnablement et sans fraude et sy ny avoit pointde poisson renu à la d. heure de prime et venist après la d. heure de prime sonnée hous le porrons prendre et lever et emporter comme dessus dit le tenir jusques au commenchement de messe de prime et se il étoit que le d. poisson ne fut point venu à l'heure de la messe de prime encommenchié nous porrons prendre le d. poisson incontinent qu'il y sera deschendu et le faire porter en notre Eglise comme dit est et le retenir jusques au commenchement de notre grande messe et se il y avoit empechement que on ne peut sonner iceles choses, il se feroit par estimation deuze par gens connoissans.

Pour les frocs et frégards et pour iceux de clercs et autres joyeustés en général et spécial (1396)

Le 3e article est sur ce que aucuns pignoient et houvient sur les frocs et frégars sans notre licence de prigs et de pelles il en fut accordé comme il s'ensuit c'est à savoir que quant aux fêtes du S. Sacrement, de l'Ascension, Pentecoustes, Trinité, de Notre Dame, S. Jean, S. Pierre S. Paul, S. Jacques, S. Nicolay, S. Riquier, S. Benoit et Saint Mauguille de pellerins allant et venans en longtains pélerinages, les Mayeur, Echevins, ne les habitans ne demanderons plus congiet mais iceux pour lors nous demanderons un congiet général lequel par nous leur fut octroyé à jamais et à perpétuité comme vrais seigneurs d'iceux frocqs.

Item pour jouxtes, pour jeux de personnages vies de Saints, beinvenue de Pelerins et semblables joyeusetées qui les voudroit faire et il fausist ? entreprendre de houer sur les frocqs il faudroit en ce cas demandier congiet à l'abbé au vicaire ou au frocquier et incontinent après la joyeuseté falie sans falir il faut endedans la 8e passée du d. esbatiment fini et terminé remettre par iceux frocq en leur premier état et dû, mais en tel cas nous ne devions refuser le d. congiet.

Comment le seuil la pierre sous l'arche de notre portail sur le marchiet et hors notre porte est franchise et immunité de notre Eglise. (1385)

Nous avons une lettre donnée de Jean de May lieutenant du Cailly d'Amiens donnée l'an 1385 sellée en chire vermeil reprend que nous nous complaindimes au Roi de ce que les maire et Echevins avoient fait prendre et emmener Jeanmin de Hesdin fils de hue qui s'étoit refugié sor une pierre qui fait le seuil de notre premier portail au dehors de la porte et sous l'arche d'icelle pour aucune délit et y entenduit être en franchise et le immunité de l'église, néantmoins vitupublement iceux maire et Echevins vindrent prendre ou faire prendre le d. Jeanmin de Hesdin et le constituérent leur prisonnier que ne poudent ? faire pour deux raisons, l'une étoit que ils n'ont que ils n'ont point de justice en notre terre, et l'autre étoit que c'est terre sainte et franche comme porte pur exprès le d. complainte et y eut jour suivant et assigné desquelles assignations les relations sont annexées à la Communion et complainte qui fait mention au long de tout le cas et laquelle est signée au dos de ce signe: Complainte.

[Next entry is letter from Abbot Hughes about the incident; no mention of misdeed of Jeanmin of Hesdin. just that refuge was sacred. Entry is signed: la pierre et seuil du portail est benie.]

Pour le guet et porte en temps de éminent péril (1416)

...que durant la guerre et en péril éminent et non autrement nous devons trouver de jour à trois portes à chacun un homme et de nuit pour guet sur la muraille cinq hommes et les payer à nos dépens et se ainsi ne le vollons faire nous sommes quittes payer pour chacun jour et nuit 5s parisis que devons mettre es mains du Capitaine de la ville ou de son commis.

Pour le guet et provision de Parlement faite pour le émminent péril (1417)

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Nous avons lettre qui se commenche Charles par le grace de Dieu roy de Franche du sénéchal de Ponthieu & donnée à Paris le 14e Jour d'Aoust l'an de grace 1417 de son regne le 37e signée Monfort et sur le play par le Roy à la relation du conseil et contient que les habitans et le Capitain nous firent convenir devant le bailli d'Amiens pour guet de nuit et garde de porte et sy vollaient nous fait contribuer aux gages du d. Capitaine et tant y fut procédé que ils eurent provision sur nous de dix hommes tant de jour comme de nuit par le d. bailli et dont nous appellans néantmoins ils nous justuilient ? et atemptérent et prinrent nos cenriers aux corps et aux biens et mirent le temporel en le main du Roy et choisent et sellerent nos greniers dont nous appellans et nous fut baillé nouvelle provision du Roy par Parlement c'est à savoir que chacun Jour de péril éminent nous trouverions trois hommes pour trois portes et cinq hommes de nuit durant le petit péril ou 5s pour Jour et nuit pour notre obtion de choisir le nuit devant qu'il taille ? faire icelles diligences c'est à savoir que nous proons commettre iceux huit hommes ou paier la d. somme de cinq sous pour jour et nuit, néantmoins iceux habitans et Capitaine voulloient être paies à leur taux de tout le temps passé, ja fust-il que ils ne nous eussent rien signifié de cette nouvelle provision et ordenance. mais leverent de très grandes formes en attemptant lesquelles choses le Roy et la Cour mis au néant touchant les amendes et touchant notre intérêt, il y commit ? le sénéchal de Ponthieu comme portent au long les d. lettres royaux et que sont signées au dos de ce signe: Correctio exubiarum et guetté.

Chap. 24: Reliefs

Chapitre des reliefs, issues, et entrées de plusieurs tennemens qui tiennent de nous les Maire et Echevins de cette ville par deux sous parisis de cens l'an mais nous avons de droit les ventes, reliefs, issues et entrées d'iceux tennemens quand le cas y eschiet c'est à savoir autant que les d. doivent à iceux maire et Echevins nous avons pareil relief autant d'issue et autant d'entré, lesquels tennemens sont en plusieurs lieux specifiés.

[Notices regarding the Chapelle Duval de S. Riquier (of 1387 and 1407 mostly). In the entry for 1387 it is called "à leur d. maladrerie, Duval." In an entry of a 1269 relief, Duval is referred to by: "les maitre frères et soeurs Duval de S. Riquier" and "les maitre frères et soeurs de la maladerie de S. Riquier."]

[Notices regarding gifts of land to confraternity of S. Nicolas (called La Confrerie Dieu et S. Nicolay en St-Riquier) dated 1404 and 1465 (gifts of land or rent from land).]

[A relief also for the hotel dieu of S. Riquier, recorded in 1470 for a Me Nicole David de Douay (maitre de l'hopital).]

[At end of all Reliefs (most of which seemed to relate to Duval) from either 1279 or 1407, scribe wrote the following:] Icelles deux lettres précédentes sont duysans aux Mayeur et Echevins de S. Riquier contre Nicolas Duhamel bourgeois de Paris et ses subséquens qui voulent dire que le Val de S. Riquier est du tout de fondation Royalle et à ce title l'ont impetré du Roi Louis et Charles et fuit grand grief à la poure maison es ans 1485, 86, 87 et 1488 ou voit que che qui est laissiet par testament et aumône n'est point fondation telles qui'ils dient mais d'icelle terre et autres à eux appartenans nous sommes les seigneurs et même du grief lieu comme il appert ci-dessus.

Comment bailliet et prins en nos greniers par les habitans de cette ville en leur nécessité ne nous porte nul préjudice. 1460

Cette lettre est donnée des maire et Echevins en l'an 1460 et porte que pour nécéssité que lors regnoit iceux maieur et Echevins pour subvenir et aidier aucuns des habitans qui avoient necessité des bleds ils vindrent vers nous priant humblement que ils eussent de nos bleds vendus aux forains et étrangiers marchands pour le prix que ils étoient vendus et sans que iceux maieur et Echevins le fissent pour prendre sur nous domination ne que ils le peussent ne doivent arrester de nous garandir, purgier et despechier à leurs dépens coutre les marchands qui les avoient de nous achetés et se comprirent les

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pacifier et appraisier. et est cette signée J. le Prevost et sellée du saux aux causes d'icelle ville et signée au dos de ce signe: ou ne nous peut empeschir de wider nos grains.

Le Val de S. Riquier et pour la Chapelle Enguerrand pche fondée ou d. lieu (1465)

Cette lettre est donnée sous le seau de la baillie d'Amiens dont étoit Garde Colart de Bersacles et passée devant Raul Delessau et Riquier de maisons auditeurs Royaux à S. Riquier comme il appert pur les trois sceaux signée icelle M. Lorue sur le ploy en l'an 1465 le 26 Jour d'Avril et contient Me Fremin Brut Bachelier de la Chapelle Ste Margueritte en l'Eglise Duval de S. Riquier et que ou appelle la Chapelle Enguerrand Pche lui étant en personne et à l'entrée de la grande messe cette Eglise lui tenant en ses mains un chierge de neufve chire pesant deux livres il offrait devant le précieux Corps de Mons. S. Riquier le chierge pour le relief des terres ci dessus déclariées et qui furent légatées pur Enguerrand Pche à la d. chapelle sous ville condition et pour nous paiant chacun an 30s ps de cens au jour de la déposition du précieux Corps Monsieur S. Riquier en avril avec le d. relief du d. chièrge une fois en sa vie et en personne et lewuel y fut rechut par Dampt Jacques de Haudrechies prévot et peur ? de cette Eglise et pour ce que Me Jean de S. Blunond son prédécesseur en fit question en Parlement qu'il perdit pour le d. chierge et qu'il coutu grand argent durant le temps de M. Hugues Cullerel lors 44e abbé. Cette présente lettre en fut levée présent grande multitude de peuple qui fut très bien fiat et en devroit ou ainsi faire, laquelle est signée au dos de ce signe: C'est le relief du chierge de la Chapelle Duval de S. Riquier.

Chap. 25: Acquestes de la Ferté

Chapitre des privileges, terres, rentes, possessions que nous avons sur les terres, tennemens de la seigneur de la Ferté ou enclavs ou circonvoisins d'icelle seigneurie.

[Land given in 1128 by a seigneur Robert.]

[In this chapter, also 12th century entries about Mill at Morendeuil, sold to the abbey in 1184. In 1229 it's referred to as Mirendeuil. In 1239, acquisition of "moulin nommé Neufmoulin."]

[Entries continue about rights and responsibilities of Seigneur of La Ferté. (For example, the following entry:)]

Une complainte pour bois coupé en une hayure au commenchement du bos de S. Riquier et autres haies sur le chemin des arbrissaulx en venant au port hulin. (1460)

Nous avons lettre de Jean Hessdain Lieutenant du Prévôt de S. Riquier en l'an 1460 et contient que un nommé Bernard Rumault et Jean son fils eux disans fergens et officiers de la ferté et un nommé Jean Rumault manouvriez ou d. an comme officiers de la d. Ferté coppérent un petit buisson ou hayeure sur le chemin d'Abbeville dedans le bois de S. Riquier environ un get d'arc abbatirent des hayeures sur le chemin qui mené des arbrissaux de S. Mauguille à cavées de Drugy et même coppérent des hayeures en icelles cavées quidant que ce appartenit à monsieur de la ferté dont nous complaindimes pardevant le Prévôt de S. Riquier et rétablirent par signe et donnèrent opposition laquelle cause fut mise de privilege pardevant le Prévôt de Paris et iceulx mis en deffault et racourus sur le proffit du dit deffaut et eux bien advertis que i' étoit en notre juridiction vindrent amender chacun 60s parisis d'amende ses mains de hue Leprêtre notre bailli et reconnurent avoir mal fait et entreprins sur notre droit et pour nos dépens se obligèrent eux trois enscrubles en la somme de 72s à paier à notre volonté laquelle lettre et obligation porte plus à plain iceux faits et narration et est signée au dos de ce signe: Complainte pour avoir coppé sur le chemin au bois de S. Riquier.

Pour le molin de Tauroy et pour les cours de la rivière aux cardons. 1408

Nous avons un mandement committimus donné de Charles pur le Grace de Dieu Roy de France le Ve Jour de Juillet l'an 1408 et de son regne le 28e signé Gaucherain adressant au Prévôt de S. Riquier contenant que se informat sur ce que nous avions fait faire un tranquies ou fossés dessus le molin de

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Tauvoye pour faire aller la rivière aux Cardons droit laquelle se tordoit et n'alloit point au droit dont liane avoit en son cours grand empèchment et avions intention de réédifier le d. molin qu étoit à ruine et lequel molin dessous et sesseure est sous notre Justice vicomtière et en notre Juridiction et seigneurie néantmoins contre raison et contre le bien public le Seigneur de la Ferté ou ses gens et officiers à port d'armes contre raison vindrent de nuit et remplirent de fagots et bourrés. Le d. tranquis et gatérent l'herbe qui étoit a fauquier de nos prez pour charier iceux fagots dont nous nous complaindum et dolumes comme il appert par le d. mandement et fut faite information par le d. Prévôt sur iceux crimes et les fauteurs adjournés aux requêtes pour ravoir le cours d'icelle rivière et laquelle est signée au dos de ce signe: le molin de Tauvoye.

[At end of chap. 25, one entry entitled **Patronage** (1316)] Le Chapelain de la Chapelle de Laferté et cheluy qui chante les messes d'icelle sont tenus de faire serment de garder notre droit de patronage ou autrement Monsieur peut faire arrêter les fruits et rentes jusques au d. serment faire solemnellement.

[Chapel given in will of Mahieu de Roye (jadis seigneur de La Ferté) with abbot and religious of abbey as patrons:]

...s'il étoit ainsi que Me l'abbé et le Couvent de cette Eglise de S. Riquier auxquels appartient de droit de patronnage du d. Chastel et de toute la paroisse de Notre Dame de Saint Riquier sy vaulsissent assentir et consentir à ce agréer à iceux pour le augmentation du service divin et pour accomplir la bonne volonté et ordonnance ...

Chap. 26: Drugy

Cette Capitle est pour notre Seigneurie de Drugy les Saint Riquier contient aucunes acquestes que nous avons du dit Drugy.

1220 - [May, entry regarding donation of land.]

1330 - [entry regarding abbey's jurisdiction of area:]

... que à nous appartenoit toute justice houte et basse et moyenne sans part d'autray et que de ce devions aller quitter et delivrez et surtout firent bailler commissaires et députés pour faire les enquêtes ce que ils firent et rapportirent que le lieu dont étoit ja fait veve et ostention au d. Drugy étoit de notre seigneurie et juridiction et non du dit de chastillon [referring to Jean de Chastillon, seigneur de Laferté] par quoi nous eumes main levée et arrêt à notre proffit et absous de condemnation et despechiez de accusation faite par le procureur du Roi, comme plus à plein appert par la dite lettre d'arrêt qui est signée au dos de ce signe: La justice est notre à Drugy et non au Seigneur de Laferté et l'homme mort levé par nous et mis en la main du Roy fut très bien levé.

Lettre pour le seigneurie de Drugy p. une femme morte levée par Justice. (1491)

Nous avons une lettre qui se commenche à tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront & sous le sel de le prévôté de S. Riquier en l'an 1491 faisant mention que le Prévôt Royal de S. Riquier en l'an dessus dit leva une femme par justice qui avoit été morte et tuée chéant sur d'un chariot par meschief sur notre terre et seigneurie de Drugy, lequel a reconnu comme ayant tort que che qu'il en avoit fait fut wunne non avenu et sans troubler les d. Religieux en leurs franchises et liberté. Signé au dos: Reconnoissance de notre Justice de Drugy.

Chap. 27: Bersacles

[1241-1268 - 8 letters regarding acquisition.]

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Chap. 28: Acquisitions

Capitre des acquisitions des fiefs Gilles de S. Riquier, Pierre Farcy et du fief Robert le Tosne. [1236, 1288, 1270, 1395 and 1380.]

Chap. 29: Baibergueae

[Entries here also regarding rules of marriage, inheritance, etc. (if husband dies, wife gets .... right of sale, etc.).]

[1311, 1313.]

Chap. 30: Senarmont

[1321 - acquisition of fief]

Chap. 31: Le moulin de Otremencourt

[bought in 1366, though had been property of abbey back in 12th. c., record of 'rachat' also in 1270.]

Chap. 32: Wivrench

[Entries date to 13th and 14th c., until entry of 1463:]

Wivrencheul pour 6 livres de rente aux doyen et chapitre de Saint Wulfran d'Abbeville (1463)

Cette lettre est la minutte en papier de l'achat que firent Messieurs Doyon et Chapitre de Saint Wulfran en Abbeville de 6 livres de rente annuelle prinse sur le fief Guillaume de Grambus nommé le fief de Wivrencheul tenu de nous par 4 deniers de cens l'an comme ci-dessus et touchié et se vendit à iceux doyen et Chapitre Jean Delessau bourgeois et demourant à Abbeville le 21e Jour d'Octobre l'an 1463 par le prix et somme de 120 livres monnaie courante et après que Monsieur Pierre lors abbé de cette Eglise fut content de ses droits seigneuriaux et des droits à nous dûs fut saisit d'icelle rente et à nous baillé pour homme vivant et mourant et à che receipt, sans préjudice de notre driot seigneurial à ce présents hue leprêtre, bailly, Colart de Bersacles homme lige et laquelle lettre est signée de leurs signes et sy se obligea garantir de d. Delessau en la manière accoutumée et comme plus prolixement il est contenu et la ditte minutte qui est avec les lettres du d. Wivrencheul et signée au dos de ce signe: 6 livres de rent annuelle tenues de nous par les Doyen et Chapitre de S. Wulfran a Abbeville qui se prend sur le fief de Wivrencheul.

Chap. 33: Villers sous Nuellemont (en venant à Bersacles)

[1263 - letter of acquisition
1271 - more acquisition and confirmation]

Chap. 34: Nullemont

[1382, 1385 - record of cens
1414 - more acquisition]

Chap. 35: Le terroir de Waulx sur Saint Mauguille

[1260 - purchase
1266 - confirmation
1456 - rachat and cens of quarry of St. Pierre à Vaulx]

Touchant la carrière de Saint Pierre à Vaulx baillée à cens et rachetée p. nous. (1456)

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En l'an 1456 wunne ? il appert pour la lettre de Jean houchart notre bailli sellé de son seau la carrière S. Pierre à Waulx fut baillée à cens à la chandelle à Noël Menuel par nous payant chacun an 8^{s} de chens de relief 8^{s} d'issue et 8^{s} d'entrée et par la condition de la tenir nette et desbailliée tellement que nous peussons prendre et squier pierres pour notre usage en icelle facillement et même de la sienne ou de ses hoirs en payant et auparavant tout autre comme il appart au blanc d'icelle lettre.

1460 - Depuis le 13. Jour d'Octobre l'an 1460 présnes Colart Mariffas et Raul de la Capelle hommes liges de cette Eglise, Thomas Noquier Barbier et Maroye sa femme auparavant femme de d. Thomas menuet renomberent à tout le droit que elle avoit en icelle Carrière, à notre prouffit et nous rendit ces présents lettres contessant le d. bail recurent de nous la somme de cent sous comme il appert au dos de ce signe: Rachat de notre carrière de S. Pierre à Vaulx.

1488 - En l'an 1488 M. Eustasse abbé de cette Eglise ratrait et racheta ..... J^{x} de terre situés sur les carrières S. Pierre à Vaulx que tenoit de nous Colesset de muisons clerc fils et héritier de seu Riquier de maisons joignans d'un coté à .... et lesquels .... journ^{x} de terre nous devoient chacun an ..... de cens et en payant ou fit payer au d. Colleret et la somme de ..... francs moyennant que il renuncha à notre prouffit à tout le droit qu'il avoit en icelle terre, et la raison comment le d. Monsieur Eustasse est pour ce que depuis un petit de tems les carrières ont trouvé manière de periliser puis pour avoir la pierre hors de la carrière et ville terre est situé et assise sur les meilleurs banes (basses?) qui soient en la roche, et sy y a un puis ou trou pour saquier icelle pierre et pareillement nos chariots, nos saqueurs ne sont nul dommage es labour d'autruy.

