



Senlis cathedral S9e(a)

1156

GrippleSon and the Crusader Recession (1148-1172)

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There is a group of spectacular capitals in the western bays of Senlis cathedral. They are large and complex and show a man already demonstrating consummate skill, an artist in full control of his design and its elements. Flamboyant describes him well.

The general arrangement has a circle of vines enclosing a hanging bouquet, like a wreath. This was the template favoured by Gripple whose last recognisable work was in the Chartres west portal in 1138, and which resurfaced two decades later in Senlis. I have called this man the son of his father Gripple, hence GrippleSon, purely for their artistic consanguinity. They need not have been related, though I would be surprised if one had not been the pupil of the other. Can we treat the name as a theatrical *mot juste*?

When we compare the son with the father there are some very significant differences [b]. The detailing is sharper and the edges more emphasised. The enclosing ring of vines remains aligned down the corner of the block, but the ring is not complete. It breaks off at the base, either with a clasp or by simply sitting on top of the astragal. The tips of the fronds are sharper and more furled than any by Gripple. The supports for the fronds are either even in width or slightly enlarged, but never did he use the heron style of his father, though the curve that doubles back on itself is there. The collars are large and triangular in shape.

GrippleSon was more creative than the father, never resting in the arms of a single arrangement of fronds or leaves. In this, as in the template, he was like his master. The tendrils form a loop placed on the corner of the



Gripple: Bruyères-sur-Oise tower stage 2 1117



Grippleson: Senlis cathedral S11w(a) 1156

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block. In the many capitals carved for the nave aisle of Senlis cathedral, there are usually five fronds hanging from the top, with the laterals stretched over or under the vine and attaching to it. They do not have the same firm grip of the *père*, but with more *sang froid*, more delicacy [b].

The arrangements in some of these have become incredibly complex. Tips are furled, twisted and hung in ways that add to the excitement of the design. They double back to keep the eye within the block of the capital. There is great creativity shown in the arrangements, from the more complex



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Senlis cathedral S11s(a)

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to a simpler exploded arrangement in which the fronds are made to appear longer and more expressive.

One capital in the walls of the aisle may have been his, with long fronds well anchored at the bottom but with an unusual twist at the top [r3]. Walls usually take a little longer than piers as they require more material and include windows that require formwork, which is why I would date the piers to 1156, the wall capitals to 1157 and the gallery to two or more years later - see detailed discussion in chapter 13 "Timetables".

In the gallery there is a small capital with fairly shallow cutting and the formal structure of GrippleSon's template placed unexpectedly on the face rather than on the corner [r4]. It stands out amidst a sea of unadorned capitals in having fronds. Being placed so that it looks down onto the altar from the north side suggests it may have been a signature stone that celebrated his role as master mason for the gallery,

There is another on the inside of the gallery that is more like Gripple *père* than the son, in its simplicity and the classic arrangement of fronds, two passing under the vine and gripping it, two long ones lying on top and a lower one that does not touch the vine, though the latter would normally have been turned up [r5]. Joining the bottom of the vines is more like the father, not the son.

At first I wrote that 1159 was too late to have been by Gripple, who would have been in his seventies at that time: Yet not impossible. The amount being constructed seems to have been increasing at this time, and maybe the father was drawn out of retirement to satisfy a need for masons when there were not enough available. Who knows? Identifying individual masons often raises more questions than it answers.



Senlis cathedral s5nw(a)

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Senlis cathedral AN1sw(g)

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Senlis cathedral EN2nw(g)

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The sculptural work in the Senlis cathedral

I have shown elsewhere that the two western bays of the cathedral were erected, in their entirety and to their full height, by one team as if it were a single donation by one wealthy patron.^{James, 1987} The toichological evidence in the stonework shows that these bays rose in lockstep with the rest of the building. The western portal was carved at the same time for some of the sculptors were at work on the major part of the cathedral to the east.

One of these sculptors was GrippleSon. The Labours of the Months *bas-relief* socles of the west portals were the first part carved, and some were probably his work. One with a pair of winged dragons has the long fronds and sharp-ended tips to the leaves that are found in his pier capitals [r1].

GrippleSon ended his fronds in a number of ways, but two are particularly telling. In the frieze that runs along the top of all the portal *bas-reliefs* the leaf tips are lengthened and pointed, and turn in to each other [b1]. The same elongated stretch is found in the capitals [b2,3].



Senlis cathedral N8w(a)

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Senlis cathedral portal W.cl4(d)

1156



Senlis cathedral pier N8w(a)

1156



Senlis cathedral pier N8w(a)

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In a second type of leaf he added a little rounded curl to the tip so that when the fronds turn upwards to meet their partners they display a sensitivity in the touching, almost a shyness in the meeting [b1]. This design is also found in the piers [b2,3].

