

ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM IN HENRI IV'S PARIS:
THE PLACE ROYALE, PLACE DAUPHINE,
AND HOPITAL ST. LOUIS

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE FIELD OF ARCHITECTURE, ART,
AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 1985

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation concerns the extensive building program which Henri IV undertook in Paris from 1600 to 1610. Focusing on the place Royale (now called the place des Vosges), the place Dauphine, rue Dauphine, and Pont Neuf, and the hôpital St. Louis, this study holds that Henri IV's urbanism was guided by an emerging view of the city as a unified entity. Drawing from newly uncovered notarial documents, the dissertation examines the form and the function of the monuments and argues that each building was embedded in its physical context, engaged in the life of the city, and informed by an underlying urban vision. First, the buildings were not autonomous geometric forms dropped into open spaces; they were conceived as parts of a larger urban composition, structured by axes which linked the monuments to major roads without however diminishing the quality of spatial enclosure which the designs also promoted. Second, the squares and the hospital were each charged with a program anchored in the commercial, social, and sanitary life of the city. The place Royale and place Dauphine were planned as residential and commercial squares to stimulate trade and manufacturing while the hôpital St. Louis was intended to minimize the convulsive effect of the plague on the city. Finally, the dissertation argues that the royal building program was not merely a sequence of unrelated improvements and isolated adornments, but rather a series of coordinated efforts to impose a unifying order on the city. The monuments were assigned functions which addressed the city as a whole. They were physically linked to more distant parts of the city, and they were composed to create grand urban vistas. The urban fabric was no longer conceived as an accumulation of fragments contained within the walls; it was understood as a cohesive network with its own internal order.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
List of Appendices	iv
List of Illustrations	v
Acknowledgements	viii
A Note on Archival Sources	ix
Abbreviations and Measures	xi
Introduction: The Royal Building Program	1
Chapter 1: The Place Royale	23
Chapter 2: The Place Dauphine	101
Chapter 3: The Hôpital Saint Louis	187
Conclusion: Henri IV's Urbanism	243
Appendices	
A: The Place Royale	256
B: The Place Dauphine and Rue de Harlay	269
C: The Hôpital Saint Louis	285
D: Charles Marchant	287
E: Brick	289
F: Maps and Guidebooks	291
Illustrations	298
Bibliography	348

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Place Royale

1. Construction of the Silkworks
2. Construction of the North Range of Pavilions
3. The Royal Lotissement & Change of Ownership
4. Index of Construction Contracts & Other Contracts
5. The Houses on the Rue des Minimes
6. A Lease to a Silk Artisan

Appendix B: The Place Dauphine

1. Rue de Harlay: Construction Contracts
2. Rue de Harlay: Tenants of Achille de Harlay, 1611-1616
3. Harlay's Lotissement: Land Sales at the Place Dauphine
4. Index of Construction Contracts and Other Documents
5. Masonry Contract for Jean de Ligny's House Facing the Pont Neuf

Appendix C: The Hôpital St. Louis

1. Construction Costs

Appendix D: Charles Marchant

Appendix E: Brick

Appendix F: Maps and Guidebooks

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. George Braun, Plan of Paris, 1572 (B.N.Est. Va 212).
2. Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay, Plan of Paris, 1609 (B.N.Est. Coll. Hennin XV rés. 1352).
 - a. Detail of the Place Royale (f1)
 - b. Detail of the Place Dauphine (f2)
 - c. Detail of the Hôpital St. Louis (f3)
 - d. Detail of the Louvre (f4)
3. François Quesnel, Plan of Paris, 1609 (B.N.Est. AA3rés.).
 - a. Detail of the Place Royale (f5)
 - b. Detail of the Place Dauphine (f7)
 - c. Detail of the Hôpital St. Louis (f9)
 - d. Detail of the Louvre (f11)
4. Mathieu Merian, View of Paris, 1615 (B.N.Est. Va 419j t.2).
5. Jacques Gomboust, Plan of Paris, 1652 (B.N.Est. Va 212).
 - a. Detail of the Place Royale (f2)
 - b. Detail of the Place Dauphine (f5)
6. Claude Chastillon, Place Royale, View from the east, c.1612 (B.N.Est. Coll. Hennin XIX 1677).
7. Sebastiano Serlio, House for a Rich Artisan and House in the French manner (Projects I and K), Book VI, c.1540's (Avery Library, Columbia University).
8. Place Royale, Terrier plans, 1702 (A.N. Q1* 1099 10C).
 - a. Place Royale (f9v)
 - b. Rue des Minimes (f19v)
9. Anonymous, Project for the Pont Neuf, c.1578 (Musée Carnavalet).
10. Claude Chastillon, Place Dauphine, View from the north, c.1615 (B.N.Est. Ve 9 rés. f8).
11. Robert de Cotte, Plan of the Place Dauphine, 1685 (B.N.Est 419j t.5).
12. Abbé Delagrive, Plan of the Place Dauphine, c.1740's (B.N.Est. Ve 53j rés. 1112 f39).

13. Abbé Delagrive, Plan of the Ile de la Cité, detail of the Rue de Harlay and Palais de Justice, c.1740's (B.N.Est. Ve 53j rés. 1218).
14. Place Dauphine, Cadastral Plans, first half of the 19th century (A.N. Cartes et Plans F31 94).
 - a. North Half
 - b. South Half
 - c. Rue de Harlay
15. Place Dauphine, Drawing of Original Lots.
 - a. North Half
 - b. South Half
16. Place Dauphine, Drawing of Lot Division.
 - a. North Half
 - b. South Half
 - c. Rue de Harlay
17. Place Dauphine, Elevation, mid-19th century (B.N.Est. 419j, t.2).
18. Place Dauphine, East Range, 1874 (B.N.Est. Va 226).
19. Perelle, Place Dauphine, View from the west, mid-17th century (B.N.Est. Ed 76b).
20. Aveline, Place Dauphine, View from the east, mid-17th century (B.N.Est. Va 226).
21. Claude Chastillon, Plague Hospital at Grenelle, c.1580 (B.N.Est. Ve 9 rés. f14).
22. Giovanni Brunetti, Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, Milan, 1632 (Museo di Milano, Civica Raccolta Stampe Bertarelli).
23. Hôpital St. Marcel, Site Plan, c.1620 (A.P. Plan 201).
24. Hôpital St. Louis, Plan signed by Sully, 1607 (A.P. photo).
25. Robert Davesne, Plan of the Hôpital St. Louis and Transcription of the Legend, 1681 (A.P. Plan 191).
26. Claude Chastillon, Hôpital St. Louis, View from the south, c.1615 (B.N.Est. Ve 9 rés. f5).
27. Israel Silvestre, Church of the Hôpital St. Louis c.1650-55 (B.N.Est. Va 291 t.1).

28. Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Château de Charleval, Plan, 1570 (Les plus excellents Bastiments).
29. Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Château de Maulnes, (Les plus excellents Bastiments).
30. Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Design of a Palace c.1570's (B.N.Est. Ed 2).
31. Mathieu Merian, View of Paris from the north, 1616 (B.N.Est. Coll. Hennin XX rés. 1798).
32. Martin Zeiller, View of Paris from the north, c.1620 (B.N.Est. Coll. Hennin XXI 1886).
33. Claude Chastillon, Place de France, 1615 (B.N.Est. Ve 9rés. f115)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this dissertation was undertaken in Paris between 1981 and 1983. For their support, I would like to thank the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery in Washington for a Chester Dale Fellowship, the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies for a Doctoral Research Fellowship, and the History, Theory, and Criticism Program in the School of Architecture at M.I.T. for a Doctoral Research Grant.

The staffs of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives de l'Assistance Publique, and the Archives Nationales assisted me throughout my research. In particular, I would like to thank Jean-Pierre Babelon, whose extensive work on Henri IV and on the architecture of Paris has been invaluable to me, and Catherine Grodecki, who shared with me her knowledge of the Minutier central.

To my teachers, I owe the greatest debt. Throughout my graduate education, Professors Stanford Anderson and David Friedman have given their time, their interest, and their guidance in generous measure. My advisor Henry Millon read each draft of this dissertation with extraordinary care and insight, and in the most graceful, unimposing way helped me to think more deeply about the material and to sharpen my arguments. Without his probing observations, this study would have suffered a great deal. To Professor Joe Connors, I would like to extend my gratitude for sharing with me his interest and ideas.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends in Paris, especially Béatrice d'Erceville, who made my life outside the archives so happy. And for the countless ways in which their love has inspired me, I would like to thank my parents and I would like to thank Michael.

A Note on Archival Sources

In searching the Archives Nationales for material on Henri IV's royal squares, scholars have only found documents about the royal alienation of land. What happened after the land donation has remained obscure. The royal archives have been such an unfruitful source because the squares were not built by the crown. The place Royale and place Dauphine were built by private patrons, with each lot owner commissioning his own building crew and hiring notaries to record the transactions. Given this method of development, it was likely that the undiscovered building contracts for the places royales lay buried in notarial archives. Consequently, the research for this dissertation was largely conducted in the Minutier central, the depository of notarial records at the Archives Nationales in Paris. This is the first study of the place Royale and the place Dauphine based on these rich archival resources.

The archives at the Minutier central are largely uncatalogued. Documents are chronologically filed according to the notary's office (étude), thus the name of the notary who transcribed the act is the key to research. If a patron's notary cannot be identified, the researcher's only option is to turn the pages of each register, hoping to come across a relevant document. This can be avoided if the notary prepared a chronological index of his registers. The index can be easily scanned for names or types of documents, but such répertoires were rarely compiled in the early seventeenth century. With 176 notaries working in Paris between 1600 and 1620, each one compiling on the average of two registers a year, it would take a team of researchers many years to exhaust the resources of the Minutier.

The accounts that follow were pieced together from numerous documents uncovered in the Minutier central: construction contracts for masonry (marchés de maçonnerie), carpentry (charpenterie), roofing (couverture), joinery (menuiserie), metalwork (serrurerie), glazing (vitrierie), and paving (pavage), contracts for the purchase of building materials, land sales (ventes), leases (baux), loans (constitutions de rente), and inventories after death (inventaires après décès). There were twenty-three building patrons at the place Royale and thirty at the place Dauphine, each of whom used one or more notaries. Some patrons were faithful to a single notary and once he was

identified, it was possible to locate most of the construction contracts. Other men employed several notaries, and in such cases, I was lucky to stumble upon a few scattered documents. Finally there were patrons who eluded me entirely; I was unable to identify their notaries and found no documents at all. In transcribing these seventeenth century acts, I have followed the guidelines set forth by Bernard Barbiche in "Conseils pour l'édition des documents français de l'époque moderne," GBA 46/1338-39 (July-August 1980):25-28. The original spelling has been respected. Accent marks are almost universally absent from the documents; the cedilla (ç) has been added, and the "é" was used to distinguish a tonic from an atonic "e" at the end of a word. Punctuation was also inserted.

There are some documents which will never be found in the Minutier. Not all transactions were notarized; not all records have survived the centuries. But there are many documents concerning the place Royale and the place Dauphine which remain to be discovered. This study is a first step toward understanding how Henri IV's building program was actually realized, how large numbers of individual builders contributed to the urban development of Paris.

Abbreviations

A.N.	Archives Nationales, Paris
A.S.	Archives de la Seine, Paris
B.N. Est.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Paris
B.N. Ms.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits, Paris
BSHAF	<u>Bulletin de la Société de l'Art français</u>
BSHP	<u>Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France</u>
CVP	<u>Commission du Vieux Paris, Procès- verbaux</u>
Du Breul	Jacques Du Breul, <u>Le Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris</u> (Paris:1612).
EPHE	<u>Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Ive Section, Annuaire</u>
Felibien	Michel Felibien, and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, <u>Histoire de la Ville de Paris, 5 vols.</u> (Paris:1725).
GBA.	<u>Gazette des Beaux Arts</u>
JSAH	<u>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</u>
Lasteyrie	R. de Lasteyrie, "Documents inédits sur la construction du Pont-Neuf," <u>MSHP</u> 9(1882):1-94.
<u>Lettres missives</u>	J. Berger de Xivrey, <u>Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV, 9 vols.</u> (Paris:1843-76).
Mallevoüe	F. de Mallevoüe, <u>Les Actes du Sully passés au nom du Roi de 1600 à 1610</u> (Paris:1911).
Min.cent.	Minutier central

MSHP	<u>Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France</u>
Plumitif	Plumitif concernant le Pont Neuf, 1578-1603, A.N. Z1F 1065
<u>Registres</u>	<u>Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris</u> , 19 vols. (Paris:1883-1958).
Sauval	Henri Sauval, <u>Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la Ville de Paris</u> , 3 vols. (Paris:1724).

Measures

1 Pouce = 2.7 cm.

1 Pied = 12 Pouces

6 Pieds = 1 Toise

1 Toise = 1.98 m.

1 Livre = 20 Sols

1 Ecu = 3 Livres

Introduction

THE ROYAL BUILDING PROGRAM

Henri IV spent the first five years of his reign fighting to capture Paris. The city was the stronghold of catholic rebels who refused to recognize the new king after the death in 1589 of Henri III, the last of the Valois line. As a Protestant and a Bourbon, Henri IV (1553-1610) met widespread resistance. His conversion to Catholicism in 1593 appeased much of the opposition, and a year later, in 1594, Paris surrendered to the new ruler. After five years as the king of France, Henri IV at last claimed the capital as the seat of his throne. Beseiged and blockaded by the royal army, looted by foreign soldiers, the exhausted city welcomed the arrival of the triumphant warrior.¹

Henri IV had ended the Wars of Religion which divided France for more than thirty years. Acclaimed as the Gallic Hercules, he restored peace and unity in his country; he defeated the insurrectionary Catholic Leaguers, expelled their Spanish allies, and won freedom for the Protestants.² But in the aftermath of the civil war, not only was the king faced by the peace-time problems of economic recovery and

reconstruction; he encountered two conspicuous challenges. Because he was the first of a new line of kings, the Bourbon ruler had to secure his claim to the throne and assure his political supremacy. Furthermore, the physical fabric of the city, ravaged during the years of war, was in need of repair. The gates and roads were damaged, the Hôtel Dieu was about to collapse, the plague hospital in the western suburb of Grenelle was torn down, and the hôtel St. Denis and dependencies of the hôtel de Nevers were destroyed by rampaging soldiers; these were among the ruins with which the king contended. Realizing that the reconstruction of the city presented a unique opportunity to assert his monarchical authority, the king made Paris a crucial battleground in establishing the legitimacy of his rule. Henri IV's entry in 1594 was only the beginning of a bloodless campaign to render Paris the capital of the Bourbon monarchy.

The king's first concern was to enlarge the Louvre. The process of transforming the medieval fortress into an urban palace was begun by the Valois kings in the sixteenth century thus in his inaugural building project, the Bourbon ruler associated himself with his royal predecessors. Henri IV's initial design for the palace, set forth in 1594-95, entailed quadrupling the area of the Cour Carrée, adding a second floor to the Petite Galerie which extended toward the Seine, and constructing the Grande Galerie along the river, connecting the Louvre to the Tuileries. In 1603, a modified scheme known as the grand dessein was established, and

though it was not realized during Henri IV's reign, it guided the development of the palace through the nineteenth century. The grand dessein called for another gallery, parallel to the one under construction along the river, joining the north end of the two palaces and circumscribing one vast courtyard in between.³

Henri IV's construction of the Louvre was the continuation of a Valois enterprise and the traditional manifestation of royal commitment to the city; but his design for the palace already indicated that the Bourbon ruler viewed the city in a different way than his predecessors. First, the palace was not planned strictly as a royal residence; it was cast as a forum of cultural and political activity. The most celebrated artists and artisans of the realm were given apartments and ateliers on the ground floor of the Grande Galerie, while diplomats were to be lodged in the unexecuted gallery to the north.⁴ Second, the design of Louvre, and the Grande Galerie in particular, structured sweeping vistas across space, treating the river and the palace itself as formal elements in the landscape of the city.⁵ The appreciation of these spatial effects implied an aesthetic interest extending beyond a single building or its immediate vicinity to larger parts of the city. These aspects of Henri IV's design for the Louvre were elaborated in his urban development of Paris.

The royal building program occupied the first decade of the seventeenth century—the last decade of the king's

reign—with most of the major projects initiated after 1605. The Pont Neuf (1598) was the first venture, and then coming in quick succession were the place Royale (1605), the place Dauphine (1607), the rue Dauphine (1607), the hôpital St. Louis (1607), the place de France (1609), and the Collège de France (1610). Only the last two projects, which were planned shortly before the king's death, were not realized. In addition to these monuments, the crown organized a street repair and paving program, enacted a building code, and sponsored the reconstruction of quais, ports, and gates. It was in the context of these broader efforts to control the fabric of the city that the numerous monuments were built.

In 1599, the king created a centralized administrative authority to regulate all road- and riverways (voirie) in France. It was directed by Maximilien de Béthune (1559-1641), the Duke of Sully, who served as both the Grand Voyer of France and the Voyer of Paris.⁶ These positions gave Sully essentially uncontested control over roads, alignments, and building regulations in the capital, as the crown brought within its jurisdiction areas previously administered by the city.

Paving was traditionally the responsibility of the municipality, but in 1602 the crown took charge of the matter. "Sur les plaintes faictes au Roy en son Conseil que depuis quelques annees en ça les pavez . . . de Paris auroient esté tellement negligez qu'ilz sont a present en tres mauvais estat, et qu'oultre l'incommodité que le

publicq en ressent . . .", the king's council ordered the Grand Voyer to inspect the roads and prepare an inventory of the necessary repairs (A.N. E4B f224, 19 Oct. 1602; Registres 13:45). This report does not survive, but Sully proceeded to establish a methodical program to clean, pave, and repair the streets in Paris, employing no less than eighty pavers during the spring and summer. The annual budgets of the Grand Voyer do not specify where in Paris work was done, but they do disclose the large sums which were expended to maintain the roads. In 1609, for example, 23,000 pounds were spent on paving and 50,000 pounds on street cleaning.⁷ A special paving project was carried out on the rue St. Antoine in 1608 because the king decided to hold a jousting tournament in the circus-shaped street. The pavement was removed, the street covered over with sand, and after the tilting match, the rue St. Antoine, the street from which traffic entered the place Royale, was cleaned and repaved (A.N. 120 AP 40 f50v, 1608).

In addition to maintaining the streets, the Grand Voyer enacted a building code with three principal targets. First, the regulations prohibited construction in wood. Second, they instructed owners of empty lots to rebuild along the street edge. And third, they required builders to comply with the alignments established by the Grand Voyer.⁸ Since the thirteenth century, property owners in Paris were required to keep their buildings in good condition, but the measures adopted during the reign of Henri IV departed from these precedents by controlling the street edge. The extent

to which Sully enforced the regulations is unclear; the ban on timber construction in particular was certainly violated with some frequency. But even if enforcement were minimal, the decision to formulate a building code which addressed the general character of the urban fabric indicates that the focus was beginning to shift from the individual building to the whole city.

The royal building program, from street paving to squares, partially delineated two separate networks, one linking the western regions of the capital to the Ile de la Cité and the other developing the vacant areas in north-eastern Paris and linking them to the principal roads on the Right Bank. Henri IV's first undertaking, launched in 1598, was the completion of the Pont Neuf, which the Wars of Religion had forced Henri III to abandon. The bridge spanned the river between the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, located slightly east of the Louvre, and the church of the Augustins on the Left Bank, crossing an islet in the Seine off the tip of the Ile de la Cité.(Figs. 1,4) In 1607, after the Pont Neuf was finished, the crown embarked on three related projects which linked the bridge to the Ile and the Left Bank. The crown filled in the gulf between the Ile de la Cité and the Pont Neuf, and on this triangular-shaped parcel, the place Dauphine was built. An equestrian monument of Henri IV was placed on the platform of the Pont Neuf at the tip of the island. And, the crown opened the rue Dauphine on the Left Bank, extending the axis

of the bridge to the Porte de Bucy, a gate which led to the bustling faubourg St. Germain. Houses were built on the empty land bordering the rue Dauphine in a speculative venture undertaken by private investors while the crown sold its land outside the walls on the escarpment between the portes de Bucy and St. Germain for residential development (Registres 14:6 Nov. 1607). The bridge, the square, the quais of the island, and the street formed a network which physically linked the western areas of Paris—the faubourg St. Germain and the Louvre—to the Ile de la Cité, and visually encompassed the Grande Galerie, the equestrian monument, and the brick and stone houses of the place Dauphine in a dazzling panorama.

Between 1603 and 1605, the crown initiated a series of smaller projects that remodeled the north bank of the Seine from the east end of the city to the place de Grève, the primary market square and site of the Hôtel de Ville. In 1603, work began on a navigable canal between the Seine and the Porte St. Antoine which was intended to facilitate the distribution of merchandise as well as remove sewage from the ditch around the ramparts. At the same time, an allée 250 toises long (495m) was laid out on what had been the sloping shore of the river, extending from the ramparts to the port St. Paul.(Fig. 2a) The Seine was no longer met by the bastioned walls of the Arsenal but by a landscaped promenade intended for royal games of pall-mall.⁹

In 1605, the crown began to enlarge the port St. Paul, the port where building materials for the place Royale were

delivered, and the quai St. Paul was extended westward to the place de Grève.¹⁰ Dominating the square was the Hôtel de Ville, a building begun by François I in 1533 and left unfinished since 1550. In 1605, the king instructed the municipality to complete the building, and construction was resumed in accordance with the original designs. A statue of Henri IV by Pierre Biard was placed in the niche above the entrance to the Hôtel de Ville, symbolizing the city's allegiance to the crown.¹¹ The final element of this building campaign along the Seine was the reconstruction of the porte de la Tournelle, situated on the south bank of the river opposite the port St. Paul.¹²

Between 1605 and 1609, the crown turned its attention to the undeveloped areas in northeastern Paris, where three ambitious projects were initiated. First came the place Royale, begun in 1605 on a vacant site north of the rue St. Antoine. (Fig. 4) This busy, commercial street was one section of the primary east-west axis on the Right Bank which connected the porte St. Antoine and Bastille at the east end of the city with the Louvre at the west end. In order to link the place Royale with this axis, the crown opened the rue Royale through a block of houses, creating an axial entrance to the square from the rue St. Antoine.

As the crown was distributing lots at the place Royale, the municipality took charge of rebuilding the porte du Temple, the northern neighbor of the porte St. Antoine which had been closed for forty years.¹³ When the porte du Temple

was reopened in 1607, work began on a monumental plague hospital in the fields lying outside the new gate. A secluded location was required for the hôpital St. Louis, but the site was straddled by the suburban extension of two important roads which traversed the Right Bank; the rue du Temple to the east terminated at the place de Grève and the rue St. Martin to the west, following the course of the Roman cardo, continued across the Left Bank into the suburbs south of Paris.

The next royal project, the porte Royale and place de France, would have been an intermediary element between the porte du Temple and hôpital St. Louis to the north and the porte St. Antoine and place Royale to the east. In 1609, the crown decided to develop an area covered by nurseries east of the rue du Temple, just inside the walls of the city. The design called for a new gate and a semicircular square with eight radiating streets, but the king's death a year later brought an end to the porte Royale and place de France before ground was broken. Although the course of the radiating streets was not fully delineated, it seems that one road would have passed behind the west range of houses at the place Royale, thereby linking the two new squares, and other streets might have extended from the new gate to important avenues on the Right Bank.

The crown responded to the axis of the rue St. Martin in two other components of the royal building program. A street perpendicular to this axis on the Ile de la Cité, the rue de la Vieille Drapperie, led to the Palais de Justice.

(Fig. 13) In 1606, the king revoked a prior alienation of land along the rue de la Vieille Drapperie in order to widen the approach to the Palace, and at the end of the enlarged street, in front of the Palace, he built a fountain.¹⁴ The king's final project, the Collège de France, was planned in December 1609 for a site along the axis of the rue St. Martin on the Left Bank. The crown demolished two medieval buildings on the rue St. Jacques to give way to the royal college, but the death of Henri IV led to the abandonment of his building plans.

Henri IV's urbanism had three essential features. First, the royal building program responded to economic and urban problems. It was not devoted to the private pleasures of the court nor was it exclusively intended to glorify the absolute power of the monarch. The royal building program gave priority to the life of the city, addressing matters which touched a broad urban population. Second, the design of the monuments revealed an appreciation of the visual pleasures which the elements of the city offered. The Seine, the quais, the urban landscape were recognized as a domain of aesthetic interest. Third, there was an emerging recognition of the city as a coherent entity, with each intervention in the urban fabric impinging on a larger part. The conception of Paris as an amalgam of separate, unrelated elements was beginning to give way to a view of the city as a unified domain structured by a network of interlocking elements.

This approach to urban planning was familiar to the crown in the context of new town foundation. Ideal fortified towns proposed in such treatises as Jean Errard's La Fortification reduicte en art (Paris:1600) and Jacques Perret's Des Fortifications et artifices d'architecture et perspective (Paris:1597) and new towns such as Vitry-le-François, founded by François I in 1545, were French precedents for the consideration of the city as a single, unified object. However, the design of new towns was distinguished from urban remodeling by two factors: a guiding interest in military considerations and an uninhabited site. To reconceive the structure of an existing city and impose a new order on that fabric required another conceptual step, a step taken by Sixtus V (1585-90) in his plan for Rome.

Sixtus V projected a network of streets across the city, embellishing important intersections and sites with piazze and obelisks. Tethering the separate regions of Rome to these avenues, such as the Strada Felice, the papal program tied the city into one, unified whole.¹⁵ Henri IV's urbanism did not reach as far as the Roman prototype. The king opened no roads which traversed all of Paris; he did not even regularize the straggly series of streets connecting the rue St. Antoine to the Louvre and to the Pont Neuf. But the royal building program did create networks within sections of the city, linking the monuments to major axes of circulation and beginning to compose the urban landscape for scenic effects. Though Henri IV's urbanism

did not unify the entire city, it was a step along the same trajectory of urban development as Sixtus V's plans for Rome, attempting to bind together disparate parts of the city.

This study of Henri IV's urbanism focuses specifically on the place Royale, now called the place des Vosges, the place Dauphine, and the hôpital Saint Louis. These projects, which all survive in Paris today, were realized according to Henri IV's designs and fully participated in the development of Paris, unlike the place de France and Collège de France which were never completed. The place Royale, place Dauphine, and hôpital Saint Louis have been viewed as autonomous monuments, unrelated to the urban fabric in which they were set and unrelated to a broader plan for the city's growth. This study takes the opposite view. It holds that each building was embedded in its physical context, engaged in the life of the city, and informed by an underlying urban vision.

The dissertation argues first that each of these projects, both in terms of their form and their function, related to a specific urban context. They were not self-contained geometric forms dropped into open spaces. They were structured by axes which linked the monuments to major roads without however diminishing the quality of spatial enclosure which the designs also promoted. Second, the squares and the hospital were each charged with a program anchored in the commercial, social, and sanitary life of the

city. The place Royale and place Dauphine were planned as residential and commercial squares to stimulate trade and manufacturing, while the hôpital Saint Louis, the first monumental plague hospital in all of Europe, was intended to minimize the convulsive effect of the plague on the city. Third, the dissertation argues that the royal building program was not merely a sequence of unrelated improvements and isolated adornments, but rather a series of coordinated efforts to impose a unifying order on the city. The monuments were linked to more distant parts of the city and the landscape was arranged to create grand urban vistas, presenting the city as an object of aesthetic delight. There was no master plan which anticipated all the ensuing construction, but Henri IV's urbanism was guided by an emerging conception of the city as a coherent physical and aesthetic object.

The Other Participants

The royal building program was supervised by Sully. As the Grand Voyer of France, Voyer of Paris, Surintendant des Finances (1598), Surintendant des Fortifications (1599), and Surintendant des Bâtiments (1602), he had jurisdiction over all aspects of construction in the capital. He reviewed the designs, issued alignments, prepared devis, and allocated funds. Sully was also extensively involved in architectural projects in his private life. He remodeled his residence in the Arsenal where he lived from 1599-1610, rebuilt the châteaux of Rosny, Sully-sur-Loire, and Villebon, and

founded the new town of Henrichemont (1606).¹⁶ Given the minister's public responsibilities and private enthusiasms, the possibility that Sully not only executed but envisioned the royal building program must be considered. Yet this possibility finds no support in the record while there is positive evidence in the king's letters of the guiding role played by Henri IV .¹⁷

The king's letters are especially valuable documents because they provide a rare glimpse beyond the screen of conventional language and administrative procedure raised by government edicts. Written for the most part in his own hand, the letters reveal Henri IV's passionate enthusiasm and pride about his buildings. These qualities are conveyed, for example, in a letter sent to Cardinal de Joyeuse, the French ambassador at the papal court, on 3 May 1607.

Ceste-cy particuliere est pour vous dire des nouvelles de mes bastimens et de mes jardins et pour vous asseurer que je n'y ay perdu le temps depuis vostre partement. A Paris vous trouverés ma grande galerie qui va jusques aux Tuileries parachevee, la petite /galerie/ doree, et les tableaux mis dans les Tuileries; un vivier et force belles fontaines, mes plans et mes jardins fort beaux; la place Royale qui est pres la porte St.-Anthoine, et les manufactures, des quatre parts les trois faictes et la quatrieme sera achevee l'annee prochaine; au bout du Pont-Neuf une belle rue qui va jusques a la porte de Bussy faicte, et les maisons d'un costé et d'aultre sinon faictes du moins elles le seront avant la fin de l'annee prochaine; plus de deux ou trois mille ateliers qui travaillent ça et là pour l'embellissement de la ville, sy qu'il n'est pas croyable comme vous y trouverés du changement (Lettres missives 7:219-20).

The letters are filled with questions about the progress of the masons, prodding his ministers to hasten construction,

or instructing Sully to procure needed funds. It is the king who repeatedly raises the issue of his buildings and establishes their priority. There is no evidence that Henri IV was informed about architectural theory or that he participated in the design process, but he emerges as an inspired patron who propelled the royal building program.

The municipality played a minor supporting role in the royal rebuilding of Paris. The city preserved the fiction of an independent corporate identity, but it was manipulated by the king; the officers of the municipal government, for example, headed by the Prévot des marchands, were chosen by the crown and then nominally elected to their posts. During François Miron's tenure as Prévot (1604-06), the municipality played a particularly active role in the reconstruction program.¹⁸ It repaired the city gates, undertook the reconstruction of the Porte St. Bernard and the Porte du Temple, and completed the Hôtel de Ville. Throughout France, Henri IV was waging a campaign to crush the power of noble seigneurs and establish a centralized government by gaining political control over the cities. There was no more dazzling evidence of the benefits of royal power than the rebuilding of Paris.

Far from an unwelcome imposition on the city, Henri IV's building projects were harnessed to the burgeoning real estate market in Paris. The place Royale and place Dauphine were built by private investors in compliance with the royal facade design; the men who realized Henri IV's squares were wealthy gown nobles and, to a greater extent, bourgeois with

far more restricted fortunes—merchants, artisans, masons, and carpenters. The successful development of the squares demonstrated the growing value placed on urban property, a trend which accelerated during the first half of the seventeenth century, with rents tripling in value.¹⁹ The economic appeal of urban property was due in part to a housing shortage caused by the post-war migration of Frenchmen to the capital and the return of the crown to the city after decades spent largely in the Loire Valley. Yet, the building boom which extended through the first half of the seventeenth century was not simply a response to a housing shortage. There was a social value placed on urban construction which the gown nobles, tax-farmers, and bankers attached to the court well appreciated, commissioning the lavish hôtels that sprang up throughout the century in the Marais, the quartier Richelieu, the faubourg St. Germain des Près, and the Ile St. Louis. Henri IV's building program not only took advantage of the economic currents which favored investment in urban property; it validated and directed those currents by offering a model of royal construction in the capital. It promoted the social importance attached to architectural patronage in the city, and in this way Henri IV's urbanism oriented the trajectory of urban development that transformed Paris into a unified and monumental capital.

Notes: Introduction

¹ Contemporary descriptions of Paris during the occupation of the League and after Henri IV's arrival are published in: Martin Huber, "Paris sous la Ligue," Art de France 1964:104-15; Albert Gerard, "La révolte et le siège de Paris en 1589," MSHP 33(1906):65-150; Thomas Platter, "Description de Paris (1599)," MSHP 23(1896):167-224; Gaston Raynaud ed., "Paris en 1596. Récit de F.-G. d'Ierni," BSHP 1885:164-170; A. Dufour, "Histoire du siège de Paris sous Henri IV en 1590 d'après un manuscrit," MSHP 7(1880):175-270; Filippo Pigafetta, "Relation du siège de Paris par Henri IV," MSHP 2(1875):1-105. Political and economic conditions in the city are surveyed by Orest Ranum, Paris in the Age of Absolutism (1968; Bloomington:1979).

² The representation of Henri IV as the Gallic Hercules referred to the king's success in France and to his potential role in leading Europe to an imperial peace. The image is discussed by J.-P. Babelon, "Architecture et emblématique dans les médailles d'Henri IV," Revue de l'Art 58-59(1983):29-30; Frances Yates, Astraea (London:1975), 208-14; Françoise Bardon, Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII (Paris:1974); Corradi Vivanti, "Henri IV, the Gallic Hercules," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 30 (1967):176-197. This theme was elaborated in the royal entry in Avignon in 1600, described by André Valladier, Labyrinthe royal de l'Hercule gaulois triomphant (Avignon:1601). The representation of the king as an all-conquering mythic hero was in part a reaction to his political vulnerability. The ongoing opposition to Henri IV is stressed in two recent studies: Mark Greengrass, France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability (London:1984); David Buisseret, Henri IV (London:1984).

³ A detailed chronology of Henri IV's construction of the Louvre was prepared by Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Les Travaux de Henri IV au Louvre et aux Tuileries," MSHP 29(1978):55-130. Bates Lowry's unpublished dissertation, "Palais du Louvre 1528-1624. The Development of a Sixteenth-Century Architectural Complex," University of Chicago 1956, remains the most lucid study of the the Louvre between the reigns of François I and Louis XIII. The grand dessein is discussed in Ballon, "The Rive Droite Remodelled," Oxford Art Journal 5/2(1983):50-52. An explicit attempt to affiliate the Bourbon ruler with his predecessors was made in the decorative program of the Petite Galerie which was devoted to the kings of France, portraying the ancestral chain which linked Henri IV to Saint Louis: Jacques Thuillier, "Peinture et politique: une théorie de la galerie royale sous Henri IV," Etudes d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling, eds. A. Chatelet and N. Reynaud (Paris:1975), 175-205. This decorative scheme was proposed by Antoine de Laval in an

essay dedicated to Sully, "Des Peintures convenables aux basiliques et palais du Roy. Mesmes à sa gallerie du Louvre à Paris" (1600), Desseins de professions nobles et publiques (Paris:1605). Rejecting a mythological theme, Laval wrote, "Il est pardonnable aux hommes particuliers eslevez en hautes dignitez (qui n'osent pas ramener en mémoire le nom de leurs ancestres pour la honte de leur petitesse) de rechercher des fables et ornemens estrangers à l'embellissement de leurs maisons: et encor aux Princes nouvellement establis en leurs estats modernes. Mais à notre Roy, qui peut produire le plus venerable et authentique Arbre de Généalogie de Rois ses Ancestres, qui se puisse voir sur la face de la terre . . ., ce seroit un grand crime d'emprunter ailleurs ce qu'il a si abondamment chez soy" (9).

⁴ Henri IV gave apartments in the Grand Gallery to nineteen artists and artisans including the painter Jacob Bunel, the engineer Jacques Alleaume, and the sculptor Pierre Franqueville, as well as a clockmaker, swordmaker, and jeweler, men now unknown. In addition, they were exempted from guild regulations. Royal artists had been given ateliers and granted similar privileges in the past, but Henri IV broadened the practice and integrated it in the program of the palace. The royal decree described the king's intention to foster "une pepinière d'ouvriers, de laquelle sous l'apprentissage de si bons maistres il en sortiroit plusieurs qui par apres se rependroient par tout nostre royaume et qui scauroient tres bien servir le public" (A.N. Ol 1045, 22 Dec. 1608). The edict was published by Georges Huard, "Les logements des artisans dans la grande gallerie du Louvre sous Henri IV et Louis XIII," BSHAF 1939:18-39; J.-J. Guiffrey, "Logements d'artistes au Louvre. Liste générale des brevets de logements sous la grande gallerie du Louvre," Nouvelles archives de l'art français 1873:1-221.

⁵ Lowry emphasized the urban scale of the vast courtyard envisioned in the grand dessein and the appreciation of wide, sweeping views. "This delight in a panoramic view, coupled with the vast scale of the architectural planning of this period found its clearest expression and best medium in the many projects of city planning which were begun at this time." Lowry argued that architects increasingly had to think in terms of areas within cities or whole cities; "the work of Henri IV in Paris allowed the architects ample opportunity to develop a familiarity and ability in planning of this nature, a type of planning whose earliest expression is to be found in the design of 1595 for the Louvre and Tuileries" (244).

⁶ Although Maximilien de Béthune was not awarded the title of Duke and Pair of Sully until 1606, the name Sully has been used throughout this text. The administrative procedures established by the Grand Voyer were set forth in an edict dated 13 January 1605 (A.N. E8A f7), published by

F. de Mallevoüe, Les Actes de Sully (Paris:1911), xxxi-xxxiii. The Grand Voyer's annual budgets are the best record of the work undertaken by the crown on the roads, bridges, and quais of Paris (A.N. 120 AP).

⁷ Paving was financed by the crown and by a tax imposed on the bourgeois of the city (A.N. E11A F10, 4 July 1606; E11B f510, 30 Dec. 1606; E23B f123, 12 Sept.1609). In 1605, the crown spent only 3000 pounds on general paving (A.N. 120 AP 38), in 1606, about 17,000 pounds (120 AP 39), in 1608, 13,500 pounds (120 AP 40), and in both 1609 and 1610, 23,000 (120 AP 41-42). In 1608, the crown awarded a long-term paving contract to three master pavers who were required to employ eighty men daily during the spring and summer, forty men during the winter and fall (A.N. E19B f179, 18 Dec. 1608). In addition to hiring an "entrepreneur du nettoyage des boues" to execute the street cleaning program, a number of regulations were imposed on the residents of the city concerning dumping of garbage and sweeping in front of houses (A.N. 120 AP1, Reiglement sur le faict des boues, Sept. 1608).

⁸ Building regulations were enacted throughout Henri IV's reign: A.N. E4A f369, 20 Aug. 1602; A.N. X1A 8646 f339, July 1609; E23A f203, 1 Aug. 1609. The medieval regulations are discussed by Simone Roux, "La Construction courante à Paris du milieu du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVe siècle," La Construction du Moyen Age, Actes du congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur, June 1972 (Paris:1973), 185-86.

⁹ The canal was built by René Besnard who was paid 4,534 pounds for his work from 1605 through 1607. According to the Grand Voyer's budgets, Besnard received a final payment in 1609 which suggests that the canal was, by then, completed: Mallevoüe 267-69, 19 March 1603; A.N. 120 AP 38 f12, 1605; 120 AP 39 f12, 1606; 120 AP 40 f10v, 1608; 120 AP 50 f59, 1608; 120 AP 41 f 13v, 1609. On 19 March 1603, Sully passed a contract to terrace the site of the grande allée (Mallevoüe 269-70). A year later, he engaged Louis Routard, an artillery guard at the Arsenal, to build and maintain the paillemail at his own expense; in exchange, Routard was allowed to use the playing ground which was otherwise reserved for the king. The contract called for Routard to plant two rows of elm trees and a third file of either elm or mulberry trees (Mallevoüe 22-23, 6 March 1604). The municipality disputed the crown's claim to the land on the grounds that the city controlled the banks of the Seine but the complaint had no effect: Registres 14:402-04, 17 Dec. 1609; 14:409, 12 Jan. 1610; A.N. Z1F 561 f35, 28 Oct. 1614.

¹⁰ The crown spent approximately 13,000 pounds to compensate property owners for the extension of the port St. Paul: A.N. E 7A f318, 21 August 1604; A.N. E 11B f187, 19 August 1606; A.N. 120 AP 38 f4, 1605; A.N. 120 AP 39 f8, 1606.

11 In June 1605, Marin de la Vallée, juré du roi en l'office de maçonnerie, was chosen to complete the facade of the Hôtel de Ville. In addition, the "grande salle" was rebuilt (1607-09), a pavilion was built above the chapelle du St. Esprit on the north side of the Hôtel de Ville (1609), and a wing was added behind the chapel (1618-28). The completion of the Hôtel de Ville is discussed in Registres 14:105-06, 143-45, 230-31, 360-64; Henri de Carsalade Du Pont, La Municipalité parisienne à l'époque d'Henri IV (Paris:1971), 236-42. An engraving by Mathieu Merian after a drawing by Claude Chastillon (c.1613) depicts the Hôtel de Ville in a completed state; it is included in Chastillon's La Topographie française (B.N. Est. Ve 9 rés. f6). A medal struck in 1608 depicts the Hôtel de Ville on one side and a portrait of Henri IV on the other; the medal no longer survives but a drawing and description of it was made by Jacques de Bie, La France métallique (Paris:1636), 99, 299. The expertise for the pavilion above the chapelle du St. Esprit includes the following plea for symmetry: "Pierre Guillain, maistre des oeuvres de maçonnerie d'icelle ville, auroit proposé qu'il ne suffisoit de purger les difformitez du dedans et qu'il falloit pourveoir aux difformitez de la charpenterie et couverture du pavillon, laquelle difformité pourroit apporter du blasme non seulement a luy mais encores au general de la France pour la mancque qu'il y auroit en l'architecture et simmetrie de la face et aspect dud. hostel de ville tant d'un costé que l'autre et qu'il estoit besoing que la charpenterie et couverture du pavillon fut accordante au pavillon vers la riviere" (Min.cent. III 486, 13 March 1609).

12 Construction of the porte de la Tournelle, also called the porte St. Bernard, and the porte du Temple was financed by the crown (A.N. E 11A f31, 8 July 1606). The masonry contract for the porte de la Tournelle was published in Registres 14: 12 Feb.-3 March 1607.

13 The specifications for the reconstruction of the porte du Temple were prepared on 29 November 1604, and the contract was awarded to master mason Pierre Noblet the following summer (Registres 13:387-88, 26 July 1605). The inspection of the completed gate was ordered on 20 June 1607 (Registres 14:185).

14 Neither the papers of the Grand Voyer nor the minutes of the municipal building commission contain further information about the enlargement of the rue de la Vieille Drapperie: Registres 14:69-70, 8 April 1606. The fountain is mentioned in a letter from the king to Sully on 18 May 1606 (Lettres missives 6:612). It took the place of a pyramid commemorating an assassination attempt against Henri IV.

15 Sixtus V's urbanism is discussed by Tod Marder, "The Porto di Ripetta in Rome," JSAH 39/1 (March 1980):29-30; Cesare d'Onofrio, Gli obelischi di Roma (Roma:1965); Jean Delumeau, Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle, 2 vols. (Paris:1957-59). The treatment of the Seine as a formal element in the design of the place Dauphine, pont Neuf, and Grande Galerie in particular recalls Sixtus V's unexecuted project for a piazza and a bridge crossing the Tiber at the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, reoriented toward the river.

16 Sully's responsibilities as Surintendant des Bâtiments are discussed by Bernard Barbiche, "Henri IV et la surintendance des bâtiments," Bulletin Monumental 142/1(1984):19-39. His private architectural commissions are examined by Barbiche, Sully (Paris:1978), 170-85; Anne Albert, Sully à Rosny-sur-Seine (Bonnières-sur-Seine:1975); Rosalys Coope and Catherine Grodecki, "La création d'Henrichemont," Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry 41(June 1975):21-48. Recent interpretations of Henri IV's reign have stressed Sully's instrumental role in establishing a centralized state: Barbiche:1978; David Buisseret, Sully and the Growth of Centralized Government in France 1598-1610 (London:1968). Sully's memoirs, Mémoires des sages et royales Oeconomies d'Estat, 2 vols., ed. Michaud and Poujoulat (Paris:1837), were written after his fall from power (1611-41) with the tone of a personal apologia and are not considered a reliable record of his actions during Henri IV's lifetime.

17 Henri IV's letters were published by Jules Berger de Xivrey, Recueil des Lettres missives de Henri IV, 9 vols., Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris:1850-76), hereafter Lettres missives. Letters omitted from this collection were indexed by Bernard Barbiche, Lettres de Henri IV (Vatican City:1968).

18 A. Miron de L'Espinay's study of his ancestor, François Miron et l'administration municipale de Paris sous Henri IV de 1604 à 1606 (Paris:1885), inflates Miron's importance and consequently attributes to the municipality a degree of independence which it did not possess. Nevertheless, Miron was an accomplished Prévot and inspired two contemporary panegyrics: N. Fardoil, Remerciment à Monsieur Myron (Paris:1606); Anonymous, La Prévosté des Marchans (Paris:1605). The best study of the municipal government during Henri IV's reign is Carsalade Du Pont's recent book La Municipalité parisienne à l'époque d'Henri IV (Paris:1971).

19 The appreciating value of real estate in seventeenth century Paris is analysed in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie ed., La Ville classique, vol. 3 of Histoire de la France urbaine (Paris:1981), 142-44; E. Le Roy Ladurie and Pierre Couperie, "Le mouvement des loyers parisiens de la fin du Moyen Age au

XVIIIe siècle," Annales ESC 25/4(1970): 1002-23; Pierre Goubert, "Economie et urbanisme en France dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle," L'Urbanisme de Paris et l'Europe 1600-1680, ed. Pierre Francastel (Paris:1969), 37-45.

Chapter 1

THE PLACE ROYALE

In July 1605, Henri IV announced the creation of the place Royale, the first planned square in Paris. Now called the place des Vosges, it appears today much as it was portrayed in 1612 by Claude Chastillon in the earliest known depiction of the square./Fig. 6/ The engraving, which views the square from the east, was made after a drawing by Chastillon which he drafted soon after the brick and stone pavilions surrounding the square were completed. According to the standard interpretation of the place Royale, it was planned from the start as an aristocratic residential square with four uniform sides, as it is seen in Chastillon's engraving. This interpretation has been reinforced by the focus of historical studies on the square's most prominent noble residents. In 1911, François de Mallevoüe published a series of documents detailing the original distribution of lots at the square, and the studies of Louis Lambeau and Maurice Dumolin in the 1910's and 1920's traced the ensuing changes of title of certain houses.¹ Furthermore, nothing has been known about the silk workshops which occupied the

north side of the site when the square was initiated in 1605. Scholars have assumed that they were negligible structures destined for destruction from the moment the square was planned.² However, the king explicitly stated in 1605 that the place Royale was intended to facilitate the establishment of the silk enterprise, furnish lodgings for artisans, and provide shops for merchandise.

Here it will be argued that the place Royale was conceived not as an aristocratic residential square, but as the centerpiece of a royal campaign to stimulate French manufacturing. When the creation of the square was announced in 1605, it was the crown's intention to preserve the pre-existing workshops on the north side of the site and to build three ranges of pavilions on the other sides of the square. The brick and stone pavilions were intended for commercial and residential use, with shops opening onto the arcaded gallery and master craftsmen living above. The place Royale was planned to promote the manufacturing venture, not to supplant it; and it was planned for artisans, not aristocrats. But two years later, in 1607, the form and function of the place Royale were fundamentally changed. The workshops were razed, and in their place a fourth range of pavilions was built, creating an enclosed, symmetric, and axial space. Furthermore, the gown nobles who owned the land retained the pavilions for their own residential use, rather than surrender them to shopkeepers and artisans. The crown's original vision of the place

Royale as a commercial center was condemned by the very men to whom the king had entrusted its development, the officers and financiers attached to the monarchy who were seeking an urban architectural image commensurate with their social needs and ambitions. That they claimed these row houses planned for merchants and artisans for their own use testifies to the great appeal of the place Royale.

The Royal Campaign for French Silk

Central to Henri IV's effort to resurrect the war-battered economy of France was the revival of commerce through the domestic manufacture of goods. This policy was shaped by Barthelemy Laffemas (1545-1611), a Protestant tailor and trader who served the Bourbon ruler since 1566. In 1601, the king appointed Laffemas *Contrôleur général de commerce*. From this post, Laffemas pursued mercantilist policies which he elaborated in an incessant flow of pamphlets published between 1596 and 1609.³ The wealth of France, Laffemas argued, was sapped by the exportation of gold and silver for the excessive purchase of foreign goods; to curb the loss of specie, it was essential to restore the quality and vigor of French commerce. Laffemas' mercantilist strategy did not depart from Valois policies; but his program was distinguished by the nearly unlimited support which it won from the king.⁴ In 1599, Henri IV banned the importation of foreign manufactured goods and two years later he created the "Commission consultative sur le fait

du commerce general et l'établissement des manufactures" to organize the campaign for domestic production.⁵ Due to the fervid efforts of the Commission du commerce directed by Laffemas, Paris proliferated with ateliers in which Italian, Dutch, and Flemish artisans and their French apprentices produced cloths, crystal, tapestries, and other goods. Among the numerous entreprises, Henri IV favored one venture in particular on which his economic program centered—the production of silk cloth. During the first years of the seventeenth century, the crown waged an aggressive campaign to transform France into a silk producing country. "L'introduction desd. soyes . . .," the king declared in 1603, "est le plus convenable remede pour eviter le transport desd. deniers et d'ailleurs souhaitable pour la decoration publique, l'enrichissement, et occupation des peuples" (A.N. E4B f161, 4 Oct. 1602). It was the intersection of the silk program with "la décoration publique" which led, two years later, to the creation of the place Royale.

The campaign for domestic silk was waged in the country and the city, with money and with a flood of promotional literature. The most authoritative advocate of sericulture was Olivier de Serres (1539-1619), the Protestant agronomist and author of the treatise Le Théâtre d'Agriculture. Published in 1600, it became the standard guide to agricultural matters in seventeenth century France, with four editions appearing during the reign of Henri IV to whom the book was dedicated. In 1599, an extract from Le Théâtre

was published, possibly at the king's request, entitled La Cueillete de la soye par la nourriture des vers qui la font which explained the techniques of sericulture and preached its profitability and feasibility in France. Dedicated to the Prévot des Marchands and the officers of Paris, de Serres urged them to promote the cultivation of silk in the capital. The pamphlet advised on such matters as the construction of a logis for the incubation of silkworms, which de Serres suggested could be used off-season as living space, and patterns for landscaping country estates with mulberry trees, promising the marriage of pleasure and profit. The mulberry thus entered the domain of the gardener as well as that of the agronomist and economist, and among the figures active in the sericulture campaign was the royal gardener Claude Mollet.⁶

The king set an example for his subjects by cultivating mulberry trees and silkworms in the Tuileries gardens as well as the châteaux of Fontainebleau and Madrid.⁷ In 1601, 15,000 to 20,000 muriers selected by de Serres were planted in the Tuileries (Le Théâtre 460); and a nursery for the incubation of silkworms was built two years later on the north side of the garden, as it is shown in the Vassalieu and Quesnel plans of Paris.⁸/Figs. 2d,3d/ Laffemas boasted that the silk produced in the royal gardens was "plus legères, fines et avec plus de lustre" than foreign silks; "mesmes les ouvriers qui les employent assurent de verité que XV onces de celles desd. Thuilleries rendent pareille

quantité d'estoffe que dixhuit onces de celles d'Italie"
(Tesmoinage 1602:4-5).

A program to spread sericulture across the country was launched by the crown in 1603. The Commission du commerce passed a three-year contract with two merchant-entrepreneurs who agreed to disseminate tens of thousands of mulberry plants and silkworms, accompanied by 16,000 printed manuals and a staff of experienced workers to instruct the population in "the art of silk".⁹ The king "hath caused most of the gentlemen and possessioners of his realm to plant mulberry trees in their grounds for the nourishing of silk-worms," the English ambassador Sir George Carew wrote in 1609, "and told me he hoped to make his realm the staple for all the silk that should be worn in all these northern parts of Europe" (A Relation of the State of France 431). In 1603, the first year of the experiment, 800 pounds of silk were produced, though various difficulties were encountered including the high mortality of silkworms and the disinterest of peasant farmers.¹⁰ Despite these setbacks, the crown pursued its campaign, introducing sericulture in Normandy in 1608 (Boissonnade 46). Henri IV's vision of France as a great silk-producing country was not realized, nevertheless, his project met with some success. Commending it in 1615, the great economist of Louis XIII's reign Montchrétien wrote that France had proven she can "supply herself with the best /silk/ in the world without buying at high prices from foreigners."¹¹

It was not enough to produce raw silk if France were to

be weaned from foreign markets; the country also had to learn the secret craft of spinning fine silk cloth. Several small silk workshops were already opened in the capital in 1601 and 1602.¹² But, Henri IV wanted to establish a major manufacturing venture, on a scale sufficiently grand to attract Italian artisans to Paris and to institutionalize the privileged craft in France. In May 1603, Pierre Saintot, a prominent Parisian merchant who ran a silk, gold, and silver cloth business, was summoned to Fontainebleau to discuss such a venture with the king's deputies (Délibérations 1). Three months later, in August 1603, a royal edict announced the creation of a new enterprise to produce silk, gold, and silver cloth "à la façon du Milan", privately run by six entrepreneurs with the protection and support of the king (A.N. X1A 8645 f151-52). From the start, this project was cast in a symbolic role by the crown, at once the model for other manufactures which it would hopefully spawn and the solution to France's economic and social problems.

The success of the business seemed assured by its six directors. Jean Moisset, Pierre Saintot, Jean-André Lumague, Nicolas Camus, Claude Parfaict, and Guillaume Parfaict were among the most accomplished merchants and financiers in Paris, and their participation confirms the importance of the venture. The "manufactures d'or, d'argent, et de soye" was mounted not as a pleasing gesture to the crown, but as a serious response to substantial

entrepreneurial opportunities. All the partners were veteran merchants in the silk trade except Moisset who provided the largest share of the capital. An exemplar of the bourgeois ascent to wealth and nobility through tax farming, royal banking, and venal office, Jean Moisset (c.1570-1620) began as an apprentice to a court tailor during the last years of Henri III's reign; by November 1603, he had risen to the lucrative post of Payeur et Receveur des rentes for Paris to which he was appointed by Henri IV, perhaps to reward Moisset's investment in the silkworks.¹³ Moisset provided a quarter of the capital for the new business, probably at the crown's request—the five other partners equally contributing the rest—but he was remote from its operation.¹⁴

Moisset was the only entrepreneur drawn from the robe and strongly associated with the monarch; his partners were prominent members of the Parisian merchant community and, in several cases, of the ruling municipal elite, the noblesse de cloche. Pierre Sainctot (15?-1640) began his career as a silk dyer and trader; an expert in drawing gold ("l'art de tirer d'or"), he ran a "manufactures d'or, d'argent et des soyes" before becoming involved in the royally-backed operation. A leader of the merchant community, Sainctot was named to one of the two seats on the Commission du commerce in 1602 reserved for merchants, and he was invited to the court in 1603 to negotiate terms for the new business. Although Sainctot visited Fontainebleau on a few other occasions, one of which was to present alternative designs

for the hôpital St. Louis, the court was far less familiar terrain to him than the Hôtel de Ville. Elected quartinier in 1601, échevin in 1604, and conseiller in 1606, Sainctot ascended the ranks of municipal government.¹⁵ The path of Claude Parfaict (1586-1623) was similar to Sainctot's though less demarcated by official honors. Son of a draper on the rue St. Anthoine, he continued the trade on the same busy street and was elected quartinier in 1610.¹⁶

Nicolas Camus (1567-1648), a native Parisian like Parfaict and Sainctot, became active in the domestic production of silk after the import ban was imposed in 1599. Camus moved from commerce into banking, and in that domain amassed an unmatched fortune as one of the ruling bankers during Louis XIII's reign.¹⁷ Jean-André Lumague (1564-1637) followed the same course. He came to Paris in 1598 from Lyon where he had established a "compagnie de negoce des soyes et de change" in the early 1580's with Paul Mascranny. The firm of Mascranny and Lumague, based in Paris and Lyon with associates across Europe, flourished during the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII. The banker of Maria de Medici and her allies, Leonora Galigai and Concini, Lumague was well-connected to the Italian community in Paris.¹⁸ Lumague's investment in the silk venture was shared with three of his brothers and with Mascranny, although they were not named in the act of August 1603 (Min.cent. CXII 258, 10 Jan. 1609).

The sixth entrepreneur Odard Colbert (1560-1640) was a

relative of Nicolas Camus and since 1589 a close associate of Lumague in the Lyonnais silk trade.¹⁹ In 1604, Colbert withdrew from the project and was replaced by Guillaume Parfaict (1558-1625). Unlike his brother Claude, Guillaume Parfaict left the world of trade and the municipal government, which he served as échevin, to enter the royal administration, holding the offices of Trésorier de France for Bourges and Contrôleur général de la maison du roi (Lettres missives 7:7-8). These five men were not pedestrian merchants; they were experienced silk traders, wealthy and ambitious entrepreneurs, eminent men who became even more powerful during the following decades.²⁰ Requiring supplies of gold and silver to weave the precious silk cloths, their business was tied to the world of banking and international finance, and by virtue of the king's patronage, it was tied to the crown.

The king demonstrated his commitment to the venture in several ways (A.N. X1A 8645 f151). First, the entrepreneurs were granted titles of nobility on the condition that they maintained the business for twelve years, through 1615 (B.N. Ms.fr. 4139 f106v, f158, 19 Oct. 1604). Second, privileges were extended to the silk artisans. Recognizing that French workers did not have the knowledge to reproduce the restricted goods, efforts were made to induce foreign artisans to disseminate their skills in France by offering them naturalized status as well as exemption from taxes and guild regulations. Finally, the crown allocated 180,000 pounds for the business of which 30,000 pounds were a gift

and the balance was advanced as a loan to be repaid within twelve years. These were standard privileges, offered in more generous measure than normal.²¹ But, one year later the king presented the silk entrepreneurs with an unprecedented gift—the gift of land in Paris.

The Silkworks and the Site

Saintot returned to the court in November 1603 "pour avoir resolution de Sa Majesté sur le faict de son entreprise des manufactures . . ."(Délibérations 130). A few days after this meeting, Sully informed the Commission du commerce that "pour le regard de l'entreprise de M. Saintot, il l'approuvoit fort, mais qu'il trouvoit de la difficulté à luy fournir l'argent que Sa Majesté avoit promis leur avancer" (133). The king had offered far more than money, and one month later the full extent of his promise was revealed. In January 1604, Henri IV announced the gift of a large tract of land to the silk entrepreneurs on which to build workshops and houses for artisans.²² The donation amounted to 6000 square toises (23,522 square meters) on the Right Bank of Paris, inside the city wall near the Bastille, and it included the land on which the north range of the place Royale was built four years later./Fig. 8a/ The king reiterated the importance which he attributed to the silkworks in an edict on 4 March 1604, instructing Sully to measure the site.

Ayant une particuliere affection d'establir en ceste nostre bonne ville de Paris les artz et manufactures speciallement celles de soye, or, et argent fillé a la façon de Milan, nous y avons faict venir des pais estrangers des ouvriers tant pour dresser les moulins, mestiers, et autres choses necessaires pour lesd. manufactures, que pour commencer a y travailler et monstrier a ceulx de noz subjects qui aurons desir d'y apprendre Mais d'autant que nous n'avons peu trouver en ceste notred. ville aucun logis assez spacieux, propre, ny commode pour la grande quantité de mestiers et moulins qu'il conviendra dresser ny pour loger et habiter les ouvriers qui y travailleront, nous avons jugé a propos d'en faire bastir unq expres en la place antienement appelée le parc des Tournelles a nous appartenant et de faict, apres avoir esté nous mesurés sur les lieux, nous en avons promis et accordé en don aux sieurs de Moisset et Sainctot, Lumague, Camus et Parfaict entrepreneurs dudict establissement jusques a la quantité de 100 thoises de long sur 60 de large pour y faire bastir et construire les maisons propres et necessaires pour lesd. manufactures et ouvriers d'icelles suivant le desseing qui nous en a esté monstré . . ." (Commission).

Other manufactures were provided with facilities in which to work. The Italian crepe atelier was set up in the château of Mantes. Another silkmaker was installed in the Hôtel de la Maque on the rue de la Tissanderie, and for the particularly favored Flemish tapestry works, later known as the Gobelins, the crown rented two houses in the faubourg St. Marcel and paid for the necessary repairs and modifications. But, no other venture was given land in the heart of Paris. This extraordinary endowment testified to the importance of the silkworks in the royal economic program.

The design to which the edict refers was not a specific scheme for the manufactures; the entrepreneurs had not even determined at this point how many houses they intended to build. When the site was measured a week later (10 March

1604) by Jean Fontaine, maître des oeuvres de charpenterie des bâtiments du roi, he acknowledged having "veu l'ancien plan des rues et places designees pour y bastir affin que les rues y designees soient conservees en leurs entieres et droittes lignes . . ." (Commission). The king was probably shown this ancien plan, indicating the streets and numbered lots of an unfinished Valois lotissement of the parc des Tournelles.

The park was the former site of the Hôtel des Tournelles, a medieval royal residence where Henri II was killed in 1559./Fig. 1/ In 1564, Charles IX ordered the destruction of the Hôtel des Tournelles and the sale of the property to finance Catherine de Medici's construction of the Tuileries.²³ Lots were to be sold "a la charge d'y faire bastir et edifier maisons et manoirs habitables, commodes et convenables pour la decoration de notred. ville selon les portraits et devis qui en feront pour ce faire" (A.N. X1A 8625 f174, 28 Jan. 1564). While there is no surviving plan of the Valois lotissement, documents reveal that a grid of streets was projected across the entire area. It is certain that a square, such as Henri IV eventually created on the same site, was not envisioned in the 1560's. The streets were to be lined by houses with uniform facades, "le tout diviser et separer par rues et places de telle longueur et largeur . . . requis pour bastir maisons uniformes et semblables si possible est . . ." (Felibien 4:817-18, 15 May 1565). The documents give us no clues about what the facade design may have been, or if a

design was ever established. The lotissement of the Hôtel des Tournelles was never completed, and only a few parcels were sold at the western edge of the site, near the rue de l'Egoust (today the rue de Turenne).²⁴ The parc des Tournelles became the site of a horse market and a dumping ground until the intervention of Henri IV.²⁵

The Bourbon king encouraged the settlement of the area by giving away several plots of land in the parc des Tournelles. In 1594, he gave Sully 1800 square toises directly north of the tract subsequently given to the silk entrepreneurs (today bounded by the rues des Minimes and de Turenne).²⁶ Sully sold the land for 7500 pounds in 1600 to Louis de l'Hospital, marquis de Vitry, who built a hôtel clearly marked on Vassalieu's plan of Paris (Min.cent. III 462bis, 23 Jan. 1600)./Fig. 2a/ In 1603, Estienne Prevost, a titular officer in the royal household, was given 61 square toises at the east edge of the park, on the rue des Tournelles, which he proceeded to subdivide and sell.²⁷ The cession to Saintot and his partners the following year thus formed part of a broader effort to develop the area, with each donation respecting the Valois street grid.

The authority of the Valois plan was rigorously respected in demarcating the tract given to the silk entrepreneurs. The boundaries were determined by four unlaidd streets which were projected in 1565: to the north, "le long du logis du sieur de Vitry . . . une rue de 6 thoises" (rue des Minimes); to the east, "la rue qui doit

estre erigée vers le rempart", a northern extension of the rue des Tournelles which was already built at its south end; to the south, "lieu marqué pour la rue d'Anjou . . . sortant de la cousture Sainte Catherine" (the north side of the place des Vosges); and to the west, a street is implied "vers l'escout" (rue de Turenne) (Toisé, Rapport). The area of the tract circumscribed by these phantom streets was only 5300 square toises; the promised 6000 "ne peuvent estre comprises tout a un tenant sans interrompre l'antien plan des rues qui y sont dessignées" (Rapport). In order to comply with the inherited street plan, the entrepreneurs had to be given a separate plot of 700 square toises which was also described in terms of the Valois lotissement, "la 38, 39, et la moictié de la 50e place . . . qui ont esté cy devant alienees" (Toisé).

