The Architecture of the Parisian Parish Churches Between 1489 and 1590

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ABSTRACT

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The parish churches of Paris rebuilt between 1489 and 1590 are defined as an important group late Gothic monuments. They were each modeled after the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and given many of the same characteristics. The architectural features used in the rebuilding of the parish churches are part of a well-defined architectural vocabulary of both classical and flamboyant forms. The building histories show that the stylistic qualities of these monuments are the result of the constant application and reception of prevailing architectural ideas. The architectural arrangements and iconographic programs reveal the role of patrons; the monarchs, in particular, used the rebuilding of the parish churches to help define their own image. In this respect, the ecclesiastic architecture of the sixteenth century is reminiscent of the Court Style of Louis IX.

RÉSUMÉ

L'architecture des églises paroissiales de Paris (1490 - 1580)

Les églises paroissiales de Paris, construites entre 1489 et 1590, constituent un ensemble de bâtiments importants de gothiques tardives. Les traits architecturaux utilisés lors du rebâtiment de ces monuments font preuve d'un language architectural bien défini, comprenant des formes classiques et flamboyantes. L'histoire de ces bâtiments montre que leurs styles font preuve de l'application constante et de la réception des idées architecturaux courantes. Les dispositions architecturaux et les programmes iconographiques reflètent le rôle des donateurs; en particulier, celui des monarques qui ont utilisé le rebâtiment de ces eglises paroissiales afin de projeter leurs images royales. À cet égard, l'architecture religieuse du seizième siècle rappelle l'architecture sous le règne de Louis IX

The face of the world is covered with blazons, with characters with ciphers and obscure words. And the space inhabited by immediate resemblances becomes like a vast open book. All that remains is to decipher them.

Michel Foucault

As soon as one sees with one's own eyes the whole which one had hitherto only known in fragments a new life begins.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Paris is well known for its major architectural monuments. Among its most famous are the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and the Abbey church of Saint Denis. While these are certainly the most renowned Gothic structures, they are not the only monuments that have survived from the Middle Ages. Paris also has several historic Hôtels and a number of Gothic parish churches that belong to the late Middle Ages. The majority of these were not the result of new construction, but rather the rebuilding of existing ecclesiastic monuments. The rebuilding of the parish churches, in particular, was part of a general social, economic and political renewal of the city following the ascendancy of Charles VIII in 1483.

> C'est que tout bien pesé, ce fut la vitalité urbaine qui l'emporta sur le désir de securité, sur l'ambition de la clôture. Cette poussée de la ville, le pouvoir royal dans le premier tiers du XVIe siècle, commença a s'en inquiéter après l'avoir vue avec plaisir comme un signe de prospérité revenue.[1]

By the end of the sixteenth century, the late Gothic churches were modified according to a different set of standards. This constitutes a new chapter of the history of the parish churches that is beyond the scope of this thesis, but nevertheless deserves mention as it defines the end of the most significant period of construction of Parisian parish churches.

Background

During the Middle Ages, Paris was an important urban center with a main Cathedral and numerous churches affiliated with the local abbeys in and around the city. These great monasteries were the established centers of economic activity. They owned and controlled vast tracts of land surrounding the city and had churches built to serve and administer their domains. The most powerful of these monasteries were the Abbeys of Saint-Genevieve, Saint-Germain-des Pres and the royal priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. Later, the Medieval city

[1] Louis Bergeron (ed), Paris, genese d'un paysage Villes et Sociétés (Paris: Picard 1989) 62

developed into a number of bourgs that were subdivided into parishes. Each parish had a church administered by a chapter and affiliated with a larger monastic community.

To fulfill the needs of the general public, abbeys built dependent parish churches. The royal abbey of Saint-Genevieve located within the fortifications in the southern part of the city had such a parish church in the northern part of the city. The abbey had Saint-Étienne-du-Mont built next to their main church as a dependent parish church. The relationship between the two buildings is reflected in the fact that Saint-Étienne-du-Mont could only be entered through Saint-Geneviève. It was not until the rebuilding campaign of 1517 that the church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont was given a separate entrance. The abbots of Sainte-Geneviève also built a small chapel on the banks of the Bievre as a memorial to Saint-Médard, Bishop of Noyon, Tournai and the counselor of the Merovingian kings. This chapel later became a small church served by the regular canons of the abbey.

Other monasteries also built dependent parish churches. The priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs had Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs built. This church like Saint-Étienne-du-Mont was directly linked to the priory by a specific door; the monks of the royal priory of Saint-Martin entered Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs through the chapel of Saint-Étienne. The church, built to serve the servants of the priory and the people of the district, was thus administered by the monks.

As Paris grew, a number of parish churches established by larger monastic organizations became the local administrative centers first of village areas and then of different neighborhoods or faubourgs. The character of each location, founding institution, and parish community is reflected in the diversity of parish church types found in Paris. Each of the late Medieval churches in this study identifies a parish community and acts as the administrative center of the particular precinct or parish. The jurisdiction of each church in 1571 can be seen in a map of Paris divided into districts (Fig. 1). Just as each neighborhood varied, so did the parish churches that served as their religious centers.

The parish churches of Paris reflect the character of each parish of the city and can be distinguished by type. For example, the church of Saint-Germain-

l'Auxerrois was built as a royal monument to serve the residents of the Louvre and the numerous Hôtels of the nobility within this area. Saint-Severin became a collegiate church and then the principal parish of the southern part of the city. Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, located near the Hôtel de Ville, Place de Grêve and seats of Government, served the governing officials of the City of Paris.

The variety among these churches is not unique, but the similarities in design, function and dates of reconstruction reflect their vital role in the development of the emerging urban structure of the eventual capital. For this reason alone, the wealth of what should be seen as a significant period in the development of architecture in Paris, and in France, needs to be put into an art historical context and defined relative to the social, political and economic realities of Parisian society.

The parish churches in this study were all rebuilt during the sixteenth century and therefore constitute an important part of the growth and evolution of Paris from a Medieval city into a modern capital. The reconstruction of these churches has led to their sharing similar characteristics while reflecting the nuances of a well-defined architectural style. These monuments were built according to the architectural ideas current in Parisian society and therefore reflect the function of architecture during the later Middle Ages. Describing the historical background and character of these buildings will lead to an understanding of the iconographic function of late Medieval architectural forms.

The analysis of the building histories of the parish churches involves a reconstruction of the sixteenth-century appearance of each monument. This is often difficult because the churches were in part 'modernized' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, considerable efforts were made to recreate the original character of the Medieval monuments in France. The resulting campaigns, directed by Jean-Baptiste Lassus, Victor Ballard and Prosper Lafaye, led to the rebuilding and restoration of all late Gothic parish churches and have helped to insure the preservation of many Parisian monuments. Although some of the eighteenth century remodeling campaigns have resulted in expansions and modifications, the changes and additions are part of the history of each building, and yet do not totally disguise the predominantly late Gothic character of the parish churches in Paris. The large

scale construction that took place during the end of the fifteenth century and throughout most of the sixteenth century continues to distinguish this particular group of monuments and their connection to the history of ecclesiastic architecture in Paris. For this reason, the building histories of each monument focus on the period defined as 1489 to 1590. This period represents an important era in the history of Paris; during this time, interest in church building fostered the development and refinement of a specific architectural language.

The Parish Churches of Paris

The churches of Saint-Séverin, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Saint-Merri, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs and Saint-Eustache share specific characteristics, are all found within a relatively small area and hence constitute a unique group of Parisian monuments. They constitute a group for two reasons: they have similar dates of construction and were rebuilt according to the same precepts. Major rebuilding of the parish churches began during the last part of the fifteenth century and continued throughout most of the sixteenth century. The various building campaigns of these monuments mark the beginning of a major period of late Gothic construction in Paris. This particular group provides an excellent example of the architecture of the sixteenth century and therefore also the direct exchange, influence and reception of architectural ideas and forms within a limited area. The strong similarities among these parish churches highlight the significance of the architectural forms used in defining the appearance and character of each church and reflects the nature of architectural trends in late Gothic society.

All of these parish churches are based on a specific type. They were designed as basilicas with non-projecting transepts, or no transepts and large ambulatory choirs. Each monument was based on a traditional building type: The most prominent basilica and the model for the rebuilding of the parish churches was the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. The parish churches in Paris were built in the tradition of this great French monument, but the various patrons and chapters were not interested in copying its architectural forms. They sought to rebuild each church according to a new formula which although based on

traditional values, reflected their late Medieval society through the application of contemporary forms and symbols.

The features used in the parish churches of Paris were part of an architectural vocabulary that was well established around 1500. The repeated use of select patterns suggests that certain basic forms were of symbolic importance. The features include a single and double ambulatory, radiating chapels, non projecting transepts, large rose windows and double tiered flying buttresses. The patrons of each church were selective in their choice of forms; specific elements such as the plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris (Fig. 2), the gabled central block and the idea of exterior balustrades were adopted. They looked not only to the earlier Gothic periods, but also to classical motifs and modern flamboyant features such as the ogee arch portal, multiple liernes vault, the keystone pendentive, and the double reverse curve tracery to define the sculptural and architectural features of the parish church. Complex flamboyant style tracery patterns were employed as sculptural detail and in the stained glass windows of these churches. The sixteenth-century builders of the parish churches relied on specific architectural forms and traditions to redesign each church. The master mason followed the wishes of his employer in designing plans that would transmit the desired image of the Church and its patrons. In so doing, the master mason relied on specific 'characteristic features' thus making the architecture a symbol and a prime example of the importance of the use and repetition of late Gothic forms during the sixteenth century. This dependence on a specific architectural vocabulary made Parisian architecture part of the same dialectic which involved the rebuilding of major monuments throughout northern France.

State of Scholarship

While extensive research has been done on Gothic Cathedrals, parish churches, and particularly those in Paris, have been largely ignored. The parish churches of Paris have also not been recognized as stylistically related despite the fact that the most extensive building occurred during a distinct period in the history of the later Middle Ages. Furthermore, the role of the parish churches in defining the architecture of the sixteenth century has been either understated or simply ignored. In a book, entitled Renaissance Paris (1984), David Thomson wrote the following about the churches in Paris:

> Individual monuments found their historians, but the churches of sixteenth-century Paris, with the exception of the 'Goldsmiths' chapel, were planned in the Gothic tradition and their decorations are so unusual and disparate, that an analysis of them as a group has never seemed to be worth attempting.[2]

This statement may be due in part to a bias based on the size of the parish churches as compared to larger scale monuments, or the perceived lack of originality in these monuments. Regardless, the relative significance of the sixteenth-century rebuilding of the Parisian parish churches and the relationship of this architecture to other major monuments has not been fully recognized by all scholars.

Texts on the parish churches have been compiled largely by either the local historians or the various parish priests associated with each of the churches. These people have sought to present the entire building history of a monument and all of its treasures in catalogue form. They have included all relevant yet unsubstantiated myths and legends associated with those Saints believed to have founded each site. By presenting the entire history of each monument, and all its artifacts, existing studies have made each church a mere composite of varying architectural periods. This approach neglects to recognize the uniqueness of the predominantly late Gothic character of the churches in this study. Furthermore, it prevents one from considering the possibility of the parish church carefully reconstructed to be an iconographic totality representing the Church and Parisian society at the time in question.

The parish churches of Paris have also remained relatively obscure because thorough research has not been done to verify the dates of each of the rebuilding campaigns. The period of late Gothic construction has only been loosely dated to the last half of the fifteenth century. According to Linda Neagley:

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[2] David Thomson, Renaissance Paris: Architecture and Growth 1475-1600 (Berkeley: University of California Press 1984) 186.

> ... the majority of surviving Late Gothic architecture in Paris dates to the last half of the [fifteenth] century and demonstrates the impact of the Saint-Maclou style rather than its anticipation.[3]

While this is in part true, it does not tell the whole story. The major rebuilding of the parish churches of Paris began slightly later than the initial building campaign of the parish church of Saint-Maclou at Rouen, begun after 1432. An important point is that the parish church of Saint-Maclou, and each of the parish churches of Paris imitate the large scale architecture of a major Cathedral. Saint Maclou is modeled after the Cathedral of Saint-Ouen at Rouen; the Parisian parish churches use the Cathedral of Notre-Dame as their model. The period of major rebuilding of the parish churches in Paris corresponds to the construction of the western façade of Saint-Maclou c. 1515 and is therefore part of the same developments in architecture and yet the eight late Gothic Parisian parish churches have not been extensively researched.

A detailed chronological account of the building of each church followed by an analysis of the appearance of the characteristic features found in the parish churches of Paris will show how the employment of specific late Gothic forms made the church a powerful political symbol in Medieval society

Since the ecclesiastic architecture of the later Middle Ages in Paris has not been the subject of a study before now, scholars have failed to see the breadth of imagination and application of a stylistic philosophy among certain monuments. Hence, the need exists to concentrate on the appearance of the parish churches, to determine their dates of reconstruction and their relationship to the development of architecture in France. Where there is no concrete evidence of the actual dates of reconstruction, a chronology can be based on a careful analysis of the appearance of comparable architectural patterns during this distinct time period from the end of the fifteenth century through the reign of Henry III (1574-1589)

As compared to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which have been the subject of an abundance of scholarly works on cathedrals, architectural

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3 Linda Neagley, "The Flamboyant Architecture of St-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style," JSAH XLVII, 1988, 380.

historians, have tended to see the architecture of the later Middle Ages as stylistically retardive. The words 'imitative' and 'decadent' are often used to describe late Gothic architecture. These pejorative terms deny the originality of this period in architectural history. The following is an example of how the Parisian parish churches, in particular, have been described in past studies:

> l'architecture gothique des derniers temps continuant, exagérant ce que l'autre avait commencé, se distingue par l'effacement des lignes horizontales, l'allongement des lignes verticales, l'excès des choses pointues, montantes, afin de paraître plus élancées; par les contrecourbes des ogives et toutes sortes de courbes onduleuses, enchevêtrées; enfin par l'abus des ornements et des sculptures.[4]

The perceived retrogressive nature of these monuments has led many to assume that the late Gothic architecture of Paris is not worthy of special attention. While some scholars recognize the need for further research, many of the earlier historians simply defined the architecture of the later Middle Ages as representative of a style in decline. The following example is typical of the literature on the parish churches:

> Le XVe, avec son style flamboyant marque plutôt une sorte de décadence, en ce sens que les constructeurs, sans réaliser aucun progrès notable perdant quelquefois de vue les grandes lignes pour s'attarder dans des détails d'ornamentation un peu trop recherches. Toutefois les églises Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs et Saint-Séverin sont encore d'un effet imposant.[5]

It is obvious from statements like these that the architectural achievements of this period have not been understood. For this reason, a precise analysis is needed in order to understand fully not only the unique qualities of these monuments but also their intended functions. To do this, the social, economic and political

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[4] Charles Delon, Notre Capitale, Paris (Paris: Georges Maurice, Librairie-Éditeur 1888) 268.
[5] Amedée Bonet, Les Édifices Religieux, Moyen Age - Renaissance (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens Éditeur 1910) preface IV.

conditions need to be considered along with the appearance of each of the monuments.

The parish churches of Paris are imposing monuments. Their size and grandeur are reminiscent of large-scale architecture and therefore suggest an immediate connection to a much larger context. The rebuilding of the parish churches was part of an architectural tradition that commonly sought inspiration from a prominent architectural monument or group of buildings which then became the prototype. The relationship establishes a direct connection to the past and to a specific building type; the unique character of each period is defined by the way in which tradition and innovation are melded. Although the later Middle Ages continue many of the established traditions, the sixteenth century was a period of intense building activity during which a well-defined architectural style emerged based on the explicit use of an established architectural vocabulary.

Historical Context

Throughout the Middle Ages, building activity was not maintained at a consistent level in any one area; history is dotted by periods of both intense and relatively slow building. The first half of the twelfth century saw the introduction of new construction techniques that led to the monumentality of the Abbey church of Saint-Denis, and the Cathedrals of Sens, Noyon, and Laon. Philippe Auguste's reign (1180-1223) marked a period of social, economic and political gain. The royal domain quadrupled in size and the City of Paris, newly encircled by fortifications, became the veritable capital of the kingdom. Philippe-Auguste initiated the construction of the Louvre and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. In addition to these major architectural projects, the king also made magnanimous investments in the arts. By the end of his reign (c. 1220), the population of Paris had grown to 60,000. During the rule of Louis IX (1226-1270), Paris was the recognized cultural capital of the west. The king sponsored numerous building campaigns, including the construction of Sainte-Chapelle, the royal palace chapel which came to epitomize the emerging Court Style and has assured the legacy of Saint Louis.

This period was followed by less construction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries due to the financial burden of the Hundred Years War.

> Paris, like Rouen, was in political and economic turmoil as a result of the Burgundian/Armagnac conflict followed by the English occupation of the city between 1419 and 1436. Little construction was undertaken during the period... [6]

It has also been said that:

> Ce fut surtout pendant le règne de Charles VI (1380-1422) et la première moitié du règne de Charles VII (1422-1461), que les constructions religieuses furent presque partout abandonée.[7]

The fact that little construction was undertaken during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is a direct result of the economic and political situation in France during the reign of Charles VI and Charles VII. The accession of Louis XI in 1461, however, brought changes that eventually led to the establishment of peace and economic prosperity. This is reflected in the continual growth and emergence of Paris as the capital of France:

> Au cœur de la crise du XVe siècle Paris n'avait plus que 100.000 habitants, chiffre encore très élevé comparé à celui d'un ville ordinaire. Dans le dernier quart du siècle, le chiffre de 200.000 est atteint, c'est-à-dire que la restauration démographique est achevée. Au début du XVIe siècle, la progression continue et dans le premier XVIe siècle ont estime à au moins 300.000 le nombre des habitants. [8]

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[6] Neagley, "The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of a Style" 380.

[7] Robert de Lasteyrie du Saillant, L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique, Ouvrage posthume publié par M. Aubert, vols. 1-2 (Paris: A Picard 1926) 160.

[8] Bergeron, 63.

These figures confer with those presented in Jean Babelon's Paris au XVIe siècle which records the population of the city as between 300,000 and 400,000 in the early sixteenth century.[9]

Not only did the number of inhabitants steadily rise, several events during the rule of Louis XI helped to increase the power of the French monarch and the size of the royal domain. Louis negotiated a concordat with the papacy in 1472 and put an end to the English invasions by 1475. These accords and the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1477 gave Louis XI the opportunity to seize a large portion of the territory controlled by the Burgundians. Finally, the demise of the House of Anjou in 1481 led to royal control of Provence, Anjou, and Maine, thus making the realm larger and the monarch more powerful. During the final years of the reign of Louis XI, France emerged as a united nation under a monarch centered in Paris.

The Treaty of Arras between France and Burgundy, signed by Louis XI, Emperor Maximilian of Austria and the estates of Flanders in 1482, made France the most powerful nation in Christendom through the future marriage of Princess Marguerite and Charles, the dauphin. The monarch of France thus became the highest ranking Christian king. His royal policies solidified peace and led to a new era celebrated in the form of elaborate royal entries. The death of the Duc de Bretagne and his daughter's eventual willingness to marry Charles VIII led to the subsequent addition of Bretagne to the kingdom. This event was marked by Anne de Bretagne's first royal entry into Paris on February 8, 1491. Royal entries were often carefully planned after the conclusion of an important treaty, so as to dramatize a political victory. The second royal entry of Anne de Bretagne, her post-coronation entry into Paris as the bride of Louis XII, occurred on November 19, 1504. The public spectacle was scheduled to follow shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Blois, September 22, 1504, and the establishment of peace in Europe by the proposed marriage of Claude de France and Charles de Habsburg, heir of the Low countries, and later Charles V.[10] These political and

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[9] As stated by Jean-Pierre Babelon (Paris au XVIe siecle Paris Diffusion Hachette 1986, 161) "Navagero en 1528 estime la population parisienne a 300 ou 400 000 âmes, et Marino Cavalli en 1546 à 500.000."

[10] Lawrence M Bryant, The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance (Geneve Libraire Droz 1986) 95

celebratory events were marked by pledges to the city and to the Church. Each king strove to maintain France's position as the leading Christian nation and therefore vowed to restore, reconstruct and build ecclesiastic monuments throughout France. This ushered in a period devoted to the redefining of the French cathedrals and especially the churches of the capital. The royal building activity financed by the court was not only extensive at this time, but part of the overall resurgence in building activities throughout northern France. Some of the most notable building campaigns outside Paris include the new choir of the church of Saint-Étienne at Beauvais (1506-1522), the transept façades of the Cathedral of Senlis (1506-1560), the west front of Troyes Cathedral (1502-1531) and the western façade of Saint-Maclou at Rouen (1500-1515). In the capital city of Paris, building activity centered almost exclusively on the total reconstruction of the city's parish churches, but also included the construction of a number of prominent Hôtels.

Chapter 2 The Monuments

As explained in the introductory pages of this thesis, the late Gothic monuments, herein presented, constitute a well-defined group created during a period of intense building activity in Paris. The diversity and variety that can be found in this group reflects the richness of the architectural style of this period. The analysis of the building history of each church will try to clarify the dates of construction and the extent of building in Paris during this period. At the same time, the similarities between each monument should become clear. The monuments are presented in chronological order based on the most extensive late Gothic building activity. The first church to be considered in this analysis is the church of Saint-Séverin. It was the first monument to undergo construction during the reign of Charles VIII and it represents one of the most important parish churches in this study.

Saint-Séverin

The history of the parish church of Saint-Séverin throughout the Middle Ages was largely determined by the relationship between the ruling monarchs and the Bishops of Paris. The connection forged between Church and State has characterized the history since its inception. This relationship has helped to make Saint-Séverin one of the most powerful Parisian churches of the later Middle Ages. The original patrons of the oratory-chapel located over a Merovingian cemetery were the kings of France. The chapel was rebuilt as a church by Henri I and given in 1050 to Imbert, Bishop of Paris, to become incorporated into the chapter of Notre-Dame, according to a Charter from 1301. The church was rebuilt under Louis IX, at which time the priest of Saint-Séverin, became an Archpriest; the only other parish church to be led by an Archpriest was the church of Saint Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. Both are located along the main axial road intersecting the Ile-de-la-Cité and providing easy access to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.

The importance of the history and location of these two monuments is directly reflected in the decision to begin major rebuilding. During the later Middles Ages, both the monarch and the Archpriest were involved in the financing and building of the eastern end of the church of Saint-Séverin and the

tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. This construction made both structures important religious and royal monuments in Paris.

