

IN SEARCH FOR THE "DEFINITE REFERENCE": CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE-
DAME DE PARIS AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY



BY

ELİF DEVRİM TOPSAKAL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

APRIL 2023

Approval of the thesis:

**IN SEARCH FOR THE "DEFINITE REFERENCE": CATHEDRAL OF
NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE**

submitted by **ELİF DEVRİM TOPSAKAL** in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History of Architecture, the Graduate
School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. C  n   B  LSEL
Head of Department
Department of Architecture

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin YONCACI ARSLAN
Supervisor
Department of Architecture

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. T. Elvan ALTAN ALTU   (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin YONCACI ARSLAN (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture

Prof. Dr. Lale   ZGENEL
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture

Prof. Dr. Namık G  nay ERKAL
TED University
Department of Architecture

Assoc. Prof. Dr.   a  la CANER Y  KSEL
Ba  kent University
Department of Architecture



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: ElifDevrim Topsakal

Signature:

ABSTRACT

IN SEARCH OF THE "DEFINITE REFERENCE": CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

DEVİRİM TOPSAKAL, Elif

Ph.D., The Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin YONCACI ARSLAN

April 2023, 324 pages

In April 2019, the fire of the Notre-Dame de Paris increased the interest to the monument yet this attention is a short moment in the 860 years of history behind it. This thesis focuses on how and in what ways the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was received as a reference in architectural history, urban history, literature and conservation. The aim is to search the place where the monument stands throughout history in three contexts: an urban context, as an object of Paris and a novel, 1831 Notre-Dame de Paris by Victor Hugo; as an object of restoration, in the context of the history of architectural conservation in the nineteenth century and lastly; as an object of study, and search for the building in architectural history survey books. In 1991, UNESCO registered the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris as a world heritage site by officially stating that the monument constitutes "a definite reference in the diffusion of Gothic architecture". How "definite" is its place in the historiography of Gothic architecture will be assessed based on the review of the printed works. The final discussion will return back to Hugo's famous "This will kill that!" expression and discuss the reception of the cathedral today.

Keywords: Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, Gothic architecture, Restoration History, Heritage, History of Architecture

ÖZ

"KESİN REFERANSIN" ARAYIŞINDA: NOTRE DAME DE PARIS KATEDRALİ VE GOTİK MİMARLIK

DEVİRİM TOPSAKAL, Elif

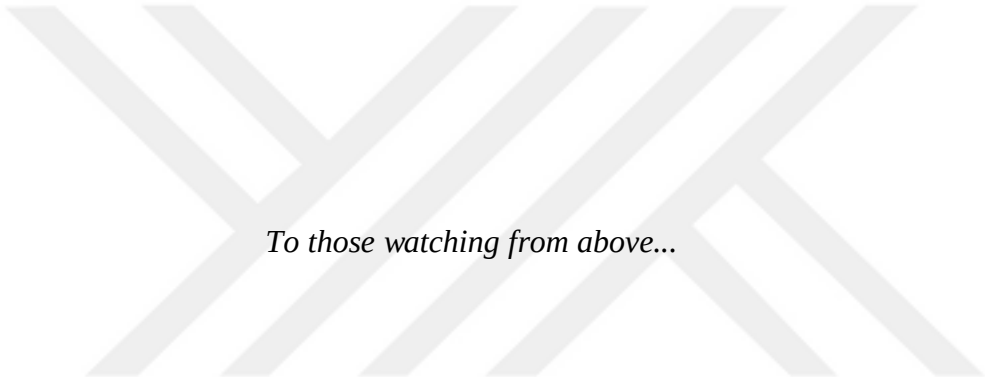
Doktora, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Pelin YONCACI ARSLAN

Nisan 2023, 324 sayfa

2019'da yangına maruz kalan Notre Dame de Paris Katedrali'ne ilgi artışı gözlemlenmiş olup, bu ilginin yapının 860 senelik geçmişinde kısa bir andan ibaret oluşu da bir gerçektir. Bu tez Notre Dame de Paris Katedrali'nin mimarlık tarihi, kentsel tarih, edebi ve koruma nezdinde nasıl ve ne amaçlarla ele alındığına odaklanmaktadır. Tezin amacı yapının tarih boyunca üç bağlamda nerede ve nasıl yer aldığını araştırmaktır: kentsel bağlamda, bir Paris ve Victor Hugo'nun 1831 Notre-Dame de Paris adlı eseri ve objesi olarak; on dokuzuncu yüzyıl mimari koruma bağlamı içerisinde bir restorasyon objesi olarak; mimarlık tarihi etüt kitaplarında bir araştırma objesi olarak. 1991 senesinde UNESCO Notre Dame de Paris Katedrali'ni dünya mirası listesine kaydetmiş olup, resmi olarak "Gotik mimarinin yayılımında kesin referans" olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu "kesin" yargının gotik mimarlık tarihi yazımında ki yeri basılmış eserlerin içeriğinde incelenmektedir. Hugo'nun meşhur sözü olan "Bu onu öldürür!"e sonuç kısmında dönüş yapılacaktır, Katedralin günümüzdeki yeri tartışılacaktır.

AnahtarKelimeler : Notre Dame de Paris Katedrali, Gotik mimari, Restorasyon tarihi, Miras, Mimarlık Tarihi



To those watching from above...

ACKNOWLEDMENTS

I would like to, first and foremost, thank my advisor Pelin Yoncacı Arslan for her unlimited patience, positivity and encouragement. I am extremely grateful for my previous advisor Lale Özgenel for her sincere and honest guidance. They have both laid an incredible path in front of me. I am grateful to my dissertation committee members Elvan Altan Altuğ, Namık Günay Erkal and Çağla Caner Yüksel for their invaluable and insightful remarks since the beginning.

The first steps of my architectural history journey began with Ela Kaçel who not only thought me the subject but also encouraged me to become a historian like herself. All of this is thanks to you and your belief in me. I am grateful to the staff at BNF who created a safe place for endless research and to the people who cherish and protect Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral, along all other beautiful Gothic monuments around the world every day.

I would like to thank the people whom I consider family; Naz Costante, Ertan Özçelik and Neslişah Mamati. Your friendship means more to me than you can imagine, you are my chosen family. To my friends I made along the way, Aylin Atacan and Senem Yıldırım Evsen. I am saddened to not have met you earlier in life but nonetheless, thankful for all the memories. Murat Hüsfer, thank you for a lifetime of friendship. Fernaz Öncel and Emre Gökdel, thank you for your positivity and the laughter you brought along.

My deepest and endless personal gratitude goes to my family; mum and dad, you have been nothing but encouraging, patient and full of love all my life. I am grateful every day to be your daughter, I cannot be more proud. Thank you to my brother for the laughter but most importantly for my nephew and niece. Thank you to my extended family and in-laws for their support. To my dear husband Güney Topsakal, you have been and continue to be my safe haven, my best friend and greatest support.

Thank you for the endless discussions on Gothic architecture, for staying up with me, being patient with me. You have believed in me even when I doubted myself. Thank you for a million more reasons.

I dedicate this dissertation to my loved ones who are no longer with us but still watching from above; my grandparents whom I think about every day. Papy, I would have loved nothing more to discuss this topic with you endlessly. To my beautiful and free spirited aunt Sophie, and the great-great uncle Cardinal Verdier who inspired all this. My Cheshire, you are forever missed and in my heart.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Notre-Dame as a Definite Reference	1
1.2. The Gothic in Architectural History Writing	7
1.3. Aim and Structure of the Study	24
2. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS IN HISTORY	28
2.1. The Site: Point Zero, the Île de la Cité.....	28
2.2. The Building: Notre-Dame de Paris.....	50
2.3. An Era of Restoration in France	66
3. THE 19TH CENTURY FRENCH RESPONSE TO NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS	75
3.1. Le Style Troubadour, The French Emphasis on Classic Times.....	75
3.2. Victor Hugo and his Troubadourian War Against the Demolisseurs	86
3.3. Hugo's Paris and Notre-Dame	92
3.4. Fatality and the Written Word	110
3.5. A New Hope for the Cathedral	114
3.5.1. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's Report.....	117
3.6. Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionary	127
3.7. Lectures on Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc	139
4. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS AS A VISUAL REFERENCE	151
4.1. Auguste Choisy's Engineering Evolution.....	151

4.2. Bannister Fletcher's Corpus	157
4.2.1. Changes throughout editions	162
4.3. Kimball & Edgell's Illustrations of Gothic Architecture	176
4.4. Nikolaus Pevsner's History of Spatial Expression	185
4.5. Visual Representations of Notre-Dame in the books	191
5. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT	198
5.1. The Global Survey Books	198
5.2. Spiro Kostof's Cross-Cultural History	200
5.3. Gérard Monnier's Response to "Que-sais-je?"	208
5.4. Global Time-Cuts by Ching, Jarzombek and Prakash	215
5.5. Richard Ingersoll's "Democratic" World Architecture	224
6. CONCLUSION	234
BIBLIOGRAPHY	257
APPENDICES	271
A. BOOK I CHAPTER I - "LA GRAND'SALLE" DESCRIPTIONS	271
B. BOOK II CHAPTER II - "LA PLACE DE GRÈVE" DESCRIPTIONS	273
C. BOOK III CHAPTER I - "NOTRE-DAME" DESCRIPTIONS	276
D. BOOK III CHAPTER II - "PARİS À VOL D'OÏSEAU" DESCRIPTIONS	285
E. DRAWINGS OF NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS CATHEDRAL	308
F. CURRICULUM VITAE	309
G. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	311
H. THESIS PERMISSON FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	324

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. The Cathedral of Paris.....	1
Figure 1.2. The Cathedral of Paris burning.	2
Figure 1.3. The Spire of the Cathedral of Paris	3
Figure 1.4. Notre Dame as a "definite reference".....	5
Figure 1.5. "Victor Hugo saved Notre Dame".	6
Figure 1.6. Notre-Dame de Paris, Western Façade	8
Figure 1.7. Evolution from the dome to the rib.....	11
Figure 1.8. Notre-Dame de Paris, Western Façade	22
Figure 1.9. The Interior of the Cathedral of Paris	27
Figure 2.1.1. A map depicting the settlement of Lutetia, 5 th century	28
Figure 2.1.2. The archaeological crypt under the parvis of the Cathedral of Notre- Dame de Paris.....	30
Figure 2.1.3. Drawings of Roman era findings of the excavation in 1847 in the Parvis of Notre-Dame de Paris	31
Figure 2.1.4. Map of the Paris enclosure, the main axes and the Cathedral during the reign of Philippe Augustus, 1180-1223.	35
Figure 2.1.5. A map of Paris focusing on every street, church and Île de la Cité before the French Revolution, 1740	41
Figure 2.1.6. Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel..	42
Figure 2.1.7. An image of the Church of Madeleine, ca.1890.....	42
Figure 2.1.8. A map of Paris, showing the two main axes passing through Île de la Cité in 1802 and the quays of the Seine River.	43
Figure 2.1.9. A map of Paris, showing the two main axes passing through Île de la Cité in 1802.	44
Figure 2.1.10. Haussmann's main urban projects on the Île de la Cité.....	46
Figure 2.1.11. Haussmann's main urban projects on the Île de la Cité and its surrounding.....	46
Figure 2.1.12. Haussmann's main urban projects in Paris.	47

Figure 2.1.13. Distribution of touristic attractions in Paris, 1994.	49
Figure 2.1.14. Point Zéro in the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame.	50
Figure 2.2.1. Basilica of St.-Denis Ambulatory, the "prototype" of Gothic style.	52
Figure 2.2.2. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1177	52
Figure 2.2.3. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1245.	54
Figure 2.2.4. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1300.	54
Figure 2.2.5. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1350.	56
Figure 2.2.6. The construction phases of Notre-Dame de Paris	57
Figure 2.2.7. Drawing of a depiction of the "Fête de la Raison".	58
Figure 2.2.8 A section of the south tower.	59
Figure 2.2.9. The northern rose window of Notre-Dame de Paris.	60
Figure 2.2.10. The western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris.	61
Figure 2.2.11. Western portals of Notre-Dame de Paris.	62
Figure 2.2.12. Scaffolding of the spire under construction of the Cathedral of Paris, 1853 / Statue of Saint Thomas on the spire.	63
Figure 2.2.13. Interior view of the main nave of Notre-Dame de Paris.	64
Figure 2.2.14. Interior view of Notre-Dame de Paris.	65
Figure 2.3.1. Jean-Lubin Vauzelle, "The chapel of the Petits-Augustins repurposed as part of the Musée des Monuments Français", 1804.	68
Figure 2.3.2. François Gérard, "Le Sacre de Charles X", 1827	71
Figure 3.1.1. Eugène Delacroix's "La Liberté guidant le peuple", 1830	76
Figure 3.1.2. Fleury-François Richard's "Valentine of Milan Weeping for the Death of her Husband Louis of Orléans", 1802.	77
Figure 3.1.3. Anne-Louis Girodet's "Ossian Receiving the Ghosts of French Heroes", 1802.	79
Figure 3.1.4. Pierre-Henri Révoil & Michel Philibert Genod, "Pharamond Lifted on a Shield by the Franks", 1841-1845.	80
Figure 3.1.5. (Left) Hubert Robert, "The cloister of the English Augustinian Convent of Notre-Dame-de-Sion de Paris", Late 18 th c.	82
Figure 3.1.6. Hubert Robert, "The Fire of Hôtel-Dieu in Paris 1772", Late 18 th c. ..	82
Figure 3.1.7. Pierre Joseph Lafontaine, "Intérieur d'église gothique", 1785	83
Figure 3.1.8. Scenes from Notre-Dame de Paris [the novel] by Auguste Couder, 1833	85

Figure 3.1.9. Inside the House of Lords by Augustus Pugin, 19 th c.	86
Figure 3.2.1. Guerre aux Démolisseurs! by Victor Hugo, 1825.....	88
Figure 3.3.1. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris, 1831 - Book I Chapter I.....	93
Figure 3.3.2. Jean Fouquet, "La Descente du Saint-Esprit", 1450.	94
Figure 3.3.3. Viollet-le-Duc, "Notre-Dame in 1482", 1877. From Victor Hugo, <i>Notre-Dame de Paris</i>	97
Figure 3.3.4. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris, 1831 - Book III Chapter I.....	99
Figure 3.3.5. The portals before the nineteenth th century restoration / Notre-Dame de Paris' Western Façade in 2014	100
Figure 3.3.6. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris - Book III Chapter II, 1831.	101
Figure 3.3.7. Notre-Dame de Paris, circa 15 th century.	102
Figure 3.3.8. Henri Eugène Callot's Paris and Notre-Dame de Paris, 1900.....	104
Figure 3.3.9. View from Place de Grève, and Notre-Dame in 1652	106
Figure 3.3.10. Île de la Cité, ca. 1550 (Coloured)	109
Figure 3.4.1. Victor Hugo, "ANA/KH", 1831.....	112
Figure 3.5.1. First edition of Notre-Dame de Paris' Cover, 1831.....	116
Figure 3.5.2. The spire of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1680.	117
Figure 3.5.3. Lassus & Viollet-le-Duc's Project de Restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris, 1843 / Main entrance of the monument depicted by L. Gaucherel	118
Figure 3.5.4. South façade of the Cathedral under restoration in 1846	119
Figure 3.5.5. "Paris Reblanchi", Journal amusant No:6, 1856.....	120
Figure 3.5.6. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1780 before the restoration.....	123
Figure 3.5.7. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1860 during the restoration	124
Figure 3.5.8. Viollet-le-Duc's drawing of the Western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1856 / The choir in the 13th century by Viollet-le-Duc.....	125
Figure 3.6.1. Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française du XI ^e au XVI ^e siècle by Viollet-le-Duc	129
Figure 3.6.2. Entry of "Architecture" in the Dictionnaire Raisoné, 1854	132

Figure 3.6.3. "Coupe / Plan d'une Travée" & "Exterior and Interior of Notre-Dame de Paris" in the Dictionnaire Raisoné by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854.....	134
Figure 3.6.4. " Cathédrale Idéale adopted from Reims Cathedral" in Dictionnaire Raisoné by Viollet-le-Duc, T.2, p.323, 1854.....	136
Figure 3.6.5.(Left) Notre-Dame de Paris Plan towards 1230in Dictionnaire Raisoné, T.2, p.294 by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854 / (Right) Notre-Dame de Paris' Exterior in Dictionnaire Raisoné, T.2, p.290 by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854	138
Figure 3.7.1. Cover of Entretiens sur l'Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.....	140
Figure 3.7.2. "Table of Contents" of Lectures on Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc(B. Bucknall Trans.), 1877	141
Figure 3.7.3. Acropolis in Entretiens sur l'Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863. ..	142
Figure 3.7.4. Gothic Decorative Elements, Entretiens sur l'Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.....	145
Figure 3.7.5. "Notre-Dame de Paris, How it should have been", Entretiens sur l'Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863	147
Figure 4.1.1. Tome 2, Contents page of Histoire de l'Architecture by Auguste Choisy, 1899	152
Figure 4.1.2. Sections of Amiens Cathedral by Choisy, Histoire del'Architecture, 1899	154
Figure 4.1.3. Partial section of Notre-Dame de Paris by Choisy	157
Figure 4.2.1. A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method by Fletcher & Fletcher, 1896	159
Figure 4.2.2. Diagram Table of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method by Fletcher & Fletcher, 1896	159
Figure 4.2.3. Contents of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1896	161
Figure 4.2.4. Contents page of the fourth edition of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1901	164
Figure 4.2.5. Contents page of the fifth edition of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1905	165
Figure 4.2.6. Tree of Architecture by Bannister Fletcher in the fifth Edition of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1905	166

Figure 4.2.7. Principles of Gothic Construction, 1901	168
Figure 4.2.8. English Gothic Examples I - English Gothic Examples III.....	171
Figure 4.2.9. Comparative Views of Models of Continental Cathedrals	174
Figure 4.2.10. Comparative Plan of English (Salisbury) and French (Amiens) Types of Cathedrals	176
Figure 4.3.1. The contents page in A History of Architecture, 1918	178
Figure 4.3.2. Comparative Plans of Gothic Cathedrals in France, Germany, Italy and England	180
Figure 4.3.3. Arrangement of Monuments and Details to Illustrate the Development of the Buttress and the Development of the Façade	182
Figure 4.3.4. West Façade of the Amiens Cathedral and the interior view of the apse..	185
Figure 4.4.1. Contents page in An Outline of European Architecture, 1948.....	188
Figure 4.4.2. St.-Denis Abbey by Pevsner	189
Figure 4.4.3. Nave of Notre-Dame, Chartres, Reims and Amiens.	190
Figure 4.5.1. Notre-Dame de Paris' bay as it existed originally by Choisy	191
Figure 4.5.2. French Gothic Examples I & III	193
Figure 4.5.3. West Front of Notre Dame de Paris & Interior, looking East in Notre- Dame	194
Figure 4.5.4. Sections and Systems of Gothic Buildings.....	196
Figure 4.5.5. Paris: Nikolaus Pevsner's drawing of Notre Dame's plan. Top Half - Ground Floor; Lower Half - Upper Floor	197
Figure 5.2.1. Contents page of A History of Architecture, 1985	201
Figure 5.2.2. Cathedral of Notre-Dame d'Amiens' view of the west façade.....	203
Figure 5.2.3. The Strasbourg Cathedral	204
Figure 5.2.4. Chartres Cathedral's plan and images from pages 335-338.....	206
Figure 5.2.5. The upper hall of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris	207
Figure 5.3.1. Cover of Histoire de l'Architecture, 2021.....	209
Figure 5.3.2. Contents page of Histoire de l'Architecture by G. Monnier, 2021	211
Figure 5.3.3. The plan of the ideal chevet in a gothic church by Villard de Honnecourt, Histoire de l'Architecture, 2021	213
Figure 5.3.4. Plan of Notre-Dame de Paris by Gérard Monnier, 2021	213

Figure 5.4.1. The "Time-Cuts" explanation of A Global History of Architecture, 2011	216
Figure 5.4.2. First "Contents" page in A Global History of Architecture	217
Figure 5.4.3. A map of Europe during the High Middle Ages / Reconstruction of St.- Denis at the time of Abbot Suger	219
Figure 5.4.4. Durham Cathedral's plan, partial section and interior	221
Figure 5.4.5. Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Reims' section and plan / Western façade of Amiens Cathedral / Western façade of Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Reims, France	223
Figure 5.5.1. Contents page of World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History, 2013	225
Figure 5.5.2. St-Denis' western façade, the plan of the choir and the view into the chevet in the survey	227
Figure 5.5.3. Chartres Cathedral and its plan from Ingersoll's book	228
Figure 5.5.4. Notre Dame de Paris in World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History, 2013	230
Figure 5.5.5. Notre-Dame de Paris in the foot note time table in World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History, 2013	231
Figure 6.1. The statues of Cathedral of Paris found in 1977, displayed at the Cluny Museum	236
Figure 6.2. (Left) Quasimodo saving Esmeralda, 1832 / (Right). Hugo depicted as resting on "his" cathedral, 1841	238
Figure 6.3. Map of Paris, focusing on the Banks of the Seine, 1991	240
Figure 6.4. Cathedral of Chartres as a "reference point"	244
Figure 6.5. Left) Notre Dame de Paris, 1851 by Henri le Secq (Middle) Apse of Notre-Dame de Paris, Viewed from the Bank of La Tournelle 1860-70 by Charles Soulier (Right) The Red Door by Charles Marville, 1852	245
Figure 6.6. (Left) Maximilien Luce's 'The Quia Saint-Michel & Notre-Dame, 1901. (Right) Henri Matisse's 'Notre-Dame, une fin d'après-midi', 1902	245
Figure 6.7. Edward Hopper, "Notre Dame de Paris", 1907	246
Figure 6.8. A screenshot of Augute & Louis Lumière's "Paris" documentary dating 1896	246
Figure 6.9. The Hunchback of Notre Dame' 1939 movie poster	247

Figure 6.10. Movie poster and screenshot of Disney's The Hunchback of Notre Dame, 1996	248
Figure 6.11. The nine new bronze belles are displayed in 2013	249
Figure 6.12. Ubisoft's 'Assassin's Creed: Unity' Game screenshot of Notre-Dame de Paris	250
Figure 6.13. "Dame de coeur" light show on the western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris, 2017.....	250
Figure 6.14.(Left) The spire of Notre-Dame under restoration, before the fire of 2019. (Right) The spire of the Notre-Dame Cathedral during the early stages of the 2019 fire.	253
Figure 6.15. Notre-Dame' roof burning during the fire of April 15, 2019.....	254
Figure 6.16. Notre-Dame's restoration project, 2021.....	254
Figure 6.17. Notre Dame's spire burning during the 15 th April 2019 fire.....	255
Figure 6.18. The damage on the roof of the Notre-Dame Cathedral after the fire of 2019	256

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1.1. The Cathedral of Paris. (Source: Personal archive)

1.1. Notre-Dame de Paris as a Definite Reference

On 15 April 2019 around 18.50 a fire broke out under the timber roof of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris (Figure 1.1) which was under restoration, resulting in a fire that lasted more than three hours and the evacuation of the Île de la Cité (Figure 1.2). Around 19.50 the nineteenth century spire designed and constructed by Viollet-le-Duc collapsed and the fire moved inside the north tower whilst the world

watched through live footage and shared the event through 8.6 million messages via social media (Twitter, Facebook and Instagram).¹ Due to the structural equilibrium achieved in the Gothic monument, if in any case the damage to the north tower would have increased it would have resulted in its collapse and then the whole edifice would have been destroyed since the thirteen tons Emmanuel (the bell) would have caused irreparable damage upon its fall.²



Figure 1.2. The Cathedral of Paris burning. (Source: <https://numismag.com/en/2019/04/15/notre-dame-de-paris-on-fire/>)

Even though the images that were broadcasted made it seem like the monument did in fact almost collapse, the general structure managed to evade further damage. The Crown of Thorns that is believed to be the one that Jesus Christ wore during his

¹Retrieved June 17 2022 from <https://www.visibrain.com/fr/blog/les-reseaux-sociaux-pleurent-notre-dame-de-paris-depuis-l-incendie/>

²Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/16/world/europe/notre-dame.html>

crucifixion, the Tunic of St. Louis, the famous Cockerel³ that was located on the spire that fell and more of the artefacts that makes the monument even more popular, were saved and archived.⁴ The world watched as one of the most iconic and recognized Gothic edifice was burning. (Figure 1.3.)



Figure 1.3. The Spire of the Cathedral of Paris. (Source: Personal archive)

Notre-Dame de Paris has been one of the most visited monuments in the world and was the most visited one in Paris for a long time, before its forced closure after the fire of 2019. According to a study by Douglas G. Pearce (1997), the island known as *Île de la Cité* which is housing the Cathedral, was the leading tourist destination, estimated to welcome twelve million visitors a year with Notre-Dame de Paris being the main focus. Before the 2019 fire, the monument's had approximately 30.000 visitors a day. But why is the Cathedral that famous? Why is it one of the most visited monuments in the world? What made it so significant?

³The cockerel, the symbol of France was located amongst the relics. It was placed lastly placed by my great great-uncle the Archbishop of Paris Cardinal Jean Verdier who is buried in the Cathedral. He served as archbishop from 1929 to 1940.

⁴Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://metro.co.uk/2019/04/16/notre-dame-crown-thorns-st-louis-tunic-saved-cathedral-fire-9219579/>

Cathedrals, are Christian churches that contain the *cathedra* [Latin for "seat"] for the bishop and these monuments were not the result of only a king's wish or a bishop's desire, but were actually the result of a whole community's time, work, effort, money, and belief. They were erected by the men and women who believed that the Gothic cathedral was the "House of God" or "Heaven on Earth" that will protect them, connect them and give a glimpse of the heaven that they so desired. The European Middle Ages was an epoch of faith that left its imprint upon all aspects of medieval thought, but more so on architecture. With faith guiding the people in their daily lives, art and architecture tended to be more spiritual, and religious rather than secular. This tendency turned the role of the churches and cathedrals, imperative on the day-to-day lives of every medieval society, putting these religious monuments at the centre of everything: from culture to city.⁵ The term Gothic made its first appearance during the Renaissance by writers such as Giorgio Vasari who used the word as a derogatory term to describe late Medieval art and architecture, which he attributed to the Goths and regarded it as "monstrous and barbarous" (Sankovits, 2001, p.29). Even Molière wrote: "Le fade goût des monuments gothiques, Ces monstres odieux des siècles ignorants, Que de la barbarie ont vomis les torrents." (Kimball & Edgell, 2012, p.275).⁶

Whole communities, towns and cities came together to build these architectural masterpieces most of which will survive the test of time. The characteristics of Gothic architecture, in general, were a combination of resolutions that Romanesque architecture and its predecessors had not yet found to its problems: the possibility of verticality and diffusion of the load through buttresses resulting in non-load bearing walls resulting in larger openings. These new structural answers to previous problems alongside pointed arches, stained glasses with traceries and the previously unimaginable heights gave us a unique architectural style. Gothic architecture was

⁵See André Grégoire's *Histoire du moyen-âge (395-1270) pour la classe de troisième* (1895), Robert A. Scott's *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral* (2003) and Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral: Origin of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (1956) for further information.

⁶"The besotted taste of Gothic monuments, these odious monsters of ignorant centuries, which the torrents of barbary spewed forth."

considered as a language as they were used to depict important events and characters of the Bible, teaching religion and history to a highly illiterate population. Not only do we express ourselves through language but in a sense "... [it] is the foundation of civilization."⁷. Victor Hugo brought these two elements of expression together in 1831 when he used Notre-Dame de Paris as his protagonist in his novel. The novel is not only considered a masterpiece of the Romantic Movement but also an expression of admiration towards one of "the most beautiful example of French Gothic architecture."⁸

- **Criterion I.** The banks of the Seine are studded with a succession of masterpieces, including, in particular, Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle, the Louvre, the Palais de l'Institut, the Invalides, Place de la Concorde, Ecole Militaire, the Mint (la Monnaie), the Grand Palais des Champs Elysées, the Eiffel Tower, and Palais de Chaillot. A number of them, such as Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle, were definite references in the spread of Gothic construction, while the Place de la Concorde, or the vista at the Invalides, exerted influence on the urban development of European capitals. The Marais and Ile Saint-Louis have coherent architectural ensembles, with highly significant examples of Parisian construction of the 17th and 18th centuries (Hôtel Lauzun and Hôtel Lambert on the Ile St Louis), Quai Malaquais and Quai Voltaire.

Figure 1.4. Notre Dame as a "definite reference". (Source: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/600/>)

In 1862 the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris became part of the *Monument Historique* list and in 1991, UNESCO registered the edifice as a world heritage site. UNESCO included the Cathedral as part of the "Paris, Banks of the Seine" by officially stating that the monument constitutes "a definite reference in the spread of Gothic construction". Definite, meaning free of uncertainty or obscurity, creates a sense of absolutism resulting in the absolute knowledge that the Cathedral of Paris, alongside Sainte Chapelle, was one of the main reasons of the spreading of this style in the Middle Ages (Figure 1.4). The monument certainly became popular over time, becoming a focal point in novels and paintings, being in the background of almost all Parisian movies, being the main character in some of those movies and turned into the main character of a musical based on one of said novels. The 1831 novel by Victor Hugo and the resulting restoration of the monument is still the main reason for

⁷ Levy, S. (Producer), & Villeneuve, D. (Director). (2016). *Arrival* (Motion Picture). United States of America: Paramount Pictures.

⁸ Retrieved June 14, 2022, from <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/2102>

its place in popular culture yet this popularity was not achieved through simply Hugo's book as it was claimed by the official site of the Cathedral: "Victor Hugo saved Notre Dame" (Figure 1.5).

This study illustrates and discusses the "definite reference" concept in the canon of French and English written architectural history, beginning from the nineteenth century when Victor Hugo published his novel with the same name in 1831: *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1482* which resulted a decade later in the extensive restoration project under the management of Jean-Baptiste Lassus and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. Beside the restoration and the novel with the same name, in its 860 years of existence, Notre-Dame's history can be followed through documentation as well as read through its stones. What made the medieval cathedral important in the nineteenth century and forward? The people did not have the same relationship or even interaction with a cathedral in those times, the connection is even less understandable yet during the nineteenth century, Europeans, especially the French, began to re-evaluate said monuments, began to preserve and restore them to their glorious past-selves. The answer to this question will be researched through the writings of architectural historians from the nineteenth century and forward, to be read between the lines of what occurred during that century that made them revisit the forgotten medieval times and their recent fascination with grand Gothic cathedrals, focusing on the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris and its status of "definite reference".



Unusual information of the Cathedral



Figure 1.5. "Victor Hugo saved Notre Dame". (Source: www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/la-cathedrale/)

The primary aim is to understand the reference identification of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral, developing the research on how a literary piece, a novel shaped a nation's architectural identity and the multidisciplinary impact on Paris during the nineteenth century by asking the following questions: firstly, how did the Gothic style, the architectural expression of the Middle Ages and its ideologies, was perceived around the time of the 1789 French Revolution and its aftermath; secondly, how did Victor Hugo's 'The Hunchback of Notre Dame' reinstated an interest to the national architectural style of the past, and finally, how did Gothic architecture resurfaced; and at what capacity did the "definite reference" existed and was impacted at the height of the restoration era, bringing the Cathedral of Paris to the twenty-first century and the fire of 2019.

1.2. The Gothic in Architectural History Writing

Before finding the answers to these questions or focusing on a more global approach of architectural history and eventually the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris's place in it, a look at some of the literature that focused on Gothic architecture is necessary starting with two historians who approached the subject in a more global point of view since 2000s. Leland M. Roth's *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History and Meaning* (1993) reads more like an essay rather than an architectural history text book. Divided into two parts and twenty one chapters, the Gothic chapter began with a quote from Otto von Simson's; "House of God" and continued with the history of the style and focused on key monuments. St.-Denis is the first monument in the chapter to be looked at in detail, there are some mentions of Notre-Dame de Paris and then Roth skipped to Amiens Cathedral to which he called it a classic example of High Gothic era. *Travels in the History of Architecture* (2009) by Robert Harbison, one of the most read survey books of the 2000s was unique in the sense that the author approached the subjects aided by literature, art and history in order to contextualize and illustrate each period of style. The author even wanted to include non-conformist examples of the sites. The name 'travel' comes from the desire to make the reader walk alongside the written word. In a traditional manner, the chapters were divided into chronological styles including Gothic. In the Gothic chapter the typical story of the starting point being St.-Denis was included. The

reason that it was chosen was that even though explanations were given and the development of the style was discussed yet Notre-Dame de Paris' name was not included in the chapter.

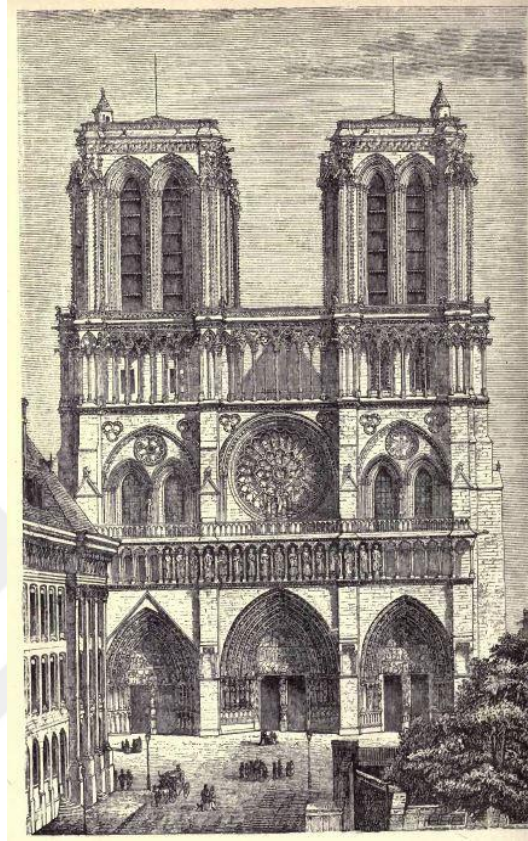


Figure 1.6. Notre-Dame de Paris, Western Façade (Source: Smith, R. 1884, p.74.)

Looking at books that focused on Gothic art and architecture,⁹ one of the earliest references was *Architecture: Gothic and Renaissance* (1884) by Roger T. Smith, an English architect and scholar. Published only twenty years after the completion of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral's restoration by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, the text was written in an introductory level, for students of architecture as well as other artistic people, as was mentioned in the preface, and was given as a source book in many Gothic architectural books; such as the ones by Otto von Simson and by José

⁹ For further reading see Panofsky, E. (1951). *Gothic Architecture & Scholasticism*. New York: New American Library.; Frankl, P. (1962). *Gothic Architecture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.; Snyder, J.C. (1989). *Medieval Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture 4th - 14th Century*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.; Camille, M. (1996). *Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World*. London: Calmann and King Lmt.; Toman, R. (1999). *The Art of Gothic: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*. New York: Konemann.; Charles, V., & Carl, K. (2016). *Gothic Art*. New York: Parkstone International.; Prina, F. (2011) *The Story of Gothic Architecture*. New York: Prestel Publishing.

Bracons. The book categorizes the two architectural styles through their location in thirteen chapters. The first nine chapters focus on Gothic architecture, including an introductory analysis of the Gothic style. Smith described Gothic as the "Christian Pointed" (Smith, 1884, p.1) and stated that it prevailed throughout the continent for three centuries. The author stated that the "most important specimens of Gothic architecture are the cathedrals..." (Smith, 1884, p.6). After the second chapter; "The Buildings of the Middle Ages" where Smith began with a simplified version of how a cathedral was arranged, planned and structurally brought to existence and continuing with secular buildings of the era, he focuses on "Gothic Architecture in Great Britain". The three chapters that are dedicated to English Gothic are listing the different eras and styles, plans and terminologies as well as architectural elements such as arches, vaults and spires. In chapter six, "Gothic Architecture in Western Europe, France - Chronological Sketch", Smith compares English and French Gothic architecture, as well as categorising the style into three: *Primitive* (13th c.), *Secondaire* (14th c.), and *Tertiaire* (15th c.). He considers the northern side of France to be the cradle of Gothic (Smith, 1884, p.71). The western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral (Figure 1.6) was mentioned in great detail. Remarkably, however, he called Chartres, Reims, Amiens, Laon and Beauvais - excluding the Parisian Cathedral, as "grand examples of French first pointed." (Smith, 1884, p.73). Notre-Dame de Paris was neither a "definite reference" nor a grand example in the 1880s. The chapter continued with gothic architectural elements accompanied by French examples.

Louis Gonse, the French art historian, who published *L'ArtGothique: l'architecture, la peinture, la sculpture, le décor* only six years later in 1890, wanted to emphasize the importance of presenting an overall picture of the *l'art national* during the Gothic era - from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the fifteenth. The author first shared his view on the name given to the style by Vasari in a derogatory manner. He, was not satisfied as the name of the style should simply be *l'Artfrançais, le 'style français'*, just as it was during the Middle Ages (1890, p.III). The book was divided into thirteen chapters, beginning with the evolution of the style from the Romanesque period until the sixteenth century. Civil architecture, military architecture, painting, sculpture and furniture all found their own chapters. Gonse attributed the

advancement of the historical knowledge of the Middle Ages to Viollet-le-Duc himself, even stating that he was the reason behind many fundamental laws that are indisputable (1890, p.36). The author, as many others did, placed the Cathedral of Paris in the "transition period," yet still calling it the most important and beautiful work of the early art (1890, p.120). The fifth chapter was divided into three parts; the last one being "Les Grandes Cathédrales". Gonse began the part with Notre-Dame de Chartres: "Ogival art has left more homogeneous, more brilliant works than certain parts of this building; yet it has produced nothing more lively, more grandiose, more proud, more original." (1890, p.156). After Notre-Dame de Chartres and Saint-Étienne de Bourges, the author continued with Notre-Dame de Paris with a short historical background. Gonse claimed that the Cathedral was perhaps the one that offers the most unity and perfection; its imposing severity equalling that of Chartres Cathedral with a more careful execution in all its parts; that the monument is worthy of the capital, of the historical greatness of the monarchy, the very image of the *patrie* and one of the most sublime expressions of its genius (1890, p.166). The passage continues with the façade of the monument, proclaiming it without hesitation as the queen of the Gothic façades: majestic; and that none other had presented such a complete harmony.

Four years later, Gaston Cougny's 1894 book titled *L'Art du Moyen Age* could be considered as an inclusive text compared to its contemporaries; the author included not only Byzantine art but also Muslim art as a subtitle alongside with Gothic art. In seven chapters, Cougny went over art found in the catacombs and in the basilicas, continuing with Byzantine, Muslim and Romanesque art before Gothic art was discussed in the fifth chapter. In the text, the author calls Gothic art, *l'artfrançais*, just as Louis Gonse wanted to. Unlike his predecessor Gonse, Cougny fails to mention Notre-Dame de Paris whilst discussing the French cathedrals but once; to give as an example of early Gothic era alongside Senlis, Saint-Leu, Sens and others. Yet when he began writing about Rayonnant Gothic, which covers the years from 1230s to 1420s, the author then gave the Cathedral of Paris as an example for that style. The construction of these parts may coincide with the Rayonnant era but one could argue this claim to be incorrect. The style's name means "Radiant" and its main purpose was to bring in light through large, almost wall like stained-glasses as one

could observe in St.-Chapelle, Paris or King's College Church in Cambridge. This natural light element was lacking in Notre-Dame due to its stained-glasses and was even criticized and modified in later centuries.

A well known student of Viollet-le-Duc, the French architect and restorer Édouard Corroyer's *L'Architecture Gothique* (1903) was divided into four parts: Religious architecture, Monastic architecture, Military and finally Civil architecture. In the introductory part of the book, the author wrote that Gothic architecture was not the product of a spontaneous generation; it was the uninterrupted, regular and logical continuation of Romanesque architecture, just as the latter only followed the ancient traditions at its origin and successively transformed them according to the needs and customs of the time (1903, p.8). The influence of the dome of the Romans and the Byzantines that turned into the rib vault was mentioned many times (Figure 1.7). Certain monuments, including Notre-Dame de Paris were depicted in a more detailed manner. Accompanied with a plan of the Cathedral, dates of construction phases, influences, sections, architectural elements, the façade and more, were included in the text.

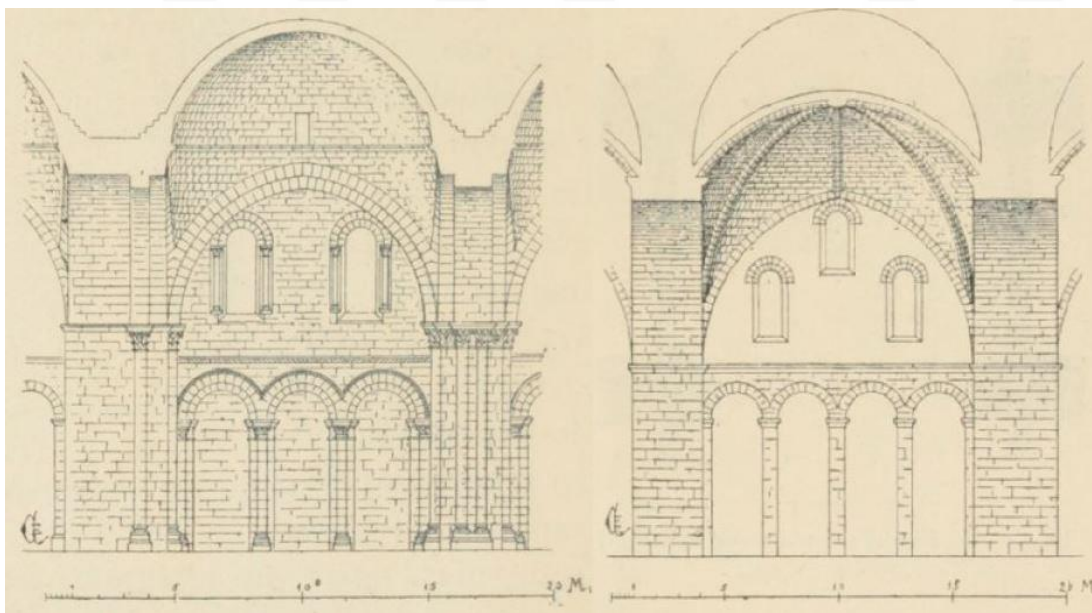


Figure 1.7. Evolution from the dome to the rib vault (Source: Corroyer, E. 1903, pp. 22-23.)

Thirty years later, in 1934 François Benoit's *L'Architecture: L'Occident médiéval, Romano-gothique et Gothique*, the author wrote that Gothic was a complete and

homogeneous style which represents both a conception of construction and a conception of effect. It is original because it is unique (1934, p.9). Benoit stated that there were three phases can be distinguished in Gothic architecture. In the first phase, Gothic was represented only by its vaulting method, the ribbed crossing; apart from this, which was very often applied only to part of the building, everything was absolutely Romanesque. The same applies to the second stage, except that the Gothic part was increased by the adoption of a rudimentary system of structure. In the last period it dominated; but Romanesque survivals were numerous. The author differed from the other French writers when he claimed that Abbot Suger himself called upon "masters from various countries" when he was constructing Saint-Denis, so the style should not be credited to the Île-de-France. Benoit later on stated that in the fifteenth century every region begun to incorporate their own decorative spin to the style. A logical classification of the Gothic schools lead to the distinction of four groups: The first was formed by two premier schools: France and England. According to the author the French school was the one that had the most exact understanding of the Gothic principles: it was the one that perfected their formula; it was the one that came closest to the integral realisation and to the classical perfection. The secondary schools were composed by German, Italian and Spanish schools and the last one was called "Écoles à la suite", formed by Irish, Scandinavian countries, Poland, Portugal, Hungary and many more including the colonized areas in the East (1934, p.63). Benoit gave monuments as references in the footnotes just as Raoul Rosières did, including Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral as well as many others. The Cathedral of Paris was included by photographs as well. Andrew Martindale's *Gothic Art* (1967) was divided into four time-cuts: "The Age of Transition 1146-1240"; "The Pre-eminence of Paris 1280-1350"; "Italian Art of the Mid-thirteenth to Mid-fourteenth Century" and "European Art 1350-1400". These chapters were all looking at the architecture, sculptural program and paintings of each era that they were focusing on. After Abbey of St.-Denis and Laon Cathedral, Notre-Dame de Paris was discussed; what are the differences and similarities between previous Gothic monuments, the innovations such as the flying buttresses and many different architectural elements that eventually resulted in Chartres Cathedral.

During the research process, one can observe books that focused more on Gothic art and architecture in France and, Mérimée's essay was one of the earliest to be published. Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870)¹⁰ - a French historian and archaeologist - would become an important activist in the preservation and the archiving of architectural monuments, especially medieval ones. In an essay from 1837 titled *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen age, particulièrement en France*, Mérimée claimed that if we studied the monuments from the Roman era to the Renaissance, the history of each style would be the same; as if their evolution and decadence were subject to a general law. They would be simple at first, becoming more ornate as time passes and when they would have acquired all the richness and elegance, perfecting the style they would begin to decline since ornamentation becomes the main goal. When one tires from the ornamentation, they began to look elsewhere for a more powerful and reliable sense. Abandoned and forgotten styles re-emerge, certain architectural elements are chosen from amongst them and a new style and system is composed, much like a palace built from the ruins of an ancient temple (1837, pp.5-6). Mérimée then continued to study the differences and similarities of Byzantine architecture and Gothic architecture through their transition periods, pointing out the influence that the East exerted on the emerging French architecture. According to him, during the eleventh century, a renaissance of art occurred, guided by the "Christian society" (1837, p.11). Mérimée resumed his essay by categorizing the elements that formed the architecture of the eleventh century into five: "Memories, or the imitation of Roman architecture.", "Imitation of Greek Revival and Oriental architecture.", "The mystical ideas and conventions of certain religious bodies.", "The needs of the climate and national customs." and lastly, "The national taste.". Some of these categories were highlighted with examples of certain architectural elements and specific churches that possessed them, located in France. Upon focusing on Gothic architecture in France, or as he called it *architecture ogive*, Mérimée stated that in the beginning the "ogive / rib" could only be observed in the

¹⁰ProperMérimée. Inlarousse.fr. Retrieved May 31, 2017, from http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/personnage/Prosper_M%C3%A9rim%C3%A9/132828 Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870) was a French writer, archaeologist and historian. He became the second Inspector General of Historic Monuments, after Vitet. The official database of French monuments called the Base Mérimée is named after him. He was considered an important figure in architectural preservation history. He, accompanied by his friend George Sand, discovered the lost medieval tapestry called "The Lady and the Unicorn" which would later be exhibited in the Musée National du Moyen Âge in Paris, which he aid for its creation in the first place.

interiors of the monuments, its usage limited to arches and vaults. For a long time assigned to certain interior parts of the building, it was not until very late that it was used in the damping of doors and especially windows, as well as in the decoration itself (1837, p.36). According to the author Gothic architecture was tried on considerable monuments which contributed to its characteristic of greatness. With the new sense of nationalization in France, a large number of constructions were happening, helping this sense of grandeur. Mérimée wrote that Gothic art appeared with a new system: choosing the appropriate elements that were already in use in Romanesque architecture; knowing how to compose a whole of these elements, and transforming them by putting them into practice with its principle being lightness (1837, p.43). As a conclusion Mérimée stated the evolution of the style through centuries, indicating that Gothic architecture found its highest splendour during the fourteenth century; boldness of plan, skill of execution, finesse of work, it possesses all these qualities. Its system is complete, homogeneous; it has schools and principles (1837, p.49). The author mentioned some churches and cathedrals of Europe as examples for the architectural elements yet there is no mention of the Cathedral of Paris. Although he was a close friend of Viollet-le-Duc, his preference to not include the Cathedral could be the result of it not yet being under restoration at the time.

Once the restoration project begun on the monument, Daniel Ramée's 1846, *Histoire de l'architecture de France depuis les Romains jusqu'à seize siècle* - which as the title suggests, focuses on the period between the Romanesque and the sixteenth century, was published. He began by stating that among the monumental ruins scattered in various parts of France one can easily find the traces of the people who have successively occupied this country (1846, p.7). He too mentions the influence of the East on Gothic architecture, specifically the Byzantine architecture's influence is mentioned. According to Ramée, the Gothic architecture of the thirteenth century manifested in stone to the highest degree the religious and independent inspiration of the thought and genius of Christianity (1846, p.13). A statement that could be contradictory as one could argue the high point of Gothic architecture in France to be during the fourteenth century. In twelve chapters the author discussed Romanesque architecture, the definition of Gothic architecture, the transition period and each century with their unique additions. These chapters are constructed in a Q&A manner

in which the author asked a question and gave the answer in order to provide an easier read to the students or enthusiast of the subject. An introductory level lecture, without focusing on any specific monument but rather to a more general information yet still including Paris' Cathedral when given as an example accompanied by other edifices.

Thirty years after the completion of the restoration project of Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, in 1894 Raoul Rosières - a French historian, wrote *L'Évolution de l'architecture en France*, using twenty-three chapters that begun with the architecture of the Gallic all the way to contemporary times to when the book was published. The author, on the chapter focusing on Gothic architecture, stated that three things struck him upon his observation of Romanesque churches: their narrowness, their low height and semi-darkness state. All which will find a solution during the Gothic era. According to Rosières, for Gothic art, the twelfth century was the time of the first draft, that is to say of reckless ardour, rashness, empiricism and adventure (1894, p.92). He too mentioned the influence of the East, specifically the Byzantine influence upon Gothic architecture. The text does not focus on any certain monument yet gave multiple examples to each architectural element, novelty and evolution through footnotes. Rosières, in the introduction, mentioned Victor Hugo and his pamphlets as well as his novel and their effects on the conservation of the gothic monuments and Viollet-le-Duc and his contributions to the field of restoration since the ramifications of the restoration could now be observed. René Schneider who was a professor of the history of French and Italian art, wrote *L'Art Français: Moyen Âge - Renaissance* in 1923 which consisted of three major parts: Romanesque art, Gothic art and Renaissance art. Gothic art was divided into three chapters; the first focusing on Gothic architecture, the second one focusing on sculpture and paintings of the thirteenth century and the last on sculpture and paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Schneider began the chapter on Gothic architecture stating that whatever Romanesque art expected or sensed, Gothic art delivered, achieved. It was the apogee of French art in the Middle Ages, and the most French that they had with that of the eighteenth century. The author is rare in his praise of Paris' Cathedral, emphasizing that the city will have the biggest, most beautiful church even though he will call the twelfth century Cathedral, an archaic one, in later pages (1923, p.60).

The text continues with chronological information regarding the development of the style with examples from churches and cathedrals. Émile Bayard, the French illustrator responsible for Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* poster for the musical depicting Cosette, wrote in 1929 a book titled *L'Art de Reconnaître l'architecture Française*. In thirteen chapters the author wrote about French art and architecture, their transition periods, their differences and developments under new reigns and regimes. On the third chapter which is about Gothic architecture, the text focuses on the three periods of the style: *Ogival primaire ou en lancette*, *Ogival secondaire ou rayonnant* and *Ogival tertiaire, fleuri ou flamboyant*. The difference of this approach to other books is that Notre-Dame de Paris, Chartres, Reims and Amiens Cathedrals are all placed into the same time period and style. The majority of historians would agree that the capital's Cathedral and the others would be categorized in different eras due to their differences. An approach that not many had taken nor would take.

A century after the completion of the restoration project of the Cathedral, in 1966, Whitney S. Stoddard published *Art & Architecture in Medieval France*. The content consisting of five parts began with "Romanesque France", continuing with "Early Gothic of the Twelfth Century" where Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral was discussed in detail. In the latter, the author wrote in the historical background that Gothic style was the result of Romanesque elements that were synthesized with innovation and that those innovations were the result of experimenting architects of the Early Gothic era. Stoddard wrote about Chartres and its School which became the "center of the study of liberal arts." (Stoddard, 1966, p.95), geometry being an important part of that education. He mentioned Otto von Simson's previously discussed book many times throughout the chapter, how Simson viewed the Gothic cathedral as "an image of the 'Celestial Kingdom' or as 'the symbol of the Kingdom of God on earth.'" (Stoddard, 1966, p.99). The next chapters are all dedicated to individual monuments in a chronological order, starting with St.-Denis, continuing with the Cathedral of Sens which was considered as the first Gothic cathedral, the Cathedrals of Noyon and Laon respectively, then the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. The author claims that the Parisian Cathedral was an exception in the Early Gothic era due to its size. Its location that he deemed "dramatic" alongside the Seine River with its parvis "has made Notre-Dame perhaps the best-known monument in western Europe."

(Stoddard, 1966, p.137). Light was the main objective of Abbot Suger when he re-designed the choir of the Abbey, resulting in the same purpose for the following cathedral constructions. Simson conformed this ideology in his book as well and according to Stoddard Notre-Dame's interior remained relatively dark considering its enlarged clerestory windows. The height of the monument and its innovative flying buttresses seems to have given the Cathedral of Paris "a truly Gothic spirit." (Stoddard, 1966, p.145). According to the author, the fame of Chartres Cathedral, that is mentioned, highlighted and even dedicated an entire book by many historians was established through the presence of the Sacred Tunic worn by Mary (Stoddard, 1966, p.145). Stoddard even quoted Simson: "The Gothic cathedral of Chartres was the work of France and of all France no other great sanctuary had ever been before." (Stoddard, 1966, p.174). Chartres would become much taller than Noyon and Laon and even taller than Notre-Dame de Paris and would be considered an important example of French Gothic architecture. Its location, much like the capital's cathedral, is impressive and can be found atop the highest point in the city. *The Key to Gothic Art* by José Bracons was published in 1988 originally in Spanish two years prior to its translation. The first image in the introductory pages was the Royal Doors of Chartres Cathedral with Notre-Dame de Paris' west façade (Figure 1.8) following on the next page. The Parisian Cathedral is considered to be an important example of the early Gothic phase. As was mentioned in other books, Notre Dame de Paris was the largest building that was ever built until that time (Bracons, 1988, p.20). Yet once again, this text states: "The perfection of the interior plan of the Chartres cathedral in France..." (Bracons, 1988, p.21), and once again it was called one of the most perfect examples of Gothic architecture. Bracons states that light was the connection between God and humanity, a notion similarly shown and written in Simson's book. There are many aspects in which the style was understood, including but not limited to sculpture, painting and other artistic mediums.

During the research, one can also observe books that are dedicated to particular monument types or even a single edifice. The first example of this is Auguste Rodin who dedicated a book in 1914, to a specific monument type and called it *Les Cathédrales de France* without including the Cathedral of Paris. This was mentioned in the *Avertissement* part, stating that Rodin's text should be considered as an attempt

to awaken sensibilities and intelligences through general observations, specified in a few large images. In the 109 pages long introduction by Charles Morice, it was stated that when they say cathedral, they mean only the French cathedral as by its origin as well as by its originality, the Cathedral is French (1914, p.VII). This sentiment had been supported by Rodin himself; "Our French cathedrals are very beautiful! But their beauty is no longer easy to understand... The Cathedral is the synthesis of the country. ...all France is in our Cathedrals, as all Greece is in short form in the Parthenon." (1914, p.8). This comparison will be repeated in the twelfth chapter dedicated to Chartres Cathedral, stating that the monuments was the Acropolis of France. The choice of not including the Cathedral of Paris, the most famous of the cathedrals of France into the discussion was made on purpose yet a sufficient explanation for that choice was not given.

One of the most cited sources upon the research, was Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (1956). The book was divided into three parts: "Gothic Design and the Medieval Concept of Order", "The Birth of the Gothic" and "The Consummation". According to von Simson, Gothic architecture was an image, or at least the text tried to understand it as such, as a representation of supernatural reality. He was quoted repeatedly for stating that Gothic cathedrals were "the House of God.", a fearful reality yet they became a convention since they are mostly intact and in use even today, making them too accessible, unlike the nostalgic ruins of the past that are beyond repair. The author's main concern was to understand "the reason of its origin and the meaning of its message." (von Simson, 1956, p.xx). He claimed that he confined himself to the first period of Gothic architecture, beginning from the Abbey of St.-Denis to the Cathedral of Chartres, two monuments that were the only ones described and depicted at length (von Simson, 1956, p.xix). In the first part, von Simson asked himself the question of what is Gothic? Instead of giving a traditional answer such as rib vaults, pointed arches, flying buttresses, etc., he claimed that Gothic architecture consisted of two aspects: "the use of light and the unique relationship between structure and appearance." (von Simson, 1956, p.3). The use of light which transformed these monuments into a diaphanous architecture was discussed at length alongside the importance of geometry that was at the core of its

structural and aesthetical beauty: "an overwhelming importance of this geometrical element in Gothic architecture." (von Simson, 1956, p.4). The second part of the book, "The Birth of the Gothic" started with St.-Denis. This was where the detailed discussion of how and why Gothic emerged through Abbot Suger's design of the *chevet* took place. The last chapter of this part was titled: "Sens and Chartres West", and it begins by stating that Sens Cathedral was the first Gothic cathedral. The monument was discussed, compared and its importance was displayed. The rest of the chapter was focusing on the west side of Chartres Cathedral since that façade, the Royal Portal "has for Gothic sculpture the same significance that the Cathedral of Sens and the choir of St.-Denis have for Gothic architecture." (von Simson, 1956, p.148). The last part of the book focuses solely on the Notre-Dame de Chartres, a choice that was and will be repeated by other historians as they consider the monument to be one of the most perfect representations of the style. A book that was given as a resource in Otto von Simson's work was Emile Mâle's *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, a text that is focusing mostly on the sculptural and other art forms that developed alongside Gothic architecture. Mâle stated that sacred art was organized under fixed rules, that there was a science to it: "This science was transmitted by the Church to the lay sculptors and painters of the thirteenth century who religiously guarded the sacred traditions..." (Mâle & Nussey, 1972, p.1). The author discusses the importance of geometry through Dante and its effect on the cathedral design yet the majority of the text is focusing on symbolisms. The Cathedral of Paris and many other edifices were given as a reference when sculpture and other art forms were being discussed, without focusing on a specific monument.

In 2003 Robert A. Scott's *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral* was published with the aim to compile a book that was different than others that choose to be devoted to a single building or a set of them. The author's aim was to understand the very idea of the cathedral itself; what did a cathedral stand for, what sort of cultural monument was it, etc. The professor asked himself three questions that he wanted to be able to answer: Why did these buildings were erected and how were they built in the first place and lastly what were they used for? In this book Scott separated the contents into five parts: in the first part

titled "A Grand Understanding", the author focused on describing the complex era of cathedral building and how they were built, in Europe that occurred especially between 1134 and 1550. The second chapter, "History", observed the economical and social aspects of this era which resulted in these monuments. Part three; "The Gothic Look" brought on a list of architectural elements and features that defined what it was that made them Gothic? The fourth chapter "The Religious Experience" was exploring how the human factor had a role in these monuments. The last chapter of the book was titled The Gothic Community and was about understanding the role these monuments played in medieval society. The Parisian Cathedral was only mentioned in passing, construction dates, height and one single photograph depiction a part of the roof. Philip Ball's *Universe of Stone: A Biography of Chartres Cathedral* (2008) did indeed study a single building yet the majority of the work tried to understand the meaning behind Gothic cathedrals. The author dived into symbolisms, history, engineering methods, architectural elements, light, geometry, cosmology and even literature, which created a more informed and comprehensive understanding of these monuments and in which circumstances were they constructed. The Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was mentioned multiple times but always in comparison to the Cathedral of Chartres.

In the twenty texts included in the research phase that were published in between 1837 and 2009, the number of times the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was considered to be a "definite reference" to Gothic architecture or even was considered to be as important as other edifices was rare. Many authors focusing on art and architecture of the Middle Ages did not mention the monument in their work. This may be the result of an increase of interest towards the monument due to Victor Hugo's novel resulting in a decline of the necessity for referencing it. Through the novel, Notre-Dame came to be known world-wide, books were written about the edifice, studies were conducted about it increased in numbers and scholars focused on it. This popularity, and approachability may have shattered the illusion behind the monument, resulting in a lack of interest thus hindering the necessity of mentioning the Cathedral as an example.

The most referred monument, Chartres Cathedral was called a "grand example", "perfect", had chapters dedicated solely to the edifice. In 1862 the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Chartres became part of the *Monument Historique* list at the same time as the capital's Cathedral yet UNESCO registered the edifice as a world heritage site, as an individual monument in 1979, twelve years prior to the inclusion of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1991, not as a single monument but as part of the "Seine, Banks of Paris" site. The ICOMOS World Heritage List No:81 stated that Chartres Cathedral was "the reference point par excellence of French gothic art." and that it was "the most authentic and most complete example which has been left to us...". In the criteria the monument was stated as "the complete and perfected expression...", that it had "exerted a considerable influence on the development of the gothic art both within and outside of France.", and that the edifice was "at once a symbol and a basic building type: the most elucidating example which one could choose to define the cultural, social and aesthetic reality of the Gothic cathedral.". The importance of Chartres seems to be not only as an architectural masterpiece but also as a "reference", a guide to the style itself. Was it the power of Victor Hugo's Parisian novel which will lead to the restoration project of Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc or the different media platforms that will eventually publicize the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris enough for UNESCO to try to reclaim the status in 1991? Was its popularity, its place as a "definite reference" or simply the fact that it is the capital's Cathedral that would make it the best known and most visited cathedral in the world and did this popularity impacted its place in architectural historiography?

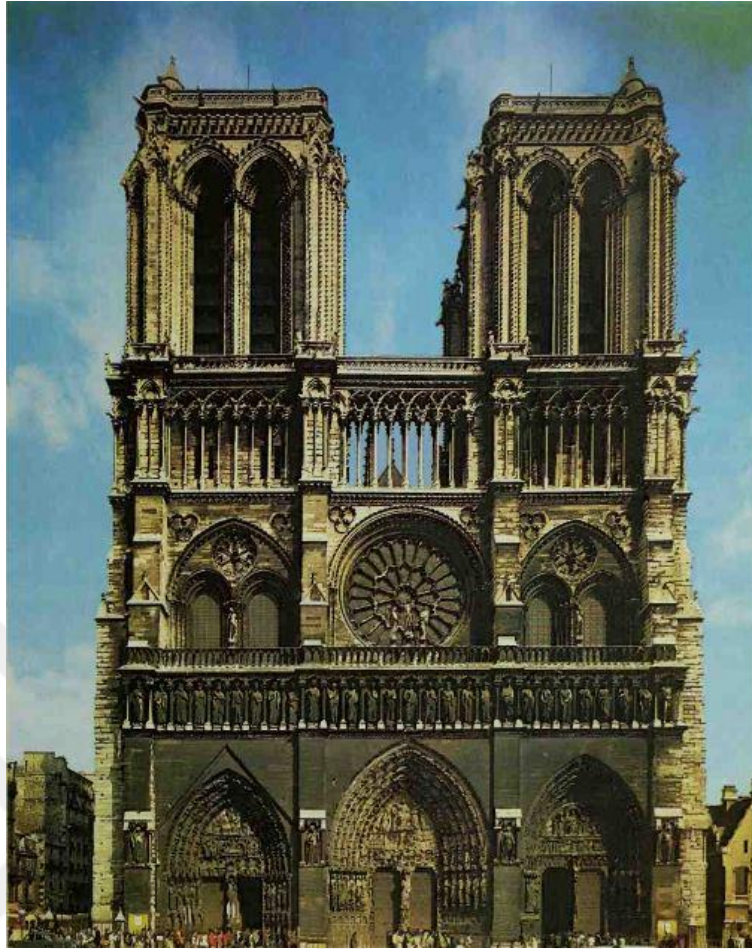


Figure 1.8. Notre-Dame de Paris, Western Façade (Source: Bracons, J. 1990, p.5.)

The questions above will be researched in this dissertation through the analyses of the building in three contexts: as "*an object of Paris*", as "*an object of restoration*" and as "*an object of study*". The first context was the immediate urban context of the *Île de la Cité* where the Cathedral was built in Gothic style in the south-eastern part of the small island in the middle of the River Seine. The site, meaning the island on which the monument is located, the history of the monument and its description. Urban, historical and political aspects are all discussed with Notre-Dame de Paris, always as the main actor. The second context in which the edifice was analyzed was as "*an object of restoration*", focusing on Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's project report. The fictive context of Victor Hugo's famous novel; Notre-Dame de Paris where the building is one of the protagonists. The beginning of the nineteenth century showed a curiosity towards the past which manifested in many different movements and styles. One of them being an artistic style called *Le Style Troubadour* that focused on France's near history and the thirteenth century medieval era which was considered

to be the origins of Romanticism and later the beginnings of Gothic Revival. The destructive aftermath of the French Revolution and this historic curiosity were key moments in the history of preservation and restoration since it led to many artefacts including architectural pieces to be documented, listed, archived and exhibited in museums, such as the *Musée des monuments français* which was opened by Alexandre Lenoir in 1795. An ideology of preservation arised: all that was lost during the Revolution and purposeful vandalism led to classifying historic monuments and funding restoration projects one of which will be the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. In 1844, Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc were appointed as the architects that would be responsible for the restoration project and they prepared an extensive report for the process that they would wish to follow. The project was completed in 1864. The third context was as "*an object of study*" and search for and review the *Cathédrale de Paris* in the canon of architectural history survey books. Viollet-le-Duc was one of the first architect who theorized architecture, and because of him being one of the principal architects on the restoration project of the Cathedral, his dictionary and lectures on architecture became the subject of this work. Auguste Choisy's *Histoire de l'architecture* and Gérard Monnier's *Histoire de l'architecture* were chosen as part of the French context. The French architectural historians, although not lacking in numbers did not produce as much survey books of architectural history as the English written ones. Bannister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, Kimball and Edgell's *A History of Architecture*, Nikolaus Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture*, Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, Ching & Jarzombek and Prakash's *A Global History of Architecture* and lastly with Richard Ingersoll's *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History* were all chosen to dissect in a similar manner: looking at the contents of the survey book, researching the manner in which Gothic architecture was depicted, focusing on Notre-Dame de Paris and lastly the visual representation of Gothic in these survey books once again focusing on the Cathedral.

1.3. Aim and structure of the Study

The aim of the dissertation is to observe and uillustrate the status of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris as a "definite reference" in the architectural survey historiography. To answer the validity of UNESCO's claim about the definiteness of the Cathedral's importance in the spread of the Gothic construction, this study asks questions such as how were the Middle Ages, Gothic architecture and the Cathedralwere viewed during the French Revolution and the nineteenth century art and architectural context as well as how was it perceived by the nineteenth century and forward architectural historiography context. The scope of the thesis is the nineteenth century concept of nostalgia and *patrimoine*, French literature and books by important figuresof the era as well as nineteenth century architectural survey to the globalization of architectural historiography. The method of this dissertation is searching for and following a pattern in architectural survey books about the Middle Ages, Gothic architecture, and the placement of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, by analyzing the contents, studying in detail the authors approach to Gothic and the monument itself and searching thourough the visual representation of those chapters.

This thesis consists of six chapters. In Chapter I, *Introduction*, he main research question of the dissertation and aim of the study are outlined. The reasons behind selecting the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris as the main object of analysis, and why it is being viewed as a "definite reference" in this study are clarified. The chapter is concluded with the construction or the thesis.

Chapter II *Notre-Dame de Paris in History* focuses on the geographical, historical, urban and descriptive context of the Cathedral of Paris starting with the site analysis:, *Île de la Cité* where Paris began and eventually the Cathedral was constructed beginning from the prehistoric times to the nineteenth century until Napoleon III's and Baron Haussmann's renovations. The history of the monument is written, as well as the beginnings of Gothic architecture, Abbot Suger's St.-Denis. A detailed historical background of the edifice has been researched; all the construction, renovations, alterations and vandalism that it endured alongside the political

background occurring at the same time including the French Revolution of 1789, dechristianization of France, the Cults that took over Notre-Dame de Paris, concluding it with the Concordat of 1801. A description of the monument with both the exterior and the interior, the spire and the West façade is given in this chapter. France's era of restoration is included in this chapter since the restoration project was an important part of the discussion behind the main question of the dissertation. How did this terminology come into existence, how was it applied and how did it effect the Cathedral are part of the study.

Chapter III *The 19th Century French Response to Notre-Dame de Paris* begins with the art and architectural scene of the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries of France, the Troubadour style and the rise of Romanticism leading to Gothic Revival is discussed leading the way for Victor Hugo. Besides the detailed review of the novel depicting Notre-Dame de Paris and Paris itself, Hugo's *Guerre aux Demolisseurs!* is included in the chapter in order to show how he did not only write about one monument but that he wanted to save all that he considered national heritages. In the novel section, besides the Book III Chapters I-II where the monument and the city are described in great detail, almost all other monumental or Parisian descriptions are discussed as well as the plot of the novel, the main character being the Cathedral itself. Hugo chose to write about his recent visit to the edifice's tower where he came upon a word: "*ANATKH*", translated as fatality. The word, the meaning and its connection to the famous "This will kill that!" are discussed in this part of the chapter. Viollet-le-Duc's texts, the *Dictionary of French Architecture From Eleventh to Sixteenth Century* alongside *Entretiens Sur L'Architecture* are both included as a starting point to understand how Gothic architecture was viewed and the where did Notre-Dame stand in architectural writing in the nineteenth century French context.

Chapter IV *Notre-Dame de Paris as a Visual Reference* begins with Auguste Choisy's survey *Histoire de L'Architecture* and continues with Fletcher's *A History of Architecture Upon the Comparative Method*. The contents of the books are discussed alongside the nationalistic approach and lack of inclusivity, the heavily criticized Eurocentric and imperialistic approach to the history of architecture. For this

discussion to be complete, the different editions of Fletcher's book and their changes are also included in this part of the chapter. The same method of research is followed with Kimball and Edgell's *A History of Architecture*, Nikolaus Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture* - even though it is not a global architectural history it is still part of the canon of the field. Gothic architecture is researched in a more detailed manner alongside its visual representations focusing on Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral and its statue of visual reference.

Chapter V *Notre-Dame de Paris in the Global Context* includes books written after the 1950s. Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, Monnier's *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Ching & Jarzombek and Prakash's *A Global History of Architecture* and lastly with Richard Ingersoll's *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History* are researched from a Gothic architectural stand to understand how Gothic architecture was viewed and where did Notre-Dame stand in architectural writing in a global context.

The last part Chapter VI *Conclusion* conclude the research and findings of the dissertation bringing the Cathedral of Notre-Dame to the twenty-first century, in search of the reasons behind its popularity before the fire of 15 April 2019. (Figure 1.9.)

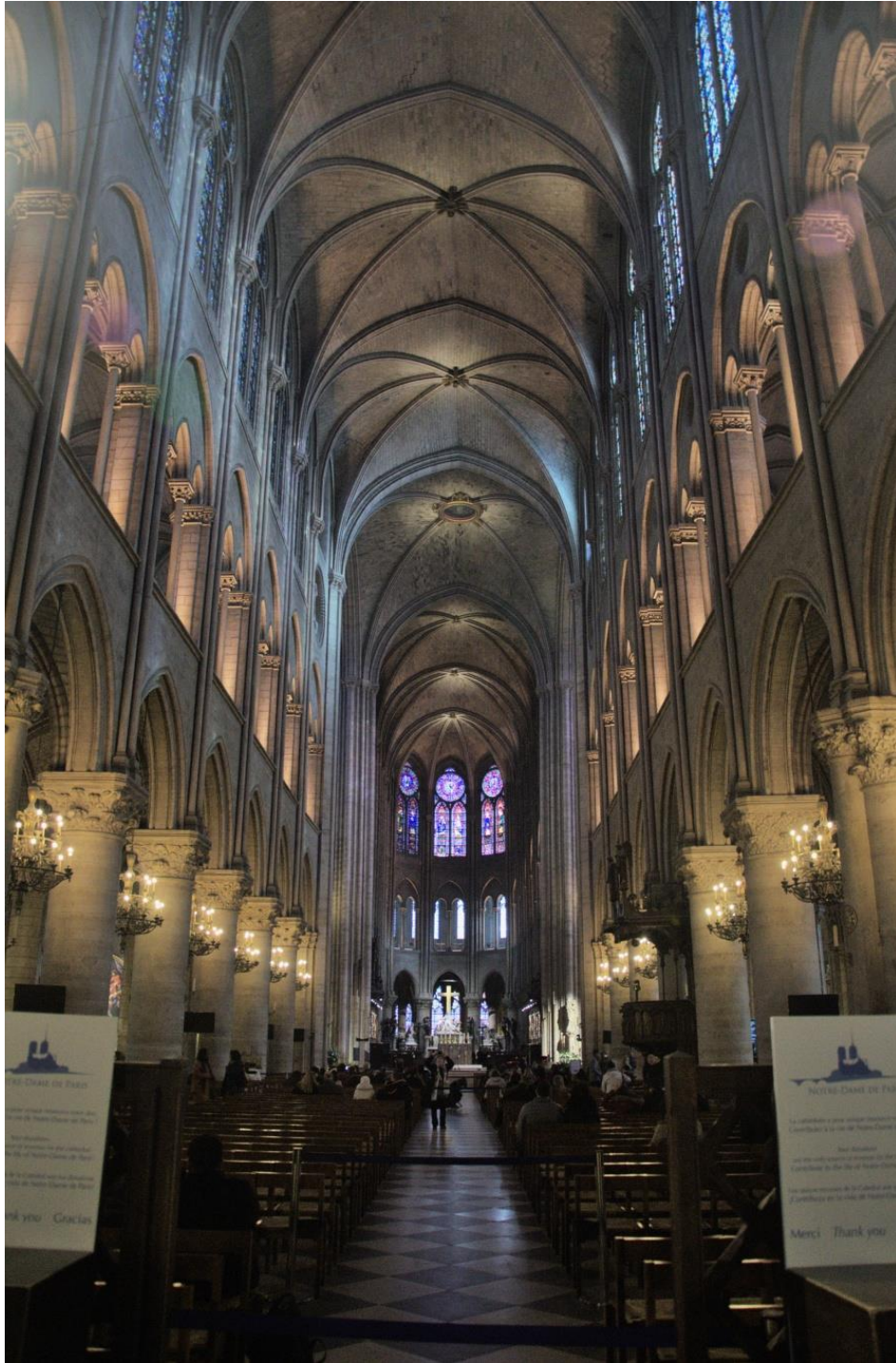


Figure 1.9. The Interior of the Cathedral of Paris, 2017. (Source: Personal archive)

CHAPTER II

NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS IN HISTORY

2.1. The Site: Point Zero, the *Île de la Cité*

To understand the phenomena that is the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris in not only architectural history writing but in general as well, one has to study its past including the island on which it was erected. The island called *Île de la Cité*, where the cathedral is located has a long history starting with the Prehistoric era. Today the city's island - a direct translation, is a ship-shaped, seventeen hectares settlement, filled in whenever it was deemed necessary, resulting in a land one kilometre long and 300 meters wide at the largest part.

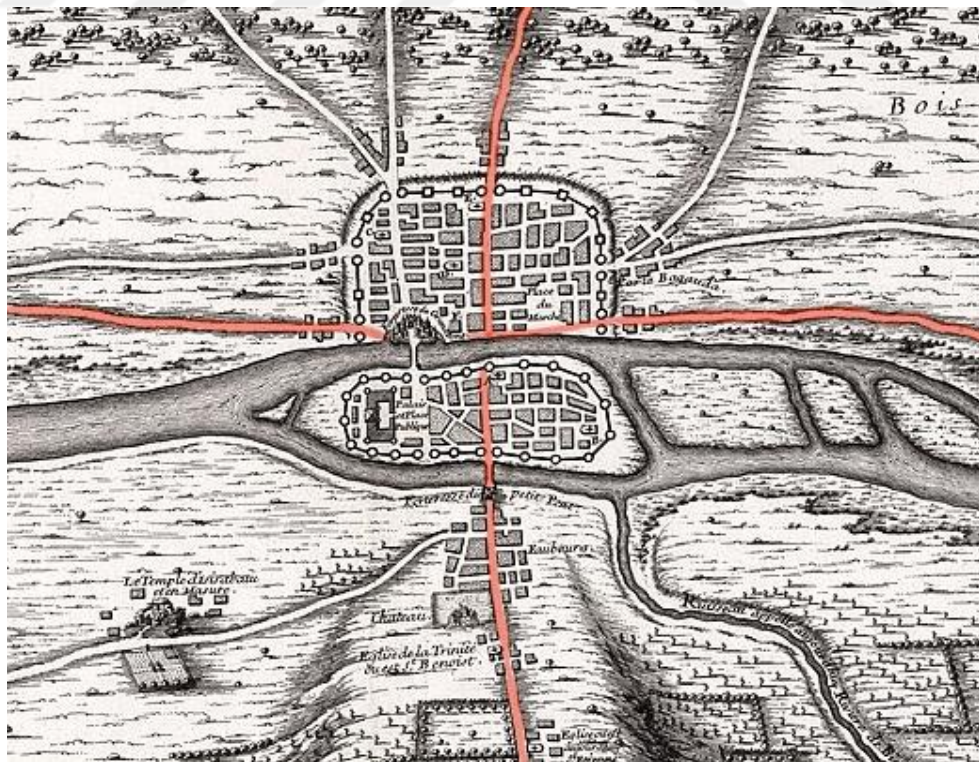


Figure 2.1.1 A map depicting the settlement of Lutetia and the two main axes, 5th century.
(Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

According to Yvan Combeau's *Histoire de Paris*¹¹, during the Iron Age, the Parisii, who will give the name to the city, settled on the Île de la Cité (2016, p.2) and on the first century BC Romans established their capital Lutetia (Lutèce) at the same location. Emperor Julian wrote: "It [Lutetia] occupies an island in the middle of the river; wooden bridges link it to the two banks..." (Combeau, 2016, p.6), giving us the name of the new town.¹²

The new settlement built by the Romans consisted of two main axes (Figure 2.1.1): the main axe and the secondary (north-south); these roads held a commercial importance and the port located at the Petit Pont on the river Seine linked the North of France to the rest of the country (Combeau, 2016, p.3). According to Alistair Horne, a British journalist / historian who wrote *Seven Ages of Paris*¹³, this enabled Paris to "...dominate commerce in the north, making her a natural capital for trade early in the Middle Ages... nearby stone quarries enabled her rulers to float down vast quantities of building material to construct her walls and fortifications." (2002, pp.2-3). The walls in question were built by the Romans themselves at the beginning of the second century; they had been the first of six enclosures in history. The fore mentioned north - south axes would become one of the main roads of the island called *Rue de la Cité*.

Archaeological remains suggest (Figures 2.1.2-2.1.3) that a Gallo-Roman pagan temple dedicated to Jupiter and the Emperor Tiberius was constructed on the site that would one day become a Christian basilica. The temple was discovered in 1711 under the current Cathedral (Dubech&d'Espezel, 1926, p.18). Christianity appears tangibly in the middle of the third century with the first church being built during the

¹¹Combeau's book is part of a series called "Que sais-je?" by PUF (Presses universitaires de France) that began in 1941 with over 3,900 titles in different subjects. A book titled "*Histoire de L'Architecture*" by Gérard Monnier (2021) is further examined in 5.3. in this dissertation.

¹²The two bridges were called Grand-Pont (Today called Pont Notre-Dame) and Petit-Pont. They existed in some form or another since antiquity. Julien's texts were written in the second half of the fourth century. There are currently eight bridges connecting the island to the Right and Left Banks of the river and a singular one connecting the island to the Île Saint-Louis. For further reading see Horne, A. (2002). *Seven Ages of Paris*. London: Pan Macmillan.

¹³ Horne's book discusses seven different periods of Paris' history: starting from the time of Philippe Auguste (1180 -) and ending at 1969 with De Gaulle.

fourth, a church with a basilica plan. When the first German attack begun, the population of the city was forced to migrate to the island, resulting in the demolishing of large monuments on the Left Bank in order to consolidate the city walls. Clovis I (509-511) and his son Childebert (511-558) built many churches and abbeys on the Left Bank, solidifying the city's religious impact. The name Lutèce disappears with *Civitas Parisiorum*; *Cité des Parisii* taking its place before being called Paris permanently. After the attacks and the fire that took over the city in 585, the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne was built under Childebert as a Merovingian Church, intersecting the future spot of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris (Combeau, 2016, pp.5-9).¹⁴



Figure 2.1.2 A photograph of the archaeological crypt under the parvis of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. (Source: Wikimedia Commons / Public Domain)

A church called Notre-Dame was located by the choir and transept of the current building, which was destroyed by the Viking invasions that took place during the ninth century.¹⁵ The Saint-Étienne Cathedral was directly in front of the west façade

¹⁴Combeau wrote that it was on the east of Notre-Dame de Paris, actually meaning that it was across the Roman remains where the future Cathedral will be built.

¹⁵Retrieved January, 5 2022, from Harris, B. & Zucher, S. (2019). "Before the fire: Notre Dame, Paris." <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural->

(Hubert, 1964, p.17) and was lastly mentioned in 1130. It was at the time, in ruins and eventually destroyed for opening the necessary space for the current monument. Nothing exists above ground of this cathedral, its foundations remain under the square of Notre-Dame de Paris.¹⁶ The new Cathedral, Notre-Dame de Paris' construction site would take over the southeast part of the island for several centuries.

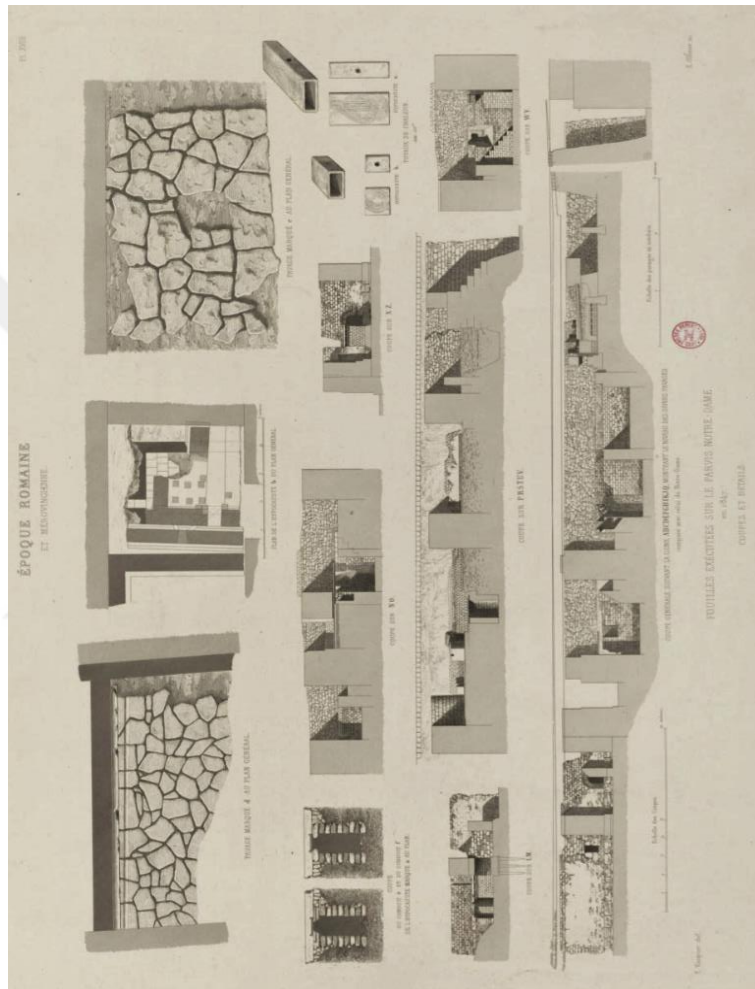


Figure 2.1.3. Drawings of Roman era findings of the excavation in 1847 in the Parvis of Notre-Dame de Paris. (Source: MuséeCarnavalet, Histoire de Paris)

heritage-education-series/xa0148fd6a60f2ff6:ruins-reconstruction-and-renewal/a/before-the-fire-notre-dame-paris.

¹⁶ For further reading on the subject see Aubert, M.M. (1939). "Les anciennes églises épiscopales de Paris, Saint-Étienne et Notre-Dame, au XI^e siècle et au début du XII^e." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 83^e année, N.3, pp.319-327.

