

LIBELLUS ALTER
DE CONSECRATIONE ECCLESIAE
SANCTI DIONYSII

I

DIVINORUM humanorumque disparitatem unius et singularis summæque rationis vis admirabilis contemperando cœquat; et quæ originis inferioritate et naturæ contrarietate invicem repugnare videntur, ipsa sola unius superioris moderatæ armoniæ convenientia grata concopulat. Cujus profecto summæ et æternæ rationis participatione qui gloriosi effici innituntur, crebro in solio mentis argutæ quasi pro tribunali residentes, de concertatione continua similium et dissimilium, et contrariorum inventioni et iudicio insistent; in æternæ sapientiæ rationis fonte, charitate ministrante, unde bello intestino et seditioni interiori obsistant, salubriter exhauriunt, spiritualia corporalibus, æterna deficientibus præponentes. Corporeæ sensualitatis, exteriorum sensuum molestias et gravissimas angarias postponunt; ab earum oppressione seipsos sublevantes, solidissimam mentis aciem in spem æternæ infigentes remunerationis, æternitati tantum studiose obsequuntur. Carnalia desideria in admirationem et spectaculum aliorum obliviscuntur; summæ rationis hoc modo et æternæ beatitudinis consortio, promittente unigenito Dei filio: *In* 20 *patientia possidebitis animas vestras*,¹ se gloriosæ conscientie merito uniri gratulantur. Quod tamen conditionis primæ corruptione depressa et graviter sauciata humanitas, præsentia potius amplectens quam futura expectans, nullo modo sustineret, si non etiam rationis et intelligentiæ humanæ 25 rationabilis summæ et divinæ caritatis copiosa administratio hoc ipsum effectui mancipare misericorditer suppeditaret. Unde legitur: *Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus*.² Ex quo quidem cum aliis audacter et veraciter profitemur, quod, quanto sola misericordia salvos nos facit per lavacrum regene-

¹ *Luke XXI, 19.*

² *Psalms CXLIV, 9*; the Vulgate text has *miserationes*.

THE OTHER LITTLE BOOK ON
THE CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH
OF ST.-DENIS

I

THE admirable power of one unique and supreme reason equalizes by proper composition the disparity between things human and Divine; and what seems mutually to conflict by inferiority of origin and contrariety of nature is conjoined by the single, delightful concordance of one superior, well-tempered harmony. Those indeed who crave to be glorified by a participation in this supreme and eternal reason often devote their attention to this continual controversy of the similar and dissimilar, and to the trial and sentence of the litigant parties, sitting on the throne of the acute mind as though on a tribunal. With the aid of loving-kindness, whereby they may withstand internal strife and inner sedition, they drink wholesomely from the fountain of the reason of eternal wisdom, preferring that which is spiritual to that which is corporeal, that which is eternal to that which is perishable. They set aside the vexations and most grievous anxieties of corporal sensuality and of the exterior senses; elevating themselves from the oppression by these, focusing the undivided vision of their mind upon the hope of eternal reward, they zealously seek only that which is eternal. They forget carnal desires to the admiration and amazement of others; thus, through communion with supreme reason and eternal bliss, they rejoice—according to the promise of the only-begotten Son of God: *In your patience possess ye your souls*—in being deservedly united with the Glorious Consciousness. Yet human nature, debased and gravely impaired by the corruption of its first condition, embracing the present rather than expecting the future, would in no wise be strong enough for this, were it not for the fact that the abundant aid given to human reason and rational intelligence by supreme and Divine loving-kindness mercifully enables us to carry it into effect. Hence we read: *His tender mercies are over all His works*. Therefore we and others profess boldly and truthfully that, the more Mercy alone

rationis et renovationis Spiritus sancti, tanto nos gratissimo purificatæ mentis holocausto pro toto velle et posse justitiam nostram, quantumcumque et ipse dederit, supplici ei devotione offerre elaboremus: ut ipse qui potest ut Deus, qui debet
 5 ut creator, si non resistimus disparitatem istam periculosam in nobis parificet, contrarietatis intestinæ inimicitias, quas in amicitia ejus amissione prima prævaricatione incurrimus, ea ineffabili caritate qua divinitatem suam captivatæ humanitati nostræ ineffabiliter et inseparabiliter univit, dissolvat, sopita
 10 carnalitatæ gravissima molestia, tumultuque vitiorum sedato, pacato habitaculo interiora repugnantia pacificet; ut mente et corpore expediti, gratam ei offerentes servitutem, beneficiorum etiam immensorum ejus circa nos et nobilem cui nos præferri sustinuit ecclesiam replicare et prædicare valeamus
 15 largitatem; ne, si muti in laudem ejus extiterimus, beneficiorum ejus ob hoc defectum incurramus et vocem illam terribiliter audiamus: *Non est inventus qui rediret et daret gloriam Deo.*³

[215] *Justificati igitur ex fide*, pace nostra interiori, secundum Apostolum, *pacem apud Deum habentes*,⁴ unum et inter multos singulare divinæ largitatis beneficium, more eorum qui ad gratificandum impertita dona donatoribus suis ultro referunt, in medium proferentes, gloriosam et Deo⁵ dignam sanctæ hujus ecclesiæ consecrationem, pretiosissimorum martyrum dominorum et apostolorum nostrorum⁶ Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, et aliorum sanctorum quorum prompto innititur patrocínio, sacratissimam translationem ad successorum notitiam stylo assignare elaboravimus; qua de causa, quo ordine, quam solemniter, quibus etiam personis ad ipsum⁷
 30 actum sit reponentes, ut et divinæ propitiationi pro tanto munere condignas pro posse nostro gratiarum actiones referamus, et sanctorum protectorum nostrorum, tam pro impensa tanti operis cura quam pro tantæ solemnitatis adnotatione, opportunam apud Deum obtineamus intercessionem.

³ *Luke XVII, 18.*

⁴ *Romans V, 1;* the Vulgate text has *ad Deum.*

⁵⁻⁶ (See Panofsky, *Bib. 132, p. 119.*)

⁷ *idipsum* has been corrected to *ad ipsum.*

saves us by the bath of regeneration and renovation through the Holy Spirit, the more we must endeavor, with all our will and power, to offer to Him with humble devotion, as the most acceptable burnt offering of a purified mind, our own righteousness, however much He Himself may have given [to us]. So that He Who can inasmuch as He is God, and must inasmuch as He is the Creator, may equalize (unless we resist) that perilous inequality within ourselves; so that He may resolve, with that ineffable loving-kindness by which He has ineffably and inseparably united His Divinity with our enslaved humanity, those conflicts of internal strife in which we have become involved by the loss of His friendship through our first prevarication; so that He, having becalmed the most grievous vexations of carnality and stilled the turmoil of vices, may appease the inner struggles in a pacified dwelling; so that we, unfettered in mind and body [and] offering to Him our joyful servitude, may be able to reveal and to proclaim the generosity of His immeasurable beneficence in regard to ourselves and to the glorious church of which He has suffered us to become the head; lest, if we were standing mute at His praise, we might therefore incur a diminution of His benefactions and hear that terrible voice *There are not found that returned to give glory to God.*

Therefore, being justified by faith, according to the Apostle, *we have peace with God* through our own inner peace; and in the manner of those who, out of gratitude, return of their own accord the gifts bestowed to those who have bestowed them, we make publicly known that one favor, singular among many, of Divine generosity: we have endeavored to commit to writing, for the attention of our successors, the glorious and worthy consecration of this church sacred to God [and] the most solemn translation of the most precious martyrs Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius, our Patrons and Apostles, as well as of the other saints upon whose ready tutelage we rely. We have put down why, in what order, how solemnly and also by what persons this was performed, in order to give thanks as worthy as we can to Divine grace for so great a gift, and to obtain, both for the care expended on so great an enterprise and for the description of so great a celebration, the favorable intercession of our Holy Protectors with God.

II

GLORIOSUS et famosus rex Francorum Dagobertus, vir etsi in regni administratione magnanimitate regia conspicuus, nihilominus tamen Ecclesiæ Dei devotus, cum ad declinandam patris sui Clotharii magni⁸ intolerabilem iram
 5 Catulliacum vicum aufugisset, et sanctorum Martyrum ibidem quiescentium effigies venerandas, tanquam pulcherrimos viros niveis vestibus comptos, servitium suum requirere et auxilium promittere incunctanter voce et opere comperisset, basilicam Sanctorum regia munificentia fabricatum iri affectu
 10 mirabili imperavit. Quam cum mirifica mar-[216]morearum columnarum varietate componens, copiosis purissimi auri et argenti thesauris inæstimabiliter locupletasset, ipsiusque parietibus et columnis et arcubus auro textas⁹ vestes margaritarum varietatibus multipliciter exornatas suspendi fecisset,
 15 quatinus aliarum ecclesiarum ornamentis præcellere videretur et, omnimodis incomparabili nitore vernans et omni terrena¹⁰ pulchritudine compta, inæstimabili decore splenderet: hoc solum ei defuit quod quam oporteret magnitudinem non admisit. Non quod aliquid ejus devotioni aut voluntati deesset,
 20 sed quod forsitan tunc temporis in primitiva Ecclesia nulla adhuc aut major aut æqualis existeret, aut quod brevior fulgorantis auri et splendorem gemmarum propinquitati arridentium oculorum acutius delectabilisque refundendo, ultra satis quam si major fabricaretur irradiaret.
 25 Hujus brevitatis egregiæ grata occasione, numerositate fidelium crescente et ad suffragia Sanctorum crebro confluyente, tantas præfata basilica sustinere consuevit molestias, ut sæpius, in solemnibus videlicet diebus, admodo plena per omnes valvas turbarum sibi occurrentium superfluitatem refunderet, et
 30 non solum intrantes non intrare, verum etiam qui jam intraverant præcedentium expulsus exire compelleret. Videres aliquando (mirabile visu), quod innitentibus ingredi ad venerationem et deoscultationem sanctarum reliquiarum, Clavi et Coronæ Domini, tanta congestæ multitudinis opponebatur

⁸ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

⁹ *textas* has been corrected to *textas*, a reading attested by the *Gesta Dagoberti* (see below, p. 225).