The silk entrepreneurs built a substantial complex of houses and workshops on the larger tract. Construction must have begun soon after the king confirmed the donation in April 1604, and was largely completed by the end of the year. The entrepreneurs had initially anticipated that "pour le grand nombre et diversité d'ouvriers qui leur convient employer en lad. entreprise, il leur estoit besoing de faire faire jusques au nombre de vingt corps de maison", but they began on a more modest scale (Rapport). A contract for joinery work passed in September reveals that twelve houses were built, each 14 to 15 toises long by 21 feet wide, in addition to a pavilion, 4 by 5 toises (Min.cent. CVIII 34bis f316, 2 Sept. 1604). Contracts for roofing and

metalwork have also been uncovered, however, they tell us little about the design of these buildings./App. A1/ The workshops and houses spread across the southern edge of the property, occupying what later became the north side of the place Royale and extending beyond to the rue des Tournelles to the east and the rue de l'Egout (de Turenne) to the west.²⁸ The houses were both living and working places for the artisans, with some finishing work probably undertaken in the ground floor rooms, but there was also a large atelier which housed the spinning mills at the east end of the site, along the rue des Tournelles./Fig. 8b/ The maison des moulins consisted of a corps de logis 18 toises long on the street side, with perpendicular wings around a courtyard (A.P. H.D.60.350, 2 Oct. 1608). The building was given some architectural attention, adorned with "la massonerie de trois lucarnes, escalliers, architraves, fronton, clefs, entablemens, et appuids desd. lucarnes. . . et en chacune desd. lucarnes . . . huit consoles semblables a celles qui sont du costé de la rue St. Anthoine" (Min.cent. CV 293, 10 Dec. 1604; App. A1). Laffemas claimed that this "beau bastiment" was "plus superbe" than the orangerie in the Tuilleries (Recueil 222); and so proud of the maison des moulins was the king that the festivities for the baptism of the Dauphin in 1606 were planned "en la court et place du logis des Manufactures près la place Royale des Tournelles."²⁹

The "manufactures de soie, d'or et d'argent" were

active by mid-1605. Installed in the workshops and houses were Italian master craftsmen and French apprentices who, it was hoped, would sow a new domestic art with their precious skills.³⁰ The entrepreneurs engaged the Milanese Andrea Turato to administer the business, but "par sa faute et mauvaise gestion" he was dismissed and replaced in 1606 by another Italian Sigismond Pestalossi who was provided lodgings "en lieux commodes deppendans de lad. maison du parc des Tournelles."³¹ In addition, the entrepreneurs opened a shop to sell their cloths, perhaps using the pavilion adjoining the twelve houses for this purpose. They invested 30,000 pounds in the shop alone, and for the construction of the workshops and houses, the entrepreneurs spent 176,919 pounds; this was roughly equal to the cost of building seven pavilions and their dependencies at the place Royale. The crown immediately supplied 60,000 pounds for the buildings, and the entrepreneurs eventually collected the full allocation of 180,000 pounds promised by the king.³² With craftsmen brought from Italy and newly built ateliers and houses, it was a well-endowed business that was launched in 1604 and 1605, bearing the king's hopes for economic revival.

The First Design of the Place Royale: 1605

In March 1605, with the silkworks established in newly constructed buildings, the king advanced another project for the parc des Tournelles. He wrote Sully on 29 March 1605:

Mon amy, ceste-cy sera pour vous prier de vous souvenir de ce dont nous parlames dernièrement ensemble, de cette place que je veux que l'on fasse devant le logis qui se fait au marché aux chevaux pour les manufactures, afin que si vous n'y avez esté vous alliez pour la faire marquer; car baillant le reste des autres places a cens et rente pour bastir, c'est sans doute qu'elles le seront incontinent, et je vous prie de m'en mander les nouvelles (Oeconomies royales 2:26).

The king had decided to build a square in front of the silkworks, "devant le logis . . . pour les manufactures." Two months later, he again pressed Sully about the project; "Arnauld /royal treasurer for Paris/ vous dira comme je me suis enquis fort particulièrement si l'on commence à travailler aux maisons de la place du marché aux chevaux . . ." (Lettres missives 6:442, 29 May 1605).

The king formally announced the creation of the place Royale in July 1605. The royal edict explained the crown's intentions in creating the square.

Ayant deliberé pour la commodité et l'ornement de nostre bonne ville de Paris, d'y faire une grande place bastye de quatre costés, laquelle puisse estre propre pour ayder a establir les manufactures des draps de soye, et loger les ouvriers que nous voulons attirer en ce royaume, le plus qu'il se pourra, et par mesme moyen puisse servir de promenoir aux habitants de nostre ville, lesquels sont fort pressez en leurs maisons a cause de la multitude du peuple qui y afflue de tous costés, comme aussi aux jours de resjouissance lorsqu'il se fait de grandes assemblees, et a plusieurs autres occasions qui se rencontrent auxquelles telles places sont du tout necessaires, Nous avons resolu en nostre conseil . . . de destiner a cest effet le lieu a present appelé le Marché-aux-Chevaux, anciennement le parc des Tournelles, et que nous voullons estre doresnavant nommé la place Royale . . . (A.N. X1A 8645 f284).

The edict specified three functions of the square. First, the place Royale was presented as a stage for court ceremonies and public celebrations. Municipal ceremonies

took place in front of the Hôtel de Ville in the place de Grève, but the crown had no such public arena in Paris. Its festivities were channeled through the streets along a processional route or confined to the exclusive courtyards of the Louvre and the Arsenal. The place Royale gave the monarchy a specific forum to enact its political rituals before the public. Second, the square would provide an open ground for a confined urban population to enjoy the pleasure of promenading. The city was not in fact devoid of open ground; there were areas within the walls on both banks that remained undeveloped. However, the crown meant an open space that was architecturally defined. It conceived of the promenade as a pleasure specifically urban in nature accessible through the structured landscape of the city. There was an implicit awareness that the form and space of the city offered distinctive experiences and satisfactions, and in this respect the place Royale signaled a new strategy of urban development that responded to the peculiar qualities of urban life.

Above all, the edict explicitly stated, the place Royale was intended to advance the manufacturing venture. This would be accomplished by lodging silk artisans in the new buildings and by opening shops around the arcaded gallery. France suffered from a shortage of craftsmen skilled in the production of fine silk, and Saintot complained in 1604 that the silk business was hampered by "fautes de filandieres et autres personnes capables qui se puissent trouver en assez suffisant nombre pour tailler et

filer lesd. batteries d'or et d'argent ja faictes et preparees . . ." (Délibérations 262-63, 5 Oct. 1604). The success of the campaign for domestic silk depended on the recruitment of a corps of foreign artisans. Consequently, the manufactures in the parc des Tournelles had to be made so enticing that men would leave their native lands to participate in the French venture. The place Royale responded to this challenge by offering both a unique residential amenity and a prestigious association with the crown. The English ambassador George Carew accurately described the king's goal; "he hath erected /in Paris/ many of the most rich and substantial manufactures and by great wages drawn thither men skilful and expert in the same, accommodating and fitting them also with mansions and habitation as one who means to tie them fast" (434).³³ It was to lure Italian craftsmen to the distant French capital and "to tie them fast" that the place Royale was planned in 1605.

In addition to the shops and artisan houses, the place Royale promoted the manufactures through a new strategy of urban design: by shaping the form of the city to call attention to the commercial enterprise. The numerous lotissements of the sixteenth century were all structured by a rectilinear street plan, with no interest shown in the possibilities of modeling the city fabric to produce a public space. Furthermore, the regular lot division often served only as a device for selling the land, and did not

constrain property lines or house dimensions. Frequently, investors purchased several adjacent lots, thereby amassing much larger tracts. The seventeen lots of the Hôtel d'Etampes, for example, were bought by seven people in 1544, and the thirty lots that comprised the Hôtel du Beautreillis were acquired by only nine people in 1555; that same year, the Hôtel du Petit Bourbon was bought in its entirety by François de Caravalet.³⁴ The project for the Hôtel des Tournelles was the first lotissement that would have controlled the architectural character of the area by imposing a uniform facade on the houses, but the scheme was not realized. At the place Royale, not only was a uniform design realized on an urban scale, but it was deployed in defining a unique urban space, the first planned square in Paris.

The place Royale was situated south of the silkworks in the parc des Tournelles. There is no surviving plan of the first project, but the original design is described in the royal edict of July 1605.

/Nous/ avons fait marquer une grande place vis-a-vis du logis qui a esté basty depuis peu par les entrepreneurs des manufactures, contenant 72 thoises en carré . . . /et nous/ avons baillé les places . . . au tour dud. carré . . . a ceux qui se sont presentez pour y bastir selon nostre desseing, et pour cest effect leur avons delaissé lesd. places . . . a la charge . . . de bastir sur la face desd. places chacun un pavillon ayant la muraille de devant de pierre de taille et de brique, ouverte en arcades et des galleries au dessoubz avec des boutiques pour la commodité des marchandises selon le plan et les elevations qui en ont esté figurés, tellement que les trois costez qui sont a faire pour la tour de lad. place devant led. logis des manufactures soient tous bastiz d'une mesme cimettie pour la decoration de nostred. ville . . . (A.N. X1A 8645 f284).

The edict made clear that brick and stone pavilions were to be built only around three sides of the square, "les trois costez qui sont a faire pour la tour de lad. place", while the "logis des manufactures" remained standing on the north side. There was no implication that the silkworks were to be destroyed.

The crown gave away the land on the three unbuilt sides of the square, requiring the recipients to build a pavilion according to the royal design./Fig. 6/ Each pavilion spanned four bays and was crowned by a separate roof. Rising above the ground floor arcade were two stories scanned by French windows and an attic with a row of pedimented dormers. The arcade was built of stone and very modestly articulated by pilasters, an archivolt, and three pendant keystones. The walls above were dressed with brick, and the window surrounds, chains, and string courses were picked out in stone. Surmounted by steep, slate roofs with stone lucarnes, the pavilions produced an imposing effect through simple contrasts of building materials and colors, avoiding the ennobling grammar of the orders. The separate unit of the pavilion was asserted only above the arcade by a concentration of quoins representing party walls, by the rhythm of segmental and triangular pediments above the dormers, and most emphatically by the individual roofs. Subdivision of the pavilions among coheirs or others was specifically prohibited by the crown in order to protect the uniformity of the facades, "voullans . . . la conservation des chambres respondantes sur lad. place lesquelles

pourroient estre gastees par les partages et separations."

In exchange for the land, each lot owner was required to build a pavilion with shops around the gallery and comply with the facade design. The land deeds included the following charge:

la charge de faire bastir par led. sieur achepteur, sur la face de lad. place, ung pavillon couvert d'ardoise ayant des arcades et une gallerie au dessous avec des boutiques ouvertes dans lad. gallerie, ayant led. pavillon la muraille estant sur lad. place Royale de pierre de taille et de brique selon le desseing qui en a esté dressé par commandement de Sa Majesté.³⁵

The owners were otherwise permitted to build according to their discretion, "tels autres bastimens et tant et si peu que bon luy semblera". Although the crown explicitly stated in the edict of July 1605 that artisans were to be lodged at the square, this was not stipulated as a development requirement. Perhaps the crown assumed, first, that the program of the square was already clearly stated in the royal edict and second, that the design of the pavilions made their intended use by artisans and shopkeepers self-evident.

The place Royale pavilions have always been associated with the noblemen who built and lived at the square, therefore, it must be considered whether these houses were actually intended for craftsmen and merchants. In its plan and relation to the street, the pavilion was affiliated not with the nobleman's hôtel but the bourgeois house. The typical hôtel entailed a corps de logis at the far side of a courtyard with two side wings and a screen wall, pierced by

a portal, bordering the street.³⁶ The corps de logis was always removed from the street, set between a court and a garden, whereas at the place Royale, the principal wing faced the public space. This arrangement was characteristic of the bourgeois house with a narrow corps de logis bordering the street, such as Le Muet later codified in the plan for the seventh lot in Manière de Bien Bastir (1623). It may be argued that the hôtel plan was altered in deference to the square without any intention to eliminate the traditional aristocratic associations of the building type. However, the facade design provides further evidence that the pavilions were planned for artisans.

First, the arcaded gallery was not a feature of noble housing. It derived from medieval market squares, common both in northeastern France, often with a marked Flemish influence (Arras, Metz, Pont-à-Mousson), and in the bastides of southwestern France (Montauban, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Villeneuve-sur-Lot). Paris provided an immediate example in the Pont Notre Dame which, since the time of its reconstruction in 1506, was bordered by uniform houses with arcaded ground floor shops.³⁷

Second, the facade of the place Royale pavilions echoed a design in Serlio's sixth book on domestic architecture, with shops in both cases opening onto an arcaded gallery. /Fig. 7/ Serlio identified project I in the Columbia manuscript as a house for a rich artisan or good merchant, "Casa per un ricco artefice o buon mercante e anche per un cittadino", and this was precisely the group for whom the

place Royale was intended. The striking similarity between the two designs raises the possibility that Henri IV's architects consulted Serlio's manuscript on domestic architecture, a copy of which remained in France, possibly in the library of Salomon de Brosse.³⁸ On the same folio as project I was an alternative design in the French manner, "Casa quasi simile alla passata ma al costume di Franza", which Serlio noted was especially common in Paris, "alla parigina".³⁹ Henri IV's architects consciously rejected the Parisian model; though working in a French architectural style, they chose an Italian type, relating perhaps to the effort to attract Italians. The fact that the pavilion departed from typical bourgeois housing in Paris and, in addition, received such a regal debut at the place Royale undoubtedly contributed to a misreading of the building's intended use.

Finally, there were similarities between the facades of the place Royale and the place Dauphine, Henri IV's second square which was designed in 1607. The place Dauphine was planned for and developed by artisans and merchants and, given the formal similarities between the squares, it can be inferred that the place Royale was intended for the same social class. The pavilions at the earlier square were grander than the place Dauphine houses, but this was due in part to the crown's involvement in the place Royale signified by the King's Pavilion.

The crown reserved one lot at the square, and on that

lot, in the middle of the south range, Henri IV built the Pavillon du Roi. This building established the king's presence at the square, a presence which was essential to persuade both foreign artisans to participate in the manufacturing venture and lot owners to undertake the architectural charge. Construction of the pavilion was immediately initiated; masonry and carpentry contracts were awarded to Jonas Robelin and Gilles Le Redde respectively on 1 July 1605 (Mallevoüe 158-162). At this time, only one story was planned between the arcade and attic, "un estage-carré". The design was changed before 1607, and a taller pavilion was built with two floors above the arcade. The building was probably finished in early 1607, and in May, Charles de Court, painter and valet de chambre du roi, was named its concierge.⁴⁰ The crown spent 32,679 pounds on the Pavillon du Roi, material proof of the king's commitment to the square.⁴¹

The King's Pavilion interrupted the uniform file of houses which enclosed the east, south, and west sides of the square. As befit its royal patron, the Pavillon du Roi was taller, by approximately 12 feet, and more ornate than the adjoining houses, with fluted pilasters and a frieze bearing the king's initial and symbols of art and war. Unlike the other pavilions which had four equal bays, the Pavillon du Roi had a dominant central axis. It was pierced by three arches, and scanned above by five windows and three pedimented dormers, with the center bay emphasized by larger openings and more concentrated ornament.⁴² Finally, only

the Pavillon du Roi did not have ground floor rooms, with the open arches expressing the central axis of the square. The monarch could sponsor commerce, but the dignity of his station prohibited the installation of a shop beneath his symbolic residence. Instead, the royal pavilion served as the primary entrance to the square. The Pavillon du Roi was conceived as an entrance pavilion, derived from those in the forecourts of sixteenth century châteaux, such as Fleury-en-Bière and Montceaux, and later set in an urban context by de Brosse at the Luxembourg Palace, designed in 1615. The Pavillon du Roi was thus differentiated from the mundane commercial function of the surrounding shops and artisan houses, and affiliated with a noble building type, reinterpreted however for an urban square.

The place Royale was embedded in its urban context. /Figs. 4-5a/ The principal approach to the place Royale was from the rue St. Antoine, the primary east-west artery on the Right Bank which connected the porte Saint Antoine, the Bastille, and the Arsenal to the Louvre. One turned from the rue St. Antoine onto the perpendicular rue Royale (rue Birague), and at the end of the short street towered the Pavillon du Roi. The rue Birague was built at the same time as the square. It cut through a partially developed area, and the crown indemnified several property owners whose houses were damaged by construction of the street.⁴³ It is surprising that the crown did not control the design of the houses along this approach to the square, but the splendor

of the Pavillon du Roi was nonetheless striking beside the banal houses on the rue Birague. Proceeding along this street, one passed beneath the Pavillon du Roi and entered the square on its central axis. The Pavillon du Roi, rising above the neighboring houses, testified to the royal patronage of the square as well as articulated its central axis. Furthermore, the King's Pavilion provided the only opening in the otherwise closed ring of houses on the east, south and west sides of the square. Opposite this entrance were the silkworks. They extended beyond the east and west ranges and were set off by a street traversing the north side of the square. This street continued the path of the rue des Francs Bourgeois, channeling traffic into the square from the residential and commercial districts to the west. The workshops and the street on the north side acted as an extended lateral element countering the central axis and otherwise closed volume of the place. The square had a T-shaped axial structure which was integrated with the surrounding network of streets. Both the central axis of the square which was linked to the rue St. Antoine, and the lateral axis which continued the rue des Francs Bourgeois were meaningful in terms of the square's formal composition and its urban structure.

The designer of the place Royale is unknown. The royal architects Louis Métézeau and Jacques II Androuet Ducerceau, as well as the royal topographer Claude Chastillon have been proposed as probable authors, however, there is no evidence to sustain these attributions.⁴⁴ Not only do the documents

fail to name the architect, but his identity is rendered more obscure by the absence of contemporary drawings of the place Royale. Only one sketch of the square is known to survive. This undated and unsigned drawing in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm depicts the upper stories of the Pavillon du Roi. Babelon believes it is a working drawing made in 1605 for the revised design of the royal pavilion, but it might also be a response to the finished building showing the draughtsman's corrections.⁴⁵ On the other side of the folio is an unsigned drawing of the porte-cochère of the Hôtel de Soissons designed by Salomon de Brosse probably in 1611-12. If the drawing is in de Brosse's hand, as Rosalys Coope believes, and if he also did the sketch on the verso before the completion of the Pavillon du Roi, then this sheet raises the possibility that de Brosse was involved in the design of the place Royale.⁴⁶ In 1608, de Brosse designed the buildings for Sully's new town of Henrichemont, a project which was directly inspired by the place Royale. However, the design of the houses and the central square at Henrichemont present no compelling formal evidence to suggest that de Brosse also designed the place Royale.

The place Royale was planned in 1605 with three uniform ranges of shops and artisan houses facing the silkworks to the north. As the pavilions were under construction, Laffemas proclaimed in 1606 that the square heralded the resurrection of French commerce: "Tesmoins les orgueilleux

bastimens de la place Royale dont le front menace de ruyne les estrangers qui vivoient de nos despouilles et dont la seule batterie des metiers que nos françois y ont montez fait peur à tout un pays" (Histoire de Commerce, 1606, 412). In a panegyric entitled Les Paralleles de Cesar et de Henry IIII (Paris:1609), Anthoine de Bandole wrote,

Cesar et Henry ont esté grands architectes pour embellir de beaux edifices leurs villes. L'un fit bastir dans Rome un theatre somptueux pour le plaisir public: Et l'autre la Place Royale dans Paris, pour y faire travailler toutes sortes d'artisans (115).

To demonstrate his support for the enterprise, the king built the Pavillon du Roi, relying on private entrepreneurs to complete the square, men who were expected to comply with the construction requirement. But they were not all committed to the same vision of the place Royale.

The Distribution of Lots

All of the land at the place Royale was given away by the crown. The only revenue was provided by an annual property tax of three pounds levied upon each lot. But, if the royal treasury hardly profited from this alienation of land, Paris was provided with a precious amenity at minimal cost to the crown, for construction of the square was largely financed by the recipients of the land donations. Whereas the sixteenth century lotissements were conducted to raise money for the crown, with no greater goal than the highest possible bid, the Bourbon king willingly sacrificed immediate income to promote other concerns—to advance

trade and to shape a great capital city. The crown's aspirations for Paris cohered in an architectural program of which the place Royale was only one element.

The lotissement of the square took place in two phases. The lots on the east side of the square and most of those on the south side were immediately ceded in June 1605. The allotment of the west side and the remaining section of the south side was delayed until 1607 because the crown did not own the land behind the projected row of pavilions. Steps were immediately taken to acquire the land which was controlled by the priory of Sainte Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, the sieur de Montmagny, and the Remy Royer family. Montmagny was reluctant to surrender his property, and the king's interest in the place Royale even extended to this minor matter. He wrote Sully on 27 May 1605:

Pour le regard de l'opposition que le sieur de Montmagny a faite lorsque vous aves esté apres a faire tirer les fondemens pour les maisons qu'il faut faire bastir au marché aux chevaux, je suis d'avis que vous luy en partiés de ma part, et qu'estant une chose que j'affectionne pour l'ornement et embellissement de ma ville de Paris, il ne s'y devoit opposer; au pis aller, en luy payant la terre que l'on est contraint de prendre dans son jardin, et luy dire qu'estant une oeuvre publique on luy pourroit mesme contraindre a la vendre, non a son mot, mais comme il seroit jugé juste (Lettres missives 6:439).

Settlements were reached in 1607 which generously compensated the three parties. The king then distributed the lots on the west side and at the southwest corner of the square.⁴⁷ The delayed date of these land cessions was probably caused by the prerequisite expropriations and was not related to the design change which took place at the

same time.

The land at the place Royale was given to faithful allies of the crown. There were twenty-seven pavilions planned in 1605, nine on each of the three sides, with one lot reserved for the Pavillon du Roi. This left the crown with twenty-six lots which it distributed among twenty-one men; three men were given more than one lot and three men each had one partner./App. A3/ The large majority of these men were high-ranking court officers and financiers, all nobles of the robe (17/21; 81%). The group included Jean de Fourcy, Intendant des bâtiments, Nicolas Chevalier, President de la Chambre des enquêtes in the Parliament and builder of the château of Wideville, and Etienne de La Fond, Intendant des meubles and a key agent in enforcing the crown's economic program. Two of the men, Nicolas d'Angennes and Pierre Jeannin, were moderate Catholics who were instrumental in consolidating Henri IV's power in the 1590's. Six of the recipients were closely associated with Sully and subsequently built houses in his new town of Henrichemont.⁴⁸

The three other land recipients did not hold high posts in the political or financial administration, but they were also closely allied with the Bourbon ruler. Claude Chastillon in his position as royal topographer had mapped many of the battles waged by Henri IV to win the throne and was in the course of preparing a collection of engraved views of French cities and Parisian sites. The fact that he was given a lot has been taken by some commentators as an

indication that he designed the place Royale. A lot was also given to Barthelemy Laffemas, the ardent champion of the manufacturing program. Only Charles Marchant, Capitaine de trois compagnies d'archers, arquebusiers, et arbalestres de la ville, held no royal office. A pillar of the municipal elite, he was a valuable ally of the king and had been expelled from League-occupied Paris in 1593 for supporting Henri IV.

If the crown intended the pavilions at the place Royale for artisans and shopkeepers, it is reasonable to ask why the land was given almost exclusively to noblemen. The king's primary concern was to find patrons for the pavilions. In 1605, the crown had no reason to expect that artisans and merchants would be willing to assume the building charge, particularly in view of the expense imposed by the brick and stone facades. The lots were given to men who seemed most likely to undertake the task, both in terms of financial means and political self-interest. The king's concern in finding men who were likely to build the pavilions clearly guided his distribution of the nine lots on the west side of the square; five of the lots were given to Pierre Fougeu who had already built a pavilion on the south side, and the four others were given to Charles Marchant, the most extensive private builder in Henri IV's Paris./App. D/

The development of the place Royale should be viewed as an experiment. The crown could not have predicted how the

real estate market would respond to an enterprise which had never before been undertaken in Paris. The crown could not have gauged to what extent the lots would be received as burden or as benefit, a burden in terms of the building requirement, a benefit in terms of the free gift of land. In both respects, the king had cause to rely on his inner circle. But two years later, in 1607, the crown approached the development of the place Dauphine in an entirely different manner. That alternative strategy was a response to the lessons learned at the place Royale where the nobility proved reluctant to construct rental housing for bourgeois tenants and the real estate market proved to value the new houses.

While the recipients of land at the place Royale were implicitly asked to prove their allegiance by building the obligatory pavilions, the donations were by no means a punishment; those who were unwilling to build were assured a quick profit by selling the land. Almost half of the lots were immediately turned over, with the building requirement transferred to a more eager patron (12/26;46%)./App. A3/ This involved nine of the twenty-one first generation owners, however, one of the sellers retained other property at the square thus only eight entirely divested their holdings (8/21;38%). The nine lots changed hands in 1606 and early 1607, before the second design of the place Royale was fixed. The redistribution of land had two principal consequences which demonstrate the diverging conceptions of the square. First, it allowed several noblemen to amass

larger parcels of land; as a result of these sales, one man bought two lots and four others accumulated one and a half lots, immediately violating the royal ban against subdividing the pavilions. Second, it allowed several artisans to buy single lots at the square. Almost half of the available lots were acquired by master masons and carpenters, men whose skills facilitated their compliance with the construction requirement (5/12;42%). These included master carpenter Barthelemy Drouin, royal carpenters Louis Marchant and Antoine Le Redde, master mason Jean Coin, and royal mason Jean Fontaine.⁴⁹ The emphasis on the court connections of the original owners has obscured the major role played by building craftsmen in creating the place Royale: they constituted one-quarter of the pavilion builders (5/18; 27%). These were the men, well-established craftsmen, for whom the place Royale was intended.

The square had an appeal, notwithstanding the large turnover of lots, and buyers were promptly found for the available places à bâtir. The land did not, however, command particularly high prices. Whether this was due primarily to the building requirement or to the projected use of the buildings is unclear, but it is certain that the value of the land was not increased by the square. Each sale was concluded on different terms. Jacques Bouhier, maître d'hôtel du roi, sold his parcel for approximately 6.8 pounds per square toise (Min.cent. LXVIII 86, 8, 23 July 1606). Etienne de La Font obtained 5.6 pounds per square

toise (Min.cent. III 462ter, 28 Jan. 1606); and Daniel de Massy, Lieutenant at the Bastille, got only 4.8 pounds per square toise (Min.cent. III 462ter, 3 Jan. 1606). These prices were all lower than the seven pounds per square toise which Etienne Prevost commanded in 1604, when he sold several parcels on the neighboring rue des Tournelles before the square was planned. The arrangement reached by Francois Felissan, Controlleur général du taillon for Soissons, reveals a reluctance to become involved in construction. He initially sold his lot to the master carpenter Barthelemy Drouin for 1200 pounds, approximately 6.4 pounds per square toise (Min.cent. XIX 354, 12 Aug. 1605). When Drouin was unable to raise the money, Felissan agreed to accept a house which the carpenter had recently built in exchange for the lot at the place Royale plus 10,500 pounds "pour employer aux maison et bastimens qu'il entend faire faire en lad. place des Tournelles" (Min.cent. XIX 354, 27 Dec. 1605).

The lot owners were required to finish the pavilions by the end of 1606, but the deadline was not respected. The horse market convened in the parc des Tournelles until August 1606 when it was banished from the site for interfering with construction (A.N. E11B 87, 8 Aug. 1606). The land on the west side of the square was allotted in March 1607 and construction began immediately on the third range. The English agent Tobie Mathew visited the site and had only praise for the project.

The wonder of a buildinge is that of the old marché aux Chevaux, now call'd the Place Royale, which is already half built with galleries to walk drye round about, a

goodly fontaine in the midst, and a pavillion on one side of the square to lodge the Kinge. . . . This must be destined to the sale of those stuffs of silke and gold which are already made in great abundance by Dutch and Italians who dwell nearby.⁵⁰

But in 1607, as construction of the square was advancing, the design and program of the place Royale were modified.

The Second Design of the Place Royale: 1607

By April 1607, the king had given his support to the idea of an entirely uniform place, but it was not yet resolved how to treat the buildings on the north side of the square. Henri IV addressed the matter in a letter to Sully on 27 April 1607:

J'ay appris par le controlleur /général des bâtiments Jean de/ Donon qu'il se trouvoit quelque difficulté avec les entrepreneurs des manufactures, pour ce qu'ils vouloient abattre tout le logis. Ce n'est pas mon advis et me semble que ce seroit assez qu'ils fissent une de galerie devant, qui auroit la face de mesme que le reste (Lettres missives 7:203).

The silk entrepreneurs wanted to raze and entirely rebuild the north side of the square, but the king suggested building a gallery in front of workshops. According to the standard interpretation, this dispute merely concerned rebuilding costs since the silkworks were destined for destruction from the time the square was originally planned in 1605. But foreknowledge does not explain the alacrity of the entrepreneurs to destroy their own buildings, especially faced by the king's interest in saving them. Superficially, the dispute was about building expenses, but the underlying issue was the commercial function of the square. The king

was still committed to the original conception of the place Royale as a center of trade activated by the silkworks, but Sainctot and his associates advocated a change in the design and program of the square. No other documents concerning this disagreement have yet been found, but we can speculate about the entrepreneurs' motives in light of their ensuing actions. First, they were not maneuvering to terminate the silk business which they were obliged to operate through 1615. Nor were they seeking greater residential amenities or prestige by living at the square, for not one of the entrepreneurs ever lived in the pavilions which they eventually owned. Finally, they were probably not inspired by an aesthetic yearning for symmetry which, as the king pointed out, could have been satisfied at least in part without tearing down the ateliers. The entrepreneurs were interested in the most profitable use of the land bordering the square, and the pavilions, they concluded, would be a more lucrative investment than the workshops. This assessment, made before the buildings rising opposite the silkworks were completed, was probably based on three factors: the entrepreneurs' perception of the square's appeal as a residential district and a demand for the pavilions in the rental housing market; the less than overwhelming record of the silkworks; and the reactions of the other lot owners at the square.

There are some signs that the noblemen who owned lots at the square did not enthusiastically support the commercial program. First, they were relatively slow to

begin building the pavilions even though the land deeds set a fast approaching deadline for construction; this delay may have been a form of resistance to the requirement to house artisans and shopkeepers. Second, more than half of the aristocrats who built houses at the square (7/13;54%) immediately violated the ban against subdividing lots. They amassed larger parcels of land, amounting to one and a half or two lots, with the intention not of providing more ample facilities for artisan tenants, but of building more spacious residences for their own use. This does not necessarily preclude the installation of shops on the ground floor, however, in France, unlike Italy, it was uncommon to combine aristocratic housing with shops; Antoine Le Pautre's Hôtel de Beauvais was the only important seventeenth century hôtel in Paris which included street level shops.⁵¹ Third, there is no evidence that the noblemen took any steps to open shops or lodge artisans in the pavilions. This is confirmed by a proviso added to a lease by Jean Phelypeaux:

Si Sa Majesté commande de louer les boutiques de lad. place royale pour y habiter marchans ou autres artisans, ou que les autres propriétaires des autres maisons de lad. place Royale louent les boutiques desd. autres maisons, en ces cas ou l'un deux, led. sieur bailleur pourra louer comme les autres les quatre boutiques qui sont des deppendances de lad. maison baillee a son proffict et comme non comprises au present bail a la charge que dans l'un desd. boutiques il laissera un passage pour aller a lad. place Royale (Min.cent. XIX 359 f56, 15 April 1608).⁵²

The resolute separation of the shop from the noble residence related to the preference of financiers and court officers throughout the Ancien Régime to invest in venal office

rather than manufacturing and trade, and their effort to assimilate an aristocratic social posture. The rejection of commerce at the place Royale was one episode in this long campaign.⁵³ The preference of the lot owners for an aristocratic residential square, the appeal of the entrepreneurs to relocate the silkworks, and the enticing vision of the place Royale enclosed by uniform pavilions—these factors persuaded the king to modify the original scheme.

In April 1607, Henri IV established a second design for the place Royale./Figs. 5a,6/ The entrepreneurs were ordered to demolish their buildings on the square and to build a row of pavilions in their place, symmetric to the south range.⁵⁴ In the middle of the north range, another entry pavilion was built which later in the century became known as the Queen's Pavilion, but unlike the King's Pavilion which it mirrored, the Pavillon de la Reine was not owned by the crown and therefore was less richly decorated. The new entrance pavilion and the road opened beneath it (rue de Béarn) accentuated the central axis of the square, and the form of the place Royale was thus recast as a symmetric and enclosed square with a pronounced central axis. Implicit in this change of design was a change in the program of the square.

The king, now an enthusiastic supporter of the revised design, agreed to pay for construction of the north range of pavilions. The crown had not subsidized any other construction at the square, and this exceptional measure was

taken to compensate the entrepreneurs for the destruction of their ateliers. The construction was carried out by masons hired by the silk entrepreneurs following a devis prepared by Sully for "les pavillons qu'il convient construire en la place Royale en la partye Septentrion au lieu ou maintenant est basty le corps de logis des Manufactures et sur la mesme allignement" (A.N. 120 AP 49; App. A2). The reference to "boutiques pour la commodité des marchandises" in the original edict of 1605 and in the land cessions was eliminated from Sully's devis which mentioned only "une gallerye d'arcades publique et commune pour aller à couvert soubz iceux." Commerce was banished from the square and the ground floor shops lost their original function. Houses planned for merchants and artisans were appropriated as residences of the nobility.

The new design produced a discordant element in the relationship between the square and the surrounding urban fabric. The axial structure of the place Royale was no longer congruent with the structure of circulation, as it was in the original design. First, the new road to the north, the rue de Béarn, extended the central axis of the square, but the street served no functional role./Fig. 5a/ Whereas the rue Birague on the south side funnelled traffic into the square from a major artery, the rue St. Antoine, the northern street carried practically no traffic. It came to a dead end after two short blocks in the midst of an undeveloped area. This juncture was given greater

architectural importance in the 1660's when the order of the Minimes partially executed François Mansart's design for a monumental church facade, taking advantage of the perspective view from the square.⁵⁵ But, in terms of circulation the northern approach to the place Royale remained unimportant. The north facade of the entrance pavilion was deprived of a brick and stone facade, implicitly acknowledging that it was merely the back side, hidden from public view.⁵⁶ Unlike the Pavillon du Roi which served as an entrance pavilion announcing the presence of the square to the traffic beyond, the axial pavilion on the north side was only a device to achieve symmetry within the square with no significance outside that space.

Second, the entrances at the north corners of the square conflicted with the formal ideal of the square as an enclosed and symmetric space. Even though these entrances were important links with the surrounding urban fabric, even though they expressed a vital axis of circulation, additional pavilions were planned some time before 1647 to mask the intrusive openings.⁵⁷ A pavilion was built at the northeast corner, first depicted in the plan of Paris by Jacques Gomboust in 1652./Fig. 5a/ But, the more important northwest entrance was never camouflaged by an obstructing building. Both the flow of traffic from the rue des Francs Bourgeois and the asymmetric opening at the northwest corner continued to express the lateral axis, undermining the formal ideal of the place Royale as an enclosed, symmetric, and axial space. There was a tension in the new design

between the form of the square and its urban context, a tension which was absent from the original project.

The entrepreneurs retained possession of the entire tract of land which the king had given them in 1604. In two agreements dated 2 October 1608 and 8 January 1609, they allotted the north range of pavilions and divided the remaining property (Min.cent. XC 168, 2 Oct. 1608; LXXXVI 185, 8 Jan. 1609; A.P. H.D. 60.350; hereafter Partage). In distributing the pavilions, they did not respect the four-bay unit, and the consequences of their irregular subdivision are still clear in the square today. Moisset, the largest investor, was given the axial pavilion and the six adjoining bays to the east. Sainctot and the Parfaict brothers were each given a pavilion and a half, leaving both Camus and Lumague with one pavilion at each end of the range. To compensate for their smaller share, they were given the residue of land between the end arch and the street, the rue de l'Egout or the rue des Tournelles.⁵⁸

Destruction of the silkworks began in early 1608. In February 1608, Sainctot, Lumague, and Claude Parfaict hired two carpenters to take apart the carpentry in six houses, saving all the good wood for future use, and to "refaire des croupes aux bouts des logis qui seront refaictz aux endroitz qui seront par lesd. sieurs advisés" (Min.cent. CVIII 37 f79, 28 Feb. 1608). A week later, they passed a masonry contract with Balthazar Monnard to build the new pavilions (Min.cent. CVIII 37, 8 March 1608). The first

provision of the devis required Monnard to "desmolir de fonds en comble 64 thoises en longueur des bastiments ou sont a present les Manufactures"./App. A2/ He was to begin immediately and work exclusively on the project until it was completed.⁵⁹ By October 1608, some of the buildings had been torn down, but "une autre bonne partie et surplus . . . doit estre pareillement abbatu" (Partage 1608). The pavilions were probably finished in 1609-10 when the silk entrepreneurs began to build perpendicular wings and other facilities to complete the houses.

Despite the destruction of the workshops on the north side of the square, the manufactures de soie continued to operate. The association of Moisset, Sainctot, Lumague, Camus, and the Parfaicts was terminated in October 1608, but individually they continued to produce silk, gold, and silver cloth as their original agreement with the king in 1603 bound them to do. Those parts of the silkworks which did not directly face the square, namely the maison des moulins and the end buildings beyond the square, were preserved. Moisset was given the maison des moulins and the silk cloth shop with a stock of merchandise valued at approximately 12,000 pounds "qui est de longue et difficile vente" (Min.cent. XC 170, 29 Dec. 1610). In March 1609, Moisset engaged the current director of the silkworks, Sigismond Pestalossi, to run the shop and the atelier through 1615, requiring him to bring nine silk artisans to Paris and "en oultre entretenir et conduire tout le trafficq qui se peult et pourra faire en lad. manufacture pendant

led. temps et en telle sorte que led. Moisset ne receive aucune plainte de Sad. Majesté" (Min.cent. XC 169, 26 March 1609).⁶⁰

Behind the pavilions of the place Royale, the entrepreneurs built seven houses for the exclusive use of silk artisans. The general plan for this area was set forth in the agreement of January 1609. Two streets were to be opened: a road seven toises wide passing beneath the axial pavilion (rue de Béarn) and a perpendicular street three and a half toises wide running behind the north range of the square (rue du Foin) and abutting at its east end the maison des moulins./Figs. 5a,8b/ There is no indication if the crown or the entrepreneurs were responsible for planning and laying in the streets. On the block west of the rue de Béarn, between the rue du Foin and the rue de M. de Vitry (rue des Minimes), three houses were already built by October 1608; on the block east of the rue de Béarn, four houses were under construction in January 1609. Saintot, Camus, Lumague, and the Parfaicts again hired Balthazar Monnard for the masonry work.⁶¹ They shared the construction costs but separately owned the buildings. Until the expiration of their agreement with crown in 1615, the entrepreneurs were compelled to lodge silk craftsmen in the houses without charging any rent. The three houses west of the rue de Béarn were already occupied by silk artisans in 1608; silk craftsmen moved into the other houses in 1609, with the house at the corner of the rues des Minimes and des

Tournelles reserved for the female gold spinners.⁶²/App. A5-6/ Lumague was especially active in maintaining the silk business, hiring a number of Milanese gold beaters and selling substantial quantities of gold and silver thread produced in his fabrique.⁶³ Though relocated and reorganized in 1607, the manufactures continued to operate, staffed by a corps of craftsmen living in the houses behind the place Royale. That the silkworks survived despite this displacement from the square and still generated new construction testifies to their continuing importance.

The Construction and Settlement of the Square

Thirty-five pavilions were built by private individuals at the place Royale. Because several houses comprised more than one pavilion, this uniform ring of buildings actually constituted twenty-eight houses with their dependencies. /Fig. 8a/ No early plans of these houses are known to survive. There are, however, contemporary documents which partially illuminate the earliest construction at the square. The original masonry contracts have been found for five houses; and, a larger number of building contracts for carpentry, joinery, metalwork, and paving shed light on other houses. These contracts are listed in Appendix A4, and as the large gaps indicate, other relevant documents, many of which undoubtedly survive in the Minutier Central, remain to be discovered. Documentation is more abundant after the mid-seventeenth century, however, the houses,

originally rather modest, were substantially rebuilt and enlarged.⁶⁴ Only the property lines hardly changed, and the cadastral maps prepared in the nineteenth century delineate the same parcels established during Henri IV's reign, except on the west half of the north range (A.N. C.P. F31 86).

Every house was built separately, except for the north range of pavilions which was commissioned as one collective project./App. A2/ Many patrons, however, hired the same craftsmen. At least five pavilions were built by the mason Jonas Robelin and eleven pavilions were constructed by Balthazar Monnard. They subcontracted each project to another mason, who was usually supplied with materials and payed only for his labor. The carpenter Jean Vivier, after dismantling the silk workshops, was hired by at least three of the entrepreneurs—Lumague, Sainctot, Claude Parfaict—to build their houses (Min.cent. CVIII 37, 19 May, 8 Nov. 1608). These contracts instructed Vivier to use the wood from the construction site of the hôpital Saint Louis. This contact may have been established by Sainctot who in his capacity as governor of the Hôtel Dieu was overseeing construction of the new hospital. This indicates that the extensive construction in Henri IV's Paris provoked some large-scale organization of the supply of materials.

The lots did not have uniform dimensions. Though every pavilion spanned four arches, there were slight variations in the width of the lots, from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 toises (14m8-15m8), and the length ranged considerably, from 20 to 36 toises (40-71m). These were substantially larger than typical

bourgeois house lots, such as those at the place Dauphine, however, the place Royale lots were comparable in size to Serlio's house for a rich artisan (project I). Many of the lots, because of their great length, had relatively large areas, but with a width of only 8 toises, they were far too narrow to satisfy the demands of an hôtel.⁶⁵ Usually two parallel corps de logis separated by a court were built on such lots although in some cases a narrow wing was also built.

The redistribution of land after the king's lotissement indicates that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the constraints imposed by a single lot. Many of the nobles, in broad violation of the royal ban against subdividing pavilions, acquired additional land, and as a result more than a third of the houses occupied parcels larger than one lot (11/28;39%)./App. A3/ Pierre Fougeu, sieur d'Escures, built two houses at the place Royale and clearly preferred the larger one. A trusted royal agent, Fougeu (1554-1621) held several important posts under Sully's administration of the voirie, and he was an active patron of architecture in Henrichemont and his native city of Orléans as well as at the place Royale.⁶⁶ Fougeu's construction at the place Royale is particularly instructive because his first house was built on one lot before the design of the square was modified, and the second house was built on two lots after the change. In 1605, Fougeu was given a lot on the south side of the square, adjoining the Pavillon du Roi to the east. On 17 March 1606, he passed a

masonry contract with Jonas Robelin, the mason who built the King's Pavilion (Min.cent. XXXIX 38 f223). The devis called for a double-width pavilion with four shops facing the square and kitchen, stable, and stair facing the court, and a screen-wall pierced by a porte-cochère bordering the rue Birague. Sometime before 1608, a parallel corps de logis was built on the far side of the courtyard to house the stables (the contract for which has not been found). After the square was modified and it was no longer necessary to install shops, Robelin was recalled to the house for "le bouchement faict après coup des quatre arcades du costé du passage de la gallerye" (BHVP Ms. C.P.3365, Toisé de maçonnerie, 10 Dec. 1607). The construction costs amounted to 23,711 pounds.⁶⁷ It is likely that Fougeu built the house only to please the king, and had no intention of living in it. In any case, he sold the house before it was ever occupied for 25,500 pounds, making slightly less than 2000 pounds, a 7.5% return on his investment (Min.cent. XIX 358, 10 March 1608; BHVP Ms. C.P.3365).

In March 1607, as his house on the south side of the square approached completion, Fougeu was given five lots on the west side of the square and some additional rear property (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f182, 10 March 1607). He sold all but the two lots at the south end of the west range where he built a two-pavilion hôtel in which he and his wife lived, with brief interruptions, until their deaths. Only the building contract for the stables has been found (Min.cent. CVIII 43 f56, 25 Feb. 1611), but when Fougeu's

heirs sold the house in 1644, it consisted of "deux pavillons, une grande court, deux basses cours où il y a escuries et jardin avec toutes les appartenances et deppendances d'icelle . . ." (Min.cent. CXV 87, 7 March 1644). The cost of construction is not known—at a minimum it was 47,000 pounds, twice the cost of the first house—but a substantial share of the expenses must have been covered by his land sales at the square.⁶⁸ The house was appraised in 1641 for 94,000 pounds (Min.cent. CXII 37, 18 March 1641) and sold in 1644 for 130,000 pounds to Honoré d'Albert, duc de Chaulnes who enlarged it and gave the house the name by which it is still known, the Hôtel de Chaulnes.⁶⁹

There are at least three clear cases of noblemen who built one-pavilion houses for their own use—Isaac Arnauld, Louis de Caillebot, and François de Lomenie—but they did not reside in their houses very long; Arnauld and Caillebot sold out by 1613 and de Lomenie moved out even sooner. De Lomenie, conseiller du roy, built a one-pavilion house on the west side of the square, the third pavilion from the south end of the range. Like his neighbor Fougeu and the king, Lomenie hired the mason Jonas Robelin (Min.cent. CVIII 36 f203, 12 May 1607). The single-depth pavilion contained four ground-floor shops, and a room and apartment on the first and second floors ("salle, chambre, garde-robe"). A short, narrow wing (2 x 7 toises) extended along the south side of the court; it contained the stair, kitchen, and stable, and "au dessus, telles estages et elevations qui

seront commandez par led. sieur de Lomenie." The devis did not specify the form of the stair, but simply referred to a local model as did most of the building contracts; "il fault faire l'escalier dudit pavillon dans ladite aisle qui sera comme celle du logis dudit sieur d'Escures proche le Pavillon du Roy qui a esté fait par l'entrepreneur." De Lomenie lived at the place Royale until 1611 when he rented the house for 800 pounds to a Portuguese gentilhomme (Min.cent. CVIII 43 f283, 2 Sept. 1611).

By July 1607, pavilions were rising on all but three lots at the north end of the east side. On 10 July, the king ordered the delinquent owners to take immediate action or else they would have to pay for masons hired by the crown (A.N. E 14A). Nicolas Chevalier responded to the threat, but Laffemas and d'Angennes, for unknown reasons, did not act and their lots were reassigned by the king a week later. Louis Marchant, maître des oeuvres de maçonnerie du roi, was given the lot at the north end of the east range, and the adjacent lot was given to Jean Fontaine, maître des oeuvres de charpenterie du roi (E 14A f63, 17 July 1607). Both men hired Balthazar Monnard to build their houses, although only the contract passed by Fontaine has been found (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f477, 24 August 1607).⁷⁰ Fontaine commissioned a double-width pavilion, 8 toises wide by 5 toises deep. The mason also had to build a screen-wall separating the court and garden, and "les murs des pavillons et petit logis." The location of these buildings is uncertain and may be indicated by Chastillon's engraving of the place Royale

which shows Fontaine's house (the second from the right in the foreground) with two short wings of unequal width./Fig. 6/ For Marchant, Monnard built a wing along the street which crossed the north side of the square (rue du Pas de la Mule); the unusually low rent of 350 pounds which Marchant charged for the house in 1609 suggests that it was rather modest (Min.cent. CXVII 471 f366, 16 June 1609).

Construction of the entrance pavilion on the north side of the square began in late 1607, and the adjoining pavilions with their dependencies followed in 1608.⁷¹ Claude Parfaict and Pierre Saintot both subdivided their parcels. On his lot and half, Saintot built two houses back to back, one with a six-bay facade on the square and the other of equal width facing the rue du Foin.⁷² Parfaict built three houses, two with three-bay facades on the square and the third house facing the rue du Foin. The houses on the square each comprised two parallel corps de logis between a courtyard, with an alley leading to the rue du Foin. The rear house had one small corps de logis at the back of a court.⁷³

Guillaume Parfaict and Jean Moisset each constructed one large hôtel on their adjoining parcels. Behind his one and a half pavilions, Parfaict added two wings bordering the first court, stables along a rear court, and a porte-cochère on the rue du Foin. Construction was supervised by his brother Claude who prepared a list on 28 May 1611 of the remaining masonry work, according to which it was necessary

to "achever l'escalier de pierre de taille suivant le desseing de M. de St. Paul" (Min.cent. CVIII 43 f177). In all of the place Royale building contracts thus far uncovered, this is the only instance when the author of a design is named; unfortunately, the identity of M. de Saint Paul remains a mystery.⁷⁴

Moisset was the last to finish his house which included the axial pavilion plus another lot and a half. On 2 March 1612, he engaged the mason Charles du Ry to build a corps de logis bordering the rue Béarn, a screen-wall pierced by three arches separating court and garden, as well as stables, and otherwise to complete the masonry work "conformément aux quatre desseings qui en ont esté faitz et delaissés aud. du Ry" (Min.cent. XC 172). The contract makes clear that du Ry did not design the house. Du Ry often acted as the entrepreneur when his brother-in-law Salomon de Brosse was the architect, which introduces a remote possibility that de Brosse was the designer of Moisset's house. The only distinctive element seems to have been the main stair, placed in the wing along the rue du Béarn and leading to the first floor of the Pavillon de la Reine. It entailed a rectangular stair well with the flights supported on brick vaults (voustes rampans) which terminated in groin vaults (voûtes d'arêtes) above the landings. The masonry contract for the stair required the masons to "faire les palliers qui seront posees sur lesd. voustes d'arrestes pour parachevement dudit escalier jusques a la haulteur dudit premier estage du grand pavillon lequel

sera couvert d'une vouste" (Min.cent. XC 173, 15 May 1613). This clause seems to indicate that the stair chamber was vaulted which would have been a significant feature and would give further cause to consider a possible role played by de Brosse.⁷⁵

The motives of the twenty-four men who built houses at the place Royale are illuminated by the way they used the buildings. First, there was no appeal in house speculation; only two of the twenty-eight houses were immediately sold upon completion in 1608, one by Fougeu whose case has already been considered and the other by the mason Jean Coin. He bought the lot on 3 January 1606 for 850 pounds (Min.cent. III 462ter) and sold it before March 1608 to Pierre Chastellain, Tresorier général de l'Arcenal de France, for an unknown sum. Coin then purchased a house located between the rue St. Antoine and the place Royale in which he lived until his death; the house cost 10,000 pounds which was undoubtedly financed by his recent sale at the square (Min.cent. CXVII 470 f220, 26 April 1608). The paucity of documents concerning Coin's investment makes it difficult to judge why he immediately sold the newly built house; perhaps he was financially overextended or perhaps he built the house on speculation. While the latter explanation is not inconceivable given Coin's profession, all the other investors viewed the houses as valuable rental property.

The principal appeal of the place Royale houses was as rental property. In 1610, there were twenty-five

propriétaires (23 builders plus the 2 new owners); about two-thirds of these men (16/25;64%) rented their houses. The largest investor in the place Royale was Charles Marchant, Capitaine des trois compagnies de la Ville (+1610). He was not only the most extensive builder and bailleur at the square, but one of the most important builders in Henri IV's Paris./App. D/ At the place Royale, he constructed four pavilions at the north end of the west range which were divided into three rental houses.⁷⁶ The two end houses each occupied a lot and a half while the third house sat on a single lot. The amount the Captain collected in rent from these three houses is not known (the leases have not been found), but the scope of his investment in real estate indicates that he expected lucrative rewards from the rental housing market.⁷⁷ In addition to the houses at the place Royale, Marchant built the Pont aux Marchands with its fifty-one uniform houses and a hôtel north of the silkworks, residing throughout his life in a house on the rue Couture Sainte-Catherine which he did not build. He collected rent from at least sixty houses, fifty-five of which he erected. No other individual built, owned, and rented as much residential property in Paris during the first decade of the seventeenth century.

In 1607, royal magistrate Jean Pericard wanted to live at the square. He was not the beneficiary of a royal donation and spent 1200 pounds to acquire two lots from Fougeu (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f235, 3 April 1607). He immediately built a two-pavilion hôtel, and by July 1608

only the paving was left to be done. But Pericard lived in the house for no more than a year and a half before renting it for 1200 pounds to a guard of the king's brother who then ceded the lease to a merchant for 800 pounds (Min.cent. LXII 46, 25 August 1610). It is not known why Pericard moved away from the square.

The royal topographer Claude Chastillon lived in Chaalons and rented his place Royale house "a la reservation faite par led. bailleur de quatre chambres en galletas et leurs cabinetz, usage de l'escalier, passage au /portail?/, court, et puitz, ensemble d'une cave carré estant separé des autres et huit pieds de place pour deux chevaulx /quand/ led. bailleur sera en ceste ville de Paris" (Min.cent. CXVII 470 f431, 25 Aug. 1608). According to the lease, the house comprised one double-width pavilion with two pavilions (cabinetz) projecting in the court; in his engraving of the place Royale, Chastillon depicted these cabinetz as spreading across the entire pavilion (second house from the left in the foreground)./Fig. 6/ In 1608, he charged 1000 pounds in rent; in 1614, after the addition of large stables, he charged only 700 pounds (Min.cent. CV 316, 3 May 1614). Upon his death in 1616, Chastillon's heirs, all residing in Chaalons, quickly sold the property.⁷⁸ During Fougeu's term as mayor of Orléans from 1613 to 1616, he presumably used his place Royale hôtel as a secondary residence. But, these are the only instances of peripatetic court officers based in the provinces building houses at the

place Royale.

The tenants initially included nobles, merchants, and artisans. In 1610-11, de Lomenie rented his house to a Portuguese gentleman, Pericard and Louis Marchant rented to merchants, and master carpenter Drouin rented part of his house to a musician. These men lived side by side with distinguished court officers such as Michel Tambonneau, President of the Chambre des comptes (Phelypeaux's house), Bernardin Pradel, royal treasurer for Montpellier (Claude Parfaict's house), and Prince Henry de Rohan (in Moisset's two-and-a-half-pavilion hôtel). With this mixture of noble and bourgeois residents, the two concepts of the place Royale temporarily co-existed. The rent of a one-pavilion house in 1610-11 ranged from 350 pounds (Louis Marchant) to 900 pounds (Phelypeaux) while Pericard rented his two-pavilion house for 1200 pounds. Pierre Saintot's house facing the square cost 1200 pounds while the rear house was half the price; in 1618, the rent of the former was up to 1400 pounds while the back house stayed at 600 pounds. Guillaume Parfaict regularly increased the rent for his one and a half pavilion hôtel from 1700 pounds in 1612, to 1800 a year later, and 2000 pounds in 1616.⁷⁹ Many of the leases included a clause giving the landlord the right to use a front room to watch royal ceremonies held in the square.

A minority of the building patrons chose to live at the place Royale. In 1610, about a third of the house owners lived at the square (8 or 9/25; 32-36%). Of that small group, three men moved out and sold their houses by 1613

(Arnauld, Caillebot, Ribault). Isaac Arnauld, Intendant des Finances and a member of Sully's inner circle, built two parallel corps de logis on his single lot at the east end of the south range. He promptly initiated construction and even took on the contractor's role by buying building materials himself (Min.cent. CV 295, 18 Oct. 1605). In 1608, Arnauld made the last payment to his mason Jean Gaucher who received a total of 11,851 pounds for his labor (Min.cent. CXV 18, 5 Jan. 1608). Arnauld lived in the house for no more than four or five years before selling it in 1612 for 48,000 pounds to Jean de Beaumanoir, marquis de Lavardin (A.S. 4 AZ 1153, 14 April 1612).

The place Royale was neither constructed nor settled exclusively by the gown nobility. Among both owners and tenants were prominent artisans and merchants whose presence at the square echoed the crown's original intention to make the place Royale a center of commerce. Furthermore, the large number of court officers who chose not to live in their pavilions indicates that the place Royale was not appealing to them as a new residence. The gown nobles may have been deterred by the commercial program associated with the pavilions or by the row housing with its bourgeois roots. As time passed, however, the aristocratic character of the place Royale became more pronounced, and the square's associations with the silkworks and shops faded.

The Place Royale Crowned

In April 1612, with the square enclosed on all sides by brick and stone pavilions, the crown staged a lavish ceremony in the place Royale to celebrate the joint engagements of Louis XIII and his sister Elizabeth with, respectively, the Spanish Infanta and her brother Philip, heir to the throne of Spain. A chivalric drama was enacted during the elaborate three-day carousel with two groups of knights battling to gain entry to the turreted Palace of Felicity.⁸⁰/Fig. 6/ This inaugural celebration which gathered the entire court in the place Royale reinforced the aristocratic character which the square was acquiring.

The entrepreneurs' twelve-year obligation to maintain the silk business came to an end in 1615. They were no longer required to make the houses on the rue de Vitry available for the production of silk and the free lodging of silk artisans. Moisset immediately sold the maison des moulins while the other entrepreneurs found new tenants willing to pay rents ranging from 500 to 800 pounds a year./App. A5/ When these houses were placed on the rental market in 1615, the royal campaign for domestic production of silk—the enterprise which had given rise to the place Royale—came to an end.

The creation of the place Royale accelerated the development of the area north of the square. In 1606, when construction of the square was just beginning, Charles Marchant planned the lotissement of a tract of land north of the silkworks, but preoccupied by the Pont Marchant, the

Captain abandoned his ambitious scheme./App. D/ In October 1609, shortly after the houses on the rue de Vitry for silk artisans were completed, the order of the Minimes purchased the property next to the hôtel de Vitry, a purchase which the crown endorsed in patent letters the following January. The masonry contract for the church and convent was passed in September 1611 with Jean Coin, who had built a pavilion on the south side of the place Royale, and his son-in-law Jean Gobelin. The church was largely completed by 1619, but construction of the conventual buildings continued through 1627. Among the supporters of the foundation were the Queen Regent Maria de Medeci and her circle as well as several place Royale propriétaires.⁸¹

The church of the Minimes was situated on the axis of the place Royale, at the end of the rue de Béarn, but the church did not take advantage of the perspective view along the street, presenting an undistinguished facade to the square. In 1653, the Minimes decided to rebuild the facade, and four years later they selected François Mansart as their architect. When work was abandoned in 1662, Mansart's monumental design was only realized up to the pediment of the first story. A decade later, after the architect's death, the monks completed the facade of the church according to a modified design.⁸² The convent was destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century (1793-98) in order to extend the rue de Béarn one block to the north. To this day, the northern approach to the place Royale remains

unimportant, and the currents of circulation continue to express the T-shaped axial structure of the original design for the place Royale.

The area within the place Royale, originally planned as a public space for promenading, became an increasingly exclusive precinct of the nobility. It was the preferred grounds for jousts and other chivalric matches practised by the nobility. Then the square was consecrated by the symbolic presence of the king.⁸³ In 1639, Cardinal de Richelieu placed an equestrian monument of Louis XIII in the middle of the square. The horse was cast in 1566 by Daniele da Volterra for Catherine de Medici's unfinished project for a monument to Henri II, and the figure of the king was sculpted by Pierre Biard the Younger in 1638. Finally, in 1682, the garden around the statue was enclosed by a grill and only residents of the square were permitted to use the park.

Renamed the place des Vosges by Napoleon, the square has survived the centuries relatively unscathed, suffering only two major changes. The original equestrian monument, destroyed in 1793, was replaced by a statue of Louis XIII in 1829 by Dupaty and Cortot, and the pavilion at the northeast corner was destroyed in 1825 to accommodate circulation across the north side of the square. With shops and cafés now surrounding the place des Vosges, Henri IV's original design for a commercial square hardly seems a misguided notion.

Notes: The Place Royale

¹ The principal studies by Lucien Lambeau are La Place Royale (Paris:1906); "Communication relative à la place Royale et au lotissement du parc des Tournelles," CVP 25 Jan. 1908:19-31; "La Place Royale. Nouvelles contributions à son histoire," CVP Annexe 20 Nov. 1915:1-159; a complete list of his articles on individual hôtels is included in the bibliography. Maurice Dumolin, "Les propriétaires de la place Royale (1605-1789)," La Cité 95-96(July-Oct.1925):273-319; 97-98(April 1926):1-30.

² In the most recent study of the site and the foundation of the square, Jean-Pierre Babelon mentioned that the silkworks functioned until at least 1612, but still argued that they played no role in the design of the square: "Histoire de l'architecture au XVIIe siècle: le palais des Tournelles et les origines de la place des Vosges," EPHE 1975-76:695-714.

French Silk

³ Laffemas summarized his experience in his first pamphlet Source de plusieurs abus (Paris:1596), 1: "Ayant eu cest honneur que d'estre vostre /Henri IV's/ domestique depuis trente ans passés, et vous ayant fait service en mon estat de tailleur et valet de chambre, et depuis marchant en vostre argenterie, la longueur du temps, et le trafiq que j'ay fait avec plusieurs marchans estrangers, m'a fait avoir l'experience pour cognoistre le mal secret et caché qu'apporte en vostre Estat les draps de soye, toille d'or et d'argent, et d'autres marchandises venant des pays d'Italie, de Flandres, Angleterre, et autres lieux."

⁴ In French Mercantilist Doctrine Before Colbert (N.Y.: 1931), Charles Cole wrote of Laffemas, "It is almost impossible to deny him the rank of the first great mercantilist minister of France, and not to see him /as/ the Colbert of the reign of Henri IV" (112). On Henri IV's implementation of Laffemas' proposals: Gustave Fagniez, L'Economie sociale de la France sous Henri IV 1589-1610 (Paris:1897), 91; P. Boissonade, Le Socialisme d'Etat (Paris:1927), 164ff.

⁵ The Commission du commerce was composed of sixteen high ranking court and parliamentary officers and two merchants. They executed their charge with remarkable zeal which is documented in the minutes of the weekly meetings from July 1602 through October 1604: Laffemas, Recueil présenté au Roy de ce qui se passe en l'Assemblée du commerce (Paris:1604) in Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, eds. Cimber and Danjou, ser. 1, 14 (Paris:1837), 219-245 (hereafter Recueil); Registre des délibérations

de la Commission consultative sur le faict du commerce (1601-1604) in Documents historiques inédits, ed. Champollion Figeac, 4 (Paris:1848), 1-282 (hereafter Délibérations). The commission evaluated new inventions from the practical to the visionary and absurd. It submitted recommendations for royal support to the Conseil d'Etat, all of which were approved. And it negotiated contracts to establish new businesses. Among the multitude of commercial projects which the commission studied were: new machines, such as modified water pumps, wind mills, and looms to be used by the blind and crippled; major engineering ventures, such as making the Oise river navigable and building a canal to link the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea; new foods and fauna for breeding, such as asparagus and stallions. The commission had the largest impact on the production of textiles. After the first two hectic years documented in the minutes, the commission played a more passive role, arbitrating disputes and awaiting results from the numerous businesses, inventions, and other projects it had inaugurated.

⁶ Laffemas called attention to Mollet's cultivation of mulberry groves in Lettres et exemples de la feu royne mère (Paris:1602) in Archives curieuses, eds. Cimber and Danjou, ser. 1, 9 (Paris:1836), 130. Mollet was responsible for introducing sericulture in Normandy with three associates; they co-authored a manual on silk worms, Instruction du plantage et proprietez des meuriers et du gouvernement des Vers à soye par les entrepreneurs dud. plant Benigne Le Roy, Jacques de Chabot, Jean Van der Vekene, et Claude Moullet jardinier ordinaire du roy (Paris:1605). In Le Théâtre des plans et jardinages (Paris:1652), Mollet described his success cultivating mulberry trees and silk worms in 1606; he claimed to have produced silk "aussi belle comme celle qui vient d'Italie, laquelle j'ay vendue la mesme année 4 escus la livre à M. Sainctot, un des notables bourgeois de cette ville de Paris et Marchand de soye" (340).

⁷ Palma Cayet praised the groves at Madrid in Chronologie Septenaire (Paris:1605), Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat, 12 (Paris: 1838), 2:259. A Luccan named Manfredo Balbani was brought to Paris with a staff of Genoan workers to maintain the royal nurseries of mulberry trees and silkworms: de Serres, Le Théâtre, book 2, chap. 3; Fagniez 108-09. Balbani later became active as an entrepreneur in municipal and royal projects (A.N. E14B f71, f208, 6, 15 Sept. 1607).

⁸ Filled with enthusiasm, the king wrote to Sully on 29 March 1603, urging the minister to have the nursery finished quickly: "Mon amy, je vous prie de faire haster la charpente et couverture de mon orangerie des Tuilleries, affin que ceste année je m'en puisse servir a y faire elever la graine des vers a soie que j'ai faict venir de Valence en Espagne, laquelle il faudra faire eclore aussy tost que les meuriers

auront jetté de quoy les pouvoir nourrir. Vous scavés comme j'affectionne cela: c'est pourquoy je vous prie encore un coup d'y pourveoir et les faire haster"(Lettres missives 6:63). The allée of mulberry trees still existed in 1652 (Berty, Topographie du Vieux Paris, 2:94).

