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Architecture, Politics and the Rebuilding of the Cathedral of

Notre-Dame at Senlis, 1504-1560

Annemarie Sawkins

Department of Art History
McGill University, Montreal

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Abstract

Architecture, Politics and the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, 1504-1560

This dissertation takes as its primary focus the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis in an attempt to reestablish the original context of its sixteenth-century rebuilding, and to address the issue of its royal character. While Senlis has been studied in relation to the major late Gothic cathedrals of northern France, it has not been discussed in a broader context. This study, therefore, begins by examining the historical and political period prior to, and during the monument's reconstruction, the involvement of the monarch, François I (1515-1547), in the appointment of bishops to Senlis, and finally the procuring of funds for the rebuilding of the cathedral. The early building history of Notre-Dame at Senlis is, then, presented as a foil to the later rebuilding. Likewise, the late medieval building activity in Senlis proceeds a formal analysis of the cathedral and its symbolism. By focusing on the iconographic details, this study establishes the wealth of emblematic representation incorporated in the rebuilding of the cathedral and relates this aspect to contemporary royal building activity in France and abroad. As an important example of the increasingly politicized nature of ecclesiastical architecture prior to the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis affords a new perspective on the architecture of the late Gothic/Renaissance period.

Résumé

L'architecture, la politique et la reconstruction de la cathédrale de Notre-Dame de Senlis, 1504-1560

Cette thèse a comme premier sujet la cathédrale de Notre-Dame de Senlis, afin d'établir le contexte primordial de la reconstruction du monument au le seizième siècle, et de parler de son caractère royal. Tandis que Senlis a été étudié avec l'ensembe des grandes cathédrales du nord de la France, elle n'a pas été discuté dans un contexte plus large. Cette étude donc commence avec l'histoire et la politique avant et pendant la période de reconstruction de la cathédrale. La participation du monarque, François I (1515-1547), dans les élections des évêques et la procuration des fonds pour la reconstruction de la cathédrale est également presentée. L'histoire monumentale de Notre-Dame de Senlis au douzième siècle mets en contraste celle du seizième siècle. Pareillement, l'histoire monumentale de la ville de Senlis à la fin du moyen âge précéde une analyse formelle de la cathédrale et de son symbolisme. En se concentrant sur les détails iconographiques, cette étude établit la richesse des représentations emblématiques utilisées dans la reconstruction de la cathédrale et se rapporte à cet aspect de la construction contemporaine et royale en France et à l'étranger. Comme exemple important de l'aggrandissement de la politique de l'architecture ecclésiastique avant l'éruption de la guerre de religion, la cathédrale de Notre-Dame de Senlis présente une nouvelle perspective sur l'architecture de la période gothique tardive et Renaissance.

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Architecture, Politics and the Rebuilding of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, 1504-1560

Introduction

The medieval diocese of Senlis[1] has always had the dubious distinction of being the smallest of the dioceses of the kingdom of France (Figs. 1 & 2). The size of the territory, however, belies its rich history. Throughout the Middle Ages, Senlis was an important royal diocese recognized as the site where Saint Rieul, apostle of Valois and the first bishop of Senlis, practiced Christianity.[2] The city of Senlis was one of the capitals of the Carolingian empire and, with the election of Hugues Capet as king of the Francs, the birthplace of the Capetian dynasty. The city's proximity to Paris meant that it had strategic value to the kings of France who appreciated its naturally fortified setting for its security and as a place of retreat with a royal residence, hunting grounds and a major cathedral.

The cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, dedicated in 1195, was begun in the second half of the twelfth century to replace several smaller religious buildings. The monument is perhaps best known for the sculptural program of its western façade which represents the Coronation of the Virgin. In the thirteenth century, a spire was added to the southern tower of the western block and construction was begun on a set of transepts. After a fire destroyed part of the upper storey in 1504, a new clerestory, and transept blocks were added.

As a result of this sixteenth-century construction, the early Gothic structure now serves as the foundation of a new clerestory and frames a pair of impressive late Gothic transepts. The sculptural and architectural forms of the sixteenth-century part of the monument, like those of the western façade,

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[1] The medieval diocese of Senlis was first abolished during the Revolution and then subsumed by its neighbor Beauvais.

[2] The texts which mention the role of the apostle Saint Rieul (late third-early fourth century) in the growth of Christianity were those of Sulpice Sévère, Grégoire de Tours and Saint Quentin. c.f., Laffont (ed.), Dictionnaire des églises de France, Belgique, Luxembourg, Suisse, vol. 4 Paris (1966-1971), 144.

combine to express royal patronage. In fact, the focal point of the north transept -- the royal initial and salamander of François I (1515-1547) -- represents perhaps the most overt display of the increasingly politicized nature of the rebuilding of ecclesiastic monuments at the end of the Middle Ages. Despite this, the sixteenth-century cathedral at Senlis (the monument as rebuilt in the late Middle Ages) has been relegated to partial obscurity because of its 'late' date of reconstruction.

In 1877, Saint-Paul described Notre-Dame at Senlis as one of the least noticed cathedrals in northern France. The cathedral, Saint-Paul noted, has only been superficially studied, and was considered without merit in the eyes of his contemporaries, because it lacked stylistic unity.[3] Though these comments were made over a century ago, this assessment still holds true. While the twelfth-century building history of the cathedral is well researched, the later history has never been the subject of a specific study until now. The lack of interest in Senlis can be attributed to the preference for stylistic unity mentioned by Saint-Paul. This characteristic nineteenth-century attitude has, furthermore, effected later generations as reflected in existing scholarship concentrations. While a considerable amount of research exists on the twelfth-century cathedral, this has been largely to the exclusion of later building campaigns which do not have a comparable body of literature.

The rebuilt cathedral was considered an amalgam. The later additions were disjointed, and subsequently either disregarded, or seen as wholly independent (of the earlier fabric) and thus not discussed. For this reason, the relationship of an earlier monument to its later rebuilding has not attracted much interest, nor has the sixteenth-century conception of the cathedral been analyzed as an architectural statement related to its earlier foundation yet also worthy of its own study. Typically, scholars have concentrated on a specific stylistic period and excluded both the earlier (no longer extant), or later building fabric. This is particularly true of late Gothic additions which were considered to have marred the appearance of what would have otherwise

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[3] The actual citation reads "... elle [la cathédrale] a été observée fort superficiellement, ensuite parce qu'elle est sans mérite aux yeux de nos contemporains, trop portés à dédaigner un édifice qui n'a pas un caractère d'unité suffisant" in "L'architecture religieuse dans le diocèse de Senlis, du Ve au XVIe siècle," Congrès Archéologique de France XLIVe à Senlis 1877, Paris-Tours (1878), 257-258.

been a more pure example of an earlier architectural style. The question of how and why older structures were rebuilt, and the relationship between the extant foundation and the form of the eventual rebuilt monument is only starting to be of interest to architectural historians.[4] And this approach, which recognizes the evolutionary nature of a building's history, will invariably objectify the various projects and provide a more complete and contextual understanding of each monument and all of its later building campaigns.

In the case of Senlis, there are no major studies specifically on the later building history of the cathedral; rather scholarship has concentrated almost exclusively on the twelfth century, with major studies written by Aubert, Brouillette, and Vermand. In general, the architecture of the Early and High Middle Ages has received more scholarly attention than the late Gothic period. This can not, however, be explained by the concentration of extant architecture from each period. There was an immense wealth of building activity around 1500, and a larger number of monuments survive, yet there is not proportionally more scholarship covering this period. The inequity, perhaps caused by the nature of the projects -- often new foundations versus the rebuilding of existing monuments -- is compounded by a tendency towards a system of periodization and an art historical canon that leaves major monuments like Senlis a decidedly singular place in architectural history. While Senlis is a known exemplar of the sculptural and architectural developments of twelfth-century France, it is also an important instance of the late Gothic rebuilding of a major monument which has been essentially overshadowed by interest in contemporary château construction.

Though described as late Gothic in style, the reconstruction of Senlis during the first half of the sixteenth century has made it somewhat of an anomaly according to periodization schemes that consider this period part of the Renaissance or Post-Medieval architectural history of France. Anthony Blunt, for example, does not mention the cathedral at Senlis in his general survey of Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 despite its reconstruction

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[4] Lawrence Hoey, (University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee) discussed this issue at the 17th Annual meeting of the Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians (March 13-15, 1997) in a paper entitled "A Comparison of Attitudes toward the Rebuilding of Earlier Medieval Churches in France and England in the late Middle Ages."

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during the first half of the sixteenth century. Neither has the perceived archaic style of the cathedral of Senlis been dispelled by the actual dates of construction, nor has the royal character of the monument been recognized as part of an architectural renaissance which swept France during the reigns of Louis XII and François I. Despite the explicit use of emblematic devises on the façades, Senlis is not commonly cited for its role in the appearance of this new imagery in ecclesiastical architecture. Furthermore, in an art historical sense, the cathedral is more often connected to earlier late Gothic construction than to the contemporary buildings in and around the city.

This study will challenge this paradigm by first presenting the historical and political context of the rebuilding of Senlis cathedral, by comparing the monument prior to and following its reconstruction, and finally, by investigating and using iconographic clues to link the cathedral with both its patrons and its projected audience. With this dissertation, the sixteenth-century rebuilding of the cathedral of Senlis, which has never been the subject of a monographic study, is made the central focus of a contextual analysis. The monument is presented as a socio-political construct during the century that saw both the conclusion of the Hundred Years War and the start of the Wars of Religion. In order to do this, it is necessary to describe the growth of royal power, its use to effect ecclesiastic appointments (through the Concordat of Bologna), and thus the (political) role of the bishops in the rebuilding campaigns. With this as part of the background, the early history of the church is presented as a foil to the later construction in Senlis and as a means to introduce the idea of an audience. An analysis of the funding sources helps to identify the roles played by the various patrons, and master masons. Finally, a formal analysis of the sixteenth-century construction, including a reading of its iconographic details, leads to an understanding of the relationship of Senlis to contemporary construction under royal patronage.

Historical Parameters

Before delving into the historical and political background of this period, it is necessary to clarify aspects of the terminology and to present a brief overview of the contemporary context. The sixteenth century, up until the Wars of Religion is for some, the last century of the Gothic Middle Ages;

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for others, it is part of the Renaissance. While there are valid arguments for either view to describe the art and architecture of this period in France, the century from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century -- from the end of the Hundred Years War to the start of the Wars of Religion, (circa 1453-1557) -- defies the limitations of either label. The major wars have been the main focus of attention for their religious, political and historical import. The intervening years, however, have been more sporadically covered depending on individual areas of interest. As noted by Potter, "the century of French history before the outbreak of the Wars of Religion has seldom been surveyed as a coherent whole."[5] This is equally true of the art and architecture of this period. Yet the changes in the governance of France and particularly the country's progression from a feudal society to a system of clientage and then absolute monarchy had major implications for the patronage of the arts and architecture. Russell Major has asserted that "[t]he series of internal conflicts that wrecked France between 1562 and 1598 became nearly as much a struggle to control royal patronage as a quarrel between two religions."[6] This interpretation refers to the rapid change in the nature of royal patronage which was increasingly used to guarantee fealty through a hierarchical system of appointments at court and within the Church.

Patronage, like the clientage system, extended to the appointment of individuals who, in their new positions of power, commissioned visual representations of their heraldry and that of the monarch to advertise their alliance to the king. In the case of Senlis, though the responsibility of the rebuilding of the cathedral was incumbent upon the chapter, the bishops of Senlis played an important role in the process. In fact, the rebuilding of the cathedral may not have progressed as readily without their participation. As individuals, they were recognized members of the king's entourage and often directly appointed by the monarch against the wishes of the cathedral canons. The rebuilding of the cathedral thus proceeded largely under the auspices of the reigning bishop.

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[5] David Potter, A History of France, 1460-1560: The Emergence of a National State, NY: St. Martin's Press, (1995), vii.
[6] Russell J. Major, Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles and Estates, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press (1994), 108. See also the review of this book by L.M. Bryant in SCJ XXVII/2 (1996), 554-556.

The balance of power between the Church and the monarch was essentially maintained throughout the reign of François I by a series of ecclesiastic appointments and attempts at reform. Church reform was, however, ineffective and ultimately did little to stave the growth of Protestantism. More was at issue here than simple reform as history demonstrates. According to Imbart de la Tour, author of <u>Les origines de la reforme</u> (1905-1935), "the equilibrium of the late medieval church had been fatally undermined by individualism, class interests and the rivalries between crown, popes and feudatories."[7] This constitutes the next chapter in a history of the Church in France that is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but nevertheless deserves mention as it marks the juncture between the completion of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis and the beginning of major upheavals in France.

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[7] Potter, <u>A History of France</u>, 207.

Chapter 1. Historical and Political Context
Background

From the end of the fifteenth and throughout most of the sixteenth century, the French monarchs gained increasingly more power. Louis XII and François I, in particular, benefited from the diplomacy of their predecessors, starting with the ascendance of Philippe de Valois following the demise of the Capetian dynasty. Even during the Hundred Years War when both the Plantagenets and Valois[8] fought a propagandistic war aimed at legitimizing their rival dynastic claims, the stage was being set for the later success of the Valois dynasty. English interest in the French throne was not abandoned until 1808 although invasion of the continent ceased in 1453 following the defeat at Castillon-la-Bataille in southwestern France. While the economic and political situation improved little during the reign of Charles VI and Charles VII, the accession of Louis XI in 1461 brought changes that eventually led to the establishment of peace and economic prosperity that fostered a suitable environment for the renewal of building activities.

After the accession of Louis XI and the conclusion of the War of the Public Weal (1465) came the signing of the Treaty of Picquigny between Edward IV and Louis XI on August 29, 1475. The agreement that the English retreat from the continent in exchange for a lump sum and annual payments was readily agreed upon by the two monarchs. With the end to all English invasions came peace that was further strengthened by the monarch. The kings of France slowly gained control over the independent princes and magnates that controlled neighboring territories thereby reducing the number of fiefs and apanages that surrounded the kingdom.

A number of treaties helped to settle issues with neighboring rulers. In the Treaty of Arras (1482), the dynastic conflicts between Louis XI and

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[8] The succession to the French throne was broken in 1328 when Charles IV died without issue thus raising the question of who should rule in France. Women were barred from succeeding to the throne according to tradition dating back to the Merovingians and codified in the Salic Laws thus making Philippe de Valois, son of Philippe IV's brother Charles the closest male heir. Edward II of England (1327-1377) claimed the throne by way of his mother, Isabel (1292-1358), daughter of Philippe IV, king of France 1285-1314, and Jeanne de Navarre thus sparking a bitter struggle to control France. For more on the laws of succession which ignited this war between England and France see John M. Potter "The Development and Significance of the Salic Law of France," English Historical Review 52, (1937), 235-253.

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Maximilian of Austria were settled with the proposed marriage of the Emperor's daughter, Marguerite of Austria (1480-1530) to the dauphin Charles. In terms of later developments and diplomatic possibilities, it has been noted by Potter that "without the victories of Louis XI the splendor of the age of Francis I is scarcely imaginable."[9] The marriage treaties devised by Louis XII, likewise, played an important role in securing territory by both forming and breaking alliances in the interests of France.

In August of 1501, a treaty between Louis XII and Philip the Fair (1478-1506) arranged for the betrothal of Louis' daughter Claude to the Archduke's son, Charles, grandson of Emperor Maximilian and King Ferdinand of Aragon. After a grave illness, which provoked reconsideration of the treaty's possible consequences, Louis XII called on the Assembly of Estates to reject the proposed marriage of Claude to Charles of Habsburg, future Emperor Charles V. Their meeting in Tours rescinded the earlier treaty in favor of the marriage of Claude and François d'Angoulême, heir presumptive to the throne of France.

François d'Angoulême becomes the Heir Presumptive

In 1498, the death of Charles VIII without an immediate heir led to the succession of Louis d'Orleans, as Louis XII. At the time, the new monarch was childless, making François d'Angoulême heir presumptive at the age of four. Through he could not be referred to as the dauphin because he was not the king's son, but his oldest nephew, François could claim that his great grandfather Louis, Duke of Orleans, had been Charles VI's brother. On the occasion of the arrival of the Archduke (Philip of Habsburg) and his wife in 1501, following the conclusion of the Treaty of Blois and its stipulation that Louis XII's daughter Claude marry Charles, François d'Angoulême made his first official appearance as heir apparent.[10] Already at this early date, the image of the prince was being carefully nurtured and his position at court was highly regarded. As mentioned, Louis XII rescinded an earlier treaty in favor of French succession and in order to guarantee a high ranking and well-

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[9] Potter, A History of France, xii.
[10] R.J. Knecht, Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1994), 10. (c.f., J.S.C. Bridge, History of France from the Death of Louis XI, vol. iii, Oxford (1921-36), 208-214.).

endowed marriage partner for the prince, namely his daughter. The future marriage of François d'Angoulême, Duke of Valois, to Claude de France was pronounced with the signing of a contract on May 22, 1506. Even before their eventual marriage in 1514,[11] François d'Angoulême was being groomed for his succession to the throne. After the death of her husband, Louise de Savoie (1476-1531) assembled at the court of Amboise a group of *grand rhétoriqueurs* which included François Du Moulin de Rochefort (or Desmoulins), canon of Poitiers and François d'Angoulême's tutor (1501-1508), Jean Thénaud, a Franciscan (*cordelier angoumoisin*), and André de La Vigne among others. Together with the education of the Prince, they were responsible for directing the creation of royal propaganda for the House of Angoulême.

The steady increase in the power of the monarch following the conclusion of the Hundred Years War led to the exercise of military force in the name of territorial claims, and lavish building enterprises, the most extensive of which occurred during the reign of François I. To affirm territorial and dynastic rights, Charles VIII claimed the kingdom of Naples through the first and second Houses of France Anjou. After his ascendance to the throne, Louis XII, as descendant of the Visconti dukes of Milan, successfully invaded Italy and recaptured the duchy of Milan. To regain territory lost in the meantime, François I invaded Italy in 1515 and then again in 1522. At the same time that François I was plotting the recovery of Italian lands, he commissioned important treatises on absolutism.[12] Claude de Seyssel (1450-1520), royal councilor, diplomat and member of the clergy, wrote La Monarchie de France (1515) and Guillaume Budé (1467-1540) produced L'institution du Prince (1519) which emphatically support the divine right of

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[11] The delay in the actual execution of the marriage is attributed to the rivalry which existed between Anne de Bretagne, the reigning queen of France, and Louise de Savoie, François' mother. It was only after Anne's death on January 9, 1514 that the marriage was performed and celebrated at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on May 18, 1514, (c.f. Claude Carlier, Histoire du duché de Valois, depuis le temps des Gaulois jusqu'en l'année 1703, tome 2, Compiègne: Louis Bertrand (1764), 534.).

[12] For an overview of the theorectical writings which supported greater royal authority during François I's reign see the two article by Jacques Poujol entitled "Cadre idéologique du développement de l'absolutisme en France à l'avènement de François Ier," in Théorie et practique politiques à la Renaissance, Paris (1977), 259-272 and "L'evolution et l'influence des idées absolutistes en France 1498 à 1559," L'information historique, 18, (1956) 43-44. c.f. Cathryn P. Steeves, "The Hôtel de Ville of Paris: The Architecture, Urbanism and Politics of François I," Ph.D diss. Columbia University (1996), 4 and note 7.

kings. Guillaume Budé also wrote De Asse (1515) wherein he celebrates the ascension of François I. De Asse, like L'institution du Prince, appeals "to the Platonic ideal of the philosopher ruler."[13] These propagandistic treatises are comparable to the royal building projects; both affirm the position of the king as the supreme leader of an implied feudal structure. The king used all means possible to affirm his position through military conquest and royal display including the idealization of reality as presented through both visual and literary propaganda.[14]

The late rebuilding of the cathedral at Senlis takes place during this era. In addition, Senlis was one of the monuments whose reconstruction was accomplished during the decades just prior to the beginning of the Wars of Religion. During this critical time period, the cathedral's rebuilding was central to the demonstration of royal and ecclesiastical governance which did not remain unchallenged, but rather led to future conflict. Many of the provincial nobles and town oligarchs were opposed to François I's mounting absolutism. They resented the increasing centralization of government that reduced their powers while creating a more united kingdom. The Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) promulgated by François I, for example, contains 192 articles including several -- like the one requiring registration of all births and death in each parish, and the compulsory adoption of French for legal matters -- that furthered royal control of the kingdom while also stimulating a sense of national consciousness. While these developments lie outside of the parameters of this study, the tensions which led to the Wars of Religion dramatize the inequities and power struggles latent in the preceding decades. Religious doctrines, like those of Calvin and Luther, directed rebellion away from the mounting absolutism of the king and towards the need for religious reform. In this sense, the civil unrest can be seen in part as a rebellion against increasing royal control that extended over the Gallican Church and affected relations not only with the pope, but with Charles V. While certainly not an absolute monarch, the king of France in the early sixteenth century was, along with Charles V, one of Europe's most powerful rulers.

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[13] Potter, A History of France, 36.
[14] For more on this aspect of the reign of François I, see Anne-Marie Lecoq's François Ier Imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française, Paris: Macula 1987, and the reviews of this book by R.J. Knecht and J.M. Massing in BM 147/2, (1989), 203-205, and Burlington Magazine 131, Sept. (1989), 652-653 respectively.

By the sixteenth century, Charles of Habsburg was king of Spain and ruler of the Netherlands. In 1519, he became Emperor Charles V despite François I's efforts to win this position for himself. Charles V (1519-1556) was François I's contemporary and most powerful rival. The ensuing conflicts between these great leaders resulted in the defeat of the French forces at Pavia and the capture of the French monarch in 1524. It was only in 1526, after two years of captivity that Charles V agreed to release the king in exchange for the dauphin and his brother until the terms of his ransom were met.

Immediately following his release from captivity, the king sought to regain the power which had been undermined by his absence from France. This was achieved, in part, by increasing the number of ecclesiastical appointments thereby strengthening alliances within the hierarchy of church officials. In this context, the appointment of the king's royal chaplain, Guillaume Parvy, to the position of bishop of Senlis becomes significant because of the importance of Senlis as a symbol and center of the royal domain north of Paris. For at this time, France is best described as a body politic in which power was concentrated in the hands of the sacralized figure of the king who delegated authority to his secular and ecclesiastic appointees.[15] While the direct governance of the kingdom was diffused by the growing administration, the monarch remained its *raison d'être*. Stated another way: "If all the evidence points to the centrality of the monarchy to French identity, one aspect of the genesis of a sense of national community that has perhaps been neglected is the active role of the crown in propaganda."[16] It was, after all, the king who benefited mostly directly from the maintenance of a sovereign state based on political and ecclesiastic appointments.

The Politics of Appointment: The Concordat of Bologna

On August 18, 1516, the Concordat of Bologna concluded between François I and Pope Leo X gave the crown the power to select the abbots and bishops of his realm, and thus assume almost absolute control of the

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[15] Potter, A History of France, ix-x.
[16] Potter, A History of France, 23.

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church.[17] Upon the conclusion of the Concordat, "the king had the right to nominate candidates to the 800 abbatial and 114 Episcopal and archiepiscopal seats in France."[18] As concluded by Knecht, the direct influence of the king in episcopal appointments as specified in the terms of the Concordat affirms the principal direction of church-state relations in the later Middle Ages.[19] The power wielded over the Gallican Church by the monarch prior to the conclusion of the Concordat, as dictated under the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, was codified and extended by the registration of the new accord. Instead of disregarding the tenets of the Pragmatic Sanction, the king could simply appoint his own candidates, thus confirming aspects of the clientage system in the placement of church officials.

This is further confirmed by the provision of the Concordat that made the election of a member of the royal family and nobility not only the norm, but almost incontestable as princes of the blood were exempted from any age restrictions.[20] In addition to being free from any minimum age requirements in the Concordat, it was not necessary for them to have either a licentiate in canon (civil) law, or in theology.[21] The final draft of the Concordat further extended these exemptions to include members of the 'great family'. The insertion of this rather ambiguous term effectively gave the king executive power over nominations and made it easier for a prince of the blood, or a member of the nobility to gain access to an ecclesiastical high office.[22] While in one sense, the real beneficiaries of the Concordat were the members of the nobility -- they received ecclesiastical benefices which brought them substantial incomes as well as considerable influence and social standing, -- it

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[17] While the accord was ratified by the Lateran council on December 19, 1516, it was not registered by the Parliament of Paris, and thus not enacted into law until March 22, 1518. c.f., R.J. Knecht, "The Concordat of 1516: a reassessment," Birmingham Hist. Journal 9, (1963), 25.

[18] M.M. Edelstein, "The Social Origins of the Episcopacy in the reign of Francis I," French Historical Studies 8/3, (1974), 378.

[19] This conclusion can be found in Knecht's 'The Concordat of 1516: a re-assessment' Birmingham Hist. Journal 9, (1963), 16-32 and in H. Cohn (ed.) Government in Reformation Europe, London (1971), 91-112.

[20] For appointment as a bishop, the minimum age as stipulated by the Concordat was twenty-seven and twenty-three for an abbot.

[21] Edelstein, "The Social Origins," 379.

[22] Edelstein, "The Social Origins," 379.

assured the monarch the support and loyalty of an important class of individuals. With that, the Church of France became "l'église du roi."[23]

During the reign of François I, the vast majority of those appointed to the episcopacy were of noble origin.[24] According to Edelstein, the nobility of the sword -- nobility of four generations or more that served the monarch militarily and held noble fiefs for as long -- made up almost three-quarters of the identifiable bishops appointed under François I.[25] And, "out of the 129 identifiable French bishops appointed during this period [1516-1547] only six were commoners."[26] That these men were born of non-noble status did not, however, prevent their ascendancy into high ranking offices in the service of the king as other factors outweighed their commoner origins. In fact, their careers were quite exceptional. Although an anachronism, these men have been referred to as "*hommes à talent.*"[27] As individuals, they had the right mix of intellectual ability, religious piety and royal support during an era in which birthright played the key role in determining one's status.[28]

Among the six non-nobles to reach the episcopacy, five did so after first serving as chaplain in one of the royal households.[29] Royal chaplains were frequently promoted to the episcopacy as their position naturally availed them of the opportunity to become well-known and well-liked by members of the royal family. The demonstrated loyalty of a chaplain was often rewarded by his promotion which secured a strong ally for the king within the episcopacy. Since their success was by no means a birthright and they could

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[23] The term "l'église du roi" was coined by Marc Venard in Histoire de la France religieuse 1988 which is cited by Arlette Jouanna in her discussion of the Concordat of Bologna in La France du XVI siècle 1483-1598, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, (1996), 44.

[24] In her research on the French episcopacy, Edelstein has found that of the 182 men appointed to the episcopacy, and of those from identifiable social groups (123), 95% were of noble origin. See Table I, in "The Social Origins of the Episcopacy in the reign of Francis I," French Historical Studies 8/3, (1974), 379.

[25] Edelstein, "The Social Origins," 381.

[26] Edelstein, "The Social Origins," 388.

[27] Jouanna, La France du XVI siècle 1483-1598, (1996), 116. The author goes on to add that of this group "font partie les docteurs de l'université, qui y enseignent, si conscients de leur dignité qu'ils revendiquent la qualité de nobles (mais cette prétention, à la différence des officiers, n'aboutira pas; ils n'obtiennent, pour certains d'entre eux, que des privilèges nobiliaire personnels," 116.

[28] Edelstein, "The Social Origins," 389.

[29] M.M. Edelstein, "The Recruitment of the Episcopacy under the Concordat of Bologna in the Reign of Francis I," Ph.D. Diss. Columbia Univ. (1972), 144.

not rely on an immutable position within society, these individuals were among the king's most active and faithful appointees.

The monarch not only promoted his royal chaplains, but also used the Concordat of Bologna to place these loyal servants in key episcopal positions within the various dioceses of the kingdom. This occurred at Senlis when the king used the Concordat to effect the outcome of episcopal elections.[30] Not only did François I determine the 1522 election and place Arthur Fillon at the head of the diocese, he later made his confessor, Guillaume Parvy, the bishop of Senlis in 1526. Under this bishop's direction, new building campaigns were initiated for the cathedral and the episcopal palace.

The Bishops of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis[31]

In the Middle Ages, the bishop of a cathedral played an important role in the administration of his diocese and could, when closely affiliated to the monarch, provide the chapter and the cathedral with the benefits of royal favor. In the case of Senlis during the first half of the sixteenth century, the bishops of Notre-Dame were men of learning known for their loyalty to the king. Jean Calveau, bishop of Senlis (1516-1522), served François I as *maitre des requêtes* from 1515-1519, a member of the *conseil du roi* and regular participant of this privy council. His successors, Arthur Fillon (1522-1526), Oudard Hennequin (1526-1527), and Guillaume Parvy (1527-1532) were noted as learned men who advised the king. Guillaume Parvy[32] (Fig. 3), in particular, enjoyed the king's favor and the company of some of the most important humanists of the period including Guillaume Budé, *sécrétaire du roi*, and Erasmus of Rotterdam.

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[30] Émile Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale dans l'élection d'Arthur Fillon, élu [évêque de Senlis] en 1522," Mémoires et recueils composés à l'aide dans les dépôts du département de l'Oise, Beauvais: impr. de Père 1882.

[31] See Appendix 1 for a chronological list of the Bishops of Senlis during the later Middle Ages.

[32] He is thought to be represented on the left hand along side the king's sons in the miniature of François I listening to Antoine Macault's translation of the Antiquities of Diodorus Siculus found in the Musée Condé, Chantilly. Jean Tremblot adds that this picture was engraved by Geoffroy Tory, a friend of Parvy, as early as 1535, in "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," BHR 1, (1941), 20.

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Contrary to many of the bishops from other regions, the bishops at Senlis were strictly ecclesiastical figures and did not rule as counts. Their seigniory was, nevertheless, considered the most important after that of the king and brought with it several benefices.[33] As summarized by Flammermont and cited by Vermand: "outre son palais épiscopal, [l'évêque a eu] plusieurs droits seigneuriaux dont le 'grand tonlieu,' particulièrement lucratif puisqu'il consistait en la perception, à son profit, de diverses taxes sur les denrées et merchandises pénétrant dans la ville pour être vendues au marché."[34] Along with these benefices came ownership of property including Mont-l'Évêque which was later given by the bishop to François I in exchange for a number of other properties held by the king.[35] The bishops of Senlis had the wealth and status, as appointees of the monarch, to play a significant role in the rebuilding of the cathedral.

Charles de Blanchefort (1502-1515)

The first bishop of Senlis whose tenure coincides with the late Gothic rebuilding of the cathedral was Charles de Blanchefort. Prior to his appointment, he was a protonotary, archdeacon of Vendôme, canon of Sainte-Chapelle and Abbot of Saint-Euverte at Orleans and Saint-Quentin en Vermandois. He was elected bishop of Senlis in 1499, but was not confirmed until 1505.[36] His appointment, as reflected by his entry into Senlis on January 1, 1508,[37] marked the beginning of a rise in the status[38] and pageantry

[33] Dominique Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 10. c.f., J. Flammermont, Histoire des institutions municipales de Senlis, (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philogiques et historiques, XLIV) Paris (1881), 166-167.

[34] Flammermont, Histoire des institutions municipales de Senlis, (1881), 166-167.

[35] The Acte non datés, no. 16257, in Catalogue des actes de François Ier, (Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Paris, Paul Marichal (ed.) et al.) tome 5, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (1887-1908), 306, refers to the "Lettres de terrier données par le roi à l'évêque de Senlis, pour sa terre et seigneurie de Mont-lévêque. Paris, 27 novembre 1516." c.f. Archives départementales de l'Oise, G. 2284.

[36] Eugène Müller, "Sur une Vierge d'argent donnée en 1515 à la cathédrale de Senlis par Philippe Pot, neveu de l'évêque Charles de Blanchefort," Revue de l'Art chrétien (1891), 292.

[37] The date is given as 1509 by Eugène Müller in "Sur une Vierge d'argent donnée en 1515 à la cathédrale de Senlis par Philippe Pot, neveu de l'évêque Charles de Blanchefort," Revue de l'Art chrétien (1891), 292.

[38] According to Ian Dunlop's The Cathedral's Crusade: The Rise of the Gothic Style in France, NY: Taplinger Co. (1982), 44: "On 15 February 1510, the Bishop Charles de Blanchefort, protested to the Parlement about the lax morals of his Chapter...." The abuse of prebends is also cited in municipal deliberations. For example, although not sanctioned, high-born bastards were sometimes provided for by a church benefice. This was the case when, on

associated with the bishop of Senlis. During this ceremony, the bishop's coat-of-arms formed of "tenture dorée à deux lyons passants léopardés de gueules" served as a prominent visual reminder of his ascendance. Likewise, the same heraldry was made the motif of the corbels in the chapel of the fortification tower that was incorporated into the episcopal palace. In 1509, the bishop gave between three and four thousand francs for the repair of the southern tower and the recasting of its bells.[39]

As bishop, Blanchefort acted independently. He is said to have often quarreled with the monks and made changes to religious rites.[40] In one account, after having heard from the king (Louis XII) that Claude de France had become pregnant, he immediately announced plans for a celebration and general procession on September 15, 1510, without having consulted with the chapter.[41] Even the bishop's passing was a marked event. Blanchefort died on August 29, 1515, and was buried within the cathedral at the conclusion of an expensive funeral which took place on the second of September.[42] According to Afforty: "à la inhumation les cloqueteurs portant sur la poitrine et le dos les armes du défunt [et] son tombeau était composé d'un socle de marbre noir supportant une représentation en marbre blanc."[43] Upon his death, Blanchefort's nephew, Philippe Pot de Rhodes was named as the successor and recipient of his uncle's prebends. As the executor of his estate, Philippe Pot, *conseiller au Parlement de Paris, président de chambre* and vicar general of Senlis, had a statue of the crowned Virgin and Child fashioned out of silver and donated *in memoriam* to the cathedral.

February 5, 1500, Jean de Montmorency became a canon at Senlis after having gained royal approval and produced letters of dispensation 'super defectu natalium'. c.f. Marie-Antoinette Ménier, "Le chapitre cathédral de Senlis de 1139 à 1516," Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Senlis, Comptes-rendus et Mémoires, (1969-1970), 13.
[39] Eugène Müller, Monographie des rues, places et monuments de Senlis, Senlis: Ernest Payen (1880), 414. See also Charles-François Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 241.
[40] Ménier, "Le chapitre cathédral de Senlis de 1139 à 1516," 84.
[41] Ménier, "Le chapitre cathédral de Senlis de 1139 à 1516," 84.
[42] Müller, "Sur une Vierge d'argent," 292.
[43] For more on the bishop's inhumation see Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 441, 453 & 456, and tome IV, 2024.

Jean (Calneau) Calveau (1516-1522)

Jean (Calneau) Calveau,[44] like his predecessor, was a supporter of the king's interests. As the first bishop of Senlis to be sponsored by the Angoulême-Valois branch of the royal family, he helped establish a privileged association between the episcopacy of Senlis and the Valois monarchy. He served as the king's *maitre des requêtes* in addition to being a member of the *conseil du roi* and regular participant of the king's privy council. He is mentioned as having attended the *conseil du roi* between 6 and 8 times from January 1515 to January 1519.[45] His four year tenure as *maitre des requêtes* began only a year prior to his gaining considerable recognition from the monarch. In 1516, prior to François I's invasion of Italy, Jean Calveau was made the trustee of one of the king's most prized seals, namely the seal of the Duchy of Valois.[46] For his service, he was handsomely rewarded by the king, and given the honor and responsibility of assisting in the coronation of queen Claude in 1517.[47] As a result of his service to the crown, his candidacy for bishop of Senlis was supported by Louise de Savoie:

> la duchesse d'Angoulême usa d'abord de persuasion discrète. D'Amboise, elle répondit aux chanoines, les invitant, s'ils désiraient lui plaire, à élire maître Jean Calveau, conseiller et maître des requêtes, abbé commendataire de la couronne. Puis, pensant que la parole serait plus efficaces, elle confia à quatre notables, dont Jacques Olivier, président au Parlement, et Roger Barmé, avocat du Roi, le soin de porter sa missive.[48]

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[44] The bishop's name is recorded by Mallet as Jean Salvi in "Extraict en bref de ce qui s'est passé en la ville de Senlis et ès environs d'icelle, depuis l'an 1400, que Charles VI était roi de France jusq'en 1594," in Bernier Adhelm's Monuments de l'histoire de France, (1837), 40.

[45] This is based on the statistical analysis of presences over 58 acts done by David Potter in The History of France, 1460-1560; The Emergence of a Nation State, NY: St. Martin's Press, (1995), 97.

[46] Carlier, Histoire du duché de Valois, depuis le temps des Gaulois jusqu'en l'année 1703, tome 2, Paris (1764,) 544.

[47] Carlier, Histoire du duché de Valois, tome 2, 544.

[48] Ménier, "Le chapitre cathédral de Senlis," Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Senlis, Comptes-rendus et Mémoires, 1969-1970, 104. c.f. Archives départementales de l' Oise, G. 2720.

For his loyalty, Calveau was made a bishop in 1515. Following his ceremonial entry as bishop of Senlis on February 1, 1516, Calveau financed, in 1519,[49] the addition of new windows depicting the life of the Virgin; included in the iconographic program of the windows were the bishop's coat-of-arms.[50] Before Bishop Calveau died in Lyon while on his way back from Rome, he made certain provisions of bequest that directly benefited the rebuilding of the cathedral at Senlis.

At the time of Calveau's death, the canons of the cathedral were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and, thus had the right to elect the next bishop. For the newly vacated seat, they nominated Vigor Lechaussier, Louis Bonyn, Tassin Joly and Jean Obelet. While the new bishop was to have been chosen among these four candidates, before the election could occur, "des lettres royaux avaient été expédiées au bailli de cette ville, antérieurement au 15 juillet, pour lui enjoindre d'apposer aussitôt les scellés en l'hôtel épiscopal."[51] The king thereby claimed the property of the deceased bishop and made the final appointment of the new bishop.

Arthur Fillon (1522-1526)

As the next bishop of Senlis, François I chose Arthur (or Artus) Fillon, a native of Verneuil, and doctor of theology from the College of Navarre (1503). Prior to his appointment, Fillon served as a canon of Evreux and Rouen, and a curate of Saint-Maclou. In 1506, he was named the vicar general of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. After the archbishop's death in 1510, Fillon served Georges II d'Amboise until 1522. In June of 1521, Arthur Fillon was present with the cardinal and archbishop for the dedication of the church of St. Maclou at Rouen.[52] The following year, he was royally appointed to serve as the bishop of Senlis.

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[49] This date is given as 1517 by Marcel Aubert in his Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis,Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis: Dufresne (1910) 28, (c.f. Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 501), and as 1521 in Carlier's Histoire du duché de Valois, tome 2, 545.

[50] Müller, Monographie des rues, places et monuments de Senlis, 414.

[51] Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale," 5.

[52] Linda Neagley, "The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style," JSAH XLVII/4, December 1988, 378; c.f. Archives départementales de l'Oise, G. 6881 (fabric account for 1520-1523). As noted by Neagley, the dedication date, June 25, 1521, as cited from the above archive has been published by C. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, Inventaire

In support of Arthur Fillon's candidacy,[53] the king wrote two letters to the chapter of Senlis; the first letter was typical of the royal endorsements written after the conclusion of the Concordat of Bologna. As stated by Louis Madelin in 1897:

> Quoi qu'il en soit, le roi choisit un candidat et le présente, généralement dans les mêmes termes, vantant tour à tour sa vertu, ses mœurs, sa littérature, mais attachant — semble-t-il — beaucoup plus d'importance à sa naissance, aux services que lui ou les siens ont rendu au gouvernement ou qu'ils lui pourront rendre.[54]

The second letter, dated September 10, 1522, states the king's desire that the chapter ratify his appointment of Arthur Fillon for the sake of their common aims of rebuilding and redecorating the church.[55] It was argued that Fillon who was one of François I's councilors, "pouvait donc, en montant sur le siège épiscopal de Senlis, rendre à cette église de grands services par ses haute relations comme par ses lumières."[56] The election which took place in the *salle capitulaire* on September 25, 1522, unanimously confirmed Fillon, bishop of Senlis.

Fillon is described as "always an avid builder" by James Farge, author of a register of Parisian Doctors of Theology from the first decades of the sixteenth century.[57] He is credited with the tower of the Madeleine in Verneuil and involvement in the decoration of the main entry of Rouen cathedral.[58] After a fire destroyed the spire of the cathedral of Rouen, Fillon "donna de sa pure libéralité trente écus d'or, huit ducats, six coupes d'argent de dix-huit marcs, et six gondoles, aussi, pour aider à commencer les

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sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, série G (archives eccésiastiques), 5, Rouen, (1892), 274.

[53] Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale," 2.

[54] Louis Madelin, "Les Premiers applications de Concordat de 1516, d'après les dossiers du Château Saint-Ange," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome XVII, Fascicule IV-V, (1897) 330.

[55] Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale," 7-8

[56] Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale," 6.

[57] James K. Farge, Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology 1500-1536, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, (1980), 165.

[58] Farge, Biographical Register, 165.

réparations de l'église."[59] In 1524, the bishop donated 100 *livres* to the chapter of Senlis for the floor of the choir which was completed in that year.[60] After serving as bishop of Senlis for only four years, Fillon died in August of 1526, leaving the largest part of his estate, 1,200 *livres*, to the chapter of the cathedral. He was not interested in pomp as reflected in his desire for a simple funeral, and burial within the church without a tomb.[61] After his death, Fillon was replaced briefly by Oudard Hennequin and then by Guillaume Parvy.

Oudard Hennequin (1526-1527)

Oudard Hennequin, abbot of Saint-Loup and almoner of François I, was nominated in 1526 by the king and admitted as bishop by the chapter on November 17, 1526. Soon after being consecrated in Paris in 1527, Bishop Hennequin was transferred (probably by request) to Troyes where his family was not only well-established, but influential. In addition to bishop, he served as the *maître (ordinaire) de la Chambre des comptes et contrôleur général des finances entre Seine et Yonne.*[62] To accommodate the transfer of Bishop Hennequin, the then bishop of Troyes, Guillaume Parvy, in essence vacated his position at Troyes[63] only to become one of the most influential bishops of Senlis through his close association with François I.

Guillaume Parvy (1527-1536)

Guillaume Parvy or Parvi, also known as Guillaume Petit,[64] was a Dominican and doctor of theology (1502) from the University of Paris.

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[59] Émile Picot, Artus Fillon, chanoine d'Evreux et de Rouen, puis évêque de Senlis, Evreux (1911), pièces justificative XXXII, 30; c.f. Farin, Histoire de la ville de Rouen, (1731), tome 1, 172., c.f. 3e partie, 8.

[60] Aubert, Monographie, 29

[61] Picot, Artus Fillon, 16.

[62] James K. Farge, (ed.) Registre des Conclusions de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Paris. Tome II: Du 26 novembre 1533 au 1er mars 1550, Paris: Klincksieck (1994), 24, note 37.

[63] According to A. Vattier, in "Note sur la 'Formation de l'homme et son excellence,'" ouvrage posthume de M. Guillaume Parvi, évêque de Senlis," Comité archéologique de Senlis, (1874), 40, this transfer of seats occurred in 1529.

[64] There seems to be little if any accord as to Guillaume's family name. Vatin (1847, 1876), Vattier (1874) and Aubert (1910) refer to him as Parvi, while Tremblot (1941) and Edelstein (1972, 1974) use Parvy. Tremblot, in particular, states that Petit is incorrect and 'Parvi' is simply the Italian of the correct name which is Parvy. More modern scholars such as Farge (1980), Baurmeister and Laffitte (1992), and Knecht use Petit. Frederic Baumgartner, in Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate, Duke Univ. Press (1986), 123, refers to the bishop as Guillaume Petit de Parvy.

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Parvy[65] was an important humanist theologian and member of the inner circle of both Louis XII and François I. He was named the *Inquisiteur-général de France* in 1507[66] by the Dominican general chapter, and made prior of the convent at Blois, where the court was most often in residence.[67] After the death, in 1509,[68] of Antoine Dufour, bishop of Marseille and the king's confessor, Parvy was chosen by Louis XII as his royal almoner. He was allowed to forsake the tenet of his Order requiring poverty, and in the service of the king, he became an increasingly important (and wealthy) member of the royal court. He was the royal chaplain to Louis XII and Anne of Bretagne from 1499 until their deaths in 1514 and 1515 respectively. In this capacity, Parvy acted as confessor, preacher and close advisor as well as royal panegyrist. In addition to giving the eulogies for both Anne of Bretagne and Louis XII, he later gave the funeral oration for Emperor Maximilian († 1519), Massimiliano Sforza († 1530) and Louise de Savoie († 1531).

In addition to his role as royal chaplain, Parvy succeeded Adam Laisgre as the Keeper of the Library at Blois and served in this capacity until his death in 1536. Through this position, he was involved in the sponsorship, review, and publication of numerous books.[69] His status and influence are directly reflected in the number and quality of texts that are associated with him. Many of them are first editions of important works produced by the printer-

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[65] See Farge's Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology 1500-1536, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, (1980), 368, for a biography of Guillaume Parvy.

[66] The date of Parvy's appointment as Inquisteur général is given as 1507 and 1509 respectively by Farge (1980) who cites B.M. Reichertm (ed.) "Acta capitulorum generalium, IV in Monumenta ordinis fraturum praedicatorum historica, vol. 9, Rome and Stuttgart (1900), 67, and A. Prévost, Le diocèse de Troyes, Histoire et Documents, Dijon: Imprimerie de l'Union Typographique, tome 2, (1924), 269.

[67] Farge, Biographical Register, 370.

[68] According to Jean Tremblot in "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," BHR 1, (1941), 7: "Dès 1509, le bon roi Louis XII le [Guillaume Parvy] choisissait comme, confesseur, aux gages de huit cents livres". In her thesis "The Recruitment of the Episcopacy under the Concordat of Bologna in the Reign of Francis I" p. 90, Edelstein gives 1510 as the year that Guillaume Parvy became the king's royal almoner.

[69] Among Parvy's credits, Jean Tremblot cites editions of the works of Sulpice Sévère, de saint Adon, de Paul-Diacre, d'Origène, de Sigebert de Gembloux, de Ricoldo da Monte di Croce and de Victor de Vite in "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," BHR 1, (1941), 7. To this list can be added a Latin Psalter to Saint Jérôme and writings on Durand of Saint-Pourçain and Saint Thomas Aquinas. Among the texts dedicated to Parvy, there are the works of Grégoire de Tours, Saint Paulin de Nole, Aimoin, Bartolomeo Rimbertini, Jean Michel and Giovanni Craston et al., as cited in the chronological list of publications involving Guillaume Parvy in Farge's Biographical Register, (1980), 370-373.

bookseller Josse Bade wherein the dedicatory epistles of the preface are addressed to Parvy.[70] Bade's publication of Alfonso Riccio's *Dialogus in Valdensium de purgatorio errorem* (1509), contained not only a dedication to Louis XII, but also an epistle to Parvy. In 1510, Guillaume Parvy rededicated a copy of two texts first published together and dedicated to him by Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples. Parvy was behind the publication of the works of the Greek philosopher, Origines. As first published in 1512 by Parvy, Jacques Merlin and Josse Bade, the edition was produced with an ex-dono manuscript dedication to Louis XII fronting each of the four volumes, and protected by a royal copyright for three years. The first edition of *Origène* not only enjoyed exclusive rights to publication, but was reprinted in 1519, 1522, and 1530 thus reaping considerable financial reward for those involved. In addition to mention in the preface of many editions, Parvy wrote the dedication or ex-dono manuscripts to Louis XII and François I found in a number of royal publications. The success of his work was not only handsomely rewarded, but earned him a reputation as a generous patron of scholars.