Together with the curves of the long trunk to the frond, its double-curvature and the sinuous way it entangles itself around the bodies of the dragons, it is hard not to see the presence of the same hand in all.



Senlis cathedral socle with dragon, detail

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Senlis cathedral pier S11s(a)

1156



Senlis cathedral pier S9e(a)

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After working on the aisle capitals he stayed on to carve some of the capitals over the statue-columns [b]. The originals are in the local museum and the pointed fronds strongly suggest the work of GrippleSon. The long

1159



Senlis Museum, the remains of three capital from portal. The left still has traces of one of the baldachins



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stalks, the encircling tendrils, the inward-pointing tips and so on, plus the heron-fronds all point to him.

I naturally wonder if there may be any links between his work in the socles and the sculpture over the door. Those panels in the socles *bas-reliefs* which have a row of identical sharp-ended leaves along the upper frame are presumably all by him [b]. The figures are rather stiff, the feet solidly planted, the bodies bent due to the small height of the panels and the thick motionless drapes through which the forms of the arms and legs show dimly through. There are some elements that may have been once full of unexpected character, such as the head inside the arch and the singularly stooped figure peering into the oven [b1,3].

There is nothing in the tympanum like this, nor in the lintel. However,



Senlis W.C.L. embrasure 1156-59



Senlis cathedral portal socle R4(d)



Senlis cathedral portal socle R4(d)



Senlis cathedral portal socle R4(d)



Senlis cathedral portal socle R4(d)

there is a possible connection with two archivolts that have some of the qualities of the socles, especially in the thick-edged clothing that falls as if bathed in mud and the agile humour in the posture [b1,2]. The fronds in the Jesse tree that surrounds these figures have pointed tips that curl back [b3]. In both archivolt and socle the figures are solid, almost dense, though in other respects the details in the socles are too damaged to hint at more than this.



Senlis cathedral west portal bottom row of archivolt figures, first on the left and second on the right 1158

Earlier work by GrippleSon

There is one panel in the Senlis porch socle with a bunch of fronds emerging from the tail of a gryphon [r4]. The head turns backwards, the body is heavy and weighted down while the supple neck is like some of the softer neck movements in the socle panels. The serrated tips along the length of the stretched fronds emerging from the tail have a similar feel as those around the Jesse Tree in the archivolt.

The animal with a flowering tail is similar to one of the capitals in the



Senlis cathedral portal socle R4(d) 1156

1148+ porch at Loches in the Touraine [b1]. A number of important Paris Basin masters worked there around 1150, including André, Long-Leaf and the Duchess. They migrated south for this work, possibly because funds had not dried up as quickly in the Loire as they had in the royal lands, for reasons to be presented at the end of this piece.

The GrippleSon capital at Loches is crude in finish and detail compared to his work at Senlis, which would fit a date about a decade earlier [b1]. The time-lines for the other masters at Loches confirm this.

The foliage on an adjacent capital at Loches with a triangular collar has a similar feel in the tips, albeit with less finesse [b2]. In this less attenuated form such terminals to foliage were used by many masters, and were not exclusive to GrippleSon.



Loches west portal Xsw



Loches west portal Xsw

1148+

Gradually I came to realise there was a lull in his output from the end of the 40s for the next eight or nine years, especially compared to the amount he carved at Senlis and in later jobs.

1150 to 1155 By the late 50s the artistic scene in northern France had changed: Everywhere the elements on the capitals became more flowing, the spaces more open and the edges sharper, producing a feeling of separation so that decoration looked more like cutouts as if the details had been made elsewhere and stuck onto the cone. Imposts were less decorated, and it was typical that he only twice used the *énchancre*. These comments apply to most of the work of the 50s and 60s, not just the Son's. The style of the father had gone, and the Son worked in a very different way.

The 1150s seem to have been lean years, not just for him, but for the whole industry, for when we are working at this level of detail the impact of even a few years with little work is appreciable. I will explore this when I have finished describing the Son's work.

During these years he seems to have left a few traces on a small number of minor jobs, mostly in the central hilly region north of the Marne. The detailing differs though the fronds, terminals and so on seem consistent, suggesting he had the time to try out new ideas and play with new forms.

With little corroborative evidence I would hazard that the window over the north door at Saint-Martin in Laon with its pendulous berry and lower support for the tendrils was among the earliest in this group [r1], possibly followed by another minute campaign in Bazoches and then three campaigns in May-en-Multien. The dating is still very approximate



Laon, Saint-Martin W-nR(a+)

1150



Bazoches S-e(aw)

1151



May-en-Multien III, S5ne

1153



May-en-Multien II S4wnw

1152



May-en-Multien apse I, S2n

1150

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in these buildings as I have not yet started identifying the masters of the other capitals that may corroborate these estimates.