⁹ The entrepreneurs Jean-Baptiste Le Tellier and Nicolas Chevalier were allocated 120,000 pounds annually to be financed by a tax imposed on the participating regions (A.N. E4B f161, 4 Oct. 1602). Fagniez 109-10; Le Tellier, Mémoires et Instructions pour l'établissement des meuriers et Art de faire la soye en France (Paris:1603).

¹⁰ The entrepreneurs explained the difficulties they encountered in testimony before the Commission du commerce: Délibérations 80, 11 April 1603; B.N.Ms.fr.16740 f73-75v, 77. In 1605, faced by indifference from many landowners, the king compelled the clergy to cultivate mulberry trees and silkworms on their estates. Mollet's manual Instruction du plantage des meuriers (1605) was dedicated to the clergy.

¹¹ Montchrétien also wrote that Henri IV's program might have met with greater success "if those to whom His Majesty entrusted the conduct of his business had seconded him with a judgement equal to his affection" (cited by Cole 130-31). It has been assumed that this remark refers to Sully who detailed his opposition to the silk venture in his memoirs (Les Oeconomies royales 514-516). Written decades later, the memoirs are an unreliable record of Henri IV's reign, with Sully frequently distorting his original positions. There is contemporary evidence that Sully supported the silk program; for example, Poitiers was the target of the sericulture campaign during its second year (1604) because of the support extended by Sully in his role as governor of the region.

¹² Noel and Estienne Parent, maîtres ouvriers en draps de soie, operated an atelier near the Temple by 1601, but they were bankrupt two years later: Laffemas, Neuf advertissements (Paris: 1601), 5; Délibérations 68-69,79. In 1604, they reopened another workshop in Mantes (Min.cent. CXII 251, 7 April 1605). Silk production was associated with the manufacture of gold thread. Ateliers practicing the "art de battre et filer l'or à la facon de Milan" were opened in 1603 by the Milanese Andrea Turrato, and by Alexandre de Vieux, parfumeur et valet de chambre du roi, who brought Gerome Gerasme and his son, maîtres batteurs d'or, probably from Milan to operate it (A.N. E5A f125,15 Feb. 1603; f294, 16 March 1603). Other ateliers are mentioned in A.N. X1A 8645 f153, August 1603 and by Palma Cayet (259).

¹³ The crown previously solicited Moisset's support for other manufactures, but he did not live up to his pledges. In 1603, his negligence brought the Parent brothers' silk

workshop to bankruptcy, and his exploitation of the leather artisans led to the intervention of the Commission du commerce (Délibérations 142). L'Estoile claimed that Moisset, infamous for his swindling and dishonesty, had stolen money from the king's pockets (Journal, ed. Martin, 2:51,407). The municipality fiercely objected to Moisset's appointment as Receveur et Payeur des rentes, denouncing his integrity, but the real issue was the crown's attempt to gain greater financial control over the city by consolidating six separate commissions into one (Registres 13:214,277). In this strategem as throughout his career, Moisset was closely allied with the crown: H. de Carsalade du Pont, La Municipalité parisienne à l'époque d'Henri IV (Paris:1971), 285-311; Leo Mouton, "Deux financiers au temps de Sully: L'argentier et Moisset," BSHP 64(1937):65-104.

14 In 1605, Moisset purchased a tax farm ("ferme général des gabelles") for 4,621,000 pounds, in comparison with which his investment of approximately 45,000 pounds in the silkworks was a meager sum (Mouton 83).

15 Sainctot was appointed governor of the Hôtel Dieu in 1607 and deputy for the Third Estate at the meeting of the Estates General in 1614: Jean-Louis Bourgeon, Les Colbert avant Colbert (Paris:1973), 83; Délibérations 47; Registres 13:345-46.

16 The inventory taken after Claude Parfaict's death reveals that his estate was valued at 78,467 pounds (Min. cent. CVIII 64.2 f237, 13 Dec. 1624).

17 Camus is discussed by Bourgeon 81-82, 251-54; Ernest O'Reilly, Mémoires sur la vie de Claude Pellot, 1 (Paris: 1881), 137-38; Tallemant, Historiettes 3(1834), 122.

18 Lumague and Mascranny were both born in the Grisons in the Swiss Alps, and although many documents bear the signatures Paolo Mascrani and Gio Andrea Lumaga, they were not Italian (Bourgeon 112-13). I have followed Bourgeon in using the spelling Lumague rather than Lumagne.

19 Colbert's resignation from the business was authorized in patent letters dated 28 Sept. 1604 (B.N. Ms.fr. 18174 fl65): Bourgeon 116; O'Reilly 1:136.

20 Bourgeon observed that the fusion of the Parisian and Italo-Lyonnais banking worlds was accomplished during the Regency of Maria de Medici; "cette concentration de capitaux à Paris autour d'une Cour où se dégage progressivement la notion d'un Etat administrateur et centralisateur est peut-être l'un des faits les plus décisifs, quoique à peu près ignoré, de la vie française entre 1610 et 1620: de cette époque daterait la haute banque parisienne" (85). The foundation of the silkworks should be seen as an initial episode in this process.

21 The king promised 90,000 pounds to the linenworks and 100,000 pounds to the Flemish tapestryworks, which soon became known as the Gobelins atelier: Mallevoüe 13-16; Registres 14:170-74; Lettres missives 7:131.

The Silkworks and the Site

22 The January edict does not survive, but it is mentioned in the other acts concerning the land donation which are as follows: Letters of commission addressed to Sully, Grand Voyer de France, instructing him to refer the matter to the Trésoriers de France (hereafter Commission), 4 March 1604; Measurement of the site by Jean Fontaine, 10 March 1604 (hereafter Toisé); Report by the Trésoriers, 24 March 1604 (hereafter Rapport); Patent Letters by Henri IV confirming the donation, April 1604; Confirmation by the Parliament, 9 April 1604; Confirmation by the Chambre des Comptes, 2 August 1604; Confirmation by the Trésoriers généraux, 7 Sept. 1604. There are copies of these documents in A.N. Q1 1234; A.N. X1A 8645 f154-155v; A.P. H.D. 60.350.

23 The Hôtel des Tournelles is discussed in Babelon, EPHE 1975-76:696-703.

24 There is no study of the lotissement of the Hôtel des Tournelles, and references to only two sales have surfaced. Lot 64 "entre la muraille dud. parcq et les egousts" was sold to the convent of Sainte Catherine du Val des Ecolliers by the deputies of the king: A.N. S 1025, 7 Sept. 1576. Lot 65 which was included in the land given to the silk entrepreneurs was sold to Simon Mouquet in June 1564: A.N. E 19B f224, 18 December 1608.

25 On 6 April 1585, the king ordered the transfer of the horse market from the porte St. Honoré to the parc des Tournelles: Registres 8:438; Felibien 2:1090; A.N. S 2857, 12 Oct. 1581.

26 The donation to Sully is discussed in Felibien 5:26; B.N. Ms.fr. 18159 f431, 10 Nov. 1594; A.N. Z1F 559 f109, Jan. 1610.

27 There are several sale contracts passed by Estienne Prevost, violinist in the king's chamber, of land on the east side of the rue des Tournelles for approximately seven pounds per square toise in Min.cent. CV 292, 24 March; 3, 10, 22, 23, 28 April; 14 May 1604; CV 293, 29, 30 July; 3, 4, 7 August 1604. All but one of the fourteen buyers were craftsmen and they included three of the masons hired by the entrepreneurs to build their silkworks; perhaps Guillaume Pingard, Balthazar Monnard, and Jean Poussard wanted workshops close to the site of their commission. All the lots were small, and the buyers were only required to enclose their property. The reasons why Prevost was given this land are not stated.

28 The division of land among the silk entrepreneurs on 2 October 1608 describes "la grande maison des moulins a soye . . . contenant icelle 18 toises de face de longueur avec les bastimens en esquerre, court, puits, et issue sur la rue neufve du costé du rampart". The act also referred to buildings "aux bouts de lad. place Royale", suggesting that workshops and houses stretched across the full length of the site (Min.cent. XC 168; A.P. H.D. 60.350).

29 In Le Naturel et profit admirable du meurier (Paris:1604), Laffemas wrote that the king had commissioned "le dessein de la plus belle maison qui soit en l'Europe aud. Paris pour les manufactures" (17). Palma Cayet reported that in early 1605 the king began "un superbe bastiment au parc des Tournelles près la porte St. Anthoine pour loger les ouvriers des manufactures des soyes" (283). It is possible that Cayet was not referring to the maison des moulins but to the place Royale pavilions although their construction began during the summer of 1605 at the earliest. Sully passed a carpentry contract with Charles Marchant, master carpenter for the city, on 1 July 1606 for the "ouvraiges de charpenterie d'eschaffaux, escalliers et porticques à faire en la court et place du logis des Manufactures . . . de la longueur de 90 toises de long et 45 de large, revenant le tout à 370 toises . . ." (Mallevoüe 263). These measurements confirm that the planned location for the ceremony was not the place Royale which was only 72 toises long on each side. In a letter on 23 July 1606, the king instructed Sully to transfer the baptismal celebrations from "la place des Manufactures" to Fontainebleau because of the threat of plague in Paris (Oeconomies royales 2:162).

30 The earliest apprenticeship contract thus far uncovered is dated 31 March 1605 (Min.cent. CXII 251). There are a great many such contracts between 1606 and 1611 in registers CV 295, 300; CXII 253, 258, 260-62; CXV 15-20; during the month of July 1606, one notary witnessed no less than nine apprenticeship contracts (CXV 15). These documents identify a substantial community of silk artisans, spinners, and gold-beaters, most of whom were from Milan, living in the parc des Tournelles, and working for "les entrepreneurs de la manufacture de Sa Majesté". See, for example, the will in Latin of five Milanese silk craftsmen in Min.cent. CXV 18, 2 May 1608.

31 Complaint against Turato "soy disant maistre batteur d'or à la façon de Milan" for mismanagement: A.N. E 12B f98, 15 March 1607; Min.cent. CXII 254, 23 April 1607. Contract passed by Saintot and his associates with Pestalossi: Min.cent. CXII 255, 24 July 1607.

32 The entrepreneurs made an account of their debts on 29 December 1610 when they liquidated their partnership in the silk business. This document, Min.cent. XC 170, provides considerable information about the financial organization of the enterprise. The royal subsidy was financed by the Ferme des gabelles du Lyonnais, Forest, et Beaujolais, a tax farm held by Guillaume de Balme. On 10 December 1613, the silk entrepreneurs acknowledged the receipt of the sum. These transactions are summarized in A.N. S 6148, liasse 6, 31 October 1671.

The First Design

33 Four contracts passed by Lumague in 1610 shed light on the wages paid to the master gold-beaters (Min.cent. CXII 260, 3, 4 March 1610). The French artisan was the best paid at 9 pounds per week plus 90 pounds per year, while the Italian receiving the highest salary was paid 8 pounds per week (after a lower salary for the first 18 months) plus 45 pounds a year; they were all given free lodgings. The director of the silkworks Pestalossi was given an annual sum of 1000 pounds, free lodgings, plus compensation based on the measure of different kinds of goods (Min.cent. CXII 255, 24 July 1607).

34 On the sixteenth century lotissements see: Françoise Boudon, "Paris: architecture mineure et lotissements au milieu du XVI^e siècle," La Maison de ville à la Renaissance, ed. A. Chastel and J. Guillaume (Paris:1983), 25-29; J.-P. Babelon, "Paris: un quartier résidentiel, la coùture Sainte-Catherine durant la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle," La Maison de ville 31-35; Babelon, "De l'hôtel d'Albret à l'hôtel d'O. Étude topographique d'une partie de la Culture Sainte-Catherine," BSHP 97(1970):87-145; Maurice Dumolin, "Le lotissement de la Culture Sainte-Catherine et l'hôtel Carnavalet," Études de topographie parisienne (Paris:1931), 3:289-392; Leon Mirot, "La formation et le démembrement de l'hôtel Saint-Pol," La Cité 60(Oct.1916):269-319.

35 The land deeds in Min. cent. III 462ter were published by Mallevoüe (27-47). Excerpts from the documents in A.N. X1A 8645 f266v-285v were published by Lambeau, CVP 25 Jan. 1908:19-31.

36 The development of the French hôtel in the sixteenth century is discussed by Babelon, "Du Grand Ferrare à Carnavalet. Naissance de l'hôtel classique," Revue de l'Art 40-41(1978):83-108; Babelon, "Sur trois hôtels du Marais à Paris datant du règne d'Henri III," Bulletin Monumental 135/3(1977):223-30; Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "The Hôtel de Cluny and the Sources of the French Renaissance Urban Palace, 1350-1500," Diss. Harvard University, 1971.

37 An engraving of the Pont Nôtre Dame by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau is reproduced by Lavedan, Histoire de

l'Urbanisme à Paris, 152. The design of the bridge with its uniform houses of brick and stone is attributed to Fra Giocondo. The housing on Parisian bridges has been studied by Miron Mislin, "Paris, Ile de la Cité: die Uberbauten Brucken," Storia della città 17(Oct.1980):11-36.

38 The first manuscript version of Serlio's sixth book, now in Avery Library, remained in France throughout the seventeenth century, but its location during the sixteenth century is disputed. Myra Rosenfeld, following Schlosser, argued that it was held by Jacopo Strada who sold it to someone living in France before his death in 1588: "Introduction," On Domestic Architecture by Sebastiano Serlio (Cambridge:1978), 27-8. Claude Mignot, accepting the provenance traced by Dinsmoor and Rosci, stated that the manuscript entered de Brosse's library: "Introduction," Maniere de Bien Bastir by Pierre Le Muet (Paris:1981), xii. The inventory after death of de Brosse's possessions mentions "trois livres d'architecture couverts de parchemyn . . ."; the titles are not given: Rosalys Coope, Salomon de Brosse (University Park:1972), 15.

39 For discussions of Serlio and French bourgeois housing see Michele Humbert, "Serlio: il sesto Libro e l'architettura borghese in Francia," Storia dell'arte 43 (1981): 199-240; Marco Rosci, Il trattato di architettura di Sebastiano Serlio (Milano: 1967), 80; Martin Huber, "Sebastiano Serlio: sur une architecture civile alla parisiana," L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art 1965:9-17; Pierre Du Colombier, Pierre D'Espezel, "L'Habitation au XVIIe siècle d'après le sixième livre de Serlio," Humanisme et Renaissance 1(1934):31-49. In Il Settimo Libro d'Architettura (Francofurti:1575), chapter 73, Serlio offered a design for "una loggia da mercanti per negoziare" with a top floor of dormer windows, and he commented "sopra l'ultime cornice saranno habitationi al costume di Francia" (194).

40 A. de Montaiglon published the letters of commission for the charge of concierge in Archives de l'Art français (Paris:1858), 6:81-88. The pavilion was sold by the crown in 1674 for 8,800 pounds (A.N. Q1 1234, 10 May 1674).

41 Among Sully's papers concerning the voirie is a "Conte arrêté pour la despence du pavillon du roy à la place roiale. 1607" (A.N. 120 AP 49, Liasse des ponts et chaussées pour l'année 1607, f29). The construction expenses for the Pavillon du Roi are itemized as follows: masonry, 23,142 pounds; carpentry, 6,237 pounds; roofing, 2,300 pounds; metalwork, joinery, and glazing, 1,000 pounds.

42 The middle window of the piano nobile originally had a broken pediment. The bust of Henri IV was added at a later date.

43 A list of expenses incurred for the place Royale in 1605 entitled "Estat de recepte et despence pour la place royalle. 1605" (A.N. 120 AP 49, Ponts et chaussées, 1607, f254), reveals that 26,235 pounds were spent to demolish houses and compensate their owners. Most, if not all, of these indemnities were for the rue Birague. An additional payment of 4750 pounds was allocated on 24 July 1607 to Jean de Trillart (A.N. E 14A f109). The following year, Trillart entered into construction contracts to rebuild his house on the rue Birague (Royale): Min.cent. CV 300, 26-27 March 1608.

44 Lavedan (1975:232), like Hautecoeur (1966:300), attributed the design to Louis Métézeau based on formal similarities with the Grande Galerie of the Louvre and with the place Ducale in Charleville which Clement Métézeau, the royal architect's younger brother, designed in 1606. Babelon argued that both royal architects, Louis Métézeau and Ducerceau, collaborated on the design: "L'urbanisme d'Henri IV et de Sully à Paris," L'Urbanisme de Paris et l'Europe 1600-1800, ed. Pierre Francastel (Paris:1969), 57.

45 The sketch is reproduced by Babelon in EPHE 1975-76:710. The Stockholm drawing (CC 1572 verso) differs from the building in two respects. It shows an escutcheon bearing the king's arms above the middle dormer, and it makes the second and fourth windows narrower than the end windows, establishing an a-b-c-b-a rhythm which corresponded with the treatment of the arcade below, unlike the executed a-a-b-a-a scheme; it is for this reason that the drawing might be seen as a corrected reinterpretation of the building.

46 There are no surviving drawings which can be definitively attributed to de Brosse. Coope wrote that the drawing of the porte-cochère was "possibly an original by de Brosse, but there is no way to prove the attribution" (1972:252). She did not raise the possibility that de Brosse was involved in designing the place Royale.

Distribution of Lots

47 By the terms of an agreement concluded on 23 January 1607, the sieur de Montmagny was paid 20,110 pounds for 1293½ square toises of land, a rate of 15½ pounds per square toise (A.N.S 1025; E 12A f18, 16 Jan. 1607). The heirs of Remy Royer sold the crown 310 square toises of land with a house and its dependencies for 15,500 pounds on 10 March 1607 (A.N. X1A 8646 f28v-32). A settlement with Ste. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers was reached on 4 July 1615 which gave the priory 8½ arpents of land between the rues Francaise, Pavée, Montorgeuil, and Mauconseil in exchange for the land taken by the crown at the place Royale (A.N. S 1025; A.N. E 24A f25, f33, 6 Oct., 3 Dec. 1609). A drawing

made before 1615 depicted the territory on the west side of the square over which the priory claimed seigneurial rights (A.N. S 1025).

48 Pierre Fougeu, Noel Regnouard, Claude Chastillon, Louis Arnault, Hilaire Lhoste, and Daniel de Massy, all land recipients at the place Royale, were involved in the construction of Henrichemont: Rosalys Coope and Catherine Grodecki, "La création d'Henrichemont par Sully (1608-1612)," Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry 41(June 1975):1-28.

49 Jean Coin (+ before April 1614) was one of the masons who built the Petite Galerie (1590's) and the Grande Galerie of the Louvre (1603-08). He also worked at the château of Coulommiers with Salomon de Brosse in 1613. His inventory after death does not refer to any documents concerning the place Royale. The inventory reveals an interesting detail; hanging in the main room of Coin's house on the rue St. Antoine was "un grand tableau peint sur toile ou est un dessein de bastiment en perspective ou y a plusieurs personnages et ouvriers travaillant aud. bastiment" with an estimated value of 17 pounds (Min.cent. CV 353, 2 April 1614). Jean Fontaine (+c.1620) was a royal carpenter since 1584; in 1608 he was "grand maître des bâtiments du roi et commis à la voyerie de France": Babelon, Demeures parisiennes, passim.

50 Mathew's description is cited by David Buisseret, Henri IV (London:1984), 128-29, based on a document in the Public Record Office, London SP 78/52 f73; Buisseret does not indicate the date of Mathew's account.

The Second Design

51 Babelon offered only one example of an hôtel with shops built during the first half of the seventeenth century, the hôtel of François de Chabannes on the rue St. Honoré in 1617 (Demeures parisiennes 1977:90).

52 This lease from 1608 indicates that even after the design of the square was modified, there was some uncertainty about the use of the arcaded ground floor. The change in the square's function was implied when the silkworks were removed from the square, but evidently not made explicit.

53 Paul Deyon wrote: "The merchant manufacturer, where he did in fact exist, was too often fickle and unfaithful to his profession. After 15 or 20 years of manufacturing he would shift his capital to an investment in property or a seigneurie or into the purchase of an office or tax-farming contract. Here we touch the fundamental problem of mental outlook, for manufacturing was not considered a means of social advancement in seventeenth-century France, and even suffered under hostile prejudice. . . . The state apparatus

offered, through the sale of offices or grants of privilege, greater rewards for vanity than could be found in a career in manufacturing": "Manufacturing Industries in Seventeenth-Century France," Louis XIV and Absolutism, ed. Ragnhild Hatton (Columbus:1976), 241.

54 The agreement passed by the entrepreneurs on 2 Oct. 1608 refers to a royal edict issued by the Conseil d'Etat in April 1607 which called for the destruction of the silk-works; this edict has not been found and in the index of acts passed by the Conseil d'Etat during Henri IV's reign, there is a gap between 31 March and 10 May 1607 (Noel Valois, Inventaire des Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat. Règne de Henri IV, vol. 2 (Paris:1893)).

55 Mansart's design is discussed by Alan Braham and Peter Smith, Francois Mansart, 2 vols. (London:1973), 1:111-15,247-49; Braham, Smith "Mansart Studies V: The Church of the Minimes," Burlington 57/744(March 1965):123-132. On the establishment of the Minimes on the site behind the place Royale, see note 81 below.

56 Unlike the facade of the entry pavilion toward the square which had five bays of windows, the north facade had only four window bays, disregarding the three arches below. This inconsistent treatment also indicates that the rue de Béarn facade was considered the back side.

57 Babelon assumed that the corner entry pavilions were planned from the start, but his claim is not substantiated (EPHE 1975-76:707). The entry pavilion at the northwest corner was planned by 1630; when Lumague and his wife sold their pavilion at the west end of the north range, they ceded "tout et tel droit qu'ils peuvent avoir aux voultres qui doibvent estre faictes aux despens de Sa Majesté à l'entree de lad. Place Royale pour l'arcade qui joindra à lad. maison" (Min.cent. CXII 299, 22 Aug.1630). There are now three additional bays at the east end of the north range; they must have been built following the destruction of the entry pavilion in 1822. There is one additional bay at the west end of the north range which was built by 1702 when it is depicted on the Terrier plan./Fig 8a/ These bays do not date from the original construction in 1608.

58 On the land between his pavilion and the rue de l'Egout (rue de Turenne), Lumague owned two houses which may have been built in 1604 as part of the silkworks (Min.cent. CXVII 258, 10 Jan. 1609). No documents concerning Camus' construction at the east end of the north range have been found.

59 Shortly after Monnard won this commission, he hired a bargee to deliver 15 cubic toises of rubble, or more, every week to the building site for the price of 13 pounds per cubic toise (Min.cent. CV 300, 19 March 1608).

Balthazar Monnard was the uncle of mason Claude Monnard, entrepreneur of the unfinished Collège de France. Among the witnesses at Claude Monnard's wedding in 1609 were his uncle Balthazar and the silk entrepreneur Claude Parfaict (Min.cent. CVIII 39 f213, 13 May 1609).

60 Four women living in Lyon, relatives of a silk artisan employed at the place Royale, were hired by Pestalossi to work in the maison des moulins for five and a half years (Min.cent. CVX 20, 14 June 1609).

61 This contract has not been located, but it is mentioned in the land division of January 1609. Monnard subcontracted the work to Jean Langevin and Thomas Bourdon who in turn hired other masons. On 16 May 1608, Langevin and Bourdon engaged a mason to build a wall and lucarnes "en la place Royale du costé de M. de Vitry /rue des Minimes/ en trois logis des manufactures d'or, d'argent et soye" and agreed to pay him at the same rate they were being paid by Monnard (Min.cent. CXV 18). On 28 July 1608, Langevin and Bourdon hired Jean Corberon, "compagnon masson", to undertake "toutes et chacunes les ouvrages de massonnerie qu'il convient faire en une maison scize a la place Roiale appelée la maison des manufactures d'or, d'argent et soie" (Min.cent. XXVI 28).

62 According to the land division of January 1609, the three houses west of the rue de Béarn were already occupied by Jacob Chomey, Dominico Stage, and Jean-Baptiste (Giobattista) Bono, all silk artisans. On 12 November 1608, Claude Parfaict hired master mason Balthazar Monnard to build a staircase in the house which the silk entrepreneur owned on the corner of the rue des Minimes and rue de Béarn (Min.cent. CXV 19). There is evidence that the entrepreneurs only turned part of the houses over to silk craftsmen and rented the courtyards, rooms, or entire wings to paying tenants. The houses were equipped with the necessary tools, and in most cases the entrepreneurs advanced money to the artisans in order to launch the business./App. A6/ Leases for the houses on the rue des Minimes entered into by the entrepreneurs with silk artisans and other tenants are listed in Appendix A5.

63 In 1610-11, Lumague hired six master gold-beaters, five of whom were Italian, and provided free lodgings. The artisans were required to hire French apprentices (Min.cent. CXII 260, 3,4 March 1610; CXII 261, 12 July, 15 Nov. 1611; CXII 262, 7 April 1611). In 1611 Lumague declared that he had sold 100 marcs of threaded gold and 36 marcs of threaded silver to a merchant in Rouen, "lesquels or et argent estoit fabriqué a Paris en la fabrique dud. sieur Lumague" (Min. cent. CXII 262, 16 May 1611). A dispute with a client over the terms of a sale also proves that Lumague continued to manufacture silk, gold and silver cloth (Min.cent. CXII 260, 30 April 1610). There was, however, some suspicion among

rival merchants that Lumague and his associates were selling illicit, imported cloths and not goods of their own manufacture (Registres 15:161, 23 July 1612). This suspicion may have arisen because Lumague was commissioned by the king in 1610 to purchase 300,000 pounds worth of precious cloths for the celebration of the queen's coronation. In 1615 Lumague appealed to the crown for permission to continue selling this material as well as the inventory of the manufactures without forfeiting his title of nobility (A.N. X1A 8648 f288, 6 August 1615).

Construction

64 Modifications of some hôtels later in the seventeenth century are discussed by Braham and Smith, Mansart, 1:223,269; Babelon, Demeures parisiennes, passim; Babelon, "L'hôtel de Chaulnes," CVP 1968-69:19-30.

65 The dimensions of various lots in toises (t) and pieds(') compare as follows:

LOT	WIDTH	LENGTH
Place Dauphine	4t	4-8t
Serlio House K	6t 4'	14½t
Serlio House I	7t	17 t
House of Philibert de l'Orme	6t 4'	27½t
Place Royale	8t	22-32t

Forecourt only

Hôtel Carnavalet (16th century)	9t	10t
Hôtel du Grande Ferrare	17t	22t

66 Fougeu held the following offices: Lieutenant général sur le fait des rivières, Intendant des levées et turcies (dykes) des rivières de Loire, Cher et Allier, and Mareschal des logis des armées du roy. He was also assigned by Sully to review a proposal to link the Seine and Loire rivers. Fougeu's career and architectural patronage are addressed by Catherine Grodecki, "L'architecture en Berry sous le règne de Henri IV," Mémoires de l'Union des Sociétés savantes de Bourges 3(1951-52):77-131; David Buisseret, "A Stage in the Development of the French Intendants: The Reign of Henry IV," The Historical Journal, 9/1(1966):33-34; G. Baguenault de Puchesse, "Pierre Fougeu d'Escures," Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais 34(1913):7-59.

67 The carpentry work was undertaken by the royal carpenter Jean Fontaine who was paid 5820 pounds (BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365 f34). An inventory of documents concerning Fougeu's house was submitted to Phelypeaux at the time of the sale. It mentions a "mémoire de ce qui a esté payé par d'Escures aux ouvriers qui ont travaillé en lad. maison, montant 23,711 livres tournois" (BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365 f6). Shortly after this purchase, Phelypeaux rented a house on the quai St. Paul for 450 pounds, half the rent he charged

for his house at the place Royale (Min.cent. XIX 362, 5 Oct. 1609). In 1617, the king allowed Phelypeaux to annex part of the Pavillon du Roi, and in 1618 Phelypeaux moved into his house at the place Royale.

68 Fougeu raised about 2000 pounds from the sale of his first house at the square, 1200 pounds from the sale of two lots to Pericard (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f235, 3 April 1607), and 10,000 pounds from the sale of a house to Jean Coin (Min.cent. CXVII 470 f220, 26 April 1608), amounting to 13,200 pounds. The contracts of sale with François de Lomenie and Charles Marchant do not state the price of the land (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f215, 23 March; f236, 4 April 1607). Fougeu hired a painter to paint the interior of his hôtel on 14 Sept. 1614 (Min.cent. CVIII 48 f235).

69 Assuming that it cost 50,000 pounds to build the two-pavilion house, slightly more than twice the cost of his one-pavilion house, then Fougeu reaped a 160% return on his investment. On the terrier plan, this hôtel occupies an L-shaped parcel of land./Fig. 8a/ The short stem of the L, amounting to 54 square toises, was acquired by the duc de Chaulnes on 5 Sept. 1644 and was used for the service court and a garden (Min.cent. CXV 88).

70 Monnard subcontracted Marchant and Fontaine's houses (based on a verbal agreement) to a mason who began the project then let it out to two other masons (Min.cent. CV 300, 9 June 1608). Marchant passed a joinery contract on 21 April 1608 with Jan van Laubych, compagnon menuisier, who was instructed to build the porte-cochère "suivant le desseing fait par led. sieur Marchant" and otherwise build as he, Laubych, had already done in other houses at the place Royale (Min.cent. XIX 359 f130).

71 In the masonry contract for the north range of pavilions, Monnard agreed to the payment of 8 pounds per toise "oultre la somme de 4619 pounds 14 sols tournois que led. Monnard a cy devant receu desd. sieurs depuis le (?) septembre jusques au 17 decembre 1607 laquelle somme lesd. sieurs luy ont delaissé en consideration de la lourde besogne qu'il convient faire suivant led. marché au grand pavillon, faire de ce qu'il convient desmolir et restablir a cause de ce qui a esté gasté et partie geleez . . ." (Min.cent. CVIII 37, 8 March 1608).

72 In his will dated 27 May 1639 (Min.cent. LXXXVI 261), Pierre Saintot estimated the value of his place Royale house at 78,800 pounds; two years later, it was sold for 75,000 pounds (Min.cent. CVIII 87, 16 March 1641). Saintot owned two other houses in Paris, a seigneurial estate, and other rural property, with a total value of 353,800 pounds. The place Royale house accounted for 22% of his investment in real estate.

73 Claude Parfaict passed contracts for carpentry (Min.cent. CVIII 37, 19 May 1608), metalwork (CVIII 37, 8 Aug. 1608; CVIII 41 f302, 20 Aug. 1610; CVIII 57 f93, 21 March 1618), joinery (CVIII 37, 28 Aug. 1608), and ten marble chimney mantles (CXV 20, 16 Apr. 1609). Parfaict sold the house to the west on 20 June 1620 to his tenant Bernardin Pradel, Trésorier de France à Montpellier and Intendant des Gabelles en Languedoc, for 25,000 pounds (CVIII 61 f205). The value of Parfaict's second house, equal in size to first, was appraised at 24,000 pounds in 1623, and the following year it was sold for 30,000 pounds to Madame de Bassompierre (CVIII 64(2) f237, 19-22 Sept. 1623; f166, 13 August 1624). At the time of his death, Parfaict owned nine houses—four on the rue des Minimes, two on the rue du Foin, one at the square, and two on the rue St. Antoine—with a total value of 112,500 pounds (CVIII 64(2) f237). The house at the square formed 26% of his real estate holdings. The house in which Parfaict lived on the rue St. Antoine was valued at 20,000 pounds.

74 Guillaume Parfaict also entered into contracts for painting (Min.cent. CVIII 43 f178, 30 May 1611), paving of the court "avec le desseing des 6 arcades de lad. place" (CVIII 43 f180, 31 May 1611), paving of the interior of the house (CVIII 43 f188, 8 June 1611), sculpting three chimney mantles (CVIII 43 f223, 15 July 1611), and building stables (CVIII 47 f231, 27 July 1613). His heirs sold the house on 5 June 1630 to Bernard Potier, the owner of the château of Blerancourt, for 20,000 pounds plus 2500 pounds of rente (Min.cent. CVIII 68(5) f139).

75 One month before the king decided to replace the silkworks with a range of pavilions, Moisset hired the mason Pierre Robelin to rebuild his house on the rue St. Thomas du Louvre (Min.cent. XC 167, 8 March 1607); contracts for roofing and carpentry soon followed (XC 167, 17-18 March 1607). Robelin formed a partnership with the royal architect Clement Métézeau to execute Moisset's commission (Min.cent. LI 15, 24 March 1607). For the place Royale hôtel, Moisset spent 6293 pounds on the carpentry (Min.cent. XC 172, 8 March 1612 with a receipt for payment on 16 Feb. 1616). There are documents concerning the stair in Min.cent. XC 173, 15 May; 4, 11 Sept.; 22 Oct. 1613. The two masons who built the stair were paid 1120 pounds (Min.cent. XC 173, 22 Oct. 1613). De Brosse designed a vaulted stair well at Coulommiers (Coope 1972:104). The relationship between du Ry and de Brosse is discussed by Coope 1972:9, *passim*.

76 Marchant supplied some of the building materials to the craftsmen. He bought 24,000 pieces of slate for delivery to the port St. Paul in May 1607, for the price of 14 pounds per thousand (Min.cent. XIX 357, 12 April 1607). He bought 100 cubic toises of rubble from a quarrier for delivery to the place Royale in weekly installments of 5

cubic toises, for the price of 12 pounds 10 sols per cubic toise. The next day the quarrier hired a bargee to transport the stone to the port St. Paul and then haul it to the square for 46 sous per cubic toise (Min.cent. CXV 18, 24-25 Feb. 1608). Marchant often hired craftsmen to work on several sites; for example, on 4 April 1606, he hired masons to build a house in the Marais as well as the houses at the place Royale. This contract proves that Marchant expected the land donation before he was actually given title in March 1607 (Min.cent. XIX 355). In the following months, he passed contracts for roofing, carpentry, and joinery (Min.cent. XIX 357 f159, 17 May 1607; XIX 358 f311, 14 Sept.; f368, 13 Nov. 1607). In the third contract, Marchant agreed to provide the joiner with a boutique where the artisan could work with two assistants.

77 Marchant's son rented the house at the north end of the west range for 1200 pounds on 14 June 1617 (Min.cent. CVIII 54 f20, 13 Jan.; f183, 14 June 1617).

78 Antoine Le Redde's widow sued Chastillon's heirs for failure to pay for the carpentry work in Chastillon's house at the place Royale (Min.cent. XIX 383 f67, 21 May 1616). A year later, the heirs gave the house plus a payment of 6000 pounds to Jacques de Vassan, a provincial tax farmer who subsequently became Trésorier des parties casuelles, in exchange for 625 pounds of rente, a house in Chaalons, and the contract for a tax farm in Chaalons (Min.cent. XLV 22 f79, 21 Feb. 1617).

79 Guillaume Parfaict's tenants turned over very quickly, before any of the leases expired. The tenant in 1613, Charles de Cregny, an officer in the royal guard (Min.cent. CVIII 45 f223, 27 June 1612), was followed by Jacques de Paris, secretary to the Spanish ambassador (CVIII 47 f183, 3 June 1613), the English ambassador Thomas Edmondes (CVIII 48 f135, 6 June 1614), Noel Hureau, Receveur général des finances in Paris (CVIII 52 f203, 5 Oct. 1616), Charles de Vallois, a cavalry officer (CVIII 52 f230, 4 Nov. 1616), and Henry de Foix, Lieutenant général pour le roy (CVIII 59 f159, 10 May 1619). The rent was lowered for the first time in 1622 from 2000 to 1500 pounds because the tenant was required to make various repairs (CVIII 62.4 f127, 22 April 1622).

The Place Royale Crowned

80 The carrousel was described in Marc de Vulson, Le Vray Theatre d'honneur et de chevalerie ou le miroir heroique de la noblesse, 2 vols. (Paris:1648), 1:chap.24; Honoré Laugier, Le Camp de la Place Royale (Paris:1612); François de Rosset, Le Romant des chevaliers de la gloire (Paris:1612); Anonymous, Le Carrousel des pompes (Paris: 1612); Anonymous, Le Triomphe royale (Paris:1612).

81 The church of the Minimes is discussed by Odile Krakovitch, "Le couvent des Minimes de la Place-Royale," MSHP 30(1979):87-258. Louis de l'Hospital's sale of land to the Minimes is recorded in Min.cent. CXV 21, 27 October 1609, and A.N. S* 4300. The masonry devis stipulated that the vaults around the cloister were to be built like those at the place Royale (A.N. S* 4293A, 2 Sept. 1611). Simon Le Gras, Pierre Saintot, and the Parfaict brothers "qui ont désiré assister lesd. relligieux en son bon oeuvre" attended the closing of the land sale (Min.cent. CXV 21, 24 Oct. 1609). Nicolas Le Jay and his brother-in-law Charles II Marchant, the heirs of Captain Charles Marchant and owners of the houses he built at the square, bought a chapel in the church of the Minimes, promising payment with the rent money collected from the houses on the Pont Marchant (A.N. S*4300).

82 Mansart's project is discussed by Allan Braham and Peter Smith, Mansart, 1:111-15, 247-49; Braham and Smith, "Mansart Studies V: The Church of the Minimes," Burlington 57/744(March 1965):123-32; E.-J. Ciprut, "Documents inédits sur l'ancienne église des Minimes de la Place Royale," BSHAF 1954:151-74.

83 In Antoine de Pluvinel's treatise on equitation Manege Royal (Paris:1623), the illustrations depict men in armor playing chivalric games in the place Royale; the same plates were also included in Pluvinel's L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval (Amsterdam:1666). There are other seventeenth century images of jousts in the place Royale in B.N. Est. Coll. Hennin XIX n°1686, 1691-92; B.N. Est. Coll. Destailleur VE 53h n°1067.

Chapter 2

THE PLACE DAUPHINE

In March 1607, Henri IV gave Achille de Harlay, the President of the Paris Parliament, the land at the west end of the Ile de la Cité. It was an undeveloped site lying between the Palace wall rising to the east and the Pont Neuf which crossed the tapered point of the island to the west. The donation amounted to 3120½ square toises of empty land (6179 sq.m.) on which Harlay was required to build the place Dauphine.

The first published report about the place Dauphine appeared in the Mercure françois in its annals of 1608:

/Henri IV/ . . . avoit faict faire le Parc-Royal /place Royale/ a dessein qu'il deust servir de place de Change ou de Bourse; mais estant en un des coins de la ville et trop loin du Palais, où tous les Banquiers ont tousjours affaire à la sortie de la Court, qui est à l'heure du Change, il commença ceste année à faire bastir la place Dauphine à la pointe de l'Isle du Palais /Ile de la Cité/, et d'un lieu qui estoit comme inutile, en faire la plus belle et la plus utile place de Paris. . . (312v).

Throughout the seventeenth century, this account was repeated in guides and histories of Paris, and ever since it has survived as an unsubstantiated legend.¹ There have been

only two additions to the historical record, both concerning Achille de Harlay's role in the creation of the square. In 1911 Mallevoüe published the contract setting forth the terms of the king's donation, and in 1966 Babelon traced Harlay's initial sale of lots at the square.² But the ensuing land division, construction, and settlement of the place Dauphine has remained undocumented.

The first concern of this chapter is to chart the building history of the square. The land was owned by twenty-one men who built forty-five houses of varying sizes. By following this process of development, it is possible to define the social constituency and architectural character of the place Dauphine. Henri IV's second square was not intended as an auxiliary banking center for the Palais as the Mercure françois misguidedly reported. With its ground floor shops and houses above, the place Dauphine was planned as a commercial square for merchants and artisans who were largely responsible for realizing the royal project.

The second concern of this chapter is to place the square in its urban context, examining its relationship with the Pont Neuf, the statue of Henri IV on the bridge, and the rue Dauphine. These projects formed a series of interlocking elements which connected the western regions of the city to the Ile de la Cité. The place Dauphine stood in the midst of this network, with the exterior facades participating in a busy circuit of roads and grand urban vista while the square itself formed an intimate and enclosed space. It is this dual role of the place Dauphine,

at once engaged in a broader urban network but unencroached on the interior by the major axes of circulation, which distinguished its design.

The Site: The Pont Neuf and the Statue of Henri IV

For centuries, the kings of France cultivated a garden at the west end of the Ile de la Cité, then known as the Ile du Palais. At the tip of the island, inserted in the wall which enclosed the Jardin du Bailliage, was a pavilion called the Maison des Etuves. Lying off the coast of the Ile du Palais were two islets, the larger of which was called the Ile aux Bureaux.³(Fig. 1) In February 1578, Henri III decided to build a new bridge in western Paris between the Ecole St. Germain on the Right Bank and the quai des Augustins on the Left Bank, passing twelve toises west of the Maison des Etuves, across the Ile aux Bureaux. The islet was annexed to the Ile du Palais, filling in the gulf between the Cité and the bridge and creating the site of the place Dauphine.

The Pont Neuf was conceived both as a means of traveling between the Right and Left Banks and as a means of entering the Ile du Palais from the west.⁴ To fulfill the second function, the undeveloped islet and the Jardin du Bailliage had to be traversed. Three successive designs for the Pont Neuf were established during Henri III's reign, each one connecting the bridge to the island in a different way, each one affecting the site of the place Dauphine and

impinging on the design of the square. In order to understand the conditions of the site as well as the change in the crown's urban strategy, the history of the place Dauphine must begin with the Pont Neuf.⁵

The original design for the bridge was chosen by the king in February 1578. An expertise undertaken the following month disclosed the three principal features of the project (Lasteyrie 27-33, 3 March 1578). First, the course of the bridge followed a straight line with eight arches across the north arm of the Seine, four arches across the south arm, and an intermediary platform $28\frac{1}{2}$ toises wide across the island. Second, unlike the other bridges in the city which were all lined with buildings, the Pont Neuf was planned without any houses, permitting an unobstructed view of the river. And third, a street was projected along the south side of the Ile du Palais from the bridge to the Pont St. Michel and the cathedral of Nôtre Dame.⁶ There is an anonymous sixteenth century painting of a project for the Pont Neuf at the Musée Carnavalet which depicts these essential elements, although the painting may not in fact portray the original design.⁷(Fig. 9) To execute the project, the experts found that the smaller islet had to be removed from the river; some land within the Palace enclave and the surrounding wall had to be appropriated to pierce the street; and the Ile aux Bureaux, lying at water level, had to be built up to the level of the bridge and the street.⁸ There was no intention in the original scheme to

develop the point of the Ile du Palais. This terrain was treated as interstitial space as the Carnavalet painting shows, a void traversed by the bridge and the road.

Soon after construction of the southern piles was begun, Pierre des Isles, one of the entrepreneurs of the Pont Neuf, informed the supervisory commission that the bridge should not be built on a straight alignment as planned. He claimed that the bridge would better resist the river currents if its two sections were slightly angled, and following his suggestion, it was decided in May 1578 to introduce a bend (coulde) "à l'endroit de la masse de l'Isle du Palais" (Lasteyrie 66). Although this modification presumably affected only the course of the longer leg since three piles were already completed on the south side, the change seems to have provoked a re-evaluation of other structural considerations. There are no records of the commission's proceedings during the following year, but when the minutes resume in June 1579, it is clear that other changes have been made in the design of the bridge.

The second project, which was finalized during the summer of 1579, can be partially reconstructed from the commission's deliberations (Plumitif 5-20) and from the masonry contract for the southern vaults dated 25 November 1579 (Lasteyrie 75-81). First, the distribution of arches was altered from eight and four to seven and five. On the north side, where construction had not yet begun, the elimination of an arch was accomplished by designing wider piles and larger arches. On the south side, where the four

piles closest to the Left Bank were already built, the addition of a fifth arch meant cutting into the platform on the island. Consequently, the width of the terre-plein was reduced from $28\frac{1}{2}$ toises to approximately 19 toises. The second major change was the addition of houses on the bridge.⁹ This decision which eliminated the most distinctive feature of the Pont Neuf—its building-less profile—probably stemmed from the crown's unwillingness to sacrifice the prospective rental income.¹⁰

It was the second project for the Pont Neuf which initially guided construction on the island. On 17 July 1579, following the decision to build a fifth arch on the south arm, the mason Jacques Leroy was hired to build the abutments and flanking walls of the "masse en l'isle" as well as to terrace the land between the bridge and the garden wall (Plumitif 9-12; Lasteyrie 82-7). In December, Leroy transferred the masonry contract to François Petit, Guillaume Marchant, and des Isles, the principal entrepreneurs of the bridge (Plumitif 20); they seem to have completed the foundations of the mass by April 1581.¹¹ Construction of the "rue en l'isle" began the next summer at the east end, near the Pont St. Michel. The original alignment, delineated in 1578, had to be modified to accommodate the diminished width of the mass (Lasteyrie 32-3). The results of the new expertise ordered in June 1581 are unknown, but it is likely that the street's point of departure from the bridge was simply shifted to the north.

In August 1581, Leroy was appointed entrepreneur of the street. He was paid irregularly through 1584 and in 1585 was scheduled to do only metal work.¹² It is unclear how much of the road was completed, but it did not yet reach the bridge.¹³

The third scheme which dates from 1584 did not affect the structure of the bridge, but it transformed the treatment of the island. In need of money to finish the Pont Neuf, the crown decided to sell the land at the tip of the Ile du Palais, requiring the purchasers to build uniform houses on the lots. The enterprise was authorized in patent letters dated 11 June 1584, before a specific plan was established:

Il soit faict marqué . . . toutes et chacunes les rues qui seront necessaires pour aller dud. pont neuf dans nostre pallais et en autres lieulx et endroits de nostred. ville, et pour faire lesd. rues et passages abbatre si besoin est quelques maisons . . . de nostre Sainte Chappelle . . . de leurs jardins, mesme de prendre telle quantité de terre et place dans nostre jardin du bailliage et maison des estuves qui besoin sera pour icelles rues . . . ; adjudger /les places/ . . . au plus offrant . . . a la charge de faire bastir maisons par les acquereurs dedans le temps et selon les plans et desseings qui leur seront presentez par les sieurs commissaires pour les rendre uniformes et semblables si possible est, de mesme face et front sur rue pour la decoration /de la ville/ . . . (Plumitif 91v-92r).

The project, according to Boucher, involved only the road on the south side of the island (l:164), but his interpretation fails to account for the several "rues et passages" mentioned in the royal edict as well as the quai on the north side of the island discussed in the parliamentary registration.¹⁴ The lotissement envisioned by

the crown in fact covered the entire tip of the Ile du Palais, the future site of the place Dauphine.

Execution of the project proceeded slowly. Initially it was hampered by opposition from the Sainte Chapelle which wanted to preserve its garden, but two years later, the commissioners were prepared to move ahead. In July 1586, after reviewing the "publications faictes . . . de la vente et allienation des places qui sont designés en l'isle du pallais et jardin du Bailliage du pallais pour y ediffier maisons et boutiques . . .", they ordered a painting to display the project before the public auction (Plumitif 94v). The minutes then drop all mention of the venture. The sale probably never occurred, stifled by the same pressures which soon brought construction of the bridge to a standstill.

Because the plan of the unexecuted lotissement is unknown, the possibility that it anticipated the place Dauphine, that the design of the square was actually established during Henri III's reign must be considered. Nothing about the shops and houses in the Valois scheme is revealed in the documents, but the references to "rues et passages" permits us to speculate that a conventional extension of the circulation system was intended. The crown was not thinking of a square, but of a traditional sixteenth century lotissement based on a simple grid plan. While Henri III's scheme probably conformed to the established pattern of urban development, it was an important precedent for the place Dauphine in three respects: a lotissement was

planned on the same site, with the same building types, relying on the same formal device of uniform facades.

The civil war brought an end to construction in 1588, before the third project was even begun. A decade later, in February 1598, Henri IV announced the reopening of the chantier, his first public building project in Paris (Felibien 4:17-18). When construction resumed in 1599 with Petit and Marchant continuing as the entrepreneurs, the piles in the north arm of the Seine reached the springing of the arches, and the vaults on the south side were closed. It is unclear how high the platform on the island rose, but its dimensions were fixed as were those of the arches of the bridge. The west end of the island was little changed: the recently annexed islet may have been partially terraced, but the Jardin du Bailliage was still cultivated with flowers and the Maison des Etuves was still standing.¹⁵ The street on the south side of the island extended at most from the Pont St. Michel to the far end of the garden, but its trajectory to the Pont Neuf was determined.

The project was guided to completion by Henri IV's design for the bridge and the island. It had three essential features: the absence of houses from the Pont Neuf, the equestrian statue of the king on the platform of the bridge, and the place Dauphine. While the chronology of the Bourbon project remains a puzzle, it is likely that these elements were not established simultaneously. Henri IV was the first to realize each of these canonical forms in the capital, but

the originality of his project did not reside in the individual components. Of greater significance was the combination of the bridge, the statue, and the square; it was their interaction which inaugurated a new strategy of urban development.

The decision to complete the Pont Neuf without any encumbering buildings dated from the reopening of the chantier. When construction resumed in 1599 on the south arm of the bridge, Petit and Marchant closed the basement rooms that were begun during Henri III's reign (Du Breul 247).¹⁶ The suppression of buildings was calculated to exploit the view of the Louvre which Henri IV was in the process of enlarging to august dimensions. The eye was also unleashed to roam the city, to discover the river and its banks as an enticing spectacle. Du Breul appreciated this opportunity, calling attention to the raised shoulders on the bridge "pour voir la rivière" (246). The Seine became an admired sight, the quais a privileged location, attracting major buildings such as the Collège des Quatre Nations. The view from the Pont Neuf was considered one of the marvels of Paris throughout the seventeenth century, frequently depicted by artists and lavishly praised in descriptions of the city.¹⁷ The Pont Neuf, in offering such vistas, unveiled a new way of viewing the city: as an object to be shaped and modeled, an object yielding visual pleasures.

In April 1601, Petit and Marchant promised to complete the north section of the bridge within three years (Plumitif

120v-121). The Pont Neuf was opened to traffic in 1604, although construction was not entirely completed until July 1606.¹⁸ The bridge was adorned with a single building which abutted the second arch from the Right Bank. In 1604 the king commissioned the Flemish engineer Jean Lintlaer to build a pump which was housed in a three-story pavilion called the Samaritaine. It symbolized the royal campaign to provide the city with water which the Prevôt des marchands described in 1601:

Sa Majesté a déclaré son intention estre de passer ses annees en ceste ville et y demeurer comme vrai patriote, rendre ceste ville belle, /splendide/ . . . et pleine de toutes commoditez et ornemens qu'il sera possible. Voullant le parachevement du Pont Neuf et restablissement des fontaines, ayant Sa Majesté entendu que, par le deffault des eaus des fontaines, plusieurs personnes sont subjectz a des maladies de gravelle, desireux non seulement de nous preserver de noz ennemis, mais aussy soigneux de noz santez, nous ayant donné la paix, veult décorer ceste ville par le parachevement du Pont Neuf et restablissement des fontaines qui y souloient couler, usant de ces motz qu'il veult faire un monde entier de ceste ville et un miracle du monde, en quoy certainement nous faict cognoistre un amour plus que paternel (Registres 12:386, 16 March 1601).

Lintlaer's machine did not in fact supply the general public with water; it served only the king, delivering water to the gardens of the Tuileries via a reservoir in the cloister of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, and those granted a special allotment.¹⁹

The second major element of Henri IV's project was the equestrian monument situated on the platform of the bridge. Commissioned by the queen in 1603/04 from Giambologna, the statue was completed by Pietro Tacca and installed on the

bridge in 1614.²⁰ It was the first large-scale royal monument in France to be placed in a public space and was certainly inspired by the Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio as well as Giambologna's earlier works of Grand Dukes Cosimo I (1587-99) and Ferdinand I (1601-08), respectively situated in the Piazza della Signoria and the Piazza dell'Annunziata in Florence. The royal monument on the Pont Neuf was an assertion of the crown's imperial stature as contemporary pamphlets made clear, comparing Henri IV to the rulers of the Roman empire. And though this literature did not explicitly liken Bourbon Paris to ancient Rome, the statue was also an expression of Henri IV's ambitions for the French capital.²¹

The history of the monument is well-established in all but one respect: it is not known when the decision to place a statue on the bridge was made. We know it was made before September 1608 when a document referred to the terre-plein as the location of the "pedestal ou sera la figure du roy", but the terminus a quo remains at issue (Min.cent. LXXVIII 183, 12 September 1608).²² Although it is generally assumed that the site was selected after Maria de Medici commissioned Giambologna, the decision to place a statue on the bridge may well have preceded the commission of a specific sculpture.²³ It is possible that Henri IV's design for the Pont Neuf in 1598 or even Henri III's earlier designs called for a statue on the bridge. Some credence is lent to the latter hypothesis by an intriguing observation by Arnold Van Buchel in September 1585. "J'ai vu une statue de cheval,"

he wrote, "que le roi a décidé de placer au milieu du pont, en l'appelant pont de Valois en souvenir de lui . . ." (MSHP 1899:121). While there is no corroborating evidence that Henri III entertained such a plan, the idea of an equestrian monument was in circulation as a result of an earlier project of Catherine de Medici. In 1559/60 she commissioned an equestrian statue of Henri II for which only the horse was cast; it remained riderless in Rome, but a plaster mold was sent to the château of Fontainebleau and placed in the Cour du Cheval Blanc which was renamed after the statue.²⁴

The possibility that Maria de Medici's commission followed an earlier decision to place a statue on the bridge need be stressed because some historians have argued that the queen's action gave rise to the place Dauphine. Not only is it assumed that she chose the Pont Neuf as the site of the equestrian monument, but it is suspected that the Florentine queen conceived of the place Dauphine. "Si le terre-plein lui-meme fut amenagé en vue de recevoir la statue royale," Boucher wrote, "il n'est pas exagé de supposer que l'entreprise de la place Dauphine doit aussi quelque chose au projet de la reine" (1:167). Medici traditions of patronage without doubt exerted a general influence on Henri IV, but there is no evidence that the queen was involved either in planning the Pont Neuf and the place Dauphine or in shaping the broader urban program of the king.

The third element of Henri IV's program was the creation of a square at the tip of the Ile du Palais. In June 1603, Petit and Marchant resumed construction of the quai on the south side of the island. They were not instructed to build any other roads at this time which suggests that the crown was not yet considering the development of the island (Plumitif 127). The quai des Orfèvres was largely completed by the beginning of 1607 when the design of the place Dauphine was established.

The Design of the Place Dauphine

Henri IV decided to develop the west end of the Ile du Palais during the final months of 1606 at the latest. The experts measured the site on 10 February 1607 in compliance with an order of the Treasurers General.²⁵ One month later, on 10 March 1607, the king gave Achille de Harlay the western tip of the island, "toutes et chacunes les places contenues entre les deux rivieres de l'Isle du Pallais . . . commençans depuis le bas du jardin du Bailliage jusques au pont Neuf, et le long des deux quais. . . ." On this land, Harlay was obliged to build "suivant le plan et devis qui en sera faict par mond. Seigneur le duc de Sully, Grand voyer de France . . ." (Mallevoüe 23-24). Henri IV ratified the contract on 28 March 1607, reiterating the stipulation that Harlay build according to the "plan et devis qui en esté dressé."²⁶ The shift of tense in this clause, from future to past, implies that the design for the place Dauphine was

completed during the month of March 1607.

Two months following the donation, in May 1607, the king instructed Sully to show Harlay the final design, stipulating that the square be completed within three years.

Mon amy, je vous fais ce mot pour vous dire qu'incontinent que vous l'aurez receue vous voyiés M. le premier president, pour resouldre la place Dauphine selon le dessein que vous m'en avés monstré, affin qu'elle soit faicte en trois ans. Que s'il ne le veut faire, trouvés quelque autre qui l'entreprenne, et luy dites qu'il aura le profit du fonds.²⁷

This is the earliest known document which refers to the project as the place Dauphine. It was named in honor of the future Louis XIII whose birth in 1601 expunged the fear that a barren king would bequeathe to France renewed civil war. The place Dauphine, through its name, was an assertion of dynastic control, proclaiming the strength of the Bourbon line. The king was eager to have the square built, as his letter testifies, and confident that the promise of profit from the land would attract a compliant developer if Harlay objected to the royal charge.

There are no extant drawings of the place Dauphine from Henri IV's reign. Preliminary studies by royal architects, the final design approved by the king, construction drawings used by masons: none of these survive. To reconstruct the original form of the place Dauphine, we must refer to the initial building contracts and to later drawings in addition to the buildings as they now stand, extensively altered. This discussion of the form of the square relies in particular on a series of nineteenth century cadastral plans in the Archives (A.N. C.P.F.³¹94, 3; Fig. 14) and on four

unpublished drawings: a plan from the studio of Robert de Cotte which can be dated to 1685 (B.N.Est. Va 419j t.5; Fig. 11); a plan by the Abbé Delagrive dating from the 1740's (B.N.Est. Ve 53j rés. 1112; Fig. 12); a watercolor plan signed by Visconti and thus prepared before his death in 1853 showing the lot lines (A.N. C.P. Versement de l'Architecture, Boîte 18, 37); and a nineteenth century watercolor elevation from the papers of Henri Labrouste (B.N.Est. Va 419j t.2; Fig. 17).

The place Dauphine was first depicted in the Vassalieu and Quesnel plans of Paris, engraved in 1608 before construction of the square even began.(Figs. 2b,3b) Both plans misrepresented the design: Vassalieu dit Nicolay imagined a horseshoeshaped place and Quesnel inserted a pavilion at the west entrance. The first detailed engraving of the square was based on a lost drawing by Claude Chastillon./Fig. 10/ The date of the engraving is uncertain, but the drawing was done by 1616, the year of Chastillon's death.²⁸ The engraving accurately depicts the urban disposition of the square, but the facade differs from the executed design, most importantly with respect to the rhythm of the bays and the pilasters between the shops.²⁹ Either Chastillon incorrectly rendered the facade or he portrayed an earlier and otherwise unknown design for the square.

The royal project had two principal components: a triangular square and a row of houses east of the place

Dauphine./Fig. 11/ The row of houses bordered a cross street, the rue de Harlay, then turned the corners, and extended eastward along the quais, wrapping around the perimeter of the Palais. This ring of buildings sealed the west end of the Palace enclave, blocking direct circulation between the Palais and the square. The contention of the Mercure françois that the place Dauphine was intended to serve as a place de change for bankers upon leaving the palace is contradicted by the form of the square which prevented contact between the two areas.

The triangular shape of the square was suggested by the site. The chamfered point of the place faced the Pont Neuf. The two sides ran along the diverging quais of the Seine, the quai du grand cours de l'eau to the north (quai de l'Horloge), the quai du côté des Augustins to the south (quai des Orfèvres). And the base of the triangle bordered the rue de Harlay. Two entrances were opened along the central axis of the square, at the point of the triangle leading to the Pont Neuf and at the midpoint of the base leading to the rue de Harlay. The square was otherwise enclosed by two continuous files of houses, which formed asymmetric halves of the triangle. The place Dauphine was not an isosceles triangle as Lavedan claimed (1982:116), but a distinctly irregular triangle. The southeast corner formed a more acute angle than the northeast corner; both segments of the southern half of the square were longer than those of the northern half; and the range of houses along the quai de l'Horloge was not uniformly wide, narrowing as

it approached the Pont Neuf from inside the square.³⁰ In addition, the quai des Orfèvres was wider than the quai de l'Horloge by approximately one and a half toises.

The asymmetry of the square was related to a more significant feature: the place Dauphine was not aligned with the royal statue on the Pont Neuf. This misalignment, though criticized by Sauval and Jaillot and still evident today, has entirely escaped the attention of modern writers who assume that Henri IV's bronze figure was on the axis of the square.³¹ The statue was centered on the terre-plein, but it was approximately three toises south of the axis of the square. Consequently, the king obliquely regarded the place, and only a partial view of the monument was possible from within the square. Sauval offered two explanations for the misalignment of the statue: the unequal width of the quais for which he blamed François Petit, and the failure to relocate the center of the terre-plein for which he blamed the sculptor and mason of the pedestal.

Sans doute le Sculpteur et le Maçon eurent tous deux bien peu d'industrie, d'avoir tourné si mal le pied d'estal et la figure, qu'on ne les voit presque point du dedans de la place Dauphine, et que le Roi en regarde l'entrée de travers et de mauvais oeil. On me dira qu'ils l'ont dressé à la pointe de l'Isle, dans le centre de la place qui separe les deux ponts /terre-plein/, et qu'ainsi à l'égard de cette difformité on s'en doit prendre à François Petit, conducteur de la place Dauphine, pour avoir donné à un des quais beaucoup plus de largeur qu'à l'autre, ce qui est cause que la pointe de cette place /Dauphine/ n'est pas planté dans le milieu de l'Isle du Palais. J'avoue que cette raison peut servir à les defendre /i.e. sculptor and mason/, et qui pourtant est la seule, cependant elle ne satisfait pas trop, car ils devoient prévoir qu'à faute d'assujettir cette figure à l'entrée de la place c'etoit ôter au pont un enrichissement qui leur

étoit très nécessaire; si bien qu'en l'état où étoit pour lors la pointe de l'Isle du Palais, il leur étoit aisé d'établir son centre où ils eussent voulu; et peut-être est-ce pour cela que Petit ne s'est pas soucié de placer précisément dans le milieu de l'Isle la pointe de la place Dauphine (1:235).

Sauval's analysis of the misalignment is unfounded. First, the unequal width of the quais did not cause the oblique alignment. If the placement of the square were shifted to the south by a toise, making the quais equally wide, the axis of the square would still not intersect the statue. Furthermore, the complaint that the terre-plein was not recentered ignores the fact that the platform, abutted by the arches of the bridge, could not have been widened without altering the form of the Pont Neuf. Sauval neglected to consider the constraints imposed by the site, constraints which related to the misalignment and asymmetry of the square.

The essential problem, as Sauval himself pointed out, was that the terre-plein was not centered with respect to the island. This did not result from any negligence by Henri IV's architects; it followed from Henri III's design in 1579 for the Pont Neuf. In establishing the structure of the bridge, this design not only fixed the width of the platform; it determined the boundaries of the island because the quais were compelled to terminate at the platform. In 1579, the terre-plein was not conceived in relation to the entire tip of the island, but only in relation to the south quai. Consequently, it was not a relevant concern to center the platform with respect to the island; what mattered was

the perspective view along the south quai culminating at the terre-plein. Perhaps it was to take advantage of this opportunity that Petit gave the quais different dimensions; a slightly wider quai des Orfèvres afforded a continuous view of the equestrian statue which the north quai could not offer. When the platform of the bridge and the point of the island were integrated in one design in 1607, their non-centered relation was long since established.

Given these site conditions, it was possible to align the statue and the square by relocating the statue off the center of the terre-plein or by modifying the main entrance to the square—retracting it from the bridge, shortening its neck-like opening, or making the houses narrower. Of course, it was also possible to redesign the square entirely or to alter the site.³² But Henri IV's architects rejected all of these alternatives. Evidently, an axial relation between the two elements was not their paramount concern. Instead, they accepted the misalignment, centered the statue on the terre-plein, and adjusted each side of the square to meet local concerns. The irregular features of the place Dauphine were the imprint of these design decisions, revealing the formal priorities of Henri IV's architects.

The square was shaped by two superimposed geometries, one generated by the triangular form of the island and the other by the primary axis of circulation, the Pont Neuf. The principal facades, those along the quais and the bridge, each responded to a local condition. The north and south ranges were parallel to the quais while the west facade was

parallel to the Pont Neuf. It was in deference to the uniformity of the west entrance in its present form that the north range of houses was tapered. The course of the rue de Harlay, parallel to the Pont Neuf, resulted from prior decisions to make the east entrance perpendicular to the primary axis of circulation, the Pont Neuf, and to make the housing lots on the east side of the square rectilinear.

The place Dauphine and the royal statue were not harnessed to one regulating axis, as the asymmetry and misalignment confirm. Acting as two elements formally unfettered to one another, the statue and the west facade of the square shaped the space on the bridge. That interaction, however, did not extend beyond the entrance; inside the place Dauphine, the statue had no importance. The west facade of the square played a dual role, shaping the terre-plein in conjunction with the statue and also separating the tere-plein from the interior of the place. Two independent spaces were formed as the seventeenth century guidebooks acknowledged in distinguishing between the place Dauphine and the place de Henri IV on the Pont Neuf (Dechuyes 153,160; Sauval 1:627).

The spatial autonomy of the square need be stressed because the place Dauphine has been cast as the prototype of the place royale, symmetrically centered on a royal monument.³³ This interpretation misconstrues both the form of the place Dauphine and the aims of Henri IV's urbanism. First, it misreads the formal structure of the place

Dauphine which was not organized by a commanding central axis with a perspective view culminating in the royal monument. Second, it ignores the independent urban posture of the terre-plein. And third, it concludes that the place Dauphine was focused ideologically as well as formally on the bronze figure of the king, glorifying the monarch like the squares of Louis XIV, the place des Victoires (1689) and the place Vendome (1699).