When François I ascended to the throne, Parvy benefited directly from having been a loyal servant of both Louis XII and Anne of Bretagne. He was appointed François I's confessor and given the responsibility of tutoring his children. In 1515, he traveled with the king to Marignano as an advisor and prelate, and preached the homily on the eve of what was to be one of François I's most important victories. In 1517, Parvy was directly involved in the monarch's plans to establish the *Collège de France*. In recognition for his service to the monarch, Parvy was nominated to two episcopal positions, first to Troyes in 1517 and then to Senlis in 1527. In his first application of the Concordat of Bologna, the king nominated Parvy for bishop of Troyes in 1517.[71] Although opposed by the chapter, Parvy became the bishop of Troyes by royal injunction in 1518, the same year he was made royal librarian and entrusted with compiling a catalogue of the library at Blois. In this position, Parvy had considerable money at his disposal which he directed towards manuscript publications.[72] Parvy served as a councilor, spokesman and

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[70] Ursula Baurmeister and Marie-Pierre Laffitte (eds.), <u>Des livres et des rois, la Bibliothèque royale de Blois</u>, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale (1992), 167.
[71] Vattier, "Note sur la 'Formation de l'homme et son excellence,'" 39.
[72] Farge, <u>Biographical Register</u>, 368.

scholar to the king. His relative significance is reflected in the fact that his services at court were retained by the king, thus delaying his entry as bishop of Troyes until the spring of 1519.[73]

During his tenure as bishop of Troyes, Parvy was visited on two occasions by the king[74], and obtained from him the right to establish a fair of fifteen days. This fair brought economic opportunity and prosperity to both the cathedral chapter and the town.[75] When Parvy became the bishop of Senlis, he was availed of the opportunity to direct the rebuilding of the cathedral from a diocese located closer to the court and to Paris. In addition to his efforts at rebuilding the cathedral, Parvy had the first missal and breviary of the diocese published, and, upon the specific request of the constable, he presided over the dedication of the church of Montmorency.[76]

The blazon of Parvy (Figs. 4 & 5) though complex in its iconography was found throughout Paris and in the various regions where he held episcopates. Parvy's coat-of-arms was made up of a cross with the bleeding heart and pansy motifs separating four quadrants representing earth, water, air and fire. According to Lagneau, the coat-of-arms of Parvy encircled by a crown of thorns bearing the motto 'Utinam novissima providerent' (Fig. 6) was found in seven locations in Paris including the cloister of the Jacobins, chapel of Saint Thomas Aquinas, hall of the Cordeliers (Sainte-Geneviève) and in the chapel of Saint Michel at the Carmelite church.[77] During his episcopate, one of his dependents, Félix Paris, had the bishop's heraldry painted on glass for the church of Montangon; the same blazon was installed in the chapel of Fonts of the cathedral at Troyes (Fig. 7), and appeared in a painting of the Last Supper hung above the altar.[78]

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[73] According to A. Prévost, Le diocèse de Troyes, Histoire et Documents, Dijon: Imprimerie de l'Union Typographique, tome 2, (1924), 271-272: "Son entrée solonnelle n'eut lieu que le 15 mai, le roi l'ayant retenu pour prêcher à la cour et pour d'autres graves affaires."

[74] Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," 12.

[75] If this fair was under the auspice of the cathedral chapter, in a manner similar to that described in Jane Welch Williams' Bread, Wine and Money: the Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral. Univ. of Chicago Press 1993, then the cathedral would have been the direct beneficiary of the increased trade within the city.

[76] Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," 15.

[77] Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," 27.

[78] Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," 11.

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As bishop, he continued to play a significant role in issues which arose involving the Faculty of Theology, the Parliament of Paris and the king's wishes. He defended Lefèvre [d'Etaples] in 1519 in the controversy over the three Marys of the Gospel and helped him to escape to Strasbourg in 1525. For François I, he acted as his sister Marguerite's principal advisor in her dispute with the Sorbonne over *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, [Mirror of a Sinful Soul] (1533),[79] and obtained for the royal family the withdrawal of the censure passed by the faculty.[80]

François I assigned Guillaume Parvy to defend René Du Bellay against the charges of heresy levied by the Sorbonne. Parvy was successful when in the end, Roussel was only admonished.[81] Despite opposition to certain of their initiatives, Parvy was named spokesman to the king for the Faculty of Theology. In this capacity, he advised the king to pursue reform of the Faculty, and on April 29, 1533, François I appointed a commission headed by Parvy to reform not only the Faculty of Theology, but the entire university.[82] He served the interests of François I and the monarch's foreign policy objectives when he was appointed to rule on the question of Henry VIII's right to divorce.

As a sign of his gratitude, the king sought to further elevate his position from that of bishop to archbishop. Parvy was offered Antoine Boyer's position of archbishop of Bourges after his death in 1519, but refused,[83] preferring perhaps to remain at court. According to Vattier:

> Le roi du reste voyait de bon œil ce changement qui rapprochait de lui son confesseur et son ami, et déjà quelques années auparavant il avait voulu le faire nommer à l'archevéché de Bourges, mais il dut céder devant l'obstination du chapitre.[84]

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[79] Baumgartner, Change and Continuity, 123.
[80] See V.-L. Bourrilly and N. Weiss, "Jean du Bellay, les protestants et la Sorbonne 1529-1535," BSHPF, LII (1903) 209-213.
[81] Baumgartner, Change and Continuity, 124.
[82] César-Égasse Du Boulay, Historia universitatis parisiensis. vol. 6: 16th century; Paris: Petrus de Bresche, François Noël, 1665-1673; reprinted, Frankfurt am Main: Minerva (1966), 236.
[83] Prévost, Le diocèse de Troyes, Histoire et Documents, tome 2, 271-272
[84] Vattier, "Note sur la Formation de l'homme et son excellence," 40.

Despite the king's efforts, Guillaume Parvy did not become the archbishop of Bourges. The monarch's nominee was opposed by both the chapter and the pope who favored François de Bueil. Parvy, nevertheless, continued to serve the interests of the monarch and his diocese.

During his tenure as bishop at Senlis, he was involved in the reform of the Priory of Saint-Maurice and in several major building projects. In addition to helping finance the rebuilding of Notre-Dame and the parish church of Saint-Pierre, he initiated construction of the cathedral's new transept façades and extension of the episcopal palace. According to Duruel:

> Il augmenta l'hôtel épiscopal d'un logis qu'il acquit,
> faisant le coin sur le carrefour devant la porte de la
> cité appelée de Reims,.. il le fit abattre et bâtir en sa
> place un corps d'hôtel tout autre, et presque à la
> hauteur de l'Evêché qu'il joignit par la
> communication de galeries, une belle et moyenne
> porte proche l'encoignure, dont l'ouverture aussi
> bien que les fênetres de la salle et des chambres ont
> leur vue sur la rue Sainte-Hilaire.[85]

Bishop Parvy was, however, unable to see all his initiatives completed because he died in Senlis on December 8, 1536.

René Le Roullié (1536-1559)

René Le Roullié (or Roullier) was from one of the Parisian noble families. His tomb located at the abbey of Herivaulx describes him as a royal canon of Sainte-Chapelle.[86] He was elected bishop of Senlis in 1536. While he may have made an entry on the occasion of his election in 1536, or shortly after,[87] the bishop made a triumphant entry on March 30, 1544 perhaps to commemorate completion of the transept façades. His coat-of-arms (Fig. 8) embellishes one of the high vaults of the nave and according to Afforty, Bishop Le Roullié's heraldry once appeared on the north transept.[88]

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[85] Duruel, Histoire de l'église et du diocèse de Senlis, XVIIIe siècle.
[86] Arthur Demarsy, Notes pour servir à un armorial des évêques de Senlis, Paris: J.B. Dumolin (1866), 15.
[87] There is no extant record of this.
[88] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XI, 6017

Summary

With the conclusion of the Hundred Years War, stability soon returned to Europe. This and several fortuitous marriages led to the growth of royal and imperial power well represented by François I and Charles V. In France, the monarch used his position to negotiate a new accord with the pope. This new agreement, the Concordat of Bologna, had an immediate impact on the appointment of ecclesiastical officials throughout the kingdom. At Senlis, the effects were particularly evident. While possessing a variety of backgrounds, the sixteenth-century bishops of Senlis shared certain important characteristics. Often they were well-educated individuals, who had served as royal canons before being elected. The majority of them were directly appointed and fully supported by the royal family. They were loyal to the king and, in general, interested in the city and the rebuilding of the cathedral entrusted to them.

Chapter 2. Senlis

The City of Senlis

The city of Senlis is distinguished by its major royal and ecclesiastical monuments. The cathedral, together with the episcopal and royal palaces, occupies the northern part of the city. The cathedral built in the north-eastern quadrant of the ancient gallo-roman city is situated just inside the town's earliest fortifications. The Hôtel de Vermandois, originally built by Count Raoul de Vermandois, to the north of the cathedral's twin towered western façade communicated with the royal château built abutting and incorporating the city's oldest defense walls. The episcopal palace was built to the east of the cathedral. This mimics the similar relationship of royal residence to cathedral found on the Ile-de-la Cité in Paris where the *palais royal* once dominated the western end of the island, while the cathedral governs in the east.

As reflected in its topography and history, the city of Senlis was not isolated. Rather, it was the center of considerable activity throughout the Middle Ages. Vermand has described twelfth-century Senlis as a *ville de cour*, but this characterization is equally appropriate for the later Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century, in particular, Senlis was continually visited by the king and members of the royal family. These visits took place over the course of the reconstruction of the cathedral, making it difficult to argue that the monarch was not abreast of progress on the rebuilding.

Topography of Senlis

The medieval diocese of Senlis, located to the north of Paris, extended from the Vexin to Ferté-Milon and north to Beauvais, Compiègne and Clermont. From the early Middle Ages, the city of Senlis was connected, along principal routes to several major cities including Paris, Meaux, Soissons, Saint Quentin and Beauvais (Fig. 9). Two of the major northern roads to Paris intersected at Senlis; the city was the mid-point of a route between Compiègne and Paris, and the road from Villers-Cotterêts to Paris.

The town of Senlis, approximately forty-five kilometers north of Paris, was well fortified both naturally and artificially (Fig. 10). The town which measures 312 meters by 242 meters was encircled by ramparts at the end of the third century A.D.; these fortifications had a perimeter of 850

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meters and contained 6 hectares of territory.[89] During the reign of Philippe-Auguste (1180-1223), an additional ring of fortifications was built, visible in Fig. 10. Construction of this second set of defense walls, necessitated by the growth of the city, was begun in the thirteenth century and completed in the fourteenth century. Further reinforcements and expansions were also made throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As part of their growing prosperity and repopulation,[90] the town of Senlis undertook the expansion its fortifications in 1480.

In addition to these defense works, the town was strategically founded on the summit of a hill surrounded by a large forested area and several significant towns. The lands around Senlis which include the forests of Halatte, Chantilly and Ermenonville represent an important natural resource and thus a source of income for their proprietors. At the same time, the area was sequestered by the king and coveted as part of his royal hunting grounds. The forests were accessed by a number of royal and noble residences also considered important to the monarch. To the west of Senlis is Chantilly, the seat of the family of Montmorency, and home of the Grand Master of France and later Constable, Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567). The château built by Montmorency at Chantilly was largely completed by 1532 and served as a place of sojourn for the Constable and the king who was a frequent visitor.

Along with the château at Chantilly, Senlis is close (circa 30 km. to the northeast) to the royal château of Villers-Cotterêts bordering the forest of Retz. The château, a former residence of the Capetians (notably of Saint Louis) known as Malemaison, was of particular interest to François I. He first received the duchy of Valois as an apanage in 1499 from his cousin, Louis XII. As François was only five years old at the time, the administration of the territory was left to his mother, Louise de Savoie. As François came of age, he recognized that the location of the château was ideal not only for hunting, but in the governance of territory north of Paris. It was from this royal residence

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[89] These measurements of the fortifications of Senlis come from Charles-Laurent Salch's Dictionnaire des châteaux et des fortifications du Moyen Age en France, Strasbourg: Publitotal 1979, 1131.
[90] According to Arlette Jouanna in La France du XVI siècle 1483-1598, (1996), 30, one of the major factors that contributed to the growth of Senlis after the Hundred Years War was the immigration of Bretons and Burgundians to the area.

in Villers-Cotterêts that the Ordinance of 1539 was first issued. As monarch, François I initiated a substantial rebuilding of Villers-Cotterêts in 1531.[91] New construction at the château under François I was extensive, involving the addition of the second corps de logis, royal apartments and a chapel. As one of the signature monuments of his reign, the château shares the salamander device of François I with the cathedral at Senlis.

The History of the City of Senlis

Senlis, once known by the Romans as Augustomagus, later became the political domain of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. It was the home of one of Charles le Chauve's favorite residences. Otto the Great, in support of Louis IV, besieged Senlis in the tenth century to thwart the rise of Hugues the Great. The death of Louis V, led to the election in Senlis of Hugues Capet, Duke of the Francs, as king of the realm. After the establishment of the Capetian dynasty, Senlis continued to be the site of numerous important events. In 1106, Philippe I (1060-1108) held court and was married to Bertrade de Monfort in Senlis. In 1119, Pope Calixte II visited Senlis. During the Hundred Years War (1337-1475), the English, having made considerable progress in their attempt to gain control of the crown of France with the Treaty of Troyes (1420), initially chose the cathedral of Senlis as the site of the marriage between Henry V of England (1413-1422) and Catherine of France.[92]

During the reign of Louis XI, a number of treaties were signed in Senlis including the 1466 accord reached with the Duke of Burgundy and the 1493[93] treaty known as the Peace of Senlis. In 1490, while under French siege, Anne de Bretagne consented to marry Charles VIII in 1491 (despite having been betrothed and married to Maximilian by proxy), thereby putting an end not only to the putative marriage of the duchess to Maximilian, but also Charles VIII's promise to marry Maximilian's daughter Marguerite. These events led

[91] Jean-Pierre Babelon cites Ernest Roch's 1909 reference to a document (no longer extant) which reported the start of (re)construction in 1531 according to a receipt delivered on December 17 in "Le château de Villers-Cotterêt," Congrès Archéologique de France, Aisne Méridionale, tome 2, (1990), 722.

[92] The marriage later took place at the cathedral of Troyes.

[93] The date of the Peace of Senlis (1493) is inaccurately cited as 1473 in Jacques and Anne Fontaine's Senlis berceau de la France, Zodiaque (1985), 18.

to the Peace of Senlis ending recent hostilities between Charles VIII and Maximilian of Austria and those resulting from the dynastic and territorial issues left unsettled after the defeat and death of Charles the Bold in 1477. While the treaty may be considered flawed, its staging in Senlis is not without significance. Like many of the towns in France, Senlis benefited from the return of political and economic stability following the end of the Hundred Years War. In 1480, Senlis undertook the expansion of its fortifications. This extension of the city's limits which necessitated the construction of new roads considerably changed the city's physiognomy and marked a return of economic prosperity and a series of official royal visits.

Official Visits to Senlis

Charles VIII was in Senlis for the signing of the Peace of Senlis in 1493. His successor, Louis XII was well informed about the need to rebuild the cathedral. He was solicited by the cathedral chapter and provided a percentage of the salt taxes to cover expenses and thus may have also been a frequent visitor, although there are no extant records to confirm his presence in Senlis.

François I, on the other hand, made his first official visit to Senlis as the king of France in January of 1515. Following his coronation at Reims, he stopped at Senlis to make his royal entry. During the ceremonies, several gifts were exchanged; Philippe Pot, nephew of Bishop Charles de Blanchefort, gave a statue, in silver, of the Virgin Mary to the cathedral.[94] The city of Senlis presented François I with: "un lys dedans lequel était une S, laquelle lettre formait le pied avec les racines du lys, et sur le milieu de la dite S, il y avait un écusson où étaient les armes de la ville émaillées."[95] It is, perhaps not coincidental that the S referring to the town of Senlis in their gift to the king was also associated with the shape of the salamander serving as the personal devise of François I and the fleur-de-lis. The implicit relation of the "S" of Senlis to the salamander which later appeared over the portal of the northern

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[94] See the article by Eugène Müller, "Sur une Vierge d'argent donnée en 1515 à la cathédrale de Senlis par Philippe Pot, neveu de l'évêque Charles de Blanchefort," Revue de l'Art chrétien (1891), 291-295.

[95] Fontaine and Fontaine, Senlis, berceau de la France, Zodiaque, (1985), 18, from Jehan Mallet, "Extraict en bref de ce qui s'est passé en la ville de Senlis et ès environs d'icelle, depuis l'an 1400, que Charles VI était roi de France jusqu'en 1594," in Adhelm Bernier (éd.) Monumentsde l'histoire de France, (1837), 39.

transept façade is easily evoked. In fact, in exchange for their fealty, François I granted the town the right to have two fairs of four days each.[96] This gesture guaranteed further income for both the town of Senlis and the rebuilding of the cathedral. Later in his reign, François I certainly traveled to Senlis to inspect the columns of the apse of the cathedral which were believed to be of ancient origin.

Official visits to Senlis were not limited to the monarch. Claude de France and Louise de Savoie visited Senlis on October 12, 1521.[97] On June 15, 1531, the dauphin and his brother made an official royal entry into Senlis where they were received by Bishop Parvy and the canons of the cathedral.[98] The official visit of queen Eleanor took place on November 29, 1532; she arrived from Compiègne.[99] On September 18, 1544, Cardinal de Bourbon came to Senlis with letters from the king announcing the conclusion of the Peace of Crépy; this announcement was made in Senlis two days before the news was to reach Paris.[100] Far from being ignored, Senlis was a regular place of sojourn for the king and the royal family in the later Middle Ages.

Summary

Senlis has had a long history as part of royal domain. The natural setting of the city with its fortifications afforded protection, while its location between major cities and along principal routes made Senlis both attractive and strategically significant. The growth of Senlis in the later Middle Ages and its importance to the monarch are well reflected in the number of official visits made to the city.

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[96] Mallet, "Extraict en bref," in Bernier's Monuments de l'histoire de France, 39.
[97] Mallet, "Extraict en bref," in Bernier's Monuments de l'histoire de France, 41.
[98] Mallet, "Extraict en bref," in Bernier's Monuments de l'histoire de France, 43.
[99] Mallet, "Extraict en bref," in Bernier's Monuments de l'histoire de France, 43.
[100] Mallet, "Extraict en bref," in Bernier's Monuments de l'histoire de France, 47.

Chapter 3. The Early Building History of Notre-Dame at Senlis

Historiography and Scholarship on the Cathedral of Senlis

The cathedral of Senlis was classified as a *Monument Historique* in 1840. Following its classification, the monument has been under the auspices of the *Commission des monuments historiques de France*.[101] In the nineteenth century and following bombardment during the World Wars, the cathedral of Senlis underwent a series of restoration campaigns. The restoration of Notre-Dame at Senlis, like that of a number of cathedrals, was subject to the decisions of the committee which were based not only on archeological evidence, but also the political and aesthetic judgment of its members.

In general, monuments which present longer construction histories or divergent characteristics -- such as both early and late Gothic elements -- and thus are not representative of a specific period were less favored by archeologists of the nineteenth century. This left the compilation of the history of certain monuments to church officials and local antiquarians. In the case of Senlis, a number of guides to both the city and its monuments have been written by local historians and ecclesiastical figures. In the eighteenth century, the dean of Saint-Rieul, a historian named Charles-François Afforty, complied several volumes of notes on Senlis based on the transcription of chapter deliberations. This collection, now known as the Collectanea Silvanectensia, in many instances provides the only recourse to texts which are no longer extant. A century later, a short monograph on the cathedral was written by the abbot Balthasar and published in 1863. A few decades later, the history of Senlis and its architectural monuments was complied by Eugène Müller, a canon of the cathedral, local historian and architecture enthusiast. In one of his articles,[102] he identifies some of the masons' marks found at the cathedral. The marks fall into two different categories; they belong either to the end of the twelfth century, or to the later Middle Ages. Müller describes these as dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth

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[101] The cathedral and its restoration are presently being overseen by Yves Boiret.

[102] Eugène Müller, "Signes Lapidaires découverts à Notre-Dame de Senlis," Extrait du Bulletin du Comité archéologique de Senlis, Senlis: Eugène Dufresne (1893), 2-3.

centuries,[103] but does not elaborate on their specific location, nor does he attempt to establish the various building campaigns.

Since the nineteenth century, considerably more research has been done on the history and architecture of the city of Senlis. Several publications deal with the history of the Senlis from its earliest settlers through the twentieth century. The material in these texts is presented chronologically and invariably includes a short synopsis or description of the city's major monuments. While the history of the cathedral always has a prominent place, the section on its rebuilding generally remains cursory because of the broad scope of the material presented.

The first modern monograph on the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis was written by Marcel Aubert in the early 1900's and published in 1910. In this monograph, Aubert presents the history of the monument from its twelfth-century beginnings through its nineteenth-century restoration based on collected archives. The monograph does not focus specifically on either the early or late Gothic character of the church, and thus remains a broad chronological study. With this format, however, Notre-Dame at Senlis becomes a composite of varying architectural periods, and the relative significance -- historical and political -- of the various building campaigns is lost or left uncovered.

This was also the case when an extract of Aubert's original thesis formed the basis of a book on the architectural history of Senlis published in 1922. The book which is part of the *Petites Monographies des grands Édifices de France* series is a catalogue of the religious and secular monuments of Senlis. Only a very small section of the history of the cathedral is devoted to the later building history of the monument and only a few pages deal with the transept façades. With the completion of his doctoral dissertation, the monograph on Senlis cathedral, Aubert began to specialize in the architecture

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[103] The seven lapidary signs found on the late Medieval construction -- the additional chapels, upper storey and transepts -- represent a circle divided into equal parts by a shallow "S" curve or accolade, a trefoil or clover, a branch-like insignia, two types of daggers one shorter than the other, a sagitta or arrowhead, an arrow and a bowstring whereby the shallow "S" curve connects to either end of a straight line thus dividing it into equal sections.

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and sculpture of the High Gothic era, as reflected in his subsequent publications.

While the majority of texts on Senlis are all-encompassing archeological or historical studies, a considerable amount of research has been done on the twelfth-century history of the cathedral, particularly its sculpture. Aubert first published an article on the sculptural program of the western portal in 1910.[104] Marie-Louise Thérel treats the triumph of the Virgin as depicted in the sculpture of the western façade in her work.[105] The sculptural program of the western portal is, furthermore, the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Diane Brouillette.[106] This manuscript spurred interest in the early medieval history of the cathedral as reflected in scholarship concentrated almost exclusively on the twelfth-century history of the building. In 1987, a monograph entitled La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle was published by Dominique Vermand with accompanying articles by John James and Marc Durand dealing with the construction of the western façade and the bishop's garden to the north. Within this monograph, there are several reconstructions of the earlier elevation (destroyed as part of the sixteenth-century building campaigns) which can be used to visualize the twelfth-century cathedral and establish the general appearance of the church before the start of the major rebuilding campaigns of the sixteenth century.

In order to appreciate the dramatic changes introduced in the sixteenth-century rebuilding of Notre-Dame at Senlis, it is necessary to present the early building history of the cathedral and its immediate context prior to the later building campaigns.

Description of the Twelfth-Century Cathedral

The early Gothic cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis was begun in the second half of the twelfth century. The principle 'architect' of the plan to erect

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[104] Marcel Aubert, "Le portail occidental de la cathédrale de Senlis," Revue de l'art chrétien, (1910), 265-266.

[105] Marie-Louise Thérel, A l'origine du décor du portal occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques, Le triomphe de la Vierge-église, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984.

[106] Diane C. Brouillette, The Early Gothic Sculpture of Senlis Cathedral, Ph.D. diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley 1981.

a cathedral dedicated to the Virgin Mary was Bishop Thibaud, a friend of both Louis VII (1137-1180) and abbot Suger. The edifice, a basilica with a full gallery level, was consecrated by Bishop Geoffroi II and the archbishop of Reims, Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, on June 16, 1191.

The cathedral does not incorporate the masonry or foundation of any preexisting structure, but rather was built to replace the places of worship found in the north-east quadrant of the ancient gallo-roman city. Construction of the cathedral, situated just inside the fortifications, was in part constrained by the site, and by these earlier religious structures. The presence of these buildings which in all likelihood allowed for the continuation of religious services during construction may also explain some of the idiosyncrasies in the plan of the cathedral. Irregularities are found in the alignment of the central nave and the reduced proportions of the lateral vestibules east of the present transepts. While the chevet is not aligned exactly with the axis of the nave and the eastern part of the church is inclined to the south,[107] these discrepancies are neither immediately obvious, nor of any real structural significance. The original cathedral with its long nave and lack of transepts presented a unified and monumental interior space (Fig. 11).

The new basilica had a six bay nave, ambulatory choir and radiating chapels. The two bays of the western block and the first bay immediately to the east, built to brace the twin-towered western façade, have quadripartite rib vaults, while the following three bays have sexpartite vaults. As double bays, each of these units is flanked by a pair of smaller bays on either side, forming the aisle. Like the proceeding bays of the nave, the choir is defined by two double bays of alternating compound and columnar piers with foliate capitals. In addition to the aisle of the choir, a pair of lateral vestibules flank the first bay of the choir. Stair turrets were built immediately east of either vestibule in the north and south respectively. The projecting vestibules were constructed to provide access to the octagonal chapel of St.-Gervais-et-St.-Protais to the south and, by way of a stair tower, to the chapel of Saint Michael located within a turret of the old fortification system. Further to the east, the choir culminates in a half double bay with a polygonal hemicycle encircled by

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[107] This is most clearly seen in the doubling of the first pier of the hemicycle bay, and in the shape of the vault above.

an ambulatory and five radiating chapels. The chapels, ambulatory and aisles all have quadripartite vaults with the exception of the two chapels on the north side of the chevet which intersect the fortification walls.

The Elevation

The tripartite elevation as originally built consisted of an arcade, a tribune gallery and clerestory pierced by small windows (Fig. 12). The elevation and the height of the church prior to its enlargement in the sixteenth century has been deduced from archeological evidence and presented in the scholarship on the twelfth-century cathedral of Notre-Dame.[108] On the exterior, there are traces of the earlier roof line of the tribune on the east side of the south tower. The bay between the two towers of the western façade was not touched during the rebuilding campaign and thus retains the original height of the twelfth-century church. This narthex bay measures 18 meters from floor to keystone and is *circa* 5.5 meters shorter than the adjacent nave bay (Fig. 13). The difference is clearly articulated in the form of a blank wall masking the distance from the lower level to the new height of the central nave. In the chevet, remnants of twelfth-century capitals found in the last pair of major piers in the choir are at the same height as those in the narthex,[109] thus confirming the original height of the interior.

Both Aubert (1910) and Vermand (1986) provide reconstructions of the twelfth-century elevation in their texts,[110] yet there are several differences between the two (Fig. 14). According to the drawings of Aubert, the tripartite elevation is articulated by horizontal string courses found above and below the tribune gallery. The existence of a string course at the base of the clerestory in the present elevation may have provoked Aubert into thinking that this feature was also found in the twelfth-century elevation. The clerestory windows, while not filling the entire space, are shown as tall and narrow in proportion. The major and minor piers are both given a complete set of capitals just below the springing of the vaults -- two for the vault and wall

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[108] See Marcel Aubert's Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis, Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis, Dufresne 1910, and Dominique Vermand's La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis 1987. [Reviewed by F. Salet in BM 147/3, 1989, 259-262].
[109] Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame, 52.
[110] See the footnote 106 for complete references to these texts.

ribs, and one for the traverse arch. The major and minor shaft clusters have a band of five and three capitals respectively. The minor piers are shown with capitals for the wall ribs and the transversal arch. Evidence for the placement and character of the capitals comes from the above-mentioned narthex bay which preserves the original height of the central nave.

The corrected elevation as represented by Vermand diverges from Aubert's in three main respects. According to Vermand, the fenestration of the clerestory would have been typical of the period and thus have consisted of higher and broader openings as opposed to the small narrow windows shown in Aubert's monograph.[111] In addition to this change in the proportions of the windows, there would have been no string course articulating the division between the gallery level and the clerestory. Finally based on archeological evidence, Vermand has shown that not all of the shafts were given foliate capitals. The outer shafts of each cluster were left plain below the springing point of the rib vaults. By contrast, the shafts of the intermediate piers carrying the wall ribs had capitals at, or near, the base of the window openings. In Aubert's rendition the wall shafts had capitals both at the gallery and clerestory level.

Regardless of the fundamental differences between the drawings of the interior elevation of Senlis presented by Aubert and Vermand, they both provide a clear indication of the size and scale of the church in the twelfth century. When these two elevations, or a rendering of the twelfth-century interior (Fig. 15) are compared to the present elevation, the extent of construction which took place in the later Middle Ages becomes obvious. By comparing either elevation to a contemporary view (Fig. 16), it is possible to see that the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis was rebuilt on an enormous scale. Not only did the new height of the clerestory enlarge the edifice, but the increased pitch of the roof brought greater monumentality to the cathedral, not to mention the addition of aisles which further expanded the breadth of the church. The enlargement of the cathedral constitutes more than a simple rebuilding, and was a direct result of not only the need to rebuild the

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[111] Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame, 54.

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cathedral, but the desire to redefine the relationship of the cathedral to its audience.

Thirteenth-Century Construction

The twin-towered western façade built in the second half of the twelfth century was followed by the monumentalization of the southern tower and the start of the introduction of transepts in the thirteenth century. These building campaigns were initiated and funded by donations made by the king (Louis IX), bishops and area nobles. Two building campaigns concentrated first on the erection of a monumental spire and then the introduction of a transept further west of the projecting double bays or lateral vestibules of the original construction. The addition of a High Gothic spire and of transepts represents the first significant change to the original character of the church. The way the cathedral functioned spatially and how it was perceived by local and foreign visitors was altered first by introducing greater verticality to the twelfth-century structure in the form of a new tower spire.

In particular, the spire of this tower not only dominates Senlis, but serves as a beacon making the location of the cathedral visible from a great distance (Fig. 17). The form of the southern tower with its eight steeply pointed upper gables is also reminiscent of the diadem or open crown worn by the kings of France. While there is no direct evidence of this iconographic interpretation, the role of the king in helping to finance the thirteenth-century construction of a monumental tower and transept does not exclude the possibility of some intended symbolism. Notwithstanding, the tower and transepts share a physical monumentality.

Like the tower, the transepts would have been built for both a more immediate and local audience as well as a foreign one, although the specific records of construction do not survive. In fact, little is known of these first transepts beyond their intended shape: the thirteenth-century transept (north and south transepts combined) consisted of a large central crossing and two rectangular bays on either side flanked by a single aisle to the east. While Aubert gives the impression that the transepts of the cathedral were

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completed,[112] as noted by Murray; "this seems most improbable given the nature of the surviving thirteenth-century elements."[113] Furthermore, Murray points out that "the text relating to the construction of the south transept under Bishop Guillaume Parvy states explicitly that until that time no transepts had existed."[114] So while archeological evidence of the thirteenth-century building project can still be found within the church, specifically on the north side, the transepts were not fully realized until the sixteenth century.

Today, the remaining fragments of the thirteenth century are minimal. The eastern piers of the crossing and their arcade level capitals are identifiably part of the initial campaign to introduce transepts. The equivalent piers on the south side belong to the sixteenth century. The profiles of these piers are characteristically lozenge-shaped and consist of sixteen engaged colonnettes. The form of these piers, however, changes above the tribune into the characteristically rounded forms with emerging prismatic profiles defining the individual ribs of the high vaults.

The spire of the southern tower of the western façade was completed around 1230, and a porch which remained in place until the eighteenth century was added to the western façade. Following the construction of the spire, the decision was made to modernize the cathedral by adding transepts. While a number of churches were built either without transepts, as at the cathedrals of Sens and Senlis, or given non-projecting transepts as at Notre-Dame at Paris, transepts became increasingly important in the thirteenth century. Transepts provided not only additional portals which regulated access to the interior, but also introduced monumental façades which then served as special entrances for church dignitaries and the royal court. The campaign to construct transepts, extending from between 1235-1245, was the start of major change in the spatial arrangement of the interior which was only realized three centuries later with the erection of new transepts.

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[112] Aubert, Monographie, 20.
[113] Stephen Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," Ph.D. diss. London University, Courtauld Institute, (1973), 231.
[114] Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," 231.

While the thirteenth century saw the construction of a monumental spire on the south side of the western façade and the commencement of a campaign to introduce transepts, neither of these two campaigns affected the fundamental height of the main body of the church. Although the exact state of the cathedral in the thirteenth century is unknown, it can be assumed than that the envelope of the cathedral remained largely unchanged and the intended effect was not fully realized.

This continued to be the case even with the addition of the *salle capitulaire* to the north and the erection of a private memorial chapel on the south side of the cathedral.[115] During the beginning of the later Middle Ages, only small changes were made to the cathedral complex funded in large part by individual donors. At the end of the fourteenth century, a campaign was undertaken to construct new buildings for the cathedral chapter. A *salle capitulaire* and library were built off the nave on the north side, between 1390 and 1410. The patron of this project was Pierre l'Orfèvre, royal councilor, chancellor of the Duke of Orleans (brother of Charles VI and great grandfather of François I) and dean of Notre-Dame at Senlis. His coat-of-arms once decorated one of the keystones, but was later effaced. The only other construction was the addition of a private chapel on the south side of the choir between the stair turret and the first radiating chapel of the chevet. This double bay sanctuary, known as the chapel of Saint Jacques, or the chapel du Bailli, was sponsored in *circa* 1465 by a prominent noble by the name of Gilles de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon, owner of the Hôtel de Rasse in Senlis. The vaults have prismatic ribs supporting the arms of Gilles de Saint-Simon and his mother Jeanne de Haverskerque attesting to the use of the chapel as a family memorial. Like the *salle capitulaire*, the chapel du Bailli did not introduce major changes to either the appearance of the cathedral, or to its essential function.

Summary

Prior to the late Gothic rebuilding of Senlis, the main fabric of the cathedral still reflected the architectural and sculptural developments of the early Gothic period. Notre-Dame stood as a classic early Gothic cathedral with

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[115] This chapel is in fact located within the confines of what was once the inner courtyard of the bishop's palace.

a twin-towered western façade, central nave, ambulatory choir and radiating chapels. This monument which no longer exists in its entirety, but is best seen in the radiating chapels of the chevet, (Fig. 18) had a tripartite elevation with small clerestory windows.

The medieval building history of Notre-Dame at Senlis did not end with completion of the cathedral. In the thirteenth century, the southern tower of the west façade was rebuilt to give the cathedral greater monumentality. This building campaign was followed by an initiative to introduce transepts. While sources indicate that these transepts were never completed, the reasons why are not clear. In all likelihood, financial difficulties and then the advent of the Hundred Years War prevented the cathedral chapter from completing this phase of construction until the sixteenth century. In the meantime, there were some smaller rebuilding projects during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but these failed to greatly modify the appearance of the cathedral. It was not before a fire devastated part of the cathedral that patrons attempted to redefine the monument to reflect the rise of the status and wealth of their religious institution, and city.

Chapter 4. Senlis in the Sixteenth Century
Senlis in the Later Middle Ages

The last quarter of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century marked the return of prosperity to Senlis, clearly reflected by the amount of building activity. In 1480, construction of a new set of fortification walls extended the limits of the city while introducing new traffic patterns and expanded market potential. The rebuilding of the Hôtel de Ville followed in 1495, along with the construction of several prominent residences, including the rebuilding of the Hôtel de Henri de Marle, Hôtel d'Hérivaut (later known as the Hôtel de la Chancellerie), and the Hôtel de la Rasse. The latter was given the same sculptural decoration as the bishop's palace. In addition, major building campaigns began on the cathedral and the parish church of Saint-Pierre, while several of the city's important residences, the royal palace, bishop's palace and the Hôtel de Vermandois, were being expanded or reconstructed.

State of Research

Despite the intense building activity during this period, these architectural monuments have only recently been the focus of archeological study. One of the reasons for this lack of interest may be attributed to the nature of late Gothic architecture. The majority of the architecture of the later Middle Ages (after the Hundred Years War) which is described as late Gothic is not the result of new construction, but rather the rebuilding, reconstruction and expansion of existing monuments. This is particularly true of the ecclesiastic architecture which often suffered partial destruction and neglect during the Hundred Years War. Many of the older buildings needed to be enlarged to service larger congregations and increased numbers of ecclesiastics. So as the economy improved, the modernization of these structures became a priority.

While it is often said that church architecture in the later Middle Ages resisted the new artistic trends emanating from Italy, the incorporation of so-called Renaissance features was rather more selective, and the use of the term 'Renaissance' as a category of periodization has, since it was first introduced in the nineteenth century, led to an unnecessary compartmentalizing of buildings types. The implication that Renaissance architecture was seen as

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modern opposed to classicizing has led scholars to separate the study of secular construction from that of late Gothic. The insertion of classical details inherent in the so-called Renaissance château is, moreover, ubiquitous to all architectural typologies. That Renaissance architecture in France has received more attention can not be disputed, but this simply reflects trends in scholarship, not the relative significance of the architecture of the period.

By the nineteenth century, when many of France's Medieval monuments needed structural attention, the major criterion for the restoration of a church or cathedral was in large part the purity of its architectural style. This naturally favored the early Gothic and High Gothic styles and resulted in either the removal of, or neglect of late Gothic additions. Rather than simply seeing later rebuilding as a part of the building history of a monument, many scholars have decried the modifications made to earlier monuments. Furthermore, late Gothic was increasingly seen as old fashioned.

The chronological approach to history coveted by historians is by nature linear. The methods of analysis that always anticipate the next event invariably sees some periods as simply between major events and thus transitional. This is perhaps best represented by the nineteenth-century view of the late Middle Ages as chronicled by Daniel Ramée.[116] In his Histoire générale de l'architecture, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are described as essentially transitional. Emphasis is placed on the advent of the Renaissance as defined by the introduction of Italianate forms into France begun with Charles VIII's Italian campaigns. This type of thinking has in turn influenced later generations of architectural historians, yet does not elucidate the complex selectivity exercised by architectural patrons, nor does it adequately explain the political situation behind the artistic production of a specific period. In order to do this, it will again be necessary to place the rebuilding of Notre-Dame at Senlis into its proper context and therefore in relation to contemporary construction in Senlis.

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[116] Daniel Ramée, Histoire générale de l'architecture, vols. 1-2, Paris: Amyot 1860-1862.

The Royal Palace at Senlis

Located to the east of the cathedral, the château was a stronghold for several dynasties. The royal residence of the Merovingians -- a wooden construction -- and that of the Carolingians built under Charles le Chauve (849-877) were successively rebuilt and enlarged until a new palace was constructed by Louis VI (1108-1137) to serve as the capital of his royaume. This royal residence was later improved by Charles V (1364-1380), and used as the official residence of his children. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, François I (1515-1547) had the palace restored and partially rebuilt. While the palace was finally abandoned by the kings of France during the reign of Henri IV (1589-1610),[117] Senlis continued to be an important royal destination. According to Vatin, "jusqu'à Louis XIII, il n'est pas de souverain, pour ainsi dire, qui n'ait séjourné dans le Louvre senlisien et dont le passage ne soit attesté par une charte datée de ce lieu."[118] The château served the court as an official place of business as proven by the number of charters dated and sealed in Senlis. During the Revolution, the château and cathedral were targeted as symbols of royal power; the stained-glass of the cathedral was destroyed and the château was largely dismantled by the citizens in revolt.

The royal palace at Senlis and its gardens both *intra* and *extra-muros* cover a large area of the city. The majority of the buildings which constituted the royal residence are no longer extant, and those that have survived exist only in ruin. The château, constructed from the twelfth through the sixteenth century, was a two storey structure covered by a steeply pitched roof and built against the medieval fortification walls (Fig. 19). The chapel of the royal residence, dedicated to Saint Denis, was built during the reign of Louis VI as revealed in the charter of 1142 signed by Louis VII.[119] A monumental stairway described as six meters wide and having had 21 steps[120] was built

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[117] This is the date given by Charles-Laurent Salch, in L'atlas des villes et villages fortifies en France, Strasbourg: Publitotal, (1978), 172. Other authors, namely as Therèse-Paule Martin (Un reliquaire de notre histoire nationale: Le 'Vieux Château' de Senlis, Senlis 1971) and Isabelle Morin ("Recherche historiques sur l'ancien château royal de Senlis," Mémoire de maîtrise en Art et Archéologie médiévale, Université de Paris - Sorbonne IV, 1985) cite Henri II (1547-1559) as the last royal resident of the château at Senlis.

[118] C. Vatin, Senlis recits historiques, ouvrages posthume, Senlis: Ernest Payen (1876), 310.

[119] Morin, "Recherche historiques," 51.

[120] Martin describes the monumental stairs built by François I "de 21 marches [et] large de 6 mètres" in Un reliquaire, 3.

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during the reign of François I. This staircase which replaced a preexisting one of much smaller dimensions provided access 'à cheval' to the landing in front of the vestibule of the salle de gardes.[121] While functional, the stairway had a ceremonial purpose and was wholly modern in its design. It had an elaborate balustrade: "la balustrade illustre la charnière entre l'art médiéval et celui de la Renaissance; c'est encore du gothique flamboyant par les courbes nombreuses."[122] In addition to this, the room west of the corps de logis or salle des gardes, known as 'salle des maréchaux' was restored under François I.[123] The building campaigns during the reign of François I focused on areas related to accommodations implicit to the ceremonial aspects of a royal visit and included the refurbishment of the royal quarters.

The chambre de roi and royal cabinet located in the fortification tower of the château were remodeled on several occasions throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. As evidence, decorative fragments from the cabinet du roi were found with the "H" and croissant symbols of Henri II (1547-1559). According to Isabelle Morin, the different stylistic elements that define the architecture of the royal rooms make it difficult to define the various remodeling campaigns, but nevertheless provide "le témoignage d'une occupation royale réelle continue."[124] The royal residence served as a model for the bishop's palace which was enlarged during the episcopate of Guillaume Parvy (1527-1536), the king's prelate.

The Episcopal Palace or Bishop's Residence

A part of the episcopal palace was located just east of the southern transept façade until the mid-nineteenth century. The city of Senlis had these buildings demolished in 1865 to enlarge the parvis in front of the south façade of the cathedral, thereby uniting place Notre-Dame and place Saint-Frambourg (Fig. 20). Even before this date, the early Medieval buildings which constitute the present episcopal palace have sustained several rebuilding campaigns including their modern conversion into the municipal

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[121] Martin, Un reliquaire, 3.
[122] Morin, "Recherche historiques," 59.
[123] This is according to observations made by the geometer, Moinet, in circa 1865, as cited by Isabelle Morin in "Recherche historiques sur l'ancien château royal de Senlis," Mémoire de maîtrise en Art et Archéologie médiévale, Université de Paris - Sorbonne IV, (1985), 56.
[124] Morin, "Recherche historiques," 60.

museum of Senlis. In the sixteenth century, both Bishop Charles de Blanchefort and Guillaume Parvy initiated building campaigns involving the expansion and refurbishment of the episcopal palace.[125] The tower west of the original palace was incorporated and its interior converted into a private chapel known as the *chapelle des anges*. Likewise, a gallery was built which not only greatly enlarged the domain of the bishop of Senlis, but also improved access to the private oratory which existed within the old city walls. This rebuilding resulted from a transfer of properties between the cathedral chapter and the bishop during the episcopacy of Guillaume Parvy. In exchange for the buildings located south of the cathedral, the bishop received the episcopal buildings southeast of the cathedral which he then began rebuilding and renovating.

One aspect of the exterior design of the bishop's palace which is of particular note is the incorporation of the pilasters which articulate the façade (Fig. 21). The architectural vocabulary is highly specific and not limited to this location. There are two types of pilasters. Each is divided into an assemblage of geometric forms surmounted by an ornate capital with volutes. The first type has a diamond motif at its center and two semi-circular forms near the head and the foot of the pilaster. The second type of pilaster incorporates the same motifs, yet in reverse. The pilaster has a central circle design and two triangular elements which decorate either of the ends. These classical pilaster designs are used on the exterior of the bishop's palace where they alternate and divide the façade at regular intervals.[126] One of the larger and more important residences within Senlis also uses this design.[127]

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[125] According to Vermand's La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 20, note 133: "L'extension du bâtiment vers le nord-ouest et la "récupération" consécutive de la tour peuvent se situer — mais là aussi ce n'est que conjectural — au XVIe siècle, lorsque l'évêque Charles du Blanchefort aménage la tour en oratoire et quand Guillaume Petit fait ensuite édifier entre les deux tours une galerie dans le style Renaissance qui annexe alors au palais épiscopal la partie supérieue de la courtine de l'enceinte et permet un accès plus aisé à l'oratoire."

[126] The placement of each of the pilasters is not, however, consistent with that of the windows. The pilasters are thus sometimes located between a pair of windows, or to either one side, or the other. This is a result of the later rebuilding of the palace and the introduction of newer windows.

[127] The Hôtel Saint Simon, (formerly known as the Hôtel de Rasse) was owned by Guillaume de Rouvroy, seigneur de Rasse. For more on this property from which the cathedral collected an annual tax see M. Lequoy's Maisons et enseignes de Senlis du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle, tome 5, (1988) 410-419.

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The introduction of these pilasters on the façade, fronting the gallery of the bishop's palace, is attributed to Guillaume Parvy.[128] The use of this design is not an insignificant example of the incorporation of Renaissance features in late medieval France as the same design can also be seen on a number of important contemporary buildings. The monuments bearing these motifs are both secular and ecclesiastical and were initiated and financed by the monarch. They include the royal châteaux at Chambord and Villers-Cotterêts, and the royal parish church of Saint-Eustache in Paris. As a recognized royal prelate and advisor of the king, Bishop Parvy could have seen the design at any one of the above mentioned sites and had it repeated on the exterior of his palace to connect his building enterprises to those of the monarch.

The Hôtel de Vermandois

The Hôtel de Vermandois,[129] found northwest of the cathedral's façade on rue de Villevert near the Saint-Rieul city gate, was built in the twelfth century as the princely residence of Count Raoul de Vermandois, seneschal of France, and principal councilor to Louis VII. The Hôtel built in the guise of the royal palace is located in the most important quadrant of the city, near both the cathedral and the king's residence. Like the château royale and the bishop's palace, the Hôtel de Vermandois was built against the gallo-roman walls and incorporates into its design one of the fortification towers. There was direct communication between the royal château and the Hôtel de Vermandois via the passageways in the fortification walls which connected the two buildings.[130]

Like many of the most important royal and ecclesiastic monuments in Senlis, the Hôtel de Vermandois was reconstructed in the sixteenth century. The Hôtel de Vermandois, in particular, represented the power of the count and his privileged alliance with the king. The reorganization of the interior and reconstruction of the main façade served to modernize the structure both functionally and aesthetically. In the interior, the division of the second

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[128] Eugène Müller, Senlis et ses environs, Senlis: T. Nouvian 1896, (reprinted by Éditions Horvath) 22.

[129] For the complete monograph on the Hôtel de Vermandois, see the article by Thierry Crèpin-Leblond and Dominique Vermand entitled "L'ancien Hôtel de Vermandois à Senlis," Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, (1985-1989), 123-156.

[130] See Crèpin-Leblond and Vermand, "L'ancien Hôtel de Vermandois," (1985-1989), 123-156.

storey reception hall into two separate floors and the diminution of the height of the first floor provided extra living space. These changes culminated in the design of the main façade (Fig. 22). The southern wall was rebuilt to have greater fenestration, a system of horizontal articulation and a polygonal stair turret to provide access to each of the new levels.

The Parish Church of Saint-Pierre

Located to the east, just beyond the inner circle of fortifications lies the parish church of Saint-Pierre, the largest parish church in Senlis (Fig. 23). Although evidence of an early Christian basilica has been unearthed, the present structure dates largely from the thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, with major construction occurring during the first third of the sixteenth century (Fig. 24).