Robert A. Scott, in his book *The Gothic Enterprise* set apart multiple chapters to describe the medieval conditions that help us comprehend the circumstances that eventually led to the Gothic cathedrals. According to Scott, daily life was lived out in fear of bloodshed, of violence and brutality, fear of starvation, of dying and fear about one's fate in the hereafter (Scott, 2003, p.211); the name Dark Ages thus seems justifiable. Life expectancy was low,¹⁷ more than ninety percent of people who lived then were dependent on agriculture, which made them vulnerable to weather. Crop failures sent economic shock waves throughout the country (Scott, 2003, p.211). Besides natural disturbances - such as weather, contaminated water sources, and non-consumable crops - wars and taxes were significant problems that the Medieval society faced. According to the author, in order to comprehend cathedral-building, an understanding of the medieval institution of kingship is fundamental. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, kings began to emerge in Western Europe. Carolingians took a position of charge and soon created an empire in which Christian elements were fused into the daily life. Carolingian monarchs followed and dictated basic forms of economy and commerce, defined how wealth was accumulated, distributed, and how and to what extent it was spent, which helps to understand the amount of wealth that was invested into building monumental churches. The medieval society, was attracted to the ruling classes that ensured their safety, peace and justice. Another function of this creation of kingships was clerical, involving responsibility for managing relations among the monarch, the people, and God, the King playing the role of mediator, aiming to get in the good grace of the deity for himself and his peasants (Scott, 2003, p.49).

The ruling class, or in this case the king, desired to win the favour of God and publicly display his ability to ensure the protection and favour of a divinity within his kingdom. An act of sacrifice was necessary - a sacrifice consisting of sharing the treasure and / or building monuments in the interest of ensuring the protective

¹⁷ The life expectancy in Europe during the Middle Ages will increase, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *The Art of Gothic: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting.* ed. Rolf Toman, p. 262.: "In the year 1000 the population of Europe can be estimated to have been about 42 million. By 1300 that population had reached about 73 million. Between 1300 and 1340, with a series of devastating wars, famines, and economic disasters, the rate of population growth began to decrease. With the Black Death, between 1347 and 1351, population growth ended, and indeed reversed, with the population falling to about 51 million..."

presence of a deity. The greater the sacrifice to God, the more powerful the king and his kingdom. Carolingian monarchy's collapse, and the fear of God's wrath led to a social system in which people worked and fought for nobles who gave them protection and the use of land in return thus the feudal system was established. And from the viewpoint of economic production and consumption there were only two classes: "...those who owned land and those who did not. Land was the main source of wealth, and that wealth was obtained through the exploitation of the peasants who farmed it." (Scott, 2003, p.60). Eventually, the exploitation ended due to civil unrest, leaving the feudal lords to think of ways of improving agricultural productivity and peace. Slowly, peasants were given more land, more share, and more rights which led to surpluses that would be sold in the market places.

As the changes appeared slowly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the medieval society's economical aspects prospered. Not only farmers were necessary for the feudal lords but also a new urban class of merchants and traders emerged, called the middle class. Towns were forming, the countryside gradually left its place to these towns with a much more urban vibe. Urbanity and the population growth caused the feudal lords to not being able to provide the secure atmosphere that was required, and kings and bishops that were not lost completely started to get back in the picture. The land-based economy moved from self-sufficiency to surplus, which led peasants to move to cities which then increased the authority of urban magistracies, and disempowering the feudal lords. With the weakening of feudal lords' authority, the monastic order that depended on them also weakened. Monasticism slowly faded and a "new religious sensibility [that] emphasized good works in this life a necessity for entry into the next" emerged (Scott, 2003, p.66). With the redefinition of the Christian thought, the basilicas that will be a big part of "town peoples" day-to-day lives began to be located in town centres, especially near market places for convenience. Slowly the cathedral became one with the city: Chartres Cathedral, the church of Chartres, Wells Cathedral of Wells, and Notre-Dame de Paris of Paris, contrary to most of the monasteries that would preferably be located outside of the town limits.

During Philippe II's reign (1180-1223), an accelerated construction phase began in the city – the King concentrated on reconstructing his capital (towards the last decade of his life): He, who was considered a builder and a “unifier of the city” quadrupled his domain, yet in the meantime the city was still recovering from the Norse invasions and both bridges that were located on the city island burnt down, the Left Bank suffering the most with churches in ruins (Figure 2.1.4). Philippe Auguste was determined to improve Paris and with a decree in 1186, he ordered the re-pavement of the main roads, starting with *La Rue Barillerie*¹⁸, facing the *Palais de la Cité* and the main axes leading to the city gates and ports (Combeau, 2016, p.14).¹⁹ The Royal Palace's²⁰ restoration - across the old Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, restoration by Robert le Pieux – became a symbol of royal authority (Combeau, 2016, p.11). This is the time in history when Paris became the principal residence of the kings and the term *Palais de la Cité* (Royal Palace) was commonly used.

Towards the sixteenth century, the capital had a growth spurt where new roads were built, hotels and suburbs (*faubourgs*). The outside of the enclosure had seen such an incline in construction that the efficiency of the Charles V wall declined. The city was divided into sixteen *quartiers*, the first being called Notre-Dame (Combeau, 2016, pp.21-22).²¹ Gothic being the primary architectural style of France during the Middle Ages began to be replaced by Italian art and architecture (Renaissance) towards the end the sixteenth century.

¹⁸*Le Grand-Rue-Saint-Martin, Saint-Jacques, Saint-Antoine and Grand-Rue-Saint Honoré*, two of the main axes of the time were also amongst the first roads to be paved.

¹⁹The roads had not been paved since the Roman Era, the absence of hygiene and the smells were the main reasons for the King's decision.

²⁰ The Palace was where the King placed the royal archives, the treasury and the courts making it the palace of the Kingdom of France.

²¹The twenty arrondissements will be created during Louis XIV's reign in 1702.

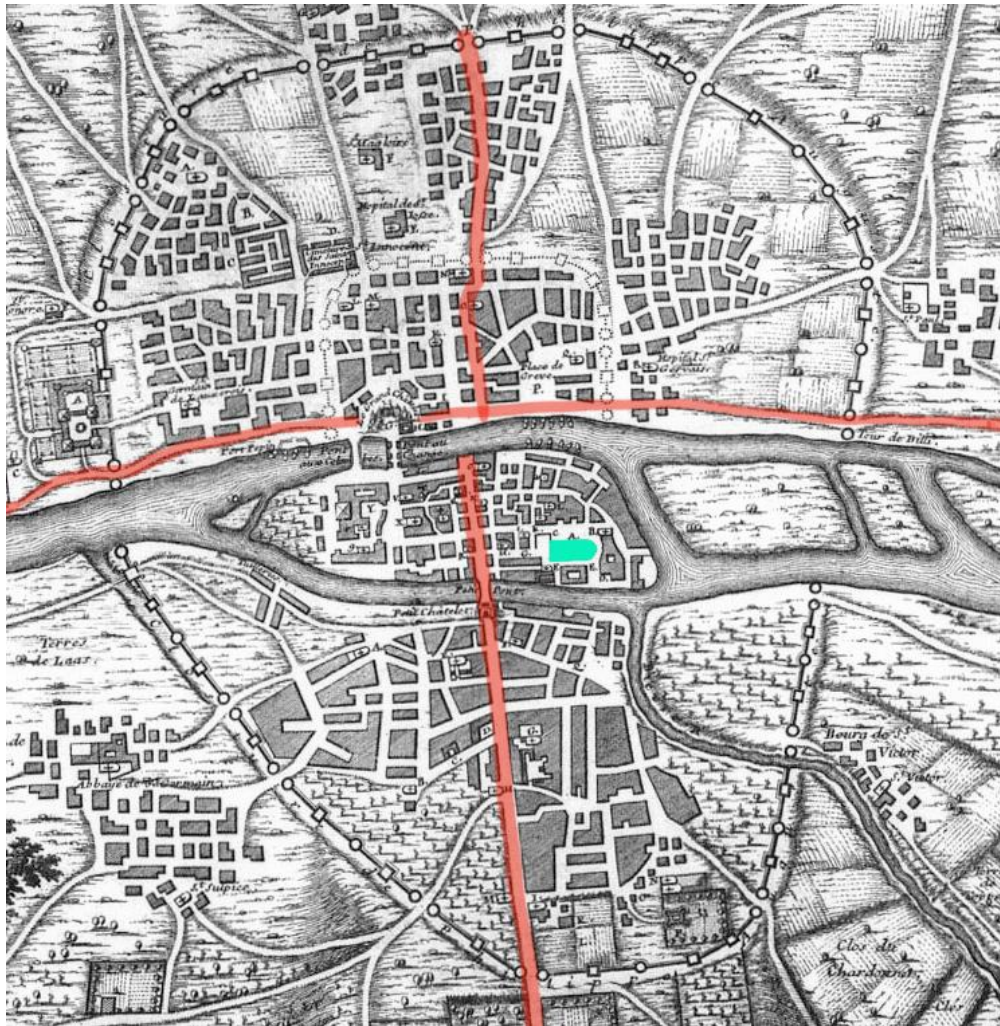


Figure 2.1.4. Map of the Paris enclosure, the main axes and the Cathedral during the reign of Philippe Augustus, 1180 - 1223. (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

When Louis XV died in 1774, Louis XVI succeeded the throne from his grandfather with "A heavy legacy, with ruined finances, unhappy subjects, and a faulty and incompetent government." (Roberts, 2004, p.34). The state was almost bankrupted and the taxation system proved to be insufficient. In 22 February 1787 the *Assemblée des Notables* (Assembly of Notables) was called upon for an emergency meeting²² where a new land tax was to be discussed but because it included a first-time tax on the property of nobles and the clergy, they could not reach an agreement

²² The Assembly consisted of members of nobles, clergy, bourgeoisie, and chosen bureaucrats selected by the King himself in a Curia Regis manner. They were mainly chosen to discuss current events and served only as a consultative purpose since the regime of the time was absolute monarchy.

and the *États-Généraux*²³ was called upon. The purpose of the tax was to lessen the national debt that was burdening France, yet the noble and clergy classes did not agree with the new tax. On 27 of December 1788, Louis XVI granted a *double représentation* to the Third Estate, since the tiers represented ninety-six percent of the nation, they thought it was their right to behold as much voting power as the other two Estates. The King, whilst giving the opening speech declared that the double representation right was revoked and that the voting would occur by *ordres*, meaning that even though they represented the vast majority of the population and were the only Estate paying taxes and effected by poverty, if the other two Estates were to vote the same, the tiers-état would not have any say in the matter. On July 17, 1789, the tiers-état declared itself independent after being rejected their double representation, and proceeded to create the *Assemblée Nationale* stating that they were the soul representation of the nation.²⁴

On July 9th, the Assembly changed its name to National Constituent Assembly (*l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante*) and started to act as a constitution drafter and function as a governing body. On July 14, 1789, upon the fall of Bastille prison, the *Assemblée* became the effective government of France. Soon they began to enact a social and economic reform. The same year on November the 2nd they declared that the property of the Church was "at the disposal of the nation." (McManners, 1969, p.27). The bond between Church and monarchy, and the fact that under the

²³ The *États* was called Estates since it consisted of three "ordres" or "états": First estate being the clergy, the most powerful of the three of them, the second one consisting of the noble class, and the last one called Tiers *État* consisting of commoners or mostly the bourgeois. The *États* appeared during the thirteenth century and was created as a result of feudal rights, for the king to be able to hear feudal leaders' opinions and concerns, reunited by kings during periods of political and financial crisis. Louis XVI summoned the *États-Généraux* on August 8, 1788 and the *États* gathered on the 5th of May, 1789 in Versailles. As was the case with the *Assemblée des Notables*, the Estate-General served a consultative purpose only.

²⁴ They were soon joined by member of the other estates. The King's attempt to stop the separation and order to close the *Salle des États* - where the to move the meeting to a nearby tennis court and eventually take an oath called *Serment du Jeu de Pomme* or *Tennis Court Oath* in English, on 20 June 1789. They vowed to never separate and to meet whenever until the constitution of the kingdom is established. The oath itself was a revolutionary act, a shift of power stating that the political authority was the nation and not the monarch himself. The act of solidarity forced Louis XVI to order the rest of the clergy and nobility that did not join the *Assemblée* at first, to join them in an attempt to maintain the illusion that he still held control over the nation.

*Ancien Régime*²⁵, the Church had been the single largest landowner in France caused resentments towards the Church, weakening its authority and power, starting at the *États-Généraux* in May 1789 (McManners, 1969, p.50).

On June 21st 1791, the King and his family tried to flee Paris albeit unsuccessfully, the Assembly eventually "temporarily relieved the King from his task." (Shusterman, 2013, pp.187-221), resulting in the royal family becoming prisoners. On September 21 1792, the monarchy was abolished, ending two hundred and three years of consecutive Bourbon rule over France. Louis XVI was beheaded on January 21, 1793 at the *Place de la Révolution*,²⁶ both literally and metaphorically severing the ties of the Monarchy, the State and the Church resulting in a dechristianization movement.

Justin Dunn wrote an article (2012) on the matter of the separation which started a dechristianization movement in France that will not only affect the clergymen but also the religious monuments themselves: "...the process of dechristianization is an exceedingly important piece of the puzzle for anyone who wishes to study the French Revolution." (Dunn, 2012, p.28). The dechristianization movement in France provided an opportunity to show [their] resentments against the Catholic Church and its clergy, endangering the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. By the end of the decade, almost thirty thousand clergy had been forced to leave France or they would be executed (Lewis, 1993, p.96). In September 1793, Joseph Fouché, a former priest now a representative of the National Convention, arrived at Nièvre and started to implement reforms to "...expend the effort to remove Catholicism, and eventually all of Christianity, from French society." (Dunn, 2012, p.26). The society which historically was very traditional and religious, was now being forcefully secularized. Under the *Ancien Régime* the state and church were united, daily life was administered by priests and the church bells; births, marriages and deaths were registered by the church, and it held "the monopoly on primary and secondary education..."

²⁵ *Ancien Régime* was the political and social system of the Kingdom of France from the Middle Ages (~c.15th century) until 1792.

²⁶ Place de la Révolution is called Place de la Concorde today.

(Anderson, 2007, p.143).²⁷ The church was extremely wealthy and powerful considering the aforementioned taxing system where the church did not pay taxes but collected them and the French parliamentary system where the church made up the whole of the First Estate. A new law called *Constitution Civile du Clergé* passed on 12 July 1790 that caused immediate subordination of the Catholic Church in France to the French government and within the law there was a clause that obliged the clergy to take an oath - later on called the Church Oath - stating the individual's allegiance to France. It was, in a sense, a fidelity oath that required every single priest in France to make a public declaration on whether or not they, the nation of France, had authority over all religious matter. "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy divided public sentiment in regard to religion and its role in society more than almost anything else in French History." (Dunn, 2012, p.27).

In October 1793, the Christian calendar was replaced with one that started 22nd of September 1792. Frank Tallett (1991) claimed that the campaign of dechristianization, which was at its highest point during the winter of 1793 and spring of 1794; contained a number of different activities: the change of the Gregorian calendar to a Revolutionary one, the removal of, or even destruction of plates, statues and other elements of religious monuments, the vandalism of church bells, shrines and other "external signs of worship" as Tallett wrote, their closure all together and the enforced abdications (1991, pp.1-2). The danger in which the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris found itself becoming abundant as it was the first edifice that would be vandalised, representing the capital, the crown and of course, the Church itself. Church ceremonies were banned, causing religious services to be conducted in private homes. New religious cults began to emerge called, *Culte de la Raison* (an atheist cult) and *Culte de l'Être Suprême* (a deist cult).²⁸ Instead of

²⁷Anderson (2007) also wrote that "In rural areas, not only was the village church the center for the spiritual care of the locals but also it served as the hub of administrative affairs. The church put order into every aspect of country life: the tolling of the church bells ordained the rhythm of the daily cycle, resounding throughout the village when it was time to rise, at noon when it was the hour for a break, and at vespers, in the evening, when it was appropriate to pause and say a prayer. The sound of the bell was also the alarm alerting the populace of a fire or warning of mischief in the village."

²⁸*Culte de la Raison* (Autumn 1793 - Spring 1794), or *Cult of Reason* (Spring - Summer 1794) was a belief system that was established in France and had been intended as a replacement for Christianity during the French Revolution. Jacques Hébert and others founded the "Worship of Reason" which rejected the existence of a deity, and aimed the "dechristianisation" of France which was motivated by

celebrating Christian holidays, the date of the Revolution, festivals of Reason and Supreme Being were scheduled (Helmstadler, 1997, p.251). The Roman Catholic Church had been the official religion under the monarchy, yet since the *Directoires* were anti-religious republicans, Christianity became frowned upon.

Even though they did not approve, the Directory did not attempt to impose any religious views unlike Robespierre during the Reign of Terror. Some historians suggest that the dechristianization movement was “one of the chief causes of the Terror...” (Dunn, 2012, p.28). The first state sponsored atheistic religion called *Culte de la Raison* was the natural result of resentment towards the Catholic Church, that existed by owning ten percent of the land of the kingdom and not paying taxes. After the King's execution, the Church's claim declined even further. In a way, the Cult of Reason was an opposition of the Catholic Church and a replacement for Roman Catholicism (McGowan, 2012, p.14 & Fremont-Barnes, 2007, p.237).²⁹

The 1789 Revolution ended with the *Consulate* - the government where Napoleon Bonaparte was elected First Consul in 1799.³⁰ Napoleon, with a coup, declared himself as the head of a more autocratic, authoritarian and centralized republican government. On May 18, 1804 Napoleon was granted the title of *L'Empereur des Français* and was crowned on 2 December 1804 at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris (Dwyer, 2015, p.40). Three years before his coronation in the Cathedral, he began to re-establish calm and order after years of chaos under the Revolution. He made peace with the Catholic Church, and masses were held again in Notre-Dame de Paris (Héron de Villefosse, 1955, p.299). The easing reached a high point when Napoleon signed an agreement between Pope Pius VII and himself, on 15 July 1801

political and economic concerns. *Le Culte de L'Être Suprême* or *The Cult of the Supreme Being*, a form of deism established in France by *Maximilien Robespierre* during the Revolution. It was intended to become the state religion of the new French Republic which ended with Robespierre being sent to the guillotine.

²⁹ The cult was a deliberate attempt to counter the unsuccessful efforts at dechristianization, and the atheistic Cult of Reason, which reached its high point in the winter of the previous year.

³⁰ Almost in a constitutional dictatorship manner. Napoleon established a political system that historian Martyn Lyons called "dictatorship by plebiscite". Lyons, M. (1994), *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press, p.111.

in Paris. The agreement was called the Concordat of 1801 (Knight, 1867). It remained in effect until 1905 and it sought reconciliation between revolutionaries and Catholics. One of the most important events was the return of the Cathedral to the Catholic church in 18 April 1802,³¹ the ramifications of the years of neglect, vandalism and the Revolution could finally be assessed and resolved. Just as the Cathedral was used as a symbol of life after the revolution, with the cults obtaining and using it for their new order, Napoleon used the monument for his reign, to show his authority and power. He created a symbolic stage for his political agenda where he would rule as an emperor just like the Romans but also like the kings of near past, crowned in God's house under His will.

Paris, during the French Revolution did not experience many architectural or urban changes (Figure 2.1.5), instead many hotels and churches were abandoned or vandalised, and the city experienced dismay and destruction over the previous decade. After he crowned himself Emperor, Napoleon I (1804-1804/1815) began a series of projects to turn Paris into ancient Rome, a capital worthy of an empire. He wanted "...to make Paris the most beautiful city in the world." (Guerrini, 1970, p.60). Napoleon's preferred style was "a continuation of pre-1789 classicism with an emphasis on the neo- classical." (Sutcliffe, 1993, p.69), a role befitting to Paris as an imperial, military city. With him Paris shed some of its medieval aspects by demolishing of the Grand Châtelet, and by erecting triumphal arches. To emphasize Napoleon's rule over "Ancient Rome", *Arc de Triomphe de L'Étoile* and *du Carrousel* (Figure 2.1.6) were designed and constructed by Percier and Fontaine. The imitations of the *Arch of Septimius Severus* and the *Arch of Constantine* in Rome (Loyer, 1999, p.34).

During the French Revolution, the relationship between church and state was severed which resulted in the destruction of church properties. The Romantic Movement aided a sort of religious revival that occurred in France, resulting with the Concordat of 1801 by Napoleon I, a decree which was concerned with the state in which some

³¹The Concordat of 1801 and the meaning behind the "return" of the Cathedral are explained on pages 35 and 36.

churches were in. He ordered for their restoration especially the ones that were affected from the Revolution of 1789. Napoleon I amended the relationship and even ordered the construction to be finished for the Church of the Madeleine in the Neoclassical style (Figure 2.1.7). In 1802 (Figure 2.1.8) he ordered the construction of the quays of the Seine River, starting from the *Quai d'Orsay* because of the floods of the previous winter that left the *Champs-Élysées* partly submerged (Horne, 2002, p.192). An explosion, the assassination attempts on Napoleon I which occurred in 1800, gave him the excuse to demolish the ruined houses and the rest of the medieval buildings, enlarging the narrow streets that were leading to the Louvre. The first iron bridge was built connecting the Institute and the Louvre, and a number of public housing were realised (Horne, 2002, p.189).³² According to Horne, Napoleon's own admission of lack of time prevented him from creating what he desired. If he had twenty more years, he would have changed the city so much that one would not be able to remember the old city.

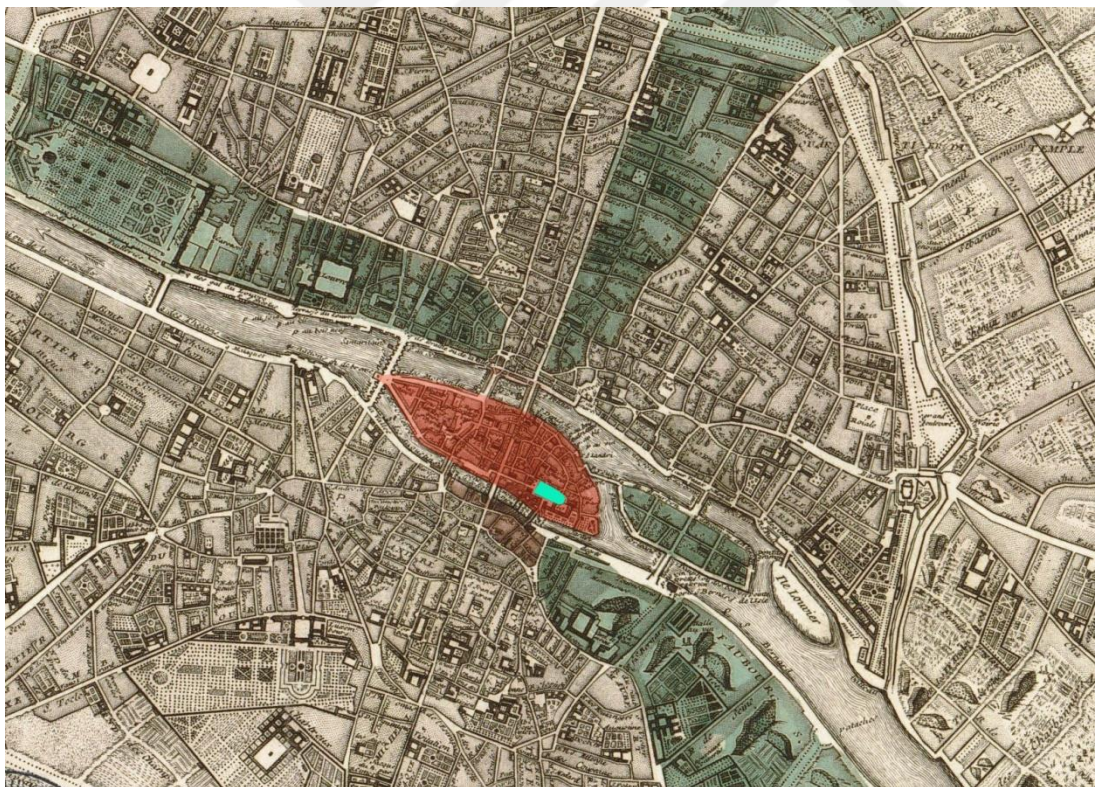


Figure 2.1.5. A map of Paris focusing on every street, church and Île de la Cité before the French Revolution, 1740. (Source: M. De la Grive, BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

³² Horne stated that Napoleon I "conceived the present-day system of odd and even numbers on alternate sides, with every street numbering from its position relative to the Seine." (2002, p.189).



Figure 2.1.6. Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paris_-_Jardin_des_Tuileries_-_Arc_de_Triomphe_du_Carrousel_-_PA00085992_-_003.jpg)

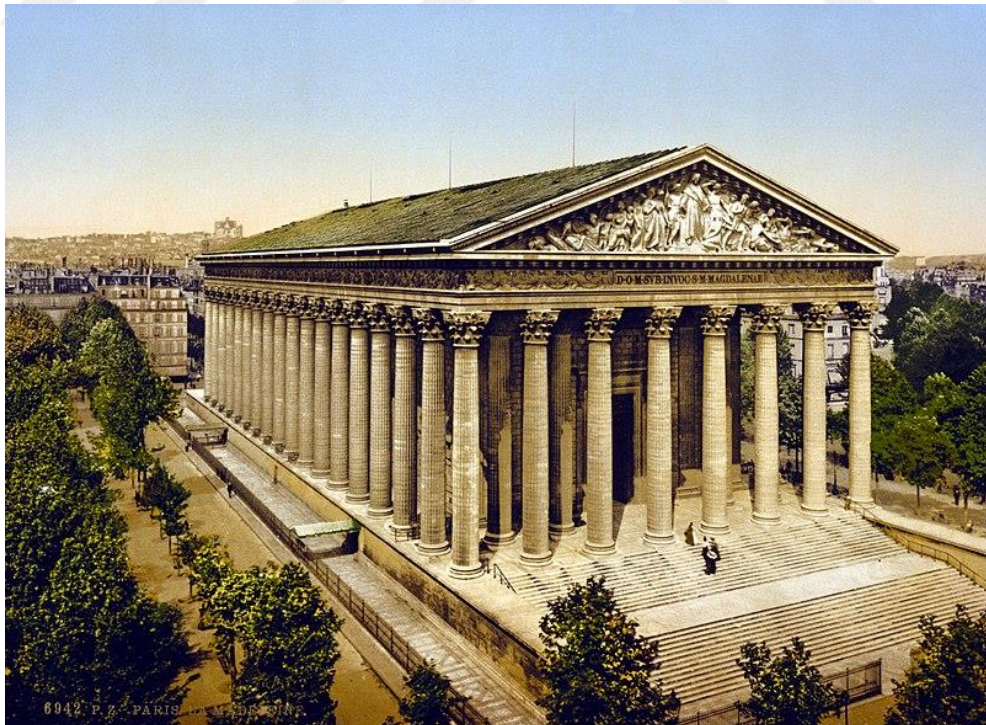


Figure 2.1.7. An image of the Church of Madeleine, ca. 1890. (Source: US Library of Congress/ Public Domain)

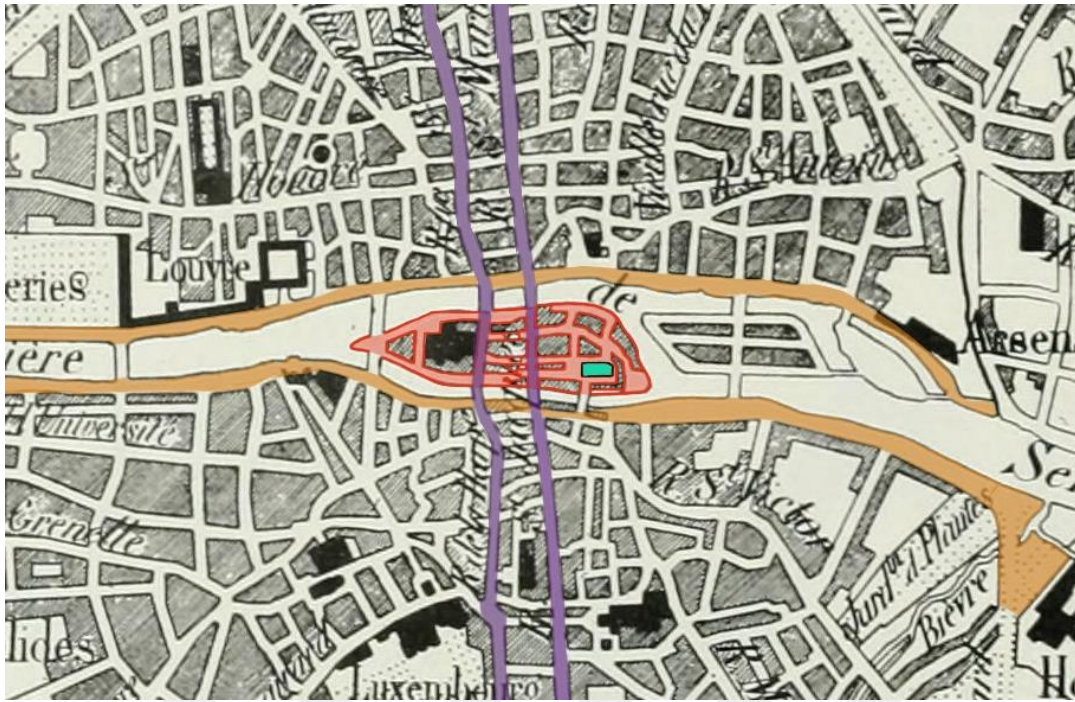


Figure 2.1.8. A map of Paris, showing the two main axes passing through Île de la Cité in 1802 and the quays of the Seine River. (Source: <http://informations-documents.com/environnement/coppermine15x/displayimage.php?pid=39613>)

At the time, one could have observed Paris' narrow streets, confined by high rows of houses, blocking the light, rendering it difficult to walk with traffic and the mud and the narrow channel down the centre use as a sewer and drainage canal (Fiero, 2003, pp.32-34). The Emperor, wanting to improve the capital, lessen traffic, and have the ability to take control of the city in case of a coup / revolution ³³, ordered new wide and spacious streets to be built and ordered the parvis, square in front of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris to be enlarged (Figure 2.1.9). The demolition of many churches, and the transfer of a part of the Hôtel-Dieu ³⁴ - a hospital dating from 651 - created an extra eighty metres in front of the monument (Combeau, 2016, p.40). One of the last things the Emperor ordered, which is significant for our discussion is his opening of the square of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral where his nephew would be crowned in 1852.

³³ As a military man, Napoleon studied the tactics of the revolutionaries during the 1789 Revolution. They were using the narrow streets of Paris to barricade themselves against the royal troops.

³⁴ Hôtel is a building typology configured around a courtyard protected in turn by a high wall with an imposing entrance, usually built on two levels.

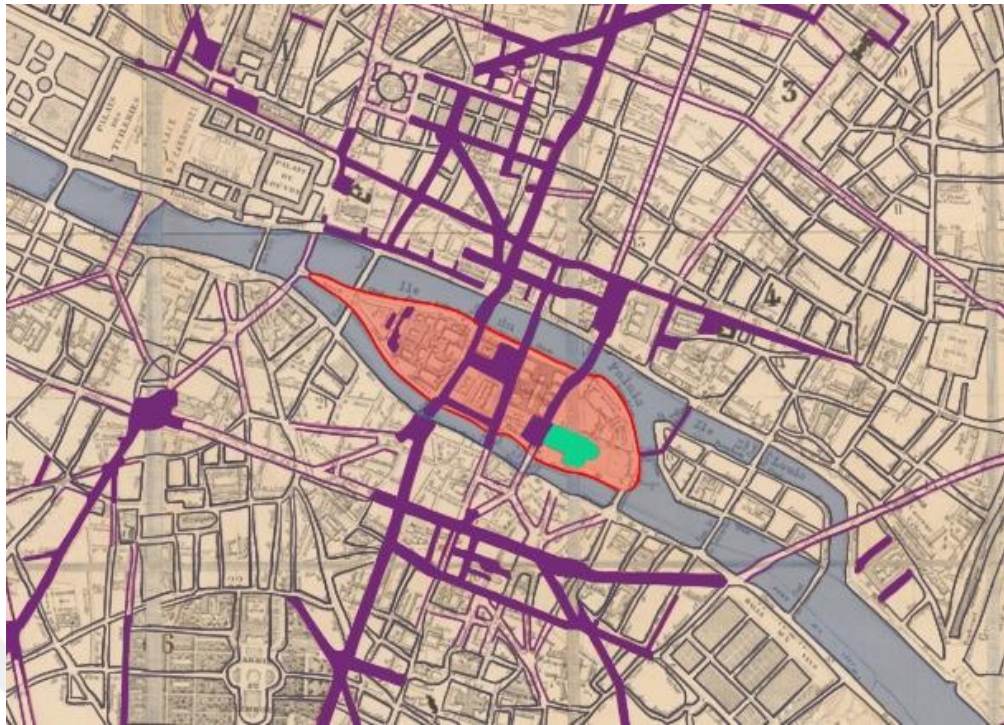


Figure 2.1.9. A map of Paris, showing the two main axes passing through Île-de-la-Cité in 1802. (Source: <http://informations-documents.com/environnement/coppermine15x/displayimage.php?pid=39613>)

Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Orléans took over - after Charles X (1824-1830) - and reigned for eighteen years in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The period became known as the July Monarchy / *Monarchie de Juillet* (1830-1848). Paris at the time of Louis Philippe I was the city described in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* and Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie Humaine*.³⁵ Victor Prosper Considerant (1808-1893), a social reformer described Paris in 1845 very harshly, that the city was miserable, sick and that sunlight was rare. The description which was cited in Moncan's *Le Paris d'Haussmann* was stating that Paris was a terrible place where plants die, and out of seven children, four would die in the same year (2002, p.10). Louis Philippe's reign may have been short yet his urban improvements were important as they are the continuation of the foundation of Napoleon I's grand project which will result in the collaboration of Napoleon III and Haussmann in the nineteenth century. The King was aware of the state in which his capital was, as described by Considerant, so he was adamant about cleaning the city. He ordered a new bridge called *Le Pont*

³⁵ Hugo's famous novel *Les Misérables* looks into the events of the June Rebellion that took place on the fifth and sixth of June 1832. Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie Humaine* looks into the society in the periods of the Restoration and the July Monarchy.

Louis-Philippe, the project of clearing around *Hôtel de Ville*, a new street the length of the *Île de la Cité*, a new street called *Rue Soufflot*, clearing a space around the *Panthéon* (Maneglier, 1990, pp.16-18).

After the revolution, the Second Republic government emerged and as their president - only president - was elected by popular vote, *Louis Napoleon Bonaparte* (1808-1873). He was the nephew and heir of Napoleon I. Since he served the required four-year term and could not be re-elected a second time, he arranged a coup d'état in 1851 and then on the forty-eighth anniversary (2 December 1852) of his uncle's coronation, he took the crown and throne, an era known as the *Seconde Empire Français* and the renovations of Paris begun.

Napoleon III (Louis Napoléon, reigned between 1852-1870) came to power and with him the largest renovations the capital had seen began. The Emperor appointed Georges Eugène Haussmann as his *préfet de la Seine* in 1853, a post he would retain until 1870. He gave himself a task: to transform, modernize or as he said, to transfigure Paris (Malet, 1953, p.475). In the Baron's *Mémoires*, the emperor rushed to show him a map of Paris, on which one could observe the traces made by Napoleon in blue, red, yellow and green – chosen according to their urgency, the different new roads that he was proposing to be constructed (Haussmann, 1890-93, T.2., p.53).³⁶

He started work immediately but before he could begin, the prefect ordered new maps to be drawn since the existing ones were not completely accurate and in order to realize this, the surveyors had to find a way for uninterrupted vision of the city for measurements. Haussmann constructed timber towers higher than the highest houses (Chapman, 1953, p.181). David P. Jordan wrote that the strategic concerns were important in the transformation of the capital but it was important to look further into what constitutes as strategic: “Pacification through the manipulation of urban space, social control by the artificial creation of real-estate values, all accomplished... The

³⁶The Baron wrote his memoirs in three tomes, recording his life in a chronological manner.

urbanisation of Paris was nothing less than a transformation of the political and social geography and culture of the capital.” (1992, p.99).

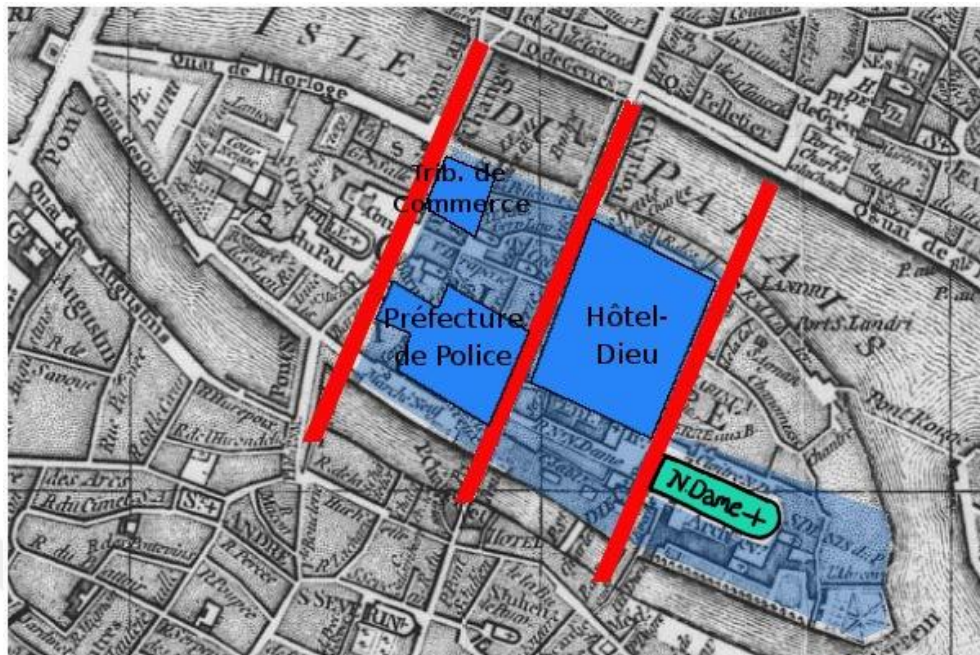


Figure 2.1.10. Haussmann's main urban projects on the Île de la Cité (Source: commons.wikimedia.org "Paris-cite-haussmann.jpg" / Public Domain)

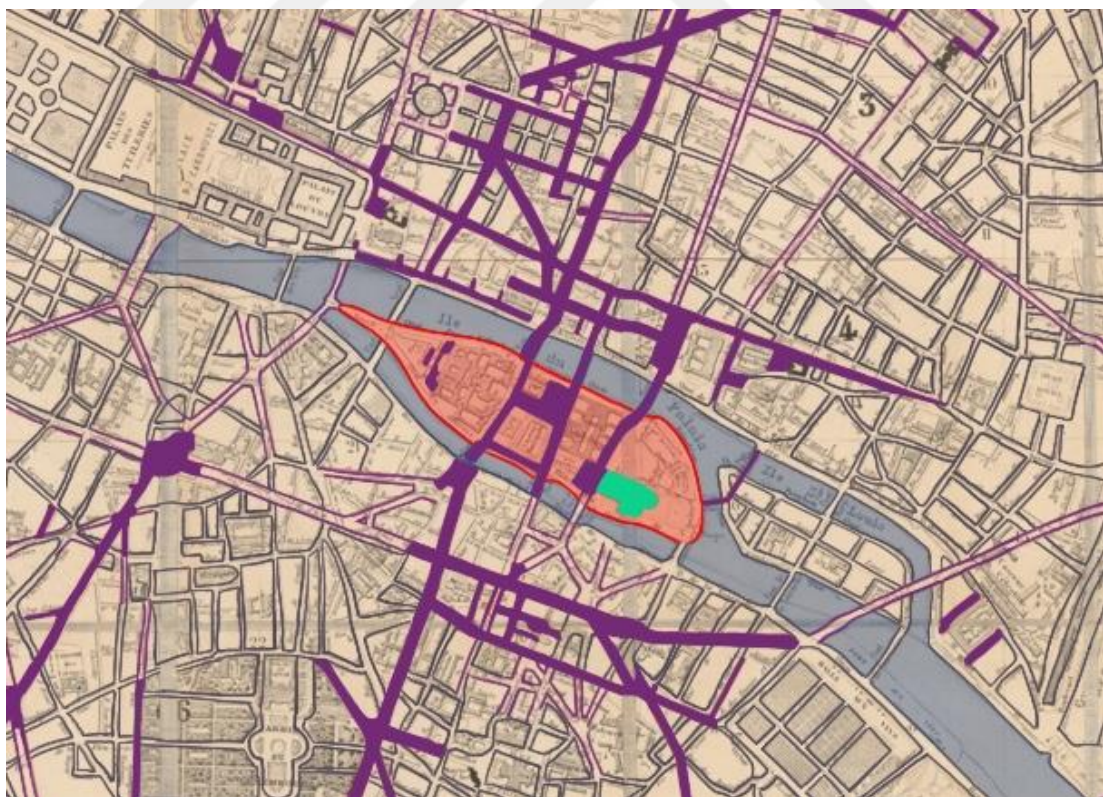


Figure 2.1.11. Haussmann's main urban projects on the Île de la Cité and its surrounding (Source: commons.wikimedia.org "Paris-cite-haussmann.jpg" / Public Domain)

Since the Emperor detested the Gothic / Medieval style and both him and his prefect preferred classical, geometric forms, Paris gradually became a neoclassic city. Twenty thousand houses were demolished whilst the double amount was being built (Horne, 2002, p.267) (Figure 2.1.11).



Figure 2.1.12. Haussmann's main urban projects in Paris (Source: commons.wikimedia.org "Paris-cite-haussmann.jpg / Public Domain)

His most disturbing and noticeable transformation occurred on the Île de la Cité (Figures 2.1.10 / 2.1.11) especially after 1865 when the old centre turned into an open-air museum of monuments: Apart the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, the *Palais de Justice* which he designed, *La Place de la Dauphin* and some houses located between the Cathedral and the Seine River, everything else was demolished (Champigneulle, 1962, pp.81-88). Two main roads located on the island were enlarged, the *Rue de la Barillerie* (later named *Bld du Palais*, in 1864) and the *Rue d'Arcole*. The *Rue de la Barillerie* was enlarged in order to accommodate the *Bld du Centre* on the Right Bank (Renamed *Bld de Sébastopol*) and *Bld St Michel* on the Left Bank: "... this north south crossing, like much of Haussmann's other major road building schemes, caused large scale social hardship. As a result, he was labelled an *urbaniste-démolisseur* and accused of *dégagement*, indiscriminately razing all the buildings to the ground..." (Moss, 1974, pp.507-510) (Figure 2.1.12).

Eighteen churches disappeared, the people living on the island were in a sense, chased away. He managed to clean the surrounding areas of most buildings alongside the Louvre and the Tuileries by evicting the people who lived in adjacent houses and demolishing existing buildings to isolate said monuments. This design worked so well that the most densely populated area of the capital, the Île de la Cité turned into an almost empty neighbourhood (Jordan, 1992, p.102). Eventually the only remains of a medieval era that will survive on the island would be the *Conciergerie*³⁷, the Sainte-Chapelle (1242-1248) that Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807-1857) and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) had restored and most importantly, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris.

Amidst all these changes even today, *l'Île de la Cité* remains the heart of Paris and of France. It contains many of the historical monuments aforementioned and is still the most visited area in the capital. According to a study done in 1997 by Douglas G. Pearce, *Île de la Cité* is unique in its history and geography and its significance in religious context. The author stated that the island was the leading tourist destination, estimated to welcome twelve million visitors a year with Notre-Dame de Paris being

³⁷ The *Conciergerie* was the old palace where the kings resided from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. It became a prison from 1392 where queen Marie-Antoinette herself, Louis XVI's wife, would be imprisoned in 1793.

the main focus (Figure 2.1.13). Before the 2019 fire, the monument's had approximately thirty thousand visitors a day. The island could be considered as the starting point of the country and in this instance, it is literally considered the centre of the capital and France where all distances of roads are measured from the Point Zéro mark (Figure 2.1.14, put in place originally in 1924) located in the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame, marking it as the literal centre of the city and country (Pearce, 1998, pp.54-55) putting the Cathedral into the centre of all of France.

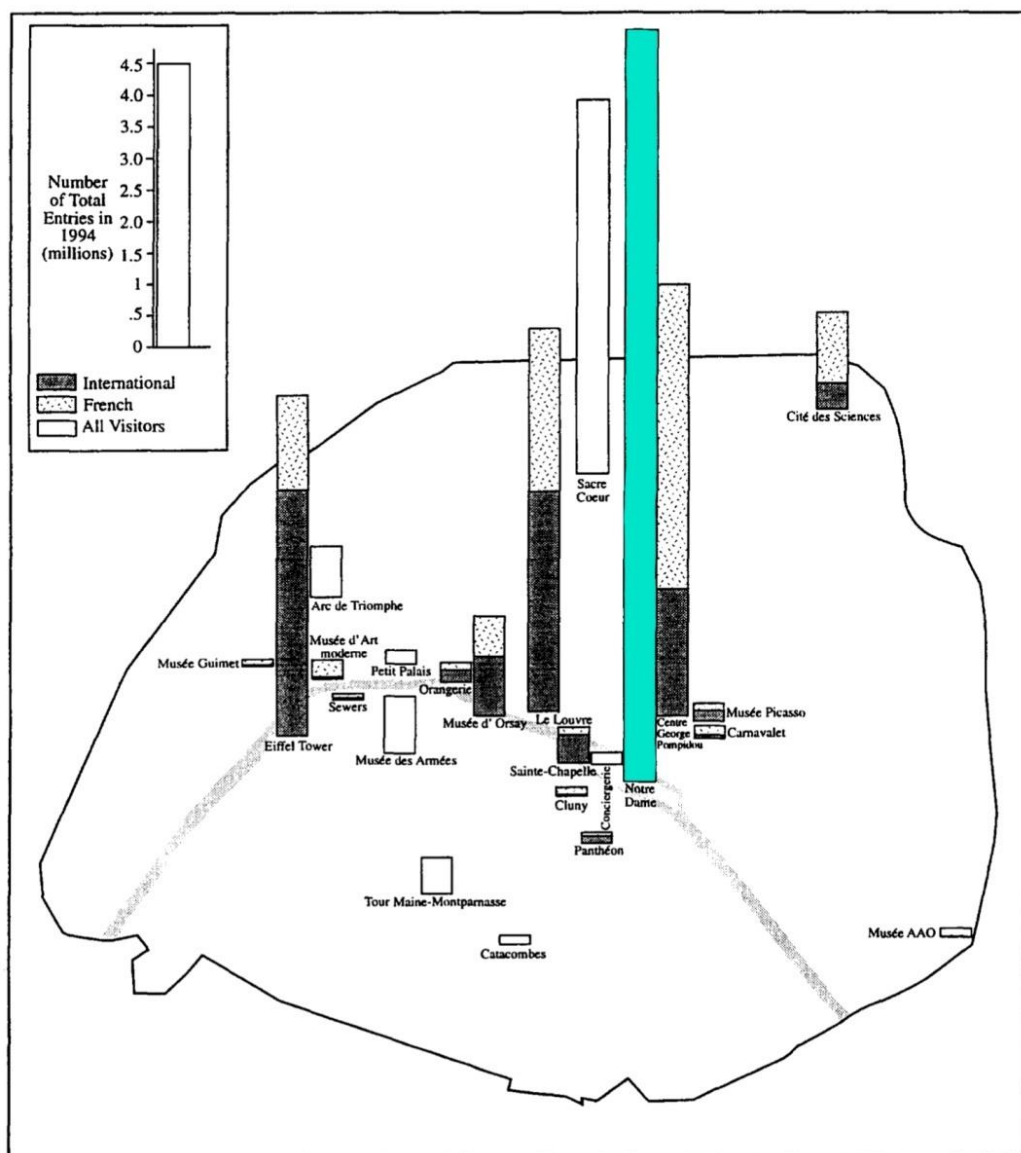


Figure 2.1.13. Distribution of touristic attractions in Paris, 1994.(Source: Pearce, 1998, p.53)



Figure 2.1.14. Point Zéro in the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame (Source: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Point_z%C3%A9ro_des_routes_de_France)

2.2. The Building: Notre-Dame de Paris

As most Gothic cathedrals, Notre-Dame de Paris was constructed over a long period of time, under the supervision of many generations in a non-linear manner. Under the bishop Maurice de Sully's (d.1196) initiation, the Cathedral began to be built, the first stone laid in 1163. The twelfth century re-building that occurred, especially in the *Île-de-France*, was the result of fires, restoration efforts and an interest in the new style that Abbot Suger had created in the Basilica of St.-Denis. Before Notre-Dame de Paris became the centre of attention, between 1135 and 1144, the west façade and the choir of St.-Denis was redesigned by Abbot Suger (c.1081-1151). His intention was to bring more light into the edifice, describing "A circular string of chapels, by virtue of which the whole church would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most luminous windows, pervading the interior beauty." (Watkin, 1986, p.127).

Because St.-Denis was the Royal Abbey where the Kings of France were buried (they were crowned in Reims Cathedral), the queens were crowned and important religious artefacts were kept, the rebuilding attracted a lot of attention. Abbot Suger

first rebuilt the west façade then continued with the choir on the east. The redesign included architectural elements already seen in Romanesque monuments: the rib vault with pointed arches, exterior buttresses that gave possibility to thinner walls and the elimination of interior walls, yet it was the first time that these elements were designed together, thus creating a new style: the Gothic (Watkin, 1986, p.127).

St.-Denis is considered to be the first Gothic monument, the "prototype of Gothic cathedrals." (von Simson, 1956, p.xv). In 1144 the choir was consecrated and the dedication was celebrated with Louis VII, five archbishops and all of their ecclesiastical colleagues. This was a very important gathering as the people who were invited had the opportunity to observe the newly designed Gothic style choir and return to their own towns and cities and imitate what they had seen. The celebrations resulted in the spread of this new architectural style to the rest of the kingdom, eventually spreading throughout the rest of Europe and to the new Cathedral of the capital. As such, historically, the first "definite" reference for the Gothic style was initially St.-Denis and Abbot Suger (Figure 2.2.1).

In order for the construction of the new Cathedral to be fed by materials, the already existing Saint-Étienne Cathedral was purposefully destroyed to become the worksite of Notre-Dame which in the end would become the forecourt of the contemporary Cathedral (Lours, 2018, p.290).

The monument was and is being discussed in many Gothic history publishings throughout time yet Dany Sandron, an expert on the subject matter, had recently published two books that focused on the Cathedral in a detailed manner. The earlier book called *Notre Dame Cathedral: Nine centuries of history* (2013) which was co-authored with Andrew Tallon, was considered a very important educational work as it focused on the monument's history accompanied by 3D images. These images, which were rendered by Tallon himself, were created by using laser scans and panoramic photographs and were used in the book as well as this dissertation. The images were also exhibited in the nave of Notre-Dame de Paris for several years starting May 31st, 2014, a year after the 850 years celebration of the monument.



Figure 2.2.1. Basilica of St.-Denis Ambulatory, the "prototype" of Gothic style (Source: http://mappinggothic.org/archmap/media/buildings/001000/1182/images/1300/1182_00133_w.jpg)



Figure 2.2.2. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1177 (Source: Sandron & Tallon, 2013)

The new Cathedral was dimensionally impressive and was the largest monument in the Western world until the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1177 (Figure 2.2.2) the choir of the new edifice was completed and consecrated in 1182, almost twenty years after the beginning of the construction (Shütz, 2002, p.70). Before the construction of the vaults, they built the flying buttresses in order to create a structural balance between the thin walls and the roof. Between 1182 and 1190 the construction of the first four bays of the nave and the aisles were completed. Until 1225 the last two bays of the nave, the principal façade and its portals were constructed. Between 1225 - 1250, the upper levels of the façade and the two towers were completed. Larger windows were installed, terraces were created and flying buttresses were modified. Starting from the mid-thirteenth century, the focus was on modifications and ornamentation. The names of the architects began to be known: between 1250-1267 the north façade, the north transept and its rose window, the early stages of the south transept were done under Jehan de Chelles guidance. Pierre de Montreuil was in charge of the south transept and its portal, chapels and the flying buttresses of the choir.³⁸

Whilst the city was taking shape during Philippe II's reign, in 1220 the Cathedral was completed except for the upper part of the western towers. Towards the middle of the 1220s, a short while after the completion of the Cathedral, its main structure which Dany Sandron called a superstructure, was partially demolished and rebuilt to enlarge the upper windows. The main roof and the upper wall of the main vessel were raised and rebuilt. A critical structural problem was discovered at the time; the western block had pivoted outwards to the north and west side by thirty centimetres. In 1245 (Figure 2.2.3) the major structural work of the monument was finished, the towers were completed and risen to sixty-nine meters, which could be seen by most of the medieval capital. The style of the Cathedral began to be - what one can call, outdated, by the time it was finished, ensuing in decorative changes which will result in a Gothic style that would be called *gothique rayonnant* (ca. 1230-1380), resulting in rose windows and high stained glassed windows in order to bring in more natural

³⁸Retrieved March,10 2022, from <https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture>

light into the monument. Towards 1265, the Cathedral's renovations continued, the impressive lead-covered wooden spire was erected (Sandron& Tallon, 2013).



Figure 2.2.3. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1245 (Source:Sandron& Tallon, 2013)



Figure 2.2.4. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1300 (Source:Sandron& Tallon, 2013)

Throughout its existence the Cathedral had been subjected to both small and large repair works and design alterations whether it be structural or decorative. In the 1300s (Figure 2.2.4) the work became immense where chapels were added along the periphery of the choir because the increase of population and church-goers resulted in an unmanageable crowd for Notre-Dame which led to the necessity of additional spaces. Chapels were constructed between the outer buttresses first in the choir then in the nave: "This ingenious intervention consisted of integrating into the church interior space that had once been outside between the uprights of the flying buttresses." (Sandron& Tallon, 2013). The monument which was then completed in 1345, had already witnessed alterations and damages which occurred under Philippe VI's reign (1328 - 1350) (Figure 2.2.5).

For almost three centuries, the Cathedral of Paris would settle into stability without major changes occurring, a reason why Hugo might have chosen the fifteenth century setting to write his novel, no construction or disruptions. Even though it was rare, as indicated by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's report on the edifice, almost nothing happened during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in context of the monument itself (Lassus & Viollet-le-Duc, 1845, p.12).³⁹

³⁹For further detail about the restoration project of Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, see chapter 2.4.1. in this dissertation.



Figure 2.2.5. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1350 (Source: Sandron & Tallon, 2013)

During Louis XII's reign, in 1507 the parliament ordered that the street leading from the bridge named Notre-Dame to the *Petit-Pont* bridge be filled in. The relationship of the monument and the street certainly changed when in fact the thirteen steps that preceded the doors of the Cathedral were now buried.⁴⁰ In 1622 with the promotion of Paris into archbishopric, important changes began in the monument where the classical elegance was felt within the details: In 1699 the famous French architect François Mansard (1598-1666) became responsible for the demolition of the high altar that dated from the thirteenth century, the rood screen, the bas-relief of the ambulatory and the choir stalls (Keller, 1994, p.86). The interior walls which were a mixture of white and yellow-ochre were repainted to white and the stained-glasses depicting many important biblical and historical events - which played an important role in literacy in the Middle Ages - were changed into colourless windows, blaming a sombre and dark atmosphere in 1741 (Figure 2.2.6).

⁴⁰ Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc citing H. Sauval's book titled *Histoire des Antiquités de Paris*.

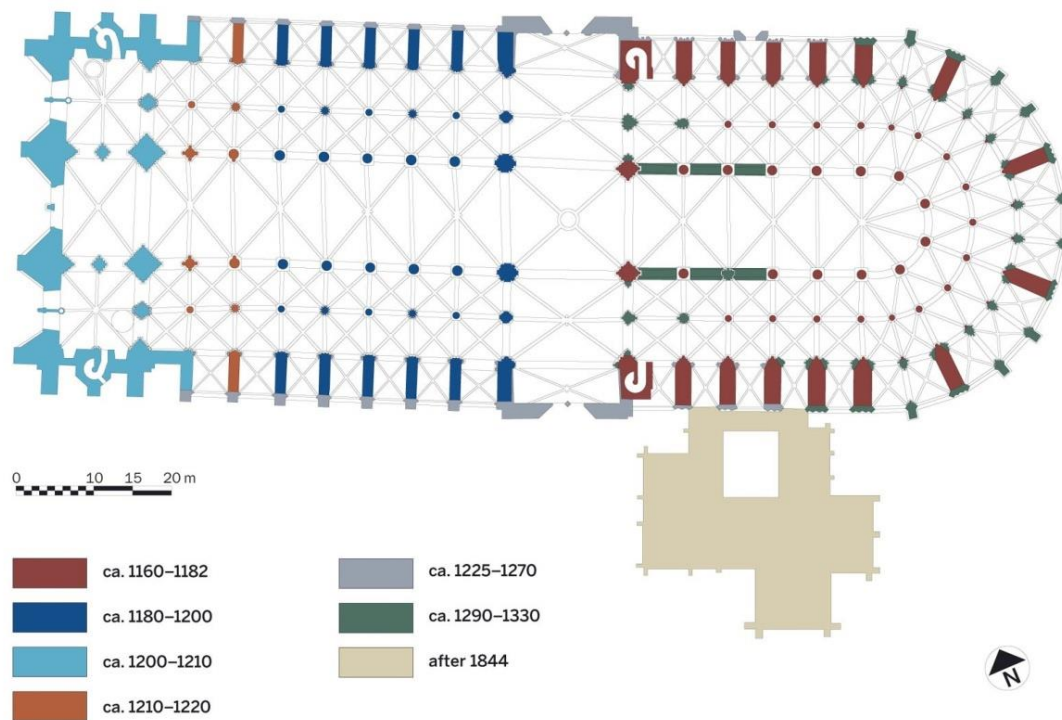


Figure 2.2.6. The construction phases of Notre-Dame de Paris (Source: Sandron& Tallon, 2013)

During the French Revolutions, Notre-Dame was rededicated to the *Culte de la Raison* and later on to *Le Culte de L'Être Suprême* which destroyed or plundered the treasures of the Cathedral, beheaded statues bearing any resemblance to a monarch and the thirteenth century spire was torn down (Reiff, 1971, p.30). The cult, which was intended as a civic religion, held on the 10th of November 1793, a festival called the *Fête de la Raison* (Figure 2.2.7): an official nationwide festival where churches all across France were transformed into "Temple of Reason". The largest ceremony was held at the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris, its Christian altar being dismantled and an altar dedicated to Liberty was installed (Emmet, 1989, p.343). Maximilien Robespierre, nearing complete dictatorial power during *la Terreur*, announced his own cult, a cult in the form of deism (Jordan, 1985, p.199). It was announced before the Convention on 7 May 1794 with a speech delivered by Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) himself stating that a belief in a living God and a higher moral code were "constant reminders of justice" and thus essential to a republican society (Doyle, 1989, p.276). Robespierre's fall of power and eventual execution on 28 July 1794 ended the *Culte de l'Être Suprême* (Neely, 2008, p.230). These disruptions would soon end under Napoleon Bonaparte's regime.



Figure 2.2.7. Drawing of a depiction of the "Fête de la Raison" (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

The Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was designed to surpass all early Gothic churches, an ambitious attempt that could only be achieved in a royal cathedral located at the capital (Shütz, 2002, p.70). As mentioned before the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris' first stone was laid in 1163 with the new style implemented to the design of the entirety of the edifice. It was an impressive monument; a hundred twenty-seven metres long, forty metres wide and thirty-four metres high under the vaults, five naves as were in Cluny and double ambulatory like St.-Denis, the largest religious monument in the Western world until the middle of the thirteenth century (Shütz, 2002, p.27). Two primary features of the Cathedral are attributed to Maurice de Sully by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg (1937-2020), a specialist in Gothic art and architecture; first, the simplicity of the design of the plan with a five-aisle nave finished by a sanctuary surrounded by a double ambulatory without a transept nor chapels, both which would be added in later dates. Second, "...the chevet as a unified space, with the high altar centered beneath the keystone of the vault and the choir placed directly to the west..." (Baltzer, 2006, pp.878-880). The chevet at the East end, one of the most famous ones in France "evokes the magical vision of a stone forest." (Éditions des Deux Cops d'Or, 1964, p.219).

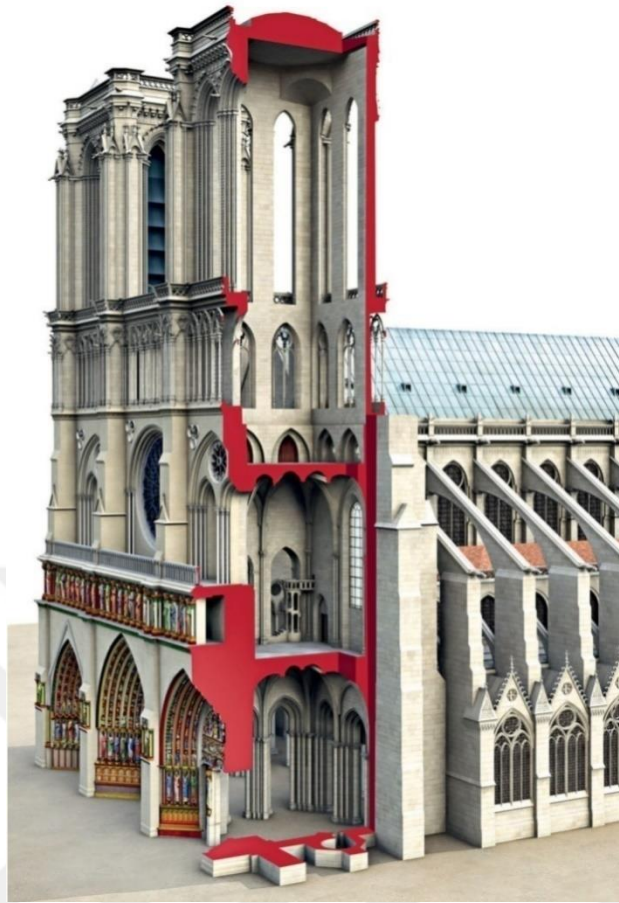


Figure 2.2.8. A section of the south tower (Source: Source: Sandron& Tallon, 2013)

The description of the Cathedral taken from its official site indicates that it can host nine-thousand people, occupies six-thousand square meters and was designed as a Latin cross plan. The monument which is thirty-four meters high under the vaults (Chevalier, 1997, p.151), reached sixty-nine meters in the towers; the two towers that are located on the west façade. The southern tower (Figure 2.2.8) was completed between 1220 - 1240 and the northern one between 1235 and 1250. The same façade is forty-five meters high without the height of the towers. Between the years 1235 and 1240, a fire broke that is not mentioned by many people, that destroyed the upper frameworks and attics of the Cathedral galleries (Guilhermy& Viollet-le-Duc, 1856, p.8). Upon entering the building, you are greeted by the main nave which is sixty meters long and the transept is forty-eight meters long and fourteen meters wide. There are a hundred and thirteen windows and three rose windows located at the west, the north and the south façades (Figure 2.2.9).



Figure 2.2.9. The northern façade rose window of Notre-Dame de Paris (Source: RichardNMPhotograpy, 2019)

The west façade (Figure 2.2.10) which is also the entrance of the Cathedral, is divided into horizontal and vertical lines. The square lines symbolize the rational world whereas the circle symbolizes the spiritual world, the divine. The façade, is impressive in the largeness of the three portals and with its gallery of twenty-eight, almost three meters in height, colossal statues of French kings, mythical and historical figures (Midant, 2001, p.59), which were buried then discovered in 1977 (Erlande-Brandenburg & Kimpel, 1978, pp.213-266).



Figure 2.2.10. The western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris (Source: Peter Haas / Wikipedia)

The central portal (Figure 2.2.11) is called *portail du Jugement dernier* and is the largest of the three. The south portal on the right side of the façade is titled *Sainte-Anne* and the north or left portal is known as the *portail de la Vierge*. These portals are ornamented with many biblical characters which were used as a way of reading, in a sense, the bible and the religious history at a time when not many knew how to read. On the buttresses are four niches where four statues were re-built in Viollet-le-Duc's atelier in the nineteenth century: on the left Saint Étienne, on the right the Saint Denis, patron saint of Paris and on the both sides of the central portal, the allegories of the Church and the Synagogue. The famous rose window, completed towards 1225 is obscured by two angles representing "the fault" and "the redemption",

surrounding the statue of the Virgin. This trio was commissioned in 1854 by Viollet-le-Duc to replace the statues which were damaged (Reiff, 1971, p.17).

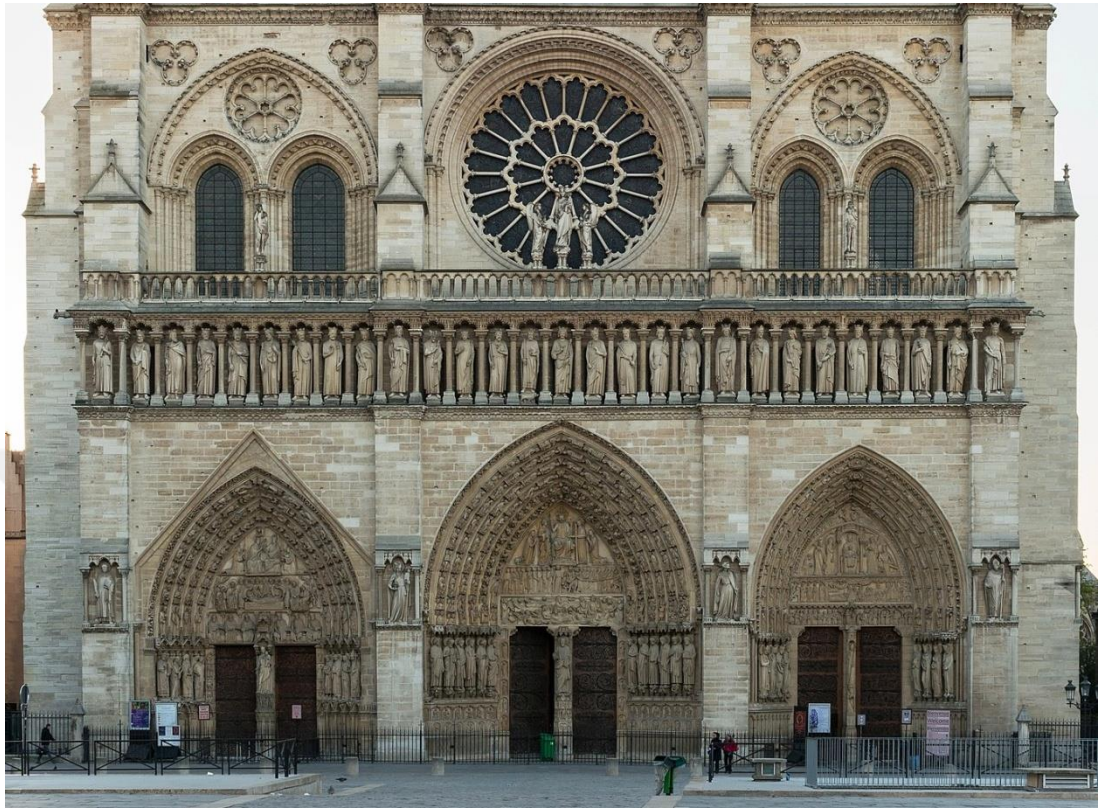


Figure 2.2.11. Western portals of Notre-Dame de Paris. (Source: Daniel Vorndran / Wikipedia)

The famous spire of Notre-Dame (Figure 2.2.12), which was destroyed during the fire of 2019, was not the original spire of the Gothic monument. An original spire was built on the crossing of the transept around 1250. It was a bell tower of sorts, that housed five bells in the seventeenth century. It was demolished between 1786 and 1792. During the restorations in the nineteenth century, Viollet-le-Duc erected a second spire, without any functional properties besides a visual one.⁴¹ There was no resemblance to the prior spire, it was purely ornamental and weighted seven hundred and fifty tons (two hundred and fifty tons of lead and five hundred tons of wood). The spire was surrounded by copper statues representing the twelve apostles and the

⁴¹ The choice of reconstructing a spire and the aesthetical choices were detailed in Westgate, D. & Clarke, C. (2007). "Notre-Dame de Paris: The Apostles on the Spire Rediscovered." *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol.149, No.1253, Painting and Sculpture in France (Aug., 2007), pp.537-545.

symbols of the four evangelists.⁴² The statues were in the process of restoration which saved them from the fire of 2019.



Figure 2.2.12. The spire under construction of the Cathedral of Paris, 1853 / Statue of Saint Thomas on the spire.(Source: Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine / http://hermetism.free.fr/Viollet-le-duc_architecte.htm)

The interior architecture of the Cathedral ⁴³ rises on three levels, illuminated by large stained-glass windows. (Figure 2.2.13) A double ambulatory revolves around the nave and the Gothic style is characterized by its cross-ribbed vault. The central nave's construction started in 1182 on four spans. After a break in order to construct the west façade in 1208, the nave was completed in 1218. In total, it consists of ten spans, the spaces between each pillar, the first two carrying the load of the towers. The ambulatory design consists of a double row of columns, forming the collaterals. During the enlargement of the building in the thirteenth century, chapels were placed

⁴² The figure of Saint Thomas looking up in the sky is believed to be a representation of Viollet-le-Duc himself.

⁴³For further description of the interior of the Cathedral of Paris, see Guilhermy, M. de & Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1856). *Description de Notre-Dame Cathédrale de Paris*. Paris: Librairie d'Architecture de Bance, p.98.

around the side aisles. These double aisles and the double ambulatory of the choir are a unique example in medieval religious architecture. During the fourteenth century twenty-nine chapels are added which were completed around 1315 (Davis, 1998, pp.34-66), surrounding the interior of the monument. The ones around the choir were called *chappelles rayonnantes*. The addition of the chapels around the nave obscured the interior space which was the opposite effect that was necessary for a Gothic interior. Even with major architectural changes, the harmonious entity of the Cathedral was remarkably still intact (Guilhermy & Viollet-le-Duc, 1856, p.98).



Figure 2.2.13. Interior view of the main nave of Notre-Dame de Paris (Source: <http://notredamecathedralparis.com/history>)

In its first version, during the twelfth century, the Cathedral was risen on four levels: large arcades, stands, roses and high windows. The roses are still visible on the first level, especially between the transept and the choir. For the purpose of illumination, the high windows were enlarged during the thirteenth century and since then the Cathedral rises on only three levels (Figure 2.2.14).



Figure 2.2.14. Interior view of Notre-Dame de Paris (Source: Sandron, 2021)

The stained glasses of Notre-Dame de Paris are fine examples of medieval architecture and cover almost a thousand square meters. Some are original yet most of them are restored at some point. Over time the monument suffered from bad weather and the windows were never cleaned nor looked after, eventually resulting in their deterioration and the change of their colours. Towards the eighteenth century, the luminous effect and colours were lost. During Louis XV's reign the canons destroyed part of the medieval stained glasses only to be replaced by transparent,

colourless windows, an act that will be highly criticised by Viollet-le-Duc during his restoration project. The windows of the south transept roses are the oldest, best preserved ones in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. But before Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus could begin their restoration of the edifice, first, the nation needed to be aware of the state in which it was left. How would the nation begin noticing its own architectural monuments that time forgot? What could be done for these edifices? How can one protect its heritage?

2.3. An Era of Restoration in France

The French word *héritage* means an inheritance; property that may be inherited. For the context of this dissertation another definition must be included: A tradition; a practice or set of values that is passed down from preceding generations through families or through institutional memory. The first definition focuses on the individual and the singular asset yet the latter focuses on the history, on the culture and collective memory passed through generations. This is a selection process, we choose what to pass on, we choose what to protect for the next generations: "It is not everything from our history – heritage and history are not one and the same." (Logan, 2007, p.34). The monument that is Notre-Dame de Paris is part of this collective memory of not only the French nation but of the world altogether with its almost nine centuries of history. It is both a singular asset and also part of a cultural heritage. How we could pass the monument through generations would become an important question to ask: Should it be conserved or restored?

These are two terminologies that are often mixed; conservation and restoration. They may have similar aspirations yet are vastly different in the manner of achieving their goal. Conservation focuses on preserving an object, a monument as it is in the present time. This terminology is preferably used for the classical eras whereas restoration focuses on improving the appearance of said object or monument by restoring it to its original state. Restoration is a terminology that became popular towards the end of the eighteenth century and had been done frequently in the nineteenth century. Jukka Jokilehto wrote a book titled *A History of Architectural Conservation* that is considered an important resource when understanding the

development and evolution of these notions. He wrote that: "The age of Romanticism became a key moment in the development of the new approach to the conservation and restoration of historic objects and places." (1999, p.101).

As stated before, the French Revolution including the aftermath of 1789, should be considered as an important moment in the development of conservation and restoration ideologies. In 1790, Aubin-Jacques Millin (1759-1818) was one of the first to use the term *monument historique* in a report presented at the *Assemblée Nationale Constituante*, in occasion for the demolition of the Bastille prison (Marquardt, 2007, p.43). On 13 October 1790 a decree was adopted at the *Constituante* that established the *Commission des Monuments*, with the purpose of deciding the fate of monuments of art and science. The term *monument historique* is a designation given to national heritage sites in France. It may also refer to the state procedure in France by which National Heritage protection is extended to a building, a specific part of a building, a collection of buildings, garden, bridge, or other structure, because of their importance to France's architectural cultural heritage. (Bady, 1998, p.26). Even though the French Revolution was one of the causes why so many monuments were destroyed, sold, or left uncared for, at the same time it was one of the reasons why people started to react against the loss of their cultural & historical past.

Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839) who was a French archaeologist, was adamant to save as much of France's historic monuments, sculptures, and objects as possible. He was nominated as curator in 1791 to create a museum named *Musée des monuments français* which would open on the 1st of September, 1795. Lenoir demanded that all art objects from state properties be gathered in the museum located in the *Covent des Petits Augustins* (Figure 2.3.1), a building that will later become the *École des Beaux Arts* (Watkin, 2015, p.386). It will be through this collection that what was deemed not beautiful by the *Académie*, since the Middle Ages and Gothic art and architecture were not accepted by them, would find its voice and a place to experiment as would the romanticism ideology. The collection which was displayed chronologically had a diverse collection from pieces from the Middle Ages to the *Grand Siècle*. Another revolutionary ideology was that it was supposed to be equal and fair against scientific

and artistic thoughts. Through Lenoir and successors efforts, many artefacts from the Middle Ages were saved, archived and restored. This was the beginning of the *romantique* notion of conserving, restoring and displaying art and architecture from the previous eras.



Figure 2.3.1. Jean-Lubin Vauzelle, "The chapel of the Petits-Augustins repurposed as part of the Musée des Monuments Français", 1804. (Source MuséeCarnavalet / Public Domain)

The *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the collections of the Louvre existed already at the time, yet in 1793 the Louvre opened an exhibition of old royal collections which had an impact on the public. Abbé Henri Jean-Baptiste Grégoire (1750-1831) argued that the new France of the nineteenth century should be built on the "artistic and literary patrimony of the Middle Ages." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.132). and his initiatives with Lenoir who committed himself to save and protect as much of France's medieval past as possible. As mentioned before the museum would eventually be closed down in 1816 by Louis XVIII by decree of 24 April 1816 and with an order given by Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755 - 1849) to return the objects to their original owners.

The 1789 Revolution created an environment of legalized destruction and vandalism by a decree that took place in August 14th 1792: "The National Assembly, considering that the sacred principles of freedom and equality do not allow to leave any longer under the eyes of the French people the monuments raised to the pride, the prejudice and the tyranny...".⁴⁴ The decree demanded all bronze found in or on the monuments to be converted into canons to be used in the defence, the statues, bas-reliefs and any other materials found in temples, national houses, parks and gardens and public squares that can be used should be used, even for the monuments that belonged to the King.

The third article demanded the destruction of monuments, all temples or other public spaces and if necessary, the outside private houses, all things that are considered "remnants of feudalism". This level of destruction also brought forward the "idea of monuments of history, science and art as cultural heritage of the nation and useful education, and that therefore it is a national responsibility to care for them." (Jokilehto, 1999, p.69). Many monuments and artefacts were lost during that period yet the idea of saving what was left, conserving them and even restoring some of them was going to become the main theme of the era. Romanticism certainly aided the creation of the framework of restoration that would soon be a nationwide purpose for many architects including Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc and the French government.

After the Revolution of 1789, the belongings of the monarchy and the church became national properties the same year. In October next year the formerly mentioned *Commission des Monuments*⁴⁵ was given the task of creating an inventory of

⁴⁴ The decree of August 14th, 1792 stated: "L'Assemblée nationale, considérant que les principes sacrés de la liberté et de l'égalité ne permettent point de laisser plus longtemps sous les yeux du peuple français les monuments élevés à l'orgueil, au préjugé et à la tyrannie... Considérant que le bronze de ces monuments converti en canons servira utilement à la défense de la patria, décrète qu'il y a urgence,... [Art.1.] Statue, bas-reliefs, inscriptions et autres monuments en bronze et en toute autre matière élevés sur les places publiques, temples, jardins, parcs et dépendances, maisons nationales, même dans celles qui étaient res. à la jouissance de roi... [Art.3.] Les monuments, restes de la féodalité, de quelque nature qu'ils soient existant encore dans les temples ou autres lieux publics, et même à l'extérieur des maisons particulières, seront, sans aucun délai, détruits à la diligence des communes."

⁴⁵ It was mentioned in 3.1. *Le Style Troubadour, the French Emphasis on Classic Times*. This commission will later be abolished and a *Commission des arts* would be founded in its place. The

monuments in need of care. The fourth article of the August 14th 1972 decree was made wherein the *Commission des Monuments* was charged to control the conservation of any object that may possess an artistic quality.⁴⁶ The same committee decreed on the 24th of October 1973 that now it would be forbidden to destroy, remove or even alter books, antiquities, statues, cabinets, public or private museums and collections and so on, under any pretext the signs of feudalism as long they "are of interest to the arts, history and education."⁴⁷

The same year, after a couple of name changes, the commission was known as *Commission temporaire des art* and it was in charge of doing inventories of paintings, statues, manuscripts and books yet on the 18th of August the aim was widened to survey and include all objects "useful for public education, belonging to the Nation." (Jokilehto, 1999, p.70). It was under the guise of education and public interest that monarchic or religious monuments would be mostly conserved.

In 1794 the Abbé Grégoire who was a member of the *Comité d'instruction publique*, wrote his first report on the organization of libraries and the conservation of manuscripts. His other reports dating from the same year was focused on vandalism where the terminology was emphasised for the first time (Jokilehto, 1999, p.71)⁴⁸, and he was also the first to describe the iconoclasm against the French cathedrals, churches and secular buildings, paintings, statues and so on; as vandalism (Deen

name of the latter would be changed to *Commission temporaire des arts* which would eventually be dissolved in December 1975.

⁴⁶ The decree of August 14th, 1792 stated: " [Art.4.] La commission des monuments est chargée expressivement de veiller à la conservation des objets qui peuvent intéresser essentiellement les arts, et d'en présenter la liste au corps législatif, pour être statué ce qu'il appartiendra."

⁴⁷ The decree of October 24th, 1793 stated: "Il est défendu d'enlever, de détruire, mutiler ni altérer en aucune manière, sous prétexte de faire disparaître les signes de féodalité ou de royauté dans les bibliothèques, les collections, cabinets, musées publics ou particuliers... les livres imprimés ou manuscrits, les gravures et dessins, les tableaux, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, antiquités... qui intéressent les arts, l'histoire & l'instruction."

⁴⁸ The word "vandalism" is considered to be coined by Abbé Grégoire when he read a rapport about the destructive tendencies and vandalism on the 31st of August in 1794 called "les destructions opérées par le vandalisme et les moyens de les récupérer" which had an impact on the Convention. The report is online at: <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-l-assemblee/histoire/grands-moments-d-eloquence/l-labbe-gregoire-31-aout-1794>. "Report on the Destruction Brought About by Vandalism, and on the Means to Quell It."

Schildgen, 2008, p.122). Grégoire, emphasized the value of documenting historic monuments of all eras and styles but also the importance of preserving them as they were. He was also adamant in preserving objects at their original location, moving them only when necessary for conservation purposes (Jokilehto, 1999, p.69). He was one of the first people to ask why a nation should be concerned for conserving paintings, books and even buildings and why a new government (the republic) should be concerned about monuments that behold the values of the old regime, the monarchy?

These men's questions, work commitments and the movement of Romanticism must have had a positive impact since they aided the fore mentioned religious revival resulting with the Concordat of 1801, three years before Napoleon I's coronation in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. He declared a reconciliation between the church and the state and signed an agreement with Pope Pius VII. In 1804, Napoleon's coronation designed by Percier and Fontaine was conceptually Néo-Gothique and Jacop Ignace Hittorff (1792-1867) would soon imitate their choice of decorative style for Charles X's coronation in 1824 (Figure 2.3.2). The reason behind the style choices might have been political, nevertheless one can now observe the artistic sensibility that was changing towards their own cultural heritage (Loyer, 1999, pp.24-29).



Figure 2.3.2. François Gérard, "Le Sacre de Charles X", 1827 (Source: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres / Public Domain)

This awareness towards medieval art and architecture and their need to be preserved and protected led to the establishment of the office of *Inspecteur-Général des Monuments Historiques* in October 1830, by François Guizot (1787-1874) - who became prime minister to King Louis Philippe. Seven years later the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* was created which was tasked with the classification of historic monuments as well as funding and supervising their restoration projects (Watkin, 2015, p.386). Guizot once wrote what he intended to do as minister:

...to return the old France in the memory and the intelligence of the new generations, to bring back among us a feeling of justice and sympathy towards our old memories, towards this old French society which lived laboriously and gloriously for fifteen centuries to amass weakening in a nation that the lapse of memory and the disdain of its past. (Léon, 1951, p.114).

Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873). became the first ever General Inspector and he completed his first tour of inspections and survey in 1831 and reports on France's cultural heritage. "He selected historic buildings that offered most interest to the history of art and architecture..." (Jokilehto, 1999, p.129). He was mostly interested in monuments dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This adventure did not go as planned and his list would only become a reality after thirty-two years. It would have to be later than the 1830s to really start to observe a tendency for the conservation of monuments: "The prevention of destruction, the control of excavations and finally, in 1841, the nationalization of monuments, were signs of this tendency." (Erder, 1986, p.127).

On 27 May 1834, Prosper Mérimée was appointed as the second ever Inspecteur. He was one of the few people who was aware of the dangers a restoration project can cause; and in a letter dating from 1834 he declared that: "...restorers were perhaps as dangerous as demolishers." In another letter he stated that: "...the repair of medieval buildings showed enough bad taste to compare with the vandalism inflicted by revolution and internal strife.", claiming that men who wanted to erase the memories of the oppressive past only destroyed statues but the restorers changed the total appearance of buildings (Erder, 1986, p.128). Mérimée was one of the few who believed that all periods and styles should be considered for preservation and that the instructions given to architects in charge of the restorations should recommend; an

avoidance of all innovations and imitate with fervent fidelity. Where there is a lack of memories of the past, the artist should research and study, consult contemporary monuments that are in the same style, located in the same region (Mérimée, 1843, p.81). The reproduction should also occur under the same circumstances and proportions. Not an easy task to accomplish, a very limiting point of view in this context.

Another important name one should know whilst studying restoration history is Adolphe Napoléon Didron (1806-1867) who was an archaeologist and founder of *Les Annales archéologiques* (1844). He wrote, in 1839, a set of principles of restoration; "Regarding the ancient monuments, it is better to consolidate than to repair, better to repair than to restore, better to restore than to rebuild, better to rebuild than to embellish." (Didron, 1839, p.47). He continued by insisting that nothing should be added and nothing should ever be removed. Didron was also one of the members of the committee responsible for the proposals of restoration of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. Even though he was opposed to the restoration project of the monument at the beginning, asking whether or not was it necessary to replace the statues since their absence was a part of the Cathedral's history (Didron, 1839, p.311 & Didron, 1841, p.311). Nevertheless, he stated that he was impressed by the young Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's proposal and that Lassus was very knowledgeable, that his research and study of Gothic architecture was of great value (Jokilehto, 1999, p.139).

In 29 September 1837, the minister of interior instituted a commission, composed of seven volunteers and the director of public monuments to take inventory of monuments - politically, historically and architectural importance - and find the architects that will take on the work of restoration and preservation, one of them being Viollet-le-Duc (Léon, 1951, p.126). He was appointed as *Chef des Service des Monuments Historiques* in 1846. In 1848 he became a member of the *Commission des arts et édifices religieux*. He was named General Inspector of Diocesan Buildings in 1853 and Diocesan Architect in 1857 (Jokilehto, 1999, p.141). Just as the *Inspecteur-Général des Monuments Historiques* post was being created, in 1831 a young writer published his masterpiece that would become the symbol of

Romanticism, preservation and restoration of France's national identity: Gothic monuments. Important names and actions in history can be observed where the national architectural style of France would soon be under protection / restoration but none can deny the aid and impact of Victor Hugo's novel would bring to its popularity around the world.