The form of the place Dauphine was distinguished by its autonomous inner space buffered from the surrounding traffic and its T-shaped axial structure, features which the place Dauphine shared with the original scheme for the place Royale. The effect of spatial enclosure was reinforced in the treatment of the place Dauphine's openings. The west entrance, though approached from the Pont Neuf, separated the square through its neck-like form from activity on the bridge. The west opening was not made by simply slicing off the tip of the triangle so that the side ranges spread apart at the threshold of the square, thereby permitting one to step directly from the Pont Neuf inside the place. Rather, the end buildings tapered to create a narrow channel through which one had to pass before arriving at the inner precinct. This passage controlled physical access to the place Dauphine by preventing Pont Neuf traffic from casually drifting into the square, and it controlled visual access by preventing comprehensive views of the space from the bridge.

The east entrance on the rue de Harlay was cut off from the primary currents of circulation. Rather than pierce the

acute corners of the place, which would have put it in direct contact with the quais (as well as eliminated several irregular housing lots), the designers closed the corners and withdrew the entrance to a quieter secondary street, placing the opening in the middle of the square's east range. To enter the square from the east, it was necessary to turn off the quais, cross the rue de Harlay, then turn again between two houses. The buildings bordering this circuitous route made no architectural announcement of the entry; indeed, their uninterrupted uniformity minimized its importance. It should be noted that this entry was the one point from which it would have been possible to enjoy a perspective view encompassing the square and the front of Giambologna's monument, had it been relocated on axis. However, the indirect approach to the rue de Harlay entrance as well as its unembellished architectural treatment should make it clear that this possibility was neither intended nor developed. Far from celebrating a privileged vantage point crucial to the perception and understanding of the place Dauphine, the royal design essentially masked the presence of the east entrance from outside the square.

Unencroached by the flow of traffic, the place Dauphine was, nonetheless, embedded in the city fabric. Its entrances, discrete as they were, linked the square to the Pont Neuf and the quais of the Ile, new additions to the city's network of streets which were certain to become important arteries. The Pont Neuf resolved a major

circulation problem by facilitating access to the Louvre and directly linking the western areas of the city. Furthermore, with the monarch now occupying and rebuilding the Louvre, the pressures of westward expansion and the need for a western bridge could only be expected to grow. Apart from its attraction as a splendid monument, the Pont Neuf promised to be an important functional element, conveying large currents of circulation across the river. It was linked by the two new quais to the city's other bridges, all lined with shops and bustling with trade, and to the center of the Ile where the religious, administrative, and medical centers of the capital were located—the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, the Palais, and the Hôtel Dieu. It was expected that the streets bordering the place Dauphine on its north, south, and west sides would be charged with traffic and inviting to merchants. Activity lapped against the outer edges of the square but was prevented from pouring into the inner precinct.

The T-shaped axial structure of the square was also responsive to the urban context./Fig. 5b/ At the place Dauphine, as in the original scheme for the place Royale, the primary entrance was approached from a major artery (the Pont Neuf, rue St. Antoine) which was perpendicular to the central axis of the square. Passing between the tapered end-houses which obstructed the view into the square (through the Pavillon du Roi), one entered the place on axis. The central axis of the place Dauphine then abutted the rue de Harlay houses which established the lateral

axis./Fig. 18/ Visually, the cross axis was unimportant, concealed by the east side of the square, but it was asserted as an axis of circulation, linking the two quais. Though the rue de Harlay buildings were an essential component of the project, articulating the lateral axis, they were often excluded from images of the place Dauphine; the triangular square was shown in isolation, reinforcing the mistaken reading of its axial orientation. When, however, both the square and the rue de Harlay buildings are considered in their urban context, then the axial structure of the place Dauphine reveals its T-shape.

Most seventeenth century engravings of the square distort its spatial character. The place Dauphine is forced to reveal itself through a perspective view which betrays the form and urban posture of the square. Perelle's engraving, for example, exaggerates the central axis and presses the closed, triangular shape of the square into a rectangular formation./Fig. 19/ Aveline and Marot, who situate the viewer on the rue de Harlay, truncate or eliminate the east range of houses at the square.³⁴ /Fig. 20/ In all cases, the statue of Henri IV is placed on axis. These distortions indicate how unaccommodating the place Dauphine was to the axial structure and perspective view that artists later imposed on it with Procrustean rigor. The place Dauphine was best appreciated through a sweeping vista. Only Chastillon's engraving captures this panoramic exposure, encompassing both the street, the square and the

statue from the Right Bank. The place Dauphine is revealed not from a fixed point but by a series of changing views as one walks along the quais and across the Pont Neuf. The design of the place Dauphine displayed the same sensitivity to grand vistas, to the unfolding of form through movement, and to an urban scale as the Pont Neuf, the Grande Galerie, and the enormous courtyards envisioned in the grand dessein of the Louvre.

The crown prescribed the same facade for all the buildings./Fig. 17/ Above the arcaded ground floor were two upper stories scanned by French windows and an attic with dormers projecting from the roof. The facade implied that an individual housing unit encompassed two and a half bays: a doorway with mezzanine level window above and an arch on each side. Each unit was demarcated by a file of quoins rising above the piers which supported a pair of arches. But these were subtle boundaries which did not impinge on the all-embracing unity of each range. Unlike the place Royale pavilions which were individuated by separate roofs, the place Dauphine houses were unified by a single roof spanning an entire range. Continuity was also emphasized by the strong, uninterrupted entablature and by the treatment of masonry on the ground level which did not express party walls as the quoins did on the upper floors. The same building materials and decorative devices employed at the first square were used at the place Dauphine. The ground floor was faced with stone, the upper stories were dressed with brick, the roof covered with slate, and the

chimney tops built of brick. Decoration was limited to pronounced keystones, stone trim embellishing the upper floors (window jambs and voussoirs, tablets, quoins, and segmental pediments on the dormers), and the projecting cornice, with no use made of the orders. The effect rested on the architectural uniformity and the lively colors of the building materials dramatizing a simple vocabulary.³⁵

The crown exerted no control over the plan or the size of the houses. The land was subdivided into parcels of various sizes which did conform to the dimensions of the facade and, as a result, the royal design was not strictly respected. Owners were permitted to build whatever they pleased between the facades; the uniformity of plans depicted in Marot's engraving, probably the best known image of the place Dauphine because it is reproduced in Blunt's Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700 (1977:161), was an idealized view of the square (B.N. Est. Va 226). The place Dauphine buildings were intended for commercial and residential use by merchants and artisans. The arcaded ground floor rooms were planned as shops, with the three upper floors providing lodgings for the shopkeepers as well as individual tenants.

It is not known who designed the place Dauphine. On this subject, the documents are silent. Sauval attributed the project to François Petit (1:629). While Petit played a major role in the project, there is no evidence that his responsibilities exceeded those of a mason-entrepreneur

executing a scheme submitted to him. The design for the square was furnished by Sully who, as the Surintendant des Bâtiments, probably relied on the royal architects. Furthermore, the similarities between the place Royale and the place Dauphine suggest the participation of the same minds, making it all the more likely that both designs emerged from the royal studio.

Achille de Harlay and the Development of the Square

It was an act of political patronage that cast Achille de Harlay in the role of developing the place Dauphine. Never before had he shown an interest in architecture, but he had proven his loyalty to the king during the Wars of Religion when Henri IV was fighting to defend his claim to the throne.³⁶ Harlay's entire life (1535-1616) was rooted in the Palais where he ascended the ranks of the Parliament of Paris. A second generation gown noble, he inherited the offices purchased by his relatives: a counselor in 1557, he assumed his father's position as president à mortier in 1572 and succeeded his father-in-law, Christophe de Thou, as premier president in 1582, an office he did not relinquish until 1611. Harlay lived in the Hôtel du Bailliage at the western edge of the Palace, overlooking the future site of the square as well as the Pont Neuf whose construction he had supervised as a member of its managing commission since 1583.³⁷ Harlay was 71 years old when he was asked to build the place Dauphine but, despite his age,

he accepted the charge, presumably stirred by the chance to embellish the city and by the project's lucrative prospects. Even with its construction requirements, the land donation was regarded by the crown and by Harlay as an opportunity for considerable private gain, not as an imposition on a servile courtier. By taking advantage of the growing demand for housing and the strengthening real estate market in the capital, the king realized the second royal square.

The king's three year term for completion of the square was set in May 1607. One year later Harlay had not yet acted. This delay may have been caused by preliminary work on the site. The crown had to tear down the Maison des Etuves and the old Palace wall surrounding the Jardin du Bailliage.³⁸ The site had to be raised from the level of the river to that of the bridge and the Ile de la Cité. The documents shed no light on this operation although it was probably the responsibility of the crown. Finally, the quais had to be completed. The south quai required no more than minor work, but the north quai was yet to be built. On 14 August 1608, the crown awarded the masonry contract for the north quai to François Petit who immediately began construction at the west end.³⁹ Two weeks later, Harlay sold the first lots at the square which suggests that he was waiting for the crown to prepare the site before attempting to sell the land.

Harlay chose two methods of development: he sold some empty lots requiring the buyers to execute the royal design, and on other lots he constructed rental houses. The work

was executed in three stages: the sale of all but the corner lots at the place Dauphine (1608-09), the construction of the houses on the rue de Harlay (1609-13), and then the sale of the remaining land at the square and along the quais (1611-16). First, Harlay sold most of the land around the place Dauphine between August 1608 and January 1609. The square was divided into twelve lots, either by Sully or by Harlay, of which the developer retained the two trapeziform corner lots and sold the ten other parcels./Fig. 15; App. B3/

Shortly after the sale of the tenth lot, the Conseil d'Etat discussed the place Dauphine at a meeting on 11 April 1609. The subject was raised because Harlay "auroit déclaré ne se voulloir reduire à construire lesd. places suivant led. devis qui luy a esté monstré." Sully defended the authority of the project, stating that he had "dressé icelluy devis suivant le commandement du Roy duquel (mesme?) il auroit . . . faict lecture à Sa Majesté depuis un mois." The Conseil d'Etat decided to reissue the devis to Harlay and "luy enjoindre de declarer s'il veult et entend continuer à faire faire les constructions necessaires à lad. place Dauphine suivant lesd. devis et dessaings"(A.N.E21 f102).

It is unclear what provoked the conflict between Sully and Harlay. We do not know if the devis in question related to the original design from 1607 or to a new scheme produced by the minister in 1609. Nor do we know what requirement in particular Harlay resisted. It is possible that Harlay's

recently completed lotissement caused the dispute; Sully may have been annoyed by the failure to sell the two corner lots or by the formation of irregularly-sized parcels which were uncoordinated with the facade design. But, the Conseil seemed more concerned about Harlay's future compliance with the royal project than with his past actions. It is plausible that the dispute stemmed from a royal land donation to Sully which infringed on Harlay's claims. Henri IV gave his minister the right to construct buildings along the quais of the Ile de la Cité opposite the side ranges of the place Dauphine. The date of this donation is not known, but it may be that Sully won the king's approval of this self-serving project in March 1609. The change of plan would explain why a devis was read aloud to the king two years after the design was originally approved, and it would certainly explain Harlay's anger. Unfortunately, the only evidence thus far uncovered concerning the donation to Sully is a comment by the city's solicitor in 1623 who did not state when the transaction occurred.⁴⁰

Shortly after the lotissement of the place Dauphine was completed, Harlay launched the second phase of the project. Having raised the necessary finances from the land sale, he built eighteen houses on the east side of the rue de Harlay./Figs. 13,16c/ Most of these houses backed onto the president's residence, the Hôtel du Bailliage, which may explain why he chose to retain control of this property. Building began in the spring of 1609 and ended in 1613. The

rue traversante was then named the rue de Harlay.

Harlay surrendered the remaining parcels of land between 1611 and 1616./Fig. 16; App. B3/ The lot at the south corner of the place Dauphine was given away in 1611 as compensation for land which the rue de Harlay traversed. The lot at the north corner of the square as well as the four lots on the north quai, east of the rue de Harlay, were sold in 1613. These investors were instructed to complete the requisite houses within one year. The last parcel, a small slot on the quai des Orfèvres, was sold in September 1616, a month before Harlay's death. It is unclear why he prolonged this third phase. Perhaps Harlay had intended to build on the remaining lots along the quais but subsequently decided to sell them off for financial reasons. There is no reason to suppose that buyers were hard to find, judging from the price of the land which was only reduced from 75 to 72 pounds per square toise.

The two methods of development which Harlay employed—the construction of rental houses and the sale of empty land—unfolded in different ways. Before pursuing the disparate building efforts of the numerous propriétaires who purchased lots at the triangular square, we will follow the centralized construction of the rue de Harlay houses by the premier president.

Rue de Harlay

Harlay hired François Petit (?-1619), one of the most important masons in the capital, to build the eighteen

houses. In his official capacity as "juré du Roi en l'office de massonnerie", Petit was involved in most of the municipal and royal projects during Henri IV's reign, performing expertises and toisés, bidding on contracts, and serving as entrepreneur.⁴¹ Only three of Petit's private commissions are thus far known: in addition to his work for Harlay, he rebuilt the hôtel of Sebastien Zamet, the king's banker, and he constructed ten houses for the convent of the Augustins on the rue Dauphine. Given his professional rank, it is likely that Petit had an active private career with various powerful clients if those mentioned above are at all typical, but further work must be done in the notarial archives to illuminate his oeuvre. It was probably during his long service as entrepreneur of the Pont Neuf that Petit met Achille de Harlay who was one of the building commissioners. Ten days after winning the contract for the quai de l'Horloge, Petit bought two lots at the place Dauphine along the same quai; they were the first two lots which Harlay sold. Petit's ingratiating purchase of this property and his long involvement in the development of the west end of the Ile du Palais undoubtedly promoted his candidacy as Harlay's entrepreneur.

The construction contract between Petit and the premier president was probably reached in the spring of 1609. This agreement has not been found, but on 14 August 1609 Petit acknowledged receipt of 15,000 pounds from Harlay "sur et tant moings des ouvrages de maçonnerie et tailles faites et à faire pour led. seigneur en la place Dauphine" (Min.cent.

LXXVIII 184). This was probably the first payment for masonry work on the rue de Harlay which suggests that the construction contract had been recently passed, in time for the spring and summer building season.⁴² During the first year, the foundations were probably laid. In March 1610, Petit ordered 100,000 bricks and two tons of stone for delivery between April and August, scheduling the remaining masonry work for the second year, but by June 1611 only four houses were finished (Min.cent. LIX 42 f269,f280; 12,18 March 1610). At that time Harlay hired Gilles Le Redde to complete the carpentry work in the rue de Harlay houses, "travailler suivant les massons" (Min.cent. LXXVIII 186, 20 June 1611). Construction dragged on for nearly two more years. Two houses were finished in 1612 and the remaining twelve were completed in 1613. The documents indicate that the six houses which were completed first were not situated at the south end of the rue de Harlay, but their precise location is not given./App. B1/

It is not possible to extrapolate the total cost of construction from these building contracts, but based on the cost of a similar house at the place Dauphine (5900 pounds), we can estimate that Harlay spent 106,000 pounds to build the eighteen houses. They generated 9050 pounds of rental income per year, a return on his investment of about 8½%. The first houses were rented in 1611 and 1612 for 600 pounds annually, but in 1613 the rent was lowered to 500 pounds per year.⁴³ Presumably the market could not command the higher

rent.

The houses on the rue de Harlay were probably identical in plan, as in elevation, except for the corner buildings with two facades./Fig. 14c/ The standard lot was approximately 4 toises wide (7m9) and 6 toises deep (11m88), with each house spanning two and a half bays. The only plan of these houses is the nineteenth century cadastre, but by studying it in light of seventeenth century descriptions of the rue de Harlay buildings, we can ascertain basic features of the houses.⁴⁴ On the ground floor were two rooms, arcaded on the street and intended for commercial use, with a corridor in between leading to the court at the back of the house. The cadastral plan indicates that in some cases the staircase was situated at the end of the corridor, projecting into the courtyard and dividing it into two small sections; this was an unusual location for the stair and it would be tempting to suppose that this subdivision of the courtyard was a later modification, but some of the original leases describe the houses as having "deux petites cours." Above the shops were three floors of bedrooms with adjacent antechambers and an attic room beneath the roof. This was a typical Parisian plan, codified in Serlio's "casa al costume de franza" though the rue de Harlay houses did not include the two rear rooms shown in Serlio's project./Fig. 7/

The majority of Harlay's tenants between 1611 and 1616 were merchants and artisans including several tailors, printers, and booksellers as well as a saddler and a carpenter (22 of 38 tenants; 58%). Approximately a quarter

were low ranking courtiers, petty provincial magistrates, and minor judicial officers who worked in the adjacent law courts (11/38; 29%). The last set of tenants was made up of widows living off of interest whose deceased husbands were largely minor officeholders (5/38; 13%)./App. B2/

Harlay bequeathed the houses to his grandson, nieces, and nephews. His executor attended to the maintenance of the buildings which were preserved intact until 1671 when the middle house was destroyed in order to provide access to the Palais. A taller, arched entrance pavilion was built which extended the central axis of the square and established a direct link between the courts and the place Dauphine./Figs. 13,18/ Achille III de Harlay, great-grandson of the builder, terminated his family's control of the houses, selling them off one by one during the 1670's and 1680's.⁴⁵

The Construction of the Place Dauphine

Harlay financed the cost of building his eighteen houses by selling the land at the place Dauphine. From the sale of lots at the square and along the quais, he made a total of 103,617 pounds.⁴⁶ The lots at the place cost seventy-five pounds per toise, and those on the quais seventy-two pounds per toise, commanding considerably higher prices than other property in Paris. In 1608, land could be bought on the rue Dauphine for fifty pounds per toise, and on the rue de Poitou, part of the place de France develop-

ment, for only 11.4 pounds per toise (Min.cent. CV 181, 6 Nov. 1609). Harlay's price reflected the value attached to the new square.

The place Dauphine was divided into twelve lots./Fig. 15/ Whether this division was determined by the crown or by Harlay is not known. According to the contracts of sale, there were ten rectangular lots, twelve toises wide (23m8) by eight toises deep (15m8) with an area of one hundred square toises (376 sq.m.), but the round, inaccurate figures and the purported geometric regularity misinformed the buyers. There were only five lots which were strictly rectangular and three others (on the north side) which tapered slightly; they all had two facades, one on the place and the other on the street or quai. The two lots facing the Pont Neuf and forming the neck-like entrance to the square were larger in area and irregularly shaped. They had three facades which made these lots more expensive to develop. The two lots at the acute corners of the triangle were also larger and trapeziform in shape; by the time of their sale in 1611 and 1613, these lots had been precisely measured.⁴⁷ Their facades were along the rue de Harlay and the quai with only a sliver of frontage on the square.

The lots at the place Dauphine were larger than the projected houses. It was implied in the facade design that a housing unit spanned two and a half bays—arch, entry, arch. The standard lot sold by Harlay could accommodate three such houses, each four toises wide and occupying the full depth of the lot, with facades on the square and on the

quai or street. Harlay may have sold the larger lots because he perceived a demand for bigger houses or an interest in speculative construction; or perhaps he simply wanted to reduce his involvement by negotiating fewer and larger sales. In any case, subdivision of the lots was expected. It was not prohibited at the place Dauphine as it was at the place Royale. Furthermore, almost half of the lots at the second square were subdivided at the time of purchase. Harlay sold four lots to groups of two or three men who then reached separate agreements among themselves, defining their shares of the investment; and the last available lot was ultimately carved up by Harlay himself and sold as three smaller parcels. The twelve lots at the square were divided into twenty-three pieces of property on which forty-five houses of varying sizes were built; almost half of the houses did not go all the way through the lots and had only one brick and stone facade./Fig. 16/

Harlay also controlled two strips of land along the quais east of the rue de Harlay./Fig. 16c; App. B3/ The property on the quai de l'Horloge was divided into six lots. Harlay retained the one at the west end, gave the adjoining lot to Germain Pilon's widow, Germaine Durand, as compensation for the destruction of their house beside the Maison des Etuves, and sold the four other parcels in 1613.⁴⁸ The lots were comparable in size to the rue de Harlay parcels except for the one at the east end which was more than twice as wide; presumably it was not sold as two separate parcels

because the buyer wanted to build a larger house. In addition to meeting the facade requirements, the quai de l'Horloge propriétaires had to rebuild the garden wall of the Hôtel du Bailliage which their lots bordered.⁴⁹ On the quai des Orfèvres, there was only a sliver of land, no more than thirty-three toises (65 sq.m.) in area, backing onto the garden of the Ste. Chapelle; it was Harlay's final sale.

The sale contracts obliged the landowners to build within three years "conformement aux elevations et fassades, formes et fassons des desseings, qui en ont esté faictz et arrestez . . . par Sad. Majesté et suivant les pentes, haulteurs, et alignments des rues." The contracts disclosed nothing about the design; brick and stone were not even identified as the compulsory building materials, as in the place Royale contracts. Taxes (cens et rentes) were levied on the Ile du Palais property at the rate of one sol per toise, generating additional income for the crown. The method by which the place Dauphine was developed allowed the crown to reap the benefits of a new urban amenity without draining its resources in construction expenses while increasing its tax revenues. The financial burden of construction was shifted to Harlay who defrayed his expenses by selling some of the land and to individual investors who wanted to own houses at the square. This system concentrated profits in Harlay's hands, giving him the resources to build the entire rue de Harlay and thereby encouraging more centralized construction than at the place Royale where the land was distributed among several royal

officers.

There was a limited turnover of empty lots. Of the twenty-six men who bought land from Harlay, four men resold their parcels, transferring the building requirement to the second generation owners. It is possible that five others about whom nothing is yet known also turned over their land.⁵⁰ The buyers who chose not to build partially illuminate the nature of the square's attraction. The lot at the south corner of the square was owned by Etienne Gillot, royal counselor and canon of the Ste. Chapelle. Gillot did not buy the lot at the place Dauphine; he was given it in exchange for a section of the garden of the Ste. Chapelle which was expropriated to build the rue de Harlay houses. Gillot subdivided the land and sold it off, making a profit of 9,198 pounds./App. B3/ His interest in the place Dauphine was strictly limited to the speculative value of the land, but he was the only person who did not buy the land outright.

Nicolas de Harlay, sieur de Sancy, was the only high-ranking noble who bought a lot at the place Dauphine. He had been the Surintendant des Finances et des Bâtiments for Henri IV from 1594 to 1599 when he fell from favor, eclipsed by Sully. Sancy was the developer's cousin, but it is doubtful that this relation had any bearing on the transaction. Sancy's motive is revealed by the location of the lot, facing the terre-plein of the Pont Neuf where the equestrian monument of the king was to be placed. Sancy no

doubt hoped to flatter Henri IV by building the house opposite the royal effigy. It is accidental that Sancy's contract of sale is the earliest known document to identify the terre-plein as the site chosen for the statue; but this detail was not accidentally inserted into a formulaic notarial act. Rather, it suggests that the buyer considered the proximity of the royal monument a pre-eminent feature of the property.

Sancy was not an improbable patron having already built the château of Grosbois (1597), but he did not complete house at the place Dauphine. At first his building plans may have been obstructed by the same factors that delayed all construction on the north side of the square until approximately 1611, but by then Henri IV's death eliminated Sancy's motivation. It was not until August 1612 that he hired terrassiers to excavate the site for the foundations. One month later the lot was sold by decree of the Châtelet to a strawman acting on behalf of Jean de Ligny, treasurer of the parties casuelles, for the sum of 3000 pounds. Sancy had to pay a penalty of 1000 pounds, thus the lot which he had bought for 7500 pounds was acquired four years later for a mere 2000 pounds.⁵¹ The sharp depreciation of the land may have been due to the proven expense of building the place Dauphine houses. De Ligny's houses were begun in the spring of 1613 and finished by the spring of 1615 when the first leases were passed.⁵²/App. B5/

Another empty lot was sold by François Petit, but not for flagging interest in the place Dauphine. To the

contrary, the entrepreneurial enthusiasm which initially inspired him to purchase two lots in August 1608 led to even larger holdings. Petit was hired by the merchants Guillaume Marrier and Philippe Chaillou to build the houses on their two lots straddling the east entrance to the square. As construction was underway, probably in 1611, the entrepreneur took possession of the property.⁵³ Perhaps Marrier and Chaillou could not afford to finish the houses and therefore sold out to their mason; or perhaps they were only strawmen and the lots were always owned Petit. The mason now owned four lots at the square. On the newly acquired lots, the houses were partially built, but ground was not yet broken on his other land. In August 1613, unable to finance all the necessary construction, Petit sold about half of his land on the north side of the square (Min.cent. LIX 45, 16 August 1613). But this money did not cover the building costs. Months later Petit found the remedy to his financial problems in the dowry of a new wife. The marriage contract stipulated that the mason could draw from the couple's joint holdings, infused by the bride's assets,

ce qu'il conviendra pour parachever de bastir les maisons qui luy appartiennent en l'Isle du Pallais de ceste ville de Paris par luy encommancer a ediffier et dont les bastiments sont ja fort avancez et eslevez jusques aux combles; sans que pour raison de ce, lad. future epouse puisse pretendre ni demander aucun remplacement ni recompense (Min.cent. LIX 46 f902, 21 July 1614).

Viewed in the context of his full investment, Petit's divestment of a single lot does not betray a disinterest in the square. He still owned 300 square toises, making him

the largest property owner at the square; approximately 23% of the land at the place Dauphine was concentrated in Petit's hands. Even those cases involving the resale of an empty lot at the place Dauphine confirm that the investors were primarily interested in building houses at the new square, not in land speculation.

Twenty-six men built houses at the place Dauphine and along the quais. This figure does not include the three men who began but did not finish buildings. The large majority of patrons were merchants and artisans (12/26; 46%) and minor court officials (10/26; 38%). Only a small minority held important royal offices (3/26; 12%). While the merchants and artisans only slightly outnumbered the petits officiers, the former group owned more than twice as much land as the judicial officials.⁵⁴/App. B3/

Each property owner hired his own building crew. Contrary to Sauval's claim, François Petit did not construct all of the houses at the place Dauphine. This confusion may have arisen for two reasons. Petit was indeed responsible for considerable construction on the Ile du Palais; in addition to the eighteen houses on the rue de Harlay, he built eighteen houses at the square, six on each of his three lots. Furthermore, Petit acted as Harlay's factotum in matters relating to construction. It was Petit's task to notify the numerous propriétaires of the facade design and the alignments with which they had to comply. It is possible that he not only conveyed this information but

helped to produce it, translating the general scheme furnished by the crown into specific building guidelines. In this capacity, Petit would have performed expertises, determined alignments, and perhaps prepared construction drawings.⁵⁵

There was almost no coordination among the patrons in recruiting construction crews. Only two men, Marrier and Chaillou, engaged François Petit as their contractor. Claude Pouillet, the mason who executed Salomon de Brosse's design for the Hôtel de Fresne in 1608, was hired by four men (Menart, Mignollet, Beranger, Bethune) to do some masonry work on their adjoining parcels, but otherwise their building crews were different. Even in these two instances where one mason or entrepreneur had multiple commissions, it had no effect on the organization of the building process; each individual project was executed separately. Petit did not lay the foundations on all the parcels, then raise the upper walls, and so on; he built each house consecutively, occasionally hiring an artisan to work on two staggered jobs. No advantage was recognized in establishing a larger, unified chantier either in terms of economy of scale or efficiency and speed of construction; small, decentralized workshops were relied upon to produce a new urban-scaled housing project.

The crown was detached from the building process. It provided no building incentives, subsidies, nor tax abatements to the property owners. Only one parsimonious gesture of support was made by waiving the mutation fees

(lods et ventes) in a few instances.⁵⁶ The king did not even enforce the three year building deadline which he set in 1607. At the place Royale, the king threatened the delinquent lot owners, dispatched his own mason and carpenter to the site, and finally reassigned the property to other individuals, but at the place Dauphine the crown did not intervene at all. The propriétaires procrastinated with impunity and in 1610, when the king's deadline expired, the place Dauphine was far from completion.

The houses on the north side of the square were not begun until 1611, probably due to construction of the quai. The buildings forming the southwest tip were completed in 1611 and by mid-1612 the houses framing the east entrance to the square as well as a few other scattered houses were finished. The north range was largely built in 1613-1614, but construction of the square was still incomplete when the statue of Henri IV was dedicated on 23 August 1614. In early 1615, there was one gap remaining at the southeast corner of the square. The foundations were laid, at least in part, but the houses did not begin to go up until the middle of the year. Not until 1616 at the earliest was construction of the place Dauphine completed. The houses along the quai de l'Horloge, begun in 1613, were also finished, but the quai des Orfèvres lot was only just sold. The documents offer no explanation for the protracted period of construction. The sluggishness of the landowners may have been provoked by preliminary construction obstacles, by

Sully's disputed claim to the quais, and by personal financial difficulties, factors whose dilatory effects were unchecked by coercive measures of the crown.

Construction costs strained the resources of several property owners. Many borrowed money or disposed of other assets to raise sufficient cash, but these were the routine measures by which merchants and artisans engaged in small scale entrepreneurial activity.⁵⁷ There were, however, some men who could not absorb the expenses. Claude Pothery, a provincial tax collector, abandoned his building efforts; his parcel was seized by the court at the request of his neighbors and resold in September 1610 (Min.cent. LIV 253, 20 September 1610; LXXVIII 187, 3 July 1612). When the royal marble cutter Robert Menart died in 1610/11(?), he left behind debts which were incurred to finance construction of his place Dauphine house. His creditors, mostly the unpaid building crew, moved to have the house seized, forcing Menart's heirs to sell the building. It was bought by a noble of the robe Germain Collier, counselor and secretary of the king, for 21,000 pounds from which Menart's various debts were repaid (Min.cent. XLI 56, 5 February 1613).⁵⁸

Several contracts shed light on the costs involved in building at the square. Gregoire de Bethune, violinist to the king, owned a small parcel, approximately 16 square toises, facing the quai des Orfèvres and backing onto a parcel of equal size which bordered the place./Fig. 16b, Parcel 11A/ His contractor, the mason Jacques Le Redde,

promised to build the house in its entirety—a corps de logis with four floors and a cellar—for the sum of 5900 pounds (Min.cent. LIV 253, 13 October 1610).⁵⁹ The contiguous parcel to the north was owned by Charles Beranger, tailor to Queen Marguerite./Fig. 16b, Parcel 11B/ His contractor, the mason Claude Poulliet, agreed to the fee of 4650 pounds for building a comparable house, but Poulliet's devis omitted glass, doors and mantels, and locks and mullions; it did, however, include the dividing wall between Bethune and Beranger's courtyards (Min.cent. LIV 250, 17 March 1609).

Other patrons negotiated separate contracts with each artisan. In such cases, the documentation is too spotty to calculate total building costs, nonetheless, it is revealing to compare various rates for masonry work. Jean de Ligny, treasurer of the parties casuelles, the wealthiest of the place Dauphine propriétaires, paid his mason René Fleury at the flat rate of nine pounds fifteen sous for each toise of masonry (Min.cent. LIV 480, 30 April 1613; App. B5). Robert Menart established a tiered payment schedule: fifteen pounds per toise for the foundations and twelve pounds per toise for the party walls to Pouillet, and twenty-four pounds per toise for the facades to Jean Gobelin, a more prominent mason (Min.cent. XLII 48, 27 December 1608; LXVI 24, 28 June 1610). A different system was used by Germaine Durand who paid Gobelin ten pounds per toise of masonry, not including the "saillies, moullures, pierre de relief, plaintes,

moultures et saillies des lucarnes" for which an additional fee of 120 pounds was charged (Min.cent. VI 282, 14 June 1611).

Except for the brick and stone skin, the place Dauphine houses were constructed of modest materials. The foundations and walls were made of rubble. The facades were dressed with brick: "lesd. Fassades seront ornés de maçonnerie de brique et le derriere desd. Fassades sera maçonné avec moellon, chaux et sable . . ." (Min.cent. LIV 480, 30 April 1613; App. B5) Stone was used sparingly, for decorative effect in the facade and where strength was essential.⁶⁰ Some builders may have economized by substituting plaster for the stone trim and the brick prescribed in the royal facade design./App. E/ These rubble and plaster houses did not endure well; forty years after he built his house at the place Dauphine, the wood merchant Michel Deligny estimated its value at 7000 pounds and wrote in his will, "elle est fort vieille. Il faudra la rebâtir" (Min.cent. XLIII 70, 22 October 1652).⁶¹

Unconstrained beyond the facade requirements, the owners built houses of various sizes and plans. The smallest sat on parcels of sixteen square toises (63 sq.m.) and consisted of a single corps de logis with two shops and a small courtyard. The largest houses occupied plots of fifty or seventy-five square toises (196/294 sq.m.) with two corps de logis and two connecting wings circumscribing a center court. The royal scheme established the width of the basic housing unit as four toises. Harlay's original lots,

approximately twelve toises wide, comprised three such units. Several lot owners respected this implicit structure. François Petit divided each of his three lots into six parcels, four toises square; the houses had two arcaded shops and a rear courtyard which was private in some cases and shared in others./Fig. 16, Parcels 4,6,7/ André Langlois, a cloth merchant, followed Petit's example, raising six houses on his lot (Parcel 3). Menart, Pothery, and Antoine Mignollet, an innkeeper and wine merchant, subdivided one lot into three strips four toises wide extending from place to quai. Menart (11D) and Mignollet (11C) both built houses with two corps de logis and a connecting wing bordering the court. Pothery sold half of his parcel and on each half a house identical to Petit's was built (11A-B). Only these twenty-eight houses, all four toises wide, seem to have strictly adhered to the royal design.

The other lots were divided into halves, quarters, and fifths. The nineteenth century cadastral plans indicate that the subdivision did not respect the logic and measurements of the facade design, yielding parcels that did not conform to the normative house width nor to any multiple of it. Property lines and party walls were given priority, forcing the facade to surrender its regularity. Arches were contracted or expanded in order to make the appropriate sequence of facade openings fit across the width of a particular parcel. For example, Deligny and Jean Laborie, a

lawyer in the private council of the king, owned respectively a one-quarter and three-quarters share of a lot./Fig. 16a, Parcel 2/ Deligny's parcel was approximately three toises wide. If the standard bays were applied, a party wall would have abutted the middle of an arch and the windows above. It seems that his mason compromised by enlarging one arch and giving the house a one and a half bay facade. The dimensions of Laborie's facade also departed from the royal design, accommodating instead the width of his parcel. Although the prescribed sequence of openings was continued, the irregular measurements accentuated the individual house. Laborie's house for example, scanned by two pairs of arches and a center door, would have read as a distinct five bay facade.⁶² At the place Royale, the crown prohibited the subdivision of lots in order to protect the uniform facades; at the place Dauphine, no such steps were taken and as a result the royal design was subordinated to the arbitrary order of property lines.

Decisions about parcel and house size related to the owners' intentions to rent or to live in the buildings. It is not yet known how all the men used their houses, but current evidence indicates that those who owned the largest amount of land (fifty square toises or more) approached the square as an investment and put up several rental houses on their property. Those who bought smaller parcels (less than fifty square toises) were generally eager to live at the place Dauphine and built one house in which they settled. François Petit, largest of the landowners, built and rented

eighteen houses at the place Dauphine, maintaining his old residence on the rue Montorgueil. His tenants were mostly master artisans and merchants and to a lesser extent low-ranking officers. Petit collected 7200 pounds of rent each year.⁶³ The rents reveal the preferred locations. The houses on the rue de Harlay were the least expensive at 350 pounds a year; those on the east side of the square cost 400 pounds; and the houses to the north either on the quai or the place cost 450 pounds. Petit may have rented the houses on the north side of the square for fifty pounds more than those on the east side because the former had private courtyards. The most valuable location was the house bordering the Pont Neuf and the quai which de Ligny rented for 575 pounds a year.⁶⁴ There is insufficient evidence to generalize about professional distribution at the place Dauphine, but among Petit's tenants, it seems that merchants preferred the quai where most traffic passed, and artisans preferred the place perhaps because they could annex its semi-public space for the practice of their craft. Most of these men would have devoted at least one of their two ground floor rooms to business affairs, whether to sell goods or receive clients, while the rest of the house was given over to domestic use.

Jacob Bunel, the royal painter, established a different rental arrangement which resulted in separate commercial and residential tenants. Before he began construction at the place Dauphine, Bunel was granted an apartment in the Grande

Galerie of the Louvre; there was no possibility that the royal painter would reside at the square. He built two houses for rental use, each on plots of fifty toises. They were larger than the typical house rented by artisans, and perhaps as a result, Bunel permitted subletting. He rented the house bordering the Pont Neuf to a gown noble who sublet each of the four ground floor shops and the living quarters above to different tenants. A shop on the place cost 150 pounds and one on the quai, a commercially more valuable location, cost 200 pounds.⁶⁵

The deliberate pace of construction at the square culminated in the swift settlement and rental of shops and houses; the place Dauphine was immediately successful as a commercial center. The project was accomplished by a new method of development which largely eliminated the crown's involvement. Not only were construction costs transferred to private entrepreneurs as at the place Royale, but responsibility for the enterprise was shifted to a single developer. Furthermore, the development was not undertaken by wealthy nobles, but almost exclusively by merchants, artisans, and low ranking judicial officers whose fortunes were limited. The creation of the place Dauphine testifies to the burgeoning real estate market in Paris and to the growing value placed on investments in urban building. These were the twin currents to which Henri IV's program to create a monumental capital were harnessed.

The Place Dauphine Threatened

Unprotected by the crown, the place Dauphine was vulnerable to the same forces of private speculation and commercial expansion which had generated the square. Serious challenges to the integrity of the project were launched by powerful officers who sought to profit from the alienation of royal land as Achille de Harlay had. They aimed at the quais of the Ile du Palais. The quais were flanked on one side by the brick and stone houses of the place Dauphine which gave the island an impressive profile when viewed from afar. According to the testimony of the municipal solicitor Pierre Perrot in 1623, Henri IV granted Sully the right to build shops on the river side of the quais. These shops would inevitably obstruct the stunning vista of the side ranges. The circumstances and the date of this disturbing incident remain unknown; above all it is perplexing why the king would have allowed his favorite minister to spoil the view of the brick and stone houses along the quais. The Chambre des Comptes revoked the donation to Sully in 1611, but the Queen Regent then extended the same privilege to her ally Pierre Jeannin, Controller General of Finance.⁶⁶

The south quai was inspected in January 1612 in order to determine if navigation on the Seine would be hindered by projecting structures. It seems that the north quai was not under consideration at this time. The experts concluded that buildings could be erected on the south side of the

island from the Pont Neuf to the Pont Saint Michel (Registres 15:95-96, 126-29). But Jeannin was stalled by opposition in other corners. According to Perrot, he was "contredict et empesché par tous les particuliers habitans d'icelle Ville qui avoient leurs maisons à l'opposite" (Registres 18:348). Jeannin was probably also challenged by both Harlay and Sully with counter claims to the same land.⁶⁷ In November 1614, Sully initiated litigation to claim his rights to the "don à lui faict par Sa Majesté des places vaynes et vagues, coins et recoins qui sont où se trouveront en la voyrie des environs du Pont Neuf, quais nouvellement faicts, isle du Palais, et place Dauphine" (Mallevoüe lvi). The appeal evidently was unsuccessful, and Sully resorted to extortionate means of pressing his claim. He harassed the aged Harlay, forcing him to surrender his right to the Ile du Palais property. On 10 October 1616, Harlay dictated an affidavit "touchant l'affaire de M. de Sully."

Monsieur Achille de Harlay . . . estant en son lict mallade . . . /a/ juré et affermé . . . que Monsieur le duc de Sully en sa grande faveur auroit violament extorqué de luy ung escript signé de la main dud. sieur de Harlay au prejudice du don qui avoit esté faict aud. seigneur de Harlay par le feu roy des places dans l'isle du pallais aud. seigneur; que Madame de Sully scayt laquelle luy mande par un nomme Chasteauvieulx qu'elle le prioit de signer led. escript pour le contentement dud. sieur de Sully . . . lequel escript Monsieur Le Gras tresorier de France a du depuis dict en plain bureau . . . et portait proteste que led. escript ne luy puisse ny a ses heritiers /faire/ prejudice . . . (Min.cent. LXXVIII 204).

Harlay died a fortnight later. His legatees retained the property on the rue de Harlay and neither Sully nor Jeannin

succeeded in gaining control of the quais.

Another campaign to exploit this land was waged from 1621 to 1623. Following the fire which destroyed the Pont au Change and the Pont Marchant on 24 October 1621, the displaced residents of the bridges solicited the crown for permission to relocate on the quais of the Ile du Palais (Registres 18:140-149, 213-16, 348). The municipality objected strongly to these requests, praising the decorative appeal of the place Dauphine especially when viewed from the Louvre. The city building commission advised the king in 1623:

les quais et lieux adjacentz doibvent estre conservez pour la decoration de la Ville, santé et salubrité des habitans d'icelle, et que l'ung des plus beaulx ornemens d'icelle Ville c'est l'isle du Pallais basty comme il est à present, revestu de quais spacieulx des deux costez de la riviere, sur lesquelz l'on ne peut faire aulcune constructions de bastimens sans apporter incommodité à la structure et cimetrie desd. bastimens qui servent, en l'estat qu'ilz sont, d'un aspect agreable aux veues du chasteau du Louvre (Registres 18:348, 26 January 1623).

Underscoring the importance of the image of Paris, the spokesman for the city reminded the crown that the beauty of the quais was especially admired by foreigners (Registres 18:348). Persuaded perhaps by these arguments, Louis XIII proposed a compromise in 1623: he prohibited the construction of buildings beside the place Dauphine but permitted their construction on the quai east of the square, subsequently called the rue Saint Louis.⁶⁸

The first incursion on Henri IV's project took place in 1671 when the crown promoted the development of the area within the Palais bordering the rue de Harlay houses. Louis

XIV gave the premier president of the Parliament Guillaume de Lamoignon the surviving section of the Jardin du Bailliage, and in exchange for the land, Lamoignon had to satisfy four building requirements which were set forth in the royal edict on 23 February 1671 (Felibien 5:220-25). First, the president demolished a house on the rue de Harlay in order to provide a western entrance to the Palace, "une ouverture grande à rendre portail dans la rue de Harlay, vis-à-vis l'ouverture de la place Dauphine et d'acquérir pour cet effet du propriétaire de la maison qui se trouvera à l'opposite de lad. ouverture."/Figs. 13,14c/ On the east side of the arched opening, Lamoignon constructed a U-shaped file of shops surrounding a courtyard, the Cour de Harlay in the nineteenth century cadastral plan. He built a row of houses backing onto the brick and stone buildings on the quai de l'Horloge, and he opened an entrance to the Palais from the quai de l'Horloge next to the house built by Daniel Voisin. In Lamoignon's project, the form of the place Dauphine and the rue de Harlay was subordinated to the expansion of the Palais, adumbrating the transformation of the square in the nineteenth century.

Beginning in the last third of the seventeenth century, the place Dauphine was assaulted by changing aesthetic standards. The first signs of disfavor appeared in engravings by Perelle, Marot and Silvestre during the reign of Louis XIV. To satisfy the interest in symmetry and axially, the place Dauphine was transformed into a more

open space with a pronounced central axis. By the eighteenth century, Henri IV's square was considered expendable. Several submissions in the 1748 competition for a place royale dedicated to Louis XV called for the destruction of the place Dauphine in favor of a more monumental architecture, but the place Louis XV (de la Concorde) was built west of the Tuileries, and Henri IV's square was preserved.

In 1809, Napoleon decided to erect an obelisk on the terre-plein of the Pont Neuf in place of the royal statue which was destroyed in 1792. Experts determined that it was necessary to rebuild and enlarge the terre-plein in order to support the obelisk. Construction began in 1810 but was not completed when Napoleon's downfall interrupted the project. In 1814, it was decided to place a new statue of the Henri IV on the bridge, and at this time construction of the platform was brought to completion. The terre-plein was extended to the west, but the platform was not made any wider. Following the advice of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the statue was placed in the middle of the newly enlarged platform, five meters west of the first statue (Boucher 2:87,104-06). Situated on the same axis as the original monument, the nineteenth century statue was also misaligned with the square. The equestrian monument of Henri IV remains in the same position today, still misaligned with the entrance to the place Dauphine.

The place Dauphine was sacrificed during the nineteenth century when the Ile de la Cité became the administrative

center of Paris. It was the decision in 1840 to expand the law courts which led to the partial demolition of the square. In 1857-58, the houses on the east side of the rue de Harlay were razed, followed in 1874 by the destruction of the east side of the place Dauphine, giving way to the domineering east facade of Duc's Palais de Justice.⁶⁹ The north and south ranges of the square today survive in a mutilated state, leaving barely enough remnants from the seventeenth century to evoke the spatial enclosure and the scale of Henri IV's place Dauphine.

The Rue Dauphine

The Pont Neuf sparked the development not only of the Ile de la Cité but of the western regions of the Université as well. The final component of Henri IV's plan was an axial outlet for the bridge on the Left Bank. This area was occupied by two medieval estates belonging to the abbey of Saint Denis and the order of the Grands Augustins./Fig. 1/ Their gardens and sparse buildings spread from the quai to the city wall, blocking any direct link between the bridge and the faubourg Saint Germain. Pont Neuf traffic, deflected from its course, had to turn onto the quai des Augustins. To the east was the church of the Augustins which housed the chapel of the royal confraternity the Order of the Holy Spirit, and to the west, just inside the walls, was the Hôtel de Nevers, the unfinished residence of Charles Gonzague, prince of Nevers, duke of Mantua, and founder of

Charleville.⁷⁰

The first design for the Pont Neuf in 1578 called for the construction of "une ruelle en forme d'allée servant à entrer dud. quay dedans un grand jardin de l'hostel de Saint Denis" to provide access to the bridge (Lasteyrie 29). The bridge would not have disturbed the medieval fabric of the Left Bank. The original idea of opening a cul-de-sac was amplified in 1607. Through the joint efforts of the crown and private investors, a whole quartier was created structured by the rue Dauphine. The ecclesiastic domains were pierced by the new street which extended the axis of the Pont Neuf across the Left Bank to the city wall, and the surrounding land was subdivided and sold off for residential and commercial use./Fig. 5b/

In March 1606, shortly after the completion of the Pont Neuf, the abbey of Saint Denis sold its estate on the Left Bank to a group of investors (Min.cent. VIII 568 f268, 29 March 1606). There were two buildings on the property, the Hôtel Saint Denis and the maison de Chappes, which were used by monks attending the university in Paris. The buildings had been destroyed during the seige of Paris in 1590, and the abbey, whose income had diminished during the war, found the repairs too costly to undertake. It decided to sell the land and instead buy another building, drawing from the proceeds of the sale. This was not simply a matter of saving money by buying anew rather than rebuilding; this was a matter of making money from the growing real estate market in Paris.

The amount of land sold by the abbey was not specified in the sale contract which only mentioned the general boundaries of the domain—the Pont Neuf, the walls of the city, and the property of the Augustins. The contract contained one disclaimer: "au cas que pour la commodité publique il soit trouvé nécessaire faire au travers desd. lieux vendus quelque rue, ne pourra led. achepteur s'adresser ausd.sieurs vendeurs pour y avoir aucune recompense." As this clause indicates, the abbey of Saint Denis anticipated the urban development of the land, but the priests did not want to take on the entrepreneurial role themselves. That role was assumed by three investors, Pierre Corbonnois, treasurer of France for Burgundy, Claude du Nesme, secretary of the king's chamber, and Nicolas Carrel, bourgeois de Paris, who paid 72,000 pounds for the estate.⁷¹ Carrel acted as their representative in this and all subsequent transactions, leaving the names of his associates unmentioned.

Little about these entrepreneurs is known but still Nicolas Carrel emerges as an intriguing figure because of his frequent participation in private speculative ventures. In 1602, he joined a group of financiers in purchasing a tax farm, but thereafter his interest seems to have shifted to real estate (Roland Mousnier, La Venalité des offices (Paris:1971), 242-43). In 1610, he was involved in developing Henri IV's third square, the place de France. With du Nesme he bought a very large tract on the rue

d'Orléans (1147 square toises); and with his brother-in-law Simon Coursin, he bought two smaller lots on the rues de Touraine and Bretagne where they had to comply with the royal facade design (Min.cent. CV 181, 26 February, 19 May 1610). Carrel and unidentified associates sought permission from the king, probably Louis XIII, to undertake a series of ambitious building projects which are described in an undated manuscript (B.N. Ms.fr. 16744, f266-68). He proposed, among other things, to build a "place de la Reine" at the end of the rue Dauphine with uniform buildings and a new Mint, a navigable canal around Paris with four new ports, new fortifications from the porte Saint Denis to the Tuileries, and three city gates. As compensation, Carrel asked to be given large sections of the city wall and surrounding territory. This proposal manifests the entrepreneurial enthusiasm and vision of Carrel and his partners, inspired by Henri IV's urban program, and it anticipates the speculative schemes of Louis Le Barbier during the 1620's and 1630's.⁷² It is possible that Carrel was not the underlying force in the various enterprises, but the evidence which has thus far come to light casts him in an important role. In the place de France venture, Carrel relied on strawmen to conceal his extensive holdings, and in the lotissement of the Hôtel Saint Denis, the financial investment and the land was equally divided among the three partners.⁷³

Nearly a year after the purchase of the abbey's estate, Henri IV took steps to realize the rue Dauphine. It is not

known when he decided to build this road; the decision might have been made several months earlier in conjunction with the sale of the Hôtel Saint Denis or even years earlier as the Pont Neuf approached completion. The first documented discussion of the project came in February 1607 by which time the specifications were already determined (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f243, 6 February 1607). The street was to be five toises wide "en droite ligne apres suivant et a l'allignement de la rue du Pont Neuf pour aller a la porte de Bussy," crossing the domain of the Grands Augustins as well as the Hôtel Saint Denis. The Augustins had to surrender a tract 5.5 toises wide and approximately 30 toises long, from the quai to the garden of the Hôtel Saint Denis. In February, experts for both parties appraised the buildings designated for destruction and estimated their value at 30,000 pounds. A month later, the results of the expertise were reported to the Augustins. They complained that their dormitory would be torn down but deferred to "la volonté du Roy qui est que pour rendre la venue du Pont Neuf du costé du couvent des Augustins plus facile a la commodité publique . . ." (Min.cent. CXVII 469 f184, 12 March 1607).⁷⁴

The settlement was concluded in April 1607. Acting on behalf of the king, the commissioners of the Pont Neuf, headed by Achille de Harlay, paid the Grands Augustins 30,000 pounds for the property (165 square toises). The crown gave the salvaged materials to the order and agreed to

build walls on both sides of the road as well as a vaulted, subterranean passage to link the divided estate (Min.cent. CXVIII 469 f243, 4 April 1607). The terms of the contract were met by late 1608 when François Petit was paid for the specified construction.⁷⁵

After the king's settlement with the Augustins in April 1607, Carrel and his partners began to sell their land. The entrepreneurs had been waiting for the crown to begin the rue Dauphine because the success of their lotissement depended on its construction. Corbonnois, du Nesme, and Carrel had to surrender some of their property not only for the rue Dauphine but for two smaller, lateral streets as well, the rue d'Anjou to the west (today the rue de Nesle) and the rue Christine to the east, named after the king's children. The terms of the agreement between the entrepreneurs and the crown concerning the three roads are not known, but Carrel and his partners expected to be compensated for the appropriated land and to have the streets paved by the crown. The entrepreneurs ultimately had to bear both burdens.

The lotissement of the Hôtel Saint Denis was conducted between June 1607 and May 1608.⁷⁶ Land was sold for 50 pounds per square toise in parcels of various sizes ranging from 23 to 143 square toises. The buyers were subject to one requirement, that they build a house. Henri IV had indicated his desire for uniform facades on the rue Dauphine in a letter to Sully in May 1607:

Sur ce que j'ay advertiy que l'on commence de travailler aux bastimens qui sont en la rue neufve qui va du bout du Pont-Neuf à la porte de Bussy, je vous ay bien voulu faire ce mot pour vous dire je serais tres aisé que vous fissiez en sorte envers ceulx qui commencent à bastir en ladicte rue qu'ils fissent le devant de leurs maisons toutes d'un mesme ordre, car celà seroit d'un bel ornement de voir au bout du dict pont ceste rue tout d'une mesme façade (Lettres missives 7:219, 2 May 1607).

A masonry contract passed in June 1607 alluded to the possibility of forthcoming design specifications, advising the mason to comply "s'il convient et advenoit que pour le pan de mur vers la rue il convient faire la face de brique ou autre chose" (Min.cent. XXIII 234, f356, 25 June 1607). However, the crown never dictated a facade design for the houses on the rue Dauphine.

The lotissement of the Hôtel Saint Denis was unimportant in terms of its architectural and urban character. There was no design for the buildings, no modelling of urban space; it produced irregular shops and houses bordering a major axis of circulation. What distinguished the venture was the commanding role played by private investors. In previous lotissements, it was the crown which alienated its own land, or in the exceptional case of the Couture Sainte-Catherine, it was a church. In this instance, it was not the original, institutional owner who undertook the venture, but three individuals who bought the land with the intention of immediately reselling it at a profit. The lotissement of the Hôtel Saint Denis marks the introduction of individual real estate entrepreneurs and of private land speculation as significant forces in the

development of the city.

The costs and profits involved in the subdivision of the Hôtel Saint Denis can not yet be tallied because the operation is only partially documented. The eight sales for which contracts have thus far been found produced about 33,000 pounds, close to half of the cost of the land.⁷⁷ Other lots were sold and the entrepreneurs kept parcels for themselves, therefore, it seems likely that they at least recovered the initial investment. Whether the lotissement generated enough profit to finance the entrepreneurs' building projects or to leave them with any surplus will not be known until further documentation is gathered.

Most of the men who built houses on the rue Dauphine were judicial or titular royal officers, and most lived in their new residences.⁷⁸ Only Corbonnois, du Nesme, and Carrel built rental houses. In 1607-08, Corbonnois and du Nesme jointly constructed at least four small houses as well as a larger hotel, while Carrel and his brother-in-law seem to have built seven houses.⁷⁹ As the houses on the rue Dauphine were going up, Marguerite de Valois, the king's childless first wife, was building a new palace west of the Hôtel de Nevers, along the quai facing the Louvre. The queen's contractor Jean Autissier built a house for himself on the rue Dauphine and was hired by another lot owner Samuel Menjot to build his neighboring house. Autissier ordered materials for both projects at the same time for delivery to the same site.⁸⁰

By late 1608, the rues Dauphine, Christine, and d'Anjou

were not yet paved. The residents of the new area complained to the king who instructed Sully to resolve the matter (A.N. E 19B f116, 13 December 1608). No immediate action was taken, and a year later the streets were still unpaved. In the meantime, the Grands Augustins initiated court suits against Carrel and his neighbors for putting up buildings which impinged on the convent.⁸¹ In March 1609, Henri IV upheld the position of the rue Dauphine propriétaires but ordered Carrel and his associates to pave the three streets as well as erect a new gate to the city at the end of the rue Dauphine.⁸² The crown had financed the rue Dauphine by buying the land from Augustins and by leveling the site, but the entrepreneurs were otherwise charged with building the new streets.⁸³

As royal officeholders built houses along the south end of the rue Dauphine, the Grands Augustins put up small shops on the north end near the Pont Neuf. In October 1607, the convent hired François Petit to build a new dormitory and a house on the east side of the rue Dauphine and a row of nine shops on the west side of the street (Min.cent. LXVI 19, 19 October 1607).⁸⁴ They were modest buildings, made of rubble and plaster, but the convent had to borrow money to finance the construction. Each shop was three toises wide and fifteen feet deep with two upper floors and an attic. They were finished two years later and rented to artisans for 250 pounds a year.⁸⁵

In addition to the ten houses, the dormitory, and the

underground passage which Petit built for the Grands Augustins, the mason also constructed four houses of his own, each four toises wide, backing onto the walls of the convent. Petit must have acquired this property from Carrel, but that sale contract has not yet been found. The cost of buying the land and of building the houses was probably covered by Petit's earnings from his masonry work for the Augustins which amounted to 23,500 pounds.⁸⁶ Petit rented his four houses during the summer and fall of 1608 before they were even finished. They each had two shops and three floors above, but given the variation in the rents, the houses were probably different sizes.⁸⁷

By projecting the axis of the Pont Neuf across the Left Bank, Henri IV instigated a process of development that transformed the area during the seventeenth century. The faubourg Saint Germain was brought into closer contact with the city, and it was in this quartier where the bourgeoisie and the nobility raised their hôtels during the following decades, where the Queen Regent built her new residence, the Palais de Luxembourg, where an extensive lotissement was conducted on the grounds of Marguerite de Valois' unfinished hôtel. Though they were modest ventures, the rue Dauphine and the development of the Hôtel St. Denis linked the Ile de la Cité and the area around the Louvre with the faubourg St. Germain, unclenching the western boundary of the Left Bank.

Notes: The Place Dauphine

¹ The Mercure françois account is recapitulated by Pierre de L'Estoile, Journal pour le règne de Henri IV, ed. André Martin (Paris:1958), 2:560; Jacob Du Breul, Le Théâtre des Antiquitez (Paris:1612), 247-48; Claude Malingre, Les Antiquitez de la Ville de Paris (Paris:1640), 143; G. Dechuyes, La Guide de Paris (Paris:1647), 153; C. Le Maire, Paris ancien et nouveau (Paris:1685), 3:313-14.

² Sauval mentioned that Harlay was an important patron (1:100), but nothing was known about his role until the terms of the royal donation were summarized by J.-B. Jaillot, Recherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris, vol. 1 La Cité (Paris:1772), 189. The document which Jaillot studied, the ratification by the Chambre des Comptes, no longer survives. The notarial contract between Harlay and the king's agents (Min.cent. IIIter 462, 10 March 1607) was published by Mallevoüe, 23-24. Two articles by Jean-Pierre Babelon completes the bibliography on the place Dauphine: "Le site parisien de la place Dauphine sous Henri IV," MSHP 25(1974):136-37; "Nouveaux documents sur la place Dauphine et ses abords," CVP 7 March 1966, 32-43.

The Site

³ The history of the site is discussed by Babelon, 1966:34-35; Jean Guerout, "Le Palais de la Cité des origines à 1417, essai topographique et archéologique," MSHP 1(1949):57-212, 2(1950):21-204, 3(1951):7-101; François Boucher Le Pont Neuf (Paris:1925-26), 1:70-71; Berty and Tisserand, Topographie historique du vieux Paris, vol. 5 Région occidentale de l'Université (Paris:1887), 51-52; Jaillot 1:185; Nicolas Delamare, Traité de la Police (Paris:1722), 1:98; Sauval 1:99-100. The view of the Cité in the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry depicts the site (reproduced in Boucher 1:pl.15).

⁴ On 10 November 1577, the commissioners assessed the advantages of the site: "par ce moyen en seroient receues deux commoditez, l'une de la traverse de la rue St. Honoré au coste de l'Université, l'autre commodité de venir au Louvre et de tout le quartier des Halles et St. Honoré pour aller au Palais par la porte qui est en ladite isle, et le charroy qui pourroit entrer en la cité de ce costé la": R. de Lasteyrie, "Documents inédits sur la construction du Pont-Neuf," MSHP 9(1882):22.

⁵ There are two essential documents concerning the history of the Pont Neuf: the procès-verbaux from November 1577 to October 1578 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut ms. 282) which Lasteyrie published and the minutes of the building

commission from October 1578 through 1603 in an unpublished manuscript notebook titled "Plumitif concernant le Pont Neuf, 1578-1603" (A.N.Z1F 1065, hereafter Plumitif). The Plumitif is the most important record of the construction process, but it has not been fully tapped by scholars because of the enormous paleographic problems which the manuscript presents. The principal studies on the Pont Neuf are: Musée Carnavalet, Pont Neuf 1578-1978 (Paris:1978); Boucher 1925-26; F. de Dartein, Études sur les ponts en pierre, vol. 1 Ponts français antérieurs au XVIIIe siècle (Paris:1912) 77-140; Heinrich Geymüller, Les Du Cerceau (Paris:1887); Lasteyrie 1882:1-94.

⁶ The course of the street, 5 toises wide (9m9), was described in the experts' report: "pour faire lad. rue outre led. quay pour aller à Nostre-Dame, convient et est nécessaire entrer dedans l'enclos de la cour du Palais et passer à costé des deux petites tournelles estans au portail par lequel on entre de la cour du Palais en lad. Isle du Palais, et pourchasser lad. rue entre icelle deux tournelles et une mesure estans à costé du pavillon neuf de la Chambre des comptes, et continuer lad. rue jusques au bout du pont St. Michel, à l'endroit de la rue du Marché-Neuf, et pour ce faire, couper et retrancher les jardins de derrière des maisons des chanoines de la Sainte Chapelle estans dud. costé . . ." (Lasteyrie 32-33).

⁷ The painting in the Musée Carnavalet (Inv. P.621) conforms to the original project in two other respects: the three-sided projections on the piles, "becs à trois pans", and the two filled-in arches adjoining the pavilion on the island (Lasteyrie 30-31). On the basis of the structural similarities, Boucher (1:83), Babelon (1966:32), and the Carnavalet catalogue (15) concluded that the painting depicts the original design of the bridge. The expertise on 3 March 1578 does not, however, mention any of the decorative features shown in the painting—the triumphal arches, obelisks, vases, and the pavilion on the platform.

⁸ On 23 February 1578, the experts recommended that "la première chose nécessaire estoit de faire oster une petite isle estant devant le moulin de la Gourdine, lequel aussi convient abbatre . . ." (Lasteyrie 24). Boucher mistakenly wrote that the site of the place Dauphine was formed by joining the two islets (72).

⁹ The date of the decision to build houses on the Pont Neuf has been disputed. Pierre Lavedan, Histoire de Paris (Paris:1975), 154-55 and Lasteyrie (14) maintained that houses were planned from the start because the devis in 1578 pointed to the Pont Nôtre Dame, a bridge with houses, as a model. The devis did not, however, mention houses. Boucher (1:106) and Babelon (1966:32-33) concluded that houses were introduced in 1579. They argued that the vaults planned in 1578 were not wide enough (7 toises) to accommodate houses,

and the enlargement of the vaults the following year suggests that it was then decided to add houses. The contract passed on 25 November 1579 stated, "/il/ faut faire et dresser les encorbellemens qui seront en saillie hors le corps desd. remplacements desd. voultes, pour sur lesd. encorbellemens faire l'advancement des maisons dud. pont" (Lasteyrie 76).

¹⁰ It is possible that the scheme established in 1579 included other houses in addition to those on the bridge. This is suggested by a comment made by representatives of the municipal Bureau in March 1580. In trying to persuade the commissioners of the Pont Neuf not to build a fifth arch on the south arm of the Seine, the city argued that it "gasteroit les places a bastir en l'isle du pallais es environs dudit pont" (Plumitif 23r). It seems more likely that this remark anticipated construction as yet unplanned.

¹¹ On 30 June 1580, Marchant, Petit, and des Isles complained that the stone used by Leroy in building the "parements des cullées" was too soft. Baptiste Ducerceau and other experts advised the commissioners that the "masse en l'isle" should be built with a harder stone (Plumitif 24). The entrepreneurs then reinforced the two abutments with "pierre dure de cliquart". On 5 April 1581, the commissioners ordered an estimate of the supplementary work in order to pay the masons which suggests the cullées were finished (Plumitif 37v).

¹² Two contemporary drawings of a royal procession along the quais of the Right Bank depict the Pont Neuf in 1583/84, with the platform of the bridge beginning to rise and the tip of the island otherwise unaltered. The drawings (B.N. Est. Pd 29rés.) are reproduced in Frances Yates, Astraea (London:1975), plates 24-25.

¹³ The Plumitif records discussions about the street on 15 April 1580 (23v), 12 June 1581 (28v), and 4 August 1581 (42), before the adjudication on 23 August 1581 (42v). Leroy was paid 100 ecus on 6 Nov. 1581 (44v), 200 ecus on 20 Feb. 1582 (47v), 200 ecus on 31 Aug. 1582 (61v), 200 ecus on 14 Sept. 1583 (75), and 200 ecus on 27 Jan. 1584 (80v). On 8 Jan. 1585, the payment of 1000 ecus was ordered for the "la serrure, plomberie et percement de la rue" during the present year (89-90). A total of 1900 ecus (5700 pounds) was spent in five years to build the street. In addition, indemnities were paid to private property owners whose shops, houses, and walls were destroyed.