The church is basilican in form and oriented towards the east; the western façade faces the cathedral. Despite the enormous difference in their scale, there is an important relationship between these two monuments. The architectural vocabulary used in their rebuilding is similar. While it is often assumed that the smaller parish church copies the architectural features used in the rebuilding of the cathedral, the reduced scale of a parish church often allowed more rapid completion, and thus an experimenting ground for new forms and ideas.[131] Research into the relationship between the building campaign of the Parisian parish churches and the rebuilding of the major ecclesiastic monuments reveals that an important dialogue existed between the two.[132]

The Sixteenth-Century Campaigns at Saint-Pierre

The sixteenth-century campaigns at Saint-Pierre link the construction of transepts at Beauvais cathedral with the rebuilding efforts at Senlis. At Saint-Pierre, building was concentrated in two specific areas of the church -- in the west and at the east. The first campaign focused on completion of the

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[131] As shown by Stephen Murray, the choir of St. Etienne thought to have been modeled after the cathedral was in fact used as a testing ground for the development of forms that later appear in the cathedral. See "The Choir of Saint Etienne at Beauvais," JSAH 36/2, May 1977, 111-121.

[132] Annemarie Sawkins, "The Architecture of the Parisian Parish Churches between 1489-1590," M.A. McGill University 1993.

nave and construction of a monumental western façade; this was followed by the enlargement of the choir. A pair of bays were added to either side of the choir consisting of a single quadripartite bay and a polygonal apse. The plan of the choir in the thirteenth century as reconstructed by Vermand (Fig. 25) consists of a single bay flanked by side chapels, culminating in a polygonal apse with paired lancet windows. The rebuilding of this area destroyed the existing side chapels in order to specifically introduce more glass and specially designed late Gothic vaults (Fig. 26). The introduction of modern flamboyant features was not wholly integrated into the original fabric. The intention was not to unite stylistically the different periods of construction, but to monumentalize the building. To achieve this, the new construction emphasized the most recent trends in late Gothic and Renaissance architectural forms.

The extension of the nave by two bays was followed by the construction of a monumental western façade which is hierarchically arranged (Fig. 27). The central section consists of a monumental entrance with twin doors topped by an extended tympanum and a now truncated gable above which there is an upper storey window and pierced gable flanked by polygonal-shaped projecting stair turrets. The entire composition is flanked by smaller units which correspond to the aisles. These lateral portals are not subdivided by a raised trumeau like the principal entrance. They have double doors found within a basket-arch frame embellished by ogee arch profiles supporting large canopied statue niches.

The extension of the church and the erection of a new west façade redefined the relationship of the parish church to several contemporary monuments. While often thought of as a reduced version of Senlis cathedral, Saint-Pierre predates the transept façades of Senlis and has more in common with the lower storey of the cathedral at Beauvais which served as its model. A cartouche on the southern turret of the western façade with the date 1516 bares testimony to the date of construction.

As part of the expansion of the choir, the windows of the apse were replaced by larger windows with flamboyant tracery and new stained-glass.[133] Bishop Parvy gave 50 *livres* for the completion of the chapels to the north and south of the choir.[134] In addition to the introduction of new choir chapels, Parvy had a classicizing (or Renaissance style) *jubé* inserted east of the transept crossing in 1529,[135] just as he was to do at the cathedral. So, while the scales are in no way comparable, there are a number of important similarities between Saint-Pierre and Notre-Dame; not only are the late Gothic campaigns contemporaneous -- the rebuilding of Notre-Dame began after a fire in 1504, and the rebuilding of Saint-Pierre was begun in 1510,[136] the architectural vocabulary used in the rebuilding of each monument is consistent.

The Cathedral of Notre-Dame

The reconstructions of the earlier elevation of Senlis by Aubert and Vermand can be used to establish the enormous scope of the late Gothic construction now characterizing the monument. While the impetus to rebuild the cathedral in the sixteenth century was the fire of 1504, the bishop and cathedral chapter took the opportunity to considerably increase the height of the cathedral with the erection of an enlarged clerestory. Construction was then expanded to include the late Gothic transepts and the introduction of a Renaissance style *jubé*. The cathedral in its present form is a five aisle basilica with a twin-towered western façade, transepts, a single ambulatory choir and radiating chapels (Fig. 28). The narthex is followed by a three bay nave, transept crossing, two bay choir and a hemicycle apse. The nave and choir are articulated by alternating major and minor piers and vaulted by both quadripartite and sexpartite vaults. A quadripartite vault was used in the first bay of the nave to help buttress the twin towers of the façade and in the first

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[133] Marcel Aubert, Senlis, (Petite Monographies des grands Édifices de la France), Paris (1922), 98.

[134] Dominique Vermand, "Étude Monumentale de l'église de Saint-Pierre," Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1990/1994), 78.

[135] G. Matherat, "Débris du Jubé de Saint-Pierre," Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Senlis, Comptes-rendus et Mémoires, (1946-1947), 57.

[136] Vermand has proposed two distinct building sixteenth-century campaigns in "Étude Monumentale de l'église de Saint Pierre," Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1990/1994), 73-112. The first dates from 1510-1520 and includes completion of the nave and construction of the western façade. The second campaign begun in the east dates from *circa* 1525 to 1530, and concentrated on the erection of new chapels flanking the choir and apse.

bay east of the central crossing. The latter was a result of the introduction of transepts which necessitated the relocation of a pair of piers to create the central crossing bay. The first and second bays of the nave have quadripartite vaults while the third bay of the nave is a double bay with a sexpartite vault. The projecting transepts are two bays deep and culminate in portal façades.

According to the plan first initiated in the thirteenth century, but realized in the sixteenth century, the nave was effectively reduced from six bays to three (Fig. 29). The new crossing bay represents the introduction of a further subdivision separating the nave from the choir. The last bay of the nave became the first bay of the choir, thus significantly altering the original dimensions of both nave and choir. The transepts which absorbed the fifth bay of the nave and reduced the size of the sixth bay had a profound affect on the formal arrangement of the monument, reducing the length of the nave and significantly enlarging the choir while introducing new traffic patterns. The transepts served as part of the processional route towards the choir; the canons entered from their chapter house on the north side while the bishop came through the south portal near his residence, the episcopal palace.

Prior to construction of transepts and certainly before the erection of the *salle capitulaire* in the late fourteenth century, the chapter house, built against the fortification wall, must have been at least partially razed. The removal of part of the old chapter house was necessary for new construction to begin. While auxiliary structures built in the space between the cathedral and the gallo-roman wall were periodically replaced, the wall itself was first breached during construction of the sixteenth-century transepts and not during the thirteenth century.[137]

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[137] According to Marc Durand in "Les structures du jardin de l'évêché au nord de la cathédrale de Senlis," in La cathédrale de Senlis au XIIe siècle. Etude historique et monumentale, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, (1987), 126: "Il faut dire que cette opération [le dérasement de l'enceinte gallo-romaine] a déjà eu lieu au XVIe siècle devant le portail latéral nord, mais elle ne s'est faite que dans les limites indispensables pour accéder facilement à la cathédrale. Il en est pour preuve qu'une partie d'une tour gallo-romaine se trouve encore en élévation sous la maison à colombage datée de 1528 et qui était l'ancienne bibliothèque du chapitre. Il y a tout lieu de penser que dans l'actuel jardin de l'Evêché la muraille et la tour étaient encore visibles, en élévation, jusqu'en 1691, ou bien masquées par des habitations parasitaires qui s'appuyaient contre elles."

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Some years after its construction, the *salle capitulaire* was grafted to the cathedral during the construction of the northern aisle of the nave. The entrance portal to this annex was, furthermore refashioned in the sixteenth century to include a grand staircase leading to a new entrance portal. These specific additions were part of the redefinition of the interior which had the express purpose of providing space for ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Together with the cathedral, the variety of the monuments under construction during the first half of the sixteenth century attests not only to the importance of rebuilding and refurbishing of the city's medieval structures, but also to the presence of considerable amounts of money to finance the redefining of the major monuments of Senlis. The financing of the cathedral, in particular, reflects the cooperation of the royal and ecclesiastical powers.

Financing of Construction of the Cathedral

In the twelfth century, not only was the king a major source of funding for the construction of the cathedral dedicated to Notre-Dame, so were the bishops and the seigniorial families of Senlis.[138] Similarly, it was the king, the bishops and noble families of Senlis who gave money to the fabric of the church for the rebuilding necessitated by the fire of 1504.[139] While Louis XII, and François I after him, made important concession to the church, by granting a percentage of the revenue from the salt taxes or *gabelle*,[140] this was not the only means or source of income, and, as will be demonstrated, not the first. The loss of the fabric accounts and the lack of extant receipts make it impossible to present in great detail the financial records of the building enterprise, yet there is adequate documentary evidence to support both the existence of money in the cathedral's coffers at the time of the blaze and the

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[138] Aubert, Monographie, 17.

[139] According to Anthyme Saint-Paul, the fire to the roof and the partial destruction of the vaults of Notre-Dame at Senlis occurred in 1502. The author states that; "Le clocher de Senlis eut à souffrir, en 1502, d'un coup de foudre qui détermina en même temps l'incendie de tout le grand comble et la destruction partielle de la maitresse voûte." See his article; "L'architecture religieuse dans le diocèse de Senlis, du Ve au XVIe siècle," Congrès Archéologique de France XLIVe à Senlis 1877, Paris-Tours (1878), 261 & 263-264.

[140] The *gabelle* was first established by Philip VI (1328-1350) to fund the war against England. Since the purchase of salt was not only necessary, but obligatory in the Middle Ages, the tax provided a steady stream of revenue, and therefore not abolished at the conclusion of the Hundred Years War.

importance of royal concessions (including their renewal) throughout the period of reconstruction.

While there is no extant mention of any plan for the major rebuilding of the cathedral in either the late fifteenth century, or in the first years of the sixteenth century, it may have been on the minds of the church officials as the thirteenth-century plan to introduce transepts may not have been fully achieved. Despite the absence of both physical and archival references concerning this point, there is evidence that the cathedral fabric had some monies in the early sixteenth century. According to a surviving remittance from 1504,[141] the chapter was able to hire a group of highly qualified individuals to survey the damage caused by the fire,[142] and finance the immediate repair of the southern tower of the western façade, the greatest expense of which was the recasting of bells.[143] As this fund was increasingly depleted, fund-raising turned to the appeal for royal grants and the establishment of a lay confraternity.

Royal Grants and Surcharges

In 1505, a surcharge was placed on the purchase of milk and butter to help produce funds for the rebuilding effort.[144] A year after the fire, the chapter made a more concerted effort to raise revenue for the repair and

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[141] See Appendix 2.

[142] The two principal masons, Martin Chambiges and Pierre Nanyer (de Meaux), and the iron-smith Lyenin Jehan were each paid 4 *livres tournois*. Jehan Goberon was paid 68 *sous tournois*, the carpenters Millon Langonier and Jehanrier Martine each received twenty and twelve *sous* respectively, and finally Michael de Bray of Senlis and Jehan Longubrey were paid 16 *sous*. According to the remittance of 1504, the total amount paid to those involved in the inspection of the cathedral amounted to 17 *livres* 16 *sous tournois*. According to Aubert, Martin Chambiges, Pierre de Meaux and Liénin Jehan each received 64 *sous parisis*; he also adds the two payments made to Gilles Hazart who received 20 *sous parisis* first for arranging to have each of the master crafters come to Senlis, and then 32 *sous* for assisting during the actual inspection of the cathedral. See Aubert's Monographie, (1910), 24.

[143] According to the remittance of 1504, the mason Regnault Hazard was paid 75 *livres tournois* on March 16, 1505 for his work on the cathedral. This amount which is considerably higher than the other payments suggest not only that repairs were already under way, but that the cathedral fabric had some monies to address the situation. Considerable expense resulted from the need to replace the bells lost in the fire. As noted in Aubert's monograph on Senlis: "Le 4 janvier 1505, le fondeur recevait 16 livres parisis à titre d'acompte, puis 145 livres tournois; le 16 janvier, 540 livres tournois; enfin 4 livres 16 sous parisis pour supplément de plus grosse somme 'pour avoir fait les deux petites cloches de l'église" 25.

[144] The wealthier citizens were to contribute 2 *sols parisis*, while the merchants had to contribute 12 *deniers parisis* according to Aubert's, Monographie, 27.

rebuilding of the cathedral by appealing directly to the king, Louis XII. The chapter sent two representatives, Jean Le Grenais and Laurence Legier, to the king in order to ask for funding for repair of the church.[145] An appeal was made to Louis XII on August 22, 1505, (August 23, 1505),[146] wherein it is directly stated from whence the king could find the funds necessary for the rebuilding of Senlis, namely the concessions received by the chapter of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims. In their appeal, the canons of Senlis suggest that: "le droit de la gabelle des greniers et chambres à sel d'icelluy seigneur, et ce après que le tems et terme de laditte église de Reims sera fini et expiré,"[147] and thus, these tax revenues which are no longer necessary could be applied to the rebuilding of the cathedral at Senlis. The king consented and granted the cathedral chapter's request and directed the revenues from the levy on the sale of salt to Senlis. At the same time, the king granted a similar concession to the chapter at Troyes to finance completion of the western façade of the cathedral.[148]

On January 11, 1507, the canons received word of the king's redirection of privileges (dated December 26, 1506) from the cathedral of Reims to Senlis for the rebuilding of the cathedral.[149] The king had the salt tax (gabelle) redistributed to Senlis for six years in the amount of "un denier picte tournois sur chaque minot, quart ou quintel[150] de sel vendu et distribué à tous les greniers et chambres à sel de ce royaume...pour iceulx deniers convertir et employer à la reparation et édifice de la dite église."[151] This subvention which produced initially 1,000 to 1,200 livres tournois per year,[152] and later reached

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[145] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 141., and Aubert, Monographie, 26.

[146] Aubert, Monographie, 23.

[147] See Appendix 3 for the entire text.

[148] According to Stephen Murray, the amount of revenue from the gabelle between 1507-1508 was 800 livres tournois. For more on the fabric accounts of Troyes Cathedral see Murray's Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1987.

[149] Aubert, Monographie, 26, and Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 171. Since the original consession is dated December 26, 1506, and the canons only learned of the king's granting of the gabelle to Senlis in January of 1507, a full twelve and a half months passed (according to the Gallican calender) before the canons presumably began receiving the benefit of this new funding source.

[150] A minot was a unit of measure which corresponded to 72 liters or 100 lbs.

[151] Aubert, Monographie, 26.

[152] According to Henry Kraus, this amounts to the sum necessary to finance the construction of a cathedral for one year. In Gold was the Mortar. The Economics of Cathedral Building, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (1979), 45, he writes: "From partial statistics gathered at several

2,000 *livres tournois*,[153] was created by Louis XII and then renewed by François I.[154] The importance of salt in the Middle Ages made a levy on its sale an attractive and renewable source of funding. The first of several renewals for the cathedral of Senlis came in 1514.

A subtle, but important difference in the wording of the allocation of the *gabelle* is recognizable. In the 1514 renewal of this concession, there is no longer mention of this fund for the repair of the church, but rather for the work being done. According to Vatin, "François Ier alloua au chapitre, par lettres-patentes du 10 janvier 1514, le prélèvement pendant quatre ans, sur chaque minot de sel vendu ès-greniers et chambres du royaume."[155] While François d'Angoulême did not become François I until after the death of Louis XII, as indicated by the above date, he was involved in the financing of the cathedral prior to his ascension to the throne. As suggested by the chapter at Senlis and as agreed to by the king, the money was diverted from the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims to finance the rebuilding of the cathedral at Senlis.

A mandate to the *Conseillers généraux des finances* from Saint-Germain-en-Laye dated July 21, 1520 records the prorogation of the authorization to receive, for four year, "un denier tournois sur chaque quintal de sel vendu dans les chambres à sel du royaume, pour achever les travaux faits à leur église, à charge de payer la moitié de 150 livres tournois dus à l'église de Saint-Aignan d'Orléans."[156] This octroi which expired in 1524 was not renewed in that year as François I was indisposed, having been taken captive by Charles V following the defeat of the French at Pavia. Only after his release from captivity was a new grant mandated; this one dated October 15,

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cathedrals, we can assume that as much as 1,500-2,500 livres a year were needed," and on page 90, "in a productive year at least 1,000 livres were needed for materials and labor." While largely in reference to cathedral construction which predates that of Senlis, these figures represent the equivalent of the bulk of the cost of construction at Senlis.

[153] Archives départementales de l'Oise, G. 2001.

[154] See Appendix 6 for a list of each of the renewals of the *gabelle* issued by François I.

[155] C. Vatin, Senlis et Chantilly, anciens et modernes, Senlis (1847), 144.

[156] Marius Vachon, Une famille parisienne d'architectes maistres-maçons aux XV, XVI, XVII siècles: les Chambiges, Paris: Librairie "La Construction Moderne" (1907), 79.

1526 extended for four years. On December 20, 1530,[157] and February 21, 1537,[158] this subsidy was again renewed.

A royal subvention in the form of a percentage of the sale of salt first requested in 1505 and granted to Senlis in 1507 by Louis XII was reauthorized a total of six times by his successor, François I. The proclamation signed by François I in 1536 continued the required deposition of funds to Saint-Aignan d'Orléans,[159] and specified that this prorogation was for the termination of repairs of the church. This subsidy corresponds to the aforementioned renewal of the *gabelle* which took effect in February 21, 1537. This last renewal thereby extended royal concessions to the chapter of Senlis for a period of over thirty years.

The Role of the Bishops in Fund-raising.

The bishops of the cathedral played an active role in financing the building and refurbishing campaigns of Senlis. In 1507, Bishop Charles de Blanchefort created the confraternity of the Virgin and gave the membership fees to the cathedral for its repair.[160] As a parallel to what may have been earned at Senlis, the establishment of new confraternities at Troyes (to fund completion of the nave and construction of the western façade) brought several hundred *livres tournois* per year from the end of the fifteenth century and reached as high as 288 *livres tournois* in 1507.[161] The dedication of the confraternity at Senlis to Notre-Dame may have brought even higher returns then those confraternities established at Troyes. Nevertheless, to this source of funding can be added the donations of the individual bishops both appointed and elected to Senlis. These money gifts to the cathedral were made at different times throughout their reigns. For example, a new bishop might make a concession at the time of his appointment and then again on the occasion of his entry, and finally in the form of a bequest to the cathedral at the time of death. In his testament, Bishop Jean Calveau left 2,750 of the 3,000

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[157] Aubert, Monographie, 31.

[158] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIV, 220.

[159] Bibiliothèque nationale de France, Collection Moreau 263, folio 240. c.f. Catalogue des actes de François I, tome 3, Paris (1887-1908), 278-279, no. 8806.

[160] Maryse Bideault and Claudine Lautier, Ile-de-France gothique, tome 1, (Les églises de la vallée de l'Oise et du Beauvaisis), Paris: Picard (1987), 362.

[161] Murray, Building Troyes Cathedral, 215.

écus d'or he was owed by the king for new repairs and the continuation of the work begun during his episcopate; the remaining 250 *écus* (or 500 *livres tournois*) was left to his successor.[162] The next bishop, Arthur Fillon, made a donation of 100 *livres* to the chapter in 1524,[163] and then left the largest part of his estate -- 1,200 *livres tournois* -- to the cathedral chapter upon his death in 1526. Equally important to an assessment of the financial situation of the cathedral is recognition of the *joyeuse entrée* as a kind of endowment ceremony during which precious gifts and donations were made to the cathedral.

As stated by Barbara Abou-El-Haj, the more monumental churches provided "dramatic stages for archbishops, bishops and canons, abbots and monks to enact their spiritual authority, processionally and liturgically."[164] This is precisely the case at Senlis as the rebuilding of the cathedral in the sixteenth century introduced transepts which then served as part of processional routes, first to the cathedral proper and then from within the building towards the choir. At Senlis, the canons entered the church via the chapter house or transept block on the north side, while the bishop would have come through the new southern transept portal located adjacent to the episcopal palace.[165]

The ascendancy of each new bishop to Senlis, in each case marked by their ceremonial entry and a major donation to the church,[166] is well

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[162] Coüard-Luys, "Intervention royale," 2.

[163] Aubert, Monographie, 29.

[164] Though said in reference to the twelfth and thirteenth-century cathedrals of France, these edifices, described as the "negociated outcomes" of varying social and political forces continued to be important staging grounds of ecclesiastical power. For more on the broader historical and social conditions behind cathedral construction, see Barbara Abou-El-Haj's article "Artistic Integration Inside the Cathedral Precinct: Social Consensus Outside?" in Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings (AIGB) Raguin, V.C., K. Brush and P. Draper (eds), Univ. of Toronto Press (1995), 214-235.

[165] In addition to these new entrances, there was a private portal (now blocked) in the radiating chapel dedicated to Saint-Frambourg which provided the bishop access between his palace and cathedral. See Thierry Crépin-Leblond and Dominique Vermand's, "Le palais épiscopal de Senlis au Moyen Age: étude historique et monumentale," Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, Comptes rendus et memoires, (1990-1994), 209-210.

[166] On page 34 of Aubert's Monographie, (1910), he writes: "Les évêques léguaient souvent de grosses sommes pour l'entretien de la cathédrale; ils étaient d'ailleurs obligés de déposer sur l'autel, le jour de leur entrée, un morceau de drap d'or ou 840 livres, qui devaient être employées

documented. Charles de Blanchefort had his entry on January 1, 1508; Jean Calveau made his ceremonial entry in February 1516. The entry of the bishop did not always immediately follow their appointment. Like the royal entry which often took place after the conclusion of an important treaty, so as to dramatize a political victory, these ceremonies were sometimes planned to commemorate a specific event. An entry could celebrate the laying of a corner stone, consecration of a chapel,[167] or completion of a major building campaign or project.[168] This may have been the case during the episcopate of René Le Roullié (1536-1559) whose coat-of-arms appears in the high vault of bay NI of the transept. While there may have been a ceremony for the bishop on the occasion of his election in 1536 or shortly thereafter,[169] he made a triumphant entry in March of 1544, perhaps to commemorate completion of a transept. According to Afforty, Bishop Le Roullié's heraldry once appeared on the north transept[170] as well as in the interior.

Profits from the *Cens* and *Surcens*

In addition to the involvement of the bishops, the chapter of the cathedral collected income or rents on a number of properties in the form of taxes known as the *cens* and *surcens*. The *cens* was a landed tax collected each year and paid in cash, while the *surcens* was landed revenue which could be either redeemable, or non-redeemable. When a property owner gave a non-redeemable *surcens* (or *rente à perpétuité*) to a religious establishment, they were in essence mortgaging their estate to the Church which could then,

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à la décoration de l'église." (c.f., Arrêt du Parlement contre l'évêque Antoine Rose, 3 septembre 1611., Archives départementales de l'Oise, G. Chap. cath. de Senlis, supplém., portefolio 4.)

[167] As an example of this, the second royal entry of Anne de Bretagne, her post-coronation entry followed shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Blois and the establishment of peace in Europe through the propsed marriage of Claude de France and Charles of Habsburg, heir of the Low countries, and later Emperor Charles V. For more on the nature of royal entries during this period see Lawrence M. Bryant, The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance, Geneve: Librairie Droz, 1986.

[168] Throughout this dissertation the distinction between project and campaign are made according to John James' definition of a project as "a scheme of construction concieved at one time," and a campaign which is one stage in the construction of that project. Campaigns are, by and large, differentiated by master masons, although this is often difficult when the period of construction is relatively short such as in the case of later rebuilding of Senlis. For more on construction terminology see John James' The Template-Makers of the Paris Basin, Australia: West Grinstead Publishing, (1989), 3.

[169] There is no extant documentation citing, or making reference to the entry of Bishop René Le Roullié into Senlis before March 1544.

[170] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XI, 6017

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theoretically, collect this *rente* from each of the successive owners of that property.[171] In Senlis, the accounts of 1507 and 1522[172] identify various Hôtels held by the church and the amounts paid to the cathedral chapter. Among the properties mentioned are the Hôtel de Saint-Simon (formerly the Hôtel de Rasse), Hôtel d'Hérivaut and the house at 731 rue Saint-Pierre commonly known as La Grange Dixmeresse.[173]

Donations to the Cathedral

The last major source of funding came from individual donations to the cathedral. These gifts from the nobles of Senlis and visitors to the cathedral in some cases shed light on the stage of the rebuilding effort. Along with mention of an anonymous gift of 23 *écus*, Geoffroy Bouvilliers is cited as having donated upon his death 400 *écus* to the church for its repair.[174] On November 27, 1511, Anne, duchess of Bourbon, agreed to provide 50 trees from the forest of Creil.[175] Trees were then used to erect scaffolding for the upper storey and for roof beams and thus were an essential part of the rebuilding effort. Notwithstanding the generosity of these nobles, the largest part of the money given to the church for the repair and rebuilding effort came from the concessions granted by the monarchs, (Louis XII and François I), and the bishops whose individual bequests greatly benefited the cathedral's coffers.

Summary

The later Middle Ages saw a return of prosperity to the city of Senlis. New civil projects included the extension of fortification walls and the rebuilding of the Hôtel de Ville. Royal initiatives included the rebuilding at the château and financing of construction of the cathedral through tax concessions. Private construction centered on the revamping of Hôtels such

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[171] As explained by M. Lequoy in Maisons et enseignes de Senlis du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle, tome 1, Senlis (1988), 13, this is most often done in exchange for the celebration of a service preformed à perpétuité on the anniversary of the death of the donor.

[172] The Archives de l'Oise at Senlis has an account from 1507 of chapter deliberations and the Bibliothèque Municipale of Senlis has "la déclaration de 1522," which contains the records of the cathedral chapter's landed properties from that year. c.f. Lequoy's Maisons et enseignes de Senlis du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle, tome 1, Senlis (1988), 12.

[173] For a complete list of the properties allied with the cathedral chapter, see M. Lequoy in Maisons et enseignes de Senlis du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle, tome 1, Senlis 1988.

[174] Aubert, Monographie, 25-26.

[175] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 315.

as the Hôtel de Vermandois and the Hôtel d'Herivaut from which the cathedral canons collected an income. The Church, meanwhile, was funding reconstruction of Notre-Dame, Saint-Pierre and the episcopal palace. Although the loss of the fabric accounts for the rebuilding of the cathedral prevent a year by year study of revenues and expenses, evidence from of variety of sources reveals that the cathedral was fairly well-endowed throughout the sixteenth-century rebuilding. Revenues, which came from royal and ecclesiastical grants, the establishment of a confraternity, landed-property taxes and individual donations to the cathedral, furthermore explain the relatively rapid rate of construction.

While it might be argued that the increased amount of church building is related to the growth of Catholicism, the resurgence in church building was not driven by a revival in faith. Study of the chapter of Senlis reveals:

> the usual *histoires* of non-attendance at divine worship. The strict regulations obliging the 'half-prebendaries' and chaplains to attend the services only reveal the reluctance to do so on the part of the canons themselves. The bishop was sometimes left to celebrate 'in *pontificalibus*' assisted by three of four vicars only.[176]

The renewal of building activity is more directly linked to growth in the population and improved economic conditions. As part of this boon, the building projects undertaken in the city of Senlis include the renovation of the royal château, construction of a new episcopal palace, completion of the church of Saint-Pierre and the major rebuilding of the cathedral of Notre-Dame. All of these projects were occurring in close proximity of one another, and can be connected to an effort at reasserting, as well as redefining, the royal and episcopal character of Senlis which centered around the cathedral.

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[176] Dunlop, The Cathedrals' Crusade, 44.

Chapter 5. The Sixteenth-Century Building History

A fire at the cathedral of Notre-Dame in June of 1504[177] provides an obvious *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction of the monument. As a result, the dates consistently cited for the late Gothic rebuilding of Senlis are 1504-1560. This, however, suggests a rather long period of construction and does not specify the various building campaigns which took place within this time frame. While the building was certainly repaired following the conflagration, is it correct to assume that the present appearance of the cathedral dates to the building campaign initiated at this time, or has there been a conflation of the sixteenth-century building effort? In essence, is it possible to identify the various building campaigns even though the original expenditure accounts and records of construction are no longer extant? While some questions must remain open, the sequence of events and various campaigns can be more clearly defined.

The first issue concerns the *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction of the cathedral. Throughout its history, there have been a number of calamities which have affected the building. It should not, however, be assumed that such events were systematically followed by elaborate rebuilding campaigns,[178] as this would be determined, in part, by the extent of damage and the assets available for reconstruction. A natural disaster might have left the chapter unprepared for the cost of rebuilding. In the case of Senlis, the two documented fires in the cathedral's history are described in the same manner,[179] thus leaving one to question whether their descriptions are

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[177] The month and year of the fire is included in the appeal for assistance written by the cathedral chapter in August of 1505 and presented to the king. This appeal was made approximately fourteen months after the date of the disaster as calculated based on the Parisian or Gallican calender which marked the change from one year to the next at Easter until this practice was abolished on January 1, 1565.

[178] While there are instances in which fire of questionable origins precipitated major reconstructions, the fire at Senlis in 1504 was caused by lightening suggesting that it first struck the highest point of the cathedral, namely the steeple of the south tower. This is confirmed by the immediate attention given to this part of the church.

[179] Aubert cites in his 1910 Monographie, two similar descriptions of the devastation caused by fires which occurred in 1417 and 1504. The first account reads "... en 1417 le feu prit aux combles, ce qui fondit le plomb; "le feu, dit Jaulnay, se prist à la charpenterie, et l'emflamma de telle sorte qu'elle fut entièrement bruslée; le plomb fondu couloit par les rues en abondance, ce qui fit grand dommage au bastiment," 21. The result of the fire of 1504 as recorded by Vaultier and Jaulnay in Graves, "Statistique du canton de Senlis," in L'Annuaire de l'Oise, 1841, is strikingly similar: "toute la couverture, le comble et l'étage supérieur de l'église furent brûlés, les clocher ébranlé; le plomb coulait dans les rues de la ville comme l'eau dans les grandes lavasses de

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not, in part, a convention to secure funds for not only repairs, but ambitious rebuilding campaigns. As discussed earlier, the initiative to introduce transepts may not have totally succeeded and thus the cathedral may have been prime for major rebuilding. For this reason, it is perhaps not surprising that repairs to the building were begun immediately and subsequently included the modernization and expansion of the cathedral. The direction of the first rebuilding campaign suggests that the southern tower and its bells received the most immediate attention during the early stages of reconstruction.

The first step undertaken after a conflagration would naturally have involved an assessment of the damage and a determination of the most urgent structural work needed to stabilize the church. Walls, buttresses and the roof would have been shored to allow part or all of the building to return to its function, and repairs would have been carried out to the extent that funds were available. This would have been followed by the rebuilding of those areas of the church that had been either totally or partially destroyed. While the rebuilding resulted in dramatic changes in the height and appearance of the cathedral, the various campaigns and their achievements have never been defined.

There is no evidence to suggest that the cathedral chapter or the bishop of Senlis had any plans to modernize the cathedral prior to the fire. Rather, the disaster served as the harbinger of change. Following the fire, Gilles Hazart, *maître des œuvres de maçonnerie du baillage de Senlis* (since 1475), was put in charge of organizing a committee to survey the damage. Calls were made to the various specialists in the area (from Beauvais to Compiègne) to inspect the cathedral. The extant remittance[180] lists Martin Chambiges from

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pluies," 160. Notice that in both cases there is no mention of damage to any of the high vaults, rather the description of fire damage read like a *topos* in which the focus is on the burning of the roof and melting of the lead used in its construction.

[180] The Archives départementales de l'Oise, G. 2717 [Titres Généraux. Cote 22] reads "Nous Martin Chambiche demorant à Beauvais Pierre Nanyer dit de Meaulx demorant à Compiègne massons jures esdites ville et Lyenin Jehan plombeur demorant à Beauvais confessent avoir eu et receu des doyen chanoines et chapitre de leglise cathedral Notre-Dame de Senlis par les mains de venerable et discrete personne maistre Pierre Legier chanoine de ladite eglise la somme de douze livres tournois qui est pour chacun de nous quatre livres tournois qui nous este ordonne bailler par lesdits de chappitre pour nos vaccations journees et salaires davoir vacque a faire la

Beauvais, Pierre de Meaux who was working on the Town Hall at Compiègne (1502-1510), and the lead worker, Liénin Jehan, *maîtres plombier* in Beauvais. Two others, Millon Langosnier, a carpenter, and Jehan (Goberon) Gobereau, a lead smith, arrived from Beaumont-sur-Oise and Châtres-en-Brie respectively.[181] This team of experts worked with a contingent of local master builders including Gilles Hazart, Michel de Bray and other skilled laborers in Senlis. In addition to the record of the payment to these individuals, a list of expenses, mainly for the new bells, records payment to Regnault Hazard, the mason who first began repair of the cathedral.

The areas most severely damaged were the western tower, spire, and the roof. The tribunes of the choir are said to have been threatened by the possible collapse of the crossing lantern.[182] The high vaults of the church are not specifically mentioned in any of the literature and may not necessarily have been damaged by the fire. If the high vaults were in fact still intact, this would have left the masons the option of starting the construction of the new and higher vaults in either the nave, or the choir. Even before this could begin, the work of stabilizing the cathedral was carried out by Gilles Hazart, Michel de Bray and the carpenter Benoist Boulanger.

As might be expected, the chapter proceeded first with the work that was the most urgent, namely repairing the nave, principal façade and the belfry.[183] There is no immediate mention of constructing new transepts. As advised by the experts, repair work began with the immediate consolidation of the tower.[184] Benoist Boulanger was responsible for the restoration of the belfry of the two towers of the western façade.[185] It may have been the timber-frame of the steeple and its roof opposed to the roof of the nave which was more severely damaged by the fire. This is supported by a large fissure

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visitation de ladite eglise de laquelle somme de 12 lb nous quietons lesdits de chappitre ledit Legier et tous autres. Tesmoins nos seings manuels cy mis le 10 jour de juillet lan 1504."

[181] Émile Coüard-Luys, "Notes sur une mission de Martin Chambiges à Senlis en 1504," Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, vol. II (1884), 471.

[182] Aubert, Monographie, 25.

[183] Vachon, Une famille parisienne, 78.

[184] Aubert, Monographie, 24.

[185] Aubert, Monographie, 24.

discovered in the course of later restoration,[186] and would explain why "curiously enough it was the bells that received first attention and [that] the belfry was made sound immediately."[187] This thesis is further supported by the fact church officials commissioned the founder, Jehan Huot, to make seven bells as early as October 17, 1504.[188] If the cathedral's bells were destroyed in the fire, this would further explain the 'river of lead' caused by the heat of the conflagration. While the accounts of fire damage may be exaggerated, it is made clear that the bells of the cathedral had to be replaced, and this was done soon after the fire. The clergy celebrated the start of the casting of the bells on December 7, 1504.[189] In addition to the recasting of bells, work on the western block included repairing the steeple, the adjacent bays of the tower and the insertion of windows by Jean Souldier in 1505. According to Aubert, these windows were without doubt for either the towers or the western façade.[190] The tracery of the central window of the western façade and of the adjacent window to the south have Renaissance and Flamboyant style tracery respectively. Thus, it can be said that a first campaign was concentrated on the restoration of the western block, and did not necessarily concern itself with the height of the central nave or the redressing of the transepts. The principal mason of this campaign was Regnault Hazard as indicated in the surviving remittance of 1504.

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[186] In his work on the cathedral, Jean-Pierre Paquet describes both earlier and contemporary restoration efforts as justified based on the appearance of a large fissure in the structure of the tower which he hypothosizes was caused by lightning. According to his report: "la mise en place, dès cette époque, d'un étaiement en tubes métalliques de 7 m de hauteur soutient les deux arcatures des faces Sud et Ouest et les relie à la face Sud-Ouest de la flèche. [And] L'hypothèse d'une dépose de ces tubes après réparation appropriée du pinacle, m'ayant amené à analyser les mesures à prendre à cet effet, j'ai pu constater qu'en dehors des altérations atteignant ce pinacle, se manifestaient des désordres graves, aussi bien dans les autres pinacles que sur la face Nord de la flèche: elle présente depuis son sommet jusqu'à celui du fût à base carrée, une large fissure continue, peut-être provoquée par la foudre." For more on the most contemporary examinations of, and maintenance plans for the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, see the reports of Yves Boiret, *architecte en chef des monuments historiques*, and, in particular, the Projet de travaux: "Restauration de la tour Sud à l'ouest de la cathédrale," Paris: Ministère de la Culture, Direction du Patrimoine 1987.

[187] Dunlop, The Cathedrals' Crusade, 45.

[188] Aubert, Monographie, 25.

[189] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 127.

[190] Aubert writes: "Jean Souldier ou Souldoier, qui avait déjà fait des vitraux en 1505, sans doute pour les tours ou la façade ouest, reçut en 1515 une commande de verrières en verre de Lorraine pour les fenêtres hautes de la nef." in his Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis, 28.

A second campaign, begun in 1506, clearly overlaps with that of the first, but concentrated on new construction and not simply the repairing of the cathedral. This campaign, led by the masons Michel de Bray and Gilles Hazart involved the erection of the western aisle of the transepts, the addition of chapels to the nave and the elevation of a new clerestory. If, as Murray has stated, work progressed from east to west, the roof may have been so damaged by the fire as to allow rebuilding -- demolition of the old upper storey and erection of a new clerestory -- to begin in either the nave, or the choir area. The mention by Aubert of Gilles Hazart temporarily strengthening of the lantern over the crossing further argues this point.[191] So after establishing at least the structural frame of the central crossing work began in the choir with the elevation of internal piers and corresponding buttress piers, then proceeded to the addition of flyers, a roof and new vaults. On July 14, 1513, the construction of the new upper level was significantly advanced that the chapter discussed how to roof the church.[192] The decision was made to again use iron despite some opposition and the materials potential fallibility as elucidated in the various descriptions of fire damage throughout the last centuries.

Although the exact date in which construction began on the upper storey of the choir is not known, by 1514, both the choir and the nave had reached the point where they could begin receiving new vaults. The keystones of the vaults of the choir were painted by Jean Broquette in August 1514.[193] Jean Souldier and Jean de Fécamp received the commission for the glass and lead-work of the clerestory windows of the nave in 1515. After completion of the high vaults, attention was focused on the interior, particularly the embellishment of the choir. New windows were given to the cathedral by Bishop Calveau in 1517 and placed at the base of the choir. The floor of the hemicycle was first repaved and the main altar was consecrated in

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[191] According to Aubert's chronology of the repair work: "[Gilles Hazart] consolidait le lanternon qui s'élevait au-dessus du carré du transept ... Après l'achèvement de ces premier travaux, il semble que la restauration dut subir un temps d'arrêt," in Monographie (1910), 25.

[192] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 276 reads: Jovis 14 Julii 1513. Conclusum est quod ecclesia cooperiatur plumbo consideratio quod ante incendium ipsius erat cooperta plumbo et quod domini habent plumbum attamen. Domini Parvi (?) et Himache (?) fuerunt opinionis ut cooperiatur ardisiis non ese plumbo. c.f. Bideault and Lautier, Ile-de-France-Gothique, 363.

[193] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 405., Aubert, Monographie, 28.

1519.[194] By 1520, the campaign to restore the tower (previously mentioned) was almost fully realized and the roof was near completion. The repavement of the choir and the installation of the choir stalls took place in 1524.[195]

While a third campaign, led by Jean Dizieult (or Dizeault) and Pierre Chambiges, can be dated 1530,[196] their involvement may predate mention of the contract for the completion of the transept. Following a strict iconographic approach, the vaults of the transept can be dated based on the heraldry that is depicted on either side of the central crossing. Thus the vaults of the southern transepts were erected during the episcopacy of Guillaume Parvy, 1527-1536, and those of the northern transept can be dated to the episcopacy of René Le Roullié, 1536-1559. The dates of Bishop Parvy's reign and the dates cited for the completion of the southern transept, 1530-1534, correspond as do those of the north transept although the exact arrival date of Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult, if earlier than 1530, has to remain open.

The Erection of Transepts

With the completion of the new upper storey of the choir and nave including their interior embellishment, a new phase of construction began that addressed the central crossing and the termination of the transepts. The first stone of this new construction[197] (presumably the southern transept) was laid on Thursday, April 26, 1520 by Michel de Bray, *maître de la maçonnerie de la cathédrale*.[198] While the laying of a cornerstone is a ceremonious act which may not mark the actual start of construction, it is often accompanied

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[194] Aubert, Monographie, 29.

[195] Aubert, Monographie, 29., c.f. Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 705.

[196] According to Afforty, the two masons were to receive a specific salary of 26 *livres tournois* a month until the portals were completed: "Jovis 29 Julii 1530 visa requesta Petri Chambiche et Johannes Dizueur (sic) magistrorum lathomorum ecclesie Domini decreverunt ac concluserunt quod a modo habebunt pro quolibet menses sex viginti libras turon. donec ymagines porticus facte fuerint quas quidem ymagines concluserunt fiere secundum devisionem Rev. Patris Silvam. episcopi et retra quod eisdem advansabitur summa quattuor viginti libras turon. operando hyeme futura..." Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXXIV, 30. c.f. Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," Ph.D. diss. London University, Courtauld Institute, (1973), 227 and note 54. This transciption diverges slightly from that found in Appendix 7, but contains the same information.

[197] The text does not explicitly mention the southern transept façade, but refers simply to the "nove operationis quam fecit Michael de Bray," in Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 577.

[198] Aubert, Monographie, 30.

by a pledge or promise of renewed funding. This was precisely the case at Senlis. François I continued financing of the rebuilding effort with a renewal of the levy on salt in 1520. The actual laying of the ground stone had more symbolic than practical consequences for the history of the architecture since construction of the southern façade did not begin until certain provisions were made for the transfer of properties following the monarch's renewal of financial support.

Construction of the southern transept façade did not proceed immediately because agreements had to be reached regarding several of the buildings of the old episcopal Hôtel which were built against the southern façade. In 1529, Bishop Parvy gave the episcopal property flanking the cathedral to the chapter in exchange for others built further to the east; this agreement was confirmed on November 16, 1531.[199] The presence of these buildings hindered the construction of the southern façade which did not begin in earnest until February of 1530 at which time a formal request for royal funds was made by the then bishop of Senlis, Guillaume Parvy, the king's former confessor, advisor and prelate. This request was again tendered by the king and provisions were made to cover the expense of rebuilding the cathedral of Senlis.

It was at this time that Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult were contracted to receive 26 *livres tournois* per month until the transepts were completed. The date accorded to the completion of the southern transept façade including the high vaults is 1534.[200] On April 15, 1534, Jean and Adam Souldoier received the commission for the rose window and Martin Billet began the roof nine days later, on April 24, 1534. Jean Dizieult supervised construction of the north transept, begun in 1532,[201] until its completion in *circa* 1540. According to Vatin, it was Dizieult who placed the salamander in the gable above the portal in 1533, one year after commencing construction of

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[199] Archives départementales de l' Oise, G. 2054.
[200] Bideault and Lautier, Ile-de-France gothique, 364. et al.
[201] Vatin, Senlis et Chantilly, 144.

the northern transept.[202] Further ornamentation of the interior was begun in 1532, and the northern transept portal was completed in 1540.[203]

Identification of the Master-Masons

Like the specific dates of the various campaigns during the first half of the sixteenth century which are not explicitly stated in any of the extant documentation concerning Senlis, identification of the master masons and their specific contribution to the rebuilding is in part undocumented. The accounts are limited to the record of payment of four *livres tournois* each to Martin Chambiges, Pierre Nanyer and Liénin Jehan *et al.* on the occasion of their inspection of the cathedral in 1504, and to the initial cost of repairs. Despite this, several masons have been named, and Marius Vachon, in his 1911 publication, attributes the design of the rebuilt façades at Senlis to Martin Chambiges. At the same time, Michael de Bray is the master mason recorded in the textual account from 1520 mentioned by Afforty. This dedication is assumed to be the laying of the 'cornerstone' of the southern transept although the text is not explicit.[204] Pierre Chambiges, *maistre d'œuvres du Roy au baillage de Senlis*,[205] was the highest ranking mason to have directed the work on the cathedral, but the date of his arrival has to remain open.

One important aspect of the building chronology is that the construction of the transept façades was independent of the earliest building campaign as can be substantiated by a close reading of the fabric of the cathedral. While the horizontal and vertical seams in the masonry often represent breaks between building campaigns, they do not reveal the exact dates of construction, only the relative chronology of the various building campaigns. Some conclusion can, nevertheless, be made with regards to the

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[202] Vatin, Senlis et Chantilly, 144.

[203] Completion of the northern transept is given as 1560 by Eugène Müller in Monographie des rues, places et monuments de Senlis, 419, based on the final bequest of 1,750 *livres tournois* by Réne Le Roullié († 1560) for "les réparations de la cathédrale," but it doesn't follow that this money was for repair work needed following the 1504 fire. Rather the donation is typical of the kind of bequest left by a bishops upon his death, and ought not be seen as part of the campaign to complete the transepts.

[204] According to Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 577: " Jovis 26 aprilis Domini ordinaverunt summam 16 solidorum par. tradi lathomis ecclesie pro positione primi lapidis nove operationis quam facit Michael de Bray."

[205] C. Bauchal, Nouveau dictionnaire biographique et critique des architectes français, Paris: André, Daly Fils et Cie, (1887) 105. et al.

order of construction. For example, the erection of buttress piers typically followed the vaulting of side aisles; similarly the clerestory walls and roof were erected before the high vaults and the flying buttresses which were often built simultaneously.[206] Certain decisions would naturally have influenced aspects of the design. For instance, once the decision was made to raise the clerestory, the erection of new transepts would naturally have become necessary. The transept block was, however, not built at the same time as the façade. The rose window in either case is not centrally located within the masonry. Rather, after completion of the stair turrets, the masons probably left the corner tongued with *pierres d'attente*, or waiting stones while completing construction in other areas. This would have allowed the masons to insert the façade into the existing frame. The loss of the fabric accounts make it difficult to determine the exact dates of conception, design and construction. This problem is particularly evident in the discrepancies found in texts where a chronology of building is suggested.

According to Vachon, the commission to rebuild the transepts was contracted by the chapter in 1515, eleven years after the fire of 1504, and while given to Martin Chambiges, it was carried out by his son Pierre and Jean Dizieult.[207] This attribution neither appears nor follows from the texts, and as to the length of time needed, the author supplies only an estimation:

> Pierre I Chambiges fut ensuite chargé de diriger, avec le maître-maçon Jean Dizieult, les travaux de construction du transept et des façades latérales de la cathédrale de Senlis, qui sont l'œuvre de son père; cette direction se continua pendant environ sept ans.[208]

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[206] For more on the order of construction of a Gothic cathedral, see John Fitchen's <u>The Construction of Gothic Cathedrals. A Study in Medieval Vault Erection</u>, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961.

[207] According to Vachon, in <u>Une famille parisienne</u>, "En 1504, Martin Chambiges était mandé par le Chapitre de N-D de Senlis pour visiter l'édifice, après un incendie qui en détruisit une partie; onze ans après, il recevait, avec d'autres maîtres maçons, la mision d'étudier sur place de cet achèvement par la construction des deux façades latérales. Après en avoir donné les plans, il fit diriger les travaux par sons fils Pierre Ier Chambiges et par Jean Dizieult, maître maçon de Senlis." 24.

[208] Vachon, <u>Une famille parisienne</u>, 25.

The period described by Vachon is given by Thieme and Becker as 1518-1525.[209] Here the time period is fixed, but again not supported. While 1518 is the year that Martin Chambiges asked the chapter at Beauvais to accept his son as co-master of construction, there is no specific reference made to Senlis in this context. Rather, if Pierre became the co-master of Beauvais (presumably under the auspices of his father), it would be difficult for him to also be fully directing the work at Senlis.