Chap. 36: Buigny l'Abbé

[1239 - fief of 60 J^{x} of land
1259, 1359 - buying more land there]

Chap. 37: Bussu

[1243, 1244, 1245 - purchase
1293 - more land acquired]

Chap. 38: Le fief de Houdencourt à Neufmoulin

[1210 - retraite of land
1227 - total acquisition of property
1248, 1253 - expansion of land-holdings]

Chap. 39: Crotoy-Maioc

Chapitre des Privileges, rentes , revenus, seigneuries, prérogatives, compositions que nous avons en la ville et banlieue du Crotoy-Mayoc pays à l'environ et certains accords avec plusieurs Comte de Ponthieu.

[1177 - earliest letter of cens and accord between Count of Ponthieu and Abbot Thiobaldus.

1248 - A composition of several articles re: rights of inhabitants of Crotoy-Maioc, e.g., right for man and beast to go into pastures, cens split 50/50 between Count and Abbey, Abbey has right to run mill on land]

1345 - entry re: Accord fait par nous avec l'abbé et couvent de St. Valery touchant la rivière de Mayoc et son cours avec autres choses. About rights for fishing, for putting up bridges, etc, planting trees

1389 - entry relating to Abbey's temporal jurisdiction in Crotoy-Maioc:]

Une complainte sur Jeanne Carue de Mayoc qui avoit fait four à cuir pain.

Cette complainte est donnée de henri le Taumer baillé de Rue en l'an 1389 et reprend tout au long que nous avons Grand temporel grandes seigneuries, prérogatives admortis sous le Roi en chief et en

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membres et même en la ville de Maioc droit de four et fournages seuls et pour let tout et que nul ny peut faire feurs de nouviau sans notre congié ...

[remaining entries relate to fishing rights, etc. - also of 14th c.]

Chap. 40: Orviller ou Val d'Abbeville

[1222, 1220, 1312, 1267-68, 1230 - several entries also relating to DuVal (the frères and soeurs and the maladerie (1260's))]

1360 - ...la maison et maladerie Duval d'Abbeville des maitres, frères, soeurs du d. lieu nous donnames congié, licence, autorité, pouir et poissance aux d. miatres, frères et soeurs du d. Val et Maladerie ...

Chap. 41: Cressy

[1210-1236, 1348]

Chap. 42: Obin (Aubin)

[1289, 1332 - Pour la justice de Obin qui est nôtre et non point au Domte d'Artois.
1304, 1315, 1404-07, 1408]

1510 - **Dénombrement de le seigneurie d'Aulbin**

Nous avons un dénombrement que sohier Dubier seigneur en partie d'Aubin nous abaillé daté de l'an 1510 par lequel it dit tenir de nous noblement et en fief le d. seigneurie qui'il a Aulgin par 6^{s} parisis le relief et vingt sous parisis de Cambellage quand le cas y erchiet comme plus à plein peut apparoir par le dit dénombrement cellé de son sel et au dos de ce signe: Dénombrement sur le seigneurie Daulbin.

Chap. 43: Bertaucourt (Abbess and Couvent)

[1220, 1230, 1233, 1239] - "Accord sur les reliefs que nous doivent les dames de Bertaucourt pour leurs tennemens tenus de nous à Saint Riquier"

[1290, 1421] - mention of rent/censives

[Chap. also includes a couple entries regarding Abbey of Ham — of which land was held by Saint-Riquier.]

Chap. 44: Monchy le Breton

[1221 - reliefs and justice held by S. Riquier
1330's]

Chap. 45: Bethencourt Rivières

1491 - Cette lettre se commenche: A tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront & datée de l'an 1491 et onze le 14^{e} Jour de fevrier qui fait mention que Adrien Damiette écuier sieur de Bethencourt et de rivières a reconnu qu'il tient de nous en fief aucunes terres séantes au terroir de d. rivière moyennant le somme de 110^{s} monnoye courante à deux termes l'un à Paques et l'autre à le S. Remi ensuivant et moyennant pour le relief quand le cas y ercherroit pour le partie du vendeur le somme de 20^{s} et 20^{s} pour ustuy ? qui le prend. Item moyennant aussi pour issue et entré 2 cappons apportenans au Corps de l'Eglise.

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Chap. 46: Arviller

[1219 - acquisition
1425, 1445 - Vidimus/confirmation of Abbey's rights/payments of grain]

Chap. 47: Bray (and Arleux)

[1219, 1230 - confirmation of patronage
1125 - earliest entry
entires continue through 1451 - re: land at Bray, receipts, copies, etc.
1451 - Abbot Pierre buys a house there from a M^{s} Formentin (although he's not yet abbot)]

Chap. 47 bis: Mairie de Bray

[1247, 1320, 1351 - entries revealing importance of rivers and fosses of Bray for fishing
1451 - entry re: payment of mayeur and Echevins of Bray 'pour nos molins']

Chap. 48: Bray

Capitle de la seigneurie que nous avons en la maison nommé lestelleries de Bray et la maison de la Cure du d. lieu lesquels lieux sont en notre juridiction seul et pour tout et y pouons exploiter et faire exercer notre Justice et non autres comme il appert par les lettres qui s'ensuivant.

[1396, 1391, 1436 (vidimus of 1336), 1315-20, 1343, 1340's, 1399, 1411]

Chap. 49: Chinolles

[1331, 1340's]

1485 - Trente trois J^{x} de terre ou terroir d'Arleux en trois pièces baillés de nouvel à cens par deux sous de cens chacun journel.

(1485) Cette lettre est donnée sous le sel royal en la Prévoté de S. Riquier passée pardevant Jean Briet dit Gavain et Jean Delessau auditeurs signée J. Estocart le 12^{e} Aoust l'an 1485 et contient que Antoine Dufosse demourant à Bray sur Somme confesse avoir prins de nous à cens et rente annuelle et perpétuelle pour lui ses heirs et ayans cause 23[should 33?] J^{x} de terre en trois pièces dont l'une contient 12 J^{x} séans vers Cappy tenans au long du marais et au long du chemin qui mène de Bray à Cappy d'un bout à l'hotel Dieu et l'autre contient 15 J^{x} séans vers Cappy tient au d. chemin et marais et aux 12 J^{x} devant dit et à le terre harle Bourle.

Le 3^{e} pièce contient 6 J^{x} audessus du d. chemin tient à Aucelot ? de la verve, d'autre à Guillotin hecquet et au d. chemin et par vendant chacun an de chacun journel 2^{s} p^{s} de cens qui sont 66^{s} à deux termes l'an chacun terme 33^{s} parisis, lesquels terms sont S. Remi et Noël ventes, issues, entrées, reliefs et autres choses tout à l'usage de notre seigneurie d'Arleux et par paiant dixme comme on a accoutumé excepté de sauf chinq J^{x} prins en la pièce de 12 J^{x} qui demourront francs de dixme et au les de l'hotel Dieu touchant notre droit et sy se obliger à ce paier et entretenir icelles terres bien et soufissament et en amaser et faire amaser portion d'icelle de maison et amasemens valissans 60 francs par dedans trois ans prochains venans et rendre tous dépens venans par deffaulte de payement et laquelle est signée au dos de ce signe: Antoine du Fossé a prins de nous 33 Jx de terre à Bray par 2s chacun journal l'an.

Chap. 50: Chevincourt

[1180 - confirmation of acquisition under Charlemagne, exemption of Pope Alex. III, etc.
1315 - document of accord with religieuse of St. Martin de Tournay and their priory of St. Amand.
5th article of which outlines how vineyards of St. Amand provide wine for St-Riquier
1483-84 - several documents record land disputes with St. Amand]

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Chap. 50 bis: Chevincourt

[13th and early 14th c. - letters, privileges
right to vineyards dates at least to 1237]

1237 - Lettre de nos vignes du d. Chevincourt

Cette lettre se commenche: Ego Joannes ... et Thorotte Castellanus et est sellée de son seau en l'an 1237 mense Octobri et contient que il avoit droit de consentement de sa femme et de ses héritiers il avoit vendu à nous de S. Riqueir pour en Jour perpetuellement et à toujours franchement et quittement sans en payer quelque chose le d. Joannes nous quitta tout le droit qu'il avoit en icelle ville touchant le d. Quartum unii que il assigna en autre lieu le d. vendeur sur sa vigne de Engelaulmal et est signée de ce signe au dos: Notre vingue de Chevincourt est amortie.

Chap. 50xer: Chevincourt

[1343, 1344 - letters regarding a Cardinal (Guy) de Boulome (Boulogne), who is a cousin of King Philip
other entries are of 1320's and 1330's]

Chap. 51: Onneu

[1270, 1260's, 1383 (complaint)]

Chap. 51 bis: Saint Jean de Jerusalem

[1253, 1350's - St-Riquier had ownership but entries seem to relate to a group of 'chevaliers templiers' who have maison at Bellinval, Wivrench and Beauvoir. They go on crusades, etc. and are called 'les religieux de Jerusalem' or 'les religieux de St. Jean de Jerusalem.']

Chap. 52: Feuquières et Feuquerolles

[1392, 1208, 1306, 1328, 1358, 1389 - documents relate to the high, low and middle Justice, the sale and resale of properties and other acquisitions.]

Chap. 53: Feuquièreae

[1231, 1253, 1391]

Chap. 54: Feuquièreae, chapter on high justice of 'vicomte'

[1186, 1224, 1317]

Chap. 55: Huppy en Vimeu

[1224, 1231, 1234, 1266, 1360, 1383]

Chap. 56: Omastres et Vimeux

[1231
1462 - cens of several houses and lands at Omastres]

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Chap. 57: Saint Josse aux Bois dit Dommartin

[Dommartin is the abbey of the Premonstrian order of Diocese of Amiens on river d'Auty
1143 - acquisition of land
1150, 1181, 1214 - confirmation of prev. acquisition]

Chap. 58: Abbeville, hotel de St-Riquier

Chapitre pour l'acquisition de notre maison d'Abbeville auquel capitre d'acquisition aujourd'hui 5e de Mars an 1488 Monsieur Eustace 46e abbé regnant ont été trouvéz tant en parchemin, comme quittances en papier 39 lettres desquelles en brief la déclaration ensuit.

[Then describes these 39 letters and receipts covering the acquisition of properties near the Port du Bois. Letters date to 1406, 1408, 1421, 1424, 1437, 1450, 1457, 1460 and 1448 (the last receipt of purchase is of 1453). Some of what they bought was the 'l'hotel du porc sanglier sur la chauchie de la porte du bos en Abbeville.']

Chap. 59: Willencourt

[1272, 1280's, 1309
1412 - buying back mill to which they had renounced rights in 1391.]

Chap. 60: Noièrs, Polchoye et Garenne qui commenche à Wivrench

[1248, 1270's, 1350, 1407]

Chap. 61: Noyères, Guèchart et Pollehoye

[1166, 1270's, 1420
1509 - sale of small woods there, cens still due 2 times a year]

Chap. 62: Noyeres

[1370's, 1407]

Chap. 63: Noyères, Pollehoye

Chapitre du rachat et ratrait des feifs de Pollehoye et de la prévôte de Portes situés à Noyères l'abbé que on dit en chauchie fait au tems que regnoit Mr Hugues Cullerel 44e Abbé de cette Eglise natif de Poullegny en Artois qui est en la franche Comte de Bourgogne et par le moyen et diligence de Dampt Nicole Bourdon prévôt natif de Normandie qui fut très expert chantre et musicien adjoint Dampt Robert de Erregnault dit d'Amiens prieur de Berdenay les bruges ou pays du franc.

[1405 - justice of Noyères is of S. Riquier
1456, 1459 - copies of above letter about justice
1440's - sale of 3 fiefs there]

Chap. 64: Prioré de Pagrave (in terre de Norphock)

[1223 - first mention

1396 - (only other mention) letter which scribe calls an "advertisement pour la prioré de Pagrave en Angleterre " in Latin. Reads like an ad, with number of house, annual rents, etc. Due to war? it no longer seemed to have connection with S. Riquier in late 14th century. "Item il fut 40 ans guerre, pourquoi on n'y renvoya point d'autre religieux, et est signé au dos: Advertisement pour ..." The following is a translation of the Latin:]

C'est la terre S. Riquier située au pays d'Angleterre baillée au d. Sieur par Raul Caomte.

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Premierement la ville appellée Esperlays en la quelle sont 37 hostes qui payent annuellement chacun an au Noël deux chevaux chargiés de Bruis, il faut savoir que c'est: ... [goes on about land being 'labourable'

Includes another town; 'ville appellée Aire là où il y a deux manoirs, trois molins qui payent 32 onches de deniers.

Lists a couple other villages (Culestwips?, Epichenham)]

Chap. 65: Fontaine sur Somme

[1464 - acquisition of 3 fiefs there

1464 - 2nd letter about same acquisition

1488, 1489 - two more letters about acquisition of 3 fiefs (Eustache le Quieux mentioned as abbot)]

Chap. 66: Yaucourt, pour le fief de Beauflos

[1232, 1237, 1239]

Chap. 67: Yaucourt, pour le camp Enguerem

[1239, 1241, 1245]

Chap. 68: Yeucourt, pour 16 J^x au Camp Anguier

[1239, 1240, 1243, 1248]

Chap. 69: Yaucourt, pour la chapelle dudit lieu.

[1329, (in text date is 1339?)]

Chap. 70: Quittances

[1300, 1330, 1332, 1344 (all mid-14th c.)]

[Records of transaction concernant Beauvoir

(1493) between M^r Ferry de Saveuses chevalier seigneur de Beauvoir and Jean Delessau, procureur Général de l'Eglise et Abbaie de St. Riquier. Letter copied outlining rights/responsibilities of seigneur, rents owed to the church, etc. Church has to give permission/consent to all 'droitures, seigneuries, de ventes, reliefs, issues, entrées.]

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Appendix B*

Inventaire des Titres et Papiers des Manses abbatiale, conventuelle et bénéfices non réunis, offices claustraux et Petit Couvent de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Riquier en Ponthieu

Commencé en l'an mil sept cent quatre vingt cinq
(Archives nationales LL 1008)

*Author's note: This appendix includes excerpts from (and occassional commentary on) NA LL 1008. It does not include any entries made after the early sixteenth century. Illegible letters or parts of words are indicated by a question mark.

{Copié executée d'après les ordres de Monsieur le Garde Générale des Archives du Royaume . sur le manuscrit original déposé aux Archives du Département de la Somme. Juin 1844}

La Coutume local de S. Riquier grosse en parchemin contenant la collation de cette coutume composée de 28 articles

Le premier dit que les abbé et religieux sont de noble et ancienne fondation. dotation et amortissement roiale responsable sans moyen pour le spirituel au S. Siege apostolique et pour la temporalité au roi notre Sire pour raison duquel temporel ils ont toute justice haute, moyenne et basse. noblesse. préémisseurs et prérogatives, seigneuries. droits, homme féodaux et cottiers, bailli, sergens et officiers et exploits.

Le 2^{e} article dit que les hommes liges et féodaux tenans noblement doivent à la d. abbaye pour chacun fief 60^{S} p^{S} et 20^{S} p^{S} de chambellage pour relief et le quint denier de vente. service de pluids de quinzaine en quinzaine en la Cour du baillage de la d abbaye deument appellés doivent serment de fidelité hommage quand ils en sont requis.

Le 3^{e} porte qu'aucuns des d. féodaux ont haute justice et même Justice vicomtière et les autres ont la plupart justice foncière, à moins qu'ils nc ffassent apparoir par récépissse ou autrement qu'ils doivent plein relief et service, ils ne se peuvent néantmoins autorisié d'autre Justice que celle qui leur est approuvée par la d. abbaie ou qu'autrement deument ils en font apparoir.

Le 4^{e} régle le droit de quint denier pour les rotures à toutes mutations même par succession directe et pour les reliefs de 60^{S} p^{S} 20^{S} p^{S} de chambellage et le quint denier en cas de vente.

Le 5^{e} article concerne le bourgeois jurés de S. Riquier qui ne doivent seulement le relief que 4^{S} p^{S} par Journel de terre et s'ils vendent ou achetent de bourgeois à bourgeois il est dû à la d. abbaye savoir 4^{S} p^{S} du Journel du vendeur et autant de l'acquéreur. ou s'ils achetent d'un non bourgeois ou vendent à un non bourgeois, la d. abbaye a le droit de quint denier avec 4^{S} p^{S} du bourgeois pour chacun journel, lesquels Bourgeois et autres habitans de la d. ville et banlieue de S. Riquier et autres qui y ont tennemens tenus duu Corps de la d. abbaye doivent de relief le cas échéant savoir du tennement qui vaudroit 16^{S} p^{S} de louage par an 60^{S} tournois et ainsi du plus ou du moins et le quint denier de vente.

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Le 6^{e} concerne les priviléges de la ville et banlieue de Saint Riquier droits et franchises à eux accordés d'ancienneté par appointement, confirmés par la Cour de Parlement et autrement pour raison desquels droits, ils ont vicomté contre celle du Roi et de Laferté durant le franche fête de S. Riquier en Octobre, et laquelle ville et banlieue, les d. abbé, religieux et couvent en leurs tennemens ou qui sont mouvans d'eux, sont seigneurs fonciers, en recoivent les dessaisines et donnent saisines et touchants les caratiers nul ne peut des tennemens tenus d'eux en la d. ville et banlieue recevoir dessaisine ni bailler saissine qu'ils ne soient à ce présent et appellez et satisfaits de leurs droits et arrérages.

Le 7^{e} contient que les d. abbé, religieux et Couvent sont seigneurs des frocs et flagards de la d. ville et banlieue, et qu'on ne peut entreprendre sur iceux sans leur congé et en leur paiant les droits accoutumés.

Le 8^{e} article concerne la rivière qui source de Bourfontaines depuis le pont assis sur la d. rivière servant à aller à l'Eglise Notre Dame jusqu'à la terre de Caours, ont la pecherie et amendes, ont sur icelle rivière moulins à bled, à drapes et autres auquel moulin à bled leurs sujets des villages circonvoisins, disant d'une lieue à la ronde sont baniers, ce qui a été contesté par les maire et Echevins, et le procureur le Laferté a prétendre avoir la Seigneurie selon la coutume générale du baillage d'Amiens.

Le 9^{e} concerne le relief qui appartient aus dits religieux, abbé et couvent de leurs tenans de Sernemont à raison de 12^{d} parisis, autant d'issue et autant d'entrée.

Le 10^{e} concerne les terres et seigneuries de Feuquières en Vimeux, de Boisbergues, Prévoté de Doulens, le d. Religieux, abbé et couvent ont droit savoir à Feuquières et Reuquerolles, de percevoir les reliefs de amasemens ou terres à labour à raison de 8^{s} p^{s} par Journel et le quint denier en vente, et audit Boisbergues 12^{s} p^{s} de relief de chaque tennement et 6^{s} p^{s} du Journel de terre à labour et le 6^{s} denier en vente.

Le 11^{e} dit qu'incontient le déces de leurs hommes et tenans tant féodaux que cottiers dont ils étoient saisis retournent de plein doit à la table et domaine des d. Sieurs Religieux et Couvent et en peuvent percevoir les fruits, savoir des fiefs après 40 Jours et des cotteries après 7 jours et 7 nuits après lequel temps passé s'il s'approche quelqu'un pour relever il doit à la d. abbaye 60^{s} p^{s} pour chacun fief et pour chaque tennement ou pièce de terre cottière 7^{s} 6^{d} avec les droits tels qu'ils sont ci dessus déclarés. Les assistans ont déclaré qu'il ni avoit ni en cotterie pour n'avoir point relevé, mais seulement les fruits depuis le décès jusqu'an relief.

L'article 12 porte que faute de paiement de cens au jour qu'ils sont dûs et lorsqu'ils ont été démandés en justice, les censitaires doivent au pardessus les dits aus 7^{s} 6^{d} parisis de loi et amendes, ce qui n'a point été approuvé par l'assemblée.

Le 13^{e} article porte que les d. religieux sont seigneurs froquiers par toutes leurs terres même des chemins voges et sentes, ils ont les amendes qui peuvent échevir? sur leurs dites terres et seigneuries, soit de débats et autres et es chemins hors la ville et banlieue de S. Riquier la ils ont le droit de justice contenue es composition pareillement les haut justicier et vicomtier jouissent des d. droits et amendes et sauf sur les chemins ou le Seigneur de Laferté a la garde et seigneurie.