¹⁴ The Parliament approved the edict on 11 July 1584 with the stipulation "qu'en faisant lesdits quaiz il ne sera fait aucun edifice et bastiment le long de la salle S. Louis jusques au pont aux Musniers qui puisse apporter aucun incovenient aux edifices et aisances dudit palais; et que le quai qui sera fait dudit costé ne passera oultre ladite

salle St. Louis . . ." (Felibien 5:17-18). The crown abandoned this policy in 1611 when it began to give away the land bordering the Palace along the quai de l'Horloge; between 1611 and 1614, a row of small shops and stalls was built up to the pont au Change: A.N. Z1F 561 f28v, 30 Nov. 1614; A.N. X1A 8649 f112, 1 Sept. 1618; f242v, 11 Jan. 1620; A.P. H.D. 25/171.991, 19 April 1617; A.S. DQ10 91=1115, 128=3286, 101=1713, 1812.

¹⁵ In 1594, after Pilon's death, the Maison des Etuves was awarded to the sculptor Barthelemy Prieur. The building was still standing in May 1607 when it was mentioned in an inventory (Boucher 1:70). A collection of engravings by Pierre Vallet, brodeur ordinaire du roi, entitled Le Jardin du Roy très chrétien Henry IV (Paris:1608) depicts the plants in the Jardin du Bailliage.

¹⁶ In a contract dated 17 May 1599, the masons promised to complete the south side of the bridge by the following October (Plumitif 113v). In April 1601, the king denied the municipality's request to "faire don a lad. Ville du fondz et propriété dud. Pont pour y bastir et ediffier maisons et edifices, ainsi que sur le Pont Notre Dame"(Registres 12:413). On the basis of this document, Boucher (1:113) and Babelon (1966:33) argued that the decision to banish buildings from the Pont Neuf was not made until 1601, but it does not follow that because the request was made, houses were necessarily planned for the bridge up until then.

¹⁷ Germain Brice wrote of the Pont Neuf, "on peut encore conter entre ces avantages la belle veue que l'on y découvre, qui passe pour une des plus agréables et des plus riches qu'il y ait au monde." He rated it the third greatest vista in the world after the view from the ports of Constantinople and Goa (Nouvelle Description de Paris (Paris:1684), 283-4).

¹⁸ Henri IV crossed the bridge in June 1603 on planks laid across the piles (L'Estoile, ed. Martin, 2:105). The Pont Neuf was paved in 1605 (A.N.Z1F 1065, 30 March 1605), and the Conseil d'Etat ordered the final inspection and toisé in July 1606 (A.N.E 11A f30).

¹⁹ The name la Samaritaine came from a relief on the pumphouse of Christ and the Samaritan at Jacob's well. Construction contracts for the pumphouse, the reservoir in the cloister of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and water conduits, as well as a maintenance contract with Lintlaer, all passed in 1607 and 1608, were published by Mallevoüe (145-152). An undated manuscript signed by Lintlaer describes his duties in maintaining the pump (B.N. Ms.fr.16652 f97). The pavilion was rebuilt in 1665, destroyed and rebuilt by Robert de Cotte in 1711-15, and finally dismantled in 1813. There are descriptions of the original building in Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-

1667, ed. Richard Temple, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 17(Cambridge:1907), 125; Musée Carnavalet 19-20.

20 A bronze statuette was sent from Florence to Paris in 1604, and a wax portrait bust of Henri IV was sent back to Giambologna's studio in 1606. The horse was cast by September 1607. Work on the figure was interrupted after Giambologna's death in 1608 and was resumed by Pietro Tacca following Henri IV's death in 1610. The date of the statue's completion is uncertain. The monument arrived in Paris on 24 July 1614, and the dedication took place the following month, on 23 August. The pedestal and four bound slaves at its corners were begun by Pietro Francavilla and completed by Francesco Bordoni. The statue of the king was destroyed in 1792; only the slaves and a few fragments of the equestrian monument survive. It was replaced in 1818 by Lemot's statue of Henri IV. The statue is discussed by Katherine Watson, Pietro Tacca Successor to Giovanni Bologna (N.Y.:1983); Arts Council of Great Britain, Giambologna 1529-1608 Sculptor to the Medici, ed. Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe (London:1978); Deborah Marrow, "The Art Patronage of Maria de' Medici," Diss. Univ. of Penn. 1978; Mila Mastroiocco "Pietro Francavilla alla corte di Francia," Commentari 26/3-4(1975): 333-343; Robert de Francqueville, Pierre de Francqueville (Paris:1968); John Pope-Hennessy, Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture (London: 1963), vol.3, pt.2:91-92; Eugene Muntz, Les Archives des arts (Paris:1890), 79-84.

21 The statue of Henri IV was discussed in the following essays: N. Bergier Remois, Le Cheval de Domitian (Paris:1614); Louis Savot, Discours sur le sujet du colosse du Grand Roy Henry posé sur le milieu du Pont-Neuf (Paris: n.d.); D.L.C.Th., Météorologie ou l'excellence de la Statue de Henry le Grand eslevée sur le Pont-Neuf (Paris:1614); Explication des tables, ornements, et inscriptions Latines qui se voyent au pié-destal du cheval de bronze (Paris: 1640). Marcel Poëte in Une vie de cité (Paris:1924-31) stressed the symbolic importance of the statue: "c'est la première statue érigée à Paris sur une voie publique, selon le mode antique; c'est, suivant les idées de l'antiquité renaissante, la déification du souverain appelée à faire de la capitale royale la ville du monarque absolu" (1:iv).

22 This date can perhaps be advanced by a few months. A royal budget indicates that payment of Petit was ordered in April and December 1608 for several projects including work on the "pedestal pour metre et poser la figure du Roy" (A.N.Z1F 1065, Etat par Henry Estienne durant l'année 1608 pour employer à la construction du Pont Neuf, 20 Jan. 1610).

23 According to Deborah Marrow, "one of the Queen's most important commissions during the early years, and one which was entirely her own idea, was the equestrian monument to Henri IV on the the Pont Neuf" (15-16). A similar point

is made by Katherine Watson, "Sugar Sculpture for Grand Ducal Weddings from the Giambologna Workshop," Connoisseur 199/799(Sept.1978):22-25; Mastrorocco 343; Boucher 2:67; Sauval 1:235.

24 The horse was cast by Daniele da Volterra before his death in 1566. It remained in Rome until 1622 when it was brought to Paris by Richelieu. In 1639, the horse was installed in the Place Royale, bearing the figure of Louis XIII. The history of the commission is examined by Malcolm Campbell and Gino Corti, "A Comment on Prince Francesco de Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France," Burlington 115/845(Aug.1973): 507-12; Anatole de Montaiglon, Notice sur l'ancienne statue équestre ouvrage de Daniello Ricciarelli et le Biard le fils (Paris:1874). In addition to the precedents for an equestrian statue, other schemes for the Pont Neuf called for a monument on the platform of the bridge. Jacques Androuet Ducerceau's ideal design of a bridge prescribed a circular place surrounded by houses with a colonnaded tempietto in the center (B.N.Est. Ed 2p res. f17), and Guillaume Marchant submitted a design with a triumphal arch on the point of the island (Sauval 1:233).

Design

25 The expertise does not survive, but it is mentioned in the land donation to Harlay. One arrives at the date of late 1606 by allowing a few months for the unfolding of the administrative process which normally preceded an expertise. Before experts were dispatched to a site, the matter was brought before the king who then sought the advice of the Trésoriers généraux; they, in turn, examined the matter before ordering an inspection.

26 Babelon cited the patent letters but did not state the archival source (1966:36). I did not find the document in the series of edicts by the Conseil d'Etat (A.N. E), and the registration by Parliament on 15 November 1607 (A.N. X1A 8646 f59v-61) does not include the language quoted by Babelon.

27 The letter mentions another matter and then concludes: "Advances et affectionnes ces deux affaires, autant que je les affectionne, et vous feres chose qui me sera fort agréable" (Lettres missives 7:238-239).

28 Maurice Dumolin concluded that an unidentified artist made the engraving during Chastillon's lifetime, and the inscription "J. Poissart ex A PARIS avec privilege du Roy 1640" was later added by Jacques Poinsart who acquired Chastillon's drawings and engravings after the artist's death: "Essai sur Claude Chastillon et son oeuvre," B.N. Est. typewritten manuscript, n.d. (c.1930), 19,45,141-42.

29 In Chastillon's engraving, arched openings

alternated with pilasters in an A-B rhythm whereas the executed design established an A-B-A rhythm with a doorway between two arches. In the engraved view, the north range of buildings bordering the quai was scanned by 24 arches, but according to de Cotte's plan, 30 arches and 15 doors were built. On the southern segment of the east side of the place Dauphine, Chastillon depicted 10 dormer windows facing the square although 7 were actually built. Chastillon's engraving also varied from the executed design in the other respects: the file of quoins demarcating every three-bay unit is not shown; the stone tablets between the windows are substantially wider; the dormers are crowned by triangular rather than segmental pediments; the southern range of houses east of the rue de Harlay, between the garden and the quai des Orfèvres, is far longer than the single, wedge-shaped lot that was actually developed; and a grill was not erected around the statue of Henri IV until 1662.

³⁰ The following measurements are based on the plan by Robert de Cotte in 1685.(Fig. 11) The interior angle at the southeast corner was approximately 64°, about 12° more acute than the interior angle at the northeast corner (76°). According to the measurements written on de Cotte's plan, the exterior side of the south range was 68 toises long while the north range was 64.3 toises long, shorter by 4.3 toises. The north range tapered by approximately 2 toises.

³¹ Jaillot wrote: "Il eut été à souhaiter que ceux qui ont eu l'inspection de cet ouvrage eussent placé cette statue en face de l'ouverture de la Place Dauphine et de la porte du Palais" (La Cité 182). The position of the statue was erroneously described by A.E.J.Morris, The History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions, 2nd ed. (N.Y.: 1979), 160; and Christian Norberg-Schulz, Baroque Architecture (New York:1971), 18.

³² According to the plan by the Abbé Delagrive, the west facade of the square was centered on the island because the north quai was widened where it met the Pont Neuf./Fig. 12/ De Cotte's plan does not however show this adjustment. /Fig. 11/ It is not clear when the north quai was enlarged, but the alternation confirms that Henri IV's architects could have modified the quais or the platform of the bridge if they had wanted to align the statue and the square.

³³ Christian Norberg-Schulz defined the French place royale as a space which "is symmetrically centred upon a statue of the sovereign. The prototype was created by Henri IV in the Place Dauphine" (18). Morris argued that "the statue undoubtedly /sic/ belonged to the place and not the city at large"(160). The inverse, however, is true; the statue belonged to the city, not to the square.

³⁴ Jean Marot's engraving entitled "Amphitheatre de la place Dauphine" is located in B.N. Est. Va 226 fol.

35 Sauval praised the square: "Ce mélange de pierres, de briques et d'ardoises fait une union de couleurs qui plaisent à la vue, et de tous côtés forment une perspective non moins enjouée qu'extraordinaire. Mais cette place recoit encore bien plus de grace et de majesté d'une corniche de pierre, garnie de dentellures, qui couronne toutes ces maisons, tant sa grande saillie se trouve proportionné à propos, et à leur hauteur, et à l'étendue de la place" (1:629).

Harlay and the Development of the Square

36 Harlay was imprisoned by the Ligue in January 1589 for his support of Henri III. After eight months of captivity in the Bastille, Harlay fled the insurrectionary capital and rejoined the Parliament exiled in Tours. When Henri IV ascended to the throne later that year, Harlay immediately gave his support to the new king. On Harlay's life: E. Pilastre, Achille III de Harlay. Premier President du Parlement de Paris sous le règne de Louis XIV (Paris: 1904); P. Lafleur de Kermaingant, L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV. Mission de Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont (1602-1605) (Paris:1895); Père Anselme, Histoire généalogique, vol. 8 (Paris:1733), 799-800; Jacques de la Valée, Discours sur la vie, actions et mort de très-illustre Seigneur Messire Achilles de Harlay (Paris:1616) in Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, ed. Cimber and Danjou, ser. 1, vol. 15 (Paris:1837), 423-457.

37 In 1584, Henri III allowed Harlay to live in the Hôtel du Bailliage. After Harlay's death in 1616, the hôtel was established as the official residence of the premier president of the Parliament.

38 Part of the palace wall was demolished at the king's expense in 1610. A contract refers to "l'adjudication par nous faicte a François Pitu, maistre masson a Paris, des materiaux et demolitions d'une grande muraille faisant la closture du palais . . ." (A.N.Z1F 559 f2v, 9 September 1610). The crown sold the salvaged building materials and gave the proceeds of the sale to Jacques Gillot, canon of the Ste. Chapelle (A.N. E27B f143, 19 August 1610). A section of the wall bordering the property of the Ste. Chapelle was sold by Gillot to the mason Pierre Noblet who hired two workers to demolish the wall and sort out the dressed stone from the rubble (Min.cent. XIX 363 f96, 20 April 1610; A.N. Z1F 559 f2v, 19 August, 9 September 1610).

39 On 7 August 1608, François Petit prepared a report concerning the north quai: "Sur le rapport et devis fait /par/ Petit maistre masson de Paris, entrepreneur pour la construction et edification qui est a faire du quai du Pont Neuf au bout du pont au Musnier, contenant qu'il est grandement necessaire de faire led. quay pendant que la

saison y est propre et que les eaulx sont basses, c'est pourquoy il nous a requis ordonner que les maistres des oeuvres des bastimens du Roy se transporteront sur le lieu pour voir et visiter d'icelluy et en faire rapport." Jean Fontaine and Louis Marchant inspected the site to determine the "reparations qui sont à faire aud. quay du Pont Neuf"; the reference to repairs implies that construction of the quay was at least partially executed, although earlier documents do not refer to any previous construction. Petit won the competition for the contract on 14 August 1608 with the bid of 61 pounds per cubic toise (A.N. Z1F 150 f101v, f108). After the first building season, he was paid 24,000 pounds (A.N. Z1F 1065, Estat du Pont Neuf, 1608). In July 1612, the quay was approaching the bridgehead of the pont au Musnier; the sale contract of a lot backing onto the Conciergerie required the owner to begin construction as soon as the quay was completed (Min.cent. LXXVIII 187, 17 July 1612). The quay des Orfèvres was completed at an earlier date. Petit and Marchant resumed work on the south quay in compliance with the order in June 1603 to "faire la maçonnerie du mur du quay de l'isle du pallais depuis la derniere arche du petit cours tirant vers le pont St. Michel" (Plumitif 127). In 1608, Petit was paid "sur les ouvrages de maçonnerie qu'il faict pour la confection des murs des quais et abreuvoirs du costé du petit cours de la riviere . . ." (A.N. Z1F 1065, Estat par Henry Estienne, 20 January 1610).

40 Babelon hypothesized that the donation occurred "toward the month of June 1609". He pointed to a notarial contract dated 11 July 1609 which mentions "la rue allant du Pont-Neuf au pont Marchant" and interpreted the reference to a rue rather than a quay as evidence that buildings were planned for both sides of the route (1966:140). But, the very same contract elsewhere refers to this street as "le quay du grand cours de l'eau" (Min.cent. LXXVIII 184). In the early seventeenth century, the topographical descriptions of notaries did not obey precise and consistent semantic rules. In any case, Babelon offered no reason why the donation could not have been made a few months earlier, in March rather than June 1609. The earlier date would at least account for the meeting in March between Henri IV and his minister as well as for Harlay's discontent expressed before the Conseil d'Etat the following month.

41 The son of a master mason from Beauvais, Petit was "juré du roy en l'office de maçonnerie" by 1588. There are references to Petit throughout the minutes of the Bureau in connection with the Pont Neuf (1578-1604), the Valois chapel (1582), the porte St. Germain (1599), the Grande Galerie of the Louvre (1600), a reservoir at the Halles (1602), and the chapel of St. Esprit (1608). Petit's career is discussed by Rosalys Coope, "John Thorpe and the Hotel Zamet in Paris," Burlington 124/956 (Nov. 1982): 671-81; Jules Guiffrey, Artistes parisiens (Paris:1915), 223-24; Bauchal 469; Lance

2:200-01; B.N. Ms.fr.nouv.acq. 12167 (Fichier Laborde). On Petit's work for the Augustins, see the section on the Rue Dauphine below. A sketchbook by the mason Jacques Gentilhâtre contains a drawing of one bay of the hôtel Zamet; it is reproduced by Rosalys Coope, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. 6 Jacques Gentilhâtre (London:1982), f35v, fig. 27.

42 Although the receipt refers to the place Dauphine, the name of the square was used in the early documents to indicate all components of the design; only after the rue de Harlay was named in 1613 do the documents differentiate between the street and the square.

43 There were two exceptions: the house on the north corner with three shops cost 600 pounds a year and the smaller house on the south corner cost 450 pounds.

44 According to the leases in 1611 and 1612, the houses consisted of "une escurie, salle, gardenappe, cuisine, deux caves avec leurs caveaux, trois chambres garnies de leur garderobbes a costé, un grenier, et deux petites cours avec leurs aisances." Beginning in 1613, the leases list the features of the houses as "deux caves, deux boutiques et sallettes, puys et cours, trois chambres, bouges, cabinets, et un grenier". Most of the leases did not specify the location of the house. There is however one case where each description was applied to the same house in two different leases (Min.cent. LXXVIII 186, 1 June 1611, Lease with Jean Bounayaul; LXXVIII 188, 10 June 1613, Lease with Barthellemy Cartiret). The modified language did not signal a change in the plan of the houses, except perhaps for the suppression of stables. Rather it indicated that a commercial function was assigned to the ground floor rooms which were called shops instead of being defined by domestic use—salle, gardenappe, cuisine. The descriptions also follow a different sequence through the house: the first list of rooms follows a walking itinerary from the ground floor to the basement and then the upper floors whereas the second description follows an abstract order, ascending from lower to upper floors.

45 Harlay survived his only child Christophe (+1615) and gave his grandson Achille II "les deux premieres maisons basties et deux autres à son choix et option en la rue traversante", according to a will appended on 10 March 1614 (Min.cent. LXXVIII 188, 23 December 1613). In a second will dated 9 October 1616, he assigned all his goods to his nephews and nieces (Min.cent. LXXCIII 204). The destruction of the house on the rue de Harlay was carried out in conjunction with a building project inside the Palace which is discussed on pages 155-56. Achille III de Harlay's sale of the rue de Harlay houses is detailed in A.N. Q1 1099 25B.

Construction of the Place Dauphine

46 The proceeds from Harlay's lotissement of the Ile du Palais break down as follows: 86,556 pounds from the twelve lots at the square, 14,661 pounds from the five lots on the quai de l'Horloge, and 2,400 pounds from the lot on the quai des Orfèvres. Harlay also sold a small lot on the quai de l'Horloge, six square toises in area, lodged between two towers of the Conciergerie. This parcel was sold for 75 pounds per toise, higher than the standard rate of 72 pounds for quai property, but the owner was not required to comply with the royal facade design (Min.cent. LXXVIII 187, 17 July 1612).

47 The lot at the north corner was 154 square toises in area; the lot at the south corner was 129 square toises.

48 In 1551, Henri II turned the Maison des Etuves over to the Controller of the Mint. In his capacity as Sur-intendant de la Monnaie, the sculptor Germain Pilon and his wife Germaine Durand acquired the building. In the 1590's they built a house on the tip of the island adjoining the Maison des Etuves: Edouard-Jacques Ciprut, "Chronologie nouvelle de la vie et des oeuvres de Germain Pilon," GBA 74(1969):343. Harlay gave Germaine Durand 1800 pounds in addition to the land on the quai (Min.cent. LXXVIII 184, 11 July 1609).

49 The owner of the double lot, Daniel Voisin, secrétaire du roi, was also required to provide an entryway to Harlay's stables and to build a screen wall between Voisin's property and the passage (Min.cent. LXXVIII 188, 11 December 1613).

50 Documents have not yet been found which disclose what Nicolas Pouillet, Hierosme Ferrier, François Pepin, André Belot, and Baudoin Bacher did with their lots. In the registers of notary Claude Levoyer, there are many documents concerning Pepin, including construction contracts for three houses on the rue Vieille du Temple (Min.cent. XII 41), but there is no reference to the place Dauphine property. Pepin and Germain Pilon were both godfathers to the son of the royal mason Guillaume Marchant (B.N. Ms.nouv.acq.fr.12149 n°45.947). The fourth individual who did not build at the square was Abel Langelier, one of the most important publishers and booksellers in Henri IV's Paris and a faithful supporter of the king during the Wars of Religion: Henri-Jean Martin, Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1598-1701), 2 vols. (Genève:1969), 1:348. Langelier's shop was located in the Palais, one of the centers of the Parisian book trade. Langelier died in 1610 before breaking ground on his property. His widow continued the publishing firm in the Palais, abandoning the land at the place Dauphine. For reasons which are not stated in the documents, the crown regained possession of the parcel and

gave it to a parliamentary officer Jacques Chevalier (A.N. Z1F 563 f62v, 5 May 1618; Min.cent. LXVI 89, 9 March 1641).

51 On 1 April 1612, the Châtelet sentenced Nicolas de Harlay to pay one thousand pounds to Martin de Saint-Aubin, controller for the Prince of Condé, or risk the confiscation of his lot at the place Dauphine. The documents do not explain why the penalty was imposed. The following August, Sancy took the first steps to build on the land, hiring workers to excavate for the foundations (Min.cent. LIV 479, 19 August 1612). But he had not paid the fine and a month later his lot was seized by the Châtelet. It was given to Saint-Aubin on 19 September 1612 for the net sum of two thousand pounds. After payment was made, Saint-Aubin revealed that he was acting on behalf of Jean de Ligny (Min.cent. LIV 249, 22,24 October 1612). All of these transactions are mentioned in de Ligny's inventory after death (Min.cent LIV 494, n°503).

52 The construction contracts passed by de Ligny are mentioned in the posthumous inventory of his papers (Min.cent. LIV 494). Some of the entries identify the notaries before whom the contracts were passed, and it was therefore possible to locate the original documents: masonry, Min.cent. LIV 480, 30 April 1613 (App. B5); metal work, LIV 480, 14 May 1613; carpentry, LIV 480, 18 May 1613; roofing, LIV 481, 26 Nov. 1613.

53 According to the chronological list of acts notarized by Jean Le Camus, Marrier and Chaillou each made a declaration to François Petit on 24 January 1609. Le Camus' records for the year 1609 do not survive, therefore, we can only speculate that the terms of the property transfer were set forth in these documents. It is likely that the settlement was amicable because the three families were friendly; children of Marrier, Chaillou, and Petit were all godparents for the same infant (B.N. Ms.fr. nouv.acq. 12167 n°53.337).

54 The twelve lots at the place Dauphine were subsequently carved into 23 parcels of property. Six lots were not subdivided, each 100 square toises or more in area. They were held by merchants, artisans or nobles; not a single court official owned an entire lot. The merchants and artisans owned approximately 776 square toises at the square, the officers owned approximately 336 square toises, and the noblemen approximately 150 square toises.

55 The mason hired by the royal marble cutter Robert Menart was shown an "alignement, desseing, et rapport" signed by Petit and de Verdun (Min.cent. XLII 48 f352, 27 December 1608). Petit's signature may indicate that he acted as Harlay's agent in communicating the crown's instructions to the prospective builder or that Petit was responsible for drawing up the specifications. A different

mason prepared the building specifications which Harlay gave to Germaine Durand; the construction contract which she passed in 1611 with the mason Jean Gobelin referred to the alignment "baillé par Claude Guerin juré du Roy es ouvrages de massonnerie par commandement de M. le President de Harlay en la presence de lad. dame Pillon, et de François Petit juré desd. oeuvres de massonnerie et entrepreneur des bastiments qui se font des logis dud. sr. President, et de Jehan Gobelin maistre masson à Paris" (Min.cent. VI 282, 14 June 1611).

56 Mutation fees were waived for the following lot owners: Robert Menart (A.N. Z5965 f157v, 30 May 1609, published by J.-J. Guiffrey, Nouvelles archives de l'art français 1873:230) François Pepin (A.N. Z1F 563 f89v, 25 May 1609); Olivier Montel (A.N. Z1F f164, 6 June 1609); Michel Deligny (A.N. E1F 560 f148v, 31 March 1610); and the heirs of Abel Langelier (A.N. Z1F 563 f62v, 5 May 1618).

57 Mignollet and his wife sold a house on the rue St. Honoré for 6800 pounds "par eulx commetre et employer au paiement des bastimens et ediffices qu'ils pretendent faire . . . sur une place qu'ilz ont acquise depuis peu un l'isle du pallais. . . ." (Min.cent. XCIX 90, 6 October 1608). Bunel borrowed 3200 pounds (Min.cent. XCVI 4 f70, 26 March 1611), Menart 1600 pounds (Min.cent. LXVI 24, 28 June 1610), and Montel 2000 pounds (Min.cent. XC 169, 7 January 1609). All of these contracts specify that the money was borrowed to finance construction at the place Dauphine.

58 The contract of sale lists numerous debts which were assumed by Germain Collier including the following building expenses: leadwork, 100 pounds; carpentry, 250 pounds; foundations, 750 pounds; joinery, 1914 pounds; and masonry, 2800 pounds. After all of Menart's debts were settled, his heirs were left with 7500 pounds from the initial sum of 21,000 pounds. Three of Menart's creditors, Jean Gobelin, Charles du Ry, both master macons, and Jacques Rousseau, master joiner, acknowledged payments from Collier in Min.cent. XLI 56 on 7 February, 4 March, and 18 May 1613, respectively.

59 Le Redde was required to deduct half the cost of building the party walls from his payment of 5900 pounds.

60 The rear wall of Gregoire de Bethune's house was made of a wood frame filled in with plaster and braced by wood members (Min.cent. LIV 253, 13 October 1613). Stone was generally used for the arches of the cellar vaults, basement steps, and the top level of the foundations. Of the five devis thus far uncovered, only the contract for Germaine Durand's house required decorative stone elements on the back side of the building: window surrounds on the rear wall of the house and chaines on the screen walls around the court (Min.cent. VI 282, 14 June 1611). The

brick facades of the houses may have been painted. Durand's mason, for example, was instructed to "faire ravalier par dehors et peindre la brique, icelle mettre en couleur comme les autres voisins ja faicts" (Min.cent. VI 282, 14 June 1611).

⁶¹ Michel Deligny is discussed in Jean Delay, Avant Mémoire. D'une minute à l'autre, Paris 1555-1736 (Paris:1979), 169,173-74,194.

⁶² Bacher, Belot, and Montel reached a different solution on their lot which they divided into shares of 2/5, 1/5, and 2/5 respectively./Fig. 16b, Parcel 10/ They satisfied the royal design on the quai side where each house had a facade 4 toises wide, confining irregularities to the facade on the square. Belot's parcel did not border the square, while Bacher and Montel each had L-shaped parcels.

⁶³ Seventeen leases passed by François Petit between 1612 and 1618 have been uncovered, of which two were renewals. Of the fifteen tenants who are named in the leases, ten were merchants and artisans, four minor officers, and one a widow. The lot numbers refer to figure 16.

LOCATION	NAME	OCCUPATION	PRICE	DOCUMENT	DATE
<u>LOT 4</u>					
quai de l'Horloge	Winter, Sebastien	gem cutter	450	LIX 47,	17 Feb 1615
	Maret, Denis	merchant	500	LIX 47,	10 March 1615
square	Jolly, Simon	joiner	450	LIX 47,	7 Apr 1615
	Renewal Prudent, Marin	founder	450	LIX 53,	4 Feb 1619
			450	LIX 47,	7 Apr 1615
<u>LOT 6</u>					
rue de Harlay	Fauvel, François	sec. du roi	350	LIX 45,	29 Jan 1613
	Guytard, Jacques	sec. du roi	350	LIX 47,	13 Jan 1615
	Belleval, François	wine merchant	400	LIX 52,	7 Feb 1618
square	Bailly, Guillaume	sec. Queen Marguerite	350	LIX 42,	4 Apr 1612
	Riviere, Sebastien	sec. des finances(?)	350	LIX 44,	29 May 1612
	Danzet, Jean	turner in gold	350	LIX 46,	12 June 1614
	Renewal Legendre, Aymond	leather gilder	400	LIX 52,	5 May 1618
			400	LIX 47,	10 Mar 1615

LOT 7				
rue de Harlay square:	Jolly, Leger	pin-maker	350	LIX 45, 4 Mar 1613
	Croust, David	goldsmith	400	LIX 44, 23 Mar 1612
	Barjot, Marguerite	widow	350	LIX 49, 26 May 1616
?				
	Vaux, Nicolas	turner in wood	350	LIX 52, 7 Feb 1618

64 Sebastien Winter moved from a house that he rented from Bunel for 800 pounds (Min.cent. XLII 53, 7 Dec. 1613) to a smaller house that he rented from Petit for 450 pounds (see note above). Some time before March 1611, Bunel negotiated a five-year lease with Jean Carrel, treasurer for Queen Marguerite. Two subleases of ground floor shops passed by Carrel have been found: a shop with two arcades on the quai to a bookseller Lucas Brayet for 200 pounds (Min.cent. VI 282, 17 March 1611), and a shop with two arcades at the corner of the entrance to the square to Philippe Duchesne, master belt-maker (sainturier ?) for 150 pounds (Min.cent. VI 282, 13 June 1611). Documents concerning Bunel's residence in the Louvre were published by Guiffrey, Artistes parisiens (Paris:1915), 81-86.

65 De Ligny rented a corps de logis with two shops, one facing the statue and the other facing the quai, to an artisan for 575 pounds (Min.cent. LIV 484, 23 March 1615); a corps de logis with one shop to an innkeeper for 550 pounds (LIV 484, 12 May 1615); and another corps de logis on the quai de l'Horloge to a master jeweler for 450 pounds (LIV 490, 5 April 1618). Several other leases are mentioned in de Ligny's inventory after death, but without references to notaries (LIV 494).

Place Dauphine Threatened

66 Perrot's statement on 26 January 1623 is published in Registres 18:348. This episode is discussed by Babelon 1974:136-37, Babelon 1966:40-41, and Sauval 1:246.

67 Sauval offered no explanation for Jeannin's failure to build the houses he was permitted to erect. Babelon suggested that the houses backing against the north side of the Palace were built by Jeannin, but a series of documents establish that these stalls were not built by numerous other people (see note 14 above).

68 Louis XIII awarded this land to Nicolas Le Jay, the owner of the Pont Marchant and son-in-law of its builder Charles Marchant. He was given a parcel 60 toises long by 3 toises wide on the south side of the rue St. Louis, from the pont St. Michel to the postern of the Palais. Le Jay built a row of twenty-nine brick houses with a stone arcade:

Babelon 1966:41-42; Jaillot 1772:189; Sauval 1:245; A.N.Q1 1099 1.

⁶⁹ The projects to modify or destroy the place Dauphine from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century were studied by Joerg Garms, "Projects for the Pont Neuf and Place Dauphine in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," JSAH 26/2(May 1967):102-113; Ragnar Josephson, "Un projet de la Place Royale à la pointe de la Cité," BSHAF 1928:52-8; Pierre Patte, Monuments erigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV (Paris:1765). Plans for the expansion of the law courts and the elimination of the rue de Harlay houses are discussed in the minutes of the Conseil municipal, see for example A.N. F21 2370. The reconstruction of the Palais de Justice during the nineteenth century is the subject of a forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation by Katherine Fisher (Harvard).

The Rue Dauphine

⁷⁰ The church of the Grands Augustins was the principal stop on the annual processions in Paris of the Order of the Holy Spirit, a chivalric confraternity founded by Henri III in 1578. Frances Yates suggested that the Pont Neuf was built to facilitate access between the Louvre and the church of the Grands Augustins (Astraea 176). While the Pont Neuf was under construction, a temporary wooden bridge was erected across the tip of the island for the processions. The Hôtel de Nevers was built at great expense during the 1580's by Louis de Gonzague on the site of the Hôtel de Nesle; it was depicted in an engraving of a drawing by Chastillon (B.N. Est. Ve 9rés. f7). Though it was one of the grandest buildings undertaken in Henri III's Paris, surpassed only by the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Nevers has not been studied. There are many relevant documents in the notarial archives of Mathieu Bontemps (Min.cent. LXXIII) which would be a fruitful point of departure for research. On the patronage of the Gonzague family, see Crouzet, "Dettes de la maison de Nevers," Histoire, économie, et société, 1982; Emile Baudson, Charles de Gonzague duc de Nevers, de Rethel, et de Mantoue 1580-1637 (Paris:1947).

⁷¹ The abbey of Saint Denis sold the estate for 66,000 pounds and required Carrel and his partners to pay an additional 6,000 pounds to finance the construction of a new building for the monks (Min.cent. VIII 568, 29 March 1606).

⁷² Le Barbier was responsible for developing Marguerite de Valois' unfinished hôtel, the ditch inside the city wall known as the fossés jaunes, and the neighborhood of Richelieu's Palais Cardinal; these projects were studied by Maurice Dumolin in Etudes de topographie parisienne.

⁷³ Corbonnois, du Nesme, and Carrel each paid one third of the mutation tax (Min.cent. XXIII 2261, 3 February 1623). Du Nesme was a tax farmer in Poitiers in 1598; he was

imprisoned in 1608 for falsifying documents during his tenure in that office (B.N. Ms.fr. 18174 f97, 22 November; f187, 18 December 1608).

74 According to L'Estoile, Henri IV chided the Augustins for failing to appreciate the financial benefits they would realize from the sale of their land; "Ventre Saint Gris! mes Peres, l'argent que vous retirerez du revenu des maisons vaut bien des choux" (1958:225). Berty and Tisserand mistakenly wrote that the entrepreneurs bought a second tract of land from the Augustins for 30,000 pounds; this purchase was made by the crown (5:368).

75 Petit was paid 2000 pounds for construction of the walls and underground passage (A.N.Z1F 1065, Estat du Pont Neuf, 1608). According to Malingre, the passage was closed by 1640: Les Antiquitez de la Ville de Paris (Paris:1640), 368. The passage was uncovered during an excavation in 1839 (L'Echo du Monde savant, 12 October 1839, 481:645).

76 The buyers may have staked verbal claims to the parcels a year earlier, at the time the entrepreneurs bought the Hôtel Saint Denis. This is suggested by a clause in the sale contracts which reads as follows: "lors que led. Carrel fust l'acquisition des maisons, mesures, jardins, cours, et autres appartenances de l'hostel Saint Denis et maison des chappes scizes pres les Augustins, ils furent promesse de place a (name of buyer) de luy bailler et delaisser une place prise dans le jardin dudit hostel St. Denis sur la grande rue qui seroit faicte au travers d'icelluy hostel pour y bastir et ediffier une maison."

77 The following nine men purchased lots on the rue Dauphine, but the sale contracts have not yet been located: Jean Antoine, master tapestry-worker; Jean Autissier, master mason; Gilbert Chappelle, magistrate in the Chambre des Comptes; Philibert Gillot, barrister; Jacques Le Breton, wine merchant; Hierosme Luillier, master of requests; Samuel Menjot, solicitor; François Petit, master mason; Guillaume Rousseau, master joiner. Eight other purchases have been documented.

DATE	DOC.	NAME	PROFESSION	AREA	PRICE
18 Oct.1607	LI 18	Boucher, Jean	merchant	(c.40)	2,000
22 Nov.1607	LI 18	Maillet, Pierre	solicitor	24	1,200
25 Apr.1608	LI 20	Baudu, Jean	sec. du roi	96	4,800
25 Apr.1608	LI 20	LeTeneur, Abraham	sec. du roi	42½	2,125
25 Apr.1608	LI 20	LeTeneur, Benjamin	sec. des fin.	143	7,150
8 May 1608	LI 20	Mylon, Benoist	con. du roi	57	2,850
22 May 1608	LI 20	Paris, Nicolas de	auditor	120	6,000
14 Jun 1608	LI 20	" "		(c.12)	60
27 Feb.1612	*	Sevin, Marie,	widow	248	7,600
TOTAL				c.782½	33,785

* Mentioned in XXIII 261, 10 Feb. 1623.

78 Three construction contracts have been found: carpentry contract passed by Guillaume Rousseau with Pierre Bourdellet, master carpenter, Min.cent. XXIII 234 f778, 6 December 1607; masonry contract passed by Claude de Paris with Jean Poussart, master mason, Min.cent. XC 168, 24 March 1608; masonry contract passed by Jean Anthoine with Simon Puthois, master mason, Min.cent. XXIII 237 f12, 3 July 1608. Several of the residents of the rue Dauphine in 1623 were the original builders (Min.cent. XXIII 261, 3 February 1623). Jacques Le Breton rented his house (Min.cent. CXXII 1570 f72, 16 May 1609) as did Marie Sevin (XXXV 188 f353, 6 December 1611).

79 Corbonnois and du Nesme passed a carpentry contract for the "maisons qu'ils entendent faire construire . . . durant la presente année et la suivante dans le jardin de l'hostel Saint Denis sciz allentour des Augustins sur 12 thoises de longueur et de 23 pieds de largeur dans oeuvre pour chacun des grands corps du logis. Et pour 4 petites maisons sur pareille longueur et 3 thoises ou environ dans oeuvre . . ." (Min.cent. LI 15, 16 March 1607). Contracts for the purchase of wood and for paving are located respectively in Min.cent. LI 15, 9 March 1607, and LI 21, 23 September 1608. Carrel and Coursin offered their seven houses on the rue Dauphine as security against a loan (Min.cent. XXIII 261, 3 February 1623). The building contracts for these houses have not been found; the only relevant document thus far uncovered is a receipt from two carpenters acknowledging payment for work undertaken in three houses built by Coursin (Min.cent. CXXII 1575 f84, 30 June 1611).

80 Samuel Menjot, solicitor in the Parliament, passed a masonry contract with Jean Autissier who was asked to design the elevation of the house (Min.cent. XXIII 234 f356, 25 June 1607). Other construction contracts for Menjot's house concern chimney mantles (Min. cent. XXIII 237 f246, 17 October 1608), carpentry (Min.cent. XXIII 234 f572, 18 Sept. 1607), and roofing (Min.cent. XXIII 236 f477, 17 June 1608). Autissier bought stone and rubble for delivery "tant en l'hostel de lad. Reine /Marguerite/ et rues Christine et Dauphine": Min.cent. XXIII 234 f463, 29 July 1607; f455, 27 July 1607; f471, 2 August 1607. The only contract thus far located for the construction of Autissier's house on the rue Dauphine concerns carpentry work (Min.cent. XXIII 234, f776, 6 December 1607). The queen's hôtel is discussed in Dumolin "L'hôtel de la reine Marguerite", Etudes de topographie parisienne, 1:101-220.

81 The Grands Augustins sued four residents of the rue Dauphine—Philibert Gillot, Samuel Menjot, François Petit, and Marie Sevin—because they built houses against the walls of the convent; records of these suits are located in A.N. S3632-3633.

82 "Led. Carrel, ses associés et propriétaires desd. places, maisons, et edifices y seront maintenus et conservez. . . . a la charge de faire paver a leurs despens les trois rues faictes dans lesd. lieux et leur donner pentes et esgoutz pour les caves selon l'alignement qui leur sera baillé par le sieur duc de Sully grand voyer de France. Et oultre de faire l'ouverture dans le rempart et antienne muraille de lad. ville pour sortir au faubourg St. Germain au bout de lad. rue Dauphine et y bastir le pont et la porte St. /blank/ qui on sera aussy fait par led. sieur duc de Sully" (A.N. E 20B f324, 31 March 1609).

83 The crown paid 220 pounds for clearing the land between the porte de Bucy to the rue Dauphine and 83 pounds for paving (A.N. 120 AP 41 f16v, 1609; 120 AP 42 f62, 1610). Carrel and his associates submitted a request to the King's Council in 1611 "a estre remboursé pour le terre employé par commandement du roy Henri IV pour les rues Dauphine, Cristine, et d'Anjou, et du pavé qui a esté appliqué pour la commodité publique" (A.N.E 30 f354, 28 May 1611). The entrepreneurs were probably never indemnified for these expenses.

84 Other documents concerning the houses built by the Augustins on the rue Dauphine follow: carpentry, Min. cent. LXVI 20, 29 February 1608; roofing, LXVI 21, 2 October 1608; receipts from artisans, LXVI 23, 4 December, 7 December 1609.

85 Leases passed by the Augustins for the ten houses are located in Min.cent. LXVI 23 (31 October; 6, 11 November 1609). The houses generated 2640 pounds in rental revenue: the corner house with entrances on the quai and the rue Dauphine cost 400 pounds; the house on the east side of the street cost 260 pounds; 6 houses cost 250 pounds and 2 others cost 240 pounds.

86 The Grands Augustins owed Petit 25,973 pounds for his masonry work. The mason agreed to pay the monks 3,473 pounds to settle the claim for damages to the convent caused by his houses on the rue Dauphine, leaving Petit with earnings of 23,500 pounds (A.N. S3632-3633, dossier 3, n°4, 19 July 1610).

87 The leases passed by François Petit are located in Min.cent. LIX 41 f53, 11 July 1608; f287, 4 Sept. 1608; f294, 9 Sept. 1608; f383, 30 Sept. 1608; LIX 42 f255, 9 March 1610; LIX 44 f700, 14 June 1612; LIX 46 f55, 13 Jan. 1614.

Chapter 3

THE HOPITAL SAINT LOUIS

In May 1607, the king introduced a comprehensive program to defend the city against the plague. Three major reforms were set forth in the royal decree. First, it transferred jurisdiction on issues relating to the plague from the municipality to the Hôtel Dieu, the public hospital of Paris which was indirectly controlled by the crown. Second, it established a permanent administration of public health officials to maintain order in the city during epidemics. And third, it allocated royal funds for hospital construction. The centerpiece of this program was a new plague hospital on the north side of Paris, outside the walls between the Porte St. Martin and the Porte du Temple.

The hôpital Saint Louis, built at royal expense from 1607 to 1612, was an unprecedented project, the first monumental hospital in Europe for exclusive treatment of the plague. It was not intended for any of the crown's constituencies; those who could afford private care, nobles and bourgeois, would continue to be treated at home, avoiding the death trap that hospitals were thought to be.

The new plague hospital would be used almost entirely by the poor. It was a grandiose act of charity, explicitly associating the Bourbon king with the royal model of Christian devotion, Saint Louis. But the crown did not build a plague hospital only to bestow a benevolent gift upon the poor. That end could have been achieved, perhaps more effectively, by reconstructing the dilapidated buildings of the Hôtel Dieu, a project with the additional value of embellishing a conspicuous area in the city center, whereas the pesthouse was banished to the outskirts. Henri IV built the hôpital St. Louis in order to minimize the plague's convulsive effect on the city. The plague hospital, though situated outside the walls, was an essential element in the king's urban program.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, there were three major bouts of plague in Paris, in 1560-62, 1580, and 1594-96. Each time thousands of people were killed.¹ But death was not the only danger carried by the plague. Even when its presence only existed in the minds of men, the plague posed a grave risk, spreading fear and unrest, and throwing the city into a spasm of social disorder. Great waves of terrified people rushed into the countryside, attempting to escape the infected air of the city, and Paris was left to the desperate and disordered. In 1604-06, rumors spread wildly that the plague had again struck the capital. Every death was attributed to the epidemic, but the city was so gripped by fear that few people noticed, as

Pierre L'Estoile did, that the mortality rate remained at its normal level. "L'effroi à Paris a été plus grand que le mal," he wrote, "et la terreur comme panique" (Journal, ed. Martin, 2:212). It was not a ravaging bout of plague that immediately inspired the foundation of the hôpital Saint Louis; it was this convulsion of terror that entirely disrupted the life of the city. The hôpital Saint Louis was built to contain the infected and thereby secure the capital.

The hôpital Saint Louis has received little scholarly attention. Its brief bibliography is largely comprised of studies by historians of medicine.² Otherwise, the building is merely cited in lists of Henri IV's urban projects or mentioned as an oddity in specialized studies on hospitals because its plan does not derive from Filarete's Renaissance model, the Ospedale Maggiore. Nonetheless, the hôpital Saint Louis is more thoroughly documented than any other monument built in Henri IV's Paris. This is because the construction and administration of the hospital was undertaken by the Hôtel Dieu which was more successful than the crown in preserving the building contracts, plans, and other documents. Furthermore, the archival resources were not dispersed among a multitude of patrons as the contracts for the royal squares were; the documents are all held in the Archives of the Assistance Publique, the body which administers public hospitals in Paris. It is from these materials that the following account of the hôpital Saint Louis was composed.³

Urban Dimensions of the Plague

Ideas about the plague, its causes and cures, had changed little during the sixteenth century. The treatises all acknowledged that the plague was first and foremost an expression of God's wrath, but the authors, mostly men of medicine, were more interested in secular than spiritual aspects of disease. They maintained that the three principal causes of epidemics were infected air, filth, and vagrants. In this widely accepted etiology of the plague, Henri IV recognized an urban dimension, and he enacted measures concerning the disease that addressed the entire city, its physical form and its social conduct. The king's program to contain the plague was, on one level, intended to protect the lives of individual Parisians; but on another level, one which distinguished all of Henri IV's urban projects, the hôpital Saint Louis was intended to protect the life of the city.

The primary physical cause of the plague, the medical authorities universally agreed, was the polluted air of the city, "l'air corrompu et pestiféré". It was, therefore, advised to abandon the city whenever the plague approached, taking refuge in the uninfected air of the countryside. "Veritablement le plus souverain remede que je puisse enseigner avec tous les anciens," wrote Ambroise Paré, royal surgeon to Henri III, "est s'enfuir tost et loing du lieu infect, et se retirer en air sain, et retourner bien tard, si on peut le faire" ("Traicté de la peste" (1568) in

Oeuvres (Paris:1607), 825). With each minatory hint of the plague, there was a great exodus from Paris; the king, the Parliament, the municipal leaders, nobles and bourgeois, everyone with rural property deserted the city, disarming the capital of its governing order. In 1580, the municipality prohibited all judicial officers and notables from leaving the city during the plague; three times this order was reiterated but with no effect. "La pluspart des habitans de Paris aians quelque moien vida hors la ville," L'Estoile recorded in his journal, "et les forains n'y vinrent environ six mois durans, de façon que pauvres artizans et manoeuvres crioient à la faim et jouoient aux quilles sur le pont Nostre-Dame et en plusierus autres rues de Paris, mesme dans la grande salle du Palais" (Journal 1837:125). The city became a wasteland of the poor, the sick, and the criminal, those unable to flee.

The flight from Paris spread panic and disease throughout the surrounding area. Neighboring towns created a blockade around the capital, refusing either to admit travellers and goods from the city or to deliver food and provisions for fear of contamination.⁴ The political and economic network which bound the city to the countryside was severed as each town and village withdrew inside its own walls, retreating from the plague. The kingdom fractured into so many little fiefs, leaving the capital entirely isolated. In order to secure the interaction between Paris and its environs, in order to reinforce the centralized

political control of the capital and assure its uninterrupted supply of provisions, it was necessary to stem the massive flight from Paris sparked by each outbreak of the plague. The hôpital Saint Louis and the permanent administration of public health officials were both intended to mitigate this disruptive cycle of migrations that emptied the capital and undermined the economic and political order.

Another source of contagion, so the treatises explained, was dirt in any of its manifold forms, liquid, solid, and vapor, in houses and in streets. In 1581, a member of the Faculty of Medicine Estienne Gourmelon prescribed a city-wide street cleaning campaign as a preventive measure against the plague (Advertissement 7-8). But, cleaning remained confined to the private domain of the house conforming to a ritualized procedure that entailed fumigating the residence with a variety of spices and burning materials which were thought to breed infection. The pressing need to rebuild the beseiged city after Henri IV's entry in 1594 gave added weight to the hygienic argument for street cleaning, and the vigilant program directed by Sully to pave and clean the streets of the city was informed by this concern about the plague.

It was also believed that floating crowds of vagrants were agents of contagion. In the wake of Henri IV's entry into Paris came great tides of poor and wounded, victims of the war. They came by the thousands, seeking relief in the capital. Pierre L'Estoile estimated that in only three days in May 1595, 10,000 mendicants poured into Paris, and by the

end of the month, the city was forced to close its gates to stop the unabating flood of vagrants (Registres 11:138).

The municipality feared above all else that the crowds of beggars would provoke a plague epidemic, for the authorities agreed that this floating population was an agent of contagion. When the plague broke out in Paris the following year, in 1596, it was widely believed that the thousands of vagrants who deluged the capital had caused the outbreak.

The contagiousness which adhered to the beggar, it was thought, would be disarmed by providing him with work and shelter. To prevent the plague, Nicolas Ellain urged in 1604, it was necessary to "retirer les pauvres mandians, et trouver moyen de les loger en quelque lieu et leur donner commodité de vivre, sans les laisser courir par la ville" (Advis sur la Peste (Paris:1604), 39). The traditional practice of putting pauvres valides to work on public projects was continued during Henri IV's reign, with the poor assigned to such projects as cleaning the streets and terracing the site of the hôpital Saint Louis, disinfecting themselves in the public mind by conforming to the social order. But the crown went beyond the traditional responses by trying to contain the vagrants physically. First, Henri IV endowed two existing hospices to take in the poor, the Maison de la Charité in the faubourg St. Marcel and the hôpital de St. Germain, both located in suburban areas on the Left Bank. Second, the municipality passed severe measures in January 1606 to expell beggars from the city and

imprison those who remained. This edict initiated the enclosure movement which was pursued more extensively during the reign of Louis XIII.⁵ The perception of the beggar's status as a Christian soul was undergoing a profound change; now, in conjunction with the changing approach to the plague and to the city, he was considered a threat to the urban order.

Infected air, dirt, and beggars, these were traditionally identified as causes of the plague, but they provoked different responses during the reign of Henri IV. The political fragmentation and social disorder which accompanied the plague handicapped the authority of the crown and threatened the life of the city. To anchor the monarchy in a safe haven and liberate Paris from these convulsions, if not from sickness and death, the king pursued a program of hospital reform with a new monumental plague hospital as the centerpiece.

Sixteenth Century Responses to the Plague

Paris was unequipped to defend itself against the plague, both in terms of its administrative organization and its physical facilities. The city had neither a board of public health, such as operated in all major Italian cities, nor a pesthouse, shortcomings which were tolerated throughout the sixteenth century. Jurisdiction over matters concerning the plague rested with the municipality which did not have an established, institutional procedure to meet the

crisis. Each time the plague threatened, the city imposed a special tax on the residents in order to finance ad hoc, emergency measures. This was an unreliable source of income, particularly during epidemics when the bourgeois felt least committed to the city, and as a result the Hôtel de Ville never had sufficient funds to respond adequately to the plague. The municipality invariably appealed to the Parliament of Paris, the body which controlled the Hôtel Dieu, to provide money and assume complete responsibility for the plague-stricken.⁶ The Parliament invariably refused financial aid, and the city then adopted the most meager and economical measures.

A major concern of the municipality was to remove the sick from their houses and collect them in one location. This was fiercely resisted by the patients who legitimately feared that the ghastly conditions in the Hôtel Dieu or the temporary pesthouse would hasten their death. Unable to pay health officers, the city had to rely on the existing network of district representatives (dixainiers, cinquantiniers, and quartiniers) to identify the infected, evict them from their residences, and quarantine the houses. These men were generally unwilling to assume the ominous task, and the system proved ineffective. A salaried public health officer (prévot de la santé) was appointed for the first time during the epidemic of 1580, and three prévots were employed in 1596. But, these were temporary measures, each time preceded by a struggle over financing and enacted in desperation at the last moment.

The city was no better equipped to pay a special staff of plague doctors and surgeons. The Faculty of Medicine was asked to volunteer four members to treat the pestiférés, but few doctors were inclined to accept this dangerous charge; instead, unqualified apprentices were generally assigned to the task with the promise of immediate promotion should they survive their service. Hampered by lack of funds and guided by different attitudes to the city, the municipal government never established a permanent, institutional response to the plague.⁷

The city was further hindered by the absence of a plague hospital. Those who could afford private care remained at home, by far the preferred alternative, while the large majority of Parisians converged on the Hôtel Dieu, the only public hospital in the city. The Hôtel Dieu was located in the center of the city, on the Ile de la Cité, next to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame./Fig. 2b/ It consisted of three thirteenth century buildings which had not been altered since their foundation, and one comparatively modern wing, the Salle du Légat, built in 1531, which was used to isolate as many pestiférés as the room could hold.⁸

Otherwise, the infected mingled with regular patients in overcrowded rooms, breeding further disease. According to a statement by the Hôtel Dieu, 67,000 plague victims thronged to the hospital in 1562; 20,000 came in 1580, and in 1596, 10,000-12,000 patients were crammed into the small, medieval rooms on the Ile de la Cité (H.D.69.607M f4). Not only were

the conditions in the Hôtel Dieu appalling, but the municipality felt that the whole city was imperiled by containing the contagion at the very center of Paris. The necessity of building a plague hospital outside the city was recognized from the early sixteenth century, during each fatal outbreak, but when the epidemic subsided, the plans for a pesthouse were forgotten.

Resistance to a pesthouse in the city was first expressed in 1515 when the governors of the Hôtel Dieu proposed a two-story structure across the Seine, linked to their existing buildings, with the contagiously ill segregated on the second floor. Blocked by the municipality which feared interference with river traffic and by the archbishop of Nôtre Dame who did not want the center of contagion situated beside his cathedral, the Hôtel Dieu dropped the project (Registres 1:226,233-35).⁹ During the cholera epidemic of 1519, the Hôtel Dieu appealed to François I to build a plague hospital this time outside the city, just beyond the Tour de Nesle on the south bank of the river (quai Malaquais). The king promised 10,000 pounds for the hospital, and a row of six uniform buildings was planned (H.D.11.74/630, 13 Aug. 1519). The first stone was laid in June 1520, but construction was halted a few months later for lack of funds. In 1527, François I explained that the project was in part abandoned because of the hospital's proximity to the Louvre: "/nous/ avons été advertis que au moien de la contagion qui pourroit estre aud. hostel de la Charité durant les temps de peste, en pourrait advenir

inconvenient en nostre hostel et chastel du Louvre qui nous tourneroit a grand prejudice" (H.D.11.74/635, 13 Sept. 1527).

The removal of the plague-stricken from Paris became a priority of the authorities, but in the absence of any other facilities, the sick converged upon the Hôtel Dieu in the heart of the city. In 1548, with the Hôtel Dieu teeming with pestiférés, the governors requested permission from the municipality to quarantine plague victims in city-owned houses on the Petit Pont. The city rejected the request, expressing an attitude that eventually gave rise to the hôpital Saint Louis:

L'Hostel Dieu est scitué au meillieu de la Ville, comme le cueur au meilleur /sic/ de l'homme, qu'au moyen du mauvais air ordinaire estant en icelluy, peult infecter tout le reste du corp et tous les membres et endroitz d'icelle Ville; aussi, s'il estoit permis faire led. accroissement, ce seroit muys du boys au feu, du venyn avec du venyn (Registres 3:131, 6 July 1548).

To protect this organically-conceived city, it was necessary to expell the infected outside the walls. In the absence of a permanent pesthouse, the municipality erected compounds of tents and huts in the faubourgs. During the plague in Paris in 1580, for example, Claude Haton described the "tentes et pavillons à la mode d'ung camp hors la ville . . . pour y faire mener les malades par faultes de maison commune à cest effect" (Mémoires 2:1013-14). They were temporary structures, usually made of wood or canvas, which were burned when the epidemic passed.¹⁰

The epidemic of 1580 sparked another municipal effort to build a plague hospital, this time with greater success.

Advised by the Faculty of Medicine that plague victims should not be confined in the Hôtel Dieu, the city appointed a group of experts to choose an appropriate site for a plague hospital. The experts recommended the plain of Grenelle, west of the faubourg St. Germain, where the Invalides was built later in the century, probably because the area was removed from suburban settlements. Construction of a pesthouse began on that site in 1580. The hospital was a municipal project, financed by a special tax levied on Parisians, and the city had difficulty in raising the funds (Registres 8:228; Felibien 5:11). It is uncertain if the hospital was ever completed, but whatever was built was soon destroyed.¹¹ In late 1589, the Duke of Mayenne, leader of the League, ordered the municipal bureau to "desmolir les bastimens n'a gueres faictz et construictz a l'opposite du couvent de Nigeon au lieu dit Grenelle", salvaging the building materials—wood, tile, and iron—to build guard houses around the city walls (Registres 9:548, 7 Dec. 1589).

The design of the short-lived hospital was recorded in an engraving by Claude Chastillon entitled "Dessein du bastiment de Grenelle pres de Paris" and in a contemporary description by Pierre Fayet, a provincial judicial clerk.¹²/Fig. 21/ The hospital comprised four connecting wings enclosing a large rectangular courtyard. According to Fayet, it was "64 travées /de long/ sur 35 de large, et chaque travée de toise et demy. Le preau, au milieu duquel il y a trois puits, contient environ 5 arpents; led.

hospital est faict tout ainsy qu'ung cloistre." According to these figures, the courtyard of the hospital was 96 by $52\frac{1}{2}$ toises (190m x 104m), larger than both the place Royale which was 72 toises square and the central court of the hôpital Saint Louis which was 50 toises square. While Fayet's analogy to a cloister and his attention to the number of bays suggests that each bay comprised a separate cell, Claude Chastillon's engraving indicates there were open wards, the standard arrangement in general hospitals.

The Grenelle pesthouse was modelled after the Lazzaretto of San Gregorio in Milan, the largest permanent plague hospital before the hôpital Saint Louis was constructed.¹³ Built in 1488, the lazaretto was portrayed by a patient in an engraving dated January 1631.¹⁴/Fig. 22/ It shows a vast rectangular court (370m x 378m; 187 x 191 toises) with a chapel in the center surrounded by 288 adjoining cells. When all the cells were occupied, huts of wood and straw were built in the enclosed field. According to a witness, the population reached 16,000 at the height of the plague of 1630 (Tadino, Raguaglio della gran peste (Milano:1648), 132). The lazaretto was surrounded by a moat with a stream traversing the court, and outside the enclave was a cemetery. The model of the Lazzaretto di San Gregorio was changed in the hospital at Grenelle in three respects: instead of individual cells with direct access to the field, it had long, open wings with entrances to the courtyard confined to axial pavilions; the French pesthouse was not

surrounded by a moat or isolating wall; and it did not have a chapel in the center. The plague hospital at Grenelle, despite its brief existence, had a pronounced influence on the hôpital Saint Louis, with the three features mentioned above recurring in the later building.

When the plague struck in 1596, Paris again had no alternative to the overcrowded halls of the Hôtel Dieu and the straw huts outside the walls. Pressed to its limits, the Hôtel Dieu installed recuperating patients in two houses in the faubourgs, but this did little to ameliorate the larger problem posed by the plague (Felibien 5:31-2). Arriving on the heels of Henri IV's entry into Paris, the epidemic immediately confronted the king with proof of the city's vulnerability.

The Royal Program of Hospital Reform

Faced by the inadequate facilities of the capital, Henri IV at first enacted two modest reforms: the creation of a hospice for war veterans and a financial review of all hospitals. There was no institution in Paris to receive the soldiers who had fought in the Religious Wars, and to meet this need the king established the Maison Royale de la Charité Chrestienne in October 1597. Taking the name of a home for orphans founded by Nicolas Houel in 1576 on the same site in the faubourg St. Marcel (Felibien 3:730-32), the charitable institution was required to lodge, feed, and nurse disabled veterans and impoverished gentlemen

throughout their lifetime.¹⁵ In 1600, the king also called for a fiscal reform of all the hospitals, lazarettos, and hospices in France "pour obvier a l'advenir a tous desordres a la descharge de Nostre conscience et pourveoir a la nourriture des pauvres et malades" (A.N. X1A 8644 f133, 20 March 1600). A review of the grants and privileges accorded to these institutions was ordered with the aim of eliminating useless facilities, such as abandoned leper houses, and reassigning the available funds to feed the poor and support the soldier's hospital. This measure updated the allocation of royal grants and identified sources of revenue with which to fund the soldiers' refuge, but the crown was not yet committed to a substantial improvement of the city's hospitals.

A mild epidemic touched Paris between 1604 and 1606, and in July 1606, the city purchased two houses in the faubourg St. Marcel to hold the overflow of patients in the Hôtel Dieu.¹⁶ The faubourg St. Marcel was a sparsely settled quarter southeast of the city, bathed in fresh air, or so it was presumed, but the ghastly conditions in the hôpital St. Marcel made straw huts more appealing accommodation. "Les malades de la contagion transportés au logis de Voisin, au faubourg St. Marceau sont contraints d'en sortir, pour le mauvais tracitement qu'on leur fait, jusques à les laisser mourir de faim et leur avancer les jours," L'Estoile reported in August 1606. "A raison de quoi, ils se dressent des cabannes aux champs . . . , s'epandant partout où ils peuvent, au grand détriment du

public et infection du pauvre, lequel par faute de police est contraint de souffrir toutes les extrémités du monde" (ed. Martin 2:201). The Hôtel de Ville appealed to the crown to rectify the grandz desordres which were caused by the absence of isolated pesthouses and the resultant contamination of the hospital on the Ile de la Cité, suggesting that the Hôtel Dieu assume complete responsibility for the plague-stricken. The governors of the Hôtel Dieu in turn submitted their recommendations to the crown. All of their proposals were endorsed by the king and promulgated in a royal decree of May 1607 (Registres 14:177-80).

This program reorganized the city's response to the plague. First, it called for the establishment of a permanent administration of public health officers paid by the Hôtel Dieu. This entailed the appointment of two full-time prévôts de santé and four policemen (archers) to identify the infected and transport them to the pesthouses, a staff of doctors and nurses to work in the hospitals, and two barber-surgeons solely to treat the patients remaining in private residences. These officers provided an institutional mechanism for maintaining order in the city during epidemics. Second, the royal edict instructed the Hôtel Dieu to finish repairing their buildings on the Ile de la Cité. The medieval structures were in "peril eminent" in 1601, and to avoid their collapse, the governors of the Hôtel Dieu had decided to undertake the most urgent

repairs.¹⁷ Third, the royal reform projected a network of hospitals around the city to take in the the poor and the contaminated; this network included two facilities in southeast and southwest Paris, a hospice in the faubourg St. Germain and a modest pesthouse in the faubourg St. Marcel, as well as a new plague hospital on the north side of the city. The Hôtel Dieu was given centralized control over treatment of the plague, and the burden of financing the program was shifted from the bourgeois of Paris to the crown which allocated a portion of the revenues from the salt tax.¹⁸ The king had granted the same benefice to the Hôtel Dieu in 1597, but only for a short term. On this occasion, funds were committed to the Hôtel Dieu in perpetuity in order to control the plague.

The broad reform enacted in 1607 was conceived by the eight governors of the Hôtel Dieu, appointed to the office with lifetime tenure by the Hôtel de Ville and approved by the Parliament. They were largely gown nobles, drawn from royal offices or the judicial magistracy, with two posts reserved for bourgeois of Paris. At the time the royal reform was enacted, the governing body included two men active in other aspects of the crown's building program: the developer of the place Dauphine, Achille de Harlay, appointed in 1587, and the silk entrepreneur Pierre Sainctot, appointed in 1606.¹⁹ The governors must have been aware of the more advanced public health bureaus operating in Italian cities. A permanent health board was established in Venice in 1486; Florence had one in 1527, and by the

second half of the sixteenth century, every major Italian city had such a board, regulating all aspects of sanitary life. The Venetian bureau, for example, surveyed the food and wine sold at local markets and controlled beggars and prostitutes as well as administered the pesthouses.²⁰ The governors of the Hôtel Dieu did not claim such broad powers, but in one respect they went beyond the precedents in Italy; they projected a network of hospitals distributed geographically around Paris—southwest, southeast and north of the city.

The hôpital St. Germain was located southwest of the city in the faubourg St. Germain des Près. It was built in 1557 on the former site of a leper house as a hospice for poor and deranged people. The Hôtel Dieu was directed to restore the building which thereafter would be administered by the city to shelter pauvres invalides. The crown assigned 24,000 pounds for the hospice which the governors dispensed to the municipality in equal installments between 1608 and 1611, but nothing yet is known about the rebuilding project (H.D.1440¹.6545 f67).²¹

Located southeast of the city in the faubourg St. Marcel was the hôpital Saint Marcel, on the site where the church of Val-de-Grâce was later built. Two houses purchased by the municipality in 1606 were ceded to the Hôtel Dieu the following year, and the governors were instructed to convert the facility into a proper pesthouse. By the end of May 1607, they established new procedures

concerning the management of the hospital and the treatment of patients, but minimal construction was undertaken. Between 1607 and 1612, only essential repairs were carried out at a cost of approximately 1500 pounds. In appealing for relief from seigneurial taxes, the Hôtel Dieu argued that it needed the money to build a pesthouse large enough to accommodate three hundred patients, but these enlargements were not immediately realized.²² The original aim of transforming the hôpital St. Marcel into a larger facility was probably dropped as the new hospital on the Right Bank absorbed the large part of the interest and income of the Hôtel Dieu.