The collegiate church of Saint-Séverin, located on rue des Prêtres-Saint-Séverin, near the University, was the first of the parish churches to be rebuilt during the later Middle Ages and therefore became a model for other parishes. The church, located among the mansions of the rue Saint-Jacques area, became the principal parish church of the district and the chapter, as led by the Archpriest, had jurisdiction over all the parishes and their churches in the southern part of the city.

The dominance and importance of Saint-Séverin is further expressed in its building history during the second half of the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century. In 1428, the churchwardens of Saint-Séverin bought the hotel of the Abbots of Eschallis located behind the chevet so they could enlarge the church. Demolition of the hotel began in 1445 and then a fire in 1448 reportedly destroyed all but the first three bays of the nave, the pillars of the southern aisle, the two bays to the north and the tower. To finance the refurbishing of the church, the Cardinal de Estouteville from Rouen, builder of the archiepiscopal Palace of Rouen, gave indulgences in 1452 to those people who would donate "livres, vases, paremens et ornamens" to Saint-Séverin. This was followed in 1458 by Pope Calixte III's renewal of the Bulle of Indulgences accorded a century earlier by Clement VI in 1347. These acts led to later building campaigns during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It was at this time that the last two bays of the nave and the three regular bays of the choir were added along with double aisles on the south side. In 1479, the area earlier occupied by the Hôtel de Chaalis was still vacant.[11]

The first stone of the building campaign of the choir was laid on May 12, 1489 and the chapel of the Conception was demolished in 1490 to make way for the extension of the north side and the chancel designed by the master mason Micheaul or Michel le Gros. A year or two later (c. 1491-1492), the chapel of Saint-Sebastian was built and by the end of March 1495,[12] Jean Simon de Champigny,

[11] Reynaud, 32 from Archives Nationales S 3504.

[12] This date is given as March 30, 1496 by Jean Verrier ("L'église Saint-Séverin (de Paris),") Congrès Archeologique de France session 104 - Paris-Mantes (Paris: Société Française

Bishop of Paris (1492-1502), consecrated the new portions of the church including the high altar and several of the chapels of the chevet. From 1498 to 1520, the chapels on the south side were built under the direction of Michel le Gros. In 1540, the churchwardens decided to rebuild the sacristy and treasury on the north side of the church. Parliament authorized this construction on August 26, 1540.

Inscriptions and epithets found within the church date from the first half of the sixteenth century confirming that this constituted an important era in the history of the church. During this time, the church received donations and tomb monuments from some of its more affluent patrons, various members of the Brinon family were not only principal parishioners, but also among the major benefactors of the church. Yves and Jean Brinon, both procurers of the Parliament of Paris, provided for the construction of the double lateral chapel located just east of the tower on the north side of the nave; this chapel was not yet completed in 1508.[13] Around the same time, an inscription commemorating the donations of Guillaume Fusée, *seigneur de Voisenon* († January 10, 1511) was modified; the title of procurator of Parliament was corrected to read President.[14] This inscription is also inaccurately recorded as stating that it was in 1521 that Guillaume Fusee, President of the Parliament of Paris, and his wife, Jeanne Desportes, made pious donations to the church. In addition to the epithet of this great patron, there is a plaque dedicated to Nicolas de Bomont, merchant and citizen of Paris († 1540) and his wife Robine de Cuyndel († 1547). This tomb stone, originally from one of the galleries of the ossuary, is now on the north side near the sacristy. On it the two patrons and their fifteen children are shown kneeling before Christ on the cross flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist.

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d'Archéologique 1946 (1947) 140) and is, according to Archives Nationale, LL 937, Martyrologe de Saint-Séverin, fol. 53

[13] Reynaud, 37.

[14] Maurice Dumolin, Les églises de France, Paris et la Seine (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane 1936) 61.

The Plan and Model

In the late fifteenth century, Saint-Séverin was conceived as a basilica. The plan (Fig. 3) is modeled after the five aisle plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Like Notre-Dame, Saint-Séverin is longitudinal with a semi-circular double ambulatory chevet. The church of Saint-Séverin has a five bay nave with aisles flanked by single chapels on the south side and double chapels on the north side. The nave is followed by a four bay choir, but can no longer be distinguished from the choir without the jubé which once subdivided these areas. In contrast to Notre-Dame, Saint-Séverin does not have transepts. Even without this division, the plan of Saint-Séverin clearly repeats the five bay nave, transept crossing plus three bay choir arrangement of Notre-Dame. In both monuments, the chevet consists of a five sided semi-circular bay encircled by a double ambulatory and chapels.

The designer of the chevet of Saint-Séverin chose to copy the prototype of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and to use it in creating a new style of architecture. The master mason of the Cathedral devised a system for vaulting the ambulatory of the chevet while maintaining the same distance between the pillars of the nave and those of the rond-point. The vaults of the first ambulatory at Saint-Séverin are based on the same three part vault principle used at Notre-Dame. In both monuments an extra column is inserted on the outer side of each ambulatory bay; this column carries the two ribs which divide the vault into three parts. The architect of the vaults of Saint-Séverin, however, did not simply copy the Notre-Dame system, but took the design a step further: The arrangement has become more complex by the further insertion of a tripartite rib vault into each of the triangular sections of the ambulatory vaults. In vaulting the nave, the more modern quadripartite system is used, as opposed to the sexpartite style of the Cathedral.

In addition to features of the layout, Saint-Séverin also has a number of interior and exterior details derived from the Cathedral. The buttressing system of the choir copies the two tiered supports of Notre-Dame and the addition of bilevel balustrades to the western façade is derived from the southern façade of the Cathedral. The interior follows a regularized three storey elevation scheme like Notre-Dame with arcades, an open triforium and a clerestory.

The late Gothic triforium of Saint-Séverin was initially an open gallery that encircled both the nave and choir. In the eighteenth century, the entire second storey on the north side was glassed-in, thus removing the existing gallery which probably had a truncated wooden balustrade so people could view the religious ceremonies below from this elevated position. In the north-east corner of the church, there is a passageway connecting the gallery of the nave to that of the chevet. Three steps lead to a door to the circular gallery of the chevet (Fig. 4). This feature reveals that the church was designed not only to have two functional storeys, but also distinct areas within the choir for different groups.

In the interior, the single focus of the church is the choir apse and columns of the ambulatory. The culminating bay of the choir and vertical axis of the church is the five sided central apse. This polygonal bay is given prominence by being elevated; its arcades are slightly higher than those of the nave thus creating a greater vertical thrust towards the apse vault which is clearly distinguished from all other vaults by its shape and elaborate pattern. The six principal ribs are joined by a central foliated keystone. The area between each of the main ribs is further subdivided by tiercerons and liernes that carry smaller keystones like the tripartite vaults of the ambulatory. Finally this apse vault, the first of its kind in Paris, resembles a huge canopy and in effect is the visual compliment to the central twisted column of the chevet.

In the chevet of Saint-Séverin, as at Notre-Dame, there are six pillars in the rond-point and eleven supporting the vaults of the ambulatory. The arrangement of the choir of Saint-Séverin is a direct copy of the disposition of columns within the Cathedral. In both examples, the pivotal column of the ambulatory system is in the exact middle and therefore visible between the central columns of the main apse. The columns of the apse become a screen through which the pillars of the ambulatory can be seen. The latter have been described as reminiscent of a palm grove.

> C'est elle en tout cas qui permet le jeu des nervures multiples et la symbolique de la palmeraire qu'elle évoque... On sait en effet les références multiples de l'Eucharistie au désert biblique et sa végétation.[15]

[15] Moubarac, 7-10

The chevet of Saint-Séverin, though clearly derived from Cathedral of Notre-Dame, is more dramatic because of its greater complexity.

The dominant column of the ambulatory is a twisted polygonal support with projecting profiles. It is decorated by blind tracery near the top. The profiles disappear among the ribs that spawn the accompanying tripartite vaults. The design is in many ways analogous to the tracery pattern of the stained glass windows of the western façade. Both of these features invoke a sense of architecture attempting to imitate nature. The design of the central pillar is not only unique, but like a stylized tree supporting a number of branches and keystones (Fig. 5). The innovative design of this choir with its variety of columns and multiple rib vaults proved highly influential.

The choir became the model for the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny constructed by the Amboise family in c. 1500 (Fig. 6). The Hôtel was financed by Jacques d'Amboise, Abbot of Cluny, Bishop of Clermont and brother of Cardinal Georges, Archbishop of Rouen and Prime Minister to Louis XII. The Amboise were one of the most powerful families of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For this reason, it is significant that the choir of Saint-Séverin was chosen as the model of their private family chapel. The design is a quotation of the choir of Saint-Séverin. This in itself not only suggests a direct link between the principal benefactors of the church and the members of the Amboise family, but also shows their high regard for the architecture of the parish churches.

The central column of the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny supports a complex vaulting system with eighteen principal ribs and additional tiercerons and liernes. In the chapel, tripartite and quadripartite rib intersections were once decorated by numerous keystones as in the choir of Saint-Séverin. The similarities between this small private chapel and the royal church of Saint-Séverin while obvious in the interior are also continued on the exterior.

> l'absidiale de la chapelle de l'hôtel de Cluny, avançant en encorbellement au dessus d'un portal soutenue par un pilier central dont le chapiteau porte le

> monogramme de Charles VIII (un K couronné) et un écusson aux armes de Jacques d'Amboise. [16]

These iconographic details identify the major patrons and establish the direct involvment of Charles VIII while the architecture reveals how the chapel of a private residence is modelled after the parish church.

The stained glass windows and interior decorations of Saint-Severin also reveal to what extent the church functioned as a showcase of the social and political hierarchy that defined late Medieval society. The majority of the windows date from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and a number of these contain important details indicating the patronage of a large number of donors including the monarch Charles VIII. Several of the coats-of-arms identifying nobility survive. Some individuals appear in long red robes and are thus shown as magistrates. Although not mentioned by the authors of the Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, there is a stained glass window with a large fleur-de-lis tympanum filling the second bay of the choir on the south side of the church. This explicit emblem of the French monarch is one of many symbols found within the interior expressing royalty.

The royal program is implicit in the decoration of the windows and the choice of Christ, King of Heaven, as one of the central images of the stained glass in the choir. According to Reynaud, the three stained glass panels depicting the Virgin and Child, Christ and Saint John the Baptist were originally conceived as a triptych for the chapel donated by Guillaume Brinon and dedicated to Christ as *'Saint Sauveur'* :

> Guillaume Brinon avait fait faire une verriere a la dévotion du titre de sa chapellenie et cette verriere, vu le rang social de son donateur et l'intérêt que les documents [des archives nationales] lui portent, pouvait bien être la maîtresse-vitre du chœur; son sujet est trop rare pour qu'il ne s'agisse que d'une coïncidence et son aspect cérémonial était propre a

[16] Jacques Hillairet, Dictionnaire Historique des rues de Paris vols. 1-2 (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit 1961) 367.

décorer une fenêtre axiale d'où l'image dominait toute l'enfilade du vaisseau central.[17]

The model of this window has been identified as a cartoon by the painter known as Maître de Coetivy, the artist attributed with the Résurrection de Lazare in the Musée du Louvre and the cartoons of the famous suites of tapestries entitled l'Histoire de Troie and the Destruction de Jérusalem.[18]

The clerestorey of the choir, where these windows appear, was designed to accommodate five paired lancettes. The central pair of windows has Christ the *Salvator mundi* on the right and the Virgin and Child on the left (Fig. 7). Together with the Child, the Virgin Mary and Christ appear as a king and queen. They are the rulers of Heaven and at the same time an imperial couple and a royal family. The child becomes a symbol of the couple's fecundity and therefore the success of the monarchy of France.

The borders placed around these windows were intended to define further the royal program of the church. Each window was given a decorative border; the most important windows have an ermine and fleurs-de-lis edge. These symbols of France and Bretagne, the fleur-de-lis and the ermine, constitute direct references to the sovereign patrons, Charles VIII and Anne de Bretagne, and therefore were used to create the outer edge of the newer windows for the choir.

The Saint John the Baptist and Saint Michel window, located to the left of the Virgin Mary and Christ, was given by Charles VIII and fashioned as part of the royal program at Saint-Séverin initiated by the construction of the double ambulatory choir and the use of specific windows. Saint Michel is the defender of France, the patron-saint of knights, and presenter of four donors in courtly costumes. The saint appears as a knight carrying a shield with the three fleurs-de-lis of France and the golden chain of the Order of Saint Michel founded by Louis XI in 1469.

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[17] Reynaud, 37
[18] Reynaud, 25

The fleur-de-lis and ermine border is similar in function to the use of the fleur-de-lis and the castle emblem of Blanche de Castile in the Court Style stained glass windows of Sainte-Chapelle commissioned by Louis IX. The new border was not simply intended as decoration; it also served as a historical allusion to the marriage of Charles VIII and Anne de Bretagne which took place in 1491. Above the Saint Michel and Saint John the Baptist lancettes is the Coronation of the Virgin clearly referring to the crowning of Anne de Bretagne as the new Queen of France.

The various subjects of the stained glass windows have also been found to have relevance to other historical events such as the consecration of the church by Jean Simon in 1495. There are several windows in Saint-Severin depicting either Saint John the Baptist or Saint John the Evangelist. Besides the stained glass window of Saint John the Baptist originally flanking Christ, there is also a window depicting Saint Simon with a saw thus implying the direct involvement of Jean Simon in the construction of the church.

The role played by Jean Simon as patron is made clear in other interior details as well. The church of Saint-Séverin was linked to the Bishop of Paris and the ruling family by the explicit iconographic program of its keystones. In the church of Saint-Séverin, sculpted keystones play an important role in the overall decoration of the interior. Keystones adorn almost ever vault in the church. While most of these have been effaced, the majority represented the coats-of arms or heraldic emblems of the different donors of the church. Fortunately, there are a number of keystones that are still legible. A fleur-de-lis keystone can clearly be seen in the fourth bay of the nave marking the first bay of the fifteenth century rebuilding campaign and the principal patron at that time.

The keystones of the first five bays of the outer aisle of the north side are similar. Visible are four fleurs-de-lis keystones and one yellow and blue keystone which appears to have three badges. While the next two bays have indiscernible keystones, the following two keystones of the three-partite vaults of the outer ambulatory represent the head of Saint John and the Lamb of Saint John. The insertion of tripartite vaults at this location was certainly intended to be representative. The iconography of the keystones of this bay indicates the donor. The choice to make two explicit references to Saint John the Baptist

metaphorically links one of the principal figures of the church, namely Jean Simon, Bishop of Paris, to this area of the church near the annex. The Bishop not only consecrated the building in 1495, but was obviously responsible for the iconography of the vaults of these two bays.

The Royal Program

The iconography of each of the keystones of the double ambulatory choir is arranged according to a hierarchy of society. While a number of the keystones are no longer readable, there is enough information to show clearly the intended complexity of the whole iconographic program. The central keystone of the first aisle depicts the sun. To the right is a fleur-de-lis and two worn coats-of-arms. To the left of the central keystone is a crowned dolphin or dauphin (symbol of the eldest son of the king), a coat-of-arms surmounted by a crown of fleurs-de-lis, and the coat-of-arms of the city of Paris.[19] The keystones of the vaults of the second ambulatory are more religious in theme, but nevertheless strongly reinforce the royal program of the church. There is a cross with the implements of the crucifixion encircled by a crown of thorns and the harp of King David. In each of these, there is a direct reference to Kingship; the hierarchical arrangement becomes a lineage of kings. Christ is the King of Heaven, King David is the leader of the ancient world and Charles VIII (1483-1498) is the ruler of France and therefore the modern world.

The iconography becomes quite specific and, in each case, the identity of the donor and his message is meant to be obvious. The areas enriched by donations from Charles VIII continue to exult his image. The king gave money to the church for stained glass windows and the erection of a chapel dedicated to Saint-Charles, i.e., Charlemagne, the king's patron-saint and by extension the ancestral father of the kings of France and thus Charles' progenitor. By establishing this connection, the king became the new Charlemagne. As such, Charles saw himself as the veritable 'Sauveur' of France, hence the clear impetus behind the reorganization of the clerestorey windows of the choir. A keystone in the choir depicting Saint Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate may also refer to Anne de Bretagne who was married to both Charles VIII and Louis XII.

[19] This coat-of-arms has the fleurs-de-lis as part of its iconography

A further indication of the royal patronage of Saint-Severin exists in the thematic choice of the central window of the western façade that was inserted in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The subject of this window, the Tree of Jesse, and its form have particular relevance to the iconographic program of the church. The window is not a conventional rose, but a slightly pointed semicircular window that is a natural outgrowth of the six ogee arch lancettes forming its base (Fig. 8). The mullions of each lancette are like tree trunks above which there is a flowering of branches in the form of mouchettes; this idea is repeated in the iconography of each of the windows.

The stained glass clearly depicts a Tree of Jesse; each figures rests on a branch of the tree. The two largest windows represent the Virgin Mary and Child at the top and Saint Joseph as the central figure in the first row. This is usual as Saint Joseph, though mentioned in Matthew 1.12, is not often depicted in the Tree of Jesse. The two principal lights are nevertheless directly connected by tracery. The rest of the window consists primarily of two rows of paired mouchettes each depicting an ancient king or high priest.

The Tree of Jesse is an important feature of Saint-Severin as it was clearly intended to proclaim royal affiliation and dominance just as traditionally a genealogy of the ascendants of Jesse has been used since early Gothic times to symbolize and legitimize the ascendancy of the royal family of France. It was incorporated into the stained glass and sculpture of the most important Gothic monuments throughout northern France and can be seen at Sainte-Chapelle (1485-1498), Saint-Ouen at Rouen, Saint-Étienne at Beauvais (1522) and the Cathedrals of Chartres, Beauvais, Saint-Denis, Autun (c.1515) and Sens (c.1501).

Although the church of Saint-Séverin was not explicitly built as the royal parish church of Paris, it nevertheless served as an important showcase for the monarchs and in this respect has direct affinities not only to the tower of Saint Jacques-de-la-Boucherie and the royal parish church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, but also the parish churches in Paris reconstructed during the same period.

Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

The church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, located near the west bank of the Seine, close to the Louvre and the Hôtel de Bourbon, has a long history of having served the monarchs of France. Childebert I, Chilperic I, and Robert the Pious are all believed to have been involved in the construction of the various religious monument that have occupied the present site. For this reason, the church has been the historic parish of the sovereigns of France since before the twelfth century:

> As long as a King or an Emperor ruled in France, S.-Germain, with its dependent church, S.-Roch, remained the church in closest connection with the two royal palaces, the Louvre and the Tuileries.[20]

One of the original structures, a chapel dedicated to Saint-Germain, was chosen by Philippe-Auguste to be the "Église Royale" and rebuilt as a monument to the monarch. The original bell and its 1529 replacement were used to announce royal births and important events such as the baptism of Isabelle of France and later Marie-Isabelle, the daughter of Charles IX and Elisabeth d'Autriche.

In later centuries, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois continued to serve as the parish church of the monarchs. It was again the functioning royal parish church of Paris after the Valois family took up residence in the Louvre in c. 1328. In this capacity, it became the christening place of the royal family. François I often frequented the church to implore the succor of Saint Germain who, along with Saint Michel, is the protector of the Kingdom. On March 11, 1524 "[François I] se rendit à Saint-Germain avec toute la cour pour prendre part à une procession solenelle qui partit de cette église pour se rendre à Notre-Dame [et puis] Henri III prit sous sa sauvegarde 'les personnes, biens et facultez de MM. de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois' et se déclara 'le premier paroissien' de l'église."[21] In addition to serving the royal family, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois administered to an increasingly large area of the city. Its jurisdiction extended as far as Saint-Cloud to the west and Châtelet to the east.

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[20] Jetta Wolff, The Story of the Paris Churches (London: Cecil Palmer & Hayward 1918) 58.
[21] Amedee Boinet, Les eglises parisiennes vols. 1-3 (Les Éditions de Minuit 1962) 269.

After the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois is the only church among the ancient churches to have had a school. There was once a cloister and a Dean's house located between the church and the Louvre. Along with the school, Saint-Ge main-l'Auxerrois had the first regularly organized community of clerks in Paris. A chapter with a Dean, precentor, thirteen canons and eleven chaplains was connected to the church and ranked immediately after the Cathedral.[22] The church, earlier considered the "eldest daughter of Notre Dame Cathedral", was administered by the chapter which was bound to serve the Bishop of the Diocese.

> Notre-Dame n'ayant pas de circonscription particulière, dès lors le premier rang dut appartenir de droit à l'église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, tant par l'ancieneté de son origine que par l'importance et l'etendue de sa circonscription paroissiale.[23]

Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois was thus both a historic and royal monument. For these reasons, the church received particular attention and was among one of the first churches to be rebuilt during the end of the fifteenth century.

As at Saint-Séverin, important building campaigns were initiated during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It was at this time that the nave, aisles, façade, porch and chapels of the chevet were built. Construction on the chevet and the south side of the choir was started in first years of the sixteenth century. Although it is usually stated that the rebuilding of the church began during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the largest portion of the church belongs to the last quarter of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The earlier dates frequently given for the construction of the porch and nave have been refuted by more recent scholarship. The later dating of the church is also supported by a number of epithets and by the dates which appear inscribed throughout the church.

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22 Sophia Beale, The Churches of Paris from Clovis to Charles X (W. H. Allen and Co. Ltd. 1893) 183.

23 Félix Lazare and Louis Lazare, Dictionnaire Administratif et Historique des Rues et Monuments de Paris Deuxième Édition (Paris: Au Bureau de la Revue Municipale 1855) 382

It has generally been believed, based on the scholarship of Maurice Dumolin, that the first late Gothic building campaign at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois began during the first quarter of the fifteenth century between 1420-25.[24] More recently André Lesort and Hélene Verlet, the authors of Épitaphier du Vieux-Paris, have led to evidence refuting these earlier dates. As pointed out in a review of their book by Erlande-Brandenburg in Bulletin Monumental, dates of construction can be inaccurate and often contradict written documentation. In his review, Erlande-Brandenburg states:

> On croyait jusqu'alors, à la suite de Maurice Dumolin, que la nef était en cours de construction en 1423. En fait, la découverte d'un texte inédit et qui n'a malheureusement pas été publie, tiré des Délibérations capitulaires, oblige à rajeunir d'un demi-siècle la nef. En effet, le 31 mai 1476, les marquillers demandaient au chapitre l'autorisation de construire la nef sur le modèle du chœur.[25]

What is made clear by this document is the fact that the churchwardens were seeking the authorization in 1476 to begin further construction of the church and therefore had not yet begun construction on the nave. It is noteworthy that the document does not indicate when the actual rebuilding of the nave began; hence, it would be inaccurate to say that construction began even in 1476. The document, while not clarifying when construction began, nevertheless clearly contradicts earlier scholarship and therefore demands to be incorporated into the present body of research on Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.