Le 14^{e} dit que les d. religieux ont droit par prévention et accoutumée jouir des amendes de nouvelle éteulles, des puits à maines, fossés, canaux périlleux dont danger se pourroit ensuivre sur gens ou bestiaux qui sont de 60^{s} p^{s} chacun et pour chacun fois, qu'on peut les contraindre à retroupper les d. puits et fossés.

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Le 15^{e} concerne les hommes liges, les plaids jugemens, sentences on appointemens et amendes si la sentence est infirmée les d. hommes liges emourent en 60^{s} p^{s} pour chacun fois et si la sentence est confirmée l'amende est de 60^{s} p^{s} envers le d. sieurs Religieux.

Le 16^{e} concerne le droit de mort et vif herbage celui qui a dix bêtes à laine et audessus en doit une dont le nourritier a le choix et les d. sieurs Religieux ou leur commis la 2^{me}, et si le droit est refusé icelui nourritier avec le d. droit doit l'amende de 7^{s} 6^{d} envers la d'abbaye (voilà pour le vif herbage) et les personnes qui n'ont que neuf bêtes à laine et audessus pernirtans? doivent une abole de la pièce paiable la veille de S. Jean Baptiste et si le d. droit n'est point paié le d. jour ils encourent envers les d. Sieurs Religieux l'amende de 60^{s} p^{s}.

Le 17^{e} article concerne les bois, ceux qui coupent arbres ou les ébranchent doivent pour chaque étallon perots, tayon ou pour les avoir ébranchés 60^{s} p^{s} d'amende envers la d. abbaye et pour mêmes bois ou berbes 7^{s} 6^{d} pour le paturage de bestiaux à garde ou sans garde et pour chacun garder es taillis de 3 ans et audessus 60^{s} p^{s} et sans garde aux bois de haute futaye 7^{s} 6^{d} et à garde faite 60^{s} p^{s} ainsi que dans les labours croissans.

Le 18^{e} dit que ceux qui ont achétés des bois doivent être coupés endedans le 15^{e} Jour de Mai et vuidés endedans la S. Jean Baptiste ensuivant sous peine de confiscation et que le vuidange doit se faire en plein jour sous peine de 7^{s} 6^{d} d'amende envers la d. abbaye pour chacun fois.

Le 19^{e} concerne le Champart et l'avertissement et faute d'avertissement préalable l'avertissement de l'enlevement des grains, ceux qui doivent le d. champart encourent l'amend de 60^{s} p^{s}.

Le 20^{e} concerne le dixmes et champarts des terroirs de Feuquières et Bussu dont ceux qui les doivent sont tenus les mener es granges des d. Religieux.

Le 21^{e} dit que lors de la création d'hipotèque de rente sur les fiefs de la seigneurie il est dû le quint denier du prix de la vente d'icelle rente aus d. sieurs Religieux et la tenir en fief et à pareil hommage, services et droitures du d. fief.

Le 22^{e} article dit que si un fief succéde et échevit à une femme mariée elle doit relief de propriété avec le droit de chambellage, comme si elle étoit non mariée si doit son mari relief le bail, sans chambellage.

Le 23^{e} concerne ceux qui vendent et délivrent bestiaux hors lieux francs pour ce qui est au domaine de la d. seigneurie et pour ce qui est mouvant hors la haute et moienne justice des vassaux de la d. abbaye doivent pour Tonlieu et ruquit de chacun chevalon jument 2^{d} p^{s} de chacune bête d'Aubmaille 1^{d} p^{s} de chaque porq on truye, une obole ps de chaque bêtes à laine et les acheteurs en doivent autant et le paiement doit se faire en dedans soleil couché du jour de la délivrance sur peine de 60^{s} p^{s} d'amende pour chacune fois envers la d. abbaye.

Le 24^{e} concerne l'amende de 60^{s} p^{s} pour ceux qui déplantent ou arrachent épines ou autres bois dans les bois.

Le 25^{e} concerne ausi l'amende de 60^{s} p^{s} pour glands et autres espèces de fruits qui servent à la

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nourriture des bestiaux et pareille amende pour ceux qui puquent et huent es d. bois et hayes.

Le 26e dit que les d. Religieux, abbé et Couvent ont pour toutes leurs terres et seigneuries droit de confiscation, forfaitures, choses épaves, acquit tonlieu, forages, afforages, étalages, admission de fief, amandes et autres droitures appartenans à haute Justice.

Le 27e dit que si aucuns vassaux de la d. abbaye sujets ou rentiers ou autres vouloient denier les d. coutumes, usages, droits, justices et seigneuries ou partie d'icelle, les d. religieux ont offert de faire apparoir si avant que de raison, afin d'être conservés et maintenus en leurs droits.

Le 28e et dernier article de ces coutumes localles fait mention des privileges et droits spirituels des prieurés, cures et chapelles au patronage, collation et disposition des droits d'oblations, dixmes grosses et menues que la d. abbaye a en icelles cures et paroisses, non compris dans les d. coutumes qui ont été approuvées par les féodaux et sujets de la même abbaye, sous les réserves reprises au procès verbal d'assemblée ? tenu en l'Eglise de S. Riquier ... ... le 20 Septembre 1507 et lesquelles coutumes ont été déposés au griffe du baillage d'Amiens le 25 Octobre 1559.

Juridiction Spirituelle

Cette abbaye a jouit d'une exemtion et d'un juridiction presqu' Episcopale: comme on le voit par plusieurs bulles en original et par des extraits qui sont dans le Carthulaire, il n'est pas étonnant qu'elle ait perdu ce droit et privilege parce que les Evêques d'Amiens ne l'ont jamais voulu reconnaitre que pour l'enceinte ? de l'abbaye.

[author then refers reader to various pages of the cartulary recording various documents: the triple letters refer to the Document Coté.]

AAA Bulle du Pape Alexandre IV par la quelle entre autres choses il confirma la juridiction spirituelle de l'abbaye sur plusieurs paroisses savoir l'Eglise Sainte Marie de S. Riquier, toutes les chapelles de la ville du S. Riquier, Forestmoutier, ... du 29 Juillet 1172.

AAD Bulle d'Innocent III qui confirme tous les droits et privilegs de la D. Abbaie du 30 Janvier 1205.

AAF ...l'extrait de la bulle d'Innocent III concernant l'exemtion et le sein de l'abbé, contre l'Evêque d'Amiens du 5 Janvier 1210.

many bulls of 1220's confirming these rights

... l'extrait de la bulle d'honorius pape 3 d'exemtion gènérale sur tout touchant l'Evêque d'Amiens excepté le crêsme et les SS huilles qu'il doit donner à l'abbaye gratis, ou autrement la d. abbaie peut en aller chercher ailleurs vers autres Evêques sans préjudice, sans que cela souffrit aucune difficulté du 5 Janvier 1226.

... l'extrait de la Bulle d'Innocent pape 4 contenant que les abbés peuvent avoir mitre et pontifical sur tout du 20 Février 1252.

above right confirmed in 1256 by Alex. 4, again in 1259.

... l'extrait de la bulle du pape Clément 4 faite en double et la confirmation d'icelle contenant que l'abbé peut porter pontifical hors de l'Eglise de S. Riquier. Ensemble vidimus autentique de bulle de l'official de Paris concernant idem, du 10 Juillet 1266.

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AAE Bulle du pape Clément 4 qui conserve à l'abbaye de S. Riquier sa juridiction sur la ville contre le seigneur, Evêque d'Amiens qui la lui disputoit du 15 Juillet 1266.

... l'extrait de la bulle du Pape Martin 4 portant privilège aux religieux de l'abbaye de S. Riquier de célébrer le service divin durant interdit gènéral du 13 X^{br} 1281.

confirmations of above: 1288, 1298, 1309.

Bulles, transactions: sentences et arrets concernant la d. juridiction spirituelle et affaires avec les curés de Saint Riquier l'hotel-Dieu et les paroissiens du d. S. Riquier concernant les droits honorifiques.

AAA Lettres en parchemin portant permission de faire batir un hopital à S. Riquier de l'an 1205.

ABB Copie informe de lettres concernant la Charte de fondation de l'hotel Dieu et hopital de S. Nicolas en S. Riquier laquelle charte fait mention des droits et prerogatives qui appartiennent à la d. abbaye de S. Riquier comme étant les d. Religieux patrons du d. hotel Dieu du mois de Mai 1201.

ABC - ABF other copies of the same (1201)

ABG Charte contenant la dédicaire de la chapelle de l'hopital laquelle ne donne au d. hotel Dieu aucun droit paroissial, lui étant interdit d'y entener personne du mois de Mai 1210.

ABM Lettres par la quelles il est dit que les frères et soeurs du d. hotel Dieu doivent avoir leur sepulture dans l'Eglise de la d. abbaye du 12. Septembre 1368.

ABO Lettres en parchemin portant que M^{e} Ponce Randoulet curé de l'Eglise N^{e} Dame de S. Riquier ne peut annoncer ni faire de procession sans le consentement de l'abbé et des Religieux, à qui ce droit appartient. Ces lettres passés devant Pierre le Poivre et Guillaume le Cambier auditeurs du Roi à S. Riquier du 7 Novembre 1397.

ABP Complainte par les abbé et Religieux de Saint Riquier, contre les confrères de S. Nicolas du d. Saint Riquier concernant les processions passé devant Jean de Bouberck et Pierre le Poivre auditeurs du Roi à Saint Riquier du 26 Juillet 1399.

ABQ transaction sur complainte contre le déservant de la curé de S. Riquier concernant la procession du très Saint Sacrement, passé devant Jean Heudain et Colart de Bersay auditeurs du Roi au S. Riquier du 9 Juin 1425.

ABR Copie informe de cette dernier transaction la quelle porte aussi que le patronage et la présentation de la curé de S. Riquier appartiennent à la d. abbaye du 9 Juin 1425.

ABS Accord sur complainte contre le curé de N^{e} Dame de S. Riquier concernant la procession du très Saint Sacrement, cet accorde concerne aussi le patronage et la présentation à la curé de S. Riquier passé devant Laudin Ternisien juge et garde de la prévôté de S. Riquier en date du 26 7^{bre} 1505.

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ABU Accord entre les abbé, Prieur et Religieux de l'abbaye de S. Riquier et le curé de N^{e} Dame concernant la bénédiction des reines et le patronage du 2 Septembre 1521.

ABW Lettres en parchemin contenant commission du présidial d'Amiens qui constatent que les maîtres de l'hotel Dieu sont obligés d'assister au service divin qui se célébre en l'Eglise de la d. abbaye les trois fêtes de Pâques, le jour de S. Riquier et les rogations sous signe privé de 19 Mai 1574.

Fondations et Obits

ACC Testament du Sieur Adrien le Personne par lequel entre autres choses il légne aux abbé et couvent de S. Riquier 60$^{\#}$ de parisis à prendre sur Robert de Noyères on sur ses biens meubles, ensemble tous les cens et surcens par lui achetés et à prendre sur plusieurs tennemens sis à S. Riquier plusieurs étant assis aubout du d. S. Riquer à la charge d'un annuel et de dire on faire dire à perpétuité dans leur Eglise 4 messes de requiem. 7 Juin 1333.

ACE Lettres concernant la fondation d'une messe perpetuelle appellé la messe du S. Esprit tous les lundis de chaque semaine de l'année, faite à l'intention et du vivant du M. Guichait de Salles ancien abbé de cette maison et aprés son décès une messe de requiem, pourquoi il a été assigné un fief et ses dépendances, le moulin de Touroy et autres immeubles du 4 Mai 1409.

ACG Lettres contenant la donnation d'entre vifs faite par Jeanne le praitresse veuve de Jean de Lhopital au proffit de la d. abbaye, d'une maison et dépendances sise à S. Riquier tenue de Guy Becquet écuier par 16^{S} p^{S} de cens chacun an, à la charge de 4 messes à perpétuité, passés devant Guillaume le Cambier et Barthelemi de la Couture auditeurs du Roi à S. Riquier du 9. fevrier 1419.

ACI Donnation faite par Martin Flanin prêtre à l'abbaye de S. Riquer de différens immeubles dsis autour de Noyelles tenus en cotteries de la d. abbaye, à la charge de deux obits solemnels à l'intention du donnateur, de ses parens et amis passé devant Enguerrand et Rasse de la Porte auditeurs du Roi à S. Riquier du 6 Février 1423.

ACJ Vente faite par Guy Becquet écurier au profit de la d. abbaye des 16^{S} p^{S} de cens repris ACG ci devant par contrat passé devant Guérard Scorion et Jea

Lorue auditeurs du Roi à S. Riquier, du 13 Nov^{bre} 1440.

ACK Saisine en la mairie de S. Riquier au profit de la d. abbaye sur ce dernier contrat du 13 nov 1440.

ACM Extrait du testament de Périne Lentulle femme de Raoult de Lesseau, auparavant femme de Jean le Pottier par lequel testament la d. Lentulle fait don aux caritiers et au Couvent de S. Riquier de 11 J^{X} de terre sis au terroir du Belleval tenus de la ville d'Yaucourt et de Pierre de Maisniel par indivis à la charge de deux obits par an à perpétuité du 11 8^{bre} 1461. Et le d. extrait du mois de Fevrier 1462.

Amortissemens et driots d'échange

[None date to the 15th century — several are of the 14th century, several are without date. These generally simply mention that there is a receipt (quittance) for "la finance de l'abbaye" and

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then the amount. (There are only 14 entries in whole section.)]

[The following entry is undated, but falling between an entry of 1344 and 1348 (generally they seem to be in chronological order). This entry seems most complete and comprehensive.]

ADE Lettres portant que les abbé, Couvent et Religieux de S. Riquier ont acquis plusieurs fiefs entre autres choses le fief de Bersay tenu du Sieur de Hellencourt, le fief Peron d'Embry, celui de Gueschart, celui de Farcy, 3 muids de bled de rente par an, 3 autres muids de bled achetés de Wancier Boistel 14# de cens de Pierson Lefarcy le tiers de la vicomté de S. Riquier, la mairerie d'Onneux, celle d'Ostremencourt, la mairerie de Bussu et celle de Buigny, le hommes liges et la garenne de Gueschart, 80 J^{X} de terre acquis de Me Guerard Mellet, autres 80 J^{X} de terres, la moulin de Mirendeuil plusieurs autres immeubles, plusieurs maisons à S. Riquier et plusieurs immeubles et rentes donné en aumône, lesquelles lettres certifient que le droit de franc fiefs on amortissement a été acquétté moiennant 468# 17^{s} 6^{d} p^{s}.

Droit de Quint denier et Relief à merci

L'Abbaye est en possessions depuis un tems immémorial de percevoir à chaque mutation des reliefs de ses vassaux qui tiennent des immeubles en rotures dans ses mouvances. Nous n'avons plus les titres primordiaux, ni les originaux de plusieurs pièces essentielles dont nos prédecesseurs nous ont laissé des copies et des reseignemens, mais il est certain que les abbés et Religieux jouissaient de ce droit avant 1126.

Dabord ces reliefs étoient à merci et ensuite ont été reduits au quint denier de la valeur des immeubles.

[Cites copy of Charte d'Anschaire, abbé, given by Lois le Gros, who came to St. Riquier and established commune in 1126.
Cites several documents in Cartulary up to early 16th c. where right of quint denier is mentioned in connection with sale of land.
From 1503 onward, scribe cites specific receipts and documents (4 entries before 1530, 34 documents from 1530-1750).]

Quint denier: affaires avec les mayeur, échevins et habitans de la ville de S. Riquier et les bourgeois jurés d'icelle ville au sujet du Quint denier.
[Summarizes rights laid out by King Louis in 1256 (see LL 1010). All entries are 1551 and later.]

Offices Claustraux
Les offices claustraux de cette abbaye sont l'office de l'aumonier, du prévot de l'abbaye ou Prieur, du prévôt d'Escamouville, du trésorier, du sous prieur, du chantre et du sous-chantre.

Bibliothèque [Abbot Charles d'Aligre bought a library.]
Acte fait par les sieurs Religieux et couvent de S. Riquier, lesquels moiennant une somme de 4000# qu'ils ont reçue de M^{e} Daligre leur abbé pour être emploiée à l'achat d'une bibliothèque pourquoi il lui a été créée une rente viagre de 200# chacun an du 3 Décembre 1668.

Fiefs en Général

Le tiers des droits seigneuraux et de reliefs des fiefs nobles et restreints appartient aux Religieux

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sauf les rentes sur les chapelains d'Amiens l'abbaye de Livry, Valloires, et Doumartin réservées au seigneur abbé dans toutes les autres partes de fiefs tant nobles que restreints les droits et services se perçoivent pur tiers, savoir: le seigneur abbé les deux tiers et les Religieux l'autre tiers. Les fiefs de la couture et du bedeau sont mouvans du lot des charges. Les fiefs doivent en relief 60^{S} p^{S} qui font $3^{\#}$ 15^{S} tournois et 20^{S} p^{S} de chambellage qui font $1^{\#}$ 5^{S} tournois en vente le quint et requint selon la coutume du baillage d'Amiens. Les femmes mariées ou non mariées doivent outre le Relief chambellage lorsqu'elles succédent aux fiefs, mais leurs maris ne doivent pas de chambellage.
(entries include declarations of fiefs, registers, etc. and are undated or later than 16th c.)

[Particular fiefs — in alphabetical order: name, description of land holding, then citations of registers, etc. giving information about the fief, the rents, the cens. (Date at end of each entry is first date mentioned in the citation section.)]

Fief de Amouvettes

Ce fief consiste en 20 J^{X} de terre qui en font le domaine, en deux pièces, sis au terroir de S. Riquier, dixmage de Gapennes. 1550

Fief de Bellegente

Ce fief consiste en 156 J^{X} environ sis au terroir de Buigny l'abbé et de Friaucourt. 1362

Fief de Belleval

Ce fief circonstances et dépendances, consiste en domaine, censives, champarts, et autres droits et fiefs en dépendance; ce fief a été démembré en partie. 1365

Fief de Bellifontaine

Ce fief est situé au terroir de Belleval et Ivrencheux et consiste en 22 J^{X} de terre. 1572

Fief de petit Bellinval

Ce fief consiste en 33 J^{X} 3 quartiers de terre en 10 pièces sis au terroir du petit Bellinval, d'une part, entre autres terres en plusiers articles d'autre part et démembrement du même fief. s.d., 1533

Fief à Béthencour Riviere

Ce fief consiste dans les deux tiers de la dixme sur 300 J^{X} de terre ou environ sis au terroir du d. Bethencour l'autre tiers appartenant au Curé du d. lieu, pus en un droit de demi terrage qui se perçoit sur plusieurs pièces de terre au d. terroir, à la charge de payer chacun an à M. le Prieur de l'abbaye de St. Riquier $5^{\#}$ 10^{S} en deux termes, moitié à Pacques et l'autre moitié à S. Remy de chaque année, pour lequel fief est encore dû au d. Sieur Prieur en cas de vente 40^{S} savoir 20^{S} d'entrée et 20^{S} de sortie, et en cas de relief 4 chapons, savoir 2 pour le sortie et 2 pour l'entrée. 1527

Fief de Brassigny

Ce fief consiste en 76 J^{X} ou environ de terre au terroir de Noielle en Chausée en 3 pièces. 1399

Fief Brissac (anciennement nommé Floc de Cheval)

Ce fief consiste en 48 J^{X} de terre en deux pièces sis au terroir de S. Riquier et d'Onneux et en mouvances du d. fief. 1364

Fief de Coulombeauville sis à Yaucourt

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Ce fief consiste en 35 J^{x} en deux pièces de terre. 1570

Fief de Coulombeauville sis à Neufmoulin et es environs

Ce fief consiste en plusieurs pièces de terre sises au terroir de Neufmoulin et es environs et en plusieurs mouvances tant au d. terroir de Neufmoulin qu'au terroir de Millancourt et autres terroirs. 1541

Fief Courville sis à Feuquières en Vimeux

Ce fief consiste en 22 Jx ou environs situés au terroir de Feuquières en 4 pièces chargées de demi Champart. 1619

Fief à Estrée

La terre, fief et seigneurie d'Estrée consiste en maison, jardin, petit bois y attenant, terres labourable censives, droit de Champart ou rentage et en 90 J^{x} de bois en 3 parties, la 1^{ere} nommé le bois Dausse, la seconde le bois Bardou et la 3^{e} le bois Ramonoy, etc. 1387

Fief Dufestel

Ce fief consiste en un chef lieu de trois J^{x} de terres; en 14 J^{x} 75 verges de bois en deux parties et en 9 Jx de terres labourables, le tout chargé de 3^{s} de rente annuelle envers l'abbaye. 1374

Fief nommé Feuquières ou Cany ou Dreuil

Ce fief est située à Feuquières et se nomme présentement fief de Feuquières et consiste en domaine roture et mouvances, lequel fief a été démembré en partie. 1365 (31 J^{x} of land in 1365)

Fief à Feuquières

[no description: in 1407, paid abbey 18 septiers de blé and 18 septiers d'avoine per year.] 1407

Fief nommé Franc-camp

Ce fief consiste en 94 J^{x} de terre au terroir de Drugy et Neufmoulin en plusieurs pièces. 1641

Fief de Friaucourt ou Scorion

Ce fief est situé es fauxbourgs de S. Riquier au terroir du d. lieu, S. Maugille, Friaucourt et à l'environ et au village et terroir de Mouflers sous Ailly, lequel fief se consiste en mouvances, tant en rotures qu'en fief. s.d., 1566

Partie de fief Godard ou Alix

Ce fief est situé au terroir de Mouflers et consiste on 48 J^{x} 1/2 de terre reconnues et en 12 J^{x} qui sont éclipsés ou censés amortis faute de dénombremens. 1407

Fief Gourguechon

Ce fief consiste en 20 J^{x} de bois en 9 J^{x} de manoir et en 34 J^{x} de terre en 2 pièces, l'une de 20 et l'autre de 14 situés au terroir de Gueschart et en mouvances du d. fief. 1372

Fief de Gredaineville circonstances et dépendances.