114?

Among the remnants of Saint-Evremond at Creil there is one capital by Gripple *père* and another by the son [b]. As the building was destroyed there is no way of knowing where these remnants would have been placed. It is a bulbous form and well articulated akin to the Chartres capital he carved in 1138. These could be dated around 1140 when Gripple would have been close to sixty.

This is the earliest piece I can credit to GrippleSon, and is only different in details to that of his father. The arrangement is close-packed, and though the fronds dangle over the vines the design is well controlled. Notice how he continued to use his father's bulging corners, his collars and turned-over tips, though he eliminated the central frond in the bouquet. The vine has become a strap, fronds are turned down rather than up, the collar tightly holds the forms from expanding and in all things there is a greater rigidity.



Creil unlocatable capital by Gripple *père*. 114?



Creil capital by GrippleSon 114?

Carving after Senlis

The trend in GrippleSon's work between Senlis in 1159 and Marigny in 1170 is toward more open arrangements, greater stretching and back-turning, stronger curls on longer frond-tips and an increasing sense of emotional ecstasy, even a peculiar madness that would become more evident over the next few years at Marigny and Veully. His work became over-zealous in a sort of Baroque way that is more full of feeling than analysis. These qualities appeared in the work of other masters at this time, notably in the Noyon ambulatory, Guignicourt and Glennes. I have ordered his work to reflect this process.

1160

First there is one in the north chapel of Nouvion with short fronds, yet they have been arranged around his normal template with pointed tips [r2].

1161

Then two at Gournay-en-Bray. They were set out with enormous complexity made possible only because he stayed within the strict discipline of his template [b]. The miniscule differences in the detailing show how he experimented within that discipline.



Nouvion north 1160

Notice the *énchancre* in one and the exposed cone in the other, the changes to leaf tips and collar in the centre and the handling of the two



Gournay-en-Bray EN2w(a)



Gournay-en-Bray EN1e(a)

heron-fronds at the bulge, as well as the curve of the bulge itself.

1163

He seems to have stayed on at Gournay working on the aisle vaults and walls until called on to carve a couple of capitals in the choir clerestory [b]. In these capitals the tips of the fronds are long and the under-cutting somewhat deeper, even though the spaces between the parts are smaller. The plaster covering has disguised much of the detailing.



Gournay-en-Bray EN2sw(c)

1163



Gournay-en-Bray EN2w(c)

1163

1164

One of the delicately carved shafts on the west portal at the nearby Trie-Château has some of these qualities. It looks very like a GrippleSon capital adapted to the confines of a tall and narrow shaft [r1]. The bouquet without a central frond that hangs within a tendril frame, the up-turned upper fronds and collars to hold the vines. The similarities between the voussoirs and the choir boss in the nearby Saint-Germer-de-Fly suggest they were close in time, and as the Saint-Germer boss was probably carved around 1163, ^{v.6:ch12} I would date this to 1164.



Trie-Château narthex entry and W.cR2 shaft



1164

1166

In the small apse at Villeneuve-sur-Verberie two capitals are unmistakably in GrippleSon's style [b1,3]. One without the enclosing ring of vines may also have been his [b2]. The fronds are as long as they were at Senlis, yet in a subtle way everything appears more ebullient as if he had to push the energetic envelope further and further.



Villeneuve-sur-Verberie EN1s

1166



Villeneuve-sur-Verberie EN2

1166



Villeneuve-sur-Verberie ES2ne

1166

The posture of the animal in one of the restored capitals at Villeneuve has a similar over-certainty, the fronds have pointed tips and the tail is morphing into more fronds [b1]. In its fundamentals this design is not very different to the Loches gryphon capital from a dozen years earlier [b2].



Villeneuve-sur-Verberie ES1n

1166



Loches west portal Xsw

One of the capitals in the south triforium of Laon cathedral could have been by GrippleSon. It was carved in a later campaign to those in the choir,

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presumably finishing off the last bays of the east wall of the transept [r1]. As in Gournay he used the *énchangré*, for the second and last time. The hanging bouquets and long-fingered fronds with turned-back sharpened tips are typical. The unusually hard-edged complexity suggests he was being influenced by the other men around him. Long pointed tips were used by many of the better sculptors working on the cathedral, as may be examined in the gallery of the choir.^{v.6:ch.10.}

The fronds were becoming thinner. They had been lengthened from Senlis onwards, but as the 60s drew to a close they were stretched further and the spaces between became greater, emphasising the hollowness of the capital. This is apparent in GrippleSon's last three works at Veully-la-Poterie, Chamery and Marigny-en-Orxois [r2;b1,2].