A reevaluation of the late Gothic history of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois reveals that not only the nave is later in date. An analysis of the subsequent building history has led to a more accurate assessment of the architecture and its dates of construction. The previously assumed early date of the porch has been questioned by Stephen Murray who believes that "even the most cursory study

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[24] This is based on a document refered to by Maurice Dumolin which suggests that the aisles were rebuilt between 1420-1425. Dumolin p. 66 does not, however, provide any reference to this source other than "Un document montre qu'on travaillait à la nef en 1423, et elle dut être rebâtie, avec ses bas-côtes, entre 1420-1425."

[25] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, Review of Andre Lesort et Hélène Verlet, Épitaphier du Vieux-Paris, tome V, facs. 1 *Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois* (Paris: Imprimerie municipale 1974) in Bulletin Monumental 133 (1975) 104

of the porch will indicate that while this date [1435-1439] is feasible for the two outer bays, the inner bays, with their complex piers and star vaults are closer to 1500 [in date]."[26] If the inner porch does not belong to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the nave is much later in date, than earlier views which did not see a strong connection between Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and other parish churches in Paris must be reconsidered.

A new assessment of the history of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois reveals that it is more directly related to the surrounding late Gothic parish churches of Paris. The revised building history of the nave and inner porch not only connects Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois in date to the rest of the late Gothic parish churches modernized in the late fifteenth early sixteenth century, but also helps to establish the extent of building activity within the city during this period. A new look at the building's history will make the importance of the sixteenth century clear.

The Building History

Important rebuilding campaigns took place during the sixteenth century which led to the redefining of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois as a both a royal and ecclesiastic monument. On December 27, 1504, the churchwardens permitted Jean Tronson, head of the cloth merchants' confraternity and bourgeois of Paris, to rebuild the central chapel. On October 30, 1505, Jean Tronson contracted the sculptor, Jean Soulas or Solas, to create a monument representing the sepulcre of Christ for the chapel of Notre-Dame in the chevet of the church.[27] The iconography of this central chapel is an expression of the patron and his involvement.

> Dans la corniche de la chapelle centrale du chevet, Guilhermy a signalé des "tronçons" de poisson, qui figuraient dans les armoires de Jean Tronson, le fondateur.[28]

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[26] Stephen Murray, Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 243.

[27] Maurice Baurit and Jacques Hillairet, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois église collégiale, royale et paroissiale et son quartier (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1955) 20.

[28] Dumolin, 71.

This practice of including the patron's emblem or coat-of-arms, as seen here and at Saint-Séverin, helps determine the richer periods in the history of an ecclesiastic monument. In the case of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, construction continued throughout the first third of the sixteenth century as evidenced in dates of construction and the records of pious donations. The chapel of Tronson, known as the Three Maries, or Tombeau following the patron's death, was finished after 1531 by his sons. This chapel, consecrated on May 12, 1506, by Mathieu d'Artigueloube, Bishop of Pamiers, contains the coat-of arms of its founder and was associated with the confraternity of the cloth makers' guild. The outer aisle and the three chapels on the south side of the choir were built between 1502-1505. They were given by Jacques Olivier, President of the Parliament, Louis de Poncher, Secretary of the king and Controller general of Finance during the reign of Louis XII, and Pierre de Cérisay, Dean of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The middle chapel contains the funerary monuments of Louis de Poncher († 1521) and his wife, Roberte Legendre († 1520) sculpted by the master sculptor Guillaume Regnault and Guillaume Chalaveau of Tours.

The third chapel of the choir on the south side, contracted December 8, 1503, and completed in 1506, served as the funerary chapel of the Cerisay family commemorating Dean Pierre de Cerisay († November 19, 1507) and his nephew († August 27, 1510) They were among the benefactors who enlarged and embellished the church during the early sixteenth century; their coats-of-arms can be seen on the right and left sides of their chapel. The two chapels to the right of the central chapel of the chevet were built between 1521 and 1522; the one located next to the central chapel is named after the sister of François I, Marguerite, Duchess of Berri, wife of the Duke of Alençon and later Henri of Albret, the king of Navarre. Between 1559-1580, two of the chapels on the north side of the choir were given by prominent citizens; the chapel to Saint Charles was the gift of Charles Leconte and Jeanne Huré, his wife. The third chapel on the north side of the choir, dedicated to Saints Pierre and Étienne, was provided by Pomponne de Belièvre, Superintendent of Finances and Chancellor of France († 1607). The dates of construction of these chapels and a number of inscriptions indicate that there were many donations and considerable building during the sixteenth century.

Construction continued throughout the sixteenth century and included the completion of the north portal and the installation of stained glass. The chapels to the north of the choir were completed in 1569 and 1571. These dates can be found on a number of the gargoyles of the chevet. The classical portal on the north side belongs to this building campaign. In addition, the interior also underwent simultaneous modernization; stained glass windows were incorporated into the church in the 1530's and a jubé designed by Pierre Lescot was erected in front of the choir between 1539 and 1544. These dates along with details from the exterior support the new royal character of the church.

The Western Façade and Royal Program

The main features of the façade are a richly decorated porch, flanking stair turrets and a rose window surmounted by an upper balcony and a gable (Fig. 9). The porch of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, built by the master mason Jean Gaussel or Gaurel, is a five bay arcade surmounted by a balustrade. The three larger bays, or arcades, of the porch correspond to the three main portals and the principal division of the nave; the remaining two arcades are smaller. The three inner bays of the porch have multi-rib flamboyant vaulting while the outer arcades are single storey bays with simple quadripartite rib vaults supporting private chambers.

The exterior walls and piers of the porch have sixteen sculptures, fourteen on the lower level and two on the upper level. Although the majority of these constitute nineteenth-century reconstructions, they provide the only link to the original late Gothic sculptural program. The names of each of the individuals represented have been inscribed on their bases. The vast majority of the figures wear either a crown or a mitres. The outer pillars of the façade are decorated by statues in niches with ornate canopies. Only two statues still date from the fifteenth century; they are Saint François of Assisi and Saint Mary of Egypt with three loaves of bread.

All the figures incorporated into the western porch façade of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois are connected with royalty. The two central pillars are replete with ecclesiastic figures; there are two on the western side and one on each of the outer sides of the pillar. On the left side moving towards the center

are Saint Denis holding his head, Saint Marcel, Bishop of Paris, and Saint Germain. On the right side from the outside towards the center are Saint Algibert, Saint Landry, Bishop of Paris, and Saint Céran. The flanking pillars have crowned female saints all of whom are members of the French royal family. They are, from left to right, Sainte Clotilde, Sainte Radegonde, Sainte Bathilde and Sainte Jeanne de Valois. The two statues found on the inner side of the intermediate pillars are Sainte Marie and Sainte Isabelle, sister of Louis IX and daughter of Louis VIII and Blanche de Castile. The two statues dominating the upper storey are Saint Louis and Charlemagne. In summation, each of the figures depicted on the western façade is either a member of the high clergy, or a sovereign ruler of France thus making the program of the façade a genealogy of the most influential individuals in the history of France, like a Tree of Jesse. The arrangement and iconography reinforce the royal character and elevated status of the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.

The central portal dates from the thirteenth century while the two flanking portals are from the fifteenth century. The original trumeau was a statue of Christ above which was a frescoed tympanum depicting the Last Judgement.

> Il est à remarquer qu'a la porte du Jugement dernier de Notre-Dame, la figure d'Abraham et la chaudière de l'Enfer sont, comme ici, représentés à la naissance de la première voussure. On peut penser que les deux tympans de la cathédrale et de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois offraient de grandes similitudes et que le premier avait servi de modèle pour le second.[29]

To the left of the central portal, there are statues of the Deacon, Saint Vincent, a king and queen. A fifteenth-century inscription tries to identify this royal couple as Childebert and Ultrogothe based of their likeness to statues at Saint-Germain-de-Pres.[30] Although the original identity of the couple is still unknown, by the later Middle Ages, the royal pair had become synonymous with King Chilperic I (Childebert) and Queen Ultrogothe, the founders of the oratory chapel of Saint-

[29] Bonet, Les eglises parisiennes 280

[30] This inscription which was still visible in 1843 according to Maurice Baurit and Jacques Hillairet, (Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois église collegiale, royale et paroissiale et son quartier (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1955, 2) reads "C'est Childebert, deuxième roi chrétian et Ultrogothe, sa femme, qui fondèrent cette eglise"

Germain in 606. The Bishop was similarly assumed to be Saint Vincent, the second patron of the church. These interpretations are significant in that they reveal the interest of Medieval society in establishing and elevating the legacy of specific individuals.

By contrast to the western façade, the northern portal of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois was designed as a classical triumphal arch (Fig. 10). This entrance served the members of the chapter who lived north of the church. The portal, built between 1569-71, became part of the growing application of motifs derived from classical antiquity. The practice of adopting the iconography of the Roman Empire was first popularized in 1549 when Henry II had elements of the Imperial Roman arch incorporated into the designs of the various gates dotting the ceremonial route of his entry. The importance of these motifs can readily be seen in their proliferation. After the completion of the Saint-Germain portal, a similar structure was built (1576-81) to adorn the southern portal of Saint-Nicolas des-Champs (Fig. 11). While the portal of Saint-Germain may have served as the model for the southern portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, according to David Thomson, both of these portals are derived from the arch designed by Philibert Delorme for the festivities of Tournelles in 1559. An illustration of this arch by Delorme first appeared in print in 1567 as folio number 247 in his treatise on architecture. This source book, entitled *Architecture*, would have been available to patrons and master masons alike as a standard guide; this probably led Thomson to the following conclusion:

> The differences between the woodcut and the doors of Saint-Nicolas and of Saint-Germain cannot properly be called reinterpretations of de l'Orme's design, for none of the alterations can be described as corrections following the recommendations or instructions of another architectural writer of the period. The designer of both the Saint-Nicolas and Saint-Germain doors closely imitated de l'Orme's design up to the frieze, above which a change to a full-triangular pediment was introduced.[31]

[31] Thomson, 191.

The two portals may be derived from the same source or as mentioned earlier, the Saint-Germain portal may have served as the model for Saint-Séverin in which case a close imitation was sought. Regardless, both examples reflect the importance of Roman antiquity and the symbolism of the classical triumphal arch. The Roman triumphal arch was a symbol of victory and the highest honor that the city of Rome bestowed on its heros. After 1549, it became, for the kings of France, the principal motif of the *entrée royale* of the monarchs of France and part of the design of their parish churches, as a symbol of the perpetual royal entry.

The Design

The plan of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Fig. 12) follows the same design as Saint-Séverin. The five aisle church has a four bay nave flanked by chapels followed by non-projecting transepts and an ambulatory choir. The choir ends in a five sided hemicycle bay similar in design and proportion to the apse of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. In both examples, the apse is vaulted by eight ribs connecting in a keystone and surrounded by an ambulatory and chapels. A second ambulatory system was begun at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, but due to the constraints of the site, the church ends in three chapels that form an almost perfectly flat wall. While not complete, the vaults of the second ambulatory are clearly articulated by tripartite vault patterns. The keystones of the vaults on the north side, near the classical portal, are, in particular, differentiated by motifs derived from antiquity.

In the interior, there is a large private chapel occupying the outer aisle of the right nave. This chapel, known as the Chapelle de Notre-Dame, is like a church within a church. It is closed off from the aisle by a tall wood screen and has its own altar, jubé, pulpit, lateral oratories, and a reredos forming a tree of Jesse which surrounds a statue of the Virgin. The last bay is covered by a decorative vault formed by liernes and tiercerons; the keystone represents Saint-Germain.

In the choir area, the first bay east of the transept on the south side contains a small private two storey loggia. The design of the exterior of this loggia is derived from the architecture of Medieval entrance towers of castle gate houses. The sacristy (Fig. 13) with its door framed by an elaborately decorated

ogee arch supporting a statue flanked by small windows mimics the architecture of the entrance of the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre built for Duc de Berry in the fourteenth century that survives in a Miniature of the Temptation of Christ (Très Riches Heures) by Herman de Limbourg and an eighteenth century engraving by Jean Pennot. As an exterior building type placed in an interior, the sacristy of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois dominates. It is directly related to secular examples which typically had a statue of the king as the focal point. Furthermore, this architectural pattern and its source would have been apparent to all who entered the church.

The ogee arch of the portal carries a statue of the Virgin Mary and Child. The figure is framed by a round arch with sculpted crochets flanked by two small windows between finials and a blind triforium below. A significant detail is that the Virgin is crowned; the central motif of her crown is a fleur-de-lis. This symbol in this context is a sign of royal domain and indicates that this part of the church was in fact designed as the private viewing chamber of the monarch. It is from this sacristy that the royal family attended mass.[32] This subtle iconographic system parallels Saint-Séverin where the interior is decorated with symbols of the monarch in stone and in glass.

The sixteenth-century windows of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois continue the royal program of the façade and interior. The flamboyant style tracery of the western façade was designed to resemble the contemporary rose window of the main façade of Sainte-Chapelle. The window, once hidden by a lean-to roof before being restored in the nineteenth century, has a stone tracery crown at its center. The mouchettes are grouped in fours clearly imitating the pattern established at Sainte-Chapelle. In the windows themselves, there are ecclesiastic figures, donors and patrons. The north transept rose window or the Saint Esprit window, contracted in 1532, represents the Pentecost and continues the royal program expressed on the façade. In this window, God the Father appears in a Papal tiara with angels, cherubim, martyrs and confessors; the saints who can be recognized are Sainte Catherine, Saint Vincent, Sainte Marguerite, Sainte Agnes, Sainte Marthe, Saint Germain, and Saint Louis. The four Fathers of the Latin church, Saint Grégoire, Saint Jérôme, Saint Amboise and Saint Augustin, are

[32] Dumolin, 68.

visible in the corners. Below these figures are the attributes of the evangelists and the coats-of-arms of the donors of the window. The emblems of Pierre de Cérisay, Dean of the chapter, and his nephew, Pierre de Cérisay de la Rivière, can be seen on the left. The north transept window has scenes from the Passion, the life of the Patriarch Abraham, Saint Peter, Sainte Anne and the portraits of the donors, Antoine Le Viste and Charlotte Briçonnet.

By contrast, the southern transept window represents a more sacred program where the central window depicts the Holy Ghost descending from heaven in the form of a dove. The smaller windows depict the Ascension, the Assumption, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Death of the Virgin, and the Doubting Saint Thomas along with other scenes from the Bible. Like a number of the parish churches in Paris, the iconography of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and Saint-Séverin has an explicit sacred and royal program. This is also true of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, the parish church located near the Hôtel de Ville.

Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

The church of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, the first parish church of the right bank, served as the principal church of city officials and therefore was one of the first churches to undergo profound rebuilding during the last years of the fifteenth century. As has been shown with Saint-Séverin and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the rebuilding of the church of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais was initiated by royalty. Rebuilding started under Charles VIII in 1494 and the church had been almost entirely rebuilt by the end of the sixteenth century.

The earlier church had either been destroyed or simply allowed to fall into ruin. According to an inscription, only one bay remains of the church from before 1420. This part belonged to the tower consecrated on October 27, 1420, by Gombauld, Bishop of Agrence.[33] After this date, there was no apparent building activity on the site for almost seventy-five years. Rebuilding of the church of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais only truly began under Charles VIII. Work started near the tower on the chapel of Christophe de Carmone, financed by the

[33] This is according to an ancient inscription cited by Maurice Dumolin in Les Églises de France, Paris et la Seine (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1936) 95.

President of the Parliament, († 1507)[34] and proceeded east. Although the architect or master mason of the church is unknown at this time, there is some speculation as to his identity.

> M. le Chanoine Brochard a pronouce le nom de Martin Chambiges, le grand maître du flamboyant, dont le nom figure parmi ceux de soixante-quinze notables paroissiens, réunis le 23 décembre 1500 pour approuver la concession à Christophe de Carmone de la première chapelle construite en 1494 au nord du chœur. [Il] insiste sur la ressemblance qu'offre la façade nord du transept de Saint-Gervais avec celles des transepts des cathédrales de Sens et de Beauvais, qui ont été édifiées par Martin Chambiges.[35]

While the involvement of Martin Chambiges cannot be confirmed, the similarities in design between Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, a parish church, and two of the Cathedrals of northern France demonstrates that the building activities in Paris were in fact part of an even greater architectural movement which relied heavily on a specific architectural vocabulary to reflect the same or at least a similar set of ideals.

The rebuilding of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, begun 1494 continued throughout most of the sixteenth century. Construction was focused on the Chapel of the Virgin, a richly decorated projecting apse which repeats the arrangement and vault patterns of the last three bays of the choir. The keystone of this chapel, done by the Jacquets brothers, makes an allusion to the Tower of David and the Crown of the Virgin. It was inscribed: "Parfaicte en l'an 1517 en juillet, fus peint en 1(5)52."[36] The date of this inscription has also been recorded as 1545.[37]

By 1520, the parish priests had to donate part of their income so the building of the choir could continue. Further building of the chapels progressed

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34 Archives Nationale, LL 756, folio 320 verso

35 Bonnet, Les églises parisiennes 365-66.

36 Dumolin, 95

37 In Bonnet, Les Édifices Religieux: Moyen Age - Renaissance, the second date is recorded as "1545(?)" 150.

despite a conflict between the church builders and the Hôpital Saint-Gervais over the three new chapels that had to be built on part of the cemetery.[38] Soon after these events were resolved, the chapels south of the choir were built and stained glass windows were installed. Donations for the choir stalls were made by François I and Henri II as manifest by the use of their royal symbols:

> Sur l'une des miséricordes, du côté droit, est représente la salamandre de François Ier et sur une autre, du côte gauche, figurent les trois croissants enlacés de Henri II.[39]

In addition to these details, there is an important stained glass window dated 1531 occupying the second bay on the south side of the choir. In this window representing the Judgement of Solomon, the likeness of François I and his insignia, the salamander, appear as part of the iconography. Finally, two of the clerestorey windows are dated 1551, thus confirming a rapid rate of construction and hence considerable funding of the rebuilding of the church by the monarchy.

This patronage was continued by Henri II and Henri III. In November of 1575, the newly crowned king, Henri III (1574-1589), gave 600 livres for reparations to the roof and by 1578, the transepts had been completed. As noted by Boinet: "a la clef de voûte de la croisée, on lit les noms des marguilliers de l'année 1578: 'M. Larche, M. A. Prévost, C. Dulau, J. Gregis.'"[40] The central keystone of the central crossing is a crown while the keystone of the last and highest keystone of the choir is a wreath or crown of thorns. Finally the construction of the nave followed the completion of the transepts. Although the church was not completed until 1620, the entire east end, the three bays of the choir, the trapezoidal chevet with encircling ambulatory and chapels were completed in the sixteenth century along with the transepts, elaborate vault patterns, stained glass windows and part of the nave. Considering the size of the church, the sixteenth century represents the most significant period of building activity in the history of this monument.

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[38] Dumolin, 95.
[39] Boinet, Les eglises parisiennes 386.
[40] Boinet, Les Edifices Religieux: Moyen Age - Renaissance 146.

The church was designed as a three aisle basilica with a four bay nave, non-projecting transepts and a four bay choir (Fig. 14). The choir has an ambulatory, chapels and a projecting apse. The central nave, transept galleries and projecting apse are vaulted by complex star shaped vault patterns. The outer aisles, erected in the sixteenth century, were designed to house small private chapels. For this reason, a number of walls prevent circulation around the entire church. This was done to provide space for chapels and private chambers. There are seven of these private annexes flanking the north side of the church. Each chamber is entered through one of the private chapels which dominates the outer aisles. The largest chamber is approximately twice the size of each of the others, or roughly equivalent to one of the larger regular bays of the church. This room, located off the third bay of the choir on the north side, is clearly distinguished and separated from the nave and first two bays of the choir by a walls which closes it off from the adjacent bays of the aisle. It is furthermore directly in line with the central bay of the choir thus allowing a clear view of the religious ceremonies. This large private annex parallels in location and design similar chambers at Saint-Séverin and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. Finally, hidden stair turrets provide access to the galleries and outer balustrades similar to those found at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and in the tower of the church of Saint Jacques-de-la-Boucherie.

Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie

The history of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie is comparable to a number of the parish churches in Paris. The church, now lost, dated back to the twelfth century and had among its benefactors Louis VI and Philippe-Auguste. In 1119, the church became the center of a parish; Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie is listed as a parish in a Bulle by Pope Calixte V which enumerates the possessions of the Abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. Originally a vassal of Saint-Martin-des Champs, the church was named *'église archiprestyterale'* and governed by the Archbishop of Paris from 1206. The church became the official parish of the Butchers' Guild in 1259 and was reconstructed and enlarged during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The church was designed as a basilica, like Saint-Séverin, with eight bays, no transepts and an ambulatory choir. The nave was flanked on the north side by

an aisle and radiating chapels and on the south side, by double aisles followed by chapels. Although, the church was destroyed as part of the construction of rue de Rivoli, the western façade survives in an eighteenth century drawing by Garnerey (Fig. 15). This view of the main façade from 1784 clearly shows that Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie had many of the same features used in the construction of late Gothic parish churches. The two storey façade has an ogee arch portal surmounted by a balustrade and gable pierced by a large stained glass rose. This central block is also flanked by a stair turret on the north side and a small tower on the south side in much the same way as Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. While the sculptural details are not clearly shown, it is obvious that the church was highly decorated; statue niches, pinnacles, tracery and stained glass cover the majority of the surface.

In the early 1500s, the decision was made to give the church a new tower. This tower built 1508-1522 is the only extant part of the church. It is an entirely late Gothic structure built as a political and religious symbol (Fig. 16). Construction was in part funded by the members of the parish, the Butchers' Guild and the monarchs, Louis XII and François I.

> Les fondements en furent jetés dans le cours de l'année 1508, sous le règne de Louis XII, dit le Père du peuple, l'episcopat d'Étienne de Poncher, cent quatrième évêque de Paris, et l'administration pastorale de maître Charles Bourgoin, qui fut curé de la paroissé pendant dix-huit ans, et qui vit à peine achever l'édifice sur l'emplacement de deux maisons, généreusement données à l'œuvre pour l'honneur de Dieu et de M.S. Jacques, à charge d'un service, par Jacques Thoynes ou Thoumes, natif de Saint-Leu-Taverny, mâitre ès arts, curé de Sannois, chanoine de Montmorency, et depuis maître des écoles de la paroisse de Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, par son testament, daté du 27 août 1505.[41]

[41] According to N M Troche, (La tour de Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, Paris: Julien, Lanier, Cosnard et Ce, Éditeurs 1857, 30 and note 1), "L'obit annuel pour le repos de l'âme de Jacques Thoumes est marque an 1er août dans *l'Etat des fondations* qui s'acquittent dans l'église de Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie [p. 202]."