Ce fief consiste en un domaine de 15 Journ^{x} de terres et en censives. 1536

Fief de Gueschart, Bours et Francières

Ce fief est situé sur le terroir de Gueschart et village du d. lieu, au terroir de Hellencourt, Geuviller et es environs.

Il consiste en censives, plus en un chateau seigneurial, qui est le chef lieu avec la Cour, basse Cour, pourpris, jardin et tennement contenant 20 Jx. Plus en 200 J^{x} de terres ou environ en

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plusieurs pièces: desquels 200 J^{X} il en appartient 153 J^{X} ou environ en 4 pièces à M. de Belhotel et 47 à 48 J^{X} à M. Delaval. 1274

Fief Duhamel ou Boyart

Ce fief est situé sur le terroir de Friaucourt et consiste en 24 J^{X} de terres au même terroir en différentes pièces. 1370

Fief du Grand Hellencourt

La terre et seigneurie du GrandHellencourt se consiste en deux fiefs circonstances et dépendances. 1400

Fief du petit Hellencourt

Ce fief est situe à Genvilier, Hellencourt et environs et consiste en censives et droits y afferans. 1710

Fief de l'Epine

Ce fief consiste en 47 J^{X} de terres en trois pièces qui doivent à l'abbaye dix sous de rente annuelle. 1593

Fief de l'Etoille ses circonstances et dépendances, Condé, Folie-bas, et Fontaine-Thuraude

Le tout en trois fiefs sis à l'Etoille; le d. fief de l'Etoille autrement le fief de l'anneau d'or. 1270

[Scribe also includes mention of agreement between the abbot and seigneur in 1248:]
Voiez au registre des fiefs nommé le livre rouge +CB f° 170 et la copie d'icelui +CC f° 608 le dénombrement de Jean Damiens écuier seigneur de Vinacourt qui reconnoit que l'abbé de S. Riquier lui doit un anneau d'or à condition qu'il viendra en propre personne pour secourir et défendre l'abbaye de S. Riquier contre tout excepté contre le Roi de France, le Comte de Ponthieu et le vidame de Picquigny, à la charge de faire hommage à chaque abbé qui sera institué et le d. abbé donnera un anneau d'or au d. seigneur qui sera obligé de s'en contenter soit qu'il soit de plus grande ou moindre valeur pourvâ qu'il soit d'or de l'an 1248.

Fief de l'Etoille

[no description] 1401

Fief à Lucheul

Ce fief consiste en 3 Journ^{X} de manoir sis à Lucheul près Doulens. 1406

[vol. II of original inventory; second half of LL 1008]

Fief de la mairerie de Noyelle en Chausée

Ce fief en mouvans sur plusieurs pièces de terres sises sur le terroir du d. Noyelles aux mutations desquelles les cens et droits seigneuriaux se partegent moitié par moitié entre M. de Bonnamvilier et notre abbaye. 1374

Fief à Noyelleae

12 J^{X} de terre, etc. 1672

Fief de la mairerie de Maison Rolland

Ce fief est situé au d. lieu et consiste en censives et autres droits. 1259

Fief des Marettes ou Hesmimont

Ce fief consiste en 52 J^{X} de terres au terroir de Buigny l'abbé doit à l'abbaye 18^{d} parisis par an.

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1365

Fief marigny ou autrement Marquis, sis à Huppy

[no description]

[first document (1266):] Lettres en parchemin et en latin concernant la seigneur, vicomté, four moulin et terrage de Huppy les quelles portent au surplus que les religieux ont tout vicomté, tout domaine et toute justice dans leur fief à huppi et sur tous leurs vassaux de cuire à son four et moudre à son moulin, lequel droit il tient à hommage de l'abbaye de S. Riquier pour le droit d'amande qui droit être jugé pour le juge de l'abbaye du mois d'Aout 1266.

Fief Saint Mauguillle

Ce fief consiste en 4 J^{X} de tennement et doit à l'abbaye 5^{S} p^{S} par an. 1374

Fief à Maison Roland: Manse abbatiale pour les renteae.

Ce fief consiste en 123 J^{X} trois quartiers de terres sis au terroir de Maison Roland, chargés de dixmes et de champart accoutumé, en autre vers la Manse abbatiale de $50^{\#}$ tournois d'une part et de 28^{S} d'autre dûs aux caritiers pour 8 J^{X} de terres au d. terroir. Cette censive de $50^{\#}$ a été céder à M. l'abbé (stops there at mid-sentence) 1528

Fief de Millencourt et de Flamermont

Ce fief consiste en domaine, en fief restreint et en démembrement de fiefs. 1408

Fief du Moulin Angoulan dépendant de l'abbaye

no description; though notes extraits of 2 letters concerning burning of mill Angouland in 1343-1344

Fief et Seigneurie de Montigny en deux fiefs, circonstances et dépendances à Neufmoulin.

Ce fief consiste en 54 $Journ^{X}$ de terres au terroir de Millancourt et en censives les terres appartiennent à l'abbaye de Millencourt (Willencourt?) et les censives à M. Lever. 1409

Fief de Moriaminy

Ce fief consiste en 41 J^{X} de terre sis au terroir de Gapennes, Quesnoy et Domvast. 1509

Fief à Domvast

Ce fief est un démembrement du fief Moriaminy et consiste en 9 J^{X} de terres au terroir de Domvast et en $3^{\#}$ 16^{S} 2 chapons de cens. 1600

Fief Dumoutier autrement Dumoulinet

Ce fief consiste en 30 $Journ^{X}$ 65 verges suivant l'arpentage, au lieu de 32 $Journ^{X}$ portés par les titres ci après repris. 1582

Fief de Nuelmont ou Carbonnier

Ce fief consiste en 28 $Journ^{X}$ environ au dixmage de Gapennes. 1366

Fief Rondel ou Aubin en Artois

Ce fief consiste en censives et doit 5^{S} à l'abbaye à cause du four et 14^{S} Tournois à l'aumonier par chacun an. 1399

Fiefs de grande et petite vicomté d'Aubin en Artois

La grande vicomté doit par an à l'abbaye 40^{S} p^{S} et en relief à chaque homme $10^{\#}$ Tournois.

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La petite vicomté doit par an à la dite abbaye 20^{S} p^{S} à la purification et en relief $5^{\#}$ Tournois. Ces deux fiefs ayant toujours été entre les mains du même propriétaire et les aveux ayant aussi été fournis en même tems, ou les mettra ici ensemble. 1289

Fief d'Offinicourt

Ce fief situé à Neufmoulin paroisse de Caux et environs et consiste en cens et surcens. 1289

Le fief terre et seigneurie d'Omattre

Ce fief consiste en censives tant en argent qu'en grains et volailles ensemble et un moulin à vent à moudre bled. 1365

Fief d'Outremencourt sis au terroir de Neufmoulin.

Ce fief consiste en 27 à 30 $Journ^{X}$ de terres en une pièce en 20 $Journ^{X}$ de terres sis au terroir de Millencourt. 1374

Fief du Grand Patronville

Ce fief consiste en 38 $Journ^{X}$ de terres en trois pièces sis ès terroirs de S. Riquier, Vaux et à l'environ qui en sont le domaine et en censives et demi champart. 1407

Fief du Petit Patronville

Ce fief consiste en 23 $Journ^{X}$ trois quartiers de terres au terroir de S. Riquier, Vaux et à l'environ qui en sont le domain en trois pièces. Ce fief consiste également en demi champart roturier. 1400

Fief Pomereuil ou d'Avêne

Ce fief consiste en 48 $Journ^{X}$ comptés tantot pour 50 tantot pour 47 au dixmage d'Onneux. 2° en 16 Journaux ou environ au terroir d'Ivrencheux. 3° en 16 J^{X} environ dixmage de Neuville. 1364

Petit Couvent. Fief du Potae

Ce fief consiste en huit septiers 10 boisseaux de bled ? et $5^{\#}$ d'argent. 1312

Fief de la Prévôté de Gapennes

Ce fief consiste en un four bannier? sis au dit Gapennes. 1228

Fief du Quesnel

Ce fief consiste en 47 J^{X} 80 verges environ de terre en 4 pièces sis à Boisbergues. 1365

Fief de la mairerie de Boisbergues

Ce fief consiste en 85 $Journ^{X}$ de terres en 7 pièces qui en sont le domaine et en rotures mouvantes du d. fief. 1401

Fief de Saint Riquier à Noielles

Ce fief consiste en 16 $Journ^{X}$ 1/2 de terre au terroir de Noielles. 1695

Fief de Saint Riquier à Gueschart

[no description, except to say it was earlier joined with land at Noielles to form 41 J^{X} 1/2.] 1699 [refers presumably to following entry]

Fief de Saint Riquier sis, partie sur le terroir de Gueschart partie sur celui de Noielles

Ce fief consiste en 41 J^{X} et demi y compris ce qui est porté aux deux paragraphes précédens.

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1400

Fief de Réaumont et Valines

Ce fief consiste en 51 J^{X} de terres en trois pièces sis au terroir du titre dont il n'y a que 13 J^{X} en iceux reconnus être mouvances en fief de notre abbaye le surplus est prétendu être de la mouvance de la sieigneurie du titre, cependant le dénombrement du 1^{ere} Janvier 1381 porte 51 J^{X} 1/2 relevans tous de la d. abbaye. 1381

Fief Valines

Ce fief consiste en 28 J^{X} de terres en trois pièces sis au terroir du Titre et de lamotte et en démembrement du d. fief. 1381

Fief de Rouge-camp ou autrement Rouge-maison

Ce fief consiste en cinq Journ^{X} de terres sis au terroir de S. Riquier dixmage de Millencourt. Lesquels cinq Journ^{X} de terre ne sont que le chef lieu de d. fief ou étoit une maison. Il y a encore 45 J^{X} situés entre Bersay et S. Riquier qui sont le domaine et qui cependant ne sont pas rapportés dan l'aveu de 1759. 1310

Fief de la Haute Salle

Ce fief consiste en un Chef lieu contenant 6 J^{X} en 80 quinze à 96 J^{X} labourables en deux pièces et en censives. 1408

Fief de la Basse Salle

Ce fief consiste en trois journ^{X} ou environ a présent en préz qui en sont le domaine et le Chef lieu du d. fief. [Notes that most titles to Basse Salle are same as those of Haute Salle, so same dates apply. First title that mentions Basse Salle individually is of 1595.]

Fief de Seronville

Ce fief consiste 1° en 11 J^{X} et demi de manoir amasé de maison et autres batimens sis au village d'Estrée près Cressy et sont le Chef lieu du d. fief et en 110 J^{X} de terres labourables, sis au d. terroir d'Estrée. 1375

Fief de S. Souplis ou de Hesdin

Ce fief consiste en censives et droits et est situé au terroir de Millencourt. 1533

Fief de Tarteron

La ferme du Tarteron sise sur le terroir de Maioc, consistant en maison, Grange, écurie, pigeonnier et autres batimens en continance de deux Journ^{X} et demi et autres immeubles aussi en fiefs. 1586

Fief Thiboutot

Ce fief consiste en 133 Journ^{X} de terres ou environ y compris l'ancienne et nouvelle maison seigneuriale et en censives et rentes situes aux terriors de Millencourt, S. Riquier et S. Mauguille. s.d., 1557

Fief de Tilleul autrement Polagache

Ce fief est situé au terroir de Neufmoulin et consiste en domaine, censives et droits. 1289

Fief Thornae ou Cacheleu

Ce fief consiste en une maison seigneuriale contenante 11 J^{X} 1/2 de terres et en 31 J^{X} aussi de

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terres labourables situés au terroir de Bussu. 1588

Fief de Valmaret ou Vilmaret

Ce fief consiste en 23 J^X de terres labourable et un quartier de Jardin à Buigny l'abbé. 1374

Fief de Vieville

Ce fief consiste en 39 J^X de terres labourables et est situé au village et terroir d'Estrée près Cressy.

Fief d'Yaucourt — Bussu; en deux fiefs, circonstances et dépendances

[no description] 1363

La Terre et Seigneurie d'Ivrencheux en trois pièces, savoir: Ivrencheux, Grambus, et Waripel ou Picotelle, grand et petite

Cette seigneurie consiste en un domaine de 305 J^X 75 verges tant en jardins enclos, terres labourables, qu'en bois et censives et un démembrement de 18 J^X. 1374

La Terre, fief et seigneurie d'Ivren

Consistant en domain et mouvances le tout relevant du Roi à cause de son Comté de Ponthieu et de notre abbaye indivisament pur les droits et devoirs féodaux ordinaires et accoutumés. 1583

Fief de la Courture

[no description] 1381

Fief de Jean de Catigny sis entre Rue et Maioc

[no description] 1347

Fief à Auvilier ou Ouvilier, nommé Valines

[no description] 1374

Fief de Vaux

Ce fief consiste en domaine et en censives. 1267

Fief de S. Jean de Rue

[no description (except in first document land amounts to '100 J^X de terres')]

Fief restreint nommé Pollehoye sis à Noielles en chausée

Ce fief consiste en $12^{\#}$ p^S de cens chacun an à S. Remi dûs par differens particuliers à cause d'immeubles relevans en cotteries du d. fief Pollehoye. 1376

Fief de Saveuse

[no description, but first and only document is from 1494]

La copie d'un transaction sur procès passé entre Ferri de Saveuse chevalier Seigneur de Beauvoir et notre abbaye, contenant que plusieurs tennemens et terres tenus cottièrement de la d. abbaye sis à S. Riquier et es environs ont été donné à surcens pour le d. sieur de Saveuse et ses prédécesseurs et pour laquelle transaction il est convenu que les d. beaux à surcens des tennemens sis hors de la ville et banlieue de S. Riquier tiendront moiement de paier chacun an à la d. abbaye 2^d de reconnoissance de chacun Journel à Noël qu'il appartiendre à la même abbaye tous droits seigneuriaux venans et échéans des d. tenans et leurs aiant cause de tels cens, tels reliefs, issues et entrées que le surcens à prendre sur iceux et toutes justices et droits de saisines et dessaisines appartiendront às la abbaye.

Les d. lettres du 22 Septembre 1494, et consentées de toutes les parties du 7 février 1495.

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Manse abbatiale; seigneurie sur toute l'étendue du Fief du Saint Riquier

La Seigneurie de Saint Riquier et un des treize fiefs de l'ancienne fondation de l'abbaye, par conséquent tous les imeubles qui en relevent doivent les reliefs et droits seigneuriaux au quint denier selon l'estimation qui en est faite, sauf les droits et privilèges des bourgeois jurés.

Justice haute, moienne et basse das l'étendue de la d. seigneurie.

L'abbaye aboit toute justice dans la seigneurie de S. Riquier, même dans la ville et banlieue avant l'établissement de la commune, depuis cette époque (1126) notre juridiction ne s'étend plus que hors la banlieue, et sur nos vassaux, lors seulement que nous le faisons assiguer devant notre bailli pour paiement de censives. Les maieur et Echevins ont toute justice dans la ville et banlieue, à l'exception de l'enceinte du monastère où ils n'ont aucun droit.

[Entries regarding judgements follow this introduction. The only entry from 1400 -1600, dates to 1461:]

Jugement rendu au baillage d'Amiens par lequel les maire et Echevins de cette ville pour avoir fait emprisonner Pierre Delemarque serviteur domestique de notre abbaye ont été obligez de nous le rendre pour par nous prendre connoissance de l'affaire, et ce du consentement des parties du 21 November 1461.

Vicomté à Saint Riquier

L'Abbé nommoit un vicomte pour exercer la justice pendant les trois jours de la fête de St. Riquier au mois d'Octobre, mais ce droit paroit être tombé en dessuétude. (Documents relating to theis vicomte date from 1250's through 1699.)

Manse abbatiale — Papiers féodaux concernans la censive de Saint-Riquier

Les cens et droits seigneuriaux appartiennent à M. l'abbé à la charge de paier 4^{s} 6^{d} à l'hôtel Dieu et 10^{s} 4 chapons à la Chapelle de S. Nicolas. Il y a cependant quelques cens et rentes de cette seigneurie réservés aux religieux suivant les partages et concordat avec M. l'abbé. (no date given for this information — all cited documents are of the 17th c.)

Manse abbatiale — Grosses dixmes sur le terroir de Saint-Riquier

Ces dismes se nomment es dixmes de Saint Benoit. Elles se perçoivent du cent 7 gerbes ou Waras dont les deux tiers appartiennent à l'abbaye, et l'autre tiers à la Chapelle de S. Benoit à l'éxception de quelques pièces de terres on le sieur Curé à deux tiers et le Chapelain l'autre tiers à l'éxclusion de l'abbaye. Le tiers de M. l'abbé est chargé de 4 setiers de bled et $30^{\#}$ en argent envers le sieur Curé selon le partage article 32. (documents of the 17th - 18th c.)

Fabrique de la Paroisse Notre-Dame de Saint-Riquier

—Acte d'homme vivant et mourant au nome de cette fabrique, des terres, rentes, tennemens, manoirs et jardins mouvans de notre abbaye, tant du corps d'icelle, de la prévôté que des cantiers, dont aucuns sont de l'ancien domaine du 24 Janvier 1463.

[copy of above]

—Copie informe de transaction sur procès ou sentence arbitrale entre Notre abbaye, la d. fabrique de Notre Dame et la confrairie de S. Nicolas par laquelle il appert entr' autres choses qu'icelle fabrique Notre-Dame tient cottierement de la d. abbaye tant à cause du Corps d'icelle que de la

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prévôté et des caritiers plusieurs terres et héritages repris et détailles en la d. transaction ou Sentence arbitrale.

2° Autres terres données à la même fabrique par M^lle Jeanne Dunette en son vivant épouse du sieur Decroix aussi tenues de la d. abbaye.

3° Autres terres et tennemens aussi légués et donnés à la d. fabrique. Cette transaction portant en outre que des terres appartenantes à la d. fabrique de l'ancien domaine, les maieur, Echevins et marquillers comme administrateurs d'icelle fabrique ne seront tenus wider leurs mains, mais pourrent les tenir et posséder en donnant homme, vivant, mourant et confisquant quand le cas escherra et en paiant le droit de relief tel que du quint denier de la valeur des d. terres, que les terres étans non de l'ancien domaine données et légués à la d. fabrique par la d. M^lle Dunette et par autres, les d. maire, échevins et marquillers seront tenus wider leurs mains. La d. transaction on sentence arbitrale d 18 Aout 1533.