As heir to the work of his father, Pierre Chambiges is ascribed as having begun 'a new period in his artistic activity' in *circa* 1525; from which time hence 'he no longer worked on the buildings begun by his father,' but increasingly took independent jobs.[210] While he was commissioned by both the king and high ranking members of the court to work on secular projects in and around Paris, stylistic parallels to his work at the cathedral in Troyes and to that of his father discussed by Murray[211] argue in favor of his involvement. So while it has been suggested that the plans for the new transept façades were provided by either Martin or Pierre Chambiges, a comparison between the stylistic details of works known to have been produced by Martin Chambiges leads to the conclusion that he was not involved in the plan or design of the transepts at Senlis. On the other hand, the involvement of Pierre Chambiges is, attested to in some of the payment records which stipulate a salary of 26 *livres tournois* per month for both Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult as supervisors of the construction of the transepts.

The extent to which the work was determined by either Pierre Chambiges *maistre d'œuvres du Roy au baillage de Senlis* (documented in 1539),[212] or Jean Dizieult, *lieutenant du maître des œuvres de maçonnerie du roi,*[213] is difficult to determine. While Pierre Chambiges may have ranked higher than Jean Dizieult, the former became increasingly occupied with the

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[209] Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler 37 vols. Leipzig: Engelmann; and Leipzig: E.A. Seeman, (1907-1950), 347
[210] Thieme and Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon, 347.
[211] See Murray "The Work of Martin Chambiges," Ph.D. diss. London University, Courtauld Institute, 1973.
[212] Vachon, Une famille parisienne, 81.
[213] Aubert, Senlis, 28.

work of private patrons, thereby leaving the supervision of construction to the latter. For example, Jean Dizieult may have largely taken over control at Senlis in 1527 when Pierre Chambiges left to start construction at Chantilly for Anne de Montmorency, although the distance between the two sites does not preclude Chambiges from having worked at both Senlis and Chantilly during this time. After 1530, while the work at Senlis is recorded as being contracted to Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult,[214] both Vachon and Murray state that Pierre Chambiges had "abandoned the role of master mason of a cathedral workshop in favour of secular work."[215] According to Vachon who makes reference to archives without mentioning them specifically, Chambiges was working at Fontainebleau in the service of the king:

> La période de temps entre l'achèvement de Chantilly et l'entrée au service de la Ville de Paris du maître maçon, - 1530-1534 -, semble correspondre avec précision à la période de temps fixée par les documents d'archives comme date de la construction des corps de bâtiment de la Cour du Cheval blanc [à Fontainebleau].[216]

In 1536, Pierre Chambiges is described as the *maître des œuvres de maçonnerie et pavement de la ville de Paris*.[217] In 1539, he still held the official title of *maistre d'œuvres du Roy au baillage de Senlis* although in October of that year Pierre Chambiges started working at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,[218] and may not have worked at Senlis since his departure for Fontainebleau.

Summary

Despite the contradictions and generalities found in many of the texts relating to the work of Pierre Chambiges, there are several fixed points in the building history of Notre-Dame at Senlis. Equally important, there are three recognizable campaigns led by different master masons. The first campaign

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[214] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIV, 30., c.f. Appendix 7.

[215] Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," 239.

[216] Marius Vachon, La Renaissance Française: l'architecture nationale, les grands maitres maçons, Paris (1910), 192.

[217] Adolphe Lance, Dictionnaire des architectes français, tome 1, Paris: V.A. Morel, (1872), 136.

[218] Vachon, La Renaissance Française, 191.

after the 1504 fire was orchestrated by Regnault Hazard. A second campaign, begun in 1506, involved new construction, erection of the western aisle of the transept, the addition of new chapels and elevation of a new clerestory. This work was carried out under Michel de Bray and Gilles Hazart. In the laying of a cornerstone in 1520, the master mason de Bray was accorded recognition for his involvement in the rebuilding of the cathedral. Finally, a third campaign led by Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult sought completion of the transepts, and can be dated 1530-1540.

Chapter 6. Formal Analysis

As established by the early building chronology of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, the original twelfth-century monument was subject to considerable changes in the later Middle Ages. These changes affected both the interior and exterior of the cathedral. The physical rebuilding modified, not only the way in which the monument functioned, both liturgically and symbolically, but also altered the perception of the cathedral in the eyes of those who either visited the monument, or lived in its vicinity. The local audience would have immediately noticed the greater monumentality of the transepts (north and south) and the highly sculptural quality of their surfaces.

In their present form, the lateral façades of the cathedral are dominated by the transepts which are comparable in their general plan and elevation (Figs. 30 & 31). As discussed in the chapter on the earlier building history of Senlis, later building campaigns had to take into account the existing fabric. At Senlis, the width of the central aisle of the transept, the eastern chapels of the transept and the first bay of the choir are all determined by both the placement of the original twelfth-century piers, and the thirteenth-century piers built during the first campaign to introduce transepts. Likewise, the height of the aisles and that of the gallery were not changed in the course of the sixteenth-century rebuilding of the cathedral. Finally the decision to use sexpartite vaults for the central nave space was largely determined by the original vaulting scheme of the architecture.

The transept consists of a large crossing bay and two arms each with a central aisle of two bays flanked by private chapels. The projecting stair turrets enclose the central section of the transept block which is flanked by buttress piers carrying two-tiered flyers and bracing the upper level. Within the frame of these two vertical axes [the stair turrets], the façades are each defined by a single double portal surmounted by a royal gallery, balustrade, a large rose window, an upper balustrade and gable.

The most prominent features of either transept are the stair turrets which provide access to the upper loggia space on the exterior, the tribune gallery in the interior, and the façade proper. The bulk of the polygonal stair turrets is dissolved by an overlay of late Gothic tracery patterns and niches

including two prominent twisted columns[219] which serve as statue pedestals (Fig. 32). These columns may represent an allusion to the brazen columns at the entrance of the Solomon's Temple, or simply serve as additional decorative elements.

Within the stair turrets, each façade has a set of double doors framed by an ogee arch culminating in a pinnacle which reaches to the level of the rose window (Fig. 33 & 34). The space enclosed by this arch formed from two triple reverse curves is divided into two distinct areas: a pointed arch frames the entrance portal, and the gable above it contains the principle motif of the façade. To accentuate the division between these two areas, they are separated by a horizontal string course at the base of the balustrade gallery. The gable replaces the central arcade of the balustrade of the above loggia. The space enclosed by the pointed arch below the gallery is divided horizontally and vertically. A trumeau between the two doors separates the large tympanum of stained-glass composed of four lancets (two on either side of the trumeau above each of the portals) and a series of mouchettes or bellows.

The gallery which corresponds to the tribune in the interior is a covered space resembling a loggia. Above the gallery level, a series of lancets projecting at varying heights bridge the space below the rose window that fills the area between the projecting stair turrets. An upper balustrade traverses the façade and encircles the spires crowning the stair turrets. The upper gable which masks the lateral wall of the roof level is covered by blind tracery and edged by open work. The similarities in the formal character of the transept façades do not extend to their sculptural articulation, rather the designer of the northern transept façade began after completion of the southern façade and chose not to repeat the southern portal exactly. The mason attempted to distinguish the one façade from the other while using the same general elevation. While economics may also have been a factor in the visible differences between the two portals,[220] the lack of sculptural articulation in

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[219] While not a common motif in France, the twisted column can be found at Saints-Gervais-et-Protais at Gisors, on the façade of the church of Rumilly-les-Vaudes (1527-1549), and in the choir of Saint-Severin at Paris (1489-1495).

[220] A reduction in the amount of sculptural decoration can represent an attempt to reduce the cost of construction. It has been suggested that this was the case at Notre-Dame at Cléry during the second campaign of construction, and at Troyes Cathedral. For these two examples, see

the voussoirs of the northern portal has the effect of reinforcing the dominance of the king's symbol found in the gable surmounting the portals.

The South Transept

The south transept is an entrance façade with twin portals subdivided by a trumeau (Fig. 35). The division between the two portals serves as the pedestal of a statue niche which once held the Virgin and Child. The trumeau or statue base extends up to the springing of the basket arches that frame the doors. The canopy of the statue niche extends to the apex of the tympanum effectively dividing the space into two. The innermost archivolt of the arch enclosing the two portals has open tracery crockets. The second set of archivolts are decorated by a series of scenes from the life of the Virgin. The outermost archivolt has, along the underside of the arch, four stone tracery pendants containing individual statue niches, and is, furthermore, carved with a vine pattern. The use of open tracery encircled by an archivolt of vine replicates the pattern twice found in the archivolts surrounding the Tree of Jesse tympanum of the north transept façade of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais. This portal was built by Martin Chambiges whose son Pierre worked as his apprentice before being accepted as co-master of the workshop at Beauvais cathedral in 1518.[221]

The North Transept

Access to the north transept is reached via a short road which was introduced when the fortifications were breached to connect the new entrance portal to the main streets of Senlis. Prior to this time, the northern façade of the cathedral was inaccessible outside the earliest city walls. This area between the oldest city walls and the cathedral is, furthermore, where the canons of the cathedral had several auxiliary buildings including their chapter house. The transept façade built in the sixteenth century required removal of these structures and the creation of a formal entrance way. To the east of the portal, it is possible to distinguish the suture between the gallery level above the thirteenth-century chapel of Sainte Geneviève and the stair turret of the late

Mayra Rodriguez's "Austere Late Gothic: the Architecture of the Collegiate Church of Notre-Dame at Clergy-Saint-Andre," PhD. Diss. Univ. of Michigan at Ann Arbor, 1996, and Stephen Murray's Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1987.
[221] Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," 226.

Gothic portal (Fig. 36). The masons inserted a series of corbels, like those found at the base of a bartizan to build up the stair turret which could not otherwise extend to the ground because of the placement of the outer window of the Sainte Geneviève chapel.

While the northern transept copies the form and height of the southern transept, there are some fundamental differences between the two. The entrance portal has three levels of archivolts which are separated from each other by prismatic profiles. Unlike the southern portal, the splays of the north door are smooth with the exception of the introduction of straight profiles or tangents along the curves and at the apex of the pointed arch. This economy of design may reflect an attempt to reduce the cost of expensive stone-carving, or simply have been intended to further contrast and thereby amplify the visibility of the principal motif of the façade, namely the royal symbols of the monarch as framed by the ogee arch pediment of each portal which replaces the central section of the balustrade gallery and achieves prominence while uniting these two areas of the façade.

In the tradition of the cathedrals at Chartres, Sens, Troyes and Beauvais, the northern transept of Senlis was imbued with royal symbols and functioned as the royal entrance façade. The salamander and the outline of the royal initial of François I topped by an imperial crown are still visible features in the gable above the northern portal (Fig. 37). This is not the sole example of the use of this kind of iconographic detail in the churches and cathedrals built during the reign of François I. While no longer legible, there were, as noted by Cochet, "two kinds of salamanders" decorating the central portal of the church at Caudebec-en-Caux.[222] The salamanders, together with the balustrade of dolphins -- clear references to the monarch and the dauphin, Francis (1518-1536) -- commemorate at Caudebec-en-Caux two important events: the marriage in 1530 of François I to Eleanor of Austria, Emperor Charles V's sister, and the conclusion of the Peace of Cambrai (1529) which stipulated the release of the dauphin and his brother Henry from Spain where they had served as hostages since 1526.[223] Following his release from

[222] William Steinke, "The Flamboyant Gothic Church of Caudebec-en-Caux: A Neglected Masterpiece of French Medieval Architecture," Ph.D. diss. NY Univ. (1982), 156.
[223] Steinke, "The Flamboyant Gothic Church of Caudebec-en-Caux," 156.

captivity, François I mobilized the Estates of Burgundy and used their proclaimed alliance to France to annul the provision of the Treaty of Madrid (1526) requiring him to cede this territory to Charles V. In this context, the iconography of Caudebec-en-Caux represents the reassertion of royal power in the area while also providing a visual reminder of the presence (albeit not physical) of the monarch and his family. This practice parallels the appearance of the royal devices of François I at Senlis.

Balustrades and Gallery Spaces

As is common with Gothic cathedrals, there are, at Senlis, a series of balustrade passageways on the exterior. In addition to these, Notre-Dame at Senlis was built with royal loggias above the lateral entrance portals. Access to these galleries is reached via the stair turrets of the transepts or from the tribune level in the interior. The stair turrets are, further, connected in the interior by a balustrade gallery allowing for communication at the gallery level between the nave and choir. This was not possible before the sixteenth-century rebuilding as the gallery of the nave was not fully integrated with the transept block in the thirteenth century.[224]

By contrast to the western façade which has no galleries and only the one early sixteenth-century balustrade running between the two towers, balustrade galleries are a common feature of the lateral façades. There are, for example, three levels of balustrades on the outer wall of the nave (Fig. 38). The upper most encircles the transept block thereby providing communication around the entire church. Below this level, there are two lower balustrades each of which can be accessed via the stair turrets of the transepts. The lowest-most balustrade corresponds to the tribune level while the middle balustrade encloses the space above. Below the flyers which support the clerestory, the chapels between the stair turrets and the buttress piers are articulated by a balustrade and surmounted by an open balcony. While the area between the various levels of the cathedral is larger than that of the transept façade, the central focus remains the transept façade and its covered gallery space.

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[224] Aubert, Monographie, 91.

The transept block has balustrades incorporated into each of its constituent parts. The central façade of the transept has two distinct balustrade galleries, one of which constitutes part of a covered loggia. The chapel to the east of the portal was accented by three fleurs-de-lis similar in design to the fleur-de-lis found below the rose window. Along the choir façade and eastern end, the cathedral is encircled by balustrades at the clerestory level and along the roof line.

The balustrades found on the exterior of the nave area are not uniform in design. On the north façade, balustrades are found above the outer aisle, over the tribune and at the roof level. The central balustrade on the north side was subject to reconstruction under Ramée,[225] and thus is nineteenth century in date. In general the tracery of the balustrades replicates the patterns found in late Gothic windows with their use of both late Gothic and Renaissance patterns.

On the south façade, the second storey and roof level balustrades are decorated by open tracery fleur-de-lis. Those on the intermediate level are grouped in pairs or threes separated by either a small statue niche, or by one of the buttress piers. The number of fleurs-de-lis, in each case, depends on the length of the bay. The upper level is similar with the exception that there are no statues niches inserted between any of the fleur-de-lis motifs. Each fleur-de-lis is set within a circle broken only by the head and foot of the fleur and blind up to the height of the three petals. The inside of the circle is inscribed by a pentafoil with grows from the outer feet of the fleur-de-lis. The curves of the pentafoil are of varying lengths; the two lowest ones extend to the mid-point of the circle thereby drawing attention to the outer petals of the fleur. The three remaining curves inscribing the circle are divided evenly across the rest of the surface.

Like the upper storeys of the exterior façade of the nave, the central balustrade of the southern transept façade is decorated by the same fleur-de-lis motif (Fig. 39). The fleur-de-lis of the southern transept are, however, not

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[225] While there is no precise reference as to the appearance of the original balustrades, Ramée is described as having restored this feature 'with intelligence' in H. Bourgeois' "Rapport de la commission des travaux architectoniques et d'iconographie," BM X, (1844), 339.

identical to those which appear on the nave façade. The carving is more precisely laid out and each fleur is separated from the next by a stylized statue niche (Fig. 40). The central motif is again encircled, but almost the entire tripartite foot is located outside of the circle. Just below the horizontal band that defines the fleur-de-lis, the circle intersects a horizontal profile and disappears behind the feet of the fleur-de-lis. Although only four of the intersecting points are visible, there is again a pentafoil inscribed within the circle framing the fleur-de-lis. The curves of the pentafoil are of equal size, and are arranged to mimic the outline of the fleur-de-lis. Finally, the precise character of the sculptural motifs of the southern transept façade suggests that they represent copies of the balustrades on the nave façade and thus are later in date. This is confirmed by the chronology of the building which affords construction of the nave and nave vaults before erection of the transept façades.

Buttress Piers

The buttress piers erected in the sixteenth century are important structural elements of the late Gothic façade. They carry the flyers which support the upper storeys. There are two flyers between each of the bays of the nave and the choir. The buttress piers have a distinct rectangular form also seen at the collegiate church of Saint-Aignan at Orléans which received monies from the cathedral chapter at Senlis.

The *culées* of the flying buttresses at Senlis are articulated by horizontal string courses, statue niches and blind tracery. There are paired statue niches near the top of each of the buttresses supporting the chevet. Each buttress pier is, furthermore, surmounted by a pair of finials joined at their bases by a blank wall topped by open tracery. On the south façade, the buttress pier west of the transept has an elaborate statue niche on the same level as the first statue niche of the flanking stair turret. This niche has a open tracery canopy encircled by tracery in the form of a crown. It is here that Tavernier locates the statue of Saint Martin on horseback in his eighteenth-century engraving of the cathedral.[226] At the base of this statue niche, there are two small cherubs supporting an open book which may have been a reference to Bishop Parvy,

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[226] See plate 31 in Laborde's Voyages pittoresque de la France, Paris (1789), 76-77.

keeper of the Library at Blois and the publisher of the first missal and breviary of the diocese.[227]

Window Tracery

While a number of the windows dating from the twelfth century are still extant, a significant percentage are of late Medieval origin. By contrast to the sixteenth-century windows, the earlier windows typically consists of only one light. A dramatic contrast thus exists between the form and scale of the earlier and later windows. Windows were naturally part of the new construction of the outer walls of the nave aisles, the upper storey and the projecting transepts. Part of the reconstruction of the cathedral also included the replacement of early Gothic windows. The central window of the main façade was installed in the early sixteenth century as part of the restoration of the western block. This window, flanked by three colonnettes on either side, is a pointed arch filled by three round arch lancets surmounted by two circular forms. The triangular spaces between the two are furthermore filled with glass.

The aisles of the nave are lit by three windows. On the north side, two of the three windows are found along the lateral façade while the third is located to the west as a result of the placement of the *salle capitulaire*. This window allows light into the bay which connects the aisle to the entrance of the *salle capitulaire*. The round arch frame of this window contains a shallow ogee arch crowned by a crocket. On the south side, the first chapel (east of the southern tower of the western façade) is lit by a large window subdivided into three tricuspid basket arch lancets and a pair of scroll motifs flanking a central tricuspid arch. The window is topped by a hood molding embellished with crockets. The second window has similar hood moldings, but is narrower than the first. It has two tricuspid ogee arch lancets culminating in a central dagger. The third window found couched between the buttress pier and the stair turret has a single light because of the narrow width of the chapel.

The clerestory windows are divided by large paired lancets or by smaller tripartite subdivisions. In the nave and straight bays of the choir, each

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[227] Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," 15.

window fills the entire space, but varies according to the size of the bay. The tracery patterns found in the choir are Flamboyant in style while several of the clerestory windows of the nave and transept block are characteristically Renaissance.

The Tracery of the Transept Façades

The cardinal faces of the transepts have windows on three levels. Stained-glass and tracery define the tympana of the entrance portals, the inner wall of the covered gallery, and clerestory level of each façade. The tracery patterns of the south façade (built earlier) are not replicated in the north transept. Rather the tracery patterns of each area often vary by emphasizing a pointed versus a round form when compared to the corresponding location on the opposite façade. The tympanum of the south façade has, for example, distinct rows of varying forms. Four tricuspid basket-arch lancets appear below a row of ogee arches, and mouchettes topped by a pair of tricuspid basket arches. On the north façade, the tympanum is filled by mullions which separate to form mouchettes and tear drops above tricuspid ogee arches. This area of stained-glass is thus define by three distinct rows opposed to four. Similarly the paired lancets of the galleries found in the transept façades differ with respect to their tracery. While each of the pointed arch openings is subdivided by "Y" shaped tracery, the lights of the south façade are simple tricuspid lancets; those in the north have three tear-drop forms above each ogee lancet. Below the rose, the windows of the south tricuspid basket lancets and mouchettes fill the space, on the north façade round arch lancets support smaller roses. This contrasting of formal elements establishes a rhythm that gives each façade a unique character.

The Rose Windows of the Transepts

The rose windows of Senlis cathedral are not entirely unique, but represent a feature which is common among the late Gothic cathedrals of northern France. As part of their emblematic character, the cathedrals of Sens, Beauvais, Troyes and Senlis have comparable features. In particular, the rose windows of these cathedrals were designed with similar tracery patterns so as to create a recognizable motif among royal monuments. The standard pattern for this rose is a central oculus decorated by a crown surrounded by five or six petals, and encircled by groups of mouchettes and soufflets, or falchions. This

formula is prevalent in monuments rebuilt or renovated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The model and probable genesis of this design is the rose window of the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris (1485). This window, commissioned by Charles VIII, has, at its center, stone tracery representing the royal crown and the crown of thorns (a portion of which was housed within the king's chapel). The Flamboyant style tracery pattern is replicated in the rose windows of the royal parish church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois at Paris (a modern copy of the original) and at the cathedrals of Beauvais, Sens, and Troyes. The repetition of this salient feature could not have been coincidental, but rather was created to distinguish these monuments as part of the domain of the French monarchy.

Like the monuments just mentioned, the rose windows of Senlis are comparable in form to the rose of Sainte-Chapelle. Each mouchette has a single nucleus, and thus is more rounded in shape than pointed.[228] The only major variance is in the tracery at the center. The south rose has a simple laurel wreath (c.f. Fig. 39) while the north rose combines the foliate wreath with a royal crown (Fig. 41). The form of the central oculi is again not coincidental. As already stated, the north transept has the emblems of François I and served as the royal entrance façade. A further connection relates to the holy relics obtained for the cathedral. During his tenure as bishop of Senlis, Parvy procured a fragment from the crown of thorns which he donated to the cathedral in 1529.[229] This relic together with a piece of the true cross was housed is a gold cross covered with pearls, precious stones and an inscription recognizing the bishop's gift to the cathedral.[230] With this gift, Senlis become once again,[231] one of a small group of monuments which possessed this relic of the Passion.

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[228] Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," 244.

[229] Gallia Christiana, X, col. 1441, and Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome I, 6.

[230] The inscription reads: "Guillelmus episcopus Silvan., ex ordine Prædicatorum assumptus, hanc crucem gemmis et pretiosis lapidibus ornatam ecclesiæ Silvanectensi donavit; oretis ut impleat ministerium et tandem vivat in æternum. Amen. 1529," as recorded by Aubert in Monographie, (1910), 33, note 3.

[231] According to Aubert's Senlis (1922), 45, Bishop Adam de Chambly gave a thorn from the Sainte Couronne or Crown of Thorns to the cathedral in 1242.

The Clerestory

While the width of the clerestory bays often vary, the upper storey is of uniform height. Depending on where they are located, the windows have different characteristics, although they are all pointed arch windows divided into either two of three lancets which culminate in Flamboyant, or Renaissance style tracery patterns. In the straight bays of the choir, the clerestory windows are grouped in pairs and vary in their formal arrangement. The first two bays on the south side are originally from the priory of Saint-Nicolas and, therefore, were never part of the original program.[232] In the turning bays, the clerestory windows of the apse are uniform in their design. These five windows each have two round arch lancets with tricusping. While the slender shafts separating each window become the ribs of the polygonal vault, a strong prismatic wall rib clearly delineates the window area from the vault above. The visual effect created by the contrast of light and dark causes the roof to appear to float above the windows like a crown.

The Sculpture of the Exterior

As a result of the French Revolution and war years, the majority of the statues created for the cathedral is no longer extant. While a good portion of the sculptural program of the main portal of the western façade survives despite mutilation and a restoration which later had to be corrected,[233] there is little of the sculpture destined for the northern and southern façades of the cathedral that has survived, and some has been replaced during later centuries. A key area of the southern façade -- the sculptural program in the gable above the portal -- is a romantic invention of the late eighteenth century, which may have been derived from an earlier form, but the question of its iconography must ultimately be left open.[234] Our knowledge of the

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[232] Aubert, Monographie, 165.

[233] The sculptural program of the western façade was restored by Robinet in 1846 under the direction of Daniel Ramée. For a complete discussion of the twelfth-century sculpture of Senlis see Diane Brouillette, "The Early Gothic Sculpture of Senlis Cathedral," Ph.D. diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley 1981.

[234] The central motif is, presently, an escutcheon of the arms of France surmounted by a helmet with a crest of feathers which follows the form of a fleur-de-lis. This shield is encircled by the cordon of the Order of Saint-Esprit, an Order founded by Henri III in 1578 to combat the Ligue lead by the duc de Guise. The Order, suppressed in 1791, was reinstated in 1815 and continued to be in existence until 1830. The sculptural group was likely installed either prior to 1791 or after 1815. The advent of the Revolution and the display of armor make it more plausible that the

original sculptural program is limited by the lack of description or documentation of the subjects once represented. Some conclusions as to the nature of the sixteenth-century sculptural program can, nevertheless, be drawn based on extant fragments which together with the distribution and size of the various statue niches, affords some clues to the arrangement of figures. A comparison of the early Gothic program with what is known of the sixteenth-century sculpture reveals dramatic changes in the focus of the sculpture designed for the cathedral's lateral façades.

There was a greater number of statues intended for the north and south façades by comparison to what appears on the western front of the cathedral. There is also greater variety in the size and placement of statuary than typically found in the early Gothic architecture of France. While there are a predominance of niches on the southern façade, all of the large scale sculpture of the transept façade is no longer extant. Aspects of the sculptural program can, however, be partially understood based on surviving references. In the engraving by Tavernier of the south façade of Notre-Dame published in the late eighteenth century,[235] it is possible to identify several statues including "saint Martin à cheval à gauche; une autre statue à droite faisant pendant; deux statues sur les colonnes torses, une sur le trumeau, six petites dans le tympan surmontées de quatre plus grandes, quatre dans les arcatures des tourelles et deux sur la balustrade supérieure."[236] The statue of Saint Martin on horseback located on the buttress pier of the west side of the portal has a direct antecedent in the statue of Louis XII on horse back above the main entrance of the château at Blois, and may have been intended, like the figure on horseback from the western façade of the cathedral at Münster rebuilt during the episcopate of Bishop Erich von Sachsen-Lauenburg (1508-1522), to represent in perpetuity the bishop's entry and command of the

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modern cartouche dates to the early nineteenth century. An ensemble of paired angles presenting the coat-of-arms of France encircled by an Order has precedents in a number of medieval manuscripts wherein angles support the arms of France encircled by the Order of Saint Michael and surmounted by a royal or imperial crown. Contemporary examples include royal manuscript and first editions publications dating to the reigns of Charles VIII, Louis XII and François I. For specific examples and complete references to the manuscript editions where they are found see Ursula Baurmeister, and Marie-Pierre Laffitte (eds.), Des livres et des rois, la Bibliothèque royale de Blois, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale 1992.

[235] Laborde, Voyages pittoresque de la France, 76-77, plate 31.
[236] Aubert, Monographie, 32.

region.[237] This western-most statue niche, together with the two on the oblique planes of the stair turrets are outwardly directed, in contrast to the smaller niches surrounding the portals and even those once surmounting the twisted columns which address those entering the church.

The trumeau contains a statue of the Virgin and Child while the voussoirs of the portal present scenes from the life of the Virgin; the seven extant scenes represent the birth of the Virgin, annunciation, nativity, consecration in the temple, visitation, adoration of the magi, and the circumcision. In terms of the representation of subject matter, the sculptural program of the western façade only implies a connection to royalty through the depiction of the coronation of the Virgin and the tree of Jesse found in the voussoirs, whereas the northern portal represents the actual emblematic symbols of a reigning king. The incorporation of the royal insignia of François I on the cathedral's exterior façade implies his involvement; as previously discussed François I was a financial donor/patron of the construction, but he can also be described as the principal audience of the rebuilding.

In addition to a series of concessions, the king promoted the appointment of select individuals to the episcopacy of Senlis who in turn took on much of the responsibility of overseeing the building campaigns. Among them was Guillaume Parvy who commissioned certain statues for the portals including the Virgin and Child, Saints Gervais and Protais dressed as deacons, Saint Rieul, patron of Senlis, and Saint Martin on horseback dividing his cloak with a mendicant. There is, however, little agreement as to where these individual statues were placed originally. According to Vatin, the above mentioned statues were intended for the north portal.[238] This contradicts Aubert who says that they were carved for the southern façade. While Fontaine writes that there were statues of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne erected on the towers of the southern façade until the Revolution,[239] the exact location of the sixteenth-century statues of this royal couple remains unclear. There is also not full agreement as to who was

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[237] For the complete discussion on the rebuilding of the cathedral at Münster during the reign of Bishop Erich von Sachen-Lauenburg see Hans J. Böker, "Die spätgotischen schaufassaden des Domes zu Münster," Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, Band LIV, (1993), 31-75.
[238] Vatin, Senlis et Chantilly, 144.
[239] Fontaine and Fontaine, Senlis, berceau de la France, 18.

represented. According to Aubert: "les statues de Louis XII, d'Anne de Bretagne et de François Ier ornèrent le portail du midi..."[240] Edmond Pilon and Aubert, later (in his 1922 publication), add queen Eleanor to this list of royal personages appearing on the southern façade.[241] Eleanor of Austria and François I were married in 1530 thus providing at least the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of a statue representing Eleanor as queen of France. Aubert attributes the canons of the cathedral with having commissioned the royal statues of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, and those of François I and Eleanor of Austria in appreciation of their donations to the reconstruction and rebuilding of the church.[242] As mentioned in the section on the financing of construction, the monarch, Louis XII and François I made important concessions to the cathedral so while it should not be surprising to see them represented in statuary, the depiction of contemporary royalty was rather new. While contemporary examples such as the equestrian statue of Louis XII at Blois and at Compiègne are found on secular structures, the appearance of a ruling monarch on an ecclesiastical monument is relatively novel.[243] It marks a clear progression from the depiction of royal symbols, initials, emblems and even genealogy to the actual representation of a contemporary ruler.

Interior

The stylistic contrast found between the early and the late Gothic architecture forms of the exterior are also found in the interior. The tripartite elevation of the interior combines the fabric of the twelfth-century arcade and gallery with a sixteenth-century clerestory. With the exception of the piers east of the crossing which are part of the thirteenth-century fabric, the major and minor piers of the central nave were constructed during the second half of the twelfth century. Their shafts extend to the base of the clerestory in the nave and choir. Remnants of the capitals surmounting these shafts can be seen on the north wall of the choir (Fig. 42); capitals were otherwise omitted

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[240] Aubert, Monographie, 27.

[241] Edmond Pilon, Senlis et Chantilly, Grenoble: B. Arthaud Éditeurs (1937), 38.

[242] Aubert, Senlis, 25.

[243] An important earlier example may be the Saint Anne portal of Notre-Dame at Paris which represents the birth of Philippe Auguste in 1165 as witnessed by Louis VII and Bishop Maurice de Sully. For the complete argument for this iconographic reading see Kathryn Horste's "A Child is born" : The Iconography of the Portail Ste.-Anne at Paris," Art Bulletin LXIX/2, June (1987), 187-210.

from the design of the upper storeys in favor of the prismatic profile rib vaults which spring from molded shafts.

The arcade and tribune gallery have pointed arches and quadripartite rib vaults. The bays of the tribune are not uniform in size because of the original misalignment of the twelfth-century church and the later introduction of transepts. In its present form, the tribune together with the balustrade passages of the transepts make possible circulation of the church on an upper level. This was not, however, always the case. While it would have been possible to walk the length of the cathedral from one tower to the other after its completion in the twelfth century, later changes made this impossible. In the thirteenth century, the tribunes of the nave were no longer connected to those of the choir.[244] While the majority of the tribune was left untouched during the sixteenth century; the gallery bays west of the crossing and the two eastern bays on the south side were rebuilt with prismatic rib vaults and keystones (Fig. 43).

New themes are also introduced in the interior, namely the resurrection of Christ, the Archangel Michael[245] and by extension the Order of Saint Michael. A figure representing the resurrected Christ occupies the central position of the balustrade of the interior façade of the southern transept (Fig. 44), and the Archangel Michael is found in the pendants of the collar of the Order which encircle the arms of France in both the painted and sculpted vaults of the transept and choir. In total, there are three vaults and one statue in which either Christ or Saint Michael are still represented. The Christ centering the interior balustrade of the southern portal is most directed linked to the Christ represented in the center medallion of the vault of bay SII WI, and may have been the work of a single master carver. Each of these two figures, the statue and the high relief keystone in bay SII WI, show the figure in a *contraposto* pose with one leg placed in front of the other and one arm raised. The statue centering the balustrade stands slightly on the right side of the niche. This placement is effectively counterbalanced by the figure's right arm which, though no longer extant, was clearly raised given the extension of

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[244] As previously mentioned, it has been suggested by Murray that the transepts begun in the thirteenth century were never completed in their originally intended form.
[245] While representations of Saint Michael may have existed on the exterior of the cathedral, there are no extant records or visual evidence to prove that this was the case.

the shoulder. The two figures are, furthermore, shown in flowing drapery and with banners. While the resurrected Christ can be relate to episcopal burial within the church, repetition of Saint Michael suggests the cathedral served as an important site for the actual devotees of the royal Order.

The Nave
The Addition of a Second Set of Aisles

The nave was enlarged by the addition of a second set of aisles to the north side and private chapels to the south. The outer aisle on the north side was built to connect the *salle capitulaire* to the cathedral and thus could not be easily divided into private chapels. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that individual patrons sponsored the construction of the late Gothic vaults found in this area. In all, five bays were built or refurbished on the north side during the later Middle Ages.

Rather than serving as private chapels, the north aisle of the nave become part of a new processional route which leads directly to either the transepts, or to the pulpit that once encircled the last minor pier on the north side of the central nave. Each of these bays and those added on the south side are vaulted by a unique multi-rib vaults thus differentiating each bay one from another. Among the forms used in the vaults is a circle, (or wreath) subdivided by perpendicular radii thus forming the sign for victory and honor. The symbol, like the bishop's cross within a circle or crown of victory, was a motif used frequently on sarcophagi to signify the apotheosis of the deceased. This would have been an appropriate iconography within a funerary chapel, or commemorative space.

The northern aisle has four bays, the western-most bay which was squeezed between the masonry of the northern tower and the *salle capitulaire* connects the cathedral to this previously independent structure. Prior to its connection to the cathedral, the *salle capitulaire* was entered from the northern-most bay of its eastern façade. From within the cathedral, the *salle capitulaire* is reached via a monumental stair occupying the first and second bays of the aisle (NIIWIV and NIIWIII). The bay connecting the two structures has a quadripartite vault and is small in contrast to the regular aisle bays since it serves as the landing in front of the entrance to the *salle capitulaire*.

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Embellishment of this bay was reserved for the portal and window. Although the stained-glass of this large single lancet window is no longer extant, the window now contains border glass designed with the royal initial of François I based on surviving fragments since used to the recreate the border of the northern transept clerestory windows.

The second bay from the west (NII WIII) which contains the steps to the *salle capitulaire* is vaulted by a star-pattern vault. Following this bay, there is a more complex star-pattern vault in bay NII WII which culminates in the form of an open crown with attached pendentives (Fig. 45). Each pendentive carries a statue niche oriented towards the vaults center. The center of the vault is subdivided by four concave segments framing a floral boss. The space between these curvilinear forms is further articulated by paired almond-shape tracery. The vault is embellished by the addition of four musical angels in the webs between the ribs.

The last bay (NII WI), the eastern-most bay of the north aisle, which provides access to the western stair turret of the transept represents a contrast to the elaborately vaulted bays in its proximity. Unlike the surrounding bays, it has a regular quadripartite vault, but is pierced by both a window and a door. The bay is lit by a single window and emphasis is placed on the portal. The single lancet window, found in the upper left-hand portion of the wall, is subdivided by tracery in the form of a finial while the portal is highly decorated by blind tracery which follows the shape of the round arch door and then curves out sharply to form a teardrop shaped gable with a floral relief pattern at its center and a high finial (Fig. 46). Just below the point of intersection of the reverse curves of the gable, there is a horizontal string course. The remarkable feature of this door treatment is its stone which has been cut at a forty-five degree angle, thus, greatly increasing its three dimensional quality. The stone carving also gives the impression that the door was to have been approached at an angle, and that there is a link to the upper storey and the *salle capitulaire*.

The Chapels on the South Side

The chapels on the south side (dedicated to Piedeleu, formerly *chapelle de la paroisse*, Saint Madelaine and Saint Joseph),[246] were given complicated vault patterns with hanging pendentives. The vault patterns and their pendants vary in form and scale. The western-most bay of the aisle on the south side, chapel Piedeleu, extends out from the projecting buttresses of the southern tower of the western block. While construction of chapels flanking the nave on the south side eliminated the entrance portal in the second bay east of the tower block, it did not inhibit access to the southern stair turret of the western block which is gained through a portal located immediately west of the first bay of the outer aisle.

The shape of this first chapel is somewhat irregular as a result of the preexisting pier foundations which project into the northwest corner of the space. The vault, nevertheless, has a regular star-pattern vault similar to that of the central crossing, but without the diagonal crossing ribs. The masons did not attempt to distort the vault to fit the shape of the bay, but rather fashioned the vault to appear as if it had been interrupted by the later addition of masonry to the northwestern pier. The vertical seam and stepped profile between the twelfth-century masonry of the tower block and the late Gothic aisle is clearly visible along the western wall (Fig. 47). The chapel was not aligned with the existing structure and thus does not culminate in a flat wall, but has a stepped cross section. The vault of this southern most chapel is made up of paired ribs springing from each corner and intersecting a Greek cross. The five points of intersection are articulated by hanging bosses; the two lateral ones are, however, no longer extant.

The second chapel (dedicated to Marie Magdelaine) has a vault similar to that of the first chapel with the exception that the straight arms of the Greek cross have been replaced by concave ribs forming a quadripartite star. The center is left hollow while the four intersecting points have hanging bosses. The third bay (SII WI) has a star-pattern vault with curved liernes surrounding a central medallion containing the resurrected Christ (Fig. 48). The figure appears with a banner and is encircled by a wreath of clouds. The

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[246] The names of these chapels are found in Aubert's Monographie, (1910), 156.

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figure is oriented towards the nave, like the coats-of-arms of the crossing bays, and does not constitute an isolated example of this type of iconography. As mentioned earlier, yet another representation of the resurrected Christ can be found on the interior balustrade of the southern transept.

The Transepts

The transepts contain masonry dating from different campaigns, yet they appear as unified blocks. Still visible on the western crossing piers are the attached columns of the compound piers which define the nave arcade. The capitals at this level were not suppressed; likewise, the twelfth-century torus molding was simply extended (probably in the thirteenth century) to the springing line of the vaults where the prismatic ribs of the vaults develop. To the east, the thirteenth-century crossing piers were left in tact, thus allowing the shafts of the transverse arch to extend uninterrupted from the abacus of the compound piers in the west to the base of the piers in the east. In the eastern arcade, or aisle of the northern transept, the pier from the thirteenth century extends up to and includes the foliate capital; above this point, the shafts melt together to form the smooth profile characteristic of the *pile adossée*. The three remaining pillars to the north and south of the central crossing are similar in form. It is only the rib vaults which emerge from the shafts that were given prismatic profiles and attached pendentives.

The High Vaults of the Nave, Transept and Choir

In each of the bays of the central nave, excluding the crossing, the vaults are either quadripartite, or sexpartite and the ribs culminate in either a boss, or pendentive. The central crossing and the transept arms have more complicated vault patterns with multiple bosses. The apse is vaulted by eight ribs. The keystone marks the juncture of the six ribs of the hemicycle, or half decagon, and the two half-length ribs of a regular quadripartite vault. Each of the bays of the central nave east of the transept crossing culminate in representative keystones. While they are not all still legible, the bay immediately east of the central crossing (EI) has a coat-of-arms with four distinct quadrants. The first and third are covered by gold fleurs-de-lis on a blue field; while the second and fourth quadrant are no longer legible, the effaced surface in each case resembles the outline of a dolphin, symbol of the French dauphin (a possible reference to the heir apparent, François

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d'Angoulême). The second coat-of-arms is no longer legible, but may have been the coat-of-arms of the queen; the dexter half appears to have contained two ermine while the right side boasted half the number of fleur-de-lis of the French coat-of-arms. Choir bay (EIII) bares the coat-of-arms of France encircled by the Order of Saint Michael.

The most elaborate vaults are found in the transepts, all of which are star-pattern vaults (Fig. 49). The quadripartite sections of the central bay, in particular, have been further subdivided by the addition of liernes and tiercerons forming tripartite sections. The intersection points are further articulated by pendants. The vaults on either side of the central crossing are similar to each other, albeit not to the central vault. These vault patterns are not based on diagonal ribs. Rather, two tiercerons spring from each pier and intersect with liernes forming a diamond pattern in the center of the vault leaving the area traditionally occupied by a keystone free to be embellished by painted insignias. This type of vault has been used at a number of locations including Saint-Jean de Joigny, Saint-Pantaléon at Troyes, la Madeleine de Montargis and at Villiers-le-Bel. The coats-of-arms in the transept at Senlis are oriented horizontally north to south (left to right), and, thus, were intended to be read from the nave.

Southern Transept Vaults

The Salamander of François I and the Heraldry of Bishop Guillaume Parvy[247]

On entering from the south portal, the first vault is decorated by the salamander in flames topped by an imperial crown thus repeating two of the elements sculpted in the gable over the northern entrance portal (Fig. 50). The device of the king occupies the entire central plane of the vault and repeats elements of royal iconography such as the knotted tail of the salamander and the imperial crown, (to be discussed in the proceeding chapter). The second vault bears the coat-of arms of Bishop Parvy.[248] Like the device of François I,

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[247] While Tremblot first notes the bishop's coat-of-arms in the choir (in L'armorial senlisien de Charles Afforty, Beauvaisis et Valois 2, (1941), 81), he then adjoins in the corrections mention of Parvy's coat-of-arms in the first bay of the southern transept (p. 206.). The heraldry of Parvy is no longer extant in the choir, but can be seen in the first bay south of the central crossing. The location of the heraldry of René Le Roullié is, likewise, described as in the first bay of the north transept (p. 203).

[248] The blazon is divided into four quadrants by a gold cross centered by a heart covered with five teardrops and supporting a pansy. The first quadrant contains a blue background, three

Parvy's heraldry appears crowned by a bishop's mitre and staff, but also encircled by a crown of thorns (Fig. 51) thereby making direct reference to the bishop's presentation of a fragment of the crown of thorns to the cathedral, and repeating the imagery found on his medallion, or *jeton*. Yet another important aspect and addition to the bishop's heraldry are the three fleurs-de-lis which appear on the arms of the cross dividing the coat into four quadrants (c.f. Fig. 5). The right to include the fleur-de-lis in his coat-of-arms may have been a special honor for service rendered to the king,[249] or simply an expression of fealty to the monarch.

Northern Transept Vaults

The Coats-of-Arms of France and of Bishop René Le Roullié

In the north, the first blazon, like its southern complement, is a part of the emblematic vocabulary specific to François I. It consists of the coat-of-arms of France surmounted by an imperial crown and encircled by the Order of Saint Michael (Fig. 52). The Order of Saint Michael as founded by Louis IX in 1469, was represented by a collar of shells separated by looped ties and supporting a pendant of the archangel Michael -- patron saint of the order -- holding a lance and defeating the devil. The regalian Order of Saint Michael as represented by the collar and pendant was a highly visible symbol of allegiance to the throne. In addition to being worn by individual members and by the king (as seen in a number of extant portraits), the Order of Saint Michael was also used to embellish the coat-of-arms of France and thus appeared frequently in a variety of mediums.

After his coronation, François I decided, during the first meeting of the Order of Saint Michael in September 1516,[250] to modify the appearance of the

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stars and clouds representing the heavens; the second quadrant (flanking the first) has three bolts of lighting symbolizing the judgment; the third quadrant features a burning bush and the fourth quadrant contains three snakes symbolizing death. The elaborate coat is, when coupled with its motto, proto-emblematic in that it conveys ideas of judgement and salvation.

[249] As noted by Michael Pastoureau, in Traité d'héraldique, Paris: Picard (1993), 60-61; specific examples of the monarch giving the right to bear the fleur-de-lis can be found in Rémi Mathieu's Le système héraldique français, Paris (1946), 263-265, *pièces justificatives* no. 1 and 3.

[250] Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "L'héraldique et l'histoire de l'art du moyen-âge," Gazette des Beaux-Arts XCIII, March (1979), 105.

collar of the Order.[251] He replaced the collar of shells with the double *cordelière d'or*, symbol of Saint François de Paule (1416-1507). While Potter has identified the *cordelière* as a device already used for Anne de Bretagne,[252] the chain links of the newly espoused collar of the Order resemble the twisted girdle of the House of Savoie, and have been described as having been inspired from this source.[253] The twisted girdle which became the device of Louise de Savoie after the birth of her son was adopted from the Order of Minimes founded by François de Paule in gratitude for his having answered her prayers and granted her a son. As she had promised, Louise dutifully named her son after François de Paule who not only "brought" her a son, but also prophesied his eventual ascendancy to the throne. In keeping with his mother's loyalties, François d'Angoulême adopted the attributes -- the twisted rope or girdle -- of his namesake and patron saint, François de Paule.

The knotted rope of Savoie as derived from that of Saint François thus became a prominent symbol of the Valois-Angoulême dynasty headed by François I.[254] The knot which can be seen in the tails of salamanders represented in the architecture built under the monarch, is a prominent feature in one of two life-size portrait paintings of the king. In the portrait of François I *circa* 1530-1535, attributed to Jean Clouet and found in the *Musée du Louvre*, Paris (Fig. 53), there are several types of golden knots or *cordelière* embroidered on the monarch's doublet. This emblematic feature is a recurring one during the reign of François I. As part of the heraldry of François I's reign, the coat-of-arms of France with the crown and collar of the Order of Saint Michael appear together with the salamander in flames on the cover of the manuscripts of Gregory Nazianzen as bound for François I.[255] The chain links in the portrait and in the high vault of Notre-Dame at Senlis

[251] The newly fashioned collar of the Order of Saint Michael did not entirely replace the earlier iconography of the collar; rather both continued to be used throughout the reign of François I.

[252] Potter, A History of France, 51.

[253] Ursula Baurmeister and Marie-Pierre Lafitte, Des Livres et des rois, La bibliothèque royale de Blois, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale (1992), 228.

[254] For more on the development of this iconography and its representation in sixteenth-century tapestries, see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg's article "Les Tapisseries de François d'Angoulême," in Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français, (1973), 19-31.

[255] Desmond Seward, Prince of the Renaissance; The Life of François I, London: Constable (1973), 167.

(NII) make direct reference to Saint François -- the monarch's namesake and patron saint.

The coat-of-arms in the second bay (NI) is that of René Le Roullié, bishop of Senlis until 1559 (Fig. 54). The first and third quadrants are filled by red squares in descending order 4,3,2, and finally 1 on a gold ground while the second and fourth quadrants are blue. This differs only slightly from the coat represented in Jean Tremblot's book of heraldry from Senlis (c.f. Fig. 8). In *L'armorial senlisien*, the coat of Bishop Le Roullié, said to be found in the church of Saint-Rieul, has the same quadrants yet in reverse order.[256] The first and fourth quadrants contain three blue strips on a gold ground found in the second and third quadrant in the cathedral. By the same token, the red blocks arranged in an inverted triangle are in the opposite quadrants. Furthermore, a bishop's staff and mitre are clearly visible above the escutcheon and the inscription 'AVE LIVM MEVM DO NO' appears on a ribbon flowing around the coat-of-arms.

The Choir

While much of the choir has retained its original character, some changes were introduced in the later Middle Ages. The choir arcade and the gallery appear much as they did after their initial construction, while the clerestory is completely sixteenth century. The first bay of the choir (EII) is flanked by aisles and double bay vestibules. The hemicycle chevet is encircled by an ambulatory and five radiating chapels. While this arrangement has not been altered, additional chapels have been added to either side between the radiating chapels of the chevet and the eastern stair turrets.