1168

As we approach 1170 one looks among the nearby capitals for those tender tiny leaves in the manner of the Soissons south transept that define the Transition. I set this out in the first volume of *The Ark*. Marigny lies on the cusp, probably exactly in 1170, and Chamery just before from the proportion of natural and formal designs in the nearby capitals At Veully there are none. This helps to order these three chronologically.

to

1172

In an arbitrary way I have dated all the work between Senlis and Marigny at fairly regular intervals with an adjustment to suit the more solidly established construction schedule for the Laon triforium.^{v.6:ch.13.}



Laon cathedral north triforium SE2c(t) 1167



Veully-la-Poterie ES2e right corner 1168



Chamery ES2(a) 1169



Marigny-en-Orxois EN2se 1170

The inclusion of animals was rare for GrippleSon. He carved some at Senlis, but these at Marigny have bulbous staring eyes and are anything but sombre. Perhaps he came under the influence of the Bussiases Master who carved at least one of the capitals in this apse [v.6:***].

There is an almost post-apocalyptic frenzy in this last group. They are “deeply undercut, attenuated and nervous in composition, strange animals twine around stiff, startle-eyed men under schematic suns, and grotesque birds with symmetrically raised wings stare beyond you. They form one of the most powerful naïve landscapes in France”^{James, 1989, 202.}

The campaigns listed on the right suggest a working life from the later 1140s to 1170, being twenty-five years or more. The Transition of the next decade was now under way when personal fantasy was being replaced by a nascent naturalism. His style of work and that of his forebears was to be phased out. We can see it happening in these last two buildings as his colleagues layered little leaves over otherwise formal designs.

GrippleSon may have continued to work into this period and to drop his beloved rinceau arrangements in favour of fronds and leaves, but I have not found him. Revising his template to suit the new paradigm may not have been easy for him or any of his associates.

Campaigns by GrippleSon

1140s	Creil	
1148	Loches	porch
1150	Laon Saint-Martin	north nave door
1151	Bazoches	apse
1153	May-en-Multien	east N 1-2
1154	May-en-Multien	Wn3-4 (c)
1155	May-en-Multien	nave n3-4
1156	Senlis	piers
1157	Senlis	portal capitals
1159	Senlis	choir gallery (g)
1160	Nouvion	north chapel
1162	Gournay-en-Bray	choir N(a)
1161	Gournay-en-Bray	choir E(c)
1164	Trie-Château	narthex (a)
1166	Villeneuve-sur-Verberie	apse
1167	Laon cathedral	choir (t)
1168	Veully-la-Poterie	east
1169	Chamery	apse, crossing
1170	Marigny-en-Orxois	apse

D I R A F T

The 1146 Crusader Recession

The early years of GrippleSon was limited by a long hiatus in building work that I suggest was caused by funds being drawn off to pay for the Second Crusade. In the study of the capitals carved by master after master it became clear that very little was constructed between the decision to call the Crusade and the start of Senlis cathedral. The recession lasted seven years, long enough to end the employment of one generation of carvers and introduce a new generation with a different approach to their art.

The economic evidence is that 1145-46 was a year of wide-spread famine followed in the next by the “substantial and deeply unpopular tax” raised to pay for the Crusade.^{Grant, 1998, 157} These events have not been factored into the history of art and architecture, yet it is my impression that from 1146 nearly all construction stopped in the Paris Basin (though not necessarily for the rest of France) and with minor exceptions was not restored to the previous level for seven or more years [r].

It seems significant that Senlis was the smallest cathedral of the period. When started in 1153 it was not conceived as a great monument in either size or grandeur. Its modesty exactly reflected a time when funds were only starting to return to what they had been before the Crusade.

The style of carving changed, creating an aesthetic gap that is very clear when you start looking for it. The seven long years of the recession broke the continuity between master and apprentice, and where we continually found work by older men from the 1120s mixed in with the youngsters working in the 1140s, we only rarely find the older men of the 1140s mixed in with the workers of the 1160s. Unless men worked past their sixtieth year most of the old-timers would have retired by 1155 as their eyesight or physical strength failed. The masters who were most influential in the earlier period seem to have moved away at the same time, and their pupils like the ‘sons’ of Gripple and the SS Master, did not come on line until the end of the next decade. By then the times had changed in significant ways.