Entry concerning Chapelle et confrerie de Saint-Nicolas

Bulle de Pape Clément IV addressé à l'abbé du Monastère de S^te Marie de Boulogne sur mer, pour laquelle il dit que l'abbé et les religieux de S. Riquier après avoir réprésenté au Pape Innocent son prédécesseur que l'Eglise paroissial de St. Nicolas qui étant batie propre fond de la d. abbaye et si voisine d'icelle qu'il n'i avoit qu'un mur qui les séparoit et éloignée en conséquence à l'Evêque d'Amiens pour faire changer cette Eglise et den faire construire une autre plus commode pour les paroissiens et celà aux frais de l'abbé et des Religieux de S. Riquier ce que celui-ci avoit négligé faire. Le Pape Alexandre donna cette Commission à son chancelier de Rouen conservant toujours les droits à l'évêque d'Amiens. Mais ce chancelier sous prétexte qu'on ne trouvoit pas la lettre originale du Pape Innocent adressé à l'Evêque d'Amiens quoi qu'il put être certain de ce qu'elle contenoit d'ailleurs, il a réfusé de se prêter dans cette circonstance, mais parceque l'abbé et les Religieux de S. Riquier persistoient dans leur demande il eu donne la Commission au d. abbé de S^te Marie de Boulogne sur mer.
Cette bulle donnée à Viterbe le ... Juillet l'an IIeme de son pontificat mois de Juillet 1266.

[This is followed by other letters and procurations of 1270's - 1280's regarding funding and construction of St. Nicolas.]

[Two fifteenth-century documents relate to the confraternity of St. Nicolas.]

Saisine obtenue en la mairée de cette ville au profit et usage des caritiers de notre abbaye sur la vent faite à leur profit par demoiselle Mehaut Bournelle de ? d'Yaucourt, de tous les droits et actions qu'elle avoit en 6^S et un chapon de cens chacun an à prendre sur la confrairie de S. Nicolas en Saint-Riquier, à cause du quart de trois tennemens et terres sis es fauxbourgs de cette ville en la rue de Friaucourt, les d. tennemens mouvans de notre abbaye par 10^S un chapon, un quart de chapon et 3 boisseaux de froment de cens chacun an du 7 Juillet 1437.

Lettres pour lesquelles il a été accepté au nom de la confrairie de S. Nicolas, comme légataire testamentaire de Guillaume de Hesdin, 18 J^X de terre sis au terroir de Sennemont, francs de dixmes, tenus de la d. abbaye à la charge de 24 messes chacun an à raison de deux chaque mois du 15 8^bre 1464.

Lettres concernant 47 J^X de terres en plusieurs pièces appartenants à la Confrairie de S. Nicolas dont est homme vivant et mouvant noble homme Jean de la Chapelle tenus cottièrement de notre abbaye les d. immeubles provenans à la d. confrairie de S. Nicolas, de Hugues de Hesdin, écuier seigneur de Benencourt, héritier de M. Jean de S. Blimond du 30 8^bre 1465.

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Items relating to Tresorerie

Droit d'étalage dans Saint Riquier

Ce droit se perçoit à raison d'un sous sur chaque boutique le jour de S. Riquier et le jour de S. Marcoul.
[Cites arrêt of 1292 by Philippe le Bel.]

Droit sur chaque boucher de S. Riquier

Ce droit est de 28 livres de suif (suis?) paiable par chaque boucher établi à St. Riquier.
— Sentence rendu en la prévôté de cette ville, qui condamme Jean Ségard boucher de cette ville à paier au trésorier $28^{\#}$ de suif propre à faire chandelles chacun an du 4 Mars 1479.
— Sentence sur complainte, des abbé Prieur et Religieux de ce monastère contre les bouchers de cette ville concernant le droit du trésorier dans lequel il a été maintenu et gardé et les bouchers condamnés aux dépens du 8 Mars 1493.

Droit d'afforage sur chaque pièce de vin et droit de gambage ou cambage sur chaque brassin de bierre.

cites a few 14th c. documents
from the 15th and 16th c. —
— l'extrait d'un mandement du Roi Charles concernant le droit que notre abbaye jouissoit alors d'une peinte de vin sur chacun pièce vendu en détail et à broche de l'an 1406.
— Acte par lequel il est constaté que chaque brasseur en cette ville doit chacun an au trésorier 4^{d} obole et poiterine parisis en date du 28 Juillet 1509, passé devant Jacques Delessau et Jean Devauselles auditeurs roiaux en cette ville.

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Appendix C*

Chronique de Pierre le Prestre

*Author's Note: This appendix includes excerpts regarding building history taken from *Saint-Riquier. II. Chronique de Pierre le Prestre Abbé de Saint-Riquier et Commentaires*, (Saint-Riquier, 1971), ed. G. Vasseur.

Chap. VI, 1457, fol. 135, (Vasseur, p. 13)

"Et a la saison qui estoit pour ouvrer ledit mars mondit seigneur prent la charge de mener les ouvrages lequel fist ceste annee paver toute leglise de grant carrel de hollande fist recouvrir de tieulle et de plonc au plus necessaire de ladite eglise aveuc autres ouvrages qui fourneroient de jour en jour commencha ausy a faire et a reedifier le chastel du Drugy qui estoit fort a ruine. Dieux par sa grace lui doinst force de entretenir de mieux en mieux."

Chap. VII. 1460, fol. 160, (Vasseur, p. 13)
[establishing a tomb and oratory in Virgin Chapel]

"En cest an mil IIIIC LX labbe pierre fit faire le sepulcre qui est en la chappelle nostre dame taller et paindre et la place la ou ledit sepulcre est pose it fist faire parellement loratoire en ladite chappelle et soubz icelle oratoire fit faire sa fosse pour le metre quand il definira de cest siecle il fist parellement paindre les miracles de nostre dame qui sont en la voute haut et tost apres fit faire les chayeles de ladite chapelle nostre dame fist faire la table dautel qui est en ladite chapelle et environ V ou VI ans apres le fist paindre comme elle est de present lesquelz ouvrages qui sont bien somptueux cousterent grans deniers."

Chap. X, 1465, fol. 214v, (Vasseur, p. 15-16)
[repairs to Drugy]

"En cest an mil IIIIc LXV le conte de charolois estant en son voyage labbe de Saint Ricquier estant ou chastel de Drugy lequel il avoit fait reparer honnourablement de machonnerie et carpenterie et avoit fait faire alees tout autour pour aler a couvert et conbler wit toureles estant esdites a la suite et a chacune sa baniere et banerole de plonc et de cuivre conbler parellement la grose tour pres de la grange qui paravant nestoit point conblee et se avoit fait faire trois montees de pierre lune pour monter ou dongon ou estoient les chambres dudit abbe et les deux autres pour monter es deux autres tours aveuc une montee de bos pour monter en ladite grose tour nouvelement conblee avoit fait faire ung puch en la court bien conblee et richement et sy avoit fait ledit abbe lambrousier bien richement toutes les dites chambres et tours qui avoit couste grant argent par quoy quant la guerre commenca sourdit grant clameur et furent contrains ledit abbe..."

Chap. XV, 1472, fol. 288v, (Vasseur, p. 29)
[items from Pierre le Prestre's will – establishing a perpetual, weekly mass to be read in the chapel of Notre Dame]

"En ce mesmes jour et anee ledit pierre abbe delivra et consigna en la main dudit prieur et couvent aultres mille francs courans quil ordonna estre emploies en ornemens pour la décoration de saditte eglise et incontinent ledit prieur nomme damps jaques de haudrecies en la compaignie de religieuse et honneste personne dampt mathieu de gand prieur des chartreux lez abbeville se partirent et alerent a bruges acheter les dits ornemens et eulx retournez le caresme ensieuvant ledit abbe fist venir ung ouvrier de saint aumer faisant cappes et ornemens nomme pierre fin auquel ledit abbe fist decopper et taillier lesdits draps qui estoient bien riches et en fist faire XIIII ou XV que casubles que tuniques

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domatiques cappes comme aultres draps servans a laditte eglise et en ce temps ledit abbe revint en sante petit a petit"

Chap. XVI, 1473, fol. 295v, (Vasseur, p. 31)

"En cest an LXXIII XXIIIe jour de juing et nuit de saint jehan. Ledit pierre abbe de leglise de saint Riquier se partist dabbeville et sen vint demourer a saditte eglise la ou il faisoit reparer de machonnerie les grans murs dautour de laditte eglise estant vers la porte saint jehan pres de la maison Renclus de morleens la porte de la bassecourt a ce coste les murs les murs des grans gardins et du petit cloistre vers laditte bassecourt qui gaires ne valoient ...

... Et a cause que ledit hostel estoit trop petit pour entretenir lestat de labbe entendant que ses successeurs si deussent logier apres lui en fist commencier en ceste dite anee ung nouvel joungnant aux grans murs de leglise tirant vers le beffroy de la ville de IIIIxx a cent pies de long joignant tant que len y povoit entrer par et par hault de laditte maison quil avoit fait faire lui estant prevost comme dit est. Et y avoit en laditte maison nouvelle commencie par ledit abbe six cheminees de pierre ouvrees de taille et de morlure bien richement et si y avoit une moult riche montee de pierre pour servir a toutes les chambres laquelle maison estoit onques pres parfaitte et de hucherie et de voirrye mais ledit abbe ne le peut parachever pour les grans guerres par lesquelles il convint quil se partist pour tyrer a saint omer pour sa seurete Et avoit couste jusques a son partement mieulx de mil et cinq cens livres."

Chap. XVIII, 1475, fol. 299, (Vasseur, p. 40-44)

[destruction of "all" preceding construction and repairs and beginnings of reconstruction]

"En oultre et en ung moment brullerent leglise dudit lieu de saint riquier le clochier et wit cloches cest ascavoir quatre grosses et quatre petites qui estoient bonnes et excellentes et du meilleur son quil en y eust nulles ou pays lesqueles furent toutes fondues. Avec ce brulerent tous les edefices que ledit abbe y avoit fait faire de son temps et aultres anciens ouvrages comme la chambre du prevost une chambre aupres que ledit abbe avoit fait rediffier la chambre nommee des guilles la chambre de loffice de laumosne la chambre de recepte qui toutes estoient joingnans a lostel dudit abbe et a laditte eglise. En oultre brullerent le chasteau de Drugy et partie de la ville le chasteau de la ferte la cense et la ville de bugni oviler baiguergues Willencourt et le molin a ble y...

... En ce temps ung petit apres noel pierre le prebre abbe de leglise de saint riquier fist reffaire et refondre quatre grosses cloches et trois petites a son eglise. fist aussi reffaire saditte eglise de machonnerie laquelle estoit par dedens toute cauffouree du fu qui y avoit este tant a ceste fois comme aux precedentes passees la ou il y faloit grant ouvrage Et en fut marchande a trois maistres machons cest ascavoir phelippe de bernay maistre machon dabbeville jehan le febvre et jehan panier lesquelz du commencement quilz firent leurs hours par dedens le clochier ilz ne les asseurerent point bien et monterent sur ledit hourt VII ou VIII hommes lequel hourt estoit bien hault et qui plus est par convoitise ilz ne gettoient point aval la pierre quilz en ostoient affin quilz neussent point de coust a le reporter amont pour remachonner car ilz avoient marchande en tache dudit ouvrage leur hourt souvrit et fondit par quoy il y eut ung des maistres machons tue tout roide et ung aultre son compaignon pareillement et deux aultres navres piteusement dont lun nomme jehan Daule demoura impotent toute sa vie sans jamais povoir pain gaignier."

Chap. XIX, 1476, fol. 303v, (Vasseur, p. 45-48)

"...En ce temps pierre abbe de saint riquier marchanda de faire de carpentrie le comble du clochier de saditte eglise lequel il fist faire a aguille dont il ny avoit jamais eut point la ou il y entra bois sans nombre comme len puet veoir. ...[Vasseur notes that "aguille" is the picard form for "aiguille" meaning the spire of the tower.]

...En ce temps ung petit devant noel pierre abbe de laditte eglise de saint riquier envoia a saditte abbeye deux navires dardoise quil envoia querir a dourderet en zellande la ou il y avoit IIIIxx millyers et VIc dardoise qui luy cousterent en tous fres mieulx de IIIIc et X escus et estoit pour couvrir ledit clochier et la nouvelle eglise quil commencoit a reediffyer comme dit sera cy apres. Quant laditte eglise de saint riquier fu brullee comme dit est paravant il y avoit ung commencement deglise cest ascavoir coeur et croisye à laditte eglise moult riche et qui avoit este fait passe trois cens ans mais il sambloit aussi nouvel que sil ny eust eu que X ans par quoy ledit abbe emprint de le parmonter de machonnerie et en marchanda à troiz maistres machons qui avoient refait ledit clochier lesquelz y ouvrerent une saison et neussent este

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les guerres ilz leussent eu parfait en lautre. Marchanda pareillement ledit abbe de faire les combles dudit coeur et de la croisie de carpenterie a ceulz qui avoient fait la carpenterie dudit clochier marchanda oultre de faire deux demy combles aux deux esles dudit clochier qui y estoient fort necessaires. Marchanda en oultre de faire unes cayeres [chaire] au coeur de ladite nouvelle eglise pourtant que les aultres avoient este brullees tous lesquelz ouvrages se continuoient a toute diligence neust este la guerre qui sourvint que dieux par sa grace veule en brief appaisier. ...

...Pendant ce temps ledit pierre abbe de saint riquier contendant de tout son povoir a reparer saditte eglise demolye par les guerres comme dit est marchanda a ung ouvrier de bruges de faire quatre colompnes de fin ouvrage de cuivre deux travers pour mettre les cierges quatre angles ung candelabre a VI branches pour mettre devant le grant autel avec une croche pour recepvoir le corpus domini de tele fachon quil en y a une grant autel de leglise saint bertin en saintaumer et doibt peser ledit ouvrage ensamble trois mil et de VI a VIIc libvres et fu marchande que ledit abbe paieroit pour chacune libvre des quatre angles six gros monnoie dartois et pour chacune libvre de tout lautre ouvrage V gros dont it bailla comptant pour erres cent et cincquante libvrez et si paya comptant ledit abbe pour aigle euvangillier audit ouvrier quil envoia incontinent a laditte eglise pesant IIIIc XXXIII libvrez a II sols VI deniers la libvre LV libvrez XVIII sols VI deniers aveuc ce fit ledit abbe faire a ung ouvrier dypre une oreloge pour mettre au clochier de saditte eglise pesant VIc libvrez dont il paya XL libbvrez et se fist fondre ledit abbe trois petites cloches entonnees pour faire appeaux a laditte oreloge pesans ensamble Vc LVII libvres a II sols VI deniers la libvre.

Item paya ledit abbe en ce temps pour le taille dune table dautel la ou est la passyon selon les VII heures du jour comprins le bac et les huisses XL libvrez et pour le paindre XXIIII libvrez de gros avec aultres petis fres. Et paya pareillement ledit abbe pour ung tablet pour mettre deseure sa sepulture la ou il y a ung ymage de nostre dame et ung angle representant la pourtraitture dudit abbe ung saint jehan saint pol et joseph et au dehors ung saint pierre et saint riquier dont ledit abbe paya en tout XXX libvrez Item et se fist faire ledit abbe pour servir aux demy doubles et aux dymenches XVI chappes quatre casubles deux turniques et deux domatiques pour tant que les aultres avoient este pardues a la destruction de laditte eglise ledit ouvrage de trillich fait de broudrie de fleurs de lis et de roses et doublez de vermeille toille et de noire Acheta pareillement ledit abbe autant de carrel noir de tournay de la carriere danthoing quil luy en faloit pour le cuer et croisie de saditte eglise dont il bailla pour erres au marchant nomme jauquiart roteleur LX libvrez et si acheta autant de carrel blancq a ung marchant de marquise lesdits carreaux de XIII paux descarrure dont il bailla es mains de labbe nostre dame de boullongne XXXVI libvrez lequel bailla plesge pour ledit marchant ung sien parent nomme symon luselier et jehan sterbecq bourgois de saint omer est respondant pour ledit jauquiart rotelleur. Aultre pour ce que ledit abbe sentoit quil faloit encoires beacop dardoise a ledit eglise il en acheta a deux marchans de saint aumer lun nomme francois tudvincq et lautre jehan clais deux navires de quatre vingts milliers avec ung millier de bors dirlande des meilleurs du pays pour faire les chaieres de laditte eglise et pour lambrucier le coeur dicelle et aultres affaires et leur bailla pour erres contant deux cens libvres courans en artois tendant ledit abbe tousjours a son pouvoir de reediffier saditte eglise et aussi que se dieu le prendoit devant son intention faitte que laditte matere demourast a leglise pour y estre employe par son successeur abbe et ses religieux."

Chap. XX, 1477, fol. 306, (Vasseur, pp. 48-68)
[description of church as "completely ruined"]
(55) "En ce temps le roy donna les fruicts de leglise et abbeye de saint riquier au cardinal de vienne a cause que labbe pierre estoit en la ville de saint omer lequel abbe estoit comme chartrier et impotent sans povoir aler hors de son hostel a cause des goustes qui moult le traveilloient journelement et lors que ledit cardinal ot le don tous les ouvrages cesserent en laditte eglise et print ledit cardinal tout a son prouffit emporta le pontifical de leglise croche et mytre et demoura laditte eglise en totale ruine laquelle avoit este demolye par les guerres comme dessus est dit et ledit abbe impotent sans avoir aulcune provision de vivre dieux luy doint patience et aux aultres qui ainsi perdent par lesdites guerres."

(65) (Pierre le Prêtre's final will, regarding the division of his goods: makes mention of the destruction brought by the French and of Pierre le Prêtre's contributions to the rebuilding of the church.)

Ledit pierre abbe de saint riquier estant encoires en laditte ville de saint omer et voiant quil nestoit encoires aulcune apparence de paix doubtant aussi fort la mort a cause de la maladie quil avoit

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obtint du princhе et de la princhesse ung mandement affin que sil aloit de vie par trespas durant lesdittes divisions fussent ses biens quil avoit par deca et ceulx appartenant a saditte eglise mis en main saulve et finablement reduits a saditte eglise duquel mandement la teneur sensieut de mot a mot.

Maximilian et marie par la grace de Dieu ducz daustriche de bourgongne et de lotherraine de brabant de lembourg de lucembourg et de gueldres contes de flandres dartois de bourgongne palatins de haynnau de hollande de zellande de namur de zutphem marquis de saint empire seigneurs de frise de salins et de malines a reverend pere en Dieu nostre ame et feal conseillier labbe de saint bertin en nostre ville de saint omer salut et dilection receu avons humble supplication de reverend pere en Dieu nostre tres chier et bien ame pierre abbe de saint riquier lez ponthieu ad present resident en nostre ditte ville de saint omer contenant comment des lan mil IIIIc LXXIIII il sest retrait en nostre ditte ville de saint omer pour tenir le bon party de nostre tres chier seigneur et pere que Dieu absoille et de nous sans soy oser tenir ne resider audit lieu de saint riquier pour doubte des francoys nos ennemys par lesquelz icelle ville de saint riquier fut substraitte de lobeissance de nostre dit feu seigneur et pere et depuis par eulx pillee robee ensamble laditte abbeye de sain tiquier brullee et destruitte grandement a la desplaisance dudit suppliant lequel a eut et a grand desir et avoit singulierement au par avant les divisions presentes de faire reediffier le plus quil povoit leditte eglise de saint riquier et icelle decorer et a ceste fin emploier ce quil eust peu finer de recouvrer ensieuvant ce ait fait faire et ediffier pluseurs ouvrages tant table dautel cloches comme pluseurs aultres choses en grant nombre et se ait achette pluseurs ardoises bois dalle marche et aultres choses pour le tout estre emploie a lediffication et decorement de laditte eglise..."

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Appendix D*

Joannis de Capella: Cronica Abbreviata Dominorum et Sanctorum Abbatum Sanctii Richarii. Nova Editio Quam Summariis Annotationibusque Illustravit.
ed., E. Prarond (Paris, 1893)

*Author's Note: This appendix includes excerpts, especially those pertaining to the construction of the church, from the chronicle commissioned by Abbot Eustache le Quiex in 1492.