The first floor of the tower was completed in 1510. François I inaugurated a new building campaign in 1521 and the tower was completed in 1522. The master mason at the time was Jean de Felin, a disciple of Martin and Pierre Chambiges

The tower is asymmetrical in design. The north west corner houses a stair turret which once provided access to the balustrades of the western façade of the church in addition to a large first storey terrace and the smaller balconies of the upper levels of the tower. These galleries occupy the eastern façade facing the Louvre and the royal church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The tower is extensively decorated on all sides by blind arcades, ogee arch patterns, late Gothic finials and a number of horizontal profiles. One of these profiles in particular is a rather prominent band articulated by large fleurs-de-lis alternating with the emblematic symbol of ermine. The use of the fleur-de-lis as a symbolic and decorative motif on the tower parallels the function of the iconography of Sainte-Chapelle and Saint-Séverin. There are two balconies and a large gallery below the band, but only one balcony above suggesting a hierarchical arrangement.

Crowning the tower is a platform encircled by a balustrade and four sculptures from the nineteenth century, considered to be faithful copies of the originals. The four animals, the Angel, the Lion, the Ox and the Eagle were reconstructed after suffering damage during the revolution. The figure of the Angel occupies the most prominent position on a stone tracery crown or *calotte* on top of the stair turret. Together with the fleur-de-lis and ermine motifs, the tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie becomes an important political and religious monument.

Construction of the tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie represents one of the major building campaigns of the sixteenth century. Late Gothic architectural forms were utilized not only to modernize the original church, but also specifically to create a symbol of ecclesiastic and royal power within Paris. A similar campaign, also one of the royal building projects during the reign François I, involved rebuilding the church of Saint-Merri.

Saint-Merri

The church of Saint-Merri, located on a major thoroughfare to the north, is noted in Jean-Pierre Babelon's Paris au XVIe siècle along with Saint-Eustache as secretly loyal to the king (François I)[42]. The monarch decided not to enlarge the structure, but to rebuild it altogether. This meant that the master masons would not be limited by the plan of an earlier structure and could design an entirely new monument with renewed connections to Notre-Dame. The former church, given by the Bishop of Paris, Renaud, to the chapter of Notre-Dame in c. 1005, was known as the third daughter of Notre-Dame or Notre-Dame-la-Petite because of its affiliation and dependence on the Cathedral. The priests of Notre-Dame officiated at Saint-Merri and were in charge of all services and ecclesiastic duties. After being rebuilt under Philippe-Auguste (c. 1200), Saint-Merri became an important collegiate church with a chapter consisting of a parish priest, six canons and six chaplains. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new church was commissioned by François I and built by the master mason, Pierre Anglart in less than forty years.

Reconstruction of the foundation of the church of Saint-Merri began with the crypt which was designed to resemble that of the Louvre during the reign of Philippe-Auguste. The crypt, finished in 1515, has a short central column with a vine leaf capital carrying the ribs of the adjoining vaults. After the crypt, work proceeded on the nave which was finished around 1520. Construction of the southern transept façade was financed by major benefactors of the church:

> Le transept [sud] est encadré de deux tourelles d'escaliers, l'une polygonale, l'autre ronde, qui mènent à la galerie supérieure. Ces tourelles portent les armes des familes Hennequin et Baillet.[43]

The coats-of-arms of Oudard Hennequin, Bishop of Troyes (1528-1544) and his grandfather, Thibaut Baillet († 1525), can be seen in the third chapel on the south side of the nave. A stone on the western wall is inscribed with the date 1526 thus defining the period of construction.

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[42] Jean-Pierre Babelon, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris: Paris au XVIe siècle (Paris: Diffusion Hachette 1986) Erratum

[43] Bonet, Les eglise parisiennes 407.

In 1530, the King gave the chapter the rights to the land of rue Taillepain, thus enabling the building of the choir to progress. There may have been a change in plan or a delay in work at this time as the arcades of the apse are slightly higher than those of the choir. The choir was nevertheless completed in c 1551-52. A few years later, in 1558, the jube was put into place along with the main altar and stalls designed by Antoine de Hancy or Hansy, the artist who crafted the panels of the doors of Saint Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and designed a façade for that church.[44] The last major addition was the charnel-house in 1587. It has been suggested that the architect was the master-mason Pierre II Chambiges, *expert juré du roi*, and elected churchwarden of Saint-Merri, December 25, 1590.[45]

The parish church of Saint-Merri is a basilica, regularly oriented and cruciform in shape with a five bay nave flanked by a single aisle to the north and double aisles to the south plus chapels on either side (Fig. 17). Like Notre-Dame, Saint-Merri has a five bay nave and transepts. The choirs are also similar in arrangement; both have a hemicycle chevet with a five sided central apse encircled by an ambulatory and five multiple bay chapels for use by the church canons. The chapels of the chevet of Notre-Dame and Saint-Merri are in each case separated by baring walls and supported by flying buttresses. The similarities show to what extent Saint-Merri was conceived as a modern replica of the Cathedral with all the important contemporary forms defining late Gothic architecture.

The western façade, interior pillars, vault patterns, galleries and stained glass windows were all designed to make Saint-Merri one of the most prominent late Gothic monuments in Paris. The main façade has three ogee arch portals corresponding to the principle division of the nave. The side façades are decorated by pinnacles, corbels, niches, sculpted foliage animals and human figures. In the interior, the pillars of the nave have beveled edges similar to the pillar articulation at Saint-Séverin, and Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais. The central crossing of the non-projecting transepts has an intricate vault pattern of multiple ribs carrying hanging pendentives (Fig. 18). By contrast, the vaults of the ambulatory are irregular quadripartite vaults. Each of the four ribs is a half

[44] Bonnet, Les église parisiennes 401
[45] Bonnet, Les église parisiennes 401

length rib that meets in the center, similar to the first two bays of the second ambulatory of Notre-Dame. The double chapels of the chevet are vaulted by tripartite subdivisions. "recoupées par des doubleaux en surfaces triangulaires, décorées, comme a Saint-Séverin, par trois branches d'ogives."[46] This arrangement can again be compared to the inner ambulatory and the central part of the outer ambulatory of Notre-Dame. The vaults on the south side are decorated with flat sculpted keystones. Between the arcades and the clerestory windows, there is a frieze of foliage, mixed of various animals and sleeping figures including Moses with the ten commandments, King David, Saint Peter with keys, and Saint-Merri as an abbot. The uniform character of the church is a direct result of its rapid construction during the sixteenth century.

Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

The church known as Saint-Étienne-du-Mont was originally conceived as a chapel dedicated to Notre-Dame built by the Abbey Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul founded by King Clovis. The Abbey built prominently on the top of a mount later became known as the royal Abbey of Saint-Geneviève, the patron saint of the city. In the early thirteenth century, it became part of the lands enclosed by the new fortifications commissioned by Philippe-Auguste. An increase in population led to the conversion of the chapel into a larger dependent church, the foundations of which were authorized by Pope Honorius III on June 20, 1222. This new church was built abutting the Abbey on the north side; its western façade was hidden by both the cloister and the cemetery of Saint-Geneviève. The church dedicated to Saint-Étienne was later rebuilt in 1328.

At about the same time that major rebuilding of Saint-Séverin was underway, the churchwardens of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont decided to rebuild their church on a grand scale. On February 19, 1492, the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève ceded the land necessary for the enlargement of the church. Construction of the belfry tower and apse started immediately under the direction of Étienne Viguier and the masons Philippe de Froncières and Mahiet Dartois or Darbois. Étienne Viguier was the maître d'œuvre until his departure in 1500. Under his supervision, the vaults of the apse and the lower part of the bell tower were

[46] Dumolin, 106

finished by 1494. After Viguier's departure, Philippe de Froncières served as the master mason from 1501 until 1503. From 1503 to 1518, the master mason was Jean Turbillon assisted by Jean Blandurel and Jean de Froncières who later worked on the parish church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs. In 1530, Nicolas Beaucorps was the appointed master mason during which time work continued on the choir.

By 1537, the choir was almost finished under the direction of Philippe Lebel, abbot of Sainte-Geneviève. The carpentry work was contracted to Gilles de Senneguillon in March of 1538 and executed between June of that year and March, 1539. The materials were donated by the merchant Antoine de La Riviere, and metalwork was put into place by Guillaume Charles and Thomas Fresneau. The vaults of the ambulatory were elevated by Antoine de Beaucorps and Pierre Merlin in 1540. In 1541, the altars were consecrated in the name of the Bishop of Paris by Guy, Bishop of Mégare, and the decorating of the chapels of the choir began. Among the artists employed to make the stained glass windows, sculptures and paintings for each chapel were Jean Chastellian, Jean Vigant, Robert Roussel, Pierre Dubois, and Pierre Blesnard. Jean Chastellian, the master glass painter who had produced windows for Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, was commissioned by the confraternity of Saint Claude at Saint-Étienne du Mont to make windows for their chapel on the north side of the church. These panels portray the miracles of the life of Saint Claude, the confraternity's patron. A number of windows throughout the church are thought to be the work of either Claude Henriet or Enguerrand Le Prince, master painter commissioned to produce stained glass for the church of Montmorency, and the Cathedral and parish church of Saint-Étienne at Beauvais.

In 1545, the three western most bays of the choir were built by Pierre Nicolle; the chapels on the north side of the nave were erected between 1545 and 1548. One of the pillars of the clock tower had to be underpinned on June 20 of 1551; this was also done by Pierre Nicolle. Between 1558 to 1580, the master mason of the church was Thomas de Greneuve; his contribution included the elevation of the chapels on the south side of the nave, and possibly the first three pillars of the south side of the nave. In 1578, Henri III donated 2,000 ecus for the

completion of the church.[17] The vaults of the nave were done between 1582 and 1584 and those of the transept between 1584 and 1586, perhaps by Christophe Robin. By 1588, the aisles and the southern chapels were built and a large portion of the stained glass windows had been installed thus concluding the sixteenth-century rebuilding campaigns.

The Plan

Saint-Étienne-du-Mont is a three aisle church with a five bay nave flanked by chapels (Fig. 19). It has non-projecting transepts which end in simple chapels as a result of the church's earlier 'dependent' status. The choir shares a number of features with Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and is similar in arrangement and size to the chevet of Saint-Merri. They all have a single ambulatory with radiating chapels and quadripartite vaults. As at Saint-Merri, the chapels of the chevet are vaulted in each case by three tripartite vaults.

Like Saint-Séverin, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont has a major portal of the north side near the main façade. This portal, rebuilt between 1630-32, occupies the second bay and is a prominent feature of the neighboring area. It is located on a small slope at the top of a street leading from the church to the main thoroughfare rue Sainte-Geneviève and connecting to rue Saint-Jacques. The placement of this entrance portal was designed to provide the ideal route for a ceremonial entrance or *entrée royale*. Along with this axial location, the portal leads to a private chamber or annex built during the sixteenth century. The architecture resembles a small Châtelet or private residence like the Hôtel de Sens with turrets and private rooms similar in function to the sacristies of Saint-Severin, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and the additional chambers on the north side of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais. Finally, the northern portal of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont is flanked by a stair turret providing access to this chamber and a series of outer balustrades, an arrangement used in noble and royal residences such as the Hôtel de Cluny and the Château de Blois began for François I in 1515.

The church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont covers a large area and the interior is cathedral-like in proportion (Fig. 20). The three storey elevation is made up of

[17] Bonnet, Les eglises parisiennes 429

high arcades superposed by a second arcade, and clerestorey windows. While the arcades in the choir area are pointed, those of the nave dating from the seventeenth century have round arch openings. The triforium level of the nave is a huge open gallery, while the touree of the choir is a continuation of the gallery of the jubé. This upper level balustrade and gallery encircle the choir and thus become a select area from which members of the court could view the ceremonies below. At the same time, it was typical for the entire group of Parisian churches to be built with extensive tribunes and balustrade areas as has been shown in each case.

The four chapels of the choir (two on either side of the central apse) are trapezoidal in shape, but vaulted in each case by three tripartite vaults, thus replicating the pattern at Saint-Séverin and Saint-Merri. The tripartite vault patterns are used in combinations forming star patterns in the chapels of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois. Each of the tripartite and quadripartite vaults has either a sculpted keystone or a hanging pendentive decorated in some cases by either the coats-of-arms of the abbots of Sainte-Geneviève, or the symbols of the evangelists. The most lavish design was reserved for the central crossing built in 1578. This vault has multiple ribs that twist into elaborate sculpted pendentives (Fig. 21). The vault pattern is a more complex version of the star-vaults found at Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais (Fig. 22). The Saint-Étienne vault has more dramatic hanging pendentives and added rosettes graphed to the ceiling. Finally, the tracery patterns of the clerestorey windows of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont resemble stylized fleurs-de-lis (Fig. 23) reminiscent of the fleur-de-lis tracery found at Saint-Séverin, Saint-Eustache and the Cathedral of Troyes.

Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs

As its name suggests, the church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs was originally located in the fields outside Medieval Paris. The chapel, reputed to have been founded by King Robert,[48] was built as a dependent of the royal priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. The Bulle of 1119 by Pope Calixte II called it the

[48] According to Andre Duschesne who wrote in 1631 "Le Roy Robert grand en pieté, comme en valeur & en fortune, fond apres son Palais l'Eglise & paroisse de S Saint Nicolas des Champs" Les Antiquitez et Recherches des Villes, Chasteaux, et places plus remarquables de toute la France (Paris, chez N & I de la Costa 1631).

"capella Sancti Nicolai prope monasterium Sancti Martini."[49] In the fourteenth century, the church was incorporated into the domain of the city by the Provost of the Guilds, Etienne Marcel, builder of the new fortifications around Paris by order of the King. As a result, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs became the center of a new quarter ad is now one of the longest churches in Paris as a result of extensive construction during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fig. 24).

While the western façade, the first six bays of the nave, the first aisle on the southern side and the tower belong to the latter half of the fifteenth century, a large portion of the church belongs to the sixteenth century. In 1540, Guillaume Budé, *seigneur de Marly-la-Ville* and Provost of the Guilds from 1522 to 1524, was buried in the church. During his life, he had been the *'maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel, maître de la Librairie du roi'* and a patron of the church. His death coincides with a period of major construction.

On June 17, 1541, the master mason Jean de Froncières who worked on Saint-Étienne-du-Mont was contracted by the churchwardens of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs to build the second set of aisles and accompanying side chapels on the south side.[50] Around 1560, it was again decided to enlarge the church. This led to the elongation of the nave by two bays in c. 1570. To protest the growing power of the parish, the monks of the Abbey refused to relinquish their lands east of the church; they prevented further construction until, on July 24, 1574, the Parliament ruled that the priory would have to cede an area 40 meters square. In exchange, the priory received lots along rue Saint-Martin and 7,000 francs. It was during the following building campaign that the nave was extended by two bays, and enlarged by double aisles on the north side. The classical portal was also added to the south façade during this building campaign.

After the completion of this portal, the nave with its aisles and adjoining chapels was finished in either late 1586 or early 1587. This work nearly doubled the ground plan, thus giving the church cathedral-like proportions. The last chapel on the north side, the chapel of Saint-Bruno, given by Anne le Cler, widow of Jean Dugue de Champs-sur-Marne, Treasurer of France, was

[49] Louis Le Rouzic, Saint-Nicolas-des Champs, Paris (Paris 1948) [3-4].
[50] Bonnet, Les eglises parisiennes 321.

consecrated on June 11, 1587; Saintes-Reliques on the south side, consecrated, September 6, 1587, was the gift of Louis Lefebvre de Caumartin, President of the Grand Conseil. The chevet, built at the start of the seventeenth century, was designed to imitate the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and the most prominent parish churches in Paris by having a double ambulatory, radiating chapels and tripartite vaults.

The five aisle transept-less church was under construction throughout the reign of Henri III (1574-1589) and finished by Henry IV (1589-1610). The two storey elevation is similar to Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Gervais-et Saint Protais and Saint-Merri. The older part of the nave is vaulted by pointed arches; during the late sixteenth century, these were abandoned in favor of the semi circular arch. The nave aisles have pointed arches and flamboyant style polygonal bases. The next seven bays form a classical arcade with fluted Doric columns and round arches. Each of the twelve bays (vestibule, the seven bays of the nave and the four bays of the choir) has regular quadripartite rib vaults; for the choir, the architect adopted the same system as at Notre-Dame and Saint Séverin.

> Il a planté entre les deux galeries des piles intermédiaires et fait correspondre aux quatre supports de l'abside sept supports de l'épine séparant les collatéteraux et dix supports des chapelles. Il a pu ainsi couvrir chaque travée de voûtains triangulaires a trois branches d'ogives.[51]

The tripartite rib vaults of the ambulatory once carried pendentives, but these were removed in 1794. Although part of the choir and the chevet belong to the seventeenth century, the classical columns and arcades are placed into a purely late Gothic setting characterized by a spatial arrangement based on the established tradition of Notre-Dame as reinterpreted by the architects of Saint Séverin and Saint-Eustache.

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[51] Bonnet, Les églises parisiennes 326

Saint-Eustache

The church of Saint-Eustache, built largely between 1532 and 1640, has been overlooked by some scholars and thoroughly dismissed by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc as.

> ... a monument which is badly conceived, badly built, a confused accumulation of bits taken from here and there, unrelated one to the other and without harmony, a kind of Gothic skeleton clothed in Roman rags and tatters stitched together like the pieces of a harlequin's costume.[52]

Despite this opinion based in part on the apparently inconsistent application of classical forms, the church itself is a significant sixteenth-century monument affiliated with the group of late Gothic churches rebuilt at this time.

Saint-Eustache is a royal parish church located within the fortification built during the reign of Philippe-Auguste close to the Louvre and the Palais Royal. It was built as the residence church of the nobility in an area of the city dominated by the hotels and private residences of the upper class.

As part of the building program of François I, Saint-Eustache was conceived as the new Notre-Dame of the precinct. The rebuilding of the church was designed as part of a plan to both unify and control the city under the monarch. The king strove to strengthen his domain and that of Christendom by constructing a monumental parish church; he sought to recapture the age before the emergence of Protestantism when citizens apparently did not question the rule of the king. The church has been noted by Jean-Pierre Babelon as having been secretly affiliated with the monarch and thus part of an even larger program of royal construction under François I.

The earlier monument dedicated first to Saint-Agnès and then Saint-Eustache, was enlarged in 1434, 1466 and 1495. Despite these rebuilding campaigns, by the early sixteenth century, the church was deemed too small for

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[52] Babelon, 152-153

its congregation. This allowed for the construction of a much larger and more monumental church that was planned and designed to serve as a symbol within the city. The plan and structural arrangement of this new church (Fig. 25) are clearly related to and modeled after the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.

After the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Saint-Eustache is the largest late Gothic church in Paris and clearly a royal undertaking. Not only is the church monumental in scale, it boasts a remarkable unity of style. Classical forms and motifs are incorporated into a late Gothic frame. Saint-Eustache, like Saint-Merri, was entirely reconstructed beginning in the sixteenth century. It represents the first Parisian parish church in which the adoption of Renaissance forms was done throughout and in a programmatic fashion. While classical features were used in a number of the parish churches such as Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint Étienne-du-Mont and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Saint-Eustache constitutes the consummate example of this practice in late Gothic architecture.

Saint-Eustache was conceived as a major monument in the tradition of the parish churches of Paris. It is a basilica that reiterates the principal characteristics of the architectural vocabulary of the sixteenth by possessing certain features, such as non-projecting transepts, a five sided apse, a double ambulatory chevet tripartite vaults and radiating chapels. The upper portion of the main façade of Saint-Eustache, as seen in the seventeenth century engraving by Ivan Merlen (Fig. 26), resembles the typical central block of a late Gothic Parisian parish church. The three storey elevation surmounted by a pierced gable parallels the appearance of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Séverin, Saint-Nicolas des Champs and Saint-Merri.

As part of the royal building campaigns of François I, Saint Eustache was designed to glorify its principal patron, the monarch. It is divided into distinct areas; the nave serves as the domain of the royal family and their circle while the choir was reserved for the religious chapter. A significant reference to royalty can be found in the tracery of the clerestorey windows of the nave. They were designed in the form of a fleur-de-lis, the royal emblem of French. This royal motif, seen as tracery pattern at Saint-Séverin, the palatial residence of the Treasurer of Charles VII known as the Hôtel Jacques Cœur at Bourges and in the

late Gothic stained glass windows of the Cathedral at Troyes, is again taken over and used as part of an architectural program glorifying the sovereign.

Building History

Saint-Eustache was designed by Lemercier de Pontoise; the first stone was laid on August 19, 1532, by one of the king's favorite subjects, Jean de La Barre, Count of Étampes, Provost and Governor of Paris in 1528. Jean de La Barre was also *'premier gentilhomme de la Chambre'* and nominated the bailiwick of Paris in 1526; he remained in this position until his death in 1534. Construction of the church began with the transept and the first four bays of the choir on the north side. The date 1534 appears on the capital of the pilaster separating the second and third chapels of the choir. The northeast pillar of the central bay of the transept is dated 1537 and the pilasters of the southern portal bare the dates 1539 and 1540. The second chapel on the north side is inscribed 1541, the third chapel was built in 1542 and the fourth chapel is inscribed with the date 1545. Four altars were consecrated in 1536, by Guy, Bishop of Mégare. The third chapel dedicated to Sainte-Geneviève was given by Jean Brice and decorated by Thomas Labonde in 1537. In 1549, five more altars were consecrated by Bishop Guy. Construction was then interrupted until Nicolas de L'Isle erected the first three pillars on the north side of the nave in c. 1578. Both the pillars and the adjacent chapels are inscribed 1578 and 1580 respectively. Construction of the chapels continued until 1586 and only again resumed in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The church of Saint-Eustache is a five aisle basilica based on the plan of Notre-Dame and following the pattern established with Saint-Séverin. It has a five bay nave[53] followed by non-projecting transepts and a semi circular chevet repeating the arrangement of the Cathedral. The choir consists of three bays and a five sided hemicycle chevet with a double ambulatory, chapels and a projecting apse similar to that at Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs.

[53] The church was originally built with a six bay nave. The first bay was destroyed during construction of the western façade in the eighteenth century.