Later work is often more realistic and less innovative, at times with coarser elements, and often less skilled. The imaginative force of creativity in “Paris and its region lost their exclusive leadership (after 1150) which was more and more attracted toward the northeast”^{Bony, 1983, 119.}

As the pace of construction picked up during the 1160s and more skilled men were needed there seems to have been a loss in quality, at least in the smaller buildings. As the quantity increased few of the smaller country builders had the experience needed for the complex architecture displayed in the larger works, both in the carving of capitals and in the construction of vaults. It is surprising to find fairly large buildings like Cuis and Montigny-Lengrain built in the late-60s with badly carved capitals and with rib vaults erected in the old manner of a groin rather than laying up the ribs first and filling in the cells later, which had been usual for the previous thirty years.

Senlis is typical of the changed situation, for almost none of the capitals were carved by masters from the 30s or 40s. You only have to open *The Ark of God* and compare the forms and motifs used in Saint-Denis with those from Senlis to see the differences.

One document does shed light on the situation. Count Galeran promised to build 17 towers in his area. He made the gift before leaving for the crusade, and though he came home early he delayed construction for ten years until 1156, and even then construction proceeded slowly taking some seven years to complete.^{v.5:1758-60; James and Gardner, 1996, 9-10.}

Beyond the documents there is a wealth of indications in the monuments

Paused construction on major buildings during the recession.

Châlons Notre-Dame gallery 1145 to 1173
 Chars nave 1135 to 1168
 Montmartre 1146 to 1165
 Notre-Dame Paris 1146 to 1163
 Saint-Denis 1144 to the next century
 Saint-Germain-des-Prés 1145 to 1155
 Saint-Leu 1140s to 1160s
 Sens cathedral 1144 to 1154

themselves. The ambulatory walls of Notre-Dame in Paris were begun in the 1140s, and further work was delayed until the 60s.ⁿ Not all the wall capitals were carved in the 40s, for many belong to a later era: compare one that is typical of the 40s with a nearby foliate that is closer in manner to the piers of twenty years later [r1,2]. It would appear that work was stopped while the men were still at work on the capitals. Would this have coincided with the decision to sequester all available funds for the Crusade? Can we therefore date the earlier capitals to a precise time in 1146?

Construction at Saint-Denis ended in 1144 with a roof at the level of the vaults over the ambulatory, and work was not resumed for over a century.

The aisles of the Chars nave have carvings typical of 1140, but the clerestory had to wait for almost thirty years before it could be completed.

In the choir of Sens compare the markedly different carving style in the capitals of the aisles and gallery [r3,4]. The time-lines of the carvers show that the choir was built to the aisle vaults around 1142, that the choir gallery was not commenced for a dozen years or more, and that the middle parts of the nave had to wait until William of Sens worked there in the early 1170s.^{v.5:1543} To allow services to continue during the many decades in between, a roof would have been erected over the aisles, and the stalls were then completed. This provided a usable part of the building where Bishop Henry could be interred in 1144.

The nave and portals of Notre-Dame at Châlons-en-Champagne rose no further than the floor of the gallery, and everything above that had to wait until the 70s. Maybe funds were still short in 1157, for people may have had to haul the carts themselves to get the work started.

The lower storey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés is the work of the 1140s, but the clerestory and its flying buttresses had to wait until the later 50s and was not completed until 1163. As at Saint-Leu, the time difference is clear to see by comparing the aisle capitals with those under the flyers.

The outer circlet of chapels at Saint-Leu-d'Esserent has the same sills and window shafts as the Saint-Denis ambulatory and should be dated about the same time, say 1142±. But none of the capitals were carved by any of the men who worked at Saint-Denis or anywhere else at that time. They are similar to work in the Senlis gallery that is dated to the later 50s [r5,6]. The fact that the drum piers of the ambulatory had to wait a further thirty years suggests that funds continued to be short for a long time to come.^{v.1:468}

Everywhere the story is the same.

Wherever we look, major buildings were stalled from the time the Crusade was called and did not start up again for years, if not decades. For a long time France was awash with temporary roofs over unfinished works, decaying scaffolding and cranes, and workshops grown silent with waiting. What then happened to the great men who had created the rich carving of Bourges and Saint-Denis?

It is among the carvings of the portals that we find the most compelling evidence for a dramatic change in attitude. It lies between the style of Chartres and that of Senlis a decade later. Where earlier work is more austere with Christ in regal Majesty enthroned as a frontal and awesome deity, later work is more feminine, more intimate, and more emotional in quite a different way. Starting at Senlis there is a psychological interaction between the figures on the tympanum. They are more concerned with their personal relationship in a heavenly space rather than with the observer, and have the means to express subtle emotion through their gestural language.