Throughout this chapter, the aim was to give not only historical, geographical and monumental information but also understand the French context of these matters; how the site of the future Cathedral was actually the centre of Paris centuries before its existence, how the language of art changed over time resulting in a national identity. In order to understand the significance of the monument one had to start at the location, the *Île de la Cité*. The capital that is known as Paris began as a humble Roman town on an island that grew exponentially over centuries not because of its resources but because of its location. That is one of the main reasons for the Cathedral of Paris' importance. With the beginning of the construction of Notre-Dame, an immense urban development phase began in Paris. Roads, bridges, palaces were built among side city walls. Many kings added to their city over centuries but the most important project would be under the reign of an emperor, Napoleon III. It would be under his supervision that the Cathedral would be restored and that Paris would face its biggest, most exhaustive urban re-design.

The story of the Cathedral was a typical one, a Gothic edifice that was constructed over centuries yet a question remained: How did this particular monument became to be protected by people which were considered to be national heroes even though it endured many wars, revolutions, vandalism and eventually be saved by another national hero, a young French author and his historical novel that would save not only the Cathedral of Paris but many more? That is the question that this chapter and the next aimed to understand and answer; in 1831 a novel had been published with its main actor, the monument in question. This novel brought new life to a building in ruin, a new interest but most importantly a new roles: a national heritage. Hugo's masterpiece resulted in the restoration project that would not only save the Gothic monument but also bring new meaning to the near past of the French nation, to heritage, architecture and restoration ideologies.

CHAPTER III

THE 19TH CENTURY FRENCH RESPONSE TO NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS

This chapter aims to understand the complex history of France's nineteenth century art and architecture environment including Victor Hugo's novel and the aftermath resulting in the restoration project of Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc. Since the role that Viollet-le-Duc played in the history of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral is immense, this study aims to observe the written work of the architect.

3.1. *Le Style Troubadour*, the French Emphasis on Classic Times

When someone is focusing on the Cathedral of Paris, they would evidently read Victor Hugo's masterpiece; *Notre-Dame de Paris*, leading them to have to look at the era and context in which it was created. The book was published in 1831 just after the July Revolution and was not only influenced by Romanticism, it became one of its leading examples furthering our understanding of its importance in literature and architectural history. Romanticism in art and literature started to spread gradually throughout France and the rest of Europe. Writers such as Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand, Walter Scott and painters such as Casper David Friedrich and Eugène Delacroix were influenced by this style and became great representatives of Romanticism. Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple* (Figure 3.1.1) was inspired by the July Revolution, Liberty holding the tricolour flag of the 1789 Revolution, with Notre-Dame de Paris in the background.



Figure 3.1.1. Eugène Delacroix's "La Liberté guidant le peuple", 1830. (Source: Musée du Louvre / Public Domain)

Romanticism - an artistic, literary and intellectual movement that started from the late eighteenth century and continued on in Europe for decades - pushed people to question individualism, emotions, and a curiosity towards nature and the past. The movement "...was seen in the search for freedom, individuality, expression and creativity in literature, arts and religion." (Jokilehto, 1999, p.101). Neoclassicism was one of the results of a curiosity towards the past yet here, in this concept, the past that is mentioned is referring to medieval rather than antiquity. Romanticism is considered to be in part a rejection of classicism and its orders and rationality, also to the Industrial Revolution. It expressed itself in architecture as a *pastiche* or an imitation of past styles, especially Gothic architecture. The style called Gothic revival or *Néo-Gothique* was the result of this curiosity towards the past, yet in this case it was the recent past and even though there are arguments of whether or not the style emerged from England or France - the common belief is that it began in France, French history and culture. François Pupil (1985)⁴⁹ had stated that upon a new - albeit new at the time - concept called Neoclassicism may have evoked something called *bon vieux temps* which could roughly be translated to *good old times* yet here the *bon vieux temps* was usually thought to mean the classical period where antiquity was the

⁴⁹François Pupil's work titled *Le Style Troubadour* (1985) is often given as a reference, his work is a major contributor to the topic at hand.

main resource. Pupil discussed the fact that the majority of the artwork and new construction or even restorations made, focused on classic times, despite the fact that there were many paintings and literary pieces that did not fall into the same category. A style he and others called *Le Style Troubadour* fitted more to the description of said art and literature, a style that was debated to be a style or a genre, even called *gothique*, *médiévale*, and *rétrospectif* (Pupil, 1985, p.20). The style was gradually replaced with the Romantic period towards the second half of the nineteenth century.

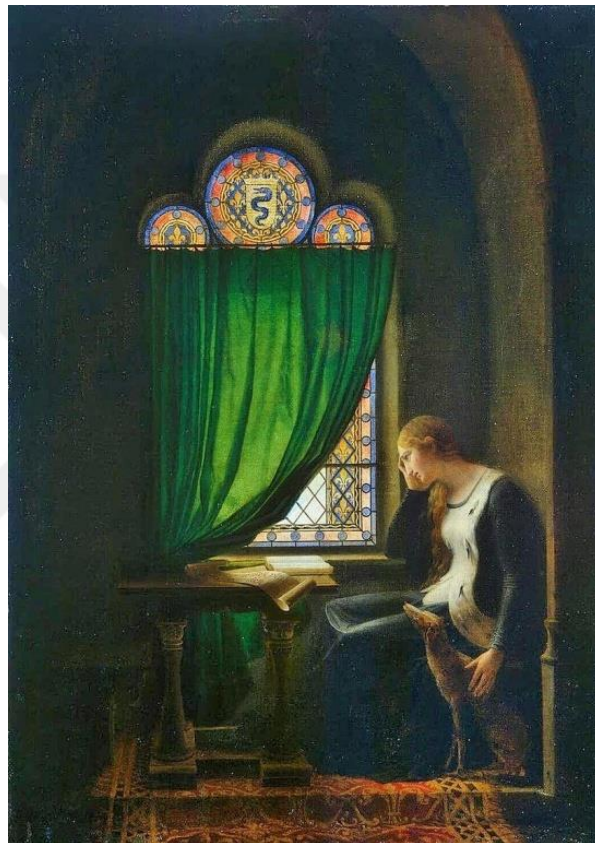


Figure 3.1.2. Fleury-François Richard's "Valentine of Milan Weeping for the Death of her Husband Louis of Orléans", 1802. It is considered the first painting done in the style and was exhibited at the Salon of 1802. (Source: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum / Public Domain)

The definition of troubadour is that: "...a class of lyric poets and poet-musicians often of knightly rank who flourished from the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century, chiefly in the south of France and the north of Italy and whose major theme was courtly love."⁵⁰ Even though the style's name was an inspiration in this instance, the

⁵⁰Troubadour. In Merriam-webster.com Retrieved May 31, 2017 from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/troubadour>.

troubadour refers to an artistic style that mostly occurred during the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century (Figure 3.1.2). Pupil, in *Le Style Troubadour* (1985) had written that towards the second half of the eighteenth century, upon looking at certain paintings, the themes and details did not fully represent a retrospective look to the antiquity, instead they included themes of France's near history, characters and costumes of the medieval era. Whenever there was a social, political or aesthetic turmoil or change, people tended to look back at the "good old times" reminiscing, where in this case the French population thought back to an era when there were less riots, vandalism, death and when there was a sense of order and calm.

According to Pupil, historians tend to categorize past events and styles to create a sense of order whether it be thematic or chronological, etc. In the "last forty years" the simple answer of a chronological time table was easier to create; from the baroque style came the eighteenth century style of Neoclassical where the importance of colour gave way to the importance of lines and symmetry, and the lightness of topics gave way to themes of morality and life lessons. In other cases, the passage between the Rococo style and Romanticism was the Neoclassical era. A rational middle between two "emotional" eras. Neoclassicism was in a way a more suitable representation of the times needs: Louis XV's era is known to be frivolous, the Revolution and the Coalition Wars that followed were all arduous times that art in Neoclassical style was meant to help forgetting by means of order and rational thought.

As mentioned before, the late eighteenth century art style was a complex one, the political and social turmoil complicated it further, hence the need for historians to categorize and label everything in a manner of simplicity. One can presume that Neoclassical style became a universal style, spreading throughout the continent and even to colonial America - even though there seemed to be a chronological shift: The style emerged for a short while in Western Europe around the last decades of the eighteenth century yet continued well into the twentieth century in other places in the world.

With the interest towards the past, came archaeological studies and academic work that amplified the power of Neoclassicism, leading to strict rules and many works that could be referred to as *pastiche* or imitations. From 1750s to 1820s the dominant style - with the help of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and early large-scale works such as Jacques- Germain Soufflot's (Panthéon in Paris (Pupil, 1985, p.24)- was Neoclassical, yet the writer stated that maybe they were quickly arriving to a conclusion based on definition which did not hold when it came to application. The example of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) and his paintings was given as an excellent representation of the definition of Neoclassical style yet David's pupil Anne-Louis Girodet's (1767-1824) *Ossian Receiving the Ghosts of French Heroes* (1802) (Figure 3.1.3) cannot be categorized as such. Even some of David's work, who was famous for his *Oath of the Horatii*(1784) and the *Death of Socrates* (1787), cannot be fully put in that category. This categorization system lead to artists and their work to be scrutinized into larger groups with strict definitions upon which minor styles got lost. As mentioned before historians have chosen to take the simple road by stating that the evolution of the French art scene starting from the Baroque style goes as Rococo, Neoclassical and Romanticism, a simple stylistic evolution used to teach art history even today.



Figure 3.1.3. Anne-Louis Girodet's "Ossian Receiving the Ghosts of French Heroes", 1802.
(Source: Château de Malmaison / Public Domain)

The importance of the Neoclassical era cannot be ignored, especially since it led to many archaeological and historical studies and researches that eventually led us to the Troubadour style and later on Romanticism. Historians began to criticize the system, started to research this curiosity and inspiration behind a past that was not "classic". These work of arts that were *inclassables* (Pupil, 1985, p.11) do not possess just one common rule, - contradicting Neoclassical style, they had individual or minor aspects categorised amongst themselves. During the Enlightenment, old poetry books - which cited the Troubadour poetry quite often with added introductions and anecdotes, the old stories of chivalry and heroism re-entered to the literature and the vocabulary of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Studies of the medieval era became more and more common and as it was done generally the *bon vieux temps* were remembered fondly and nostalgically. This reminiscence showed itself through art (Figure 3.1.4).

Pupil suggested that there are two plausible reasons for this phenomena; Firstly, it could be that artistic creativity was in a stand and getting inspired by the past was a solution to the problem at hand; secondary that *le bon vieux temps* truly inspired the artists to reject the notion of Neoclassical, a style that was not familiar or accessible to the majority of people.



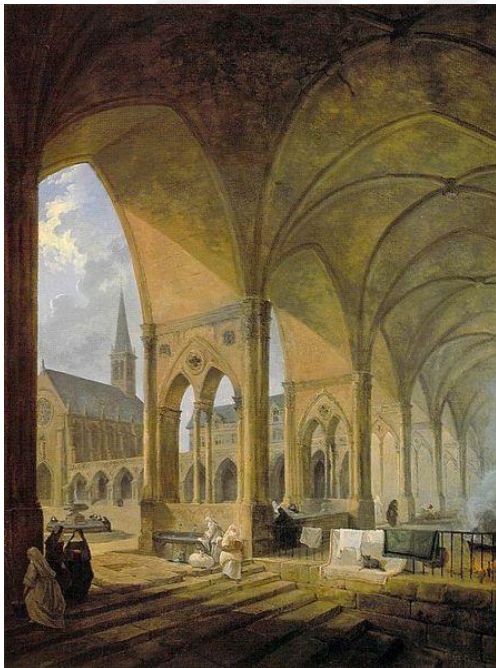
Figure 3.1.4. Pierre-Henri Révoil & Michel Philibert Genod, "Pharamond Lifted on a Shield by the Franks", 1841-1845. (Source: Versailles, Musée National du Château/Public Domain)

The Troubadour style which manifested itself in literature starting at the 1780s and 1800s in other art forms, was the name given to this style that was curious of a past that was not classical. Eventually the lesser known style would become to be generalized as Romanticism in art when it was in fact a branch of the movement (Palmer, 2011, p.219) which then would evolve in a sense to Neo-Gothic in architecture. Even though it suffered from a short life - a period of approximately forty years mixed with political and intellectual turmoil, its importance should not be overlooked. Henri Jacoubet - one of the first to dive into the subject, wrote his thesis on the *Comte de Tressan* (1923) and an essay on the genre of troubadour (1929) which he thought to be the origins of Romanticism (Jacoubet, 1923 & 1929). Louis Courajod (1841-1896), a French art historian proposed the *formula* of Gothic troubadour and even connected this emergence and popularity of the sentimental reminiscence to the protection of the Empress Josephine who was enjoying the non-classic style whilst claiming that there was a resistance of French Gothic art to the invasion of modern Italian art (Pupil, 1985, p.38). Josephine was an avid *collectionneuse* and she was considered to be in possession of a troubadour collection most representative of the early nineteenth century and she was also known to be interested in Gothic since she was attempting to gather architectural elements from Metz (Pupil, 2005, p.90).

The Troubadour style could also be observed in architecture, albeit rarely, in France. The fortress known as *Château de Mont-l'Évêque* in Senlis was constructed during the thirteenth century yet was almost destroyed during the Hundred Years' War. It was not until the nineteenth century that the monument would be rebuilt in the Troubadour style. The influence of the Middle Ages could be seen on the edifice, especially in the southwest tower that was added during the rebuilding. Another example of the style is the *Château de Beaugard*, Normandy, which was finished in 1864, designed with architectural elements inspired by Gothic style. In this study, the focus was on the painters and paintings of the Troubadour style since their approach better reflected the desired spatial atmosphere of the era.

There are many applications in Troubadour style paintings but two of the relevant ones are the ones depicting national history scenes and others revealing a rather

realistic approach to the recent past - with or without the intent to learn about the *bon vieux temps*, origins and a genuine love of history. These ones do not intend to create a retrospective but includes historical costumes and important *personnages*. Looking at the eighteenth century *Salons* pamphlet (Pupil, 1985, p.16), the first approach seems more likely. Although a definite answer is regrettably not given since the Troubadour style was not supported by many yet there are a number of paintings that are accepted by historians as representation of the style. In his landscapes of French architecture, Hubert Robert skilfully expressed that attention to medieval art that preceded the age of archaeological knowledge. He knew how to represent the Gothic or reinvent it according to his whims (Figures 3.1.5-3.1.6). In 1775, the painter brought back several views of ancient monuments taken during a trip to Normandy. The Belgian painter Pierre-Joseph de Lafontaine (1758-1835) who was considered a specialist of this new genre for the French had created the oldest known painting dating from 1785 which represents the interior of a Gothic church with characters dressed in the seventeenth century fashion (Pupil, 1985, p.83) (Figure 3.1.7).



(Left) Figure 3.1.5. Hubert Robert, "The cloister of the English Augustinian Convent of Notre-Dame-de-Sion de Paris", Late 18th c. (Norton Simon Museum / Public Domain),
(Right) Figure 3.1.6. Hubert Robert, "The Fire of Hôtel-Dieu in Paris 1772", Late 18th c.
(Source: Nationalmuseum, Sweden / Public Domain)



Figure 3.1.7. Pierre Joseph Lafontaine, "Intérieur d'église gothique", 1785.
(Source:Musée du Louvre / Public Domain)

Historians' findings at the time did not go further than Alexander Lenoir's *Musée des Monuments Français* or minor resources of the Romantic movement. Unfortunately, the *Musée des monuments français* was closed in 1816 after the return of the monarchy and the beginnings of *La Restauration*⁵¹, demanding the collection pieces be returned to the families and the churches (Choay, 1992, p.218). One can thus presume that the churches themselves once again became the museums where the people could visit and observe the medieval art on site.

Even though there are many differences in artworks; the Troubadour style still is considered to be a retrospective genre that contains some common themes: The

⁵¹ Bourbon Restoration. In Britannica.com Retrieved June 18, 2022 from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Bourbon-Restoration> The Bourbon Restoration (1814–30) in France, the period that began when Napoleon I abdicated and the Bourbon monarchs were restored to the throne. The First Restoration occurred when Napoleon fell from power and Louis XVIII became king. Louis' reign was interrupted by Napoleon's return to France but Napoleon was forced to abdicate again, leading to the Second Restoration. The period was marked by a constitutional monarchy of moderate rule (1816–20), followed by a return of the ultras during the reign of Louis' brother, Charles X (1824–30). Reactionary policies revived the opposition liberals and moderates and led to the July Revolution, Charles's abdication, and the end of the Bourbon Restoration.

Troubadour style artists managed to create themselves a universe outside of what is considered canonical. The majority of themes are sombre, there was a genuine attempt to create this fantasy of the *bon vieux temps* instead of focusing on what is happening at the time.

In literature some called this style "pre-romanticism" (Pupil, 1985, p.19) and because the style was not as common as other major styles, many historians opted to call it with different names: *gothique*, *médiévale*, and *rétrospectif*. The role of the Romantic Movement was important to this style, since it was considered to be "pre-romanticism" and when researching Romanticism, historians became aware of the Troubadour style that glorified the Middle Ages and the medieval lifestyle as well as Gothic architecture. Because of the ideologies of the movement the nineteenth century architects, especially British ones, began to better express themselves through Gothic architecture, then the style became known as *Néo-Gothique*. At that time a young Victor Hugo began his masterpiece that would become the symbol of Romanticism, preservation and restoration of France's national identity: Gothic monuments. Important names and actions in history were observed where the national architectural style of France would soon be under protection / restoration. Yet none can deny the aid and impact of Victor Hugo's writings and novel would bring to its popularity around the world. But before continuing with Hugo and his writings one should look into how the Troubadour style played a role in the renewed interest to Gothic architecture. The discovery of the medieval civilization was one of the curiosities of the eighteenth century yet not many studies were made on the subject. Architecture was an exception to this since Gothic architecture was uninterrupted until the eighteenth century and it was the best preserved aspect of medieval art (Pupil, 1985, p.35). At this point one can argue the examples of Cologne Cathedral and the *Cathédrale Sainte-Croix d'Orléans* - an exception since Gothic Revival style was ignored in France, where constructions continued well into the nineteenth century. The intellectual climate in Paris was medieval: there was a passion for French history and archaeology. The fashion for "cathedral-style" furniture and Gothic festive decorations was established, whether for the Coronation of Charles X of France or the *Scènes tirées de Notre-Dame de Paris* (Figure 3.1.8).



Figure 3.1.8. Scenes from Notre-Dame de Paris [the novel] by Auguste Couder, 1833.
(Source: Maison de Victor Hugo / Public Domain)

Romantic writers and artists both French and English thought they were discovering the Middle Ages and were making the Gothic style fashionable yet there already was a group of artists who were fascinated by the subject and produced art in the style. It was after the Restoration (after 1830) that translations of Walter Scott (1822) and Goethe (Faust, 1822) were published in France and through them, a new, entirely literary medieval inspiration appeared in painting. England was suffering under the urbanization project that began in the eighteenth century where historic monuments were being destroyed in order to be built in newer or different styles. There was a sense of loss of the past that revived an interest in their Gothic heritage, just as it occurred in France. "By 1835, unlike France, England paid architectural homage to Gothic and blessed it as the official national style by selecting it to build the new House of Parliament." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.158). Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), an English architect and writer, whose father wrote *Specimens of Gothic*

Architecture (1821), would become a pioneer in Gothic Revival style in England when he designed the interior of the Palace of Westminster (Figure 3.1.9) and the bell tower known as Big Ben. Pugin also wrote a book titled *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), an influential text (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.159).



Figure 3.1.9. Inside the House of Lords by Augustus Pugin, 19th c. (Source: <https://secure.countrylife.co.uk/country-life/inside-the-house-of-lords-78213>)

This chronological journey under the Gothic vaults of the Troubadour painters stretches over more than a century, but it affirms a representation of the Gothic Style in the most improbable periods. The place of Gothic architecture thus seems to be explained both by the curiosities of a time that passed and by pictorial conventions. The Gothic motif was almost a constant in the retrospective art of the Troubadour painters. There is an assumption that the Troubadour style could have played a revealing role on the architects of the Restoration who copied medieval art (Pupil, 2005, p.101), which will eventually result in Victor Hugo writing his novel and Notre-Dame de Paris being restored to its medieval glory.

3.2. Victor Hugo and his *Troubadourian* War Against the *Demolisseurs*

Victor Hugo (1802-1885) was a French poet, illustrator, politician, a connoisseur of architecture and novelist who was considered an important leader in the Romantic

Movement of the nineteenth century. He is most famous for his play titled *Cromwell* (1827) and his novels; *Notre-Dame de Paris: 1482* (1831) known today as the *Hunchback of Notre-Dame* and *Les Misérables* (1862). Hugo was an avid defender of what he called the national architecture, the Gothic style once known as *Opus Francigenum*. His aim with his 1831 novel was not only to write a historical story but also to draw attention to the decaying state in which the Cathedral of Paris could be found at the time. By writing about the monument, he started a movement and an awareness of conservation and restoration that will eventually save not only the Cathedral but hundreds of monuments throughout France.

But before and just after writing his 1831 masterpiece, he wrote in 1825 and 1832 with the same title: *Guerre Aux Demolisseurs!*⁵²(Figure 3.2.1).Hugo's attempt could be considered the first act of rescue for the French monumental heritage architecture when under the pretence of the *La Restoration* local notables were tearing down medieval monuments in order to build their own buildings in their new popular style (Demoule, 2004, pp.95-96). In the *Guerre Aux Demolisseurs!* pamphlets Hugo declared war to whom he called the demolishers, the architects and the people who did not, in his opinion, protect the architectural pieces that made up France's national style. In the 1825 pamphlet he stated:

"The moment of not staying silent by whomever has arrived. A universal cry must call upon the new France to help the ancient. All sorts of desecration, degradation, and sometimes ruination that menaces the small amount that we still possess of these admirable monuments of the middle ages.." (1825).⁵³

⁵²Translated as "*War to Demolishers!*".

⁵³"... Le moment est venu où il n'est plus permis à qui que ce soit de garder le silence. Il faut qu'un cri universel appelle enfin la nouvelle France au secours de l'ancienne. Tous les genres de profanation, de dégradation et de ruine menacent à la fois le peu qui nous reste de ces admirables monuments du moyen âge, où s'est imprimée la vieille gloire nationale, auxquels s'attachent à la fois la mémoire des rois et la tradition du peuple." Translated by author.

GUERRE AUX DÉMOLISSEURS!

1825

Si les choses vont encore quelque temps de ce train, il ne restera bientôt plus à la France d'autre monument national que celui des *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques*, où rivalisent de grâce, d'imagination et de poésie le crayon de Taylor et la plume de Ch. Nodier, dont il nous est bien permis de prononcer le nom avec admiration, quoiqu'il ait quelquefois prononcé le nôtre avec amitié.

Le moment est venu où il n'est plus permis à qui que ce soit de garder le silence. Il faut qu'un cri universel appelle enfin la nouvelle France au secours de

Figure 3.2.1. Guerre aux Démolisseurs! by Victor Hugo, 1825. (Source: Gallica / Public Domain)

Hugo described some of the alterations or demolitions that were being made to the medieval buildings by giving examples, some even from Paris that had to succumb to neoclassic features - calling them "the ridiculous pretence to be Greek or Roman in France..."⁵⁴, which he declared that are not even Greek nor Roman. In his pamphlet he made known his distaste towards the so-called architects de *l'École des beaux-arts* and wrote that it was time to put a stop to the disorder. No matter what "...the devastating revolutionaries, the mercantile speculators, or the classical restorers"⁵⁵, France was still rich in French monuments and that "the hammer" that was mutilating the face of the country. He continued on by saying that they [the French] were in need of a law to protect the rights of the buildings and monuments, disregarding the rights of the owners, whomever they be: "... miserable men, so imbecile that they do not event comprehend that they are barbarians!".⁵⁶

⁵⁴"...avec la ridicule prétention d'être grec souromains en France...". Translated by author.

⁵⁵"...dévastateurs révolutionnaires, par les spéculateurs mercantiles, et surtout par les restaurateurs classiques...". Translated by author.

⁵⁶ "... misérables hommes, et si imbéciles, qu'ils ne comprennent même pas qu'ils sont des barbares!". Translated by author.

An edifice possessed two things, according to Hugo, its utility and its beauty. The utility belonged to the owner, but the beauty belonged to all of humanity, which made its destruction against the rights of men. He stated that the industry has replaced art and that: "I believe in that, and that France should not be demolished."⁵⁷ For him, the devastation that was the destruction of medieval legacies was the equivalent of the destruction of France and it was a "question of national urgency." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.134).

Seven years later in 1832, a year after the first edition of *Notre-Dame de Paris: 1482*, another pamphlet had been written by Hugo by the same name, stating with an angrier voice that: "It must be said, and it must be said louder that the demolition of old France, that we have denounced under the Restoration, continues in a fury and barbarity much more violent than before."⁵⁸ He included a letter, whose author remained anonymous per Hugo's preference, that testified the successive and incessant demolition of all "ancient" French monuments: During a visit to Laon (Aisne), the author of the letter observed the destruction of the Tower of Louis d'Outremer (the destruction occurred in 1831) which dated from the feudalism era. The writer was outraged at the ease of the people in authority and their decision to destroy a piece of history. He even defended the only person amongst twelve who stood up against this decision, calling him a humble man that represented science, art, taste and history. With the help of the letter Hugo then claimed that the destruction or vandalism is not limited to Laon but is observable in all over France and he gave examples of them whilst asking: "What a shame! What happened to the times when the priest was the supreme architect? Now the mason teaches the priest!"⁵⁹

⁵⁷"Je pense cela, et qu'il ne faut pas démolir la France." Translated by author.

⁵⁸"Il faut dire, et le dire haut, cette démolition de la vieille France, que nous avons dénoncée plusieurs fois sous la restauration, se continue avec plus d'acharnement et de barbarie que jamais." Translated by author.

⁵⁹"Quelle honte! Qu'est devenu le temps où le prêtre était le suprême architecte? Maintenant le maçon enseigne le prêtre!" Translated by author.

Hugo then focused on Paris and emphasized that vandalism was prosperous under their eyes: "Vandalism is architect". He claimed that this act was being celebrated, encouraged, admired and protected, a couple of the many adjectives he used. He considered vandalism to be a "contractor worker for the government.". He complained about the fact that they are losing the old Paris that they admired so much as a result of the daily demolishing. "What do I know? vandalism painted Notre-Dame, vandalism retouched the towers of the Palais de Justice, vandalism shaved Saint-Magloire...".⁶⁰ He then continued with how well he - meaning vandalism - was well nourished and powerful, how he was a professor, protecting young talents, giving out *grands prix d'architecture* and how he was sending students to Rome. Hugo was angry at the so-called scholars who pretend to be connoisseurs of history, art and architecture yet demolish the monuments of the past as soon as they have a chance to do it. He continued giving examples of such acts of destruction, one of them being the Cathedral of Reims. This monument was treated badly by vandalism operated by the architect of the King. Reims Cathedral, famous for its sculptures, was trimmed during Charles X's reign for fear of them falling apart or down towards the King, an act that was reported by Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873), who would become *Inspector General of Historic Monuments*, a post invented for him by François Guizot on 1930, November the 25th.

Furthermore, Hugo was declaring war to the people responsible for the idea of building a new road in the middle of the city of Paris which could have only happened by demolishing existing streets, buildings and gardens. He heavily criticised the act:

We no longer restore, we no longer spoil, we no longer make a moment ugly, we throw it down. And we have good reasons for that. A church is fanaticism;

⁶⁰ "Le vandalisme est architecte. Le vandalisme se carre et se prélassé. Le vandalisme est fêté, applaudi, encouragé, admiré, caressé, protégé, consulté, subventionné, défrayé, naturalisé. Le vandalisme est entrepreneur de travaux pour le comte du gouvernement. Il s'est installé sournoisement dans le budget, et il grignote à petit bruit, comme le rat son fromage. Et, certes, il gagne bien son argent. Tous les jours il démolit quelque chose du peu qui nous reste de cet admirable vieux Paris. Que sais-je? le vandalisme a badigeonné Notre-Dame, le vandalisme a retouché les tours du Palais de Justice, le vandalisme a rasé Saint-Magloire...". Translated by author.

*a dungeon is feudalism. We denounce a monument, we massacre a heap of stones... (1825).*⁶¹

He went on to write that these edifices which were done for the people by the people, were very unpopular at the time. They were being blamed for witnessing the past and people tended to wish to erase history by destroying them. "We devastate, we pulverize, we destroy, we demolish out of national spirit."⁶²

He asked the question that many asked in his time: what purpose did these buildings have? Their maintenance cost money does not it? Hugo answered them briefly; they brought in people from all around the world and their money. But he did not want to focus on the financial side of it, he preferred to focus on the artistic and historical aspects. He then asked an important question to the same people: Since when did we dare to question art on its usefulness? He cursed anyone that did not know the use of art and dared them to go on, demolish, utilize, turn Notre-Dame de Paris into rubble! He acknowledged the people who taught of Middle Age monuments and art as barbaric, of bad taste but refused to answer them as he did not believe they would be capable of understanding their purpose. He even mentioned his own novel, Notre-Dame de Paris (1831), stating that he had already given his opinion on the matter in his book and that he needn't discuss the matter any further.

As a final plea, he urged to whomever would read the pamphlet and / or had the power of authority on the matter at hand; to repair them with care and to protect these monuments. He claimed that they were surrounded by intelligent men with taste that can guide them, and that the architect-restorer should especially be prudent of his imagination;

...that he curiously studies the character of each monument, according to each century and each climate. Let him understand the general line and the

⁶¹ "On ne restaure plus, on ne gâte plus, on n'enlaidit plus un moment, on le jette bas. Et l'on a de bonnes raisons pour cela. Une église, c'est de la fanatisme; un donjon, c'est la féodalité. On dénonce un monument, on massacre un tas de pierres..." Translated by author.

⁶² "Rien de moins populaire parmi nous que ces édifices faits par le peuple et pour le peuple. Nous leur en voulons de tous ces crimes des temps passés dont ils ont été les témoins. Nous voudrions effacer le tout de notre histoire. Nous dévastons, nous pulvérisons, nous détruisons, nous démolissons par esprit national." Translated by author.

*particular line of the monument that is placed in his hands, and that he knows how to skilfully weld his genius to the genius of the ancient architect (1825).*⁶³

He finished his article by referring to his 1825 pamphlet where he urged for a law that would protect these monuments of destruction, of vandalism or even the very people that seemed to care for them yet not being able to protect them. In between these articles, Hugo would manage to write his novel titled *Notre-Dame de Paris* 1482 and would become one of the main reasons why the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris would eventually be saved from ruin yet his plea in both articles and the novel could be considered emotionally wrought (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.134), as if he knew that he was standing at a crucial moment in history and with his novel publishing at a time he deemed the necessity of change in France's ideologies.

Victor Hugo's war will be the act that will save France's national heritage. For him the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was not only the most important monument to represent the nation itself, France's artistic style, the *patrimoine* but was also the "definite reference" for his war against the demolishers.

3.3. Hugo's Paris and Notre-Dame

Victor Hugo published his famous novel on January 14th 1831 (Figure 3.3.1), originally titled *Notre Dame de Paris* - which would be translated to English in 1833 by Frederic Shoberl, aiming to achieve with *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* to preserve and protect the architecture of the French nation, especially its Gothic masterpiece, the capital's Cathedral which was in ruins at the time of the book's publication.⁶⁴ The author aimed for the Cathedral to be the main character in a specific date (1482), which changed over time to Quasimodo due to the translation to

⁶³"Faites réparer ces beaux et graves édifices. Faires-les réparer avec soin, avec intelligence, avec sobriété. Vous avez autour de vous des hommes de science et de goût qui vous éclaireront dans ce travail. Surtout que l'architecte restaurateur soit frugal de ses propres imaginations; qu'il étudie curieusement le caractère de chaque édifice, selon chaque siècle et chaque climat. Qu'il se pénètre de la ligne générale et de la ligne particulière du monument qu'on lui met entre les mains, et qu'il sache habilement souder son génie au génie de l'architecte ancien." Translated by author.

⁶⁴Hugo wrote in *Guerre aux Démolisseurs!*, and in the second preface of *Notre-Dame de Paris* that Medieval architecture and especially Gothic architecture, is the national architecture of France, which best represents the history and artistic aspect of the French people.

English and change of title and also used by Disney Production (1996) and the musical (1998).⁶⁵ He published his historical novel in 1831 at the age of twenty-nine even though the original idea dates back to 1828 (Keller, 1994, p.96) ⁶⁶, with a contract to deliver a manuscript to his publisher Charles Gosselin (1795-1859) by April 15, 1829.

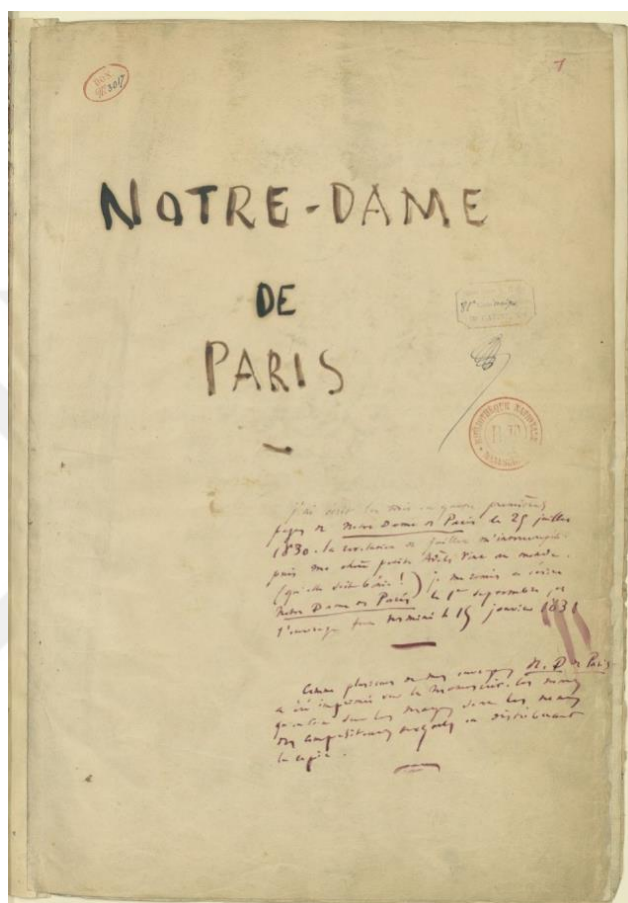


Figure 3.3.1. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris, 1831 - Book I Chapter I
(Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

⁶⁵Victor Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* was first published in French by the publishing company called Gosselin in Paris, on the 14th of January, 1831. Just two years after its publication, it was translated to English by Frederic Shoberl in 1833 under the name; *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*. The novel was translated multiple times under different titles yet Shoberl's translation can be considered as a "first edition". The first edition in French was titled *Notre-Dame de Paris* 1482 on account of the year that the story takes place which was excluded from the title later on.

⁶⁶According to Keller, Hugo had conceptualized his novel and had already chosen the title and the editor to whom he would trust his masterpiece. The novel's publishing date was interrupted by the July Revolution and the birth of Hugo's daughter. Follett, K. (2019). wrote a similar phrase indicating that the author sat down to write his novel in September 1st, 1830 and finished it mid-January, 1831.

When it was first published, the last chapter of Book Four and the entirety of Book Five were not included until the "definitive" edition in December 1832. The author, in his advanced publicity for *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* stated that: "It is a depiction of Paris in the fifteenth century ... The book makes no historical claims, save in the conscientiousness and fully researched depiction..." (Killick, 1994, p.5) (Figure 3.3.2). Hugo whilst writing his novel, made descriptions of the city, the Cathedral, and certain monuments, and his references came from those historians and their depictions. "...Victor Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame of Paris* assumed a pivotal role in this redirection of interest in medieval monuments, the monarchy's interest in erasing the immediate memory of the sacking of the archbishopric and the profanations of 1830 also was critical." (DeenSchildgen, 2008, pp.128-129).



Figure 3.3.2. Jean Fouquet, "La Descente du Saint-Esprit", 1450. A depiction of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and Paris in the background. (Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art / Public Domain)

The novel, set in two volumes, contains eleven books, and fifty-nine chapters in total. The story begins on January 6th, 1482 in medieval Paris, on the day of the *Fête des*

Fous in which Quasimodo, the bell-ringer of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral, was elected the Pope of Fools. Book I is an entrance scene divided to six chapters to which characters such as Gringoire, Quasimodo and La Esmeralda are introduced and the plot is set. Pierre Gringoire, a struggling poet tries to get the crowd - gathered at the Palace of Justice for the Cardinal's arrival - to watch his play rather unsuccessfully. *Le Palais de Justice* and *La Grande'salle* which gave its name to the very first chapter was depicted in detail - even architectural detail (Appendix A). The Grande Salle had a double vault of pointed arches which were painted light blue with golden fleur-de-lis, lined with wood. The floor was designed to look like a checker board made by white and black marble. There were seven giant pillars, extending through the entirety of the hall; "...supporting the central line that separates the double vaults of the roof. ... In the long Gothic windows, the stained glass shines with a thousand colours. In the wide entrances the doors are richly and delicately carved."⁶⁷ (Hugo, 1993, pp.4-5). The detailed description of the *Palais de Justice* given by Hugo could be justified since the Palace burned down in 1618 much to his despair; "[The old Palace] would be still standing, with its Grand Hall, and I could say to my reader, 'Go and look at it' - which would be a great convenience for us both; saving me from writing, him from reading, my imperfect description." (Hugo, 1993, p.6).

The second book follows Gringoire in his attempt to find a place to spend the night, since he had nowhere to go and no money. The poet arrived at the *Place de Grève*; "...one of the places for public executions in the old city of Paris." (Hugo, 1993, p.47) ⁶⁸ where he observed La Esmeralda, a gypsy girl who danced around the fire. Quasimodo returned to the Cathedral, searching seclusion, as he saw Notre-Dame as his home, his whole universe. The second chapter titled *La Place de Grève* started with a description of the place that did not exist anymore, with a clear critic of Hugo complaining about the disappearance of medieval details (Appendix B): Only a small

⁶⁷ The English quotations were taken from the 1993 Wordsworth edition of the novel.

⁶⁸ The public square in the fourth arrondissement of Paris that is now the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville was, before 1802, called the *Place de Grève*. The location presently occupied by the square was the point on the sandy right bank of the river Seine where the first riverine harbor of Paris was established. However, the main reason why the *Place de Grève* is remembered is that it was the site of most of the public executions in early Paris. The gallows and the pillory stood there.

and barely perceptible relic of the *Place de Grève* stands today, he wrote, all that remained were the charming turret that occupied "the northern angle of the Square" which was buried beneath the whitewashing that Hugo could not stand for. He claimed it would have been completely vanished under the onslaught of new houses that was already consuming Paris' old façades (Hugo, 1993, p.47). He continued with descriptions of buildings surrounding the square that were either wooden or carved in stone, showing examples of the secular architecture in the Middle Ages, dating from between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries: "...from the perpendicular window which was beginning to supersede the Gothic to the circular Roman arch which the Gothic had in turn supplanted..." (Hugo, 1993, p.48).

In the fourth chapter of the second book Hugo had Gringoire following Esmeralda the gypsy, getting lost in the streets of Paris, describing them as "labyrinths of alleys" and a "skein of thread tangled by the playing of a kitten.", criticising them for being illogical:

...seemed to be everlastingly turning back upon themselves, ...had he not observed, at the bend of a street, the octagonal mass of the pillory of the Halles (Principal Market), the perforated top of which traced its dark outline against a solitary light yet visible in a window of the Rue Verdelet. (Hugo, 1993, p.60).

This would not be the only time that Hugo described the city and its street as a labyrinth. As a matter of fact, in chapter six he went on to say; "All was intersections of streets, courts and blind alleys, amongst which he incessantly doubted and hesitated, more entangled in that strange network of dark lanes than he would have been in the labyrinth of the Hôtel des Tournelles itself." (Hugo, 1993, pp.64-65).⁶⁹

In Book III the narrator paused the story and dedicated two whole chapters to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and the city of Paris. In Chapter I: *Notre-Dame* (Figure 3.3.4) the theme was Notre-Dame de Paris itself, and its appearance as time has worn it down and as men slowly destroyed it. His main character, the main location of every major event in his novel and the "ancient queen of French cathedrals" (Figure

⁶⁹The Hôtel des Tournelles is a now-demolished collection of buildings in Paris built from the fourteenth century. It was named after its many 'tournelles' or little towers. It was owned by the kings of France for a long period of time, though they did not often live there. Henry II of France died there in 1559 and after his death, his widow Catherine de Médici, abandoned the building, by then quite derelict and old-fashioned. It was turned into a gunpowder magazine, then sold to finance the construction of the Tuileries.

3.3.3) was described as (Appendix C); without a question a majestic and sublime edifice. Yet no matter how beautiful, one could not hide their displeasure at its state of degradation and numberless mutilations which was, as Hugo stated done by "men and time". For every wrinkle, a scar can be found; "*Tempus edax, homo edacior*" (Time is destructive, man more destructive). If we had leisure to examine one by one, with the reader, the traces of destruction imprinted on this ancient church, those due to Time would be found to form the lesser portion..."wrote Hugo and continued by accusing once again, men and especially "men of art" for the worst parts of the destruction of their Cathedral. He even went further suggesting that these men of art were disguising themselves as architects for the last two centuries (Hugo, 1993, p.89). For Hugo, Notre-Dame's surfaces showed the traces of destruction caused by the architects - thus registering the building as the main, if not yet definite, reference already in 1832.

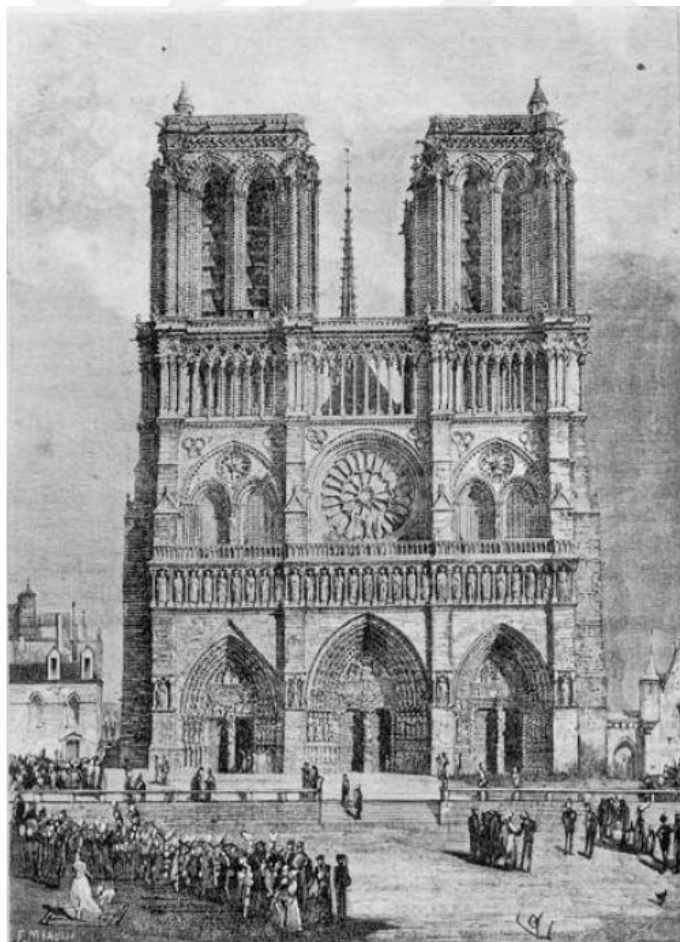


Figure 3.3.3. Viollet-le-Duc, "Notre Dame in 1482.", 1877. From Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, (Paris: Hughes) (Source: Author)

Through seven pages (in the 1993 English version that was used), he described the state the Cathedral was in, criticizing and demanding answers for its white windows instead of the stained ones, calling the edifice of the transition period; "It is no longer Roman⁷⁰, nor is it yet Gothic. This edifice is not a typical one." (Hugo, 1993, p.92). Notre-Dame was never a pure form, the edifice is considered to be a transition monument between two architectural styles: "She began as a Romanesque structure, and, with the return of the crusaders, the Gothic arch was grafted onto the original base. There was no organic relationship between the two." (Nash, 1983, p.123). Without being an architect himself, he gave detailed descriptions of the statues, giving long architectural descriptions with the correct terminology, making the reader walk through a monument that was touched by time and men. Hugo, as many before him, believed the Cathedral to be a book, a façade that was designed to be read. Gothic cathedrals were considered as literary pieces that described the important historical and religious characters and events calling the façade of the Cathedral as an architectural page: "...there are assuredly, few finer architectural pages than that front of that cathedral..."(Hugo, 1993, p.89)citing the three portals and their pointed arches, the central rose window, the trifoliated arcades, the "two dark and massive" towers as evidence to his argument (Figure 3.3.5). He described the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris a "vast symphony in stone" calling it the "the colossal work of a man and of a nation; combining unity with complexity."(Hugo, 1993, pp.89-90).

The author claimed that three things of importance are missing from the façade: the eleven steps that raised the façade from the ground, the lower range of statues occupying the niches of the fore mentioned three portals and the twenty-eight statues of the Kings of France. He argued that the steps disappeared in time, writing the word with a capital letter, imagining it as a character, as an actor in itself. It was the same "time" that "has spread over its face that dark grey tint of centuries which makes of the old age of architectural monuments their season of beauty." (Hugo, 1993, p.90). Hugo asked who was it that had thrown the statues, cut the pointed arch located at the central portal, and who dared to carve and place a wooden door in the

⁷⁰ In French "Roman" style means Romanesque and not Roman antiquity. Yet in the translation it was left as if Victor Hugo meant Roman, which would be wrong.

Louis XV style? According to him it was; "The men, the architects, the artist of our times." (Hugo, 1993, p.90).

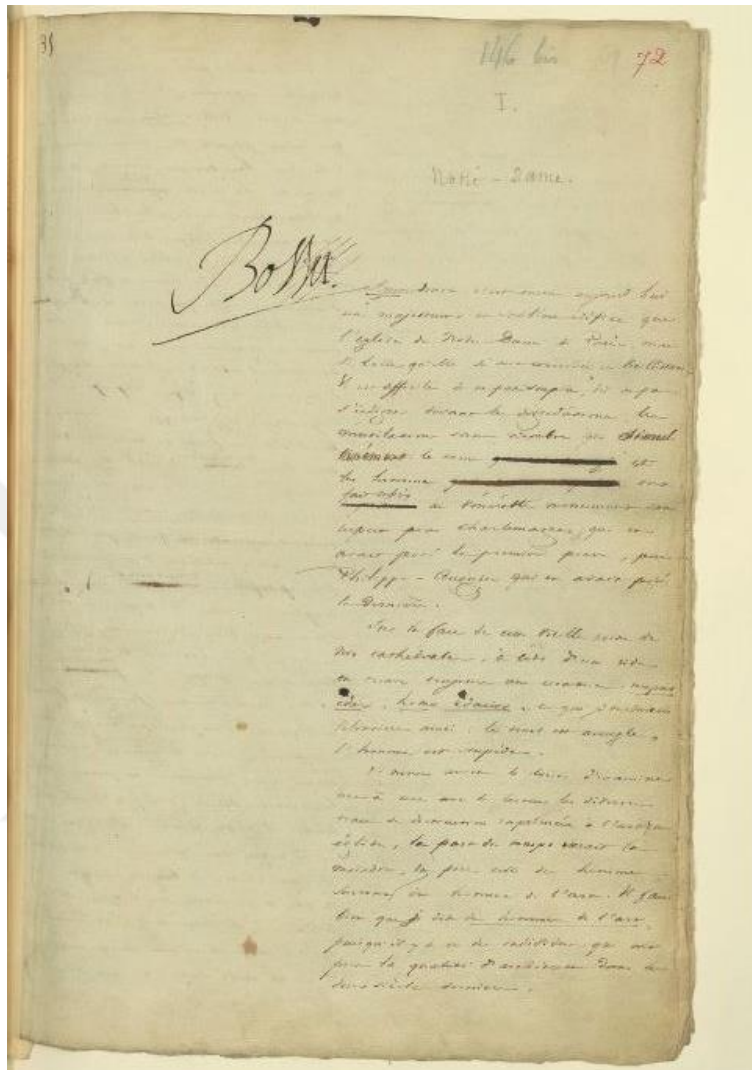


Figure 3.3.4. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris, 1831 - Book III Chapter I "Notre-Dame". (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

He asked about the stained glasses that disappeared, the interior wall colour that changed and he even focused on the spire: "...if we climb higher in the cathedral - without stopping at a thousand barbarities of every kind - what have they done with that charming little spire which rose from the intersection of the cross..."(Hugo, 1993, p.91), insisting that an architect 'of good taste' has amputated the spire in 1787. He was complaining about the changes in styles, especially complaining about Renaissance calling it fashion;

Fashion has done more mischief than revolutions. It has cut to the quick - it has attacked the very bone and framework of the art. It has mangled, dislocated, killed the edifice - in its form as well as in its meaning - in its logic as well as in its beauty. (Hugo, 1993, p.92).

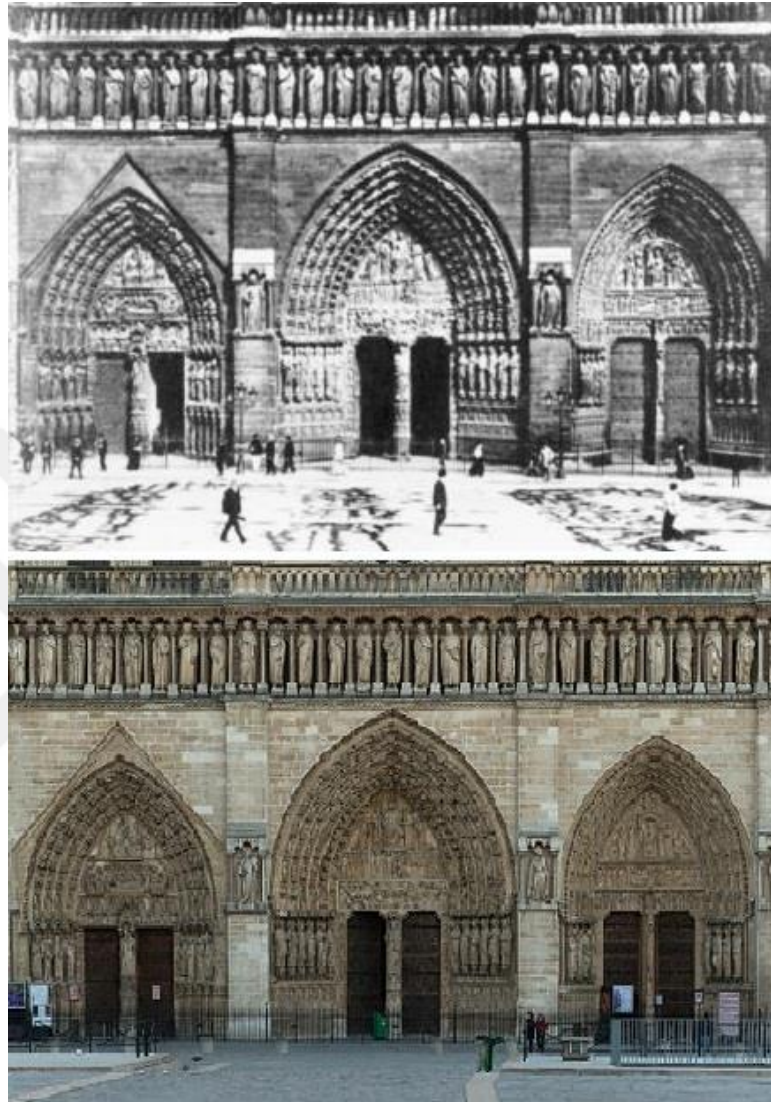


Figure 3.3.5. (Top) The portals before the nineteenth century restoration (Source: Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, 1999) / (Bottom) Notre-Dame de Paris' Western Façade in 2014 (Source: Daniel Vorndran / Wikimedia)

An interesting argument was made by Hugo, calling the edifice a transition from Roman (The French call it Romain meaning Romanesque) to Gothic style; a combination of Gothic and Saxon art with the Roman abbey mixed in the monument, a claim that is correct. He concluded the chapter by stating that architecture is ever changing, yet amongst all the changes, the foundation remains: art, worship, people..."The trunk of the tree is unchanging - the foliage is variable." (Hugo, 1993,

p.95) is the last phrase, an analogy that will emerge through the pages of Banister Fletcher sixty-five years later. Book III Chapter I ended as it began, on a conservative idealism note, interrupted by a description of ruin and vandalism (Nash, 1983, p.124).

After presenting the Cathedral in a social and historical context, the narrator wrote that Paris had lost most of its beauty contrary to its growth since the fifteenth century. The twenty-one pages of the second chapter in Book III, titled *Paris À Vol D'Oiseau* (Figure 3.3.6), the author walked among, flew over, and climbed on Paris, its streets, its buildings, bridges, gardens. Sometimes he wrote about Philip Augustus's accomplishments, or wrote about Charles V's shortcomings. This chapter was about pages and pages of description of the city, what was and what is at the time of Hugo, as he wrote in the past tense and the present - the two worlds are mixing in some lines, Hugo was sometimes in 1482 and sometimes in 1831. (Appendix D).

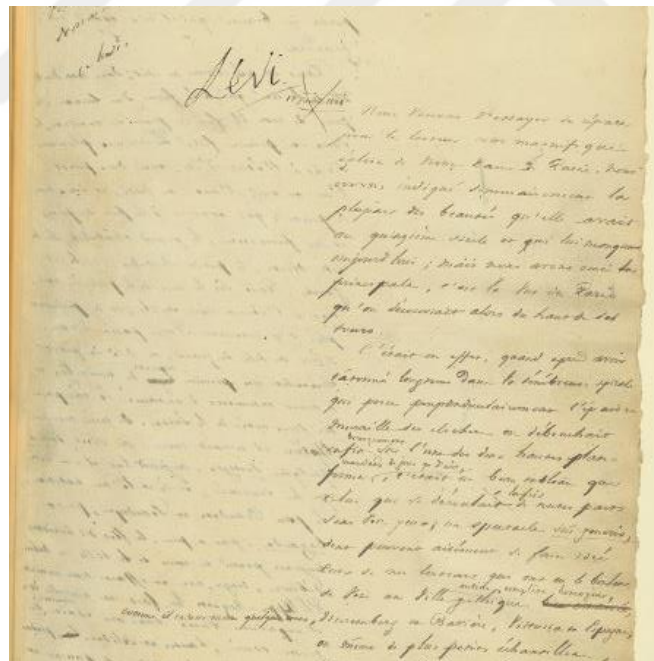


Figure 3.3.6. Victor Hugo's Manuscript of Notre-Dame de Paris - Book III Chapter II, 1831. (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

Hugo began his chapter by a historical background much like the one that can be found towards the beginning of this dissertation; how the city began on the island known as *Île de la Cité*, how it expanded throughout time stating: "...under the first

line of French kings, Paris found herself too much confined within the limits of her island, and unable to turn about, she crossed the water." (Hugo, 1993, p.96). He described the city walls that were built up until the fifteenth century starting with Philip Augustus' wall, accusing him of imprisoning Paris inside a circular enclosure of massive, intrusive towers. Because of the new boundaries of the capital city, houses were being built pressed to one another, that they "shot out in height... and strove each to lift its head above its neighbours, in order to get a breath of air. The streets became deeper and narrower, and every open space was overrun by buildings and disappeared." (Hugo, 1993, p.97) (Figure 3.3.7). He compared the city to a child that kept getting too big for their clothes, overgrowing the walls that were being built.



Figure 3.3.7. Notre-Dame de Paris, circa 15th century. (Source: Grez Production)

Arriving at the time of the book's events (fifteenth century), Paris was described as being divided in three separate towns, all of which had its own customs, history and features; the City, the University and the *Ville* or Town as it were. Hugo claimed that the City which was surrounded by churches, occupied the island of *Île de la Cité* and was the oldest yet smallest of the three, describing it as the "mother of the other two." (Hugo, 1993, p.98). The University with its colleges, covered the left bank

whereas the Town where the palaces were located, was the largest of the three and covered the right bank. Hugo not only described the city during the fifteenth century but also lists the names of every island on the Seine, the names of the bridges, the gates located at the University and the Town. As the title of the chapter suggests, a bird's-eye view of the capital was depicted, focusing on and describing the streets creating a pattern that still existed in Hugo's time as an intricate web of tangled streets: "Yet a glance was sufficient to show the spectator that these three portions of a city formed but one complete whole." (Hugo, 1993). One can hastily observe two long parallel streets, undisturbed, traversing in an almost straight line, going from north to south passing in a proximity of the river Seine, crossing over three towns and connecting them to one another. This resulted in the migration of a large number of people to these parts of Paris and eventually creating a single city by connecting the three towns. (Hugo, 1993, p.100).

As another reflection how he sees Notre-Dame as the most important reference spot to observe the city; he asked what would a spectator see whilst standing on top of the towers of Notre-Dame in 1482? He described in great detail the view of the roofs, the street formations, the houses, distinctive monuments and so on (Figure 3.3.8). He focused on the City first; comparing it to a ship because of its shape, "stuck in the mud, and stranded in the current near the middle of the Seine." (Hugo, 1993, p.101). He continued by describing every view from every major monument, the front of the Cathedral and the back of it, what could be seen from the Palace, the streets, the houses. "As for the water itself, it was hardly visible from the towers of Notre-Dame, on either side of the City; the Seine disappearing under the bridges, and the bridges under the houses." (Hugo, 1993, p.102). The many pages of descriptions of the University and the Town are so detailed that one can see the buildings, can hear the students and the artists, can read the street names whilst taking a stroll in the capital. He especially described architectural details that were either lost in time or were disrupted by men.

The way the author could evoke thoughts about destruction, about the loss of the past can best be seen in this section:

It was not then merely a handsome city - it was a homogeneous city - an architectural and historical production of the Middle Ages - a chronicle in stone. It was a city composed of two architectural strata only, the bastard Roman and the Gothic layer... (Hugo, 1993, pp.111-112)

He described Paris as beautiful yet less harmonious visually and intellectually. This period of splendour was short lived since the Renaissance was not impartial: "Not content with building up, it thought proper to pull down it is true it needed space. Thus, Gothic Paris was complete but for a moment." (Hugo, 1993, p.112). At one point Hugo wrote that Paris became a collection of styles, belonging to different ages, suggesting that the city would be 'renewed every fifty years', a foreshadowing as the era of Haussmann was approaching. He concluded his chapter by admiring some of his contemporary structures and saying that: "Usually, the murmur that rises up from Paris by day is the city talking; in the night it is the city breathing; but here it is the city singing. ...this city which is but one orchestra..." (Hugo, 1993, p.116).



Figure 3.3.8. Henri Eugène Callot's Paris and Notre-Dame de Paris, 1900.
(Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

Book IV travels back in time to how did Quasimodo - the unwanted child that was left at the steps of Notre-Dame - came to be in the care of Claude Frollo, the archdeacon and priest of Notre-Dame de Paris. Book V where the third authorial voice interruption took place⁷¹, gave us a glimpse of the private chambers of the archdeacon and to himself. One of the most famous lines of the story was stated here: This will kill that!, meaning the book - in Hugo's words, the printing press⁷²- will destroy Notre-Dame de Paris - meaning architecture. There can be millions of copies of a book as long as the printing press exists, which in this case it did, but there can only be one Cathedral with a specific story written, "Both architecture and books are forms of writing; it is history which changed the nature of that writing and in precisely the same way for each type of expression." (Nash, 1983, p.124). The second chapter of this book, is a pause given by the narrator to explain the meaning hidden behind these words. Book VI gave a historical context on the legal system of the Middle Ages, and continues on with Quasimodo's trial. The trial was a mockery since neither the bell-ringer nor the Master Florian Barbedienne could hear or communicate with one another. Where Quasimodo was to be tortured due to his sentence, in the *Place de Grève*, there was a half-Gothic building called the *Tour Roland*, a building described in greater detail than others.

Book VII continued with the story of La Esmeralda, with some descriptions of the city itself, and the third chapter called *The Bells* was dedicated entirely to the bells of the Cathedral. In chapter four titled *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ*⁷³, the theme of fatality was discussed by Frollo and his brother. Hugo used the word in his preface, to create a connection between the notion of fate and fatality with the decaying Cathedral. In book VIII, Esmeralda was being put on trial for the murder of Phoebus, the captain of the King's

⁷¹ The other two times we can observe the authorial intervention were in Book III, Chapters I-II. The "Ceci tuera cela" chapter, "Paris à vol d'oiseau (Chapter II in Book III) and "Abbas Beati Martini" (First chapter in Book V) were the passages that were missing in the editions before the so-called definite one in 1832. See Nash, S. (1983). "Writing a Building: Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris". *French Forum*, May 1983, Vol.8, No.2, p.124.

⁷² For further reading on the subject, see Milner, M. (2010). "Quoi tuera quoi? Les enjeux de l'invention de l'imprimerie chez Victor Hugo et Gérard de Nerval", *Livraisons de l'histoire de l'architecture* [En ligne], 20 / 2010, mis en ligne le 10 décembre 2012, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/lha/251> ; DOI: 10.4000/lha.

⁷³ *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ* is discussed in the next sub-chapter of the dissertation (3.4.)

Archers, and she was sentenced to public penance before Notre-Dame and hanging at the *Place de Grève* (Figure 3.3.9). At the last second, Quasimodo saved the gypsy and sought sanctuary at his beloved Cathedral. Book IX started with Frollo, the archdeacon fled to the *Université* thinking Esmeralda died. The reader was met with different districts of Paris in 1482 in this book. The *Université* was sparsely populated in the Middle Ages, and the priest was wandering through small farms and pastures, creating a contradicting background; city versus nature, chaos versus calm. These descriptions were written especially for the readers of the 1830s, giving them an idea of how much the recent events and the Industrial Revolution had changed the city.



Figure 3.3.9. View from Place de Grève, and Notre-Dame in 1652. (Source: Israel Silvestre, Musée Carnavalet / Public Domain)

In Book X, Frollo convinced Gringoire to save Esmeralda and ask for his brother Jehan's help, yet Jehan refused and joined the vagabonds that were marching to Notre-Dame de Paris in order to save their sister, the gypsy girl. Overlooking Paris from his tower, Quasimodo without knowing they are approaching to save the love of his life, decided to protect the girl and his Cathedral. Pretending to save Esmeralda. The vagabonds started to destroy the Church starting from its doors. Hugo took a pause once more to give another historical background of the Middle Ages. The vagabonds' attack on the Cathedral was written in to show the readers that

such actions were common at the time and the revolutionaries' actions had resemblances. The Cathedral was like an extra limb to Quasimodo who had spent his whole life in the Church, he knew it so well that he managed to defend it all alone, yet Esmeralda was captured by the King's Archers that came to end the disruptions occurring in the city. The last book, Book XI includes Esmeralda's capture, reunion with her long-lost mother and her execution. Quasimodo's and Frollo's deaths happen not long after hers. Almost all major events happened around or in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, and Hugo put the monument at the centre of the story and the character's lives, as a guide and a metaphor for the readers.

Remarkably, - the *Édition définitive*⁷⁴ of the novel that was published in 1832 had included chapters that were not in the previous ones. But the added chapters were not written after the first edition was published, rather they were written at the same time but the editor, *Charles Gosselin* deemed them unnecessary and too long. The eighth or "*définite*" edition was edited by *Eugène Renduel* and the missing parts and chapters were reinstituted as the vision of Victor Hugo. The missing parts were the sixth chapter of Book IV titled *Impopularité*, and the two chapters that formed Book V titled *Abbas beati Martini* and *Ceci tueracela*. The second preface, or the preface that was added to the *édition définitive* starts as correcting the misunderstanding that was created by the announcers of the new edition, which were claiming that the new edition was expanded through new chapters. Yet Hugo called the new edition an *inedit*⁷⁵:

*In fact, if by new we assume newly made, the added chapters are not new. They were written at the same time with the rest of the book, they are dated from the same time, and they come from the same idea, they have always been a part of the Notre-Dame de Paris manuscript.*⁷⁶

⁷⁴ It is assumed by many that the "definite edition" is the second edition of the book, in actuality it is the eighth edition of the novel. On October 20, 1832 a note was added to the edition titled "Note Ajoutée à l'Édition Définitive" signed by Hugo himself.

⁷⁵ Meaning unedited, unfinished.

⁷⁶ "C'est par erreur qu'on a annoncé cette édition comme devant être augmentée de plusieurs chapitres nouveaux. Il fallait dire inédits. En effet, si par nouveaux on entend nouvellement faits, les chapitres ajoutés à cette édition ne sont pas nouveaux. Ils ont été écrits en même temps que le reste de l'ouvrage, ils datent de la même époque et sont venus de la même pensée, ils ont toujours fait partie du manuscrit de Notre-Dame de Paris."

Hugo went on to write that there was a simple explanation for their absence in the previous editions: the folder which contained the three descriptive chapters were simply misplaced and that the author needed to rewrite them or just go without. He continued in the third person:

*...two of those three chapters that possesses some importance in their longitude, were chapters of art and architecture that did not launched the drama and the novel, that the public will notice their disappearance, and that the author alone, would be in the knowing of their absence....*⁷⁷

Victor Hugo, often described the streets, the buildings, and the layout of the city of Paris in his novel. One can even create a map and imagine the characters walking, looking, admiring the described aspects of Paris. He was criticized for his long descriptions which were called unnecessary, yet he aimed to paint a picture, a picture of a medieval community, their lives and their stories, entering buildings, trading at the markets, walking alongside the river Seine (Figure 3.3.10). The said pictures, was his way of criticizing the Parisian for demolishing its past.

What sets this masterpiece apart - besides the intricate characters and storyline - was the impact it had on architecture, especially French architecture in the nineteenth century. France had just seen the 1789 Revolution that almost eradicated the Catholic Church; many buildings and monuments had been damaged, vandalized or destroyed during the decade long revolutionary period and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris had not been left out of the destruction. The Cathedral had already seen alterations, partly destructions and vandalism (Idzerda, 1954, pp.13-26) ⁷⁸throughout its existence prior to the Revolution.

⁷⁷ "S'ils n'ont pas été publiés dans les précédentes éditions du livre, c'est par une raison bien simple. À l'époque où Notre-Dame de Paris s'imprimait pour la première fois, le dossier qui contenait ces trois chapitres s'égarait. Il fallait ou les récrire ou s'en passer. L'auteur considéra que les deux seuls de ces chapitres qui eussent quelque importance par leur étendue, étaient des chapitres d'art et d'histoire qui n'entamaient en rien le fond du drame et du roman, que le public ne s'apercevrait pas de leur disparition, et qu'il serait seul, lui auteur, dans le secret de cette lacune..."

⁷⁸The author discusses whether or not the destruction during the French Revolution should be called vandalism or iconoclasm.



Figure 3.3.10. Île de la Cité, ca. 1550 (Coloured). (Source: Truscher&Hoyau, BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

Before Viollet-le-Duc and Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus submitted their project for the restoration of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1843 (Reiff, 1971, p.18), Hugo wrote his novel in order to rekindle the interest and appreciation of the French nation with its *national architecture*; Gothic architecture or *Opus Francigenum* meaning "French Work" as it was known during the Middle Ages. Charles F. R. de Montalembert (1810-1870) wrote in *L'Avenir* in April 11th 1831 that we should solemnly thank Victor Hugo for the bright light he has thrown on the beautiful monument long neglected. He stated that all French people should feel gratitude towards the author as he prevented France from losing "its finest ornament". Montalembert stated that there was no better starting point than Notre-Dame: "M. Victor Hugo will have the glory of having given the signal for the revolution which must infallibly take place in architecture; his admirable chapters entitled Notre-Dame and Paris seen from a bird's

eye view, are the first manifestos of a new taste, of a second renaissance, to which we must certainly wish better destinies than to the first.".⁷⁹

3.4. Fatality and the Written Word

When Victor Hugo published his novel, the book did not have a preface yet one written by the author was included on the next printings. The preface dating from February 1831 described Hugo's visit to the Cathedral years prior and his discovery of an engraving on one of the tower's walls: *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ*.⁸⁰ By observing the carving which he believed to be Greek capital letters, blackened by old age, written in a Gothic style calligraphy, he suggested they were written by a man who lived during the Middle Ages. His assumptions were further proven, in his opinion, by the sense of grim and fatality of the word. Hugo wrote that since the last time he saw the carving the tower was "whitewashed of scratched", claiming not to remember which action took place but nonetheless the inscription was lost just like "...the way we have been acting approximately two hundred years, towards these marvellous churches of the Middle Ages. The mutilations comes from all around, from the inside as from the outside."⁸¹ Hugo was angered, was critical, just as he wrote in his *Guerre aux démolisseurs!*, that men were responsible for the vandalism of these beautiful edifices, that it was the priests who whitewashed them, the architects themselves who scratched them and that the people who demolished them. "...nothing is left of this

⁷⁹Quoted in Biré, E. (1869). *Victor Hugo et la Restauration: Études Historique et Littéraire*. Paris:Lecoffre Fils et C'. pp. 7-8. (Trans. by E.D.T.)

⁸⁰ΑΝΑΓΚΗ was translated as fatality.

⁸¹"Il y a quelques années qu'en visitant, ou, pour mieux dire, en furetant Notre Dame, l'auteur de ce livre trouva, dans un recoin obscur de l'une des tours ce mot, gravé à la main sur le mur: ΑΝΑΓΚΗ. Ces majuscules grecques, noires de vétusté et assez profondément entaillées dans la pierre, je ne sais quels signes propres à la calligraphie gothique empreints dans leurs formes et dans leurs attitudes, comme pour révéler que c'était une main du moyen âge qui les avait écrites là, surtout le sens lugubre et fatal qu'elles renferment, frappèrent vivement l'auteur.... Depuis, on a badigeonné ou gratté (je ne sais plus lequel) le mur, et l'inscription a disparu. Car c'est ainsi qu'on agit depuis tantôt deux cents ans avec les merveilleuses églises du moyen âge. Les mutilations leur viennent de toutes parts, du dedans comme du dehors. Le prêtre les badigeonne, l'architecte les gratte, puis le peuple survient, qui les démolit. ... il ne reste plus rien aujourd'hui du mot mystérieux gravé dans la sombre tour de Notre Dame... L'homme qui a écrit ce mot sur ce mur s'est effacé, il y a plusieurs siècles, du milieu des générations, le mot s'est à son tour effacé du mur de l'église, l'église elle-même s'effacera bientôt peut-être de la terre. C'est sur ce mot qu'on a fait ce livre. Février 1831."

mysterious word engraved in the dark tower of Notre-Dame... The man who wrote this word vanished, many centuries ago, many generations ago, the word has vanished too from the wall of the church, and the church itself may vanish soon from this earth" (Hugo, 2009, pp.59-60)⁸². The carving which was blackened over time, on a white wall surface was taught of being a metaphor for a book page, fulfilling its destiny and bringing a closure to the sense of fatality: the written word being the end of these monuments: *this will kill that*. A single word that may have been responsible for the resurrection of a monument, of an artistic style and even a whole era. This romanticized idea not only fitted the era in which the book was written in but it was also claimed for what it was by the author himself:

"This book was written on this word" (Figure 3.4.1).

The Greek word: *ΑΝΑΓΚΗ* is translated as *fatality* in the English translation by Shoberl. The Oxford Dictionary⁸³ gives two definitions to the word *fatality*:

1. An occurrence of death by accident, in war, or from disease.
2. Helplessness in the face of faith.

The word must have been chosen delicately, since the novel had multiple meanings. As we can see from the title, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was the centrepiece that holds the storyline together. Every major event in the story happened either in, on, in front of, or near the Cathedral, including the deaths of many crucial characters such as Claude Frollo (the Archdeacon of Notre-Dame) and Esmeralda. This was not a happily ever after story, it took place in 1482, during the Middle Ages, at the end of Louis XI's (1461-1483) reign. The Middle Ages were harsh; famines, diseases, long winters, the Black Death, contaminations, wars, and the constant fear of a deity or of life in general. Under these conditions, we could find the dark nature of the story appropriate. The word *fatality* can have multiple meanings as seen from the definition; the miserable state of the lives of the

⁸²The French quote was taken from the 2009 Folio classique edition of the novel and translated by the author.

⁸³Retrieved March 7, 2015, from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/fatality>.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

He went on to write that he already pleaded for the protection of their national architecture in more than one occasion, surely two of those occasions would be the pamphlet of *Guerre aux Démolisseurs!*, and that he would not stop. In the October 20th 1832 dated addition he wrote that he promised himself to revisit the subject as much as possible, of "...what is being done in Paris, at our doors, under our windows, in the big city, in the literate city, in the city of the press, of the word, of the thought." ⁸⁴

Chapters one and two of Book V were part story, part history, and part manifesto. Hugo believed that the advancement of technology, would eventually slow down and erase the past. The character of Claude Frollo opened his window to point at the Cathedral of Paris.:

For some time the archdeacon considered the enormous edifice in silence, then with a sigh, extending his right hand towards the printed book which lay open upon his table, and with his left hand extended towards Notre-Dame, his eyes sadly wandered from the book to the church. 'Alas! Alas! he said, 'this will kill that' ...the book will kill the edifice (Hugo, 1993, p.146).

This could have more than one meaning; that the printing press will kill the congregation, that people will no longer come to church, to listen to the priest now that more and more houses had the Bible, that each passing day literacy rates were increasing and that the people no longer felt the need to go to church, that the written word would kill architecture.

Architecture, especially Gothic architecture was considered to be a story-telling, and history depicting style, with its façades, statues and great stained-glassed windows. Hugo's written words resulted in the restoration of his main character, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, guided by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc. The question remains: did the

⁸⁴"Mais dans tous les cas, quel que soit l'avenir de l'architecture, de quelque façon que nos jeunes architectes résolvent un jour la question de leur art, en attendant les monuments nouveaux, conservons les monuments anciens. Inspirons, s'il est possible, à la nation l'amour de l'architecture nationale. C'est là, l'auteur le déclare, un des buts principaux de ce livre; c'est là un des buts principaux de sa vie. ... a déjà plaidé dans plus d'une occasion la cause de notre vieillesse architecture, il a déjà dénoncé à haute voix bien des profanations, bien des démolitions, bien des impiétés. Il ne se lassera pas. Il s'est engagé à revenir souvent sur ce sujet, il y reviendra. ... Et l'on ne parle pas ici seulement de ce qui se passe en province, mais de ce qui se fait à Paris, à notre porte, sous nos fenêtres, dans la grande ville, dans la ville lettrée, dans la cité de la presse, de la parole, de la pensée.... Paris, 20 Octobre 1832."

book kill the edifice? Hugo's efforts would not be in vain, considering the immense success of the novel which resulted in the restoration of the beloved Cathedral, and many more Gothic monuments: "The novel, instantly and tremendously popular, inspired illustrations by artists of all media. Salon painters, lithographers, book illustrations, caricaturists, and, later, photographers all sought to illustrate scenes from the novel or to depict the cathedral itself." (Cochran, 1999, p.393). The images of the Cathedral of Paris were everywhere, easily accessible and known by everyone by the French society. Notre-Dame was a national icon and the book certainly did not kill the Cathedral, yet turned into a "definite" reference point for the French art and architecture.

3.5. A New Hope for the Cathedral

In 1831 Hugo published *Notre-Dame de Paris* (Figure 3.5.1) and according to the Cathedral's historians; "In 1844, the Government of King Louis-Philippe 1st decreed the restoration of the Cathedral of Paris and the construction of a sacristy."⁸⁵ There were various reasons why Notre-Dame de Paris was chosen to be one of the first cathedrals to be restored in the nineteenth century, which would then cause a ripple effect that would lead restorations throughout France. With Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, the Cathedral became one of the symbols of the Romantic movement. Hugo urged for its restoration in his novel, which was effective at the end. A second reason was that the Renaissance and the Neoclassicism had eclipsed the medieval architecture. They were foreign concepts that arrived from outside of the nation that had lived through a revolution. France was in search of its roots, of its medieval past and Gothic was a true expression of French national genius. A third reason was that after the brief periods of dechristianization of the *Culte de la Raison* and *Le Culte de L'Être Suprême*, Notre-Dame de Paris was going to re-emerge as a centre of Catholic rebirth. In a way the 1789 Revolution's damages and evidences must be removed by a reconstruction, a return to the glorious days. According to Daniel D. Reiff, there was another reason for choosing the Cathedral for the restoration, which was that it would be educational. People would get the opportunity to see the monuments as

⁸⁵Retrieved May 31, 2017, from <http://www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/la-cathedrale-de-histoire/historique-de-la-construction/>.

they once were: "The buildings he [Viollet-le-Duc] restored were comparable to museums or libraries, they were the raw materials for the history of art." (1971, p.29).

A young Viollet-le-Duc was an under inspector in the Sainte-Chapelle renovations since 1840 and he collaborated with Lassus on a proposal for the restoration of the capitals Cathedral, Notre-Dame. In January 1843, the proposal was prepared, sent to the Ministry of Justice and the Cults who was responsible for the maintenance of the monument. In March 11, 1844, their proposal was accepted and in 1845, Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus then presented their drawings and detailed projects. Lassus passed away on July 15th, 1857 at fifty years old and the restorations were finished in 1864 by Viollet-le-Duc who now could realise his dream of completing the Cathedral in its supposed 1350 state (Poisson & Poisson, 2014, p.190), from his office located on the south tower (Midant, 2001, p.54). Work ceased for eight years because of lack of funds (Reiff, 1971, p.18) yet the site was like an experiment for him to understand the undertakings of a restoration project. The National Legislative Assembly finally voted for a credit of six million for the Cathedral's restoration project which resulted in the re-start of the project in 1853 (Poisson & Poisson, 2014, p.153). The restoration of the Cathedral was well documented: the chief inspector Maurice Ouradou (1822-1884)⁸⁶ took extensive daily notes in *Le Journal des Travaux*. The complete record runs from the 30th of April, 1844 to the 19th of November, 1864. In these journals, the chronological stages of the work were described; excavations, construction phases and even the demounting of scaffolds, the work that was taking place on the reliefs and statues, the placement of the finished statues, official inspections and of course, criticism of said work (Reiff, 1971, p.18).

⁸⁶ "Viollet-le-Duc: Les visions d'un architecte", an exposition dated between November 20th, 2014 - March 9th, 2015 at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris by the Cité de l'Architecture & du Patrimoine. In this exhibition many important photographs, models, visual and written documents including *Le Journal de Travaux* written by Maurice Ouradou, the Chief Inspector of the restoration.



Figure 3.5.1. First edition of Notre-Dame de Paris' cover, 1831. (Source: Public Library)

In *Revue Générale de l'Architecture* in 1851 Viollet-le-Duc addressed historical events that affected the Cathedral: some purposeful destructions, changes and some he considered vandalism in the name of art. He claimed that these actions of vandalism began in the early stages of the eighteenth century. According to Viollet-le-Duc, in 1699 "...under the pretence of accomplishing what Louis XIII wished", the choir tower and the bas-reliefs were removed including the altars, the stalls and even the tombs of bishops disappeared. He criticized the heavy marble decoration that took place over the stylistic details of the Cathedral of Paris. He continued with the description of the destruction of the rood screen in 1725 which was being replaced by marble altars; the destruction of the stained glasses and windows located at the nave which "represented bishops and characters from the Old Testament" in 1741 which was soon followed by the removal of the ones in the sanctuary and chapels (Midant, 2001, p.60). Viollet-le-Duc not only criticized the past decisions and changes that occurred in the Cathedral but he would soon be himself, critiqued for his restoration ideas and design choices that would occur less than a century later.

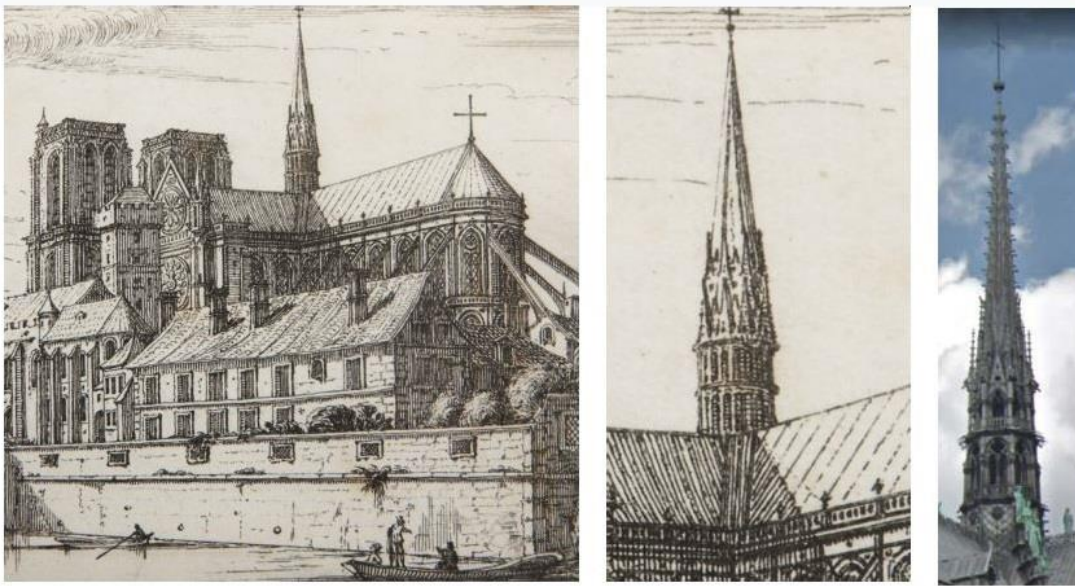


Figure 3.5.2. The spire of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1680 and the spire by Viollet-le-Duc (Before 2019). (BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

The spire which was dismantled between 1786 and 1792 was once again erected during Viollet-le-Duc's time (Figure 3.5.2), strictly ornamental, ninety-six metres from the ground, with one of the sculptures (Saint Thomas, looking up to the sky) depicting the restorer himself. As early as 1810, following the disasters of the Revolution on the edifices, the prefects drew up a list of monuments to be preserved, in a spirit of inventory of the heritage. Then, in 1837, Prosper Mérimée created the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* to register or classify the most remarkable buildings. The city of Paris created its first list in 1862, which included Notre-Dame.

3.5.1. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's Report

The *Projet de Restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris* was a report written and presented by Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in 1843, January 31st to the Ministry of Justice and the Cults, a strict deadline that only they abided. They were considered young at the time - Lassus was thirty-eight and Viollet-le-Duc was twenty-nine - but they already had the necessary experience and expertise considering Lassus had been in charge of the restoration of Sainte-Chapelle since 1836 and Viollet-le-Duc had been responsible for the Abbey of La Madeleine at Vézelay since 1840, both very important monuments representing Gothic architecture (Camille, 2009, p.4).

PROJET DE RESTAURATION
DE
NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS

Par M.M. Lassus et Viollet-le-Duc.

RAPPORT

Adressé à M. le Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes.

Annexé au projet de restauration, remis le 31 janvier 1843.

PARIS.

IMPRIMERIE DE M^{re} DE LACOMBE,

RUE D'ENGHEN, 12.

1843.

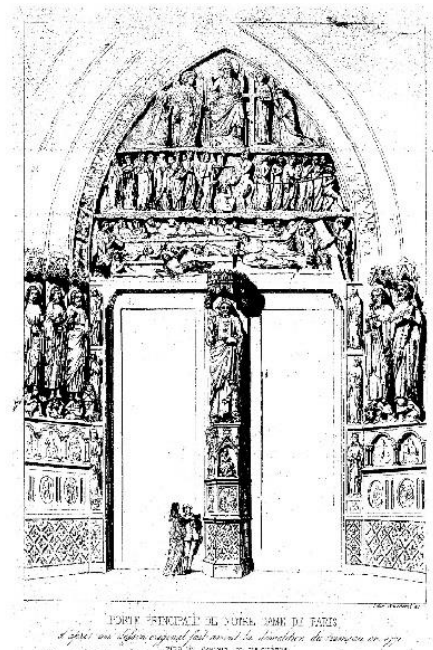


Figure 3.5.3. Lassus & Viollet-le-Duc's. *Projet de Restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1843. / Main entrance of the monument depicted by Léon Gaucherel, 1843 (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

They presented the restoration project with twenty-two sheets of drawings, five estimates and an engraving by Léon Gaucherel depicting the "Main door of Notre-Dame de Paris"(Figure 3.5.3); a drawing made before the demolition of the trumeau in 1771 (Poisson & Poisson, 2014, p.95). This project was submitted twelve years after the publication of *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* and it seemed to have adopted Hugo's ideologies about the monument's place and importance in French culture and architectural history: "Hugo's project to save Notre-Dame de Paris, while recognizing an intrinsic artistic value in the cathedral, also contributed to monumentalizing it as an object for historical and cultural investigation." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.157).