Chap. XXXIV, pt. I; (p. 124)
[construction under Gilles de Machemont]

"Aegidius de Machemont, 34us abbas hujus coenobii Centulensis, oriundus de Chevincourt, fuit capellanus domini nostri papae et electus abbas anno Domini 1257, et rexit 35 annis laudabiliter. Fecit dedicare capellam sancti Andreae per episcopum Atrebatensem anno Domini 1274; fecit aedificare multa magna et sumptuosa aedificia, videlicet castellum de Drugiaco in quo composuit quatuor magnas turres et octo parvas..."

Chap. XXXIV, pt. II; (p. 127-128)

"Et restaurata est ecclsia ab omni vi et violentia durante tempore inquestae per ipsos maiorem et scabinos facta."

Chap. XLV, pt. IV; (p. 167)
[construction under Pierrre le Prestre]

"Praeterea, praenominatus abbas Petrus, in dicto mense martii praedicti anni, totius dictae ecclesiae reparationi et refectioni se dedidit et applicavit. Et in illo tempore totam ecclesiam magnis hollandresibus pavimentis ornatissime pavimentare fecit et tegulis et plumbo in utilioribus hujus dictae ecclesiae locis, cum aliis operationibus dictu provenientibus, tegere et cooperire procuravit. ...

Perinde praenominatus abbas Petrus, anno Domini 1460, ab imaginariis statuariis et pictoribus quoddam sepulcrum in nostrae Dominae capella existens effigiare et pingere constituit; et ibidem quoddam oratorium, quibusdam nostrae Dominae miraculis depictis, honorifice construxit, sub quo oratorio, jam propter novam hujus dictae ecclesiae reparationem demolito et evulso, suam elexit sepulturam; similiter cathedras et dictae capellae altaris tabulam, cum multis aliis operationibus et constructionibus, multis pecuniis constantibus, agere procuravit."

Chap. XLV, pt. VII; (p. 174)
[Pierre gives money for weekly perpetual mass and for decorating the church.]

"Eo tempore, in ultima die decembris, aspera et inenarrabilis (incurabilis?) dicto Petro abbati crevit aegritudo. Quamobrem, concordia et sui totius conventus deliberatione, suam extremam voluntatem atque ordinationem disposuit. Et illico unum annuale et anniversarium missarum pro ipsius et suorum parentum, amicorum et benefactorum animabus, incipere et perficere constituit, videlicet unum in sua praedicta abbatia, unum in Carthusiensium monasterio juxta Abbavillam, et aliud in Cordigerorum Abbavilllensium monasterio. Item, praenominatus abbas consignavit et numeraliter tradidit in manu sui prioris et totius conventus mille francos monetae currentis, ad acquirendos et redditus emendos haereditales profundatione unius missae hebdomadalis et perpetuae, diebus mercurii, in dicta capella Nostrae Dominae, videlicet de Sancto Spiritu, eo vivente, et prodefunctis post ejus obitum, cum diacono et subdiacono in perpetuum celebrandae.

Item, eisdem die et anno, alios mille francos dictae monetae dedit et tribuit et in ornamentis ecclesiasticis ad decorandam hujus loci ecclesiam exponendos esse ordinavit. (p. 175) Quo facto, dominus Jacobus de Haudrechies, hujus abbatiae prior et dominus Matheus de Gandano, prior Carthusiensium, ad

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dicta ornamenta emenda Burgis iverunt. Ipsis autem regressis, dictus abbas quemdam operarium casularium nomine Petrum Cautum, gallice *Pierre Fin*, de Sancto Odomaro, mandavit. Qui dictus casularius pannos sumptuosos abscidit et quartuordecim aut quindecim ornamenta, veluti cappas, casulas, tunicas et domaticas, et caetera, fecit construxit et sumptuose sarcinavit ornamenta. Qui postea praenominatus abbas suam recuperavit et restauravit sanitatem."

Chap. XLV, pt. VIII; (p. 175)

"Anno Domini 1473, 23a die junii, in nocte Sancti Joannis, praenominatus petrus de Abbatisvilla in suam abbatiam rediit, et illic portam bassae curiae et magnos muros versus portam Sancti Joannis et muros grandium hortorum et (p. 176) parvuli claustri, pauci valoris existentes, reparare et remurare procuravit; ... Pro ejus autem majoritate et excellentiori reparatione, mille et quingentis libris postmodum sibi constitit, sed, causa belli in his partibus existentis, ob quod dictus Petrus ad Sanctum Odomarum repeditare debuit, adimplere, perficere quoque nequivit. ..."

Chap. XLV, pt. X; (p. 180)
[after the 1475 destruction}

"Bello cessante, praenominatus Petrus quatuor grossas companas et tres parvas refundere fecit et suam dictam ecclesiam, uti potuit, destructam remurare, tribus lathomis ac lapicidis mercatus est; quorum unus in dicti campanilis remuratione, cum uno suorum consortum, interfectus est, et duo alii manu operararii miserabiliter laesi.

Anno autem 1476, praenominatus abbas cuidam carpentario dictum campanile tecto lignario, cum pyramide, quod nunquam extiterat, construi et effici mercatus est; pro cujus tegimine aut tectura praenominatus abbas quatuor viginti millia et sexcentuum ardosiarum quadrigentis et decem scutis emit; et inde, posse suo, dictae chorum ecclesiae melius quam potuit relevare procuravit; pro qua lapidea relevatione praedictis lathomis mercatus est, et illic unico anno operati sunt. Consimiliter, pro dictae corporis et chori (p. 181) ecclesiae, et alarum dicti campanilis tecto, et pro cathedris construendis, eisdem mercatus est, quae ab eis (ni praelia supervenissent) successive continuabantur.

Item, praenominatus abbas hanc ecclesiam, per praedicta praelia penitus demolitam, toto posse, reparare et reaedificare contendens, multa dona et sumptuosa munera eidem contribuit, videlicet quatuor columnas aereas, duo brachia cuprea cereos sustinentia, habentes quatuor angelos dictis columnis superpositos, et quoddam instrumentum tornatile, gallice crochet, ad recipiendum corpus Domini medio altaris suspendens, et unummagnum et extensum candelabrum sex ramos cupreos continens coram magno altari consistens. Pro quibus omnibus tribus millibus sexcentum et quinquaginta libris ponderantibus, cuidam mercatori Brugensi septingentas libras, vel eo circa, monetae currentis persolvit. Item, unam aquilam evangeliariam quadringentis et triginta tribus libris ponderantibus quinquaginta quinque libris octo decim solidis et sex denariis, pro quacumque libra 2 s. 6 d. persolvens dicto operario, emit.

Item, pro uno horologio, pro campanili dictae ecclesiae, sexcentum libris ponderante, quadraginta libras dictae monetae cuidam operario *d'Ippre* tradidit et praebuit; proquo quidem horologio tres campanellas intonitas quingentis et quinquaginta septem libris ponderantes, sexaginta novem libris duodecim solidis et sex denariis cuidam campanario emit. Item, pro magni altaris tabula 184 libras persolvit. (p. 182) Item, pro quadam tabula in qua beatae mariae virginis imago et praedicti abbatis repraesentatio sumptuose depinguntur 30 libras contribuit.

Item, sex cappas, 4 casulas, 2 tunicas et 2 domaticas liliis et rosis sumptuose contextas, in semiduplo et diebus dominicis deportandas, huic ecclesiae sufficientia pariter et alba, a quodam mercatore de Marquise empta, huic dictae ecclesiae provisit et alia plurima dona, quae, propter prolixam et longam recitationem et narrationem, a nobis praetermittuntur."

Chap. XLVII; (p. 189)

"Theobaldus de Baiencourt fuit XLVII abbas hujus coenobii, successor dicti Eustacii. Qui ecclesiam a praedecessore incoeptam perfecit multisque ornamentis illustravit. Campanas in campanili apposuit; chorum pulcherrime tum cappis tum casulis ornavit; sacratissima patroni nostri S. Richarii ossa in magnificentissima capsa, auro argento et gemmis adornata, collocavit."

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Appendix E*

19th-20th century Restoration Records for Saint-Riquier (including descriptions of the building)

*Author's Note: This appendix includes excerpts from and descriptions of restoration records for the abbey and church of Saint-Riquier kept by the Monuments Historiques. The dossier numbers refer to the Monuments Historiques file numbers.

[Dossier 2985:1]

1818, June 18: [Letter of appropriation of 10,000F for "restauration"]
describes monument "qui fait honneur à la france, doit etre d'autant plus conservé, que le vandalisme en à detruit un grand nombre qui décoraient le Royaume, servaient de témoins de sa puissance, des grands architectes qu'il avait posséder en de la religion de son people."
Most urgent repairs needed are of flying buttresses and where they meet lower parts of church. Also need repairs to lead coverings and iron rods for south transept. Total funds requested were 68.250F over 6 years = 11.300F per year (asking for 10.000 in this year).
Response: "Le Conseil, après avoir entendu le rapport de la Commission les observations de l'Architecte, considerant que l'Eglise de St-Riquier mérite d'être conservée comme un des plus beaux monumental d'Architecture que la france possède adopte l'allocation de 10,000F proposée par M. l Prêfet ..."

1818, Sept. 13: [Report of Guy de Gisors giving objections to plans of Cheussey and offering alternatives.]
Excerpt from report describing proportions of the church:

"Le plan proprement dit, de l'Eglise de St-Riquier est un veritable modèle de distribution intérieure pour un temple catholique quelque puisse être le style de l'Architecture dont on voudrait le composer. Les dimensions de toutes les parties sont des alignotes de ses dimensions générales. Par exemple, sa longeur mesurée des piliers intérieurs qui portent la tour, jusqu'à ceux où le chevet ou rondpoint commence, a deux fois la largeur de la nef et des bas côtes mesurés ensemble. Ces bas côtes ont chacun de largeur la moitié de la nef. Celle-ci a exactement de longeur quatre fois la largeur mesurée depuis les susdits piliers de la tour, jusqu'à ceux où le rondpoint commence. Les quatres piliers de la voûtes de la croisée, sont distants les uns des autres de la largeur de deux des entrècolonnements des piliers de la nef. Les cinq travées de voûtes qui pourtournent le roundpoint du choeur, mesurées sur la prolongation de l'Axe des bas côtes, ont chacune la même largeur que les travées de voûtes de ces bas côtes, c'est à dire, chacune une huitième de la longueur de ces bas côtés qui ont par conséquens eux-mêmes de largeur, le huitième de leur longueur. La profondeur des chapelles qui sont autour du choeur, est de la moitié de la largeur des bas côtes. Enfin je le répète, le plan de l'Eglise de Saint Riquier est par les proportions et sa parfaite et symétrique régularité un modèle de distribution pour cette sorte d'Eglise.

Cette même division en alignotes se fait remarquer dans les parties de l'élevation intérieure de cette Eglise. La hauteur des premiers arcs ogives compris l'Acrotères ou la frise qui les surmonte, est exactement la moitié de la hauteur totale de la nef. L'intervalle compris entre le dessus de l'imposte de ces arcs ogives et le dessus de la corniche sur laquelle pose l'Acrotère qui est an dessus est des 2/9 de la hauteur des piédroits de ces mêmes arcs. La hauteur des piédroits ou piliers du deuxième rang d'arcs ogives est exactement le 1/9 de celle comprise entre le dessus dudit acrotère et le desous de la clef de la voûte de la nef et du choeur. Enfin ou retrouve cette

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même subdivision en alignotes dans toutes les parties du portail.

Une telle combinaison de proportion dans un genre l'Architecture pour la composition duquel on n'a encore trouvé nulle part aucune régle et qui en conséquence peut être considerée comme fantastique; l'exacte symétrie entre toutes les parties de l'interieur d'un édifice composé de ce même genre d'Architecture qui au contraire se fait généralement remarquer par les formes différentes de parties qui se correspondent par leur disposition et par leur masse l'homogéneité des piliers, fuseaux, voûtes, arcs, voussures, nervures, ornements, etc., etc., de ce même édifice; en un mot une parfaite Eurythmie place faut contredis l'Eglise de l'ancienne Abbaye de St-Riquier au rang de nos édifices gothiques qui sont les plus recommandables et les plus dignes d'Admiration, moins toutefois comme des monuments de l'Art que comme des monuments historiques curieux et intéresants.

1819, Mar. 25: [Report of de Gisors to Conseil des Bâtiments civils]
RE: question of whether to keep church or whether to demolish part of it in proportion to needs of the parish. Unanimous vote to keep whole church. Estimate of 68.250F was submitted for most urgent work of restoration. "Les ouvrages consistent en maconnerie, Charpente, Couverture, Serrurerie et Plomberie."

1822, Jan. 8: [Report of work carried out to date]

La Travaux exécutés jusqu'à ce jour ont eu principalement pour but de recosolider la façade latérale a l'exposition du midi et de rétablir entièrement à neuf les arc-bouttant qui la sontiennent, ce Travail a été heureusement entreprit e terminé dans le cours de la campagne quie vient des récouler et ne laisse rien à désirer dont le rapport de la bonne exécution.

...renouvellement à neuf de la Galerie à jour qui couronne la Tour qui fait la principale décoration du Portail.

La couverture du grand Comble a été mise en bon Etat et ne assez grande superfiere ? a été entièrement renouvellée à neuf. Les bas cotes ont été aussi couvenablement réparer surtout celui à l'Exposition du midi ce qui complette la restauration de cette façade.

Partout on il était besoin de faire des réparations à la plomberie, on s'en est occupé & cette partie trés important de l'Eglise est en assez bon Etat."

[Proposals of work to be done now (Jan. 1822)]

1. retablissement d'une partie de mur attenante à l'une des chapelles du choeur à l'Exposition du midi
2. àlureprise ? en sont autre d'un contrefort de la façade an conchant ?
3. pour le rétablissement du Pavé et des Marebet du Parvis
4. continuation des réparations de la couverture
5. renouvellement de quelques parties des Tables de Plombs des Terrasses

[hopes to complete this work within one year—signed by Cheussey, architect]

1822, April 22: [Report to Council requesting additional funds because the north elevation of church is in much poorer state than anticipated (request approved by Council)]

1824, Aug. 10: [Report made to "Conseil des Bâtiments Civiles" by M. Gourlier about repairs to vaults, but begins with statement that exterior restorations have been completed]

Les travaux entrepris à l'église de St.-Riquier ont été terminés en 1823; les parties extérieures de la grande nef et des bas côtes sont complettement restaurées et considerées de manière à assurer pour long temps la conservation de ce beau Monument.

(current request for:) ... les réparations à faire aux voûtes à l'intérieur de l'édifice, principalement à celles des bas côtes et du bras de la croix au midi: cette dernière partie a un besoin urgent d'être rétablie; plusieurs brèches s'y sont formées à l'endroit des nervures dont quelques pierres sesont détachées, ce qui a mis dans la nécessité de l'étayer. Les voûtes des bas côtes, comme il vient d'être dit, ont besoin de réparations, plusieurs nervures menacent ruine et l'autres ont été mal réparées et pourvaient tomber d'un moment à l'autre.

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1824, Oct. 9: [Approval for 10,500F for repair to interior vaults]

1828, April 12: [Report from Préfecture de la Somme to Ministry of Interior with account of spending to date:

*First project for ext. restor.	71,636.95
*supplementary request for ext.	26,672.00
*restoration of vaults	10,500.00
*continuation of restor.	11,760.00

(amount asked for and amount spent don't exactly match and author of letter explains why — very small discrepancies)]

1829-1831: [Several letters between the Préfecture de la Somme and the Ministère de l'Interieur relating to money appropriated for restoration and maintenance; no specifics on work done; usually sum is for 3000F "pour réstaurations"]

[Dossier 2985:2]

1838, Feb. 23: [Letter from Préf. de la Somme to Min. de l'Int. re: 3000F for couverture, plomberie and jointoiement au ciment romain & 15.000F for consolidation including charpente and maçonnerie. Also includes estimate of 3000F to redo steps of stair turrets which are of a soft stone and therefore in poor repair.]

1841, July 26: [Letter/Report asking for augmentation to emergency fund for restoration of the frescoes of the treasury—gives brief history of abbey as part of justification for funding.]

1841, Oct. 12: [Letter written by L.C. de Belleval, corespondant du Comité des Arts et Monuments du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, to the Min. de l'Interieur. Interesting history of abbey given in request for aid.]

Fondée en 1487, sur l'emplacement de trois autres temples inéchivanent ? ruinée, l'Eglise Abbatiale de Saint-Riquier fut terminée dans les premières années du XVIème siècle, elle est entièrement construite dans le stayle Gothique, à l'éxception, peut-être, du portail, dont le gout commence à faire presentir l'influence de la renaissance: les proportions de cette basilique sont vastes, ses voutes d'une grande hardiesse, son ornementation trés riche, et cependant d'un style pur et sévère.

Les Abbés de Saint Riquier se plurent ont laisser dans leur église de nombreuses traces de leur opulence. Des stalles sculptées, les mosaiques, les marbres précieux vivrent tour à tour décorer le choeur de la basilique. Malheursement, les travaux ne furent souvent éxécutés qu'au détriment de la beauté architecturale du vaisseau. Des tableaux de prise decorent les autels des Chapelles laterales; citer à votre excellence le nom du Boulanger, du Paillet, du Sylvestre, ...
... c'est lui faire connaitre la valeur des toites pour lesquelles vious ? sollicitons un secours: ces tableaux, altérés par l'humidité, ont le besoin les plus urgent du réparation...

1843, May 6: [Report on state of St.-Riquier from H. Dusevel, Inspecteur des Monuments historiques du Dép. de la Somme to Ministère de l'Interieure]
..."l'un des plus beaux et des plus magnifiques monuments qui existent en France."
[2 goals of his observations:
*to outline necessary repairs
*to describe what 'mutalilations' have already occurred (presumably by previous restorations)]

"On a en effet, Monsieur le Ministre, bariolé d'un ciment ? *rouge-vif*, tout le portail de l'Eglise de St-Riquier; on a rasé les clochetons qui surmontaient les contres-forts et on les a couronnés de cuvettes en zinc d'une forme vraiment ridicule; on a rétreci les deux fenêtres centrales des transepts ou nord et au midi, et pour compléter l'oeuvre du vandalisme, on n'a pas même pris la peine de faire les moulures à l'encadrement ou aux baies deces fenêtres, ainsi qu'on

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en remarque à celles laterales, le bas de ces derniers fenêtres était orné — d'une balustrade evidée et l'on a cru devoir supprimer cette ballustrade aux pénétrer centrales dont y'ni l'honneur de vous entretenir; Il est impossible de deviner pour quoi? — l'auteur de cetter barbare suppression eut bien fait de sa reparer après ce chef d'oeuvre de mauvais gout; mais pour le malheur du monument. Il n'en fut par ainsi: au transept sud, on a consolidé — à l'aide de piliers lourdes, d'un aspect désagréable et qui sont laisse au monument les murs de cette partie de l'Edifice qui serti aujourd'hui de sacristie. On auroit pu mieux disimiler ces piliers horribles, on auroit pu surtout, éviter de rétrecir de moitié des fenêtres qui sont maintenant mal a voir."

[Then he outlines the absolutely necessary repairs: (all exterior)]

1. la consolidation des sculptures del'arbe de Jessé, qui orné le tympan du Porche Central de la façade
2. celle de la Tour du portail
3. le renouvellement de la couverture de cetter Tour et deses abat-sons
4. la réparation du haut de l'escalier, en forme de tourelle, qui régne au côté gauche du monument
5. celle de la galerie des bas côtés quil conviendra même de reconstruire en quelques endroits
6. le rempiétement des piliers-butans, ou contreforts, qui sont dechaussis.

[Necessary repairs for interior:]

1. de réparer les vôutes de la chapelle St. Michel qui sont lezardées, et de rémedier à l'affaisement de celles de la Sacristie
2. de néttoyer les magnifiques tableaux qui ornent les principales chapelles du pourtour du choeur
3. et de passer un léger enduit sur ? les fresques vraiment curieuses qui décorent les murs de l'ancienne trésorerie et qui représent l'Histoire de la translation des rotiques ? de St. Riquier par Huges Capet, dans l'abbaye elevée en son honneur.