The designs for pre-Crusade archivolts are assembled from separate units. Whether the individual voussoirs are adoring angels and Elders as



Paris, Notre-Dame As1(a) in 40s manner 1146



Paris, Notre-Dame En6(a) in 60s manner 1164



Sens cathedral As1ne(a) by Jérôme 1138



Sens cathedral ES1nw(a) in late-50s manner 1156



Saint-Leu-d'Esserent ES1e(a) 1162



Senlis AS(c) 1159

at Chartres, Provins and Etampes, or narrative scenes as at St-Loup and Le Mans, they are separated cartoons set within a broader christological or saintly narrative or eschatological vision.^{Jethro Lyne, letter to author.}

The clear linear-organic Jesse-tree-like framing of the archivolts at Senlis, Mantes and Braine departs radically from earlier voussoirs. The device of using the stem of Jesse was revolutionary. It connected every element with the central theme, and linked figures that had earlier been isolated by their baldachins and clouds.

I have listed the dates for the great portals of the Paris Basin that is emerging from this integrated study of the masters who carved the capitals, and even some of the figurative work [r1]. I promise I will set out my reasoning as soon as the evidence firms up a little more. Scholars have been shunting the portal dates around to satisfy their subtle personal appreciation of style and mood, but none have employed the precise toichological evidence that has been accumulated here, from construction joints in the lithic evidence to the individuals who carried out the carving.

My understanding of the hiatus came gradually as I delved more deeply into identifying the carvers. It was in bringing a human face to the coils of academic history and the gradual discovery of the working lives of the men who crafted the sculpture that the concept of this recession became clearer each day.

In December 1145 King Louis decided to lead a crusade to the Holy Land. In April 1146 Bernard of Clairvaux clinched the king's intention with an exuberant call to arms at Vezelay that inspired much of the French nobility to join the crusade. The king's special tax, so loathed by the people, was promulgated afterwards.

We can presume that from April onwards and during the next year every magnate, every knight and foot soldier who had sworn to march on Jerusalem would have been saving money and preparing, which may be one reason why departure was delayed fourteen months until June 1147. Two years later the defeated and demoralised army returned home in small contingents, most walking the four thousand kilometres. How was this disaster paid for? How were the taxes raised, and precious possessions sold or pawned? The initial cost of the venture and the continuing expense of maintaining the troops, the ongoing payment of ransoms and so on may have bled France dry. This could have lasted for the next seven years or so, for during that time almost nothing was spent on religious architecture.

There is little evidence for the costs of a crusade, nor for the economic impact such an upheaval would have had on the community. The documentary evidence neither confirms nor denies the possibility of a fiduciary-induced recession. Research has, on the whole, concentrated on the political, military and dynastic aspects of this event.

However, the evidence in the monuments shows that extracting cash from the community for a crusade meant there would be little, if any, left over for construction. As the army tramped east the workshops fell silent.

The twenty-five years before had seen a prodigious amount of building. We only have to think of Saint-Denis, Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, of Chartres and Sens and dozens of other great buildings to bring focus onto this period. The carving on the capitals and the great portals possess an imaginative creativity, a combination of innovation and skill that has seldom been matched. The event of the Crusade stopped this development in its tracks.

As with any major effort, money had to be raised in cash from revenue or loans, or through the sale of precious objects. Huge amounts were spent

Portals in the Paris Basin, some dates more approximate than others

Beauvais, Saint-Etienne north door	1123
Ivry-la-Bataille portal	1124
Saint-Loup-de-Naud porch	1125
Bourges cathedral south portal	1128-29
Bourges cathedral north porch	?-1128
Saint-Denis west portal	1131-33
Le Mans cathedral south porch	1134
Etampes, Notre-Dame south portal	1133-35
Châteaudun south portal	1135
Saint-Germain-des-Prés west porch	1135
Chartres cathedral west portal	1138-41
Paris cathedral W.s tympanum	1142?
Saint-Denis north portal	1143-?
Provins, Saint Ayoul portal stage I	1143
Châlons, Notre-Dame south porch	1145
recession 1146-53	
Senlis cathedral west portal	1156-58
Mantes-la-Jolie W.n portal	1158?
Mantes-la-Jolie W.s portal	1160+
Paris cathedral part W.n	1180?
Laon cathedral west porches	1184-86
Sens cathedral west portal	1187-88
Chartres cathedral transept porches	1198-13
Braine west portal	1199-03
Paris cathedral complete portals	1202-05?

beyond the ordinary, for unexpected costs and ransoms. The country was stripped bare.

The financial impact of the Crusades on building construction has not been noted by art historians because the story of architecture has been written through the uncertain dates for the major buildings in which an eight-year pause does not register strongly enough to be picked up.