The report was divided into four sections: "General considerations on the Restoration system", "Historical description of the Cathedral of Paris, from the time of its construction to the present day", "Exterior Restoration - Interior Restoration" and finally "Sacristy". On April 30th 1844, a decree by the same Minister the report was addressed to, appointed Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc as architects of the metropolis,

responsible for drawing up the final restoration project of the Cathedral and eventually the construction of the new sacristy (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.104).

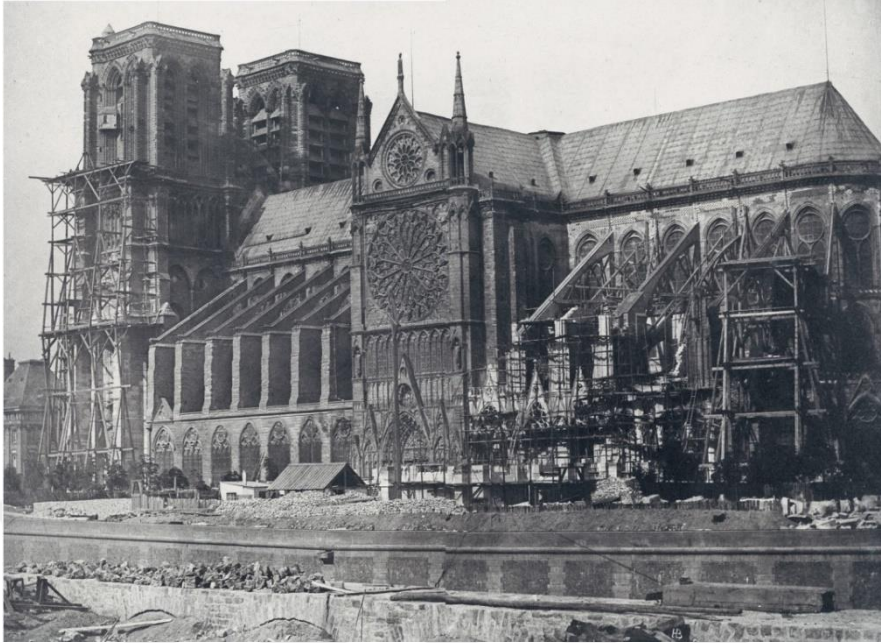


Figure 3.5.4. South façade of the Cathedral under restoration in 1846. (Source: Collection Société Française de Photographie)

In the first part of the report which also included a budgetary table, they chose to discuss their general ideas and critics of restoration projects and that these projects can be more destructive for a monument than the ruins of centuries: On the contrary, a restoration can, by adding new forms, make a host of remains disappear, whose rarity and state of obsolescence even increase their interest (Lassus & Viollet-le-Duc, 1843, p.3). It may seem ironic that they were the ones discussing the possibility of how a restoration project may become in itself destructive; a strong statement considering how much Viollet-le-Duc has eventually incorporated to the Cathedral of Paris. Yet he is the one to give us a description of what a restoration should be:

The term and the thing itself are both modern. To restore an edifice does not mean to preserve it, to repair nor rebuild it; it means to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time. (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854, Tome VIII, p.14) (Figure 3.5.4).

Both Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc stated in the report that they did not believe in removing all additions made after the original state of the monument. They believed in preserving and / or restoring each part that was added over time in their own style

without the addition of any personal opinions. The restorers stated that for a successful restoration project, the so-called artist must put themselves aside, forget their own instincts and preferences in order to study the edifice at hand. It is not a question of making art, but only of submitting to the art of an era that is no longer (1843, p.4).

Their opposed respectful approach towards the monument was not always taken as such especially by the press at the time. A media outlet called *Journal amusant* which published an article called *Paris Reblanchi* was one of the critical ones (Figure 3.5.5). The article was published on the 9th of February, 1856, more than ten years after the initial report for the restoration project. It was mocking it, criticizing the whiteness of the monument, the re-appearance of the statues on the West façade, stating that the majority of them no longer had noses, that adding said noses "...nez à faire damner un sage s'il se présentait ainsi en face au jour du jugement." a masquerade, Gothic with a false nose.⁸⁷



Figure 3.5.5. "Paris Reblanchi", *Journal amusant* No: 6, 1856.
(Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

⁸⁷ "Paris Reblanchi", *Journal amusant* No: 6, Feb, 9th, 1856. "...would serve to damn this wise man when he presents himself thus renosed at the day of judgment."

Amidst the negativity of the media, Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc insisted in their report on the importance of understanding and maintaining the primitive state of construction as it is essentially linked to form. Any changes in this matter which was the "most important part of Gothic architecture" could soon lead to another change which would eventually result in a modern replacement at the expense of form. They wrote in the same manner about the importance of construction systems that they wrote about materials: do not change or add materials that did not exist at the original time. They did not suggest to leave the materials in a weakened state but they insisted on choosing the correct ones in order for them to mix or work well together and even consider the added or subtracted weight. A change of weight, a change of temperature even can break cast iron like it was glass. They wrote that this material did not marry with stone which can cause ruin through oxidation. Even the colour problem was mentioned and that we need not say that cast iron can never reproduce that of stone, since, even when it is covered with a thick layer of paint, the red oxide of the iron destroys it so quickly that it must be continually renewed (1843, pp.5-6). They continued their critics over cement and the way the sculptures and the stained glasses were being taken care of, the way the bas-reliefs should have been preserved or restored, they even suggested making copies of sculptures and bas-reliefs of the Cathedrals of Chartres, Reims and Amiens. They insisted on the importance of research that should be done in order to restore a monument that is as important as the Cathedral: a monument as important as the Cathedral of Paris, of this remarkable building placed in the centre of the capital, under the eyes of the authority, visited every day by all the intelligent and enlightened people (1843, p.8).

The second part of the report gave a detailed description of the Cathedral of Paris (Figure 3.5.6) by the help of their extensive research where they claimed to have examined many texts, graphics and historical information but the most important part was the actual study of the monument through archaeological findings and documents. They claimed the edifice had three distinguished periods yet each addition that occurred reinforced the unity, the harmony of the monument (1843, p.10). In this part they wrote the history of the construction of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame that was written in this chapter of the dissertation but they still claimed something that they deemed *remarkable*; that the Cathedral's first construction phase

one can follow a transition in Christian art throughout Bishop Maurice de Sully's work where the choir seems to be marked by the Romanesque character whereas the nave is already in Gothic style (1843, p.13). They continued by discussing how they found the construction dates of the *façade occidentale*, the wooden spire that once stood tall and its destruction in 1793. The modifications that occurred to the windows which are "...a cause of ruin for the building..." (1843, p.15), the traceries, the addition of chapels to the low-naves, the portals and so on. The completion of the "queen of the French Cathedrals" (1843, p.17) lasted three centuries, and for all that time the people poured all their knowledge and sense of art into it. The monument was finally complete yet the damages and mutilations that this beautiful monument would have to endure were just beginning. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc then wrote in detail all the vandalism that occurred, even vandalism that was done to the building by other architects.

The third part of the report consisted of two sub-titles: The Exterior and Interior restorations that they wished to accomplish during their project. The authors started by stating that they will remain faithful to the monument and that they are also obliged to follow what they had previously pointed out in the first part of the report: "We have remained completely rejected any modification, any change, any alteration, both of form and material and of the system of construction." (1843, p.27). They discussed the statues of the saints and kings that should be restored, the stained-glasses and windows took a large space in the part for whether or not they should be kept as they are, replaced or re-designed in the nineteenth century style as some of them do not belong to any style at all (1843, p.32). They ended this subtitle with the resolution of what to do about the restoration of the central spire built of timber and covered with lead. They claimed that the spire completed the Cathedral of Paris yet did not ask if they should or not rebuilt it, leaving the discussion for another time. It is common knowledge that the spire would be re-built, albeit in a different design by Viollet-le-Duc after Lassus death, which would eventually burn down in 2019. The interior restorations started with the removal of the entirety of the ceiling of the monument; to see the state of the vaults and to research the possibility of paint residue (1843, pp.33-34). They wrote that they included drawings of a possible

restoration of the choir as it was before 1699 yet they also claimed that the study was purely archaeological and that the execution was not a suggestion.

The last part titled *Sacristy* was dedicated to the necessity for the reconstruction of the archbishopric. A Neo-Gothic building was drawn and needed to create a coherent vision, which of course had never existed (Poisson & Poisson, 2014, p.114). Several projects were drawn and presented yet its location constituted still the main problem (1843, p.36). Eventually they decided to stick to the location that it was already on: In doing so, they relied on the similar arrangements of the sacristies of Chartres, the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, the one in Vincennes, and so many others, always placed on the side of the main monument. Obviously, this is the only option that is really in the character of Gothic architecture (1843, p.37). According to the restorers there was once talk of disguising the sacristy in order to protect the symmetry of the monument yet Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc were against that notion as Gothic architecture was not about symmetry but of structural necessities. This ideology was given as the reason why Gothic architecture had so many varieties in their elements and shape and forms.



Figure 3.5.6. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1780 before the restoration (Source: Sandron, 2013)

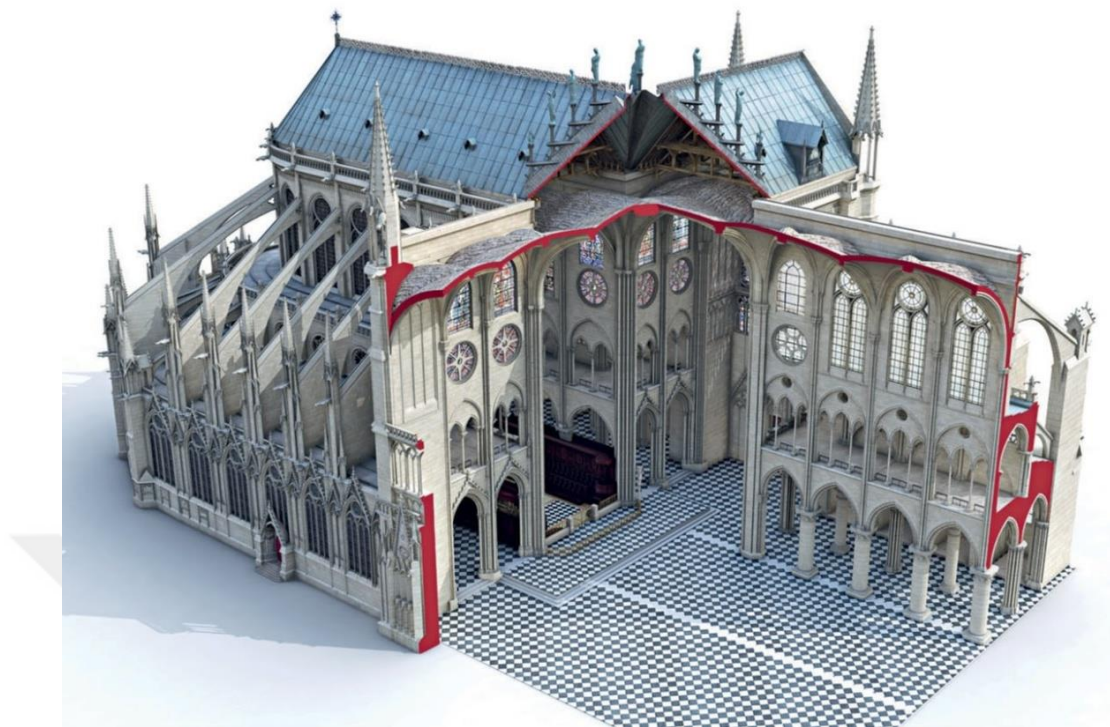


Figure 3.5.7. Notre-Dame de Paris in 1860 during the restoration (Source: Sandron, 2013)

This report was accepted and eventually continued / added to as deemed necessary throughout the restoration period of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. As previously mentioned, the restoration of the Cathedral was well documented by the chief inspector Maurice Ouradou shared extensive daily notes in *Le Journal des Travaux*.⁸⁸ When the immense restoration project of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was completed in 1864 (Figure 3.5.7), Prosper Mérimée wrote a letter on February 11 describing his friend, Viollet-le-Duc; calling him a fair man who knew how to reason which was a must in architecture according to the author of the letter. He claimed that the restorer was one of the first architect of his time that created buildings for their purposes and not their aesthetical and stylistic qualities. Mérimée complemented his drawing skills (Figure 3.5.8), calling him the best and that he knew, that every ornament and detail of the Cathedral of Paris had been drawn in meticulous attention by him. Mérimée also claimed that his friend's work ethic was unblemished, that no one could or would work as hard as he would: "In addition to a

⁸⁸The complete record runs from the 30th of April, 1844 to the 19th of November, 1864.

considerable clientele, he has major government works, he is inspector of diocesan buildings, he builds for the Emperor, he writes books, he teaches a course, he organises festivals in Compiègne and does excavations..."(Poisson & Poisson, 2014, p.250).



Figure 3.5.8. Viollet-le-Duc's drawing of the Western Façade of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1856 / Viollet-le-Duc's drawing of the Choir of Notre-Dame in the thirteenth century, 1883. (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

Complimenting Viollet-le-Duc may seem easy nowadays, he became the face of restoration and the saviour of French Gothic architecture yet he was not always seen in the best light: many criticized his work during his time and even after. He was deemed as "...un des plus grand criminels de l'histoire." by Achille Carlier (1945, Tome 2, p.469). Most frequently he was criticized for the West façade since it was the most visible part of the work and the most visually drastic changes happened to be there. Daniel D. Reiff (1971) wrote an extensive paper on the subject where he claimed that Viollet-le-Duc had removed all decay that occurred during the six centuries when he was finished with the restoration of the Cathedral of Paris, that he had removed all traces of former repairs and misguided restorations, traces of

alterations by Church and Monarchy and any destruction and vandalism of the revolutions (Reiff, 1971, p.17).

Yet even with all his knowledge and experience, Viollet-le-Duc seemed to have had a romantic approach to Gothic architecture, or maybe even a nostalgically blinding one where he wanted to see Notre-Dame should be rather than how it was: "In some parts (like the painted decoration of the interior chapels) it was scholarly fancy; and from the few instances of this minor aspect of his restorations, there has arisen a general mistrust." (Reiff, 1971, p.30). Through all his faults, one cannot deny the fact that Viollet-le-Duc had saved many churches, cathedrals and abbeys from further destruction and ruin, even vandalism in the hands of other restorers. He may have gone further than what was necessary, he may have had tunnel vision⁸⁹ where the monuments in his care was in question yet one can and should be able to see beyond the surface and appreciate his achievements and dedication to Gothic architecture: "...Viollet-le-Duc promoted a sense of French cultural pride, an essential element for the preservation of the buildings and creation of a patriotic and public spirit." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.157).

Throughout this chapter, the aim was to give not only historical, geographical and monumental information but also understand the French context of these matters; how the site of the future Cathedral was actually the centre of Paris centuries before its existence, how the language of art changed over time resulting in a national identity. In order to understand the significance of the monument one had to start at the location, the *Île de la Cité*. The capital that is known as Paris began as a humble Roman town on an island that grew exponentially over centuries not because of its resources but because of its location. That is one of the main reasons for the Cathedral of Paris' importance. With the beginning of the construction of Notre-Dame, an immense urban development phase began in Paris. Roads, bridges, palaces were built among side city walls. Many kings added to their city over centuries but

⁸⁹ There is an entire book dedicated to the Gargoyles of Notre-Dame and the question is that whether or not they existed in the first place, their reasoning and Viollet-le-Duc's insistence in "restoring" them not just in Notre-Dame de Paris but also in Reims Cathedral. Camille, M. (2009). *The gargoyles of Notre-Dame: medievalism and the monsters of modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

the most important project would be under the reign of an emperor, Napoleon III. It would be under his supervision that the Cathedral would be restored and that Paris would face its biggest, most exhaustive urban re-design.

The story of the Cathedral was a typical one, a Gothic edifice that was constructed over centuries yet a question remained: How did this particular monument become to be protected by people which were considered to be national heroes even though it endured many wars, revolutions, vandalism and eventually be saved by another national hero, a young French author and his historical novel that would save not only the Cathedral of Paris but many more? That is the question that this chapter and the next aimed to understand and answer; in 1831 a novel had been published with its main actor, the monument in question. This novel brought new life to a building in ruin, a new interest but most importantly a new role: a national heritage. Hugo's masterpiece resulted in the restoration project that would not only save the Gothic monument but also bring new meaning to the near past of the French nation, to heritage architecture and restoration ideologies.

3.6. Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionary

Viollet-le-Duc continued his studies for many years and was responsible for forty of the restorations of many medieval monuments that had been affected by time and the French Revolution including cathedrals, churches, palaces, *hôtels de ville*, *châteaux* and abbeys (Deen Schildgen, 2008, p.152). Amongst his many accomplishments are the restorations of Carcassonne, the Basilica of St.-Denis, Sainte-Chapelle and Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris and his publications on architectural theory, restoration and medieval architecture. His *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVI siècle* (1854), in particular, deserves further analysis due to its search for the "definitive" (Figure 3.6.1). As a dictionary, this is a ten volume set which consist of five thousand pages and three thousand and sixty-seven illustrations; focusing on French architecture between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, first published in 1854 with additions of tomes that lasted until 1868. It is widely accepted that nothing has replaced nor surpassed the Dictionary even today. It

is considered a privileged tool for historians of medieval and modern construction, as well as contemporary construction.

In the dictionary, he discussed the three architectural elements in history of architecture: the Greek Doric temple, the complex structures of Ancient Rome and the French Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages. He argued that Gothic architecture was a combination of the rational, orderly Doric temples where functionality was not a priority and the designed by necessity Roman architecture where function dictated the structures. The Dictionary was considered as a reference book for the Gothic Revival in France. By including examples from England and Germany, the author provided a source book for the architects and professionals interested in English Gothic Revivalism.

In the preface written by the author himself; he claimed that when one starts to study the architecture of the Middle Ages there did not exist a text that one can follow. According to the author, there was a lack of discussion when it came to the monuments constructed since the Bas-Empire⁹⁰ until the fifteenth century and when mentioned they were in a derogatory manner (1854, Tome I, p.I).

Before listing some of the French historians and their work, he mentioned "...nos voisins les Anglais, ils songeaient à classer les édifices par styles et par époques."⁹¹ Viollet-le-Duc wrote that the first works of M. de Caumont⁹² were focused on the characteristics of the different eras of French architecture in Nord, a French department at the border of Belgium. In 1831, Ludovic Vitet wrote a report on the monuments of certain French departments, emphasizing the unknown treasures to be discovered. The next year, his report would be used by Victor Hugo whilst writing the *Guerre aux démolisseurs!* (1832). Prosper Mérimée would later on

⁹⁰ Bas-Empire is a terminology used to describe the final period of the Roman Empire. It was first used in 1752 by Charles le Beau when he published his book titled *L'Histoire du Bas-Empire*, a twenty eight volume set published between 1752 and 1817.

⁹¹"...our neighbours the English, they were thinking of classifying the buildings by style and by eras.", suggesting already existing texts of architectural history. Translated by the author.

⁹²Arcisse de Caumont (1801-1873) was a French historian and archaeologist.

continue Vitet's work in order to create a complete catalogue of historical monuments in France (1854, Tome I, p.II).

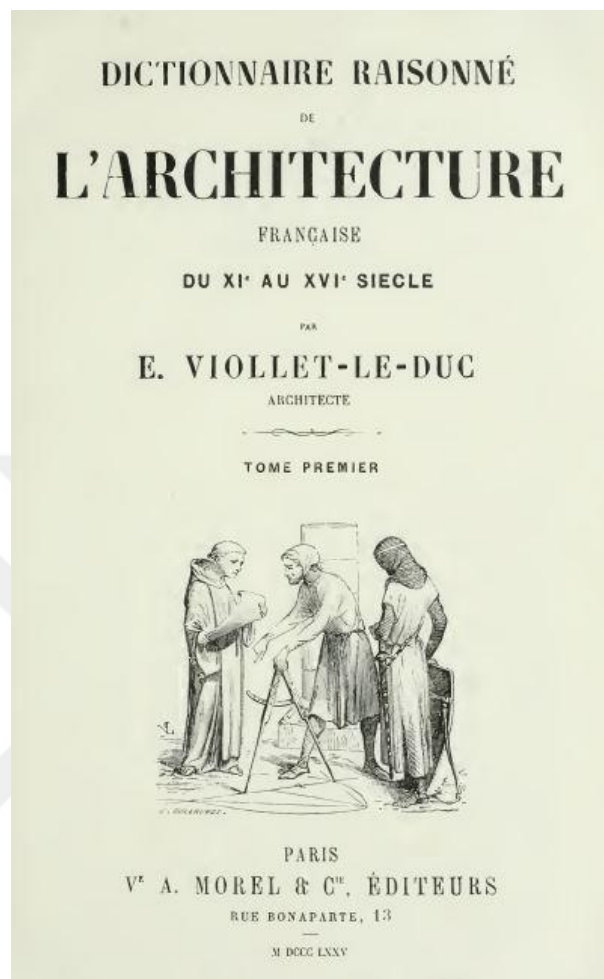


Figure 3.6.1. Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française du XIe au XVIe siècle by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854. (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

In his preface Viollet-le-Duc called "the beautiful monuments of the Middle Ages" their [French] national architecture and that it was a happy revolution that these buildings were receiving the attention and renovations. The *Commission des monuments historiques* had attained important results; by conserving "our" buildings it has modified the course of the architectural education in France and that by taking care of its past it has found a future (1854, Tome I, pp.II-III). As much as Victor Hugo wished he accomplished in the *Guerre aux démolisseurs!*, Viollet-le-Duc exclaimed his frustrations about how if not conserved, if not properly taken care of, they [his generation] would be the last to study their own language - meaning architectural language. They would be the last to study the arts of France that

occurred between the ninth and fifteenth centuries that spread to England, Germany, the north of Spain, Italy, Sicily and the Orient (1854, Tome I, p.III). The author wrote in the preface that he not only aimed to give numerous examples to different forms used during the Middle Ages in a chronological order, but that he also tried to make the reader understand the reasons for the forms, the principles, ideas and the customs behind them.

He would then suggest the same principle to the restoration of these monuments; not just imitating them as they were but to understand the reason behind them. To write a history of the Middle Ages, said the author, may seem impossible since one had to embrace the history of religion, politics, feudal and civil of many populations; mentioning all diverse influences that had brought in their elements; finding the source of these influences, analyzing their mixture and their results; take into account the local traditions, material possibilities and so on. The classifications by periods, by styles *primaire, secondaire, tertiaire, de transition...* this classification did not exist, and if it did, it gives the notion of a *transition* period from the roman to the Renaissance of sixteenth century. Without blaming this system which was useful but created a void of information between infancy and old age. This was the reason for the method of the *Dictionnaire*, a format that facilitated the research of the reader, enabled the writer to present a mass of information and examples that may not have found its place in history without rendering the text too complicated and unintelligible (1854, Tome I, p.VI). He wrote that their century was resuming the past, in order to create a path to the future they had to learn where they came from; the discoveries made from the past guided them in their interest of all things historical, photography now aiding when they were lacking in capturing the ancient buildings (1854, Tome I, p.VII).

The main objective of this text was not to guide artists backwards, furnishing them with elements of an art long forgotten or imitating the past buildings in the nineteenth century, but to look at the medieval art as an education, as useful in order to slowly revolutionize art (1854, Tome I, p.IX). He was criticizing the new buildings that were being built with the historical styles without really understanding their reasoning; the first condition of taste in architecture was to submit to its laws,

he wrote (1854, Tome I, p.X). Viollet-le-Duc also wrote that there are two things to take into account before anything else in the study of art; the knowledge of the creation principle and the choice of the art that is created. The principle of French architecture of twelfth to thirteenth centuries that developed with grand energy, was due to its submission to custom forms, the ideas of the moment, the harmony between "the clothes and the skin" and the incessant progress (1854, Tome I, p.XI). The beginning of the nineteenth century brought forward the interest to the past centuries; the Troubadour style, the Romantic era, the French Revolution, the historical styles, the categorization of historical monuments and the conservation and restoration projects, all manifested themselves in the collective interest to medieval times. Viollet-le-Duc's dislike of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, his interest and research of the Middle Ages resulted in his many lectures and written words, and the preface ends by his defence of their national style and its importance in education and knowledge brought forward by texts as his.

The contents of the *DictionnaireRaisonné* consisted of architectural elements and terminologies as well as some religious terminologies such as *Christ (Jésus)*, *Croix*, *Couronnement de la Vierge*. He not only described the terminologies but detailed certain religious symbolisms, historical and political events accompanied by illustrations done by him. There are some entries that occupied the largest space such as *Clocher* (122 pages), *Tour* (122 pages), *Château* (133 pages), *Porte*⁹³ (154 pages), *Sculpture* (1801 pages) and *Construction* (278 pages). These entries were the longest ones apart from *Cathedral* (113 pages) and the longest entry of them all; *Architecture* (336 pages).

⁹³Clocher means bell tower in French and Porte means door.

pouvait être autrement, aussi bien pour gagner du temps que pour être assuré de l'exactitude du tracé, puisque encore aujourd'hui il est impossible d'élever une construction en style ogival, si l'on ne dessine ses épures soi-même. N'oublions pas que toutes les pierres étaient taillées et achevées sur le chantier avant d'être posées, et qu'il fallait par conséquent apporter la plus grande précision et l'étude la plus complète dans le tracé des épures. (Voy. APPAREIL, CONSTRUCTION, TRAIT.)

ARCHITECTURE, s. f. Art de bâtir. L'architecture se compose de deux éléments, la théorie et la pratique. La théorie comprend : l'art proprement dit, les règles inspirées par le goût, issues des traditions, et la science, qui peut se démontrer par des formules invariables, absolues. La pratique est l'application de la théorie aux besoins ; c'est la pratique qui fait plier l'art et la science à la nature des matériaux, au climat, aux mœurs d'une époque, aux nécessités du moment. En prenant l'architecture à l'origine d'une civilisation qui succède à une autre, il faut nécessairement tenir compte des traditions d'une part, et des besoins nouveaux de l'autre. Nous diviserons donc cet article en plusieurs parties. La première comprendra une histoire sommaire des origines de l'architecture du moyen âge en France. La seconde traitera des développements de l'architecture depuis le XI^e siècle jusqu'au XVI^e ; des causes qui ont amené son progrès et sa décadence, des différents styles propres à chaque province. La troisième comprendra l'architecture religieuse ; la quatrième, l'architecture monastique ; la cinquième, l'architecture civile ; la sixième, l'architecture militaire.

Figure 3.6.2. Entry of "Architecture" in the Dictionnaire Raisonné, 1854.
(Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

Focusing on the *Architecture* entry (Figure 3.6.2), Viollet-le-Duc gave a simple explanation to the word: the art of building. He continued by saying that architecture was composed of two elements: the theory and the application. The theory consisted of the rules inspired by taste, the issues of traditions and science. The application was the appliance of the theory according to needs, it was the application that brings art and science together with the nature of materials, climate, the customs of the era, the necessities of the moment (1854, Tome I, p.116). The author wrote that he divided the entry into six parts; the first consisting of a summary of the origins of medieval architecture in France, the second would look into the developments of architecture from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century including the reasons of the progress and regress that occurred and the different styles that resulted in different regions. The third part would be about religious architecture, the fourth about monastic architecture, the fifth about civil architecture and the last part, the sixth, would be about military architecture. He began the first part where he summarized the origins of medieval architecture, the invasion of Gaul by "barbarians" who would have come across monuments from the Roman era. He continued with Charlemagne and claimed that "the reign of Charlemagne might be considered as the modern art introduction in France." (1854, Tome I, p.120).

According to Viollet-le-Duc, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were marked by provincial styles as *Écoles* began to form. No longer did the construction sites searched for materials from afar, they adapted to regional climates, they worked with locals and they created their own methods, the only thing uniting them was religious buildings. In a sub-section titled *Développement de l'Architecture en France du XI^e au XVI^e siècle. - Des causes qui ont amené son progrès et sa décadence. - Des différents styles propres à chaque province*, he did as the title suggested, he wrote the development of architecture with its 'progress' and 'regress'. Here, he not only wrote about the historical aspect of the development but he also included the ruling party, the governing system, King's and others. He mentioned Cluny Abbey and how this monument's design would be implicated to other architectural buildings (1854, Tome I, p.125). He wrote that the final years of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century was when the grand cathedrals began to emerge and their constructions almost finished, giving us examples of multiple sites (1854, Tome I, p.140). Viollet-le-Duc claimed that at the beginning of this new century (the thirteenth century) architecture developed from a completely new method, every element a deduction from one another. With these changes in the methodology the revolution of art and science begun, the construction commanded the form (1854, Tome I, p.146).

On page 152, he wrote the dates of the "new" Cathedral of Paris; founded in 1163, its choir completed in 1196 and in 1220 construction was completed, giving the budget of the project: Ninety millions of the era's currency. The century also brought the replacement of imagination by reasoning, "logic killing poetry" but also the execution became more balanced, the material choices more judicious. Apparently the genius constructors, not being able to find novelties, satisfied their needs for novelty in details, searching the quintessence of art. The thirteenth century left little to the next century in a religious architecture context, their only aim to complete those vast cathedrals (1854, Tome II, pp.154-155). Two pages later, he claimed that even though the dominance of England was apparent - politically speaking, architecture remained French. According to Viollet-le-Duc, Gothic architecture said its final words towards the end of the fifteenth century, impossible to go further, the matter was rested, the science took no more into account (1854, Tome II, p.158).

In the sub-chapter titled *Architecture Religieuse* he started by claiming that among all people, religious architecture was the first to develop. In this chapter he wrote about architectural terminologies, plan schematics and architectural elements, gave technical and functional information whilst explaining day to day inner workings of the spaces he was describing: how the people responsible for the bells would not be passing through "the faithful" by night and so on (1854, Tome II, pp.166-168). On page 192 (Figure 3.6.3), he described architectural elements and sections of Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral accompanied by illustrations; describing the nave which was raised forty-four metres and how it was achieved, criticizing the interior, finding faults in proportion compared to the exterior which he claimed is harmonious (1854, Tome II, p.193). He was recounting the windows, the walls, the vaults in detail. The next cathedral examples are compared to the Cathedral of the capital whether it be proportional, plan wise or other architectural elements, almost as if the monument itself was considered to be a reference point to other Gothic edifices.

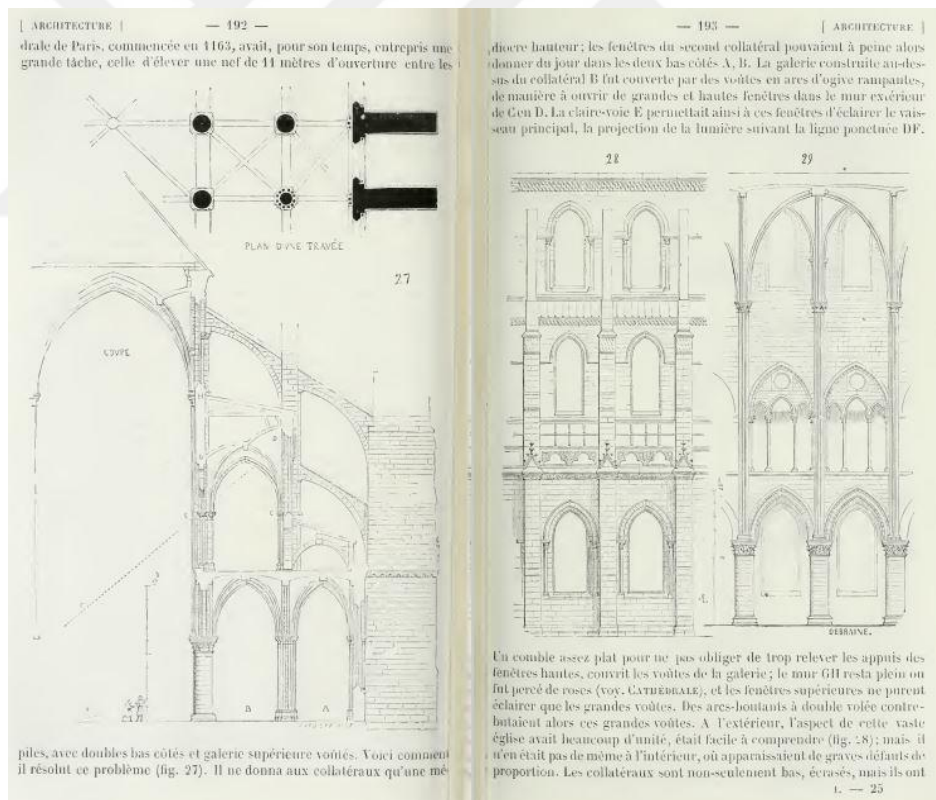


Figure 3.6.3. "Coupe / Plan d'une Travée" and "Exterior and Interior of Notre-Dame de Paris" in the *Dictionnaire Raisoné* by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854.

The *Architecture* entry was the longest in all the tomes, which can be read individually in order to get a better understanding of the architectural development of

the time frame given by the author, accompanied by a hundred and sixty-five illustrations and two maps for just this entry. Even in this entry the cathedrals were historically and structurally explained enough without the necessity to read the entry titled *Cathedral*. Viollet-le-Duc who was famous for his architectural drawings did not include many at the beginning of this entry; two maps, first showing the division of France at the end of the tenth century and the second showing the division at the time of death of Philippe-Auguste (1223). But on page 167 where he started his sub-entry *Architecture Religieuse* there were an abundance of drawings; a hundred and sixty-five illustrations where some of them had multiple drawings which he still included as *bis.* Viollet-le-Duc's emphasis was on structural evolution and engineering drawings; architectural elements, load-bearing elements, plans and sections of many examples were located in this entry. The focus on Notre-Dame de Paris was on pages 192 and 193 where we could observe a portion of the structural elements on the plan and a section of the nave where the architect solved the problem of reaching an extreme height at the time, an eleven metres high nave. Because of his capacity as an illustrator, the author did not only detailed the plans and sections and compared them with each other but he also depicted scenes of construction, war and soldiers of the Middle Ages under the entry of *Architecture*.



Figure 3.6.4. "Cathédrale Idéale adopted from Reims Cathedral" in Dictionnaire Raisoné by Viollet-le-Duc, T.2, p.323, 1854.

In the second tome, the entry of *Cathedral* took over 113 pages, starting by *De cathedra*, signifying the Episcopal seat or throne. A cathedral is a church that holds the throne of the bishop of the diocese (1854, Tome II, p.270) (Figure 3.6.4). He considered the cathedrals to be, until the fourteenth century, religious and civil buildings and until the end of the twelfth century he did not consider them to have extraordinary dimensions, even claiming that many abbey churches were larger than most. His reasoning was the feudal regime which he, reading his many texts,

considered barbaric. Yet during the twelfth century, the monarchy grew and with it the construction of said cathedrals began. The erection of cathedrals became a necessity, a rebellious act against feudality. The monarchy and religious unities alliance to constitute a nationality resulted in the emergence of grand cathedrals in northern France. Not only were they religious monuments but they were also national buildings. The cathedrals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were therefore French national symbols, the first and most important step towards unity. And if in 1793, they were still upright it was because these notions were still at the heart of the people against everything the French had done to take them apart (1854, Tome II, pp.280-281). At this point in the entry Viollet-le-Duc began to describe the historical context of the time, emphasizing Philippe-Auguste, under who's regime these monuments began to be erected. They were then, not only dimensionally surpassing the fore mentioned abbey churches but they were also a new kind of architecture where they spoke a new language, a book, an educational piece for the people as well as an asylum for prayer (1854, Tome II, p.283). In this entry the author had followed a chronological order, starting with the Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral claiming it was the first one to be started, continuing with Bourges, Noyons, mentioning St.-Denis in between, Laon, Chartres and so on. The capital's cathedral took over 9 pages, with historical facts, political aspects, architectural and decorative elements being described with five illustrations accompanying the text. These illustrations consisted of two plans; one with the sacristy that would be added towards the end of the construction, a section of the flying buttresses, an exterior and an interior section (Figure 3.6.5).

He dedicated an entry to *Restauration*, albeit a smaller one than the previously mentioned ones in the eighth tome of the dictionary; which consisted of twenty-one pages. He began by claiming that the word and the 'thing' were modern. "To restore an edifice does not mean to preserve it, to repair nor rebuild it; it means to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time." (1854, Tome VIII, p.14). Some criticized his approach, such as Didron and John Ruskin (1819-1900), claiming that a restoration project should never add nor should remove yet these acts already took place at the Cathedral of Paris' restoration project. Viollet-

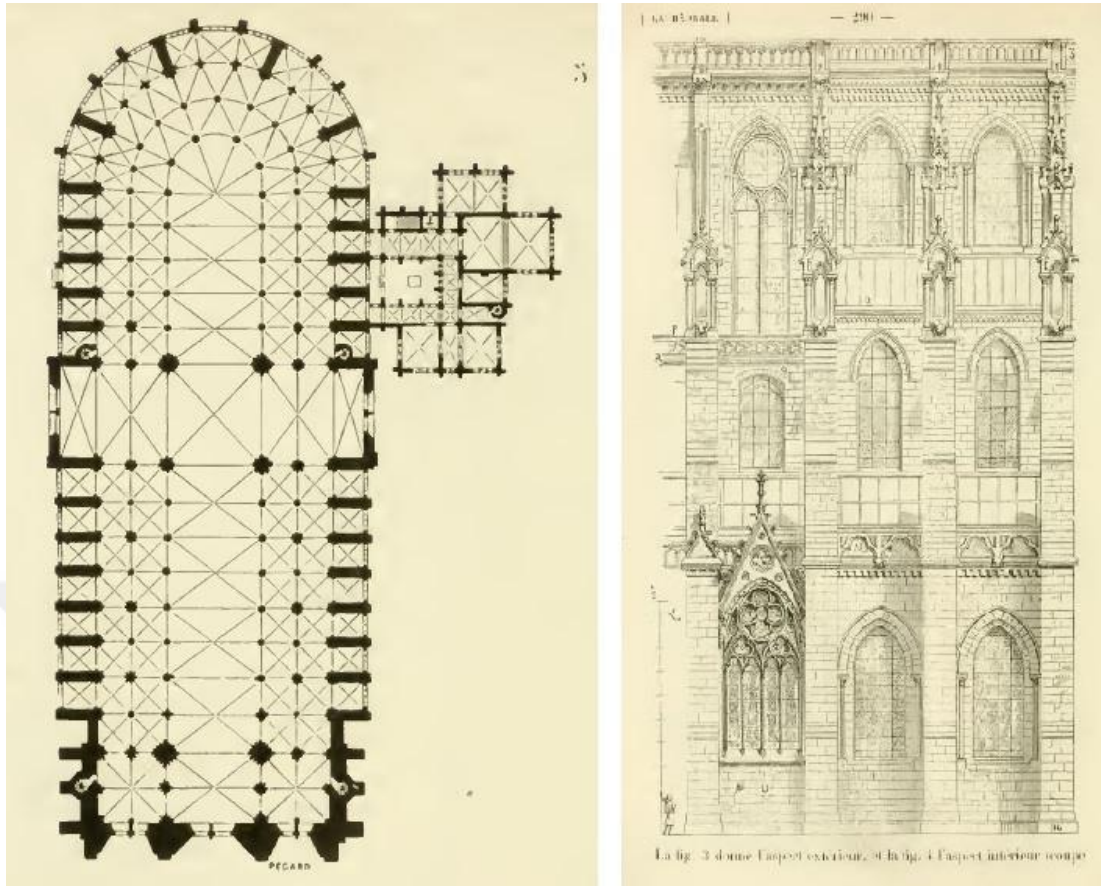


Figure 3.6.5. (Left) Notre-Dame de Paris Plan towards 1230 in Dictionnaire Raisonné, T.2, p.294 by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854. (Right) Notre-Dame de Paris' Exterior in Dictionnaire Raisonné, T.2, p.290 by Viollet-le-Duc, 1854.

le-Duc then gave a brief history of how restoration was regarded in Asia giving examples of both ancient and modern times, he then moved on to the Greeks and Romans and eventually landed on the context of Gothic architecture. He used the reports written by Ludovic Vitet to further his argument on how restoration should be perceived. He focused on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis, a project given to him by Napoleon I. Viollet-le-Duc was highly critical of the state of ruin in which the church was in but mostly he was critical of the way other architects 'restored' the monument:

The unfortunate church of St. Denis was an anatomical subject of sorts, on which artists who first entered the path of restoration made their first essays on the subject matter. For thirty years it suffered every possible mutilation; to such a degree in fact that its stability is endangered... (1854, Tome VIII, p.22).

As was mentioned in his report with Lassus on the restoration project of the Cathedral that he firmly believed in researching every part and their style, structure

and history before any kind of modification starts. The reason that he gave was that these monuments that took centuries to be built would inevitably go through different design stages, additions and modifications, the architect needed to be prepared to understand and respect them all. He was adamant that for a restoration to be successful it was essential that every piece that was removed should be replaced by a better version of itself in materiality and strength: "...[the restored edifice] should have a longer lifespan than that of which has faded." (1854, Tome VIII, p.26). The author had managed to criticize the *École des Beaux-Arts* in this entry too; the school did not thought its students the proper manner in which ancient monuments needed to be treated, that those students who most likely never oversaw a construction site were excluded to one of the most honourable ways an architect could conduct themselves (1854, Tome VIII, pp.30-31). He continued the entry with the difficulties one might find themselves in when restoring a monument from the Middle Ages, how one should try to imagine themselves as the original architect of said edifice, try to comprehend the difficulties they had to overcome and problems that they needed to solve, that in medieval architecture every portion of the work fulfilled a function and that they all had an action (1854, Tome VIII, p.33).

3.7. Lectures on Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc

Viollet-le-Duc's fascination with the French Gothic style continued in many of his publications. With two volumes, *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Figure 3.7.1) was written between 1858 and 1870 where Viollet-le-Duc systematized his methods and approach to architecture and its education in which he criticized the *École des Beaux-Arts* and their methods and ideologies. The two volumes were translated to English by Henry Van Brunt as *Discourses on Architecture* (1875) making it available for American readers. It was then translated by the British Benjamin Bucknall as *Lectures on Architecture* ⁹⁴, the first volume in 1877 and the second in 1881.

⁹⁴Benjamin Bucknall's translation (1877) will be used in this dissertation.

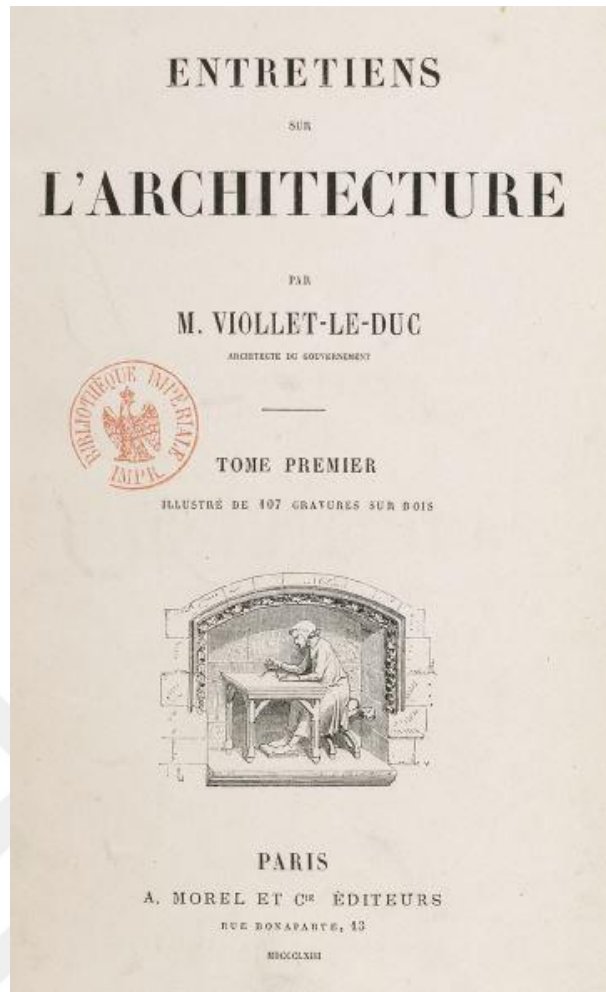


Figure 3.7.1. Cover of *Entretiens sur l'Architecture* by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.

In the author's preface which he wrote in 1860, Viollet-le-Duc stated that upon his entourage's insistence he opened a studio for pupils where he was to deliver a series of courses and lectures on architecture. He suggested on widening one's circle, perspective and knowledge that if not done, could itself be dangerous and dogmatic. Viollet-le-Duc urged his readers to not feel obliged to be a part of a style, a limitation he insisted he does not possess: "I must insist upon it that if any of my readers are disposed to believe that I am maintaining principles favourable to one school rather than another, they are mistaken, and my lectures will prove them to be so." (1863/1877, p.7). Viollet-le-Duc had traced the architectural art from the early stages; starting from the Greek and Roman periods then continuing with the Middle Ages and following it with the Renaissance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE,	1
THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE,	3
LECTURE I. What is Barbarism?—What is Art?—Is Art dependent on degree of Civilisation?—What social conditions are most favourable to the Development of the Arts?	9
II. The Buildings of primitive times—Brief review of Architec- tural Art as it existed among the Greeks,	34
III. Comparison between Greek and Roman Architecture— Peculiarities of difference—Their causes,	71
IV. Roman Architecture,	101
V. Methods to be followed in the study of Architecture—The Roman Basilicas—Domestic Architecture of the Ancients,	139
VI. Period of decline in Ancient Architecture—Style and Design —Origin of Byzantine Architecture—Western Architec- ture since the Christian era,	171
VII. The Principles of Western Architecture in the Middle Ages,	247
VIII. Causes of the Decline of Architecture—Certain principles affecting Architectural Design—The Renaissance in the West, and particularly in France,	319
IX. On Principles and Branches of Knowledge with which Architects should be acquainted,	382
X. Architecture in the Nineteenth Century—Importance of Method,	446

Figure 3.7.2. "Table of Contents" of Lectures on Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc (B. Bucknall Trans.), 1877.

The volumes, each containing ten lectures, were separated into different categories: (Figure 3.7.2) the first volume followed lectures chronologically according to architectural style and the second focused on material, construction and structural issues. In the first volume, some of the lectures were titled: "The Buildings of primitive times - Brief review of Architectural Art as it existed among the Greeks"; "Roman Architecture; Methods to be followed in the study of Architecture - Roman Basilica - Domestic Architecture of the Ancients"; "The Principles of Western Architecture in the Middle Ages"; "Causes of the Decline of Architecture - Certain principles affecting Architectural Design - The Renaissance in the West, and particularly in France". The second volume which was more focused on material and structural information had chapters titled "The Construction of Buildings - Masonry"; "The Construction of Buildings - Organization of Building Yards -

Present Conditions of the Art of Building - Use of Modern Appliances"; "On the Teaching of Architecture"; "On Monumental Sculpture; Domestic Architecture - Country Houses"; "The State of Architecture in Europe - The Position of Architects in France - Competitive Arrangements - Contracts - Book-keeping in Connection with Building-yards and their Superintendence".



Figure 3.7.3. Acropolis in *Entretiens sur l'Architecture* by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.

Due to its chronological nature and subject matter the first six lectures were focused on what Viollet-le-Duc named the *les temps primitifs* (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.34), the ancient Greek and Roman architecture. The seventh lecture titled "The Principles of Western Architecture in the Middle Ages" was more than seventy pages long with seven drawings not included in the numbered pages. The reason this lecture was chosen to be researched in detail was because the focus of the lecture was the Middle Ages, and the Gothic style in particular. Yet before mentioning Gothic, Viollet-le-Duc fixated on the fact that Greeks and then Romans (Figure 3.7.3) included colour in their architecture hence the "Greeks did not regard the form alone as sufficient for architectural effect, but considered that this form should be completed, aided or modified by a combination of various colours." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.247), a point that had been discussed in the next pages when apparently some professors did not agree with the author. He insisted that the Asiatics,

Egyptians, Arabs, Greeks and Romans coloured their architecture, that during the Byzantine and Western Romanesque periods colouring was continued and that this manner of decorating was continued at the beginning of Gothic architecture as well:

[Gothic] ... was coloured as a result of traditional influences; but in consequence of the refinements in structure introduced by the leading architects of this epoch, the colouring of buildings was gradually abandoned, with a view to render the complicated and skilful combinations exhibited in the construction conspicuously evident (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.249).

He continued by stating that painting / colouring was no longer architectural, non-essential, thus became a luxury only applied in exceptional cases. Beginning from the thirteenth century, architectural form that can be observed in France was to be observed without any additions, geometrical design and structural combinations was enough to be impressive.

In this lecture Viollet-le-Duc remarked on architects' placement and rotation of their monuments and the lack of consideration: "...we do not know how to present it [a public monument] to the public..." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.252). He wrote that even the most insignificant buildings erected during the Middle Ages and modern ones in Italy, were always placed with purpose, with a view to complement it, and that "...we have substituted symmetry, which contravenes our genius..." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.252). He complained about the way architects did not consider the place, the effects of light and shadow, the surroundings whilst drawing their buildings, and that they did not take into account how these aspects would actually aid in the display of the architectural forms. He accused them of focusing only on the symmetry of the façades and losing meaning in surrendering one's monuments with city buildings (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.253).

Viollet-le-Duc summarized the history of architectural progress starting from the Carolingian epoch to "modern times", focusing on architectural novelties and styles of the Middle Ages. He gave, as an example the Abbey of Cluny and its importance, how the order was in "need of an art that should correspond with the dignity of its mission," (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.256). He was not impressed by the unimaginative, repetitive way that Roman architecture was used in the Middle Ages -

nor was he fond of the way it was revived during his time, in contrast he pointed to the emergence of new forms, inventions, the abandonment of worn-out ideas hidden behind traditions. He wrote that the "Clunisian buildings" which were erected during the Romanesque era were the "truest and most practical expression of Christianity" in their time (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.258). He continued that in Clunisian buildings, dating from 1120 to 1140, we can observe a new principle emerging. The traditional aspects of Romanesque architecture came into question and that trying to solve problems the "Classical Antiquity" way was no longer attempted. They began to observe new "principled of construction, which foreshadow an independent style of art." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.260).⁹⁵

According to Viollet-le-Duc, in 1144, Abbot Suger completed his work on St.-Denis and that in certain parts of the edifice, the architectural revolution was completed, the round arch was abandoned and the new system of construction called Gothic had finally been invented (1854/1877, p.261), a similar narrative as published by Mérimée, Smith, Gonse and Ramée. The author wrote that the Cathedral of Noyon (about 1150) was completed under Abbot Suger's guidance, that the construction of the Cathedral of Senlis was starting and that it was around that time that Bishop Maurice de Sully began to imagine the new design of the Cathedral of Paris (1854/1877, p.262); "they purposed that their cathedrals should present vast interiors, ease of access, with no partitions, having only an altar, an episcopal throne, and a few or no chapels..." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.263). Soon after we started to observe the cities of Paris, Sens, Chartres, Reims, Amiens and so on, began their grand cathedrals with these purposes in mind, though modified in time. Viollet-le-Duc mentioned once again the new system of construction that was adopted, new forms of architecture and especially in sculpture were included. He wrote that the architects and other artists working on these cathedrals were studying geometry and advancing in their drawings and looking into nature for their inspirations for decorations and statuary. Much like Victor Hugo himself, he called this art form,

⁹⁵Viollet-le-Duc included a reference to his own work, titled *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture française*, entires "Architecture Religieuse", fig.22, and "Construction", fig.19.

meaning Gothic architecture as "the special genius of the French nation..." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.263).



Figure 3.7.4. Gothic Decorative Elements, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture* by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.

Before focusing on structural and architectural elements (Figure 3.7.4) of Gothic architecture and their differences with Roman ones, he continued his lecture by stating that the newly founded secular school in France abandoned all traces of Roman and Byzantine art that continued to affect architecture until the late part of the twelfth century and replaced them with principles based on reflection. He was

referring to the School of Chartres here without mentioning its specific name. He summarized these principles as: "equilibrium in the constructive system by opposing active resistance to active pressure, the outward form resulting only from the structure and the requirements; ornamentation derived solely from the local flora; statuary tending to the naturalistic, and seeking dramatic expression." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, pp.263-264). He followed his notion of Gothic with structural details, explaining the differences between Roman vaults and Gothic ones; claiming that the Roman method, although suited for the administrative and political aspects of the Romans, it would not have been practical for the feudal West (1854/1877, p.265).

Viollet-le-Duc was most famous for being a restorer. Even though he was in the process of restoring the Cathedral of Paris at the time he published his lectures, he did not mention the terms *renovation* or *restoration* often. In the seventh lecture he mentioned that people tended to judge buildings in their current state without really considering their past, in some cases, centuries. They do not consider their evolution nor changes that would naturally come with time when it comes to Medieval architecture. In the meantime, edifices from antiquities that are in ruins would be judged as if they existed in a certain manner: "... and imagination, supplying what is wanting, creates for itself beauties which really did not exist. Many Roman buildings would gain nothing from being restored; and what remains to us of them is precisely that which constitutes their grandeur and beauty - the structure." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.271).

The author had described another style that can be observed at the time; the Normandy Architectural style, the earliest stages of Gothic architecture in England. He compared the qualities, structural elements and architectural details of Normandy style and what he called the "Isle of France" style of the beginning of the twelfth century. He stated that art in France was an instrument of royalty, especially starting from the thirteenth century, as a means of creating a national unity, resulting in the construction of a cathedral where and whenever possible (1854/1877, p.280). These cathedrals should have, and were built in conformity of French culture, climate, their own national genius with the progress made in science and applicable practice. They

should be designed in *sincerity*, that this notion was an essential part of Gothic architecture (1854/1877, p.282).

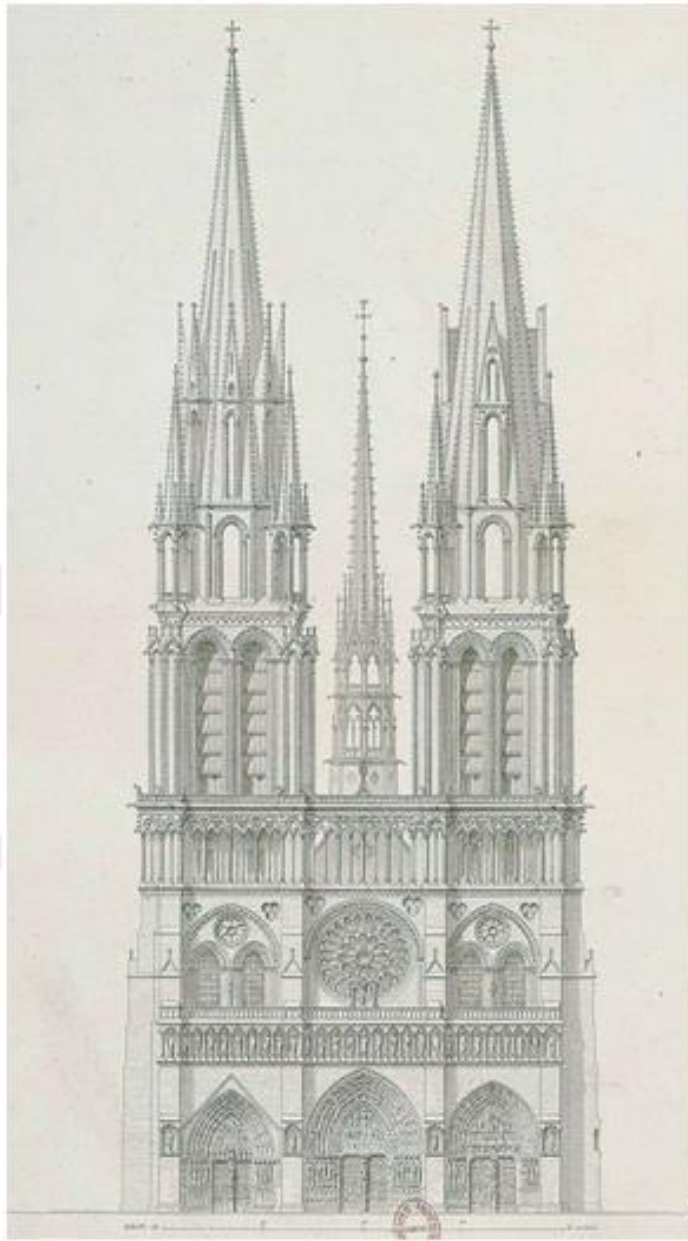


Figure 3.7.5. "Notre-Dame de Paris, How it should have been",
Entretiens sur l'Architecture by Viollet-le-Duc, 1863.

Viollet-le-Duc declared that there was no other structure that better exemplified the differences separating Romanesque architecture from "the French art of secular school" than the façade of Notre-Dame de Paris:

... a colossal edifice to exceed in size all the other buildings of the city - an edifice that should exactly fulfil all the requirements of a Cathedral, at a time when a Cathedral sub served purposes both civil and religious, - when it had a

kind of political significance, - it is hardly possible to conceive a design more imposing as a whole, more sound in construction, or more skilfully executed in its details (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.297).

He claimed that everyone knew the façade of the Cathedral of Paris yet not many understood the dedication, knowledge, experience and resolution it took to be erected. He called it an "unfinished work", that the two western towers should had been completed with spires made of stone, unifying the design. He included a drawing of the west front with the spires, claiming the perspectives of the building would have been complete with them (Figure 3.7.5). He called the artist a genius because in his opinion it was difficult to start two towers, that the void between them needed a dominant, focal point. He was impressed by the way the architect connected the towers by an open gallery that continued along so that it was also purposeful as a circulation; that it created a homogeneous façade rather than a design that had two divided towers (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.299).

Victor Hugo, believing the Cathedral's façade to be a book, an architectural page, referenced the monument for the nation to come together, read and understand their heritage. His novel, putting the edifice as a definite reference for the French nation's language, not only paved the way for Viollet-le-Duc's restoration and books, but also, for the definite reference placement of the monument for future generations. Viollet-le-Duc who was at the time restoring the monument, stated that the front of the Cathedral created an "excellence belonging exclusively to French architects at the time when France possessed an architecture of its own; that of variety in unity." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, p.302).

This chapter traced the end of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in France which brought new approaches and understanding towards their past; after decades of war and uncertainty, a sense of nostalgia that began to emerge. This sense was accompanied by the Troubadours and the Romantics such as Victor Hugo himself. Looking to the past, trying to understand it and eventually trying to protect it, to conserve it had been one of the main ideologies of the century. France did not adhere only to conserving their past, but they also began to research and study it, categorize it and eventually write about it. How was one of Gothic architectural style's most

popular monument today was seen at its most vulnerable, ruinous state? Since the aim of this dissertation was to understand the "definite reference" placement of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris' in history focusing on architectural historiography, the results were as expected; Victor Hugo who was a pioneer in the Romanticism Movement published his book which took its name by the Gothic monument itself. The main actor of the novel was described in detail whilst criticizing its state of ruin and was in every important scene that took place. The most though provoking moment arrived: "This will kill that!", an ironic statement considering the "this", the written word is what saved the edifice eventually. Of course, the written word was considered to be a metaphor for the printing press and one of its results that is the Enlightenment, a time that emphasized reason and science over religion and traditions. As the Cathedral represented not only the epitome of religious thought and ingenuity but also the French history, culture and traditions that were still a part of a long fought monarchical order, its ruinous state was comprehensible yet unaccepted. Hugo's articles and novel aided him in his war against the destruction of their national monuments, the abandonment of these edifices and the new desire to built in the neoclassical style, calling it a ridiculous choice since France did not need to pretend to be Greek nor Roman. Hugo, wanting to protect their own architectural language, their *Opus Francigenum*, wrote the novel resulting in the restoration project planned by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc which began more than a decade later.

Viollet-le-Duc became a pioneer in restoration not only because of his projects around France that saved dozens of Gothic monuments but also for his architectural writing including his dictionary and lectures. The dictionary is still used as a main resource in many architectural schools in France since it encapsulated both structural information and historical ones yet focusing on the Middle Ages in France only. The choice to include the writings of Viollet-le-Duc in the dissertation even though his was not a global history work, was made through the exception that he should be considered one of the main actors in the 860 year history of the Cathedrale de Paris. He also stated that there was not a text on the Middle Ages which one can rely on yet so he decided to write one. Viollet-le-Duc had already begun his restoration on Notre-Dame at the time of its but he still maintained an objective approach to the

subject at hand by focusing on the edifice as was necessary, without overshadowing the other French cathedrals. In his *Entretiens* which could be considered as a euro-centric yet more global approach to architectural history, he focused on Gothic architecture in one lecture where he deemed it once again belonging to the French nation. The idea of nationalism, the Gothic architectural style to be considered the French style was something that Victor Hugo himself supported, especially in his *Guerre aux Démolisseurs!*.

Hugo claimed that Notre-Dame had a transition façade, no longer Romanesque but not yet Gothic. This did not affect his statement of the monument as a Gothic national heritage and his placement of the Cathedral as a reference to traces of destruction. Viollet-le-Duc claimed that the façade of the monument was harmonious even though it was "unfinished" and placed it as a definite reference to the Gothic style. The Cathedral of Notre-Dame's reference statue may seem to be depended on its western façade, aided by Hugo and Viollet-le-Duc. Nonetheless, its statue of being the "definite reference" for both was clear and would continue to be through other contemporary historians as well.

CHAPTER IV

NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS AS A VISUAL REFERENCE

The aim of this chapter and the next, is to look at how the Middle Ages and especially Gothic architecture and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris wererecounted by the architectural historians of the nineteenth century forward. The visual representation of the architectural style and the monument is an important discussion of this part.

4.1. Auguste Choisy's Engineering Evolution

Auguste Choisy (1841-1909) who was a contemporary of Viollet-le-Duc, was a French engineer and architectural historian who started teaching in 1876 at *l'École des Ponts et Chaussées* and was a lecturer of the architecture course at *l'Écolepolytechnique* from 1881 to 1901. His name was mentioned in the *Entretiens sur L'architecture*, as a footnote in the twentieth, the last lecture, where he was praised for his scientific approach to the subject at hand: "... Mr. Choisy, engineer, who establish in the least debatable way the laws of numbers and purely geometrical tracings which were used in the architecture of Letinus to raise this incomparable masterpiece." (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854/1877, pp.443-444). Choisy shared similar views with Viollet-le-Duc concerning architecture, the Gothic style and the methods of teaching architecture. He was an important scholar who referenced Notre-Dame de Paris often in his work.

Although his expertise was focused on classical periods, as a result of his teachings he published his survey book titled *Histoire de l'architecture* in 1899 which consisted of notes on his lectures that he then turned into a chronological architectural history book. Because of his engineering background he chose to focus

on structural progress rather than stylistic changes: the history of these monuments considered from the point of view of the engineer's art (Choisy, 1873, p.3). Through structural focus, he turned architectural history into a science, away from all subjectivism. The history survey book is a very rare text considering the French did not generally wrote books on architectural global history but rather preferred to focus on their own culture and / or stylistic developments. This work may had been inspired by the recently published work of Viollet-le-Duc who is a contemporary architect of Choisy, and who would be considered a pioneer in the field with his dictionary and lectures on architecture.

TABLE. — ARCHITECTURE GOTHIQUE.		777
L'ASPECT EXTERIEUR, LES CONSTRUCTIONS ANNEXES.		
LES MASSES ARCHITECTURALES		233
Fig. 31. Paray-le-Monial (<i>Monum. hist.</i>)		234
— 32. Notre-Dame du Port de Clermont (<i>Viollet-le-Duc</i>)		235
CLOCHERS		236
Fig. 33, 34. Parallèle des principaux types de clochers romans.	237, 238	
NARTHEX		238
CLOITRE		239
GÉOGRAPHIE ET HISTORIQUE DE L'ART ROMAN.		
CLASSEMENT DES ÉDIFICES PAR ÉCOLES		240
Fig. 35. Carte indiquant les foyers de l'art roman, leur rayonne- ment et leur champ d'influence (les points secondaires sont indiqués par les initiales de leurs noms)		240
CARACTÈRES DES PRINCIPALES ÉCOLES : Normandie, Rhin, Périgord, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Provence, Bourgogne, Palestine	241, 247	
APERÇU DES ORIGINES ET DE LA FORMATION DES ARCHITECTURES ROMANES.		
ÉLÉMENTS ASIATIQUES		249
VOIES DE TRANSMISSION DES MODÈLES ASIATIQUES		250
RÉPARTITION DES DIVERS TYPES D'ÉDIFICES ENTRE LES DIVERS GROUPES D'INFLUENCES		251
CARACTÈRE MONASTIQUE DES ARCHITECTURES ROMANES		256
XVI. — ARCHITECTURE GOTHIQUE.		
TRANSITION DES MÉTHODES ROMANES AUX MÉTHODES GOTHIQUES		258
A. — MATÉRIAUX ET MODE GÉNÉRAL D'EMPLOI.		
MATÉRIAUX		259
OUVRAGES DE FONDATION		259
Fig. 1. Fondations de Notre-Dame de Dijon (<i>J.-F. Blondel, Cours d'Archit.</i>)		260
MODÈS D'EXÉCUTION DES MAÇONNERIES GOTHIQUES		260
Fig. 2. A Substructions de la cathédrale d'Amiens (<i>Viollet-le-Duc</i>). " P Contreforts des tours de Notre-Dame de Paris (<i>id.</i>) ..		263
— 3. Piles enveloppées de colonnettes en délit agissant comme raidisseurs : Cathéd. de Laon (R)		264

Figure 4.1.1. Tome 2, Contents page of *Histoire de l'Architecture* by Auguste Choisy, 1899.

The author of *Entre raison et utopie: L'Histoire de L'Artchitectured'Auguste Choisy* (2008), Thierry Mandoul (1996) had written that by proposing a global and synthetic interpretation of architectural history which are based on the principle of the

existence of the universal laws, privileging the construction and by focusing on an unconventional mode of representation; "...Choisy seduced and fascinated the architects of the 20th century." (Mandoul, 1996). On the first page of the survey text Choisy himself wrote; "In all populations, art will go through the same alternatives, will obey the same laws." (1899, Tome I, p.1). Choisy's historical thinking, like that of Viollet-le-Duc, was based on the principle of the existence of general laws common to all architecture (1899, Tome I, p.1). Mandoul also suggested in the article that by choosing this method, he was also criticizing the academic rules of composition.

Looking at the content, the two volume set consisted of over 600 pages for the first tome and 800 pages on the second. The original edition of the text did not include a prelude and the table of contents were located towards the end of the volumes; in Tome I it was in between pages 613 and 642 and in Tome II it was between pages 765 and 800 (Figure 4.1.1). The reason for their length was that all the figures that were included were listed as well. Choisy chose to write in a chronological manner starting from *Les Ages Préhistoriques*. Each of his twenty-one chapters (twelve in the first volume and nine in the second) had different subtitles depending on their content. The second chapter which was titled *Égypte* included sub-chapters such as *La Construction*, *Les Formes*, *Les Principales Époques*, *Les Monuments* and so on. He could be considered a very inclusive architectural historian since he had included chapters such as: *Chaldée*, *Assyrie*; or *Perse*, *Inde*; *Chine*, *Japon*; *Architecture du Nouveau-Monde*; (the American Continent) and *Rayonnement Occidental, des premières architectures: Les Intermédiaires entre l'Égypte, la Chaldée et le monde grec*; which included sub-chapters on *Les Hittites* and *Phénicie*, *Judée*, *Colonies Phéniciennes*; only three years after the first edition of Bannister Fletcher's book *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896). His work could be considered very ambitious as Choisy wanted to include the "entire history": "It is the identical thematic division for each period studied that offers an organized and efficient general vision of the evolution of architecture through the ages." (Mandoul, 1996). In the last four chapters of the survey book, the author focused on the Pre-Hellenistic period, *Architecture Grecque* and *Architecture Romaine*. The largest

portion of the text that consisted of 246 pages focused on the Ancient Greek architecture as it was Choisy's expertise.

The second volume of Choisy's text which consisted of nine chapters, began with *Rénovation Chrétienne des Architectures Antiques: Architecture Latine; Architectures des Peuples Chrétiens de l'Orient*, continued with *Architectures Musulmanes* - a very inclusive subject considering his contemporaries attitude towards what could be considered "non-Western" cultures which could be observed in Fletcher's text. The survey continued with the fifteenth chapter, titled: *Architecture Romane*, then with *Architecture Gothique*. The sixteenth chapter was the longest one in the volume with 269 pages; the others ranged from 32 pages to 119. The next chapter was *L'Architecture Civile, L'Architecture Monastique au Moyen Age* followed by *L'Architecture Militaire au Moyen Age; La Renaissance en Italie; La Renaissance en France, En Europe* and at last; *L'Architecture Modern* in which he discussed the architectural and engineering development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France and Europe.

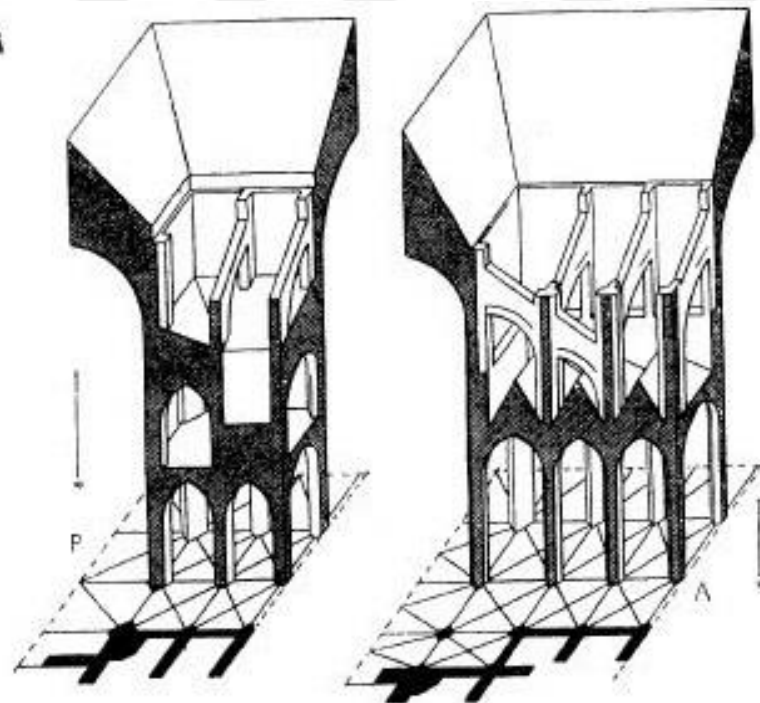


Figure 4.1.2. Sections of Amiens Cathedral by Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, 1899.

Focusing on Gothic architecture in the book, according to the author, the history of the style was that of the most amazing effort of logic in art (Choisy, 1899, Tome II, p.600). Even though Choisy's expertise was ancient architecture, his second favourite subject was Gothic itself. According to the author, the great contribution of the style was to make architecture an art of structure "by separating it from the masonry of filling, by showing by a skeleton of ribs on which the efforts are focused. The structure, more than anywhere else, becomes the determining element of architecture." (Mandoul, 1996). For him, Gothic structures represented the triumph of rational thought in architecture (Figure 4.1.2).

The longest chapter which was chapter XVI, focused on Gothic architecture and defined its progress as resolving the double problem which the style faced: the structure of the vaults with penetrations and their balance. He suggested that Gothic architecture responded to these problems by using ribbed vaults for structural purposes and flying buttresses for the balance issues. As can be observed by the manner in which the chapter began, like all other chapters of the work, the main focus was the technical and engineering issues of the style. He used a comparative method in his work, often comparing Gothic architectural elements and structural aspects with those of the Romanesque style, calling it *Les Romains*. As mentioned, the main focus was the vaults and the buttresses yet materials, foundations, the pointed arches and vaults, the buttresses, masonry, the structure, decorative elements and more detailed subjects such as doors, windows and staircases and many more are all discussed in the chapter, from an engineering context. Choisy wrote about the structural development through examples: Notre-Dame de Paris was mentioned ninety times, Reims Cathedral sixty-five times with Amiens Cathedral following closely with sixty-one mentions.

As a historian who was familiar with Viollet-le-Duc and even idealized him in a sense, Choisy refers to Gothic architecture as their architecture multiple times in his chapter, for example he wrote: "... dans les monuments de notre architecture..." (1899, Tome II, p.407), "Beauvais est l'idéal de notre architecture du moyen âge." (1899, Tome II, p.447) or "à la manière française" (1899, Tome II, p.501).

In the last parts of the sixteenth chapter, the author began his conclusion; that France or more specifically the Île-de-France region was the home of the twelfth century Gothic architecture and what distinguished it was the system of balance on the transmission of thrusts. During the next century he claimed to observe a *purement gothique* style that emerged (1899, Tome II, p.500). He did refer other countries and their versions of the style; England, Italy, Spain and Germany were amongst the countries that were mentioned. In the next sub-title he focused on different regions in France that are not located in the *Île-de-France* and their own approaches to the Gothic architectural style, writing about the changes that occur in a regional context. Choisy preferred to look into the origins and formation of the styles he mentions and focuses on their artistic and social environments which were included in these analysis' at the end of each chapter. By underlining the links between architectural history and that of civilisations, the author made the objects of complex constructions a result of specific social and economic situations, including geographical and material conditions (Mandoul, 1996).

The subchapter continued with the search for the beginnings of three architectural elements: the Gothic arch, the flying buttress, the cross-ribbed vaults and as a result the contoured pillars. Choisy claimed that the Gothic arch originated from Asia, arriving during the eleventh century with the crusades. The flying buttresses were a result of the *École de Cluny* and the last two, which were first found in Roman Era architecture, even though according to Viollet-le-Duc the cross-ribbed vault was exclusively French and was seen as early as in St.-Denis (1899, Tome II, p.515).

The author continued with the rise of the style, how communities came together in order to create these edifices and how the first cities that reached the architectural reform first were those that the communal organization linked more directly to the royal protectorate (1899, Tome II, p.517). Choisy, in order to explain the development of the style, included the names of certain architects and / or masons that worked on these grand monuments.

Auguste Choisy took upon the difficult task of writing an architectural history survey text at the end of the century. The text is an exception in the sense that not many

French historians will follow his path in writing global architectural histories as most of them focused on French architectural history or even limited themselves to a specific style or era. Although he called Gothic architecture "their" multiple times, this nationalistic and French-centric approach is lacking in Choisy. Gothic architecture took the largest portion of the text and Notre-Dame (Figure 4.1.3) was mentioned the most even though he stated that Beauvais Cathedral was the "ideal" representation of French architecture of the Middle Ages. Yet again an argument against the definitiveness of the reference statue of the capital's Cathedral for Gothic architecture.

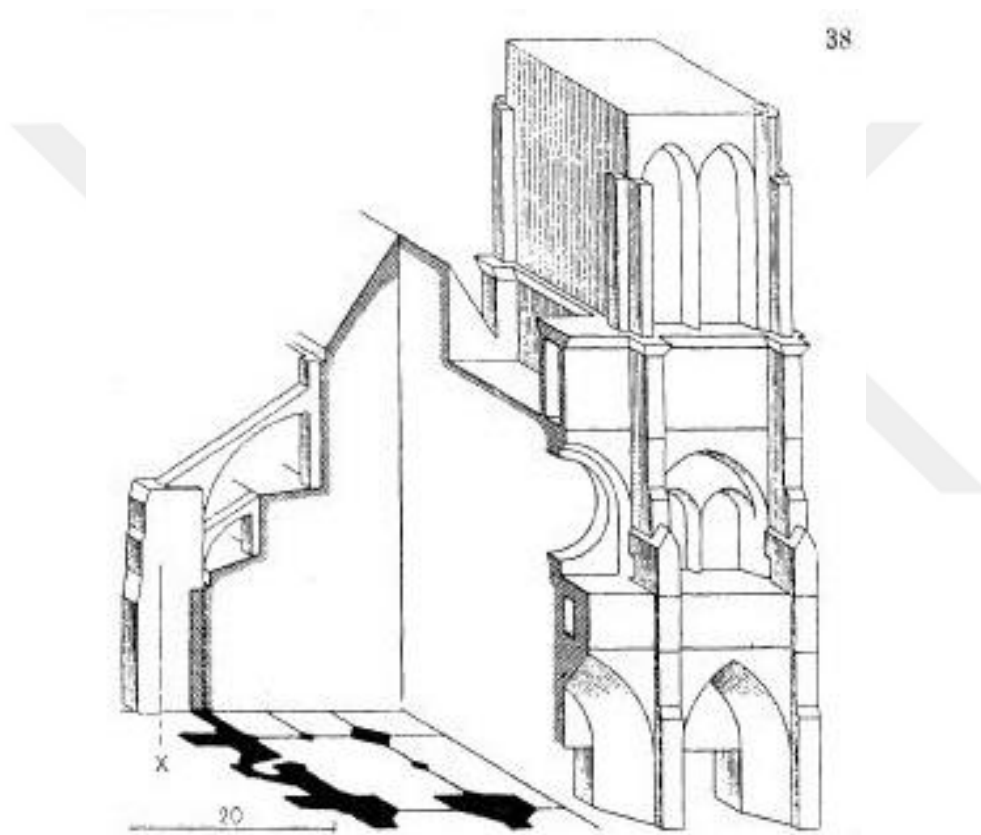


Figure 4.1.3. Partial section of Notre-Dame de Paris by Choisy, 1899

4.2. Bannister Fletcher's Corpus

Only three years before Auguste Choisy's book was published, Fletcher Sr. (1833-1899) and his son Sir B. Fletcher Jr. (1866-1953) published the first edition of their book titled: *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896) (Figure 4.2.1). Inside it was written: "For the Student, Craftsman and Amateur being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period." Not only did

this suggest its main purpose but in the preface it was written that the hope was to appeal not only to students who might need an outline of architectural history for educational purposes, but that it would also be appealing to the increasing number of artists who may be interested in the subject of architecture. "Lastly; it is believed that a work in which architecture is treated as a result and record of civilization, will prove attractive to that increasing public which interests itself in artistic development." (1896, p.vii); from the author's – father and son – own claim it could be said that this book aims to create an outline for students of architecture and any other interested individual, by providing a diagram table of the system of classification for each style. In *A History of Architecture*, the authors presented us a chronological history and development of architectural styles mainly from the Western point of view. They took upon the challenge of writing a large portion of architectural history in a comparative style, looking at the evolution of architecture through changes, similarities and differences between styles that were influenced by their precedents and that will guide their successors. A task that will be criticized later on for excluding most of the “others”. The aim of writing the book had been;

not only to give in clear and brief form the characteristic features of the architecture of each people and country, but also to consider those influences which have contributed to the formation of each special style... In order to bring out the effects of these influences, and also the qualities of the styles themselves, a comparative and analytical method had been adopted...(1896, p.v).

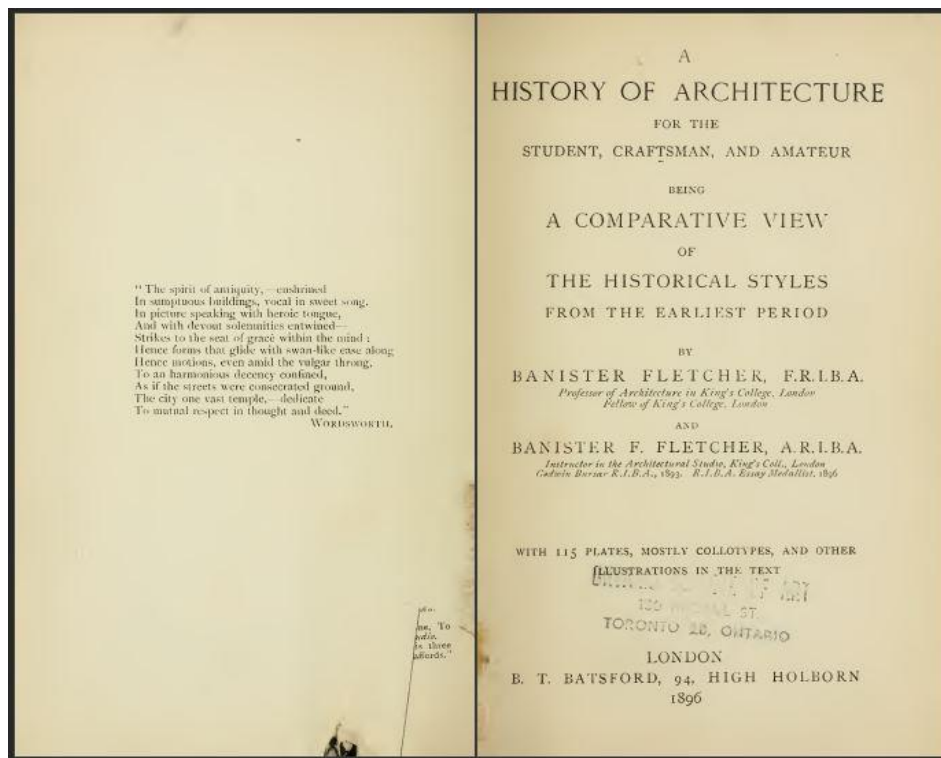


Figure 4.2.1. A History of Architecture by Fletcher & Fletcher, 1896.

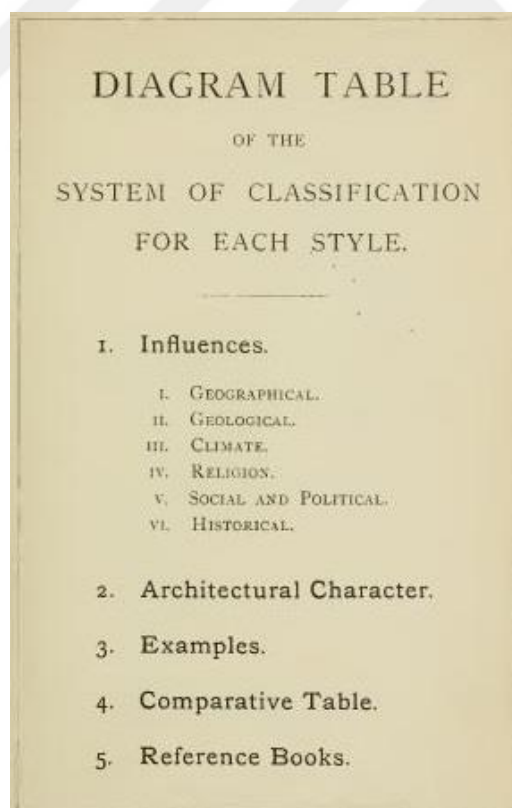


Figure 4.2.2. Diagram Table of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method by Fletcher & Fletcher, 1896.

There were five main classifications in the diagram (Figure 4.2.2): Influences, Architectural Character, Examples, Comparative Table and Reference Books for further research and information by authorities on the given subject. The first category titled Influences had six sub-categories; Geographical, Geological, Climate, Religion, Social and Political and at last Historical. This diagram was followed through in almost all describing an architectural style. In the preface it was indicated that the method used to follow the history of architecture was an analytical and comparative method so that the differences and similarities could be easily grasped by the reader. "...the special character of Gothic architecture becomes manifest when put in comparison with the Classic and Renaissance styles..." (1896, p.3).

The five sections were explained further, the first one being divided to six influences which may be expected to shape the architectural style of any region. According to the explanations, the first three influences were structural, the fourth and fifth were civilizing forces and the last was historical events that may have produced or altered the architectural evolution. The second section called Architectural Character was where the special quality or characteristics of a particular style is described including "a general effect produced by the building as a whole." (1896, p.4). The third section in which "chief buildings in each style" were given as examples, calling them "the corpus". These monuments were affected by the influences of their predecessors and from which the next style would be influenced by as well. According to the authors, they chose to not give long descriptions of the examples, which can be difficult to follow even as a connoisseur because they were technical and "dry" and chose to include photography or drawings of the buildings instead. They confined the text to brief notes that included special qualities and characteristics of the building in question. The next section was where the comparative analysis took place under seven sub-categories; Plans, Walls, Openings, Roofs, Columns, Mouldings and Decoration. Each style itself was regarded as a solution to a problem that the previous style had not been able to find an answer to and that each style must have included all or most of the sub-categories where "interest and instruction to be gained in learning and comparing how each style has solved these points of the problem." (1896, p.vii). The comparative sections sub-categories were further explained; Plan, or general distribution of the building. Walls, their construction and treatment.

Openings, their character and shape. Roofs, their treatment and development. Columns, their position, structure and decoration. Mouldings, their form and decoration. Decoration, as applied in general to any building (1896, p.vi).