¹⁰ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

II

WHEN the glorious and famous King of the Franks, Dagobert, notable for his royal magnanimity in the administration of his kingdom and yet no less devoted to the Church of God, had fled to the village of Catulliacum in order to evade the intolerable wrath of his father Clothaire the Great, and when he had learned that the venerable images of the Holy Martyrs who rested there—appearing to him as very beautiful men clad in snow-white garments—requested his service and unhesitatingly promised him their aid with words and deeds, he decreed with admirable affection that a basilica of the Saints be built with regal magnificence. When he had constructed this [basilica] with a marvelous variety of marble columns he enriched it incalculably with treasures of purest gold and silver and hung on its walls, columns and arches tapestries woven of gold and richly adorned with a variety of pearls, so that it might seem to excel the ornaments of all other churches and, blooming with incomparable luster and adorned with every terrestrial beauty, might shine with inestimable splendor. Only one thing was wanting in him: that he did not allow for the size that was necessary. Not that anything was lacking in his devotion or good will; but perhaps there existed thus far, at that time of the Early Church, no [church] either greater or [even] equal in size; or perhaps [he thought that] a smallish one—reflecting the splendor of gleaming gold and gems to the admiring eyes more keenly and delightfully because they were nearer—would glow with greater radiance than if it were built larger.

Through a fortunate circumstance attending this singular smallness—the number of the faithful growing and frequently gathering to seek the intercession of the Saints—the aforesaid basilica had come to suffer grave inconveniences. Often on feast days, completely filled, it disgorged through all its doors the excess of the crowds as they moved in opposite directions, and the outward pressure of the foremost ones not only prevented those attempting to enter from entering but also expelled those who had already entered. At times you could see, a marvel to behold, that the crowded multitude offered so much resistance to those who strove to flock in to worship and kiss the holy relics, the Nail and Crown

repugnantia, ut inter innumera populorum millia ex ipsa sui
 compressione nullus pedem movere valeret, nullus aliud ex
 ipsa sui constrictione quam sicut statua marmorea stare, stu-
 pere, quod unum supererat, vociferare. Mulierum autem
 5 tanta et tam in-[217]tolerabilis erat angustia, ut in commix-
 tione virorum fortium sicut prelo depressæ, quasi imaginata
 morte exsanguem faciem exprimere, more parturientium ter-
 ribiliter conclamare, plures earum miserabiliter decalcatas,
 pio virorum suffragio super capita hominum exaltatas, tan-
 10 quam pavimento abhorreres¹¹ incedere, multas etiam extremo
 singultantes spiritu in prato fratrum, cunctis desperantibus,
 anhelare. Fratres etiam insignia Dominicæ passionis adven-
 tantibus exponentes, eorum angariis et contentionibus succum-
 bentes, nullo divertere habentes, per fenestras cum reliquiis
 15 multoties effugerunt. Quod cum scholaris puer inter fratres
 erudirer audiebam, extra juvenis dolebam, maturus corrigi
 affectuose appetebam. *Cum autem placuit illi, qui me segré-
 gavit ex utero matris meæ, et vocavit per gratiam suam,*¹²
 meritis etiam repugnantibus, parvitatem meam hujus sanctæ
 20 ecclesiæ tantæ præficere administrationi, sola Dei omnipoten-
 tis ineffabili misericordia præfatæ molestiæ correctioni sanc-
 torum Martyrum dominorum nostrorum suffragio raptus, ad
 augmentationem præfati loci toto animo, tota mentis affec-
 tione accelerare proposuimus: qui nunquam, si tanta, tam
 25 necessaria, tam utilis et honesta non exigeret opportunitas,
 manum supponere vel cogitare præsumeremus.

Quia igitur in anteriori parte, ab aquilone, principali in-
 gressu principalium valvarum porticus artus hinc [218] et
 inde gemellis, nec altis, nec aptis multum, sed minantibus
 30 ruinam, turribus angebatur, ea in parte inito directæ testudi-
 nis¹³ et geminarum turrium robusto valde fundamento mate-
 riali, robustissimo autem spirituali, de quo dicitur: *Funda-
 mentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est,
 quod est Christus Jesus,*¹⁴ laborare strenue Deo cooperante in-
 35 cœpimus. Cujus inæstimabili freti consilio et irrefragabili au-
 xilio, usque adeo in tanto tamque sumptuoso opere profeci-

¹¹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

¹³ *testitudinis* has been corrected to *testudinis*.

¹² *Galatians* I, 15.

¹⁴ *I Corinthians* III, 11.

of the Lord, that no one among the countless thousands of people
 because of their very density could move a foot; that no one, be-
 cause of their very congestion, could [do] anything but stand like
 a marble statue, stay benumbed or, as a last resort, scream. The dis-
 tress of the women, however, was so great and so intolerable that
 you could see with horror how they, squeezed in by the mass of
 strong men as in a winepress, exhibited bloodless faces as in imag-
 ined death; how they cried out horribly as though in labor; how
 several of them, miserably trodden underfoot [but then] lifted by
 the pious assistance of men above the heads of the crowd, marched
 forward as though upon a pavement; and how many others, gasp-
 ing with their last breath, panted in the cloisters of the brethren to
 the despair of everyone. Moreover the brethren who were showing
 the tokens of the Passion of Our Lord to the visitors had to yield
 to their anger and rioting and many a time, having no place to
 turn, escaped with the relics through the windows. When I was
 instructed by the brethren as a schoolboy I used to hear of this;
 in my youth I deplored it from without; in my mature years I
 zealously strove to have it corrected. *But when it pleased Him who
 separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by His
 grace,* to place insignificant me, although my merits were against
 it, at the head of the so important administration of this sacred
 church; then, impelled to a correction of the aforesaid inconven-
 ience only by the ineffable mercy of Almighty God and by the aid
 of the Holy Martyrs our Patron Saints, we resolved to hasten,
 with all our soul and all the affection of our mind, to the enlarge-
 ment of the aforesaid place—we who would never have presumed
 to set our hand to it, nor even to think of it, had not so great, so
 necessary, so useful and honorable an occasion demanded it.

Since in the front part, toward the north, at the main entrance
 with the main doors, the narrow hall was squeezed in on either
 side by twin towers neither high nor very sturdy but threatening
 ruin, we began, with the help of God, strenuously to work on this
 part, having laid very strong material foundations for a straight
 nave and twin towers, and most strong spiritual ones of which it is
 said: *For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which
 is Jesus Christ.* Leaning upon God's inestimable counsel and ir-
 refragable aid, we proceeded with this so great and so sumptuous

mus, ut, cum primum pauca expendendo multis, exinde multa expendendo¹⁵ nullis omnino indigeremus, verum etiam habundando fateremur: *Sufficiencia nostra ex Deo est.*¹⁶ Materiae autem validissimae nova quadraria qualis et quanta
 5 nunquam in partibus istis inventa fuerat, Deo donante, occurrit. Cementariorum, lathomorum, sculptorum, et aliorum operariorum solers succedebat frequentia, ut ex hoc et aliis Divinitas ab hoc quod timebamus absolveret, et voluntatem suam nobis confortando et inopinata suppeditando ministra-
 10 ret. Conferebam de minimis ad maxima, non plus Salomonianas opes templo quam nostras huic operi sufficere posse, nisi idem ejusdem operis auctor ministratoribus copiose praepararet. Identitas auctoris et operis sufficientiam facit operantis.

15 In agendis siquidem hujusmodi, apprime de convenientia et cohærentia antiqui et novi operis sollicitus, unde marmoreas aut marmoreis æquipollentes habe-[219]remus columnas, cogitando, speculando, investigando per diversas remotarum partium¹⁷ regiones, cum nullam offenderemus, hoc solum
 20 mente laborantibus et animo supererat, ut ab urbe (Romæ enim in palatio Diocletiani et aliis termis sæpe mirabiles conspexeramus) ut¹⁸ per mare Mediterraneum tuta classe, exinde per Anglicum, et per tortuosam fluvii Sequanæ reflexionem, eas magno sumptu amicorum, inimicorum etiam Sarraceno-
 25 rum proximorum conductu haberemus. Multis annis, multis temporibus cogitando, quæritando angebamur: cum subito larga Omnipotentis munificentia, laboribus nostris condescendens, quod nec cogitare nec opinari liceret, decentes et peroptimas in admirationem omnium sanctorum Martyrum merito
 30 revelavit. Unde quanto contra spem et humanam opinionem apto, et nullibi nobis gratiori loco miseratio divina dignata est conferre, tanto majores gratiarum actiones pro tanti remedii laboris operæ pretium duximus rependendo referre. Locus quippe quadrariæ admirabilis prope Pontisaram, castrum

¹⁵ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

¹⁶ *II Corinthians* III, 5.

¹⁷ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

¹⁸ This second *ut* should be deleted or corrected into *et*.

work to such an extent that, while at first, expending little, we lacked much, afterwards, expending much, we lacked nothing at all and even confessed in our abundance: *Our sufficiency is of God.* Through a gift of God a new quarry, yielding very strong stone, was discovered such as in quality and quantity had never been found in these regions. There arrived a skillful crowd of masons, stonecutters, sculptors and other workmen, so that—thus and otherwise—Divinity relieved us of our fears and favored us with
 Its goodwill by comforting us and by providing us with unexpected [resources]. I used to compare the least to the greatest: Solomon's riches could not have sufficed for his Temple any more than did ours for this work had not the same Author of the same work abundantly supplied His attendants. The identity of the author and the work provides a sufficiency for the worker.

In carrying out such plans my first thought was for the concordance and harmony of the ancient and the new work. By reflection, by inquiry, and by investigation through different regions of remote districts, we endeavored to learn where we might obtain marble columns or columns the equivalent thereof. Since we found none, only one thing was left to us, distressed in mind and spirit: we might obtain them from Rome (for in Rome we had often seen wonderful ones in the Palace of Diocletian and other Baths) by safe ships through the Mediterranean, thence through the English Sea and the tortuous windings of the River Seine, at great expense to our friends and even by paying passage money to our enemies, the near-by Saracens. For many years, for a long time, we were perplexed, thinking and making inquiries—when suddenly the generous munificence of the Almighty, condescending to our labors, revealed to the astonishment of all and through the merit of the Holy Martyrs, what one would never have thought or imagined: very fine and excellent [columns]. Therefore, the greater acts of grace, contrary to hope and human expectation, Divine mercy had deigned to bestow by a suitable place where it could not be more agreeable to us, the greater [acts of gratitude] we thought it worth our effort to offer in return for the remedy of so great an anguish. For near Pontoise, a town adjacent to the confines of our territory, there [was found] a wonderful quarry [which] from ancient times had offered a deep chasm (hollowed out, not by

terrarum nostrarum confinio collimitans, vallem profundam non natura, sed industria concavam, molarum cæsoribus su-
 quæstum ab antiquo offerebat; nihil egregium hactenus pro-
 ferens, exordium tantæ utilitatis tanto et tam divino ædificio,
 5 quasi primitias Deo sanctisque Martyribus, ut arbitramur,
 reservabat. Quotiens autem columnæ ab imo declivo funibus
 innodatis extrahebantur, tam nostrates quam loci affines bene
 devoti, nobiles et innobiles, brachiis, pectoribus et [220]
 lacertis funibus adstricti, vice trahentium animalium educa-
 10 bant; et per medium castrî declivium diversi officiales, relictis
 officiorum suorum instrumentis, vires proprias itineris diffi-
 cultati offerentes obviabant, quanta poterant ope Deo sanctis-
 que Martyribus obsequentes. Unde nobile quoddam et
 15 dignum relatione contigit miraculum, quod nos ipsi ab assi-
 stentibus addiscentes ad laudem Omnipotentis Sanctorumque
 suorum calamo et atramento adsignare decrevimus.