However, it can be said that from mid-1146 onwards people were dedicated to raising funds for the Crusade, and that like Count Galeran monies that may have gone into construction were sequestered. Combined with famine and the consequences of a colder climate, the quantity of sculpture of all sorts declined.^{James, 2010.} The great teams broke up and without continuity there were radical changes in architecture and sculpture. Senlis may mark the moment when most of the crusader's debts had been paid. In a sense the cathedral give a kick-start to the construction industry after so many years of inactivity. It was followed over the next decade by a rash of major projects [r1].

The 1095 Crusader Recession

Can we presume that similar situations occurred during other crusades? Certainly the Fourth of 1204 coincided with the decline in construction initiated by the lost harvests, and may have made the collapse worse. The expenses for the Third may have been underpinned by the staggering growth of royal territory under Philippe Auguste without significantly diminishing popular funds dedicated to construction. However, the First occurred at a time when there was much less being built than in the 1140s, and though the consequent debts may not have had the same impact I have the impression that little religious architecture was under construction between Pope Urban's call in 1095 and 1100±.

It is noticeable that much of the carving executed in the first decade after the recession was primitive compared to what had gone before. Capitals in the naves of Morienval, Oulchy-le-Château and Deuil-le-Barre, and in the Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire narthex show a markedly different character to any post-crusade work. They are heavier and more confident. Rarely do later capitals from the first decade of the century match this earlier work in organisation or craftsmanship. Compare Morienval, Montlevon and Crépy with Etampes, Bury and Louvres [b].

Major works begun in the seventeen years after 1146

- None until 1153
- 1153 Senlis cathedral begun
- 1153 Oulchy east
- 1154 Laon, Saint-Martin east
- 1154 Corbeil, Saint-Spire nave
- 1154 Sens cathedral triforium
- 1155 Lierval east
- 1155 Berzy-le-Sec apse
- 1155 Mantes-la-Jolie west
- 1156 Saint-Germain-des-Prés clerestory
- 1157 Fleurines, Saint-Christophe
- 1156 Provins, Saint-Quirace choir
- 1157 Nouvion apse
- 1157 Saint-Germer-de-Fly gallery
- 1157 Chartres upper south tower, spire
- 1158 Laon cathedral
- 1158 Val Cretien east
- 1159 Laon bishop's chapel
- 1159 Trie-Château narthex
- 1160 Glennes east
- 1160 Vernouillet
- 1161 Guignicourt
- 1160 Orbais choir walls
- 1161 Noyon cathedral
- 1163 Paris cathedral
- 1163 Saint-Remi west

D R A F T



Morienval nave 1088



Montlevon nave 1084



Crépy-en-Valois, Saint-Arnoul crypt 1089



Etampes nave aisle 1108



Bury north aisle 1108



Louvres, Saint-Rieul Xse(a) 1104

The naves of Bury, Villers-Saint-Paul and Berneuil-sur-Aisne, and a group of lilliputian towers at Oulchy, Nouvion and Retheuil show the differences clearly. They are ones of skill and experience. The Paris Basin work for at least a decade after 1100 lacked exactly those qualities so apparent in the work before 1095.

In volume 3 I had assigned dates for the projects before 1120 by using the evolution of setting out skills that I called the “Quest for Order”. With the possibility of a many-year recession this needs considerable revision. Some projects would have been completed before 1095, and some would not have been begun until some time later. The smooth transition that I had assumed would no longer be true.

Investigation showed that the most important consideration ended up being one thing: the working life of a man. Lets take Gripple, for example. If his last job was on the Chartres portals in 1138, then could he have been working on Courcelles-sur-Viosne before 1095? His working life would then have been some 45 years, making him over 60 on retirement.

Possible for one men, just. But not likely for many considering the average life-span at the time.

In the case of The Duke his last work was in Châlons in 1145 and his first in the Etampes nave. I had suggested a date of 1090 for the Etampes aisles, but that required too long an active life for one man. It was the same with the SS Master whose last work was in the Saint-Denis choir cornice in 1144: would he still have been alive if he had carved the Berneuil-sur-Aisne nave in 1090? Berneuil had to be brought forward.

Every carver whose work spanned the period came up with the same issue: If their first works were ordered by the procedure adopted in volume 3 they would have been over 60 when they stopped work. Acceptable for some, but not for all, especially when we consider declining eyesight, lost muscle tone and average life span.

Thus it was reasonable to assign the buildings on which these specific men were engaged to some time after the recession, rather than before. When I worked backwards from their later work nearly all them could have carved their first stones around 1102 or 3. This seems to locate the end of the recession at some seven to eight years after the First Crusade, rather like it was for the Second. Crude as this initial distinction may be, the tentative results have been encouraging.

I list on the right some of the campaigns that I would allocate to before the Crusade as they have the manner of that period and contain no carved work from anyone still sculpting in the 1130s or 40s.