The contents of the book (Figure 4.2.3) started with General Introduction that gave further structural information which may give some answers to why the comparative method was used and why Egyptian and Assyrian Styles were included in the "historic times", their influence on Greek Architecture and therefore on European Architecture. Fletcher stated that every building or structure created by humankind should be included in architecture but that here his motives were led by artistic motives and more aesthetic motives are included the greater is the value. The chapter then continued by giving a brief summary of how Ancient Greek architecture was made beautiful and graceful by the way they created and treated orders of architecture. Greek architecture succumbed to Roman Architecture, then came Romanesque and Gothic architecture and finally the Renaissance. They - the authors - divided past styles into two: the first being "(1) the Classic, or the architecture of the beam, and (2) the Gothic, or the architecture of the arch." (1896, p.3).

CONTENTS.		x	
	PAGE		PAGE
List of Illustrations	xi	French Renaissance	232
General Introduction	1	German Renaissance	245
Egyptian Architecture	5	Belgian and Dutch Renaissance	251
Western Asiatic Architecture	21	Spanish Renaissance	255
Greek Architecture	32	English Renaissance	263
Roman Architecture	50	The Elizabethan Period	266
Early Christian Architecture in Rome and Italy	79	The Jacobean Period	269
Byzantine Architecture	89	The Seventeenth Century	273
Romanesque Architecture (General Introduction)	109	The Eighteenth Century	278
" " in Central Italy	106	The Nineteenth Century	284
" " in North Italy	110		
" " in South Italy	114	Glossary of Architectural Terms	295
French Romanesque	119	Index of Buildings and Architects	303
German Romanesque	126		
English Architecture (Romanesque and Gothic)	131		
Anglo-Saxon Style	146		
Norman or English Romanesque Style	147		
Early English	150		
Synopsis of Gothic Vaulting	153		
Decorated	154		
Perpendicular	158		
French Gothic	164		
Belgian and Dutch Gothic	173		
German Gothic	177		
Italian Gothic	182		
Spanish Gothic	192		
Renaissance Architecture (General Introduction)	200		
Italian Renaissance	208		
The Florentine School	208		
The Roman School	213		
The Venetian School	220		
The Milanese and Genoese Schools	229		
The Rococo Style	231		

Figure 4.2.3. Contents of A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1896.

The contents of the book were fairly classical, the chapters were divided by chronological styles starting with Egyptian Architecture, Western Asiatic Architecture, Greek, Roman, Early Christian Architecture in Rome and Italy, Byzantine Architecture and Romanesque Architecture. This was where we observe that some architectural styles were divided into more chapters, mostly to discuss regional differences such as Romanesque Architecture in Central Italy, North Italy and South Italy. Then came the French and German Romanesque. English Architecture was treated differently because firstly it included Romanesque and Gothic styles together, and secondly it was divided by Anglo-Saxon style, Norman or English Romanesque Style, Early English, Synopsis of Gothic Vaulting, Decorated and finally Perpendicular. Gothic architecture was separated further more by French, Belgian and Dutch together, German, Italian and Spanish Gothic. After a General Introduction chapter of Renaissance Architecture, a large portion with sub-categories titled Italian Renaissance took place. The sub-categories were the Florentine School, the Roman, the Venetian, the Milanese and Genoese Schools and the *Rococo Style*. Then came the French, German, Belgian and Dutch together again, Spanish and English Renaissance. The latter was divided to the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods and the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and lastly the Nineteenth Centuries were all under the English Renaissance.

4.2.1. Changes throughout editions

This structure changed over time either by rewrites or author changes. Gülsüm Baydar (1988) who had written an extensive paper on the subject of Fletcher's original *A History of Architecture* and the subsequent editions, wrote that it was "uniquely remarkable" because it had been continuously rewritten even though it managed to preserve its original purpose: "to be one of the most comprehensive surveys of world architecture." and that it "played a formative role in the history education of generations of architects in English-speaking institutions." (1988, p.7)

The fourth edition of the text that was published in 1901, just two years after the death of Banister Fletcher Sr., brought structural changes. The book was divided into two parts (Figure 4.2.4); The Historical Styles and The Non-Historical Styles. The

first part included the Eurocentric history that was already written in the first three editions but the latter part included Indian, Chinese and Japanese (together), Ancient American and Saracenic architecture. Indian Architecture had three sub-categories, Buddhist Style, The Jaina Style and the Hindu Style, also divided to three parts (Northern Hindu, Chalukyan and Dravidian). The Saracenic Architecture was divided to seven parts; Arabian, Syrian, Egyptian, Spanish, Persian, Turkish and Indian. This edition came with a preface which listed the changes and / or additions to the text. Upon looking at the contents of the book, we observe the addition of the Prehistoric Architecture to the Historical Styles. Early Christian Architecture was listed without the addition of Rome and Italy, Romanesque Architecture was more compact meaning Italian Romanesque was no longer separated to Central, North and South Romanesque. French and German Romanesque became sub-sections just as Italian Romanesque had. A "General Introduction" was added to Gothic Architecture, a Tudor sub-section was added to the English Gothic Architecture. Scottish and Irish Architectures were added. A Vicenza and Verona section was added under Italian Renaissance Architecture. The century based sections at the end of the first edition now had more information in parentheses, Anglo-Classic, Queen Anne and 1800-1851 respectively. Another Nineteenth Century was added with 1851 to present written by its side. British Colonial Architecture and Architecture in the United States had been included. Baydar criticized part II The Non-Historical, as it was still detached from the Western Art and that "decorative schemes seem generally to have outweighed all other considerations..." (1988, p.9).

CONTENTS.

PART I.—THE HISTORICAL STYLES.

	PAGE
List of Illustrations	xv
General Introduction	1
Prehistoric Architecture	7
Egyptian Architecture	9
Western Asiatic Architecture	25
Greek Architecture	38
Roman Architecture	73
Early Christian Architecture	113
Byzantine Architecture	126
Romanesque Architecture in Europe (General Introduction)	144
Italian Romanesque	154
French Romanesque	167
German Romanesque	176
Gothic Architecture in Europe (General Introduction)	183
English Gothic Architecture	194
Anglo-Saxon	227
Norman	230
Early English	234
Decorated	239
Perpendicular	243
Tudor	249
Scottish Architecture	252
Irish Architecture	253
French Gothic Architecture	254
Belgian and Dutch Gothic	268
German Gothic	273
Italian Gothic	282
Spanish Gothic	295
Renaissance Architecture (General Introduction)	304

xiv

CONTENTS.

Indian Renaissance Architecture	314
The Florentine School	314
The Roman School	322
The Venetian School	328
Vienna and Vienna	331
Milan and Genoa	340
The Roman Style	341
French Renaissance Architecture	344
German Renaissance	356
Belgian and Dutch Renaissance	368
Spanish Renaissance	381
English Renaissance Architecture	390
The Elizabethan Style	395
The Jacobean Style	406
The Seventeenth Century (Anglo-Classical) Style	425
The Eighteenth Century (Queen Anne) Style	441
The Nineteenth Century Style (1800-1854)	442
1854 to present time	462
British Colonial Architecture	463
Architecture in the United States	473
 PART II.—THE NON-HISTORICAL STYLES. 	
General Introduction	477
Indian Architecture	479
1. The Buddhist Style	486
2. The Jain Style	486
3. The Hindu Style	486
(a) Northern Hindu	486
(b) Chaitanyan	489
(c) Dravidian	490
Chinese and Japanese Architecture	492
Ancient American Architecture	493
Saracenic Architecture	493
Arabic	493
Syrian	493
Egyptian	493
Spanish	493
Persian	493
Turkish	493
Indian	493
Glossary of Architectural Terms	497
Index	507

Figure 4.2.4. Contents page of the fourth edition of *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 1901.

In 1905, the fifth edition was published without much change to the content (Figure 4.2.5) besides Prehistoric Architecture being put above the first part titled The Historical Styles, right after the List of Illustrations. The famous drawing of the Tree of Architecture (Figure 4.2.6) was added by Fletcher, "a visual presentation of Western cultures as the recipient's of architecture's long tradition." (Fraser, 2019, pp.14-15). In this drawing the trunk of the tree had Greek, Roman and Romanesque styles embedded, towards the ground we observe Persian, Mexican, Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian and Chinese & Japanese Styles. Two branches were between Roman and Romanesque representing the Byzantine and Saracenic Styles. Towards the top of the tree we saw two branches on each side of the trunk, bottom line was Gothic (that includes Belgian-Dutch, German, French, Italian, English and Spanish Styles), top line was reserved for Renaissance Architecture with the same sub-sections for Gothic. The very top of the tree had American and Revivals and Modern Styles written after the First World War which was added for the sixth edition (1921). The 1921 edition was rewritten by Fletcher and his wife, his father's name was dropped permanently. The ten editions that followed, "survived with only minor repair and additions" and in 1953 the sixteenth edition was published, the last one that was produced by Fletcher himself (McKean, 2006, p.194).

CONTENTS.		CONTENTS.	
List of Illustrations	PAGE xv—ii	Italian Renaissance Architecture— <i>continued</i> .	PAGE
Prehistoric Architecture	i	✓ Milan and Genoa	495
PART I.—THE HISTORICAL STYLES.		✓ The Rococo Style	496
General Introduction	4	✓ French Renaissance Architecture	497
Egyptian Architecture	9	✓ German Renaissance	517
Western Asiatic Architecture	32	Belgian and Dutch Renaissance	527
Greek Architecture	45	Spanish Renaissance	533
Roman Architecture	111	English Renaissance Architecture	545
Early Christian Architecture	176	The Elizabethan Style	551
Byzantine Architecture	192	The Jacobean Style	561
Romanesque Architecture in Europe (General Introduction)	217	The Anglo-Classic (Seventeenth Century) Style	567
Italian Romanesque	228	The Queen Anne (Eighteenth Century) Style	578
French Romanesque	246	The Nineteenth Century Style (1800-1851)	589
German Romanesque	258	1851 to present time	593
Gothic Architecture in Europe (General Introduction)	267	British Colonial Architecture	597
English Architecture	278	Architecture in the United States	598
Anglo-Saxon	327	PART II.—THE NON-HISTORICAL STYLES.	
Norman	328	General Introduction	603
Early English Gothic	335	Indian Architecture	605
Decorated Gothic	341	1. The Buddhist Style	612
Perpendicular Gothic	349	2. The Jaina Style	614
Tudor	356	3. The Hindu Style	618
Scottish Architecture	359	(a) Northern Hindu	618
Irish Architecture	360	(b) Chalukyan	623
French Gothic Architecture	362	(c) Dravidian	628
Belgian and Dutch Gothic	385	Chinese and Japanese Architecture	634
German Gothic	393	Ancient American Architecture	652
Italian Gothic	404	Saracenic Architecture	653
Spanish Gothic	424	Arabian	657
Renaissance Architecture (General Introduction)	437	Syrian	659
Italian Renaissance Architecture	446	Egyptian	659
The Florentine School	446	Spanish	663
The Roman School	456	Persian	667
The Venetian School	475	Turkish	669
Vienna and Verona	488	Indian	671
		Glossary of Architectural Terms	687
		Index	697

Figure 4.2.5. Contents page of the fifth edition of *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 1905.

In 1961, the seventeenth edition, revised by R.A. Cordingley was published with a fundamental change; the two parts were renamed *Ancient Architecture and the Western Succession* and *Architecture in the East* respectively (Baydar, 1988, p.8). By the 1975, eighteenth edition, the subtitle "comparative method" was dropped permanently (Fraser, 2019, pp.14-15), and James Palmes eliminated the two parts altogether, creating forty chapters instead. Baydar (1988) stated that there were eight chapters that covered all non-Western sections following the chapter on Egyptian architecture: "The 'pure' continuity of Western styles from ancient Greece to the twentieth century is preserved Non-Western sections are almost relegated a 'pre-Western' status. Yet this is not the result of a chronological logic to the outline..." (Baydar, 1988, p.12) whereas, the nineteenth edition published by John Musgrove (1984) was strictly chronological even though it was divided into seven parts:

Three of the seven parts cover non-Western architectures: parts three, four, and seven, titled, respectively, "The Architecture of Islam and Early Russia," "The Architecture of the pre-Colonial Cultures outside Europe," and "The Architecture of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods outside Europe". For the first time, "The Architecture of the Twentieth Century" covers Africa,

China, Japan and South and South-East Asia together with Western Europe (Baydar, 1988, p.12).

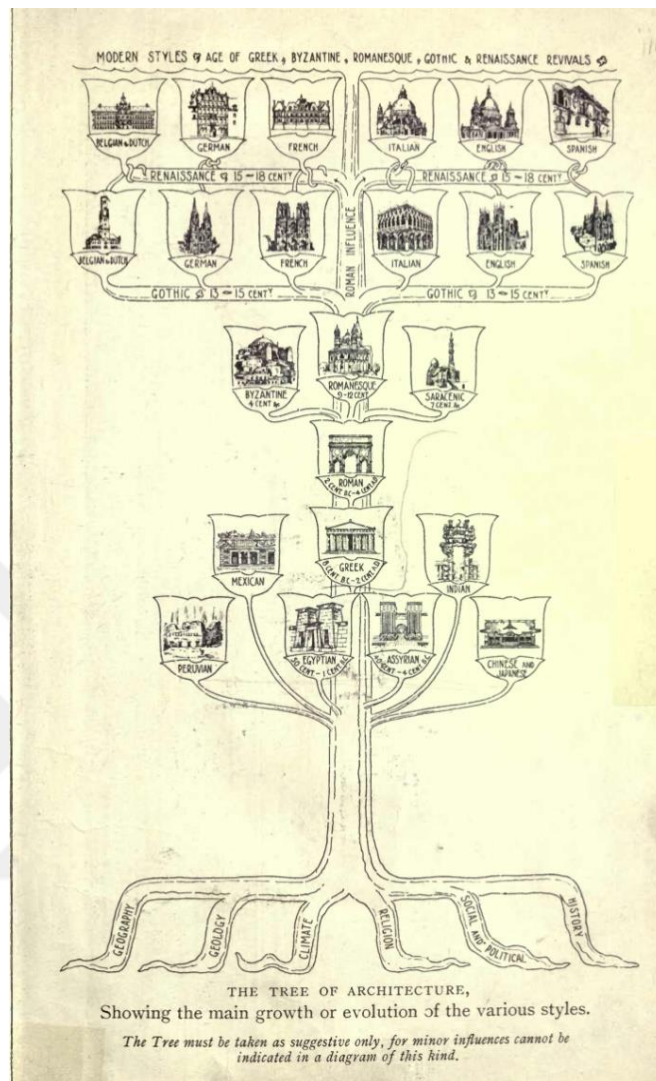


Figure 4.2.6. Tree of Architecture by Bannister Fletcher in the fifth edition of *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 1905.

The last edition was published in 2019 by Murray Fraser, making it the twenty first edition which included a hundred and two chapters written by eighty eight scholars, but most importantly it was renamed *Sir Banister Fletcher's Global History of Architecture* (2019, pp.14-15).

The early editions of Fletcher's survey were justly criticized for their exclusionary aspects; the "western vs. non-western" method of surveying architecture and naming it *The Historical Styles and The Non-Historical Styles*, creating a sense of "us vs. them", even though the authors claimed that every building or structure should be

included in architecture. Most survey text were written in a singular authorial voice - by trying to take the author out of the narrative, yet one can easily conclude that theirs was a deliberate choice and a subconscious push towards exclusivism. The canonical choices which the authors called "corpus" where monumental choices were concerned, were further demonstrated through the Tree of Architecture, a definite illustration on how they chose to exclude any architectural style or culture that was not part of the Eurocentric ideology. This elitist view may be the result of British colonialism wherein a Eurocentric view was acceptable at the end of the nineteenth century but in today's social context the changes that occurred, the inclusive manner in which the new editions were re-written were a definite necessity. Twenty two years later a new survey was published, this time by two American scholars (Kimball & Edgell) whom one can observe to be much more inclusive in their assessment of the history of architecture.

As stated before, at the preface of the fourth edition of Fletcher's text, a twelve-point list was given in order to summarize the changes that occurred since the first three editions that included a new chapter titled Gothic Architecture in Europe,

...similar to those devoted to Romanesque and Renaissance Architecture, added. This *contains an account of Gothic vaulting, and will be found useful as an introduction to the style in general*. It may also enable the student to grasp the fundamental differences between English and Continental Gothic. (1901, p.v).

The chapter, Gothic Architecture in Europe began with a Medieval Europe map (thirteenth century), showing vaguely the borders of countries and as it was with each chapter, it continued with a general introduction before continuing separately with each country that was stated in the contents. Under 1. Influences; Geographical the authors claimed that the nations of Western Europe came into existence and that Germany was the centre of the Western Empire. The Climate influence had been noted a propos the Northern sun being more suitable for the style rather than Classical Architecture, considering the shadows that were best caught by flying buttresses and that the high pitched Gothic roofs were suggesting bad weather and snow (1901, pp.183-184).

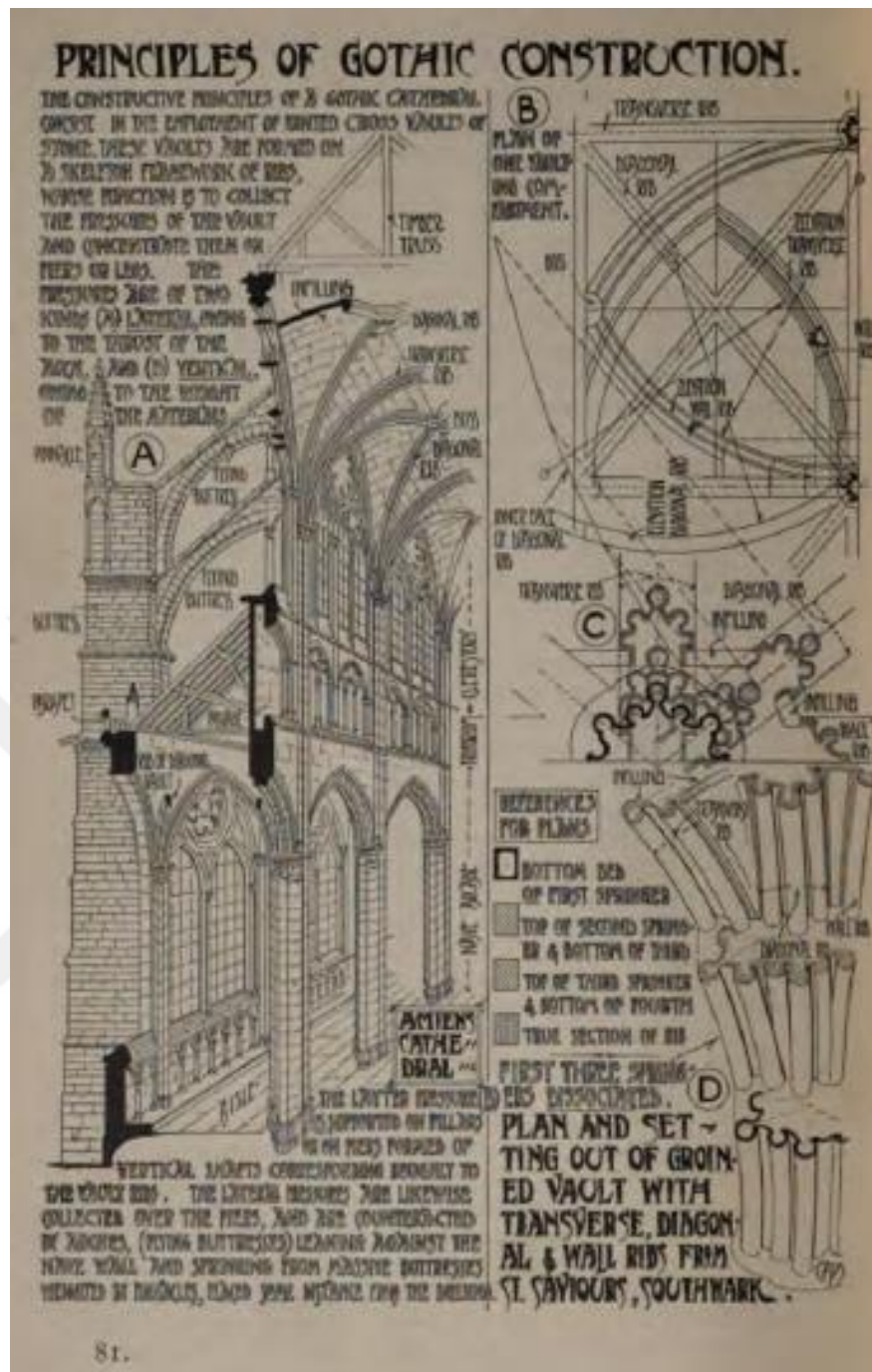


Figure 4.2.7. Principles of Gothic Construction, 1901.

In the second part titled Architectural Character, general information about the style was given. Gothic style, according to the authors was a necessary sequence of the Romanesque style. The rest of the section went into details about changes that occurred and comparisons about the walls and pointed arches.

The arch again determined not only the structure but the form which it took, and the architecture was dictated solely by the arch. Thus material, through

the form which it dictates, may be said to influence architecture in this period. In any true architecture form is not the result of caprice; it is only the expression of the structure (1901, pp.183-187).

A comparison of material usage in Romanesque and Gothic Architecture follows. The eighty-first illustration of the 1901 edition was titled The Principles of Gothic Construction. Amiens Cathedral was drawn by Viollet-le-Duc (A), and examples of architectural elements of St. Saviour's in Southwark were included (B, C, D) (1901, p.186).

It was stated that structure was decorated in the Middle Ages and a comparison was made with Greek art; architecture was furthering itself away from the "self-contained Greek temple", the horizontal lines, instead a complex, verticality has emerged and that there was a unity in all (1901, p.188). Even though Gothic architecture's style were mostly founded on structural necessities, according to Fletcher, others have been an expression of artistic invention, such as the spire (1901, p.189). According to the text, an important factor in the development of Gothic was the invention of the stained glass as an expression of Bible History. The cathedrals of the era occupied an important place in the daily life of medieval times, and with the lack of books and the level of illiteracy, they were regarded as a mean of popular education with sculptures and painted glasses, and according to the authors, "They, to a large extent, took the place in our social state since occupied by such modern institutions as the Board School, Free Library, Museum, Picture Gallery and Concert Hall. They were the history book of the period." (1901, p.190).

Next was the third chapter: Examples. The authors decided to separate the examples according to their function: Cathedral and Churches, Monastic Buildings, and Secular Architecture. Under Cathedrals and Churches, the fact that the construction of these eleventh and twelfth century monuments took many years, mostly more than a century. The rest of the chapter continued with details on planning, the design of the monuments and examples as the title suggested: The plans were mostly in a Latin cross form with the transepts using the shorter arms, the tower locations, the naves and the clerestory design were all discussed. A comparison of cathedral locations of England and France were mentioned; generally English ones were located on open

spaces called the Close, and that French cathedrals were often in the city centre, surrounded by buildings. Further comparisons had been made in another chapter to which we will focus on later (1901, pp.191-192).

The first nation that Fletcher and his son focused on was the English one with the Romanesque (Norman) and Gothic subtitle. Under Influences some information was given in order to understand the style's evolution: Architects must have chosen - because of its climate, deep porches, and small entrances compared to continental monuments. Furthermore, for religious reasons, many of the cathedrals were formed with monastic foundations, which they believe was the reason for differences between their French contemporaries (1901, pp.195-196).

The architectural character of English (Figure 4.2.8) Gothic was marked by a more complete sequence according to the text, with the style ending on a national phase called Perpendicular, a style that could not be found elsewhere, and a topic that will be discussed on later chapters. The next chapter was titled Gothic Vaulting in England which was discussed in detail, a subject that was included in detail in Kimball & Edgell's and also Kostof's books. The problem, wrote Fletcher, "which the medieval architects had to solve was to vault, in stone, a church of the basilican type, the high wall in which were the clerestory windows, being retained for lighting purposes." (1901, p.202). The book separated the English cathedrals into three categories: Cathedrals of the Old Foundation; of the Monastic Foundation and of the New Foundation, ending the examples by giving brief descriptions and construction dates of twenty-nine cathedrals. One of the subtitles was The Castles and Residences of the Nobles and it was stated that castles were an important part of the medieval architecture, that they were fortified up until the end of the fourteenth century and that they were, as well as being residences, military posts. With the rise of demand for privacy, Hall's were created (1901, pp.121-123). When discussing the dwelling of the people, they included the formation of towns and how they would be formed with the notion of safety dwellings placed around the castles, and the undeveloped urban form was due to the fact that town halls were not included as they would be like in France and Belgium (1901, p.225).

Architecture, The Monasteries, The Round Towers and Medieval Architecture. The authors wrote: "Within the English domain the influence of Continental art was felt during the Middle Ages, but few monuments of importance were erected." (1901, p.253).

One of the major Gothic chapter was French Architecture which started with Influences. According to the text, France was divided into South and North, architecturally speaking, the division being defined by the River Loire, the northern part developing the style sooner than the southern part. According to the Fletchers, religious zeal was the reason for that many grand cathedrals being constructed in a short period of time, and that the Crusades also instigated it. Viollet-le-Duc compared the zeal of Gothic construction to the railway lines covering Europe at the time. About the Social and Political section was written that the style varied considerably in different regions which could be due to differences of political environments, different languages and customs, and even the classical tone that may had been caused by Roman remains (1901, pp.254-255).

About the principles of architectural character of French Gothic was mentioned as being the same as in all Europe, the tendency of verticality which was accentuated by spires, pinnacles, internal height, high-pitched roofs and the tall traceried windows. The French Gothic was categorized by M. de Caumont into Primary (Thirteenth century), Secondary (Rayonnant which can be identified by wheel tracery of the rose windows) and finally, Tertiary (Flamboyant, fifteenth century). But just as we should do in English Gothic, we must consider the style as being a continuous development (1901, p.257).

Examples of thirteenth century were given; all with construction dates - apart from Notre Dame, Paris, the Cathedrals of Reims, Chartres, Amiens, Rouen, Coutances, Beauvais and Bourges and so on. Notre Dame, Paris (1163-1214), which was called the oldest of French Gothic cathedrals had been looked at through various drawings and its west front was called "the grandest composition in France, if not of the whole style." (1901, p.259). Details about plans were given about Amiens Cathedral, Coutances, Bourges, the Sainte Chapelle which was also in Paris, Notre Dame de

Paris and Alby Cathedral. According to Fletcher, students tend to think that Gothic architecture was confined to ecclesiastical work yet some examples of dwellings can be found in the south of Paris, and some half-timbered houses could still be observed at Rouen but because of the material choices most of the secular examples are lost to us today (1901, p.261).

Fletcher called Amiens Cathedral as the most characteristic French cathedral just as Salisbury as being the most typically English one. This was where the comparison between French Gothic and English Gothic started, by comparing them under the same seven categories of plans, walls, openings, roofs, columns, mouldings and ornament. Whilst making the comparison Chartres, Notre Dame, Laon, Amiens and Salisbury, Lincoln, Durham and York (and more) were given as examples to some parts of the categories mentioned above (1901, pp.262-266).

The next chapter was about Belgian and Dutch Gothic, stating that geographically, that this small kingdom lied in the middle of Germanic and Romanic elements, that one should expect to find dual influences in their stylistic development – Belgium under the French influence and Holland being under German influence. Because of their rivalries and war, the evolution of nationalistic style of architecture was hindered. The Dutch architectural character was mentioned as being simplistic, barn-like even compared to Belgium and its richly-detailed town halls (1901, pp.268-270).

German Gothic, in its own chapter, geologically produced no building material other than brick and that its influence should be noted in its architecture. As we will observe in the other survey books, Germany was the reigning force at the centre of Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and according to the text, German Gothic was directly borrowed from France, which was reluctantly accepted since Romanesque architecture was monumental in Germany. Cologne Cathedral was mentioned as it should be regarded as the great monument in this style and that the readers should notice the similarities of plan and dimensions with that of Amiens Cathedral. Strasburg, Ratisbon, Ulm, St. Elizabeth in Marburg, Munich and St Stephen cathedrals were given as examples (1901, pp.273-281).



Figure 4.2.9. Comparative Views of Models of Continental Cathedrals.

The next chapter titled Italian Gothic starts with the influences. The climate should be considered as a factor when one observes the apparent small windows, the thick walls and the development of tracery which was hindered in order to keep the Italian heat and sun out. Of course the Roman traditions were a major influence in the non-pursuit of verticality, and on the choice of flat roofs. The text states that one should notice the absence of pinnacles due to the unimportance of buttresses. The school of sculpture came from classical purity and was far superior to its northern

contemporaries yet the general composition and its meaning in architecture was less observable. Italian architects preferred to include the Roman acanthus and Corinthian capitals as part of their Gothic details.

The examples were divided into three: North Italy, Central Italy, and Southern Italy and Sicily. It was written that Milan Cathedral (for the North Italy section) was the most important Italian work erected during the Middle Ages and that we should observe the Germanic influences in the details and the character. The main differences with the rest of the continental Gothic were – not limited to - the use of white marble in its entirety and the flat roof. The Doges Palace was, according to Fletcher, the grandest effort in civic architecture in the whole of the period and that the delicate carving is cause for a celebration.

For Central Italy, the Cathedral of Florence was given – and some others including the Cathedral of Sienna - as a remarkable example for its wide spacing of the nave arcades, the absence of pinnacles and buttresses and for its marble façades, and that lastly the absence of a triforium should be noticed (1901, pp.282-294). For the Southern Italy and Sicily;

The influences at work in these districts have already been referred to in Romanesque. The style has been described as 'Greek in essence, Roman in form, and Saracenic in decoration' ...the main idea striven after in these churches is the unfettered display of mosaic decoration, in which the principal patronages of the Bible are rendered in a stiff archaic style, with borders of arabesques in gold and colour (1901, p.290).

The last chapter in Fletcher's text about Gothic architecture is Spanish Gothic. Under the historical influence, he wrote that the study of history was always necessary in order to understand the architectural development that would take place and that this was especially important for the study of Spanish Gothic since it was occupied at different times by different cultures – Romans, Vandals and Visigoths, and the invasion by Moors.

The Moorish influence could be observed in the southern parts of the country by noticing the horseshoe arches, the intricate geometrical and flowing patterns, rich

surface decorations and later on the pierced stonework traceries. For examples Cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo, Barcelona, Seville and others were given and that Seville Cathedral was the largest medieval cathedral ever built. Seville had a unique plan, maybe caused by its original function of that of a mosque, apparently resembles Milan Cathedral but in a “purer Gothic style” way (1901, pp.295-303).

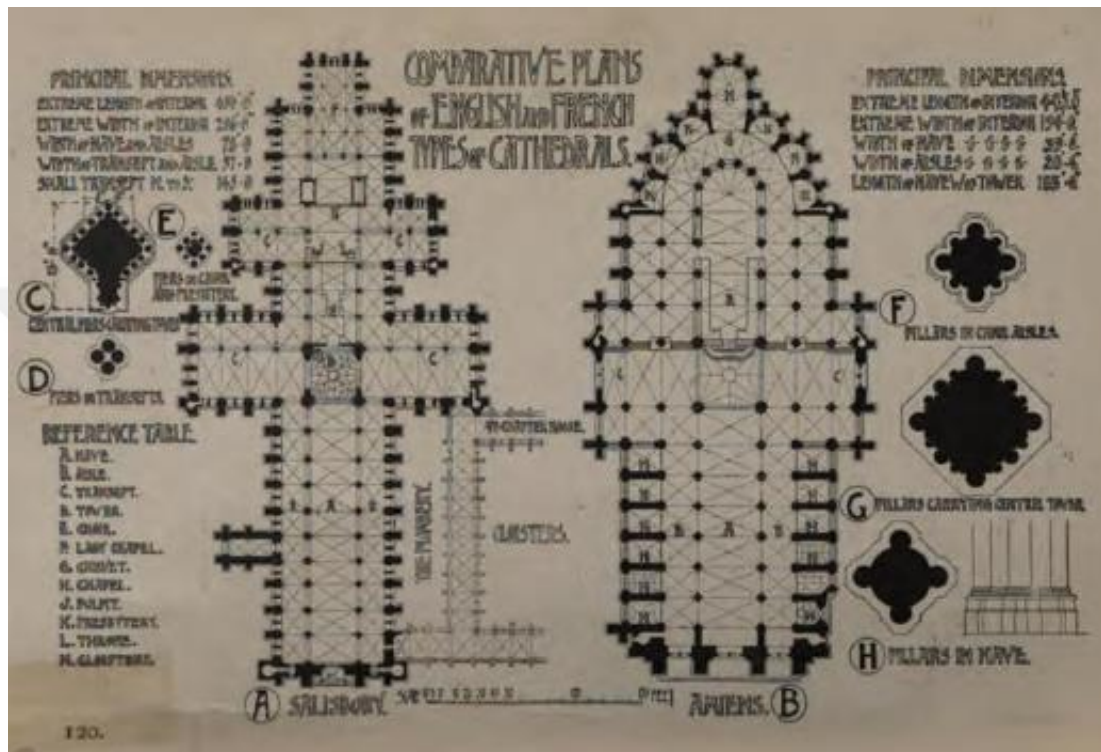


Figure 4.2.10. Comparative Plans of English (Salisbury) and French (Amiens) Types of Cathedrals.

4.3. Kimball & Edgell's History of Continual Formal Expressiveness

In 1918, Kimball (1888-1955) and Edgell had published *A History of Architecture* (1918) with a similar purpose to Fletcher's; in the Editor's Introduction, the aim of the book was outlined as “intended to provide for the students and the general reader concise but authoritative histories of architecture, sculpture and painting.” (1918, p.xvii). Fiske Kimball was an architectural historian, and the director of Philadelphia Museum of Arts and George Harold Edgell who was a Professor at Harvard University and also the director of Boston Museum of Fine Arts. C. Anderson suggested that the co-authors had a double pedagogical purpose: “to establish historical knowledge as part of a general liberal arts education, and to train architects

in historical precedent.” (Anderson, 1999, pp.350-353). She proceeded to say that writing one of these books, had come to be seen as an important contribution to scholarships as well as to teaching, and a compelling challenge that allowed a scholar to change the course of the discipline by writing a fundamental text that will be used for students. Kimball and Edgell attempted in *A History of Architecture*, as was said in the Author’s Preface, to present each style as a growing and changing thing (1918, p.xxii). The chronological order was similar to Fletcher's earlier editions, but before going over the content and structure, one can observe that the "Editor's Introduction" and the "Author's Preface" were both after the lists of contents and illustrations. Towards the end of the Author's Preface, the authors describe their structure: "The general development of the style is first sketched with little description of individual monuments, and these are then illustrated and discussed more at length in sections devoted to the development of single forms and types." (1918, p.xxii).

The contents of *A History of Architecture* (Figure 4.3.1) were fairly simple, fourteen chapters, the first explaining the elements of architecture and the rest was dedicated to an almost chronologically lined architectural styles, since the last two chapters went back in time on continents other than Europe. Starting from the Prehistoric Architecture, then Preclassical Architecture, Greek, Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Post-Renaissance (which included Baroque and Rococo styles in different countries), Modern (starting from the mid-eighteenth century; neoclassic, revival styles, and the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution including the Arts & Crafts Movement, Art Deco and Art Nouveau, without naming theme but giving examples and architects names.), American (a very brief pre-colonial section, largely including the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, architects including Frank Lloyd Wright) and lastly Eastern Architecture, which included briefly, Sassanian, Islamic, Indian, Ottoman, Cambodian, Javan, Chinese and Japanese architectures. These thirteen chapters mostly consisted of multiple paragraphs. The so-called sections that were aforementioned in the preface were brief paragraphs with titles that vary according to the specific chapter in which they were found. For example, the Greek Architecture part had seventy-nine sections that includes; Hellenistic Period; Structural expressions in the Doric order and The temple: size and proportions whereas Gothic Architecture has over ninety sections

that included; Flying buttresses; Flamboyant Gothic. The Style in France and The peasant's house. Each chapter was ended with a "Periods of..." giving chronological information about certain styles and examples that were included in the chapter, finishing with a bibliography that might help readers extended research.

CONTENTS		
CHAPTER		PAGE
	EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	xvii
	AUTHORS' PREFACE	xxi
I.	THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE	1
II.	PREHISTORIC ARCHITECTURE	8
III.	PRECLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE	11
IV.	GREEK ARCHITECTURE	49
V.	ROMAN ARCHITECTURE	103
VI.	EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE	159
VII.	BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE	183
VIII.	ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE	217
IX.	GOthic ARCHITECTURE	275
X.	RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE	344
XI.	POST-RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE	401
XII.	MODERN ARCHITECTURE	450
XIII.	AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE	524
XIV.	EASTERN ARCHITECTURE	572
	GLOSSARY	589
	INDEX	605

Figure 4.3.1. The contents page in *A History of Architecture*, 1918.

The novelty of including American Architecture and its development through time, giving it an equal space may be the result of the authors being Americans themselves and creating a survey for their American readers (Anderson, 1999, p.350). There were not many reviews of the book, the earliest review written by J.B. Robinson published the same year of the survey stated that "...the authors have indeed given us a complete history of all the architecture of the world..." (1918, p.838). This may be a positive look towards "the whole world" concept yet not long after Fletcher's and long before Kostof, the authors managed to show how the choices made on what to include or not include could change the narrative and representation of architectural history. More than a century ago, Kimball and Edgell chose to include, even briefly, the Far East, the Pre-colonial American culture, and Islamic architecture. The contents page differed from Fletcher's; where the latter opted to separate by countries, or regions and eventually by centuries, the former authors preferred to

keep it simple by categorizing into almost, chronological architectural styles giving further details at the end of each chapter whenever deemed necessary. Another historian that chose to keep the content page as simple as possible was art historian Nikolaus Pevsner who twenty-five years later published his survey titled: *An Outline of European Architecture*.

Chapter IX: Gothic Architecture started with the origin of the term which was regarded with contempt by the Renaissance minds. According to the authors – as Kostof and others suggest – Gothic architecture was called *Opus Francigenum*, or French Work at the time of its original development era, and that this was proof that France was the priority in this style. It had been pointed out that “...organic architecture was developed in the *Île-de-France*, and the so-called Gothic styles of other countries either consisted of imitation of this or of a superficial application of pointed or Gothic detail to buildings which were constructed according to Romanesque principles.” (1918, p.275). Gothic, as it was written in the text, was a system of vaults, supports and buttresses: “the supports being strong enough to bear the crushing weight of the vaults only, and the stability of the structure maintained chiefly by an equilibrium of counterthrusts.” (1918, p.275). The pointed arch was used as a structural means systematically in France and could be found to be used as un-structurally or mainly decorative. The writers insisted upon the “structural superiority and priority of the organic architecture of the *Île-de-France*.” (1918, p.275). Medieval architects developed the style inarticulately: they did not formulate in writing, the ideas that their monuments expressed. This may be the result of not just architects creating, but the result of a whole community coming together. This notion could be observed through the lack of knowledge on the names of the architects who created these great cathedrals, which in a sense made the art strongly socialistic.

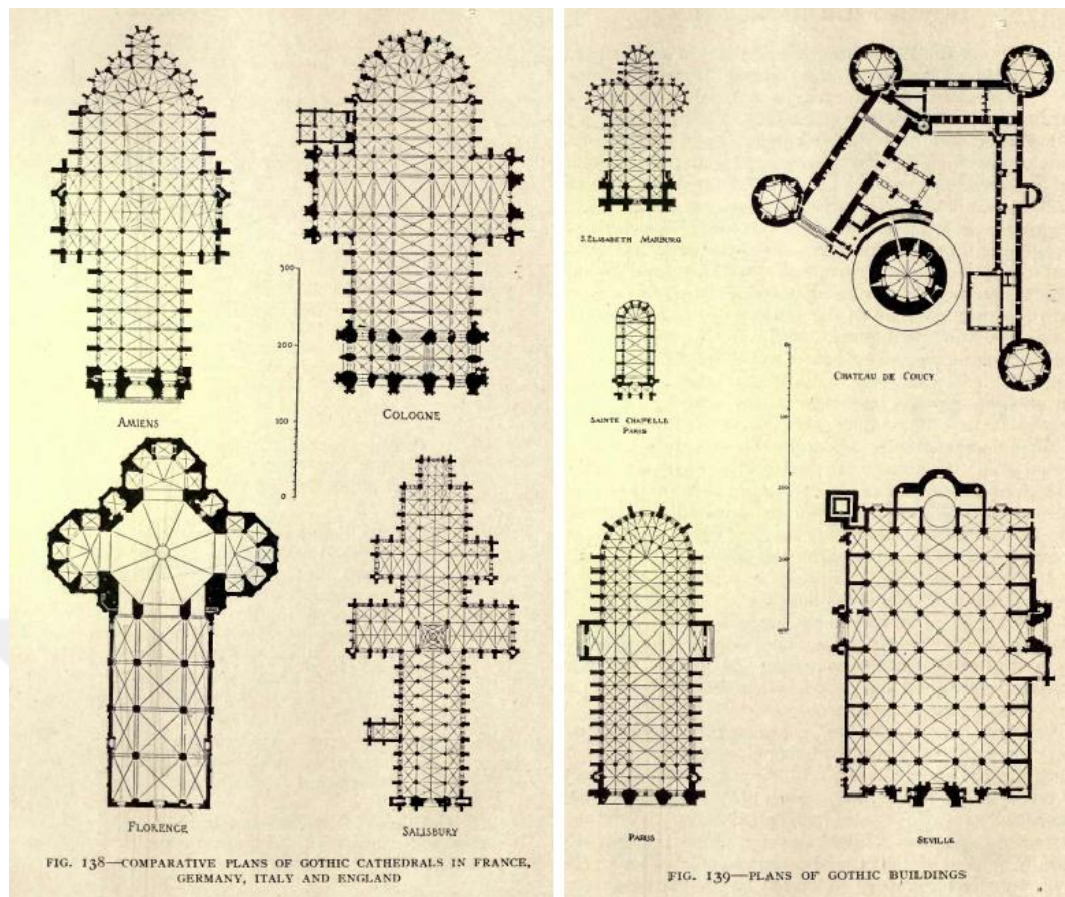


Figure 4.3.2. Comparative Plans of Gothic Cathedrals In France, Germany, Italy and England.

According to the text, the Gothic architecture era was approximately, from 1150 until 1550 with some exceptions including isolated monuments in the Flamboyant style that were erected during the mid-sixteenth century. The paragraph beginning with homogeneity suggested that Gothic had a national homogeneity, greater than Romanesque. Before the text's classification, the evolution of the style was discussed: there were previously mentioned debates on whether or not Gothic architecture had begun in France or England even though many historians accepted Abbot Suger's design as being the first, the same cannot be unanimously accepted for the early usage of pointed arches as being Gothic since Romanesque style used the architectural element as well. The text told us that even though earlier uses of the pointed arch were found in England, the first truly Gothic buildings that were erected there were under the French influence. The Development in England paragraph discussed the development of the style in England as the title suggested: the thirteenth century saw the Early English or Lancet style and soon enough they would

change and develop what they have brought into their land which would become more local in form and detailing. The next century bore a new expression of English Gothic which would be called Decorative in later history. The borrowers became the influencer and France was influenced into creating the Flamboyant style. And even though the Flamboyant details would spread to the rest of the continent, English architects insisted upon their mark on Gothic and during the fifteenth century in the form of the Perpendicular style (1918, p.284).

The survey book suggested a classification starting from France – which they “must give priority”, then continued with England, Germany, Italy and Spain. Because their constructions lasted for long periods of time, that they were close in dates and rapidly progressing, a chronological order of the cathedrals was not very probable. As mentioned before, the “vault is the most important feature of the Gothic building” (1918, p.287) and that its study was crucial for the study of this style. For more than six pages, the vault, the stiling of the longitudinal rib, flying buttresses, the apse, the piers and many more subjects were discussed through short paragraphs.

As mentioned by many as well as this survey, the walls in Gothic architecture became thinner and were used to exclude the weather conditions and were mostly adorned with stained glasses. As suggested by the authors, polychromy had an important part in Gothic, usually found on the stained glasses. The northern Europeans preferred glass (for the need of natural light as well) and the southerners’ frescos for the story-telling purpose (which is also, as mentioned by Fletcher, chosen for the need to control the powerful sunlight). History representation was not limited to stained glasses and frescos but was also used in sculpture form which were used either structurally or decoratively (1918, p.298). Whilst discussing the fourteenth century Gothic in France, once again Amiens Cathedral – in this context it was a comparison with Chartres Cathedral – was being called “probably the more perfect building...”(1918, p.299), and that France achieved a full development of Gothic at this time period focusing on refinement rather than change.

The chapter continued with the general characteristics of English Gothic, subdividing it into three styles (by centuries, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), but

before continuing with the subcategories the authors gave us closer information about the style in England. The differences between Organic Gothic (to which the authors referred to as the French Gothic) and English Gothic, starting from structural ones were noted; the fully developed flying buttresses were almost non-existent on the island and that the English architects relied more on Romanesque sturdiness than others. The comparison between plans also was note-worthy, English cathedrals were long or appeared long with bold transepts often doubled, and that height wise, English cathedrals did not concern themselves with verticality as much as French contemporaries. The English vaulting system was more complicated and the ribs soon used for decoration. Portals were designed smaller (the reason may have been the weather conditions as it was mentioned in Fletcher's text), façades were occasionally adorned by sculptures as in Wells Cathedral but they had a lesser role in England. One of the most important differences was the location of the said cathedrals – again, discussed in the previous survey – which were on large open sites compared to their French counterparts (1918, pp.299-302).

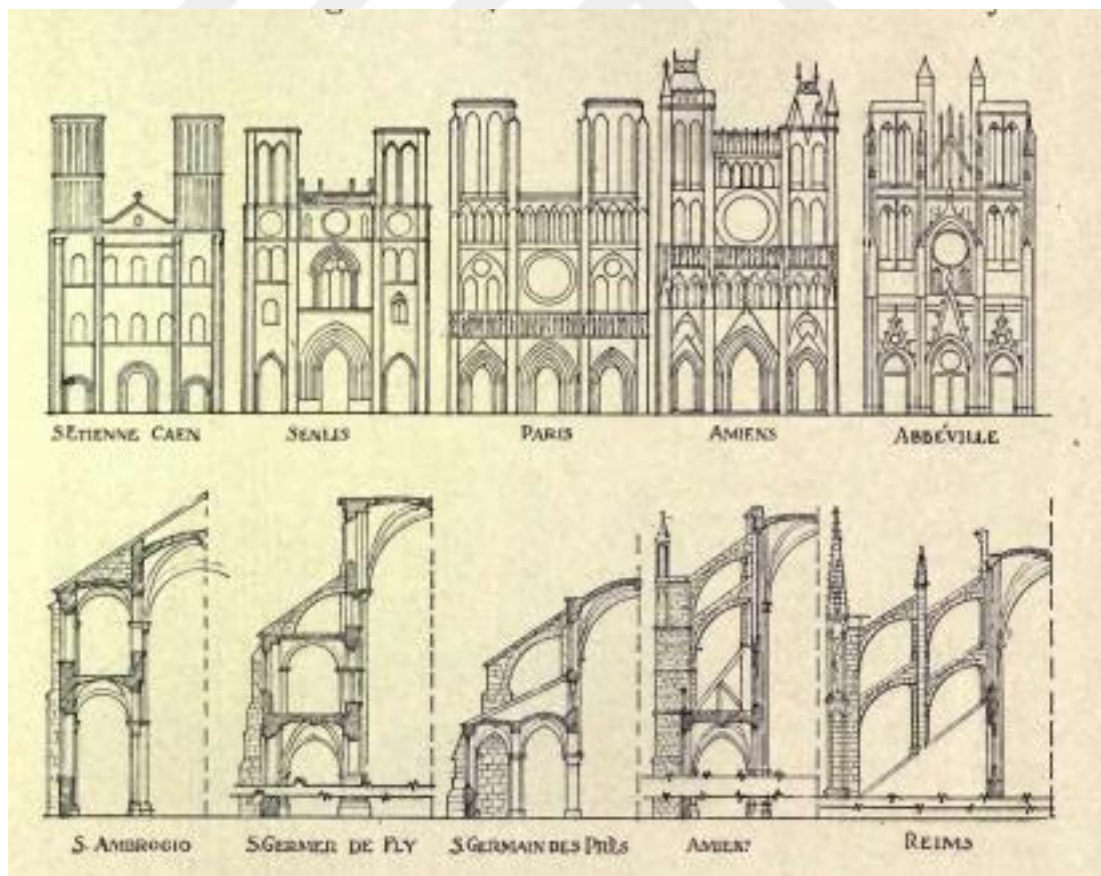


Figure 4.3.3. Arrangement of Monuments and Details to Illustrate the Development of the Buttress and the Development of the Façade.

As mentioned before, Early English Gothic was heavily influenced by the French Gothic at the time, with William of Sens, a French architect working on the construction of Canterbury, although after his death, an Englishman took over the project. In the Early style, simplicity was upfront, sculpture was rare, decoration restrained, and the effect of the building dependent of its proportions and structure. The lancet shaped openings were popular, hence the Lancet-style name. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the sharper style was abandoned for the Decorated Style (also known by some as Geometric or Curvilinear). Openings were enlarged and the façades were intricately detailed with tracery designs. Towards the fifteenth century, a new style, later known as Perpendicular emerged, which was called “...in some respects the most original, of the English styles.”, and the emphasis was on verticality. According to the text, vaults received the most complicated treatment in the Gothic architectural style’s history, the functional ribs and decorative ones became so entangled that they should no longer be distinguished. This was when the “fan vault” was developed, “the most famous” of the Gothic vaults (1918, pp.303-305).

Before continuing with the German Gothic, Flamboyant Gothic was mentioned here, as a novelty in decorative context rather than a structural one. Just like the Decorated Style, the vaults here became complicated and unlike Decorated, lines became curvy and the ogee arch was common. The pointed arch received a concave and convex profile and the authors stated that Saint Maclou in Rouen was one of the finest examples of the Flamboyant style (1918, p.306).

Germany – as mentioned in the previous book – was reluctant in accepting the Gothic style since they already had a unique relation with Romanesque. A late (slow) transition period started where Germany was heavily influenced by France who gave us the phrase *Opus Francigenum* as a description of the style. German Gothic buildings were divided into two categories by the authors, original and imitative. Historians have often believed *Cathedral of Trèves* to be the first pure Gothic church built in Germany which was heavily influenced by the *Saint Yved at Braisne*, and according to Edgell, (who was responsible for the Gothic portion of their text

according to the Author's Preface) (1918, p.XXIII) Cologne, which was the most imitative of all the German cathedrals had its inspiration from the Amiens Cathedral. One of the least imitative designs at the time were called the *Hallenkirchen*, or hall churches. They were three aisled, with domical vaults with all the naves with the same height giving it the impression of a great hall that especially evolved during the fifteenth century (1918, pp.208-312).

Spanish Gothic had a similar background to French Gothic yet they differentiated themselves by accentuated the horizontal lines and flat roofs, and much like Italian Gothic, windows became smaller due to the climate. These resulted in large surfaces of empty walls which increased the possibility for frescos. The decoration of the Spanish Gothic took on a more nationalistic approach with deep, crisp and with more contrast. The interiors were generally considered dark and gloomy yet almost all the glamour was saved for the *capilla mayor* or *coro*, a screen like apsis design. According to the text, the most ambitious cathedral in Spain in the fifteenth century, was the Cathedral of Seville with the Moorish influence (1918, pp.312-315).

Gothic in Italy, wrote the authors, completely disregarded the structural system of the style, and what they created mostly had a classic nuance to it. The horizontal line was emphasized, wall spaces were broad, the windows and portals were small, and the interiors were bare, much like a Romanesque church based on monastic designs. A slow, resistant acceptance happened and during the fifteenth century, a German influence arrived. There were Flamboyant secular monuments, many still very important to the narrative of architectural history yet the ecclesiastical architecture of the era was best shown at the Duomo, or the Milan Cathedral. Because Italy had begun its transition to Renaissance ideologies, Gothic never truly blossomed in the region. The rest of the sub-section continued with secular architecture, fortified towns, the castle and the town house and more (1918, pp.316-321). Kimball and Edgell finished chapter nine by giving a Chronological List of Monuments with the categories of: French and Flanders / England / Germany / Italy / Spain and Portugal.

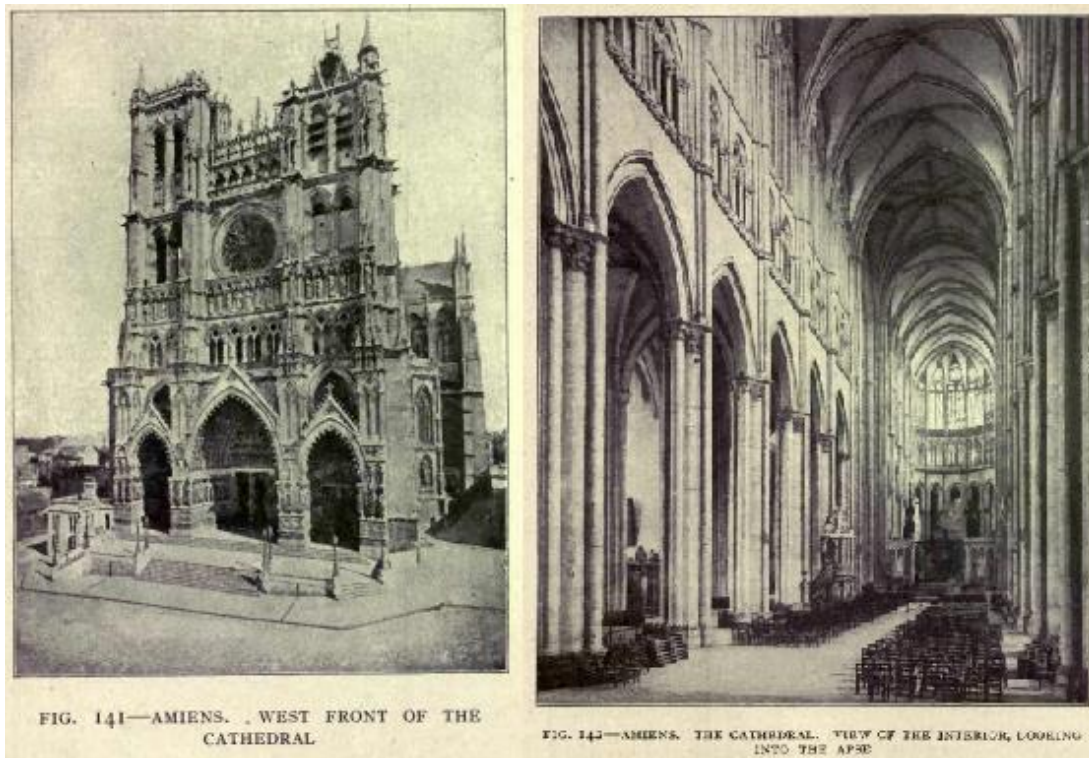


Figure 4.3.4. West façade of the Amiens Cathedral and the interior view of the apse.

4.4. Nikolaus Pevsner's History of Spatial Expression

In 1943, German art and architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner's (1902-1983) *An Outline of European Architecture* was published, and two years later, the second edition was presented. In 2009 the latest edition was revised by Michael Forsyth. The edition this study will use is the 1948 edition where Pevsner started with the contents of the book. Before continuing one should read the Introduction beginning with the famous saying by the author himself: "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture.", meaning that everything that was built on a sufficient scale was a building yet for it to be "architecture" it should have an aesthetic appeal (1948, p.xix). This aesthetic notion could be created in three different ways, according to the introduction:

First, they may be produced by the treatment of walls, proportions of windows, the relation of wall-space to window-space, of one story to another, of ornamentation such as the tracery of a 14th-century window, or the leaf and fruit garlands of a Wren porch. (1948, p.xix).

The second way is the treatment of the façade of a monument taken as a whole which is significant; the contrast of block against block, the resulting effect of a flat or pitched roof, or even a dome indicating a rhythm of "projections and recessions.". The third and last way is the treatment of the interior and its effect on our senses: "...the sequence of rooms, the widening out of a nave at the crossing, the stately movement of a baroque staircase." (1948, p.xix).

Pevsner stated that the differences between architecture, painting and sculpture is that architecture deals with a spatial quality that cannot be dealt with in the two other forms of art. He claimed that historians must keep spatial problems on the front and that no architectural book could be successful without ground plans. Because architecture deals with volume as well, architects are required to understand a sculptor or a painter's "modes of vision" on top of the spatial context, and as a result of this, architecture is "the most comprehensive of visual arts and has a right to claim superiority over the others." (1948, p.xix).

The author critiqued the detachment that occurred during the nineteenth century painting scene; the "easel-pictures" as he called them, became detached from architecture and that between the two art forms, only architecture could last as long as humanity. Pevsner insisted that materials and architectural elements manifested themselves in certain styles not because they were invented but because the spirit of the style existed and expressed itself through the elements and materials. "Thus the following chapters will treat the history of European architecture as a history of expression, and primarily of spatial expression." (1948, p.xix). At the Foreword written by the author himself, it was stated that in two hundred pages of European architecture, not every work could be mentioned, that one building could be enough to understand a style or a point to be made. His choice to not include all the ages of architecture was the result of choosing to examine the architecture of all the nations that made up Europe at the time the book was written. He claimed that the Greek temple belonged to the civilisation of Antiquity, or that Bulgarian architecture belonged to the Byzantine, stating that only architecture that resulted in "marginal interest in the development of European architecture..." would be included in his work (1948, p.xvii). On pages 226 and 227, the author had written the differences

between the first two editions and the third edition which was examined in this dissertation.

There were eight chapters in the book, starting with Twilight and Dawn from the 6th century to the 10th century; The Romanesque Style c.1000-c.1200; The Early and Classic Gothic Style c.1150-c.1250; The Late Gothic Style c.1250-c.1500; Renaissance and Mannerism c.1420-c.1600; The Baroque in the Roman Catholic Countries c.1600-c.1760; Britain and France from the 16th century to the 18th century and lastly Romantic Movement, Historicism and Modern Movement from 1760 to the Present Day. There were no introductions or maps to the chapters, but plans and other illustrations were placed when deemed necessary. The chapters could be read individually yet each chapter was a continuation of its precedent, almost to the point of arguments and phrases continuing from one to the other and there were no Further Reading or Recommended Reading sections that could be observed in most survey books.

The difference between Fletcher, Kimball & Edgell and Pevsner could be observed already through the contents pages alone (Figure 4.4.1). Fletcher's was stylistic in the architectural sense as was Kimball's and Edgell's yet here we start to observe time-lines. Indeed, the architectural styles were still included but with stricter periods of time. As the title suggests, this text did not claim to be a "world" history as it solely focuses on European architecture. Yet his claim to examine all architecture that had an "interest" in the development of European architecture started during the sixth century as he claimed that Greek architecture had no place in the discussion as it belongs to Antiquity, a claim that may not have many supporters. The exclusion of many European countries, cultures and architecture and calling the text an outline is almost an excuse to his selection, his personal canon. The title of the first chapter, an end (twilight) and beginning (dawn), one could call it a metaphor for the fall of the Roman Empire, marking Romanesque architecture as the beginning, both figuratively and literally for the new era. He even started the second chapter with "Yet during these dark and troubled years the foundation of medieval civilisation were laid." (1948, p.15). Pevsner was a discriminative historian, even his: "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture." statement was

outdated and elitist, as if to say there should be guidelines or rules to what should be constituted as 'architecture'. Throughout the last century this notion of what makes a building a piece of architecture was debated, discussions that are still continuing today and a pioneer of the subject of inclusiveness was Kostof himself.

<i>Contents</i>	
FOREWORD	PAGE xvi
INTRODUCTION	xix
CHAPTER	
I TWILIGHT AND DAWN FROM THE 6TH TO THE 10TH CENTURY	1
II THE ROMANESQUE STYLE c. 1000-c. 1200	15
III THE EARLY AND CLASSIC GOTHIC STYLE c. 1150-c. 1250	31
IV THE LATE GOTHIC STYLE c. 1250-c. 1500	56
V RENAISSANCE AND MANNERISM c. 1420-c. 1600	77
VI THE BAROQUE IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRIES c. 1600-c. 1760	120
VII BRITAIN AND FRANCE FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY	147
VIII ROMANTIC MOVEMENT, HISTORICISM AND MODERN MOVE- MENT FROM 1760 TO THE PRESENT DAY	188
APPENDIX 1 BIBLIOGRAPHY	217
APPENDIX 2 SOME TECHNICAL TERMS EXPLAINED	223
APPENDIX 3 A COMPARISON BETWEEN THIS AND EARLIER EDITIONS	227
INDEX	229

Figure 4.4.1. Contents page in *An Outline of European Architecture*, 1948.

Gothic style had been divided into two chapters, The Early and Classic Gothic Style and The Late Gothic Style, the first stretching over a century and the latter over 250 years. The first chapter began with St.-Denis Abbey and Abbot Suger (Figure 4.4.2). Pevsner stated that whomever designed the new choir (since he states that at the early stages of medieval times, the names of the architects were mostly unknown) of the Abbey, invented the Gothic style and even thought the architectural features of the style existed before, "It is only in St. Denis that Gothic construction and Gothic motifs are linked up with each other to form a Gothic system." (1948, p.xix). The

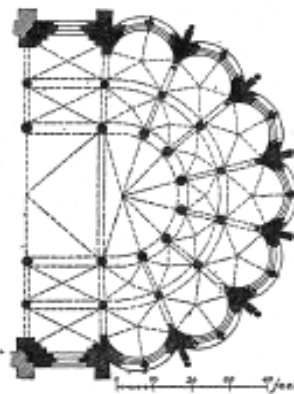
Abbey's structural and technical details were detailed out, focusing at flying buttresses. One of the earliest names of architects that is known to us was Williams de Sens (d.1180) and the author wrote about his work at the choir of Canterbury Cathedral; "a work as revolutionary in England as St. Denis was in France." (1948, p.34). Villard de Honnecourt' textbook, which is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), was mentioned as an invaluable source of information of thirteenth century architectural methods (1948, p.36).

The Early and Classic Gothic Style

c. 1150-c. 1250

IN 1140 the foundation stone was laid for the new choir of St. Denis Abbey near Paris (fig. 21). It was consecrated in 1144. Abbot Suger, the mighty counsellor of two kings of France, was the soul of the enterprise. There are few buildings in Europe so revolutionary in their conception and so rapid and unhesitating in their execution. Four years was an exceptionally short time in the 12th century for rebuilding the choir of a large abbey church. Whoever designed the choir of St. Denis, one can safely say, invented the Gothic style, although Gothic features had existed before, scattered here and there, and, in the centre of France, the provinces around St. Denis, even developed with a certain consistency.

The features which make up the Gothic style are well enough known, too well in fact, because most people forget that a style is not an aggregate of features, but an integral whole. Still it may be



21. ST. DENIS: ABBEY CHURCH, CONSECRATED 1144.

Figure 4.4.2. St.-Denis Abbey by Pevsner.

Examples of *Opus Francigenum*, French Gothic cathedral architecture were given by name; Sens, Noyon, Senlis, Notre-Dame de Paris, Laon, Chartres, Reims, Amiens and Beauvais (1948, p.39). Between pages 40 and 41, Notre-Dame de Paris's technical information was given and the plan of the Cathedral was discussed comparing its nave and chancel to the Old St. Peter's in Rome and Cluny. Apart from technical and structural details, scholasticism was mentioned in the text and how it affected the sculptural program (1948, p.47). Towards the end of the first Gothic chapter of the book, English examples were given, focusing on the style called Early English Style.

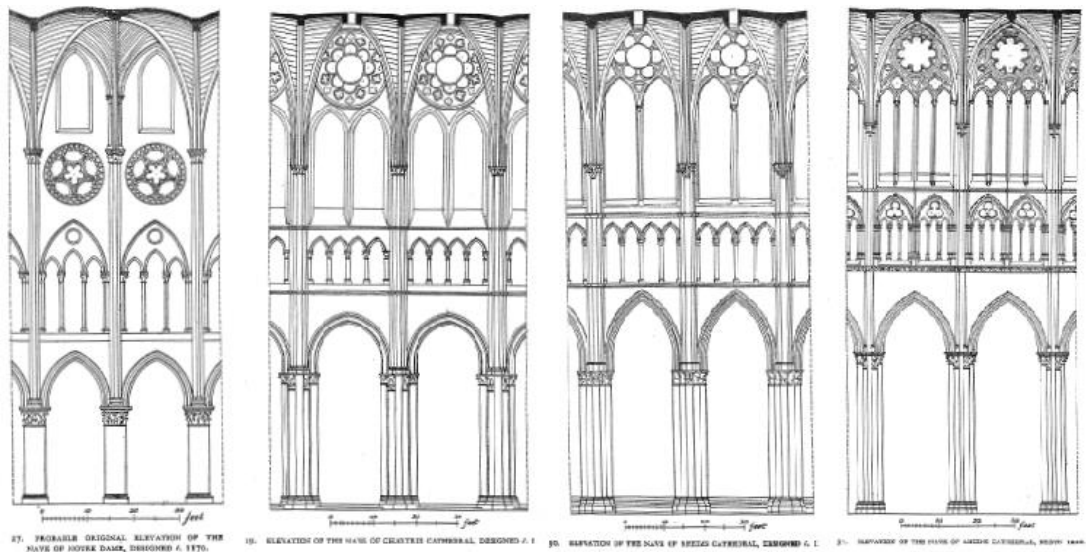


Figure 4.4.3. Nave of Notre-Dame, Chartres, Reims and Amiens.

The second chapter that focused on the Late Gothic Style (c.1250-c.1500) which was differentiated with the predominant use of the pointed arch and from the High Gothic Cathedrals of Paris, Reims and Amiens, Salisbury and Lincoln, the last two which were the English examples. Pevsner dictated that at this period of time, the architectural program became more sophisticated and at the same time more complicated. The changes that occurred were described as: "...in France is on the whole lean and retrospective, England went on inventing forms with amazing profuseness, forms merely decorative, no longer strictly architectural." (1948, p.54). The tracery work that could be observed has moved away from the geometrical tracery from the earlier examples which can be seen through the Decorative Style of English Gothic styles. Ely, Bristol and Wells Cathedrals were given as examples in detailed information.

Pevsner stated that France did not fully incorporate the spatial and ornamented style of the Late Gothic until the fifteenth century (1948, p.60). The Late Gothic style was observed in Germany, Catalonia, Gerona and Portugal through the rest of the chapter in a structural and comparative method. Perpendicular Gothic, another English Gothic Style, was explained. The chapter continues with residential examples and historical events that occurred that eventually affected the church designs of Europe.

4.5. Visual Representation of Notre-Dame in the books

Whilst studying the Gothic chapters in the researched books and their interpretations, one has to observe the visual representations as well. This study will emphasize the subject matter, the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. Even though Choisy was famous in his times due to his original illustrations and axonometric representations which was developed by him (Mandoul, 1996), from the three hundred and three illustrations, sixty-three of them were by Viollet-le-Duc and some were from Lassus. Plans, sections, perspectives or architectural element details were drawn in the Choisy book and Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral (Figures 4.1.3 - 4.5.1) was illustrated twenty-four times in total while the Cathedral of Amiens (Figure 4.1.2) was illustrated nineteen times and the Reims Cathedral seventeen times. Alongside technical drawings of structural elements, the author also collected drawings of stained-glass traceries, column designs, gallery details and axonometric perspectives of major Gothic cathedrals of France: Sens, Noyon, Notre-Dame, Bourges, Eu, Langres, Chartres, Longpont, Reims, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, S. Germain and some foreign cathedral perspectives were included in this chapter. A map of the locations of the first Gothic churches on which the author focuses on was given on page 498 with less than thirty pages remaining out of 269 pages. This was a direct result of focusing on structural development rather than an architectural historical one. Whilst being one of the most famous French architectural history writers due to his *Histoire de l'architecture*, Auguste Choisy still remained true to his discipline and looked at the history of architecture through a structural and rational point of view. A comparison of these two schools of architectural survey - in a French and an English written context - may show us that sentimental writing such as Kostof's method or history complimented by anecdotes method of Richard Ingersoll may had not found a place in the didactic, rational, meticulous writing styles of French architectural historians. The English written texts, starting with a contemporary figure of Choisy - Bannister Fletcher - will be discussed in the next chapter.

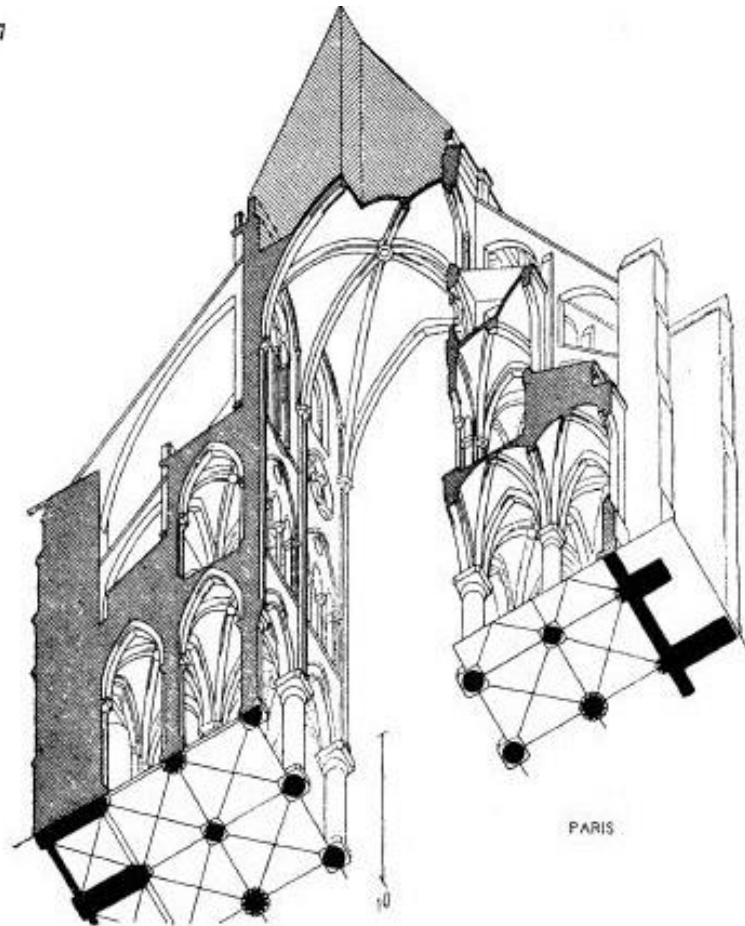


Figure 4.5.1. Notre-Dame de Paris's bay as it existed originally by Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, 1899.

In Fletcher's fourth edition, the chapter's first illustration over the seventy-one was the Principles of Gothic Construction (p.186) (Figure 4.2.7) which included a drawing of Amiens Cathedral by Viollet-le-Duc from his *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*. The next one consisted of five models of cathedrals photographed; Milan, Evreux, Cologne, Vienna and Chartres. A hand-drawn page titled Comparative Diagrams of Vaults & Domes can be observed just before the English Gothic Examples I: Comparative examples Showing of Gothic Vaulting. In the book there were non-consecutive fourteen illustrations that were titled: English Gothic Examples, with different subjects; Gothic vaulting, timber roofs, plans, sections and elevations, domestic buildings, Saxon Architecture, façades, doorways and tracery development. In between these there were other illustrations and photographs of certain architectural elements or monuments. Almost all of these subjects were accompanied by English examples such as Lincoln

Cathedral (four times including a photo of a model and two individual photos), Peterborough Cathedral (five times including a photo of a model), Salisbury Cathedral (five times including a photo of a model and two individually paged photos and another under French Gothic Architecture which will be discussed), Westminster Abbey (five times including a single page of detailed drawings of Bay of Exterior / Interior, plan and a section of the nave and a photo of Henry VII's Chapel and its fan vaulting, Ely Cathedral (five times including a photo of a model) and Winchester Cathedral (five times including a photo of a model). Fletcher included ornaments, mouldings and carved foliage drawings as well. Belgian, German, Italian and Spanish Gothic Architecture followed with a total of sixteen photos and nine hand drawn illustrations.

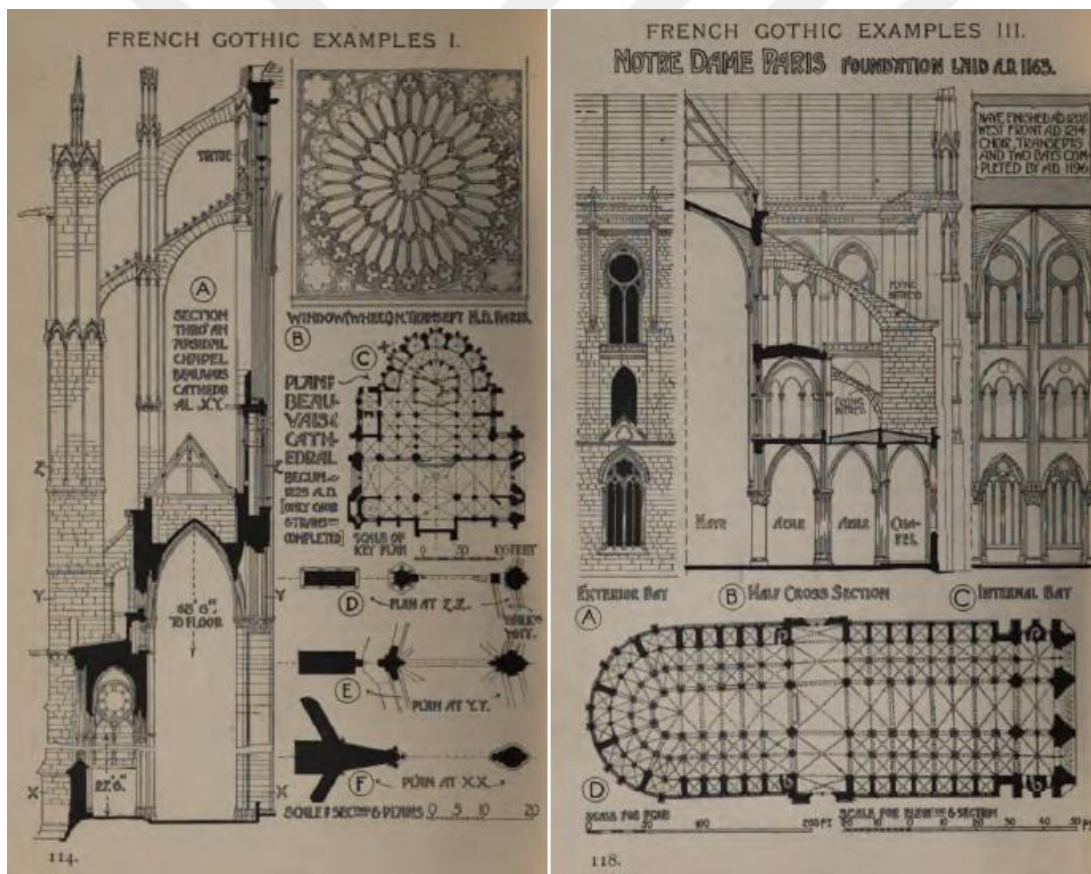


Figure 4.5.2. French Gothic Examples I & III.



Figure 4.5.3. West Front of Notre Dame de Paris & Interior, looking East in Notre-Dame.

The illustrations under the French Gothic started in page 256 (4th ed.) with French Gothic Examples I, Beauvais Cathedral and the Window (Wheel) N. Transept of Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral given as an example. There were only three French Gothic Example pages (Figure 4.5.2) and in between and after, were the comparative model photographs (Figure 4.2.9), plans of French examples, secular examples and ornaments. The Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris had been illustrated six times – with the rose window - including a sole page with Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc's drawings of an exterior bay, half cross section, an interior bay and a plan. The monument could be observed by a photograph of a model and two additional photos of the West front and interior looking East (Figure 4.5.3). Lastly on the last illustration of the chapter titled French Gothic Ornament that gave Chartres, Amiens, Mont St. Michel and Notre Dame of Chalons-sur-Seine. Chartres Cathedral which was mentioned in the first chapter with European cathedral models, was one of the examples of the Comparative Plans of French Gothic Cathedrals on page 116. What stood out was that Amiens Cathedral which was mentioned before, was the sole French example of the illustration on page 120 called Comparative Plans of English

and French Types of Cathedrals alongside Salisbury Cathedral (Figure 4.2.10). The monument was included four times in total including a photograph of the interior.

Kimball and Edgell's book includes fifty-one illustrations in the Gothic Architecture chapter starting with Comparative plans of Gothic cathedrals in France, Germany, Italy and England (Figure 4.3.2) with Amiens, Cologne, Florence and Salisbury Cathedrals. Notre Dame de Paris had been illustrated five times by drawings under Plans of Gothic Buildings along four other monuments (S. Elizabeth Marburg, Chateau de Coucy, Sainte Chapelle and Seville), Sections and Systems of Gothic Buildings (Figure 4.5.4) again with four others (Seville, Florence, Salisbury and Amiens), Arrangement of monuments and details to illustrate the development of the façade (Figure 4.3.3) – in two sections of façades and flying buttresses with Amiens Cathedral the only monument to be included in both. Plans of the East end of five Gothic churches, illustrating the development of the chevet and Plans illustrating the development of the Gothic pier both of which also included Amiens Cathedral as well as other monuments. Compared to the Capital's Cathedral, Amiens Cathedral was illustrated nine times in the chapter (Figure 4.3.4), the ones that were mentioned, two photographs and another drawing under The development of the window opening, examples of plate and bar tracery. Chartres Cathedral was included three times. Following the French examples were the English ones; Salisbury Cathedral was illustrated four times, Lincoln, York and Gloucester and Westminster Abbey, each one time. German, Spanish and Italian examples followed without focusing on specific monuments. Whilst focusing on the secular architecture, three drawings by Viollet-le-Duc were used on pages 180-181 and 182; A Medieval Town House; The Country Dwelling of a Medieval Peasant and Saint Médard-en-Jalle, Sketch of the *Manor*.

The first illustration of Pevsner's eleventh chapter - which had only twenty illustrations, was titled: St.Denis: Abbey Church, consecrated 1144, a plan of the newly designed Gothic apse. Noyon, Laon, Amiens and Chartres Cathedrals were only illustrated once, all of them by drawings of their respective nave elevations and their date of design. Only Reims and Notre Dame de Paris were included twice (Figure 4.4.3). One of Reims Cathedral's East chapels – which was taken from

Villard de Honnecourt's textbook dating from 1235 and again, the nave of the Cathedral which was designed in 1211. On pages 39 and 41 were the where the illustrations of Notre Dame de Paris took place: Probable original elevation of the nave of Notre Dame in Paris, designed c. 1170 and Paris: Notre Dame, begun c.1163. Top half - Ground Floor; Lower Half- Upper Floor. The Chapels between the Buttresses of the Nave were begun c. 1235 around the East end in 1296 (Figure 4.5.5). The chapter then continued with an English example, –twice given – Salisbury Cathedral and then Spanish examples.

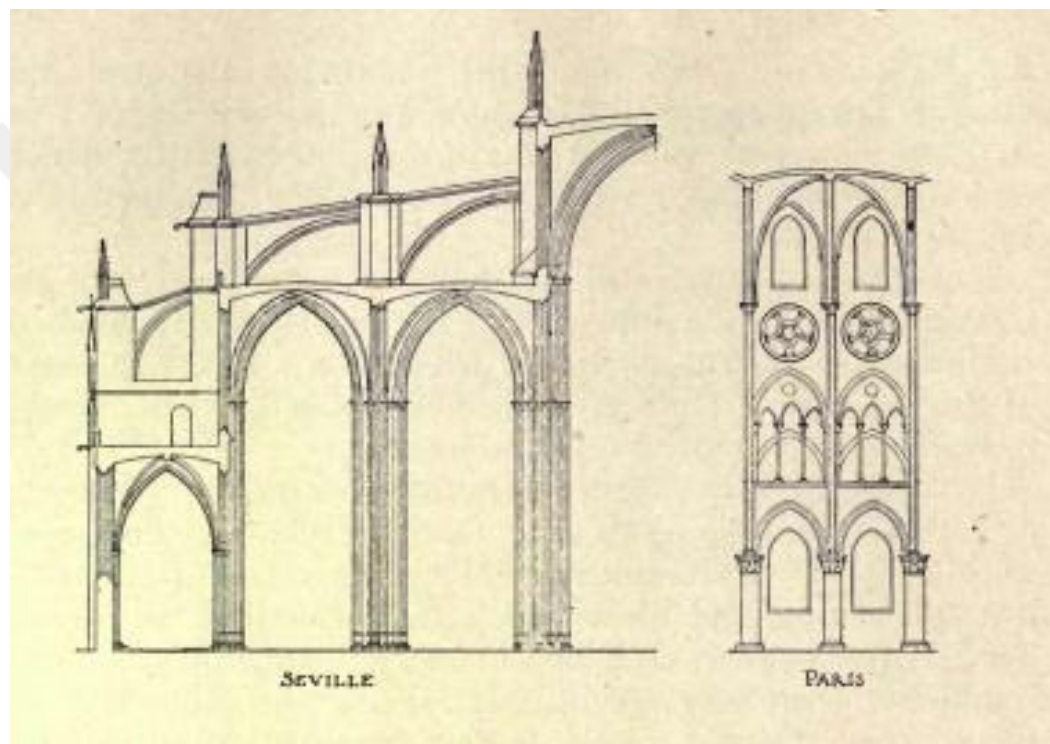


Figure 4.5.4. Sections and Systems of Gothic Buildings.

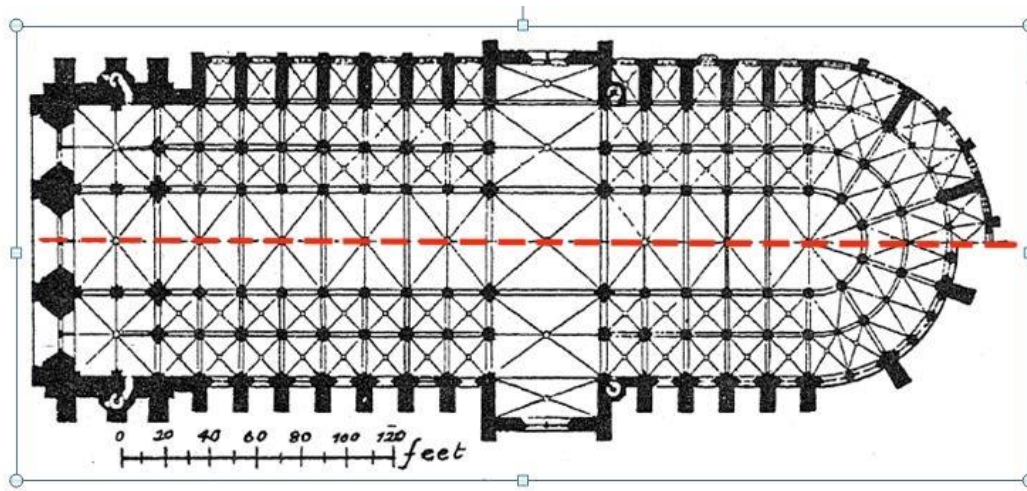


Figure 4.5.5. Nikolaus Pevsner's drawing of Notre Dame's plan. Top Half - Ground Floor;
Lower Half - Upper Floor.

Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral seems to be placed as a definite reference in the nationalistic approach of Auguste Choisy. This representation was highlighted visually in the book. Choisy's unique perspectives gave an unprecedented view of the monument whilst supporting the ideology that the edifice could be considered as a definite reference. Unlike Choisy, the imperialistic approach of Bannister Fletcher and his son seem to have managed to exclude the Cathedral in written form, favouring British examples, yet visually Notre-Dame was included more in the book. There is a dominance in the visual representation of the monument. The same argument could be made for Kimball & Edgell and Pevsner's books. The Cathedral was included both in written form, albeit very briefly, and visually yet the manner and the number in which the monument was represented could not be considered enough for a so-called "definite reference" to the Gothic style. The books that are included in this chapter represent the limited approach to architectural history and the search for the definitiveness of the reference of Notre-Dame de Paris will be searched in a more global approach in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

5.1. The Global Survey Books

Since the Nationalistic and Western-centric approaches to Gothic architecture and eventually to Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral was observed through the previous chapter, the next phase of the dissertation will search the same subject whilst focusing on the global approach of architectural global surveys. Art and architectural historians such as Spiro Kostof, Gérard Monnier and more recently Francis D.K. Ching with Mark Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash and Richard Ingersoll had taken on the immense work that is the global survey text. It is not an easy task, to present the long and complex history of architecture. Architectural surveys are not only educational but also opportunities to "visit" the world. These books "play a significant role in conveying the culture, norms, and values of the architectural discipline to newcomers." (Gürel & Anthony, 2006, p.66). In most of the surveys authors begin their work stating that the work was intended to be an introduction to the field for architectural students and connoisseurs, that they should be regarded as guidelines instead of a complete historical survey. D. Howard admits that times have changed for the survey book and that with the endless sources, publications and scholars, if it is even possible for someone to have read all the literature at hand (Howard, 1995). One could argue even that no one can assume an authoritative stance for the entirety of history of architecture. In the process, the textbook's authority was undermined to such an extent that many scholars questioned and attempted to write a 'history of architecture'." (1999, p.216).