Similarities connect Saint-Eustache to the first parish church of this study, namely Saint-Séverin. Two of the tracery patterns found in the stained glass windows of Saint-Eustache are directly derived from Saint-Severin. The first is a heart-shaped tracery that appears above a triple lancette in a number of clerestorey windows in the nave and throughout the choir of Saint-Severin. This motif is repeated twelve times in the rose window of the northern transept façade of Saint-Eustache and in the triforium level windows. The second tracery pattern, the fleur-de-lis, becomes the principle motif in the clerestorey windows of the nave. This symbol of France, almost exclusively used to refer to the monarch, first appears in the second bay of the choir (seventh bay of the church) on the south side of Saint-Séverin and is indicates the involvement of the king in the funding of construction.

Finally, the church of Saint-Eustache has late Gothic style vaults. There are multiple rib vaults forming star shaped patterns with hanging pendentives over each bay of the main axes of the church. The vaults of the central crossing bay and the choir apse of Saint-Eustache (Fig. 27) are similar in design to the crossing vaults at Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Merri and Saint-Étienne-du Mont. In addition, there are numerous classical motifs throughout the church. The patron saint, Saint-Eustache, appears in the central pier of the north door arrayed in the garb of a Roman officer. This is a clear indication of the increasing importance of references to Roman antiquity. The figure's costume parallels the dress used by a number of kings during their ceremonial entries into Paris, after the adoption of imperial motifs was popularized by Henri II in 1549.

Chapter 3 Analysis of Principal Features

The parish churches examined above form a coherent group. They share similar dates of construction and equal each other in size, spatial arrangement and architectural vocabulary. All of them are basilicas with the same general layout and similar exterior and interior details.

General Layout

The churches in this study were conceived according to a specific functional, structural and decorative system that reflects late Medieval society. These monuments are typically regularly oriented with three or five aisle naves flanked by chapels, non projecting transepts or no transept in the case of Saint-Séverin and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, a large choir ending in a polygonal hemicycle bay, a single or double ambulatory and surrounding chapels. This layout and the choice of forms made each church part of a distinct group of monuments that followed a specific system.

There was a clear selection process involved in determining the architectural forms of both residential and ecclesiastic late Gothic monuments. The characteristic features deemed essential in the rebuilding of the parish churches were not all contemporary. The architects of the sixteenth century had the entire range of architectural forms and arrangements to choose from, but chose selective interpretations from various time periods to make an architectural statement. While the continued use of specific forms and arrangements attests to the effectiveness of Gothic architecture, the richness of this period in architecture is a direct result of the varied possibilities of a highly refined architectural vocabulary.

Among the most characteristic features used in the building of the parish churches are the multiple liernes vault, keystone pendentive, and double reverse (ogee) curve typically seen in the portal design and tracery pattern of the stained glass windows. These were combined with motifs from Antiquity to form a new arrangement which, in turn, redefined the Parisian parish church.

Exterior

The western façades of the parish churches constructed in the beginning of the sixteenth century typically have a tripartite arrangement defined by a central block with a main portal and flamboyant style tracery rose window surmounted by a pierced pediment and flanked by lower level gables. The central section is linked to each side by flying buttresses. These three sections correspond to the principal division of the nave. The central block, in particular, is derived from the western façade of Sainte-Chapelle (Fig. 28) and the transept façades of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. This double storey design with a decorated gable and pitched roof became the model for the principal façades of Saint-Severin (Fig. 29), Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Fig. 9), Saint-Merri and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs (Fig. 30). This type of arrangement also exists in the design of the southern portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Fig. 31), and the transept façades of both Saint Étienne-du-Mont and Saint-Eustache (Fig. 32). Recognizable characteristics include the ogee arch portal and incorporated stair turrets providing access to gallery areas.

Balustrades typically appear above and below the central window of the façade. These ledges are galleries accessible by way of a single or double flanking stair turrets and through doors or arch opening designed in the masonry. This arrangement is commonly seen in the design of the late Gothic transept façades of the Cathedrals at Beauvais, Senlis and Troyes. The most immediate model for the flanking stair turrets is Sainte-Chapelle where the form serves both a functional and symbolic purpose.

> C'est aussi de la fin du XVe siècle que datent les deux tourelles d'escalier qui encadrent la façade occidentale [de la Sainte-Chapelle] et dont les clochetons sont ceints, l'un d'une couronne d'épines, l'autre d'une couronne royale.[54]

The first bay east of the transept on the south side of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois houses a stair turret leading to the second and third storey exterior balustrades of the transept façade. The north pier of the central portal of Saint-Merri is pierced

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[54] Bonnet, Les églises parisiennes 251-252.

by a stair turret that provides access to the above galleries. There is no transept portal on the north side of the church, but a nondescript portal on the south side links a polygonal stair turret to two separate levels of balustrades. Not only are galleries a prominent feature of the portal façades, balustrades and therefore walkways run the full length of the majority of these churches and often on several levels, as seen in a detail of the exterior of Saint-Merri (Fig. 33). The stair turret on the south side of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois connects to the balustrade that encircles the choir; the buttresses are either pierced or circumvented by a small walkway thus allowing passage along the entire exterior. At Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, there are five separate turrets flanking the entrance façades and multiple exterior galleries.

Multi-level galleries are predominant features of Saint-Séverin, Saint-Merri, Saint-Eustache and Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. There are a number of deep galleries and small balconies dotting the entire height of the tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. These features were not reserved solely for ecclesiastic buildings, but constitute examples of significant sixteenth-century forms. The balustrades and small balconies were incorporated into the design of prominent residences like the Hôtel de Cluny. Here, they provide an exterior passage between apartments. These walkways including the one that appears behind the crenellation of the outer wall are apparent in an aerial perspective view (Fig. 34).

These areas function as spaces for musicians or members of court, and show how the monument was to have served the community. In addition, part of each balustrade was decorated by the initial or symbol of its patron. The central part of the balustrade of the main gable of Sainte-Chapelle boasts a large K surmounted by a crown. Its placement indicates of the extent of the rebuilding commissioned by Charles VIII who, like Charlemagne, used a K as his initial and symbol of his domain. As stated earlier, a K appears on the pillar supporting the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny. In a similar example, the coat-of-arms of Paris is the only symbol and decorative motif on the balustrade of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais. The coat-of-arms is repeated regularly on the balustrade which runs the full length of the church. This symbol becomes the principal iconographic motif and a clear indication to the extent Saint-Gervais was conceived as the parish church of the magistrates and the officials of the Hôtel de Ville.

The stair turret of the Hôtel de Cluny and the Hôtel Jacques Cœur at Bourges resembles the polygonal stair turrets of the parish churches; The Hôtel de Cluny has a flat balustrade roof as at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and Saint Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. The towers of Saint-Séverin, Saint-Germain-l' Auxerrois, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs were either erected with balustrades or given balustrades during late Gothic building campaigns.

The Reception of Antiquity

Those individuals behind the rebuilding of the parish churches did not, however, limit themselves to the use of late Gothic forms. As patrons, these men and women showed interest in classical forms and demanded that the builders of the parish churches turn to Roman antiquity. The most common motif borrowed from the past was the triumphal arch. It was incorporated into the design of numerous buildings and monuments as an entrance portal and symbol of victory. As previously mentioned, a classical portal was built for the northern choir portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois between 1569 and 1571. The design of this triumphal arch parallels that of the southern portal of Saint-Nicolas des-Champs, built slightly later (1576-1581).

The classical portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, earlier mentioned in relationship to the northern portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, originally served as one of the triumphal gates used by Henri III during his ceremonious entry into Paris after his Polish campaign. The arch is inspired from one of the entrance portals of the royal residence of Tournelles. This palace known as the Hôtel des Tournelles was first built in 1388 by Pierre d'Orgement, *chancelier de France* under Charles VI. It was later enlarged and used as one of the royal residences of a number of kings including Charles VII, Louis XI, François I and Henri II until its demolition in 1565. The adoption of this monument as a source for the portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs is not only significant, but also apparent in its iconography.

The individual motifs of the portal are imperial: two fluted composite pilasters on either side of the door support an elaborately sculpted entablature and pediment with an oculus surrounded by trumpeting victories. The central

motif of the panel is the torso of woman whose arms and legs become decorative leaf arabesques reminiscent of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Below, two heads are encircled by a ring of roses. Above the arch, a pair of winged victories brace the oversized keystone with one hand while holding a palm leaf in the other. Above the keystone, there is a replica of the original inscription stating the names of the two principal kings who founded and enlarged the church:

> Au-dessus de la porte, une table de marbre noir porte une inscription en lettres d'or qui remplace, depuis 1835, l'ancienne inscription relative à la foundation de l'église qu'elle attribuait au roi Robert (ce qui est une confusion avec l'église Saint-Nicolas-du-Palais) et à son achevement sous Henri III. [55]

The reference to Robert perhaps Robert II, son of Hugh Capet, shows an attempt to establish the identity of the first sovereign patron of the church.

The side portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, originally one of the triumphal entrance gates of Henri III's royal entrance, was fashioned as a royal symbol of victory. When incorporated into the design of the church, it became visible to the entire community as a public monument which, at all times, remained the royal door of the king. Whether used by the king or not, Parisians would have immediately recognized the symbolism of the architecture and associated it with the ruling monarch.

The repetition of this architectural form in ceremonial parades and church façades shows that the triumphal arch was used for its symbolic meaning. The portals of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs are just two examples of the reception of an actual design. In both instances, the door is placed within a molded half circle with a keystone and flanked by raised pairs of fluted composite pilasters supporting an elaborately sculpted entablature and pediment. Each has an inscription plaque commemorating the gift of the patron and thus acknowledging the role of particular individuals. Finally, the similarities between the two portals make clear the connection between an idea and an architectural form.

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[55] Hillairet, 467.

Interior

The arrangement of space within the parish churches can be described as wholly integrated. The interior is no longer the result of an additive process in which independent units are connected to create a larger area as in, for example, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. There is a deliberate attempt to break from earlier architectural styles that relied heavily on the discipline of right angles. The interior divisions of space are more subtle. There is little horizontal articulation and therefore few elements to disrupt the visual rhythm of the nave. Individual columns, capitals and triforium levels are largely eliminated. The parish churches were designed to have two or three storey elevations as in Saint-Severin, Saint Étienne-du-Mont and Saint-Eustache. The arcade and clerestorey levels on either side of the central nave enclose a narrow space bridged by low pitched Gothic arches that are almost semi circular in form. At Saint-Séverin, the vaults spring from the mid-point of the clerestorey windows thus making the upper storey a continuation of the arcade and triforium levels (Fig. 35)

The interior space is further defined by the sculptural articulation of pier bases, columns and vaults. The base of each pillar has increased dramatically in height and complexity compared to early and High Gothic examples; they are made infinitely more complicated by the multiplication of sharply cut fillets, each individually defined. The pier moldings run uninterrupted from the base of each pier to the keystone or hanging pendentive centering each quadripartite or multiple rib vault. The arcade molding cut into the masonry wall thus repeating profiles that spatially integrate the interior as seen in the extension of column profiles into rib vaults in the ambulatory of Saint-Séverin. The repetition of forms unifies space. For example, at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, the shape of the arcade is exactly repeated in the clerestorey thus creating a continuity (Fig. 36). In addition, the late Gothic pillars were designed to unify the interior. Instead of carving the space into squares or bays, the bases and pier suggest the existence of additional profiles and corresponding planes. The division between individual bays of the nave, or aisles are thus obscured.

The spatial arrangement is defined by the double ambulatory system of Saint-Séverin. In the church of Saint-Séverin, the columns of the double ambulatory are clearly visible from both the nave and aisles. The central column

dividing the two ambulatories can be seen from the nave between the last columns of the choir. In the ambulatory itself, the columns are multifaceted and the central column twists to the left. The space appears protracted and the interior boundless. The success of the builders in achieving this illusion led to it serving as the model for the private chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny. In this small chapel, a single column is inserted in the center. This column does not divide the space into four equal sections, but unifies the area around the column by supporting a complex ceiling vault. The ribs of this vault end in decorative corbels attached to the wall. The lack of half columns or pilasters creates a spatial tension that activates the interior and gives the illusion that the chapel is larger.

The quadrangular bevelled edge pillars and arch moldings in particular help to define the late Gothic style. Their application is not unique to any one church. On the contrary, the use of complex pier bases and uninterrupted arch moldings is common in sixteenth-century Parisian church architecture, and occurs both on the exterior and in the interior. The pillars of the nave of the church of Saint-Merri are: "moulurés de doucines séparées par des gorges, comme a Saint-Severin, a Saint-Gervais et ailleurs."[56] These pillars are no longer related to the rectilinear pier bases used in early Gothic construction. They represent a new way of defining the foundation of each pillar. The pillar bases and arch profiles characteristic of the late Gothic parish churches are two specific examples of features that were standard in the architectural vocabulary of the sixteenth century. They obscure boundaries while creating an upward thrust and draw attention to the vault and the keystone, or bosses dominating the crown of each bay.

Vaults and their Patterns

The late Gothic vault is a unique element endowed with sculptural and decorative details. It becomes a symbolic feature and principal characteristic of the parish churches in Paris. The master masons and craftsmen of the sixteenth century fashioned a variety of quadripartite, tripartite and multiple rib vault patterns to embellish each church. Not only are different types of vaults used to

[56] Dumolin, 106

define various areas of the church, each monument has a slightly modified sequence and pattern of vaults. The position of a vault is determined by its form; tripartite vaults are used in the ambulatory and chapel areas of the choir while the aisles always have cross-rib vaults. The most elaborate vault patterns are reserved for the highest elevations of the church, the central crossing and principal bay of the choir.

All eight of the churches in this study have a variety of interesting and, at times, somewhat awkward vaults. While the most prevalent pattern is quadripartite, the parish churches are distinguished by the tripartite vaults of the ambulatory. These three 'half-length' ribs spring from a main pillar or central transversal point and intersect in or near the center of each bay. They often carry an emblem or coat-of-arms and are typically found in the chevet vaulting the ambulatory or subdividing the bays of the radiating chapels of the choir.[57] Tripartite vaults can be seen in the ambulatories of Saint-Séverin, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, and Saint-Eustache as well as the chapels of the chevet of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Merri and Saint-Étienne-du Mont.

Between 1489-1495, the double ambulatory choir of Saint-Séverin was designed after Notre-Dame at Paris and given additional tiercerons forming tripartite vaults. With the exception of the first bay on either side of the inner aisles of the choir, all of the vaults of the double ambulatory of Saint-Séverin are tripartite or formed from the further subdivision of three part vaults. As stated earlier, the arrangement is derived from the ambulatory of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, but developed into an innovative design which becomes the basis of a system used at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Merri, Saint-Nicolas des Champs and Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. One bay of the ambulatory of Saint-Severin, in particular, is a quadripartite rib vault subdivided by tiercerons and ridge ribs thus forming a star derived from four distinct tripartite patterns (Fig. 37). The subsequent vault pattern, conceivably financed by a prominent parishioner, resembles a four sided star. This pattern was, in turn, adopted and modified in each of the parish churches studied herein. Important examples are the vaults of

[57] In only one instance are there tripartite vaults located outside of the choir. This occurs in the church of Saint-Merri in the first bay of the southern aisle which projects beyond the western façade.

the central crossing of Saint-Merri and Saint-Étienne-du-Mont (Fig. 21). The culminating development of this tradition is the principal bay of the choir at Saint-Eustache.

Despite the irregularity of the plan, the master mason of the chevet of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois clearly attempted to suggest the presence of a second ambulatory system with tripartite vaults. While the alignment of the road prevented the further expansion of the church, this did not make the use of the tripartite vault impossible. The tripartite vault became more than a functional solution for difficult and irregular shaped bays. It served as a symbolic form clearly used to articulate areas of the church. The tripartite vault became essential component of the choir and its use directly reflects the influence of the choir of Saint-Séverin.

The significance of the tripartite vault becomes self-evident when it is used in bays not characteristically difficult to vault like those of the nave, transepts and side chapels. Tripartite vaults in these cases are incorporated to highlight a particular part of the church. Although the church was later rebuilt, the sixteenth-century cloister of the Temple des Billettes incorporates many late Gothic forms including the tripartite rib vault. The tripartite form becomes a distinguishing characteristic of each of the corner bays of the cloister. This location is unique; there was neither a structural nor a practical need to insert tripartite subdivision in what is by definition a corner bay and therefore square. This pattern has a symbolic and iconographic significance; its use was not coincidental, but a quotation of one of the most characteristic features of the most prominent Parisian parish churches.

The tripartite ribs are used to distinguish individual chapels within the church and therefore their patrons. Both Saint-Merri and Saint-Étienne-du-Mont have double bay chapels in the east; these are each vaulted by three tripartite vaults that, seen together, form half of the star vault pattern used to embellish Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont and Saint-Eustache. The central aisle of the nave of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, the three bays of the choir and the apse all have elaborate star-pattern vaults. One of the most elaborate vault designs can be found in the private chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny near Saint-Séverin. The ceiling of this chapel is vaulted over a

central pillar by four quadripartite vaults subdivided by tiercerons and liernes; a single tripartite vault is located in front of the projecting apse emerging from the pillar. The vault surface in between the ribs is dissolved by stone tracery mouchette and soufflots. In addition, each of the rib intersections once boasted a keystone or pendentive (Fig. 38). Given the correlation in date, the similarities between the choir area of Saint-Séverin and the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny provide an excellent example of the impact of church architecture on the design of an important family chapel within a private residence.

The second most common late Gothic vault pattern is formed by adding tiercerons and lierne ribs to a quadripartite vault to create a four pointed star. More complicated versions were also made by inserting more liernes. These types of vaults are typically located over the central crossing of the church as at Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, Saint-Merri, and Saint Eustache, or above individual chapels as at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs. Although not seen in the plan of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, there are star vaults over both of the large tribunes of the transept. This is an important point as the vault patterns and gallery area were often distinguished from other areas of the church. In this case, the tribunes were designed to be uncharacteristically spacious to accommodate large groups of city officials and lavishly vaulted to indicate that this area was to have been a focal point within the church.

Tracery Patterns

Late Gothic tracery is characteristically defined by curvilinear patterns. Mouchettes and soufflots are the two most common forms. They can be found in the tracery of Saint-Séverin, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Gervais-et Saint Protais, Saint-Merri, and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs. These forms combine with ogee curves into a series of interconnected shapes. The mullions, uninterrupted by decorative capitals, divide to become flowing tracery. The tracery has varying degrees of profiles, thus reducing the flatness of the architecture by giving each window depth. In this respect, the window tracery can be compared to the arch moldings and rib profiles found within the church.

Tracery was developed for each church and therefore also vary from monument to monument, yet similarities in the design of tracery relate each of the monuments to one another and connect Saint-Eustache to Saint-Séverin. Two of the tracery patterns found in the stained glass windows of Saint-Eustache are directly derived from Saint-Séverin. The first is the heart-shaped tracery that appears above a triple lancette in a number of clerestorey windows in the nave and throughout the choir of Saint-Séverin. This motif is repeated twelve times in the rose window of the northern transept façade of Saint-Eustache and in the triforium windows. The second tracery pattern, the fleur-de-lis, becomes the principle motif in the clerestorey windows of the nave of Saint-Eustache and is, at the same time, a significant feature of Troyes Cathedral. This symbol of France, almost exclusively used by the monarch, first appears in the second bay of the choir (seventh bay of the church) on the south side of Saint-Séverin and is a significant indication of the involvement of the ruling monarch in determining the design and funding the construction of the late Gothic parish churches of Paris.

The Jubé

Rood screens were an important feature of the late Gothic parish church whose removal from the majority of the parish churches of the sixteenth century has forever altered the original character of the late Gothic church. As derived from the jube of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, and seen in Saint-Étienne-du-Mont as the last surviving of its kind in Paris, the rood screen was a salient feature which in part defined the spatial organization of the interior by closing off the choir area from the nave. The jubé also had a liturgical function: "dans les grandes solennités, c'etait de celui-ci que le Diacre, avant de chanter l'Evangile, s'adressait a voix haute au celébrant en ces termes: Jube, Domine, Benedicere, or Benissez-moi, Seigneur. D'où le nom de ce pont extraordinaire."[58] The jubé was certainly part of the aesthetic and practical design of the interior of each church.

Fragments of the jubé originally erected in front of the choir of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois between 1539 and 1544 are now in the Musée du Louvre. Although there is still some debate among scholars about the exact dates of

[58] Christ, Saint-Etienne-du-Mont 15

construction, this jubé is attributed to both Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot.[59] In 1558, the jubé of Saint-Merri was built along with the main altar and choir stalls (demolished 1709). Even the churchwardens of the market church of Saint Laurent had a screen installed in c. 1595 in their attempt to emulate the architectural trends of the capital.

Despite the uncertainties of dating the present jube of Saint-Etienne-du Mont, there is evidence to suggest the presence of a jube in that church throughout the sixteenth century. It has been proposed that the central part of the rood screen was built at the same time as the choir, i.e., between 1530-1535, this is thought by scholars to be proven by two references to the existence of a jube in 1541 and 1545. Although these dates are documented, there are essentially two problems. First, the choir screen could not have been built together with the choir, but must have been part of the construction of the transept area and thus post date the choir. Second, there is no evidence to ascertain that the jube built c. 1530 still existed in the 1540's. Both of these references could refer to earlier structures made of wood and hence not the same screen or even the jube now located in the church. The jubé is believed to have been constructed during the first years of the sixteenth century, yet the central section is inscribed with the date 1600, and the two Doric side portals bare the date 1605. In addition, the jube has been attributed to a number of artists of the early seventeenth century (including Pierre Biard, Simon Hardouyn and Phillip De l'Orme). For example, Henri Sauvel attributed the rood screen to Pierre Biard who sculpted the equestrian statue of Henry IV placed over the portal of the Hôtel de Ville. According to Lazare, the jubé or rood screen and the stairs are the work of Lestocard d'Arras. Dumolin's text on the churches of Paris states:

> Le 20 juin 1600, devant Périer avec le menuisier Simon Hardouyn pour la grande porte de l'entrée du chœur et, le 22 juin, Pierre Biard, "architecte sculpteur du roi," reçut, pour 120 écus d'or sol, la commande d'un calvaire devant surmonter le jubé.[60]

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[59] Amédée Boinet claims that the jubé inspired by Italian models was designed by Pierre Lescot and only decorated by Goujon in 1544.
[60] Dumolin, Les églises de France 111

Yet another author emphatically states that the jubé was made in 1545 probably by Antoine de Beaucorps.[61] The controversy, however, never puts into question the presence of a jubé because the jubé was a fundamental feature of the parish churches and Cathedrals of the sixteenth century and therefore designed for each monument either in wood or stone.