The hôpital St. Marcel was a typical pesthouse, without any architectural significance. A site plan of the hôpital St. Marcel reveals the casual organization of the complex in approximately 1620.²³/Fig. 23/ The site was an irregular tract of land, eight arpents in area, bordered by the rue des Vignes to the north and the rue de l'Arbalette to the south. The property was enclosed by a wall with two entrances on the north side toward the city. Standing isolated in a field was the logement des malades, a long and narrow structure (approximately 50 x 2 toises) with two small projecting pavilions which probably housed the chimneys or toilets. The kitchen was nestled in a corner of the property not far from the patients' lodgings. In an irregularly-shaped service court to the south was the church, added in 1620, and a building along the rue de l'Arbalète, labeled logements, probably occupied by the

hospital staff. In the southwest corner of the enclave was the cemetery. By comparison with the rudimentary form of the hôpital St. Marcel, the monumental pesthouse under construction on the north side of Paris must have seemed quite extraordinary.

The Hôpital Saint Louis: The Site

The royal decree of May 1607 called for the construction of a plague hospital north of the city. The governors of the Hôtel Dieu promptly chose a site outside the walls between the porte St. Martin and the porte du Temple. Following an inspection by two doctors who found "qu'il ne se pourroit trouver lieu et place plus comode et saine que lad. place," the site was marked by stakes in late June "aux lieux et endroits qu'il est necessaire pour l'ordonnance dud. plan" (H.D. 1440¹.6545 f41v). Only a month after the king's announcement, the site and the plan of the new hospital were determined.

The crown specified a northern location for the hospital so that the city's pesthouses would be geographically distributed, with the Right Bank acquiring a facility with which the Left Bank was already equipped. The site selected by the governors of the Hôtel Dieu was surrounded by fields and removed from any suburban settlement./Figs. 2c,3c/ It was set off from the nearest roads to Paris, to the east the rue faubourg du Temple (chemin de Courtille or de Belleville), and to the west the rue faubourg St. Martin

(chemin de St. Laurent or de Meaux). To the north was the mount of Montfaucon with its dreaded gallows (the future site of the parc des Buttes-Chaumont), and to the south, separating the site from the city, was marshland. This isolation was undoubtedly the feature which most commended the site to the governors of the Hôtel Dieu.

Salubrity must have been a secondary concern because the site was not endowed with the traditional healthful virtues, the attestation of the doctors to the contrary. The poor quality of the air was notorious because of the noxious fumes emanating from the waste dump at Montfaucon. The stench, Nicolas Ellain warned in 1604, might cause the plague, "specialement du costé du Temple et de St. Martin quant la Bize soufle qui renvoye ce mauvais air dans la ville . . ." (Advis sur la Peste 37). The workers at the hôpital St. Louis threatened to leave the chantier in 1608 because the smells were so offensive (H.D.1440¹.6545 f58). The Hôtel Dieu pressed the municipality on several occasions to remove the waste from the site "à cause de la puanteur que cela rend en la maison de l'hospital St. Louys . . .", but the city took no action, and the Hôtel Dieu was forced to hire a private guard to prevent further dumping at Montfaucon (Brièle 48,54).

The hôpital St. Louis also had difficulty in obtaining sufficient supplies of water. Although this problem was probably not anticipated in 1607, an abundant water supply was considered an essential feature of a hospital. For that reason, hospitals were usually situated near a river, like

the Hôtel Dieu on the banks of the Seine, or they were provided with a moat, as at the Lazzaretto di San Gregorio and the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan. The decision to build the hôpital St. Louis far from the Seine or any other assured water source confirms the secondary importance of traditional sanitary considerations in choosing a site for the new building and the greater weight given to broader urban considerations such as the availability of an isolated tract of land close to the city walls.

The hôpital St. Louis was precisely aligned with the northeast axis of the compass. In the absence of any topographical explanation for this orientation, it seems likely that the wind rose was a guiding concern. Architectural treatises offered no special counsel on the orientation of hospitals, and when the winds were discussed with respect to town planning, there was no agreement on the appropriate orientation. What guided the architect of the hôpital St. Louis in his evaluation of the winds is unclear, but he seems to have concluded the northeast currents were the most healthful.

The land on which the hospital was built belonged to the convent of St. Lazare and to various individuals. Construction began before the property had been legally acquired by the Hôtel Dieu; either the governors had made verbal agreements with the property owners at an earlier date or else the Hôtel Dieu assumed its right of eminent domain. Between 1607 and 1617, numerous parcels of land

amounting to twenty-seven arpents were purchased at a cost of approximately 6000 pounds.²⁴ There is no evidence that the Hôtel Dieu's interest in the land led to an immediate increase in its value; to the contrary, the Hôtel Dieu purchased at least two parcels for less money than the sellers had spent about a decade earlier when they acquired the property.

The design of the new hospital was selected by the king in May 1607. The governors of the Hôtel Dieu sent their colleague Pierre Saintot to Fontainebleau "pour porter au Roy . . . les divers plans du bastiment de la maison de la santé pour savoir lequel d'iceux Sa Majesté auroit agreable" (Möring 214). It is striking that a group dominated by high-ranking noblemen chose the bourgeois merchant Saintot to be its representative at the court. Saintot had been to Fontainebleau in 1604 to negotiate the foundation of the royally-sponsored silkworks. Now, in the spring of 1607, he and his partners were again engaged in discussions with the crown about the silk business and the transformation of the place Royale. Perhaps the governors of the Hôtel Dieu expected Saintot to receive an especially favorable reception because of his leadership in another project so important to the king, the place Royale. In any case, Saintot must have been quite interested in the project because he was the governor most closely involved with the construction of the hôpital St. Louis, frequently visiting the chantier and attending the expertises. Exactly how many "divers plans" Saintot carried to Fontainebleau is not

known, but while he was at the court, two additional plans were sent to him from Paris.²⁵ These late arrivals may have incorporated changes that were requested by the king, Sully, or the royal architects. The final selection was made from among three plans probably at the end of May 1607. The documents provide no clues about the two rejected schemes.

Immediately after the design was selected, the governors of the Hôtel Dieu commissioned four paintings of the hospital in both plan and elevation. Another six paintings were ordered by the Hôtel Dieu in 1608.²⁶ One was given to Queen Marguerite and another to the Prévot des Marchands, gifts that were intended to publicize the project and win patrons for the new foundation. The cost of building the plague hospital surpassed the revenues provided by the crown and the governors were eager surely to attract other donations. All ten canvases were commissioned from master painters now totally unknown, and if any of the paintings survive, their whereabouts are unknown as well.

The first documented reference to the "maison de la santé" as the hôpital St. Louis appeared in a letter from the king to Pope Paul V on 28 April 1608 requesting indulgences in favor of the new foundation (Lettres missives 7:535). By dedicating the hospital to St. Louis (1226-70), the Bourbon ruler associated himself with the progenitor of French kings. This reiterated the political legitimacy of Henri IV whose claim to the throne was based on his distant descent from St. Louis. Furthermore, it implied that Henri

IV, a Protestant by birth and a Catholic by conversion, was imbued with the faith of a devout Christian soldier, like St. Louis who died of the plague while fighting the Crusades in Tunis. In endowing the hôpital St. Louis, Henri IV suggested a similarity with his predecessor who was legendary for his numerous charitable foundations in Paris, including the Hôtel Dieu and the hôpital des Quinze Vingts.²⁷ Both in terms of Henri IV's claim to the throne and his image as a Christian king, the hôpital St. Louis insinuated in its name Henri IV's identification with the eponymous saint.

The Design

The original design of the hôpital St. Louis is known from a plan signed by Sully with the following caption written in his hand:

Le roy aiant veu les trois plants qui luy ont esté représentés pour la maison de la Santé a ordonné que le present sera suivy. Faict a Fontainebleau par nous grand voier de France Maximilien de Bethune./Fig. 24/

The plan is not dated, but the caption indicates that it was the presentation drawing approved by the king and therefore prepared in May 1607. The absence of site specifications and of a north arrow also suggests that the plan was produced before the site was determined.²⁸ This drawing disappeared from the Archives of the Assistance Publique between 1937 and 1950, and it is now known only from photographs. No other designs of the hospital survive from Henri IV's reign. The original plan is amplified by the

masonry specifications published on 1 June 1607 when the Hôtel Dieu announced the adjudication of the contract (H.D. 8.63A). The various design changes made during the construction process are documented in later devis and portrayed in a plan prepared in 1681 by a metalworker employed by the Hôtel Dieu who included a detailed key explaining the use of all the buildings.²⁹/Fig. 25/

The hospital complex occupied a large rectangular field, approximately twenty-seven arpents in area, with two asymmetric hemicycles projecting from the short sides to the east and west. The enclave was surrounded by a wall with guard houses at each of the four corners and two entrance pavilions along the central axis. On the south side, toward the city, was the entrance for the sick. The pavilion on the north side was not originally planned as an entrance according to the plan of 1607, but the design was soon modified to provide access to a cemetery which was planned north of the hospital. On 23 April 1608, the governors ordered that "les pavillons des entree et sortie de la maison de la Santé seront faits de pareille structure l'un que l'autre, et se seront les portes en forme de portes cochère" (H.D.1440¹.6545 f62).

The hospital buildings were organized to provide maximum separation between the infected patients and the healthy staff. The sick were confined to their own precinct at the center of the complex. It consisted of four continuous wings surrounding a square courtyard, fifty toises

long, with a chapel for the patients in the middle. The four uniform ranges rose one story above the ground floor and were surmounted by dormers projecting from the steep roofs. These ranges were modulated by a series of projecting elements as at the hôpital de Grenelle: four axial pavilions each with a staircase; pavilions at the exterior corners and L-shaped elements housing the toilets (aisances de privez) at the interior corners; and finally, eight smaller pavilions (chauffoirs) containing chimneys and wash basins extending into the courtyard at the midpoint of each half-range. There were no partitions inside the wings which formed long, open, nave-like spaces. The ground floor was divided by a row of piers which supported groin vaults (voûtes d'arêtes); the upper floor had a timber roof.

Lying outside the corners of the sick wards were four L-shaped buildings. They contained individual rooms, each heated by a chimney. The L-shaped buildings on the west side were intended for the staff of the hospital: the northern one for priests, doctors, and surgeons with an apothecary included, and the southern one for nuns and female servants (H.D.1440¹.6545 f76, 17 Dec. 1608). The number of chimneys in these buildings was reduced from seven, as indicated on the plan, to five (H.D. 1440¹.6545 f61v, 18 April 1608). They were linked to the corner pavilions of the sick wards by two passageways. In the original design they were shown as solid walls, and in the devis they went unmentioned, but in 1608 their form as arcaded galleries was fixed (H.D.1440¹.6545 f71, 12

Sept.1608). The two L-shaped buildings on the east side, the logis des bourgeois, were intended for patients who paid for private rooms. In all of the L-shaped buildings, one stem bordered a boundary of the enclave, and the perpendicular section backed onto an enclosed kitchen garden.

Projecting from the west and east sides of the hôpital St. Louis were two semicircular additions with buildings situated on the lateral axis of the complex. Contained within the western hemicycle was a church for the city at large. In the original design, the transept of the church was aligned with the straight course of the cloture wall and the three-bay nave jutted forth into the semicircular addition. The apse of the church faced the service court which was bordered by symmetric buildings. The two small pavilions straddling the transept of the church, originally intended for porters, were later enlarged to serve as stables (H.D. 1440¹.6545 f63, 9 May 1608). The larger buildings housed the bakery and pantry to the north and the kitchens to the west. Set into the semicircular wall on the east side was a one-story pavilion pierced along the lateral axis by a vaulted entryway. Surmounted by the arms of France, the pavilion was used as a meeting place for the governors of the Hôtel Dieu. It was separated from the sick wards by a field planted with elm trees.

During the course of construction, four substantial changes were made in the original design. First, the church

was elongated by one additional bay, and the semicircular wall to the west was eliminated. As a result, the church extended into the public domain and became more accessible, both visually and physically, from the nearby road, the *chemin de Pantin*, an effect which Israel Silvestre captured in his engraving of the building./Figs. 26-27/

The second change, determined before June 1611, was the decision to build a fountain instead of a chapel in the middle of the *cour des malades*, and to install an altar for the sick in the southwest corner pavilion (H.D.8.64Q). No longer would the center of the courtyard, the center of the entire hospital, be occupied by a monument to religion; the physical needs of the patients became the symbolic focus of the institution. This change signaled a new conception of the hospital which was expressed in the design of the *hôpital St. Louis*. It was planned not as a shelter for the sick with only a charitable function, but as a therapeutic institution to control disease and protect the city.

The third change, set forth in a contract dated 1 June 1611 (H.D.8.64Q), entailed the addition of a pavilion in the service court, aligned with the lateral axis and facing the apse of the church. The pavilion was connected to the adjacent service wings by a flight of stairs on the north and south sides of the building, and it was connected to the axial pavilion of the west ward by an arcaded gallery. This created a direct channel for the distribution of food and other provisions from the service court to the patients in the hospital wings.

The last substantial change concerned the stairs in the axial pavilions on the north and south sides of the cour des malades. According to the original plan, all four axial pavilions housed an interior staircase formed by a pair of single-return flights with a common landing and preceded on the exterior by a few convex steps. The corresponding devis referred to "huit grandz perrons en forme d'ovalle, quatre par le devant de la grande court et quatre par le dehors, chacun garny de quatre marches de clicquart ou lyais lesquels seront jettez en sailly hors oeuvres selon le plan et dessaing et continuer le reste des marches carrees du mesme pierre jusques au rez de chaussee desd. salles." Direct access inside the cour des malades was not provided except on the west side. In a contract dated 16 September 1611 (H.D.8.64T), the masons were instructed to tear down the stairs in the north and south pavilions and to rebuild them according to a new design. An exterior staircase with two converging flights parallel to the building rising to a first floor landing was built on both sides of the pavilions. The landing surmounted a vaulted passage which permitted direct access to the courtyard. The modified stairs differentiated the north and south pavilions and slightly accentuated the central axis of the square.

All of the buildings except the church were faced in brick with quoins, chaines, entablatures, and dormers in stone. The chimney tops were also built of brick, and when the first ones were mistakenly made in rubble and plaster,

the masons were called back to rebuild the chimneys in the specified material (H.D.1440¹.6545 f60v, 11 April 1608). The four axial pavilions were covered in slate while all the other buildings were roofed with tile (H.D.1440¹.6545 f63v, 16 May 1608). The hôpital St. Louis and the royal squares shared the same architectural style, and the place Royale was distinctly echoed in the central courtyard of the hospital, both in terms of the spatial quality and the approach through an entrance pavilion.

The church, a severe building without any brick, appeared as if it were built for a fortress, with its massive, protruding buttresses and narrow windows raised above a closed lower wall. The facade was built entirely in stone with subdued Mannerist touches in the elongated proportions of the arch enclosing the portal, the pairs of hanging dentils in the intrados of the arch, and the moldings around the niches. Statues of Henri IV and Maria de Medici filled the two niches framing the entrance and a marble tablet above the door contained a Latin inscription honoring the king. Statues of St. Louis, St. John the Baptist, and the Virgin Mary adorned the spare, barrel-vaulted nave.³⁰

The Architect

According to seventeenth century writers, the architect of the hôpital St. Louis was Claude Vellefaux (Du Breul 1003; Sauval 1:561); but doubts about this attribution have

been raised due to the ambiguous language in archival sources and the general obscurity of Vellefaux's oeuvre. The hôpital St. Louis is the only major building project with which he is associated as the designing architect; otherwise, Vellefaux appears in documents as a mason and expert. These factors led some writers in the late nineteenth century to name Claude Chastillon as the architect of the hospital, an unfounded attribution solely based on a caption posthumously added to his engraving of the building.³¹ There is, in fact, ample proof of the commanding role played by Vellefaux in the design and construction of the hôpital St. Louis.

Claude Vellefaux (15?-1627/29) was born in Percey-le-Grand in the Franche-Comté, then part of the Hapsburg Empire.³² Nothing is known about his family, his training, or his early career. The earliest indication of his presence in Paris dates from January 1585 (Fichier Laborde 64787), although if Vellefaux built the Hôtel de Gondi shortly before 1584 as Rosalys Coope states (Gentilhâtre (London:1972), f37v), then he was already well-established in Paris by the 1580's. In 1600, he was granted letters of naturalization by Henri IV during whose reign Vellefaux emerged as one of the leading masons in Paris (A.N. P2666 f489v, 27 Oct.1600). Sworn master mason ("juré du roi en l'office de maçonnerie") and one of the city's four experts by 1599, he was involved in various municipal projects such as reactivating the fountains (1604) and building the porte St. Germain (1599) and the chapelle du St. Esprit in the

Hôtel de Ville (1608). Vellefaux lived in the faubourg St. Germain and was well-connected with the powerful figures of the Left Bank.³³ By 1610, he was the surveyor ("voyer de la terre et seigneurie") for both the abbey of St. Germain des Près and the Prince de Conty (Fichier Laborde 64791, 64794). These were distinguished positions which gave Vellefaux considerable prestige and authority and, as a leader of his profession, it is likely that he was called on to produce building designs. A distinction between the architect-designer on the one hand and the mason-engineer on the other was only beginning to emerge in early seventeenth century France, and high-ranking masons such as Claude Vellefaux or François Petit also acted as designers.

Vellefaux was kept busiest in his role as entrepreneur of the buildings of the Hôtel Dieu, a position he held from 1602 until his death.³⁴ Whenever it was necessary to repair their dilapidated buildings, the governors relied on Vellefaux to produce the plans, prepare the devis, and undertake the masonry work, although the advice of other prominent masons was solicited in some cases. It seems likely that the governors of the Hôtel Dieu would ask their chief architect and entrepreneur to prepare the designs for the new plague hospital. While their traditional procedures do not exclude the possibility that other architect-masons were asked to submit designs, only Vellefaux's name was subsequently mentioned in the documents concerning the hôpital St. Louis and only he was consulted during the

building process.

Immediately appointed "Controlleur de la maison de la santé", Vellefaux was required to visit the site twice a day, enforce the design, execute toisés, and in some cases handle payments to the workers; for this he was paid one hundred pounds a month (H.D. 1440¹.6545 f45v, 24 Aug. 1607). In addition, Vellefaux was responsible for building the main fountain and laying in the water pipes. On 27 November 1607, the minutes of the Bureau of the Hôtel Dieu recorded the following item:

La Compagnie a delivré mandement a Claude Vellefaux juré du roi es oeuvres de massonerie de la somme de 257 livres 3 sols tournois pour son remboursement de ce qu'il a paié a eulx qui lui ont aidé a faire le dessein et modele en elevation de la maison de la Santé . . . et pour les fraiz et depense de bouche faite a diverses fois lors que les jurez massons ont esté visité les ouvrages de massonerie qui se faisoient en lad. maison et autres fraiz . . . (H.D. 1440¹.6545 f52v).

This passage leaves open the possibility that Vellefaux was only the draftsman and not the author of the plan, but there is unambiguous evidence that Vellefaux was the designer during the building process. The masons were instructed to execute the ornament in the church "portez par le dessein qu'en a fait Vellefaux" and to build the governors' pavilion "selon le dessein qu'il a présenté" (H.D.1440¹.6545 f50, 28 Sept. 1607; f110v, 6 Oct. 1610). He authored the designs of the perrons and the fountain in the central courtyard (f121, 13 July 1611; f134v, 4 Aug. 1612). His ongoing control over the design of the hospital reinforces the traditional attribution of the hôpital St. Louis to Claude Vellefaux.

Sources of the Design

The design of the plague hospital was a departure from all precedents in hospital design. There was no direct model for the hôpital St. Louis in any of the sources which Vellefaux may have consulted. The most obvious reference were the plague hospitals of Paris and Milan. The treatment of the cour des malades at the hôpital St. Louis shared several features with the Grenelle pesthouse which Vellefaux must have seen during its brief existence in the 1580's.

/Fig. 21/ Both had large courtyards surrounded by two-story buildings with axial and corner pavilions. Both rejected the model of the famous Lazzaretto in Milan which was planned like a Carthusian cloister with separate cells for the patients and instead provided long open wards. But, the hôpital St. Louis differed from the two earlier pesthouses in a crucial respect. The Lazzaretto and the sanitat de Grenelle consisted of four wings circumscribing a large courtyard; all of the hospital services were pressed into this area. The hôpital St. Louis, however, formed a more extensive complex with facilities to maintain the hospital community—kitchen, bakery, laundry, stables, pharmacy, lodgings for the staff, and meeting place for the administrators—integrated into the design and organized to restrict contact between the healthy and the sick.

In reaching beyond the typical pesthouse, Vellefaux was not guided by the traditions of hospital design. He rejected the model of Filarete's Ospedale Maggiore, and

there is little relation between Vellefaux's design and the ideal projects which he may have studied. Jacques Androuet Ducerceau produced two schemes for a circular hospital which, if they were known to Vellefaux, did not influence the design of the hôpital St. Louis.³⁵ The hospital did, however, bear the imprint of Ducerceau's château designs.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the plague hospital was compared to a château. "D'abord on prendroit ceste maison pour un vray Palais Royal, et plustost pour un lieu de plaisance que pour une retraicte des pestiferez," read the caption added to Chastillon's engraving of the hôpital St. Louis in 1641. An English traveler Peter Heylyn described the hospital in 1656 as "a house built quadrangular wise, very large and capacious; and seemeth to such a stand afar off it (for it is not safe venturing nigh it or within) to be more like the Palace of a king, then the King's Palace it self" (A Survey of the Estate of France (London:1656), 74). Hautecoeur pointed to similarities between the central court of the hospital and the Cour Carrée of the Louvre (1/3 1966:273-74), and one could also refer to Ancy-le-Franc or to Ducerceau's Charleval, yet the Grenelle pesthouse provided a more obvious model for the cour des malades./Fig. 28/

Other features of the hôpital St. Louis were also associated with châteaux. The semicircular wall which was appeared on the east side of the hôpital St. Louis was frequently used as the terminating element of a garden, for example, at the Tuileries and the château de Maulnes./Figs.

2d,3d,29/ In an ideal design for a palace, Ducerceau inserted a pavilion in four colonnaded hemicycles, an arrangement that was echoed in the governors' pavilion at the plague hospital./Fig. 30/ The galleries which connected the sick wards with the service buildings were also inspired by château design such as Maulnès where an arcaded gallery linked the main block to a circular forecourt./Fig. 29/ The most unusual element in the composition of the hospital were the four L-shaped buildings bracketing the corners of the sick wards for which there was no precedent in the disposition of service buildings around a château.

The château was a reference not only for the design of specific elements but for the organization of entire complex. The hôpital St. Louis, like a château, combined several components: service court, main court, church, and garden. In a château, such as Ducerceau's project for Charleval, these elements were generally distributed along a central axis, moving from the forecourt with the service areas removed to the sides, to the principal residence, and then the garden./Fig. 28/ This axial alignment was roughly preserved at the hôpital St. Louis if the plan is oriented with the church as the main entrance at the bottom and the governors' pavilion as the terminal element, but the overriding need to isolate the plague-stricken eliminated the importance of this axis of circulation.³⁶ Three separate entrances were maintained to preserve the independence of each precinct within the enclave: the public

entrance to the church and service court to the west, the private entrance for the governors of the Hôtel Dieu to the east, and the entrance for the sick to the south. In planning the monumental plague hospital as a semi-autonomous community, Vellefaux turned to the tradition of château design, recomposing the elements to satisfy the need for isolated precincts within the compound.

Construction

The hôpital St. Louis was built in five years. The team of entrepreneurs who were awarded the masonry contract in July 1607 promised to complete the project within three years, by the end of 1610, but severe winters, design changes, and financial disputes prolonged construction to June 1612. The project was inaugurated by the king on 13 July 1607 with the ceremonial placement of the first stone. Construction began with the church and proceeded eastward. By early September, the walls of the church were beginning to rise above the foundations and the pavilions straddling the transept were underway, but the governors of the Hôtel Dieu were dissatisfied with the progress of the masons, a team of three unnoted artisans who had substantially underbid their competitors (H.D.8.63B, 10 Sept. 1607).³⁷ They quickly discovered that they could not afford to work at the rate of 9 pounds 15 sols per square toise, and at their request the contract was terminated. The governors negotiated a new contract at the rate of 11 pounds with a

more experienced team of masons: Perceval Noblet and his brother Louis, Sebastien Jacquet, and Antoine Desnotz (H.D.8.63C, 19 Oct. 1607).

The new group of entrepreneurs completed the hospital, although they also underbid the project. In July 1608, they asked to have their contract annulled but the Hôtel Dieu refused. A year later, the masons again asked to terminate the contract. This time the governors consented and invited other entrepreneurs to take over, but none would accept the job for less than 15 pounds per square toise. Consequently, the governors renegotiated an agreement with the Noblet brothers and their partners, promising payment of 13 pounds 10 sols per square toise for all masonry work at the hospital, including the work already completed (H.D.8.63G, 3 July 1609).

The pace of construction was charted in the minutes of the Hôtel Dieu and in periodic toisés of the buildings. A severe frost in February 1608 caused considerable damage to the masonry, and it was necessary to rebuild part of the church walls and piers. At the same time, outside experts were consulted to determine if it was necessary to buttress the vaults of the hospital wards as the entrepreneurs suggested, "a cause de la longueur desd. salles, et que sans led. renforcement de dosserets et contrepiliers lesd. voultes pouront pousser et corrompre lesd. murs . . ." (H.D.1440¹.6545 f55v, 13 Feb.1608). The experts concluded that the vaults were adequately supported, and the masons continued working on the west wing of the central court

while carpenters and other artisans hired in the spring and summer of 1608 set to work on finishing the chapel. In July 1609, the master sculptor Nicolas de Cambrai was commissioned to carve three statues for the interior, and at the end of the year, the roofer was pressed to finish his task before arrival of winter. The plans of Paris by Vassalieu and Quesnel depicted the state of the "Maison des pestiferez" in early 1609, with Quesnel's a more accurate record./Figs. 2c,3c/ Evidently neither mapmaker was familiar with the design of the hôpital St. Louis, because they otherwise would have portrayed a completed building as they did with the place Dauphine.

The first major toisé was undertaken in March 1610 (H.D. 8.63L). All of the buildings from the church up to the east range of the central court were finished, with the exception of the galleries and the axial pavilion in the service court which were not yet planned. In July 1611, the second major toisé was undertaken, and by this time the buildings on the east side were completed: the east ward, the two L-shaped buildings, the two pavilions at the corners of the enclave, the governors' pavilion, and the perimeter wall (H.D.8.64S). A contract for the three galleries and for the additional pavilion in the service court was passed on 1 June 1611 (H.D.8.64Q), and the following month, a contract for the remodeled stairs leading to the north and south axial pavilions was settled with the masons required to finish the work within a month and a half, by the end of

October. They failed to meet the deadline, and in November they were ordered to build the stairs "a peine de leurs despence, domages, et interets" (H.D.1440¹.6545 f126v). The masons clearly were not eager to tear down the stairs they had just finished months before. The third and final toisé was performed in June 1612 (H.D.8.64U). At this time the three galleries, the new pavilion, and the exterior staircases were completed. The hôpital St. Louis was finished but for a few final elements, such as window panes in the galleries and decorative elements in the church, and the cemetery which was not started until 1618.

The building crew numbered two to three hundred men according to Du Breul (1612:1003), but the figure seems inflated even if the estimate included the pauvres valides dispatched by the municipality to help terrace the site. The Hôtel Dieu required the terrassiers to employ at least twenty-five diggers during the summer of 1609 and twelve during the winter months (H.D.1440¹.6545 f87v,95). And Vellefaux, who kept detailed accounts of his weekly payments to the workers laying in the water pipes, hired from twenty-eight to fifty unskilled laborers and masons during the summer and fall of 1611 and 1612 (H.D.67.577, 17 April 1613). No indication is given of the number of assistants working for the masons, carpenters, roofers, and others artisans, but it would be surprising if this group of skilled craftsmen brought the building crew up to two hundred.

The Hôtel Dieu paid the artisans a weekly sum that was roughly keyed to the pace of construction. After a

reasonable amount of work was accomplished, outside experts representing the artisans and the Hôtel Dieu were called in to measure the completed fabric. Payments adjusted to the findings of the toisé were then made. The masons, carpenters, roofers, and glazers were paid a fixed rate based on the measure of work, except in unusual circumstances or for more elaborate construction; for example, the masons were paid 4800 pounds for the four new perrons leading to the first floor of the sick wards and 1000 pounds for the architectural ornament on the facade of the church (H. D.8.64U, 25 June 1612). The joiners, metalworkers, and sculptors were compensated according to the specific task, for example 12 pounds were paid for each window in the "logis des bourgeois" (H.D.8. 64A, 30 April 1614).

The cost of building the hôpital St. Louis was outlined in an account probably prepared in 1616 (H.D.8.64.541)./App. C/ The total cost of construction amounted to 679,068 pounds. More than half of this sum (383,283 pounds; 56%) went to the masons, and the next largest item, payment of the carpenters, fell far behind (109,730 pounds; 16%). Another entry listed 5900 pounds paid to "sieur Vellefaux juré masson pour avoir faict les desseings dud. bastimens et faict le controle d'iceluy", 100 pounds per month for fifty-nine months; the architect was not given a specific compensation for having designed the hospital. The royal revenues drawn from the salt tax did not cover all of the building expenses. In an appeal to the crown for additional

funds, the Hôtel Dieu stated that the tax cession provided up to 1613 approximately 268,000 pounds, about 40% of the construction costs, compelling the hospital to borrow 334,300 pounds. In response, Louis XIII extended that part of the salt tax which was originally granted for 15 years to perpetuity (A.N. Z1F 567 f93). The documents do not indicate what the financial burden on the Hôtel Dieu ultimately was. What is most surprising about the cost of the hôpital St. Louis is not the large amount of money that was spent by the crown and the Hôtel Dieu, nearly 700,000 pounds, but rather that the investment was made for a hospital of limited use, a hospital that was only open during times of plague and otherwise kept closed.

Use

The hôpital St. Louis was used for the first time in 1616, four years after its completion, to accommodate the surplus of patients at the Hôtel Dieu, and not until 1618 did it first fulfill its function as a plague hospital. The original plan anticipated the installation of the plague-stricken on only the first floor, elevated above the humid, telluric vapors which were suspected of escaping into the ground floor and aggravating contagion. Nonetheless in 1618, the infected were placed on the ground floor and the recuperating patients were kept on the upper level, segregated by sex (H.D.1440¹.6545 f186, 31 Oct.1618). In 1641, according to the explanation on Chastillon's engraving

of the hospital, kitchens were opened on the ground floor and the sick were confined to the first floor (B.N. Est.Va91.I fol.); the plan of the hospital in 1681 also indicates that the patients only occupied the upper floor. There were 260 beds in the hospital in 1632, far short of its capacity which reached 900 patients in 1679 (H.D. 66.557). In 1618, the "logis des bourgeois" were filled with the doctors, embalmers, and other hospital officers, not with private patients, and there is no hint in the documents that the two L-shaped buildings to the east were ever used by bourgeois.

The hôpital St. Louis was used steadily between 1618 and 1636, though not exclusively by pestiférés. It then closed down, and reopened briefly in 1651-52 and in 1670 for victims of scurvy, followed by brief periods of operation during the last quarter of the century. Between 1612 and 1700, a period of eighty-eight years, the hospital was open for no more than twenty-six years. The infrequent use of the hôpital St. Louis was not due to its inadequacies. In the absence of comparative mortality figures, it can not be determined whether the plague-stricken had a greater chance of survival at the hôpital St. Louis than they might otherwise have had. But, the success of the hospital in treating patients was not the standard to which the institution was held in the early seventeenth century. The guiding concern was not the cure of the infected but their removal from the capital, not the rescue of individual lives but protection of the life of the city. The infrequent use

of the hôpital St. Louis was inherent in its function as a pesthouse, open only during times of epidemics. It was therefore anticipated, indeed it was hoped, that the hospital would be closed more often than it was opened.

Even without a single patient, the hôpital St. Louis played an important role in the city. In part, that role was symbolic. In 1616, Mathieu Merian engraved a view of Paris, overlooking the city from the hills of Belleville to north./Fig. 31/ The king and queen occupy the foreground and just behind them, drawing the eye through the opening between the royal couple, lies the hôpital St. Louis, the most prominent monument in the urban landscape. A similar engraving of Paris seen in 1620 from the same perspective was published by Martin Zeiller in his Topographia Galliae (1655), with the enormous hospital spreading before the miniature city in the background./Fig. 32/ These engravings indicate the importance of the hôpital St. Louis as a symbol of Paris, a symbol not only of its grandeur endowed by the king, but of its invulnerability and stability, its defense against the subversive impact of the plague.

The hôpital St. Louis eliminated the sanitary importance of the walls which encircled the capital. Because the pesthouse contained the sick within its enclave, the walls were no longer needed to keep the infected outside the city. As Sully was fortifying the borders of France, diminishing the defensive role of the walls around Paris, the hôpital St. Louis fortified the city against contagion,

relieving those same walls of their prophylactic role. By depriving the walls of their functional value, the plague hospital was a crucial element in the creation of an open city, paving the way for their destruction during the reign of Louis XIV. And, as the hôpital St. Louis equipped the city for this open state, a complementary conceptual change was occurring. The urban fabric was no longer conceived as simply an accumulation of fragments contained within the walls; it was now understood as a cohesive network, as an internally ordered domain unhinged from the walls and unthreatened by their disappearance. The walls were shedding both their functional and symbolic value as the constituent element holding Paris together, and the city within, stirred by Henri IV's urbanism, was forming an independent identity, forged in part in the physical fabric of the capital.

Epilogue

The advocates of hospital reform at the end of the eighteenth century were favorably impressed by the hôpital St. Louis, praising its functional organization. Tenon, for example, considered the construction of one floor in the wards "une sage précaution: on a reconnu le danger de placer des gens sains ou malades ou d'emmagasiner, quoi que ce soit, sur les salles de contagieux . . . ", and he concluded, "je ne puis qu'applaudir aux savantes dispositions de cet Hôpital" (Mémoires sur les hôpitaux

(Paris:1788), 71-71). The principal complaints concerned the absence of partition walls in the sick wards, allowing infection to circulate from one wing to the next, and the shortage of drinking water. This emphasis on the hospital's functional structure overlooked the atrocious conditions which the Englishman John Howard, moved by a different reforming spirit, could not ignore. "The Hospitals of Saint-Louis and the Hôtel-Dieu for the sick, are the two worst hospitals that I ever visited," he wrote in 1792.

The Hospital of Saint-Louis stands out of the city. There is a considerable ascent to the wards, and there is no floor over them. They were dirty and noisy, and in many of the beds there were three patients. These two hospitals are a disgrace to Paris . . . (Prisons and Lazarettos 1:176-77).

Various proposals were made to enlarge the hôpital St. Louis, beginning with Louis XVI's finance minister Necker in 1780 who submitted a broad reform that would have substantially altered the seventeenth century buildings. The Hôtel Dieu objected to the plan, arguing in 1787 that the hospital was "un chef-d'oeuvre en ce genre, auquel on ne pourrait toucher sans le gâter" (Fossoyeux 270). The appeal of the Hôtel Dieu was successful, and the hôpital St. Louis was preserved. Nineteenth and twentieth century structures have encroached upon the old pesthouse. Some of the seventeenth century buildings have been destroyed, some survive in a radically remodelled state, and nearly all the brick has been replaced by plaster.³⁸ But the grandeur of the old plague hospital is still felt.

Notes: The Hôpital Saint Louis

¹ There are no reliable mortality figures for these epidemics. One contemporary source put the death toll during the plague of 1560-62 at 68,000 people (Registres 14:178). L'Estoile estimated that 30,000 Parisians died in 1580 (1837:125).

² These studies include Dieter Jetter, "Betrachtungsmöglichkeiten historischer am Hôpital St. Louis in Paris," Das Krankenhaus, March 1967:108-09; (?) Benassis, "Promenades médicales: l'Hôpital Saint Louis et les sanitats," Revue thérapeutiques des alcaloïdes, ser.4, 1937:7-17,39-48,71-82; R. Sabouraud, L'Hôpital Saint Louis (Lyon:1937); Maurice Dogny, Histoire de l'Hôpital Saint-Louis (Paris:1911).

³ All the archival sources mentioned in this chapter come from the Assistance Publique, Paris unless otherwise indicated. The abbreviation H.D. indicates that the documents were deposited by the Hôtel Dieu.

Urban Dimensions of the Plague

⁴ The Parliament of Paris described the outcast status of the city during the plague of 1596: "sous pretexte de la Contagion . . . les gouverneurs, capitaines, maires, et eschevins, et autres qui commandent aux villes circonvoisines, mesmement aux bourgs et villages qui sont sur les avenues et grands chemins de lad. ville de Paris, refusent de recevoir, et laisser passer, et loger ceulx qui viennent de cetted. ville, et les empescher par violence, et voye de fait mesmement les vivandiers et autres qui se retirent en leurs maisons qui est entreprise prejudiciable au public dont peut advenir grand scandale et inconvenient . . ." (A.N. U* 415 f103, 19 Aug. 1596).

⁵ In January 1606, a general assembly of the Police was held to resolve the problem posed by the crush of vagrants in the city. It was decided to outlaw begging, mark the poor with a cross of red and yellow cloth worn on the right shoulder, require them to return to their native towns, and prohibit Parisians from lodging the poor for more than a single night; those who remained in the city would be fumigated and imprisoned (Registres 14:40-41). In 1611, the first Parisian hospitals to enclose beggars were opened in the faubourgs St. Victor (La Pitié), St. Marcel (maison de Scipion), and St. Germain (hôpital de St. Germain). On 27 August 1612, the Queen Regent Maria de Medici issued a decree requiring the enclosure of all beggars. This movement was examined in Christian Paultre, Repression de mendicité (Paris:1906), 95-98; Mémoires concernant les pauvres que l'on appelle enfermez (1617) in Cimber and

Danjou, Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France ser.1, 15(Paris:1837), 241-270.

Sixteenth Century Responses

⁶ Since the early sixteenth century when the chapter of Nôtre Dame voluntarily ceded control of the hospital, the administration of the Hôtel Dieu was in the secular hands of the Parliament of Paris which approved appointments made by the municipality to the board of governors. The history of the Hôtel Dieu is discussed in Jean Imbert ed., Histoire des hôpitaux en France (Paris:1982); Musée de l'Assistance Publique, Dix siècles d'histoire hospitalière parisienne. L'Hôtel Dieu de Paris, 651-1650 (Paris:1961), 93-94; Marcel Fossoyeux, L'Hôtel Dieu de Paris au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle (Paris:1912).

⁷ Efforts were made to prevent the plague-stricken from circulating in the city: porters were posted at the doors of the Hôtel Dieu in order to block the sick from escaping before they obtained a health pass from a doctor, and guards were sent to the gates of the city to stop those outside the walls from re-entering. The response to the plague in Paris during the sixteenth century is discussed in Jean-Noel Biraben, Les hommes et la peste en France, vol.1 La peste dans l'histoire (Paris:1975); Claude Hohl, "Les Pestes et les hôpitaux parisiens au XVIe siècle", Thesis Ecole des Chartres, 1960; Fossoyeux, "Les Epidémies de peste à Paris," Bulletin de la société française de l'histoire de la médecine 12/2(Feb.1913):115-41; Noé Legrand, "La Peste à Paris en 1606," Bulletin de la société française de l'histoire de la médecine 10/4(Apr.1911):236-38; Leon Lallemand, Histoire de la Charité, vol.4 Les Temps modernes, part 1 (Paris:1910); C. Tollet, De l'Assistance publique et des hôpitaux jusqu'au XIXe siècle (Paris:1889).

⁸ The Hôtel Dieu comprised the Salle St. Thomas which bordered the Seine, the salle de l'Infirmierie built during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and the Salle Neuve and chapelle du Petit Pont built from 1250-60.

⁹ The project was realized more than a century later when the Hôtel Dieu built the Pont-au-Double (1626-32) across the Seine.

¹⁰ A painting in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy by Rémond Constant from the late 1630's depicts the makeshift huts put up outside Nancy during the plague of 1630 and typical of those used throughout France during the seventeenth century: Musée de l'Assistance Publique 104-05; Jacques Choux, "Deux toiles de Rémond Constant au Musée Lorrain," Musée Lorrain. Quelques enrichissements récents (Nancy:1958). The use of huts and tents is discussed by Biraben, Les Hommes et la peste en France, vol.2 Les hommes face à la peste (Paris:1976), 171.

¹¹ According to Felibien (2:1162), two thousand victims of the famine of 1587 were lodged in the Grenelle hospital which suggests that the building was largely built. Yet the difficulties which the city had in raising the building funds and the fact that it rented a house for the plague-stricken in 1585 suggests that the large hospital was not completed.

¹² No illustrations of the Grenelle hospital have previously been known. Chastillon's engraving was posthumously published in Topographie françoise (B.N. Est. Ve 9rés. pet.fol.). Pierre Fayet's description is cited by Hohl 269.

¹³ The lazaretto is discussed in John Thompson and Grace Goldin, The Hospital. A Social and Architectural History (New Haven:1976), 51-3; Luigi Galligani, "Il Lazzaretto fuori Porta orientale à Milano," Atti Primo Congresso Italiano di Storia ospitaliera, Reggio Emilia 14-17 June 1956 (Reggio Emilia:1957); Gian Piero Bognetti, "Il Lazzaretto di Milano e la peste del 1630," Archivio Storico Lombardo 50(1923):388-442; Luca Beltrami, Il Lazzaretto di Milano (Milano:1882); Alessandro Tadino, Raguaglio dell'origine et giornale successi della gran peste (Milano:1648). Scenes in Alessandro Manzoni's I Promessi Sposi (1827) are set in the lazaretto, chapter 28 in particular. The lazaretto of Milan was by far the most impressive European pesthouse, both in terms of its size and architectural character. In most cases, existing structures were adapted to house the infected; abandoned leper houses were often converted into pesthouses which may in part explain the continuing use of individual cells. In some cases, new hospitals were built to isolate victims of the plague; the first Italian city to do so was Venice in 1403, and the first French city was Bourg-en-Bresse in 1472. But there were no pesthouses to compare with the lazaretto in Milan. In Bordeaux, for example, the third city of France, the municipal officers bought a large plot of land (150m x 200m) outside the city in 1586 on which they simply built a number of small, uniform huts, with a well and a chapel in the center of the enclave and a cemetery on the side: J. Barraud, "Les hôpitaux de peste à Bordeaux," Archives historiques du dépt. de la Gironde 42(1907):498-500.

¹⁴ The engraving (540mm x 434mm) in the Raccolta Stampe Bertarelli, Museo di Milano, is titled "Vero disegno con le misure giuste del Grande Lazaretto di S. Gregorio di Milano, come si trovava nel tempo della gran peste l'anno 1630. Milano li 29 Genaro 1631. Gio. Franco Brunetti Invent."

Royal Hospital Reform

¹⁵ The site, bordering the river Bièvre, was devoted to therapeutic tasks since the thirteenth century when the

widow of St. Louis, Marguerite of Provence, founded the hôpital de Lourcine. The Maison de la Charité planned by Nicolas Houel in the 1570's was a classically-inspired orphanage with instruction in Greek, Hebrew, arithmetic, and music, and training in the apothecary's craft. He envisioned several schools, an apothecary, botanical garden, hospital, chapel, and an academy for artisans, all housed in arcaded Renaissance buildings inspired by Philibert Delorme. These buildings were depicted in a series of drawings published in Yates, Astraea, plates 35-39. In May 1585, Houel claimed that he had already begun several "beaux edifices", but there is no indication that any buildings were realized (Felibien 3:726-727). Houel's death in 1587 led to the abandonment of the project. The foundation is examined by Yates, Astraea, 187-91, 204-07; Jules Guiffrey, "Nicolas Houel", MSHP 25(1898):179-270. Henri IV's endowment of a soldiers' hospital was much celebrated by contemporary authors such as André Du Chesne, Les Antiquitez et recherches des villes (Paris:1609), 120-21, but it is unclear if the Maison de la Charité actually became a serious institution. The foundation edicts are published by Felibien 4:28-34.

¹⁶ The two adjoining houses were sold on 17 July 1606 by Daniel Voisin and by Antoine Lemaire for 15,000 pounds and 5,000 pounds respectively (H.D.10.69A-B). This money was raised by levying a tax on the bourgeois de Paris (Registres 16:332-33).

¹⁷ In May 1601, the governors of the Hôtel Dieu were advised that the most urgent task was to rebuild the arcades supporting the Salle St. Thomas. Construction began in 1602, and the following year Claude Vellefaux, identified as "maistre maçon juré du roy", was paid 13,059 pounds for his masonry work in the Salle St. Thomas. He was paid for additional repairs in 1604 and 1606: Möring and Brièle, Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives hospitalières antérieurs à Hôtel Dieu, vol. 2 (Paris:1884), 212-13 (hereafter Möring); Leon Brièle, Délibérations de l'ancien Bureau de l'Hôtel-Dieu, vol. 1 of Collection de documents pour servir à l'histoire des hôpitaux de Paris, (Paris:1881), 33-35 (hereafter Brièle).

¹⁸ The king granted the Hôtel Dieu ten sols on each minot of salt sold in the généralité of Paris, five for the term of fifteen years and five in perpetuity. The royal decree stated that the Hôtel Dieu had to provide up to 120,000 pounds "ou aultre plus grande somme, si besoing est" for hôpitaux St. Marcel and St. Louis (Registres 14:179).

¹⁹ The six other governors were: Mathieu Marcel, conseiller du roi au Conseil privé; Claude Daubray, notaire et secrétaire du roi; Claude Josse, also secrétaire du roi; Nicolas Tanneguy, barrister in the Parliament and solicitor for Queen Marguerite; Robert Desprez, also a barrister; and

Jean de la Haye, échevin de Paris. In 1608, Daubray and Josse were replaced by Pierre Parfaict, the brother of silk entrepreneurs Claude and Guillume Parfaict, and by Jean Perrot, city counselor and representative for the Third Estate at the Estates General in 1614, joining Pierre Sainctot in this charge.

20 The operation of Italian health boards is surveyed by Carlo Cipolla in Faith, Reason, and the Plague: A Tuscan Story of the Seventeenth Century (Brighton:1979); Public Health and the Medical Profession in the Renaissance (Cambridge, Eng.: 1976); Cristofano and the Plague. A Study in the History of Public Health in the Age of Galileo (Berkeley: 1973).

21 In patent letters dated 11 November 1554, Henri II called for the construction of a new hospital on the site of an abandoned leper house in the faubourg St. Germain to lodge and feed "pauvres mendiants en petites loges et eschoppes de 9 ou 12 pieds en carree chacune" (Paultre 73-74; Sauval 3:28). The hospital was known as the Petites Maisons due to this arrangement of buildings. The hospital is depicted on the plans by Quesnel and Vassalieu in 1609 before the reconstruction was completed; on Vassalieu's map, it is located below the cartouche with the cartographer's name and continues on the lower folio./Fig. 2b, 2d/ There is an unregistered masonry contract for the hôpital de St. Germain dated 5 June 1606 in Registres 14:93-94, but the documents thus far uncovered give no indication of what was actually built.

22 The repairs included reroofing, building new stairs, and glazing the windows; the construction work, operating procedures of the hospital, and its periods of use are detailed in H.D.1440¹.6545 f30v-33,42,44,54,79,94,97v,99v, 103,119v,141v,161v,196. In 1623, there were 912 patients in the hôpital St. Marcel. During the following decades, the facility became overcrowded and the surrounding area was more densely settled. The decision to transfer the pesthouse to a larger building in a more remote area was reached when Queen Anne of Austria chose the site of the hôpital St. Marcel for a church she wanted to build in tribute to the Dauphin's recovery from an illness. In 1646, the Hôtel Dieu purchased a plot of land to the south, in the faubourg St. Jacques, on which to relocate the hôpital St. Marcel, and on the site of the original pesthouse construction of the Val-de-Grâce began in 1648.

23 The plan (A.P. Plan 210; 492mm x 758mm) in ink with brown and green wash, does not necessarily post-date the construction of the church in 1620 as Candille argues, but may date from the measurement of the site (arpentage) in 1618 at which time the church was conceivably already planned: H.D.69K, Arpentage, 6 Sept.1618; Marcel Candille, Catalogue des plans et dessins d'architecture du fonds

de l'ancien Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (Arpajon:1973), 210.

The Site

24 The Hôtel Dieu paid 160 pounds per arpent for land purchased in 1607, and 210 pounds per arpent between 1608 and 1613 from individual property owners. It paid the convent of St. Lazare at the steeper rate of 300 pounds per arpent. The sale contracts are preserved in H.D.8.62B-M.

25 On 1 July 1607, payment of 36 pounds was made to a messenger "pour son salaire d'avoir porté en dilligence a Monsieur Sainctot estant a Fontainebleau deux plans du bastiment de la Santé pour les faire veoir au Roy" (Möring 214; H.D.1440¹.6545 f42).

26 The paintings were commissioned from Jean Mathieu who was paid 30 pounds for "un tableau et pourtraict", Jean Nallot who was paid 27 pounds for "un tableau peint en toile", and François Bouvier who made two "tableaux et plans" for 100 pounds, two paintings for 75 pounds, and four more for 50 pounds (H.D.1440¹. 6545 f44-46,54-55,62). A budget, probably dating from 1616, mentioned "quelques modelles tant de carte qu'en peinture du bastiment dud. hospital dont deux ont esté donnez au roy et un autre à la royne Marguerite" (H.D.8.64/541; App. C). These modelles were probably not three dimensional models, but rather paintings. The word modèle was often used interchangeably with portrait, for example, the minutes refer to "le dessein et modele en élévation de la maison de la Santé" (H.D.1440¹. 6545 f52v).

27 St. Louis, crowned as Louis IX, had two sons, Philippe III, the elder who assumed the throne, and Robert comte de Clermont. Henri III was the last male descendant of Philippe III. Henri IV's claim to the throne was based on his descent from the younger son of St. Louis, Robert comte de Clermont. The Bourbon king's attempt to associate himself with St. Louis did not inspire a great revival of historical interest in the king; only two relevant books appeared, Jean de Joinville's Histoire et chronique de tres-chrestien roy Sainct Loys (1547) which was republished in 1609, and La Vie, Legende et Miracles du Roy Sainct Louys (1610). A common theme in the funeral orations honoring Henri IV was his similarity to St. Louis: Jacques Hennequin, Henri IV dans les oraisons funèbres (Paris:1977), 201-04.

The Design

28 According to Candille (29), the missing plan was made between 1607 and 1609, but in view of design changes during construction, the plan could not possibly have been made any later than 1607.

29 The plan is on vellum in colored ink (A.P. Plan

191; 606mm x 621mm; Candille 115). There is also a site plan of the hospital based on measurements taken in 1675 (A.P. Plan 192).

³⁰ The church is described by Amedée Boinet, Les églises parisiennes, 3 vols. (Paris:1958-62), 2:26-31.

The Architect

³¹ Bauchal (Nouveau dictionnaire biographique (Paris: 1887), 562) and Lance (Dictionnaire des architectes français (Paris:1872), 2:316-17) state that Vellefaux only directed construction of the hospital based on plans by Chastillon and Quesnel.

³² Vellefaux's will is dated 27 April 1627 (Min.cent. LXXIII 196 f215v), and by May 1629 he had died (H.D.7b.433/50).

³³ Vellefaux gave his address as the rue de Seine in 1610 (Min.cent. LXXIII 275, 13 Aug. 1610) and the cloître St. Benoist in 1627 (Min.cent. LXXIII 96 f215v, 27 April). He regularly used the notary Nicolas Bontemps (Min.cent. LXXIII), however, his notarial registers shed little light on Vellefaux's work.

³⁴ Vellefaux was first mentioned as the "entrepreneur des bastiments" of the Hôtel Dieu in 1602. In 1603, he produced a plan "touchant les chambres qu'il fault faire sur les pilliers neufs". In 1605, he completed the repairs in the Salle St. Thomas, and in 1617 the salle St. Denis was rebuilt "suivant le dessein qu'en a faict Claude Vellefaux" (Brière 32-52).

Sources

³⁵ Du Cerceau's drawings are published in Ilaria Toesca, "Drawings by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau the Elder in the Vatican Library," Burlington May 1956:153-57. In the index of the manuscript volume (Ms.Barb.Lat. 4398), they are listed as "deux plantz ronds et encercs faictz à plaisir avec leurs elevations que on pourroit faire servir a — pour les malades." In the posthumously published second edition of Philibert de l'Orme's Livre d'Architecture (1626), a plan of a hospital was inserted at the end of the eighth book, a plan which did not appear in the first edition in 1567. De l'Orme's authorship of this scheme is uncertain, but the design, in any case, derives from Filarete's model. Dieter Jetter wrote of the hôpital St. Louis, "the principles of its form deviate to such an extent from anything up to then that it is not possible to point to any predecessors": "Erwägungen beim Bau französischer Pesthäuser," Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences 76(Sept.1966):251-52.

36 In the second edition of Du Breul's guide Le Théâtre des Antiquitez, published in 1639, the hospital was described in this sequence, proceeding from west to east: "Cet Hospital fondé par le feu Roy Henry le Grand, outre l'Eglise qui s'y void, on y a basty quatre grands pavillons aux quatre coings /the L-shaped buildings/, accompagnez chacun d'offices et d'un jardin particulier: du costé de l'Eglise on y a fait un perron, au bout duquel est une galerie qui conduit aux sales des malades: ces sales sont quatre en nombre, qui sont en un beau et grand quarré . . .; dans la seconde court /in front of the governors' pavilion/ est une fontaine où il y a un grand bassin de pierre, et qui entre dans la court de derrière et remplie d'arbres . . ." (62).

Construction

37 The masons were Antoine Lemercier and Pierre and Jacques Saffres. Vellefaux's lowest bid for the contract was 13 pounds 15 sols, and François Petit went no lower than 14 pounds (H.D.8.63A).

Epilogue

38 The buildings which still stand in Paris today are the ranges surrounding the central courtyard with remodelled axial pavilions, all but the southwest L-shaped building, the axial pavilion in the service courtyard, the two galleries at the southwest corner and on the lateral axis, the governors' pavilion, the church, the two northern guard houses, and the reworked entrance pavilion.

Conclusion

HENRI IV'S URBANISM

By the end of 1609, Henri IV's building program was well underway. The place Royale was nearly completed with the north range of pavilions rising on the site of the silkworks. Having sold the lots at the place Dauphine, Achille de Harlay was beginning to build the houses on the rue de Harlay. It was three years since the Pont Neuf was opened to traffic, and now it was possible to reach the faubourg St. Germain directly from the bridge by continuing on the rue Dauphine, though the surrounding area was still a vast construction site with houses going up all along the new street. After a year of work at the hôpital St. Louis, the masons had finished the church and were now concentrating on the buildings around the central courtyard. With all of these projects moving ahead, Henri IV initiated two more schemes in late 1609: a gate and semicircular square in northeast Paris, the porte Royale and place de France, and a royal college on the Left Bank, the Collège de France. Construction was about to begin on both sites when

the king was assassinated on 14 May 1610, and the projects were never realized according to Henri IV's plans.

The crown's decision to build a third royal square was sparked by the private development of an area at the north edge of the city, the coûture du Temple. Located inside the walls east of the Porte du Temple, the coûture consisted of twenty-five arpents of nurseries and gardens between the rue du Temple to the west and the rue de l'Egoust (rue de Turenne) to the east, the road which ran behind the west range of the place Royale./Fig. 1/ In May 1607, the Templars decided to sell this tract of land to raise money for the order, and in December, they appointed representatives to approach the crown "pour entendre sa volonté et ordonner personnes pour donner le desseing, plan, et departement des rues" (A.N. X1A 8646 f254). By the time the property was auctioned a year later, Sully had established a street plan, but there is no record of what this plan entailed.¹

The Temple awarded the land to an unimportant bourgeois named Michel Pigou on 29 December 1608, and the contract was approved by the king and the Parliament the following month (A.N. X1A 8646 f269, 27 Jan. 1609). The property was sold for 52,000 pounds, of which 8,000 pounds were to compensate the gardeners who cultivated the coûture. In addition, Pigou agreed to build and pave the roads projected by the Grand Voyer's plan and to provide 600 pounds annually from taxes levied on at least forty houses to be built on the property. Although Pigou signed all of the contracts, he

was acting on behalf of four silent investors, one of whom was Claude du Nesme, a developer of the rue Dauphine.

During the next few months, the crown decided to embellish this area in northeastern Paris, lying between the plague hospital and the place Royale. On 6 October 1609, the king announced his intention to take over the *coûture du Temple* "pour y bastir des rues et maisons et autres edifices pour la décoration de sa bonne ville de Paris dont la pluspart se doibt construire des deniers que Sa Majesté sera delivré pour cest effect" (A.N. E24A f24, 6 Oct. 1609). The crown evidently reached an agreement with the private developers who proceeded to sell the land with the stipulation that the owners build "selon la cimeterye qui sera ordonné par M. le Grand Voyer pour lad. place et bastiment qui y sera fait" (Min.cent. CV 181, 14 Oct. 1609). Sully had not yet announced the royal design, as this clause indicates, but within the next month, by mid-November 1609, the plan for the place de France and the porte Royale was established.²

The design of the square is recorded in an engraving and accompanying description by Claude Chastillon./Fig. 33/ In the foreground, Chastillon depicted a navigable canal which he proposed to build around the city.³ A bridge across the canal led the traveler through a triumphal arch to the porte Royale. The gatehouse stood in the middle of a long market hall which spread along the diameter of the semi-circular square. Chastillon explained that the

unwelcome sight of the city's irregular bastions would be concealed within the square by the market buildings. On the circumference of the hemicycle, facing the porte Royale, were seven buildings (each 13 toises wide) separated by eight radiating streets (6 toises wide). Chastillon did not specify the course or termini of the streets in his description of the project, but it is possible that the radiating avenues were intended to link the place de France to the major roads on the Right Bank, the rue du Temple and the rue St. Martin. A site plan drawn before the Temple's land-auction in 1608 suggests, for example, that the second street from the left would have joined the rue de l'Egout, passing behind the west range of the place Royale and terminating at the rue St. Antoine.

According to royal decrees which mentioned the "sept pavillons et logis du Grand Conseil" at the place de France, the square was planned as a seat of the royal judiciary (A.N. E 24B f111, 19 Nov. 1609; E 24C f393, 29 Dec. 1609). The Grand Conseil was the sovereign court which handled issues relating to office-holding as well as matters referred by the Conseil d'Etat, a royal administrative body. It seems unlikely that the Grand Conseil would have required all seven pavilions, but the documents do not elaborate any further on the functions of the buildings. The pavilions had an arcaded ground floor, corner turrets, twin roofs, and an eight-sided, domed tower. Forty toises behind the square was a ring road, and at every intersection there was a smaller pavilion with three turrets. The radiating streets

and the annular road, all lined with uniform shops and houses, were named after the provinces of France. With the Grand Conseil installed at the square and the street names referring to the regions of the country, the place de France was an emblem of the centralized political order which Henri IV was attempting to establish. Nevertheless, the market hall and the shops on the side streets indicate that the area was not planned as a strictly administrative precinct.

The place de France was designed by Chastillon and his colleague the royal engineer and mathematician Jacques Alleaume, so Chastillon wrote in his description of the project. The radial plan was derived from fortification design with which both men, as military engineers, were experienced. They adapted the radial plan to transform a peripheral site into a grand entrance to the city. Travelers were first received in the monumental square and then disseminated throughout the city along radiating avenues, a solution which recalls the trident of streets at the piazza del Popolo in Rome where Sixtus V had recently placed an obelisk. Whereas the place Royale and place Dauphine were enclosed squares situated in the midst of the urban fabric, Chastillon and Alleaume designed the place de France as a permeable space to accommodate its location at the edge of the city and its function as a gateway to the capital.

The gardeners who cultivated the coûture were ordered to vacate the land by the beginning of April 1610. The crown presumably intended to begin construction soon after

the deadline, but the king's death in May brought an end to the project. Neither the Queen Regent nor Louis XIII took an interest in the place de France, and the development of the coùture du Temple was completed without any further attempt by the crown to realize Henri IV's scheme.

Soon after the place de France was designed, the crown began planning the Collège de France where royal professors would live and teach. In the last days of 1609, a site was selected on the Left Bank in the vicinity of the university. Rather than build at the east edge of the city where empty land was available, the crown preferred a site on the rue St. Jacques, the primary north-south axis in the city which led, at its north end, to the hôpital St. Louis. This priority required the crown to appropriate and destroy existing structures, and in early 1610, two dilapidated medieval buildings on the east side of the rue St. Jacques, the Collège de Cambrai and the Collège de Tréguier, were demolished to give way to the royal college./Fig. 3b/

The building contracts for the Collège de France were concluded in February 1610 (Mallevoüe 170-78). Salomon de Brosse may have been the author of the design which is known from the masonry devis and from the engraving of a drawing by Chastillon, included in Topographie française (Coope, de Brosse, 284-85). Three wings opened onto a courtyard which faced the rue St. Jean de Latran (rue des Ecoles), the side street perpendicular to the rue St. Jacques. The corps de logis on the far side of the courtyard was intended for residential use while the two side wings held classrooms.

The brick and stone buildings had a ground floor arcade which was continued in the screen wall along the street and a superimposed order of paired pilasters.

At the time of the king's assassination, ground had not been broken. The first stone of the Collège de France was laid by Louis XIII on 28 September 1610, but work hardly advanced during his reign. By 1613 not even a quarter of the building was completed (Min.cent. LIV 480, 13 March 1613), and when the project was abandoned in 1640, only one wing was nearly finished. The Collège de France which stands today on the same site chosen by Henri IV was built by Chalgrin in 1774.

Henri IV endowed Paris with the Grande Galerie and the grand dessein for the Louvre, the Pont Neuf, the place and rue Dauphine, the place Royale, and the hôpital St. Louis, as well as the unexecuted plans for the place de France and the Collège de France. Portrayed at the beginning of his reign as the vanquishing Gallic Hercules who crushed his enemies, during the last years he was cast as the new Caesar, builder of a powerful kingdom and glorious capital. In 1609, both Sully and Antoine de Bandole, a barrister in the Parliament of Provence, published tributes to Henri IV drawing parallels between the king and Ceasar. "Cesar apres les victoires taschoit de mettre l'Etat en repos: Henry apres avoir deschassé ses ennemis établit la paix en France. Tous deux ont . . . embelly les villes de Rome et de Paris . . ." Bandole wrote. "L'un ayant rendu Rome

vrayement triomphante; et l'autre Paris sans pair " (Les Paralleles de Cesar et de Henry IIII 109, 115).

Henri IV's urbanism generated considerable interest in the image and the history of Paris. After 1607 when the royal building program reached its most active level, many publications about the city began to appear./App. F/ Two new maps of Paris were engraved in 1609 by Benedit de Vassallieu dit Nicolay and François Quesnel, both celebrating the king's transformation of the city./Figs. 2-3/ The mapmakers explicitly acknowledged Henri IV's building program as the inspiration for their efforts. They dedicated the plans to the king and praised his work in verses engraved in the margins. In 1608, Jacques Du Breul published a revised edition of an older guide before entirely reorganizing his own book in 1612, Le Théâtre des Antiquitez. This was the first guide to Paris which did not narrate the events of each king's reign in chronological order. Du Breul organized his material in a topographical order, with the text moving the reader through the streets of the city from the Ile de la Cité to the Right Bank and then to the Left Bank. In restructuring the guide in terms of topography rather than chronology, Du Breul began to shift the guidebook's focus from episodes of urban life to urban form itself. No longer viewed as a neutral stage on which acts of state were enacted, Paris was beginning to be seen as a physical network implicated in the life of the city. It was this emerging conception of the city which guided Henri IV's urbanism.