Christy Anderson wrote that before World War II, survey books were mainly "the history of styles, tracing the development of form through time in order to define a

pattern of visual norms.” (1999, p.352). She then gave Fletcher’s book in the footnote as an earlier example based on the comparative method used to give different periods, to be able to evaluate changes, criticizing that there was not enough sense of how meaning was formed in architecture and how this vast amount of information should be interpreted. Fletcher’s text consisted of a chronological history of styles, Kimball & Edgell used sub-titles to create a sense of continuity without insistence of canonical choices and Pevsner opted for smaller time periods adapted to architectural styles.

With Kostof came change: he opted for a more inclusive comparison of "western and non-western" architectural monuments in urban contexts whilst giving non-stylistic titles. Ching and his co-authors chose "*time-cuts*", no titles, no style differentiations. Ingersoll could be considered to have found a middle ground between his teacher Kostof’s, and Ching, & Jarzombek and Prakash’s methods. More often than not, these books used architectural canons in order to implement the style that was being described. The debates and criticism among historians continue - terms such as inclusiveness, non-western vs. western, canonical, others, race and gender issues regarding these texts are all part of the ongoing discussions. Anderson believed that during the course of this century architectural history had changed profoundly and "the new survey books and series hope to capitalize on these changes in the discipline by commissioning volumes that will incorporate new approaches and perspectives." (1999, p.352). Now, one has to look at where the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris stands amongst the global context of architectural history?

The reason for choosing Kostof was because his book was one of the most acclaimed and discussed global architectural history books which was considered to be an innovative and inclusive (up until that point) survey, differentiating itself by his method of writing. Monnier was included chronologically for being a rare survey book written by a French historian. The reason for the choice of Ching & Jarzombek and Prakash’s book was the fact that it was one of the most recent books with a completely different way of approaching the narrative using time-cuts instead of styles, including more cultures and not focusing on canonical architecture. Ingersoll was chosen for two reasons; he was Kostof’s student, even wrote a text based on his

teacher's book and the fact that he uses a similar method to the *A Global History of Architecture* whilst focusing on visual representations of chosen architectural styles and monuments. His book was published during the 850th anniversary celebrations of Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral.

5.2. Spiro Kostof's Cross-Cultural History

In 1985, Spiro Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Ritual* was published which had a similar purpose as the three previous books: a survey of architectural history for students which Kostof himself called a "compact book.". Kostof himself was an architectural historian and an acclaimed professor at Berkeley, California. His book was a general survey of the history of architecture "that tries to reconcile the traditional grand canon of monuments with a broader, more embracing view of the built environment." (1985, p.Preface). His attempt of inclusivity would be praised by many including John E. Hancock, and even though in the preface the author wrote that the premise of the book did not assume all-inclusiveness, it was "nevertheless the primary way in which this work is intended to differ from its predecessors." (1986, pp.32-32). He wrote that this book cannot claim to be a world history, yet he was one of the first English using architectural historians to include more "The Non-Historical Styles" than any before. Even though according to the preface, a history of architecture was "both less and more than a grand tour" (1985, p.3), and that every building should have its place in history, it still was an impossible task to try to include everything and be able to observe important details, so he confined himself to a certain amount of sites and buildings; one could say, a confinement to canonical monuments just like his predecessors. An important passage from Kostof's book emphasizing his list of buildings, and his process of choosing a certain site or building: "The selection of emphasis among the many specimens of architecture, the arrangement and interpretation of facts known about them, the personal judgement of each historian, the vantage point of the time and philosophy within which he or she operates..."(1985, p.8), that these were all alternatives that help the creation of as many architectural histories as there were of actual historians. He continued to write that this results in history being constructed by historians and that any monument and

/ or person or even occasion can acquire as much of importance as befits the author's purpose.

According to Koskof there were four premises that stresses the treatment and the scope of his survey: the first was that the materiality of every monuments should be observed in its entirety. The second was that the edifice "...should be thought of in a broader physical framework and riot just in terms of itself.".Thirdly, every monument of the pastshould be considered as worthy subject matters regardless of status, size or consequences. The last was that the "...extramaterial elements that affect the existence of buildings should be considered indispensable to their appreciation." (1985, p.8).

CONTENTS		CONTENTS	
PART ONE A Place on Earth 1. THE STUDY OF WHAT WE BUILT, 3 The History of Architecture, 3 The Total Context of Architecture, 7 2. THE CAVE AND THE SKY: STONE AGE EUROPE, 21 The Beginning, 21 Old Stone Age Architecture, 23 The Cave at Lascaux, 23 New Stone Age Architecture, 26 The Temples of Malta, 32 Stonehenge, 37 3. THE RISE OF THE CITY: ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ASIA, 43 The Urban Revolution, 43 Stirrings of Urban Consciousness, 44 The Cities of Mesopotamia, 50 4. THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT, 67 The Land of Egypt, 67 The Burial of Kings, 71 The Time of the Gods, 79 Survival of the Egyptian Temple, 88 5. BRONZE AGE CITIES: THE AEGEAN AND ASIA MINOR, 91 Asia Minor, 91 Neyversham and Minoans, 99 The Closing of the Bronze Age, 112 6. THE GREEK TEMPLE AND "BARBARIAN" ALTERNATIVES, 115 The Passing of the Bronze Age, 115 The Emergence of Greece, 117 The Greek Temple, 120 7. POLIS AND AKROPOLIS, 127 Athens and Her Empire, 127 The Shape of the Polis, 138 Athens—"The Eye of Greece," 146 8. THE HELLENISTIC REALM, 161 The New Order, 161 The Hellenistic Temple, 168 Religious Settings, 170 The Noble Metropolis, 174 9. ROME: CAPUT MUNDI, 191 Early Roman Architecture, 191 Components of a Roman Town: Pompeii, 194 The Look of Empire: Rome at the Millennium, 207 10. THE WORLD AT LARGE: ROMAN CONCURRENCES, 217 The Roman Cosmos, 217 Beyond the Empire, 219 The Other Ancient World, 225 A Continent Alone, 233		PART TWO Measuring Up 11. THE TRIUMPH OF CHRIST, 245 The Turning Point: Third-Century Rome, 245 Housing the Kingdom of Heaven, 251 The Primacy of Constantinople, 260 12. THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 269 The Decline of the West, 269 Carolingian Restoration, 274 The Empire of Muhammed, 284 13. THE BIRTH OF NATIONS: EUROPE AFTER CHARLES, 295 Europe from Charles to Otto, 295 The Eleventh Century, 298 The Romanesque Church, 305 Italian Counterpoint, 314 14. THE FRENCH MANNER, 323 The Romanesque and Opus Anodenum, 323 Chartres, 333 Gothic Novels, 341 15. THE ORGANIZATIONS OF EUROPE, 106-130, 349 The City, 349 Bourgeois Architecture: Public and Private, 355 An Urban Contrast: Carlo and Florence, 361 16. EDGES OF MEDIEVALISM, 375 Florence at the Crossroads, 375 The City Center, 376 Europe in the Fourteenth Century, 386 Agric. Traditions Abroad, 394 17. THE RENAISSANCE: IDEAL AND FACT, 403 The First advance, 403 The Prince and the People: Patronage in Northern Italy, 412 The Italianate Craze, 428 18. SPAIN AND THE NEW WORLD, 433 The American Scene, 433 The Spanish Scene, 442 19. ISTANBUL AND VENICE, 453 A Turkish Renaissance, 454 The Consummation of Venice, 468 20. THE POPES AS PLANNERS: ROME, 1450-1650, 485 Making the City Whole, 485 "A Pasture for the Bodily Series," 496 21. ABSOLUTISM AND BOURGEOISIE: EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE, 1600-1750, 511 The Roman Baroque, 511 France: The Grand Siecle, 527 The Face of Protestantism, 536	
		PART THREE The Search for Self 22. ARCHITECTURE FOR A NEW WORLD, 547 Europe in Ferment, 547 A World to Choose from, 553 Form and Reform, 566 23. ARCHITECTURAL ART AND THE LANDSCAPE OF INDUSTRY, 1800-1850, 571 A Matter of Style, 571 The Iron Age, 594 24. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 605 Colonial Dependence, 607 Architecture for a Nation, 617 Greece for All Seasons, 629 25. VICTORIAN ENVIRONMENT, 635 The Gilded Age, 635 Victorian America, 647 26. THE TRIALS OF MODERNISM, 665 Urban Choices, 669 Toward a Twentieth-Century Architecture, 680 27. ARCHITECTURE AND THE STATE: INTERWAR YEARS, 685 The 1920s, 685 The Other Side, 707 The Language of Power, 717 28. THE ENDS OF MODERNISM, 721 Reconstruction, 721 Postwar America, 724 29. DESIGNING THE FUTURE, 745 Success and Failure, 745 Recovering the Past, 748 Illustration Credits, 743 Glossary, 767 Index, 776	

Figure 5.2.1. Contents page of A History of Architecture: Setting and Rituals, 1985.

Kostof did not want to give relatively classic chapter titles as was done before him although his method was still a chronological one (Figure 5.2.1). He chose to divide the book into three almost equal parts which are titled: A Place on Earth, Measuring Up and The Search for Self. The first part covers the era starting from prehistoric times and ends towards the spread of Christianity in Roman times, in ten chapters. Second part has eleven chapters that look into the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque eras. The third part focuses on the period since the middle of the eighteenth

century in seven chapters. A final chapter titled *Designing the Fin-de-Siècle*, with two sub-sections: *Success and Failure* and *Recovering the Past* is added to the second edition in 1995 by the editor, Greg Castillo.

Kostof was innovative, not only with his inclusive narrative but also with his chapter titles and his methodology: instead of categorizing by architectural styles he chose to title his chapters by content, following a personal journey instead of a dogmatic narrative. A chronological path was still followed but almost without obligation. L.K. Eaton wrote that: "...this book is almost as much a history of urban form as it is of architecture. The focus, however, is always directed toward building arts.", he continued by stating that there was not much attention paid to decorative or ornamental details (1988, p.75).

The text was considered to be a starting point for rethinking the architectural narrative, the canon, the shift towards a broader and inclusive historiography, even though Kimball & Edgell should have already been considered as the basis of the discussion. Albeit, Kostof did state that all-inclusiveness was not one of the aims of this work. P. Pyla's (1999) acclaimed critique of Kostof's book raised an important question: why would one use the term "other" when discussing "Western vs. non-Western" shortcomings, did this terminology not claim that there was an 'us' and 'them'? (1985, p.preface).⁹⁶

Under "The community of Architecture" Kostof explained the third premise of his book: "that all past buildings, regardless of size, status, or consequence, deserve to be studied." (1985, p.12). There was a sense of critique on classic canonical choices, referencing Pevsner's distinction of 'building' and 'architecture'. The author had chosen a cross-cultural narrative, comparisons, not necessarily as Fletcher had done, but in a tale-like manner; Chartres Cathedral and Angkor Wat, Istanbul and Venice, Cairo and Florence. Pyla (1999) had made important remarks about how this

⁹⁶ Quoting Kostof himself: "We have always been bound with other lands; and the order we have created gains in understanding when it is assessed in the light of alternate orders. As a symbolic recognition of this interdependence, I have avoided discussing non-Western traditional tidily in their own individual chapters."

comparative method may be innovative on the surface but in the end Ottoman architecture was compared to Renaissance architecture, that the latter was used as a yardstick for architectural quality; that instead of discussing İstanbul's social hierarchies, political conflicts, religious beliefs and more, the author's selectivity to include only the aspects that can be compared to 'western practices of the sixteenth century' showed us the failings in the grand architectural historical narrative. In the end, in 1985 Kostof created a basis for the important discussions of canon, vernacular architecture, 'others' and globalisation, and twenty-six years later, Ching & Jarzombek and Prakash came together to publish their survey book, the most 'global' and inclusive yet.

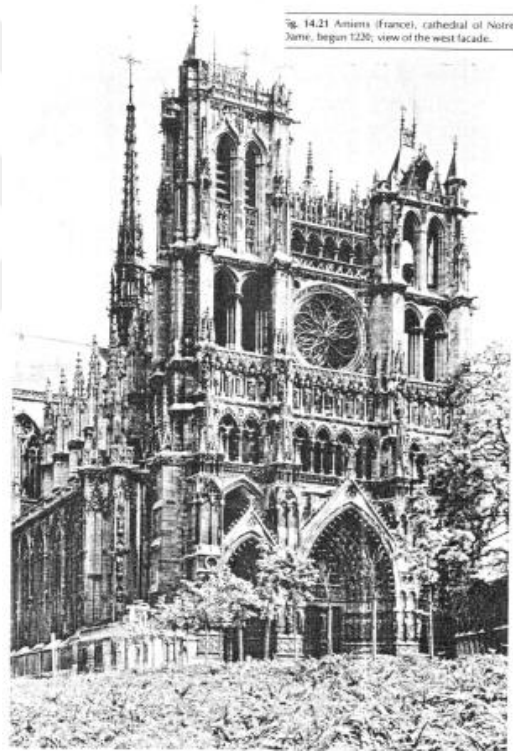


Figure 5.2.2. Cathedral of Notre-Dame d'Amiens' view of the west façade.

The author, in the fourteenth chapter titled The French Manner: The Romanesque and Opus Modernum, gave a brief history of Cistercians and their leader St. Bernard who insisted on simplifying churches and living styles while Abbot Suger of St.-Denis decided to renovate the choir and later of the façade of his church by adding more details and extravagance with precious stones, stained glass and turning the walls as transparent as possible. These two contrary ideologies and personalities, set in motion the development of Gothic, their common truth being that fundamentals of

architecture including light, proportion and the purity of materials were found (1985, p.323). "The Gothic Challenge" started with the story of the abbey of St.-Denis, which was located quite close to the city centre of Paris. During the twelfth century and for some more time, this location was the centre of French Royal domain. Paris at the time, was the Capetian capital located on the *Île-de-le-Cité*, the Seine River separating the town enclosed by new walls. The sovereigns were crowned and anointed at Reims Cathedral and buried at St.-Denis so the Gothic style was first designed in a royal abbey. In 1124, King Louis VI declared it the "the capital of the realm" after a dispute with the pope, and when he joined the Crusades, Abbot Suger was the regent guardian of the said realm (1985, p.330).

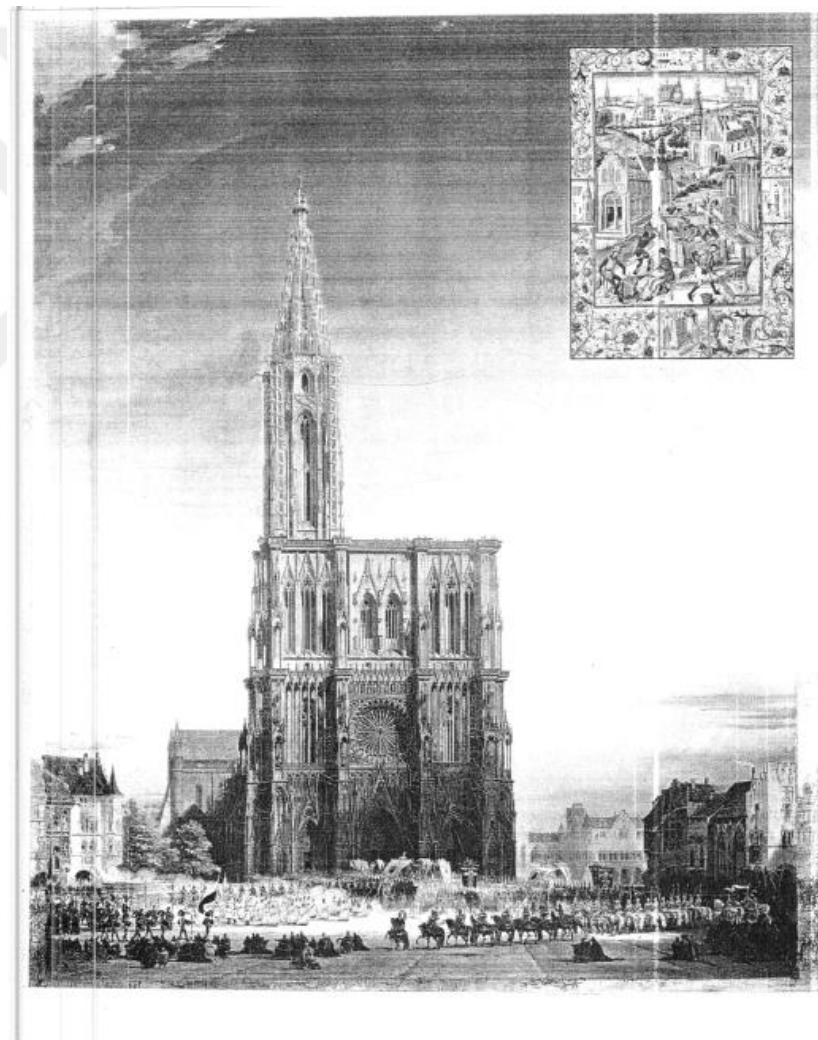


Figure 5.2.3. The Strasbourg Cathedral.

The new French or modern style (*Opus Francigenum*, *Opus Modernum*) spread through France and then through the rest of Europe, widening the king's influence

and power. In a short period of time, major cities of the royal domain began to construct their own cathedrals; Chartres, Amiens and Bourges were among them. “These cathedrals, in their financing and iconography, will be the exquisite stage for the political and social contests that will be waged among kings, prelates, noble houses, and merchants and artisans of the aroused cities.”(1985, p.329).

Kostof here mentioned some details about religious ideologies that would be translated to the actual monument; because Christ is the true Light, St.-Denis had to increase the entry of “divine light” or natural light. This emphasis of light was what distinguished the new style from the Romanesque, stated the text. The Gothic church stands as an image of Heaven with two texts⁹⁷ describing it “And the building of the wall thereof was jasper and the city pure gold like unto clear glass.” (1985, p.331) (Figure 5.2.3). With these images began the evolution of the Gothic church. Now even though Suger and many others had designed this light, and many more described it in their work, according to Kostof, the interiors of Gothic cathedrals were gloomy and because of the thick stained glasses created a muted, chromatic illumination. Once again, the main discussions when one talks about Gothic were the pointed arch, the vault rib, and the flying buttresses which were all inventions dated before the style itself – including stained glass, yet Gothic architecture married these together.

In the chapter titled, Chartres (Figure 5.2.4), the author discussed the fact that this new manner rapidly spread to neighbouring cities, Sens⁹⁸ was probably first, Paris, Noyon, Senlis and Laon following one after another, Chartres Cathedral named “the noblest and the best loved of Gothic churches” by Kostof. Charles the Bald gifted the Cathedral with the tunic the Virgin Mary had worn to the Nativity which pushed Chartres further up the list of churches which may be the reason why it was one of the most discussed ones and the author himself spent several pages describing the plan and the Royal Portals. As mentioned, there was a community behind these

⁹⁷ The Book of Tobias and the Apocalypse of St. John the Fivine.

⁹⁸The Cathedral of Sens was indeed the first Gothic cathedral to be built. There is a debate on whether or not its plan may have been drawn before St.-Denis. For further information see Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral* (1856).

cathedrals and this was observable through the windows of Chartres, the King, his daughter-in-law, dukes and many more who had sponsored them, had their images, their coat of arms or other symbols representing them on these stained glasses. They were also community centres; during the Middle Ages, cathedrals had been used as town halls, had been gathering areas for town meetings, courts of law, theatrical and musical presentations. They were now national monuments and history all combined (1985, pp.331-342).

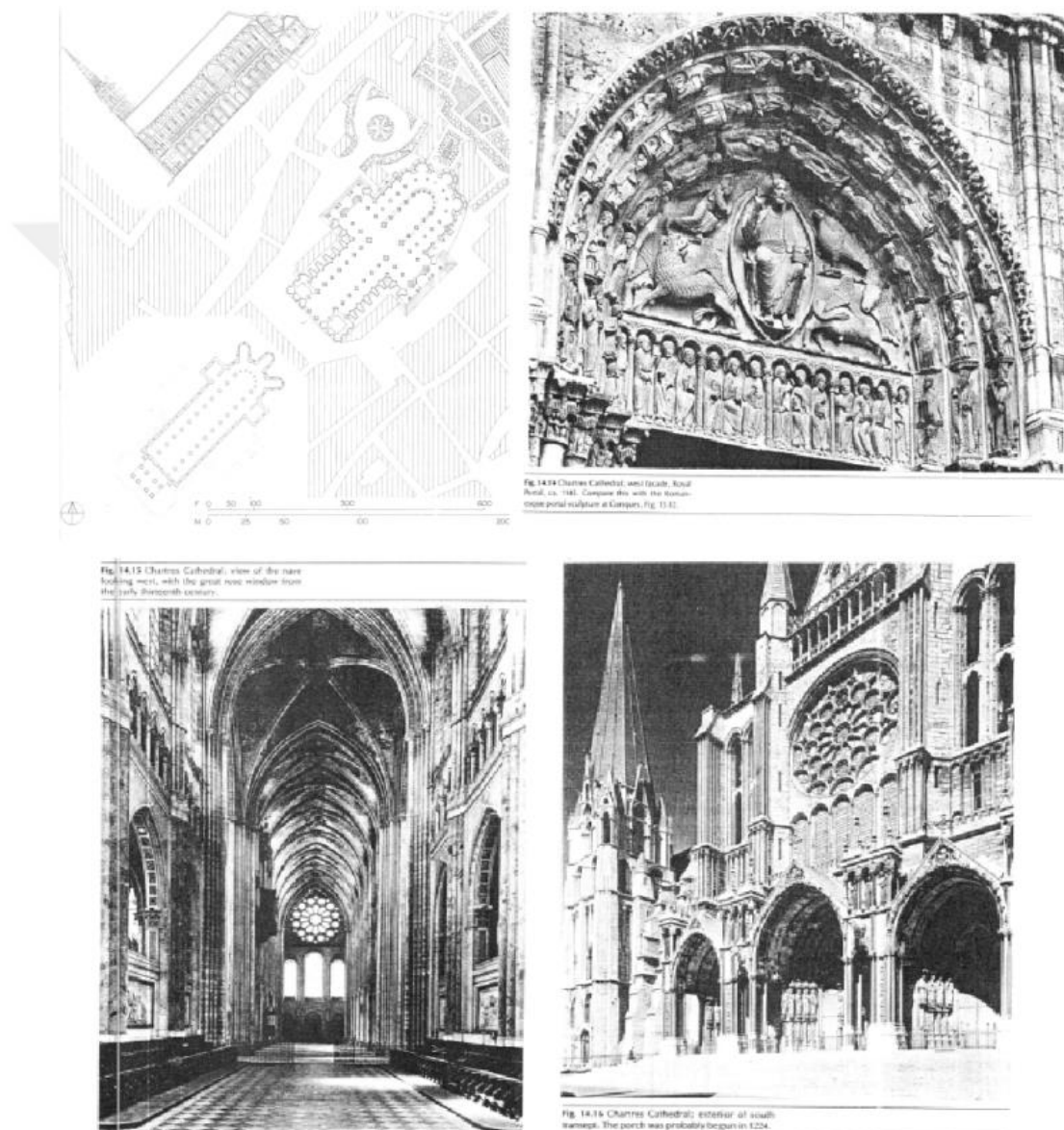


Figure 5.2.4. Chartres Cathedral's plan and images from between pages 335-338.

Suger's design spread and evolved in a versatile manner in England, Germany, Spain and Portugal and so on. The travelling architects were the main reason how the style

had spread so rapidly with ease through different countries under different regimes and sovereigns. Architects such as William of Sens who was invited to the site of Canterbury for a renewal project was one of them. Kostof wrote about the German Gothic experience which we have observed through the first two books. The exterior of most of the German monuments remained free of sculptural programs, yet the sculptures moved to the interiors, onto screens, piers and as independent statues. Hall churches were discussed under this sub-category as well.

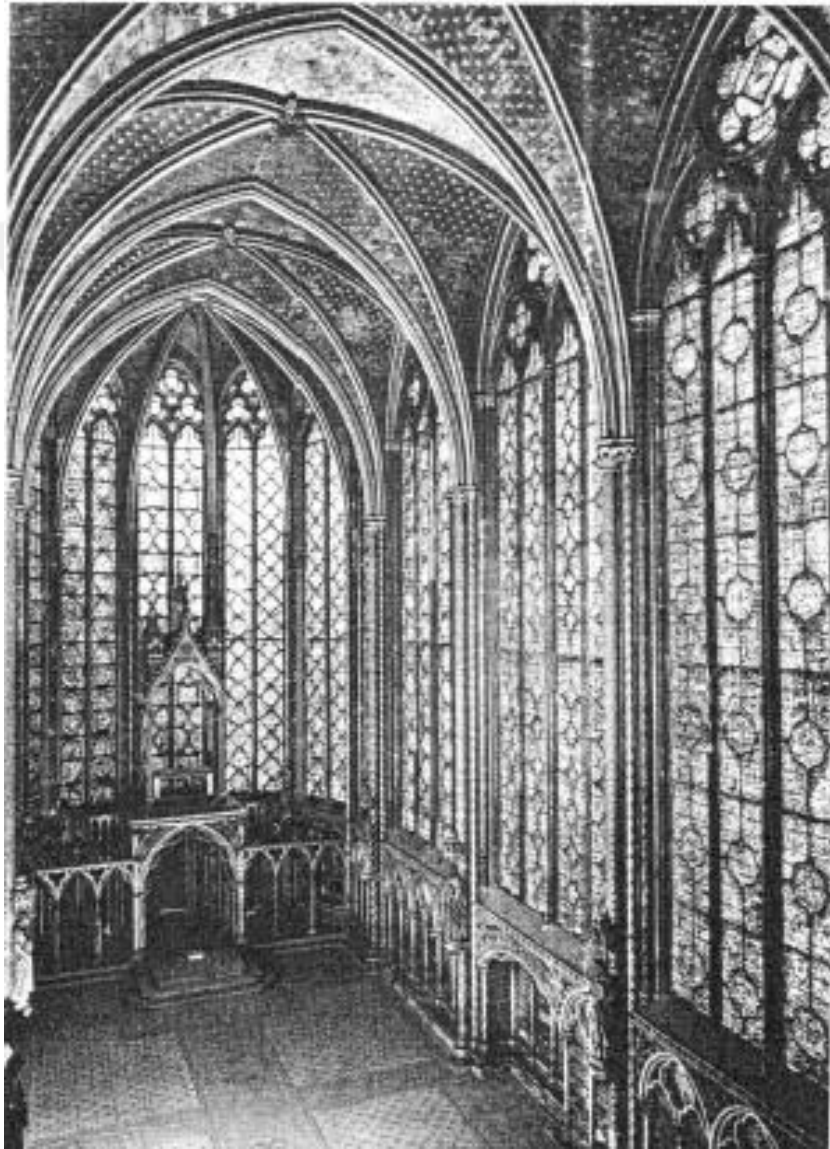


Figure 5.2.5. The upper hall of the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris..

English Gothic was a different story according to the author; after giving more or less the same information about the style as his predecessors, he wrote that after 1250, France had exhausted its novel ideas and became “absorbed with the

belabouring of surface ornament”, and that England had taken the lead on the matter from then on (1985, pp.344-345). They become the chief rivals of the *Île-de-France* Gothic. Similar information was given; that they were far from towns, in a picturesque area, their west towers were modest, there were layers on their façades visible all the way up, and the sculptural program was modest compared to French standards (Figure 5.2.5) (until their Decorated style, one can presume). These thirteenth century old monuments were a manifesto of a new national consciousness, “Gothic may have been a French invention, but the English architects... knew how to harness it to native purposes.” (1985, p.346).

Kostof’s text focusing on medieval architecture had thirty-six illustrations starting with the flying buttresses of Chartres Cathedral on page 322. Because Kostof using the novel structure, wrote his version of chronological architectural history started with Cluny and Fontenay Abbeys. The only time Notre Dame de Paris was mentioned was on the hand-drawn map on page 329 where ten cathedrals were located with the caption: Map: *Île-de-France*, with the main sites of Gothic churches, where St.-Denis, Chartres and Cluny were all pointed out. St.-Denis was also mentioned twice more by the drawing of its new plan superimposed on the older one and a photograph of the Gothic choir. Chartres Cathedral seemed to be the main French example with six illustrations – one drawing of the layout plan and five photographs. Amiens Cathedral (Figure 5.2.2) which was shown on the fore-mentioned map, was illustrated through a single photograph. For the English Gothic Architecture, Salisbury Cathedral was chosen as the main example with four illustrations; an aerial view, vault from the chapter house, the west façade and the nave looking East. Notre-Dame de Paris was visually not represented in the work.

5.3. Gérard Monnier's Response to "Que-sais-je?"

Gérard Monnier (1935-2017) who was a French architectural historian and a professor at l'Université Paris 1 - Panthéon-Sorbonne, published a book in 1994 titled *Histoire de l'Architecture*⁹⁹(Figure 5.3.1), same title as Auguste Choisy's book

⁹⁹The 2021 edition was used in this dissertation.

published in 1899. The book is part of a collection called *Que-sais-je?* meaning "What do I know?", with other books about history of art, urbanism and cultural history and more. In this text the author aimed to write a survey book of architectural history. It may not be considered to be a part of the canon as Kostof (1985) or Fletcher (1896); it is nevertheless a survey book written by a French contemporary author.

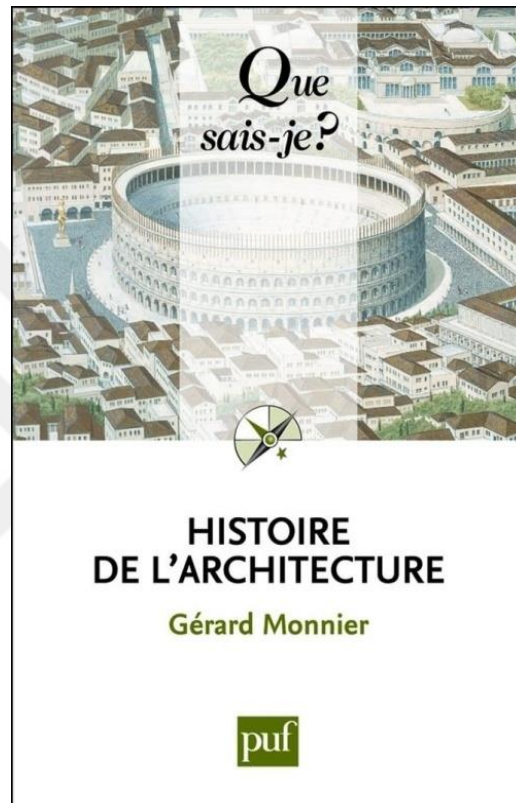


Figure 5.3.1. Cover of *Histoire de l'Architecture*, 2021.

Monnier had written an introduction to the text stating that architectural history had developed alongside with the ideology of heritage protection and that this evolution had been practical, solidifying the historian since the middle of the nineteenth century, which turned the field into an autonomous discipline (Monnier, 2021). He stated that history of architecture was constantly being renewed by inclusion of buildings and documents coming through with the problems of scientific history and human sciences, which then results in a more diversified history. Monnier also claimed that: "The critical interpretation of buildings in a theoretical or political system, their place in the stakes of a society, their capacity to make sense: these are all important questions for the architectural historian." (Monnier, 2021). He aimed to

write the text first by placing the buildings in a relationship between client, architect and consumption. Even though the book is called *Histoire de l'Architecture*, the author still wanted to emphasize that this was an optimistic at best and illusory attempt of the subject as it would be too vast to include a complete history of architecture in a single book. To name it as such may be problematic in some cases yet for an introductory level survey book compromised of a hundred and twenty-eight pages for the entirety of architectural history, one should not be expecting a complete body of work.

The book contains six chapters with multiple sub-chapters to detail the subjects that were included in the text (Figure 5.3.2). The first chapter titled: *Des architecture primitives aux architectures traditionnelles* has five subtitles: *De la préhistoire aux architectures primitives*; *L'architecture protohistorique au Proche-Orient*; *L'architecture protohistorique en Europe*; *Les architectures de terre* and *Les architectures de bois*. In the last two chapters the author focused on material rather than chronological history which was not something that was commonly done in a historical survey text unlike Viollet-le-Duc's lectures which were not "surveys". Material preferences, building methods and structural elements are included in almost all texts yet they were part of the stylistic method. The second chapter is called: *Les architectures de l'Antiquité classique* with the subtitles: *L'Égypte des pharaons*; *La Perse*; *Le monde grec*; *Le monde romain* and *L'héritage de l'Antiquité classique*. The text could be interpreted as being a little bit more inclusive compared to older publishings yet with Kostof's book having been published for almost a decade before the original edition of Monnier's book was published, it did not break any grounds in terms of novelty but one should bear in mind that this could be considered a "pocket book" instead of a canonic survey work.

HISTOIRE DE L'ARCHITECTURE	
TABLE DES MATIÈRES Introduction Chapitre premier - Des architectures primitives aux architectures traditionnelles <i>I - De la préhistoire aux architectures primitives</i> <i>II - L'architecture protohistorique au Proche-Orient</i> <i>III - L'architecture protohistorique en Europe</i> <i>IV - Les architectures de terre</i> <i>V - Les architectures de bois</i> Chapitre II - Les architectures de l'Antiquité classique <i>I - L'Égypte des pharaons</i> <i>II - La Perse</i> <i>III - Le monde grec</i> <i>IV - Le monde romain</i> <i>V - L'héritage de l'Antiquité classique</i> Chapitre III - Les architectures du Moyen Âge <i>I - L'architecture de l'Occident chrétien</i> <i>II - L'architecture du Moyen Âge en dehors de l'Europe</i> Chapitre IV - L'architecture des temps modernes <i>I - L'Italie de la Renaissance (1400-1560)</i> <i>II - L'architecture de la modernité en Europe (1450-1560)</i> <i>III - Les interprétations de la nouvelle tradition savante (1560-1750)</i> Chapitre V - Du néoclassicisme à l'éclectisme et au rationalisme (1750-1890) <i>I - Les sources culturelles du néoclassicisme et de l'éclectisme</i> <i>II - Le néoclassicisme</i> <i>III - L'éclectisme</i> <i>IV - Le rationalisme critique et l'architecture</i> Chapitre VI - Les architectures contemporaines (depuis 1890) <i>I - Les données politiques et sociales (1890-1950)</i> <i>II - Les mutations : problèmes nouveaux, architecture nouvelle (1890-1914)</i> <i>III - Des manifestes aux modèles (1918-1950)</i> <i>IV - L'architecture, instrument de la croissance (1950-1975)</i> <i>V - L'architecture et la transformation de la civilisation</i>	
TABLE DES MATIÈRES — 1 / 3	2 / 3

Figure 5.3.2. Contents page of *Histoire de l'Architecture* by Gérard Monnier, 2021.

The third chapter is *Les architecture du Moyen Âge* followed by two subchapters: *L'architecture de l'Occident chrétien* and *L'architecture du Moyen Âge en dehors de l'Europe*. The fourth chapter, *L'architecture des temps modernes* has three subchapters: *L'Italie de la Renaissance (1400-1560)*; *L'architecture de la modernité en Europe (1450-1560)*; and *Les interprétations de la nouvelle tradition savante (1560-1750)*. Chapter five is titled: *Du néoclassicisme a l'éclectisme et au rationalisme (1750-1890)* with four subchapters: *Les sources culturelles du néoclassicisme et de l'éclectisme*; *Le néoclassicisme*; *L'éclectisme* and *La rationalisme critique et l'architecture*. The last chapter of the survey book is called: *Les architectures contemporaines (depuis 1890)* followed by five subchapters: *Les données politiques et sociales (1890-1950)*; *Les mutations: problèmes nouveaux, architecture nouvelle (1890-1914)*; *Des manifestes aux modèles (1918-1950)*; *L'architecture, instrument de la croissance (1950-1975)* and finally; *L'architecture et la transformation de la civilisation industrielle (depuis 1975)*.

The third chapter of the text focused on the Middle Ages, separating the subject into two pieces: The Christian Western architecture and the architecture of the Middle

Ages outside of Europe. The Western side of the chapter had five parts: *De la Rome chrétienne à Byzance*; *L'architecture carolingienne*; *L'architecture romane*; *L'architecture gothique* and *L'architecture militaire et civile*. The second half of the chapter focusing on "outside of Europe" has three parts: *L'Islam*; *L'Inde* and *L'Amérique précolombienne*.

The largest portion belongs to the Gothic architecture; the author claims that the advancements of the architects of the era were exceptional for the history of architecture. From the early beginnings of the twelfth century to the fifteenth century, the evolution of the art of building are precise: luminous spaces, linear lines and large voids which are all characteristics that identifies Gothic architecture in popular culture (Monnier, 2021). The chapter continued with the origins of the architectural style, stating that it began in the 1140s with the Basilica of St.-Denis and the other grand work sites, all happening in the capital that became an intellectual, academic and artistic centre. From a technological point, according to Monnier, Gothic architecture combined the extension of geometry, that it was an *art du trait* with an empirical invention was construction. Yet from a cultural context Gothic architecture aspired to gather in the cathedral a condensation of all that the urban society of the time produces of marvellous: "dynamic and exalting spectacle-architecture, where the liturgy and its rituals, the most recent visual arts, but also the choirs and the theatre of the mysteries meet." (Monnier, 2021). Because it was rapidly spreading on the continent, the style became a unifying moment for the "Western" civilisation. The text continued with structural elements such as the flying buttresses, giving Notre-Dame de Paris as an example, with creating open and new spaces in the interior of these monuments.

The second part called *L'expansion de l'architecture gothique* began by listing a number of cathedrals that were being built since the beginning of the era: Reims, Amiens, Beauvais and Mans. Here for the second time, he mentioned Notre-Dame de Paris that he gave as an example, the rose window on the southern façade as a perfected architectural element. He went on to write that the *opus francigenum* had an intellectual and technical aspect that imposed itself on all the grand programs of sacred architecture, giving examples from regions outside the *Île-de-France* and

France itself. The chapter continued with other European countries that did not adhere to the style of France or ones that did, yet not at the same time: Italy, Portugal and even England who created its own language with Early English and Decorated Style, according to the author (Monnier, 2021).

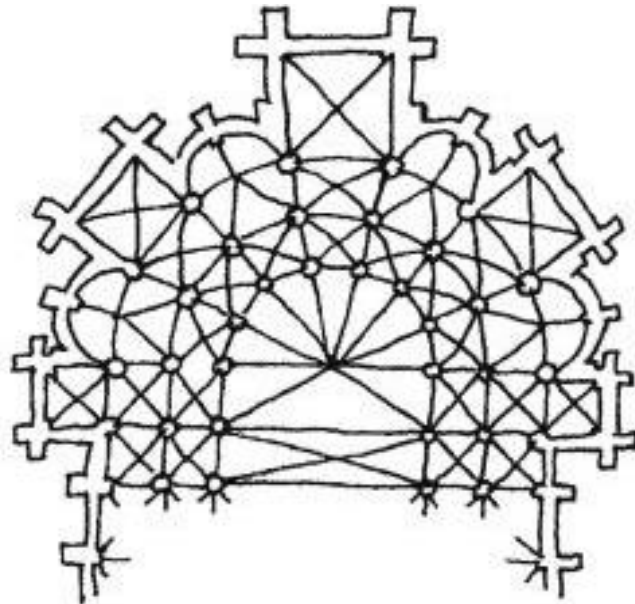


Figure. 5.3.3. The plan of the ideal chevet in a gothic church by Villard de Honnecourt, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, 2021.

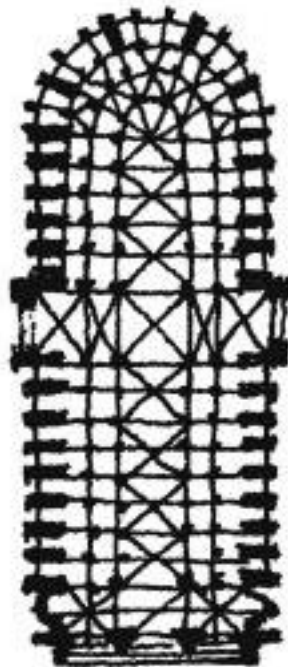


Figure 5.3.4. Plan of Notre-Dame de Paris by Gérard Monnier, 2021.

The third and last part titled *Les enjeux sociaux et urbains de l'architecture gothique*, where Monnier stated that the importance of intellectual and technological data should not diminish the other challenges: The evolution of construction professions, the new relationship of the discipline of architecture with the artistic culture and the displacement of project ownership. According to the text, the development in the construction profession meant the requirements of new skills; meticulous geometrical and dimensional knowledge of the architectural elements which was under the jurisdiction of the trades of carpentry now moving towards masonry. "This knowledge nourishes the tradition of a 'French architecture', which legitimizes the unity it establishes between art and technique, and which will be valued until the eighteenth century." (Monnier, 2021). The master of the discipline's emergence resulted in the development of lodges with the masters being under contract with the project owner (the architect); one example given by Monnier was Pierre de Montreuil (d.1267), and his work on the southern facade of Notre-Dame de Paris. The transformation of the project management was also mentioned: The chapter of the cathedral...manages the construction and its financing (Monnier, 2021). Yet this financing was a weak point in Gothic architecture; it resulted in slow construction times (sometimes lasting centuries). At the last part, the author stated that Gothic architecture created a spirit of competition, that architects, masters and buildings were in competition for their structural and decorative developments.

In Monnier, even though the opportunity is presented as a contemporary survey book, there are no photographs, and the number of illustrations or achromatic drawings, are very few. Monnier had chosen to utilise a drawing of the plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris (Figure 5.3.4) in the chapter when writing about the voids, the empty spaces created in these "new" edifices and Villard de Honnecourts drawing (Figure 5.3.3) of an ideal chevet in a Gothic church. Other chapters contained similar drawings, with a total of twenty illustrations in the entirety of the book.

5.4. Global Time-Cuts by Ching, Jarzombek and Prakash

F.D.K. Ching (b.1943) specialized on architectural and design graphics, famously known for his book called *Architecture: Form, Space & Order*; M.M. Jarzombek (b.1954), a Professor of History and Theory of Architecture at MIT and an architectural historian and V. Prakash who is a professor of Architecture at University of Washington, architectural historian and theorist, wrote *A Global History of Architecture* (2011) and as the title suggests aimed at a much broader view of history. Because it was one of the most recent survey books, the already undertaken and discussed topics of inclusiveness, became the main purpose of this text:

This book is global in that it aspires to represent the history of the whole world. Whereas any such book must inevitably be selective about what it can and cannot include, we have attempted to represent a wide swath of the globe, in all its diversity (2011, p.xi).

The main structure of this text was synchronism by following a chronological method yet with a non-visible line that guides us through cultures, continents and architectural styles. Instead of chapters that would be divided by styles or locations, they had organized the book by “time-cuts.” (Figure 5.4.1) and that: “Each time-cut should, therefore, be seen more as a marker amid the complexity of the flowing river of history rather than a strict chronological measuring rod.” (2011, p.xiii). The book created parallel lines and interconnections of styles and cultures, however as Banister Fletcher and Kimball & Edgell and many others, due to the commitment to great breadth of global inclusiveness, depth would not be possible (Komisar, 2012).

In *A Global History of Architecture*, history began at Early Cultures and Ritual, then the time-cuts came (Figure 5.4.2). There were eighteen time-cuts as chapters and even so, there was consistency in how they were chosen. The first three chapters all spanned through a millennium, 3500 BCE, 2500 BCE and 1500 BCE. The change to four hundred year segments in the next two chapters (800 BCE and 400 BCE) had concluded on the 0 year mark. The next eight chapters, including the 1400 CE, were all in two hundred year segments. Then the time-cuts were reduced to centuries for three chapters, and the last two parts were fifty-year arrangements for the twentieth

century (1900 CE and 1950 CE). One should be aware that each "time-cut marks not the beginning of a time period, but roughly the middle of the period with which each chapter is concerned." (2011, p.xiii). The last bold written chapter was the Globalisation Takes Command. One can observe that not all sub-sections in the book were included in the contents page. There was no explanation for this but in total there were five hundred eighty-six sub-sections. Some were named after an architectural element, some after architects themselves or period names and many after a specific monument.

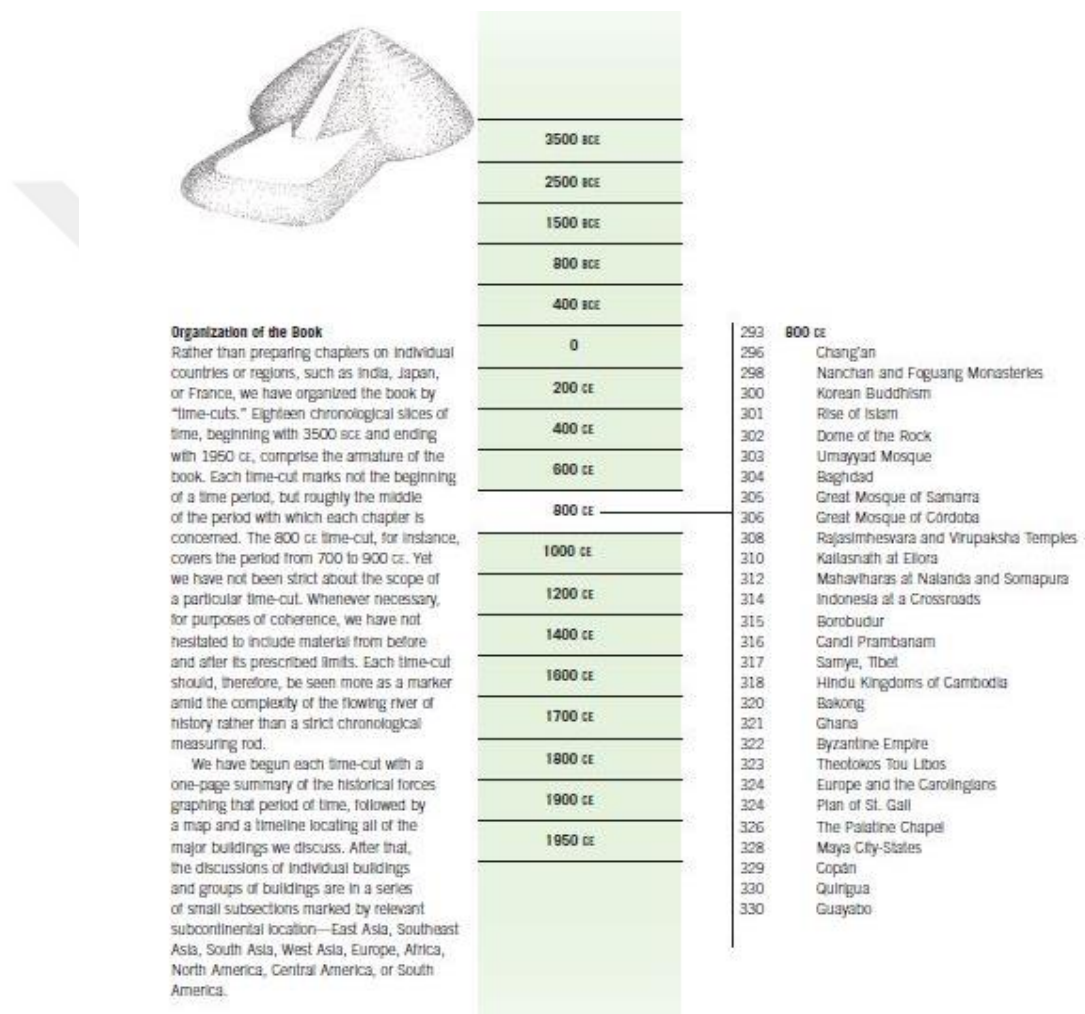


Figure 5.4.1. The "Time-Cuts" explanation of A Global History of Architecture, 2011.

Contents

Preface xi

Early Cultures 1
Ritual Centers 4

3500 BCE 5

Beginnings of China's Civilization 8
Nihellang Ritual Center 8
Mesopotamia 11
Khirokitia 12
Grain and Metal 13
Catal Hoyuk 14
Early Indus Settlements 16
Eridu and Uruk 17
Pre- and Early-Dynastic Egypt 20
European Developments 22

2500 BCE 25

The Indus Ghaggar-Hakra Civilization 28
Mohenjo-Daro 30
Early Empires of Mesopotamia 32
Ziggurat at Ur 34
Margiana 36
Domestic Architecture 38
Egypt: The Old Kingdom 39
Pyramids at Giza 42
Valley Temple of Khatre 45
Architecture and Food 46
Stonehenge 47
Megalithic Temples of Malta 50
First Civilizations of the Americas 52
Caral 53
El Paraiso 54

1500 BCE 55

Shang Dynasty China 58
The Minoans and Knossos 60
Egypt: The New Kingdom 64
Karnak 67
Abu Simbel 71
Egyptian Columns 72
Egyptian Design Methods 73
Hittite Empire 74
Hattusas 74
Mycenaean Civilization 76
Treasury of Atreus 78
Ugarit and Mari 79
Poverty Point 81
Civilization of the High Andes 82
Salinas de Chao 84

800 BCE 85

Olmecs 88
San Lorenzo 89
La Venta 90
Chavin de Huántar 91
Zhou Dynasty China 93
The Ritual Complex 94
The Aryan Invasion and Varanasi 96
The Iron Age 98
The Etruscans 99
Etruscan Religion 100
Etruscan Temples 102
Greece: The Geometric Period 103
Emergence of the Greek Temple Form 105
Temple of Poseidon 106
Saba/Sa'abla 107
Temple of Solomon 108
Kingdom of Kush 109
Neo-Assyrian Empire 110
Babylon 111

400 BCE 113

Achaemenid Dynasty 116
Pasargadae 117
Greece and the Mediterranean 121
The Greek Temple 121
Greek Architecture and Language 123
Teleslerion at Eleusis 125
Delphi 126
Temple of Apollo at Delphi 127
Ionic Order 128
The Parthenon 130
Erechtheum 132
Athenian Propylaea 134
The Hellenistic Age 135
Delos 136
Priene 136
Pergamon 138
Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos 139
Ptolemies 140
Temple of Horus 141
Temple of Apollo at Didyma 142
Mauryan Dynasty 143
Asokan Pillars 144
Barabar Hills Caves 145
Late Olmec Centers 146
The Early Mayas 146
China: The Warring States Period 148
Xianyang Palace 149
Tomb of Zeng Hou Yi 150

Figure 5.4.2. First 'Contents' page in A Global History of Architecture.

Every time-cut began as mentioned before, with a description or an introduction to the time period at hand. The authors stated that each time-cut was arranged in an order that had its own internal logic. They were aware of the difficulties this may create but that there was no starting point on a globe, "that it does not really begin in the East or the West...". The five hundred eighty-six subsections were "conceived as mini case studies..." which could be consumed individually. The number of case studies chosen for a period was not equal on each subject as they were chosen by the

"judgement of the importance of the material and the availability of literature on a topic." (2011, p.xiv). A world map came after each time-cut introduction, always the same map with different locations / monuments pinpointed according to the subject. Next was the timeline, putting the chapter name, in this case a moment in history (i.e. 200 BE) was put in the middle. Empires, important moments or events in history and chosen monuments are included, places strategically by proximity or cultural relevance.

The survey was successful in terms of its aim, a global history of architecture: "Not only does A Global History own the territory, it pulls off this audacious task with panache, intelligence and - for the most part - grace." (Ghirardo, 2008, p.134). Understandably, because of the quantity of information necessary to create this sense of globalization, their choices of monuments had to be selective, "...of a certain scale, complexity, and symbolic significance." (Ghirardo, 2008, p.134) and that the everyday architecture was scarce, hence the lack of depth within the narrative. The content pages were straightforward; the absences of architectural styles, country or region names even the simplicity of the chapter titles; using only time-cuts. The subtitles were mostly the name of the monuments that were being described, the region or the architect themselves. Richard Ingersoll would use the same method in his book, no title meant no dogmatic ornamental differentiations, no presumptions or creating a narrow narrative.

Ching, Jarzombek and Prakash's chapter that included Gothic architecture was called 1000 CE and it began with South and Southeast Asia and the architectural developments that were observed there. Then at the same introduction Islamic Architecture was discussed. The same introduction to the time period continued with European history, the war on domination of the land by the Ottonian Kings in Germany and the Normans in England – "a combination of religious and military institutions to stamp their authority on the land..." (2011, p.331) and its effect on architecture that resulted in monasteries, cathedrals and castles. According to the authors a new type of "religious geography" emerged that will eventually link distant lands and spread architectural knowledge.

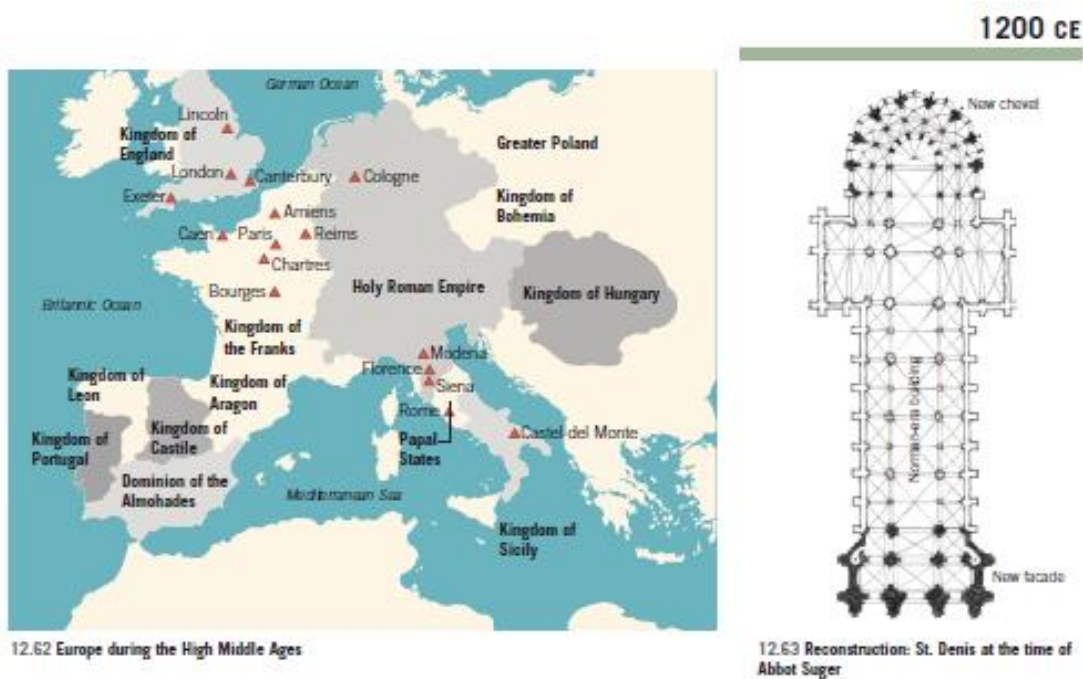


Figure 5.4.3. A map of Europe during the High Middle Ages / Reconstruction of St.- Denis at the time of Abbot Suger.

If one had to pick the 'Gothic' parts of the text, the first acknowledged monument was St. Michael in Hildesheim, Germany. This was where the co-authors mentioned Abbot Suger whom “served as head of government in the King’s place when the King was absent on the Crusades...”(2011, p.367). Because this survey had decided to use chosen buildings as subtitles, there were mentions of multiple monuments such as the Speyer Cathedral, Durham Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral and so on. It can be noted that just as it was done by Fletcher, the first examples were from England rather than France. Under each example or subtitle, brief information about the state of Europe, the culture and history was given and Speyer Cathedral was not excluded in that manner. It was stated that despite the problems of the era, the increase in trading and the competition among European cities resulted in the advance of architectural production and of experimentation with new forms. “Particularly important was the introduction of stone vaulting. The implications were profound – spatially, structurally, and symbolically.” (2011, p.369). According to the text it was one of the earliest churches that have been built in this new style and that the third Abbey Church of Cluny was a rival to Speyer Cathedral. At the same time the British monument could also be seen as an “end stage of Romanesque style” (2011, p.369).

The novelty of Durham Cathedral (Figure 5.4.4) - which was the next subtitle- was the structural openness of the walls, “The openings do not deny the weight and mass of the wall, as would become the tendency later, but rather, illuminated from behind, they seem to release their load gradually as the wall ascends.” (2011, p.370). The authors suggested that Durham Cathedral was considered a forerunner of the style mainly because of its ribbed vaults and pointed arches, which are today considered Gothic features. The next example was the Canterbury Cathedral which its choir was destroyed in a fire in 1174. The fore mentioned (by other historians) William of Sens would erect the new choir which would then be finished by William the Englishman. “The project shows how England adopted French construction techniques – specifically the flying buttresses and the six-partite vault...” (2011, p.372).

The next chapter was 1200 CE, where the history of religion was said to be never static, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which was observable in the Christian world. It was written to be diverse and fluid: Large urban cathedrals, pilgrimage churches, and churches where earthly wealth was renounced and simplicity was preferred, all erected simultaneously at the time. The survey continues with Europe: The High Middle Ages, when the thirteenth century European cities’ skylines had changed drastically by spires and towers. Six hundred churches and cathedrals were at the centre of these cities due to a rapid building activity. The sculptural programs necessity and place in the middle ages is discussed: “The shift in focus dates to the Synod of Arras (1025), during which it was decided that sculptural programs could serve to help the illiterate visualize what they could not understand through the written word.” (2011, p.471). This was where the focus was shifted to French Gothic architecture by explaining St.-Denis’ and Abbot Suger’s role (Figure 5.4.3). The changes of the plan and the creation of the *chevet* by Suger and the, yet again mentioned, sculptures which were “a concession to the unlettered, for few in the general population at the time could read and write.” (2011, p.417). The façade design would play an important role, a foretell of the interior design with the tympanum over the west central door where Christ sitting in judgement was depicted, and where the rose window, “one of the first of its kind” was placed. According to the authors, all the design decisions that were made and mentioned at St.-Denis were the reason why it “broke new ground and is thus

heralded as initiating the Gothic style.” (2011, p.417), all architectural elements that existed before and all that was invented during, coming together to form an integrated stylistic statement.

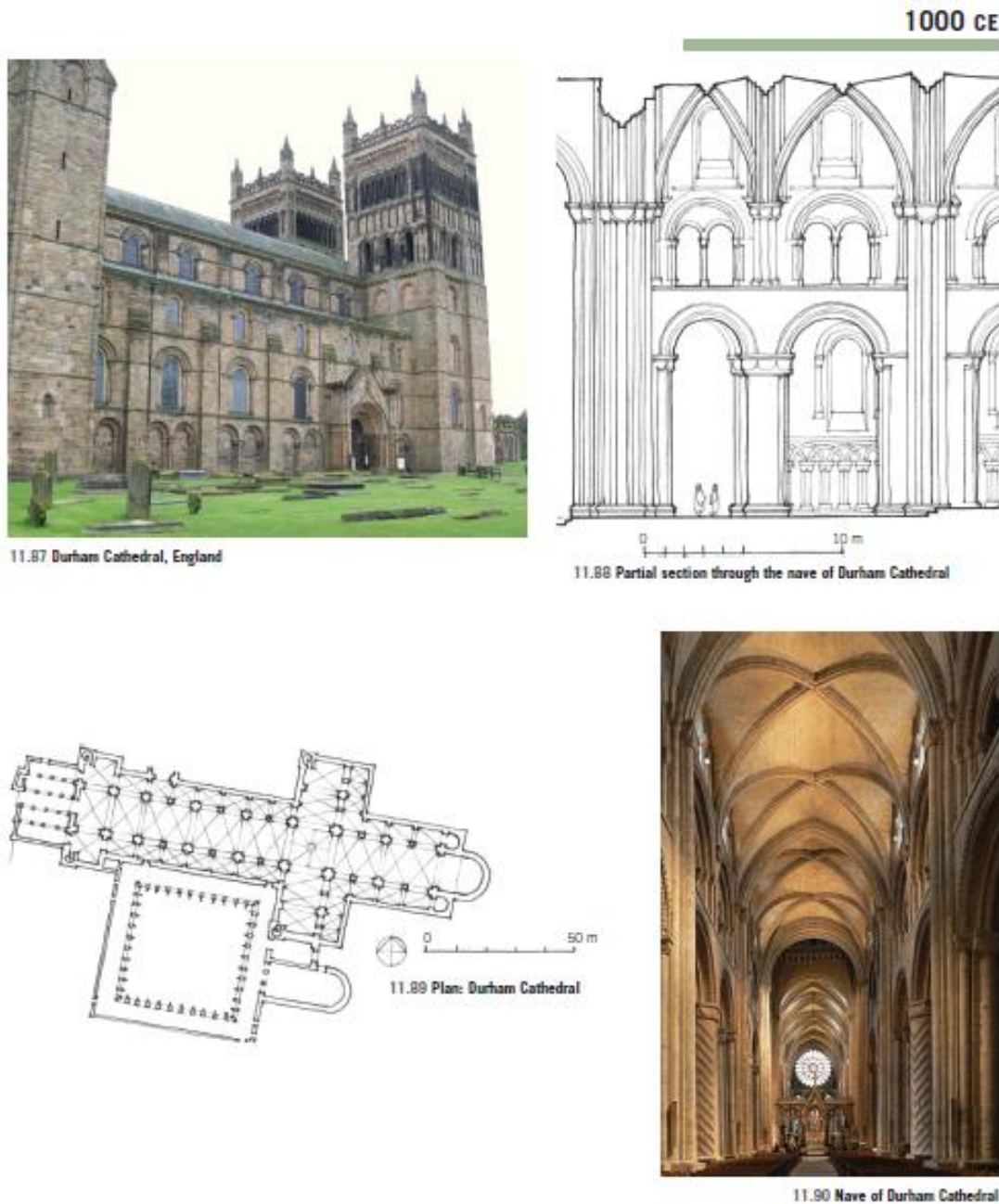


Figure 5.4.4. Durham Cathedral's plan, partial section and interior.

According to the text, at the height of the construction era of the Middle Ages, the Cistercian leader St. Bernard of Clairvaux – who was also mentioned in Kostof’s text – urged a return to the austere rules of the early monastic days (2011, p.418), and eventually resulted in the foundation of the Cistercians in 1115. Towards the end of

the twelfth century Europe, there were 530 Cistercian abbeys, creating a religious network. Their population increase was due to the acceptance of labourers, artisans and peasants, since manual labour was considered a form of prayer. These monasteries were often located at inaccessible lands as was the tradition at the time. Simple buildings built by the monks themselves with almost no sculptural programs since they were forbidden. The Fontenay Abbey (founded in 1119) near Montbard, France which is the oldest one still in existence was given as the “building that best represents the Cistercian aesthetic...”, with a design that was far from the technical and mathematical formation of the cathedrals of the era and its location choice was the result of the necessity of the elimination of distractions (2011, p.419).

A new subtitle emerged: Cathedral Design. Even though some cathedrals and their design elements were already mentioned before, here the thirteenth century building process was discussed. It was stated that the cathedral building was “by far the largest construction enterprise ever attempted in Europe.” (2011, p.420), and because of their size and complexity, they took many decades to be completed. The book stated that there were various aspects of church design that changed during the century and the interior elevation of the nave was one of those changes. They became an architectural unit in their own right where the balance of verticality and horizontality was sought. Notre Dame de Paris was given as an example to this novelty with its four horizontally layered elevation: “the ground-level arcade, over which run two galleries – the tribune and triforium – above which runs an upper, windowed story clerestory.” (2011, p.420) The novelties continue with the flying buttresses. According to the authors, Chartres Cathedral was the epitome of the new style where they gave descriptions of the architectural elements.

The next subtitle was the Amiens Cathedral, comparing it to the Cathedral of Bourges and Chartres. The choices of examples given here were similar to the surveys that were mentioned before. The next monument was the Notre-Dame of Reims and here the change of the context of the church was discussed. Before, the church was “a place emphasizing the enactment of liturgical processes into a more public space where relics could be viewed and worshipped.” (2011, p.422). The changes occurred on a philosophical context as well since the discussion focused on

issues of liturgy, whereas the focus changed to the quality of light – meaning God – and geometry – meaning the order of the universe (2011, p.422). The text continued with the importance of the Virgin Mary's image in the stylistic context.

The monasteries that preferred isolation before the thirteenth century, were now situated at the heart of the cities, another change that occurred during the century, when the book suggested “The 13th century can be seen as the second Christianization of Europe. In the first was fought in the name of (often forcible) conversion and was largely dynastic in structure, the second was based on broad outreach and popular appeal.” (2011, p.423). The last Gothic example was the Exeter Cathedral under which English Gothic styles were briefly mentioned, and the possible influence of the East towards the decorative elements that were observable from that point forward. A briefer comparison was made between English and French cathedrals.

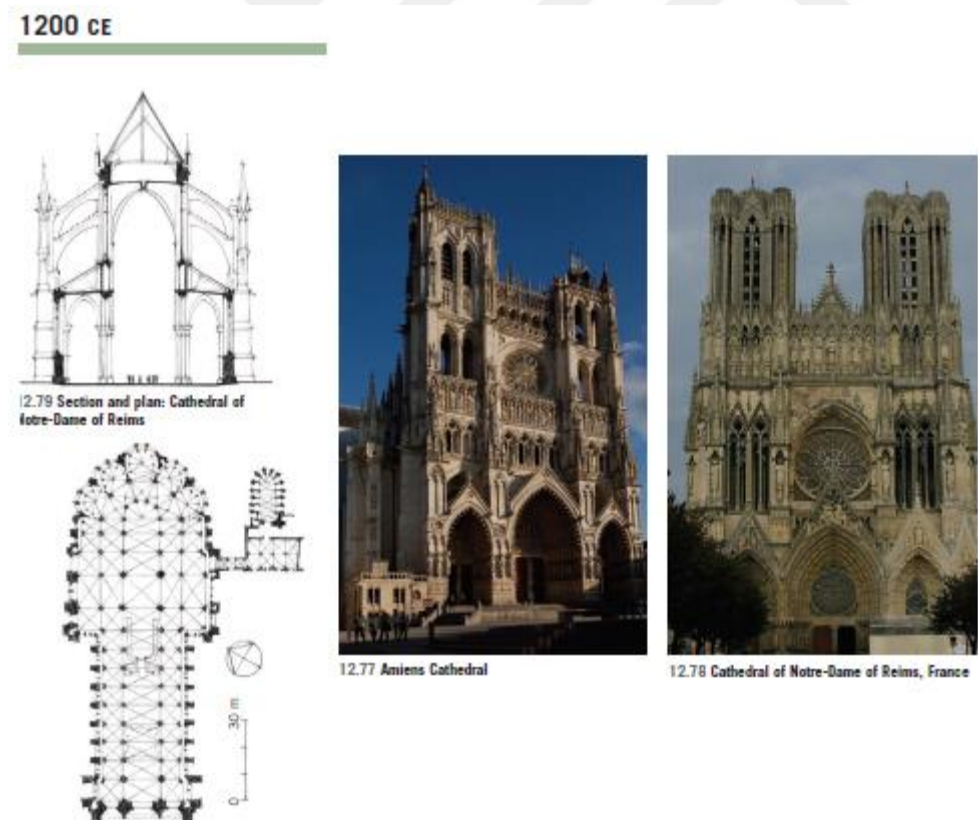


Figure 5.4.5. Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Reims' section and plan / Western façade of Amiens Cathedral / Western façade of Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Reims, France

The survey book's time-cut which focused on Gothic architecture consists of sixteen illustrations, seven of which were French examples. The chapter started with Speyer Cathedral, continued with Durham and Canterbury Cathedrals. The seven illustrations of French Gothic began with St.-Denis and continued with two of Fontenay Abbey. Chartres, Bourges, and Notre-Dame of Reims were all shown once, Amiens Cathedral twice. Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral was not illustrated in those pages (Figure 5.4.5). The monument was mentioned in different chapters yet there were no visual representations.

5.5. Richard Ingersoll's "Democratic" World Architecture

Spiro Kostof's student, Richard Ingersoll (1942-2021) who was an architectural historian and a professor in Syracuse University, wrote this book, basing his work on his professor's original text. Ingersoll explained that it was intended as a third edition to Kostof's work, but that over time, he developed a new structure with a stricter sense of time periods, with more attention given to distinct cultures, resulting in a different book in itself (2013, p.xi). *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History* was described in the preface as "a comprehensive survey of architectural activity from prehistoric times until today." (2013, p.x). By his own admission, Ingersoll wrote that the canonical approach was inevitable in order to create a comprehensive presentation of architectural history. According to the author, his work offers the most comprehensive and accessible survey book for architectural history, a tall order that he claimed to have achieved with innovative features; chapters that are organized chronologically, using blocks of time, starting from thousand-year periods to twenty-year periods whilst going through eras (Figure 5.5.1).¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰Even though the first edition (2013) was co-authored with Spiro Kostof, from this point forward I will be studying the second edition (2019) which was a single author work, meaning Richard Ingersoll himself, still acknowledging his professors influence.

Contents

Preface vi

CHAPTER 1 Prehistory 1



1.1 ARCHITECTURE AS A SECOND NATURE:
Sacred Caves and
Primitive Huts 2

1.2 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE:
A Language of Mud, Logs,
Hides, and Stones 12

1.3 MEGALITHS AND STONE CIRCLES:
Building as Memory 23

CHAPTER 2 3000–1500 BCE 34



2.1 CITIES OF MESOPOTAMIA:
Mud, Gods, and Urbanism 35

2.2 OLD KINGDOM EGYPT:
Architecture for the Afterlife 49

2.3 THE INDUS VALLEY:
Cities without Monuments 62

CHAPTER 3 1500–750 BCE 68



3.1 THE AEGEAN IN THE BRONZE AGE:
Labyrinth and
Cyclopean Walls 69

3.2 NEW KINGDOM EGYPT:
Axial Temples and
Colossal Statues 88

3.3 BIBLICAL JERUSALEM:
Architecture and Memory 100

CHAPTER 4 700–200 BCE 105



**4.1 SOUTHWEST ASIA AND
ACHAEMENID PERSIA:**
A Cycle of Empires 106

4.2 THE GREEK CITY-STATE:
Classical Architecture at the
Acropolis and the Agora 118

4.3 MAURYAN INDIA:
Emblems of Peace in Stone 143

CHAPTER 5 200 BCE–300 CE 150



5.1 ANCIENT ROME:
Governing through
Architecture 151

5.2 ANCIENT CHINA:
The Pivot of the Cosmos in
Mud and Wood 178

5.3 ANCIENT MEXICO:
Pyramids and Sacrifice 186

CHAPTER 6 300–600 195



6.1 EARLY CHRISTIAN ITALY:
The Inward Orientation
of the Church 196

6.2 BYZANTIUM:
The Dome as an Act
of Faith 207

6.3 GUPTA INDIA:
Rock-Cut Architecture and
the Art of Subtraction 220

Figure 5.5.1. Contents page of *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History*, 2013.

There were twenty chapters and each had three sub-sections. These three focuses on different themes, locations or cultures, showing simultaneous developments in different contexts (2013, p.vii). As was mentioned also in Ching & Jarzombek and Prakash's book, in *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History* each section could be read individually, without any interruptions nor missing information. Yet another similarity between the latter and this survey work was that there are timelines showing historical and architectural events, and maps at the beginning of each chapter as was an introduction, key words used to describe the narrative that will follow, almost as a combination of Kostof and *A Global History of Architecture*.

In the new book, Ingersoll pays less attention to the urban, but puts more emphasis on social aspects like class and gender, and greatly expands the multiculturalism of the original work by describing and analyzing in detail the

architecture of almost forty different cultures, each considered within its own geographical framework, and quite independently of western tradition (Fernández-Galiano, 2013).

The author claimed his survey followed a more democratic approach to architectural history, that there exist a balance between the over three dozen cultures that were researched and chosen in his text. What was striking was the visual aspect of the book, over a thousand large, colourful images are included, even the chapters in the content pages each have a designated photograph.

Chapter 9: 1200–1350 consists of three sub-chapters titled The Mercantile Mediterranean and the Sub-Saharan Africa and in the middle was where the Gothic Europe: The Fabric of the Great Cathedrals can be found. The author, in the introductory part of the chapter, indicated that after the year 1000, was when European cities began to increase in population and cultural aspects and skylines began to change both in Christian and Islamic contexts. The St.-Denis innovations (Figure 5.5.2) and the ultimate spreading of the new style was mentioned again with Chartres Cathedral also being mentioned. The usage of pointed arches, ribbed vaults and flying buttresses and the ultimate “modulated light” were included. The movement of designers and masons and them bringing the Gothic style with them to their homelands was given as the reason for the loss of “nationalistic connotations and blended into the local styles.” (2013, p.320). The first sub-chapter had focused on the Mediterranean Romanesque and the slow transition to Gothic. On page 323 the Construction, Technology, Theory section mentioned the eleventh century Cathedral of Amalfi’s connection to North Africa and the relation between the culture’s result in the use of pointed arches and *ablaq*, a contemporary novelty with the St. Benedict at Monte Cassino which would be an influence to the Cluny III. (2013, p.323) The rest of the chapter was mostly focusing on the Romanesque style.

The sub-chapter Gothic Europe began by the effect of the Italian merchants success and how it may had been the reason for the rest of Europe’s stimulation of commercial and cultural exchange (2013, p.344). The markets began to thrive which resulted in the demand for public space and new cathedrals, and that Bruges, Paris, Lübeck and Cologne, great market cities doubled in size at the end of the thirteenth

century. Here again the term *Opus Francigenum* was mentioned and yet again the pointed arches, ribbed vaults and flying buttresses and the height and light were described as the Gothic. The spread of this new style was possible due to travelling masons, just as was suggested in *A Global History of Architecture* (2013, p.344).

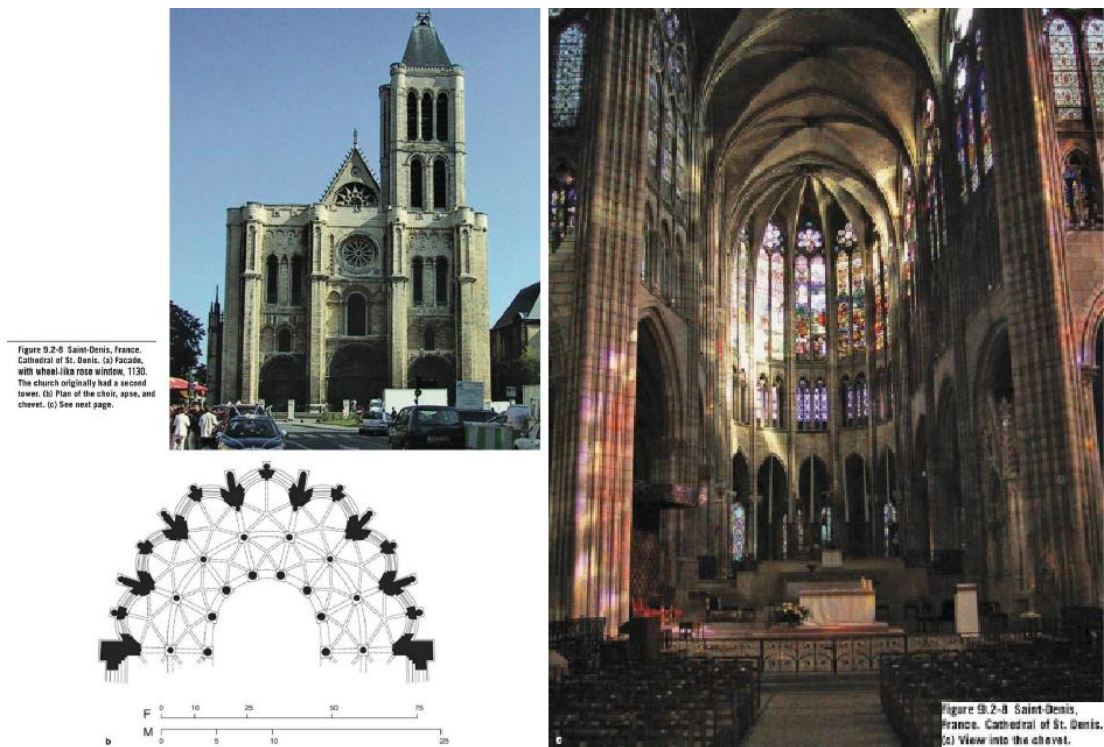


Figure 5.5.2. St-Denis' western façade, the plan of the choir and the view into the chevet in the survey.

According to Ingersoll, Gothic era coincided with the growth of the European population, the growth of the medieval towns and relatively stable political structure. As a result of “emancipation from feudal bonds inspired the foundation of hundreds of new towns across Europe, most built on orthogonal plans that revived the idea of public space.” (2013, p.344). The *faubourgs* were explained as permanent settlement areas outside the city gates, were mentioned where trading fairs took place in the middle ages, and the economic growth resulting in the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Troyes in which the “new French manner” was exemplified by the increase of height and the reduction of walls to skeletal frames. For the next few pages, examples of these new cities that were emerging were discussed and how new rights given to traders made those settle to them instead of the older cities, Bruges, Belgium and Carcassonne, France given as examples in detail and how by creating these cities a

power war was being played by the English and French trying to take control over Southern France as it was now known (2013, pp.345-349).

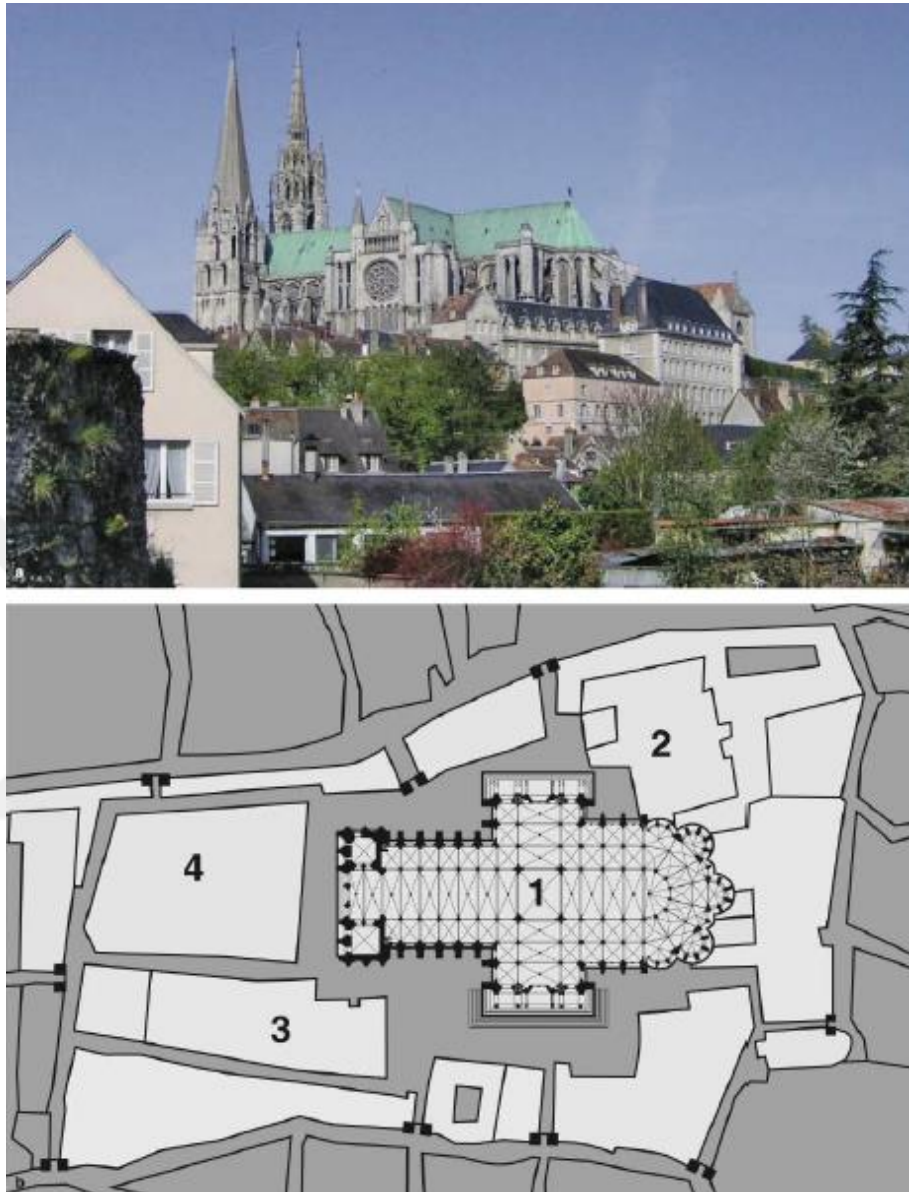


Figure 5.5.3. Chartres Cathedral and its plan from Ingersoll's book

Under *The Gothic Cathedral: The Crown of the City*, Ingersoll wrote about what made a Gothic cathedral, the accentuation of verticality, the elimination of mass of the walls, the “heavenly” interior light, technical possibilities of construction known as pointed arches, ribbed vaults and flying buttresses. As was done by the other survey books, the author claimed that the style started with Abbot Suger’s St.-Denis (2013, p.350). It continued with technical details and the new work that took place

which affected the rest of France's contemporary church construction sites. Because France's territory tripled during the thirteenth century, cities such as Amiens, Rouen, Troyes and Reims were created, with their cathedrals. According to the author, the Cathedral of Reims was important since kings were crowned there and the city of Laon was a strategically important one because of its location on the northern border (2013, p.352). Cathedrals of Laon, Chartres and Ste.-Chapelle were described in the next few pages. On page 353 (between said descriptions), Ingersoll explained the pointed arches, ribbed vaults and flying buttresses used in Gothic architecture under the section titled: Construction, Technology, Theory.

The text continued with the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris and its many construction phases which began in 1163. The work resumed in the middle of the thirteenth century to enlarge the existing openings and the work on the western façade had been discussed in detail (2013, pp.356-359). The sculptural program was mentioned as well. Gothic architecture in other regions are discussed by comparisons and technical details under the section titled: The Spread of Gothic: International yet Local (2013, pp.357-363). In this section English, German and Italian examples were given, compared to French cathedrals. The notebooks of Villard de Honnecourt were mentioned here as it was done in other texts, a catalogue of sorts of the "type of knowledge an itinerant master mason could contribute to a foreign context." (2013, p.360).

As we have observed from the previous text book, the examples and representations are decreasing in numbers. St.-Denis Abbey's façade, plan was chosen as well as a view into its chevet and the North transept and wheel window. One of Villard de Honnecourt's drawings can be found at page 353. Chartres Cathedral was illustrated in two consecutive pages (2013, pp.355–356) with a layout plan, the flying buttresses and "fortified enclave surrounding" the monument (Figure 5.5.3). Notre Dame de Paris was represented by four photographs on pages 359 and 360 (Figures 5.5.4-5.5.5). The view from the southeast with flying buttresses, the transept rose window, the western façade and a gargoyle was shown. Lincoln and Wells Cathedral are illustrated by one photograph each with Spanish, Belgian and Italian examples were given as well.