III

QUADAM itaque die, cum imbrium refusione turbatum
 aera tenebrosa obtexisset opacitas, adventantibus ad qua-
 drariam plaustris, qui adiutores esse consueverant operandi
 20 pro impluvii infestatione seipsos absentaverunt. Bubulcis¹⁹
 vero querentibus et reclamantibus se otio vacare, operarios
 præstolantes suspendere, usque adeo clamando institerunt,
 quod quidam imbecilles et debiles cum pueris aliquibus nu-
 mero decem et septem, præsentem, nisi fallor, sacerdote, ad
 25 quadrariam acceleraverunt, unamque cordarum assumentes,
 columnæ innectentes, aliam sudem in terra jacentem dimise-
 runt. Neque enim erat qui ea²⁰ trahere inniteretur. Animatus
 itaque grex pusillus pio zelo: "Sancte," inquit, "Dionysi,
 pro teipso vacantem accipiens sudem, si placet, nos adjuva.
 30 Non enim nobis, si non poterimus, imputare poteris." Mox-
 que fortiter impingentes, quod centum quadraginta aut minus
 centum graviter ab ima valle extrahere consueverant, ipsi non
 per se, quod impossibile esset, sed voluntate Dei et Sanctorum
 quos invocabant suffragio [221] extraxerunt, eamque ec-

¹⁹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

²⁰ Should read *eam*.

nature but by industry) to cutters of millstones for their liveli-
 hood. Having produced nothing remarkable thus far, it reserved,
 we thought, the beginning of so great a usefulness for so great and
 divine a building—as a first offering, as it were, to God and the
 Holy Martyrs. Whenever the columns were hauled from the
 bottom of the slope with knotted ropes, both our own people and
 the pious neighbors, nobles and common folk alike, would tie their
 arms, chests, and shoulders to the ropes and, acting as draft animals,
 drew the columns up; and on the declivity in the middle of the
 town the diverse craftsmen laid aside the tools of their trade and
 came out to meet them, offering their own strength against the
 difficulty of the road, doing homage as much as they could to God
 and the Holy Martyrs. There occurred a wonderful miracle
 worthy of telling which we, having heard it ourselves from those
 present, have decided to set down with pen and ink for the praise
 of the Almighty and His Saints.

III

ON a certain day when, with a downpour of rain, a dark opacity
 had covered the turbid air, those accustomed to assist in
 the work while the carts were coming down to the quarry went
 off because of the violence of the rain. The ox-drivers complained
 and protested that they had nothing to do and that the laborers
 were standing around and losing time. Clamoring, they grew so
 insistent that some weak and disabled persons together with a few
 boys—seventeen in number and, if I am not mistaken, with a
 priest present—hastened to the quarry, picked up one of the ropes,
 fastened it to a column and abandoned another shaft which was
 lying on the ground; for there was nobody who would undertake
 to haul this one. Thus, animated by pious zeal, the little flock
 prayed: "O Saint Denis, if it pleaseth thee, help us by dealing for
 thyself with this abandoned shaft, for thou canst not blame us if we
 are unable to do it." Then, bearing on it heavily, they dragged
 out what a hundred and forty or at least one hundred men had
 been accustomed to haul from the bottom of the chasm with dif-
 ficulty—not alone by themselves, for that would have been im-
 possible, but through the will of God and the assistance of the

clesiæ ad²¹ fabricam in plaustro destinaverunt. Unde per totam propalatum est viciniam Deo omnipotenti hoc opus admōdum placere, cum ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui his et hujusmodi intersignis²² ejus operatoribus elegerit opem de-
5 ferre.

Secundatur et aliud nobile factum memoria dignum, relatione conspicuum, auctoritate prædicandum. Peracto siquidem magna ex parte opere et compactis novi et antiqui ædificii tabulatis, magnoque deposito quem diu habueramus timore
10 propter illas patulas antiquarum maceriarum rimas, magnorum capitellorum et basium columnas deportantium disruptionem exhilarati deaptare sollicitabamur. Cumque pro trabium inventionem tam nostros quam Parisienses lignorum artifices consuluissemus, responsum nobis est pro eorum existimatione verum, in finibus istis propter silvarum inopiam minime inveniri posse, vel ab Autissiodorensi pago necessario devehi oportere. Cumque omnes in hoc ipso consonarent, nosque super hoc tam pro laboris magnitudine quam pro operis
15 longa delatione gravaremur, nocte quadam, a matutinarum obsequio regressus, lecto cogitare cœpi meipsum per omnes partium istarum silvas debere procedere, circumquaque perlustrare, moras istas et labores, si hic inveniri possent, alleviare. Moxque rejectis curis aliis, summo mane arripiens, cum carpentariis et trabium mensuris ad silvam quæ dicitur Ivilina
20 acceleravimus. Cumque per terram nostram Capreolensis vallis transiremus, accitis servientibus nostris nostrarum [222] custodibus et aliarum silvarum peritis, adjurando fide et sacramento eos consulimus, si ejus mensuræ ibidem trabes invenire quocumque labore valeremus. Qui subridentes, si
25 auderent, potius deriderent; admirantes si nos plane nesciremus in tota terra nihil tale inveniri posse, maxime cum Milo Capreolensis castellanus homo noster, qui medietatem silvæ a nobis cum alio feodo habet, cum sustinisset tam a domino rege quam ab Amalrico de Monte Forti longo tempore guer-

²¹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

²² (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

Saints whom they invoked; and they conveyed it to the site of the church on a cart. Thus it was made known throughout the neighborhood that this work pleased Almighty God exceedingly, since for the praise and glory of His name He had chosen to give His help to those who performed it by this and similar signs.

As a second instance there is related another notable event worthy of remembrance, remarkable to tell and deserving to be set forth with authority. When the work had been finished in great part, when the stories of the old and the new building had been joined, and when we had laid aside the anxiety we had long felt because of those gaping cracks in the old walls, we undertook with new confidence to repair the damages in the great capitals and in the bases that supported the columns. But when we inquired both of our own carpenters and those of Paris where we might find beams we were told, as was in their opinion true, that such could in no wise be found in these regions owing to the lack of woods; they would inevitably have to be brought hither from the district of Auxerre. All concurred with this view and we were much distressed by this because of the magnitude of the task and the long delay of the work; but on a certain night, when I had returned from celebrating Matins, I began to think in bed that I myself should go through all the forests of these parts, look around everywhere and alleviate those delays and troubles if [beams] could be found here. Quickly disposing of other duties and hurrying up in the early morning, we hastened with our carpenters, and with the measurements of the beams, to the forest called Iveline. When we traversed our possession in the Valley of Chevreuse we summoned through our servants the keepers of our own forests as well as men who knew about the other woods, and questioned them under oath whether we could find there, no matter with how much trouble, any timbers of that measure. At this they smiled, or rather would have laughed at us if they had dared; they wondered whether we were quite ignorant of the fact that nothing of the kind could be found in the entire region, especially since Milon, the Castellan of Chevreuse (our vassal, who holds of us one half of the forest in addition to another fief) had left nothing unimpaired or untouched that could be used for building palisades and bulwarks while he was long subjected to wars both

ras, ad tristegas et propugnacula facienda nihil tale illibatum vel intactum præterisset. Nos autem quicquid dicebant respuentes quadam fidei nostræ audacia silvam perlustrare cœpimus, et versus quidem primam horam trabem unam mensuræ
 5 sufficientem invenimus. Quid ultra? usque ad nonam aut citius per fruteta, per opacitatem silvarum, per densitatem spinarum, duodecim trabes (tot enim necessariæ erant) in admirationem omnium, præsertim circumstantium, assignavimus et ad basilicam sanctam deportatas cum exultatione novi operis
 10 operturæ superponi fecimus, ad laudem et gloriam Domini Jesu, qui sibi sanctisque Martyribus, a manibus raptorum protegens, sicut facere voluit, reservaverat. Nec igitur superflua neque minus continens id circa divina extitit largitio, quæ in *pondere et mensura*²³ omnia moderari, omnia dare constituit,
 15 cum ultra quam oportuit nulla ulterius invenire²⁴ potuerit.

IV

TANTIS itaque et tam manifestis tantorum ope-[223] rum intersignis²⁵ constanter animati, ad præfati perfectionem ædificii instanter properantes, quomodo et quibus personis et quod valde solemniter Deo omnipotenti consecraretur deliberantes, accito egregio viro Hugone Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et aliis venerabilibus episcopis, Odone Belvacensi, Petro Silvanectensi, ad id peragendum multimodam laudem, magnoque diversarum personarum ecclesiasticarum, cleri et populi maximo conventu, decantabamus. Qui in medio
 25 novi incrementi priorem in consistente²⁶ dolio benedicentes aquam, per oratorium sancti Eustachii cum processione exeuntes per plateam quæ "Panteria," eo quod inibi omnia emptioni et venditioni²⁷ teruntur, antiquitus vocitatur, per aliam, quæ in sacro cimeterio aperitur, æream portam revertentes, in
 30 æternæ benedictionis et sanctissimi chrismatis delibutione, veri corporis et sanguinis summi pontificis Jesu-Christi exhibitione, quicquid tanto et tam sancto convenit ædificio devotissime compleverunt: pulcherrimum et angelica mansione dignum superius oratorium, in honore sanctæ Dei Genitricis

²³ Cf. *Book of Wisdom* XI, 21.