The buildings initiated by the king were not planned as isolated and autonomous embellishments; they were conceived as parts of a larger urban composition, linked by major axes of circulation to the surrounding fabric and in some cases to more distant parts of the city. The place Royale, the crown's first project, was built on a vacant site north of the rue St. Antoine, the major east-west axis on the Right Bank. Although the square formed an enclosed space, it was structured by axes of circulation which linked the place Royale to important roads on the Right Bank. The rue Royale (Birague) was cut through a block of houses in order to funnel traffic from the rue St. Antoine into the square, and the lateral axis of the place Royale, an extension of the rue des Francs Bourgeois, connected the square to the residential neighborhoods to the west. Although the lateral axis was visually suppressed when the design of the square was modified in 1607, currents of circulation continued to express the T-shaped axes which embedded the square in its urban context.

In its second venture, the crown formed a physical and visual network which unified a larger section of the city. Henri IV completed the Pont Neuf, the first bridge in Paris which offered a view of the river, and opened the rue Dauphine on the Left Bank, extending the axis of the bridge to the perimeter of the city. The place Dauphine was built at the west end of the Ile de la Cité, bordered by new quais which stretched from the Pont Neuf to the east end of the

island, and an equestrian monument of the king was placed on the platform of the bridge. This series of interlocking elements made it possible to travel from the western regions of the city across the Pont Neuf to the Ile de la Cité. No attempt was made to extend these avenues across the entire city. Nevertheless, the Pont Neuf, the quais of the island, and the rue Dauphine tied together a section of the city. Furthermore, these elements were designed as parts of a grand urban panorama, both as sights to be viewed from a distant point and as platforms from which to scan the surroundings. The brick and stone houses of the place Dauphine, the royal statue, the Seine, and the Grande Galerie of the Louvre were encompassed in a sweeping vista which presented the urban landscape as a visual spectacle, as an object to be composed.

The third royal project, the hôpital St. Louis, was part of the crown's broader effort to develop northeastern Paris. Lying just beyond the recently rebuilt Porte du Temple and straddled by the suburban extension of two major roads (the rue du Temple and rue St. Martin), the hospital was easily reached from the city and would have been directly linked to the place de France. The monumental pesthouse was intended to protect Paris from the upheavals caused by the plague; it was intended to secure the capital by removing the infected from the city center and by containing them within the walls of the hospital. The hôpital St. Louis addressed the city as a whole. This was the focus of Henri IV's urbanism: the monuments were not

conceived as isolated adornments, but rather as parts of a unified city.

Henri IV's interest in the city was not sustained by his successors. During the reign of Louis XIII, the principal building projects were carried out by private speculators without the crown's participation. Christophe Marie organized the development of the Ile St. Louis, and Louis Le Barbier developed the site of Queen Marguerite's palace on the south bank of the Seine as well as the area around Richelieu's Palais Cardinal. Louis XIV abandoned the city altogether, relocating the court at Versailles. Two royal squares were built in Paris to honor the absent king, the place des Victoires (1689) and the place Vendome (1699). These squares, unlike the earlier places of Henri IV, were planned as settings for a royal equestrian monument, with the uniform house facades serving as a backdrop for the statue in the middle. The square was not treated as an urban space for the public or even for the local residents but as the consecrated ground of the monarch. Compared to the places royales of Henri IV which were charged with a specific social program, the squares of Louis XIV were hermetic objects revolving around the image of the king.

In the 1670's, the walls around Paris were destroyed, and in their place, tree-lined boulevards were opened. This decision followed a trajectory of urban development which had been launched at the beginning of the century by Henri IV's building program. It was during his reign that the

ramparts began to lose their importance in protecting, organizing, and identifying the city. It was during his reign that the crown first attempted to unify the city, forging links, both physical and visual, between distant and separate parts. And it was during his reign that the idea of the city began to shift—from a collection of pieces held together by the circuit of walls to a physical network anchored by its own internal order.

Notes: Conclusion

¹ Lydia Mérigot studied the place de France and the development of the coùture du Temple in a thesis submitted to the Ecole des chartes, Paris in 1966. She has refused to make her thesis available, and only a brief summary has been published: "La Place de France et le lotissement de la coùture du Temple à Paris, 1608-1630", Ecole nationale des chartes. Positions des thèses, 1966:87-92. According to Mérigot, the place de France was designed no later than the end of 1608. This date is not confirmed by any of the royal edicts in series E and X1A in the Archives Nationales nor by any of the sale contracts passed by Pigou and collected in Min. cent. CV 181. Furthermore, the bids submitted to the Temple suggest that in 1608 the Grand Voyer had only established a street plan.

² The project was first mentioned on 19 November 1609 in a royal edict ordering the gardeners who farmed the coùture to remove their trees from the site of the "porte royalle, place de France, et des sept pavillons et logis du Grand Conseil"; the "enclos du demy rond" had to be cleared by the beginning of April 1610 (A.N. E 24B f111).

³ The idea of building a navigible canal encircling the Right Bank went back to the construction of a canal between the the Arsenal and the Porte St. Antoine in 1603 (Mallevoüe 267-79). In 1604, Sully received a proposal to build a canal from Conflans which would pour into the ditch around the walls of Paris (A.N. 120 AP 48 f26), and the project was taken up by several royal engineers and entrepreneurs during the following decade. Chastillon's scheme is recorded in a drawing made in June 1615; it is the only exant drawing which is definitely in his hand (B.N. Est. Destailleur Ve 53d rés. n°177). Similar projects were advanced by the engineer Hugues Cosnier in 1611 (Felibien 5:804-04), by the developer of the rue Dauphine Nicolas Carrel, and by the royal engineer Jean de Beins (B.N. Ms.fr. 16740 f285). De Beins' proposal, probably submitted in the first years of Louis XIII's reign, included the construction of three ports along the canal for unloading merchandise, two or three new gates, and a street cleaning scheme whereby water was channeled from the canal into the main streets of the city. The purpose of the canal was to disinfect the fossés which had become a sewer and to facilitate the movement of boats and distribution of provisions in the city, a particular concern of the municipality (Registres 16:210-13, 18 Dec. 1612).

APPENDIX A: THE PLACE ROYALE

I. Construction of the Silkworks

- 3.VIII.1604
CVIII 34bis Roofing contract passed by Claude Parfaict for the silk entrepreneurs with (?) Bracony, Nicolas Hullot, Marin Moreau, and François Cocquelle, master house roofers, to cover the buildings in the parc des Tournelles with tile and slate for 6 pounds per toise and to begin work as soon as the carpenters are done.
- 2.IX.1604
CVIII 34bis Specifications and joinery contract passed by the silk entrepreneurs with Christophe Maure and Hugues Le Roy, master joiners, for work in twelve houses, each 14-15 toises long by 21 feet wide, and a pavilion, 4 by 5 toises, located in the parc des Tournelles.
- 4.IX.1604
CVIII 34bis Specifications and contract for metalwork in the building which the silk entrepreneurs are constructing in the parc des Tournelles by Edme Cresson and Jacques Cuellard, master metalworkers, to begin work the following week.
- 10.XII.1604
CV 293 Masonry contract for the bastiment des moulins: mason René Girault promises Guillaume Pingard, Jehan Poussart, Jacques Le Redde, and Baltazar Monnard, all master masons, to do the masonry work for "trois lucarnes et saillies, architraves, fronton, clefs, entablemen, et appuids; desd. lucarnes cueillies et enduicts dedans et dehors; ensemble de faire les entablemens. Et en chacune desd. lucarnes faire huict consoles semblables à celles qui sont du costé de la rue St. Anthoine. Cueillir l'entablemens et massonner la pierre desd. entablemens . . . au bastiment qui se faict de neuf au parc des Tournelles appelé le bastiment des moulins"; to begin work next Monday with another mason and two laborers for the sum of 42 pounds of which 32 pounds have already been paid due to overpayment of a contract dated 22 Nov. 1604 passed by Claude Parfaict, merchant drapper.

2. Construction of the North Range of Pavilions

1607
A.N. 120 AP
49 f30-32

"Devis des pavillons qu'il convient construire en la place Royale en la partye de Septentrion au lieu où maintenant est basti le corps de logis des Manufactures et sur la mesme allignement aboutissant sur icelle place" prepared by Sully.

Measurements: "Le pavillon à bastir à l'egal de celluy de Roy: sa longueur sera de 8 toises; sa largeur sera de 6 toises 8 piedz; la hauteur du premier estage du rez de chaussee aura 23 piedz; la haulteur du second et principal estage aura 15 piedz; la haulteur du troisesme estage d'entablement aura 13 piedz sur ce dernier estage s'esleveront les lucarnes; en toute haulteur jusques à l'entablement 51 piedz. Les huict autres pavillons à bastir auront chacun de longueur 8 toises, largeur 4 toises 5 piedz. La haulteur du premier estage du rez de chaussee sera 12 piedz 4 poulces. La haulteur du second estage aura 13½ piedz. La haulteur du troisesme estage aura 11 piedz et 10 poulces, sur lequel exaussement s'esleveront les lucarnes et oues; en toute haulteur 38 piedz 10 poulces."

28.II.1607
Min.cent.
CVIII 37

Master carpenter Jean Vivier and his father-in-law Jean de La Roue promise the silk entrepreneurs to destroy the carpentry in six houses in the parc Royal "du costé du pavillon royal", to salvage the wood, and "retablir et remectre en oeuvre led. bois es lieux et endroitz et en telle façon qu'il leur sera commandé par lesd. sieurs; et faire des croupes aux bouts des logis qui seront refaictz aux endroitz qui seront par lesd. sieurs advisés, esquels logis lesd. Vivier et de La Roue feront toute la charpenterie qu'il conviendra;" for the wage of 66 pounds per cent of wood.

8.III.1608
Min.cent.
CVIII 37

"Devis des ouvrages de maçonnerie qu'il convient faire pour Messieurs de Moisset, Sainctot, Lumague, Camus, et Parfaict en la place Royale pour refaire les bastiments qui sont en la face du pavillon royal en la mesme forme, facon, et structure qu'est led. pavillon et les bastiments joignant icelluy. Premièrement, fault desmolir de fonds en comble 64 toises en longueur des bastiments ou sont a present les Manufactures estant en lad. face de pavillon royal, mectre lesd. desmolitions a part, et rendre place nette." Master mason Balthazar Monnard agrees to begin next Monday, to work exclusively on the project until completed for the wage of 8 pounds per toise.

APPENDIX A: THE PLACE ROYALE

3. The Royal Lotissement

The Redistribution of Lots and Change of Owners

The broken lines indicate the boundaries of one lot or pavilion.
Roman numerals refer to documents in the Minutier Central.

Pav	Width Length	Original Recipient	Title	Date/Doc.	Date/Doc	Name	Title	Price Livres Tournois	Pavilions
EAST RANGE									
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{22t}$	LAFFEMAS, Barthelemy	Controlleur du commerce	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe ²	17.VII.1607 E14A f63	MERCHANT, Louis	Royal Car- penter	Royal Gift	1
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{24t}$	d'ANGENNES, Nicolas	Chevalier des ordres du roi	6.VI.1605 Mallevoüe	17.VII.1607 E14A f63	FONTAINE, Jean	Royal Mason	Royal Gift	1
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{25t}$	CHEVALIER, Nicolas	President-Enquêtes Parlement	6.VI.1605 Mallevoüe					1
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{27t2'}$	FELISSAN, François	Controlleur gnal taillons-Soissons	6.VI.1605 Mallevoüe	27.XII.1605 XIX 354	DROUIN, Barthelemy	Carpenter	House for lot+1200	1
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{29t3'}$	RIBAUDL, Antoine	Intendant-Finances	6.VI.1605 Mallevoüe					1½
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{31t}$	JEANNIN, Pierre	Conseiller du roi	6.VI.1605 Mallevoüe	28.I.1606 III 462ter	CASTILLE, Pierre	Maitre des requêtes	Dowry Gift	
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{33t}$	LA FONT, Etienne	Intendant-Meubles	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe	28.I.1606 III 462ter	RIBAUDL ³ CASTILLE		1290	1½
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{34t5'}$	CHASTILLON, Claude	Royal Engineer- Topographer	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe					1
1	$\frac{7t2'8''}{36t}$	FOURCY, Jean de	Intendant-Bâtiments	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe	?	LE REDDE, Antoine	Carpenter	?	1
SOUTH RANGE					SOUTH RANGE				
1	$\frac{21/17t}{27t}$	ARNAULD, Issac ⁴ LHOSTE, Hilaire	Conseiller du roi Secrétaire du roi	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe					1
1	$\frac{8t 9''}{21t4'}$	REGNOUART, Noël	Secrétaire-chambre du roi	4.VI.1605 Mallevoüe					1

4	MARCHANI, Charles	Capitaine-Archers de la Ville	Early 1607 ?		1½
					1½
					1
NORTH RANGE				NORTH RANGE	
1	$\frac{8t}{32t}$ LUMAGUE, Jean-André	Banker Merchant	8.I.1609 LXXXVI 185		1
1½	$\frac{12t}{32t}$ PARFAICT, Claude	Merchant	8.I.1609 LXXXVI 185		¾
					¾
1½	$\frac{12t}{32t}$ SAINTOIT, Pierre	Merchant Conseiller- Paris	8.I.1609 LXXXVI 185		1½
2½	$\frac{8t}{6t2}$ MOISSET, Jean	Tax Farmer Receveur des Rentes-Paris Secrétaire du roi	2.X.1608 XC 168		2½
	$\frac{12t}{32t}$				
1½	$\frac{12t}{32t}$ PARFAICT, Guillaume	Controlleur gnal. du roi	8.I.1609 LXXXVI 185		1½
1	$\frac{8t}{32t}$ CAMUS, Nicolas	Banker	8.I.1609 LXXXVI 185		1

The Distribution of Land at the Place Royale

(Excluding the Pavillon du Roi)

<u>Number of Pavilions</u>	<u>Original Owners</u>	<u>Building Patrons</u>	<u>Number of Houses</u>
.75			2
1	16	13	15
1.5	3	7	8
2	1	2	2
2.5	1	1	1
3		1	
4	1	1	
6	<u>1</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
35	23	24	28

¹ Measurements are given in toise (t), pieds or feet ('), and pouces or inches ("). There are ten inches in a foot and six feet in a toise which is 1.98 meters.

² Documents are published in Mallevoüe, Les Actes de Sully (Paris:1911).

³ Ribauld and Castille passed an agreement on 28 January 1606 (III 462ter), at the time of their joint purchase of La Fond's lot, to divide their three adjoining lots in half.

⁴ Lhoste disclaimed any interest in the lot, and only lent his name to Arnauld, his brother-in-law (III 462ter, 21 Jan. 1608).

APPENDIX A: THE PLACE ROYALE

4. Index of Construction Contracts & Other Documents
By Builder

Abbreviations

Lods Waiver of mutation fees (lods et ventes)
Terrier Declaration to the Papier Terrier du roi; date of earliest statement is given.

BHVP Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris
A.S. Archives de la Seine

Roman numerals refer to documents in the Minutier Central.
Letters refer to documents in the Archives Nationales unless otherwise indicated. The number in parentheses after the patron's name refers to Figure 8a. The numbers were written on the eighteenth century plan by an archivist in 1983. The index begins at the northeast corner and proceeds clockwise.

EAST RANGE

MERCHANT, Louis (23)

Masonry: CV 300, 9 June 1608
Joinery: XIX 359 f130, 21 April 1608
Lease: CXVII 471 f366, 16 June 1609
Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 27 Jan. 1672

FONTAINE, Jean (22)

Masonry: CXVII 469 f477, 24 August 1607
Masonry: CV 300, 9 June 1608

CHEVALIER, Nicolas (21)

Sale: LIV 508, 17 Oct. 1626

DROUIN, Barthelemy (20)

Receipt for payment by Felissan: XIX 355 f164, 21 March 1606
Leases: CVII 104 f337, 26 Nov. 1610; f369, 16 Dec. 1610
Sale by heirs: CVII 119 f328, 1 Dec. 1622

RIBAUT, Antoine (19)

Lods for subsequent owner: Z1F 560 f200v, 23 June 1613

CASTILLE, Pierre de (18)

Maintenance of roofs: XC 185, 27 May 1620

CHASTILLON, Claude (17)

Payment of carpenters: XIX 383 f67, 21 May 1616
Leases: CXVII 470 f431, 25 Aug. 1608; CV 316, 3 May 1614
Sale: XLV 22, 21 Feb. 1617
Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 15 May 1636

LE REDDE, Antoine (16)

Masonry: CV 313, 5(?) June 1613 (partially destroyed)
Sale of property to finance construction: XIX 358 f361, 9 Nov. 1607
Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 20 Dec. 1667

SOUTH RANGE

ARNAULD, Isaac (15)

Purchase of stone: CV 295, 18 Oct. 1605
Payment of mason: CXV 18, 5 Jan. 1608
Sale: A.S. 4 AZ 1153, 14 April 1612

REGNOUART, Noel (14)

COIN, Jean (13)

Sold by 1608 to Pierre Chastellain
Purchase of additional land: CV 300, 22 March 1608
Devis for stables: CVIII 37 f167, 14 May 1608

FOUGEU, Pierre (12)

Masonry: XXXIX 38 f223, 17 March 1606
Toisé: BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365 f17v, 10 Dec. 1607
Metalwork: XXXIX 39 f193, 29 Dec. 1607
Carpentry: BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365 f30, 27 March 1608
Sale: BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365 f63, 10 March 1608
Leases: XIX 369 f56, 15 April 1608; BHVP Ms. C.P. 3365
f88, 21 Nov. 1611; 29 Nov. 1616; 11 Nov. 1620

PAVILLON DU ROI (11)

Masonry: Mallevoüe 158, 1 July 1605
Carpentry: Mallevoüe 160, 1 July 1605
Budget: 120 A.P. 49, Voirie 1607 f29
Sale: Q1 1234, 10 May 1674

COLLANGE, Philippe de (10)

Purchase of additional land: III 462ter, 12 Dec. 1606
Masonry: LXII 45, 18 Nov. 1609
Inventory after death: CV 590, 31 Jan. 1637

LE GRAS, Nicolas and Simon (9)

CAILLEBOT, Louis (8)

Payment for leadwork: XCVI 4 f45, 24 July 1610

WEST RANGE

FOUGEU, Pierre (6)

Masonry: CVIII 43 f56, 25 Feb. 1611
Painting: CVIII 48 f235, 19 Sept. 1614
Sale: CXV 87, 7 March 1644
Inventory of titles: BHVP Ms. C.P. 3443 1644+

LOMENIE, François de (5)

Masonry: CVIII 36 f203, 12 May 1607
Lease: CVIII 43 f283, 2 Sept. 1611

PERICARD, Jean (4)

Provision of wood: CV 170, 26 May 1607
Roofing: CV 170, 1 June 1607
Joinery: CV 170, 13 June 1607
Metalwork: CV 171, 8 August 1607
Plasterwork: CV 174, 13 June 1608
Paving: CV 175, 21 July 1608
Loan for construction: XIX 361 f45, 14 Feb. 1609
Lease: LXII 46, 25 Aug. 1610

MARCHANT, Charles (1-3)

Masonry: XIX 355, 4 April 1606
Purchase of slate: XIX 367, 12 April 1607
Roofing: XIX 357, 17 May 1607
Carpentry: XIX 358 f311, 14 Sept. 1607
Joinery: XIX 358 f368, 13 Nov. 1607
Purchase of rubble: CXV 18, 24 Feb. 1608
Delivery of rubble: CXV 18, 25 Feb. 1608
Leases by heir: CVIII 54 f20, 13 Jan.; f183, 14 June 1617
Seizure of one house: T 209 1, 31 March 1628
Sale by subsequent owner: T 1051 73.815, 24 May 1667

NORTH RANGE

Masonry Devis: 120 A.P. 49, Voirie 1607 f30
Carpentry: CVIII 37 f79, 28 Feb. 1608
Masonry: CVIII 37, 8 March 1608
Delivery of rubble: CV 300, 19 March 1608

LUMAGUE, Jean-André (30)

Carpentry: CVIII 37 f345, 8 Nov. 1608
Association of carpenters: CV 301, 22 Nov. 1608
Joinery: CXII 260, 18 March 1610
Glazing: LXII 46, 19 March 1610
Leases: CXII 273, 23 May 1617; CXII 283, 6 April 1622
Sale: CXII 299, 22 Aug. 1630
Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 20 Dec. 1667

PARFAICT, Claude (28-29)

Carpentry: CVIII 37, 19 May 1608
Metalwork: CVIII 37, 8 Aug. 1608
Joinery: CVIII 37, 28 Aug. 1608
Marble chimney mantels: CXV 20, 16 April 1609
Metalwork: CVIII 41 f302, 20 Aug. 1610; CVIII 57 f93,
21 March 1618
Leases: CVIII 43 f292, 18 Sept. 1611; CVIII 47 f185,
4 June 1613; CVIII 50 f187, 23 July 1615; CVIII 54
f126, 10 April 1617; CVIII 57 f135, 14 May 1618
Sale: CVIII 61 f205, 20 June 1620; copy A.P. H.D. 60.350
Appraisal of houses: CVIII 64.2 following f237, 19-22 Sept. 1623
Sale by heirs: CVIII 64.2 f166, 13 Aug. 1624; copy A.P.
H.D. 60.350
Inventory after death: CVIII 64(2) f237, 13 Dec. 1624
Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 11 April 1681

SAINCTOT, Pierre (27)

Leases: LXXXVI 187, 22 Aug., 6 Sept. 1611; LXXXVI 225,
10 Feb., 12 Feb. 1618

Will: LXXXVI 261, 27 May 1639

Sale by heirs: CVIII 87 f83, 26 March 1641

Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 12 May 1681

MOISSET, Jean (26)

Masonry: XC 172, 2 March 1612

Provision of wood: XC 172, 8 March 1612

Provision of stone: XC 172, 21 April 1612

Staircase: XC 173, 15 May, 4 Sept. 1613; XIX 380 f204,
11 Sept. 1613; XC 173, 22 Oct. 1613

Leases: XC 174, 31 Oct. 1614; XC 178, 5 Feb. 1618

Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 9 Sept. 1681

PARFAICT, Guillaume (25)

Masonry: CVIII 43 f176, 28 May 1611

Toisé: CVIII 43 f177, 28 May 1611

Painting: CVIII 43 f178, 30 May 1611

Paving: CVIII 43 f180, 31 May; f188, 8 June 1611

Chimney mantels: CVIII 43 f223, 15 July 1611

Carpentry for stables: CVIII 47 f216, 17 July 1613

Masonry for stables: CVIII 47 f231, 27 July 1613

Leases: CVIII 45 f223, 27 June 1612; CVIII 47 f183,
3 June 1613; CVIII 48 f135, 6 June 1614;
CVIII 52 f203, f230, 5 Oct., 4 Nov. 1616;
CVIII 59 f159, 10 May 1619; CVIII 62.4 f127,
22 April 1622

Sale by heirs: CVIII 68(5) f139, 5 June 1630

Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 23 Aug. 1669

CAMUS, Nicolas (24)

Receipt for payment of rent: XCVI 8bis, 10 Oct. 1620

Terrier: Q1 1099 34A, 24 Dec. 1667

APPENDIX A: THE PLACE ROYALE

5. The Houses on the Rue des Minimes

The following leases and sale contracts concern the houses on the rue des Minimes, originally called the rue de Vitry, which were owned by the silk entrepreneurs. They were required by an agreement with the king to make the houses available to silk artisans free of charge through 1615. The roman numerals beside the name of the land owner refer to Figure 8b. The price is given in livres tournois.

DATE/DOC.	TENANT	OCCUPATION	PRICE	AREA
<u>LUMAGUE, JEAN-ANDRE (I)</u>				
11.IX.1614	La Vessire,	Officer-Royal	450	wing
CXII 268	Richard de	Stables		
22.V.1617	Prevost,	Sec. du roi	600	house
<u>SAINCTOT, PIERRE (II)</u>				
<u>PARFAICT, CLAUDE (III)¹</u>				
6.X.1610	Pourrat,	Master	120	small wing
CVIII 41	Julien	Carpenter		
1.IX.1611	Cambien,	Silk Artisan	Free	3 rooms,
CVIII 43	Jacques			boutique
4.IX.1612	Coulon,L.	Master	220	4 rooms
CVIII 45	Du Chesne,J.	Carpenters		
25.V.1613	Morel,	?	140	small wing
CVIII 47	Catherine			(=Pourrat)
6.III.1614	Dariot,J.	Silk Artisan	48	room,
CVIII 48	Dariot,P.	Baker		boutique
22.XII.1615	Prunier,F.	Silk Artisan	240	wing,
CVIII 50	Andiger,C.	Silk Artisan		boutique
12.I.1616	Coulon	Renewal	220	
CVIII 52				
10.II.1618	Mareschal,	Bourgeois	160	small wing
CVIII 57	Marin			
4.IV.1618	Godart,	Math Professor	160	small wing
CVIII 57	Jean			
29.XII.1616	Serdon,	Master	160	small wing
CVIII 57	Jean	Carpenter		
8.III.1619	Pestalossy	Ex-Director	300	wing
CVIII 59	Sigismond	Silkworks		
9.I.1620	Margonne,	Tax Farmer	450	house
CVIII 61	Charles			
9.I.1620	Gandais,	Squire	450	house
CVIII 61	Louis			
17.II.1620	La Vigne,	?	450	house

PARFAICT, GUILLAUME (IV)

23.IX.1609	Colbert,	Silk Artisan	Free (=Besson)
CVIII 39	Roch		
26.VII.1611	Besson,	Silk Artisan	Free (App. A6)
CVIII 43	Antoine		
24.IX.1614	Cornino,	Officer-Royal	100 room,attic,

CAMUS, NICOLAS (V)

14.V.1616	Barbauson	Widow	650 house
LXXXVI 223	Anne de		
3.XII.1616	Longuenal,	Widow	800 house
LXXXVI 223	Catherine		
15.VI.1622	Thumery, C.	Magistrate	800 house
LXXXVI 229	Thumery, C.	Squire	

SALE

8.I.1628	Lamet,	Officer-Royal	600 +
A.N. S6184	Charles de	Household	1400 rente

SAINCTOT, PIERRE (VI)

30.IX.1622	Fachon,		800 house
LXXXVI 229	Charlotte		

SALE

3.IX.1626	Hôpital de la Charité	24,000	
LXXXVI 233	Nôtre-Dame		

LUMAGUE—LOGEMENT DES FILLEUSES (VII)

21.VII.1614	La Planche,	?	550
CXII 268	Hierosme de		

SALE

11.IX.1629	Hôpital de la Charité	8000	
A.N. S6148	Nôtre Dame		

MOISSET, JEAN—MAISON DES MOULINS (VIII)

10.VIII.1615	Pestalossy,	500	house less
XC 175	Sigismond		1 room

EXCHANGE

15.VII.1616	Bardot,	Barrister	house ²
XC 176	Michel		

¹ By 1619, Claude Parfaict had built four houses on the land (Min.cent. CVIII 59 f4, 4 Jan. 1619).

² Moisset gave Bardot 4000 pounds in addition to the house on the rue des Tournelles for a house on the rue des Petits Champs (Min.cent. XC 176, 30 Sept. 1616). The maison des moulins consisted of "un grand corps d'hostel, escalier au milieu, galleries et autres bastiments aux 2 costés dud. logis, cave, court, jardin, puis, porte cocheré sur lad. rue des Tournelles et issue par le jardin sur une rue /Roger Verlomme/ conduisant à la rue neuve du grand pavillon de la place Royale aux Minimes /rue de Béarn/" (Min.cent. XC 176, 15 July 1616; copies B.N. Ms.fr. 26313 f55).

6. Lease for a House on the Rue des Minimes
to a Silk Artisan

(Min.cent. CVIII 43 f279, 26 August 1611)

Accord entre Guillaume Parfaict, demeurant rue des Mauvaises Parolles, parroise St. Germain l'Auxerrois, et Anthoine Besson, maistre ouvrier en draps d'or, d'argent, et de soye en la ville de Lyon.

"Parfaict logera gratuitement Besson par l'espace de quatre annees, d'huy jusques a pareil jour 1615, en une maison scize au parc des Tournelles du costé de la maison de M. de Vitry ou souloit cy devant demeurer Roch Cobert,* pour jouir et occuper en icelle des deux chambres basses attenant a la montee et la bouge derriere icelle, ensemble de la grande boutique haulte et logement en galletas qui sont au dessus. Et quant aux deux autres chambres basses qui sont d'un costé a la batterie de l'or et d'autre a uneallee estant a l'opposite de la porte de M. Vitry, elles sont reservees par led. sieur Parfaict pour y loger telles personnes que bon luy semblera. En lad. maison tous les mestiers ensemble les ustancilles et equipages servant ausd. mestiers pour faire ouvrages de draps de soye, lesquels metiers led. Besson sera tenu faire travailler dans la grande boutique dud. logis d'estoffes de diverses sortes a la façon d'Italye. Et pour les mestiers qui sont a la boutique haulte, les pourra monter et faire travailler de toutes et telles autres estoffes que bon luy semblera pour en faire son proffict. Pour cet effect led. Besson proviendra(?) de soye et autres choses necessaires. Pour donner plus de moyen aud. Besson, led. sieur Parfaict luy a presentement payé 300 livres tournois et promet de payer encore 300 livres tournois dans le semaines, faisant 600 livres tournois ensemble. Led. Besson sera tenu rendre aud. Parfaict en fin desd. quatre annees lesd. 600 livres tournois. Pour en faire jouir a l'advenir les compagnons et apprentis qui travailleront, il tiendra registres des noms et surnoms des ouvriers et du lieu de leur naissance pour en fin de chacune annee en bailler le memoire aux sieurs Sainctot et Claude Parfaict nommez par Sa Majesté pour cest effect. . . ."

Faict et passé le 26 aoust 1611.
(Signatures de:) Parfaict, Besson
Notaires: Contesse, Contesse

* Lease entered into by Guillaume Parfaict with Roch Cobert, maistre ouvrier en draps d'or, d'argent, et soye a Paris, Min.cent. CVIII 39 f390, 23 Sept. 1609.

APPENDIX B: THE PLACE DAUPHINE

1. Rue de Harlay: Construction Contracts

- 14.VII.1609 Receipt from François Petit to Achille de
LXXXVII 184 Harlay for 15,000 pounds "sur et tant moings
des ouvrages de massonnerie et tailles faites
et à faire pour led. seigneur en la place Dauphine."
- 12.III.1610 Sale by Gilles Gaultier, merchant bourgeois
LIX 42 f269 of Paris, to François Petit of 100,000 bricks,
8 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 2 inches
thick, for delivery to the Ile du Palais on
the side of the grand cours, in monthly
installments of 20,000 bricks beginning at
the end of April; for the price of 10 pounds
10 sols per thousand bricks.
- 18.III.1610 Sale by Etienne de la Fontaine to François
LIX 42 f280 Petit of 2000 tons of stone from Saint Leu,
half for delivery on Pentacost (30 May 1610)
and the balance during the following month,
for the price of 22 sols for each ton of
stone. Fontaine is prohibited from selling
any other stone until the present order is
completed. Petit will provide the boats and
pay for transportation costs.
- 1.I.1611 Sale by Philippe Pernalle and Jean Mahou,
LIX 43 f1 wood sellers and bargees from Champagne, to
François Petit of 25 oak beams from 25 to 30
pieds long and 15, 16, 17, and 18 pouces
thick for delivery to the Ile Louvier by the
end of February; for the price of 200 pounds
per cent of wood.
- 20.VI.1611 Carpentry contract passed by Achille de
LXXVIII 186 Harlay with master carpenter Gilles Le Redde
who promises to complete the carpentry work
in the houses on the Ile du Palais "suivant
le dessain qu'il luy en sera donné . . . et
travailler ausd. ouvrages suivant les
massons"; for the price of 300 pounds per
cent of wood used in construction.
- 16.I.1617 Contract passed by Charles de Harlay with
LXXVIII 205 Leon Thomas, master roofer for the king, who
promises to maintain the slate roofs of 18
houses located on the Ile du Palais in the
estate of the late Achille de Harlay for
seven years for the price of 90 pounds per
year. Thomas also promises to maintain the
lead in the houses for four years.

2. Rue de Harlay: Tenants of Achille de Harlay, 1611-1616

DATE/DOCUMENT (Min.cent.)	TENANT	PROFESSION	PREVIOUS PARISH	RENT (pounds)
31.VI.1611 LXXVIII 186	Aubert, Catherine	Widow (Bourgeois)	St.Eustache	600
8.VI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Renewal			500
1.VI.1611 LXXVIII 186	Fleuret, Jean	Bourgeois	St.Jean en Greve	600
1.VI.1611 LXXVIII 186	Bouynaul, Jean	Barrister	St.Eustache	600
1.VI.1611 LXXVIII 186	Puy, Anne du	Widow (officer- royal household)		600
8.VI.1612 LXXVIII 187	Magdelaine, Henri de la	Squire	St.Sulpice	600
29.VIII.1612 LXXVIII 187	Gay, Paul du	Sec. du roi in Navarre	St.Honoré	600
3.IV.1613 LXXVIII 188	Pasquier, Pierre	Dyer of cloth	(Ile)	500
23.IV.1613 LXXVIII 188	Bourdin, Nicolas	Bookseller	(Ile)	500
3.V.1613 LXXVIII 188	Bouriquant, Fleury	Master printer- bookseller	St.Hillaire	500
2.IX.1616 LXXVIII 204	Renewal			
10.VI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Cartiret, Barthelemy	Bourgeois	(St.Jacques)	500
10.VI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Guydon, Isaac	Magistrate	St.Mederic	500
13.VI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Cathernie, Jean	Master ?	St.Bar- thelemy	500
19.VI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Menessier, René	Tailor	(Ile)	500

3.VII.1613 LXXVIII 188	Doussin, Pierre Guillaume, Didier	Tipstaff Merchant	Provinces (Ile)	500
31.VII.1613 LXXVIII 188	Panze, Antoine	Bourgeois	St.Germain l'Auxer.	500
13.VII.1613 LXXVIII 188	Lebeuf, François	Squire		500
7.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Alyot, Nicolas	Bourgeois	St.Paul	500
11.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Ferrier, Hierosme	Provincial magistrate		500
11.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188 4.VI.1616 LXXVIII 204	Bernard, Nicolas Renewal	Master tailor	St.Germain l'Auxer.	500
9.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Champion, François	Master saddler, carriage maker	Ste.Croix de la Breton.	500
17.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Besnard, Antoine	Wine merchant, inn keeper	St.Sauveur	500
9.XI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Veruyer, Claude	Widow	St.André des Arts	500
3.III.1614 LXXVIII 189	Mollignay, Jacques	Master tailor	St.André des Arts	600
20.IV.1614 LXXVIII 189	Bourdeaux, Jean de Millon, Jean	Bookseller- printer Bookseller- printer	St.Germain le Vieil	500
26.VI.1614 LXXVIII 189	Barbier, Damien	Tailor	St.Eustache	500
7.VI.1614 LXXVIII 189	Chermays, Louis de la	Sworn master ?	St.Bar- thelemy	500
8.VII.1614 LXXVIII 189	Dore, Pierre	Master joiner	St.Jacques du Hault Pas	500
23.VIII.1614 LXXVIII 189	Froment, Jean	Master apothecary	St.Sulpice	500
23.IX.1614 LXXVIII 189	Venes, Jean	Registrar	St.Eustache	500

31.III.1615 LXXVIII 90 First floor sublet:	Allain, René	Officer-royal household	St.Germain le Vieil	500
27.VI.1615 LXXVIII 90	Beguïn, Jean	Royal almoner	St.Germain l'Aux.	165
20.VI.1615 LXXVIII 190	Regonnier, Jacques	Barrister		500
7.XI.1615 LXXVIII 190	Desperon, Louise Rocher, Judicz	Widow (barrister) Widow (prov.notary)	St.Nicolas des Champs St. Paul	500
4.X.1616 LXXVIII 204	Bailleul, Pierre de	Surgeon	St.Bar- thelemy	450
8.X.1616 LXXVIII	Coupe, Anne	Widow (squire)	St.Sulpice	500

TENANTS BY PROFESSION

Master craftsmen	10	
Merchants	6	
Unidentified	5	
Surgeon	1	
BOURGEOIS	22	/ 58%

Judicial Personnel	4	
Agents of noblemen	3	
Petty Nobles	4	
MINOR OFFICE HOLDERS	11	/ 29%

WIDOWS	5	/ 13%
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TOTAL	38	/ 100%
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APPENDIX B: THE PLACE DAUPHINE

3. Harlay's Lotissement:
Land Sales at the Place Dauphine and on the Quais

The lot numbers refer to figure 16. The roman numerals refer to documents in the Minutier central.

LOT	SALE DATE *RESALE* Min.cent.	NAME	PROFESSION	PAST PARISH	AREA toises pieds(')	PRICE pounds
<u>Place Dauphine</u>						
1	12.IX.1608 LXXVIII 183	*Harlay, Nicolas de	Ex-minister	St.Eus- tache	100+	7500
*	19.IX.1612 LIV 494 n°503	Ligny, Jean de	Officer-royal treasury	St.Jean en Grève		3000
2A	23.IX.1609 LXXVIII 183	Laborie Jean	Barrister	St.Eus- tache	75	5625
2B		Deligny, Michel	Wood seller	St.Hon- oré	25	1875
3	28.VIII.1608 LXXVIII 183	*Petit, Francois	Royal mason	St.Eus- tache	100	
*	16.VIII.1613 LIX 45	Langlois, André	Draper	St.Eus- tache	112	562 rente
4	28.VIII.1608 LXXVIII 183	Petit, François	Royal mason		100	
5A	20.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Breteau, Jean	Jeweler	St.Jac. la Bouch.	40 7'	3014
5B	26.XI.1613 LXXVIII 188	Fillassier, Pierre	Jeweler	St.Jac. la Bouch.	78 6'	5862
5C	3.X.1613 LXXVIII 188	Pouillet, Nicolas	Solicitor	St.Eus- tache	35½ 9'	2680

6	24.1.1609 LXXVIII 184	*Chaillou, Philippe	Merchant	St.Sau- veur	100	7500
*	1611-12	Petit, François	Royal mason		100	?
7	24.1.1609 LXXVIII 184	*Marrier, Guillaume	Merchant	St.Sau- veur	100	7500
*	1611-12	Petit, François	Royal mason		100	?
8	30.V.1611 XXIX 163	*Gillot, Jacques	Canon-Ste. Chapelle		110	Exchange
*A	27.XI.1614 LXVI 30	Virlorjeux, Jean	Registrar	St.Ger. l'Aux.	35.25	2538
*B	28.XI.1614 LXVI 30	Ferrier, Hierome	Ex-prov. magistrate	Ile	60	4200
*C	12.XI.1614 LXVI 30	Le Gaigneur Etienne	Court clerk		34	2460
9A	10.IX.1608 LXXVIII 183	*Langelier, Abel	Publisher- bookseller	Ste. Chapelle	50	3750
9B		Pepin, François	Registrar	St.Paul	50	3750
*A	By 1613	Chevalier, Jacques	Magistrate		50	
10A	7.I.1609 LXXVIII 184	Montel, Olivier	Barrister	St.Ger. l'Aux.	39.3	2950
10B		Belot, André	Solicitor	St.Ger. l'Aux.	21.3	1600
10C		Bacher, Baudouin	Jeweler	St.Ger. l'Aux.	39.3	2950
11A	25.IX.1608 LXXVIII 183	*Pothery, Claud	Tax farmer	St.Ger. l'Aux.	(33.3)	2500
11C		Mignollet, Antoine	Wine merchant innkeeper	St.Sul- pice	(33.3)	2500
11D		Menard, Robert	Marble cutter	St.Ger. l'Aux.	(33.3)	2500
*B	20.IX.1610 LIV 253	Beranger, ¹ Charles	Tailor to Queen Marg.	St.Ger. l'Aux.	(16)	2700
*A		Bethune, Gregoire	Royal violinist	St.Ger. l'Aux.	(16)	2000

12	24.X.1608 LXXVIII 183	Bunel, Jacob	Royal painter	Louvre	100	7500
<u>Quai des Orfèvres</u>						
13	19.IX.1616 LXXVIII 204	Bonigalle Thomas de	Bailiff	St.Barth- elemy	(33)	2400
<u>Quai de l'Horloge</u>						
14	11.VII.1609 LXXVIII 184	Durant, Germaine	Widow	Ile	24	Exchange
15	20.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Bethune, Gregoire	Royal violinist	St.Ger. l'Aux.	31½ 13'	2295
16	20.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Leger, Quentin	Royal violinist	St.Jacq. la Bouch.	35 15'	2550
17	20.IX.1613 LXXVIII 188	Delart, Claude	Solicitor	St.André des Arts	38½	2778
18	11.XII.1613 LXXVIII 188	Voisin, Daniel	Secrétaire du roi	(Palais)	101½	6588
19	17 July 1612 LXXVIII 187	Barbier, ² Guillaume	Merchant	St.Jacq. la Bouch.	(6)	450

Place Dauphine Builders by Profession

PROFESSION	NUMBER		(approx.sq.toises)	
			AREA	AVG.PARCEL
Craftsmen and Merchants	12	46%	859	72
Minor Judicial Personnel	10	38%	422	42
Nobles	3	12%	252	84
Widow	1	4%	24	24
TOTAL ³	26	100%		

¹ On 17 March 1609 (LIV 250), Pothery sold the half of his parcel which faced the square (11B) to Beranger for 1250 pounds. A year and a half later, Pothery's full parcel was seized at the request of Mignollet and Menard. Beranger evidently had not yet paid for his half, and at this time he purchased the entire parcel for 4700 pounds. He then sold the half on the quai (11A) to Bethune.

² Barbier was not required to comply with the facade design.

³ Petit and Bethune are counted only once, although they built houses on more than one lot. The three men who began houses but did not finish them—Chaillou, Marrier, and Pothery—are not included, nor is Barbier because he did not have to build in conformity with the royal facade design.

APPENDIX B: THE PLACE DAUPHINE

4. Index of Construction Contracts and Other Documents In Alphabetical Order by Patron

Abbreviations

Lods Waiver of mutation fees (lods et ventes)
Terrier Declaration to the Papier Terrier du roi
Titres Titles to property inventoried during the Revolution
A.S. Archives de la Seine
Roman numerals refer to documents in the Minutier central.
Letters refer to documents in the Archives Nationales unless
otherwise indicated. The lot number beside the patron's
name refers to Figure 16.

NORTH RANGE

1 LIGNY, JEAN DE

The masonry contract indicates that the lot was divided in half and two separate houses were built. The lease from March 1615 describes a corps de logis with two shops, one facing the statue of the king and the other facing the quai, and "avec chacune desd. boutiques ung cellier, ung caveau, et une souspente, et 3 chambres dont la dernière en galetas et ung petit grenier." De Ligny probably built three other similar wings.

Foundation excavation (Sancy): LIV 479, 19 August 1612
Acquisition of lot: LIV 479, 22, 24 October 1612
Masonry: LIV 480, 30 April 1613 (App. B5)
Metalwork: LIV 480, 14 May 1613
Carpentry: LIV 480, 18 May 1613
Roofing: LIV 481, 26 November 1613
Leases: LIV 484, 23 March, 12 May 1615; LIV 490, 5 April 1618
Inventaire après décès: LIV 494, 1619-20; other
building contracts mentioned in n° 503-04,
1551, 1600, 1766-75, 1986

2A LABORIE, JEAN

In 1671, the houses consisted of "quatre arcades et demy appliquees à deux corps de logis", one facing the quai with four shops and the other on the square with two shops with a court in between.

Terrier: Q1 1099 25B, 19 October 1671

2B DELIGNY, MICHEL

In 1667, there were two houses, one facing the quai and the other, the square. The terrier indicates that the ground floor room had been used in the past as a shop.

Lods: Z1F 560 f148v, 31 March 1610
Roofing: LIX 44 f267, 5 March 1612
Lease: XLI 105, 31 August 1641
Terrier: Q1 1099 20, 1 December 1667

3 LANGLOIS, ANDRE

The lease refers to "ung corps d'hostel compose de cave, court, puis mitoyen, chambre, et grenier" on the quai. Langlois probably built a total of six houses, three on the quai and three on the square.

Purchase of lot: LIX 45, 16 Aug. 1613
Lease: LXVI 30, 30 October 1614
Titres: A.S. DQ10 126=3169

4 PETIT, FRANCOIS

Petit built 6 houses, each one consisting of "2 caves, salle, boutique, 3 chambres, 3 garderobbes, 3 cabinetz, grenier au dessus, l'une desd. chambres et garderobbes en galletas", court and well. Some of the leases refer to 2 sallettes instead of a shop.

Leases: LIX 47 f211, 17 February 1615; LIX 47 f317,
10 March 1615; LIX 47 f459, f471, 7 April 1615;
LIX 53, 4 February 1619

5A BRETEAU, JEAN

In 1667, the house consisted of two wings, one on the quai with "plusieurs caves, deux salles dessous les arcades, allée de passage au milieu, trois chambres l'une sur l'autre garnyes de leurs cabinetz, et grenier dessus" and the other in the rear of the lot with a ground floor kitchen and four superimposed rooms, a court in between and a small gallery connecting the two wings.

Terrier: Q1 1099 25B, 28 November 1667
Titres: A.S. DQ10 121=2883

5B FILLASSIER, PIERRE

The terrier only indicates that four houses were built.

Terrier: Q1 1099 25B, 18 May 1626

5C POULLET, NICOLAS

6 CHAILLOU, PHILIPPE—PETIT, FRANCOIS

Six houses were built on the lot like those on Petit's two other lots (4, 7). Each house had a cellar, 2 ground floor rooms described either as shops, kitchen, study or small

room (sallette) with an entrance in the middle, 3 bedrooms and dressing rooms, an attic, and a shared court in the rear.

Stone cutting (Chaillou): LIX 42 f312, 16 April 1610
Metalwork (Chaillou): LIX 43 f103, 20 January 1611
Leases (Petit): LIX 44 f424, 4 April 1612; LIX 44 f648, 29 May 1612; LIX 45 f119, 29 January 1613; LIX 46 f790, 12 June 1614; LIX 47 f63, 13 January 1615; LIX 47 f315, 10 March 1615; LIX 52 f154, 7 February 1618; LIX 52 f654, 5 May 1618

SOUTH RANGE

7 MARRIER, GUILLAUME—PETIT, FRANCOIS

Six houses like those on lots 4 and 6 were built, each one consisting of a cellar, 2 ground floor rooms, 3 rooms and dressing rooms, and an attic, with a court in the rear. Some leases refer to shops on the ground floor while others mention a kitchen, study, or small room.

Metalwork (Marrier): LIX 43 f103, 20 January 1611
Leases (Petit): LIX 44 f364, 23 March 1612; LIX 45 f281, 4 March 1613; LIX 49 f349, 26 May 1616

8A VIRLORJEUX, JEAN

Titres: A.S. DQ10 99=1592, 1613-1792

8B FERRIER, HIEROME

8C LE GAIGNEUR, ETIENNE

Titres: A.S. DQ10 99=1592, 1613-1792

9A CHEVALIER, JACQUES

In 1641, the building consisted of 2 wings with a court in between, entrances on the quai and square, and shops on both sides.

Lods: Z1F 563 f62v, 5 May 1618
Division among heirs: LXVI 89, 9 March 1641

9B PEPIN, FRANCOIS

Lods: Z1F 563 f89v, 25 May 1609

10A MONTEL, OLIVIER

Lods: Z1F 560 f164, 6 June 1609
Titres: A.S. DQ10 93=1254, 1607-1792

10B BELOT, ANDRE

10C BACHET, BAUDOYUN

11A POTHERY, CLAUDE—BETHUNE, GREGOIRE DE

This lot was 23 feet 10 inches wide by 26 feet long. It was separated from Beranger's lot of equal size by a party wall. Bethune built a corps de logis with a vaulted cellar, two ground floor arcaded shops, two floors, an attic, 8 fireplaces and mantles, and a staircase. Pothery, Mignollet, and Beranger initially agreed to build a party wall 12-15 feet high and then raised the height limit to 18-21 feet high.

Agreement concerning party wall: XCIX 90, 22 October 1608;
LXVI 22, 29 May 1609
Seizure of land: LIV 253, 20 Sept. 1610; LXXVIII 187,
3 July 1612
Building contract: LIV 253, 13 October 1610
Masonry: LIV 254, 20 April 1611
Sale: LXVI 70, 15 December 1634
Titres: A.S. DQ10 98=1529

11B BERANGER, CHARLES

The masonry contract called for a corps de logis, 22½ feet wide and 17 feet deep, with a groin vaulted cellar, a kitchen and a room with fireplaces on the ground floor, 2 bedrooms with dressing rooms, an attic, and a staircase.

Masonry contract: LIV 250 17 March 1609
Agreement concerning party wall: LXVI 22, 29 May 1609
Adjudication after seizure: LIV 253, 20 September 1610

11C MIGNOLLET, ANTOINE

Agreement concerning party wall: XCIX 90, 22 October 1608;
LXVI 22, 29 May 1609
Dispute with mason: XXIX 161, 7 September 1609
Settlement with mason: LXVI 23, 16 September 1609

11D MENARD, ROBERT

These documents only reveal that Menard built two corps de logis.

Foundations: XLII 48 f352, 27 December 1608
Loan (refers to masonry costs): LXVI 24, 28 June 1610
Lods: P2670 f57v, 30 May 1609; Guiffrey, Nouvelles archives
(Paris:1873), 230.
Sale: XLI 56, 5 February 1613
Payments to masons: XLI 56 f34, 7 February; f74, 4 March 1613

Payment to joiners: XLI 56 f47, 13 February; f158, 18 May 1613
Titres: A.S. DQ10 124=3021, 1613-1792

12 BUNEL, JACOB

It seems that Bunel built two houses. The end house facing the Pont Neuf spanned 9 arches. When it was sold in 1622 by Bunel's widow Marguerite Bahuche, it consisted of 3 shops on the quai (one at the corner) and 3 facing the square (one at the corner and one with two arches), each with a mezzanine level, entrances facing the bridge and the square, two upper floors and an attic. The adjoining house, next to Menard, probably comprised two wings, each with 2 shops. In 1613, when Bunel rented the wing facing the square, it consisted of 2 shops, 6 bedrooms each with a dressing room, 2 attic rooms, a court and well. The sale of this house by Bunel's heirs in 1629 is recapitulated in the second list of titles.

Leases: VI 282, 13 June 1611; XLII 53 f465, 7 December 1613
Sale: LIV 56 f698, 3 June 1622
Lods: Z1F 567 f50, 8 June 1622
Terrier: Q1 1099 30, 17 June 1667
Titres: A.S. DQ10 127=3196, 93=1254, 1608-1792

QUAI DES ORFEVRES

13 BONIGALLE, THOMAS DE

According to the terrier declaration, Bonigalle built three shops.

Terrier: Q1 1099 30, 6 July 1655

QUAI DE L'HORLOGE

14 DURANT, GERMAINE

Durant, the widow of Germain Pilon, built a house with three floors and attic, a bedroom and dressing room on each floor, and a court in the rear. There was a barrel vaulted cellar beneath the entire lot. The lease in 1616 referred to "la boutique ou sallette basse".

Masonry: VI 282, 14 June 1611
Masonry: VI 287, 15 July 1613
Leases: VI 287, 26 October 1613; VI 293, 24 September 1616
Titres: A.S. DQ10 98=1529

15 BETHUNE, GREGOIRE DE

16 LEGER, QUENTIN

In 1667, there were two corps de logis with a court in between. The wing on the quai comprised a cellar, 2 shops, and rooms above.

Terrier: Q1 1099 25B, 15 December 1667

17 DELART, CLAUDE

18 VOISIN, DANIEL

APPENDIX B: THE PLACE DAUPHINE

5. Masonry Contract for a House Facing the Pont Neuf
Passed by Jean de Ligny with Master Mason René Fleury

(Min.cent. LIV 480, 30 April 1613)

Devis des ouvrages de maçonnerie et pierre de taille qu'il convyent faire de neuf au bout de la place Daulphine a l'alignement de Pont Neuf pour le parachevement et continuation d'ung bastiment encommancé de ses fondations appartenant a M. de Lygny, tresorier des parties casuelles.

Premierement, sera achevé de lever la fondation des murs qui font la fassade des troys costez, ensemble le grand mur separant le moyctye de la place et trois autres murs de reffan encommencez, qui seront eslevez de leurs espoisses jusques au rez de chaussee, maconné de bon moellon chaulx et sable. Et faire aud. rez de chaussee le nyveau et araze aux murs et fassades dud. logis pour poser les premieres assizes de pierre de taille de clicquart portant parpain entre deulx d'une. Et faire retraicte sur lesd. fondations. Et au dessus desd. assizes sera erigé les huisseryes, grandes arquades, et pilliers d'icelles quy seront de pierre dure jusques a la hauteur de l'imposte des arquades. Et les claveaulx des huisseryes et voulsures desd. arquades seront de pierre de St. Leu. Et au dessus desd. voulsures sera erigé les chesnes de pierre pour porter les croisees, ensemble les tables et plinthes de relief, qui seront de pierre de St. Leu. Et lesd. fassades seront aornés de maçonnerie de brique, et le derriere desd. fassades sera maconné avecq moellon, chaulx, et sable. Et faire les entablementz et lucarnes desd. fassades de pierre de St. Leu, aornez de leur architecture, forme, façon, et simmetrye que les autres maisons qui sont faites. Et faire les deux coings dud. bastiment du coste du pont qui seront eslevez de quartiers(?) de pierre dure de cliquart jusques a la haulteur des impostes des arquades et le dessus de St. Leu avec liaison.

Sera vuydé et fouillé le reste des vuydanges et terres massives qu'il sera necessaire d'oster pour faire les caves dont les voulttes seront maconnés de moellon et plastre. Et remplyr les reins d'icelles voulttes de maçonnerie Et faire la maçonnerie des enduitz des murs encommencez qui seront faitz de plastre et les descentes de caves seront faites de marches de pierre de taille de bas cliquart, poser sur les voulttes de maçonnerie en bourceau. Et paver les petites couches avec pavé de grez, chaulx, et sable, et donner les pentes.

Sera fondé le reste des murs de reffen quy seront fondé jusques a vif fondz. Et pour ce faire, sera vuidé les terres de trenches et rigolles pour fonder les murs qui seront maçonnez avecq moellon, chaulx, et sable, et eslever lesd. murs jusques au haut et leur donner (?) de part et d'autre.

Sera fait la maçonnerie des planchers et aires dud. logis dont les deux premyers seront maçonnez avec petit carreaux de terre cuite a six pans, chaulx, et sable, et les autres de maçonnerie de plastre. Et faire tous les lambris avecq plastre, cloud, et latte. Et les cloisons seront faites de charpenterye et maçonné avecq plastre et plastras et enduits des deulx costez. Et les escallyers et montés dud. logis seront faictes de charpenterye et maçonné de plastre.

Sera fait la maçonnerie des thuyeaulx et mantheaulx de chemynés qui seront faictz de maçonnerye de plastre. Et lesd. thuyeaulx seront maconnez de bricque depuis le dernier plancher de pareil desseing que les autres. . . .

Tout ce qui est dessus sera fait bien et deuement . . . suyvant le plan qui en a esté faict et conformement a l'architecture et simmetrye des fassades des autres maisons voisines. Et pour ce faire, l'entrepreneur fournira de toutes choses a ce necessaire: eschaffaulx, engins, grais, chasbles, cheriages de pierre de taille, moellon, chaux, sable et plastre, bricque, cloud et latte, petit et grand carreau de terre cuite, et pavé de grez, de peyne d'ouvryers; mener les gravoyz aulx champs, et rendre place nette, et s'ayder de quelques mathieres et ustancilles qui sont sur les lyeux. . . . Le tout moyennant prix et somme de 9 livres 15 sols tournois . . . pour chacune toise desd. ouvrages cy dessus lesquelles se commenceront dans lundy prochain et y travailler sans discontynuer, avecq bon nombre d'ouvryers lesquelz seront payez au feur et a mesure qu'ils en feront. Et led. entrepreneur ne sera point tenu de la garendy des fondations encommencés, et en cas que lesd. fondations ne se trouve bonnes et suffisantes en faisant lesd. ouvrages, led. entrepreneur sera tenu les reprendre en le payant d'icelle.

René Fleury, maistre maçon a Paris y demeurant rue de Lyon, parroisse St. Paul, confesse avoir promis et promect a Jehan de Ligny, . . . tresorier des parties casuelles, demeurant en ceste ville de Paris rue de Paradis, parroisse St. Jehan en Greve . . . de faire lesd. ouvrages de maconnerie mentionnez au devis . . . en une place appartenant aud. sieur de Ligny en l'isle du Pallais

Fait et passé le 30 avril 1613.

(Signatures de:) Fleury,
de Ligny

(Notaires:) Le Normant, Haultedesens

APPENDIX C: THE HOPITAL SAINT LOUIS

Construction Costs

(A.P. H.D. 8.64.541)

Estat de la despence faicte pour le bastiment des hospitaulx de St. Louis, St. Marcel, et de l'Hostel Dieu et d'autre despence faicte en consequence de l'entreprise desd. bastiments le tout suivant l'edict du Roy du mois du mars mil six cens sept

Bastiment de l'hospital St. Louis

Achapt de places a bastir	6,746
Massonnerie faicte par les sieurs Noblet, Jacquet, et Desnotz, entrepreneurs dud. bastiment	339,552 16s 10d
Autre massonnerie faicte par le sieur Gamart	195
Autre massonnerie paiée au sieur Vellefaulx	43,535 10s
Charpenterie paiée au sieur de La Champagne	1,161
Autre charpenterie faicte par les sieurs Le Redde et Defosses entrepreneurs	109,730 10s
Couverture	37,895 15s 1d
Plomberie	37,768 15s
Menuiserie	20,591 6s 6d
Serrurerie	30,822 10s
Vitrierie	3,680 14s 1d
Vuidange et remplage du terre pour rendre la place niveau	17,397 8s
Vuidange du terre et ? la fontaine	6,664 3s 6d
Pompe faicte au grand puisart pour la conduite des eaues	2,000

Ouvrages de fondeur	1,982	19s	6d
Ouvrages de pavé de grais	7,124		8d
Ouvrages de tailleur de marbre et sculpteur .	786		
Ouvrages de peinture	1,225		
Achapt d'ormes plantez a divers fois tant au dedans dud. hospital que hors iceluy et pavement faict aux manoeuvres qui ont faict les ? pour les planter et ont faict les labours de ? d'iceulx	1,536		
Frais et mises communes composés de l'achapt des ornements d'eglise, de quelques modelles tant de carte qu'en peinture du bastiment dud. hospital dont deux ont esté donnez au roy et un autre a la royne Marguerite, recompense donnez a plusieurs parties pour ? et regardz faictz au dedans et a l' de la terre pour le passage des eaues, vin des manoeuvriers qui ont travaillé aud. hospital, aumosnes faicte a une pauvre femme de laquelle le mari auroit esté tué aud. bastiments, et a un pauvre homme qui seroit tombé du hault d'iceluy, frais du thoiser et paiement faict aux jurez qui ont visité led. bastiment et autres frais durant led. bastiment qui n'ont point ce chapitre païé	2,773	3s	8d
Appointement paiez au sieur Vellefaux juré masson pour avoir faict les desseings dud. bastiment et faict le controle d'iceluy depuis le premier jour d'aoust 1607 jusques au dernier jour de juin 1612 qui sont quatre ans onze mois a raison de douze cent livres par an cy	5,800		(sic)
Somme des parties du present estat	679,068	13s	11d

APPENDIX D: CHARLES MARCHANT

Charles Marchant (+1610), Capitaine des trois compagnies de la Ville, was the largest private builder in Henri IV's Paris. His most celebrated project was the Pont aux Marchands which spanned the north arm of the Seine between the rue St. Denis on the Right Bank and the clocktower of the Palais on the Ile de la Cité./Fig. 2b/ The Captain began the wooden bridge in 1598, following the collapse of the Pont aux Meuniers two years earlier, and completed it in 1608 (Felibien 5:44-45).* The bridge was a cherished project and in 1606, when Marchant was close to death, he made provisions in his will for continued payment of the carpenters to assure completion of the bridge after his death (Min.cent. CVIII 35 f336, 24 October 1606). The bridge comprised a street three toises wide straddled by fifty-one uniform houses painted in diverse colors, each with a shop sign representing a different bird. The houses were two stories tall and they were built in two sizes; the larger ones were five toises deep, the same depth as a typical pavilion at the place Royale, and cost 450 pounds to rent, while the smaller ones, with unspecified dimensions, cost 300 pounds. The tenants were merchants and artisans, such as hatters, glovers, jewelers, and lacemakers (Min.cent. CVIII 39 fl-25). Displayed in the middle of the bridge were marble reliefs with figures of the king and queen, and at each embankment there were marble tablets with Latin verses honoring the eponymous patron of the bridge. The pont aux Marchands became a great attraction, commended by L'Estoile as an "ouvrage singulier et exquis enrichi de force beaux et superbes bâtiments, servant de décoration, commodité, et embellissement à cette grande ville (aujourd'hui la première et plus belle de l'Europe)" (ed. Martin, 2:412). The wooden bridge was destroyed by fire in 1620.

As a privately financed embellishment, undertaken even before the crown launched its program of urban development, the pont aux Marchands was without precedent. Marchant assumed the entirety of the construction costs, with Henri IV modestly supporting the project by exempting the building wood from tariffs and by instructing the Prévot to provide Marchant with a storage and work site (Registres 11:317). Construction of the bridge was largely executed by the carpenter Julien Pourrat. Marchant had launched Pourrat's career, financing his training, providing him with free lodgings, and nominating him to the post of "maître des oeuvres de charpenterie de la ville", an office which Pourrat obtained in 1612: "led. Marchant ja faict passer /Pourrat/ maistre charpentier en cette susd. ville à ses despences en ses demeures et mesme encores de sa succession en quoy led. Marchant le faict recepvoir (?) de l'office et estat de maistre des oeuvres de charpenterie de la ville de Paris." Pourrat was hired to work for Marchant throughout the

Captain's lifetime in exchange for an annual salary of 100 pounds, 20 sols per working day, and free lodgings (Min. cent. XIX 358, 14 Aug. 1607).

This document reopens the question whether the Captain and the maître des oeuvres de charpenterie de la Ville, both named Charles Marchant, were one and the same person. According to nineteenth century sources, there was only one Charles Marchant, whereas Lambeau and Babelon differentiated two men. The fact that Marchant is never identified by both titles suggests that they were indeed separate figures, but the contract with Pourrat reveals that the Captain was in a position to name a successor to the charge of maître des oeuvres. Furthermore, both died in 1610, and Charles Marchant's signature and address in a document which identifies him as maître des oeuvres (Min.cent. CVII 85, 16 March 1605) is identical to those in all the other documents cited here where he is identified as the Captain des trois compagnies.

In 1605, Marchant passed a long term lease with the Hôpital St. Gervais for six arpents of land north of the place Royale, situated between the rues St. Claude and St. Gilles (A.N. S 1958). According to Sauval (1:71), Marchant proposed a lotissement of the area, but he built only one house in 1606 (Masonry contracts: Min.cent. XIX 355,4 April 1606; XIX 358 f300, 14 Sept. 1607). In 1620, the property was confiscated from his heirs.

No other individual built, owned, and rented as much residential property in Paris during Henri IV's reign. In addition to the fifty-one houses on the pont aux Marchands, the three houses (four pavilions) at the place Royale, and the house north of the Minimes, Marchant owned eight other houses on the Right Bank and "le jardin des Marais ensemble la maison du jardinier et la plâtrière avec les places designez pour bastir au droit du mur qui sert de closture aud jardin". He collected rent from at least sixty houses in Paris, fifty-five of which he built. Outside of Paris, Marchant owned a house with vineyards in the village of Sceaux and the seigneurial estate of Chambuisson near Fontenay en Bois with a château and 1300 arpents of land (Min.cent. LIV 250, 29 Jan. 1609). The Captain also financed other building projects. According to the settlement of his estate, he was owed 150,000 in part by the king for repairs to the pont aux Changeurs /au Change/ and in part by the abbey of St. Germain des Près "pour les bastiments faits en la maison abbatiale". Although Marchant has not yet been studied, it is clear that he played a pioneering role in the urban development of Paris.

* Construction contracts for the pont aux Marchands: carpentry, Min.cent. XIX 357 10 June 1607; XIX 360 f330, 5 Nov. 1608; joinery, XIX 358 f366, 24 Oct. 1607; roofing, XIX 357 f159, 17 May 1607.