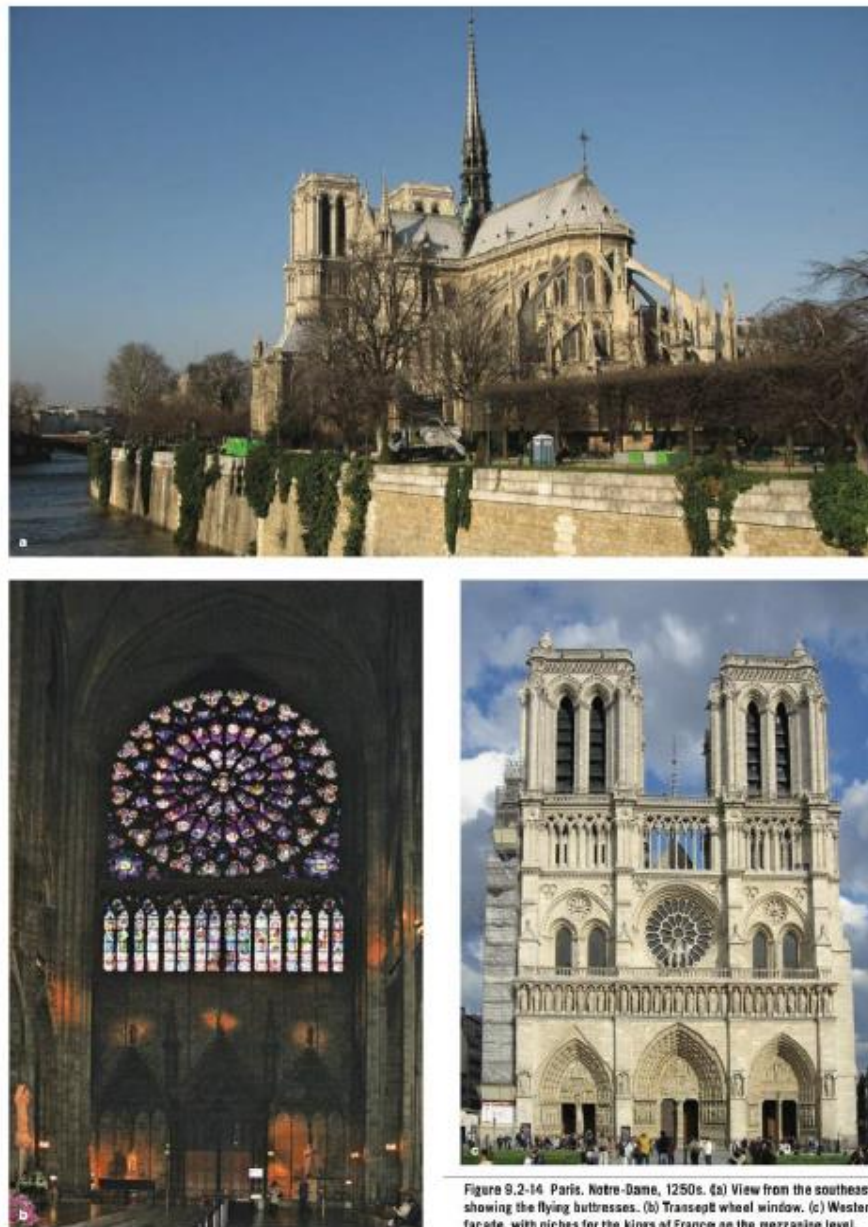


Figure 9.2-14 Paris, Notre-Dame, 1250s. (a) View from the southeast, showing the flying buttresses. (b) Transept wheel window. (c) Western facade, with niches for the kings of France on the mezzanine level.

Figure 5.5.4. Notre Dame de Paris in *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History*, 2013.

The fifth chapter of the dissertation traced the global architectural history survey books and their approach to Gothic style and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. The eight architectural survey books were examined in order to create a sense of fluid evolution on architectural historiography. After more than a century, how historians chose their methods, their Gothic narrative, their own voices or lack thereof, how they created their own canons, what did they include or did not, how did they progress and what did learn from each other, and how the narrative of architectural

history progressed, evolved into what it is today can be observed. The reason for the examination of the chosen survey books and their approach to Gothic architecture was to be able to observe how the Gothic style and eventually the Notre-Dame de Paris was perceived by these historians throughout architectural history writing.



Figure 5.5.5. Notre-Dame de Paris in the foot note time table in *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History*, 2013.

In the previous chapter and this one, we have observed the nationalistic approach of Choisy and the English-centric / Imperialistic approach of Fletcher in the earlier editions, began by creating the base, albeit a narrow one filled with exclusion, 'incorrect' terminologies and with a singular authorial voice, choosing a stylistic method to create his text. His view placed English Gothic style to the top of the discussion even though the general consensus is that Gothic style emerged from France. They declared Notre-Dame de Paris to be the oldest of the French Gothic cathedrals and complimented its western façade by stating that it was the grandest composition of France, if not the Gothic style itself yet at the same time declaring Amiens Cathedral to be the most characteristic of French Cathedrals. Salisbury Cathedral was deemed to be the most characteristic one of English Gothic thus why the two monuments were compared extensively. One can understand the subtle differences in the declarations yet the Cathedral of Notre-Dame's reference statue could still not be maintained through architectural historiography just yet. Kimball & Edgell were much more inclusive yet their distance to Europe may have played a role in the books own exclusion from the architectural historiography canon. They, as did Victor Hugo, Viollet-le-Duc and Choisy, and later on would be repeated by Kostof and Ingersoll, called the style *Opus Francigenum*, the French Work hence the choice to begin the chapter with French examples still arguing that if one looks at individual Gothic architectural elements, some of them were first seen in England. Although Notre-Dame de Paris was mentioned more times than it did in Fletcher's book,

Cathedral of Amiens was declared to be probably the more perfect building whilst being compared to another favourite: Chartres Cathedral. Edgell also stated that it was during this period of time - meaning the time of Amiens, Reims and Chartres Cathedrals, that Gothic in France achieved its full evolution. This statement once again would be contradictory to the "definite reference" statue of Notre-Dame de Paris. Pevsner, focused on an Outline of Eurocentric history - even though he managed to exclude most of the continent. The content was created by architectural styles yet again with periods of time outlined on chapter titles themselves. Here, as opposed to his predecessor, Pevsner deemed the Cathedral of Paris to be a high gothic example, a statement that did not find company in other books mentioned in this dissertation.

Spiro Kostof's intentions were in good faith but not without failing to separate the 'others' from a western context, yet the most innovative chapters and titles were his. He also deemed the Gothic style to be French, choosing The French Manner as the title to the chapter about the subject matter. Notre-Dame de Paris is indeed mentioned yet one cannot ignore the fact that there is a whole chapter dedicated to another French Gothic monument: Chartres Cathedral called the best loved and noblest of Gothic churches. One cannot presume to understand his conclusion of Chartres Cathedral being the best loved, but his approach to the edifice compared to the capital's cathedral created the conclusion of the lack of importance imposed on Notre-Dame de Paris. Kostof's chapter designs and titles were innovative until Ching and his co-authors decided to forego titles altogether, using only time-cuts to create their divisions. Just as Fletchers choose to do, here we can observe the earliest examples of the style to be from England and just as in Kostof's text, here Chartres is dedicated a singular sub-title filled with descriptions and details, as well as being called the epitome of the Gothic style, unlike Notre-Dame de Paris which was mentioned only to strengthen other monuments architectural element assertions. The Cathedral of Paris was not illustrated even once in this work. Ingersoll, in his professor Kostof's footsteps yet following the innovations of the new century, opted for the time-cuts and vivid images to create a visual history of architecture. Ingersoll, as many did before him, claimed that St.-Denis Basilica was the starting point of the Gothic style but most importantly, he claimed that this monument was the reason for

the spreading of the style, almost like a *Point Zéro* located in the *Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame*. This was the book that dedicated more space, descriptions and visual aids to the Cathedral than any other English-written surveys researched for this dissertation. The question of why was it included more emerges and one can only assume that the 850th year celebrations of the monument which took place in 2013, the same year Ingersoll's book was published, may have played a role in that decision. The monuments popularity grew exponentially during those years as a large PR campaign was put in place for the anniversary celebrations that would last an entire year.

In this chapter and the previous one, the search of the "definite reference" statue of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was being researched and the result would be that the monuments place in architectural historiography mostly depends on the nationality of the author, their view of nationalism, heritage and conservation. Through this research one can conclude that Notre-Dame de Paris Cathedral was not considered to be a "definite reference" to the Gothic style, nor can we conclude that it was the reason for its spreading through Europe and beyond. So how come UNESCO decided that it was going to be a "definite reference", or how is it still the best known and may be the most popular Gothic monument around the world?

Chartres Cathedral which was discussed most frequently by Fletcher and Kostof, the latter who had given it a special sub-chapter in his survey book was only mentioned thirty-three times. This comparison was intriguing in the sense that survey books written in English focused more on the Cathedral of Chartres rather than the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris yet surveys written by French authors preferred to dedicate more of their writings to the Cathedral of their capital.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation illustrated and discussed the "definite reference" identification of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, illustrate how the Gothic monument was being perceived in the nineteenth century and forward alongside Gothic architectural style, and in what ways the world-famous architectural masterpiece was received as a reference in architectural historiography. The Gothic edifice who received more than thirty thousand visitors every day before the fire of 2019, was considered to be 'Heaven on Earth', a 'celestial Kingdom' as all Gothic cathedrals were. They were considered to be a synthesis of the French nation; "All of France is in our cathedrals" once wrote Auguste Rodin. It was deemed as the most beautiful example of Gothic architecture by UNESCO in 1991 and the best known monument in Western Europe. Yet the definitiveness of the reference is quite if we dive into the historiography. The history of the "queen of French cathedrals", Notre-Dame de Paris began in 1163 with its first stone being laid on the *Île de la Cité*. For centuries, the new Cathedral's construction and additions continued by the hand of generations, the large portion of the edifice was completed in 1245 yet for centuries it would endure restorations, additions, changes and even vandalism at the hand of its own people and its architects..

When the French Revolution of 1789 began, the Church lost its power and its protection given by the monarchy. This broken link resulted in vandalism towards many Gothic churches and cathedrals of France, especially the Cathedral of Paris since it represented the capital, the institution of Church and the Crown. During these turbulent times, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame became the centre of two different cults: *Culte de la Raison* and *Le Culte de L'Être Suprême*. These cults plundered the treasures of the monument, beheaded any statue that resembled a monarch and torn

down the thirteenth century spire. After all the turmoil of the Revolution of 1789, Napoleon I signed a Concordat between himself and Pope Pius VII to reconcile the people with the Church. The future emperor held his coronation in the Cathedral of Paris in 1804 to cement the reconciliation. The destructive aftermath of the French Revolution and this historic curiosity were key moments in the history of preservation and restoration since it led to many artefacts including architectural pieces to be documented, listed, archived and exhibited in museums, such as the *Musée des monuments français* which was opened by Alexandre Lenoir in 1795: all that was lost during the Revolution and purposeful vandalism led to the peoples need to protect what was left. In 1830 the post of *Inspecteur-Général des Monuments Historiques* and then the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* were established with the aim of classifying historic monuments and funding restoration projects one of which will be the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. The fact that all Gothic monuments were built over centuries resulted in constant alterations but not all the alterations had been acceptable according to Viollet-le-Duc who wrote a detailed historical list of the damaged done to the Gothic masterpiece in 1851 in the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*.

Gothic cathedrals were considered as literary pieces that described the important historical and religious characters and events calling the façade of the Cathedral as an architectural page: "...there are assuredly, few finer architectural pages than that front of that cathedral..."(Hugo, 1993, p.89) In reference to Viollet-le-Duc's comments formulating Notre-Dame as an "object of restoration", one has to look first at Victor Hugo's masterpiece, *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* from a fictive context: a novel that would not only represent the romantic movement but also the importance of heritage architecture which will result in its restoration. While writing the 1831 novel, he used the Cathedral as an actor, almost as the main actor, always in the background or as a setting for the major events occurring in the story. Victor Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame of Paris* assumed a pivotal role in this redirection of interest in medieval monuments, the monarchy's interest in erasing the immediate memory of the sacking of the archbishopric and the profanations of 1830 also was critical." (Deen Schildgen, 2008, pp.128-129).The edifice was described by Hugo as a research depiction without any factual historical claim in the first chapter of Book

III: he described the state of ruin one could find the Notre-Dame in and that men were as much to blame as time. (Figure 6.1.) He was an avid defender of the *patrimoine*, not only did he criticized the revolutionaries, the government and its people and the architects in his *Guerre aux Démolisseurs!* but also ironically, his emphasis of the monument would lead to an extensive restoration project that would result in Viollet-le-Duc being criticized for his work. The 1831 novel by Hugo and the resulting restoration of the monument is still the main reason for its place in popular culture yet this popularity was not achieved by simply Hugo's book as it was claimed by the official site of the Cathedral. When the early editions of the novel were published, the nation was once again reminded that Gothic architecture was the culmination of their people, of their past and even amongst the chaos of the July Revolution (1830) that the monument was not the image of monarchy but that it was indeed the image of France inherited; a collective memory, the *patrimoine*.



Figure 6.1. The statues of Cathedral of Paris found in 1977, displayed at Cluny Museum.
(Source: Personal archive)

Hugo described the Cathedral of Paris in detail, but he did not hesitate to describe the state in which the monument was in the nineteenth century: vandalised, battered, disfigured. Yet he also shared his belief that Notre-Dame was the result of his people's culmination, their shared culture and history, their past and even their future. The descriptions in the Hunchback of Notre-Dame became an inspiration to many artists in different mediums, painters from around the world, photographers, caricaturists, writers, and so on. For instance, its popularity could be seen in the Salon de 1833 where several paintings depicting scenes from the novel was exhibited. One of those paintings was "Quasimodo sauvant la Esmeralda des mains de ses bourreaux" by Eugénie Henry / Latil depicting a scene from the novel with the

south portal of the western façade seen behind. According to Madame Alexandre Aragon who wrote a review of the Salon for the *Journal des femmes*, the Salon's most popular subject for illustrations was Hugo's novel, increasing its popularity and encouraging this new found interest in Gothic monuments with Notre-Dame at the centre (1833, pp.168-169). Hugo himself was depicted numerous times, including the lithograph by Benjamin Roubaud where he was sitting in Paris with his elbow resting on "his" Cathedral (1841) (Figure 6.2).

Hugo began the novel with a preface letter in which he described a visit to one of the towers of the Cathedral where he saw a carving of a Greek word: *ANAKKH* which is translated as "Helplessness in the face of faith.". This belief that one cannot change fate was the underlying subject of the novel: the high point being the famous "this will kill that" scene in Book V, "...the book will kill the edifice.". Hugo who once stated that the façade of a cathedral was finer than any "architectural pages" believed that the capital's Cathedral was a story and history-depicting one that the written word would be the end of. When one asked the question of whether or not the book killed the edifice, the definite answer is no. On the contrary, this particular book that put the monument as its main character became so popular that it was reprinted multiple times in its first year of publishing alone. It was translated to English just a year later as it was considered a masterpiece; it would be what will save the Cathedral from further destruction through restoration. On April 30th 1844, a decree appointed Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc as the architects that would be responsible for the restoration project of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, and they prepared an extensive report for the process that they would wish to follow. When the project was completed in 1864, many were outspoken about their disagreement of the way Viollet-le-Duc had chosen to restore certain elements of the building: he eliminated what he believed to be unnecessary additions and, he designed a new spire for the Cathedral. All these additions and restorations reflecting the traces of the nineteenth century understanding of restoration, strengthened the definite-ness of the reference since in Hugo's definition, "a definite version" of an original must have additions, corrections and revisions by nature.

In the introduction, the texts included in the research phase showed that the number of times the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris was considered to be a "definite reference" was rare. Almost none of the authors focusing on the art and architecture of the Middle Ages even mentioned the monument itself in their work. This could be a direct result of the excessive amount of interest that was shown to the monument due to Victor Hugo's novel which may have had a counter effect. The increase of interest may have resulted in a lack of mention since the edifice was already popular. The need to reference it may have been thought as unnecessary.

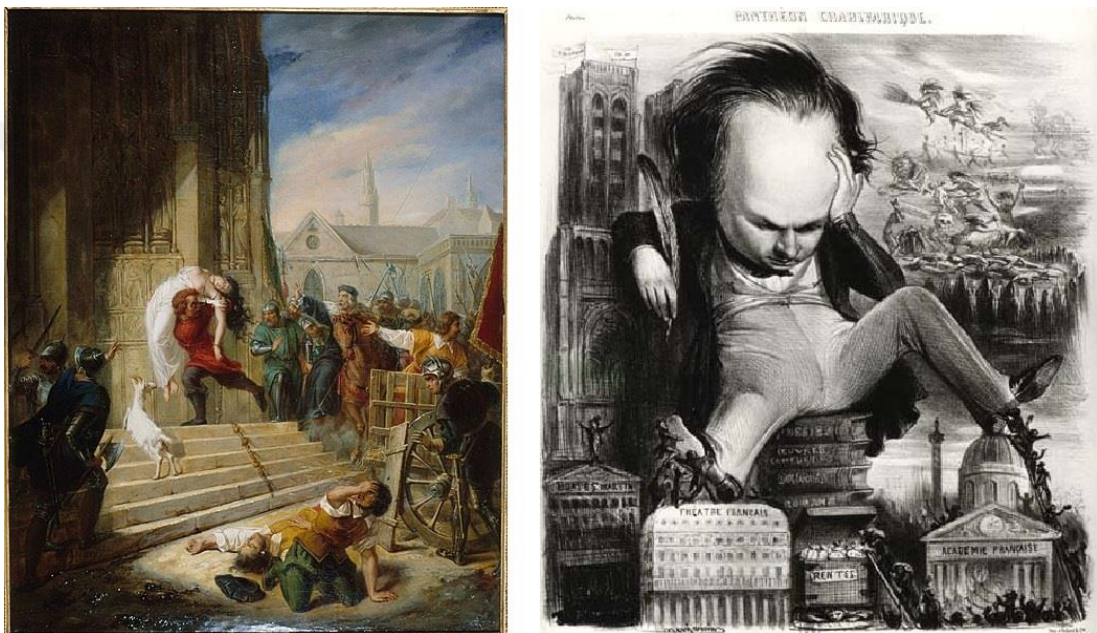


Figure 6.2. (Left) Quasimodo saving Esmeralda, 1832. (Source: Maison de Victor Hugo / Public Domain) (Right) Hugo depicted as resting on 'his' cathedral, 1841. (Source: BNF Gallica / Public Domain)

The search of how “definite” (Figure 6.3) the building was in the historiography of Gothic architecture was the main topic of the last two chapters. Viollet-le-Duc was one of the first architects who theorized architectural restoration, and because of him being one of the principal architects on the restoration project of the Cathedral, his dictionary and Lectures on Architecture mentioned the building as their primary "object of study". He focused on the capital's Cathedral more than any other Gothic monument in his texts claiming it was the first one to be started; either because he believed in its significant role in Gothic architecture or he simply was more knowledgeable about the edifice. Whilst he acknowledged the dominance of England

in Gothic architecture, he insisted that it must remain French. In his *Entretiens sur l'architecture*, the seventh lecture is where he dived into the subject of Gothic architecture that he deemed it the special genius of the nation of France. He stated that in thirteenth century France, art was considered as an instrument of royalty and was designed as a means of creating a national unity, resulting in the construction of a cathedral whenever it was possible. He also stated that there was no other monument that better exemplified the differences between the French art of secular school and Romanesque styles. He claimed that the façade was unfinished as it should have included two spires adorning both the western towers which he showed in a drawing even though at the same time he deemed it the most imposing as a whole, the most sound in construction and the most skilful executed in its details. An admirer of Viollet-le-Duc was Auguste Choisy and when he published his *Histoire de l'architecture* (1899) the largest entry he wrote in his text was about Gothic architecture. He thought that its structural evolution represented the zenith of rational thought in architecture and that the history of Gothic had the most amazing effort of logic in art. Although Choisy stated that the Cathedral of Beauvais was the ideal of French Gothic architecture, he did not shy away from giving Notre-Dame de Paris as an example for his narrative, more than any other examples, and did not hesitate to call Gothic style as "their" architecture; Viollet-le-Duc and Victor Hugo both claimed that the style was a French invention and that it was their nationalistic style.

600 - Paris, rives de la Seine : délimitation du bien lors de son inscription sur la Liste en 1991

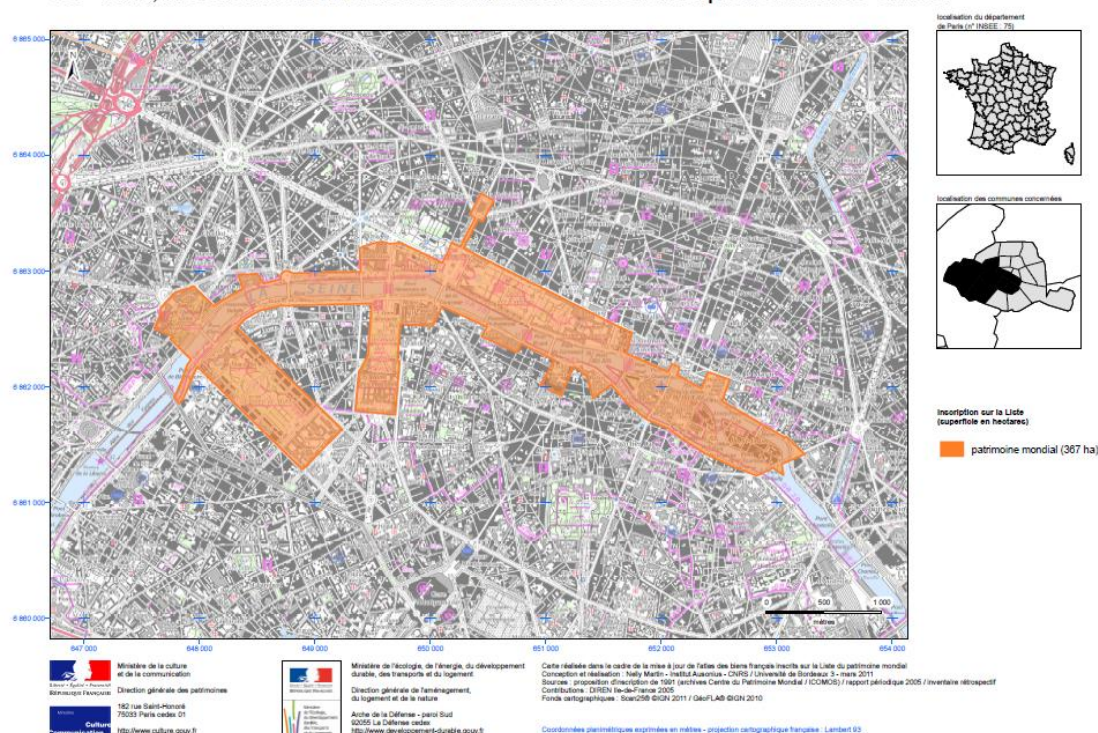


Figure 6.3. Map of Paris, focusing on the Banks of the Seine, 1991. (UNESCO). (Source: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/600/multiple=1&unique_number=710)

In Bannister Fletcher Sr. and his son's book, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896) took a contrary approach to French written texts; here one can observe that even though there are comparative pages and discussions, and that Fletcher does not deny the fact that the style emerged from France, the sections focusing on Gothic architecture began with the English Gothic and the Englishness and was always the centre point. According to the authors Notre-Dame's western façade, which was deemed the oldest French cathedral by Fletcher and son - just like Viollet-le-Duc, was the grandest composition of France, "if not the whole style", a grand compliment considering the source. Even though because of the imperialistic point of view of the authors, the visual representations of the style was mainly from English monuments and that, the *Cathédrale d'Amiens* was chosen as the most characteristics of the French cathedrals and Salisbury as its English counterpart. Notre-Dame de Paris was not as upfront as it had been in the French context. American historians Kimball and Edgell wrote in *A History of Architecture* that other countries merely imitated the Gothic from France or that their application was

superficial. One can argue that in the last century, the academic work that has been done on the subject may have changed their mind today, especially with the French vs. British debate on the origins of the style. Amiens Cathedral was once again singled out and was chosen as the "more perfect building.", representing Gothic architecture. Notre-Dame was once again represented through illustrations yet Amiens was the definite dominant in the text creating the illusion of it being a better reference to the Gothic style. Nikolaus Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture* was published in 1943 and became part of the canon of architectural historiography albeit in a narrow narrative. As was the case for almost all historians in this dissertation, Pevsner's Gothic began with Abbot Suger and his St.-Denis redesign as he stated that this is where Gothic architecture began. The chapter focuses on many French cathedrals, one of them being Notre-Dame de Paris and another Reims, as they were the two of all others to be illustrated twice in the Gothic sections. Yet again, Notre-Dame was given an exception without being given too much importance, shattering the definitiveness of the reference.

Yet this lack of textual emphasis was not visible when one focuses on the visuals of these books. In Choisy we see sectional perspectives. In Fletcher we observe architectural element drawings alongside rose windows, models and photographs of the monument. In Kimball and Edgell's book we see plans and sections wherein Pevsner we observe elevations alongside the text. So, while there were bold and insightful references about other Gothic churches - other than Notre-Dame, before the 1950s, it would be wrong to render the multiple visual representations of the Cathedral as redundant. The drawings of the building, its façades or details gave the connection to the French's "definite" style. Choisy wrote not because he wanted to promote the building, or make a statement like Hugo, but rather for the people of architecture to see the Gothic style as vibrant and beautiful. Similar to Choisy, Fletcher and others followed the same path in their visuals and chose Notre-Dame de Paris as the definite model to draw. The French architectural historians - although not lacking in numbers, did not produce as much survey books. Whether it be from descriptions, structural elements, chosen from many examples and high numbers of illustrations, the monument was at the centre of most discussions without making it

too obvious. They did not particularly emphasized its importance but managed to put it forward in our subconscious.

This condition has changed when we look at the global history books written after the 1950s. According to Kostof, Gothic being the "The French Manner" began in France and spread through Europe but what sets this book apart is the focus that was given to the *Cathédrale de Chartres* which was given an entire chapter and the title of "the noblest and the best loved of Gothic churches," six years after the UNESCO's description of the monument being the "complete and perfected expression..." (Figure 6.4). The capital's Cathedral was only mentioned once in the illustrations: a hand drawn map showing its and other cathedral's location.

In *A Global History of Architecture* (2011) the sheer amount of styles, cultures and monuments resulted in the individual architectural information and history to be very brief. One can observe the emergence of Gothic architecture in the book through the time-cuts. The first discussion of the style began with English examples, just like Fletcher's survey. Once again, St.-Denis was deemed ground zero for the styles diffusion. Under the subtitle Cathedral Design, Notre-Dame was given as an example briefly yet the monument was not even given a standalone subtitle, nor was it illustrated whilst Chartres Cathedral was chosen as the epitome of the style. Richard Ingersoll's survey *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History* (2013) gave the Cathedral of Notre-Dame more space compared to his predecessors. St.-Denis was yet again ground zero for the spread of the style due to travelling merchants although in this survey, Notre-Dame was given an individual page with colourful photographs. Considering the lack of representation in the last two books, this is a very large leap in the opposite direction but it can very well be the result of 2013 being the 850th anniversary celebration of the monument.

Upon studying these French and English written architectural survey books as part of the "object of study" context, one can claim to see how Gothic architecture and especially the Cathedral of Notre-Dame was being perceived in different manners. The French were more inclined to put their Cathedral "the queen" up front and discuss and depict it in a more detailed way but considering the few books that were

written was by the restorer of the monument himself and at a time when the restoration took place this could be understandable. Whereas global architectural history texts either include it as an afterthought or without focusing on the monument differently than most of the other examples, and an exception could not make the rule, as in the Ingersoll case. The differences between social and cultural aspects and conscious choices can be observed through the surveys. Should the Parisian Cathedral still be considered as one of the most important examples of Gothic architecture, should it be considered a "definite reference", and if it could at one time, should it still be? The "perfect" example Chartres Cathedral was the most referenced, mentioned monument in the sources that was covered so far. It was deemed the "most authentic and most complete example" and that it was "at once a symbol and a basic building type: the most elucidating example which one could choose to define the cultural, social and aesthetic reality of the Gothic cathedral" by UNESCO in 1979. The document's statements seems to be in accordance with most of the aforementioned authors approach, to mention Notre-Dame de Paris when necessary, yet focus on Chartres Cathedral more since it is considered to be a better example of the style. Seeing the importance of Chartres not only as an architectural masterpiece but also as a "reference", a guide to the style itself, how can one continue to imagine Notre-Dame de Paris first when the discussion of Gothic art arises? Should the power of Victor Hugo's novel or the nineteenth century restoration still be considered enough? Will the different media platforms that will eventually publicize the monument even more, in paintings, movies and musicals be definite enough? Was its popularity, its place as a "definite reference" or simply the fact that it is the capital's Cathedral that would make it the best known and most visited cathedral in the world? The written word of Hugo may have saved the monument from destruction, yet did its popularity in the nineteenth century rendered it uninteresting for future discussions?



Figure 6.5. (Left) Notre Dame de Paris, 1851 by Henri le Secq. (Source: mutualart.com) (Middle) Apse of Notre-Dame of Paris, Viewed from the Bank of La Tournelle 1860-70 by Charles Soulier. (Source: Paul Getty Museum / Public Domain) (Right) The Red Door by Charles Marville, 1852. (Source: Paul Getty Museum / Public Domain)

Great artists came to Paris to sketch and paint their own version of the Cathedral in their own styles; Vincent Van Gogh and his sketch titled *The Roofs of Paris and Notre-Dame* (1886), Childe Hassam & his *Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris* (1888), Maximilien Luce and his *The Quai Saint-Michel and Notre-Dame* (1901), Henri Matisse with *A Glimpse of Notre Dame in the Late Afternoon* (1902) (Figure 6.6), Edward Hopper *Notre Dame de Paris* (1907) (Figure 6.7), Pablo Picasso and his *Notre Dame de Paris* (1954) only caused for the monuments popularity to be enhanced through paintings.



Figure 6.6. (Left) Maximilien Luce's 'The Quai Saint-Michel and Notre-Dame', 1901. (Source: Musée d'Orsay / Public Domain) (Right) Henri Matisse's 'Notre-Dame, une fin d'après-midi', 1902. (Source: Albright - Know Gallery / Public Domain)



Figure 6.7. Edward Hopper, "Notre Dame de Paris", 1907. (Source: Whitney Museum of American Art)



Figure 6.8. A screenshot of Auguste & Louis Lumière's "Paris" documentary dating 1896. (Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ao5OE0eBLgQ>)

In 1896, the Lumière brothers, Auguste (1862-1954) and Louis Lumière (1864-1948) filmed a moment in the life of Cathédrale de Paris and its court (Figure 6.8). This would not be the last time the monument was filmed or that it became an actor in a movie. Hugo's novel would be adapted to the big screen many times; in 1939 it will be released as *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (Figure 6.9), directed by William Dieterle; in 1982 another movie with the same title would be released, this time with Sir Anthony Hopkins playing the role of Quasimodo. Walt Disney Pictures released their animated musical drama, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in 1996 (Figure 6.10), introducing the novel, the story and eventually the Cathedral itself to new generations, with a much happier ending than the novel, so much so that a sequel was created with Quasimodo and Esmeralda still alive and happy. In 1997, another movie was released, by Peter Medak just after the immense success of the Disney movie.



Figure 6.9. The Hunchback of Notre Dame's 1939 movie poster. (Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1939-The-Hunchback-of-Notre-Dame.jpg>)



Figure 6.10. Movie poster and screenshot of Disney's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, 1996. (Source: Walt Disney Pictures - *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* DVD)

The Cathedral has been in the background of most movies that had a scene in Paris as if to prove to the viewer that they were actually there. The same trick has been used for many cities; a movie scenario that takes place in New York would have a scene in Times Square or that in order for it to be believable a movie in Rome would most definitely depict a scene in front of the Colosseum. The canon of architectural monuments are in the background as a safeguard. There have been movie adaptations, television adaptations, ballet and theatre adaptations of the novel but the most successful adaptation after the animation was the musical *Notre-Dame de Paris*. The music was written by Riccardo Cocciante, heavily influenced by the Disney animation and it premiered in 1998, Paris and it is still touring in 2022.

Notre-Dame de Paris celebrated its 850th anniversary in 2013 with an almost year-long celebration with different events that began in December 12th, 2012 and ended in November 24th, 2013 alongside with renovation projects including the replacement of four belles. Four of the bells of *Notre-Dame* that dated from 1856 were replaced with eight new bells in occasion for the 850th anniversary (Figure 6.11). The new bells were rang for the first time in March 23, 2013.¹⁰¹ These celebratory events were heavily televised and social media played an important role in the popularization of the monument in the twenty-first century.

¹⁰¹ Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <http://www.notredamedeparis2013.com/projets/nouvelle-sonnerie-de-cloches/>



Figure 6.11. The nine new bronze bells are displayed in 2013. (Source: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/02/02/new-notre-dame-bells/1885675>)

In November 2014, an action-adventure video game part of the series *Assassin's Creed* was released by Ubisoft, a French video game company, with the subtitle: *Unity* (Figure 6.12). The story of the game follows Assassin Arno Dorian and it takes place during the French Revolution of 1789 with the goal of uncovering the real dangers behind the chaos that is taking place in France. Since the game was located in the last years of the eighteenth century Paris, the developers accumulated, in over four years, "5000 hours of research" on the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in order to be able to create it digitally. The Unisoft creative director Maxime Durand stated that because of the Cathedral's iconic standing and the fact that the game revolves around climbing buildings, they "...have to make sure that the details would be well done."¹⁰² There were speculations on whether or not this game and its resources could be used for the restoration project after the 2019 fire of the Cathedral yet even though the monument is incredibly detailed and meticulously researched, Ubisoft was not yet using 3D mapping technology which ends the hope for an interdisciplinary project.¹⁰³ On 10 September 2020, they released a free Virtual

¹⁰² Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.businessinsider.com/notre-dame-fire-assassins-creed-maxime-durand-ubisoft-interview-2019-4>

¹⁰³ Ubisoft has pledged a half a million euros to the restoration of the Cathedral after the fire and they offered to share their research in the event that it can be helpful.

Reality visit of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris based on their previously released game.



Figure 6.12. Ubisoft's 'Assassin's Creed: Unity' Game screenshot of Notre-Dame de Paris. (Source: Ubisoft, Assassin's Creed: Unity)

In 2017, to commemorate the hundred years of WWI, Bruno Seillier created a twenty-minute video projection to be projected onto the western façade of the Cathedral of Paris (Figure 6.13). Seillier stated that they used 3D mapping for the "Dame de Coeur" which includes seventeen luminous images with a story line depicting the 850 years of the monument and an American soldier who is afraid of dying before ever seeing the Gothic Notre-Dame. This lightshow became a popular attraction in Europe where many of the major cities are now imitating.¹⁰⁴



Figure 6.13. "Dame de cœur" light show on the western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris, 2017. (Source: <https://www.lightzoomlumiere.fr/2018/10/17/dame-de-coeur-son-et-lumiere-sur-notre-dame-de-paris/>)

¹⁰⁴Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/11/10/563424315/spectacular-light-show-at-notre-dame-cathedral-commemorates-world-war-i>

In 860 years of history being at the centre of a nation, part of its *patrimoine*, collective heritage, history and culture - being destroyed by said nation, being saved by it, protected, adored, and hated; how did the written word and architectural history perceived this monument that can only be described as the heart of Paris and France?

On 15 April 2019 when a fire broke out (Poulot, 2019) under the timber roof of the Cathedral it resulted in a fire that lasted more than three hours (Figure 6.14). Viollet-le-Duc's nineteenth century spire collapsed and the fire moved inside the north tower whilst the world watched through live footage and shared the event through millions of messages via social media.¹⁰⁵ Due to the structural equilibrium achieved in the Gothic monument, if in any case the damage to the north tower would have increased it would have resulted in its collapse and then the whole edifice would have been destroyed since the thirteen tons Emmanuel (the bell) would have caused irreparable damage.¹⁰⁶ Even with the extent of the long lasting fire, the integrity of the medieval structure survived without any damage to the flying buttresses, rose windows and the towers (Figure 6.15). The crown of thorns that is believed to be the one that Jesus Christ wore during his crucifixion, the Tunic of St. Louis, the famous Cockerel that was located on the spire that fell and more, the artefacts that makes the monument even more popular were saved and archived.¹⁰⁷ What may have made the monument this popular began with Hugo and its "romantic" rediscovery but one cannot deny that its international status was definitively established during the 20th century, to the point of gradually becoming a sort of archetypal monument to be preserved, both praised and reviled for this status (Poulot, 2019).

The president of France Emmanuel Macron launched an international fundraising since just as all others in France, the Cathedral is owned by the state since 1905: One billion Euros were donated in a matter of days and the securing of the building and

¹⁰⁵Retrieved June 17 2022 from <https://www.visibrain.com/fr/blog/les-reseaux-sociaux-pleurent-notre-dame-de-paris-depuis-l-incendie/>

¹⁰⁶Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/16/world/europe/notre-dame.html>

¹⁰⁷Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://metro.co.uk/2019/04/16/notre-dame-crown-thorns-st-louis-tunic-saved-cathedral-fire-9219579/>

restoration work began immediately.¹⁰⁸ The goal is to complete the work as it was before the fire in five years (Kincaid, 2020, pp.21-39), in time for the 2024 Olympics that Paris is suppose to held. Yet experts claim the restoration work would last more than twenty years.¹⁰⁹ The French prime minister Édouard Philippe announced an international architectural competition for the design of the new spire that is expected to be built after the fire. Many architectural offices participated in the competition, submitting very different designs yet the competition itself was heavily criticized as it would ignore the heritage laws of France and its UNESCO World Heritage Site Status. The French senate incorporated a clause that obligated the Cathédrale de Notre-Dame to be restored to how it was before the fire of 2019 (Figures 6.16-6.17).¹¹⁰ The steps that are needed to be taken for the new restoration project was written in an article in 2020 (Praticò et al., 2020, pp.810-820).

The fire of 2019 and the damage was broadcasted live on the Cathedral of Paris, over news channels and social media. The monument that attracted thirteen million visitors every year has been closed since the incident but all information and progress of the restoration project can be followed from the *Friends of Notre-Dame de Paris* and the *Éternelle Notre-Dame*¹¹¹ organizations who are offering virtual reality exhibitions and virtual tours of the monument. A movie titled *Notre-Dame Brûle* (2022) directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud was released on 16 March 2022 (only in French and Italian movie theatres) where the plot of the movie is a dramatization of the events of the 2019 fire .

¹⁰⁸ Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.dw.com/en/construction-work-on-notre-dame-begins-again/a-53118416>

¹⁰⁹ Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/notre-dame-cathedral-rebuild-in-paris-could-take-40-years/>

¹¹⁰ Retrieved June 6, 2022, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/notre-dame-cathedral-roof-fire-design-competition-paris-france-a8968791.html>

¹¹¹ <https://www.friendsofnotredamedeparis.org/> & / <https://www.eternellenotredame.com/>



Figure 6.14. (Left) The spire of Notre-Dame under restoration, before the fire of 2019.
 (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vue_de_la_f%C3%A8che_depuis_les_tours.jpg)
 (Right) The spire of the Notre-Dame Cathedral during the early stages of the 2019 fire.
 (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

The Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, a 860 year old monument, after centuries of constructions, alterations, restorations, mindless vandalism, wars, handful of revolutions and a devastating fire still survives and thrives almost like a phoenix born from its ashes. The fire brought back the medieval notion of togetherness, community, a unifying cause, a heritage that belongs to not only France but to all humanity. The Cathedral which was the most visited monument in France¹¹² at the time of the fire, increased its popularity even higher due to the internationally televised fire incident. On 20 April, the French TV channel *France Inter* created a special segment in which an actor read extracts from Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, but also from works by Paul Claudel, Charles Péguy and Chateaubriand which then was imitated on other channels. More generally, there was a worldwide proliferation of publications of pieces of French literature classics, reprints of works from the neo-Gothic period, and poetic anthologies about the cathedral, starting with Hugo (Poulot, 2019).

¹¹² Retrieved April 16, 2019 from Paris: Official website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau, Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.



Figure 6.15. Notre-Dame' roof burning during the fire of April 15, 2019. (Source: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2019/04/16/notre-dame-cathedral-paris-fire-history-macron-column/3482618002/>)



Figure 6.16. Notre Dame's restoration project, 2021. (Source: Personal archive)

After less than a month since the fire of April 2019, Sylvain Tesson published his book, titled *Notre-Dame de Paris: Ô reine de douleur*(2019), and Adrien Goetz published his work titled: *Notre-Dame de l'humanité* (2019) with a cover of the spire on fire. Writers from around the world began publishing about the monument such as Ken Follett and his book titled *Notre-Dame: A Short History of the Meaning of*

Cathedrals (2019), and Susan Clayton and her book titled *Notre Dame Cathedral Commemorative Book: We Will Rebuild! 15 April 2019* (2019). These authors all pledged the money that the books make to the restoration donations with the same sentimentality that their written word may help save the monument beloved by millions (Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.17. Notre Dame's spire burning during the 15th April 2019 fire. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Fl%C3%A8che_en_feu_-_Spire_on_Fire.jpeg)

The beloved Cathedral of Notre-Dame may not have received the rightful acknowledgement in architectural historiography yet as a "definite reference" that is considered to be part of a collective knowledge, history, culture and memory, it has found its place as "the queen of cathedrals". Even two centuries later, Victor Hugo's statement; "this will kill that" still did not fulfil its sense of *ANATKH*, of doom, on the contrary "this saved that!"

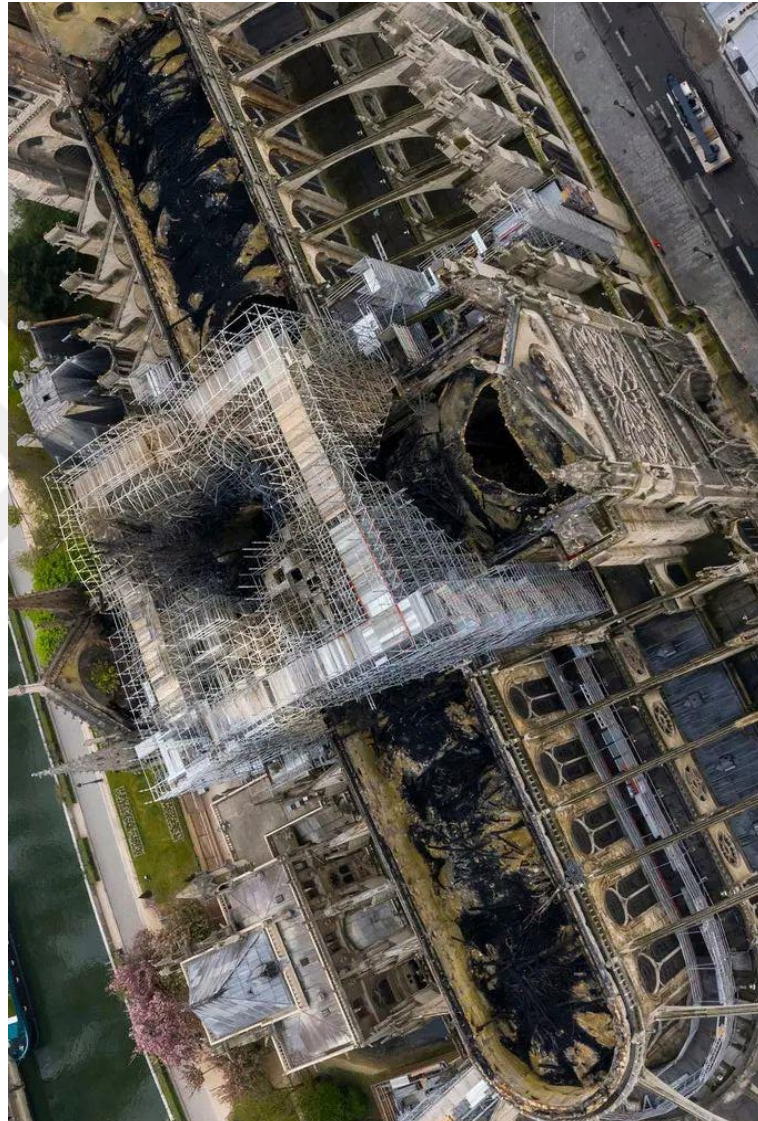


Figure 6.18. The damage on the roof of the Notre-Dame Cathedral after the fire of 2019.
(Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/world/europe/donate-notre-dame-fire.html>)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, C. (1999) "Writing the Architectural Survey: Collective Authorities and Competing Approaches", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58/3 (1999/2000), pp.350-355.
- Anderson, J.M. (2007). *Daily Life During the French Revolution*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Aragon, A. (1833). ""Madame Alex [andre] Aragon: "Salon de 1833""", *Journal des femmes*, (March 30, 1833), pp.146-149.
- Aubert, M.M. (1939). "Les anciennes églises épiscopales de Paris, Saint-Étienne et Notre-Dame, au XI^e siècle et au début du XII^e.". *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie de inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 83^e année, N.3, pp.319-327.
- Bady, J.P. (1998). *Les Monuments Historiques en France*. Presses Universitaires de France.
- Ball, P. (2008). *Universe of Stone: A Biography of Chartres Cathedral*. Harper Collins e-books.
- Baltzer, R. A. (2006). "Review of *Notre-Dame de Paris: Un manifeste chrétien (1160-1230)*, by M. Lemoine". *Speculum*, 81 (3), pp.878-880.
- Bayard, É. (1929). *L'Art de reconnaître l'Architecture Française: Monuments, Églises, Hôtels, Maisons*. Paris: Ernest Gründ.
- Baydar, G. (1988). "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Bannister Fletcher's History of Architecture", *Assemblage*, No.35, pp.6-17.
- Benoit, F. (1934). *L'Architecture: L'Occident médiéval, Romano-Gothique et Gothique*. Paris: Henri Laurens.

Biré, E. (1869). *Victor Hugo et la Restauration: Études Historique et Littéraire*. Paris: LecoffreFils et C'.

Bracons, J. (1990). *The Key to Gothic Art*. Minnesota: Lerner Publications Company.

Bradley, S. (2002). "The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H.Parker." *Architectural History*, Vol.45 (2002), pp.325-346.

Camille, M. (2009). *The gargoyles of Notre-Dame: medievalism and the monsters of modernity*. Chicago:University of Chicago Press.

Carlier, A. (1945). *Les anciens monuments de la civilisation nouvelle*, t. 2, Paris: Pierre de France.

Champigneulle, B. (1962). "Haussmann et le Paris d'aujourd'hui". *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)*, pp. 81-88.

Chapman, B. (1953). "Baron Haussmann and the Planning of Paris". *The Town Planning Review*, Vol.24, No.3, pp.177-192.

Chevalier, M. (1997). *La France des cathédrales du IV^e au XX^e siècle*. Édilarge S.A. - Éditions Ouest-France, Rennes.

Ching, F.D.K. & Jarzombek, M. & Prakash, V. (2011). *A Global History of Architecture*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey.

Choay, F. (1992). *L'allégorie du patrimoine*. Éditions du Seuil.

Choisy, A. (1873). *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains*, Paris.

Choisy, A. (1899). *Histoire de l'architecture*. Paris: Gauthie Villars Imprimerie.

Clayton, S.R. (2019). *Notre Dame Cathedral Commemorative Book: We Will Rebuild! 15 April 2019*. Independently published (April 20, 2019).

Cochran, J.L. (1999). *The Gothic Revival in France, 1830-1845: Victor Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris, Popular Imagery, and a National Patrimony Discovered*. In Reinink, W. & Stumpel, J. (Ed.), *Memory & Oblivion*:

Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996. (pp.393-399). Springer Science + Business Media Dordrecht.

Combeau, Y. (2016). *Histoire de Paris*. University Press of France (PUF).

Corroyer, É. (1903). *L'Architecture gothique*. Paris: A Picard & Kaan.

Cougny, G. (1894). *L'art du Moyen Age*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et..

Davis, M.T. (1998). "Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290-1350.". *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.80, No.1 (March, 1998), pp.34-66.

Deen Schildgen, B. (2008). *Heritage or Heresy: Preservation and Destruction of Religious Art and Architecture in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Demoule, J-P. (2004). "Que Faire Avec le Passé?", *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Février 2004), pp.95-104.

Didron, A.N. (1839). *Bulletin archéologique*, No: 1.

Didron, A.N. (1839). "Histoire et restauration de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.". *Revue française* (May-June 1839), pp.288-320.

Doyle, W. (1989). *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. (2nd. ed.2003). USA: Oxford University Press.

Dubech, L. & D'Espezel, P. (1926). *Histoire de Paris*. Paris, Payot.

Dunn, J. (2012). "Secularizing the Sacred: The Effort to Dechristianize France During the French Revolution." *Primary Source*. Vol: III Issue: I (Fall 2012), pp.26-32.

Dwyer, P. (2015). "The Coronation of Napoleon I". *History*, Vol:100, pp.40-57.

Eaton, L.K. (1988). Reviewed Work(s): "A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals by Spiro Kostof." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.47, No.1, (March 1988), pp.75-76.

Emmet, K. (1989). *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*. Yale University Press.

Éditions des Deux Coqs d'Or. (1964). Le Gothique en France. In Othenin-Girard, M. & Prévost, S. (Ed.), *Encyclopédie Illustrée d'Architecture*.

Erder; C. (1986). *Our Architectural Heritage: From Consciousness to Conservation*. (trans. by Prof. Bakalcıoğlu, A.) UK: Unesco.

Erlande-Brandenburg, A. & Kimpel, D. (1978). "La statuaire de Notre-Dame de Paris avant les destructions révolutionnaire." *Bulletin Monumental* , 136-3 / 1978, pp.213-266.

Fierro, A. (2003). *La vie des Parisiens sous Napoleon*. Soteca, Napoleon I Ed..

Fletcher, B. (1896). *A History of Architecture upon the Comparative Method*. Chiswick Press: Charles Whittingham and Co. Took's Court, Chancery Lane, London.

Fletcher, B. (1901). *A History of Architecture upon the Comparative Method*. Chiswick Press: Charles Whittingham and Co. Took's Court, Chancery Lane, London.

Follett, K. (2019). *Notre-Dame: A Short History of the Meaning of Cathedrals*. UK: Viking. (October 29, 2019).

Fraser, M. (2019). "A Global History of Architecture for an Age of Globalisation", *ABE Journal*, pp.14-15.

Fremont-Barnes, G. (2007). *Encyclopedia of the Age of Political Revolutions and New Ideologies, 1760-1815*. A.-L. Publishing Group.

Ghirardo, D. (2008). "A Global History of Architecture, by Francis D.K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, March 2008, pp.134-135.

Goetz, A. (2019). *Notre-Dame de l'humanité*. Paris: Grasset (May 22, 2019).

Gonse, L. (1890). *L'art gothique: l'architecture, la peinture, la sculpture, le décor*. Paris: Librairie-Imprimeries Réunies (Ancienne Maison Quantin).

- Guerrini, M. (1970). *Napoleon and Paris: Thirty Years of History*. London, Cassell.
- Guilhermy, M. de & Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1856). *Description de Notre-Dame Cathédrale de Paris*. Paris: Librairie d'Architecture de Bance.
- Gürel, M.Ö. & Anthony, K.H. (2006). "The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race, and Architectural History Texts", *Journal of Architectural Education*, (2006): pp.66-76.
- Hancock, J.E. (1986). 'Book Review: A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals by Spiro Kostof', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 39/3 (1986), pp.31-32.
- Harbison, R. (2009). *Travels in the History of Architecture*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Harris, B. & Zucher, S. (2019). "Before the fire: Notre Dame, Paris." <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/special-topics-art-history/arches-at-risk-cultural-heritage-education-series/xa0148fd6a60f2ff6:ruins-reconstruction-and-renewal/a/before-the-fire-notre-dame-paris>.
- Hausmann, G-E. (1890-93). *Mémoires*. (T.2) Paris: V. Havard.
- Helmstadler, R.J. (1997). *Freedom and religion in the nineteenth century*. Stanford University Press.
- Héron de Villefosse, R. (1955). *Histoire de Paris*. (ed. Bernard Grasset). Paris: Éditions Grasset.
- Horne, A. (2002). *Seven Ages of Paris*. London: Pan Macmillan.
- Howard, D. (1995). "Introduction" in Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1500 – 1600*. New Haven.
- Hubert, J. (1964). "Les origines de Notre-Dame de Paris". *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 147 / 1964, pp.5-26.
- Hugo, V. (1993). *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

Hugo, V. (2009). *Notre-Dame de Paris*. Éditions Gallimard.

Idzerda, S.J. (1954). "Iconoclasm during the French Revolution." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp.13-26.

Ingersoll, R. & Kostof, S. (2013). *World Architecture: A Cross-Cultural History*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Jacoubet, H. (1923). *Le Comte de Tressan et les origines du genre troubadour*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Jacoubet, H. (1929). *Le Genre Troubadour et les Origines françaises du Romantisme*. Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres.

Jokilehto, J. (1999). *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth - Heinemann.

Jordan, D.P. (1985). *The Revolutionary Career of Maximilien Robespierre*. University of Chicago Press.

Jordan, D.P. (1992). "Baron Haussmann and Modern Paris." *The American Scholar*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 99-106.

Journal Amusant, "Paris Reblanchi", *Journal amusant* No: 6, Feb, 9th, 1856.

Keller, B. G. (1994). *The Middle Ages reconsidered: attitudes in France from the eighteenth century through the romantic movement*. New York: Lang Publishing Inc.

Killick, R. (1994). *Hugo: Notre-Dame de Paris*, Glasgow Introductory Guides to French Literature 25, Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press.

Kimball, F. & Edgell, G.H. (1918). *A History of Architecture*. Harper's Fine Arts Series, Harper & Brothers: New York.

Kimball, F. & Edgell, G.H. (2012). *History of Architecture*, Princeton: Ulan Press.

- Kincaid, S. (2020). "After the Fire: Reconstruction following Destructive Fires in Historic Buildings", *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 11:1, pp.21-39. DOI:10.1080/17567505.2019.1681647
- Knight, C. (1867). "Pius VII", *Biography: or Third Division of "The English Encyclopedia"*, Vol.4, Bradbury, Evans & Company.
- Komisar, J. (2012). 'Designing a Better Textbook: Challenges to the Expansion of the Content of Architectural History Survey Texts', *ABE Journal*, pp.1-4.
- Kostof, S. (1985). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Lassus J-B. & Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1845). *Projet de Restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris*. Paris: Imprimerie de M^{me} de Lacombe.
- Léon, P. (1951). *La Vie des Monuments Français, Destruction, Restauration*. Paris: Picard et Cie.
- Lewis, G. (1993). *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate*. Routledge.
- Logan, W.S. (2007). *Closing Pandora's Box: Human Rights Conundrums in Cultural Heritage Protection*, pp.33-52. In Silverman, H., Ruggles, D.F. (eds) *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*. Springer, New York, NY. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-71313-7_2
- Lours, M. (2018). *Dictionnaire des Cathédrales*. Paris: Gisserot.
- Lyons, M. (1994). *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Loyer, F. (1999). *Histoire de L'architecture Française: De La Révolution à nos jours*. Paris: Éditions Mengès.
- Mâle, E., & Nussey, D. (1972). *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*. (Icon Editions) (1st ed.). Harper & Row.
- Malet, H. (1953). "Paris Avant Haussmann." *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1829-1971), pp.474-491.

- Mandoul, T. (1996). "Une histoire de l'architecture selon Auguste Choisy", *Bulletin de la Sabix* [Online], 16 | 1996. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/sabix/802>
- Maneglier, H. (1990). *Paris impérial: La viequotidiennesous le SecondeEmpire*. Armand Colin.
- Marquardt, J.T. (2007). *FromMartyrtoMonuments: TheAbbey of Cluny as CulturalPatrimony*. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Martindale, A. (1967). *Gothic Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- McGowan, D. (2012). *Voices of Unbelief: Documents from Atheists and Agnostics*. ABC-CLIO.
- McKean, J. (2006). 'Sir Banister Fletcher: Pillar to Post-Colonial Readings', *Journal of Architecture*, 11/2, pp.187-204.
- Mcmanners, J. (1969). *The French Revolution and the Church*. New York: Harper Torchbooks Publisher.
- Mérimée, P. (1837). *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge, particulièrement en France*. Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet.
- Mérimée, P. (1843). *Rapport de Mérimée*. BNF: Paris.
- Midant, J-P. (2001). *Au Moyen Âge avec Viollet-le-Duc*. Paris: Parangon.
- Milner, M. (2010). "Quoi tuera quoi? Les enjeux de l'invention de l'imprimerie chez Victor Hugo et Gérard de Nerval", *Livraisons de l'histoire de l'architecture* [En ligne], 20 / 2010, mis en ligne le 10 décembre 2012, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/Iha/251> ; DOI: 10.4000/Iha.
- Moncan, P. (2002). *Le Paris d'Haussmann*. Paris: DuMecene.
- Monnier, G. (2021). *Histoire de L'Architecture*, FNAC E-books.
- Moss, G. (1974). "The taming of Paris". Alexandrine Press: *Built Environment* (1972-1975), Vol.3, No.10., pp.507-511.

- Nash, S. (1983). "Writing a Building: Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris". *French Forum*, May 1983, Vol.8, No.2 (May 1983), pp.122-133.
- Neely, S. (2008). *A Concise History of the French Revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Palmer, A. L. (2011). *Historical Dictionary of Romantic Art and Architecture*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Pearce, D.G. (1998). "Tourist districts in Paris: structure and functions", *Tourism Management*, Vol.19, No.1, pp.49-65.
- Pevsner, N. (1948). *An Outline of European Architecture*. Hazell, Watson & Vine, Ltd., London and Aylesbury. Great Britain.
- Poisson, G & Poisson, O. (2014). *Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814 - 1879*. Paris: Picard.
- Poulot, D. (2019). "Une catastrophe patrimoniale: Notre-Dame de Paris, entre émotions et controverses." *Culture & Musées*, [Online], 34|2019, put online le 16 décembre 2019, Retrieved June 17, 2022 from URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/culturemusees/4245>; <https://doi.org/10.4000/culturemusees.4245>
- Praticò, Y. & Ochsendorf, J. & Holzer, S. & Flatt, R.J. (2020). "Post-fire restoration of historic buildings and implications for Notre-Dame de Paris.". *Nature Materials*, Vol.19 (August 2020), pp.810-820.
- Prina, F. (2011). *The Story of Gothic Architecture*. New York: Prestel Publishing.
- Pupil, F. (1985). *Le Style Troubadour ou la nostalgie du bon vieux temps*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.
- Pupil, F. (2005). "Peinture troubadour et Moyen Âge gothique", *S. & R.*, no: 20, Oct. 2005, pp. 85-102.
- Pyla, P. (1999) "Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's *A History of Architecture*", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 52/4, pp.216-225.

- Ramée, D. (1846). *Histoire de l'architecture en France, depuis les Romains jusqu'au seizième siècle: avec l'exposition de ses principes généraux*. Paris: A. Franck.
- Reiff, D.D. (1971). "Viollet-le-Duc and Historic Restoration: The West Portals of Notre-Dame.". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.30, No.1. (March, 1971), pp.17-30.
- Roberts, W.J. (2004). *France: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present*. New York: Facts on File.
- Robinson, J.B. (1918). "Review of A History of Architecture" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, Issue 4, July 1918, pp.838-839.
- Rodin, A. (1914). *Les Cathedrales de France*. Paris:Librarie Armand Colin.
- Rosières, R. (1894). *L'évolution de l'architecture en France*. Paris: Ernest Lerous.
- Roth, L.M. (1993). *Understanding Architecture: It's Elements, History and Meaning*. London: Routledge
- Sandron, D. & Tallon, A. (2013). *Notre-Dame de Paris: neufs siècles d'histoire*. Paris: Éditions Parigramme.
- Sankovits, A. (2001). "The Myth of the Myth of the Medieval: Gothic Architecture in Vasari's *Rinascita* and Panofsky's *Renaissance*." *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, No. 40, (Autumn, 2001), pp.29-50.
- Schneider, R. (1923). *L'art Français: Moyen Âge, Renaissance*. Paris: Henri Laurens.
- Scott, R.A. (2003). *The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shusterman, N. (2013). *The French Revolution: Faith, Desire, Politics*. Routledge, London/New York.
- Shütz, B. (2002). *L'Art Des Grandes Cathédrales*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, Éditions Hazan pour l'édition française.

- Smith, R. T. (1884). *Architecture: Gothic and Renaissance*. London: Sampson Low.
- Stoddard, W.S. (1966). *Art and Architecture in Medieval France*. (Icon Editions) Westview Press.
- Sutcliffe, A. (1993). *Paris, An Architectural History*. Yale University Press.
- Tallett, F. (1991). "Dechristianising France: The year II and the revolutionary experience". In Tallett, F., Atkin, N. *Religion, Society and Politics in France Since 1789*. Bloomsbury Academic. pp.1-28.
- Tesson, S. (2019). *Notre-Dame de Paris: Ô reine de douleur*. Paris: Des Equateurs (May 3, 2019).
- Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1854). *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVI siècle*. Paris, B. Bance, A. Morel.
- von Simson, O. (1956). *The Gothic Cathedral*. New York: Bollingen Foundation, p. V.
- vonSimson, O. (1956). *TheGothicCathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture andtheMedievalConcept of Order*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper &RowPublishers, Inc..
- Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1863). *Entretiens sur l'architecture*. Paris, A. Morel et cle.
- Viollet-le-Duc, E.E. (1877). *Lectures on Architecture* (B. Bucknall, Trans.). London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Rivington.
- Watkin, D. (1986). *AHistory of Western Architecture*. London: Barrie& Jenkins.
- Watkin, D. (2015). *A History of Western Architecture*. Laurence King Publishing.
- Westgate, D. & Clarke, C. (2007). "Notre-Dame de Paris: The Apostles on the Spire Rediscovered.". *The Burlington Magazine*. Vol.149, No.1253, Painting and Sculpture in France (Aug., 2007), pp.537-545.
- Zandi-Sayek, S. (2014). "TheUnsung of the Canon: Does A Global ArchitecturalHistoryNeed New Landmarks?". *ABE Journal* [Online], 6.

URL SOURCES

<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-l-assemblee/histoire/grands-moments-d-eloquence/l-labbe-gregoire-31-aout-1794>

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Bourbon-Restoration>

<http://www.britannica.com/art/Romanticism>

<https://www.businessinsider.com/notre-dame-fire-assassins-creed-maxime-durand-ubisoft-interview-2019-4>

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/notre-dame-cathedral-rebuild-in-paris-could-take-40-years/>

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/survey>

<http://dictionary.sensagent.com/historical%20survey/en-en/>

<https://www.dw.com/en/construction-work-on-notre-dame-begins-again/a-53118416>

https://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/peinture/style_troubadour/154669

http://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/grand_si%C3%A8cle

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/notre-dame-cathedral-roof-fire-design-competition-paris-france-a8968791.html>

<https://www.inha.fr/fr/recherche/le-departement-des-etudes-et-de-la-recherche/domaines-de-recherche/histoire-des-disciplines-et-des-techniques-artistiques/actualisation-du-dictionnaire-raisonne-d-architecture-d-eugene-emmanuel-viollet-le-duc.html>

<http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/coalition/34726>

http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/divers/journ%C3%A9es_de_juillet_1830/12625

http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedie/personnage/Prosper_M%C3%A9rim%C3%A9/13282

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/troubadour>

<https://metro.co.uk/2019/04/16/notre-dame-crown-thorns-st-louis-tunic-saved-cathedral-fire-9219579/>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture/larchitecture-interieure/>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture/la-facade-occidentale/#>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture/la-fleche/>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture/les-vitraux/>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/architecture/plans/>

<https://www.notredamedeparis.fr/decouvrir/histoire/les-batisseurs/>

<http://www.notredamedeparis.fr/en/la-cathedralde/histoire/historique-de-la-construction/>

<http://www.notredamedeparis2013.com/projets/nouvelle-sonnerie-de-cloches/>

<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/11/10/563424315/spectacular-light-show-at-notre-dame-cathedral-commemorates-world-war-i>

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/16/world/europe/notre-dame.html>

<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/fatality>

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803115933557>

<https://www.visibrain.com/fr/blog/les-reseaux-sociaux-pleurent-notre-dame-de-paris-depuis-l-incendie/>



APPENDICES

A. BOOK I CHAPTER I - "LA GRAND'SALLE" DESCRIPTIONS

"...the Great Hall, then and long afterwards considered to be the largest covered apartment in the world (Sauval¹¹³, the Paris historian, it is hardly necessary to state, had not yet measured the great hall in the chateau of Montargis). The open square in front of the Palace, thronged with people, presented to the gazers from the windows the aspects of a sea into which five or six streets, like the mouths of so many rivers, every moment discharged fresh floods of human heads. The waves of this deluge, constantly increasing, broke against the angles of the houses that projected here and there, like so many promontories, into the irregularly shaped basin of the square. In the centre of the high Gothic façade of the Palace, the great triple-faced staircase, continually ascended and descended by the restless multitudes, with currents breaking on the intermediate landing or streaming over the two lateral slopes, flowed like a waterfall tumbling into a lake...

... If the reader consent, we shall cross the threshold of the Great Hall together. Let me endeavour to reproduce the impression made on his senses as we struggle through the surging crowd in frock, smock, jerkin, doublet, and every conceivable dress of the period.

At first our ears are stunned with the buzzing, our eyes are dazzled with the glare. Over our heads is the roof, consisting of a double vault of pointed arches, lined with carved wood, painted light blue, and sprinkled with golden fleur-de-lis. Under our feet the marble floor, like a checkerboard, is alternated with black and white squares. A few paces from us stands an enormous pillar, then another, then a third, seven

¹¹³Henri Sauval (d.1676) was a French historian, by whom Hugo was influenced and referred to for descriptions of Paris and certain monuments during the fifteenth century when the story takes place.

altogether, extending the whole length of the Hall, and supporting the central line that separates the double vaults of the roof. Around the first four are dealers' stands glittering with glass and tinsel ware; around the other three are oaken benches, worn and polished by the gowns of the lawyers and the breeches of those that employ them. Everywhere around the building, along the lofty walls, between the doors, between the windows, between the pillars, appears an interminable line of the statues of the kings of France,... In the long Gothic windows, the stained glass shines with a thousand colours. In the wide entrances the doors are richly and delicately carved. Everywhere all around - on vaults, pillars, walls, lintels, panels, doors, and statues - glows a rich tint of blue and gold, already a little faded, but even seventy years later, in spite of dust and cobwebs, Du Breul, the historian, will see enough to admire it from tradition.... The old Palace would be still standing, with its Grand Hall, and I could say to my reader, 'Go and look at it' - which would be a great convenience for us both; saving me from writing, him from reading, my imperfect description." ¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴Hugo, V. (1993)., pp.4-6.

B. BOOK II CHAPTER II - "LA PLACE DE GRÈVE" DESCRIPTIONS

"There remains today but a small and scarcely perceptible vestige of the Place de Grève, such as it existed formerly; all that is left is the charming turret which occupies the northern angle of the Square, and which, already buried under the ignoble whitewashing which obstructs the delicate lines of its carving, will soon, perhaps, have totally disappeared, under that increase of new houses which is so rapidly consuming all the old façades of Paris.

Those who, like ourselves, never pass over the Place de Grève without casting a look of pity and sympathy on this poor little tower, squeezed between two ruins of the time of Louis XV, can easily reconstruct in their mind's eye the assemblage of edifices to which it belonged, and thus imagine themselves in the old Gothic Square of the fifteenth century.

It was then, as now, an irregular place, bounded on one side by the quay, and on the three others by a series of lofty houses, narrow and sombre. In the daytime you might admire the variety of these buildings, carved in stone or in wood, and already presenting complete examples of the various kinds of domestic architecture of the Middle Ages, going back from the fifteenth to the eleventh century - from the perpendicular window which was beginning to supersede the Gothic to the circular Roman arch which the Gothic had in turn supplanted, and which still occupied underneath the first storey of that ancient house of the Tour-Rolland, forming the angle of the Place with the Seine, on the side of the Rue de la Tannerie. By night, nothing was distinguishable of that mass of buildings but the black indentation of their gables, extending its range of acute angles round three sides of the Place. For it is one of the essential differences between the towns of that day and those of the present, that now it is the fronts of the houses that look to the squares and streets, but then it was the gable ends. During the two centuries past they have turned fairly around.

In the centre of the eastern side of the Square rose a heavy and hybrid construction formed by three dwellings juxtaposed. The whole was called by three several names, describing its history, its purpose and its architecture; the Maison au Dauphin, or Dauphin's House, because Charles V, when dauphin, had lived there the Trades House, because it was used as the Hotel de Ville, or Town Hall and the Maison aux Piliers or Pillar House, on account of a series of heavy pillars which supported its three storeys. The City had there all that a goodly town like Paris needs; a chapel to pray in; a courtroom for holding magisterial sittings, and, when needed, reprimanding the king's officers; and in the garrets an arsenal stored with artillery and ammunition.

For the good people of Paris, well knowing that it was not sufficient, in every emergency, to plead and to pray for the franchises of their city, had always in reserve, in the attics of the Town Hall, some few good though rusty arquebusses.

The Square of La Grève had then that sinister aspect which it still derives from the execrable ideas which it awakens, and from the gloomy-looking Town Hall built by Dominique Bocador, which has taken the place of the Maison aux Piliers. It must be observed that a permanent gibbet and pillory, a justice and a ladder, as they were then called, erected side by side in the centre of the Square, contributed not a little to make the passer-by avert his eyes from this fatal spot, where so many beings in full life and health had suffered their last agony; and which was to give birth, fifty years later, to that Saint Vallier's 48 fever, as it was called, that disease which was but the terror of the scaffold, the most monstrous of all maladies, inflicted as it was, not by the hand of God, but by that of man.

It is consolatory, we may remark, to reflect that the punishment of death, which, three centuries ago, with its iron wheels, with its stone gibbets, with all its apparatus for torture permanently fixed in the ground, encumbered the Square of the Grève, the Market Place, the Place Dauphine, the Croix du Trahoir, the Pig Market, the hideous Montfaucon, the Barriere des Sergens, the Place aux Chats, the Gate of Saint Denis, Champeaux, the Baudets Gate, the Porte Saint Jacques - not to mention judicial drownings in the river Seine - is consolatory to reflect that now, after losing, one

after another, every fragment of her panoply, her profusion of executions, her refined and fanciful penal laws, her torture, for applying which she made anew every five years a bed of leather in the Grand Chatelet - this ancient queen of feudal society, nearly thrust from our laws and our towns, tracked from code to code, driven from place to place, now possesses, in our vast metropolis of Paris, but one dishonoured corner of the Grève - but one miserable guillotine - stealthy - timid - ashamed - which seems always afraid of being taken in the act, so quickly does it disappear after giving its blow."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵Hugo, V. (1993)., pp. 47-49.

C. BOOK III CHAPTER I - "NOTRE-DAME" DESCRIPTIONS

"The church of Notre-Dame at Paris is doubtless still a majestic and sublime edifice. But, however beautiful it has remained in growing old, it is difficult to suppress a sigh, to restrain a feeling of indignation at the numberless degradations and mutilations which the hand of time and that of man have inflicted upon this venerable monument, regardless alike of Charlemagne, who laid the first stone, and of Philip Augustus, who laid the last.

Upon the face of this ancient queen of French cathedrals, beside each wrinkle we constantly find a scar. *Tempus edax, homo edacior* (Time is destructive, man more destructive) - which we would willingly render thus - Time is blind, but man is stupid.

If we had leisure to examine one by one, with the reader, the traces of destruction imprinted on this ancient church, those due to Time would be found to form the lesser portion - the worst destruction has been perpetrated by men - especially by 'men of art.' Since there are individuals who have styled themselves architects during the last two centuries.

And first of all - to cite only a few leading examples - there are assuredly, few finer architectural pages than that front of that cathedral, in which, successively and at once, the three receding portals with their pointed arches, the decorated and indented band of the twenty-eight royal niches, the immense central rose-window, flanked by the two lateral windows, like the priest by the deacon and sub-deacon; the lofty and slender gallery of trifoliated arcades, supporting a heavy platform upon its light and delicate columns; and lastly the two dark and massive towers, with their eaves of slate - harmonious parts of one magnificent whole - rising one above another in five gigantic storeys - unfold themselves to the eye, collectively and simply - with their innumerable details of statuary, sculpture and carving, powerfully contributing to the

calm grandeur of the whole; a vast symphony in stone, if we may so express it; the colossal work of a man and of a nation; combining unity with complexity, like the Iliads and the old Romance epics to which it is a sister-production; the prodigious result of a draught upon the whole resources of an era -in which, upon every stone, is seen displayed, in a hundred varieties, the fancy of the workman disciplined by the genius of the artist - a sort of human Creation, in short, mighty and prolific like the Divine Creation, of which it seems to have caught the double character - variety and eternity.

And what we say of the front must be said of the whole church - and what we say of the cathedral church of Paris must be said of all the churches of Christendom in the Middle Ages. Everything is in its place in that art, self-created, logical and well proportioned. To measure the toe is to measure the giant.

Let us return to the front of Notre-Dame, as it still appears to us when we gaze in pious admiration upon the solemn and mighty cathedral, inspiring terror, as its chroniclers express it - *quae mole sua terrorem incutit spectantibus* (which by its massiveness strikes terror into beholders).

The front is now lacking in three things of importance: first, the flight of eleven steps which formerly raised it above the level of the ground; then, lower range of statues, which occupied the niches of the three portals; and lastly, the upper series, of the twenty-eight most ancient kings of France, which filled the gallery on the first storey, beginning with Childebert and ending with Philip Augustus, each holding in his hand the imperial ball.

As for the flight of steps, it is Time that had caused it to disappear, by raising, with slow but resistless progress, the level of the ground in the City. But while this flood-tide of the pavement of Paris devoured, one after another, the eleven steps which added to the majestic elevation of the structure, Time has given to the church, perhaps, yet more than it has taken away; for it is Time who has spread over its face that dark grey tint of centuries which makes of the old age of architectural monuments their season of beauty.

But who has thrown down the two ranges of statues? who has left the niches empty? who has cut, in the middle of the central portal, that new and bastard pointed arch? and who has dared to frame in that doorway the heavy, unmeaning wooden door, carved in the style of Louis XV, beside the arabesque of Biscornette? The men, the architects, the artist of our times.

And - if we enter the interiors of the edifice - who has overturned the colossal Saint Christopher, proverbial for his magnitude among statues as the Grand Hall of the Palace was among halls - as the spire of Strasburg among steeples? And those myriads of statues which thronged the Spaces between the columns of the nave and the choir - kneeling - standing - and on horseback, men, women, children, kings, bishops, warriors, in stone, in marble, in gold, in silver, in brass, and even in wax - who has brutally swept them out? It is not Time.

And who has substituted for the ancient Gothic altar, splendidly loaded with shrines and reliquaries, that heavy sarcophagus of marble, with angels' heads and clouds, looking like an unmatched fragment from the Val de Grâce or the Invalides? Who has stupidly fixed that heavy anachronism of stone into the Carlovingian pavement of Hercandus? Was it not Louis XIV fulfilling the vow of Louis XIII?

And who has put cold white glass in place of those deep-stained panes which made the wondering eyes of our forefathers hesitate between the round window over the grand doorway and the lancet windows of the chancel? And what would a precentor of the sixteenth century say could he see that fine yellow stain with which the Vandal archbishops have besmeared their cathedral? He would remember that it was the colour with which the hangman painted such buildings as were adjudged infamous - he would recollect the Hôtel of the Petit-Bourbon, which had thus been besmeared with yellow for the treason of the constable - 'yellow, after all, so well mixed,' says Sauval, 'and so well applied, that the lapse of a century and more has not yet taken its colour.' He would believe that the holy place had become accursed, and would flee from it.

And, then, if we climb higher in the cathedral - without stopping at a thousand barbarities of every kind - what have they done with that charming little spire which rose from the intersection of the cross, and which, no less bold and light than its neighbour the spire of the Sainte Chapelle (destroyed also), pierced into the sky yet farther than the towers - perforated, sharp, sonorous, airy? An architect 'of good taste' amputated it in 1787, and thought it was sufficient to hide the wound with that great plaster of lead which resembles the lid of a porridge-pot.

Thus it is that the wondrous art of the Middle Ages has been treated in almost every country, and especially in France. In its ruin three sorts of inroads are distinguishable, having marred it to different depths, first, Time, which has insensibly made breaches here and there, and rusted its Whole surface; then, religious and political revolutions, which, blind and furious in their nature, have tumultuously wreaked their wrath upon it, torn its rich garment of sculpture and carving, shattered its rose-shaped windows, broken its necklace of arabesques and miniature figures, torn down its statues, here for their mitre, there for their crown; and lastly, changing fashion, growing ever more grotesque and absurd, commencing with the anarchical yet splendid deviations of the Renaissance, have succeeded one another in the unavoidable decline of architecture. Fashion has done more mischief than revolutions. It has cut to the quick - it has attacked the very bone and framework of the art. It has mangled, dislocated, killed the edifice - in its form as well as in its meaning - in its logic as well as in its beauty. And then it has restored - which at least neither Time nor revolutions have pretended to do. It has audaciously fitted into the wounds of Gothic architecture its wretched gewgaws of a day - its marble ribands - its metal plumes - a very leprosy of egg-shaped mouldings, volutes and wreaths - of draperies, garlands and fringes - of stone flames, brazen clouds, fleshy Cupids, and lastly, cherubim - which we find beginning to ravage the face of art in the oratory of Catherine de Médicis, and destroying it two centuries after, tortured and convulsed, in the Dubarry's boudoir.

Thus, to sum up the points which we have here laid down, three kinds of ravages which today disfigure Gothic architecture: wrinkles and warts upon the surface - these are the work of Time; violences, brutalities, contusions, fractures - these are the

work of revolutions, from Luther down to Mirabeau; amputations, dislocation of members, restorations - these are the labours, Grecian Roman and barbaric, of the professors according to Vitruvius and Vignola. That magnificent art which the Vandals had produced, the academies have murdered. To the work of centuries and of revolutions, which, at least, devastate with impartiality and grandeur, has been added that cloud of school-trained architects licensed, privileged and patented, degrading with all the discernment and selection of bad taste - substituting the gingerbread - work of Louis XV for the Gothic tracery, to the greater glory of the Parthenon. This is the kick of the ass at the dying lion. 'Tis the old oak, in the last stage of decay, stung and gnawed by caterpillars.

How remote is all this from the time when Robert Cenalis, comparing Notre Dame at Paris to the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, 'so much vaunted by the ancient pagans,' which immortalised Erostratus, thought the Gaulish cathedral 'more excellent in length, breadth, height and structure.'

Notre-Dame, however, as an architectural monument, is not one of those which can be called complete, definite, belonging to a class. It is no longer a Roman, nor is it yet Gothic. This edifice is not a typical one. It has not, like the abbey of Tournus, the solemn and massive squareness, the round broad vault, the icy bareness, the majestic simplicity, of the edifices which have the circular arch for their base. Nor is it, like the cathedral of Bourges, the magnificent, airy, multiform, tufted, pinnacled, florid production of the pointed arch. Impossible to rank Notre-Dame among that antique family of churches, gloomy, mysterious, lowering, crushed, as it were, by the weight of the circular arch - almost Egyptian, even to their ceilings - all hieroglyphical, all sacerdotal, all symbolical - more abounding, in their ornaments, in lozenges and zigzags than in flowers - more in flowers than animals - more in animals than human figures - the work not so much of the architect as of the bishop - the first transformation of the art - all stamped with theocratical and military discipline - having its root in the Lower Empire, and stopping at the time of William the Conqueror. Nor can our cathedral be ranked in that other family of lofty, airy churches, rich in sculpture and stained glass, of pointed forms and daring attitudes - belonging to commoners and plain citizens, as political symbols - as works of art,

free, capricious, lawless - the second transformation of architecture - no longer hieroglyphical, immutable and sacerdotal, but artistic, progressive and popular - beginning at the return from the crusades and ending with Louis XL Notre-Dame of Paris, then, is not of purely Roman race like the former, nor of purely Arabic race like the latter.

It is an edifice of the transition period. The Saxon architect was just finishing the first pillars of the nave, when the pointed arch, arriving from the crusade, came and placed itself as a conqueror upon the broad Roman capitals which had been designed to support only circular arches. The Gothic arch, thenceforward master of the field, constituted the remainder of the church. However, inexperienced and timid at its commencement, we find it widening its compass, and, as it were, self-restraining, not yet daring to spring into arrows and lancets, as it did later in so many wonderful cathedrals. One would have said it was conscious of the neighbourhood of the heavy Roman pillars.

Indeed, these edifices of the transition from the Roman to the Gothic are not less valuable studies than the pure models. They express a blending in art which would be lost without them. It is the grafting of the Gothic upon the circular arch.

Notre-Dame, in particular, is a curious example of this variety. Every face, every stone, of this venerable monument, is a page not only of the history of the country, but of the history of science and art. Thus, to point out here only some of the principle details; while the small Porte Rouge attains almost to the limits of the Gothic delicacy of the fifteenth century, the pillars of the nave, in their amplitude and solemnity, go back almost as far as the Carolingian abbey of Saint Germain des Prés. One would think there was an interval of six centuries between that door and those pillars. Even the hermetics find, in the emblematical devices of the great portal, a satisfactory compendium of their science, of which the church of Saint Jacques de la Boucherie was so complete a hieroglyphic. Thus the Roman abbey - the philosophers' church - Gothic art - Saxon art - the heavy round pillar, which recalls Gregory VII - the hermetical symbolism by which Nicolas Flamel anticipated Luther - papal unity and schism - Saint Germain des Prés and Saint Jacques de la Boucherie,

all are mingled combined and amalgamated in None-Dame. This central and maternal church is, among the other old churches of Paris, a sort of chimera; she has the head of one, the limbs of another, the back of a third - something of all.

We repeat it, these hybrid constructions are not the least interesting to the artist, the antiquary and the historian. They show us in how great a degree architecture is a primitive thing - demonstrating (as the Cyclopean vestiges, the Egyptian pyramids and the gigantic Hindoo pagodas demonstrate) that the greatest productions of architecture are not so much the work of individuals as of society - the offspring rather of national efforts than the conceptions of men of genius, a deposit left by a whole people - the piled up works of centuries - the residue of successive evaporations of human society - in short, a species of formation. Each wave of time leaves its alluvium - each race deposits its strata upon the monument - each individual contributes his stone. So do the beavers - so do the bees - so does man. The great symbol of architecture, Babel, is a beehive.

Great edifices, like great mountains, are the work of ages. Art often undergoes a transformation while they are still pending - *pendent opera interrupta* (the interrupted work is discontinued), they go on again quietly, in accordance with the change in the art. The altered art takes up the monument where it was left off, encrusts itself upon it, assimilates it to itself, develops it after its own fashion, and finishes it if it can. The thing is done without disturbance, without effort, without reaction, according to a law natural and tranquil. It is like a budding graft - a sap that circulates a vegetation that goes forward. Certainly there is matter for very large volumes, and often for the universal history of humanity, in those successive weldings of several species of art at different elevations upon the same monument. The man, the artist, the individual, disappear upon those great masses, leaving no name of an author behind. Human intelligence is there to be traced only in its aggregate. Time is the architect - the nation is the builder.

To consider in this place only the architecture of Christian Europe, the younger sister of the great masonries of the East, it presents to us an immense formation divided into three superincumbent zones, clearly defined; the Roman zone, the Gothic zone, and the zone of the Renaissance, which we would willingly entitle the Graeco

Roman. The Roman stratum, the most ancient and the deepest, is occupied by the circular arch, which reappears rising from the Grecian column in the modern and upper stratum of the Revival. The pointed arch is found between the two. The buildings which belong exclusively to one or other of these three strata are perfectly distinct, uniform and complete. Such is the abbey of Jumièges; such is the cathedral of Reims; such is the church of Sainte Croix at Orleans. But the three zones mingle and combine at their borders, like the colours of the prism. And hence the complex monuments - the edifices of gradation and transition. One is Roman at the base, Gothic in the middle and Graeco-Roman at the top. This is caused by the fact that it has taken six hundred years to build it. This variety is rare; the donjon tower of Etampes is a specimen. But monuments of two formations are more frequent. Such is Notre-Dame at Paris, a structure of the pointed arch, which, in its earliest columns, dips into that Roman zone in which the portal of Saint Denis and the nave of Saint Germain des Prés are entirely immersed. Such is the charming semi-Gothic chapter-house of Bochartville, which the Roman layer mounts half-way. Such is the cathedral of Rouen, which would have been entirely Gothic had not the extremity of its central spire pierced into the zone of the Renaissance.

However, all these gradations, all these differences, only affect the surface of an edifice. Art has but changed its skin - the conformation of the Christian temple itself has remained untouched. It is ever the same internal framework, the same logical disposition of parts. Whatever be the sculptured and decorated exterior of a cathedral, we always find beneath it at least the germ and rudiment of the Roman basilica. It unfolds itself upon the ground forever according to the same law. There are invariably two naves intersecting each other in the form of a cross, the upper extremity of which cross is rounded into a chancel forming the choir; there are always two side aisles for processions and chapels - a sort of lateral gallery communicating with the principal nave by the spaces between the columns. This settled, the number of chapels, doorways, Steeples, spires, may be modified indefinitely, following the fancy of the age, the people, of the art. The performance of the worship being provided for, architecture is at liberty to do what she pleases. Statues, painted glass, rose-shaped windows, arabesques, indentations, capitals, bas-reliefs - all these objects of imagination she combines in such arrangement as best suits her. Hence the prodigious external variety of these edifices, in the main

structure of which dwells so much order and unity. The trunk of the tree is unchanging -the foliage is variable.". ¹¹⁶



¹¹⁶Hugo, V. (1993)., pp. 89-95.

D. BOOK III CHAPTER II - "PARIS À VOL D'OÏSEAU" DESCRIPTIONS

"The Paris of three hundred and fifty years ago, the Paris of the fifteenth century, was already a giant city. We modern Parisians are mistaken as to the ground which we think we have gained. Since the time of Louis XI, Paris has not increased much more than a third. She certainly has lost much more in beauty that she has gained in size.