²⁴ Should read *inveniri*.

²⁵⁻²⁶ (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

²⁷ Should read *emptions et venditions* as kindly suggested by Prof. R. Salomon.

by our Lord the King and Amaury de Montfort. We however—scorning whatever they might say—began, with the courage of our faith as it were, to search through the woods; and toward the first hour we found one timber adequate to the measure. Why say more? By the ninth hour or sooner we had, through the thickets, the depths of the forests and the dense, thorny tangles, marked down twelve timbers (for so many were necessary) to the astonishment of all, especially those on the spot; and when they had been carried to the sacred basilica, we had them placed, with exultation, upon the ceiling of the new structure, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus, Who, protecting them from the hands of plunderers, had reserved them for Himself and the Holy Martyrs as He wished to do. Thus in this matter Divine generosity, which has chosen to limit and to grant all things *according to weight and measure*, manifested itself as neither excessive nor defective; for not one more [timber] than was needed could be found.

IV

THUS continually encouraged in so great enterprises by so great and manifest signs, we immediately hastened to the completion of the aforesaid building. Having deliberated in what manner, by what persons, and how truly solemnly the church should be consecrated to Almighty God, and having summoned the excellent man, Hugues, Archbishop of Rouen, and the other venerable Bishops, Eudes of Beauvais [and] Peter of Senlis, we chanted in celebration of this ceremony a polyphonic praise amidst a great throng of diverse ecclesiastical personages and an enormous one of clergy and laity. These [three dignitaries] blessed, in the central nave of the new addition, the first water in a vat standing there; they then went out with the procession through the chapel of St. Eustace [and] across the square which from ancient times is called "Panetière" (because everything is worn down there by buying and selling); they returned through the other bronze door which opens onto the sacred cemetery; and they performed with the greatest devotion—by bestowing the unction of the eternal blessing and the most holy chrism, and by exhibiting the true body and blood of the High Priest Jesus Christ—whatever is fitting

semperque²⁸ virginis Mariæ et sancti Michaelis archangeli omniumque Angelorum, sancti Romani ibidem quiescentis aliorumque multorum sanctorum quorum ibi nomina substituta habentur, dedicantes; inferius vero in dextro latere oratorium in honore sancti Bartholomæi multorumque aliorum sanctorum; in sinistro autem, ubi sanctus requiescere perhibetur Hippolitus, oratorium in honore ejusdem et sanctorum Laurentii, Sixti, Felicissimi, Agapiti aliorumque multorum ad laudem et gloriam Dei omnipotentis. Nos autem tantæ benedictionis pro fructu impensi laboris Dei dono [224] participes effici toto affectu desiderantes, quasi pro dote, sicut solet fieri, ad expensas emendorum luminariorum, plateam quandam cimeterio collimitantem juxta ecclesiam sancti Michaelis, quam quater viginti libris a Willelmo Cornillonensi²⁹ emamus, eisdem³⁰ contulimus oratoriis, ut in sempiternum census inde³¹ habeant. De termino vero hæc est veritatis consistentia, sicut legitur—si tamen non obscuretur!—in aureo super portas, quas ad honorem Dei et Sanctorum deauratas fieri fecimus, epitaphio:

20 Annus millenus³² centenus et quadragenus
 Annus erat Verbi, quando sacrata fuit.

Igitur post illam, quæ majestatis summæ opitulatione in anteriore parte de oratorio sancti Romani et aliorum celebrata est, consecrationem, nostra qua tam ex ipsa sui prosperitate animabatur devotio, quam ipsa circa Sanctum Sanctorum²⁴ tanto tempore tam intolerabiliter opprimebat coarctatio, votum nostrum illo convertit: ut præfato vacantes operi, turrimque differendo prosecutionem in superiori parte, augmentationi matris ecclesiæ operam et impensam pro toto posse, pro gratiarum actione eo quod tantillo tantorum regum et abbatum nobilitati succedenti tantum opus divina dignatio reservasset, quam decentius, quam gloriosius rationabiliter effici posset, fieri inniteremur. Communicato siquidem cum fratribus nostris bene devotis consilio, quorum *cor ardens erat de*

²⁸ *semper* has been corrected to *semperque*.

²⁹ *Cornelensi* has been corrected to *Cornillonensi* (see below, p. 237 f.).

³⁰⁻³² (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

³³ The unintelligible *circa Sanctorum* has been completed into *circa Sanctum Sanctorum* (see below, p. 238).

for so great and so sacred an edifice. They dedicated the upper chapel, most beautiful and worthy to be the dwelling place of angels, in honor of the Holy Mother of God, the eternal Virgin Mary, of St. Michael the Archangel, of All the Angels, of St. Romanus (who rests in that very place), and of many other saints whose names are inscribed there. The lower chapel on the right [they dedicated] in honor of St. Bartholomew and many other saints; the lower chapel on the left, however, where St. Hippolytus is said to rest, in honor of him and of Sts. Lawrence, Sixtus, Felicissimus, Agapitus, and many others, to the praise and glory of Almighty God. But we, desiring with all our heart to be made, God granting, the participant in so great a blessing as in a fruit of the expended labor, conferred upon these chapels—as though for a dowry, as the custom is, to meet the expense of buying lights—a certain property adjacent to the cemetery, hard by the church of St. Michael, which we had bought from Guillaume de Cornillon for eighty pounds, so that they might have the rent therefrom in perpetuity. Concerning the date of completion, however, this is the established truth as it can be read—oh, may it not be obscured!—in the golden inscription above the gilded doors which we have caused to be made in honor of God and the Saints:

“The year was the One Thousand, One Hundred, and Fortieth Year of the Word when [this structure] was consecrated.”

After the consecration of the Chapel of St. Romanus and others which, with the help of the Highest Majesty, had been celebrated in the front part [of the church], our devotion—so much invigorated by its own success, and so long and intolerably distressed by that congestion around the Holy of Holies—directed our intentions toward another goal: free from the aforesaid work, and through postponing the completion of the towers in their upper portions, we would strive with all our might to devote labor and expense, as fittingly and nobly as it could reasonably be done, to the enlargement of the church our mother—as an act of gratitude because Divine condescension had reserved so great a work to so small a man who was the successor to the nobility of such great kings and abbots. We communicated this plan to our very devoted brethren, *whose hearts burned for Jesus while He talked with*

*Jesu dum loqueretur eis in via,*³⁴ hoc Deo inspirante [225] deliberando elegimus, ut propter eam quam divina operatio, sicut veneranda scripta testantur, propria et manuali extensione ecclesiae consecrationi antiquae imposuit benedictionem, 5 ipsis sacratis lapidibus tanquam reliquiis deferremus, illam quae tanta exigente necessitate novitas inchoaretur, longitudinis et latitudinis pulchritudine inniteremur nobilitate. Consulte siquidem decretum est illam altiori inaequalem, quae super absidem sanctorum dominorum nostrorum corpora retinentem operiebat, removeri voltam usque ad superficiem criptae cui adhærebat; ut eadem cripta superioritatem sui accedentibus per utrosque gradus pro pavimento offerret, et in eminentiori loco Sanctorum lecticas auro et preciosis gemmis adornatas adventantium obtutibus designaret. Provisum 15 est etiam sagaciter ut superioribus columnis et arcubus mediis, qui in inferioribus in cripta fundatis superponerentur, geometricis et arithmeticis instrumentis medium antiquae testudinis³⁵ ecclesiae augmenti novi medio æquaretur, nec minus antiquarum quantitas alarum novarum quantitati adaptaretur; excepto illo urbano et approbato in circuitu oratoriorum 20 incremento, quo tota clarissimarum³⁶ vitrearum luce mirabili et continua interiorem perlustrante pulchritudinem eniteret.

Ut autem sapienti consilio, dictante Spiritu sancto cujus unctio de omnibus docet, luculento ordine designatum est quid 25 prosequi proponeremus, collecto virorum illustrium tam episcoporum quam abbatum conventu, accita etiam domini ac serenissimi regis Francorum Ludovici præsentia,³⁷ pridie idus julii, die [226] dominica, ordinavimus ornamentis decoram, personis celebrem processionem. Quin etiam manibus episcoporum et abbatum insignia Dominicæ Passionis, videlicet 30 clavum et coronam Domini, et brachium sancti senis Simeonis, et alia sanctarum reliquiarum patrocinia præferentes, ad defossa faciendis³⁸ fundamentis præparata loca³⁹ humiliter ac⁴⁰ devote descendimus. Dein⁴¹ paraclyti Spiritus sancti consola-

³⁴ *Luke XXIV, 32*; the words *de Jesu* and *eis* are absent from the Vulgate text.

³⁵⁻³⁶ (See Panofsky, *Bib. 132, p. 119.*)

⁴⁰ (See Panofsky, *Bib. 132, p. 119.*)

³⁷⁻³⁹ Cf. below, p. 142, note 4.

⁴¹ Cf. below, p. 142, note 4.

them by the way. Deliberating under God's inspiration, we choose—in view of that blessing which, by the testimony of venerable writings, Divine action had bestowed upon the ancient consecration of the church by the extension of [Christ's] own hand—to respect the very stones, sacred as they are, as though they were relics; [and] to endeavor to ennoble the new addition, which was to be begun under the pressure of so great a need, with the beauty of length and width. Upon consideration, then, it was decided to remove that vault, unequal to the higher one, which, overhead, closed the apse containing the bodies of our Patron Saints, all the way [down] to the upper surface of the crypt to which it adhered; so that this crypt might offer its top as a pavement to those approaching by either of the two stairs, and might present the chasses of the Saints, adorned with gold and precious gems, to the visitors' glances in a more elevated place. Moreover, it was cunningly provided that—through the upper columns and central arches which were to be placed upon the lower ones built in the crypt—the central nave of the old nave should be equalized, by means of geometrical and arithmetical instruments, with the central nave of the new addition; and, likewise, that the dimensions of the old side-aisles should be equalized with the dimensions of the new side-aisles, except for that elegant and praiseworthy extension, in [the form of] a circular string of chapels, by virtue of which the whole [church] would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most luminous windows, pervading the interior beauty.