The rood screen of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, located on the east side of the transept, subdivides the church both laterally and horizontally. The openings serve as processional entrances or small arcades that lead to the choir through the broad central arch on the nave side (Fig. 39). On the choir side of the jubé, there are three openings formed by the placement of two pillars that support the upper gallery or rood loft. The profiles of these supports combine to form three vault patterns with ornate keystones. Access to the above gallery is reached by way of one of two spiral stair-cases that twine around the western-most pillars of the choir.

The upper gallery and balustrade areas are carved and embossed with foliage palms, garlands, corbels, medallions, buds, thuribles and various figures. Specific motifs from Roman antiquity combine with the symbol of France to make the jubé a monument to royalty. Noteworthy details include Augustan scroll patterns similar to those found on the Ara Pacis Augustae, laurel branches and the insertion of fleurs-de-lis into the design of the balustrade. At the same time, the archways have the effect of separating the congregation of the church by creating a window through which the choir can be seen. Access to the choir would not have been granted to all members of the parish, but only a select group thus the jubé served as an effective partition of space.

The choir screen played an important role in defining areas of the church by dividing the interior. Each of the parish churches had a jubé that would have

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[61] As stated by Yvan Christ, (Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1946, 15-16), "Celui qui fait la celebrite de St-Etienne-du-Mont, était achevé en 1545, comme nous l'avons dit. Ce qu'annonce la plaque moderne qui situe sa construction dans les premières années du siècle suivant serait donc faux. Fausse egalement l'attribution à Pierre Biard ou celle, plus ancienne et encore plus mythique, à Jean Goujon. Antoine Beaucorps en serait plus vraisemblesment l'auteur. Quant à Pierre Biard, il n'aurait eleve que le Calvaire disparu sous la révolution, qui surmontait le jubé et peut-être conçu et executé les portes laterales de celui-ci, datées de 1605, ainsi que les paisibles adolescents situes entre les pans coupés de leurs frontons."

screened off the choir from both the nave and transept areas of the church. The jubé once found in the church of Saint-Séverin was donated by Antoine and Oudette de Compaigne in 1414. The majority of the rood screens built in the mid-sixteenth century were destroyed during the eighteenth century and replaced by more transparent iron grills. It was, however, precisely this separation of the interior that was sought by the architects of the Medieval church. The jube was a characteristic feature of the late Gothic church that not only served to perpetuate the hierarchical separation of the parish community, but also represented an important component of the spatial conception of the interior.

Galleries

Each of the parish churches possesses a number of gallery areas on the exterior and in the interior. They take the form of balustrades, balconies, tribunes or open triforiums. As mentioned earlier, the western and transept façades were often designed to have one or two different levels of balustrades reached by individual of paired stair turrets found flanking the façade. In the interior, each church again has a number of distinct areas which like the private loggias were reserved for specific members of the congregation. As mentioned earlier, the gallery of Saint-Séverin occupied a unique position above the main floor and below the Saints depicted in glass. The tribunes of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais were fashioned to hold large groups of the city's magistrates. At Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, there are two different gallery systems. The galleries on either side of the nave are distinct from that of the choir which was given the most ceremonial of stairs. In these churches, there are distinct areas from which the religious proceeding could be observed by the various members of the congregation.

Late Gothic Stained Glass

As a result of the extensive building on the parish churches in Paris, the demand for stained glass rapidly increased during the beginning of the sixteenth century. The various local ateliers in and around Paris specialized in the production of ecclesiastic stained glass to fulfill the number of requests made by the parish chapters and church patrons. Stained glass was manufactured at this time for all the parish churches that had been rebuilt on an enlarged plan and therefore constituted an expansive industry.

During later centuries, numerous changes were made to the Paris churches including the removal of stained glass.

> C'est, en date du 16 floréal an XI, un ordre du citoyen, portant suppression des signes rappelant le féodalité qui existent sur les vitraux de la "ci-devant église de Saint-Merry," devenue temple de la Raison.[62]

Although a large number of windows have been lost, extant examples provide a record of the stylistic evolution of this art form during the later Middle Ages and the role of the patron in determining the appearance and sometimes the arrangement of windows within a church.

Increased production of stained glass coupled with the demand for more detail led to the introduction of new techniques and the refinement of working methods. During the sixteenth century, the role of color in stained glass was redefined just as it had been during the reign of Louis IX. Artists turned to *grisaille* glass and relied heavily on varying thicknesses of glass together with different nuances of color to create more realistic scenes. High quality Venetian glass became common and was used in numerous churches including Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Merri, Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais and Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. This more refined glass allowed the artist to experiment with greater details and heightened luminosity. The subjects of each window become more involved as the practice of using better glass increased the visual effects and the luminosity of the painting on each piece of glass. Individual scenes and the figures within them become more realistic and thus easily readable. Each window no longer appeared as a wall of colored glass closing in the interior, but a screen providing a view of the Biblical world both beyond and within the confines of the building itself. More light entered the interior thus obscuring boundaries within the church and creating the illusion of greater architectural space. This was also achieved through the depiction of three dimensional space within each window. In this way, stained glass became an even greater part of the architecture it was designed to enhance.

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[62] Prosper Lataye, Memoire au sujet des vitraux anciens, état où ils se trouvent après le siége dans les églises de Paris (Paris: Typographie de A. Pougin 1871) 22.

The late Gothic interest in realism extends to the mode of incorporation and representation of the saints, biblical stories and the various donors who financed individual windows. In some cases, the patrons have been identified from either emblems, coats-of-arms, iconographic details or from the original purchase agreements. While not all have been identified, a significant number of the windows from Saint-Séverin include representations of donors and their coats-of-arms. The numerous Saints and donors depicted in the clerestorey windows would have been paralleled the presence of members of the congregation on the second storey tribunes thus having the effect of turning the interior of the church into a portrait gallery of the high nobility of Parisian society. A number of these patrons have been identified at Saint-Severin and in specific windows from Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, and Saint-Merri. This practice of portraying patrons in stained glass continued throughout the sixteenth century.

The first important example of the role of stained glass comes from the church of Saint-Séverin. Some of the best surviving stained glass of the second half of the fifteenth century is conserved in the clerestorey windows of this church. Part of the late Gothic rebuilding campaign of the choir involved the select reuse of glass from the church. At Saint-Séverin, various panels were reemployed as part of the design of the modern choir. This explicitly meant sacrificing the earlier unity of these panels to express an entirely new ideology. The repositioning of the windows became an essential part of the new iconographic program of the choir. The arrangement was designed to exalt the French monarch and principal patron of the church -- Charles VIII. The king directed the various ateliers to establish a visual and thematic connection between the general placement of windows and the architectural setting. This was done by using older panels and repeating the format of the central windows for the additional windows needed in the clerestorey. The principal focus of the new choir is the pairing of Christ enthroned with the Virgin Mary and Child. Together they served as a mirror image of the monarch and his queen. This allusion does not depend on their being present, but serves as a constant reminder of the power of the monarchy in later Medieval society. The success of this project and in particular the refinement of the contemporary stained glass windows from 1489-96 led to the further employment of the artists involved.

The artists of the atelier working at Saint-Séverin were appointed by Charles VIII to make the new rose window of the western façade at Sainte-Chapelle. The artist of the Sainte Geneviève and Saint Michel windows of Saint-Séverin, dated 1489-1496, was the most prolific craftsman working during the end of the fifteenth century; he inherited the atelier of the Maître de Coetivy and played an important role in designing the rose window of Sainte-Chapelle.[63] The subject of this window, the Apocalypse, conveys a sense of the history of the world achieved. The implication is that the patron behind the rebuilding of Sainte-Chapelle, Charles VIII, is in part responsible for the dawning of a new age. The heart-shaped pieces of glass and the rosettes in between the spandrel below the rose contain either the grand K of Charles VIII or the arms of France encircled by the gold collar of the Order of Saint Michel. Both of these symbols that appear as part of the iconography of the stained glass of the choir of Saint-Séverin are here surmounted by the monarch's crown. The smallest panels of the rose are decorated by fleurs-de-lis. These iconographic details are testimony to the monarch's interest in not only revitalizing the architecture of Louis IX, but also establishing his own role in the creation of a new court style. While these symbols and those in the choir of Saint-Séverin make direct reference to the monarch, not all of the stained glass windows reflect the identity of their donor. The majority are stylistically related to the architecture and hence serve to enhance the inherent spatial relations through the extension of depicted space.

The architecture and the stained glass of the parish churches were not designed independent of one another, but as integral parts of an overall conception. For this reason, stained glass played an important role in the architectural style of the Parisian churches. Artists and patrons strove to create a dialogue between the architectural forms used in the construction of the church and those represented in each scene. In so doing, the representation of architectural elements became common. Narrative scenes take place in complex natural and built environments while individual saints appear in elaborate architectural niches under ornate canopies. These canopies often imitate the architecture of the later Middle Ages by repeating principal forms such as ogee arches, pierced gables with decorative finials, and multi-rib vault chapels with

[63] According to Nicole Reynaud, ("Les vitraux du chœr de Saint-Séverin" Bulletin Monumental 143, (1985) 36) "[il] fut aussi le cartonnier inspiré de l'admirable rose de la Sainte-Chapelle, à peu près contemporaine"

pendentives. In a number of examples, the architectural forms used in the design of individual windows contrast the flamboyant character of the architecture and return to classical arrangements and the pure geometrical forms of antiquity. These examples incorporate the classical orders used in barrel vaults, triumphal arches and arcades. Regardless of the style, each detail conspires to create a sense of three dimensions. The actual wall shafts and rib vaults become a frame and the window becomes a scene in itself with a foreground, middle ground and the suggestion of a background. In particular, Biblical stories are represented in architectural settings that appear naturally to recede into the distance, thus creating a sense of three dimensions in stained glass.

By capturing a sense of three dimensions in glass, the windows play a significant role in echoing the architectural space of the interior. While each scene suggests the presence of a world beyond the confines of the window, the architectural space defined in stained glass clearly has a parallel in the architecture of the church itself. In the parish churches with two storey elevations (Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Saint-Merri and Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs), the clerestorey windows repeat the form of the arcade thus establishing a relationship between actual physical space and depicted space. The relatively shallow space of an individual bay is similar to the architecturally defined space depicted in the stage like setting of each of the biblical scenes presented in stained glass. The best example of this is commonly referred to as the Doubting Saint Thomas window that embellishes the transept of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Fig. 40).

This window located on the south side of the church separating the second aisle of the nave from the transept is made up of five lancettes and depicts a single scene. Christ is the subject of the central lancette. Despite having a rather elongated body, he appears somewhat dwarfed by the large classical interior in which he appears. Saint Thomas is to the left of Christ, his body and that of the man behind him occupy the adjoining lancette while their hands can be clearly seen in the central lancette. The artist has used their gestures to integrate the subjects of these two panels. In addition, careful attention has been paid to the floor pattern and the upper level tribunes of the background architecture. Both of these details are realistically represented according to the laws of perspective. The interior is carefully described as having depth. Christ is in the foreground in

front of a double storey barrel vaulted basilica that leads to a second more distant arcade. The story of Saint Thomas demands neither the number of figures nor the complex architectural setting in which the scene is presented. The complexity of the design, its elaborate setting, and realistic character reflect the late Gothic interest in using perspective to create a wholly new sense of architectural space.

Patrons of Stained Glass

The artist and patrons of the Doubting Saint Thomas window and the rose of the northern transept of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois have been known since the discovery of the contracts for these windows. They clearly state the names of the individuals who gave to the church and thus provide a picture of typical benefactors. The more prominent and earlier of the two windows, the rose of the northern transept, was contracted on September 18, 1532, by Antoine Le Viste, and his wife Charlotte Briçonnet; Antoine Le Viste was *seigneur de Fresnes*, Provost of the Guilds from 1520-1521 and President of the Parliament of Paris. Together, they commissioned the master glass maker, Jehan or Jean Chastellain, to include their portraits as donors in the "Saint Esprit" window.[64] The second contract, drawn on April 4, 1533, was for the Doubting Saint Thomas and various coats-of-arms. The window was again done by the Jean Chastellain but financed by Anne Poncher and Antoine Bohier, counsellor to the king and general of his majesty's finances. The high ranking position of these donors is significant as they represent members of the court and those most likely to benefit from the maintenance of the established order. The identity of other patrons comes from those windows with discernible subjects or identifiable iconographic details.

The patrons of the church of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais are evident in a number of the choir windows. The second chapel east of the transept on the north side is adorned by windows given by Christophe de Carmone in c. 1500. The scene shows the legends of Mary Magdalen and the Count of Provence, perhaps Christophe de Carmone. The window includes the saints showing

[64] The contract, ms Nouv acq fr 23301, fol 8, in the Bibliothèque Nationale reads, " Et sera tenu led Chastellain de fournir de pourtraictz et patrons faict de la main de maistre Noel Bellemare maistre paincte à Paris Et ledict pourtraict et patron faiz Jehan Chastellain sera tenu les montrer et exhiber à ladicte dame Charlotte Briçonnet pour les veoir (et) visiter pour qu'elle puisse les augmenter et diminuer à son penser et volonté tant en coulleur que autres choses Et les pourtraicts et patrons accordes . "

goodwill towards the Count and his wife, their baptism, the last communion of the saint and the death of Mary Magdalen. In the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, the window of the Judgement of Solomon (1531) by Robert Pinaigrier depicts a courtly scene in which Solomon bears many of the facial features of François I (Fig. 41). A similar likeness has been noted by Felix and Louis Lazare. Although the exact location of the window they mention has not been ascertained, the two scholars state in their 1855 publication of the Dictionnaire Administratif et Historique des Rues et Monuments de Paris that:

> La chapelle Sainte-Barbe est decorée de vitraux qui représentent une procession dans laquelle on remarque François Ier, dont la figure est tres-ressemblante.[65]

Notable iconographic details in the Judgement of Solomon are the two heraldic crests covered by laurel decorations in the lowest part of the window. The two coats-of-arms are topped by crowns. The insignia on the left although largely hidden by the laurel can be recognized as the salamander of François I.

In the chapel of the Virgin of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, there are windows that belie the identity of the patrons in the choice of subject matter. The windows, attributed to both Robert Pinaigrier and Jean Cousin, are dated 1531, the same year Éléonore d'Autriche made her royal entrance as the Queen of France; they depict the life of the Virgin, the coronation of Mary and a Tree of Jesse. In this chapel, the Virgin is depicted in the window on the north side with two kings. These kings are part of the recurring theme of royal lineage again taken up in the Tree of Jesse seen on the left hand side. Donors are presented before the Virgin in the southeast window. It is also noteworthy that the entire architectural arrangement of this sacristy mimics the upper chapel of Sainte Chapelle.

The rebuilding of the parish churches in Paris gave these monuments an entirely modern appearance. While the parish churches were under construction, the various patrons and chapters of the older historic monuments in Paris sought to modernize these structures. Rebuilding campaigns were

[65] Lazare, 386.

initiated and numerous monuments were given modern stained glass windows. In 1486, Charles VIII issued a Royal Ordinance decreeing the restoration of the windows of the chapel of Sainte-Chapelle along with the construction of new windows for the western façade representing the Apocalypse and the first vision of Saint John. This led to the direct incorporation of the emblem of Charles VIII (1483-1498) and the royal arms of France into the iconography of the main façade. The western rose of Notre-Dame was also partly redone at this time and similar campaigns were initiated for historic monuments outside Paris. The rose window above the gallery of kings of the western façade of the Cathedral of Amiens was replaced by a new late Gothic window (c.1500). These types of renovations represented the easiest way to reassert the glory of a major monument without having to rebuild entirely. Each of these campaigns led to increased building activity and the further exchange of architectural ideas. In Paris, as each parish church underwent reconstruction so did the very monuments that had served as the basic models for their rebuilding. This dialectic exchange is an importance part of the history of architecture in Paris and of the reception of architectural ideas as demonstrated in the late Gothic rebuilding campaigns of the parish churches of Paris.

Conclusion

Individually the parish churches in this study constitute important models of late Gothic architecture and collectively, they provide a strong example of late Medieval architecture and its prominence in Paris. Although the major campaigns between 1489 and 1590 did not involve building new structures, they nevertheless completely transformed the appearance of the traditional parish church. For this reason, the parish churches in Paris are characterized as late Gothic monuments. The rebuilding led to a strong correlation among these monuments as evidenced in their similar features and dates of construction. While, the architectural arrangements of the parish churches are modeled after traditional Gothic monuments, the style is characterized by classical motifs and modern flamboyant features. In designing the parish churches to be basilicas in the guise of the Cathedral, each church became a modern Notre-Dame. They each imitate the Cathedrals by having a longitudinal form with a single or double ambulatory, radiating chapels, non-projecting transepts, large rose windows and prominent flying buttresses.

In rebuilding each monument, the chapters and individual patrons sought to perpetuate their own status and position within society by acting as benefactors to the church. The monarchs, in particular, used the rebuilding of the parish churches to help define their own image. Charles VIII is the implied *Salvador Mundi* or new Charlemagne, Louis XII, like Louis IX, is the great patron of architecture and the arts, and François I is Solomon the Judge. The patronage of high ranking officials of the Church and State also led to the donation of stained glass windows, vaults and individual chapels; in some cases, the specific donor or donor couple can be recognized. In each case, the patrons turned to the most contemporary architectural language to show their awareness of artistic trends.

The reliance on this vocabulary is evidenced in the repetition of the specific forms and patterns that make the parish churches an identifiable group. The stylistic qualities defining the churches in Paris are the result of the constant application and therefore the reception of the prevailing architectural ideas. The formal and thematic similarities are the result of a highly developed consciousness of the connotations of style and the implication of the use of architectural forms and arrangements in the sixteenth century.

Figure 1. The sixteen parish wards of Paris in 1571

The districts of Paris are shown as follows:

1 Notre-Dame, 2 Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, 3. Saints-Innocents, 4. Saint-Honoré, 5. Saint-Eustache, 6 Saint-Jaques-de-l'Hôpital, 7. Saint-Jaques-de-la-Boucherie, 8. Saint-Sépulcre, 9. Saint-Martin, 10. Saint-Esprit ou de la Grève, 11 Cimetière Saint-Jean, 12 Temple, 13. Saint-Gervais, 14 Saint-Antoine, 15 Sainte-Geneviève, 16. Saint-Severin.