As part of the revival of an early Gothic model, or simply due to the constraints of the preexisting alternating system, sexpartite vaults were reintroduced to vault the enlarged clerestory. The straight bays of the choir were not embellished by the addition of liernes and tiercerons, but given sculpted keystones. Like the heraldry embellishing the transepts, the keystones of the choir are oriented towards the nave, but unlike the high vaults of the transept which combine sculpted pendentives with painted

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[256] See Tremblot's L'armorial senlisien, 28, Fig. 29.

devises, the choir vaults are the more traditional carved and painted keystones (Fig. 55). As mentioned, the first keystone vault of bay EI, found immediately east of the central crossing, resembles the coat-of-arms of a dauphin (c.f. Fig. 55). The second vault keystone of the choir (bay EII), while largely effaced, is also a coat-of-arms (c.f. Fig. 55). This coat is divided vertically into two fields. The left, or dexter half has a dark background, and the right half appears yellow, but this may be the result of having lost its color. As stated earlier, the chiseled remains resemble the ermine and fleur-de-lis motifs and, therefore, may represent the coat-of-arms of the queen as placed between that of the dauphin and the monarch of France. The third keystone of the straight bay of the choir (EIII) features the coat-of-arms of France (c.f. Fig. 55). There are three fleur-de-lis on a blue field and the entire coat is topped by a crown and encircled by the collar of the Order of Saint Michael and its pendant. The collar is fashioned out of the knotted loops and shells characteristic of the Order during the reign of Louis XII.

The Apse

The apse is defined by six monolithic columns *circa* 4 meters in height. These columns were believed to be ancient and therefore were highly regarded during the later Middle Ages. According to the sixteenth-century author, Jehan Vaultier, François I made a special trip to Senlis to inspect these pillars.[257] The rest of the columns of the chevet were fashioned out of hard limestone from quarries once located near Senlis. Aubert adds that "le lundi 7 mars 1519, on décide de placer autour de l'autel quatre colonnes antiques qui devaient sans doute soutenir le dais."[258]

The Chapels East of the Transepts

There are two important chapels east of the transept on the southern side. The first chapel, to the right of the entrance portal, originally separated from the main aisle of the transept by a wooden balustrade,[259] was dedicated to Saint Denis. The placement of a balustrade along the western edge of the bay effectively meant that one may have been able to see into the chapel upon

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[257] Jehan Vaultier, Description de Senlis et autres choses dignes de remarque y étant et ès environ d'icelle (1598), in Adhelm Bernier (éd.) Monuments inédits de l'histoire de France, (1400-1600), Senlis, 1830., c.f. Dunlop, The Cathedrals' Crusade, 39.
[258] Aubert, Monographie, 29., c.f. Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 525 and 538.
[259] Aubert, Monographie, 95.

entering the church from the southern transept portal, but could not immediately enter. Access to the chapel was through the proceeding bay (SI EI), and an opening in the southeastern wall of the chapel allowed passage to and from the sacristy.

The chapel of Saint Denis is lit by two openings -- a window and an opening into the choir. A portal in the southwest corner, described by Aubert as Renaissance in character,[260] provides access to the eastern turret of the southern façade. Of all the chapels within the cathedral, this one has the most elaborate net vault of open tracery (Fig. 56). The structure of the vaults is reminiscent of the hanging pendentive vault of the main axial chapel in the parish church of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais in Paris (1517). The basic underlying pattern of this open tracery is that of a star-pattern vault with a central circle divided into equal sections by a cross. From the center, at the four points of the cross and along the tierceron ribs, spring additional hanging ribs support hanging pendentives. The complicated vault pattern has a number of parallels in late Gothic funerary chapels and in the Imperial church of Saint Stephen in Vienna.[261]

The Stained-Glass of Senlis Cathedral

While a large portion of the sixteenth-century stained-glass from the cathedral of Senlis is no longer extant, its significance to the rebuilding and its effect on the present viewer are clearly evident. By contrast to the small clerestory windows that characterized the twelfth-century design, the sixteenth-century clerestory is monumental in scale. There is no longer any wall area found in the upper level of the interior, as the space between the structural piers and the vaulting system are entirely filled by glass. On the exterior, the only real wall area is found in the rectangular *culées* supporting the flyers which brace the clerestory and absorb the load of the roof and vault system. The upper storey is thus flooded with light to the point that the vault of the hemicycle apse appears to float above a wall of glass. The lower levels are, by contrast, dark. This puts emphasis not only on the clerestory windows themselves, but on the greater height of the monument. In a similar fashion,

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[260] Aubert, Monographie, 95.
[261] Hans J. Böker, "Der Adlertum an St. Stephan, Architektur und Politik unter Kaiser Friedrich III," manuscript 1995.

the transept façades are dissolved into a series of glass panels. The tympanum is no longer carved in stone, but filled with glass. Likewise, lancets of varying height occupy the space below the rose, and finally while not of glass, the loggia is an open arcade which acts as a screen.

The abundance of stained-glass reflects, both interest in the luminous potential of the interior, and shows off the patrons ability to afford what often constituted the greatest expense in the construction of a cathedral. While the iconographic programs of the windows are unknown, there are some fragments and certain references to the stained-glass which have survived.[262] On the western façade, the central window was inserted in the early sixteenth century. The pointed arch window, flanked on either side by three colonettes, is subdivided by Renaissance tracery. This may correspond to the 1505 commission for windows by Jean Souldier. In 1515, Jean Souldier received the commission for the clerestory windows of the nave.[263] The metal-worker, Jean de Fécamp, was commissioned on May 29, 1517 to lay out the iron to receive the glass made by Souldier. Only two of these may still be extant, as the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* mentions only a pair of clerestory windows designed by Souldier.[264]

In 1517, a new series of windows dedicated to the life of the Virgin were commissioned by Bishop Jean Calveau for the lower level of the choir. The bishop, as noted by Jaulnay, was represented kneeling in prayer before an altar -- "un lutrin en forme d'escabeau" embellished with his coat-of-arms "deux ailes couvrant un croissant avec cette devise *protegar velamento alarum tuarum*, en lettres qui paraissent grandes et lisibles."[265] In 1534, the rose of the

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[262] The location of the bays containing extant fragments from the sixteenth century are indicated according the system developed by the Corpus Vitrearum of France and used in the series Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France (vol. I, 1978; vol. II 1981; vol. III, 1985 etc.). The lower level windows are numbered between 0 and 99. 0 is used to designate the eastern axial bay of the ground floor while successive windows are indicated so that odd numbers correspond to the north side and even ones to the south side. The windows on the next levels are numbered 100 through 199, and those found in the clerestorey (of a tripartite elevational system) are between 200 and 299.

[263] According to Aubert's Monographe, (1910), 28, Jean Souldier "reçut en 1515 une commande de verrières en verre de Lorraine pour les fenêtres haute de la nef."

[264] Les vitraux de Paris, de la région parisienne, de la Picardie, du Nord-Pas-de-Calais, CVMA, Recensement 1, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, (1978), 209.

[265] This is according to Jaulnay as cited by Aubert, Monographie, 29.

southern façade was put into place. The central rose of the north transept (bay 221), restored in 1839, contains the arms of France. When the construction reached the point where the glass was needed for the clerestory level of the transepts, the chapter resolved to use clear glass cut into lozenge shapes and surrounded by a border containing the heraldry of the king and bishop of the cathedral.[266]

The clerestory windows of the nave and transept were restored in the nineteenth century, in *circa* 1858. While the nave windows were replaced in 1915 and the windows of the transepts were removed in 1963, the stained-glass used as border glass found in bays 217 - 221, 227 - 228, 231, and 233 is dated to the first half of the sixteenth century. Within these widows, there are recognizable motifs including candelabras, flowers, salamanders and lilies alternating with the letter "F" of François I,[267] (Fig. 57). The symbols associated with François I -- the "F", salamander and fleur-de-lis -- found in the borders were of gold on brown backgrounds. This practice of having distinct borders to frame each scene revives an otherwise thirteenth-century tradition.

The Furnishings of the Interior

Refurbishment of the interior of the cathedral was not delayed until the completion of construction, but rather took place simultaneously. Following the benediction of the main altar which took place on January 10, 1519,[268] a canopy for the altar supported by four ancient columns was assembled and decorated by Jacques Charles in 1520. The colors used in the dais were the gold and azure of the coat-of-arms of France. In September of 1524, Hugues Fourré and Bertrand Bigault completed the choir stalls. The furnishing of the interior was completed with the construction of an episcopal chair by the Desprez brothers December 10, 1528.[269]

Bishop Parvy initiated a refurbishment of the cathedral's interior in 1530. At this time, he had a new episcopal throne built which carried his coat-

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[266] Müller, Senlis et ses environs, 35, note 1., and c.f. Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIV, 140.
[267] Les vitraux de Paris, 210.
[268] Afforty, Collectanea Silvanectensia, tome XXIII, 524.
[269] Aubert, Monographie, 29.

of-arms. Images of the apostles, certain martyrs and other saints were painted in the interior, and the *jubé* was refurbished.

The *Jubé*

Like the majority of cathedrals, Notre-Dame at Senlis had a *jubé* or rood screen which while no longer extant, played an important symbolic and functional role within the cathedral. The *jubé* was made of stone and wood, and spanned the eastern piers of the central crossing thus effectively closing off the choir from the nave and transept crossing. In addition to separating these two spaces, the *jubé* at Senlis served as a platform or throne for the king. According to Dunlop, "when the King attended divine services here [at Senlis] he was seated on top of the *jubé*. This placed him in the same position relative to the congregation as for a coronation at Reims."[270] A further example of the superposition of the king comes from the 1550 royal entry of François II at Rouen. For this event, "a special royal loge was constructed where the king could appear before and above his subjects to witness their presentations."[271]

As part of the refurbishment of the interior, Guillaume Parvy had the *jubé* restored. A statue of the bishop, dressed as a Jacobin and kneeling before the Virgin,[272] was placed on the *jubé* in 1530[273] and painted in 1532. The bishop's coat-of-arms along with the inscription: "Guillermus Parvi, episcopus Silvanectensis, Predicator, auro et coloribus me restauravit, anno 1532" were prominently displayed on the nave side among other inscriptions.[274] This might explain why some of the money donated by the salt tax could be split and given to Saint-Aignan at Orléans in 1537.

The Tomb of Bishop Parvy

Like the majority of the bishops of Senlis, Bishop Parvy was buried in the cathedral. The bishop's tomb was located in the sanctuary of the cathedral. A reproduction of the limestone slab of the tomb showed the bishop framed by a classical arcade (Fig. 58). The double lintel carried a classical niche

[270] Dunlop, The Cathedrals' Crusade, 41-43.
[271] Potter, A History of France, 50, note 68.
[272] Aubert, Monographie, 33.
[273] Prévost, Le diocèse de Troyes, Histoire et Documents, tome 2, 283.
[274] Aubert, Monographie, 32, note 6.

containing the bishop's coat-of-arms, and an inscription[275] was carved in the pilasters in four registers starting at the base on the left side. So while the structural elements of the cathedral are Gothic, the tomb of Guillaume Parvy along with the *jubé* and some of the tracery were classical in design. The combination of late Gothic and Renaissance form found in the cathedral of Senlis was not uncommon and ought to be seen as an intentional display of these very architectural languages in combination.

Summary

While it has been demonstrated in the proceeding paragraphs that the construction of the transepts was outwardly directed, it can be argued that the sixteenth-century rebuilding of Senlis was also inwardly directed. The interior space became an extension of the stage created by the transept façades. Emphasis was placed on the separation of the interior into specific areas; the transepts as defined by their high vaults became part of a procession, extending the idea of a royal or ecclesiastical entry. The *jubé*, likewise, became a raised gallery for the monarch while giving prominence to the eastern end of the church. The architecture, furthermore, maintained a sense of royal parade through the extensive application of royal and ecclesiastical iconography throughout the newly defined space.

On the exterior, one finds the prominent display of fleurs-de-lis in the balustrades of the lateral façades, royal symbols in the gables over the transept entrance portals and crowns centering the rose windows of each of the transept façades. In the interior, the iconography becomes even more specific. There are high vaults with iconographic details oriented towards the east and thus read from the nave, and elaborate sculptured vaults suggestive of those found in memorial chapels. At the same time, the coats-of-arms, both sculpted and painted, represent the reigning monarch and the bishops of the cathedral. In addition to specific individuals, several depictions of the Archangel Michael as part of the collar of the royal Order of Saint Michael are

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[275] According to J. Quétif and J. Echard in Scriptores ordinis prædicatorim II, Paris (1719-1721), 101: the epitaph in its registers I-IV which was recorded in 1721 reads: [I] .... dominicanus, theologus, prædicator flexanimus. [II] Neustria hunc genuit ...... Montivillarium diœcesis Rotomag. Vir virtute et patria inclytus ..... [III] Dux Christi, fidei præsidiumque suis, doctor doctorum, fautor virtutis, ovilis .... [IV] .... dictus doctor.. . obiit anno MVC XXXVI octavo die mensis decembr.

found throughout. With all of these representative details, the cathedral becomes the stage for both the real and symbolic presence of a royal and episcopal court.

Chapter 7. Emblematics. The Royal Iconology of Senlis Cathedral

Several scholars have done extensive studies on aspects of the culture, history and politics of sixteenth-century France, but these studies are rarely directly connected to the ecclesiastical building projects of the era. R.J. Knecht who specializes on the reign of François I,[276] does not treat the role the monarch played in the development of ecclesiastic architecture, nor connects investment in the rebuilding of churches with the state. This has left a lacuna in an area which is particularly important because of the advent of the Wars of Religion and the growing absolute power of the monarch of France. In his study of the French kings,[277] P.E. Schramm has shown that "to understand monarchy it is necessary to recognize the 'symbols of power' like crowns, spectres and vestments as well as 'gestures' by which rulers communicated what they thought themselves to be and what their subjects expected of them."[278] Together with this list of attributes, or accouterments, mention should be made of the immediate circle of councilors and influential members of the court as it was these individuals who, either in an effort to express fealty to the king, or to elevate their own status, helped to create and promote the image of a powerful king.

In her book, François Ier Imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française, Anne-Marie Lecoq deals with royal symbolism and art as rhetoric from the monarch's birth through the first part of his reign (1515-1525). During this time, the symbols of the prince and future monarch played an important role in fashioning an image of the king. The use of royal devices (i.e., the impresa of François I) in the pageantry of the royal entry is discussed in the article, "La Salamandre dans les entrées de François I."[279] The author does not deal in any real length with the permanent and ephemeral architecture into which these symbols are often incorporated. So the question remains, 'are the conclusions reached about the use of emblems, iconographic

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[276] His most recent publication, Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I, was published in 1994, on the 500th anniversary of the birth of François I.

[277] In 1939, Percy E. Schramm's work, Der König von Frankreich. Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 16. Jahrhundert, was published in two volumes in Weimar. The work of P.E. Schramm has also been summarized in an article by J.M. Bak entitled "Medieval Symbology of the State: Percy E. Schramm's contribution," Viator, (1973), 33-63.

[278] Potter, A History of France, 38.

[279] Anne-Marie Lecoq, "La Salamandre dans les entrées de François I," Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, III, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, (1975), 93-104.

representations and art renditions, also tenable for architecture'? What role did ecclesiastical architecture play in projecting an image of the king to not only his subjects, but also to foreign dignitaries and visitors to the realm? Answers to these questions require a clear understanding not only of the architecture and its building chronology, but of its context.

In concentrating on a period and its architectural history that has been largely ignored by architectural historians, it will be possible to understand the art historical significance of the cathedral, its relationship to past and contemporary monuments, and the increasingly political character of architectural projects during the period of its rebuilding -- essentially the reigns of Louis XII and François I. The relationship of Senlis to other major monuments, both secular and ecclesiastic, will help establish the context of its rebuilding. While it is important to note parallels between the cathedral at Senlis and the late Gothic projects at Sens, Beauvais, and Troyes to trace the employment of late Gothic architectural forms in the rebuilding of ecclesiastic monuments, this has been done by both Robert Nelson[280] and Stephen Murray.[281] Rather than repeat this process, it will be more beneficial to note some of the similarities that exist between the secular monuments built during the early sixteenth century to determine the underlying impetus for rebuilding the cathedral in the manner that it was constructed. By assuming a strict focus on ecclesiastical architecture, it is possible to miss the similar features found in contemporary secular architecture, for example emphasis on the loggia as a ritual and symbolic space. The loggia whether built as a functional or a symbolic space can be found in many of the structures built during the reign of François I.

Royal Galleries and Loggias

While typically associated with the Renaissance-style château, the loggia (covered or open) or royal gallery can be found in both secular and ecclesiastical monuments. Of the sixteenth-century royal architecture which has already been mentioned several examples have prominent galleries or

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[280] See Robert J. Nelson, "Martin Chambiges and the Development of French Flamboyant Architecture," Ph.D. diss. John Hopkins University 1973.

[281] Among the work by Stephen Murray, see "The Work of Martin Chambiges," Ph.D. diss. London University, Courtauld Institute, 1973, and Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1987.

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loggias. The *avant-corps* or principal façade of the château of Villers-Cotterêts has a deep balcony or loge. This loge is located above the entrance portal and below a bust of François I which clearly identifies the residence as that of the monarch. At Blois, François I had the north wing of the château modernized. The new façade facing the city was given two storeys of open loggias based on Bramante's design for the Vatican palace. A double storey loggia was similarly introduced as part of the transformation of the gatehouse at Fontainebleau into the *Porte Dorée*. The idea of the loggia, while imported, became an emblematic feature of sixteenth-century architecture in France.

This architectural feature can also be seen in ecclesiastical examples such as the Sainte-Chapelle, and the tower of the parish church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie (1508-1522), at Paris, and the cathedral at Senlis. A prominent two storey porch was part of the late fifteenth-century remodeling of the Sainte-Chapelle under Charles VIII. During the reign of Louis XII and François I, the tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie which was along the processional route from the royal abbey church of Saint-Denis to Notre-Dame at Paris was given balconies to dot its entire height. While the first level of the tower was complete by 1510, François I inaugurated a new building campaign in 1521 and the tower was completed in 1522. The galleries are on the eastern façade of the tower and thus face the château du Louvre (now Musée du Louvre) and the royal church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The tower is extensively decorated on all sides by tracery and has a rather prominent band articulated by large fleur-de-lis alternating with the emblematic symbol for ermine. Finally, there are two balconies and a large gallery below the band, but only one balcony above suggesting a hierarchical arrangement of space. A similar arrangement is suggested at Senlis with the inclusion of a royal symbol in the gable fronting the covered loggia of either transept façade. The placement and subject of iconographic details becomes increasingly significance throughout the Middle Ages.

From a historical perspective, while the churches and cathedrals have been described as the visual bible of the masses, the monuments are also political. Donors and their coats-of-arms appear in stained-glass windows, and heraldry is often introduced in vaults and as keystones throughout ecclesiastical monuments. The figures and symbols used in the

embellishment of religious space is, thus, not limited to biblical characters and events. While the religious iconography of a church building is tied to its function as a place of worship, it does not follow that the representation of individual donors is tied to the same function. While donors are considered models of devotion and faithful supporters of the church, the visual representation of these individuals or groups communicates to, and resonates beyond the church, and into the socio-political realm of society.

As an example of this, the architecture of Senlis displays a wealth of symbols which combine to express both ecclesiastical and royal patronage. Represented in both sculpted and painted form is the Order of Saint Michael, the salamander of François I, the imperial crown and the fleur-de-lis of France. These appear in addition to the heraldry of the cathedral's bishops and the "F" of François I.

The Order of Saint Michael

The first bay west of the hemicycle has as its keystone the coat-of-arms of France surmounted by an imperial crown and encircled by the Order of Saint Michael. The Order of Saint Michael as founded by Louis XI in 1469, was represented by proceeding monarchs in two different forms. The collar of shells separated by looped ties supporting a pendant of the archangel Michael was used by Louis XII, François I, Henri II and Anne de Montmorency. The modified version of the collar introduced by François I takes as its principle motif the knotted rope or double *cordelière*. Both types of collars are used in the representation of the Order of Saint Michael found in the cathedral at Senlis. The earlier of the two is the keystone mentioned above. The later example is the coat-of-arms of France encircled by the Order of Saint Michael with the version of the collar introduced by François I. This coat is painted in first high vault of the south transept and dates to the reign of François I.

The collar of the Order of Saint Michael can also be found on a number of other monuments. It appears as the principal motif in the gable of the portal of the church of Rumilly-les-Vaudes (1527-1549). In this example, the collar of the Order encircles a coat-of-arms surmounted by a crown. While the details of the heraldry are no longer extant, it was probably the coat-of-arms of France. Additional parallels to the portals at Senlis are the twin basket arch

portals surmounted by a glazed tympanum and flanked by statues supported on twisted columns. Finally, the portal of Rumilly-les-Vaudes has an equestrian statue perhaps similar to the one found on the southern façade of the cathedral at Senlis.

The Salamander. The Impresa of the Prince

Well before ascending to the throne, François d'Angoulême had the salamander as his device. The earliest exemplar is the medal struck by Louise de Savoie in 1504 to commemorate her son François' tenth birthday (Fig. 59). One side of this medal shows the prince in profile while the other has the salamander amidst flames with the motto 'Notrisco al buono, stingo el reo,' [I feed on the good and extinguish the bad]. According to time-honored tradition,[282] the salamander was believed to extinguish fire while also able to live in it. Once adopted as a device, the attributes of the salamander which included wisdom, sincerity and endurance were extended to its bearer. The animal became the most recognizable device of François d'Angoulême, Duke of Valois, and later king of France. This device was not newly created, but inherited from his father Charles, Count of Angoulême. It is also thought to have been used during festivities in 1461 by Jean d'Angoulême, François' grandfather.[283] After his ascendancy to the throne, the symbol appears on royal residences, and religious buildings throughout the king's domain.[284]

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[282] The belief that the salamander could survive through fire dates back to the writings of Aristotle.

[283] Knecht, Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I, 11.

[284] According to Anne-Marie Lecoq in "La Salamandre royale dans les entrées de François Ier" Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, III, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, (1975), 94: "L'animal s'est répandu par tout le royaume, et il n'est pas un château, pas une maison bourgeoise, pas une église bâtie sous le règne de ce Roi qui n'en comporte au moins un exemplaire," [The animal was used throughout the realm and there was not a château, bourgeoise residence or a church built during the reign of that king, [François I], which did not carry at least an exemplaire]. While the author makes reference to the use of the salamander on bourgeoise residences, the appearance of royal devises was restricted to royalty and prominent members of the nobility including the king's ministers of finance. The châteaux, Azay-le-Rideau (1518-1527) and Chenonceau (1513-1521), which display the devise of the king were commissioned, respectively, by Gilles Berthelot and Thomas Bohier both conseilleurs des finances. Similarly, the salamander is a sign of fealty to the king on the château at Nantouillet (1515-1535) built for Antoine Duprat, chancellor of France and first councilor of the king, and on the château at Sarcus, Oise rebuilt, 1520-1523, for Jean de Sarcus, maîtres d'hôtel, uncle of Anne de Pisseleu, Duchess of Éstampes and mistress of François I.

The salamander was an easily recognized and readily understood reference to the monarch seen in a variety of mediums. The primacy of the salamander was achieved largely through repeated employment. In architecture, devises and emblems appear on portals, gables, walls, chimneys, and staircases. While often more profuse on royal residences, this device also appears in ecclesiastic architecture. Furthermore, the profusion of royal symbols is ubiquitous regardless of the architectural vocabulary of a particular monument.

In both the royal châteaux of Chambord and Villers-Cotterêts, a number of royal devises were made the principal proponents of an iconographic scheme glorifying the monarch. The ornamentation found at Villers-Cotterêts, rebuilt and enlarged for the monarch between 1532 and 1537, includes elaborately carved composite capitals, a frieze with the coat-of-arms of France, the initial of the king and his symbol -- the salamander -- and a portrait bust located over the main entrance leading from the fore court into the central court. Chambord is laden with the devices of the monarch. Similarly, the iconography of Louis XII and François I is found throughout their respective additions to the château at Blois.

The symbols of François I also appear on the monument described as the national church of France in Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi (or Saint-Louis-des-Français), and, here, represent an excellent example of foreign propaganda. While the decision to construct a new church replacing Santa Maria de Cellis, or de Thermis was made in 1508, and plans were draw up in 1510, the project was abandoned in favor of the repair and expansion of the existing church.[285] With the advent of François I and subsequent accords between the new French monarch and Pope Leo X, the complete rebuilding of the church once again became a priority. Funds were made available and a new national church was begun in 1518 by the Rouennais architect Jean de Chenevières.[286] Although only completed in 1589, after several delays,

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[285] J. Lesellier, "Jean de Chenevières, sculpteur et architecte de l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française de Rome, tome 47, (1930), 237, note 5.

[286] For more information on the first architect of Saint-Louis-des-Français see J. Lesellier, "Jean de Chenevières, sculpteur et architecte de l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française de Rome, tome 47, (1930), 233-267; and G.

changes in the architect and by order Catherine de Medici, queen of France and Regent 1547-1563, San Luigi dei Francesi is an important example of the politicized nature of ecclesiastical architecture under François I.

Among the sculpted motifs for the church, completed by 1525, are the coats-of-arms of its patrons; the arms of François, Leo X, and of Cardinal Jules de Médici, *protecteur de la nation française à Rome*, and future Pope Clement VII. The sculptural articulation of the lower level of the façade features the salamander amongst flames inscribed in a medallion carved in travertine and placed on either side of the central portals. While both of the salamanders have crowns, they are not the same. The one on the left is surmounted by an open crown and accompanied by the motto, *'Nutrisco et extinguo'*, traditionally associated with both the salamander and François I (Fig. 60). The salamander on the right boasts an imperial crown and the motto *'Erit Christianorum lumen in igne'*, relating the religious role of the French monarch who was referred to as the *'roi très chrétien'* (Fig. 61). While reference is made to the Christianity of the king, none of the sculptures treat Christian subjects: "elles évoqueraient, plutôt, l'idée d'un culte national, puisqu'elles n'annoncent, ne glorifient que le roi de France, avec ses lis, ses exploits, ses trophées,[287] ses alliés. Semblant faites pour la décoration d'un palais ou d'un mausolée, plutôt que pour celle d'une église..."[288] As at Senlis, the iconographical program at San Luigi dei Francesi was of a more political or politicized nature and in this respect more common of the sculptural programs found in the secular monuments of this period.

In the early sixteenth century, a number of châteaux were built by members of the court. Among the highest nobility, those who served as part of the king's *privé conseil* often expressed their fealty to the monarch in the architectural decoration and forms of their residences. In the Oise region, Jean de Sarcus, uncle of the Duchess of Éstampes, mistress of François I, had an medieval château rebuilt between 1520-1523 in the form of Chambord and

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Mollat, "Jean de Thororières, architecte de Saint-Louis-des-Français," Annales de Saint-Louis-des-Français, VI (1902), 279-280.

[287] Lesellier adds in his article on Jean de Chenevières that: "Les trophées perdus aujourdhui et dont Vasari mentionne la présence dans l'une des anciennes chapelles, se rattachent évidemment à la série des sujets consacrés à la gloire de François Ier," 247, note 1.

[288] Lesellier, "Jean de Chenevières," 247.

bearing the devise of the king. Likewise, the chancellor of France and first councilor of the king, Antoine Duprat built the château at Nantouillet, 1515-1535; the groundplan of which parallels that of Chambord, and as at Sarus, Nantouillet has an open central court. These residences were embellished with the monarch's symbols.

The incorporation or inclusion of royal emblems in addition to expressing an owner(s) fealty to the king also indicate that a place is under the preserve of the king.[289] This idea of being under the protection of the monarch applies to a particular monument as well as an institution. A church or a cathedral as directed by its bishop or chapter may, likewise, pay homage to the principal patrons by according them identification on the façade or in the interior of their monument. The specific inclusion of certain emblematic details can also help in establishing the various building campaigns of a particular monument. For example, as commented on by Erlande-Brandenburg:

> une étude plus poussée encore de l'emblématique
> royale amènerait vraisemblement à la conclusion
> que la défaite de Pavie a été un tournant décisif. Le
> roi abandonne alors les souvenirs de sa jeunesse
> pour ne conserver que la salamandre et le F
> sommés de la couronne.[290]

The salamander, royal initial "F" and imperial crown constituted the "royal emblem" or *chiffre*. As at Senlis, this *chiffre* once appeared on the main entrance of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris.[291]

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[289] Roger Grand, "De la signification des initiales armes, effigies et emblèmes figurés sur les édifices civils et militaires aux XVe et XVIe siècles," dans Mémoires de la société nationale des Antiquaires de France, Recueil du cent cinquantenaire, (1954), 264.

[290] Erlande-Brandenburg cites Michel François, "Le pouvoir royal et l'introduction en France de la couronne fermée" Comptes-rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (1962), 404-413, in his article "Les tapisseries de François d'Angoulême," Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français (1973), 19-31.

[291] During the dismantling of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris in 1874, following the fire of 1871 which largely destroyed the building, it was discovered that Pierre Biart's equestrian portrait of Henri IV from 1605 concealed the arch which contained the original emblematic designs of the central doorway from François I's reign. For more on this aspect of the Hôtel de Ville, see Léopold Delisle's "Communication," BSHPF I, (1874), 34, and Cathryn Steeves, "The Hôtel de Ville of Paris: The Architecture, Urbanism and Politics of François I," Ph.D diss. Columbia University (1996), 137 and note 11.

The Imperial Crown

In the early years of his reign, the adoption of the imperial crown was directly tied to François I's ambition to rule Europe. After the election and his failed bid to become emperor, the imperial crown became a symbol of the absolute power of the sovereign over his domain. Not surprisingly, it has figured heavily in political propaganda and in architecture as an expression of the omnipotence of the king. The French monarchy was not, however, the first to adopt the closed or arched crown; the closed crown was used by many monarchs including the first kings of Bohemia and Hungary.[292] In England, the monarchs adopted the closed crown in the late fourteenth century.[293] The first monarch in France to make the imperial crown part of his dress was Charles VIII. Louis XII continued this tradition, using the closed crown during his royal entry into Paris and as part of the tomb effigy he commissioned for Charles VIII.[294]

The imperial crown motif was used more by François I than any of the previous rulers of France. Like the many royal residences built during the reign of François I, the cathedral was adorned with the symbols of the monarch. In particular, the imperial or closed crown was used above the portal of the northern transept. As suggested by its name, the imperial crown refers to the crown worn by an emperor. It differs from the more traditional open crown both in rank and in form. While the open crown consists of a band (often decorated with precious stones) and surmounted by a number of fleurons, the imperial crown has added arcs which close the crown and support either a crown, fleur-de-lis, or some kind of ornament. One interpretation sees the imperial crown as representative of the independence of the kingdom of France.

The Fleur-de-lis of France

The fleur-de-lis is perhaps one of the oldest royal symbols. It appears first on the seal of Robert the Pious (996-1031) as a small floral motif held in

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[292] For more on the use of the imperial crown, see Gaston Zeller's "Les rois de France candidats à l'émpire: essai sur l'idéologie imperiale en France," Revue Historique 173, (1934), 273-311, 497-534.

[293] Potter, A History of France, 39.

[294] Potter, A History of France, 39.

the king's right hand, and in the shields of successive rulers.[295] The fleur-de-lis was then used in the design of the shield of Prince Louis of France, later Louis IX and represented in different mediums.[296] In addition to being the flower presented to the Virgin in the annunciation, the fleur-de-lis appears at the end of the royal scepter. In this way, it was used to demonstrate sacred and secular power.[297] The use of the fleur-de-lis on royal and ecclesiastical monuments emphasized this characteristic of the motif. Potter sites the early sixteenth-century redecoration of the cathedral at Albi and the proliferation of fleur-de-lis as "stressing the legitimacy conferred by God on the temporal power and the close identification between the church and the state."[298] The fleur-de-lis as a feature in church architecture is often found in those monuments whose construction was supported by either the monarch, or his appointed officials.

Summary

The iconography of Senlis presents a complex series of references which suggests that not only the bishops, but the monarch played a specific role as the patrons of the rebuilding of the cathedral. Their symbols can be found throughout the cathedral. At the same time, the inclusion of the fleur-de-lis and the Order of Saint Michael confirm the multiple functions of the cathedral as both state monument and one that had direct affiliation with smaller and more exclusive institutions.

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[295] William M. Hinkle, The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France, 1285-1488, Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press (1991), 5.

[296] Among the extant examples, there is the Seal of Louis of France, 1211 and a depiction of the king with royal banner and shield in one of the clerestory rose windows at Chartres Cathedral, before 1223. For illustrations of these two works see Hinkle's book, The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France, 1285-1488, Southern Illinois Univ. Press 1991.

[297] Potter, A History of France, 53.

[298] Potter, A History of France, 53.

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Conclusion

Though the early Gothic cathedral has been the subject of careful monographic study, the brevity of research on later Senlis has left the monument without a clearly established connection to the political, social and economic conditions of the sixteenth century. In order to dispel the notion that the rebuilding of Senlis cathedral simply represents the late use of the Flamboyant style in ecclesiastic architecture, it has been necessary to consider the roles played by the various patrons, the condition of the building prior to its reconstruction, the chronology of construction, the contribution of various master masons and the relationship of the cathedral to contemporary architecture in and around Senlis.

It was in the king's interest to finance the reconstruction of cathedrals within the royal dioceses as these monuments reinforced his role as head of the Gallican church, the recognized 'most Christian king' or *roi très chrétien*, and by extension the monarch of the 'most Christian kingdom'. The relationship between the Church and the monarch were often mutually beneficial; cathedral chapters, bishops and nobles contributed to rebuilding campaigns as a means of attracting royal favor. Similarly, the actual construction was not the work of a single master mason, but rather of several masons. Those identified as leading the reconstruction of the cathedral of Notre-Dame are Regnault Hazard, Michel de Bray with Gilles Hazart, Pierre Chambiges and Jean Dizieult. Finally, this dissertation has considered Senlis in relation to contemporary architecture and found that the cathedral reflects the increasingly politicized nature of the rebuilding of royal ecclesiastic monuments prior to the out break of the Wars of Religion.

The cathedral, though subject to construction in the thirteenth and fifteenth century, was not completed until the sixteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the monarch played a direct role in the appointment of bishops to the episcopacy of Senlis. With the Concordat of Bologna, the king was able to place a series of loyal allies in key ecclesiastical positions. These royal appointees were instrumental in advancing the construction of the cathedral which was financed in part by a series of royal concessions. While the funds for the rebuilding of ecclesiastical monuments came from a variety of sources, at Senlis much of the building expense was paid for by taxes

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redistributed to the cathedral chapter by order of the king, and centered on the erection of new transepts. In terms of function, while the late Gothic façades address the city of Senlis as a matter of course, they also served as the stage for the entrance ceremonies of the king, royal family and reigning bishop of the city. Similarly, the symbolic or emblematic representation of the king and that of the bishops served to evoke their presence.

When seen as one of the last examples of the late Gothic rebuilding of an ecclesiastical monument, the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis plays a relatively minor role in the architectural history of France; but when presented in a more complete context, the rebuilding emerges as a dramatic example of the change in the iconography of ecclesiastical monuments.

The rebuilding of the cathedral must be seen, not only as the major rebuilding of a prominent monument, but also, as part of the redefinition of Senlis which was being achieved through the rapid, yet selective, reconstruction of the architectural fabric of the city. The architectural features of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis and, in particular, the carved tracery and sculptural decoration are testimony, not only to the high quality of the sculptors and the masons who worked on the monument, but also show off the patrons interest in, and ability to buy skilled labor. By the same token, the addition of new and larger spaces serving the monarch and the bishop, together with the introduction of more political imagery on the cathedral reestablished the royal and episcopal character of Senlis. In this respect, the architecture acted as a didactic weapon, or polemical tool. It is comparable to "works devised for public consumption, like the programmes for royal entries or fêtes and royal mottoes and coinage, symbols and devices for public buildings, [which] contained highly charges messages."[299]

To argue that the inherent iconography suggests a certain privatization of religious space[300] would be more difficult, but to recognize the importance

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[299] Potter, A History of France, 53.

[300] The notion that there was a move towards the privatization of religious space comes from Marvin Trachtenberg's article "On Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy as Model for Early Renaissance Church Architecture" in André Chastel and Jean Guillaume (eds.). L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance, (Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 28 au 31 mai 1990), Paris: Picard (1995), 9-39.

of this symbolism in the maintenance and even assertion of a hierarchy is certainly possible. The iconography of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, like the church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome recognized the respective authorities in the city, and was designed to serve as more than an ecclesiastical monument. As supported by François I, the rebuilding of the cathedral at Senlis served the political needs of a new era.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - The Bishops of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame du Senlis during the sixteenth century.

Charles de Blanchefort	(1502-1515)
Jean (Calneau) Calveau	(1516-1522)
Arthus (Artus) Fillon	(1522-1526)
Oudard Hennequin	(1526-1527)
Guillaume (Petit) Parvy	(1527-1536)
René Le Roullié	(1536-1559)

Appendix 2 - Preliminary list of documentary sources relating to the history of Notre-Dame at Senlis.

I. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

    A. Manuscrits latins.
        1. ms lat. 17045.
            a. fol. 191, 203, 255, 257, 263, 265. (Des. et relevés de monuments funeraires d'évêques).
        2. ms lat. 17049. Extraits du cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Senlis.
            a. pièces 443 - 453.
        3. ms. lat. 9975. obituaire de l'eglise de Senlis, (XIIIe siècle).

    B. Collections diverses.
        1. Collection Duchesne.
            a. tome 25 et 77. Extraits du cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Senlis.
        2. Collection dom Grenier ou de Picardie.
            a. tomes 5, 127, 158, 163, 165, 230, 233, 240-241, 244, 245, 257-258, 261-262, 306-307, 314, 325, 336. [histoire, institutions du clergé].
        3. Collection Moreau. Collection des chartes et diplomes concernant l'histoire de France (675-1718).
            a. Moreau 122, fol. 57-59.
            b. Moreau 262, fol. 109, 195.
            c. Moreau 263, fol. 83, 240.

    C. Manuscrits français.
        1. ms. fr. 5086, fol. 282. Formulaire de la chancellerie royale.
        2. ms. fr. 19822. Protocole de la chancellerie royale.

D. Département des estampes et de la photographie.
    1. Pe. 4, fol. 27.
    2. Pe. 11 a, fol. 50, 53-55, 181, 184.

II. Archives nationales, Paris.

  A. Série G. Fonds.
    1. G 611-678, Fonds de l'évêché de Senlis.
    2. G 1985-2352, Fonds du chapitre cathédral de Senlis.

  B. Série J. Acquits sur l'épargne.
    1. J 962, no. 26, 109, 121.
  C. Série P.
    1. P 725, cote 230. Lettres de réception de Jean Caluau.
    2. P 725, cote 251. Lettres de réception de Guillaume Parvy.
    3. P 1370, cote 1872. Titres de Bourbon.

  D. Série PP.
    1. PP 111, 119, fol 377.

  E. Régistre X. Mention des actes non datés.
    1. X 1517, fol. 48.
    2. X 1524, fol. 365.

III. Archives de la Commission des monuments historiques, (Bibliothèque Archives du Patrimoine), Paris.

  A. Dossiers de restaurations.
    1. 1991 (1838-1890).
    1. 1992 (1891-).

IV. Archives départementales de l'Oise, Beauvais.

  A. Compte de 1507 du chapitre de l'Église Notre-Dame, Senlis.

  B. Collections diverses.
    1. Collectanea Silvanectensia, vols. 12, Années 1740-1786.

  C. Série G.
    1. G 2024.
    2. G 2054. cote 67.
    3. G 2717, cote 22. Remittance de 1504.

V. Bibliothèque Municipale, Senlis.

A. Déclaration de 1522. [Record of the cathedral chapter's landed properties].

Appendix 3 - Value of money in the later Middle Ages.

France had several monetary systems in the Middle Ages. Listed below are the equivalent values of the *ecu d'or*, *parisis* and *tournois*.

1 écu d'or = 2 livres tournois
1 livres parisis = 1.25 livres tournois
1 livres tournois = 20 sous tournois
1 sou tournois = 12 deniers

Appendix 4 - Remittance of 1504.

Archives de l'Oise G 2717. Titres généraux. Cote 22.

Nous Martin Chambiche demorant a Beauvais Pierre Nanyer dit de Meaulx demorant a Compiegne massons jures esdites villes et Lyenin Jehan plombeur demorant a Beauvais confessent avoir eu et receu des doyen chanoines et chapitre de leglise cathedral notre dame de Senlis par les mains de venerable et discrete personne maistre Pierre Legier chanoine de ladite eglise la somme de douze livres tournois qui est pour chacun de nous quatre livres tournois qui nous a este ordonne bailler par lesdits de chappitre pour nos vaccations journees et salaires davoir vacque a faire la visitation de ladite eglise de laquelle somme de 12 lb nous quietons lesdits de chappitre ledit Legier et tous autres. Tesmoins nos seings manuels cy mis le 10 jour de juillet lan 1504. [The signature of Martin Chambiges, Pierre Nanyer and Lyenin Jehan follow.]

Note: This transcription comes from Stephen Murray, "The Work of Martin Chambiges," Ph.D. diss. London University, Courtauld Institute, (1973), 268-269, note 43.

Appendix 5 - Request for funding for the repair of Notre-Dame at Senlis made to King Louis XII in August of 1505.

Afforty XXIII, 125.

Plaise au roy, en ayant pitié et compassion de la paouvre église de Senlis qui est, passé a douze cents ans et plus, érigée, construite et réallement fondée en l'Isle de France, depuis lequel temps le divin service y a toujours été bien et deuement entretenu et continué, et laquelle par fortune et inconvénient de feu au mois de juing 1504 a été bruslée, les cloches fondues et le clocher, qui est grant, magnifique et l'un des singuliers du royaume, au moyen dudit feu tellement endommagé qu'il est en danger de tomber s'il n'y est bientost pourveu, qui seroit perte irréparable, ordonner que les Doyen et chapitre de laditte église de Senlis aient et pregnent par chacun an et jusques à tel temps qu'il plaira audit seigneur les deniers que les gens de l'église de Reims ont parcidevant prins et levé, prennent et lèvent encores de présent sur le droit de la gabelle des greniers et chambres à sel d'icelluy seigneur, et ce après que le tems et terme de laditte église de Reims sera fini et expiré; et afin que dès à présent lesdits supplians puissent faire besogner en leur ditte église pour obvier à l'inconvénient qui s'en pourroit ensuir, ordonner que iceulx supplians aient, prennent et lèvent dès à présent la moitié des dits deniers que lesdits de Reims lèvent et ont encores droit de lever et pour autant que leur don à eux sur ce fait a encores à durer, en les en remboursant d'autant par lesdits suppplians sur le don qu'il plaira audit seigneur leur faire par les années qui écheront; et en ce faisant il fera euvre charitable, attendu la pauvreté d'icelle église, qui est la plus pauvre et petitement fondée qui soit audit royaume, au moyen de quoy il seroit impossible auxdits doyen et chapitre de jamais la repparer; et aussy, en ce faisant, lesdits supplians seront tenus de plus en plus continuer le divin service et faire prières et oraisons pour ledit seigneur.

Note: This transcription comes from M. Aubert, Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis, Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis: Dufresne (1910), 196-197.

Appendix 6 - Establisment of the confraternity of Notre-Dame, *circa* 1507.

Afforty, XXIII, 466 et I, 152.

Révérant Père en Dieu Monseigneur l'évêque de Senlis, voyant la grande nécessité, desmolitions et ruines dès longtemps advenues par fortune de feu en laditte église, lesquelles par cy devant et jusques à present ont estez en partie restaurées selon la possibilité du revenu de la fabrique de laditte église, don du Roy et ausmones des gens de bien, considérant ce néantmois que de longtemps laditte église ne pourroit estre remise en son premier honneur sans plus grant ayde, laquelle chose s'elle estoit faite cedevoit à l'honneur de Dieu, de la glorieuse Dame et Vierge Marie, patrone et protectrice de la ditte ville et diocèse, après avoir conféré avec ses frères messeigneurs du chapitre de laditte église, pour l'augmentation de l'honneur de Dieu et esmouvoir à plus aimer et servir Dieu et laditte glorieuse Vierge notre ditte Mère et patronne, et pour ayder à subvenir audit œuvre, a voulu ordonner une confraternité en laditte église sous le titre et nom des principales fêtes et solennités d'icelle, c'est ascavoir la Conception, Annonciation, et Assumption d'icelle Vierge, jouxte les articles ensuivant ....

Pour auquel participer en subvenant à la repparation de laditte église et autres choses nécessaires à l'honneur d'icelle, payeront chacun frère ou sœur pour son entrée 12 deniers parisis, l'homme et femme comptés pour ung, que sont 3 blancs par an, qui est petite somme comparée aux biens inestimables dessusdits. Lesquels deniers et ausmones seront reçus par lesdits seigneurs de chapitre employés ausdits ouvrages ou autres choses nécessaires, à la discrétion desdits évêque et seigneurs.

Note: This transcription comes from M. Aubert, <u>Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis</u>, Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis: Dufresne (1910), 197.

Appendix 7 - List of the renewals of the *gabelle* issued by François I.

Appendix 7. A.
Arch. de l'Oise G 2339, Inv. du chapitre de Senlis cote 28, art. 7 p. 250, as transcribed in Catalogue des actes de François I, tome 1, p. 6, no. 35.

Paris. 9 janvier 1514.

Prorogation pour quatre ans de la remise de l'impôt sur le sel accordée au chapitre de Senlis, impôt crée par lettres de Louis XII su 26 decembre 1506.

Appendix 7. B.
Arch. de l'Oise G 2339, Inv. du chapitre de Senlis cote 28, art. 10 p. 251, as transcribed in Catalogue des actes de François I, tome 1, p. 123, no. 713.

15 août 1517. Rouen.

Nouvelle prorogation pour quatre ans de la remise de l'impôt sur le sel accordée au chapitre de Senlis.

Appendix 7. C.
BN Coll. Moreau 262, fol. 109, Arch. de l'Oise, G 2339, Inv. du chapitre de Senlis, cote 28, art. 16, p. 252, as transcribed in Catalogue des actes de François I, tome 1, p. 349, no. 1867.

21 juillet 1523. Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Mandement aux généraux conseillers des finances portant que le chapitre de Senlis a obtenu une prorogation de quatre ans à l'autorisation qui lui avait été donnée de percevoir un denier pite tournois sur chaque quintal de sel vendu dans les chambres à sel du royaume, pour achever les travaux faits à leur église, à charge de payer la moitié de 150 livres tournois à l'église de Saint-Aignan d'Orléans.

Appendix 7. D.
BN Coll. Moreau 262, fol, 195, as transcribed in Catalogue des actes de François I, tome 1, p. 467, no. 2469.

15 octobre 1526. Beaugency.

Prorogation pour quatre ans accordée au chapitre de Senlis du droit de percevoir un denier picte tournois par quintal de sel vendu dans les chambres et greniers à sel du royaume, pour continuer les réparations à faire à son

église, à la charge de donner 150 livres tournois à l'église de Saint-Aignan d'Orléans.

Appendix 7. E.
Arch. de l'Oise G 2339, Inv. du chapitre de Senlis cote 28, art. 19 p. 252, as transcribed in <u>Catalogue des actes de François I,</u> tome 1, p. 475, no. 2508.

15 décembre 1526. Beaugency.

Nouvelle prorogation pour quatre ans (voir ci-dessus, 9 janvier 1515 n.s., 15 août 1517 et 21 juillet 1523, nos 35, 713 et 1867) de la remise de l'impôt sur le sel accordée au chapitre de Senlis.