Thus, when, with wise counsel and under the dictation of the Holy Ghost Whose unctio instructs us in all things, that which we proposed to carry out had been designed with perspicuous order, we brought together an assembly of illustrious men, both bishops and abbots, and also requested the presence of our Lord, the Most Serene King of the Franks, Louis. On Sunday, the day before the Ides of July, we arranged a procession beautiful by its ornaments and notable by its personages. Carrying before ourselves, in the hands of the bishops and the abbots, the insignia of Our Lord's Passion, viz., the Nail and the Crown of the Lord, also the arm of the aged St. Simeon and the tutelage of other holy relics, we descended with humble devotion to the excavations made ready for the foundations. Then, when the consolation of the Comforter,

tione invocata, ut bonum domus Dei principium bono fine con-
 cluderet, cum primum ipsi episcopi ex aqua benedicta dedica-
 tionis factæ proximo quinto idus junii propriis confecissent
 manibus cementum, primos lapides imposuerunt, hymnum
 5 Deo dicentes, et *Fundamenta ejus*⁴² usque ad finem psalmi
 solemniter decantantes. Ipse enim serenissimus rex intus de-
 scendens propriis manibus suum imposuit; nos quoque, et
 multi alii tam abbates quam religiosi viri lapides suos imposue-
 runt; quidam etiam gemmas, ob amorem et reverentiam Jesu
 10 Christi, decantantes: *Lapides preciosi omnes muri tui*.⁴³ Nos
 igitur tanta et tam festiva tam sancti fundamenti positione
 exhilarati, de peragendo solliciti, varietatem temporum, dimi-
 nutionem personarum et mei ipsius defectum pertimescentes,
 communi fratrum consilio, assistentium persuasione, domini
 15 regis assensu, annalem redditum his explendis constituimus,
 videlicet: centum quinquaginta libras de gazofilacio (id est de
 oblationibus altaris et reliquiarum, centum in Indicto et quin-
 quaginta in festo sancti Dionysii); quinquaginta etiam de
 possessione sita in Belsa, quæ dicitur Villana, prius inculta, se i
 20 auxilio Dei et nostro labore [227] composita et ad valens
 quater viginti aut centum librarum singulis annis adaptata.
 Quæ si quocumque infortunio his explendis deficeret, alia
 Belsa nostra, quam dupliciter aut tripliciter in redditibus aug-
 mentavimus, suppleret. Has autem ducentas libras, præter ea
 25 quæ ad arcam gazofilacii devotione fidelium deportabuntur,
 vel quæcumque ipsi utrique operi offerentur, tantum continu-
 ari ipsis operibus firmavimus, donec totaliter absque ulla⁴⁴
 quæstione et ipsa ædificia, et anteriora et superiora, cum suis
 turribus omnino honorifice compleantur.

⁴² *Psalm LXXXVI.*

⁴³ *Roman Breviary, Commune Dedicationis Ecclesiæ, 5th Antiphon, con-
 tinuing: "et turres Jerusalem gemmis ædificabuntur" ("and the towers of
 Jerusalem shall be built of gems").*

⁴⁴ (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

the Holy Spirit, had been invoked so that He might crown the
 good beginning of the house of God with a good end, the bishops—
 having prepared, with their own hands, the mortar with the blessed
 water from the dedication of the previous fifth day before the
 Ides of June—laid the first stones, singing a hymn to God and
 solemnly chanting the *Fundamenta ejus** to the end of the Psalm.
 The Most Serene King himself stepped down [into the excava-
 tion] and with his own hands laid his [stone]. Also we and many
 others, both abbots and monks, laid their stones. Certain persons
 also [deposited] gems out of love and reverence for Jesus Christ,
 chanting: *Lapides preciosi omnes muri tui*.† We, however, exhila-
 rated by so great and so festive a laying of so holy a foundation, but
 anxious for what was still to be done and fearful of the changes of
 time, the diminution of persons and my own passing away, or-
 dained in a common council of the brethren, at the advice of those
 present and by the consent of our Lord the King, an annual reve-
 nue for completing this work; namely, one hundred and fifty
 pounds from the treasury, that is, from the offerings at the altars
 and at the Relics; one hundred [from the offerings] at the Fair,
 and fifty [from the offerings] at the Feast of Saint Denis. In ad-
 dition, fifty from the possession called Villaine in the district of
 Beauce, previously uncultivated but with the help of God and by
 our labors brought under cultivation and developed to an annual
 revenue of eighty or a hundred pounds. If, through any mischance,
 this possession should fall short of its full contribution, our other
 [possessions in] Beauce, the revenue of which we had doubled or
 trebled, would supply the balance. And we decreed that these two
 hundred pounds, in addition to anything which will be brought to
 the collection box through the devotion of the faithful or might be
 offered specifically for the two structures, be applied to the con-
 tinuation of these works until, without any question, these edifices,
 the front part as well as the upper choir, will be entirely and hon-
 orably completed throughout, including their towers.

* *The foundations thereof [are in the holy mountains] (Douai Version).*

† *All thy walls are precious stones.*

INSISTENTES igitur per triennium multo sumptu, populo operariorum conventu, æstate et hieme, operis perfectioni, ne nobis conqueri Deo *Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui*⁴⁵ jure oporteret, admodum ipso cooperante proficiebamus; instarque divinorum fundabatur *exultationi universæ terræ mons Syon, latera aquilonis, civitas Regis magni*,⁴⁶ cujus in *medio Deus non commovebitur*,⁴⁷ sed peccatorum incitamenti *commotus*, odorifero pœnitentium holocausto placari et propitiari non dedignabitur. *Medium* quippe duodecim columnæ duodenorum⁴⁸ Apostolorum exponentes numerum, secundario vero totidem alarum columnæ Prophetarum numerum significantes, altum⁴⁹ repente subrigebant ædificium, juxta Apostolum spiritualiter ædificantem: *Jam non estis, inquit, hospites et advenæ; sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, superædificati super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu*, qui utrumque conjungit parietem, *in quo omnis ædificatio*, sive spi- [228] ritualis, sive materialis, *crescit in templum sanctum in Domino. In quo et nos quanto altius, quanto aptius materialiter ædificare instamus, tanto per nos ipsos spiritualiter coædificari in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu*⁵⁰ sancto edocemur.

Interea siquidem potissimum de dominorum nostrorum sanctissimorum Martyrum et aliorum sanctorum, qui per ecclesiam sparsi diversis colebantur oratoriis, translatione solliciti, sacratissimas eorum lecticas, præcipue dominorum, ornatum iri votive animabamur; et ubi gloriosius adventantium obtutibus et conspicabilius transferrentur eligentes, aurifabrorum eleganti sive artis industria, sive⁵¹ auri gemmarumque pretiosarum copia illustrem valde⁵² fieri Deo cooperante elaboravimus. Et deforis quidem his et hujusmodi pro ornamento nobilem, pro tuto vero intus fortissimorum lapidum muro non ignobilem circumquaque muniri; extra vero econtra, ne lapi-

⁴⁵ Psalm CXXXVIII, 16.

⁴⁷ Psalm XLV, 6.

⁴⁹ Before *altum* supply *in*.

⁵⁰ *Ephesians* II, 19-22; cf. below, p. 241 f.

⁵¹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

⁵² After *valde* supply *tumulum, sepulturam*, or the like.

FOR three years we pressed the completion of the work at great expense, with a numerous crowd of workmen, summer and winter, lest God have just cause to complain of us: *Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect*; we made good progress with His own cooperation and, in the likeness of the things Divine, there was established to *the joy of the whole earth mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the Great King*, in the *midst* of which *God will not be moved*, but will not disdain, *moved* by the entreaties of the sinners, to be placated and propitiated by the sweet-smelling burnt offerings of the penitent. The *midst* of the edifice, however, was suddenly raised aloft by twelve columns representing the number of the Twelve Apostles and, secondarily, by as many columns in the side-aisles signifying the number of the [minor] Prophets, according to the Apostle who buildeth spiritually. *Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners*, says he, *but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone* which joins one wall to the other; *in Whom all the building*—whether spiritual or material—*groweth unto one holy temple in the Lord. In Whom we, too, are taught to be builded together for an habitation of God through the Holy Spirit* by ourselves in a spiritual way, the more loftily and fitly we strive to build in a material way.

Meanwhile—chiefly solicitous for the translation of our Patron Saints the most Holy Martyrs and also of the other saints who, scattered about the church, were worshiped in the different chapels—we felt devoutly moved to embellish their most sacred chasses, especially those of the Patrons; and selecting [a place] to which they might be transferred [so as to present themselves] to the visitors' glances in more glorious and conspicuous manner, we endeavored, God helping, to build [a tomb] very illustrious both by the exquisite industry of the goldsmiths' art and by a wealth of gold and precious stones. We made preparations to fortify it all round, outwardly noble for ornament by virtue of these and similar [precious materials], yet inwardly not ignoble for safety by virtue of a masonry of very strong stones; and on

dum materia apparentium locus vilesceret, cupreis tabulis fusilibus et deauratis decorari, non tamen sicut deceret, præparavimus. Exigit enim tantorum patrum experta nobis et omnibus magnificentia, ut quorum venerandi spiritus Deo
 5 omnipotenti sicut sol fulgentes assistunt, nos miserimi, qui eorum patrocinia et sentimus et indigemus, sacratissimos cineres eorum pretiosi qua possemus materia, videlicet auro obrizo, jacinthorum, et smaragdinum, et aliarum gemmarum copia operæ pretium liquet⁵³ operiri. Hoc autem unum
 10 egregie fieri elegimus, ut ante corpora Sanctorum cele- [229] berrimam⁵⁴ ad libandum Deo, quæ nunquam ibidem fuerat, erigeremus aram, ubi Summi Pontifices et personæ autenticæ suffragio eorum, qui seipsos holocaustum odoriferum Deo obtulerunt,⁵⁵ placabiles et Deo acceptabiles hostias offerre me-
 15 reantur. Cui etiam cum tabulam auream, mediocrem tamen defectus pusillanimitate præponere proposuissem, tantam auri, tantam gemmarum pretiosissimarum inopinatam et vix ipsis regibus existentem copiam ipsi sancti Martyres nobis propinaverunt, ac si nobis ore ad os loquerentur: "Velis noli,
 20 optimam eam volumus"; ut eam aliter quam mirabilem et valde pretiosam tam opere quam materia efficere aut non auderemus aut non valeremus. Neque enim ipsi pontifices, qui his egregie pro officii sui dignitate potiuntur, annulos etiam pontificales mirabili pretiosorum lapidum varietate gemmatos
 25 eidem imponere tabulæ præsentibus abnegabant, verum absentes a transmarinis etiam partibus, sanctorum Martyrum amore invitati, ultro delegabant. Ipse etiam rex inclytus perlucidas et maculis distinctas smaragdines, comes Theobaldus jacinthos, rubetos, optimates et principes diversorum colorum et
 30 valitudinum pretiosas margaritas ultro offerentes, nos ipsos ad peragendum gloriose invitabant. Præterea tot venales ab omnibus pene terrarum partibus nobis afferebantur, et unde eas emeremus Deo donante offerebantur, ut eas sine pudore magno et Sanctorum offensam dimittere nequiremus. Hic et alibi
 35 experiri potuimus: sit bonum opus in voluntate, ex Dei adju-

⁵³ Should read *libeat*.