Paris was born, as everyone knows, in that ancient island of the Cité, or City, which is shaped like a cradle. The shores of this island were its first enclosure; the Seine its first moat. For several centuries Paris remained in its island state; with two bridges, one on the north, the other on the south; and two tête-de-ponts (bridge towers), which were at once its gates and its fortresses - the Grand Châtelet on the right bank of the northern channel of the river and the Petit Châtelet on the left bank of the southern channel. When, however, under the first line of French kings, Paris found herself too much confined within the limits of her island, and unable to turn about, she crossed the water. Then on each side, beyond either Châtelet, a first line of walls and towers began to cut into the country on both sides of the Seine. Of this ancient boundary wall some vestiges still remained as late as the last century; now nothing but the memory of it survives, with here and there a local tradition, as the Baudets or Baudoyer gate - porta Bagauda. By degrees, the flood of houses, perpetually driven from the heart of the town outward, overflowed and wore away this enclosure. Philip Augustus made a new embankment. He imprisoned Paris within a circular chain of great towers, lofty and massive. For upwards of a century the houses pressed upon one another, accumulated and rose higher in this basin, like water in a reservoir. They began to deepen - to pile storey on storey - to climb, as it were, one upon another. They shot out in height, like growth that is compressed laterally; and strove each to lift its head above its neighbours, in order to get a breath of air. The streets became deeper and narrower, and every open space was overrun by buildings and disappeared. The houses at last leaped the wall of Philip Augustus, and scattered themselves merrily over the plain, irregularly and all awry, like children escaped

from school. There they strutted proudly about, cut themselves gardens from the fields and took their case. In 1367, the suburbs already extended so far that a new boundary wall became necessary, particularly on the right bank of the river; Charles V built it. But a city like Paris is perpetually on the increase - and it is only such cities that become capitals. They are a sort of funnel, through which flow all that is geographical, political, moral and intellectual in a country - all the natural tendencies of a people - wells of civilisation, as it were, and also sinks - where commerce, manufactures, intelligence, population - all the vigour, all the life, all the soul of a nation - filter and collect incessantly, drop by drop, and century after century. So the boundary of Charles V suffered the same fate as that of Philip Augustus. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Faubourg strides across it, passes beyond it, and runs farther. In the sixteenth we find it rapidly receding, and becoming buried deeper and deeper in the old town, so dense was the new town becoming outside it. Thus, in the fifteenth century - to stop there - Paris had already worn away the three concentric circles of walls which, in the time of Julian the Apostate, existed, so to speak, in germ in the Grand Châtelet and the Petit Châtelet. The growing city had successively burst its four girdles of walls, like a child grown too large for its garments of last year. In the reign of Louis XI were to be seen rising here and there, amid that sea of houses, some groups of ruinous towers belonging to the ancient bulwarks, like hill-tops in a flood - like archipelagoes of the old Paris submerged under the inundation of the new. Since then, unhappily for us, Paris has undergone another transformation; but it has overleaped only one boundary more - that of Louis XV - the wretched wall of mud and spittle, worthy of the king who built it, worthy of the poet who sang it - *Le murmurant Paris rend Paris murmurant*.¹¹⁷

In the fifteenth century, Paris was still divided into three wholly distinct and separate towns, having each its peculiar features, manners, customs, privileges and history - the City, the University and the Ville or Town properly so called. The City, which occupied the island, was the most ancient, the smallest, and the mother of the other two - squeezed between them (if we may be allowed the comparison) like a little old woman between two tall handsome daughters. The University covered the left bank

¹¹⁷Hugo, V. (1993)., p.98.

of the Seine, from the Tournelle to the Tour de Nesle, points which correspond today in modern Paris, the one to the Halle aux Vins or Wine Mart, and the other to the Monnaie or Mint. Its circuit embraced a large portion of that tract where Julian had constructed his baths, and comprised the hill of Sainte Genevieve. The culminating point of this curve of walls was the Porte Papale or Papal Gate, that is to say, very nearly, the present site of the Pantheon. The Town, which was the largest of the three portions of Paris, occupied the right bank. Its quay, in which there were several breaks and interruptions, ran along the Seine from the Tour de Billy to the Tour du Bois, that is, from the spot where the Granary of Abundance now stands, to that occupied by the Tuileries. These four points where the Seine intersected the wall of the capital - on the left, the Tournelle and the Tour de Nesle, and on the right, the Tour de Billy and the Tour du Bois - were called, pre-eminently, the four towers of Paris. The Town encroached still more deeply into the country bordering on the Seine than the University. The most salient points of its enclosure (the wall constructed by Charles V) were at the Portes Saint Denis and Saint Martin, the sites of which are unchanged.

As we have just said, each of these three great divisions of Paris was a city in itself - but a city too individual to be complete - a city which could not dispense with the other two. Hence, each had its characteristic aspect. Churches abounded in the City; palaces in the Town, and colleges in the University. Leaving apart the minor eccentricities of old Paris, and the caprices of those who held the droit de voirie, or right of road, we make the general statement - and speaking only of the great masses in the chaos of the communal jurisdictions - that the island belonged to the bishop; the right bank to the prévôt des marchands or provost of the shop-keepers; and the leftbank to the rector of the University. The provost of Paris, a royal and not a municipal officer, had authority overall. The City contained Notre-Dame; the Town, the Louvre and the Hôtel de Ville, and the University, the Sorbonne. Again, the Town had the Great Market; the City, the Hospital; and the University, the Pré aux Clercs (common). Offences committed by the students on the left bank, in their Pré aux Clercs, were tried in the Palace of Justice, on the island, and punished on the right bank at Montfaucon; unless the rector, feeling the University to be strong at that particular time, and the king weak, thought proper to interfere - for it was a privilege

of the scholars to be hanged at home, that is to say, within the University precincts. Most of these privileges, it may be noted in passing, and there were some of greater value than the above, had been extorted from the kings by revolts and mutinies. Such has been the course of events from time immemorial. As the French proverb saith, *Le roine lache que quand le peuple arrache* (the king only grants what the people wrest from him). There is an old French charter which states the fact with great simplicity: speaking of loyalty, it says *Civibus fidelitas in reges, quae tamen aliquoties seditionibus interrupta, multa peperit privilegia* (the fidelity toward kings, which was nevertheless interrupted at different times - interrupted by seditious uprisings - preserved many privileges to the people).

In the fifteenth century, the Seine bathed the shores of five islands within the circuit of Paris; the Ile Louviers, on which there were then trees, though now there are only piles of wood; the Ile aux Vaches and the Ile Notre-Dame, both deserted, or nearly so, both fiefs of the bishop (which two islands, in the seventeenth century, were made into one, since built upon, and now called the Ile Saint Louis); finally, the City, having at its western extremity, the islet of the Passeur aux Vaches, since lost under the esplanade of the Pont-Neuf. The City had, at that time, five bridges; three on the right - the Pont Notre-Dame, and the Pont au Change, of stone, and the Pont aux Meuniers, of wood - and two on the left - the Petit Pont, of stone, and the Pont Saint Michel, of wood, all of them laden with houses. The University had six gates, built by Philip Augustus, which, starting from the Tournelle, came in the following order: the Porte Saint Victor, the Porte Bordelle, the Porte Papale, the Porte Saint Jacques, the Porte Saint Michel and the Porte Saint Germain. The Town had also six gates, built by Charles V, viz., beginning with the Tour de Billy, they were the Porte Saint Antoine, the Porte du Temple, the Porte Saint Martin, the Porte Saint Denis, the Porte Montmartre and the Porte Saint Honoré. All these gates were strong, and handsome withal - which latter attribute is by no means incompatible with strength. A wide and deep moat, with a swift current during the winter floods, washed the base of the wall around Paris; the Seine furnishing the water. At night the gates were shut, the river was barred at the two extremities of the town with massive iron chains, and Paris slept tranquilly. A bird's-eye view of these three burghs, the City, the University and the Ville, presented each an inextricable network of strangely tangled

streets. Yet a glance was sufficient to show the spectator that these three portions of a city formed but one complete whole. One immediately perceived two long parallel streets, unbroken, undisturbed, traversing, almost in a straight line, the three towns from one extremity to the other, from north to south, at right angles with the Seine, connecting and mingling them, and incessantly pouring the people of each into the precincts of the other, making the three but one. The first of these two streets ran from the Porte Saint Jacques to the Porte Saint Martin, and was called in the University, Rue Saint Jacques; in the City, Rue de la Juiverie (Jewery or Jewry); and in the Town, Rue Saint Martin. It crossed the water twice, under the names of Petit Font and Pont Notre-Dame. The second, called, on the left bank, Rue de la Harpe; in the island, the Rue de la Barillerie; on the right bank, Rue Saint Denis; over one arm of the Seine, Pont Saint Michel, and over the other Pont au Change; ran from the Porte Saint Michel in the University to the Porte Saint Denis in the Town. However, under all these names, they were still but two streets; but they were the parent streets - the two arteries of Paris, by which all the other veins of the triple city were fed, or into which they emptied themselves.

Independently of these two principal, diametrical streets, running quite across Paris, common to the whole capital, the Town and the University had each its own special street, traversing its length, parallel to the Seine, and intersecting the two arterial streets at right angles. Thus, in the Town, one went down in a straight line from the Porte Saint Antoine to the Porte Saint Honoré; in the University, from the Porte Saint Victor to the Porte Saint Germain. These two great ways, crossing the two first mentioned, formed with them the canvas upon which was wrought, knotted up and crowded together on every hand, the tangled Daedalian web of the streets of Paris. In the unintelligible designs of this network one distinguished likewise, on looking attentively, two clusters of great streets, like magnified sheaves, one in the University, the other in the Town, spreading out from the bridges to the gates.

Somewhat of this geometric plan still exists.

Now, what aspect did all this present viewed from the top of the towers of Notre-Dame in 1482? This is what we will endeavour to describe.

For the spectator, who arrived panting upon this summit, it was at first adazzling confusion of roofs, chimneys, streets, bridges, squares, spires, steeples. All burst upon the eye at once - the formally-cut gable, the acute-angled roof, the hanging turret at the angles of the walls, the stone pyramid of the eleventh century, the slate obelisk of the fifteenth; the donjon tower, round and bare; the church tower, square and decorated; the large and the small, the massive and the airy. The gaze was for some time lost in the bewilderment of this labyrinth; in which there was nothing without its originality, its purpose, its genius - nothing but proceeded from art - from the smallest house, with its carved and painted front, with external beams, elliptical doorway, with projecting storeys, to the royal Louvre itself, which then had a colonnade of towers. But these are the principal masses that were distinguishable when the eye became accustomed to this medley of edifices.

First, the City. The island of the City, as Sauval says, who, amidst all his rubbish, has occasional happy turns of expression - The isle of the City is shaped like a great ship, stuck in the mud, and stranded in the current near the middle of the Seine. We have already shown that, in the fifteenth century, this ship was moored to the two banks of the river by five bridges. This likeness to a vessel had also struck the heraldic scribes; for, it is thence, and not from the Norman siege, according to Favyn and Pasquier, that the ship emblazoned upon the old escutcheon of Paris comes. To him who can decipher it, heraldry is an algebra - heraldry is a tongue. The whole history of the second half of the Middle Ages is written in heraldry as that of the former half is in the symbolism of the Roman churches. They are the hieroglyphics of feudalism succeeding those of theocracy.

The City, then, first presented itself to the View, with its stem to the east and its prow to the west. Looking toward the prow, there was before one an innumerable collection of old roofs, with the lead covered top of Sainte Chapelle rising above them broad and round, like an elephant's back laden with its tower. Only in this case the tower was the most daring, most open, most daintily wrought, most delicately carved spire that ever showed the sky through its lacework cone. In front of Notre-Dame, close at hand, three streets opened into the Cathedral Square, which was a fine

square of old houses. The southern side of this Place was overhung by the furrowed and wrinkled front of the Hôtel Dieu, and its roof, which looks as if covered with pustules and wars. Then, right and left, east and west, within that narrow circuit of the City, were ranged the steeples of its twenty-one churches, of all dates, forms and sizes; from the low and worm-eaten Roman campanile of Saint Denis du Pas, carcer Glaucini' (Prison of Glaucinus), to the slender spires of Saint Pierre aux Boeufs and Saint Landry. Behind Notre-Dame were revealed northward, the cloister, with its Gothic galleries; southward, the semi-Roman palace of the bishop; and casts ward, the uninhabited point of the Terrain, or waste ground. Amid that accumulation of houses the eye could also distinguish, by the high perforated mitres of stone, which at that period were placed aloft upon the roof itself, surmounting the highest range of palace windows, the mansion presented by the Parisians, in the reign of Charles VI, to Juvénal des Ursins, a little farther on, the tarred booths of the Palus Market; and in another direction, the new apse of Saint Germain le Vieux, lengthened, in 1458, by a bit of the Rue aux Febves, and then at intervals, a square crowded with people - a pillory set up at some street corner - a fine piece of the pavement of Philip Augustus - magnificent flagging, furrowed for the horses' feet in the middle of the roadway, and so badly replaced in the sixteenth century by the wretched pebbling called pavé de la Ligue (pavements of the League) - some solitary backyard, with one of those open turret staircases, which were built in the fifteenth century, one of which is still to be seen in the Rue des Bourdonnais. Finally, on the right of the Sainte Chapelle, to the westward, the Palace of Justice rested its group of towers upon the water's brink. The groves of the royal gardens which occupied the western point of the City hid from view the islet of the Passeur. As for the water itself, it was hardly visible from the towers of Notre-Dame, on either side of the City; the Seine disappearing under the bridges, and the bridges under the houses.

And when the glance passed these bridges, the roofs of which were visibly turning green from mould, before their time, from the vapours of the water; if it turned to the left, toward the University, the first edifice that struck it was a large low cluster of towers, the Petit Châtelet, whose yawning porch seemed to devour the extremity of the Petit Pont. Then, if your View ran along the bank from east to west, from the Tournelle to the Tour de Nesle, there were to be seen a long line of houses exhibiting

sculptured beams, coloured window-glass, each storey overhanging that beneath it - an interminable zigzag of homely gables, cut at frequent intervals by the intersection of some street, and now and then also by the front or the corner of some great stone-built mansion, which seemed to stand at its ease with its courtyards and gardens, its wings and its compartments, amid that rabble of houses crowding and pinching one another, like a grand seigneur amidst a mob of rustics. There were five or six of these mansions upon the quay, from the Logis de Lorraine, which shared with the house of the Bernardines the great neighbouring enclosure of the Tournelle, to the Hotel de Nesle, the principal tower of which bounded Paris on the side, and the pointed roofs of which were so situated as to cut with their dark triangles, during three months of the year, the scarlet disc of the setting sun.

This side of the Seine, however, was the least mercantile of the two; students were noisier and more numerous than artisans; and there was not, properly speaking, any quay, except from the Pont Saint Michel to the Tour de Nesle. The rest of the bank of the Seine was either a bare mud, as was the case beyond the Bernardine monastery, or a close range of houses with the water at their base, as between the two bridges.

There was a great clamour of washerwomen along the waterside, talking, shouting, singing, from morning till night along the shore, and beating away at their linen - as they do in our day. This is not the least of the gaieties of Paris.

The University presented a huge mass to the eye. From one end to the other it was a compact and homogeneous whole. The myriad roofs, dense, angular, adherent, nearly all composed of the same geometrical element, when seen from above, looked like a crystallisation of one substance. The capricious hollows of the streets divided this pasty of houses into slices not too disproportioned. The forty-two colleges were distributed among them very evenly, and were to be seen in every quarter. The amusingly varied pinnacles of those fine buildings were the product of the same art as the simple roofs which they overtopped, being really but a multiplication of the square or cube, of the same geometrical figure. Thus they made the whole more intricate without confusing it, complete without overloading it. Geometry is harmony. Several fine mansions also made here and there magnificent outlines against the

picturesque attics of the left bank; the Nevers house, the house of Rome, the Reims house, which have disappeared; and the Hotel de Cluny, which still exists for the consolation of the artist, but the tower of which was so stupidly shortened a few years ago. Nearby Cluny, that Roman palace, with fine semicircular arches, was formerly the Baths of Julian. Here were also a number of abbeys of a more ecclesiastical beauty, of a more solemn grandeur than the mansions, but not less beautiful nor less grand. Those which first attracted the eye were the monastery of the Bernardines, with its three bell towers; Sainte Geneviève, whose square tower, still standing, makes us regret the rest so much; the Sorbonne, half-college, half-monastery, of which so admirable a nave still remains, the fine quadrangular Cloister of the Mathurins; its neighbour, the Cloister of Saint Benedict, within whose walls they have had time to knock up a theatre between the seventh and eighth editions of this book; the Cordeliers, with their three enormous gables, side by side the Augustins, whose graceful spire was, after the Tour de Nesle, the second lofty projection on that side of Paris, from the westward.

The colleges - which are in fact the intermediate link between the cloister and the world - held the central point in the architectural series between the fine private residences and the abbeys, exhibiting a severe elegance, a sculpture less airy than that of the palaces, an architecture less severe than that of the convents. Unfortunately, scarcely anything remains of these structures in which Gothic art held so just a balance between richness and economy. The churches (and they were numerous and splendid in the University, and there displayed every period of architecture, from the round arches of Saint Julian to the Gothic ones of Saint Severin) - the churches rose above the whole, and like one harmony the more in that mass of harmonies, they pierced, one after another, the varied outline of gables, of sharply-defined spires, of perforated steeples and slender pinnacles, whose outline was but a magnificent exaggeration of the acute angle of the roofs.

The ground of the University was hilly. The mountain of Sainte Geneviève, on the southeast, formed an enormous swell, and it was a sight well worth seeing, from the top of Notre-Dame, that crowd of narrow, tortuous streets (today the Latin quarter), those clusters of houses which, scattered in every direction from the top of that

eminence spread themselves in disorder, and almost precipitously down its sides, to the water's edge, looking, some as if they were falling, others as if they were climbing up, and all as if holding on to one another. The continual motion of a myriad black dots crossing and recrossing each other on the pavement, gave a shimmering look to everything. These were the people in the streets, seen from a height and a distance.

Finally in the spaces between these roofs, these spires these innumerable and irregular structures, which so fantastically bent, twisted and indented the extreme outline of the University, one caught a glimpse here and there of some great patch of moss-covered wall, some thick round tower, or some crenellated town gate, resembling a fortress - this was the wall of Philip Augustus. Beyond extended the green meadows; beyond these ran the highways, along which were scattered a few more suburban houses which became more infrequent as they became more distant. Some of these suburbs were of considerable importance. There were first (starting from the Tournelle) the burgh Saint Victor, with its bridge of one arch over the Bievre; its abbey, in which was to be read the epitaph of King Louis the Fat - epitaphium Ludovici Grossi; and its church with an octagonal spire flanked by four small bell towers, of the eleventh century (a similar one can be seen at Etampes; it is not yet destroyed). Next, the burgh Saint Marceau, which had already three churches and a convent. Then, leaving the mill of the Gobelins and its four white walls on the left, there was the Faubourg Saint Jacques, with the beautiful carved cross in its square; the church of Saint Jacques du Haut Pas, which was then Gothic, pointed and delightful; Saint Magloire, with a fine fourteenth century nave, which Napoleon turned into a hay-loft; Notre-Dame des Champs, where there were Byzantine mosaics. Lastly, after leaving in the open country the Carthusian monastery, a rich structure of the same period as the Palace of Justice, with its little gardens in sections and the illfamed ruins of Vauvert,⁹¹ the eye fell to westward, upon the three Roman spires of Saint Germain des Prés. The borough Saint Germain, already a large community, had fifteen or twenty streets in the rear; the sharp steeple of Saint Sulpice indicating one of its corners. Close by it might be seen the square enclosure of the Saint Germain fairground where the market now stands, then the abbot's pillory, a pretty little round tower, neatly capped with a cone of lead; the tile kiln was

farther on as well as the Ruedu Four, which led to the common bakehouse, with the mill on its knoll and the lazaretto, a small, detached, and half-seen building. But that which especially attracted the eye, and long held the attention, was the abbey itself. It is certain that this monastery, which had an aspect of grandeur both as a church and as a seigniorial residence, this abbatial palace, in which the bishops of Paris deemed themselves happy to sleep a single night - this refectory, upon which the architect had bestowed the air, the beauty, and the splendid rose-shaped window of a cathedral - this elegant chapel of the Virgin - this monumental dormitory - those spacious gardens - the portcullis and drawbridge - the circuit of battlements which marked its indented outline against the verdure of the surrounding meadows - those courtyards where gleamed men-at-arms intermingled with golden copes the whole grouped and clustered about three tall spires with their semicircular arches solidly planted upon a Gothic apse - made a magnificent outline upon the horizon.

When at length, after long contemplating the University, you turned toward the right bank towards the Town, the character of the scene was suddenly changed. The Town was not only much larger than the University, but also less uniform. At first sight it appeared to be divided into several portions, singularly distinct from each other. First, to the East, in that part of the Town which still takes its name from the marsh in which Camulogenes mired Caesar, there was a collection of palaces, which extended to the waterside. Four great mansions almost contiguous - the Hôtels de Jous, de Sens, and de Barbeau and the Logis de la Reine - mirrored their slated roofs broken by the slender turrets in the Seine. These four edifices filled the space from the Rue des Nonaindières to the abbey of the Celestines, whose spire formed a graceful relief to their line of gables and battlements. Some sorry, moss-grown structures overhanging the water in front of these sumptuous mansions did not conceal from view the fine lines of their fronts, their great square stone-framed windows, their Gothic porches loaded with statues, the boldly-cut borderings about their walls, and all those charming accidents of architecture which make Gothic art seem to begin again its series of combinations at every fresh building. Behind these palaces ran in every direction, in some places cloven, palisaded and embattled, like a citadel, in others concealed by large trees like a Carthusian monastery, the vast and multifarious circuit of that wonderful Hôtel de Saint Pol, in which the French king had room to

lodgesuperbly twenty-two princes of the rank of the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, with their trains and their domestics, without counting the grands seigneurs and the emperor when he came to visit Paris, and the lions that had a separate residence within the royal establishment. And we must here observe that a prince's lodgings then consisted of not less than eleven principal apartments, from the audience-chamber to the oratory; besides all the galleries, baths, stove-rooms and other 'superfluous places,' with which each suite of apartments was provided; not to mention the private gardens for each of the king's guests; besides the kitchens, cellars, pantries and general refectories of the household; the servants' quarters, in which there were two and twenty general offices, from the bake-house to the wine cellars; games of different kinds, as mall, tennis, riding at the ring, etc.; aviaries, fishponds, menageries, stables, cattle-stalls, libraries, armouries and foundries. Such was, at that day, a royal palace - a Louvre - a Hôtel Saint Pol; a city within a city.

From the tower upon which we have placed ourselves, the Hôtel Saint Pol, though almost half hidden by the four great dwelling-houses of which we have just spoken, was, nevertheless, very vast and very wonderful to behold. One could clearly distinguish in it, although they had been skilfully joined to the main building by means of long windowed and pillared galleries, the three residences which Charles V had thrown into one, together with his former palace; the Hôtel du Petit-Muce, with the openwork balustrade so gracefully bordering its roof; the hôtel of the abbot of Saint-Maur, having the aspect of a stronghold, a massive tower, bastions, loop-holes, iron cornice, and over the wide Saxon gateway, the abbot's escutcheon between the two grooves for the drawbridge; the residence of the Count d'Etampes, whose donjon-keep in ruins at the top, looked rounded and indented, like the crest of a cock; here and there three or four ancient oaks, forming a tuft together like enormous cauliflowers; swans disporting themselves amid the clear waters of the fishponds, all rippling with light and shade; numerous courtyards afforded picturesque glimpses; the Hôtel des Lions, with its low-pointed arches upon short Saxon pillars, its iron portcullises and its perpetual roaring; through all this the scaly spire of the Ave Maria; on the left, the house of the provost of Paris, flanked by four turrets delicately moulded and perforated; and, in the centre in the background the Hôtel Saint Pol, properly speaking, with its multiple fronts, its successive embellishments since the

time of Charles V, the hybrid excrescences with which the fancy of the artists had loaded it in the course of two centuries; with all the apses of its chapels, all the gables of its galleries, its endless weathercocks, turned to the four winds, and its two contiguous towers, the conical roof of which, surrounded by battlements at its base, looked like cocked hats.

Continuing to mount the steps of this amphitheatre of palaces spread out afar upon the ground, after crossing a deep fissure in the roofs of the Town, which marked the passage of the Rue Saint Antoine, the eye travelled on to the Logis d'Angoulême, a vast structure of several different periods, in which there were some parts quite new and almost white that did not harmonise with the rest any better than a red patch on a blue doublet. However, the singularly sharp and elevated roof of the modern palace, bristling with carved gutters, and covered with sheets of lead, over which ran sparkling incrustations of gilt copper in a thousand fantastic arabesques that roof so curiously damasked, darted upwards gracefully from amid the brown ruins of the ancient edifice, the old massive towers of which were bellying with age into the shape of casks, their height shrunk with decrepitude, and breaking asunder from top to bottom.

Behind rose the forest of spires of the Palais des Tournelles. No View in the world, not even at Chambord nor at the Alhambra, could be more magical, more aerial, more enchanting, than that grove of spires, turrets, chimneys, weathercocks, spiral staircases, perforated lanterns, which looked as if struck out with a die, pavilions, spindle-shaped turrets, or tournelles, as they were then called -all differing in form, height and position. It might well have been compared to a gigantic stone checkerboard.

To the right of the Tournelles, that group of enormous inky black towers, growing, as it were, one into another, and looking as if bound together by their circular moat; that donjon tower, more thickly pierced with loop-holes than with windows; that drawbridge always raised; that portcullis always lowered; that is the Bastille. Those black muzzles, peering from the battlements, and which, at this distance, you

would take for gutter spouts, are cannon. Within gunshot below the terrible edifice is the Porte Saint Antoine, almost buried between its two towers.

Beyond the Tournelles, as far as the wall of Charles V, spread out in rich compartments of verdure and of flowers, a tufted carpet of garden grounds and royal parks, in the midst of which one recognised, by its labyrinth of trees and alleys, the famous Daedalus garden that Louis XI gave to Coictier. The doctor's observatory rose above the labyrinth, like a great isolated column with a small house for its capital. In that small study terrible astrological predictions were made.

Upon that spot now stands the Place Royale.

As we have already observed, the region of the Palace, of which we have endeavoured to give the reader some idea, though by specifying only its most salient points, filled up the angle which Charles V's wall made with the Seine on the east. The centre of the Town was occupied by a pile of houses for the populace. It was there, in fact, that the three bridges of the City disgorged upon the right bank; and bridges lead to the building of houses rather than palaces. This collection of common dwelling houses, pressed against one another like cells in a hive had a beauty of its own. The roofs of a great city have a certain grandeur, like the waves of the sea. In the first place, the streets, crossed and intertwined, diversified the mass with a hundred amusing figures, around the Halles, it was like a star with a thousand rays.

The Rues Saint Denis and Saint Martin, with their innumerable ramifications, rose one after the other, like two great trees with intermingling branches; and then crooked lines, the Rues de la Platterie, de la Verrerie, de la Tixeranderie, etc., wound in and out among the whole. There were also time edifices lifting their heads above the fixed swell of this sea of gables. There, at the entrance of the Pont aux Changeurs, behind which the Seine was seen foaming under the mill-wheels at the Pont aux Meuniers, there was the Châtelet; no longer a Roman tower as under Julian, the Apostate, but a feudal tower of the thirteenth century, of a stone so hard that, in three hours' work, the pick would not remove a piece the size of a man's fist. Then

there was the rich square steeple of Saint Jacques de la Boucherie, its sides all encrusted with sculptures, and already worthy of admiration, although it was not finished in the fifteenth century. (It lacked particularly those four monsters which, still perched on the four corners of its roof, look like four sphinxes giving modern Paris the riddle of ancient Paris to solve. Rault, the sculptor, only placed them in position in 1526; and received twenty francs for his trouble.) There was the Maison aux Piliers, overlooking that Place de Grève of which we have already given the reader some idea. There was the church of Saint Gervais, which a large portal in good taste has since spoiled; that of Saint Méry, whose ancient pointed arches were still almost rounded; and that of Saint Jean, whose magnificent spire was proverbial; besides twenty other structures which disdained not to bury their wonders in this wilderness of deep, dark and narrow streets. Add to these the carved stone crosses, even more abundant at crossroads than gibbets; the cemetery of the Innocents, whose architectural wall was to be seen in the distance, over the house-tops; the market pillory, the top of which was visible between two chimneys of the Rue de la Cossonnerie; the 'ladder' of the Croix du Trahoir, with its crossroads always black with people; the circular buildings of the wheat-mart; the broken fragments of the old wall of Philip Augustus, distinguishable here and there, buried among the houses - towers overrun with ivy, ruined gateways - crumbling and shapeless pieces of wall; the quay with its countless shops, and its bloody knackers' yards; the Seine covered with boats from the Port au Foin to the For-l'Évêque; and you will have a dim idea of the appearance, in 1482, of the central trapezium, or irregular quadrangle, of the Town.

Together with these two quarters, the one of princely mansions, the other of ordinary houses, the third great feature then observable in the Town, was a long belt of abbeyes bordering it almost in its entire circumference, from east to west, and, behind the line of fortification by which Paris was shut in, formed a second inner circle, consisting of convents and chapels. Thus, close to the park of the Tournelles, between the Rue Saint Antoine and the old Rue du Temple, there was Saint Catherine's, with its immense grounds, bounded only by the wall of Paris. Between the old and the new Rue du Temple there was the Temple itself, a sinister group of towers, lofty, erect and isolated in the midst of a vast, battlemented enclosure. Between the Rue Neuve

du Temple and the Rue Saint Martin, in the midst of its gardens, stood Saint Martin's, a superb fortified church, whose girdle of towers, whose tiara or steeples, where second in strength and splendour only to Saint Germain des Prés. Between the two streets of Saint Martin and Saint Denis were the precincts of the convent of the Trinity. And between the Rue Saint Denis and the Rue Montorgueil was that of the Filles Dieu. Close by might be seen the decayed roofs and unpaved enclosures of the Court of Miracles. This was the only profane link in this pious chain of convents.

Lastly, the fourth division, clearly outlined in the conglomeration of roofs upon the right bank, formed by the western angle of the great enclosure, and the banks of the river down stream, was a fresh knot of palaces and great mansions crowding at the foot of the Louvre. The old Louvre of Philip Augustus, that immense structure - the great tower of which mustered around it twenty-three principal towers, besides all the smaller ones - seemed, at a distance, to be set within the Gothic summits of the Hôtel d'Alençon and the Petit Bourbon. This hydra of towers, the giant keeper of Paris, with its four-and-twenty heads ever erect with its monstrous cruppers covered with lead or scaly with slates, and all rippling with glittering metallic reflections x terminated with wonderful effect the configuration of the Town on the west.

An immense mass, therefore - what the Romans called an insula or island - of ordinary dwelling-houses, flanked on either side by two great clusters of palaces, crowned, the one by the Louvre, the other by the Tourelles, bounded on the north by a long belt of abbeys and cultivated enclosures - blending and mingling together as one gazed at them - above these thousand buildings, whose tiled and slated roofs ' stood out in such strange outlines, the crimped, twisted and ornamented steeples of the forty-four churches on the right bank - myriads of cross-streets - the boundary, on one side, a line of lofty walls with square towers (those of the University wall being ground), and on the other, the Seine, intersected by bridges and crowded with numberless boats - such was the Town in the fifteenth century.

Beyond the walls some few suburbs crowded to the gates but less numerous and more scattered than those on the University side. Thus, behind the Bastille, a score of mean houses clustered around the curious carvings of the cross of Faubin, and the buttresses

of the abbey of Saint Antoine des Champs; then there was Popincourt, lost amid the cornfields, then, La Courtille, a jolly village of taverns; the borough of Saint Laurent with its church, whose steeple seemed, at a distance, to belong to the pointed towers of the Porte Saint Martin; the Faubourg Saint Denis with the vast enclosure of Saint Ladre; beyond the - Montmartre gate the Grange Bateliere, encircled with white walls; behind it, with its chalky declivities Montmartre, which had then almost as many churches as windmills, but which has kept only the mills, for society no longer demands anything but bread for the body. Then, beyond the Louvre, could be seen, stretching away into the meadows, the Faubourg Saint Honoré, even then of considerable extent; La Petite Bretagne, looking green; and the Pig Market; spreading itself out, in the centre of which rose the horrible cauldron wed for boiling alive coiners of counterfeit money. Between La Courtille and Saint Laurent, the eye noted on the summit of a hill that crouched amid a desert plain, a sort of structure, which looked at a distance like a ruined colonnade standing upon foundations laid bare. It was neither a Parthenon nor a temple of the Jupiter Olympus; it was Montfaucon.

Now, if the enumeration of so many edifices, brief as we have sought to make it, has not destroyed as fast as we constructed it, in the reader's mind, the general image of old Paris, we will recapitulate it in a few words. In the centre the island of the City, shaped like a huge turtle, extending on either side its bridges all scaly with tiles, like so many legs, from under its grey shell of roofs. On the left, the close, dense, binding, monolithic trapezium of the University; on the right, the vast semicircle of the Town where houses and gardens were much more mingled. The three divisions City, University and Town veined with countless streets. Through the whole runs the Seine, 'the nourishing Seine,' as Father du Breul calls it, obstructed with islands, bridges and boats. All around an immense plain, checkered with a thousand different crops, strewn with beautiful villages; on the left, Issy, Vanvres, Vaugirard, Montrouge, Gentilly, with its round tower and its square tower, etc.; and on the right, twenty others, from Conflans to Ville l'Évêque. In the horizon a border of hills arranged in a circle, like the rim of the basin. Finally, in the distance, to eastward, was Vincennes, with its seven quadrangular towers; to southward, Bicêtre, and its pointed turrets; to northward, Saint Denis and its spire; to westward, Saint Cloud and

its donjon. Such was the Paris seen from the top of the towers of Notre-Dame by the crows who lived in 1482.

And yet it is of this city that Voltaire has said, that before the time of Louis XIV it possessed only four fine pieces of architecture: that is to say, the dome of the Sorbonne, the Val de Grace, the modern Louvre, and I know not what the fourth was, perhaps the Luxembourg. Fortunately, Voltaire was none the less the author of *Candide*; nor is he the less, among all the men who have succeeded one another in the long series of humanity, the one who has best possessed the *rire diabolique*, the sardonic smile. This proves moreover, that a man may be a fine genius, and yet understand nothing of an art which he has not studied. Did not Molière think he was doing great honour to Raphael and Michael Angelo when he called them 'those Mignards of their age'?

Let us return to Paris and to the fifteenth century.

It was not then merely a handsome city - it was a homogeneous city - an architectural and historical production of the Middle Ages - a chronicle in stone. It was a city composed of two architectural strata only, the bastard Roman and the Gothic layer - for the pure Roman stratum had long disappeared, except in the Baths of Julian, where it still pierced through the thick crust of the Middle Ages. As for the Celtic, no specimen of that was now to be found, even when digging wells. Fifty years later, when the Renaissance came breaking into that unity so severe and yet so varied, with the dazzling profuseness of its fantasies and its systems, rioting among Roman arches, Grecian columns and Gothic windows - its sculpture tender and imaginative - its fondness for arabesques and acanthus leaves - its architectural paganism contemporary with Luther - Paris was perhaps more beautiful, though less harmonious to the eye and to the mind. But that splendid period was of short duration. The Renaissance was not impartial. Not content with building up, it thought proper to pull down it is true it needed space. Thus Gothic Paris was complete but for a moment. Scarcely was Saint Jacques de la Boucherie finished before the demolition of the old Louvre began.

Since then this great city has been daily sinking into deformity. The Gothic Paris, under which the Roman Paris was disappearing, has disappeared in its turn; but what name shall we give to the Paris that has taken its place?

There is the Paris "of Catherine de Medicis at the Tuileries; the Paris of Henry II at the Hôtel de Ville - two buildings which are still in the best taste; the Paris of Henry IV at the Place Royale - brick fronts with corners of stone and slated roofs - tricoloured houses, - the Paris of Louis XIII at the Val de Grace - of architecture crushed and squat - with basket-handle vaults, big-bellied columns and a hump-backed dome; the Paris of Louis XIV at the Invalides - grand, rich, gilded and cold; the Paris of Louis XV at Saint Sulpice - with volutes, knots of ribbons, clouds, vermicelli and chicory, all in stone; the Paris of Louis XVI at the Pantheon - Saint Peter's at Rome ill-copied (the building stands awkwardly, which has not bettered its lines); the Paris of the Republic at the School of Medicine - a bit of poor Greek and Roman taste, as much to be compared to the Coliseum or the Parthenon as the constitution of the year III to the laws of Minos; it is called in architecture, 1^e gout messidar (the tenth month of the French republican calendar, from the 19th of June to the 18th of July), the Paris of Napoleon at the Place Vendôme - this is sublime - a bronze column made of cannon; the Paris of the Restoration, at the Bourse or Exchange - a very white colonnade, supporting a very smooth frieze; the whole is square, and cost twenty million francs. To each of these characteristic structures is allied, by similarity of style, manner and disposition, a certain number of houses scattered over the different quarters, which the eye of the connoisseur easily distinguishes and assigns to their respective dates. When one knows how to look, one finds the spirit of a century and the physiognomy of a king even in the knocker on a door.

The Paris of today has therefore no general physiognomy. It is a collection of specimens of several different ages, and the finest have disappeared. The capital is increasing in houses only - and what houses! At the rate at which Paris moves it will be renewed every fifty years. Thus, also, the historical meaning of its architecture is daily becoming effaced. Its great structures are becoming fewer and

fewer, seeming to be swallowed up one after another by the flood of houses. Our fathers had a Paris of stone our sons will have a Paris of plaster.

As for the modern structures of the new Paris, we would gladly be excused from enlarging upon them. Not, indeed, that we do not grant them the admiration they merit. The Sainte Genevieve of M. Soufflot is certainly the finest Savoy cake that was ever made of stone. The Palace of the Legion of Honour is also a very distinguished piece of confectionery. The dome of the Corn Market is an English jockey-cap on a magnificent scale. The towers of Saint Sulpice are two great Clarinets; a good enough shape in its way; and then, the telegraph, crooked and grinning, makes a charming ornamentation upon the roof. The church of Saint Roch has a doorway with whose magnificence only that of Saint Thomas d'Aquin can compare; it has also a crucifix in relief in a vault, and an ostensary of gilded wood. These things are fairly marvellous. The lantern of the labyrinth at the Jardin des Plantes, too, is vastly ingenious. As for the Palais de la Bourse, which is Grecian in its colonnade, Roman by the circular arches of its doors and windows and Renaissance by its great elliptic arch, it is undoubtedly a very correct and pure structure; the proof being that it is crowned by an attic such as was never seen at Athens, a fine straight line gracefully intersected here and there by chimney-pots. Let us add, that if it be a rule that the architecture of a building should be so adapted to the purpose of the building itself; that the aspect of the edifice should at once declare that purpose, we can not too much admire a structure which, from its appearance, might be either a royal palace, a chamber of deputies, a town-hall, a college, a riding-school, an academy, a warehouse, a courthouse, a museum, a barrack, a mausoleum, a temple, or a theatre -and which, all the while, is an exchange. It has been thought, too, that an edifice should be made appropriate to the climate and so this one has evidently been built on purpose for a cold and rainy sky. It has a roof almost flat, as they are in the East; and, consequently, in winter, when it snows, the roof has to be swept and it is sure roofs are made to be swept. As for that purpose of which we were just speaking, the building fulfils it admirably. It is an exchange in France, as it would have been a temple in Greece. True it is that the architect has had much ado to conceal the clock-face, which would have destroyed the purity of the noble lines of the facade; but to make amends, there is that colonnade running round the whole

structure, under which, on days of high religious ceremony, the schemes of money-brokers and stockjobbers may be magnificently developed.

These, doubtless, are very superb structures. Add to these many a pretty street, amusing and diversified, like the Rue de Rivoli; and I am not without hope that Paris, as seen from a balloon, may yet present that richness of outline and opulence of detail - that diversity of aspect - that something grandiose in its simplicity - unexpected in its beauty - that characterises a checker-board.

However, admirable as you may think the present Paris, recall the Paris of the fifteenth century; reconstruct it in thought; look at the sky through that surprising forest of spires, towers and steeples spread out amid the vast city, tear asunder at the points of the islands, and fold round the piers of the bridges, the Seine, with its large green and yellow slimy pools, more variegated than the skin of a serpent; project clearly upon a blue horizon the Gothic profile of that old Paris. Make its outline float in a wintry mist clinging to its innumerable chimneys; plunge it in deep night, and observe the fantastic play of the darkness and the lights in that gloomy labyrinth of buildings; cast upon it a ray of moonlight, which shall reveal it dimly, with its towers lifting their great heads from that foggy sea - or recall that black silhouette; enliven with shadows the thousand sharp angles of its spires and gables, and make it stand out more indented than a shark's jaw upon the glowing western sky at sunset - and then, compare the two.

And if you would receive an impression from the old city which the modern one can never give you, climb on the morning of some great holiday, at sunrise, on Easter, or Whitsunday - climb to some elevated point whence you overlook the whole capital - and assist at the wakening of the chimes. Behold, at a signal from heaven - for it is the sun that gives it - those thousand churches starting from their sleep. At first you hear but scattered tinklings, going from church to church, as when musicians are giving one another notice to begin. Then, of a sudden, behold - for there are moments when the ear itself seems to see - behold, ascending at the same moment, from every steeple, a column of sound, as it were, a cloud of harmony. At first the vibration of each bell mounts up direct, clear, and, so to speak, isolated from the rest, into the

splendid morning sky; then, by degrees, as they expand, they mingle, unite, are lost in each other, and confounded in one magnificent concert. It is no longer anything but a mass of sonorous vibrations, incessantly sent forth from the innumerable belfries - floating, undulating, bounding and eddying, over the town, and prolonging far beyond the horizon the deafening circle of its oscillations. Yet that sea of harmony is not a chaos. Wide and deep as it is, it has not lost its transparency; you perceive the windings of each group of notes that escapes from the chimes. You can follow the dialogue, by turns solemn and shrill, of the treble and the bass; you perceive the octaves leaping from one steeple to another; you observe them springing aloft, winged, light and whirring, from the bell of silver; falling broken and limping from the bell of wood. You admire among them the rich gamut incessantly descending and ascending the seven bells of Saint Eustache; and you see clear and rapid notes, running criss-cross, in three or four luminous zigzags, and vanishing like flashes of lightning. Yonder is the abbey Saint Martin's, a shrill and broken voiced songstress; here is the sinister and sullen voice of the Bastille; at the other end is the great tower of the Louvre, with its counter-tenor. The royal peal of the Palais unceasingly flings on every side resplendent trills, and upon them fall, at regular intervals, heavy strokes from the belfry of Notre-Dame, which strike sparks from them like the hammer from the anvil. At intervals, you see passing tones, of every form, coming from the triple peal of Saint Germain des Prés. Then again, from time to time, this mass of sublime sounds half opens and makes way to the stretto of the Ave Maria, which flashes and sparkles like a cluster of stars. Below, in the heart of the harmony you vaguely catch the chanting inside the churches, exhaled through the vibrating pores of their vaulted roofs. This is, certainly, an opera worth hearing. Usually, the murmur that rises up from Paris by day is the city talking; in the night it is the city breathing; but here it is the city singing. Listen, then, to this chorus of bell-towers - diffuse over the whole the murmur of half a million of people - the eternal lament of the river - the endless sighing of the wind - the grave and distant quartet of the four forests placed upon the hills, in the distance, like immense organ pipes - extinguish to a half light all in the central chime that would otherwise be too harsh or too shrill; and then say whether you know of anything in the world more rich, more joyous, more golden, more dazzling, than this tumult of bells and chimes - this furnace of music - these thousand of brazen voices, all singing together in flutes of stone three

hundred feet high, than this city which is but one orchestra - this symphony which roars like a tempest."¹¹⁸



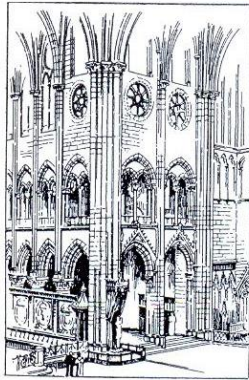
¹¹⁸Hugo, V. (1993), pp. 96-116.

E. DRAWINGS OF NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS

FRENCH GOTHIC

531

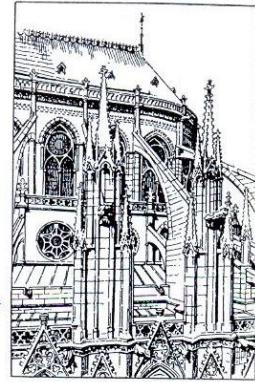
NOTRE DAME : PARIS



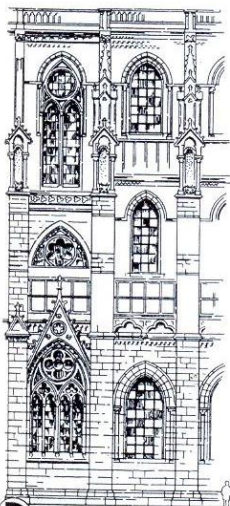
A ANGLE OF CHOIR
& S. TRANSEPT



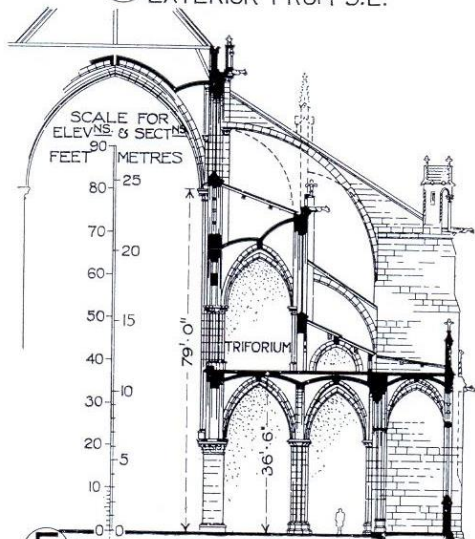
B EXTERIOR FROM S.E.



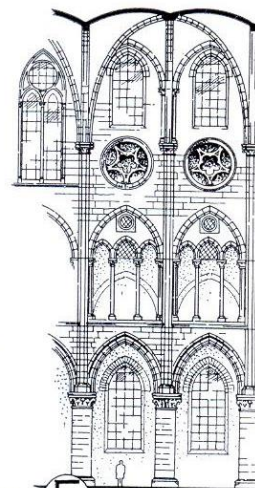
C BUTTRESSES &
PINNACLES: CHEVET



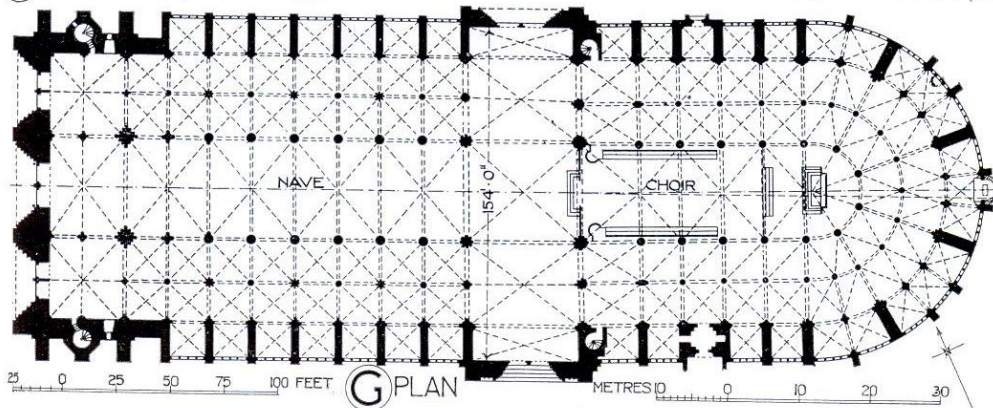
D NAVE BAYS (EXT)



E HALF TRANSVERSE SECTION



F NAVE BAYS (INT)



G PLAN

F. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

DEVİRİM TOPSAKAL, Elif

Turkish (TC) / French (FR)

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	History of Architecture Middle East Technical University	2023
MA	Architectural History, Theory and Interpretation London Metropolitan University	2013
BA	Interior Architecture and Environmental Design Bahçeşehir University	2011

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2021-	Bahçeşehir University	Part Time Instructor
Present	Department of Interior Architecture	
2016-	İstanbul Ticaret University	Full-Time Instructor
2023	Department of Interior Architecture	
2017-	İstanbul Gedik University	Part Time Instructor
2018	Department of Interior Architecture	

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Native French, Beginner Italian

PUBLICATIONS

1. **Devrim Topsakal, E. (2020).** "Meaning in Gothic Cathedral: Reading the Symbolism in Gothic Architecture Through Chartres Cathedral", *Academic Studies in Architecture, Planning and Design II* (ed. Prof.Dr.SeçilŞatır), Gece Publishing, Ankara.
2. **Devrim Topsakal, E. (2015).** "Reading Hugo, Studying the Church, Remembering the Past", METU History of Architecture Graduate Researches Symposium: Spaces / Times / People: Nostalgia and Architectural History.

G. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu tez, Gotik mimarinin on dokuzuncu yzyıl ve sonrasında nasıl algılandığını ve Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali olarak bilinen dnyaca nl mimari řaheserin mimarlık tarihinde ne řekilde referans alındığını arařtırmayı amalamıřtır. Bu alıřmanın amacı, Katedral'in hem Fransızca hem de İngilizce yazılmıř mimarlık tarihi yazımı kanonundaki yerini belirlemektir. Yapı  baęlamda incelenmiřtir: tezin ikinci blmnde, Seine Nehri'nin ortasındaki kk adanın gneydoęu kesiminde Gotik stilinde inřa edilen Katedral'in bulunduęu Île de la Cit'nin yakın kentsel baęlamında bir "Paris nesnesi" olarak gzlemlenmiřtir.

Gotik mimari ilk olarak on ikinci yzyılda Paris'teki Aziz Denis Bazilikası'nda, Bařrahip Suger'in Bazilika'nın batı cephesinin yeniden tasarlanmasını emretmesi ve Gotik kiliselerin prototipi olarak kabul edilen doęudaki koro ile devam etmesiyle grlmřtir. Niyeti, aydınlık pencereler aracılıęıyla yapıya daha fazla ıřık getirmektir. Kraliyet Manastırı olarak stlendięi rol, ierdięi dini eserler ve yeni yapısal olanaklar yaratan farklı bir tarzda yeniden inřa edilmesi nedeniyle Bazilika sadece Fransa'da deęil komřu lkelerde de byk ilgi grd ve bu yeni tarzın on ikinci ve on altıncı yzyıllar arasında tm Avrupa'ya yayılmasına neden oldu. Yeni tasarım, sivri kemerli kaburga tonozları ve payandalarla inceltilen duvarları ieriyordu. Bunlar yeni yapısal unsurlar deęildi, zira Romanesk gibi daha nceki sluplarda da grlebiliyorlardı, ancak bir araya getirilme biimleri yeni bir yaratımdı; Gotik slup.

Aziz Denis'in yeniden tasarlanan korosunun 1144'te kutsanması tm Avrupa'da bir inřaat ılgınlıęı yaratmıř, Sens (1135), Notre-Dame de Paris (1163), Reims (1211), Amiens (1220'ler) ve Chartres Katedrali (1194) Gotik tarzda inřa edilenlerden sadece birkaı olmuřtur. Aynı dnemde İngiltere de Fransa kadar hızlı bir řekilde Gotik yapılarını tasarlıyordu; Salisbury, York Minster, Lincoln, Durham ve benzerleri;

Almanya ise Köln, Ulm, Aachen ve daha niceleri ile onları takip ediyordu. Gotik katedrallerin arkasındaki güç, sadece Orta Çağ'ın zirvesi, yapısal evrimi ve yetenekleri değil, aynı zamanda toplulukları ve olasılıkları da temsil etmeleri idi.

"Fransız katedrallerinin kraliçesi" Notre-Dame de Paris'in tarihi, 1163 yılında Île de la Cité'ye ilk taşın konulmasıyla başladı. Yüzyıllar boyunca, yeni Katedral'in inşası ve eklemeler nesiller boyu devam etti; koro 1177'de hızla tamamlandı, ardından uçan payandalar ve tonozlar inşa edildi. Nef ve koridorlar, 1225-1250 yılları arasında tamamlanan ön cephe ve kulelerden önce bitirilmiştir. Yapının büyük bir kısmı 1245 yılında tamamlanmıştır ancak yüzyıllar boyunca kendi halkı ve mimarları tarafından restorasyonlara, eklemelere, değişikliklere ve hatta vandalizme maruz kalacaktır. İlk değişiklikler daha tamamlanmadan önce başlamış; ana çatı ve üst duvarlar yükseltilirken üst pencereleri genişletmek için üst yapının bir kısmı yıkılmıştır.

Bu anıtların yüzyıllar boyunca inşa edilmiş olması, Notre-Dame de Paris'in stilinin tamamlandığı zaman eskimiş olmasıyla sonuçlanmış ve Katedrali "rayonnant" stili olarak bilinen stile dönüştürecek dekoratif değişikliklerle sonuçlanmıştır. Değişiklikler sonraki yüzyıllarda da devam etti; koronun çevresine şapeller eklendi, başkentin artan nüfusunu barındırabilmek için dış payandaların arasına bölümler eklendi. 1851'de Revue Générale de l'Architecture'de Gotik başyapıtı verilen zararların ayrıntılı bir tarihsel listesini yazan Viollet-le-Duc'e göre tüm değişiklikler kabul edilebilir değildi; 1699'da koro kulesi ve kabartmalar kaldırıldı ve piskoposların mezarları yok oldu. Katedrale eklenen ağır mermer süslemeleri, 1725'te rood perdesinin yıkılmasını ve nefte yer alan renkli lekeli camların ve pencerelerin yok edilmesini eleştirmiştir.

1789'da Fransız Devrimi başladığında Kilise gücünü ve monarşi tarafından sağlanan korumasını kaybetmiştir. Bu kopuk bağ, Fransa'daki birçok Gotik kilise ve katedrale, özellikle de başkenti, Kilise kurumunu ve Kraliyeti temsil ettiği için Paris Katedraline yönelik vandalizmle sonuçlandı. Bu çalkantılı dönemlerde Notre-Dame Katedrali iki farklı tarikatın merkezi haline geldi: Culte de la Raison ve Le Culte de

L'ÊtreSuprême. Bu tarikatlar anıtın hazinelerini yağmalamış, hükümdara benzeyen heykellerin kafasını kesmiş ve on üçüncü yüzyıldan kalma kule kulesini yıkmışlardır. I. Napolyon, 1789 Devrimi'nin tüm kargaşasından sonra, halkı Kilise ile barıştırmak için kendisi ve Papa Puis VII arasında bir Konkordato imzaladı. Geleceğin imparatoru, uzlaşmayı pekiştirmek için 1804 yılında Paris Katedrali'nde taç giyme törenini düzenledi.

Yapının analiz edildiği ikinci bağlam, Victor Hugo'nun ünlü romanı Notre-Dame de Paris'in kurgusal bağlamı ile birlikte "restorasyon nesnesi" olarak ele alınmıştır. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın başları, sadece ideolojik açıdan değil, sanatsal ve mimari açıdan da geçmişe yönelik bir merakı ortaya koymuştur. Neoklasisizm Fransa'da tercih edilen bir tarzdı ve I. Napolyon ve onun Roma takıntısı tarafından teşvik ediliyordu. Birçok farklı akım ve üslupta kendini gösteren geçmişe yönelik bu nostalji, Fransa'nın yakın tarihine ve on üçüncü yüzyıl ortaçağına odaklanan Le Style Troubadour adlı sanatsal bir üslupla sonuçlandı.

"Le Style Troubadour: ou le nostalgiedu bon vieuxtemps" adlı kitabı yazan François Pupil'e göre "eski güzel zamanlar" sevgiyle hatırlanıyordu ve eski güzel zamanların klasik dönemle ilgili olduğu düşünülse de Fransa'da ortaçağla ilgili olduğu belirtiliyordu. Daha çok resimlerde ve şiirlerde gözlemlenebilen bu tarz, Romantizmin kökenleri olarak kabul edilmiştir. Romantizm, kısmen, mimaride kendini bir pastiş, geçmiş tarzların, özellikle de Gotik mimarinin bir taklidi olarak ifade eden klasisizmin bir reddi olarak kabul edilir.

Fransız Devrimi'nin yıkıcı sonuçları ve bu tarihi merak, mimari parçalar da dahil olmak üzere birçok eserin belgelenmesine, listelenmesine, arşivlenmesine ve 1795 yılında Alexandre Lenoir tarafından açılan Muséedesmonumentsfrançais gibi müzelerde sergilenmesine yol açtığı için koruma ve restorasyon tarihinde kilit anlardır. 1792 tarihli 14 Ağustos kararnamesi, Kral için veya onun emriyle inşa edilen ve baskıyı temsil eden anıtlardan tüm önemli malzemelerin çıkarılmasını talep ediyordu. Aynı belgede, tüm "feodalizm kalıntılarının" yok edilmesi gerektiği belirtiliyordu. Devrimcilerin zihninde feodalizmin kalıntıları tüm kiliseleri,

katedralleri ve Gotik tarzda inşa edilmiş olabilecek hemen her binayı içeriyordu, Notre-Dame de Paris de bir istisna değildi.

Aynı zihniyet kısa süre sonra koruma ideolojisini de yayacaktı: Devrim sırasında kaybedilen her şey ve kasıtlı vandalizm, insanların geriye kalanları koruma ihtiyacını doğurdu. 1830 yılında tarihi anıtların sınıflandırılması ve restorasyon projelerine fon sağlanması amacıyla Inspecteur-Général des Monuments Historiques makamı ve ardından Commission des Monuments Historiques kurulmuştur ki bunlardan biri de Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali olacaktır.

Anıtlara "restorasyon nesnesi" bağlamında bakarken, Victor Hugo'nun başyapıtı Notre-Dame'ın Kamburu'na kurgusal bir bağlamdan bakmak gerekir: sadece romantik akımı değil, aynı zamanda restorasyonu sonuçlanacak miras mimarisinin önemini de temsil edecek bir roman. Hugo, 1831 tarihli romanını yazarken, ne anıtın ne de Paris şehrinin başına önemli bir şey gelmediği 1482 yılını bilerek seçmiştir. Katedrali bir aktör olarak, neredeyse ana aktör olarak, her zaman arka planda ya da hikayede meydana gelen büyük olayların bir dekoru olarak kullandı. Yapı, Hugo tarafından Kitap III'ün ilk bölümünde herhangi bir tarihsel iddia olmaksızın bir araştırma tasviri olarak tanımlanmıştır: Notre-Dame'ın içinde bulunabileceği harabe halini ve zaman kadar insanların da suçlu olduğunu anlatmıştır. Hugo, Guerre aux Démolisseurs! adlı eserinde devrimcileri, hükümeti, halkı ve mimarları eleştirmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda ironik bir şekilde, anıtı tasvir etmesi, Viollet-le-Duc'un yaptığı iş nedeniyle eleştirilmesiyle sonuçlanacak kapsamlı bir restorasyon projesine yol açacaktır.

Bir başka ironi de Hugo'nun romana, Katedral'in kulelerinden birine yaptığı bir ziyareti anlattığı bir önsöz mektubuyla başlaması ve burada "Kader karşısında çaresizlik" olarak çevrilen Yunanca bir kelimenin oymasını görmesidir: ΑΝΑΓΚΗ. Kaderin değiştirilemeyeceğine dair bu inanç romanın temel konusunu oluşturmuştur: V. Kitapta yer alan ünlü "bu onu öldürecek" sahnesi bunun en üst noktasıdır: "...kitap yapıyı öldürecek.". Bir zamanlar bir katedralin cephesinin herhangi bir "mimari sayfadan" daha ince olduğunu söyleyen Hugo, başkentin Katedrali'nin yazılı

kelimenin sonu olacak bir hikaye ve tarih tasviri olduğuna inanıyordu. Kitabın yapıyı öldürüp öldürmediği sorusunu sordum ve cevabım hayır oldu.

Aksine, anıtı ana karakteri olarak belirleyen bu kitap o kadar popüler oldu ki, sadece yayımlandığı ilk yıl içinde defalarca yeniden basıldı ve bir yıl sonra bir başyapıt olarak görüldüğü için İngilizceye çevrilecek; restorasyon yoluyla Katedrali daha fazla yıkımdan kurtaracak olan şey olacaktı. 30 Nisan 1844 tarihli bir kararname ile Lassusve Viollet-le-Duc, Notre-Dame Katedrali'nin restorasyon projesinden sorumlu mimarlar olarak atanmış ve takip edecekleri süreç için kapsamlı bir rapor hazırlamışlardır. Proje 1864 yılında tamamlandığında, birçok kişi Viollet-le-Duc'ün binanın bazı unsurlarını restore etmek için seçtiği yola katılmadıklarını açıkça dile getirdi: Gereksiz olduğuna inandığı eklemeleri ortadan kaldırdı, Katedral için yeni bir kule kulesi tasarladı, dilediğinde anıtın orijinal halinin kişisel bir görünümü ile nasıl ilerleyeceğini seçti.

1991 yılında UNESCO, Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali'ni "Gotik mimarinin yayılmasında kesin bir referans" oluşturduğunu resmen belirterek dünya mirası olarak tescil etmiştir. Gotik mimarinin tarih yazımındaki yerinin ne kadar "kesin" olduğu bu tezin ana araştırma konusuydu ve bu, üçüncü bağlam olan "bir çalışma nesnesi" olarak binanın mimarlık tarihi araştırma kitapları kanonunda araştırılması ve incelenmesi yoluyla elde edildi. Viollet-le-Duc, mimarlığı kuramsallaştıran ilk mimarlardan biridir ve Katedral'in restorasyon projesinin baş mimarlarından biri olması nedeniyle, sözlüğü ve Mimarlık Dersleri bu çalışmanın konusu olmuştur. On ciltten oluşan DictionnaireRaisonné, 336 sayfalık "Mimarlık" girişinde kelimeyi açıkladıktan sonra Ortaçağ mimarisinin bir özetiyle devam ettiği ve tarihi mimari ve yapısal evrimle harmanladığı için mimarlık tarihi anlatısının bir parçası olarak kabul edildi. "Katedral" girişinde Notre-Dame'a dokuz sayfa (113 sayfalık bir bölümde) ayırmış ve bu binanın inşaata ilk başlayan bina olduğunu iddia etmiştir ki bugün Sens Katedrali'nin inşasının 1135 yılında başladığını bildiğimiz için bu yanlıştır. Bununla birlikte, başkentteki Katedral'e diğer Gotik anıtlardan daha fazla odaklanmıştır; ya Gotik mimarideki önemine ve rolüne inandığı için ya da sadece metnini yazarken aynı zamanda restore ettiği yapı hakkında daha bilgili olduğu için.

Viollet-le-Duc'ün verdiđi ve iki cilt halinde yayınlanan *Entretiens sur l'architecture* adlı dersler dizisinin yedinci dersi, Fransa ulusunun özel dehası olarak gördüğü Gotik mimari konusuna daldığı yerdir. Dersinde, on üçüncü yüzyıl Fransa'sında sanatın kraliyetin bir aracı olarak görüldüğünü ve ulusal bir birlik yaratmanın bir aracı olarak tasarlandığını, bunun da mümkün olan her yerde bir katedral inşa edilmesiyle sonuçlandığını belirtti. Ayrıca, seküler okul Fransız sanatı ile Romanesk tarzlar arasındaki farklılıkları daha iyi örnekleyen başka bir anıt olmadığını belirtti. Bir çizimde gösterdiği batı kulelerinin her ikisini de süsleyen iki kule içermesi gerektiği için cephenin tamamlanmamış olduğunu iddia etmiştir.

Viollet-le-Duc'ün hayranlarından biri de Auguste Choisy'dir ve *Histoire de l'architecture*(1899) adlı eserini yayınladığında, antik çağ uzmanı olmasına rağmen metninde yazdığı en büyük yazı Gotik mimari hakkındadır. Gotik mimarinin yapısal evriminin mimaride rasyonel düşüncenin zirvesini temsil ettiğini düşünüyordu. Anlatısına örnek olarak Notre-Dame de Paris'i vermeyi diğer örneklerden daha çok tercih etti ve Gotik tarzı "onların" mimarisi olarak adlandırmaktan çekinmedi; Viollet-le-Duc ve Victor Hugo bu tarzın bir Fransız icadı olduğunu ve onların milliyetçi tarzı olduğunu iddia ettiler.

Gérard Monnier, mimarlık tarihinde daha çağdaş bir yaklaşım benimsediği için seçilmiştir ve Choisy'ninki ile aynı başlığı taşıyan metninde altı bölümden birini Orta Çağ mimarisine ayırmıştır. Yine en büyük bölüm Gotik mimariye ayrılmış ve yazar bu dönemin olağanüstü bir ilerleme kaydettiğini iddia ediyor. Bu bir tür cep kitabı olduğu için örnekler, resimler ve hatta ayrıntılı tartışmalar eksiktir, ancak yazar yine de Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali'nin birkaç resmini ayırarak bu anıtı öne çıkarmayı başarmıştır.

Fransız mimarlık tarihçileri, sayıları hiç de az olmamakla birlikte, İngilizler kadar mimarlık tarihinin tamamını kapsayan inceleme kitapları üretmemişlerdir. Fransızlar, seçtikleri belirli temalara, mimari üsluplara ve/veya Fransız Devrimi gibi belirli yüzyıllara ve olaylara odaklanmayı ya da Viollet-le-Duc'ün yaptığı gibi metinlerini on birinci yüzyıldan başlatmayı tercih etmişlerdir. Kendi dillerinde kaynak sıkıntısı

çektikleri yerlerde, seçtikleri örneğin, tercih ettikleri tartışma konusunun ana katedralleri Notre-Dame de Paris olduğunu bize gösterdiler. İster betimlemelerden, ister yapısal unsurlardan, ister çok sayıda örnekten ve çok sayıda illüstrasyondan seçilmiş olsun, anıt çoğu tartışmanın merkezinde yer almaktadır.

Bannister Fletcher Sr. ve oğlunun *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896) adlı kitabının ilk baskısından itibaren hangi üslup ve kültürlerin ne şekilde dahil edildiğine dair pek çok spekülasyon ve eleştirel düşünce ortaya atılmış, ancak Gotik mimari hiçbir zaman pek çok baskının içeriğinin dışında bırakılmamıştır. Fransızca metinlerin aksine, burada karşılaştırmalı sayfalar ve tartışmalar olsa da ve Fletcher üslubun Fransa'dan çıktığını inkâr etmese de, Gotik mimariye odaklanan bölümlerin İngiliz Gotik'i ile başladığı ve İngilizliğin her zaman merkez nokta olduğu gözlemlenebilir. Yazarlara göre, Fletcher ve oğlu tarafından en eski Fransız katedrali olarak kabul edilen Notre-Dame'ın batı cephesi, "dünyanın değilse bile" Fransa'nın en görkemli kompozisyonuydu. Her ne kadar yazarların emperyalist bakış açısı nedeniyle üslubun görsel temsilleri ağırlıklı olarak İngiliz anıtlarından alınmış ve Fransız katedralleri arasında en karakteristik olanı olarak Cathédrale d'Amiens seçilmiş olsa da, Notre-Dame de Paris yine de bir model fotoğrafı ve Batı cephesi ile Doğu'ya bakan iç mekanın iki fotoğrafı olmak üzere altı illüstrasyonla temsil edilmiştir.

Amerikalı tarihçiler Kimball ve Edgell 1918 yılında *A History of Architecture* adıyla yayınladıkları kitaplarında dokuzuncu bölümü Gotik mimariye ayırmışlardır. Fletcher'ın metninden farklı olarak, burada üslup Opus Francigenum olarak adlandırılmış ve Fransa'dan, özellikle de Île-de-France'dan ortaya çıktığı belirtilmiştir. Diğer ülkelerin Gotik'i sadece taklit ettiklerini ya da uygulamalarının yüzeysel olduğunu ve inşaatlarının Romanesk ilkelere göre yapıldığını yazmışlardır. Son yüzyılda bu konuda yapılan akademik çalışmaların, özellikle de üslubun kökenleri konusundaki Fransız-İngiliz tartışmasının bugün bu fikirleri değiştirmiş olabileceği iddia edilebilir. Amiens Katedrali bir kez daha seçildi ve Gotik mimariyi temsil eden "daha mükemmel bina" olarak seçildi. Notre-Dame bir kez daha

illüstrasyonlarla temsil edilmiş, ancak yazarların asıl odaklandığı yapı Amiens olmuştur.

Nikolaus Pevsner'in *An Outline of European Architecture* adlı kitabı 1943 yılında yayımlandı ve mimarlık tarihçiliğinin kanonunun bir parçası haline geldi. Çoğu tarihçi gibi Pevsner de Gotik mimari hakkında yazarken Abbot Suger'den ve onun St. Bölüm birçok Fransız katedraline odaklanıyor, bunlardan biri Notre-Dame de Paris ve diğeri Reims, çünkü Gotik bölümlerde iki kez resmedilen diğeri ikisi onlardı. Yine Notre-Dame'a çok fazla önem verilmeden bir istisna olarak yer verilmiştir.

Kostof tarafından 1985 yılında, daha önce İngilizce yazılmış olanlara kıyasla oldukça kapsayıcı bir mimari inceleme kaleme alınmıştır. Yazara göre Gotik bir kez daha "Fransız Tarzı" olarak Fransa'da başlamış ve Avrupa'ya yayılmıştır, ancak bu kitabı diğlerinden ayıran şey, "Gotik kiliselerin en soylusu ve en sevileni" unvanıyla tam bir bölüm ayrılan Cathédrale de Chartres'a odaklanmasıdır. Kostof, birçok "batılı ve batılı olmayan" anıtı, şehri ve daha fazlasını karşılaştırdığı bir hikaye tarzında yazmıştır. Angkor Wat ile karşılaştırılan Chartres bunlardan biriydi. Başkent Katedrali'nden illüstrasyonlarda sadece bir kez bahsediliyordu: yerini gösteren elle çizilmiş bir harita.

A Global History of Architecture'ın (2011) üç yazarı Ching, Jarzombek ve Prakash, her şeyi kapsayan bir tarih yazımı için mücadele eden adanmış tarihçilerdir. Başarıları şey dikkate değerdir, ancak çok sayıda stil, kültür ve anıt nedeniyle bilgi ve tarih kısalmıştır. Araştırmalarını üsluplar yerine zaman kesitlerine ayırmışlar ancak kronolojik sayfaları takip ederek Gotik mimarinin ortaya çıkışını metin boyunca gözlemek mümkün. İlk örneklerde Abbot Suger'in adı geçse de, tıpkı Fletcher'in metninde olduğu gibi üslubun ilk örnekleri Britanya'dan. "Katedral Tasarımı" alt başlığı altında Notre-Dame örnek olarak verilmiş, ancak diğeri birçok İngiliz ve Fransız katedralinin aksine, anıta tek başına bir alt başlık açılmamış, sadece gerekli görüldüğünde yer verilmiştir. Ayrıca, Notre-Dame'dan bahsedildiği halde, örnek olarak verildiğinde bile araştırma dahi hiç resmedilmediği gözlemlenebilir.

Kostof'un bir zamanlar öğrencisi olan Richard Ingersoll'un Dünya Mimarisi başlıklı araştırması: *A Cross-Cultural History* (2013) adlı çalışmasında da benzer bir zaman kesme yöntemi kullanılmış ve Gotik mimari dokuzuncu bölümde tartışmaya açılmıştır. Metinde Notre-Dame Katedrali'ne, tarihi ve kısa açıklamalarının yanısıra fotoğraf illüstrasyonlarıyla daha fazlaya verilmiştir.

Fransızca ve İngilizce yazılmış bu mimari araştırma kitapları incelendiğinde, Gotik mimarinin ve özellikle Notre-Dame Katedrali'nin nasıl farklı şekillerde algılandığı görülebilir; Fransızlar "kraliçe" katedrallerini ön plana çıkarmaya ve daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde tartışmaya ve tasvir etmeye daha meyilliyken, İngilizce yazılı metinler ya sonradan dahil ediyor ya da diğer örneklerin çoğundan farklı olarak anıta odaklanmıyor. Sosyal ve kültürel yönler ile amaca yönelik seçimler arasındaki farklar anketler aracılığıyla gözlemlenebilir. Paris Katedrali hala Gotik mimarinin en önemli örneklerinden biri olarak görülmeli midir, "kesin referans" olarak kabul edilmeli midir ve bir zamanlar edilebildiyse, hala edilmeli midir?

Hugo'nun 1831 tarihli romanı ve bunun sonucunda anıtın restorasyonu halen popüler kültürdeki yerini korumaktadır ancak bu popülerlik Katedral'in resmi sitesinde iddia edildiği gibi sadece Hugo'nun kitabıyla elde edilmemiştir: "Notre Dame'ı Victor Hugo kurtardı". Romanın III. kitapta anıtın ve şehrin tasvirlerini içeren ilk baskıları yayınlandığında, ulusa birkez daha Gotik mimarinin halklarının, geçmişlerinin doruk noktası olduğu ve hatta Temmuz Devrimi'nin (1830) kaosu arasında anıtın monarşinin değil Fransa'nın imgesi olduğu hatırlatıldı.

Notre-Dame'ın Kamburu'ndaki betimlemeler, dünyanın dört bir yanından ressamalar, fotoğrafçılar, karikatüristler, yazarlar vb. farklı ortamlarda birçok sanatçıya ilham kaynağı oldu. İlk olarak, romandan sahnelerin tasvir edildiği birkaç tablonun sergilendiği Salon de 1833'te popülerliği görüldü. Bu tablolardan biri de Eugénie Henry / Latil'in "Quasimodo sauvant la Esmeralda des mains de ses bourreaux" adlı, romandan bir sahneyi batı cephesinin güney kapısının arkasından resmettiği tablosuydu. Journal des femmes için Salon hakkında bir inceleme yazan Madam Alexandre Aragon'a göre, Salon'un en popüler illüstrasyon konusu Hugo'nun romanı

olmuş, bu da romanın popülerliğini artırmış ve Notre-Dame'ın merkezde olduğu Gotik anıtlara olan bu yeni ilgiyi teşvik etmiştir. Hugo'nun kendisi de, Benjamin Roubaud'nun (1811-1847) Paris'te otururken dirseğini "kendi" Katedrali'ne dayadığı litografisi (1841) de dahil olmak üzere pek çok kez resmedilmiştir.

Romanların yayınlandığı dönemde fotoğrafçılık gelişti ve Notre-Dame de Paris bu yeni sanat formunun en ünlü konularından biri haline geldi. Henri Le Seq (1818-1882), Édouard Baldus (1813-1889) ve Charles Marville (1813-1879) gibi fotoğrafçılar Paris'te dolaşüyor ve Katedral'in Lassus ve Viollet-le-Duc'ün Restorasyon projesinden önceki ve sonraki halini belgeliyorlardı. Fotoğrafaracı, insanların anıtın görüntüsünü elde etmesini kolaylaştırdı, onu gerçek ve tüm insanlar için erişilebilir hale getirdi.

Büyük sanatçılar Paris'e gelerek Katedral'in kendi tarzlarındaki versiyonlarını çizdi ve boyadı; Vincent Van Gogh ve "Paris ve Notre-Dame Çatıları" (1886), Childe Hassam ve "Notre Dame Katedrali, Paris" (1888), Maximilien Luce ve "The Quai Saint-Michel and Notre-Dame" (1901), Henri Matisse'in "A Glimpse of Notre Dame in the Late Afternoon" (1902), Edward Hopper'ın "Notre Dame de Paris" (1907), Pablo Picasso'nun "Notre Dame de Paris" (1954) gibi eserleri, anıtın popülaritesinin resimler aracılığıyla artmasına neden olmuştur.

1896 yılında Lumière kardeşler; Auguste (1862-1954) ve Louis Lumière (1895-1905) Cathédrale de Paris ve sarayının yaşamından bir anı filme aldılar. Bu, anıtın son kez filme alınmasıya da bir filmde oyuncu olarak yer alması olmayacaktı. Hugo'nun romanı birçok kez beyaz perdeye uyarlanacaktı; 1939'da William Dieterle'nin yönettiği Notre Dame'ın Kamburu adıyla gösterime girecekti; 1982'de aynı adlı başka bir film gösterime girecek, bu kez Quasimodo rolünü Sir Anthony Hopkins oynayacaktı. Walt Disney Pictures 1996 yılında Notre Dame'ın Kamburu adlı animasyon müzikal dramasını yayınlayarak romanı, hikayeyi ve nihayetinde Katedral'in kendisini yeni nesillere tanıttı, romandan çok daha mutlu bir sonla, öyleki Quasimodo ve Esmeralda'nın hala hayatta ve mutlu olduğu bir devam filmi yaratıldı.

Disney filminin muazzam başarısının hemen ardından 1997 yılında Peter Medak tarafından yönetilen bir film daha gösterime girdi.

Katedral, izleyiciye gerçekten orada olduklarını kanıtlamak istercesine Paris'te bir sahnesi olan çoğu filmin arka planında yer aldı. Aynı numara birçok şehir için de kullanılmıştır, New York'ta geçen bir film senaryosunun Times Meydanı'nda bir sahnesi olur ya da Roma'da geçen bir filminin andırıcı olabilmesi için mutlaka Kolezyum'un önünde bir sahne tasvir edilir. Mimari anıtlar kanonu bir güvence olarak arka plandadır. Romanın sinema uyarlamaları, televizyon uyarlamaları, bale ve tiyatro uyarlamaları yapıldı ancak animasyondan sonra en başarılı uyarlama Notre-Dame de Paris müzikali oldu. Disney animasyonundan büyük ölçüde etkilenen Riccardo Cocciante tarafından yaratılan müzikalin prömiyeri 1998'de Paris'te yapıldı ve 2022'de hala turnede.

Notre-Dame de Paris, 2013 yılında 850. yıldönümünü 12 Aralık 2012'de başlayan ve 24 Kasım 2013'te sona eren farklı etkinliklerin yanısıra dört çanın değiştirilmesini de içeren yenileme projeleriyle neredeyse bir yıl süren bir kutlamayla kutladı. Notre-Dame'ın 1856 yılından kalma çanlarından dördü, 850. yıldönümü vesilesiyle sekiz yeni çanla değiştirildi. Yeni çanlar ilk kez 23 Mart 2013 tarihinde çalınmıştır. Bu kutlama etkinlikleri yoğun bir şekilde televizyonda yayınlanmış ve sosyal medya anıtın yirmi birinci yüzyılda popülerleşmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Kasım 2014'te Ubisoft tarafından Assassin's Creed serisinin bir aksiyon-macera video oyunu alt başlığıyla piyasaya sürüldü: Unity. Oyunun hikayesi Suikastçı Arno Dorian'ı takip ediyor ve Fransa'da meydana gelen kaosun arkasındaki gerçek tehlikeleri ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla 1789 Fransız Devrimi sırasında geçiyor. Oyun on sekizinci yüzyıl Paris'inin son yıllarında geçtiğinden, geliştiriciler oyunu dijital olarak yaratabilmek için Notre-Dame Katedrali üzerinde dört yılı aşkın bir sürede "5000 saatlik araştırma" yaptılar. Unisoft kreatif direktörü Maxime Durand, Katedral'in ikonik duruşu ve oyunun binalara tırmanma etrafında dönmesi nedeniyle "...detayların iyi yapıldığından emin olmak zorunda olduklarını" belirtti. Katedralin 2019'daki yangınından sonra bu oyunun ve kaynaklarının restorasyon projesi için

kullanılıp kullanılamayacağı konusunda spekülasyonlar vardı, ancak anıt inanılmaz derecede ayrıntılı ve titizlikle araştırılmış olsa da, Ubisoft henüz disiplinlerarası bir proje umudunu sona erdiren 3D haritalama teknolojisini kullanmıyordu. 10 Eylül 2020'de, daha önce yayınladıkları oyuna dayanarak Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali'nin ücretsiz bir Sanal Gerçeklik ziyaretini yayınladılar.

2017 yılında, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın yüzüncü yılını anmak üzere Bruno Seillier, Paris Katedrali'nin batı cephesine yansıtılmak üzere yirmi dakikalık bir video projeksiyonu hazırladı. Seillier, anıtın 850 yılını ve Gotik Notre-Dame'ı hiç göremeden ölmekten korkan bir Amerikan askerini tasvir eden bir hikaye çizgisi ile on yedi ışıklı görüntü içeren "Dame de Coeur" için 3D haritalama kullandıklarını belirtti. Bu ışık gösterisi Avrupa'da popüler bir cazibe merkezi haline geldi ve birçok büyük şehir tarafından taklit edilmeye başlandı.

15 Nisan 2019 günü saat 18.20 sularında, restorasyonu devam eden Notre-Dame Katedrali'nin ahşap çatısı altında çıkan yangın üç saatten fazla sürmüş ve Île de la Cité tahliye edilmiştir. Saat 19.50 sularında Viollet-le-Duc tarafından tasarlanan ve inşa edilen on dokuzuncu yüzyıl kulesi çöktü ve yangın tüm dünyanın canlı görüntülerle izlediği kuzey kulesinin içine doğru ilerledi. Gotik anıtların yapısal dengesi nedeniyle, kuzey kulesinde meydana gelen hasar kulenin çökmesiyle sonuçlansaydı, tüm yapı yok olacaktı. Yayımlanan görüntüler anıtın gerçekten de neredeyse çökmek üzere olduğunu gösterse de, genel yapı zarar görmekten kurtulmuştur. İsa'nın çarmıha gerilirken giydiğine inanılan dikenli taç, Aziz Louis Tunığı, yıkılan kulenin üzerinde bulunan ünlü Horoz ve daha fazlası, anıtı daha da popüler yapan eserler kurtarıldı ve arşivlendi.

Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Emmanuel Macron, Fransa'daki diğer tüm katedraller gibi 1905 yılından bu yana devlete ait olan katedral için uluslararası bir bağış kampanyası başlattı: Birkaç gün içinde bir milyar Avro bağışlandı ve binanın güvenliğinin sağlanması ve restorasyon çalışmaları hemen başladı. Çalışmaların yangından önceki haliyle, Paris'in düzenlemesi beklenen 2024 Olimpiyatlarına yetiştirilmesi hedeflenirken, uzmanlar restorasyon çalışmalarının yirmi yıldan fazla süreceğini

belirtiyor. Fransa Başbakanı Édouard Philippe, yangından sonra inşa edilmesi beklenen yeni kulenin tasarımı için uluslararası bir mimari yarışma açıldığını duyurdu. Yarışmaya çok sayıda mimar katıldı ve çok farklı tasarımlar sundular ancak yarışmanın kendisi, Fransa'nın miras yasalarını ve UNESCO Dünya Mirası Alanı Statüsünü göz ardı edeceği için ağır bir şekilde eleştirildi. Fransız senatosu, Cathédrale de Notre-Dame'ın 2019 yangınından önceki haline getirilmesini zorunlu kılan bir madde eklemiştir.

Paris Katedrali'nin ilk kez yangın sebebi ile zarar görmesine neden olan 2019 yangını, haber kanalları ve sosyal medya üzerinden canlı olarak yayınlandı. Her yıl milyonlarca ziyaretçi çeken bu anıt olaydan bu yana kapalı ancak tüm bilgiler ve restorasyon projesinin ilerleyişi, sanal gerçeklik sergileri ve anıtın sanal turlarını sunan Notre-Dame de Paris'in Dostları ve Éternelle Notre-Dame organizasyonlarından takip edilebiliyor. Jean-Jacques Annaud'un yönettiği Notre-Dame Brûle (2022) adlı film 16 Mart 2022 tarihinde (sadece Fransız ve İtalyan sinemalarında) gösterime girmiş olup, filmin konusu 2019 yangınında yaşananların dramatisasyonudur.

İnşaatlar, tadilatlar, restorasyonlar, vandalizm, savaşlar, devrimler ve yıkıcı bir yangından sonra 860 yıllık bir anıt olan Notre-Dame de Paris Katedrali hala ayakta ve güçlü. Yangın, Orta Çağ'ın birliktelik, topluluk, birleştirici bir amaç, sadece Fransa'ya değil tüm insanlığa ait bir miras kavramını geri getirdi. Victor Hugo'nun "bu onu öldürecek" ifadesi gerçekleşmedi, aksine "bu [roman] onu [Katedral] kurtardı.

H. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname: DEVRİM TOPSAKAL

Adı / Name : ELİF

Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi / History of Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English):

In Search For The "Definite Reference": Cathedral Of Notre-Dame De Paris And Gothic Architecture

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master ☐ Doktora / PhD ☒

1. Tezin tamamı dünyaya açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. * ☐
3. Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. * ☐

* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası teze birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature Tarih / Date

(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.