In addition I list the six carvers who worked both before and after the recession [b]. As there were seldom definable differences to their designs over that time, I set these men aside as they would not help with dating.

The six rinceau masters who worked before and after the First Crusade with their earliest job and the last, with an estimate of the length of their working life

<i>Master</i>	<i>active from</i>	<i>to, and</i>	<i>active for</i>
Apple	1080 Berthencourt west	1105 Allonnes tower	25 years
Comet Master	1078 Labruyeres apse	1110 Santeuil tower 2	32 years
Faceter	1090 Lessay choir	1123 St-Martin-des-Champs (d)	33 years
Fanner	1085 Gournay nave	1125 Saint-Loup-de-Naud nave	40 years
Old Duke	1080 St-Martin-au-Val crypt	1105 Auvers-sur-Oise north chapel	25 years
Strapper père	1090 Pogy nave	1120 Château-Landun choir	30 years

Major buildings with pre-crusade capitals in which none of the post-1130 carvers are to be found.

1075	Vic-sur-Aisne	nave
1078	Saint-Thibout	nave
1080	Gournay-en-Bray	nave (a)
1080	Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire	narthex (a)
1080	Saint-Martin-au-Val	crypt
1081	Marolles-en-Brie	choir
1082	Croix-sur-Ourcq	nave
1082	Seraincourt	crossing
1083	Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire	narthex (g)
1084	Montlevon	nave (a)
1085	Deuil-le-Barre	nave
1085	Oulchy	nave
1085	Saint-Leu-d’Esserent	west wall
1086	Morierval	nave
1086	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	nave
1088	Morierval	nave
1089	Crépy-en-Valois, Arnoul	crypt
1089	Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont	tower
1090	Courtisols-St-Memmie	apse
1090	Lessay	choir
1090	Sainte-Genevieve (Cluny)	caps
1092	Acy-en-Multien	tower base
1093	Fay-Saint-Quentin	crossing
1093	Jouy-le-Moutier	crossing (a)
1094	Bonnesvalyn	crossing, apse
1095	Allonnes	tower base
1095	Arthies	tower
1095	Saintines	tower

I have the impression that the carvers who did such powerful work in the Paris Basin before 1095 had packed their bags and travelled to more

lucrative climes (if there were any) and did not return when prospects improved. Once funds became available again few of the older men were available, either having retired or no longer being in the region, and the new generation of carvers had to start learning the basic skills of their profession without enough mentors to train them properly. It had been the same after the Second Crusade.

It need not have taken as long, but the same steps would have been needed to train a new generation of carvers after 1100 as was required for the same process thirty years later. Maybe this would have occurred over a shorter time, but the carving suggests that at least ten years were needed to bring the Paris Basin sculptors up to the same level of skill that had been achieved before 1095.

It took the new men - both young apprentices and craftsmen - about a decade to catch up and learn the rudiments of their profession. The first dated work in the Paris Basin by experienced men from another region is Saint-Aignan in Paris around 1116, though this would not have been the first time.

In volume 3 I placed the Etampes nave and the Nuvion tower into the 1080s. Following this I would revise by a decade or more the dates for all those buildings in which we find the masters of the 40s.

The Duke, for example, was working on the ambulatory walls of Saint-Denis in 1142 and possibly on the Châlons Notre-Dame nave just before the Crusade. His earliest work is in the Labruyères and Nuvion towers and as long as the attributions hold, Nuvion could be dated to just after 1100.

These modifications will affect few histories of the period, but for those concerned with detailed understanding of individuals and buildings it would be important to recognise that between 1095 and 1102±, and again between 1146 and 1153±, there was little money available for construction as it was needed to either prepare for a distant campaign or to pay for the consequences. The fact that so many of the nobility joined in only added to the costs and the debts.

However the affect on attitudes and style of both the travel to the Middle East and the interruption to the continuity of artistic endeavour would have been profound and long-lasting, and the most important consideration for historians of art.

Postscript

With the First Crusaders Recession in mind, there would inevitably be changes to earlier ICMA pieces, especially in the dating. The earliest Gripple dates have already been adjusted, and Master Jérôme is not affected as his earliest identifiable work was many years after the recession was over.

It is the earliest work of the SS Master that needs adjustment. On page 10 the campaigns should be squeezed from the earliest at Berneuil and Nointel after 1100 to Saint-Aignan in 1116, which would be roughly one per year. Because of Gripple Foulanguages is moving back a bit, and Etampes and Mogneville are shifting forwards. In other respects the changes are small, save that his working life is now a little more realistic 1101-1143.

It is worthwhile recognising that these adjustments are in the order of only a few years, showing the value of aiming for this level of accuracy.