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵ (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

the exterior—lest the place be disfigured by the substance of unconcealed stones—to adorn it (yet not [so handsomely] as would be proper) with gilded panels of cast copper. For the generosity of so great Fathers, experienced by ourselves and all, demands that we, most miserable men who feel as well as need their tutelage, should deem it worth our effort to cover the most sacred ashes of those whose venerable spirits, radiant as the sun, attend upon Almighty God with the most precious material we possibly can: with refined gold and a profusion of hyacinths, emeralds and other precious stones. One thing, however, we did choose to have done resplendently: we would erect in front of the bodies of the Saints what had never been there before—the very famous altar for the sacrificial worship of God, where popes and persons of high rank might worthily offer the propitiatory Hosts, acceptable to God, with the intercession of those who offered themselves to God as a fragrant burnt offering. While we, overcome by timidity, had planned to set up in front of this [altar] a panel golden but modest, the Holy Martyrs themselves handed to us such a wealth of gold and most precious gems—unexpected and hardly to be found among kings—as though they were telling us with their own lips: "Whether thou wantst it or not, we want it of the best"; so that we would neither have dared, nor have been able to, make it other than admirable and very precious in workmanship as well as material. For not only did the very pontiffs—who wear them especially on account of the dignity of their office—consent, if they were present, to assign their pontifical rings, set with a wonderful variety of precious stones, to this panel; they even, if they were absent in lands overseas, sent them of their own accord, incited by the love of the Holy Martyrs. Also the illustrious King himself, offering of his own accord emeralds, pellucid and distinguished by markings—Count Thibaut, hyacinths and rubies—peers and princes, precious pearls of diverse colors and properties: [all these] invited us to complete the work in glorious fashion. In addition, so many [gems and pearls] were brought to us for sale from nearly all the parts of the world (and, by the grace of God, we were also offered wherewith to buy them) that we should have been unable to let them go without great shame and offense to the Saints. Here and elsewhere we could find by experience: let there be a good

torio erit in perfectione. Hoc itaque ornamentum [230] tantorum devotione, tantis protectoribus commodatum si quis temerario ausu auferre aut scienter minuere præsumpserit, domni Dionysii offensam et Spiritus sancti mucrone perfodi
5 mereatur.

Nec illud etiam silere dignum duximus, quod dum præfatum novi augmenti opus capitellis et arcubus superioribus⁵⁶ ad altitudinis cacumen produceretur, cum necdum principales arcus singulariter voluti⁵⁷ voltarum cumulo cohærent, terribilis et pene intolerabilis⁵⁸ obnubilatione nubium, inundatione imbrum, impetu validissimo ventorum subito tempestatis exorta est procella; quæ usque adeo invaluit, ut non solum validas domos, sed etiam lapideas turres et ligneas tristegas concusserit. Ea tempestate, quadam die, anniversario gloriosi
10 Dagoberti regis, cum venerabilis Carnotensis episcopus Gaudfredus missas gratiarum pro anima ejusdem in conventu ad altare principale festive celebraret, tantus oppositorum ventorum impetus præfatos arcus nullo suffultos⁵⁹ podio, nullis renitentes suffragiis impingebat, ut miserabiliter tremuli, et
20 quasi hinc et inde fluctuantes, subito pestiferam minarentur ruinam. Quorum quidem operturarumque impulsionem cum episcopus expavesceret, sæpe manum benedictionis in ea parte extendebat, et brachium sancti senis Simeonis signando instanter opponebat, ut manifeste nulla sui constantia, sed sola Dei
25 pietate et Sanctorum merito ruinam evadere appareret. Sicque cum multis in locis firmissimis, ut putabatur, ædificiis multarum ruinarum incommoda intulisset, virtute repulsa divina titubantibus in alto solis et recentibus arcubus nihil proferre prævaluit incommodi.

30 Secutum est aliud dignum memoria factum, quod [231] non ex accidenti (sicut de talibus judicant qui illi consentiunt sectæ, videlicet quod

*Fors incerta vagatur,
Fertque refertque vices, et habent mortalia casus*),⁶⁰

⁵⁶ The *et* between *superioribus* and *ad altitudinis* has been deleted on the evidence of Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 5949 A.

⁵⁷ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119.)

⁵⁸ *tolerabilis* has been corrected to *intolerabilis* (cf. above, note 56).

⁵⁹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 120.)

⁶⁰ Lucanus, *Pharsalia* II, 13 f. The better manuscripts have *habet* instead of *habent*, but all have of course *Fors* and not *Foris* as in Lecoy.

work in the will—then, with the aid of God, will it be in perfection. Thus, should anyone presume to take away with rash temerity, or knowingly to diminish, this ornament presented by the devotion of such great men to such great Protectors: may he deserve the wrath of our Lord Denis and to be pierced by the sword of the Holy Ghost.

Nor do we think it proper to be silent in regard to the following fact: when the work on the new addition with its capitals and upper arches was being carried forward to the peak of its height, but the main arches—vaulted independently—were not yet held together by the bulk of the severies, there suddenly arose a terrible and almost unbearable storm with an obfuscation of clouds, an inundation of rain, and a most violent rush of wind. So mighty did this [storm] become that it blew down, not only well-built houses but even stone towers and wooden bulwarks. At this time, on a certain day (the anniversary of the glorious King Dagobert), when the venerable Bishop of Chartres, Geoffroy, was solemnly celebrating at the main altar a conventual Mass for the former's soul, such a force of contrary gales hurled itself against the aforesaid arches, not supported by any scaffolding nor resting on any props, that they threatened baneful ruin at any moment, miserably trembling and, as it were, swaying hither and thither. The Bishop, alarmed by the strong vibration of these [arches] and the roofing, frequently extended his blessing hand in the direction of that part and urgently held out toward it, while making the sign of the cross, the arm of the aged St. Simeon; so that he escaped disaster, manifestly not through his own strength of mind but by the grace of God and the merit of the Saints. Thus [the tempest], while it brought calamitous ruin in many places to buildings thought to be firm, was unable to damage these isolated and newly made arches, tottering in mid-air, because it was repulsed by the power of God.

There followed another memorable event which happened, not by accident (as is believed of such matters by those agreeing with that doctrine according to which

*Chance wanders aimlessly,
Brings and brings back events; and Accident
rules all that is mortal*),

sed divina largitione, quæ in se sperantibus magnis et parvis in omnibus providet affluenter, et quæ novit profutura administrat. Cum enim quadam die de apparatu proximæ consecrationis curiæ, quia maximam fore præstolabamur, et cum
 5 amicis et ministerialibus et villicis nostris ageremus, et pro temporum gravitate (mense enim junio pene omnia victualia cara erant) de aliis fauste satis providissemus, hoc nos solum graviter offendebat, quod carnes arietinas, propter ovium quæ eodem anno extiterant morticina, Aurelianensium⁶¹ pago et
 10 versus Burgundiam quæritare oporteret. Cumque mille solidos, aut quantum oporteret, ob hoc illuc pergentibus dari graviter, ne tarde redirent quia sero incoeperant, præcepissem, sequente mane, cum de camerula nostra ad sancti sacrificii ex consuetudine accelerarem celebrationem, subito quidam de
 15 fratribus albis monachus renitentem ad cameram me retrahit. In quem aliquantisper, quia nos a tanto impediēbat opere, commotus, cum minus bene respondissem: "Audivimus," inquit, "domine Pater, vos ad instantem consecrationis vestræ solemnitatem arietinis carnibus indigere; et inde a fratribus
 20 nostris missus arietum gregem maximum Paternitati vestræ adduco, ut quod vobis placuerit retineatis, et quod non placuerit nobis dimittatis." Quo audito, ut post [232] missas nos expectaret præcepimus,⁶² et quod offerebat⁶³ eo præsentē, finita missa, nostris retulimus; qui hoc ipsum divinæ ascribebant
 25 largitioni, eo quod hoc solum quod deerat, quod quærēdo fatigaremur, inopināte religiosorum fratrum deportatione delassasset.

VI

URGEBAT deinceps novæ fieri consecrationem ecclesiæ tam operis laboriosa consummatio quam nostra, quæ ad
 30 hoc diu anhelaverat, suspensa devotio. Et quoniam tam ipsam quam sanctorum dominorum nostrorum, velut pro gratiarum actione et laboris nostri gratissimo fructu, translationem fieri celeberrimam optando affectaremus, regiæ majestatis serenissimi regis Francorum Ludovici placido favore (desiderabat
 35 enim sanctos Martyres suos protectores ardentissime videre),

⁶¹⁻⁶³ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119 f.)

but by Divine Generosity Which abundantly provides for those who place their hope in It in all things great and small, and administers what It knows to be beneficial. On a certain day we conferred with our friends, servants and stewards about the provisions for the court [to be held on the occasion] of the imminent consecration, because we anticipated it would be very great; and, considering the difficulty of the times (for in June almost all victuals were scarce), we had fairly well provided for all other things. Only one thing worried us grievously: because of a plague among the sheep born in that year we would have to search for mutton in the district of Orléans and toward Burgundy. I had reluctantly ordered to give 1,000 shillings, or whatever was necessary, to those who would go there for this purpose, lest they should take too long in returning inasmuch as they had started so late. But on the following morning, when I, according to custom, hurried from our little chamber to the celebration of Holy Mass, a Premonstratensian monk suddenly drew me back to my room in spite of my protests. When I—a little irritated because he detained me from so great a task—had answered him without too much civility, he said: "We have heard, Lord Father, that you need mutton for the impending celebration of your consecration; therefore, sent by our brethren, I bring to your Paternal Grace a very great flock of rams so that you may keep what you like and send us back what you do not like." When we had heard this we requested him to wait for us until after Mass, and after Mass we informed our brethren in his presence of what he had offered to us. They ascribed this to Divine Generosity because It had unexpectedly furnished, through the pious brethren's bringing it hither, the only thing which we were lacking and should have found tiresome to search for.