1843, May 15: [Original manuscript of Dusevel's *Notice historique et descriptive sur l'Eglise de l'Ancienne Abbaye de St. Riquier*]

(p.1) "L'abbé Eustache Lequieux, 54e abbé, posa la première pierre de ce beaux monument — vers l'an 1488." (though he didn't see it finished because he was killed by falling stone in April 1511) "Thibault de Bayencourt, son successeur, fit continuer les travaux, avec (p.2) ardeur et l'Edifice ne tarda pas à être complétement acheve."

façade is remarkable — all of "Gothique flamboyant" Lower part of façade is divided into 3 areas; dedicated (acc. to sculpture) to St. Angilbert, Louis XII and François I (though he doesn't identify sculpture by which he makes these attributions)

(p.3) gives dimensions, though someone has put an "x" in margin here. length = 104m, width = 25m, elev. of nave vault = about 25m, elev. of side aisle vaults = 13-14m.

(p.4) "Les piliers qui les (voûtes) supportent ne sont pas anguleux ou prismatiques come dans la pluspart des Eglises construites à la même Epoque. Ils sont ronds et cantonnés de quatre petites colonnes; un ornement courant composé de quadrupèdes et de feuillages, enrichir leurs chapiteaux."

"Les tribunes en pierre d'un travail admirable, se font remarquer au haut des diverse ? e travées que forment les arcades de la nef et du choeur; elles devoient offrir un magnifique coup d'oeil avant 1719, quand l'Eglise étoit encore decorée de ses belles vitres de couleur, et que leur rayons du soleil venoient teindre d'azur et de pourpre les sculptures elégantes de ces superbes tribunes."

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(p.6) "Deux vastes portiques existant au fond de chaque bras de la croisée sont dignes, aussi, d'attirer les regards, par l'élégance de leur structure et da ? richesse de leurs détails. ...Ils sont divisés en arcades ogives, terminées par une magnifique dentelle à jour, et surmontés de plusieurs niches sous lequelles (p.7) paroissent St.-Mauguille, St. Louis et Ste. Rose." (wrong attribution!)

"Onze (wrong) chapelles entourent le choeur. Toutes sont decorées de statues en pierre remarquables les unes par la beauté de la sculpture et le luxe de leur ancienne coloration, les autres par la singularité de leur costume et leurs attribu allégoriques." [Mentions each sculpture and something about the attribute or costume—doesn't take same interest in nave sculpture]

1843, May 19:[Letter from Dusevel to Min. de l'Int. with cost of proposed work]

1.	basic maintenance (entretien simple)	1,000F
2.	urgent work	60,000F
3.	less urgent work	20,000F
4.	work that could be differed	100,000F

[notes, as most letters do, that the small population of St.-Riquier cannot afford to pay for the upkeep or restoration; population is currently 1569. Says building should be considered a national monument.]

1843: [Reports by Daniel Ramée and Lion — with estimates for repairs to St-Riquier. Ramée's report also includes section on history of the abbey (in this section he notes that population of St.-Riquier is now 1300).]

(p.1) "Quoique cet édifice remarquable soit de l'époque de décadence de l'architecture à ogive, il est resplendisiant de grace et de bon goût, tout dans son ordonnance générale que dans ses diverses parties; il peut être considéré comme un des plus brillants joyaux du style flamboyant, comme un des monuments les plus signe de frapper l'attention des artistes et des antiquaires de tous les pays. Quelque variée et capricieuse qui soit son ornementation architecturale, sa décoration mathématique, formée de lignes et de surfaces, ce monument offre les types les plus beaux et les plus purs et en même temps [?] les plus complèts, de cette archiecture fantastiques du règne des quatre derniers Valois de la branche aînée. Le goût le plus délicat, le sentiment le plus firs ?, ont concouru a la conception élégante de l'ensemble et surtout des détails. L'architecture et la sculpture de l'église de St-Riquier, excluent le divergondage effréné de l'imagination en délire, dirait on, et si licencieuse des artistes de la fin du XVe siècle, licencieuse sous le rapport de l'art toutefois. Un calcul, une combinaison savants des figures de géometrie, qui ont servi de diagrammes aun compartiments supérieures des fenêtres et en général de toutes les baies vraies ou feints ?, prouvent quil'architecte qui a conçu l'église de St.-Riquier, était un home supérieur, un homme de goût surtout, et qui semble avoir voulu faire (p.2) briller son oeuvre au dessous de toutes celles de son époque. L'architecte de S.Riquier, il ? nommait Jean Lesveillié.

Si quelque création architectonique est capable de réhabiliter l'architecture du XVe siècle aux yeux d'un artiste ou d'un critique, prévenus même rationnellement contre les oeuvres de cette époque, l'église de Saint-Riquier est la pour leur faire modifier leur opinion. Ils trouveront dans cet édifice un ensemble complet, libre, coordinné dans toutes ses parties, affranchi de la nécessité de s'accoupler forcément à des constructions antérieures, à des conceptions des XIIIe et XIVe siècles, dont l'imposant grandeur et la sublime simplicité engagent souvent, mais si nivoloutainmuet ? quelques fois, à prononcer un jugement trop sévère et trop absolu sur les monuments élévées depuis Charles VI jusqu'à Louis VII."

..."L'église est restée inédite jusqu'à ce jour."

..."M. Gilbert a publié en 1836 une déscription historique de notre monument. Mais l'auteur, quoique plein d'enthousiasme pour son sujet, n'est point entré dans une appréciation esthétique de l'oeuvre d'art. Les quelques vuew publiées de S. Riquier sont inexactes ou trop petites."

(p.3) [In recommendations for resoration, Ramée notes that it's not simply a matter of restoring the structure — but that the sculpture is also in need of restoration: therefore,

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"L'architecte devra s'y montrer non seulement connu constructeur, mais encore connu artiste."]

[RE: the stone]

"La pierre du Ponthieu est fort tendre, celle du Pont-de-Remy surtout, entraite à dix kilomètres de distance de St. Riquier; elle reçoit avec une égale facilité l'influence del'air, de la pluie, de la geleé, et ce qui ?..." notes effect of weight of stone, etc from above. Greatest amount of work is necessary on the balustrades, the stair turrets/towers, the buttresses, the flyers, etc.

[The lower, interior of the church also needs restoration work —]

"Le pied intérieur du monument demande une restauration partielle. Elle est indispensable; mais elle sera peu coûteuse. Bon nombre des balustrades intérieurs est à remplacer. D'autres parties seront déposés sur des corniches et des larmiers nouveaux, l'eau et la gelée ayant dégradé ou même détruit les anciens.

La presque totalité des plombs est en bon état; mais ils sont mal posés."

(p.4) [Notes two fissures on east side of tower — suggests iron rods to repair and stabalize.]

"Les deux clochetons latéraux du portail seront remplacés, ainsi que le couronnement des deux tourelles de ce portail."

"Tout le monument doit être rejointoyé en ciment de Tuileaux (? or Fuileaux). ...Le même mastic sera employé aux restaurations des trois porte d'entrée et à leur tympan, ainsi qu'en général sur toutes les portions du monument où des dégradations se sont manifestées, surtout à celles qui présentent des surfaces inclinées."

(p.5) [Notes that in several places in the interior, that brick has been used in restoration — esp. in the stair turret, at about a height of 10 meters, brick has been used to replace the stairs.] "Ce travail a été fait sans soin et surtout sans intelligence. Les nouveaux matériaux se sont mal liés aux anciens. Il faudra placer de nouvelles marches et faire disparâitre la brique partout où elle se trouve, elle se détache déja en certains endroits."

[Criticizes previous restorations in a section entitled "Mutilation moderne de S. Riquier"]

"L'incapacité qui a présidé à l'exécution des travaux de consolidation de l'Eglise de St-Riquier est trop grande, trop flagrante, pour que nous puissions passer sous silence ses effets nombreux. Les restaurations faites depuis une quinzaine d'années peuvent être réputées comme autant de mutilations capitales, ayant singulièrement défiguré le monument et compromis sa solidité. L'architecte n'a pas seulement prouvé qu'il n'était nullement constructeur. C'est un homme cependant fortement protégé par le conseil des bâtiments civils."

[Notes that person (architecte du Dept. de la Somme) in charge of restor. of Nôtre Dame, Amiens as well as St.-Riquier is a former engineer of bridges and roads, having been trained as a military architect. (p.6) (Then names him as Cheussey.)]

[continues harsh criticism of Cheussey ...]

"Le plus simple amateur d'architecture aidé des secours d'un maître maçon de village, tant soit peu bavile, aurait sans nul doute montré plus de talent, plus de zèle à conserver le cachet à ce monument, un des plus remarquables de la France ..."

[Roof of nave needs to be replaced. Charpante is 300 yrs. old (?) Ramée offers solutions for replacing beams and rafters, etc.]

(p. 7) [Suggests the same needs to be done for the roof of the Virgin Chapel.
Other absolutely necessary work is the reinforcement of the s. transept buttressing, where the claustral building have been demolished.]

(p. 8) [Suggests replacing mullions and moldings/tracery of s. aisle windows and replacing the gables which formerly adorned the s. aisle which were cut away creating a passage.
Notes also that the arcade between lower and upper flyers of the s. elev. have been removed.] "On

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a non seulement péché contre les régles du bon goût, contre les devoirs d'un architecte chargé de restaurer, mais encore contre les régles de l'art de construire, contre celles de la statique. Car ces arcades avaient là une certaine valeur comme poids. Elles reforçaient les entrés, les arcs boutants et les contreforts."
[Notes enormous amount of lead used in Cheussey's "restoration"] — "Il semblait vraiment qu'un plombier ait été chargé de ces restaurations." [Cheussey's main concern seemed to be to channel the water down and away from the stone.]

(p.10-11) [Outline of work necessary and charges]
Total estimate of 27,122.70
[Ramée also compares his estimate with that of Lion — Lion's total came to 33,311.30.]

1843, 25 March: [Added to previous report is that of Lion. A more pragmatic report; getting directly to necessary work.]

1. Remplacer les sablières basses recevant l'abouts des chevrons de la charpente. ces sablières sont presque toutes pourries, ainsi que quelques chevrous, le tout y compris les travaux de couverture resultant de cette réparation.
2. Remplacer tous les chaineaux en plomb qui sont crevés ou pouaris.
3. Terminer la réparation de toutes les couvertures.
4. Enlever les herbes qui poussent dans les gargouilles en pierre et généralement dans toutes les autres parties extérieurs de l'église.
5. Du côté de la Tour du Portail qui regarde le toit de la grande nef; remplacer toute la corniche supérieur qui est dans le plus mauvais etat et réparer plusieur lézardes.
6. Réparer tout le contrefort droit du Portail, qui est en assez mauvais etat.
7. Réparer un contrefort au droit du bras gauche de la Croix, les eaux se sont infiltrées au pied e tout formé une grande lizarde.
8. Changer les mauvaises pierres à tous les soubassement où cela est necessaire et notamment au côté gauche de l'église prés du Portail.
9. Réparer les deux Pignon des extremités des bras de la Croix dans la hauteur du Comble.
10. Réparer la couverture en pierre de la petite Tour à droite du Portail.
11. Réparer et remplacer toutes les balustrades, cassés rangées ou prêtes à tomber, ainsi que celles qui manquent complément.
12. Faire au pourtour des murs de l'église un trottoir pavé pour assainir le pied de ces murs.
13. Démolir les petits auvents qui sont appliques contre les murs de l'église, ainsi que la petite barraque contigue au portail.
14. Au droit de tour les tuy ? aux de descente qui n'en n'ont pas, placer des cuillères en pierre et practique des ruisseaux pour eloigner les eaux pluviales.
15. Réparer les pignons des bas côtés au pourtour de l'église, qui ont été coupé pour le passage des chaineaux, mettre des gargouilles à la place.
16. Réparer les abat sous les cloches; ils sont au droit de la grande Tour et dans le plus mauvais etat.
17. Réparer et consolider les maine aux encadrant l'abre de Jessé au dessus de la porte d'entrée principale du Portail.
18. Réparer le statue de la Vierge et celle de Jessé qui est au dessus.
19. Au Pourtour extérieur de l'église, réparer les clochetons en mauvais etat qui couronnemnt les contreforts.
20. Terminer les moulures au pourtour des croisées refaites recemment, au droit des bras de la croix, ces moulures manquent.
21. Faire tous les jointoyement necessaire, au pourtour des murs extérieur de l'église.
22. Remplacer e pierre, diverses réparations faites en briques apparentes au Portail, ainsi qu'aux deux escaliers qui flanquent le Portail.
23. Refaire tous les joints mal faites au Portail.
24. A l'intérieur de l'église , il y a plusieurs lézardes à boucher, et quelques agrafer enfer à placer.

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25. Supprimer le toit qui couvre la Tour milieu du Portail et le remplacer par une couverture enterrasse garnée de Plomb; afin de supprimer cetter affreuse couverture qui surmonte le sommet de la Tour.
26. Réparation et mise en etat couvenable, avec et y compris le ragréement des huit croisées reconstruites en 1841 par un ouvrier du pays.

estimate of most urgent work (1-12) 17,900
estimate of less urgent work (13-26) 12,383

1843, June 16: [Letter from Minis. of Interior saying he will appropriate 10,000F over the next 3 years for repairs to St-Riquier: 1843-2,000; 1844-4,000; 1845-4,000. Appropriation is made on condition that M. Lion's proposal is accepted. Money is to be used toward what Lion described as "most urgent work."]
May 26, 1843: [meeting of Commission outlines above letter]

1843, Sept. 6: [Letter to M. le Comte Duchâtel, Min. de l'Int., à Paris from Ambassador of Belgium. Amb. asks for information (if any) regarding the "artiste flamande, natif à Ypres" who Pierre le Prêtre commissioned to make the clock for the church tower. Information requested "dans l'intérêt des sciences historiques."]

1843, Sept. 15: [Response to the ambassador. Min. of the Int. regrets that there is no document to give him the necessary information. "Un seul notice sur l'Eglise de St-Riquier indiquer, un Abbé Eustache Lequieux comme ayant pose vers l'an 1488 le première pierre de la monument, qui n'aurait été acheve que sous Thibault de Bayencourt, son successor." Notes that the architecture has been attributed to master mason Jehan Lesveillié, but there is no information on the clock.]

1844: [Several letters during the first half of the year about how work hasn't started yet and the need for an architect to come to St-Riquier to begin the work. Letters are from the Prefet of the Somme to the Min. of the Int.]

1847, July 20: [Report by Ramée about what has been done and what remains to be done.]
1. consolidation of north part of west façade, including towers, buttresses, windows — "Toutes ces parties sont exécutées dans le plus riche style flamboyant de la fin du XVe siècle, cequi arendu leur restauration fort chère."
2. restoration of buttresses, towers, frieze, cornice and balustrade of first chapel on north of choir.
3. reconstruction of great part of west wall of south transept — difficult work, requiring much scaffolding.

21,730F has been spent
4-5,000F still required to carry out most urgent work.
[Ramée warns at the end of his report, that each delay causes further degradation — "Chaque année de retard amène denouvelles dégradations."]

1849, May 15: [List by Ramée of necessary urgent work for south transept; totalling 5,060F]

1849, Aug. 30: [Notice from Minister of some funds allocated.]

1851, Aug. 1: [Report of the Commission of Monuments historiques by M. Merimée. (Architect now in charge at St-Riquier is Verdier.)]

[Merimée writes:] "A mon avis l'église de St-Riquier mérite un intéret tout particulier, la disposition de l'église est magnifique, et son ornamentation bien qu'elle soit emprime du caracter d'une époque de décadence de l'art, se distingue cependant parmi celle, de tous les monuments

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de la même periode."
[Is alloting 2,500F for work (In all requests for funding it is always emphasized that it is for most urgent work.)]

1850: [Devis, letter and estimate from Ramée regarding Sacristy to be built to replace the one destroyed in 1789. estimate of 5044F. The sacristy is to used by the parish community. Section of proposed building included also.]

[Several requests for additional funds — needed to repair damage from weather, exposure, unexpected conditions.]

1863, Oct. 29: [architect in charge is now Daullé]
Daullé requests 10,000F for "les réparations extraordinaires et urgentes." This includes: "réparations à faire aux murs, larmiers, corniches, galleries, etc des chapelles de la Saint-Vierge, de Saint-Marcoul et de Saint-Jean Baptiste à ceux de l'ancien cloître et dela Trésorie, aux meneaux de quelques fenêtres, et surtout à la consolidation de la charpente du bras dela croix que le vent fait mauvais." — this description of necessary work comes from July 30, 1863 letter of Dusevel to Conceille l'Etat, Préfet de la Somme (after Dusevel had visited St-Riquier with Daullé).

[The 10,000F was paid for by special fund passed by law on 21 May 1864. Included in documents are several letters about importance of building, urgency of work and special nature of the funding.]

1870, Jan. 10: [Letter from Dusevel (Inspecteur Correspondant de l'Administration des Monuments Historiques) to Min. of Inter. asking for more money.]
"Cette église a été classée au nombre des Monuments Historiques du Département de la Somme et chaque année sur mon rapport et la proposition de M. le Préfet, le Conseil-Général lui accorde une somme de mille à douze cent francs, pour être emploiée aux réparations les plus urgentes dont elle a besoin.
Mais j'ai reconnu en la visitant soigneurement que ce faible secours est devenu insufficiant à ? des dégradations qu'ont esssayés ses contreforts, ses corniches et ses galleries; une somme de plus de Trente mille francs seroit necéssaire pour les remettre en bon état, ainsi que les meneaux de les fenêtres."

1873, May 13: [Dusevel writes to M. Ch. Blanc, dir. des Beaux-Arts, Membre de l'Institute ...]
"J'ai visité ces jours derniers la belle Eglise de Saint-Riquier; je l'ai trouvée en assez bon état sauf plusiers parties de corniches, de contreforts, de glacis et de galeries qui sont toujours à réparer, ainsi que la Chapelle de la Vierge." [N otes moss on many of exterior sculptures disfiguring the stone.]

1874, Jan. 15: [Duthoit submits (19 page) report to Ministère de l'Interieur: part history, part state-of-repair report.]

[ast page has what seems to be the original plan that is used by Gilbert in his 1836 book.]

[tract of report: "Ancienne abbatiale de Saint-Riquier"]
"Après la cathédrale d'Amiens, l'église de l'ancienne abbaye de Saint-Riquier est assurément l'édifice le plus vaste, le plus intéressant & le mieux conservé du Département de la Somme.
Le monument, pour la plus grande partie, appartient aux dernièrs années du XVe siècle et aux premières du XVIe. Les transepts, les piles de la croisée celles du choeur datent certainement du XIVe siècle; il pourrait même de faire que les piles de la nef, quoique décorées de bases et de chapiteaux accusant évidement le style du XVe siècle fussent, pour le gros oeuvre,

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contemporaines des transepts et des piles du choeur.
La sacristie actuelle se trouve de deux mètres environ en contre-bas du sol de l'église et pariat n'être qu'une partiéde l'ancienne cloître fermée après coup. elle appartient encore au style du XIVe siècle ainsi qu'une ou deux travées aujourd'hui ruinés de ce cloître.
Tous les auteurs qui ont décrit longuement ce bel édifice ont négligé de constater ce fait évident, mais attribuent la construction totale à Eustache le Quieux, cinquante-quatrième abbé, qui, en realité ne fit que restaurer et agrandir, sans doute, une église du XIVe siècle détruite en partie par le violent incendie de 1485. Les travaux de reconstruction & de restauration furent confiés à un maitre-maçon du pays dont le nome nous est parvenu. Eustache le Quieux posa la première pierre du portail actuel vers l'an 1500. Jehan Leveillé étant maitre de l'oeuvre.

Cette église et les richesses qu'elle renferme ont été décrites tant de fois par divers auteurs recommandables par leur science et leur talent, qu'il est inutile, je crois, de recommencer ici cette description et qu'il est préferable de se reporter aux travaux consciencieux des Padé, Gilbert, Dusével & Hénocque dont les écrits ont épuise le sujet.

Je rappellerai en deux mots que l'église de St-Riquier est en forme de croix latine; six travées, en comptant celle sur laquelle se dresse le clocher du grand portail, précédant les transepts. Neuf arcades enveloppent le choeur autour dequel rayonnent neuf chapelles. La chapelle absidale plus vaste que celle de la cathédrale d'Amiens, ferait, à elle seule, une trés belle église.