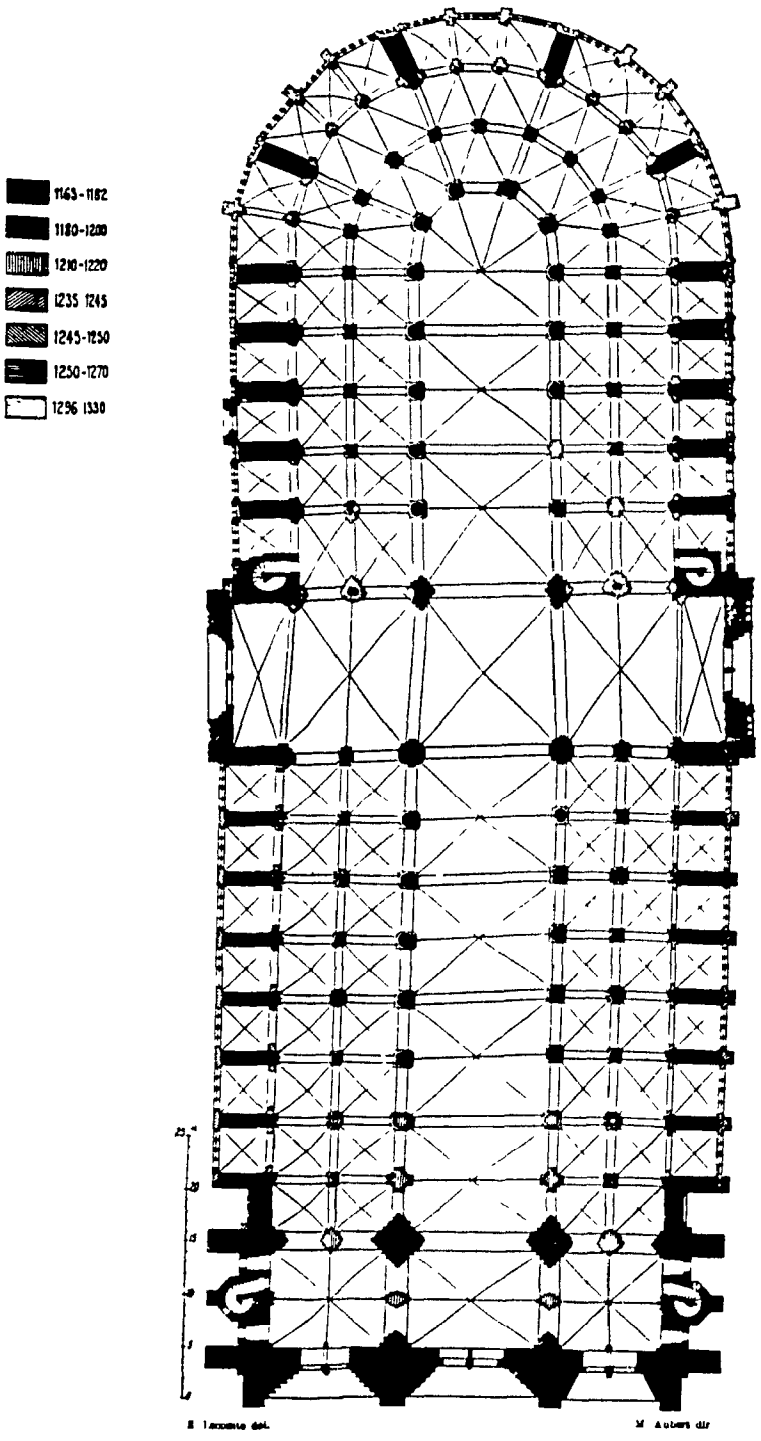

Figure 2. Plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris

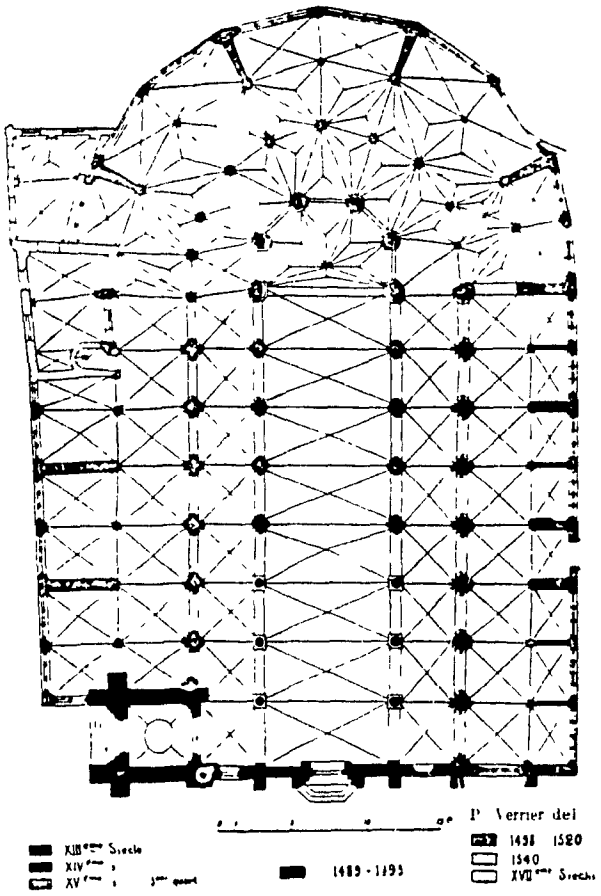

Figure 3. Plan of Saint-Séverin

Figure 4. Interior detail of the triforium of Saint-Séverin

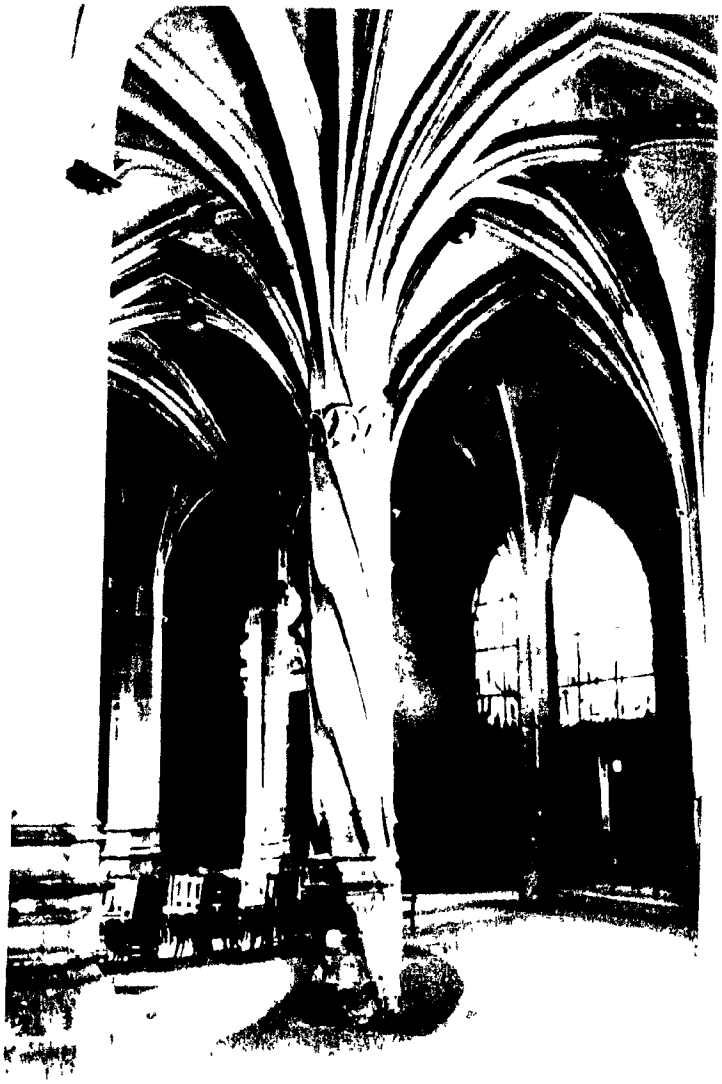

Figure 5. Central column of the choir of Saint-Séverin

Figure 6. Interior of the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny

Figure 7. Central lancettes of the choir of Saint-Séverin
The Virgin and Child; Christ the Saviour

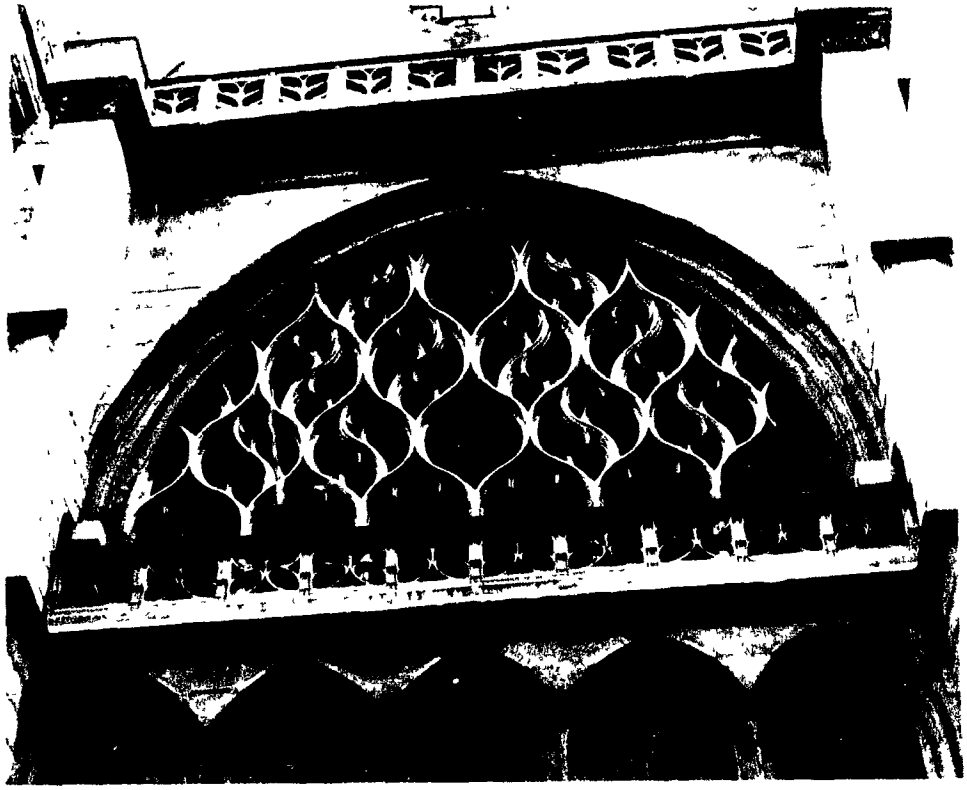

Figure 8. Exterior detail of the western façade of Saint-Séverin

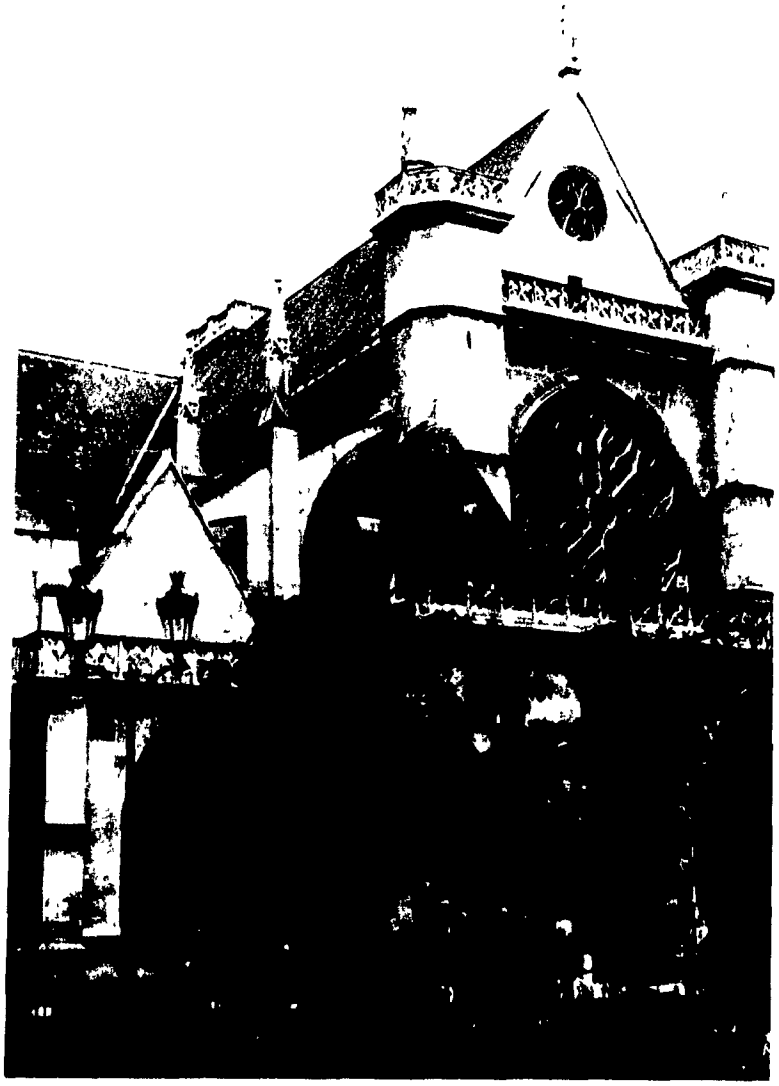

Figure 9. Western façade of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

Figure 10. North portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois
1569-1571

Figure 11. North portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs
1576-81

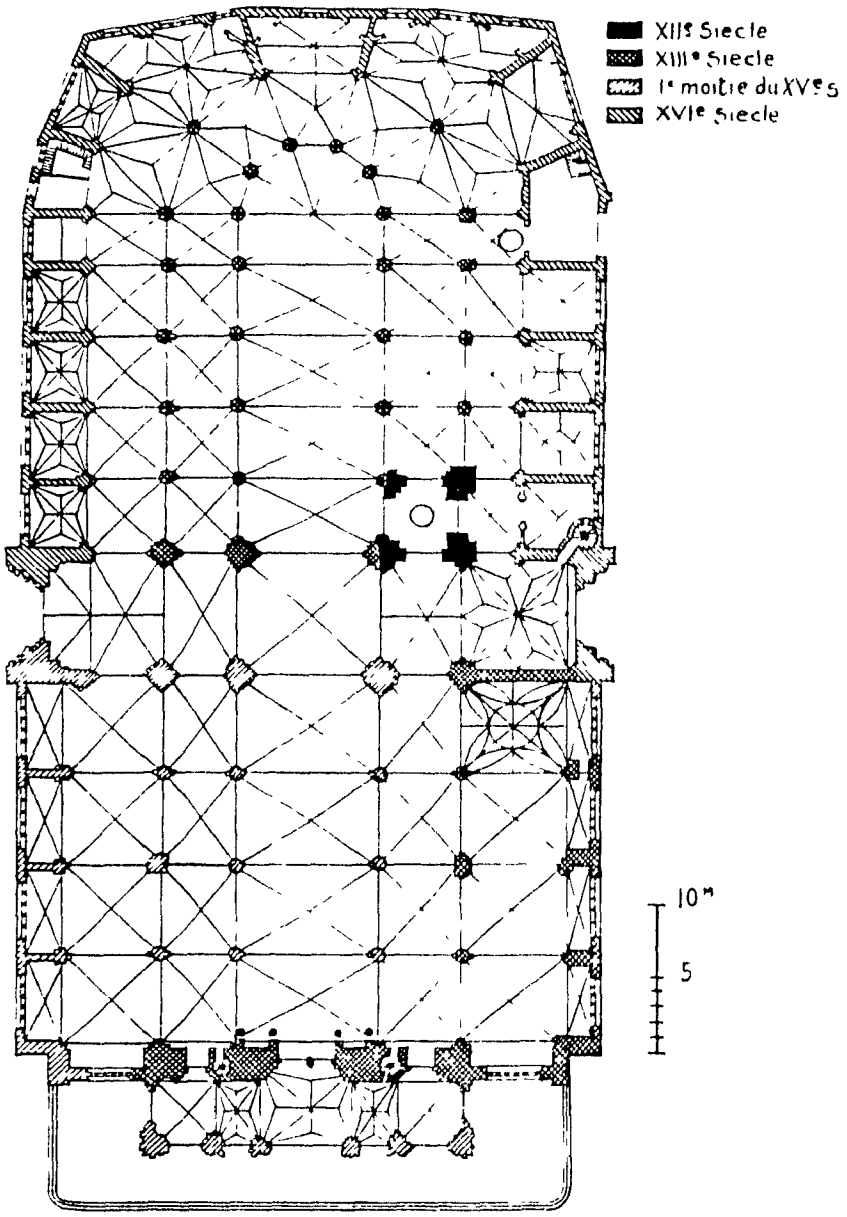

Figure 12. Plan of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

Figure 13. Sacristy of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

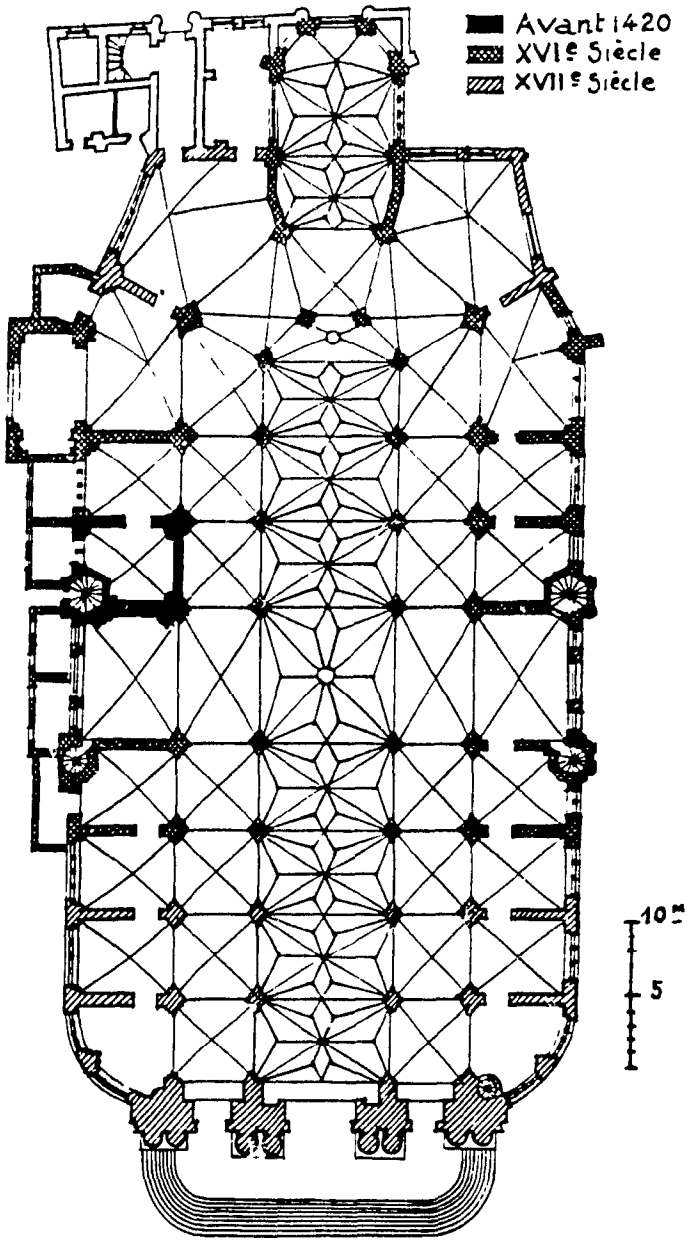

Figure 14. Plan of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

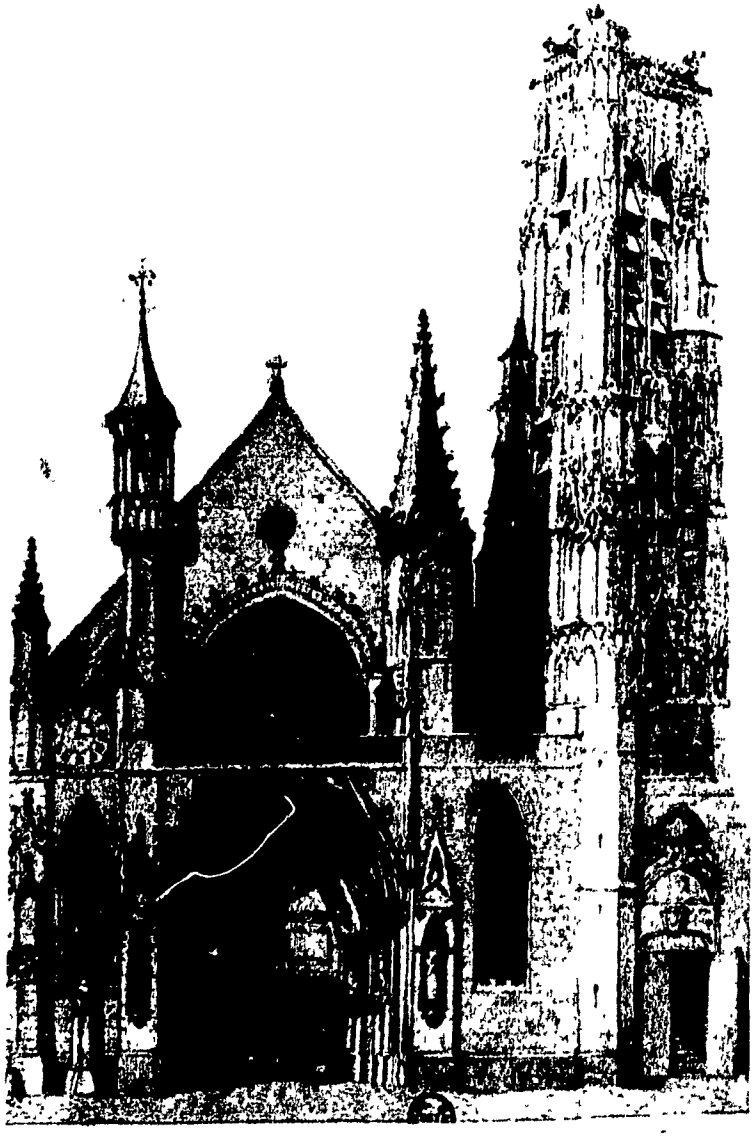

Figure 15. View of the western façade of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie
1784

Figure 16. Tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie
1508-1522

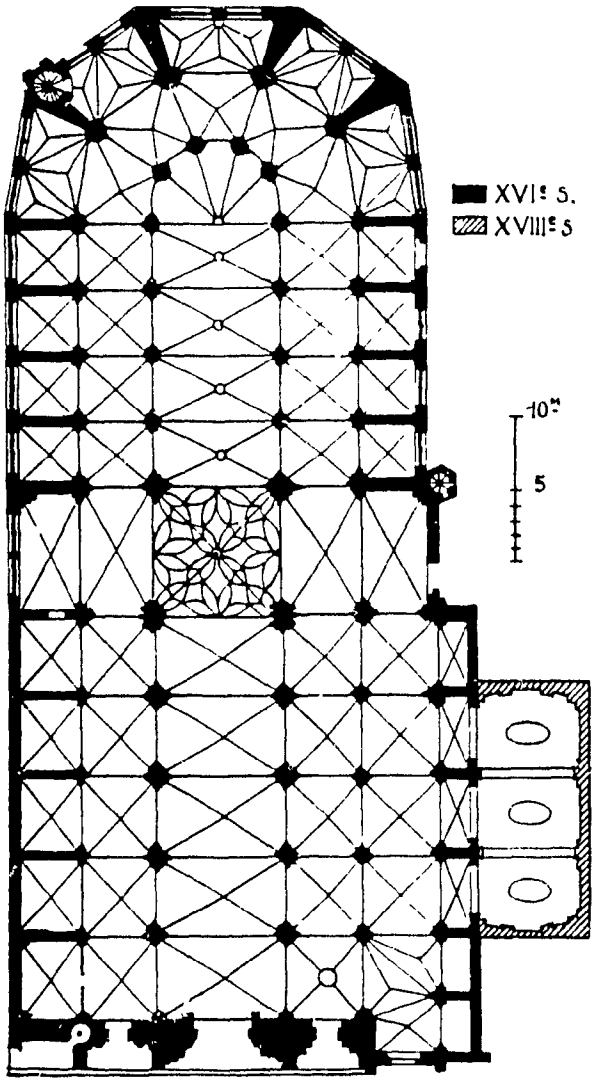

Figure 17. Plan of Saint-Merri

Figure 18. Interior detail of the central vault of Saint-Merri

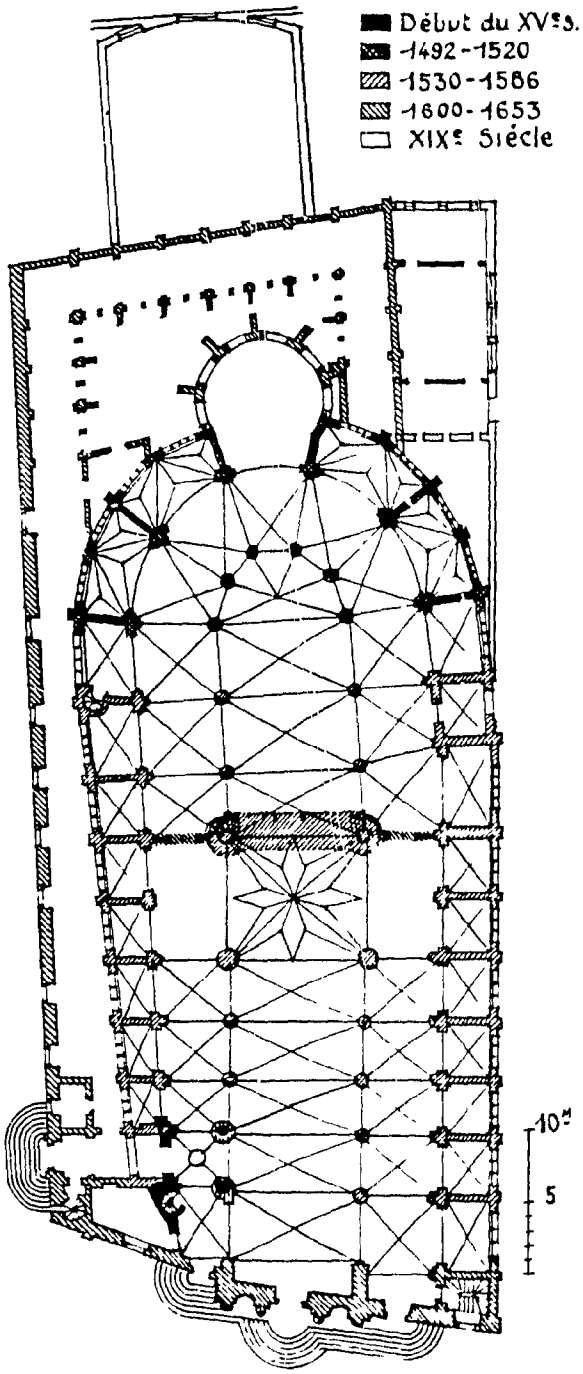

Figure 19. Plan of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

Figure 20. Interior of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

Figure 21. Vaults of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

Figure 22. Vaults of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

Figure 23. Southern façade of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