VI

NOW the laborious consummation of the work and our own suspended devotion, which had been panting for this a long time, demanded the consecration of the new church. And since we fervently wished this consecration as well as the translation of our Patron Saints to be a most solemn event—as an act of gratitude, as it were, and as a most welcome fruit of our labors—we fixed,

diem agendi secunda junii dominica, videlicet III idus, quod est Barnabæ Apostoli, consulte assignavimus.

Invitatorias itaque nuntiis multis, etiam cursoribus et præambulis pene per universas Galliarum regiones litteras delegavimus; archiepiscopos, episcopos, ex parte Sanctorum et debito apostolatus eorum tantæ interesse solemnitati votive sollicitavimus. Quorum cum multos et diversos ad hoc peragendum gratanter, gratantius omnes, si fieri posset, excepissemus. Ipse dominus rex Ludovicus, et regina conjux ejus
 10 Aanor, et mater ejus, et regni optimates perendie adventarunt. De diversis nationum et regnorum proceribus, [233] nobiles, et gregariis militum et peditum turmis, nulla suppetit computatio. Archiepiscoporum vero et episcoporum assistentium hæc intitulata sunt nomina: Samson Remensis archiepiscopus, Hugo Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Guido⁶⁴
 15 Senonum archiepiscopus, Gaufridus Burdegalensis archiepiscopus,⁶⁵ Theobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Gaufridus Carnoti episcopus, Joslenus Suessorum episcopus, Simon Noviomii episcopus, Elias Aurelianus episcopus, Odo Belvaci
 20 episcopus, Hugo Autissiodori episcopus, Alvisus Atrebatum episcopus, Guido Catalaunis episcopus, Algarus Constantiarum episcopus, Rotrocus Ebroicensis episcopus, Milo Teruanensis episcopus, Manasses Meldis episcopus, Petrus Silvanectis episcopus. Qui omnes cum gloriose ex altioribus ecclesiæ
 25 suæ personis pro tanta et tam nobili actione tanto spectaculo accessissent, interiorem mentis et corporis intentionem cultus et habitus exterior designavit. Nos autem non tantum⁶⁶ exterioribus (ea enim affluenter sine querela exhiberi præceperamus), die sabbati proxima, sanctorum corpora de suis assumentes oratoriis, ex consuetudine in palliatis tentoriis in exitu chori decentissime reponendo locavimus. Sacramentalia consecrationis instrumenta devote tantum gaudium præstolantes præparabamus, quo intenta tantarum personarum, tam sancta expedite ecclesiam intus et extra perlustrare posset processio,
 35 componebamus. Unde cum gloriosum et humillimum Francorum regem Ludovicum ut per optimates et nobiles suos ab ipsa processione obviantem arceret turbam hu-[234]militer

⁶⁴ The Bishop's real name was *Hugo*; cf. below, pp. 118 and 245.

⁶⁵ (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

⁶⁶ Between *tantum* and *exterioribus* supply *intenti* or *instantes*.

upon deliberation and with the gracious consent of his Royal Majesty Louis the Most Serene King of the Franks (for he ardently wished to see the Holy Martyrs, his protectors), the date of the ceremony for the second Sunday in June, that is to say the third day before the Ides, the day of the Apostle Barnabas.

We sent invitations by many messengers, also by couriers and envoys, through almost all the districts of Gaul and urgently requested the archbishops and bishops, in the name of the Saints and as a debt to their apostolate, to be present at so great a solemnity. Numerous and different ones of these [we welcomed] joyfully to this celebration; more joyfully we would have welcomed all of them had that been possible. Our Lord King Louis himself and his spouse Queen Eleanor, as well as his mother, and the peers of the realm arrived on the third day. Of the diverse counts and nobles from many regions and dominions, of the ordinary troops of knights and soldiers there is no count. But of the archbishops and bishops who were present the names are placed on record as follows: Samson, Archbishop of Reims; Hugues, Archbishop of Rouen; Guy, Archbishop of Sens; Geoffroy, Archbishop of Bordeaux; Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury; Geoffroy, Bishop of Chartres; Jocelin, Bishop of Soissons; Simon, Bishop of Noyon; Elias, Bishop of Orléans; Eudes, Bishop of Beauvais; Hugues, Bishop of Auxerre; Alvisé, Bishop of Arras; Guy, Bishop of Châlons; Algare, Bishop of Coutances; Rotrou, Bishop of Evreux; Milon, Bishop of Téroouanne; Manasseh, Bishop of Meaux; Peter, Bishop of Senlis. Since all of these had come to so noble a ceremony and so great a spectacle in state, in their capacity of higher dignitaries of their church, their outward apparel and attire indicated the inward intention of their mind and body. We, however, were not so much [intent upon] external matters (for these we had already ordained to be provided in affluence without argument), but on the preceding Saturday took the bodies of the saints out of their chapels and, according to custom, placed them most honorably in draped tents at the exit of the [monks'] choir. Devoutly looking forward to so great a joy, we prepared the sacramental implements for the consecration and made arrangements by which the eager and so sacred procession of so many persons might smoothly wend its way throughout the church, within and without.

rogassemus, humilius satis per seipsum et per suos hoc se libenter facturum respondit.

Pernoctantes itaque tota nocte vespertina matutinarum synaxi in laudem Divinitatis, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum propitiationem pro peccatis nostris factum, quatinus pro suo honore et Sanctorum suorum amore sanctum locum misericorditer visitare et sacris actionibus non tantum potentialiter, sed etiam personaliter adesse dignaretur, devotissime flagitabamus. Igitur summo mane archiepiscopi, episcopi, de propriis hospitibus cum archidiaconis et abbatibus et aliis honestis personis ad ecclesiam accedentes, episcopaliter se componebant, et ad dolium pro consecratione aquarum superius, inter sanctorum Martyrum sepulturas et sancti Salvatoris altare, satis decenter, satis venerabiliter assistebant. Videres, et qui aderant non sine devotione magna videbant, tot tantorum choream pontificum vestibus albis decoram, mitris pontificalibus et circinatis aurifrisiis pretiosis admodum comatam, pastorales virgas manibus tenere, circumcirca dolium ambire, nomen Domini exorcizando invocare; tam gloriosos et admirabiles viros æterni sponsi nuptias tam pie celebrare, ut potius chorus cœlestis quam terrenus, opus divinum quam humanum, tam regi quam assistenti nobilitati videretur apparere. Populus enim pro intolerabili magnitudinis suæ impetu foris agebatur, et dum chorus præfatus aquam benedictam extra, hysopo ecclesiæ parietes virtuose aspergendo, projiciebat, rex ipse ejusque decuriones tumultuosum impetum arcebant, et virgis et baculis regredientes ad portas protegebant.

VII

UT autem, peractis ordinarie sanctæ consecrationis mysteriis, ventum est ad sanctarum reliquiarum repositionem, ad sanctorum dominorum nostrorum antiquos et venerandos tumulos accessimus (neque enim adhuc de loco

Then, when we had humbly asked the glorious and most humble Louis, King of the Franks, to keep away, through his peers and nobles, the impeding crowd from the procession itself, he answered, more humbly by far, that he would gladly do this in person as well as through his retainers.

Spending the whole preceding night in reading the office of Matins in praise of God, we devoutly implored our Lord Jesus Christ Who was made the Propitiator for our sins that, for His own honor and for love of His Saints, He might deign mercifully to visit the holy place and to participate in the holy ceremonies, not only potentially but also in person. In the early morning, then, the archbishops and bishops came with the archdeacons, abbots and other honorable persons from their respective guest-quarters to the church, arranged themselves in episcopal manner, and very solemnly, very venerably assumed, for the consecration with the [holy] water, their places near the vat, [namely,] in the upper choir between the tombs of the Martyrs and the altar of the Saviour. You might have seen—and those present did see not without great devotion—how so great a chorus of such great pontiffs, decorous in white vestments, splendidly arrayed in pontifical miters and precious orphreys embellished by circular ornaments, held the crosiers in their hands, walked round and round the vessel and invoked the name of God by way of exorcism; how so glorious and admirable men celebrated the wedding of the Eternal Bridegroom so piously that the King and the attending nobility believed themselves to behold a chorus celestial rather than terrestrial, a ceremony divine rather than human. The populace milled around outside with the drive of its intolerable magnitude; and when the aforesaid chorus sprinkled the holy water onto the exterior, competently aspersing the walls of the church with the aspergillum, the King himself and his officials kept back the tumultuous impact and protected those returning to the doors with canes and sticks.

VII

WHEN the mysteries of the holy consecration had been performed in proper manner we proceeded to the translation of the sacred Relics and approached the ancient and venerable tombs of our Patron Saints; for thus far they had not been moved from

suo mota erant). Prosternentes autem se tam ipsi pontifices quam dominus rex, et nos omnes, quantum pro loci angustia permittebamur, inspectis isto aperto⁸⁷ venerandis scriniis rege Dagoberto fabricatis, in quibus sanctissima et Deo chara eorum continebantur corpora, gaudio inæstimabili psallebant et flebant, regemque tam devotum quam humilem accersientes: “Vade,” inquit, “et tu ipse manibus tuis dominum et apostolum et protectorem nostrum huc afferre adjuva, ut sacratissimos cineres veneremur, sacratissimas urnas amplectamur, 10 toto tempore vitæ nostræ eas suscepisse, eas tenuisse gratulemur. Hi sunt enim sancti viri, qui pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt, qui pro salute nostra, charitatis igne accensi, terram suam et cognationem exierunt, qui fidem Jesu Christi apostolica auctoritate omnem Galliam edocuerunt, pro 15 eo viriliter certaverunt, nudi virgas, ligati feroces et famelicas bestias compescuerunt, equulei extensionem, clibani succensionem illæsi, demumque hebetatis securibus decapitationem felicem sustinuerunt. Age igitur, rex christiane,⁸⁸ beatum suscipiamus susceptorem nostrum Dionysium, suppliciter flagitantes ut pro nobis petat ab eo qui fideliter promisit; dilectio et benignitas quam habes semper pro quibuscumque petieris impetrabit.” Protinus lacerti moventur, [236] brachia extenduntur, tot et tantæ manus iniiciuntur,⁸⁹ quod nec etiam septima manus ipsa sancta scrinia attingere valeret. Eapropter 25 ipse dominus rex se medium eis ingerens, lepticam argenteam specialis patroni de manu episcoporum, sicut videtur, de manu Remensis archiepiscopi, Senonensis, Carnotensis et aliorum assumens, tam devote quam honeste præviis egrediebatur. Mirabile visu! Nunquam talem, præter illam quæ in antiqua 30 consecratione cœlestis exercitus visa est, processionem aliquis videre potuit, cum sanctorum corpora martyrum et confessorum de tentoriis palliatis, humeris et collis episcoporum et comitum et baronum, sanctissimo Dionysio sociisque ejus ad eburneum ostium occurrerunt; per claustrum cum candelabris 35 et crucibus et aliis festivis ornamentis, cum odis et laudibus multis processerunt; dominos suos tam familiariter quam

⁸⁷ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 120, and) cf. below, p. 247.