Appendix 7. F.
BN Coll. Moreau 263, fol. 83, (Provenant des arch. de l'église de Senlis, titres généraux, liasse 27, cote 22), as transcribed in <u>Catalogue des actes de François I,</u> tome 1, p. 731-732, no. 3824.

20 décembre 1530. Bois de Vincennes.

Prorogation pour six ans de l'octroi d'un denier pite tournois, à prendre sur chaque minot de sel vendu dans les greniers et chambres à sel du royaume, accordée au chapitre de Senlis, pour continuer les réparations de son église, à charge toutefois de payer 75 livres tournois à l'église de Saint-Aignan d'Orléans.

Appendix 7. G.
BN Coll. Moreau 263, fol. 240, (Provenant des arch. de l'église de Senlis, titres généraux, cote 22, art 27), as transcribed in <u>Catalogue des actes de François I,</u> tome 3, p. 278-279, no. 8806.

21 février 1536. Compiègne.

Nouvelle prorogation pour six ans du droit accordé au chapitre de Senlis de prendre, afin de terminer les réparations de l'église, un denier pite tournois sur la vente de chaque minot de sel dans les greniers à sel du royaume, à la charge toutefois de payer la moitié, c'est-à-dire 75 livres tournois, à l'église de Saint-Aignan d'Orléans.

Appendix 8 - Capitular register of 1530.

Afforty XXIV, 29-30.

Lune 18 Julii 1530. Hoc die camparuit in capitulo Reverendus in Christo pater D.D. Guillermus, miseratione divina Silv. episcopus, qui sua sponte dedit et obtulit dominis partem domus jacentis supra hostium contiguum de la Croisée, ut manifestatur et plenius videatur introïtus ecclesie juxta dictam la Croisée, dicendo quod judicio suo domini debebant se contentare de hoc.

Jovis 28 Julii 1530. Conclusum extitit quod summa sex librarum parisiensium annui redditus offeretur D. episcopo pro habendo totas stabulas domus episcopalis pro faciendo plateam de la Croisée.

Lune 26 Sept. Summa 70 libr. turonensium tradita per capitulum D. episcopo pro emendo 44 l. super domum Nicolaï Nondart ad utilitatem dicti episcopi pro ipsum recompensado de parte seu portione suorum stabulorum sue domus episcopalis per eum dominis tradita pro faciendo plateam ante hostium qui de la Croisée dictur.

Jovis 9 Februarii Anno 1530. Domini convenerunt de habendo ligno ad edificandam croiseam apto mediante summa 25 lib. turon. pro quolibet centum.

Jovis 29 Julii 1530. Visa requesta Petri Chambiche et Joannis Disieux, magistrorum lathmorum ecclesie, domini decreverunt ac concluserunt quod amodo habebunt pro quolibet mense sex viginti libras turonensium, donec ymagines porticus facte fuerint, quas quidem ymagines concluserunt fieri secondum decisionem Rev. Patris Silvanectensis episcopi, et ultra quod eisdem advansabitur summa quator viginti librarum turon. pro habendo materias et eas preparando pro operando hyema futura, una cum hoc habebunt sex viginti libras turon. pro presenti mense Julio qui elabitur die Dominica propius.

Note: This transcription comes from M. Aubert, <u>Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis</u>, Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis: Dufresne (1910), 198.

Appendix 9 - *Lettres patentes* between Bishop Guillaume Parvy and the chapter of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis, 1531.

Archives de l'Oise G 2054.
Copie: Afforty XXIV, 88. (Arch. de l'église de Senlis. Titres généraux, cote 67, no 1, art 25).

A tous ceux qui ces présentes lettres verront Jehan Dolé, procureur et conseiller au bailliage de Senlis, et François Desprez, notaire et tabellion du roi nostre sire .. salut .. et font par ces présentes l'une à l'autre les donations, eschanges, permutations, cessions, transports et promesses qui s'ensuivent: c'est asscavoir le dit révérend, en obtempérant à la prière et requête à lui faite par lesdits de chapitre pour l'honneur, décoration et augmentation de leurdite église, iceluy révérend leur avoir et a dès deux ans ou environ ceddé, transporté et délaissé, et encore par ces présantes cedde, transporte et délaisse perpétuellement et par toujours une portion d'un corps d'hostel servant de greniers et estables à chevaux estans du pourpris de l'hostel épiscopal dudit Senlis, contenant icelle portion de 30 pieds ou environ en longueur, et en largeur vingt et un pieds ou environ, près, contigue et devant la croisée qui de présent se fait et construit de neuf du costé dudit hostel épiscopal en laditte église, et en laquelle portion cy dessus touchée y avoit et a un puits qui souloit servir audit hostel épiscopal, et tenant icelle portion d'un costé à la place ou parvis de laditte église, d'autre costé à un autre corps d'hostel et maison, estables et greniers que iceulx de chapitre ont à leurs despens fait bastir et construire de nouveau en la cour dudit hostel épiscopal, ainsi qu'il sera dit cy après, d'un bout au portail de laditte croisée, et d'autre à la reste desdittes estables et greniers d'icelluy hostel épiscopal, pour laditte portion et lieu cy dessus transportez et déclarez servir doresnavant pour aller, entrer et issir en laditte église par ledit portail d'icelle croisée, et ledit puits demeure en commun à laditte place sans pour raison de ce en payer lesdits de chapitre ne estre tenus d'aucune charge ou redevance envers ledit révérend ne ses successeurs, et sauf audit révérand et à sesdits successeurs, leurs gens et serviteurs, leurs entrée et issue sur laditte place par l'huisserie jettant dudit hostel et lieu épiscopal sur icelle place, laquelle huisserie demeurera en l'estat qu'elle est tant pour aller par icelle en laditte place, que audit puits et ailleurs où bon leur semblera; et lesdits Dean, chanoines et chapitre de laditte église, pour récompense et en reconnaissance de ce, avoir semblablement donné, cédé, transporté, et par ces présentes donnent, cèdent et transportent et délaissent dès maintenaint ... 44 sols parisis et surcens ...; et si oultre ont iceulx de chapitre en récompense encore de laditte place fait faire, construire, bastir et ediffier de neuf à leurs propres cousts et despens au autre corps d'hostel de 4 travées de long à 2 étages de haut, couvert de thuilles, prochain ou assez près du revestiaire de laditte église et tenant, comme dit est, à laditte portion bailée, transportée et déclarée cy dessus, servant de présent icelluy corps d'hostel neuf audit seigneur évesque de greniers, chambres haultes et estables, et avec ce fait faire, percer et maçonner par lesdits chapitre, aussy à leurs

propres cousts et despens, un puits et une cave au jardin basses court de derrière dudit hostel épiscopal, pour doresnavant icelluy puits servir en icelluy hostel es autres affaires dudit seigneur evesque et sesdits successeurs, et dont et desquels puits et corps d'hostel de neuf cy dessus derniers décl.... Ce fut fait et passé audit Senlis l'an 1531, le jeudi seizième jour de Novembre.

Note: This transcription comes from M. Aubert, Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis, Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des Chartres, Senlis: Dufresne (1910), 198-199.
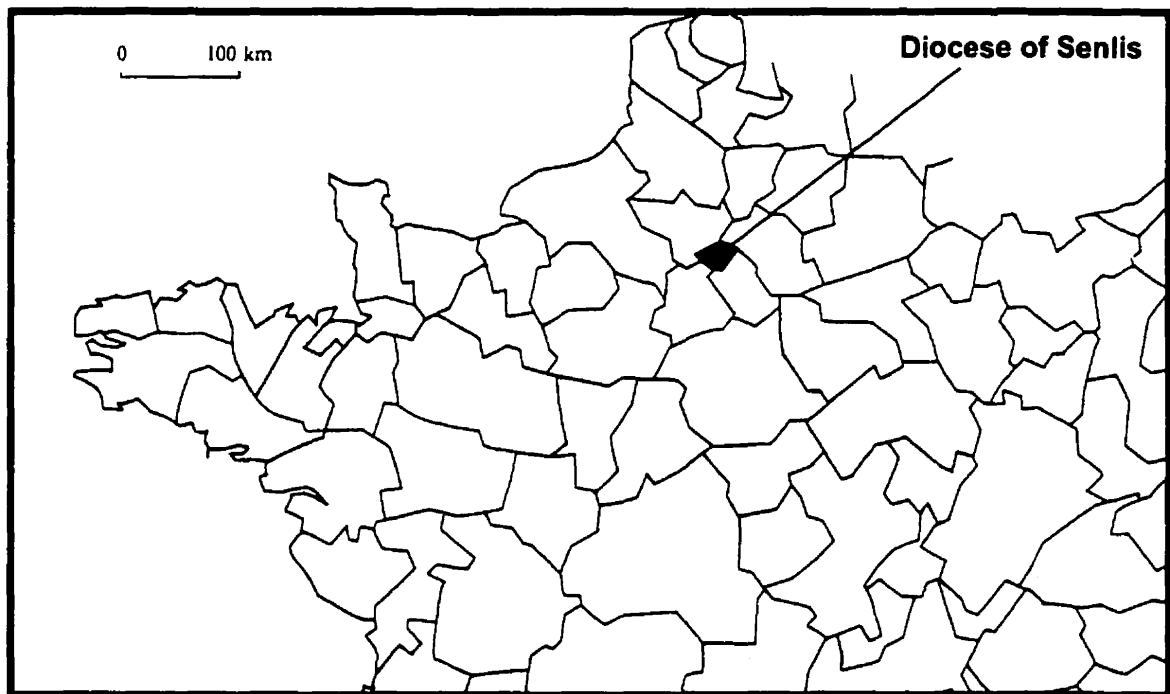
Fig. 1   The relative sizes of the northern dioceses of medieval France.
[D. Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle,
Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 13, Fig. 6.]
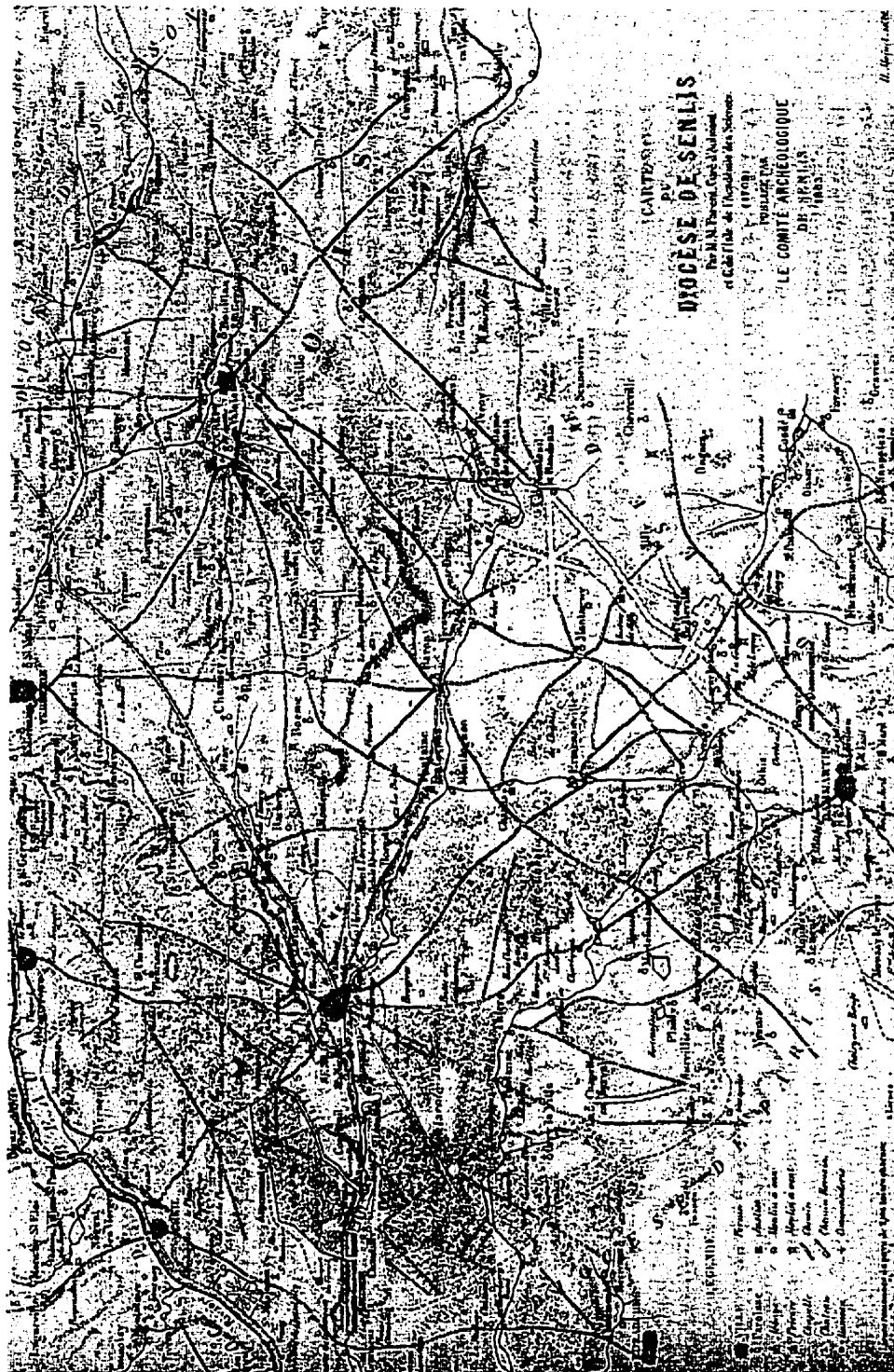
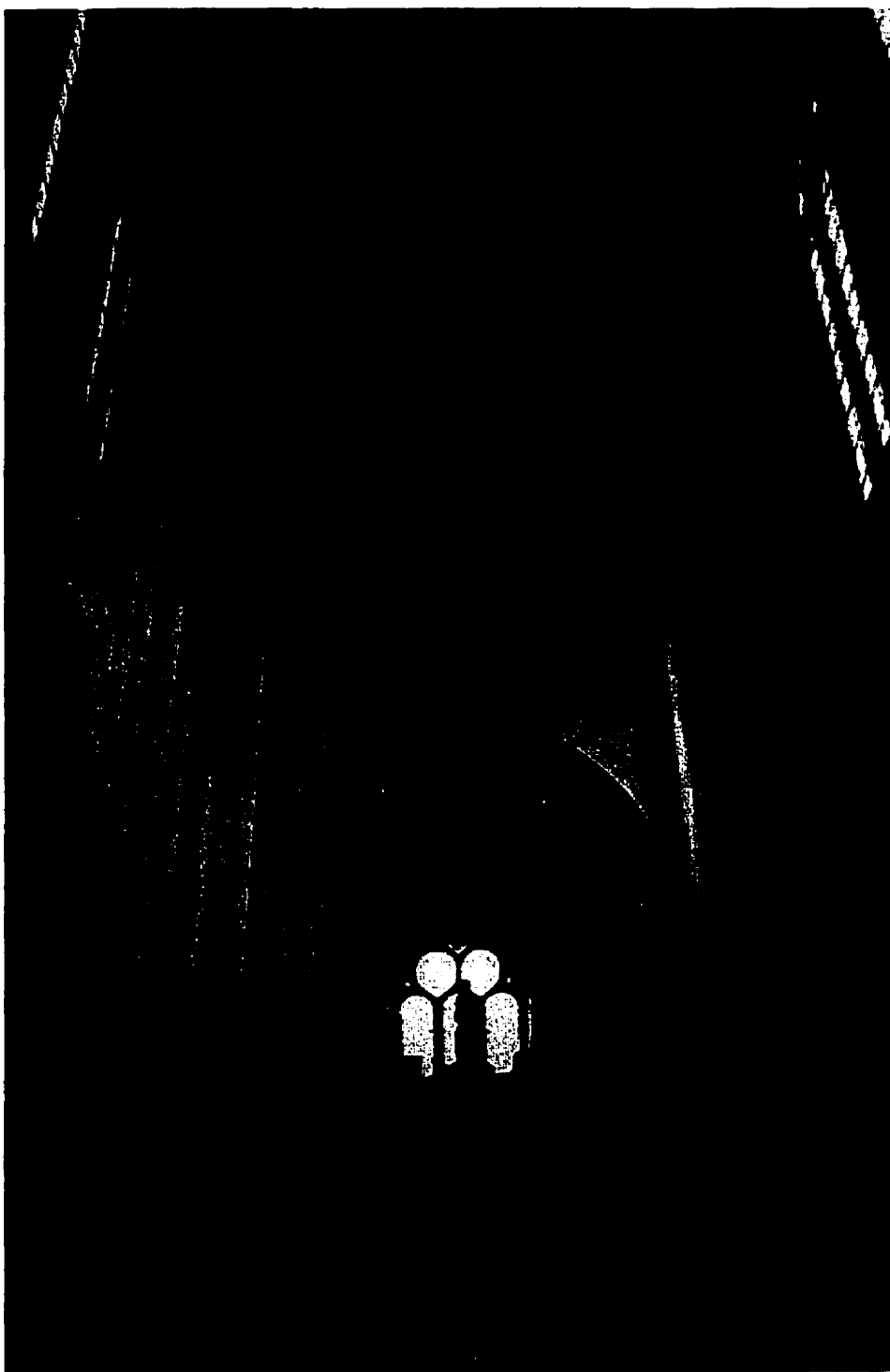Fig. 2   Map of the ancient diocese of Senlis.
[D. Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle,
Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 13, Fig. 5.]

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Fig. 3   Engraving by Geoffroy Tory of François I listening to the
           translation of the Antiquities of Diodorus Siculus by Antoine
           Macault.
           [J. Giono, Le Désastre de Pavie, Paris: Gallimard (1963), Fig. 7.]

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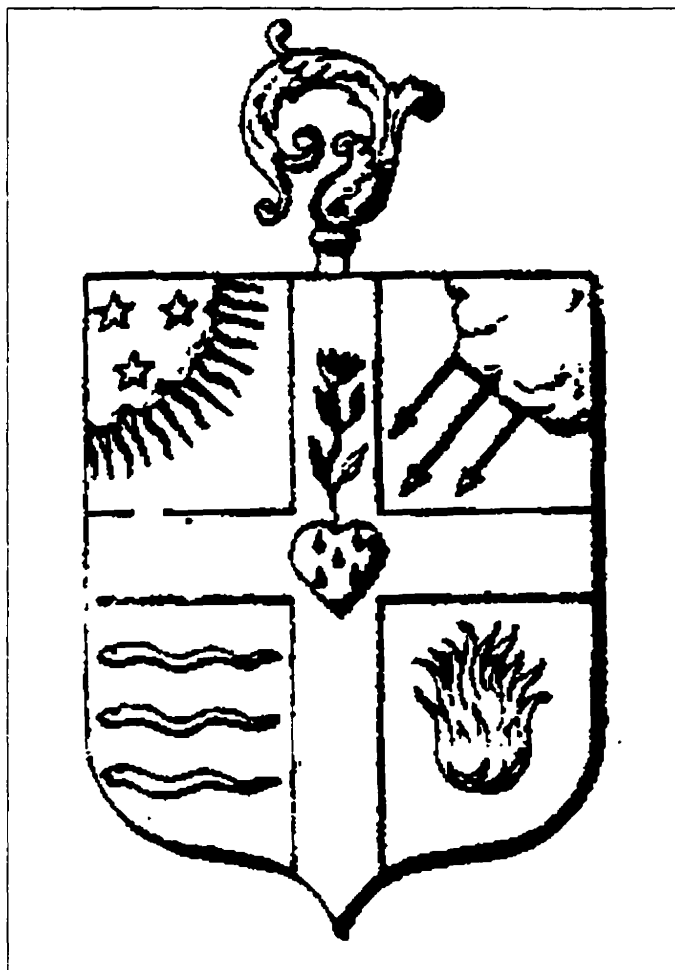
Fig. 4   Coat-of-arms of Bishop Guillaume Parvy, 1527-1536.
[J. Tremblot, L'armorial senlisien de Charles Afforty, Beauvaisis
et Valois 2, (1941), 81.]

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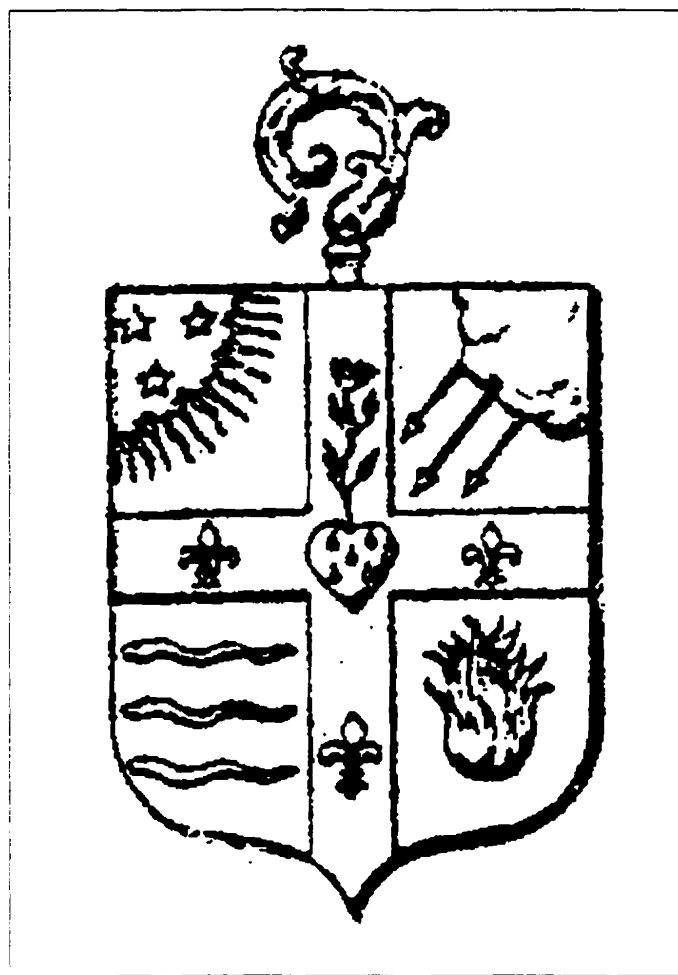
Fig. 5   Coat-of-arms of Bishop Guillaume Parvy, 1527-1536.
              [J. Tremblot, L'armorial senlisien de Charles Afforty, Beauvaisis
              et Valois 2, (1941), 206.]

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Fig. 6   Coat-of-arms of Bishop Guillaume Parvy by Geoffroy Tory (1531).
           [J. Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," BHR, (1941),
           24, Fig. 7.]

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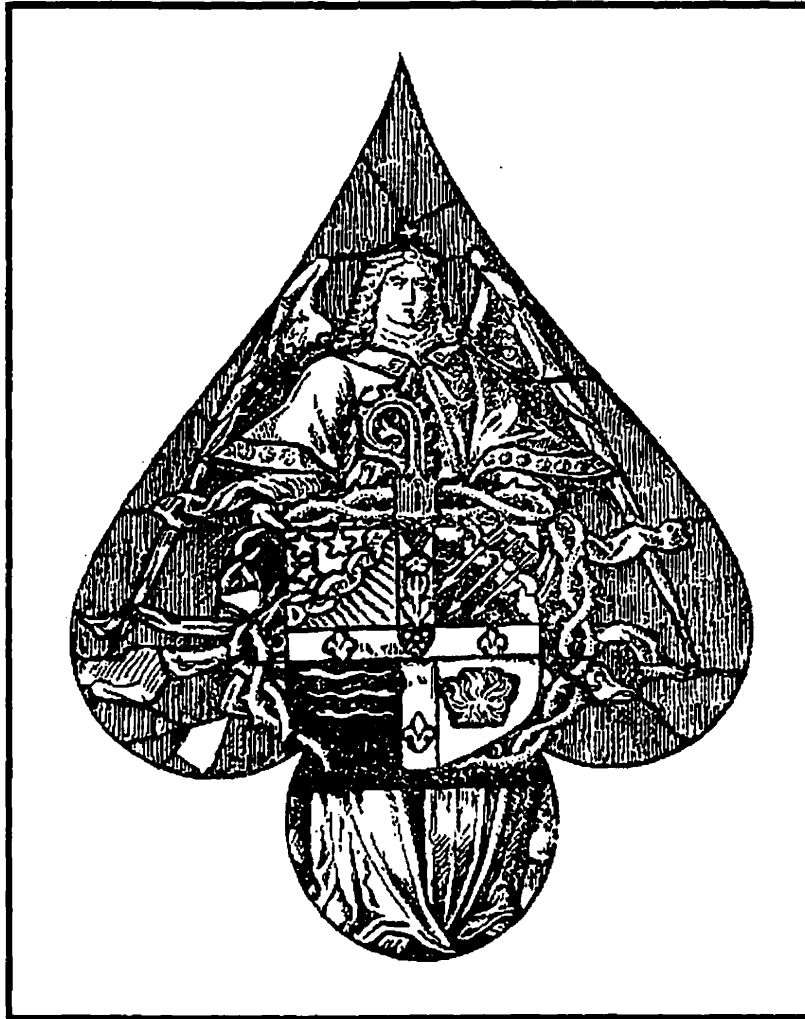
Fig. 7   Stained-glass from the Chapel des Fonts at Troyes Cathedral.
[J. Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," <u>BHR</u>, (1941),
12, Fig. 3.]
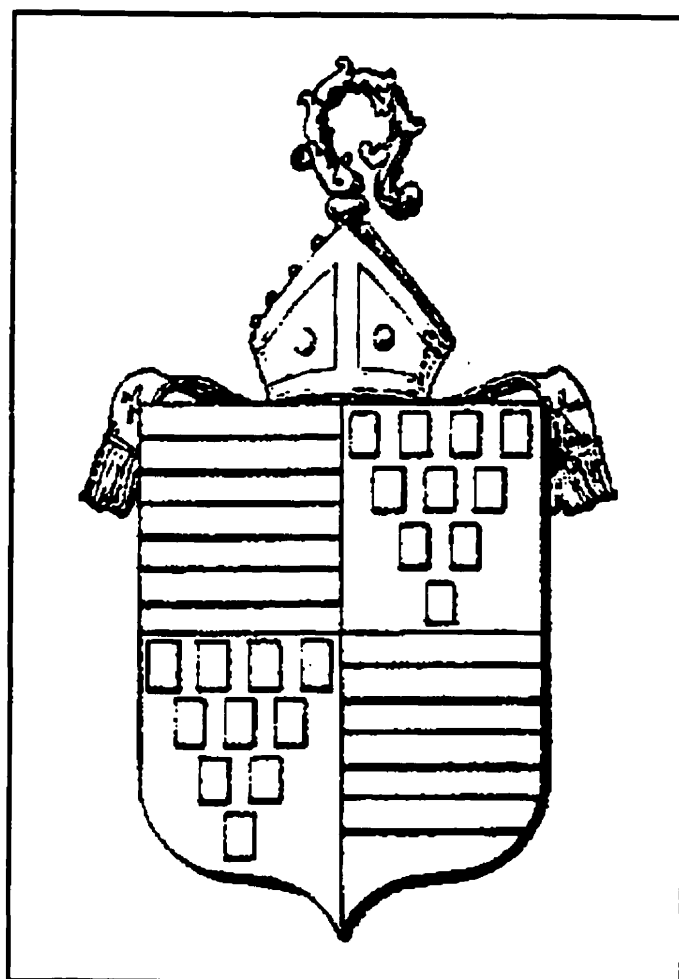
Fig. 8   Coat-of-arms of Bishop René Le Roullié, 1536-1559.
              [J. Tremblot, L'armorial senlisien de Charles Afforty, Beauvaisis
              et Valois 2, (1941), 28.]
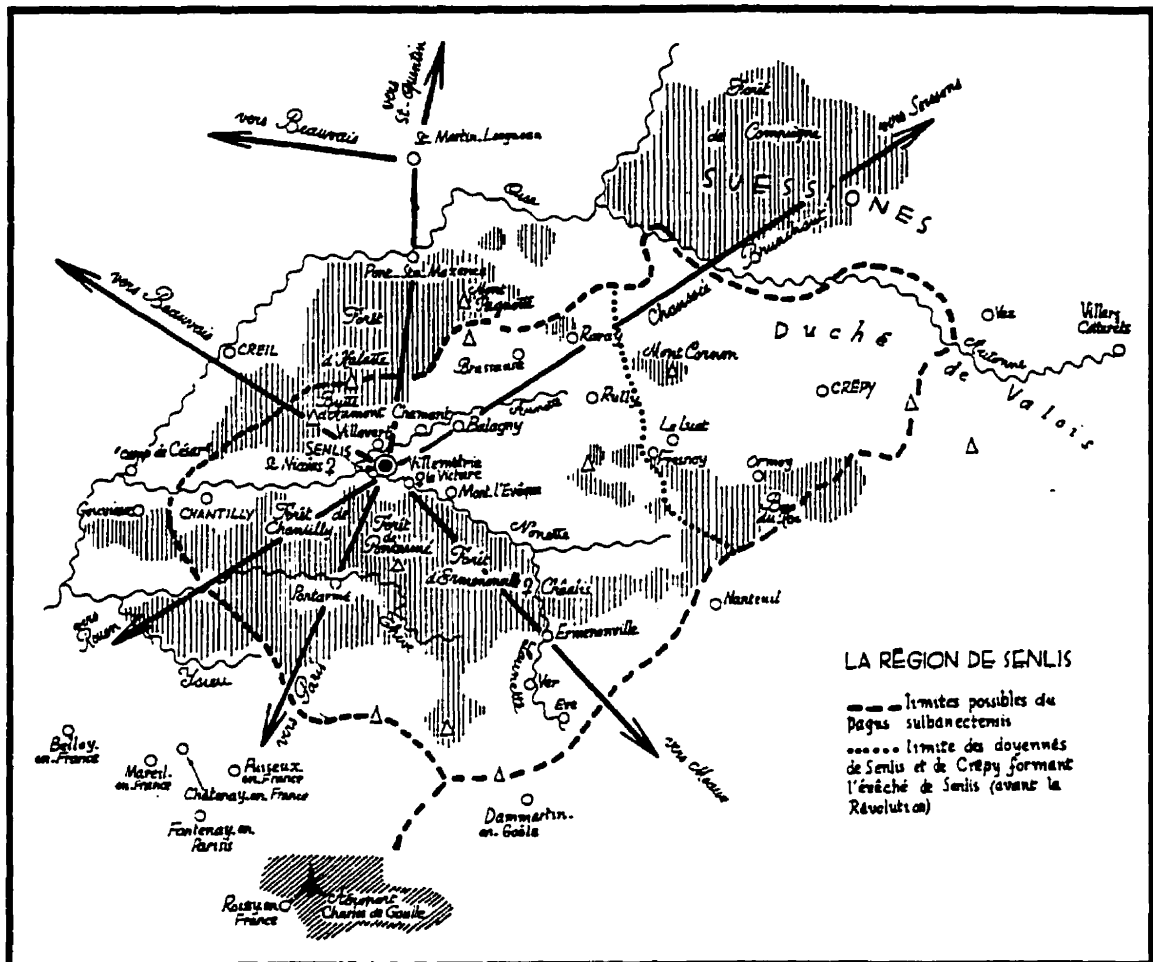
Fig. 9   The Region of Senlis.
             [J. Fontaine and A. Fontaine, Senlis, berceau de la France, Les
             Travaux des mois 30, Zodiaque (1985), Fig. 1.]
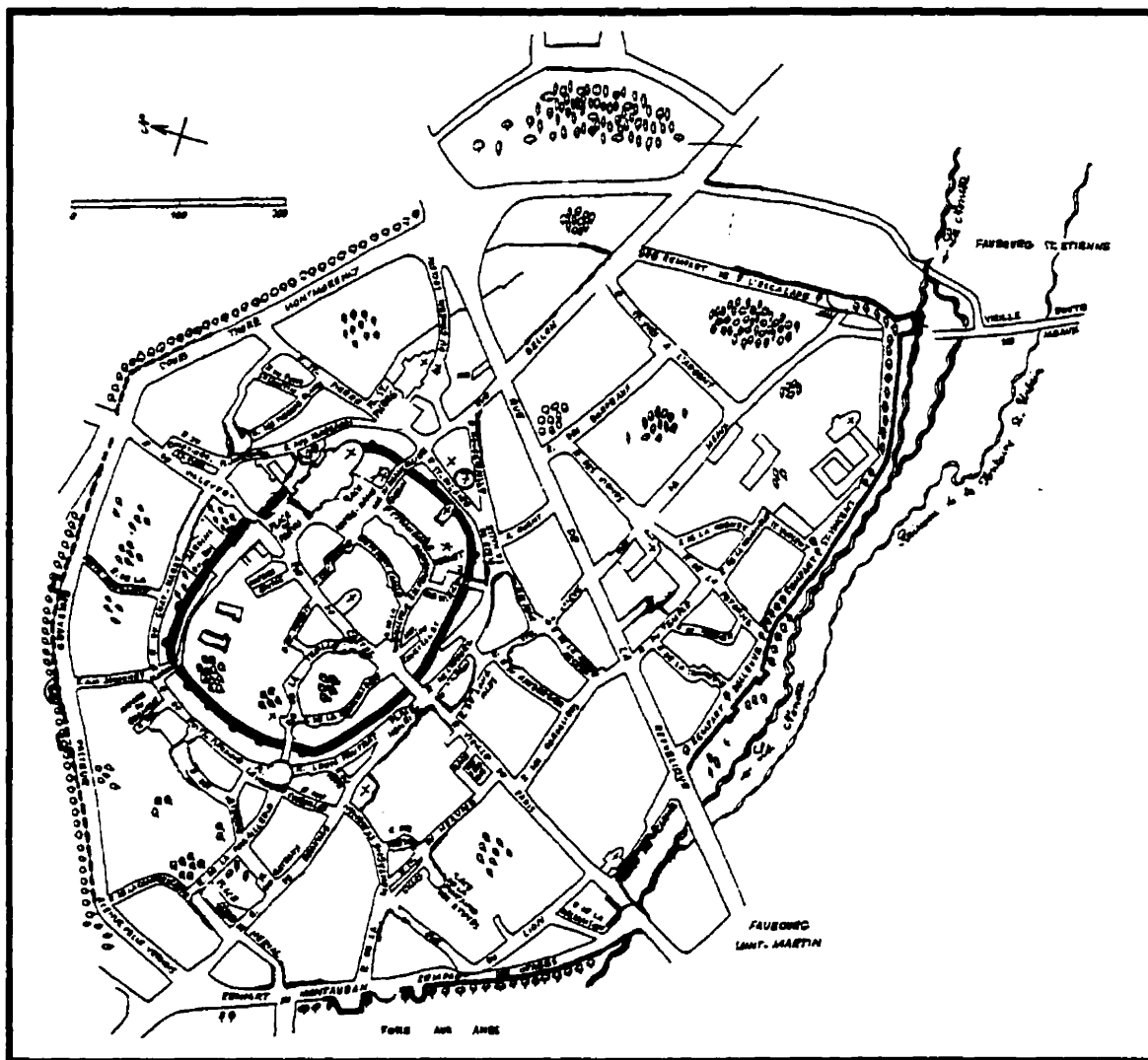
Fig. 10   The City of Senlis.
              [J. Fontaine and A. Fontaine, Senlis, berceau de la France, Les
              Travaux des mois 30, Zodiaque (1985), n.p.]

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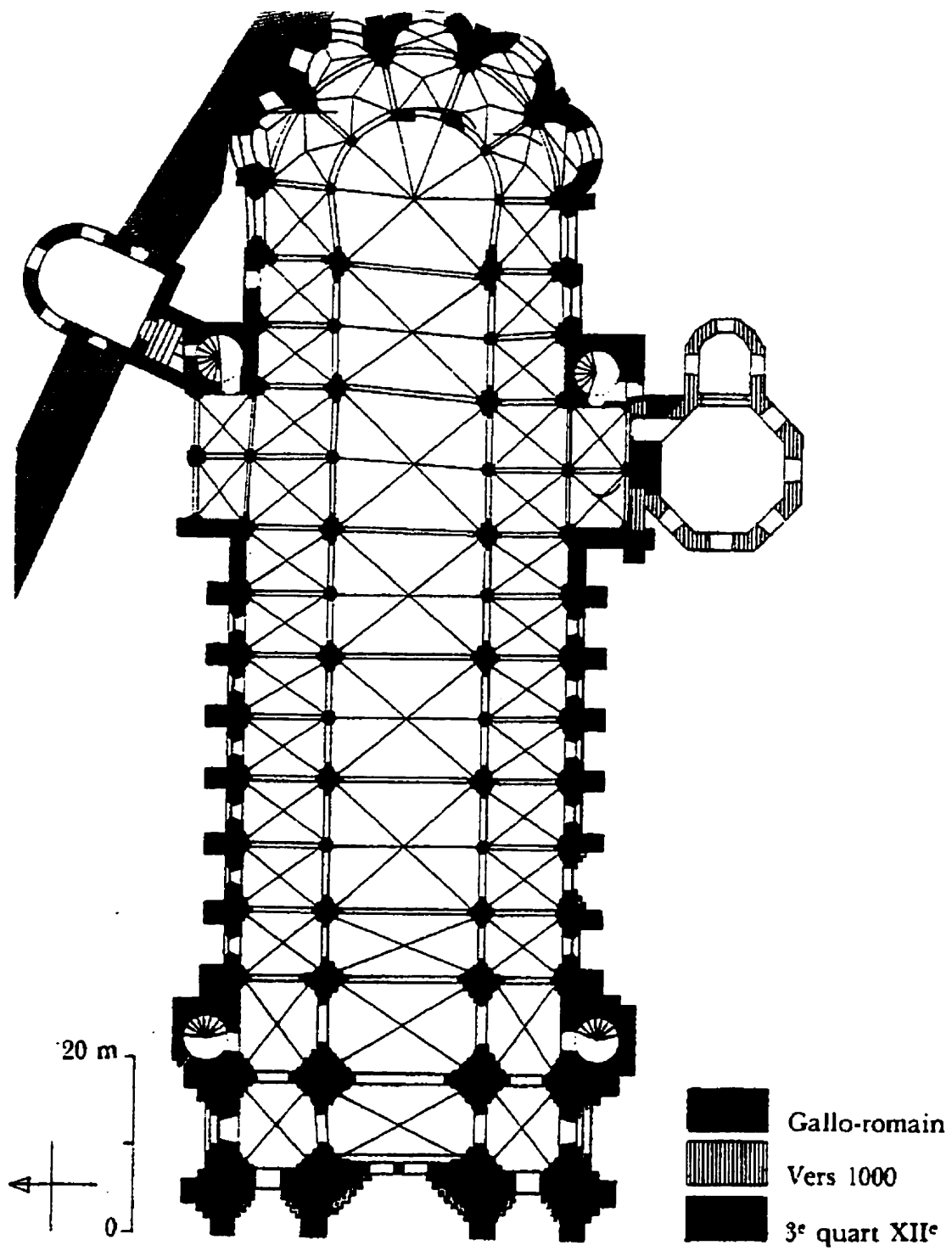
Fig. 11   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Plan of the twelfth-century cathedral.
[D. Vermand, <u>La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle</u>,
Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 16, Fig. 8.]
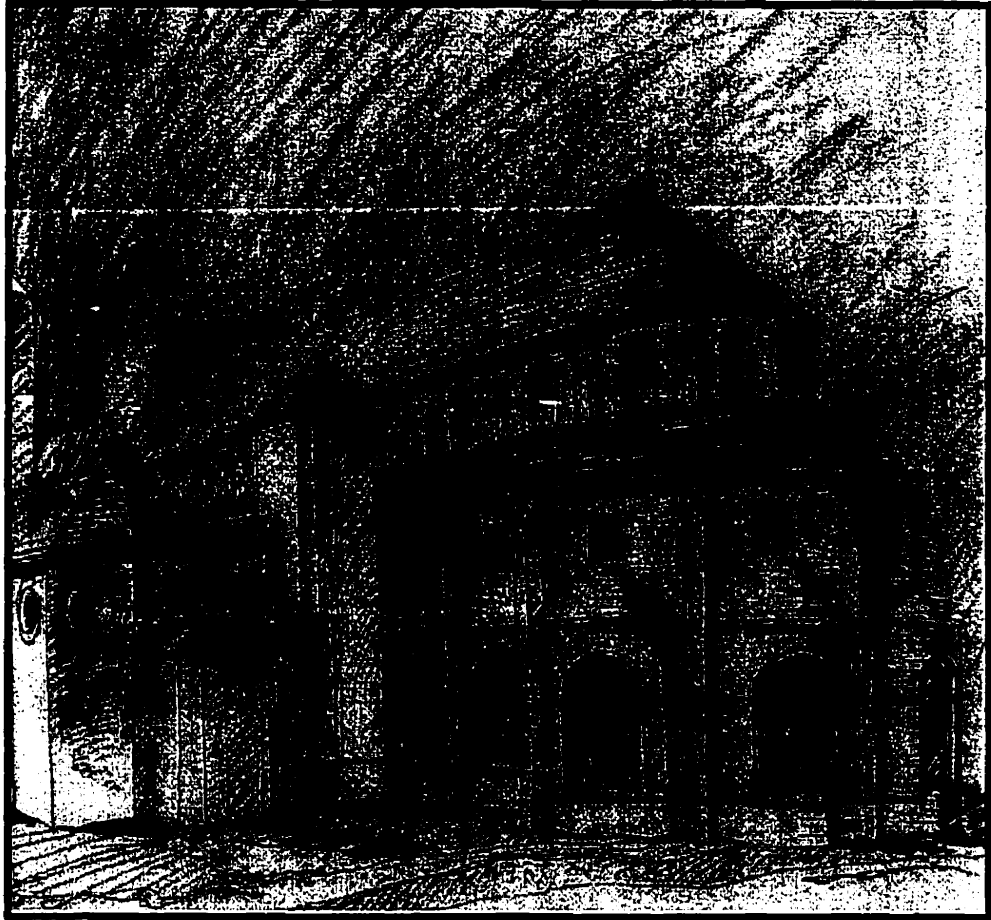
Fig. 12   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Rendering of the twelfth-century cathedral.
               [D. Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 63, Fig. 48b]

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Fig. 13   Notre-Dame at Senlis. General view of the nave. Bays WII, WIII, WIV.
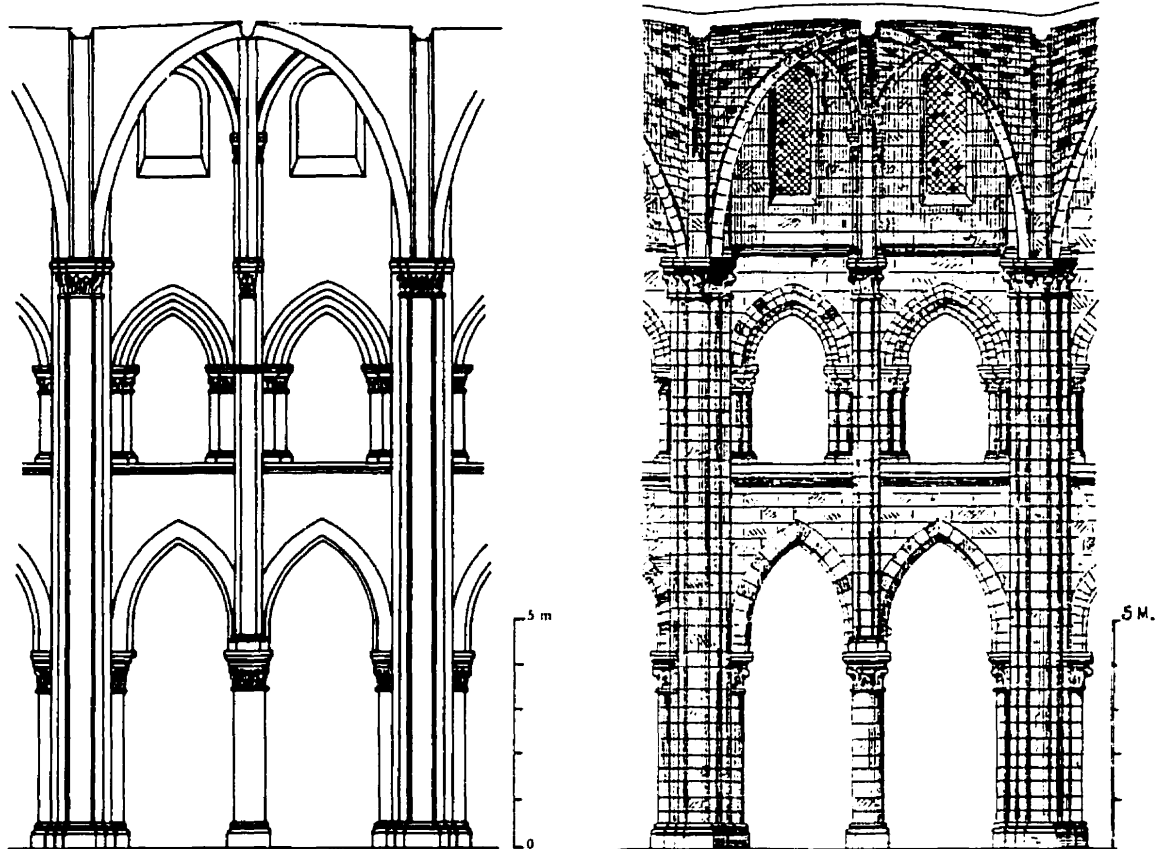
Fig. 14   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Comparison of the twelfth-century
             elevations drawn by D. Vermand (left) and M. Aubert (right).
             [D. Vermand, La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle,
             Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 54, Figs. 36a
             and 37b.]