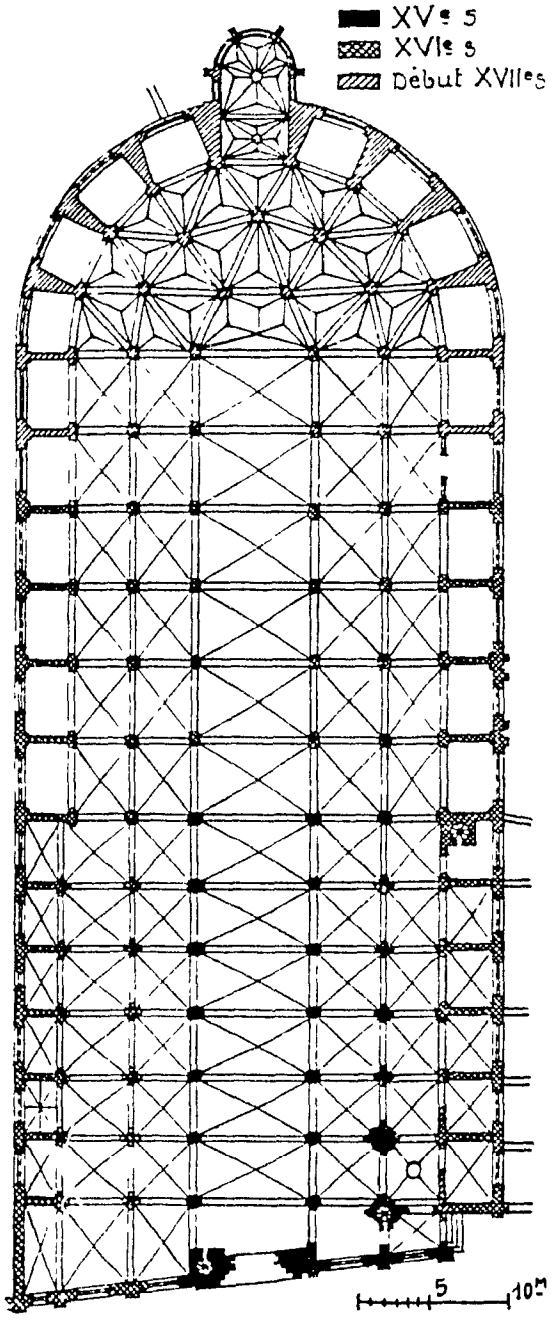

Figure 24. Plan of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs

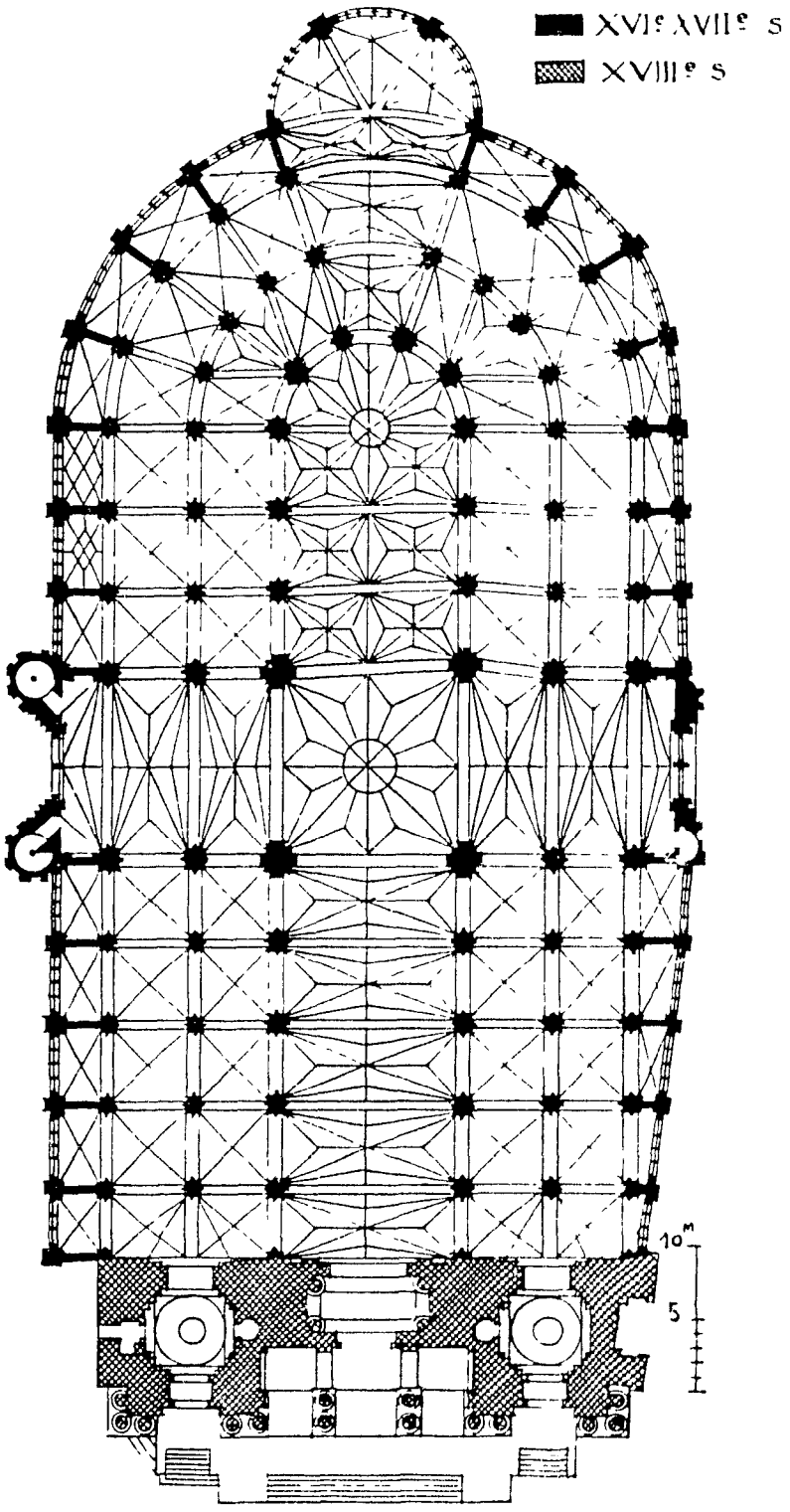

Figure 25. Plan of Saint-Eustache

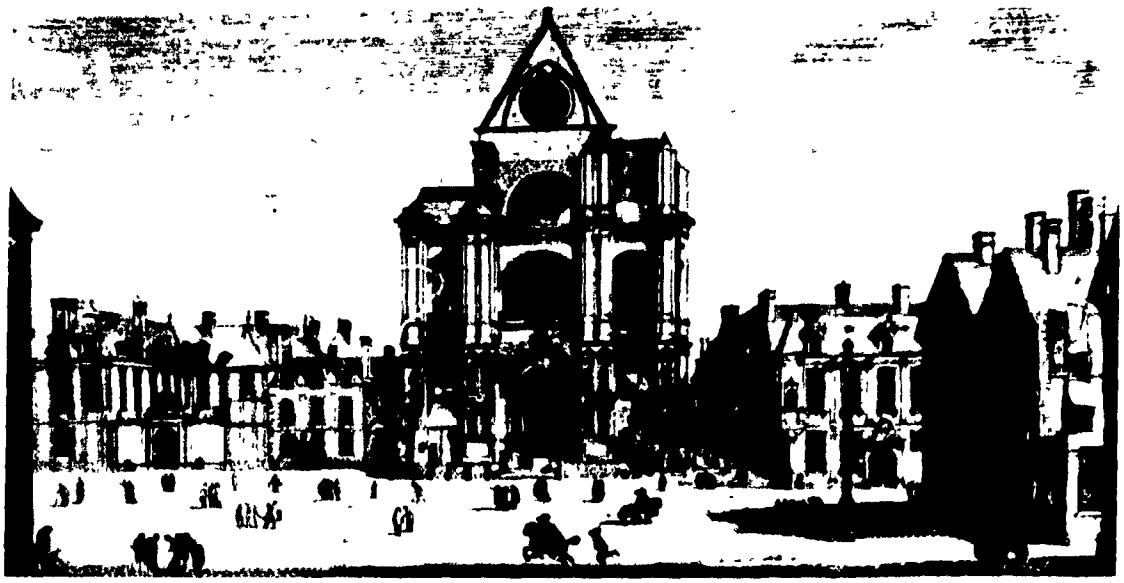

Figure 26. View of the main façade of Saint-Eustache
c. 1632

Figure 27. Interior of Saint-Eustache towards the choir

Figure 28. Exterior of Sainte-Chapelle

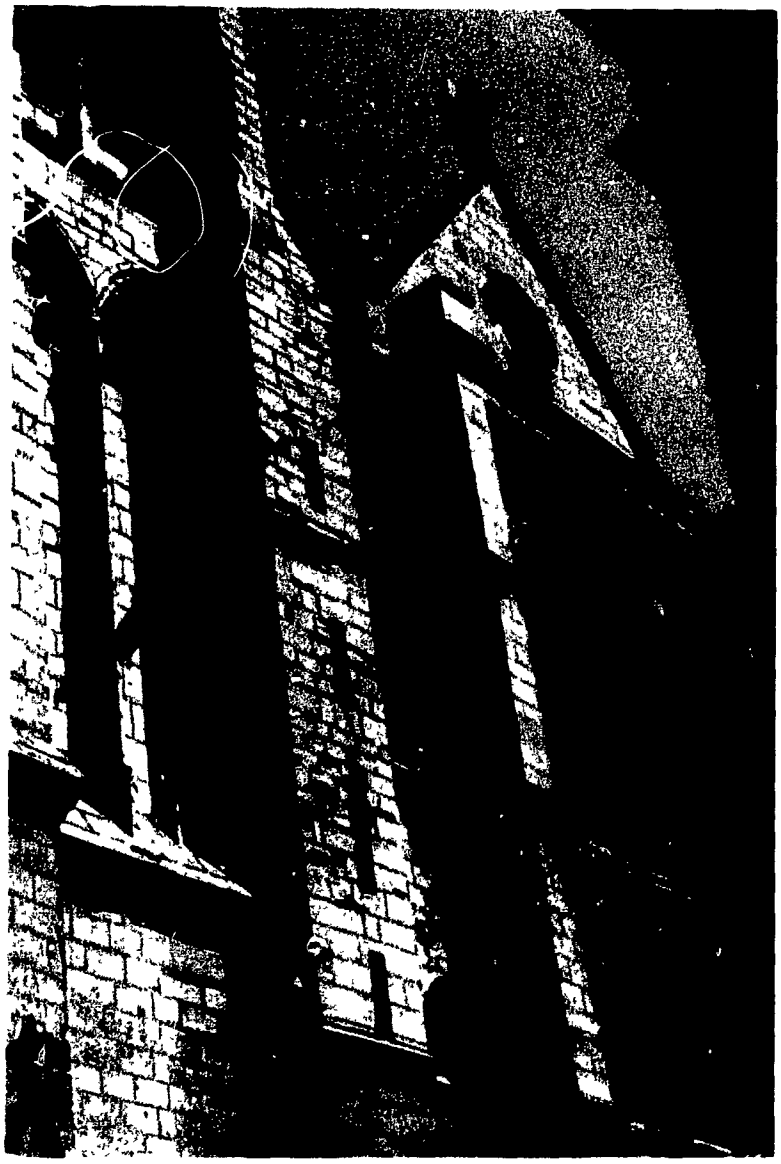

Figure 29. Upper portion of the western façade of Saint-Séverin

Figure 30. Western façade of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs

Figure 31. Southern transept façade of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

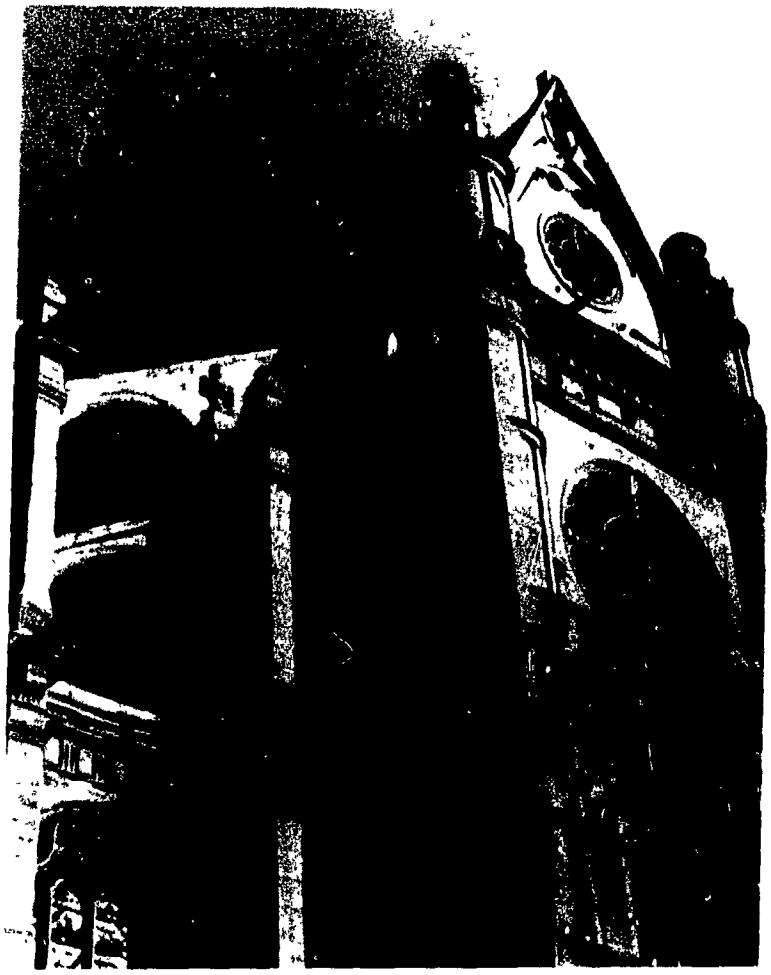

Figure 32. Southern transept façade of Saint-Eustache
1532-1640

Figure 33. Exterior of the chevet of Saint-Merri

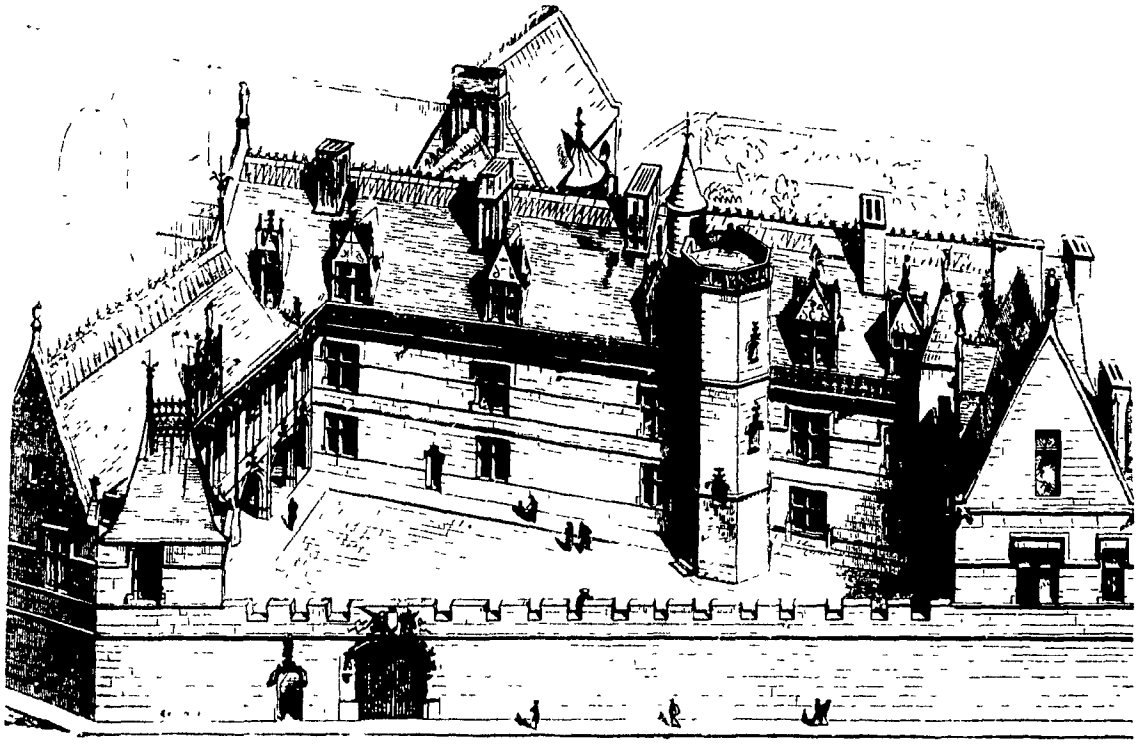

Figure 34. View of the Hôtel de Cluny

Figure 35. Nave of Saint-Séverin as seen from the choir

Figure 36. Interior elevation of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

Figure 37. Ambulatory of Saint-Séverin
1489-1495

Figure 38. Vaults of the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny
c. 1500

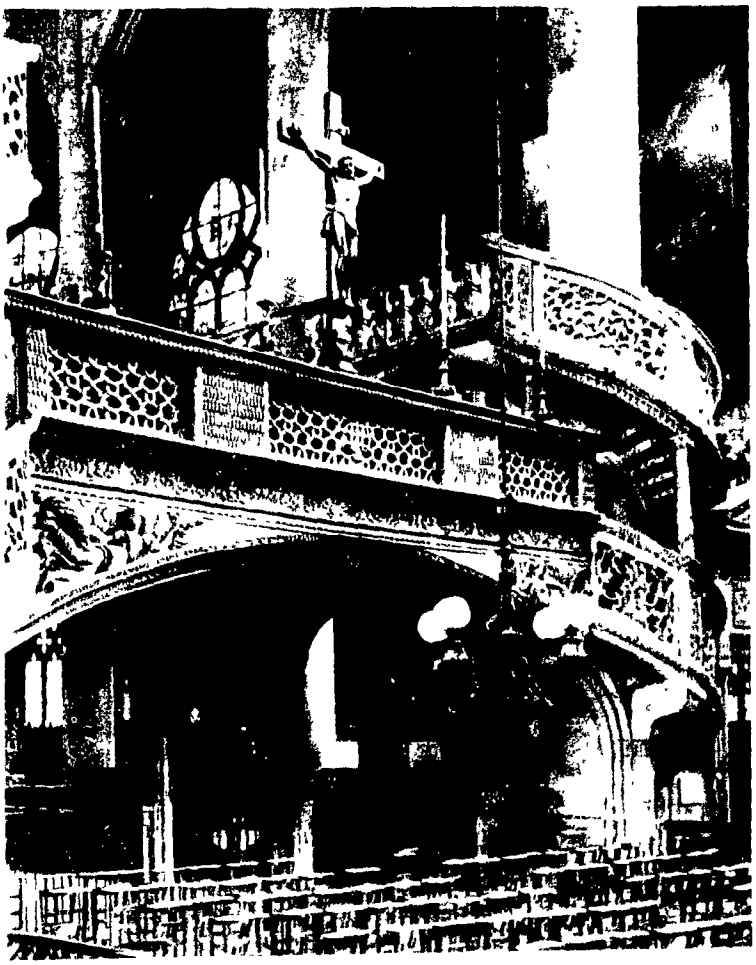

Figure 39. Jubé of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont

Figure 40. Doubting Saint Thomas window,
Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois
1533

Figure 41. Judgement of Solomon window,
Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais
1531

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Source of Illustrations

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Babelon, Jean-Pierre. Paris au XVIe siècle, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, Paris: Diffusion Hachette 1986, 508.

Figure 2 *Plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris (at 70%)*
Dumolin, Maurice and Outardel, George. Les eglises de France, Paris et la Seine, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1936, n. p

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Dumolin, Maurice and Outardel, George. Les églises de France, Paris et la Seine, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1936, 54.

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Figure 5 *Central column of the ambulatory of the choir of Saint-Severin*
Favier, Jean. Paris au XVe siècle 1380-1500, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, Paris: Diffusion Hachette 1974, 395.

Figure 6 *Interior of the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny*
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Figure 7 *Central lancettes of the choir of Saint-Séverin*
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Figure 9 *Western façade of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*
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Figure 10 *North portal of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois 1569-1571*
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Figure 11 *North portal of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs 1576-81*
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Figure 12 *Plan of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*
Dumolin, Maurice and Outardel, George. Les églises de France, Paris et la Seine, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1936, 66.

Figure 13 *Sacristy of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*
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Figure 14 *Plan of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais*
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Figure 15 *View of the western façade of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie*
Christ, Yvan Eglises parisiennes actuelles et disparues, Paris: Editions Tel 1947. Fig. 74, [plate 1].

Figure 16 *Tower of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie 1508-1522*
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Figure 18 *Interior detail of the central vault of Saint-Merri*
Photographed by the Author.

Figure 19 *Plan of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont*
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Figure 20 *Interior of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont*
Babelon, Jean-Pierre. Paris au XVIe siècle, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, Paris: Diffusion Hachette 1986, 136.

Figure 21 *Vaults of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont*
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Figure 22 *Vaults of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais*
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Figure 26 *View of the main façade of Saint Eustache c. 1632*
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Figure 27 *Interior of Sainte-Eustache towards the choir*
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Figure 29 *Upper portion of the western façade of Saint-Severin*
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Figure 30 *Western façade of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs*
Dumolin, Maurice and Outardel, George. Les églises de France, Paris et la Seine, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané 1936, 91.

Figure 31 *Southern transept façade of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*
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Figure 32 *Southern transept façade of Saint-Eustache*
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Figure 33 *Exterior of the chevet of Saint-Merri*
Photographed by the Author.

Figure 34 *View of the Hôtel de Cluny*
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Figure 35 *Nave of Saint-Séverin as seen from the choir*
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Figure 36 *Interior elevation of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*
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Figure 37 *Ambulatory of Saint-Séverin*
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Figure 38 *Vaults of the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny c. 1500*
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Figure 39 *Jubé of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont*
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Figure 40 *Doubting Saint Thomas window, St-Germain-l'Auxerrois 1533*
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Figure 41 *Judgement of Solomon window, St-Germain-et-St-Protais 1531*
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