La disposition générale duu plan est large et toute symétrique.

En pénétrant dans le vaste vaisseau, il est difficile de contínir son admiration; l'effet est saisissant et l'impression première s'accentue encore par l'étude des détails harmonieux de ce grand ensemble. Cet édifice ne parait pas avoir en beaucoup à souffrir de la tourmente révolutionnaire; il a conservé toutes ses statues, tous ses tableaux, toutes ses boiseries, ses clôtures de marbre et de fer forgé qui, pour n'être point de l'époque de la construction première ne manquent point, cependant, d'un certain mérite et peuvent prêter à des études nombreuses et variées.

Il ne reste plus trace de verrières peintes; mais de riches meneaux flamboyants décorent encore toutes les larges baies qui inondent de lumière cette église dont la pierre blanche & brillante semble sortir de mains qui l'ont mise en oeuvre.

Des portiques portant de larges tribunes occupent l'extrémité des transepts; ils sont décorés avec toute la richesse que comporte le style du XVIe siècle de statues, de groupes, de figurines et d'ornements variés à l'infini. Une partie aveugle duu portique de droite renferme la tresorerie, petite salle couverte par une voute portée par de riches nervures & décorée de peintures du temps, curieuses tant au point de vue de la facture qu'à celui du sujet. Cette salle s'élève précisement au dessus de la sacristie dont j'ai dit un mot et on y accède par un degré de 22 marches portant du sol de la grande église. Les neuf chapelles rayonnantes dont les soubassements disparaissent jusqu'au glacis des baies, sous des rétables et des lambris en bois de chêne datant du XVIIIe siècle, sont encore décorées de nombreuses statues portées sur des piedestaux et surmontées de dais d'une extreme délicatesse.

Quelques-uns de ces figures sont de véritables oeuvres d'art.

D'assez jolies stalles, des portiques en marbre du même style que celui de la décoration des chapelles enveloppent tous les piliers du choeur jusqu'à une certaine hauteur; mais laissent cependant apercevoir l'ornementation des chapiteaux admirablement exécutées. Le naturalisme des sculpteurs du XIVe siècle ne s'est jamias-être, inspiré plus complèment de son modèle. Ces fleurs, ces feuillages qui courent en quirlande autour des corbeilles sont nature et semblent vouloir s'agiter au vent. Ces chapiteaux quoiqu'etant oeuvres du XIVe siècle sont postérieurs aux piles qu'ils couronnent. A quelques mètres duu sol, la section des piles se modifie brusquement; un plan nouveau est adopté et un nouveau faisceau de colonnettes retrant ici, debordant là, ne tenant aucun compte des assises inférieures, s'élance jusqu'aux châpiteaux où dans quelques piliers, il se transforme encore.

Des masques d'hommes ou de femmes, des montres enroulés sur eux-mêmes, sont sculptés aux extémités des colonnettes portant àfaux, et décorent sans chercher à le dissimuler, le parti pris des maitres de l'oeuvre.

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Le grand portail se compose d'une tour barlongue occupant toute la largeur de la grande nef et de deux parties moins élevées accusant la forme des collatéraux.

Dans le soubassement et dans l'axe des trois nefs, sont percées les portes; elles s'ouvrent sous de riches voussures couvertes d'ornements, remplies de goupes de statuettes et de statues. Ces voussures sont surmontées elles-mêmes de gables ajourés & découpés.

Deux escaliers surmontés de la couronne royale flanquent la tour centrale. Cet ensemble est assez froid, l'abus des lignes verticales saute aux yeux et fait oublier les autres détails dont beaucoup sont fort remarquables.

Sur les collatéraux des arcs-boutants modernes et sans style ont remplacé les arcs anciens dont l'ornementation était plus en harmonie avec la richesse de l'édifice; ils étaient vraisemblablement semblables à ceux qui existent encore autour du choeur.

Des restaurations assez importantes ont été entreprises, il y a quelques années; mais elles se sont portées beaucoup plus sur la forme et la décoration qui parle aux yeux que sur les parties vives de l'édifice. Les têtes et les pinacles des contreforts, les balustraes, etc., ont été refaits à neuf; mais les parties inférieures, les soubassements rougés (rangés?) par le temps, la végétation ou l'humidité n'ont point été touchées.

Ce bel édifice, qui pariat à première vue, assez bien conserve a souffert beaucoup de la ruine ou du mauvais entretien des contuites d'eaux, aussi bien dans les parties hautes que dans les parties basses où séjournent et croupissent les eaux qui n'ont point pénétré sous les combles et percé les voûtes. L'humidité est telle spècialement du côté droite, qu'elle traverse toute la largeur du collatéral pour aller attaquer les piles de la grande nef. Voila la vraie plaie de l'église de St-Riquier qu'il faut combattre et guérir avant d'autoriser toute autre espèce de travaux."

[Continues, that he sees most necessary work is to redo all the water conduites and channels in order to gethumidity from the stone. estimates the cost to be 40,000F]

[Continues with passage about how money provided by the Conseil Général is mismanaged — most of it going to architect's fees. Then criticizes architects for not really having best interest of the building as goal and not really being prepared to undertake the tasks of restoration.]

1888, May 18: [Report of Commission to the Min. of Inter.]
[submission for approval of proposal by Duthoit & Commission:]
"des travaux consistent dans la reprise d'un contrefort, la réction d'un arc-boutant & la restauration partielle des charpentes, couvertures, chêneaux & balustrades."
[Total needed: 29,614F
of which, 15,247 will come from commune
250 from 1887 imposition
14,200 requested from Département]

[Duthoit dies in 1888.]

1889: [Gence, architect of Abbeville is proposed to direct restorations at St-Riquier (recommended by Danjoy, who worked with Duthoit and continued Duthoit's work when he died).]

[Dossier 2986: (1892-1024)]

1892, March 12: [Requests for urgent repairs continues in letter of Danjoy to Min. de la Justice et des Cultes; although it doesn't make sense because according to letter of Dec. 16 1893, on March 4, 1892, 49,076F was approved for Danjoy.]

[These documents are all becoming formulaic — just about money.]

1893, Oct. 15: [Estimate given by sculptor, A. Chapot, of Paris for repair of exterior sculpture including:]

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frise sous la cornice [where?]
frise sous la cornice du transept
fleuron intercale dans la frise
crochets des pyramides des pinacles des contreforts
grande gargouille
gargouille of .80 - 1.0m in length
gargouille of .60 - .80m in length
fleurons of .5m height

[Estimate is approved 23 April 1894: at the same time, other work including masonry, carpentry, roofing and plomberie was approved.]

1902: [Records of M. Chapot being paid for sculpture, including, for the north transept:]
14 motifs in cornice crowing the rez-de-chaussee
4 chimères for buttress at height of cornice
4 gargouilles at summit of buttresses of Virgin Chapel

1903-04: Complément de l'installation des chéneaux en plomb — work "exécutés sur les chapelles rayonnantes du bas-côte nord, à la suite d'infiltrations provenant du mauvais état des chéneaux."

1906, July 18: [Request by Georges Durand, Archivist du dept. de la Somme, . "sollicite l'authorization de faire un sondage et, le cas écheant, une fouille dans le choeur de cet édifice, pour chercher la trace de l'ancienne crypte."]

1906, July 29: [Permission granted by Jean Hardion, Arch. en Chef des Mon. Hist.]

1907: Réfection des pignons des chapeles absidiales et du sommet des deux contreforts de la Chapelle de la Vierge.

1908: Etablissement de terraces en ciment armé au dessus du déambulatoire et des chapellles du choeur. proposed by architect Deneux for a sum of 39,747F.

1908, July 30: [Deneux's estimate is approved (work is authorized on Feb. 19, 1909 and begun on 26 June 1909, although by the time work began the estimate was up to 44,265F)]

1910-11: [Work being carried out to put in reinforced concrete terraces and to repair roof of Virgin chapel.]

1913: [Work continues on terrasses of s. aisle roof (part 3 of the 3 phase project). Deneux is still in charge.]

1922-23: Restauration de 4 contreforts de chevet et des toitures des bas-côtés flanquant le cloches au sud et au nord de l'édifice. Architect in charge is now Moreau.
[Dossier includes photos of buttresses, esp. damaged (by water and ice) at the lower parts. (photos show stones almost entirely washed away beneath the sill zone; though pretty good condition above the sills). Buttress restoration is described as urgent.]

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[Dossier 2986 (1925-1940)]

1926, July 12: [Letter of mayor of St-Riquier to Minis. de l'Instruction Publique et des B.A. asking if the church is insured against fire and if so, for what sum.]

1926, July 29: [Reply from Minis. saying that it is not insured by them, but that such insurance is the responsibility of the owner of the church, either the commune or the clergy.]

1927, Jan.: [Letters about installing elec. lights in the church (hence the inquiries about fire insurance.)]

1936: [Restoration of ramp of buttress and pinnacle of the 1st bay of the north side aisle and of the cornice of the nave. (postcard picture enclosed with area marked—upper buttress sections of n. side just below the tower)
(Request for this restoration was made in 1934)]

1937: [Restoration of 5 windows (clerestory) on north side of nave. (postcard of interior has arrow pointing to window of bay w2) Work is described as urgent — as a part of the window recently fell into the nave where the children sit while they learn their catechisme.]

1938: [Restoration of upper parts of the tower.
(photos of stone eaten away — balustrade at top of gable of w. facade)
reasons for restoration: soft stone of region and location near the sea are noted, as are dominant winds of the west and southwest. "Des morceaux de pierre se détachent journellement des facades et tombent sur le parvis, risquant de provoquer des accidents graves." (from report of March 31, 1938)]

1938, Dec.: [Request for urgent funding to repair mullions and glass panes of 1st clerestory window on north side of nave.]

[Dossier 2986: (1941-1952)]

1942-43: [Continued work ("trés urgent") on repairing/replacing stone of west tower.]

1942, Apr. 25: [Report regarding restoration of couverture of croisillon sud du transept; notes particularly that the storms of previous fall were especially damaging, leaving roof surfaces uncovered. (restoration approved Dec. 1942 and carried out 1942-46)]

1941-43: [Réfection des vitreries de losanges. Lozenges of white and lightly tinted glass of 23 windows, in esp. bad state. Lead armature is no long sufficiently strong to support the windows.]

1943: Restauration du pinacle nordouest de la tourelle d'escalier et de la balustrade du clocher.
[(Actually is a continuation of work approved in 1938/39, but halted because of the war — work is now necessary because of danger to the public.)]

1943, Dec.: Réfection of vitraux de la chapelle de la Vierge (Louzier, maitre verrier)

1945, July: [Repairs necessary because of war damage:]
"Consolidation des fenestrages et clôture provisoire des baies" services at church have been suspended because of danger of falling stones — "L'ensemble de l'édifice sans avoir été touché par aucune bombe a été fortement ébranlé par les bombardements pendant toute la durée de la guerre. Les meneaux et réseaux des fenestrages ont été plus ou moins endommagés."

1946-47: Remise en état des fenestrages à la chapelle Notre Dame, en vue de la pose de vitraux en

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cours d'exécution.

1947: Réfection des toitures, du versant est du transept nord, et versant ouest et est du transept sud.
"Les couvertures en ardoises de l'église de St-Riquier étaient déjà avant guerre dans un état de vétusté avancé. Au cours des hostilités, leur état a été encore aggravé par les éclats perdus de projectiles divers. Il n'est plus possible d'assurer la mise hors d'eau par de simples travaux d'entretien et leur réfection complète s'impose."

1949: [Urgent money needed for transport of window panes created in 1945 in Paris for St-Riquier, but not yet transported. Glazier can no longer keep them in his studio.]

1949-50's: [Notes regarding "tresor" and other art objects of the church. Describes various objects, reliquaries, etc.: 13th c. handwarmer, 14th c. liturgical bell (sonnette liturgique en cuivre), 17th c. chalice, 15th c. wood statue of seated bishop (style similar to Amiens' stalls), 16th c. reliquary bust.
Includes also some photos of the treasury:
3 of the east wall
1. has several leatherbound books, 2 with ivory covers
2. shows wooden medallions with depictions of the descent from the cross, flight into Egypt, presentation of Christ at the temple
3. masonry of wall reveals that there was perhaps once a doorway where now there is wall (to south of present doorway)

photo of south wall with 8 small niches of trefoil lancets, small carved pedastals and pierced carving in spandrels (15th-16th c. style)
photo of Carolingian ivory/bone book cover — divided into 2 scenes: above with crucifixion (Christ's head is of a dark polished stone); lower scene is of 3 Marys at the tomb
small photo of west wall: table with fabric skirt to match paper covering the walls. On the table are some of the items mentioned above (reliq. bust, etc.) Mid-16th c. frescoes on the wall above.]

[Dossier 2987: (1952-69)]

1952: Réfection de la couverture du longpan nord de la Nef et réparation de la balustrade en pierre. [This work is still referred to in papers of 1956 and 1961.]

1955, Feb. 7: Pose de vitraux déjà éxécutés dans l'abside de la chapelle de la Vierge et complèment de ces vitraux dans les réseaux. (547,740F: June 25, 1956)

1955: Installation d'un dispositif électrique anti-vol à la salle du trésor. 240.000F

1958: [Restoration of organ]

1959: "Travaux de presentation" — [General cleaning (removal of vegetation and cleaning of stone) of exterior for celebration of 13th centenaire of the abbey.]

1959, Dec. 31: [Restoration of mural paintings of Virgin Chapel and Treasury (700,000F)]

1959, Oct. 21: Remise en état de statues en pierre (sculptor Maimpointe) (2.638.157F)
[sculpture includes:
14 statues in portal
Tree of Jesse of central tympanum
St. Christopher and St. James the Major
s. ambulatory — holy monk in niche and virgin in niche (perhaps they mean s. transept?)]

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s. transept — 4 statues
n. transept — 3 statues
[Money paid Dec. 17, 1963 was 22.736F? — unclear if other receipts were paid earlier.]

1959-63: Réfection de la couverture du longpan sud de la Nef et réparation de la balustrade en pierre. (war damage)

1960, Mar. 9: Remise en état du buffet d'orgues. 8.053F

1960: Remise en état des boiseries du XVIIe siècle

1963: Remise on état de l'orgue

1963: Réfection de deux fenêtres de la Chapelles de la Vierge (no mention of which two windows)

1964: Restauration des fenestrages et des vitraux de la face Nord de la Nef et de la face ouest du transept Nord. (253.050F)
Réfection du clocher (urgent)

1965: Travaux d'urgence étaiement du 3ème arc boutant de la Nef.
(5.000F)

1966, Apr. 5: [Restoration of tympanum of central portal (12.000F)]

1967, Jan. 19: Restauration des fenestrages et des vitraux endommagés par faits de Guerre (approx. 600.000F) (work continues through 1971)

1968: [Letter (from M. Kerleveo) of recommendation to employ another sculptor, of Amiens, to help with restoration (M. Léon Lamotte, 45 rue Becquestoile, Amiens)]

1968: Remise en état des arcs-boutants de la nef.

1968-71: Continuation de la restauration de l'Abbatiale remise en état des voûtes .

1969, Feb. 19: [Letter from Deputy-mayor of Abbeville to Minis. d'Etat Chargé des Affaires Culturelles about the deplorable state of the church, esp. in winter. Notes how commune has agreed to help in restoration with considerable sum, but that restoration has not taken place. Atached to letter is a 2 page statement (17 Dec. 1968) of the Conseil Paroissial, directed by Chanoine P. Dentin. Complaints outlined at parish council meeting:

1. scaffolding holding up w. tympanum prevents one from opening doors. Doors themselves are in bad state, with wind coming through cracks.
2. There's lots of scaffolding up the n. buttresses, but no restoration is occurring; as one pays rent on scaffolding, but no work is being done, it's a waste of money.
3. fears of the state of the tower:
"L'une des soeurs de notre tour, celle de St-Bertin à St-Omer, s'est effondrée, faute d'entretien. Allons-nous, un jour, assister à un pareil spectacle, apris avoir vainement attendu pendant des dizaines d'années? Nous n'abons pas le droit de faire notre inquiétude au sujet de cetter tour magnifique."
4. They haven't been able to ring bells for over 20 years — how much longer?
5. St-Riquier has access to funds because of war damage, but each year the funds are devalued and the cost of work increases.
6. S. side of tower has several tiles missing and therefore there is water damage inside the roof; damaging sculpture, stone and vaults.
7. State of vaults constitutes a grave danger to the public.

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8. Replacement of roof of Virgin Chapel and choir has been promised — they continue to deteriorate.
9. Need door (that opens) into Sacristy — now people have to make a long detour to get from sacristy to church interior. Noes that each year "notre modeste caisse paroissiale verse la somme de 500 ou 1000 Fcs, selon ce qui nous est demandé comme participation à l'entretien, et nous le faisons bien volontiers." — but then notes community's surprise that although work is approved, it is not carried out.]

1972: [60.000F for windows of choir clerestory]

1977: 600.000 - 950.000F for restaur. du clocher (entreprise Chevalier)

1980: Remise en état du clocher. 500.000F (State pays 50%, Dept. pays 40%, and commune pays 10%)

1981-86: [Continuation of same. (1981) 200.000F divided in same ratio
Work and receipts continue through 1986.
Documents refer to restoration as "Suite de la restauration" without specific reference to what is being restored.]
[Building is referred to as "classée parmi les Monuments Historiques en liste de 1840."]

1990: Restauration of portail and works of masonry. (Total budget of 1.000.000F; State pays 55%, Dept pays 40%, Commune pays 5%)

1990, May 3: [Letter from Paul Quiles Min. des Postes, des Télécommunications et de l'Espace to Jack Lang, Min de la Culture, de la Communication, des Grands Travaux et du Bicentenaire. Quiles describes St-Riquier a little; main point of letter is continued presence of provisionary scaffolding of 1964] — "En 1964, à la demande de l'inspecteur général des monuments historiques de l'époque, un échafaudage provisoire fut installé afin de restaurer le tympan du portail central; depuis, il est toujours en place, et l'état de l'ensemble de l'abbaye se dégrade sérieusement."

1990, Aug. 16: [Letter from Lang to Quiles. Notes that work to repair vaults (before 1982) was funded 100% by the state (because of war damage), but that work from 1982-89 has been funded 5% by the commune, owners of the building. He notes that the clergy make no contribution. To take down the scaffolding the tympanum needs to be repaired, requiring delicate work, beginning with laboratory and archéological work by the MH. Notes also that state contributes 55% of funding, leaving 40% to Dept.] [Tone of letter and reason for the information he gives is unclear.]

[Attached to these letters is a packet of photos and pages evidently written in an effort to get the scaffolding removed. On the back of a 1962 photo showing the portal before the scaffolding was in place is a "history" of the scaffolding dated 2 Dec. 1989 and entitled "Un Quart de Siecle ..." 1964:] Eschafaudage provisoire du tympan du portail central. A la demande M. Taralon, Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques, étude de la restauration du tympan par M. Mainpointe, sculpteur:
"... après suppression du trumeau, l'ensemble a été autrefois suspendu par des fers latéraux qui ont tout dégradé. D'autre part, à l'intérieur, un grand fer a été passe horizontalement sous la base du tympan, et sur ce fer, viennent battre les portes. Les chocs répétés ont aggravé le mal qui divise "l'abre de Jessé." Ce fer, il faudra le supprimer afin d'isoler le tympan. Pour la restauration, j'ai demandé à M. Sallez, Arch. en Chef des MH qu'il fasse édifier, à l'interieur, un fenestrage neuf et solide sur lequel nous pouvrions fixer tous les morceaux de sculptures préalablement séparés. Le tympan soutenu par une poutre en béton, indépendantedu battement des portes, ou la reconstruction de l'ancien trumeau dont les portes actualles s'accomoderaient fort mal."

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1966: Chutes de pierres sculptées.
En consequence: renforcement de l'échafaudage provisoire
passage interdit par le portail central.
1968: [Open letter from the parish council to M. l'Arch. en Chef des MH. and response of the arch. en chef (noted above)]
1969-88: Abondantes réclamations et promessses
1989: L'échafaudage provisoire est toujours en place. [Attached to this statement are other photos, map, etc.]

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