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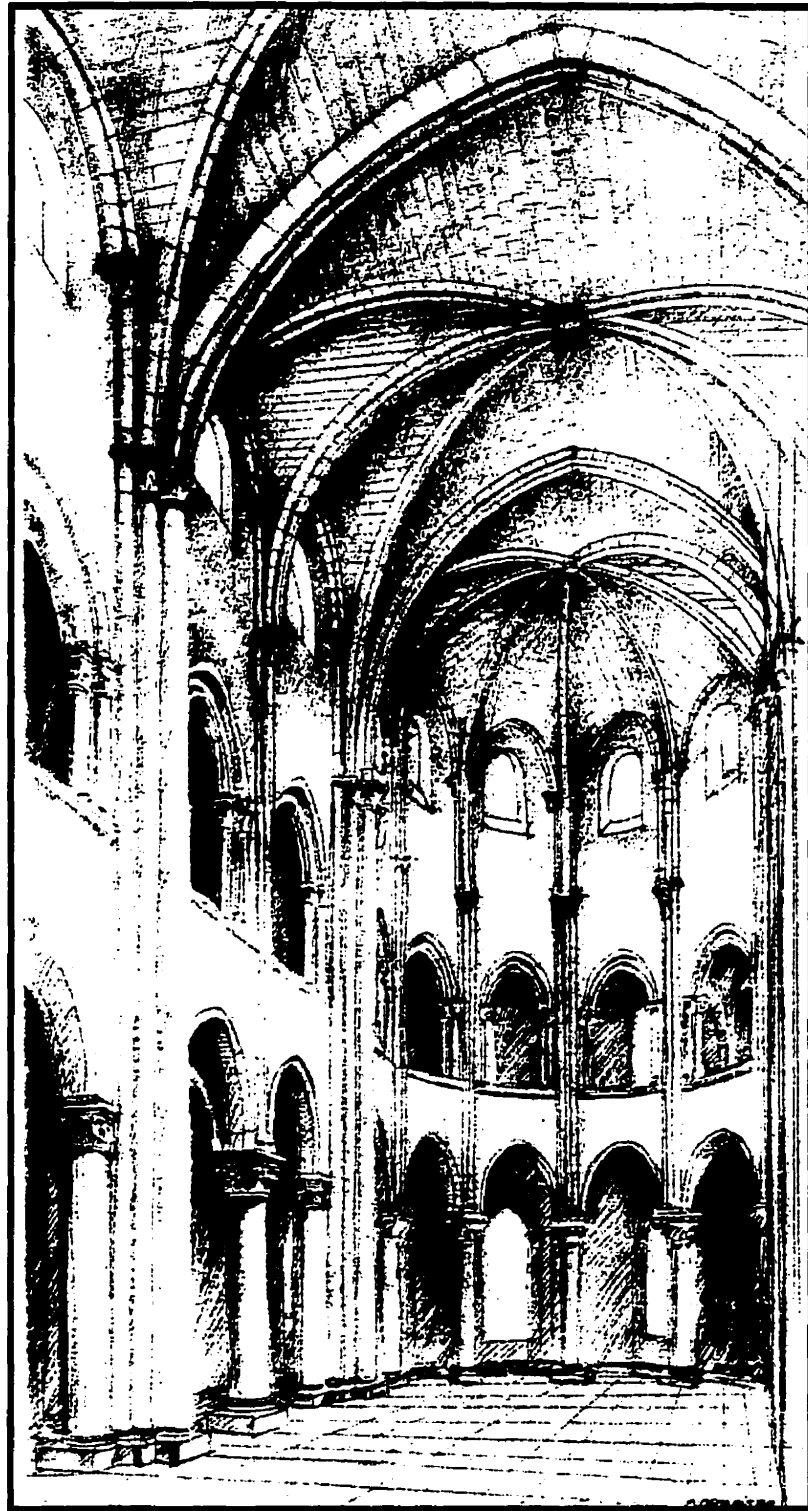
Fig. 15   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Rendering of the twelfth-century choir by Bruno Decaris, *Architecte en Chef des Monuments historiques*. [D. Vermand, <u>La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Senlis au XIIe siècle,</u> Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1987), 55, Fig. 37a.]
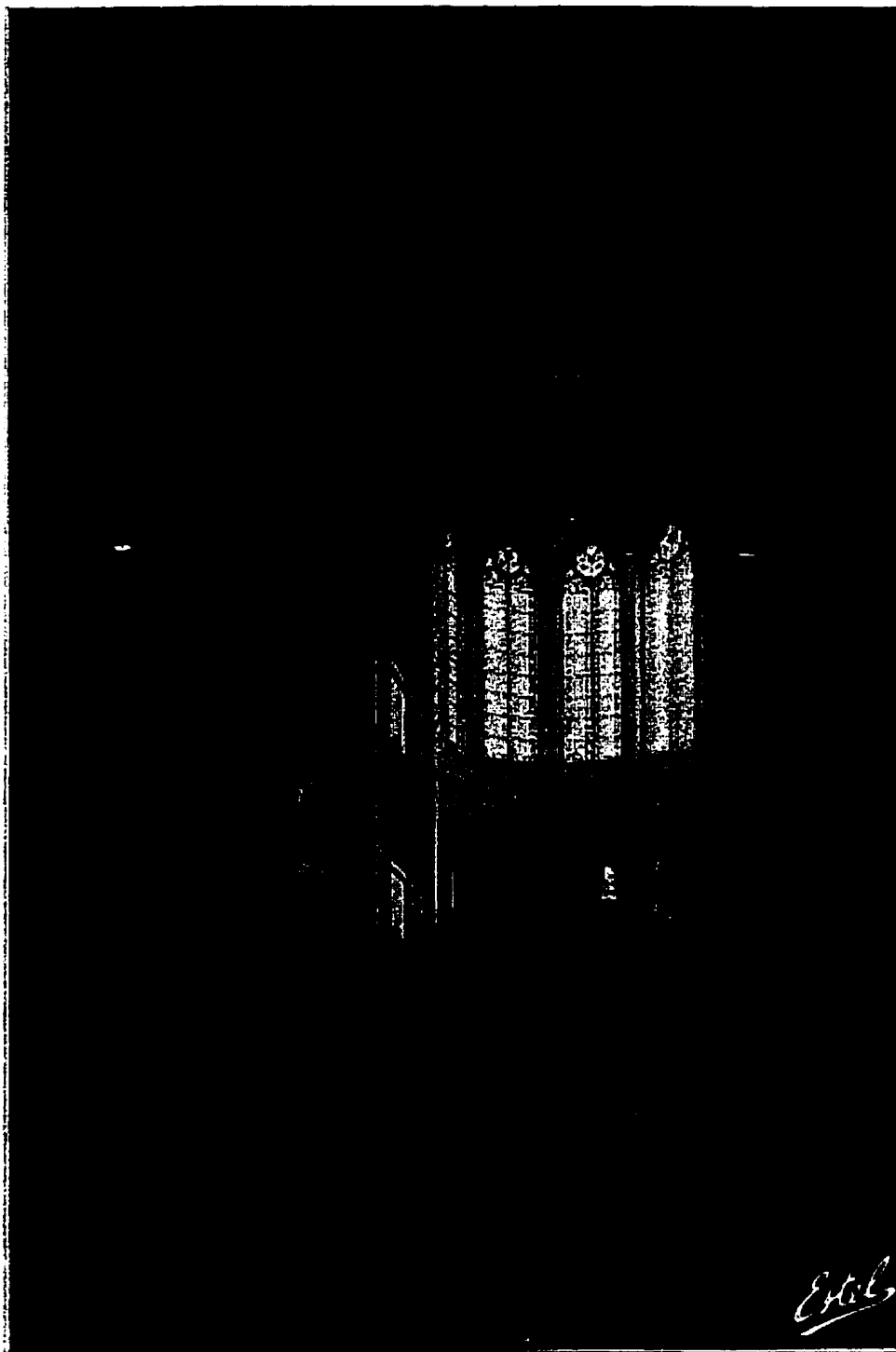
Fig. 16   Notre-Dame at Senlis. General view of the choir.
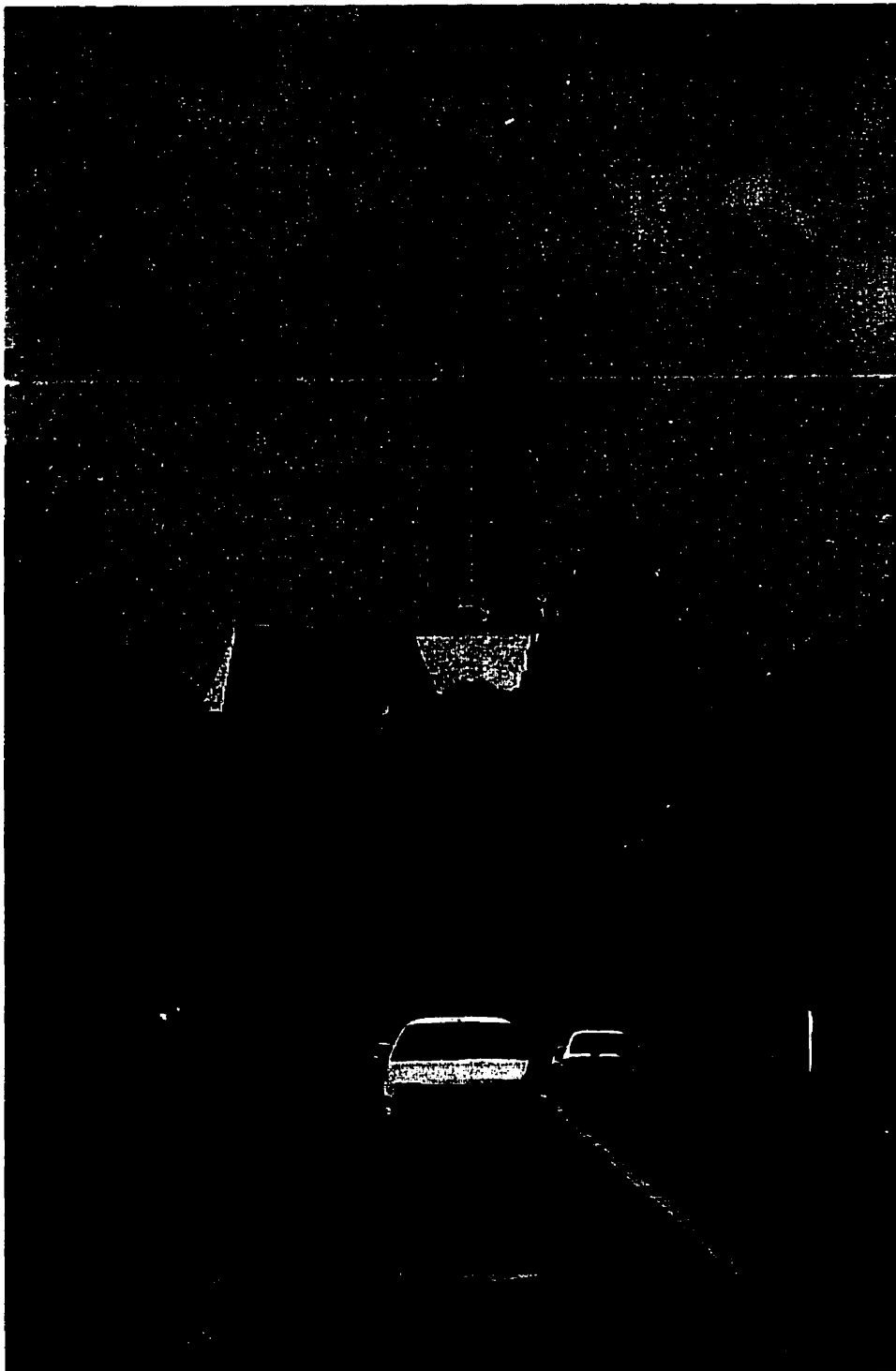
Fig. 17   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Distant view.
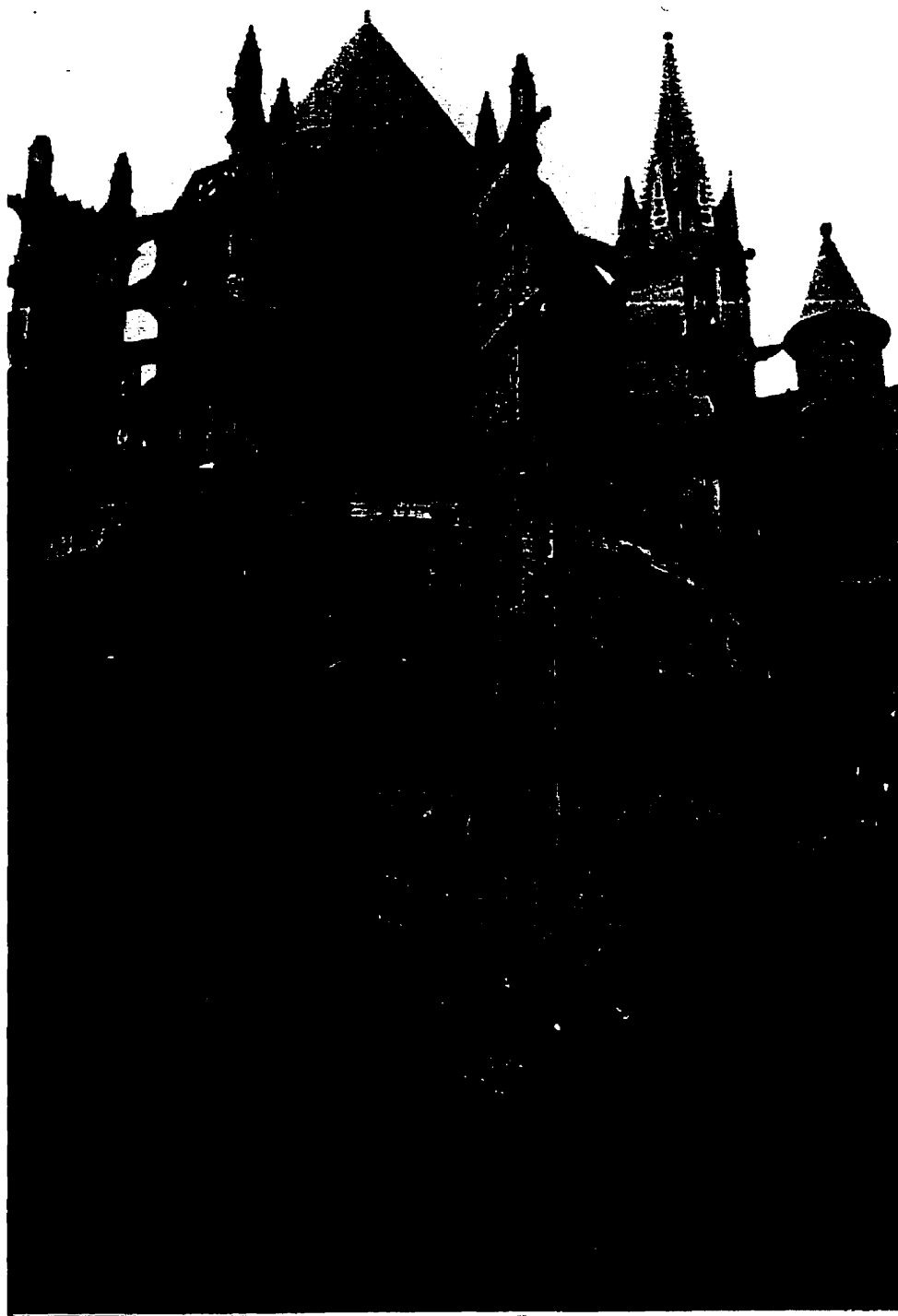
Fig. 18   Notre-Dame at Senlis. East end.
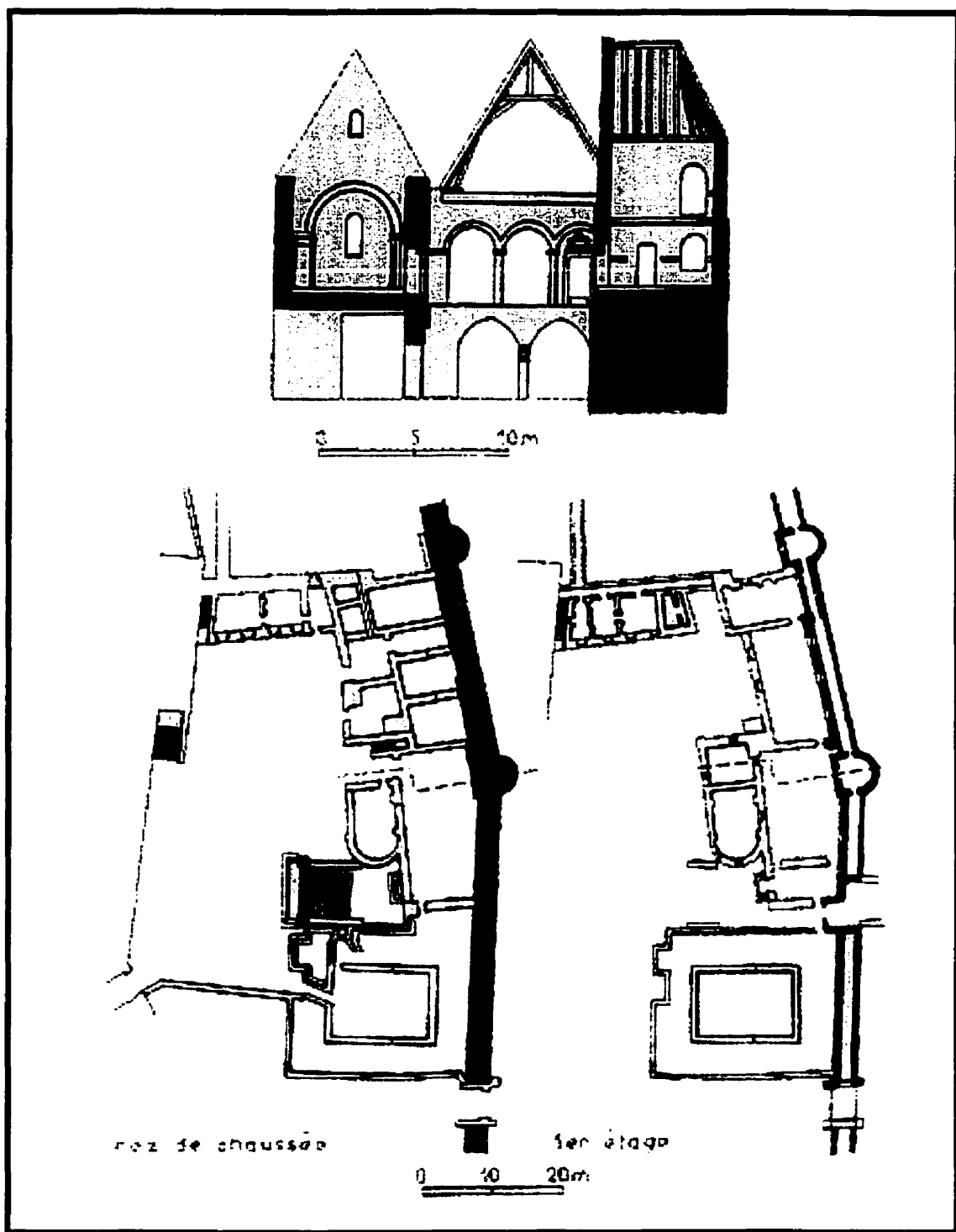
Fig. 19   Cross-section and plan of the royal château at Senlis.
[C.-L. Salch, L'atlas des villes et villages fortifies en France, Strasbourg: Pubitotal (1978), 171.]

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Ancienne Place Notre Dame

Cathedrale Notre-Dame

Ancien Eveche

Puits

Place
du Puits
Notre-Dame

Chapelle

Rue Notre-Dame ou des Tribunaux

Les parties hachurees representent
les batiments demolis et les espaces
incorpores a la voie publique
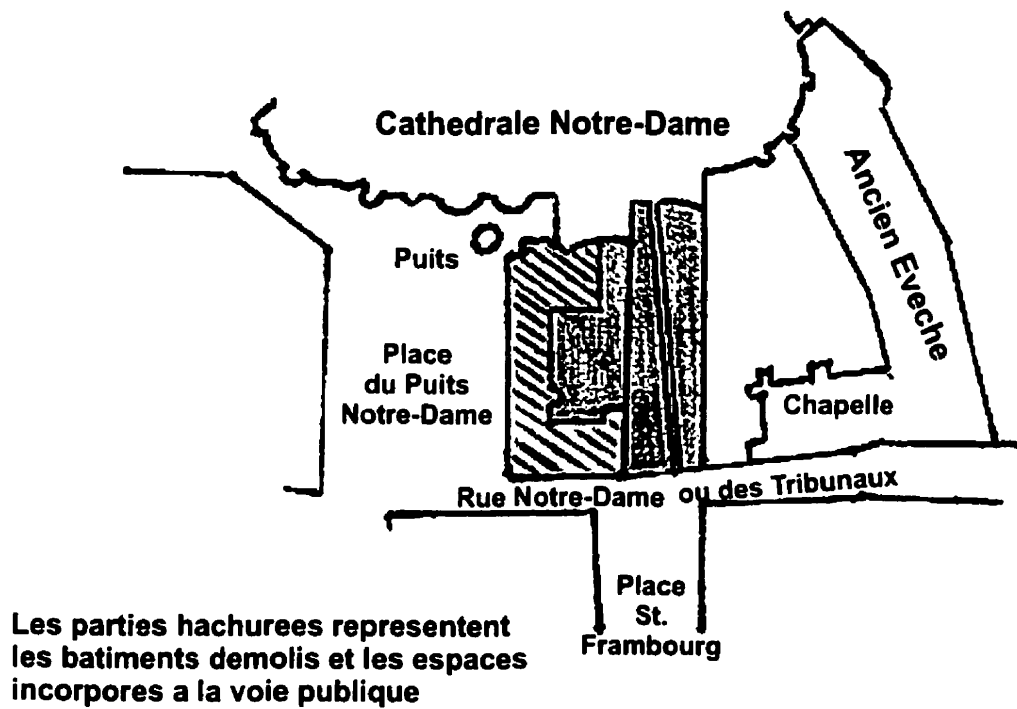
Place
St.
Frambourg

Fig. 20   Place Notre-Dame before destruction of part of the Episcopal
Palace.
[Felix Louat. Historie de la ville de Senlis, Senlis: Imprimeries
Réunie de Senlis (1944), 126.]

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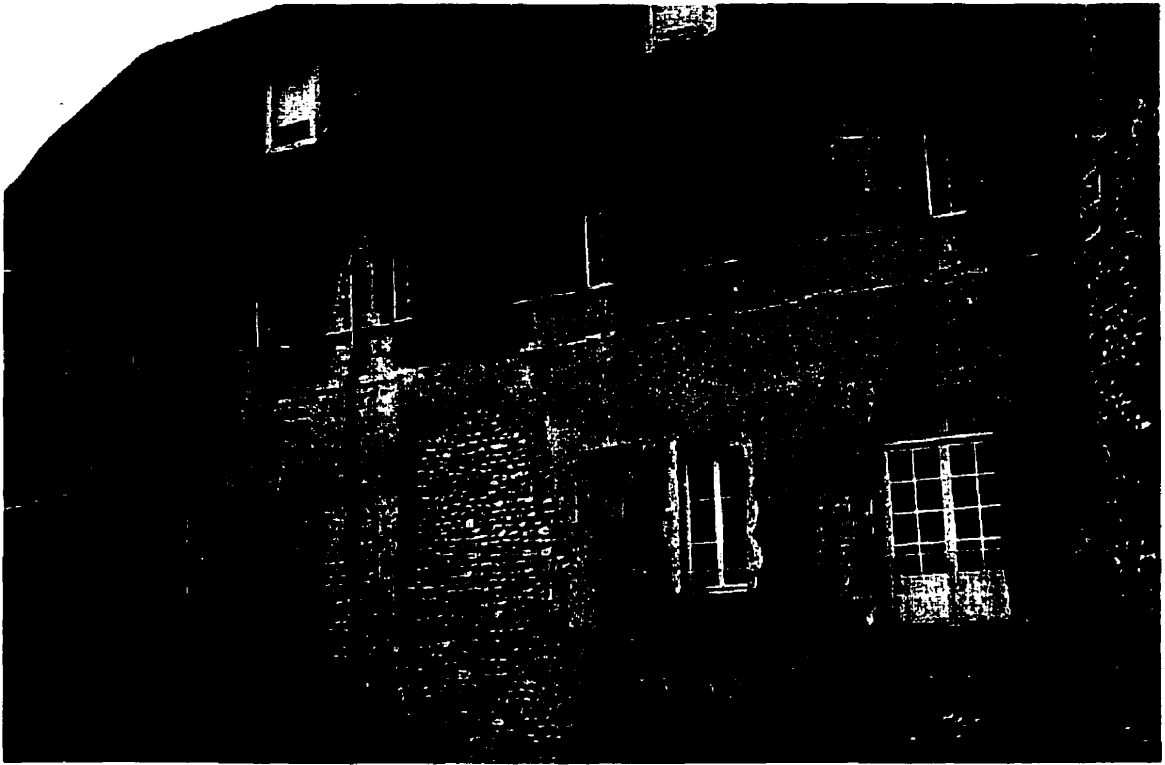
Fig. 21   Episcopal Palace (Bishop's residence), Senlis. North façade.

Fig. 22   Hôtel de Vermandois, Senlis.

Fig. 23   Saint-Pierre at Senlis.
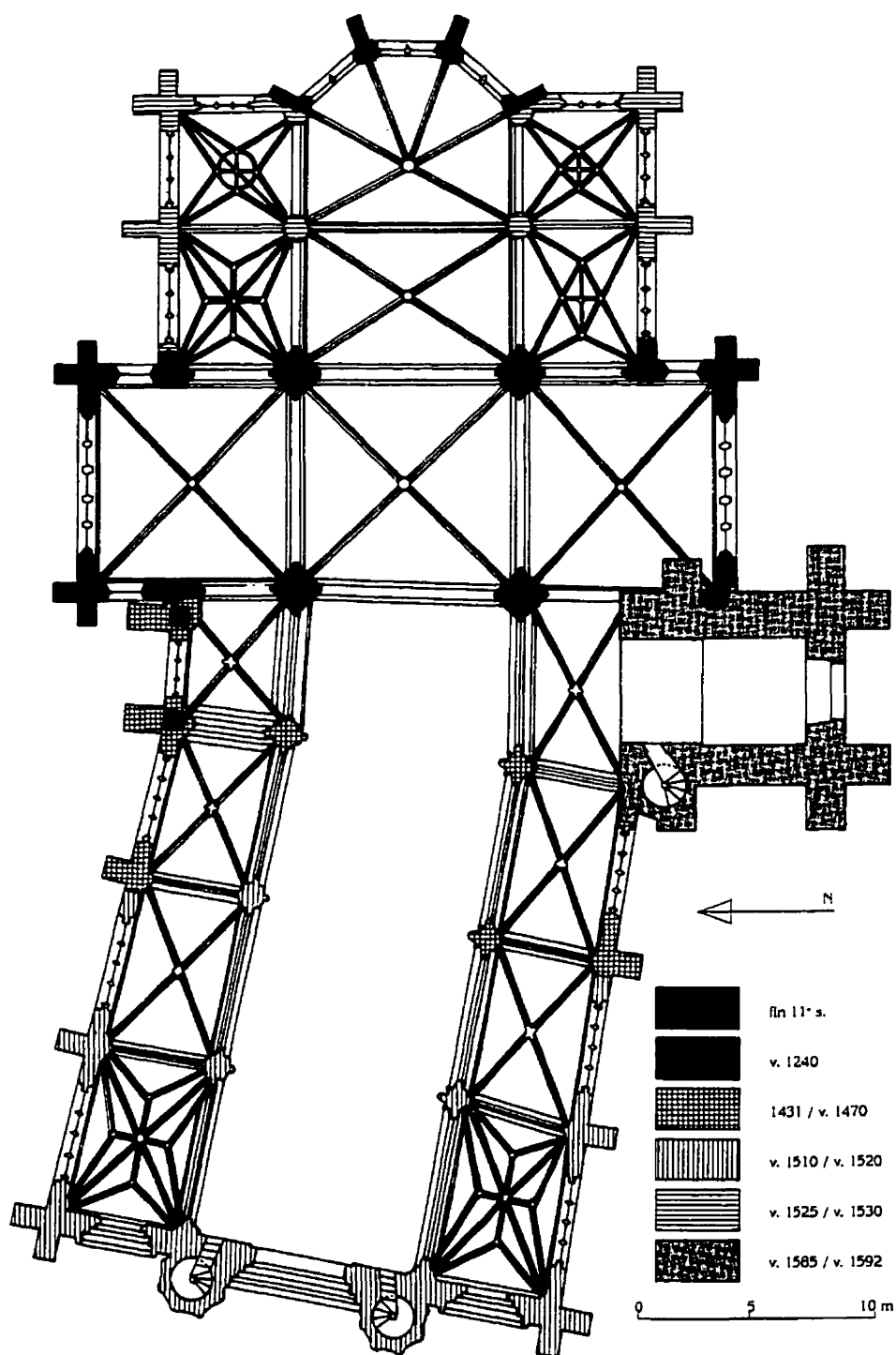
Fig. 24   Saint-Pierre at Senlis. Plan.
[D. Vermand, "Étude Monumentale de l'église Saint-Pierre de Senlis," <u>Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis</u>, (1990/1994), 75, Fig. 1.]

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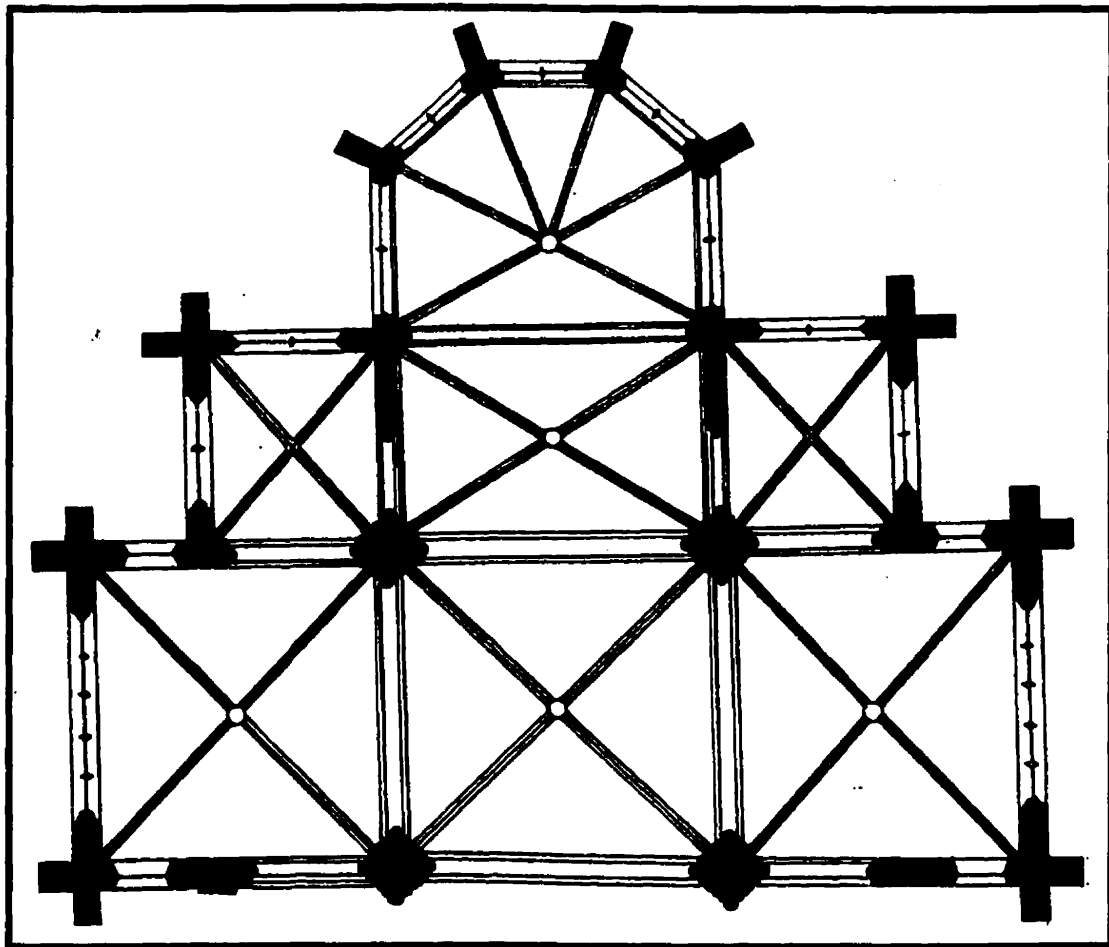
Fig. 25   Saint-Pierre at Senlis. Plan of the choir in the thirteenth century.
[D. Vermand, "Étude Monumentale de l'église Saint-Pierre de
Senlis," Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de
Senlis, (1990/1994), 90, Fig. 32.]

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Fig. 26   Saint-Pierre at Senlis. Vault of the north chapel.
[D. Vermand, "Étude Monumentale de l'église Saint-Pierre de Senlis," <u>Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis</u>, (1990/1994), 109, Fig. 79.]

Fig. 27   Saint-Pierre at Senlis. Western façade.
[D. Vermand, "Étude Monumentale de l'église Saint-Pierre de Senlis," Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis, (1990/1994), Plate 1]

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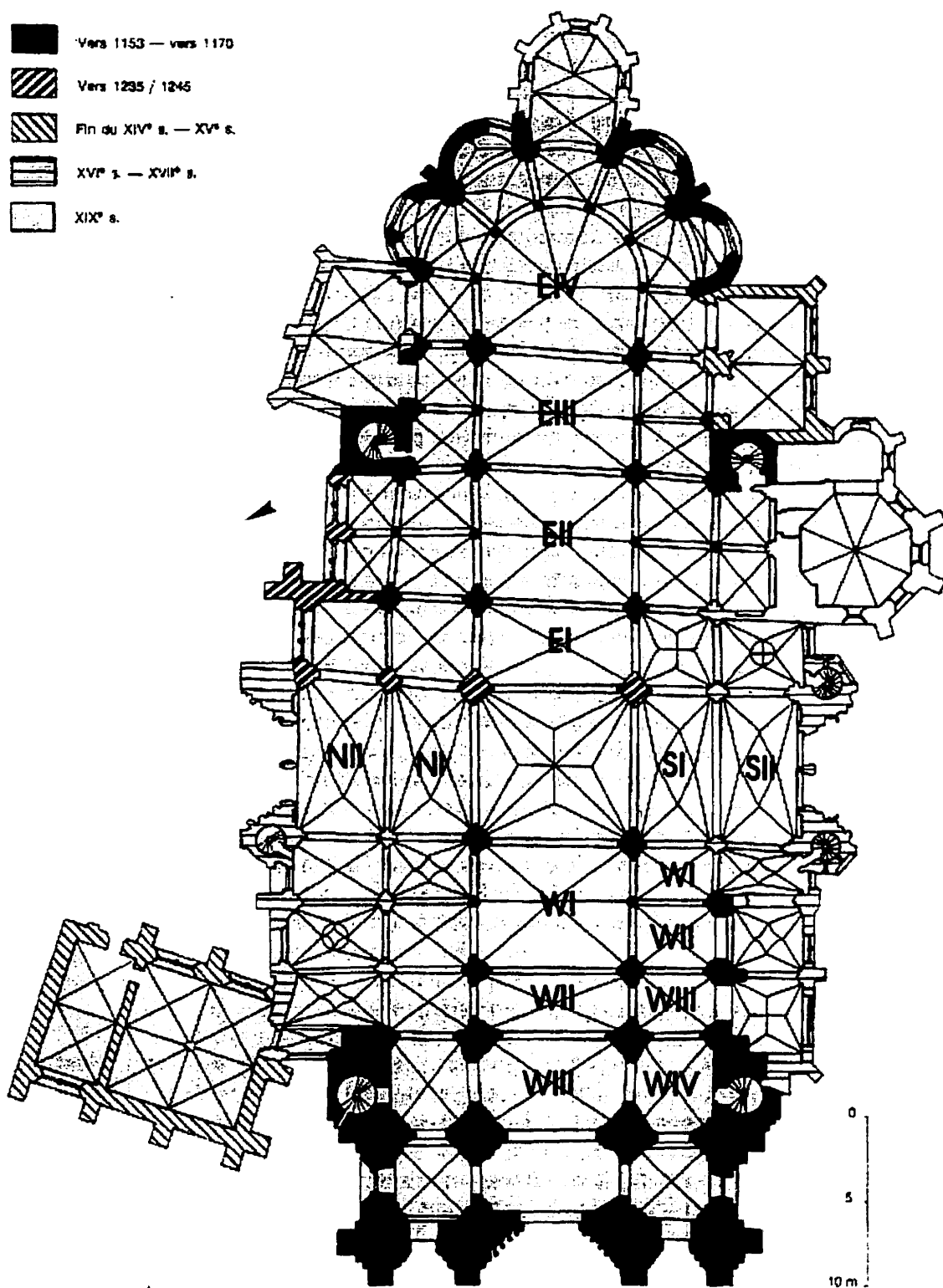
Fig. 28   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Plan with nomenclature.
[M. Bideault, Maryse and C. Lautier. Ile-de-France gothique,
Paris: Picard (1987), 352]

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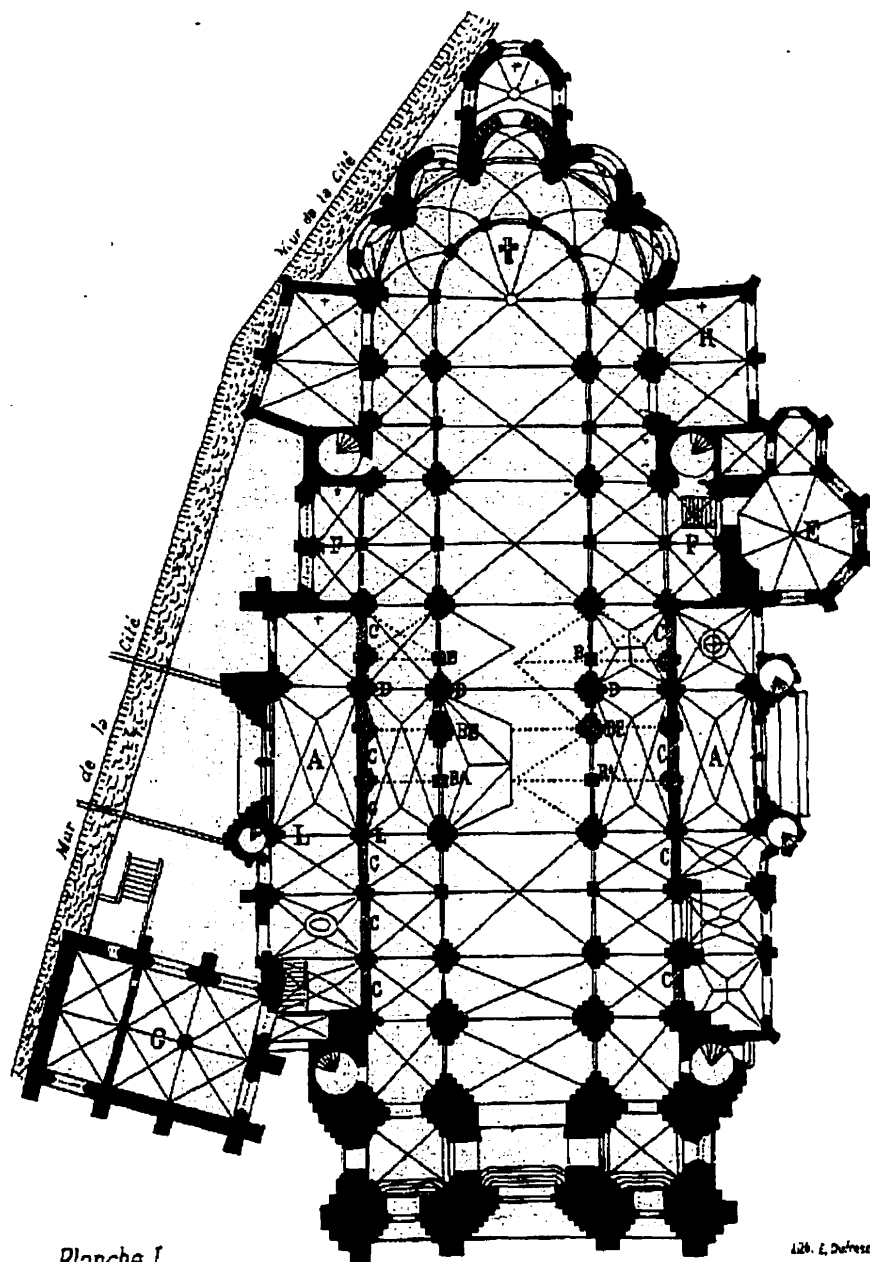
Planche I.

AA. — Croisillons des XIII° et XVI° siècles.	E. — Sacristie ou baptistère très antique restauré au XIII° siècle.	Pierre l'Orfèvre, XV° siècle et remaniée plus tard.
B. — Colonnes du XII° siècle supprimées.	FF — Rudiments de croisillons du XII° siècle	H. — Chapelle du bailly (1489).
C. — Mur du XII° siècle renversé.	G. — Salle du Chapitre aujourd'hui sacristie dûe à	L. — Piliers de la Renaissance.
D. — Piliers du XIII° 8°		

Fig. 29   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Plan showing displacement of twelfth-century piers.
[E. Müller, Senlis et ses environs, Senlis: T. Nouvian (1896), Fig. 11.]

Fig. 30   Notre-Dame at Senlis. South transept.

Fig. 31   Notre-Dame at Senlis. North transept.
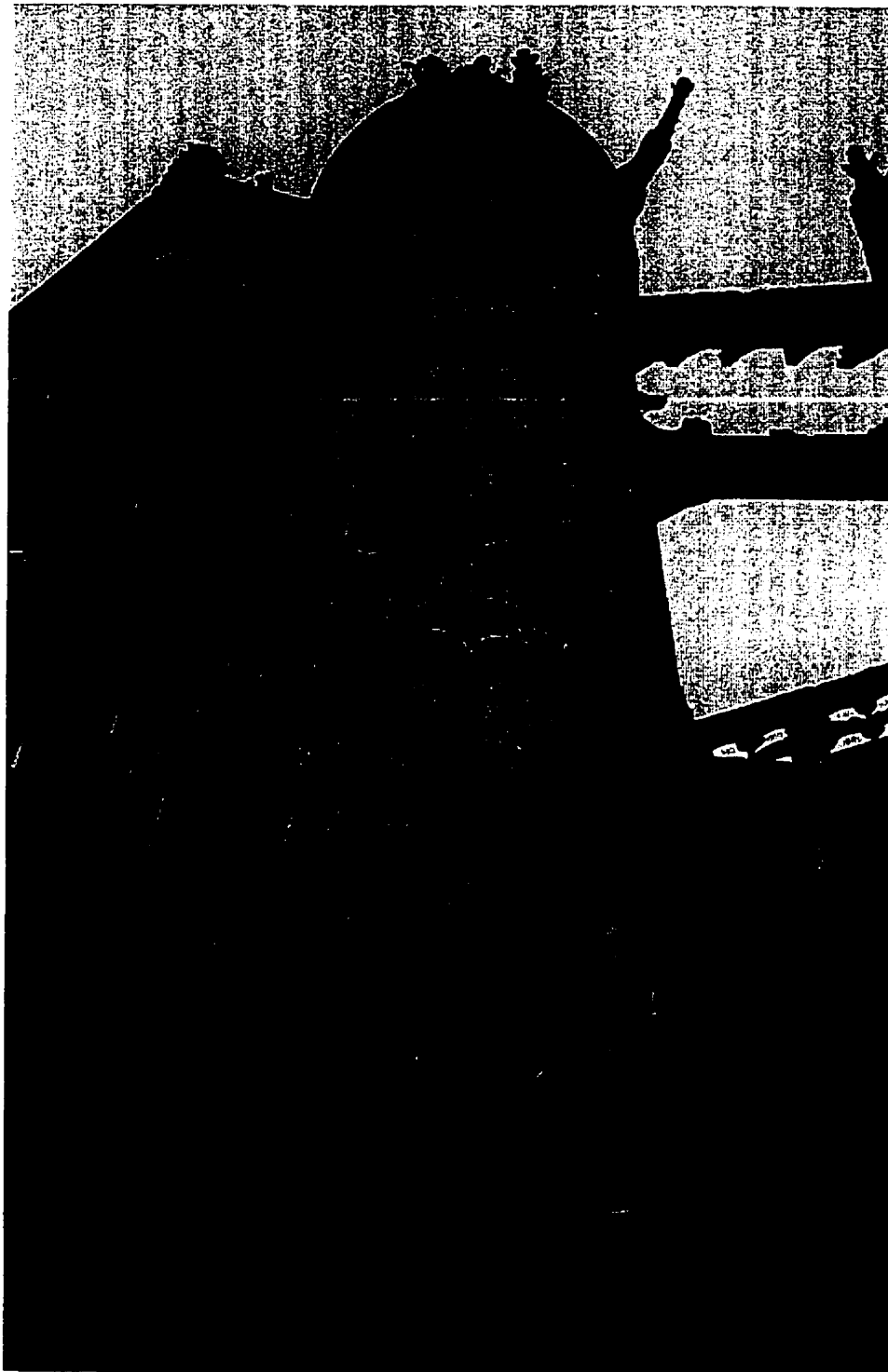
Fig. 32   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Eastern stair turret of the south transept.
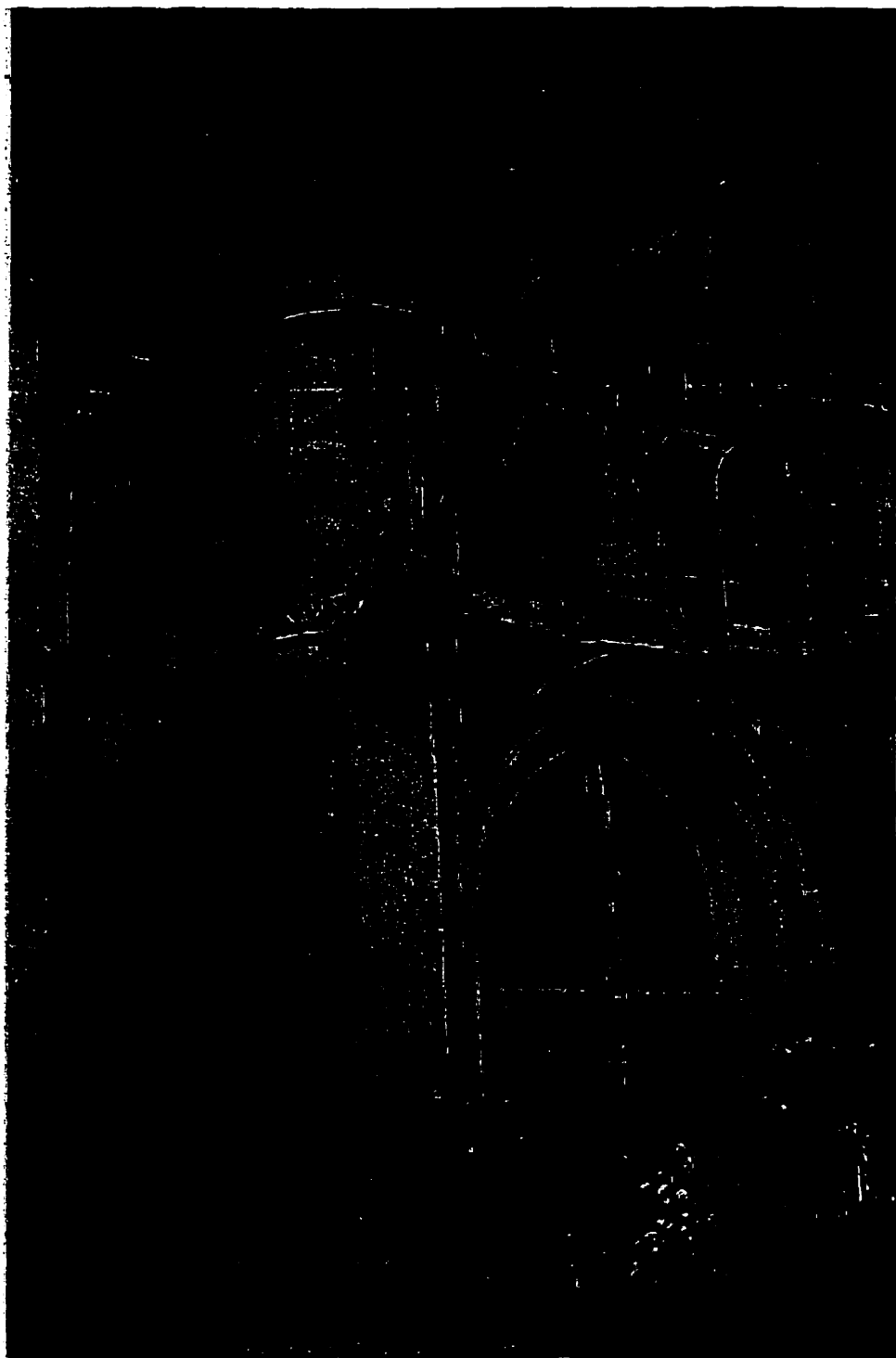
Fig. 33   Notre-Dame at Senlis. North transept portal from the NE.
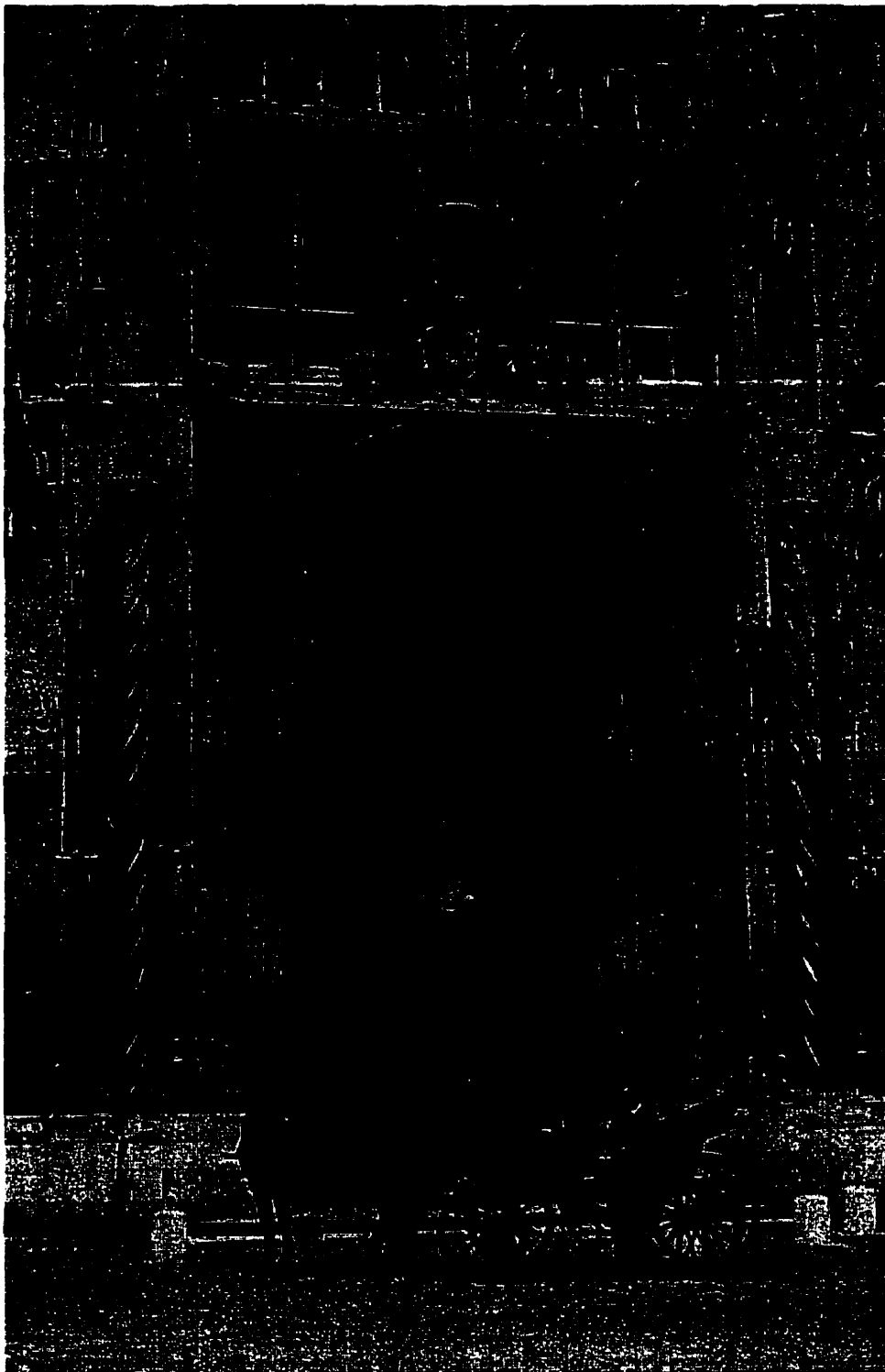
Fig. 34   Notre-Dame at Senlis. South transept portal.