⁸⁸⁻⁸⁹ (See Panofsky, Bib. 132, p. 119 f.)

their place. After prostrations, the pontiffs as well as our Lord the King, and all of us so far as we could in view of the narrowness of the room, inspected—when it had been opened—the venerable shrines, executed under King Dagobert, which contained their most sacred bodies dear to God; chanted and wept with immeasurable joy; and said, inviting a king as devout as humble: “Come, help thyself with thy own hands to carry hither our Lord, Apostle and Protector, so that we may revere the most sacred ashes, embrace the most sacred urns, rejoice throughout our lives at having received and held them. For these are the holy men who gave over their bodies as a testimony to God; who for our salvation, burning with the fire of charity, left their land and kin; who with apostolic authority taught the faith of Jesus Christ to all Gaul; who fought for Him like men; who, naked, conquered scourges and, fettered, [conquered] wild and famished beasts; who sustained, unscathed, extension on the rack and the fire of the furnace, and finally blissful decapitation by blunted axes. Onward, then, Christian King, let us receive him who will receive us, our blessed Denis, humbly entreating him to pray for us to Him who promised truthfully; the love and benevolence which thou hast will always obtain its end for whomsoever thou wilt pray.” Forthwith muscles are moved, arms are thrust out, so many and so important hands are laid on that not even the seventh hand was able to reach the sacred shrines themselves. Therefore, our Lord the King himself, injecting himself into their midst, received the silver chasse of our special Patron from the hand of the bishops—I believe, from the hand of the Archbishops of Reims and Sens, the Bishop of Chartres and others—and led the way out as devoutly as nobly. A marvel to behold! never could anyone see such a procession, apart from that which had been seen on the occasion of the old consecration by the Heavenly Host: when the bodies of the holy martyrs and confessors, out of the draped tents and on the shoulders and necks of bishops, counts and barons, went forth to meet the most holy Denis and his Companions at the ivory door; when [those in the procession] proceeded through the cloisters with candlesticks, crosses and other festive ornaments and with many odes and hymns; when

præ gaudio lacrymabiliter deportaverunt. Nullo unquam majori in omnibus potuerunt gaudio sublimari.

Revertentes igitur ad ecclesiam, et per gradus ad altare superius quieti Sanctorum destinatum ascendentes, super anti-
 5 quum altare pignoribus Sanctorum repositis, de nova ante novam eorum sepulturam consecranda agebatur principali ara, quam domino Remensi archiepiscopo Samsoni imposuimus consecrandam. Agebatur etiam de aliis tam gloriose quam solemniter aris viginti consecrandis: quarum illam quæ in
 10 medio Salvatori nostro et sanctorum choro Angelorum et sanctæ Cruci assignatur, domino Can-[237]tuariensi archiepiscopo Theobaldo; beatæ semperque virginis Dei Genitricis Mariæ, domino Hugoni Rotomagensi archiepiscopo; sancti Peregrini, domino Hugoni Autissiodorensi episcopo; sancti
 15 Eustachii, domino Widoni⁷⁰ Catalaunensi episcopo; sanctæ Osmannæ, domino Petro Silvanectensi episcopo; sancti Innocentii, domino Simoni Noviomensi episcopo; sancti Cucuphatis, domino Alviso Atrebatensi episcopo; sancti Eugenii, domino Algaro Constantiarum episcopo; sancti Hilari, do-
 20 mino Rotroco Ebroicensi episcopo; sancti Johannis Baptistæ et sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, domino Nicolao Cameracensi episcopo sacrandam imposuimus. In crypta vero inferius majus altare in honore sanctæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ virginis, domino Gaufredo Burdegalensi archiepiscopo; in dextra
 25 parte, altare sancti Christophori martyris, domino Helia Aurelianensi episcopo; sancti Stephani protomartyris, domino Gaufredo Carnotensi episcopo; sancti Eadmundi regis, domino Widoni⁷¹ Senonensi archiepiscopo; sancti Benedicti, domino Josleno Suessionensi episcopo. In sinistra parte, sanc-
 30 torum Sixti, Felicissimi et Agapiti, domino Miloni Taruanensi episcopo; sancti Barnabæ apostoli, domino Manassæ Meldensi episcopo; item et sancti Georgii martyris et Gauburgis virginis, eidem episcopo; sancti Lucæ evangelistæ, domino Odoni Belvacensi episcopo consecrandam assignavimus.
 35 [238] Qui omnes tam festive, tam solemniter, tam diversi,

⁷⁰ The Bishop's real name was *Guido*; cf. above, p. 112, and below, p. 245. (cf. Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 119.)

⁷¹ The Bishop's real name was *Hugo*. (cf. *ibid.*)

they carried their Patrons amicably yet, for joy, weepingly. No greater joy in the world could ever have exalted them.

When the [procession] had returned to the church and had ascended by the stairs to the upper altar, destined for the rest of the Saints (while the Relics of the Saints had been deposited on the old altar) the rites were performed at the new main altar which was to be consecrated in front of their new tomb; the consecration of this [new main altar] we entrusted to the Lord Archbishop of Reims, Samson. The rites were also splendidly and solemnly performed at the other twenty altars that were to be consecrated. The consecration of that which, in the central nave, is dedicated to Our Saviour, the Host of the Holy Angels and the Holy Cross, we entrusted to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury; that of the blessed eternal Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to Lord Hugues, Archbishop of Rouen; that of St. Peregrinus, to Lord Hugues, Archbishop of Auxerre; that of St. Eustace, to Lord Guido, Bishop of Châlons; that of St. Osmanna, to Lord Peter, Bishop of Senlis; that of St. Innocent, to Lord Simon, Bishop of Noyon; that of St. Cucuphas, to Lord Alvisé, Bishop of Arras; that of St. Eugene, to Lord Algare, Bishop of Coutances; that of St. Hilary, to Lord Rotrou, Bishop of Evreux; that of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, to Lord Nicholas, Bishop of Cambrai. In the crypt, however, we assigned for consecration: the lower main altar in honor of the Holy Virgin, Mary, Mother of God, to Lord Geoffroy, Archbishop of Bordeaux; on the right, the altar of St. Christopher, Martyr, to Lord Elias, the Bishop of Orléans; that of St. Stephen, Proto-Martyr, to Lord Geoffroy, Bishop of Chartres; that of St. Edmund, King, to Lord Guido, Archbishop of Sens; that of St. Benedict, to Lord Jocelin, Bishop of Soissons. On the left [we assigned for consecration the altar] of Sts. Sixtus, Felicissimus and Agapitus, to Lord Milon, Bishop of Térouanne; that of St. Barnabas, Apostle, to Lord Manasseh, Bishop of Meaux; further, that of St. George, Martyr, and St. Walburga, Virgin, to the same Bishop; and that of St. Luke the Evangelist, to Lord Eudes, Bishop of Beauvais.

After the consecration of the altars all these [dignitaries] performed a solemn celebration of Masses, both in the upper choir and in the crypt, so festively, so solemnly, so different and yet

tam concorditer, tam propinqui, tam hilariter ipsam altarium
 consecratione missarum solemnem celebrationem superius in-
 feriusque peragebant, ut ex ipsa sui consonantia et cohærente
 harmoniæ⁷² grata melodia potius angelicus quam humanus
 5 concentus æstimaretur, et ab omnibus corde et ore acclamaretur:
 "Benedicta gloria Domini de loco suo,"⁷³ benedictum et
 laudabile et superexaltatum⁷⁴ nomen tuum, Domine Jesu
 Christe, quem summum Pontificem unxit Deus Pater oleo
 exultationis præ participibus tuis. Quæ sacramentali sanc-
 10 tissimi Chrismatis delibutione⁷⁵ et sanctissimæ Eucharistiæ
 susceptione materialia immaterialibus, corporalia spirituali-
 bus, humana divinis uniformiter concopulas, sacramentaliter
 reformas ad suum puriores principium; his et hujusmodi
 15 benedictionibus visibilibus invisibiliter restauras, etiam præ-
 sentem in regnum cœleste mirabiliter transformas, ut, *cum*
tradideris regnum Deo et Patri,⁷⁶ nos et angelicam creaturam,
 cœlum et terram, unam rempublicam potenter et misericordi-
 ter efficias; qui *vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula secu-*
*lorum.*⁷⁷ Amen."

⁷² Should probably read *harmonia*.

⁷³ *Ezekiel* III, 12.

⁷⁴ *Daniel* III, 52 ff.; here translated according to Douai Version.

⁷⁵ (See Panofsky, *Bib.* 132, p. 120.)

⁷⁶ *I Corinthians* XV, 24.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 66, note 26.

so concordantly, so close [to one another] and so joyfully that
 their song, delightful by its consonance and unified harmony, was
 deemed a symphony angelic rather than human; and that all
 exclaimed with heart and mouth: "*Blessed be the glory of the*
Lord from His place. Blessed and *worthy of praise and exalted*
above all be Thy name, Lord Jesus Christ, Whom God Thy
 Father has anointed the Highest Priest with the oil of exultation
 above Thy fellows. By this sacramental unction with the most holy
 chrism and by the susception of the most holy Eucharist, Thou
 uniformly conjoinest the material with the immaterial, the cor-
 poreal with the spiritual, the human with the Divine, and sacra-
 mentally reformest the purer ones to their original condition. By
 these and similar visible blessings, Thou invisibly restorest and
 miraculously transformest the present [state] into the Heavenly
 Kingdom. Thus, when Thou *shalt have delivered up the kingdom*
to God, even the Father, mayest Thou powerfully and mercifully
 make us and the nature of the angels, Heaven and earth, into one
 State; Thou Who *livest and reignest as God for ever and ever.*
 Amen."