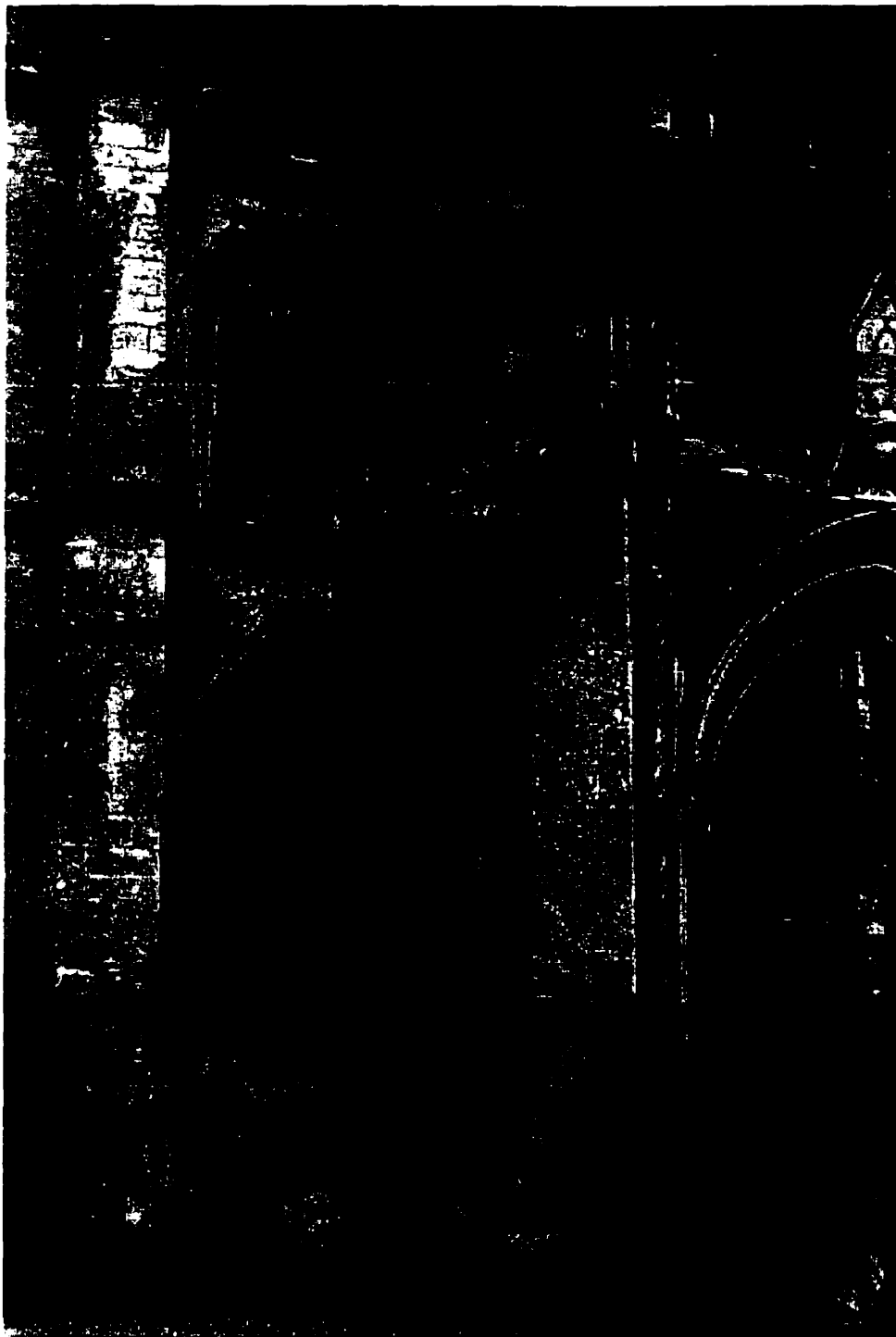Fig. 35   Notre-Dame at Senlis. South transept entrance portal.

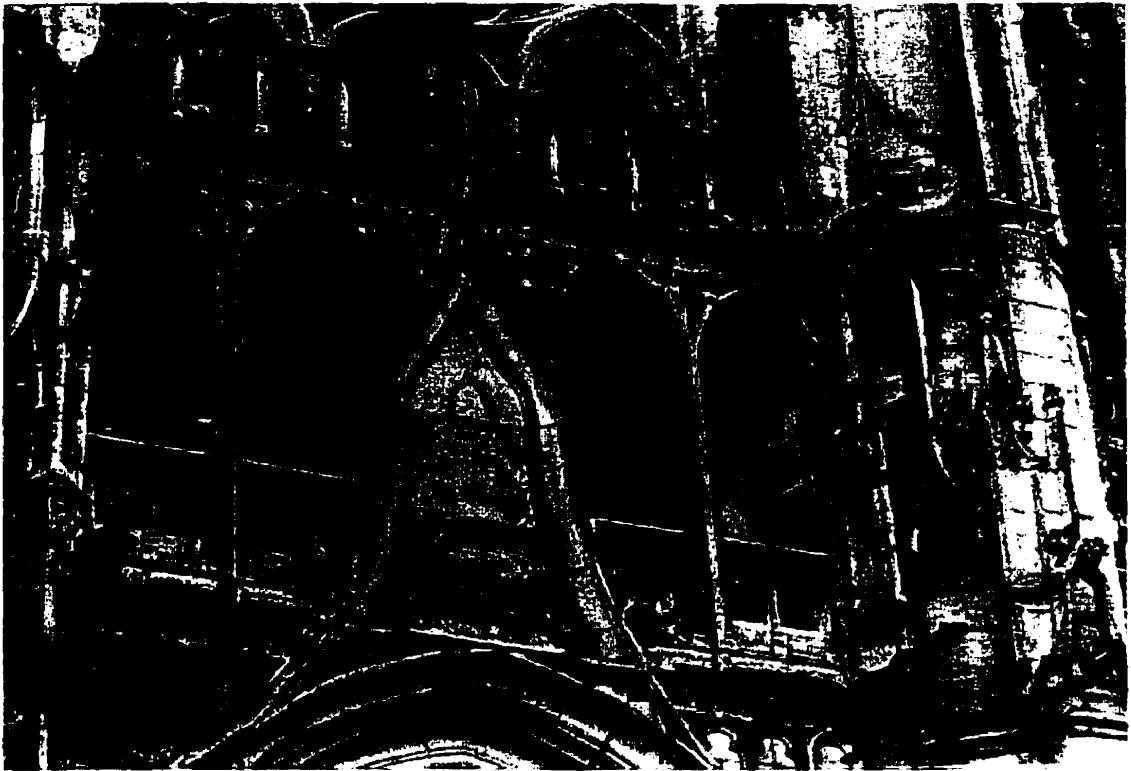Fig. 36   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Eastern stair turret of the north transept.

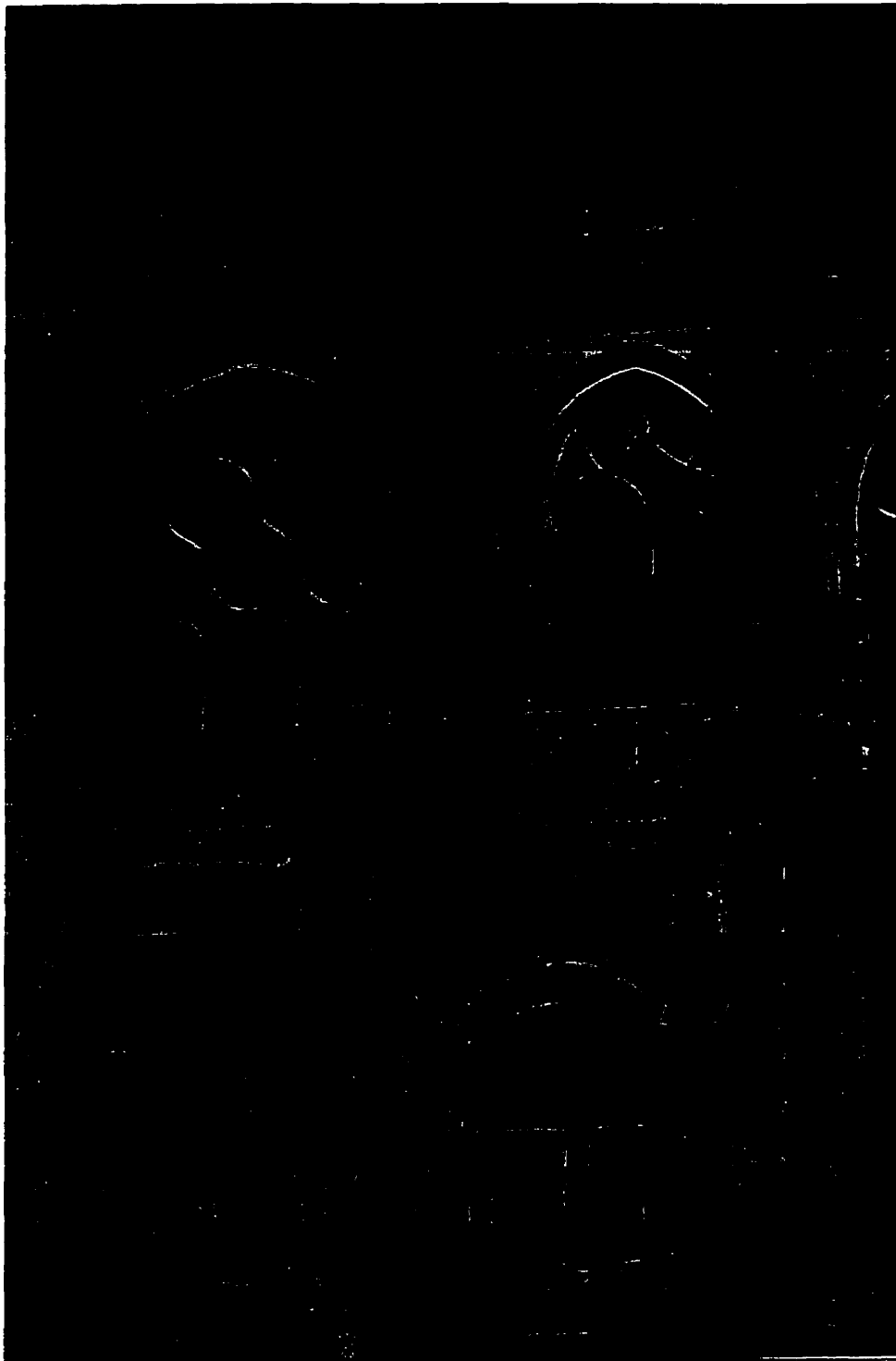Fig. 37   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Gable of the north transept.

Fig. 38   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Balustrades of the south façade of the nave.

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Fig. 39   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Central section of the south transept
façade.

Fig. 40   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Detail of the central balustrades of the south transept façade.

Fig. 41   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Rose window of the north transept façade.
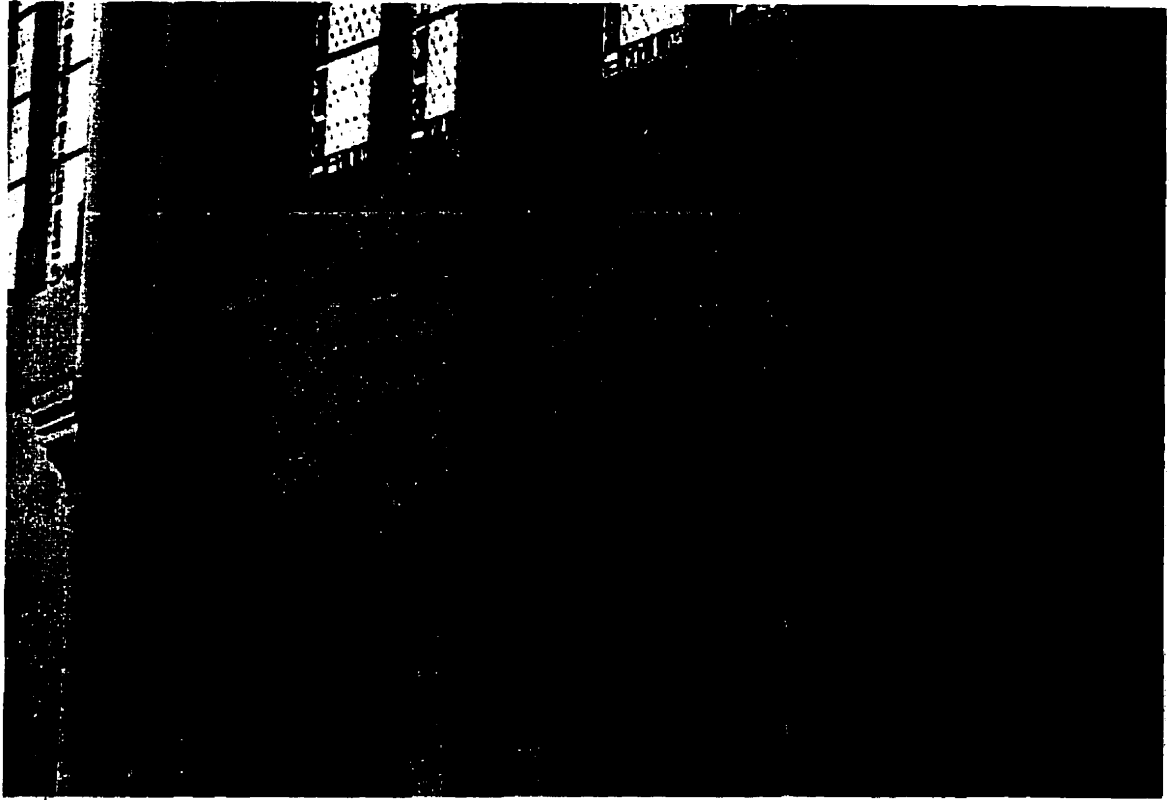
Fig. 42   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Interior view of the north wall of the choir.
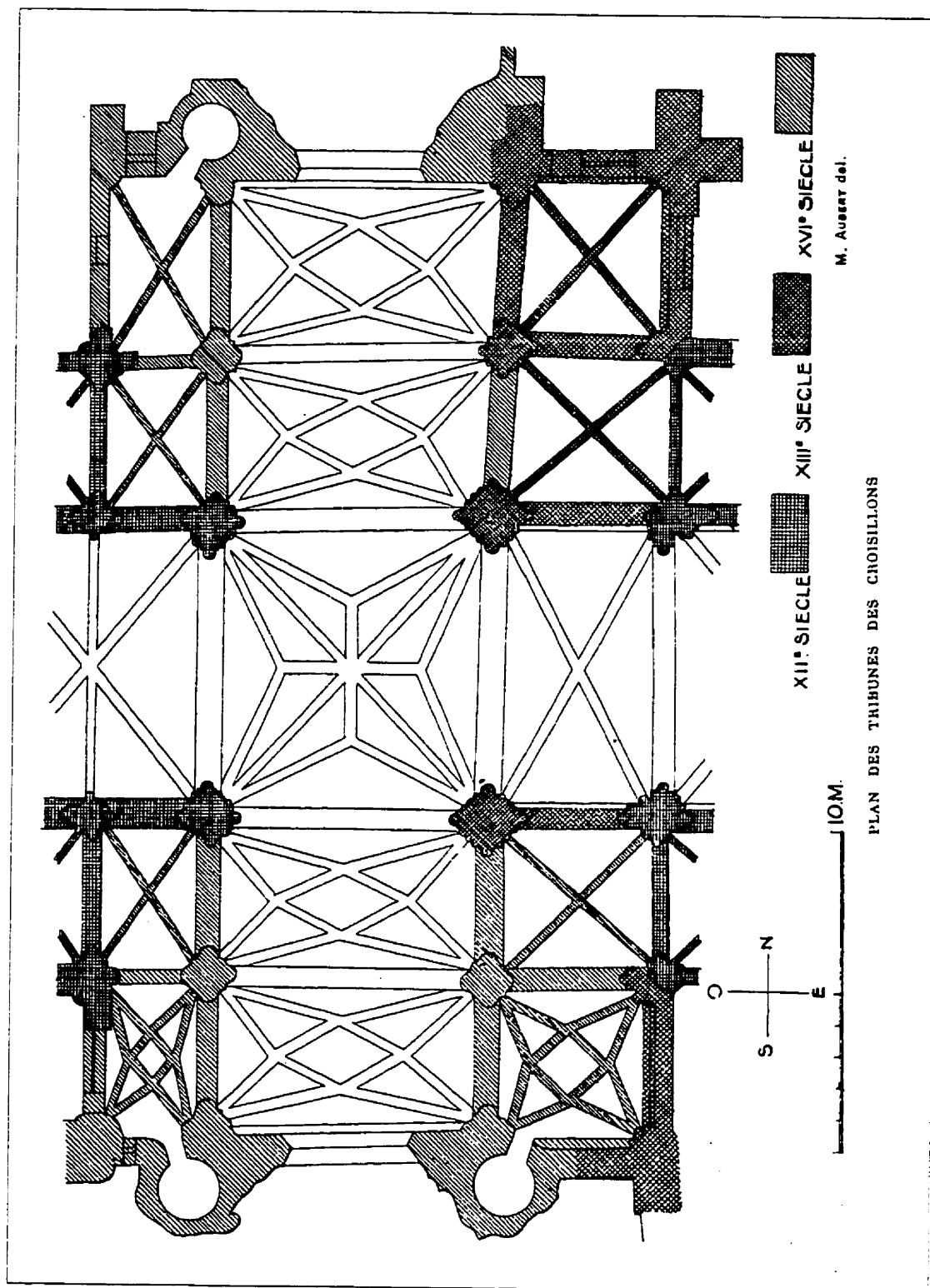
Fig. 43   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Plan of the tribune level of the transepts.
             [M. Aubert. Monographie de la cathédrale de Senlis, Senlis:
             Dufresne (1910), 93.]

Fig. 44   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Balustrade of the interior façade of the south transept.

Fig. 45   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Vault of bay NII WII.

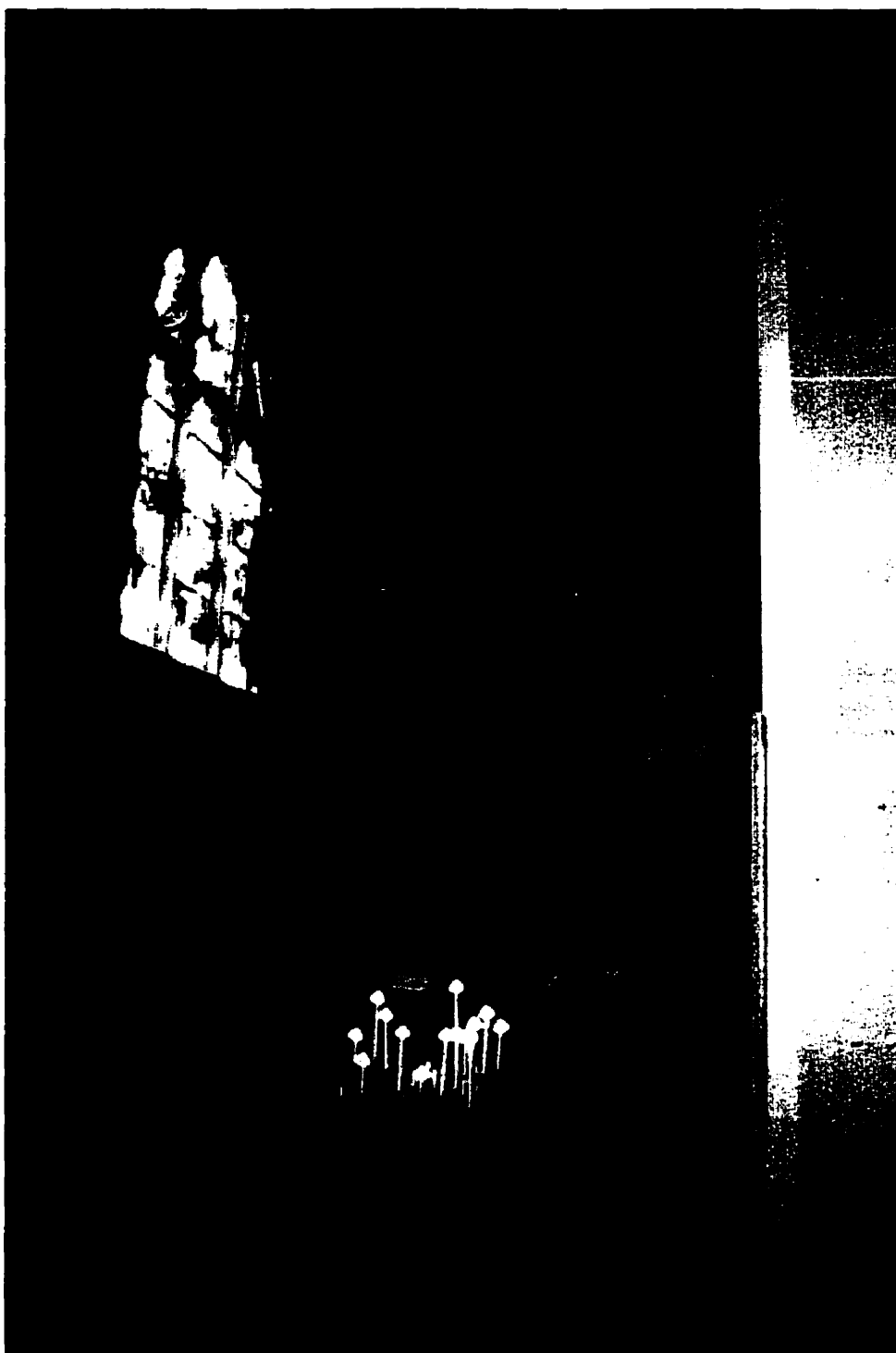Fig. 46   Notre-Dame at Senlis. South wall of bay NII WI.

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Fig. 47   Notre-Dame at Senlis. West wall of bay SIII WII.
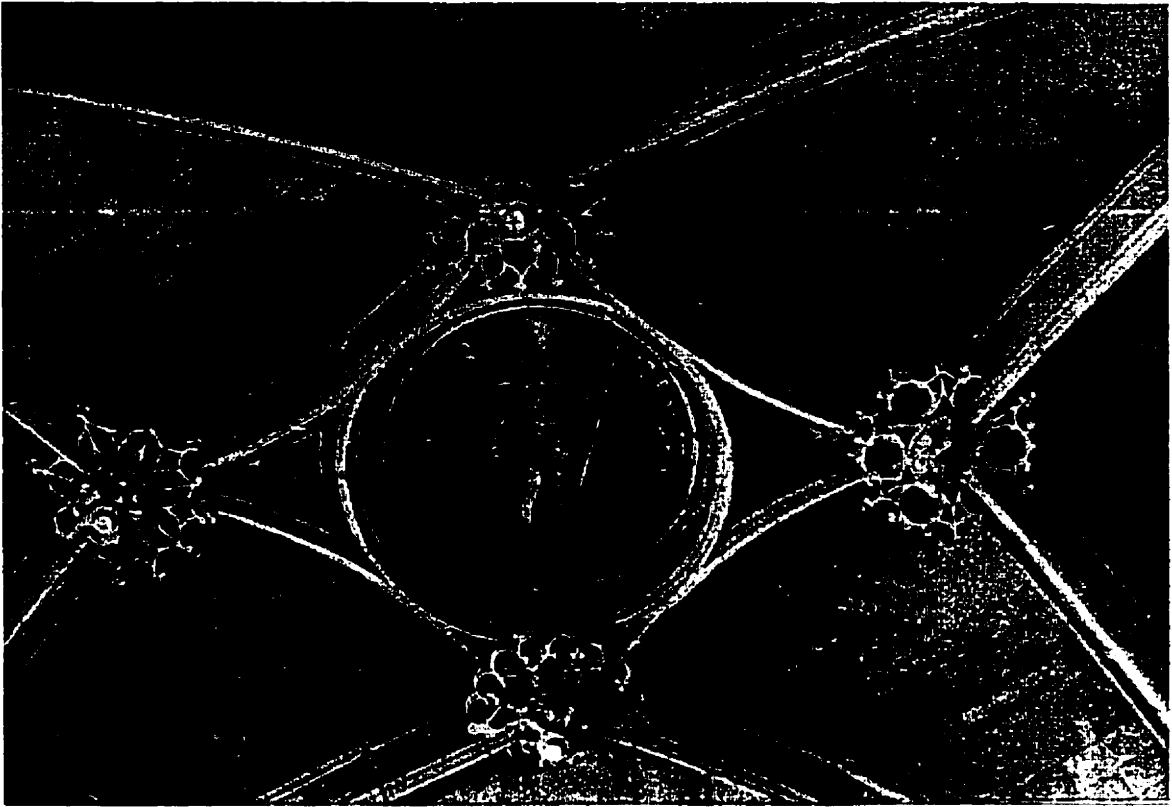
Fig. 48   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Vault of bay SII WI

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Fig. 49   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Transept vaults (SII, SI, O, NI, NII).

Fig. 50   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Transept vault, bay SII.

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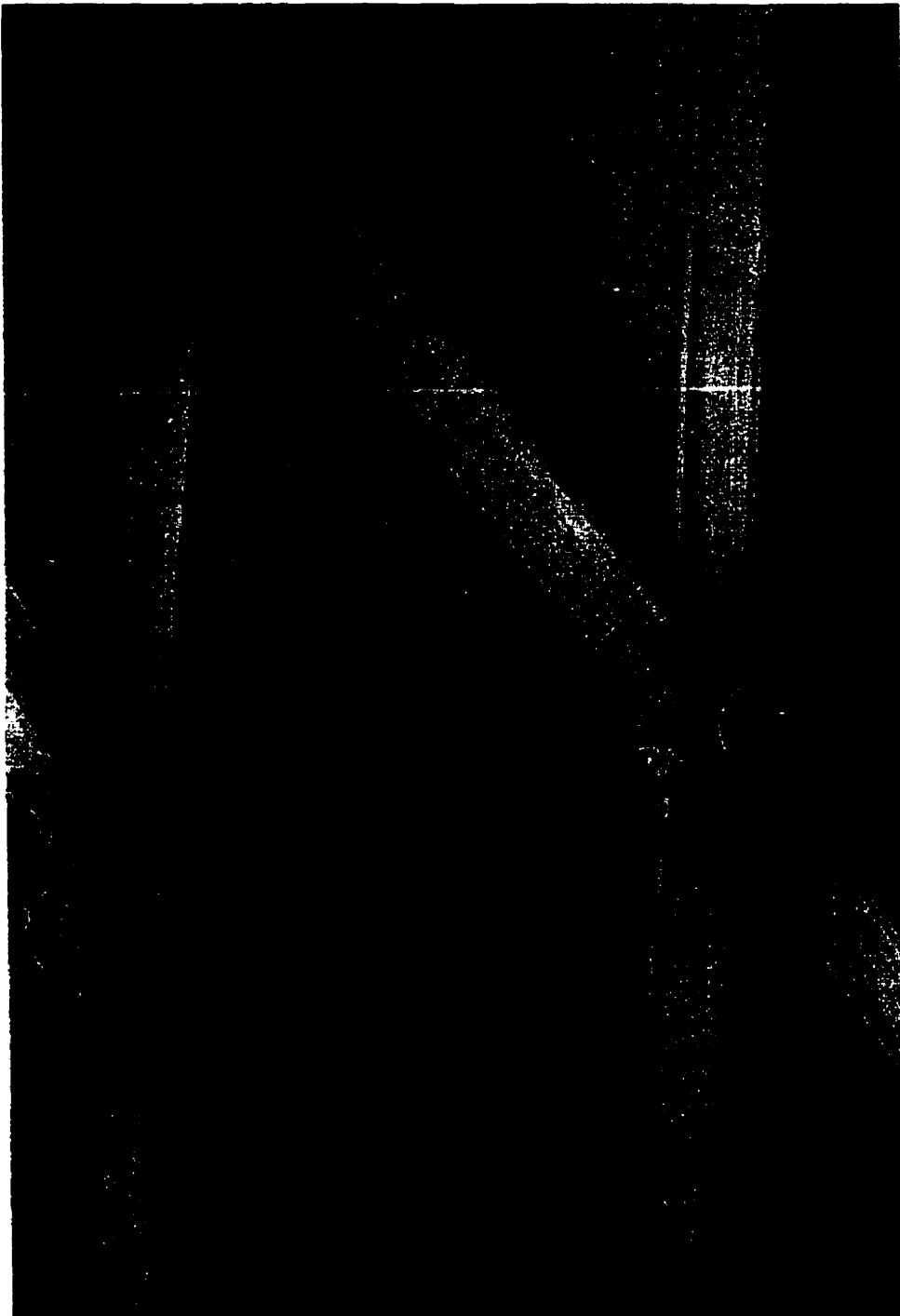
Fig. 51   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Heraldry of Bishop Guillaume Parvy in transept bay SI.

Fig. 52   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Transept vault, bay NII.
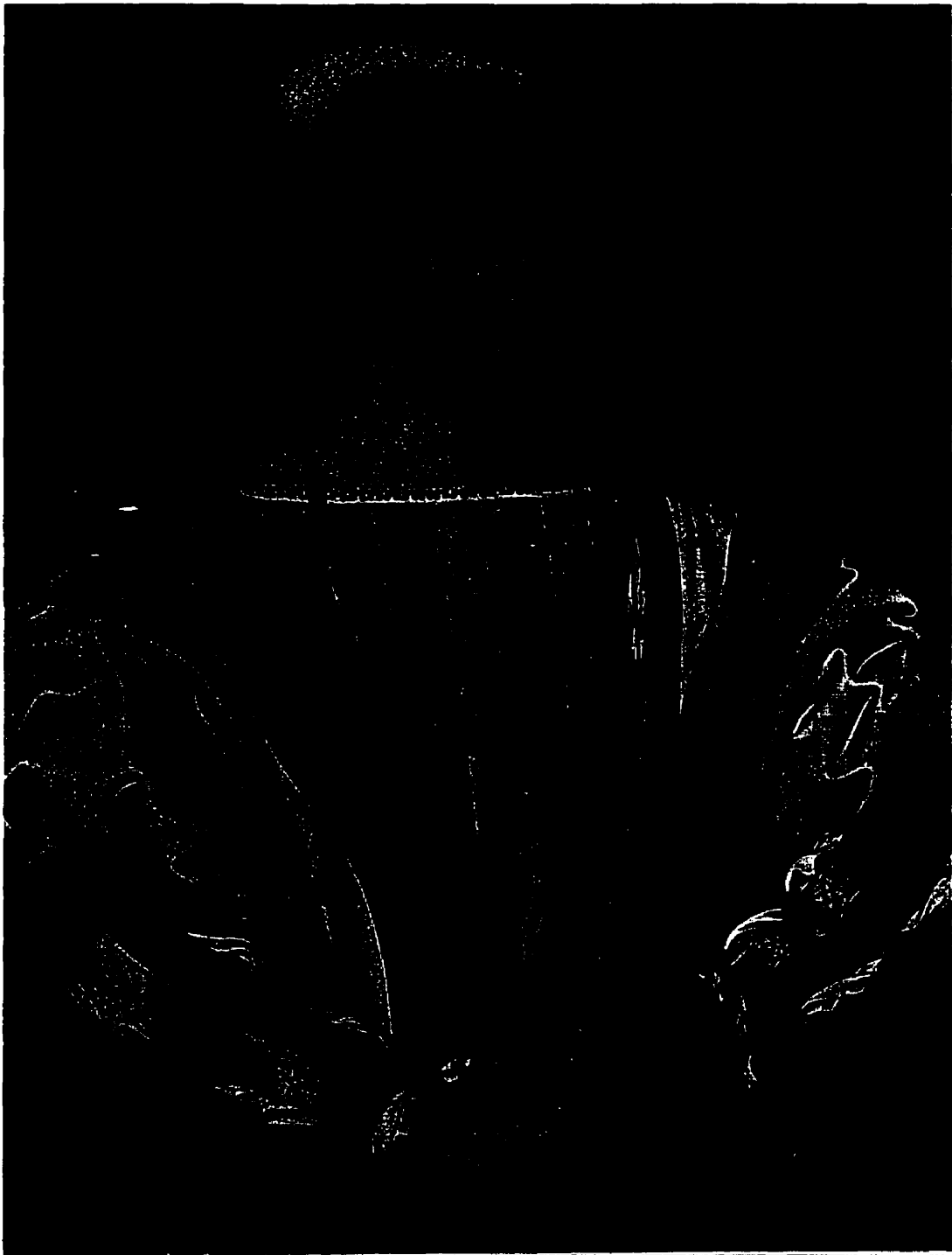
Fig. 53   Portrait of François I (*circa* 1530-1535) Musée du Louvre, Paris.
               [C. Scailliérez, <u>François Ier par Clouet</u>, Paris: Éditions de la
               Réunion des musées nationaux, (1996), cover page]

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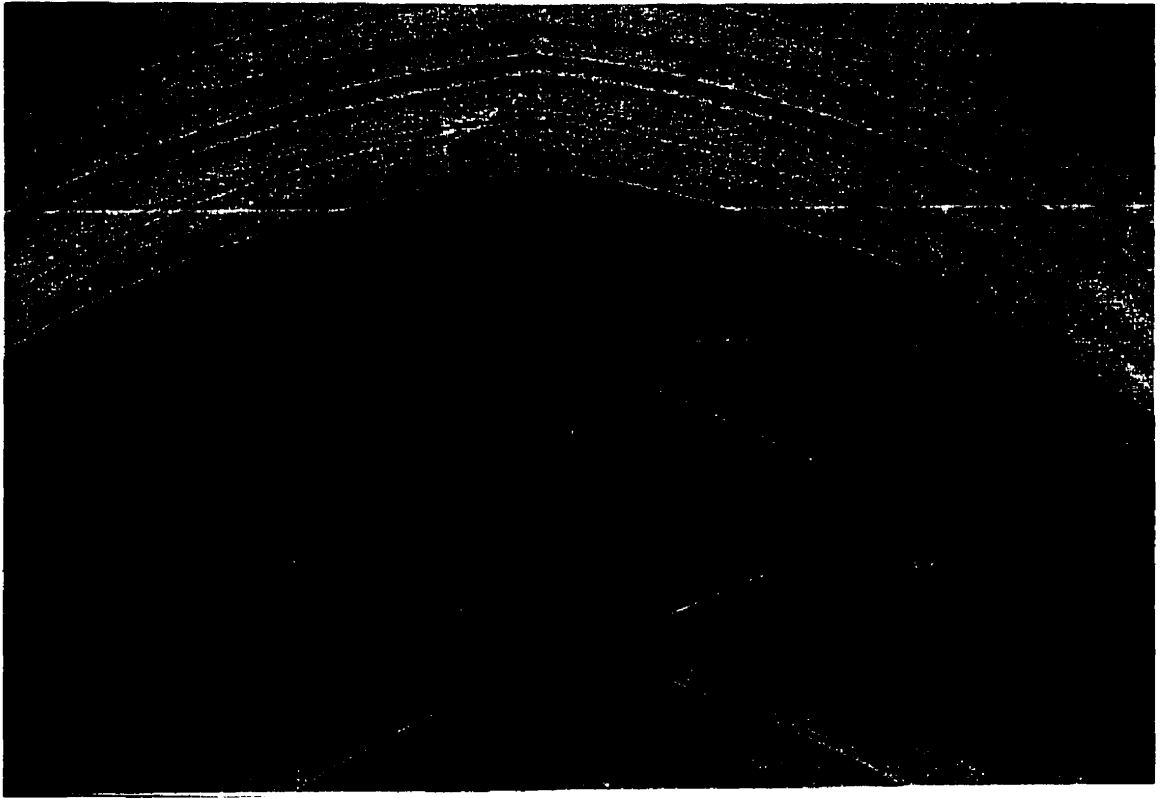
Fig. 54   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Coat-of-Arms of Bishop René Le Roullié
            in transept bay NI.

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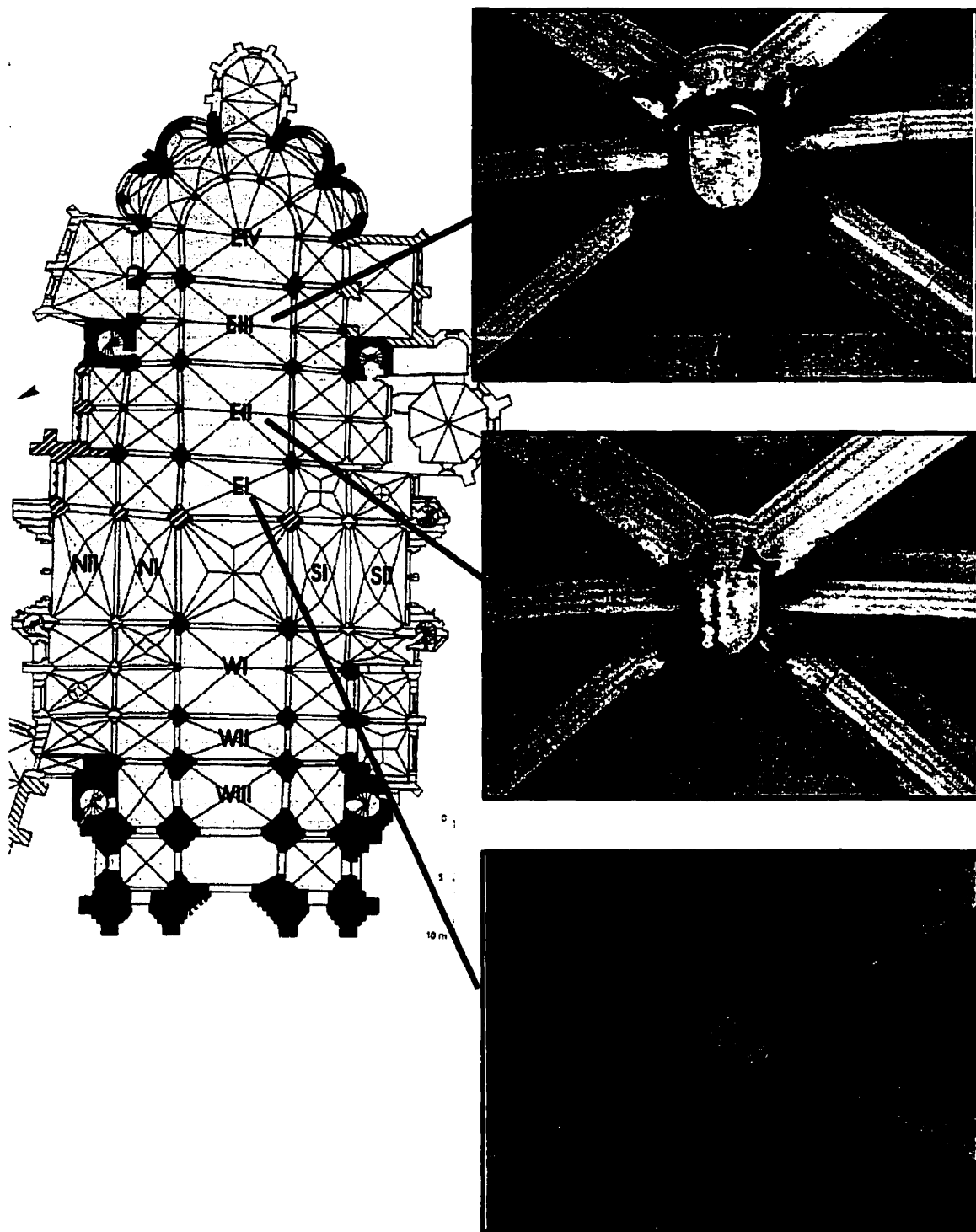
Fig. 55   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Choir vaults, bays EI, EII and EIII.

Fig. 56   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Vault of bay SII EI.

Fig. 57   Notre-Dame at Senlis. Assemblage of stained-glass fragments.
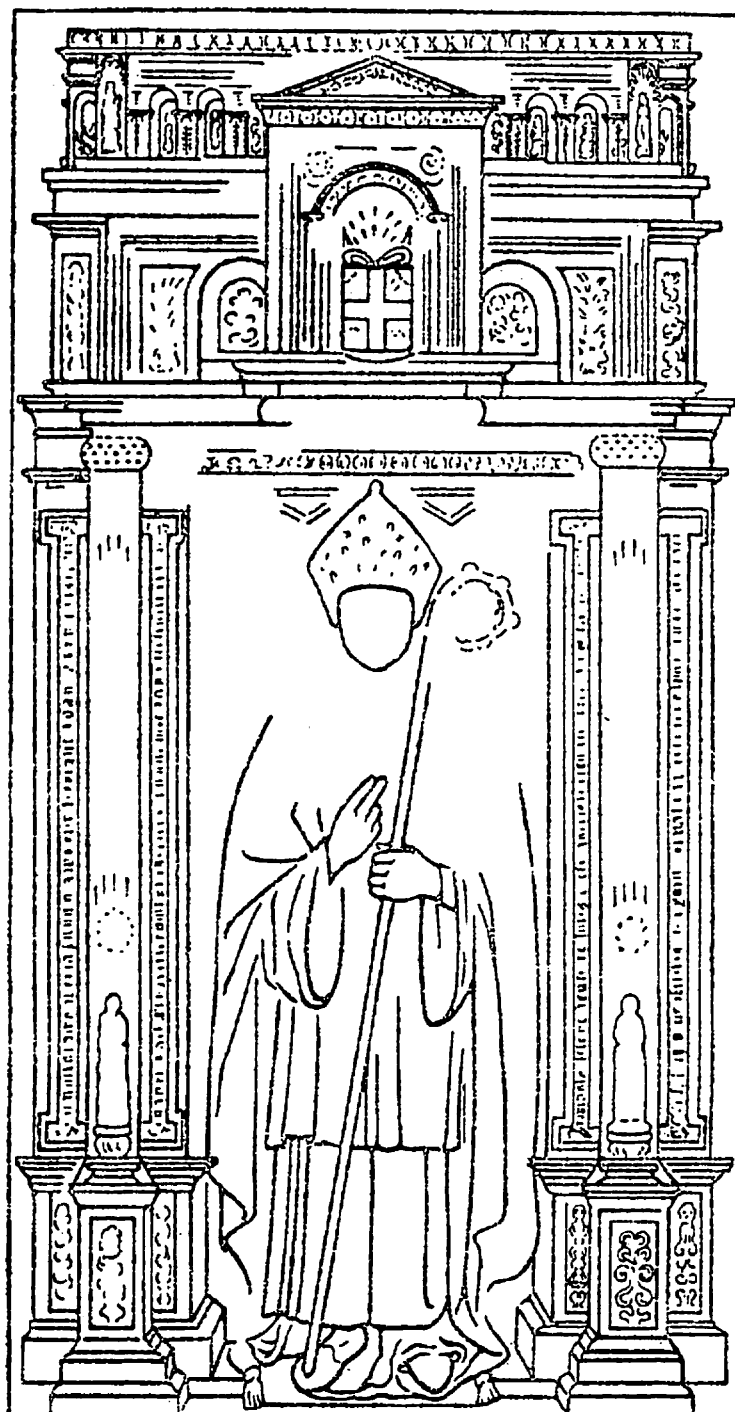
Fig. 58   Tomb of Bishop Guillaume Parvy.
[J. Tremblot, "Les armoiries de l'humaniste Parvy," BHR 1, (1941), 18.]

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Fig. 59   Metal of François d'Angoulême (1504).
[R.J. Knecht, <u>Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I</u>, Cambridge Univ. Press (1994), 10, Figs. 5 and 6.]

Fig. 60   San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Western façade detail. Right side. [J. Lesellier, "Jean de Chenevières, sculpteur et architecte de l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome," <u>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française de Rome</u>, tome 47, (1930), Plate 2.]

Fig. 61   San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Western façade detail. Left side.
[J. Lesellier, "Jean de Chenevières, sculpteur et architecte de
l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome," <u>Mélanges
d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française de Rome</u>, tome
47, (1930), Plate 3.]

Abbreviations

BHR	*Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance.*
BM	*Bulletin Monumental,* Société française d'archéologie, Paris, 1843-.
BN	*Bibliothèque Nationale de France,* Paris.
BSHPF	*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français.*
CNMHS	*Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites,* Paris.
CNRS	*Centre national de la recherche scientifique,* Paris.
CVMA	*Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi,* France.
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* Society of Architectural Historians, Philadelphia, 1941-.
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal,* The Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc. Kirksville, 1972 -.

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