APPENDIX E: BRICK

The use of brick had a long and distinguished tradition in France, both in the construction of châteaux and urban buildings. François I's use of brick in the Cour du Cheval Blanc at Fontainebleau (after 1528) lent a royal association to the building material throughout the sixteenth century. During the last quarter of the century, a number of brick and stone châteaux based on designs by Jacques Androuet Ducerceau were built in the Ile de France. The châteaux of Neuville, Wideville, Ormesson, and Grosbois are among the immediate precedents with which Henri IV's brick and stone buildings were associated, both his additions to royal palaces, such as the Cour des Offices at Fontainebleau, and his projects in Paris. The earliest known example of brick and stone construction in Paris was a house built by 1440, possibly by Jacques Coeur, and surviving today on the rue des Archives (38-42). The houses on the Pont Nôtre Dame were built of brick (after 1507), and two of the most important buildings undertaken during the reign of Henri III were made in brick and stone: the hôtel de Nevers built in the 1580's on the south bank of the river between the future site of rue Dauphine and the walls of the city, and the abbatial house of St. Germain des Près (1586), attributed to Guillaume Marchant and still standing in Paris today (rue de l'Abbaye).¹

The facades of the place Royale, place Dauphine, and hôpital St. Louis were built with rubble and faced with brick. The brick was made by briquettiers in the environs of Paris, such as Corbeil and Conflans, and delivered to the city by boat. Bricks were sold by the thousand at prices ranging from 7½ to 12 pounds between 1604 and 1611.² Savot wrote in 1623 that a thousand bricks in Paris cost 12 pounds, thus the price remained fairly stable. The sale contracts occasionally specified dimensions as for example in master mason Pierre Noblet's purchase of 12,000 bricks, 8 inches long, 4 inches wide, and the "haulteur ordinaire", which according to Savot was 2 inches (Min.cent. XIX 352, 1 May 1604). More often the contracts only required the brickmaker to conform to the model which he was shown.

In order to reduce construction costs, it was not uncommon to plaster the rubble walls and paint the surface to simulate brick. For example, an officer of the royal stables hired a master painter to work in his house outside the porte St. Honoré. The contract requires the painter to

peindre bien et deument façon de bricque . . . a deux couches en huile tout le plastre desd. pan et petit appentiz avec l'entablement et dessoubz de la bordure des tuiles dud. corps de logis a pans de bois, le tout a l'imitation des pavillons de la place Royale . . . ; promet le tout rendre fait . . . et aussy bien que se trouvera le mieux peint de tous les pavillons de lad. place Royale (Min.cent. LIV 253, 6 Nov. 1610).

The final clause in this document implies that some of the pavilions at the place Royale were not in fact faced with brick but only painted. All of the masonry contracts thus far uncovered for houses at the place Royale and the place Dauphine indicate that brick was used, but there were evidently some violations of the royal design. In one case, the contract called for the brick to be painted (Min.cent. VI 282, 14 June 1611, place Dauphine, Durant) and the devis for the Pavillon du Roi specified that the brick should be "frottée et polie et non paincte" (Mallevoüe 158).

¹ Josiane Sartre emphasized the domestic tradition of brick and stone construction, refuting the view that brick was imported to France from Flanders and Holland: Châteaux "brique et pierre" en France (Paris:1981). The house of Jacques Coeur was identified by J.-P. Babelon, "Decouverte de la 'maison Jacques Coeur'. Place de cet edifice dans l'architecture parisienne de brique et pierre," CVP 7-9(1971):10-26. Other studies include Georges Costa, "Briques apparentes et enduits dans l'architecture traditionnelle de la région toulousaine," Revue de l'Art 58-59(1983):115-22; Catherine Grodecki, "La Construction du château de Wideville et sa place dans l'architecture française du dernier quart du XVIème siècle," Bulletin Monumental 136/2(1978):135-75; E.-J. Ciprut, "L'Architecte de Palais abbatial de Saint-Germain-des-Près," BSHAF 1956:218-21.

² Contracts for the purchase of brick: Min.cent. XIX 352, 1 May, 2 July 1604; CV 294, 25 June 1605; LXII 46, 5 July 1610; XII 40 f482, 19 August 1610; CV 308, 1 February 1611.

APPENDIX F: MAPS AND GUIDEBOOKS

Before the publication of two new plans in 1609, there had been little interest in maps of Paris. Other than an undated and unsigned woodcut plan probably printed in 1604 or 1605, no map of Paris had been made since 1575 when the Belleforest plan was published. The woodcut plan, now lost, is only known from a description in 1851 by Alfred Bonnardot who stated that it was derived from a sixteenth century model, a map dating from about 1560 attributed to Jacques Androuet Ducerceau.¹ The maps engraved in 1609 were not based on sixteenth century prototypes; they were based on new surveys of the city undertaken by Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay and François Quesnel who attempted to provide a detailed record of the physical structure of Paris.

In his capacity as Surintendant des Fortifications, Sully organized a campaign to map the fortified sites in France. He dispatched royal engineers to the frontier provinces where they mapped cities and fortresses with the aid of an assistant draftsman (conducteur des desseins). Among the engineers and cartographers were Jean de Beins who prepared a series of maps of the Dauphiné and Savoie, Raymond de Bonnefons and his assistant François Martellier who mapped the forts of Provence, and Claude Chastillon who recorded the fortified sites of Champagne and prepared a series of views of the monuments in Paris.² Sully wrote in his memoirs Oeconomies royales that he had proposed to decorate the Grande Galerie with maps (2:292). It may be that the maps of the frontier provinces were in part intended for this decorative program, although there is no evidence that Sully's proposal was seriously considered.

Vassallieu dit Nicolay was the royal engineer assigned to Guyenne in southwestern France. He mapped the Norman and Breton coasts as well as other fortified sites in France and had a special interest in mobile artillery, preparing a manuscript treatise on the subject in 1613, Recueil du reiglement general de l'ordre et conduite de l'artillerie (B.N. Ms.fr. 592).³ With an expertise in military technology and in surveying techniques, Vassallieu dit Nicolay mapped the urban landscape of the capital.

Nicolay's map, entitled Portrait de la Ville Cité et Université de Paris avec les Faubours di celle, was a bird's eye view of the city covering four sheets (each one 50cm wide x 39cm long; 100cm x 78cm)./Fig. 2/ The map is signed "Faict par Vassallieu dit Nicloay Topographe et Ingenieur ordinaire de l'artillerie de France", without identifying the engraver. The map is oriented with southeast at the top. Nicolay turned the compass from its traditional orientation in sixteenth century maps about 45 degrees counter-clockwise, from the left side of the map to the lower left corner. As a result, the Seine no longer was a

static, vertical feature in the composition, as in the Braun plan (1572), and became a more dynamic element moving diagonally across the map./Fig. 1/ Furthermore, the viewer was obliquely positioned with respect to the axis of the city which allowed Nicolay to emphasize the volume of the buildings and to portray them in sharper relief. He attempted to individualize the buildings, providing a greater degree of architectural detail than did the sixteenth century maps.

Nicolay was an expert in land surveying and probably employed all the tools of the trade in measuring the city. He provided a scale in toise in the lower left corner of the map, but it was not rigorously respected. The place Royale, for example, was drawn to scale, but the streets were substantially enlarged. As a result of this distortion, the streets are seen as the skeletal structure of the city with a distinct hierarchy of major and minor roads. In the Braun plan, the streets were represented uniformly and the city appeared as a flat a field whereas Nicolay pressed the streets into the background and projected the buildings in sharp relief, emphasizing a three-dimensional urban space. Nicolay's image of the city emphasized its physical presence.

The second map was made by François Quesnel (1544/5-1619), a painter attached to the court during the reign of Henri III and acclaimed for his portraits and history paintings.⁴ Quesnel was not trained in surveying nor did he have any previous experience as a cartographer, but at the age of 64 he attempted to portray the likeness of the city, approaching the task essentially with an antiquarian interest. Quesnel's map recalls the map of Rome by Etienne Duperac (1577) in terms of certain conventions, for example the depiction of the walls and fields, and the large format which was atypical of the sixteenth century maps of Paris. Duperac was in Paris from 1578 until his death in 1604, serving Henri IV during the last years of his life. It is likely that the two men knew one another and that Quesnel was familiar with Duperac's map of Rome.

On 4 January 1608, Quesnel was granted a royal privilege to engrave and sell a plan of Paris based on a painting which he was then making (A.N. X1A 8646 f300). At least a year and a half later, his bird's eye view of the city was published with the title Carte ou Description Nouvelle de la Ville Cité Université et Fauxbours de Paris 1609./Fig. 3/ It was engraved by Pierre Vallet le Jeune who signed his initials VLJ while Quesnel provided a self-portrait.⁵ The plan was oriented in the same way as Nicolay's map with north in the lower left corner. Spreading across twelve sheets (each one 37cm wide x 49cm long; 148cm x 147cm), Quesnel's map was almost three times larger than Nicolay's. Both men covered the same geographic area, but the painter worked at a larger scale. Quesnel used a

scale based on his own footstep, the "pas de l'auteur", which suggests that his dimensions were not calculated from fixed points with surveying tools but were gathered by walking through the city. The painter considered his rather personal method of surveying particularly reliable, explaining on the map, "je l'ay designée et pourtraicté avec une exacte observation de toutes les dimensions et mesures, avec art et Simetrie et non a bouleveüe, prenant un aspect differant des aultres . . ." Quesnel's declared aim was to produce a more accurate record of the city's form. His map was less intricately detailed than Nicolay's, but the painter, like the military engineer, was interested in clearly delineating the streets and buildings that constituted the topographical order of the city.

Both mapmakers explicitly acknowledged Henri IV's building program as the inspiration for their efforts. They dedicated their plans to the king, portrayed him on horseback, and praised his transformation of the city in messages engraved on the maps. In the upper right corner of Nicolay's map, Henri IV is depicted as a triumphant warrior trampling the arms and corpses of those he has conquered while a maiden offers a ship, the symbol of Paris, to the ruler who has navigated the city to peace. A caption in rhyme compared the capital to Rome: "Soubs le regne de ce grand Roy/ Tres clement, tres vaillant, tres juste,/ Paris est comme soubs Auguste/ Fut Rome du Monde l'effroy." Nicolay's map was accompanied by a description of the city drawn from the standard guidebook and a dedication to the king signed by the publisher Jean Le Clerc who lauded Henri IV for rescuing the city from ruin:

Vous l'avez tellement embellie et enrichie de somptueux bastimens et de superbes edifices, qu'elle est maintenant beaucoup plus grande, plus belle, plus opulente, et plus magnifique qu'elle ne fut jamais, et pouvez dire avec verité, que l'ayant trouvée bastie de plastre, vous la laisserez toute de pierre et de marbre a la posterité. Or afin que l'excellence de ceste grande ville soit notoire un à chacun, que les estrangers l'admirent, et que le tout redonde à la louage et à la gloire immortelle de vostre nom . . . , j'ay faict par vostre permission pourtraire et buriner en cuivre le plan de vostre Ville, Cité, et Université de Paris . . . (B.N. Est. Coll. Hennin XV 1352, 20).

Quesnel also inscribed his map with praise for the king's construction. In a panel on the right side, the most important French rulers are mentioned before concluding that Henri IV was more illustrious than his predecessors "tant par Infinis beaux edifices que cette carte represente que par ses bonnes loix." Like Nicolay's publisher, Quesnel explained that the map was intended to make the king's works known to foreigners: "affin que les Estrangers qui ne l'ont veue voient les merveilles que vous avez faictes en elle,

elle, . . . je l'ay faict graver en planche de cuivre pour satisfaire au désir des curieux." It will require a search in foreign map and print collections to determine if the plans by Nicolay and Quesnel did in fact circulate outside of the capital, but in view of their rarity in Paris today, it seems unlikely that they had a broad distribution. Nicolay's plan was republished in 1614 and there is now one copy of each edition in Paris, but Quesnel's more unwieldy plan was not reprinted and only one copy is known to survive.⁶

These two bird's eye views of Paris were conventional, indeed backward, in relation to contemporary maps made in Italy and Holland. But in a French context, they were important works in part because they reinvigorated mapmaking in Paris after a thirty-five year period of inactivity. In the following years, plans and views of Paris were engraved by Mathieu Merian (1615; Fig. 4), Jean Ziarnko (1616), Nicolas Visscher (1618), Franciscus Hoiamis (1619), Melchior Tavernier (1630), and by Jacques Gomboust (1652). And in part the maps of Paris by Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay and François Quesnel were important because they captured the immediate reaction to Henri IV's urbanism; they were the first cartographic expressions of the changing conception of the city spurred by the royal building program.

Books

The renewed interest in the image of Paris was matched by a growing literature on the city. Books surveying the monuments of France appeared in several editions. In 1605, François Des Rues published Les Antiquitez, fondations et singularitez des plus celebres villes, chasteaux, et places remarquables du Royaume de France which had a second, enlarged edition in 1608 and a third enlarged edition in 1614. In 1609, André Du Chesne wrote Les Antiquitez et recherches des villes, chasteaux et places plus remarquables de toute la France which went through six editions by 1631, and in 1618 Du Chesne compiled a bibliography to satisfy the burgeoning interest in urban history, Bibliothèque des auteurs qui ont escript l'histoire et topographie de la France, which was enlarged in 1627. The most important text was Jacques Du Breul's guidebook Le Théâtre de Antiquitez, which appeared in 1612. It was in this book that the interest in the city began to focus on the topography of the city.

The guidebooks of Paris from their origins in 1533 formed one continuous chain with each author respecting the content and format of the previous edition while adding new material and altering the title. In 1605 Pierre Bonfons prepared a new edition of the guide which his father had edited before him in 1576, renaming it Les Fastes Antiquitez et choses plus remarquables de Paris. This book, like its

predecessors, was organized by the reigns of kings with each chapter describing in chronological order the notable events that occurred in Paris. Separate chapters were devoted to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame and the abbey of St. Denis, reviewing the history of the foundations and discussing the epitaphs in the buildings. A revised edition of Bonfons' work by Jacques Du Breul was published in 1608 with the title Les Antiquitez et choses plus remarquables de Paris. Du Breul slightly modified the traditional organization of the guide by focusing more chapters on a single institution such as the Parliament, the University, and the municipal government. Of the forty-five chapters, only the last nine chapters adhered to the traditional format, narrating the events in the capital from reign to reign between Charles V and Henri IV. But, if the material was regrouped in parts to follow the history of a particular institution, the underlying thread remained the chronological order of events. Chapter XVII, for example, concerned the churches of St. Barthelemy, St. Magloire and St. Leu-St. Gilles, buildings dispersed across the city. What linked these foundations was not their location but their historical associations; an agreement between the rector of St. Barthelemy and the abbot of St. Magloire led to the foundation of the church of St. Leu-St. Gilles. Du Breul's new volume Le Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris, published in 1612, began to recast the structure of the guidebook according to the topography of the city, following the location of the buildings rather than the chronological sequence of their foundation.

Jacques Du Breul (1528-1614) was the monk in charge of the archives at the abbey of St. Germain des Près. He served in provincial posts from 1572 to 1594 before he was recalled to the capital by the abbot of St. Germain Charles de Bourbon.⁷ Du Breul dedicated the book to the abbot's nephew François de Bourbon, the Prince de Conty. Le Théâtre des Antiquitez was published after three years of work when the author was 84 years of age. It was reprinted in 1639 and enlarged by Claude Malingre in 1640.

Le Théâtre des Antiquitez was the first guide to Paris which recognized the topographical order of the city as an organizing principle of the text, proceeding from the Ile de la Cité to the Left Bank, the Right Bank, and then the suburbs. The volume was divided into four sections: the Cité, Université, Ville, and Rural Diocese of Paris. Within each section, the text partially followed an itinerary of neighboring buildings. The first section on the Ile de la Cité began at the east end of the island with Nôtre Dame, moved westward to the Hôtel Dieu and the Palais, and ended with the place Dauphine at the western tip of the island. Geography was less rigorously respected when Du Breul reached the larger territory of the Right and Left Banks. There the institutional and topographical frameworks intersect. On the Left Bank for example, Du Breul moved

from Ste, Geneviève and the surrounding churches on the east side of the Université to St. Germain des Près and the nearby buildings of the west side, then crossed the bank to the area of St. Marcel. The text itself, apart from its sequence, was entirely conventional, principally concerned with the institutional history of the foundations and paying minimal attention to the buildings themselves.

Le Théâtre des Antiquitez was a hefty tome, a quarto of 1310 pages, intended for arm chair reading. The guidebook was still conceived as an institutional history; it was neither a manual to direct a traveler on his promenades nor a commentary on the architecture of the city such as Sauval and Brice wrote later in the century, but Le Théâtre des Antiquitez was an important step along a trajectory that ultimately led to such guides. By organizing the text in terms of the topography of the city rather than the reigns of kings, Du Breul responded and contributed to the emerging view of the city as a physical object engaged in urban life and not as a passive stage on which affairs of state were enacted.

¹ Bonnardot dated the woodcut plan to 1601 without offering any justification for the date: Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris des XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe siècles (Paris:1851), 73-73. I have suggested 1604-05 as a more likely date based on the inclusion of two long, parallel buildings with the caption "Bastiments pour les soyes" on the future site of place Royale; the silkworks were not planned before 1604.

² The military maps are discussed by François de Dainville, Le Dauphiné et ses confins vus par l'ingénieur d'Henri IV Jean de Beins (Paris:1968); David Buisseret, "Les ingénieurs du roi au temps de Henri IV," Bulletin de la section de géographie 77(1964):13-84; Marcel Lallemand and Alfred Boinette, Jean Errard de Bar-le-Duc (Paris:1884). Buisseret's article includes an index of a volume of maps mostly by Jean de Beins which he discovered in the British Museum (Add. Mss.21,117).

³ The dates of Vassallieu's life are not known. The Bibliothèque Nationale has another manuscript by Vassallieu dit Nicolay entitled Discours et Desseins par lesquels s'acquiert la congnoissance de ce qui s'observe en France en la conduite et employ de l'artillerie (Ms.fr. 388); it is the same text as Recueil du Reiglement in a larger format with drawings illustrating the movement of artillery. The

manuscripts are discussed by Gabriel Marcel, "Nouvelles notes sur B. de Vassallieu, auteur du plan de Paris de 1609," BSHP 1907:179-82. There are other city views and military maps by Vassallieu in B.N.Est. Lallemand de Betz Vx 27. The plan of Paris is discussed by Bonnardot (85-87) and by Alfred Franklin, Les Anciens plans de Paris. Notices historiques et topographiques, 2 vols. (Paris: 1878-80), 1:90-100, who described it as the most inexact seventeenth century French map. The plan was accompanied by a conventional text entitled "Remarques singulieres de la ville, cité et université de Paris, sommairement receuillies des bons autheurs tant anciens que modernes. Par E.C. IC Lyonnais." The author Etienne Cholet was identified in the second edition which appeared in 1614.

4 The Parliament delayed the registration of the royal privilege for more than a year at which point Henri IV issued a warning and the Parliament finally registered Quesnel's grant on 14 April 1609 (A.N. X1A 8646 f300; Felibien 5:46). The only other plan which Quesnel is known to have made was done in 1615 with Claude Vellefaux for the Abbey of St. Germain des Près to resolve a tax dispute; the plan (A.N. S 869) was mentioned by R. de Lasteyrie, "Communication sur un dessin de François Quesnel," BHSP 1874:71, and by L.-M. Tisserand, "Note sur les travaux du service historique de la Ville de Paris," BSHP 1876:89-90. Quesnel's plan of Paris is discussed by Franklin (1:80-89) and Bonnardot (75-84).

5 Pierre Vallet, brodeur ordinaire du roi, also engraved Le Jardin du Roy Henry IV (1608) which depicted the flowers from the royal garden at the tip of the Ile du Palais that was destroyed to build the place Dauphine: F. Robert-Dumesnil, Le Peintre-Graveur français 6(Paris:1842); G.K. Nagler, Die Monogrammisten 5(Munchen:1879),249.

6 There is a copy of Vassallieu's map from the first printing in 1609 at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Est. Hennin XV 1352) and from the second printing in 1614 at the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (A 103a) as well the B.N. (Est. Va 212 fol). Quesnel's map is filed under the code B.N. Est. AA.3 rés. Both maps are reproduced in Alphand, Michaud, and Tisserand, eds., Atlas des anciens plans de Paris (Paris:1880).

7 Du Breul also published a volume in Latin concerning the abbeys and monasteries in Paris, Supplementum Antiquitatem urbis Parisiacae (Paris:1614). His work is discussed by Maurice Dumoulin, "Notes sur les vieux guides de Paris," MSHP 47(1924):234; Le Roux de Lincy and A. Bruel, "Notice historique et critique sur Dom Jacques Du Breul, prieur de St. Germain des Près," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, ser. 6, 4(1868):56-72,479-512.

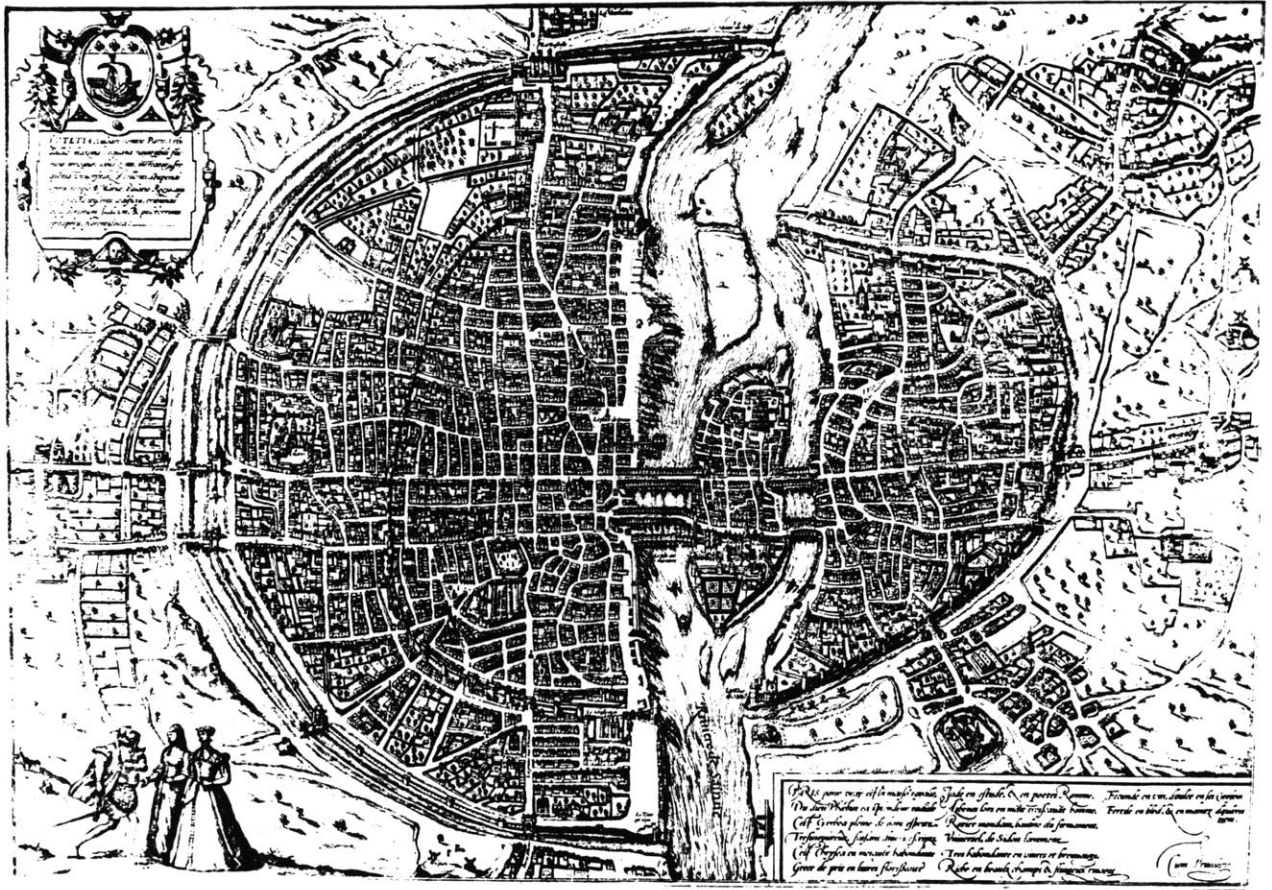


Fig. 1: George Braun, Plan of Paris, 1572.

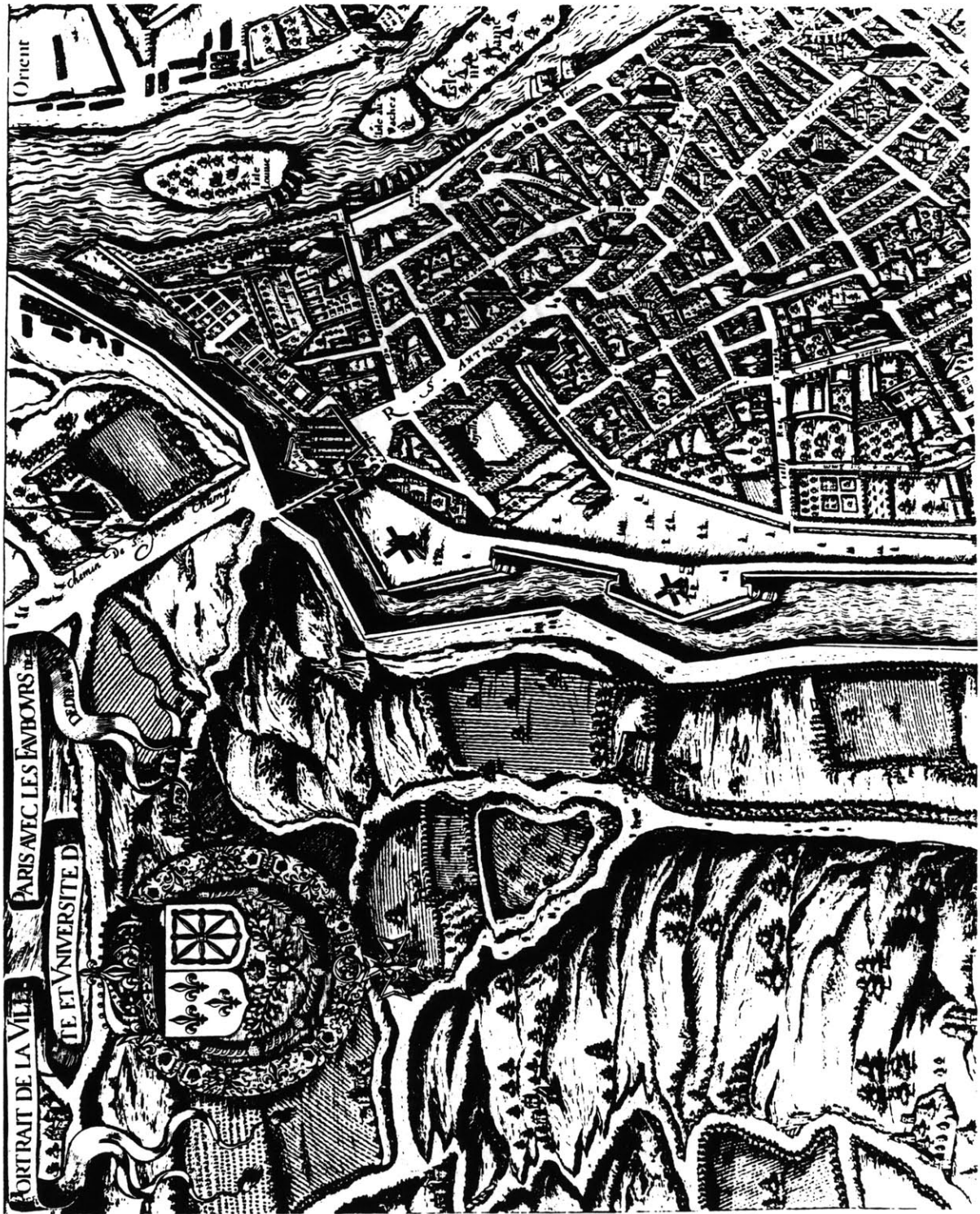


Fig. 2a: Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay, Plan of Paris, 1609. Detail of the Place Royale.



Fig. 2b: Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay, Plan of Paris, 1609. Detail of the Place Dauphine.



Fig. 2c: Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay, Plan of Paris, 1609. Detail of the Hôpital St. Louis.

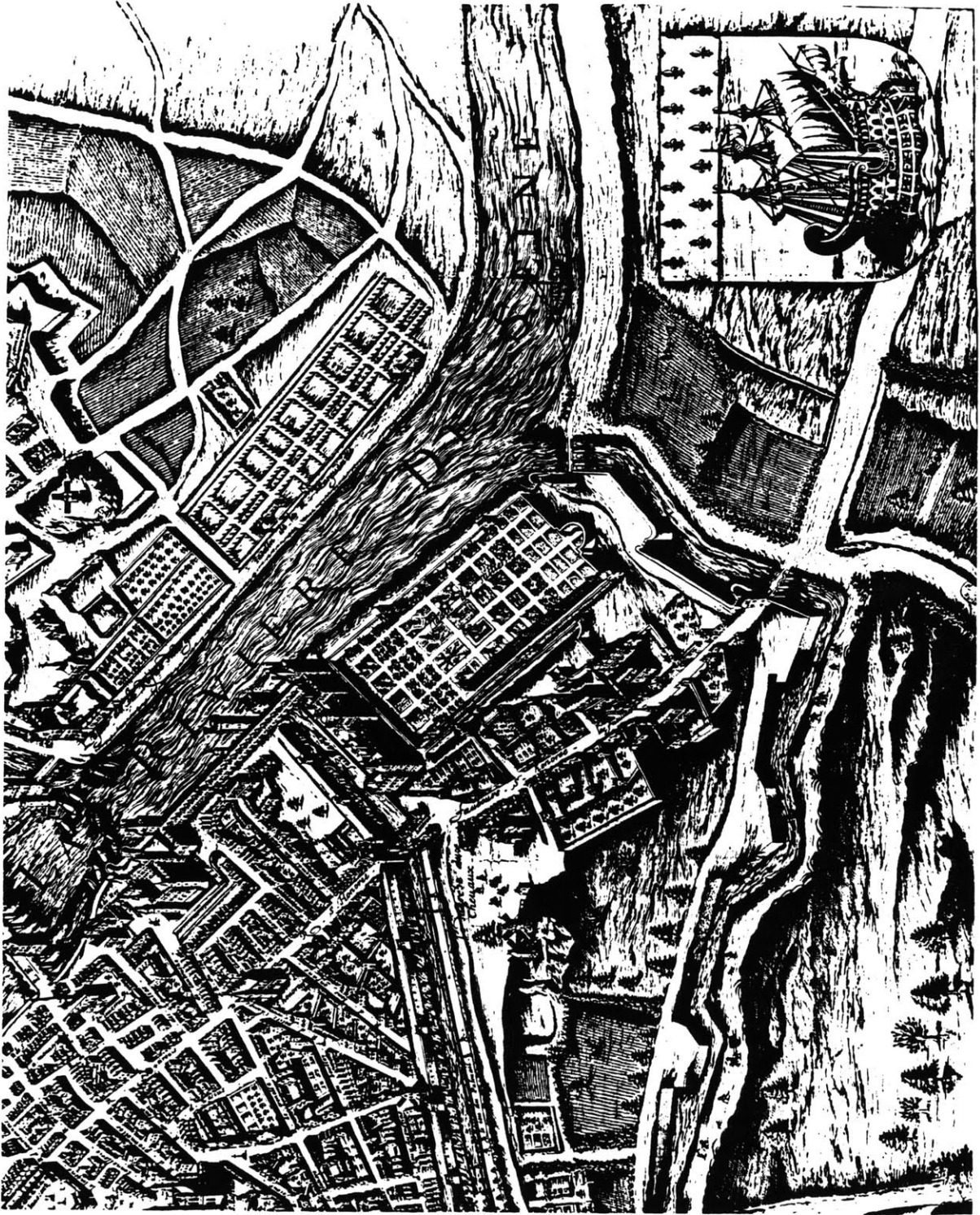


Fig. 2d: Benedict de Vassallieu dit Nicolay, Plan of Paris, 1609. Detail of the Louvre.

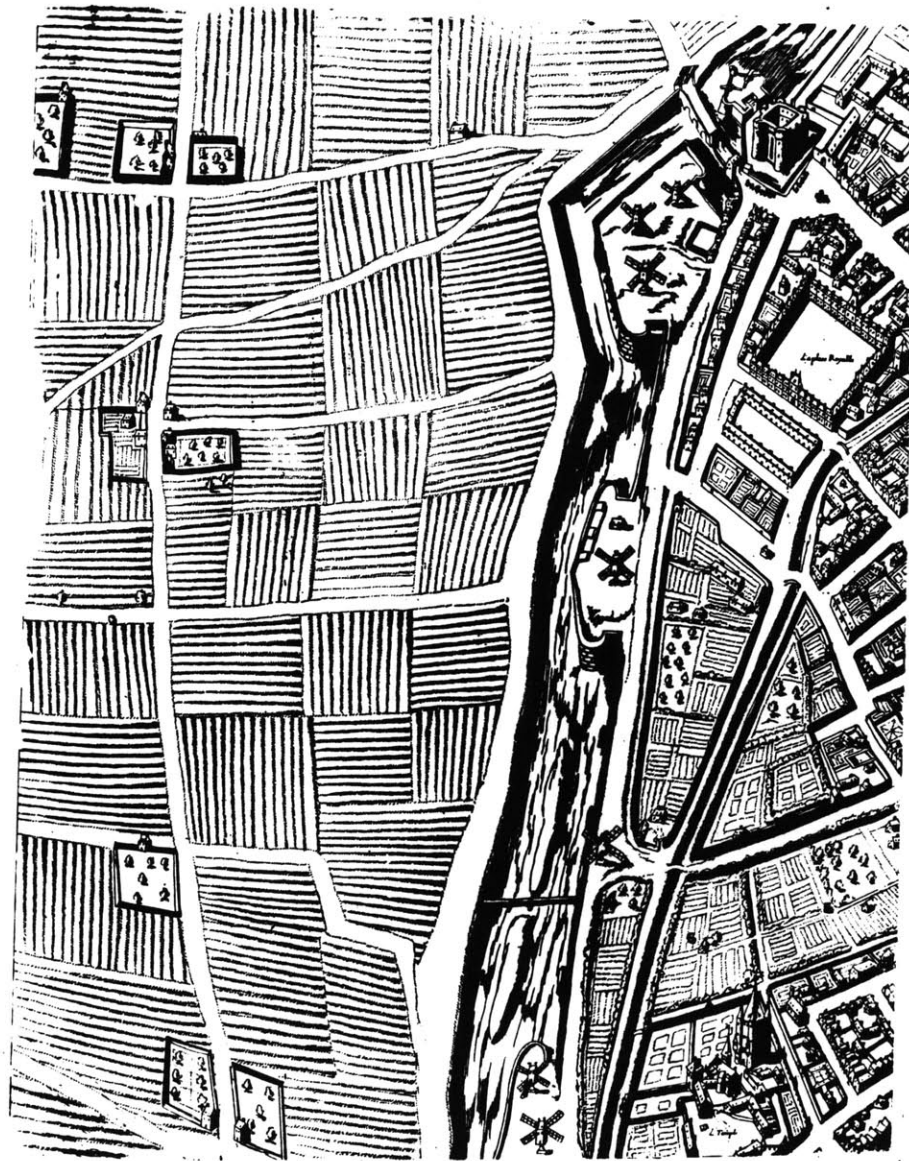


Fig. 3a: François Quesnel, Plan of Paris, 1609.
Detail of the Place Royale.



Fig. 3b: François Quesnel, Plan of Paris, 1609.
Detail of the Place Dauphine.

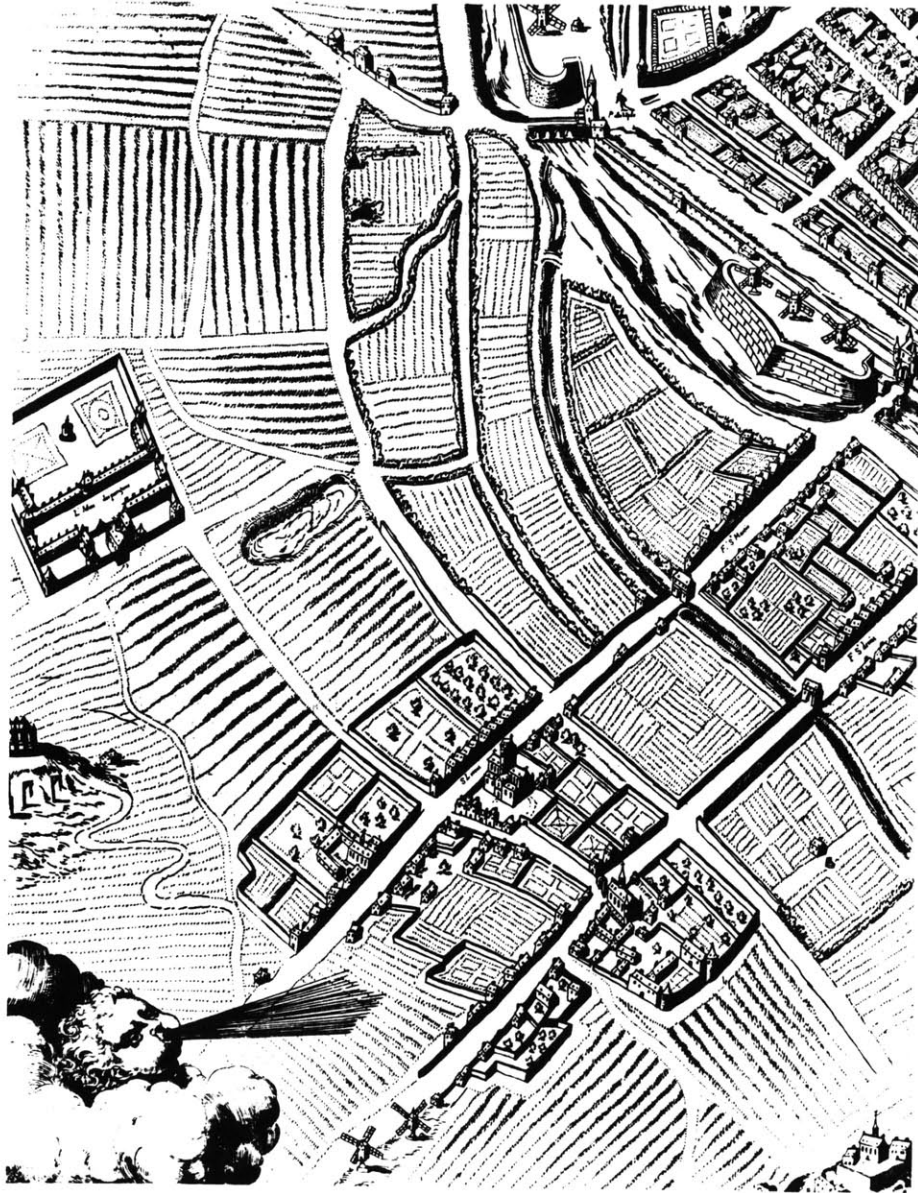


Fig. 3c: François Quesnel, Plan of Paris, 1609.
Detail of the Hôpital St. Louis.

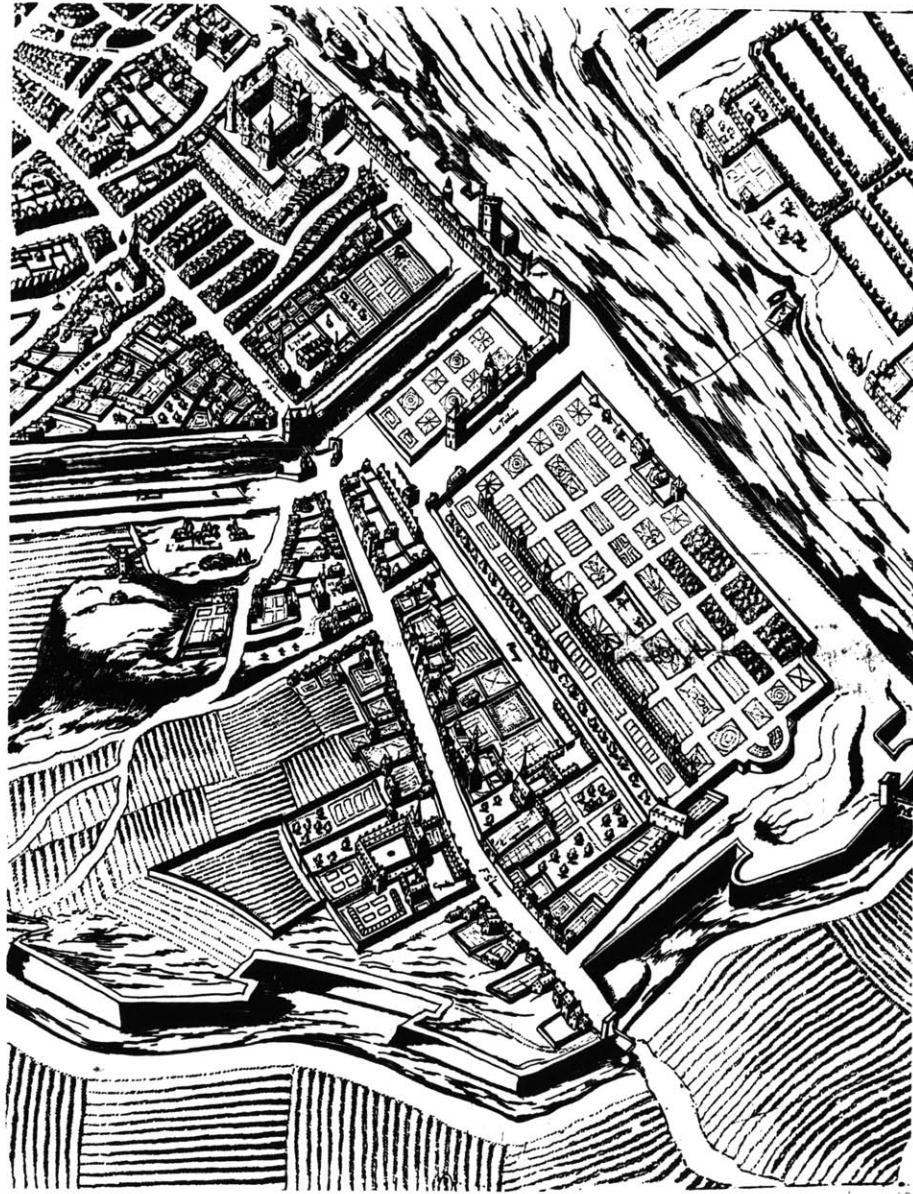


Fig. 3d: François Quesnel, Plan of Paris, 1609.
Detail of the Louvre.



Fig. 4: Mathieu Merian, View of Paris, 1615.



Fig. 5a: Jacques Gomboust, Plan of Paris, 1652.
Detail of the Place Royale.

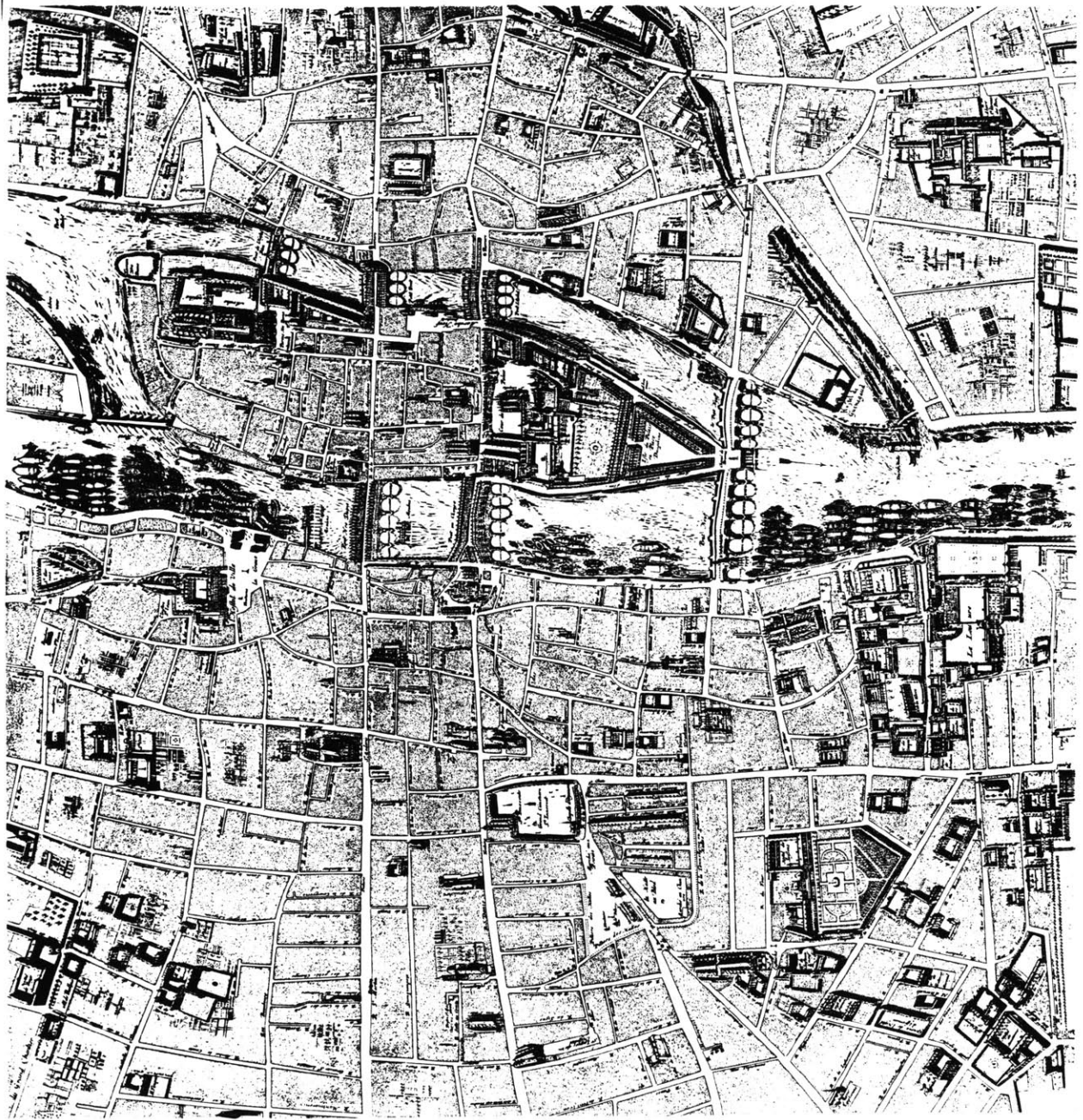


Fig. 5b: Jacques Gomboust, Plan of Paris, 1652.
Detail of the Place Dauphine.

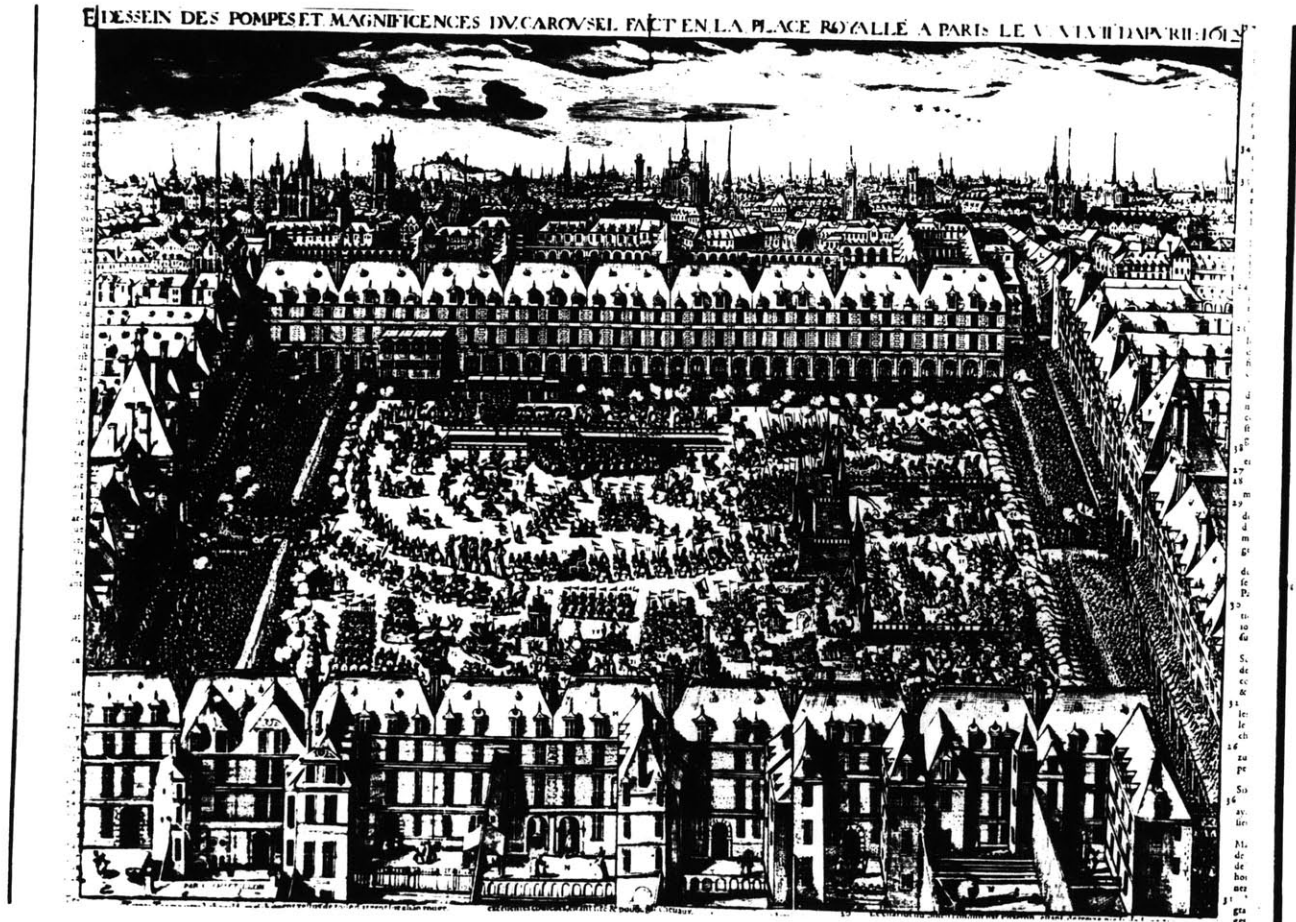


Fig. 6: Claude Chastillon, Place Royale, View from the East.

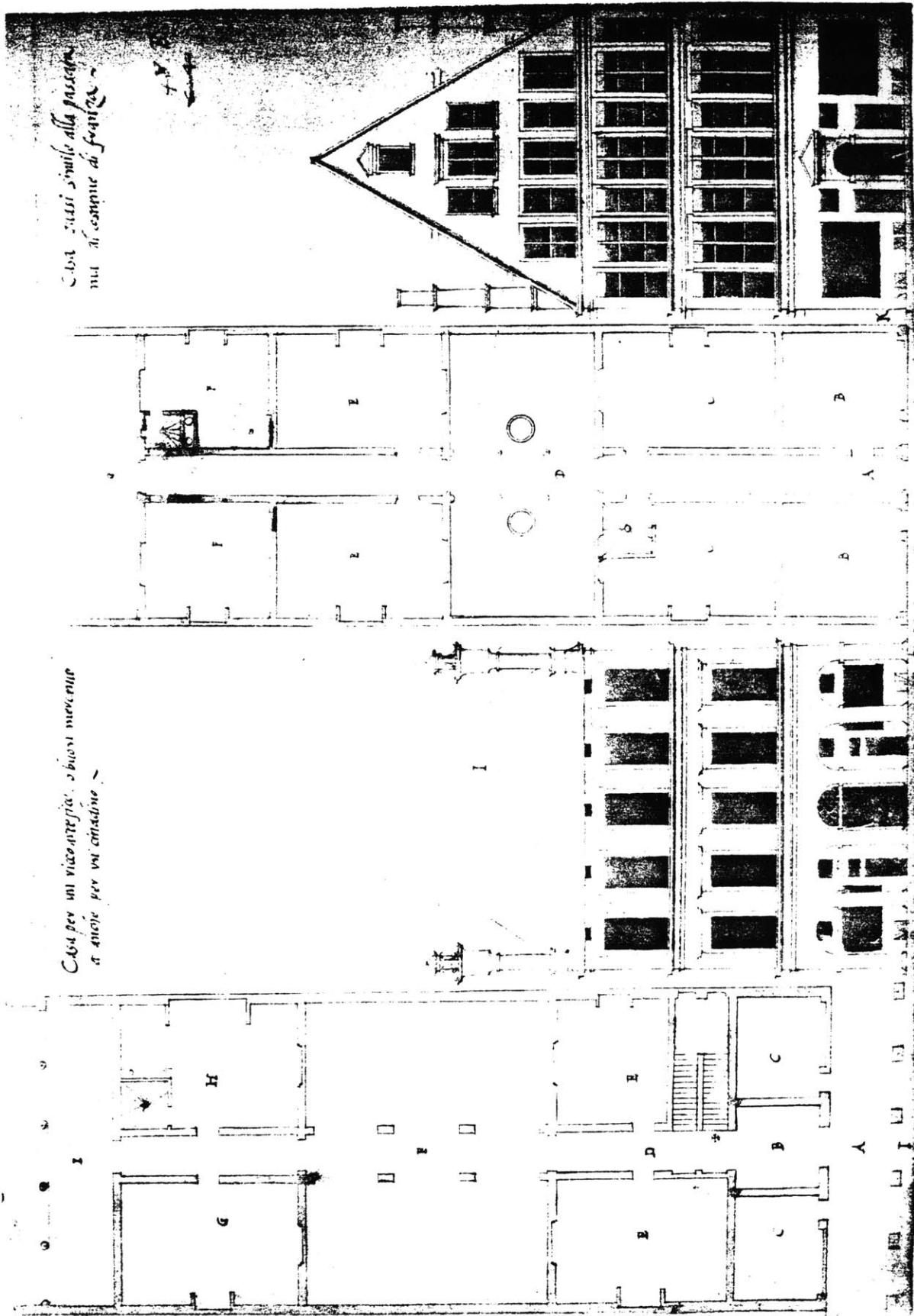


Fig. 7: Sebastiano Serlio, House for a rich artisan and House in the French manner, c.1540's.

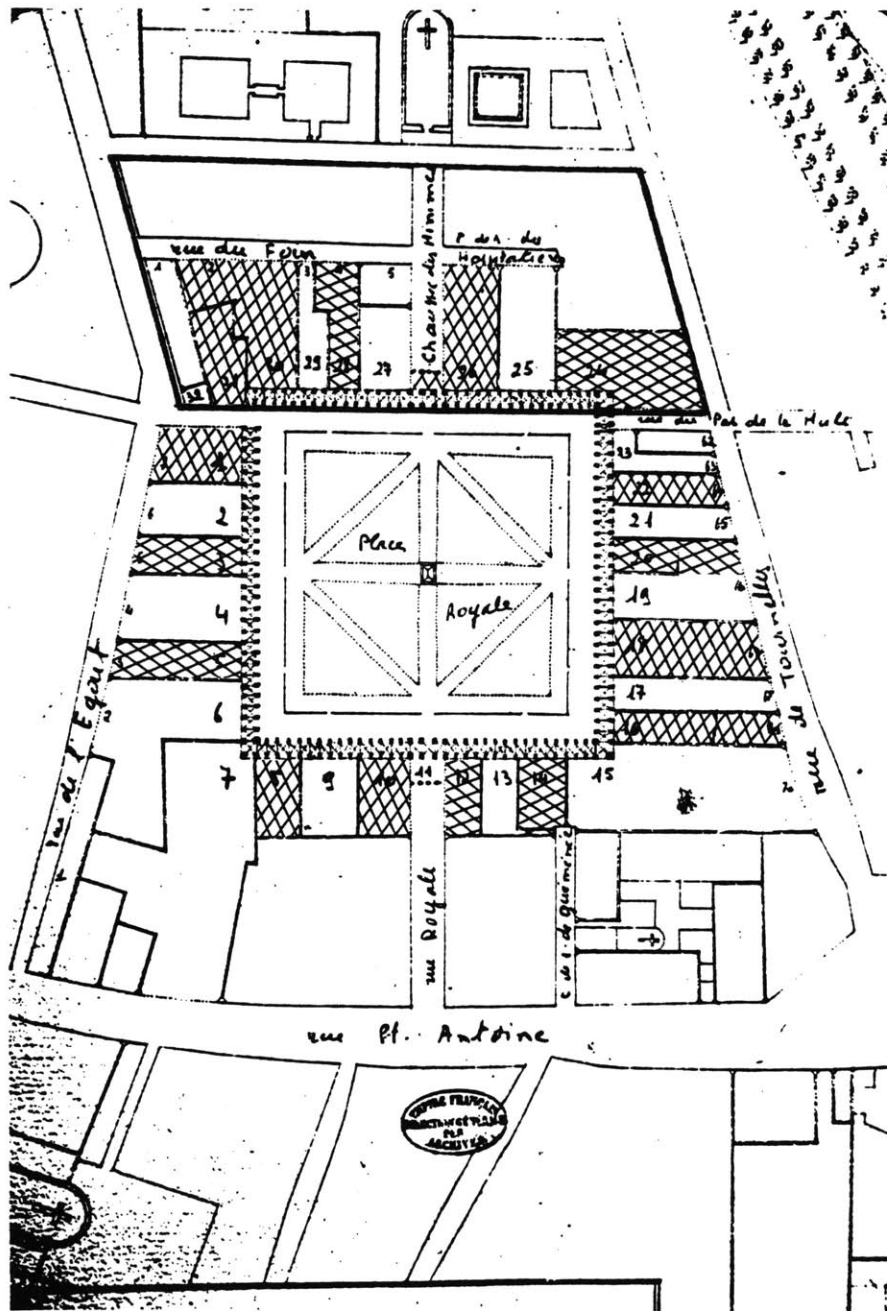


Fig. 8a: Place Royale, Terrier Plan, 1702.

The numbers and captions were added by an archivist in 1983. The arcade around the square is not accurately represented. On the east and west ranges there were 36 arches, not 28 as shown, on north and south ranges 35 arches, not 33 as shown (not including the corner bays and the pavilion over the rue du Pas de la Mule). The land given to the silk entrepreneurs is outlined in red. Lot 7, the Hôtel de Sully, is not counted among the 28 houses at the square.

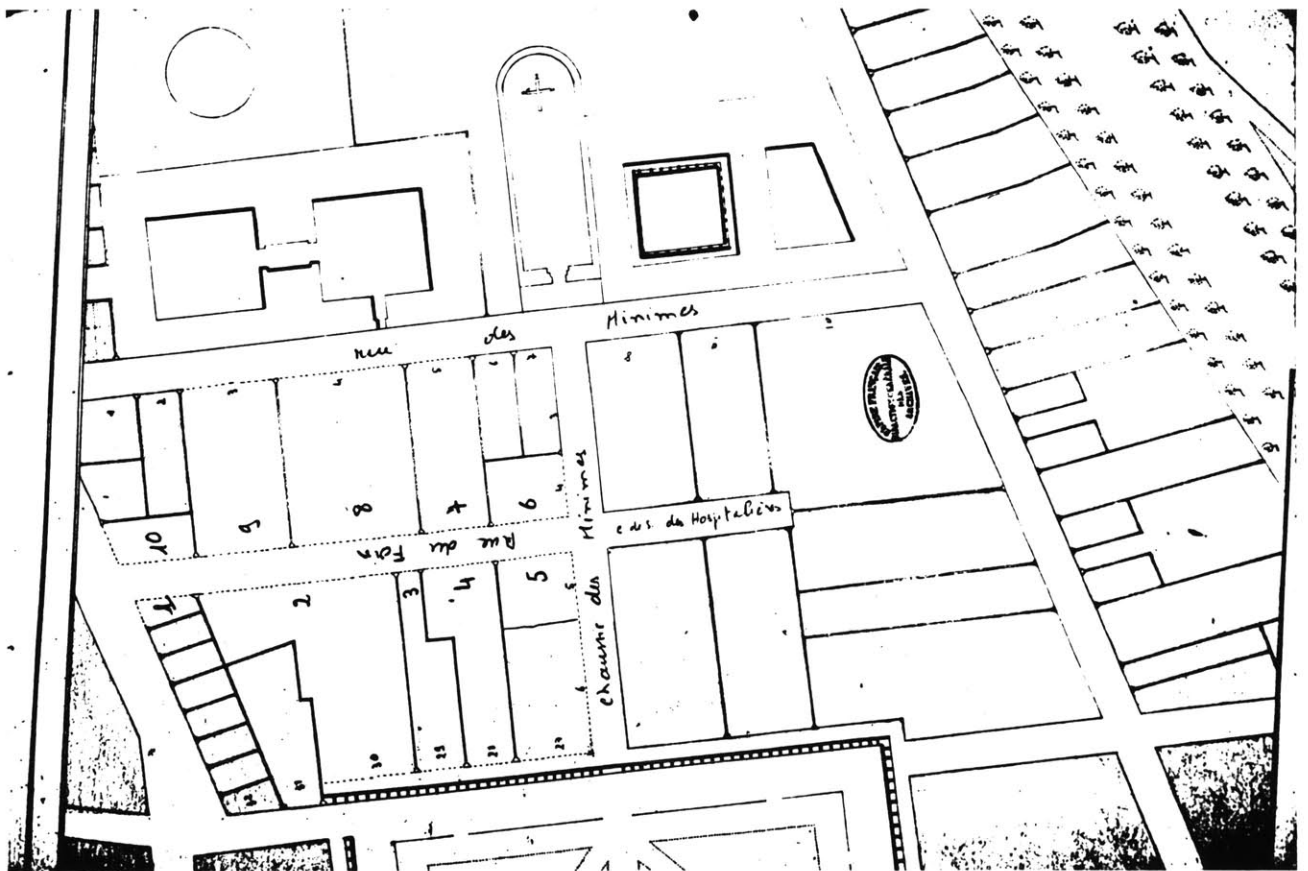


Fig. 8b: Rue des Minimes, Terrier Plan, 1702.



Fig. 9: Anonymous, Project for the Pont Neuf, c.1578.

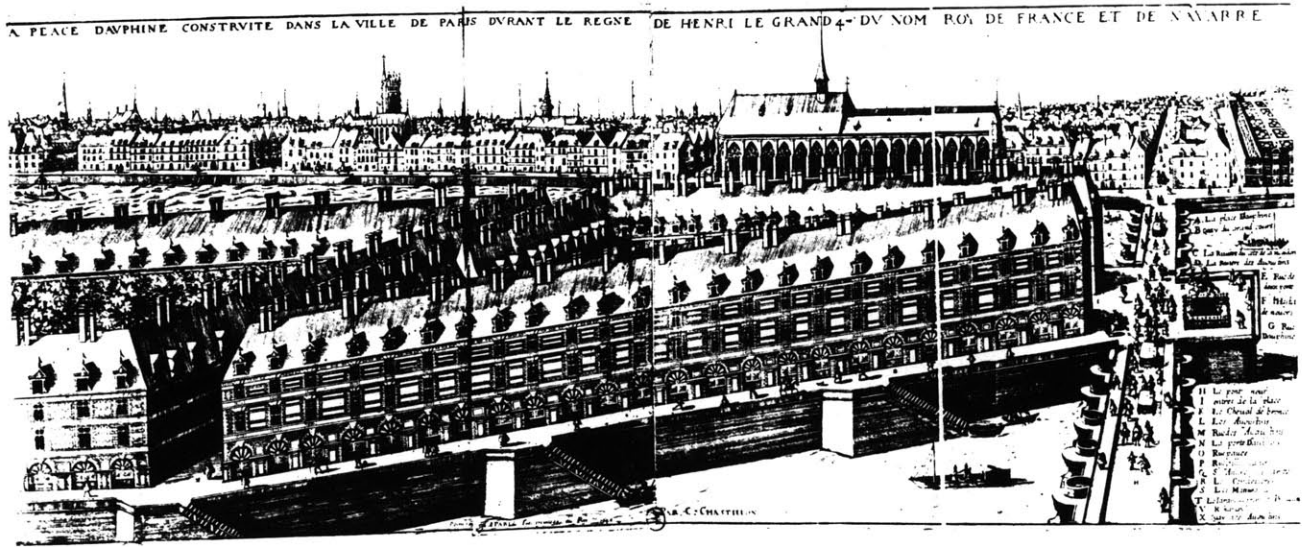


Fig. 10: Claude Chastillon, Place Dauphine, View from the North.

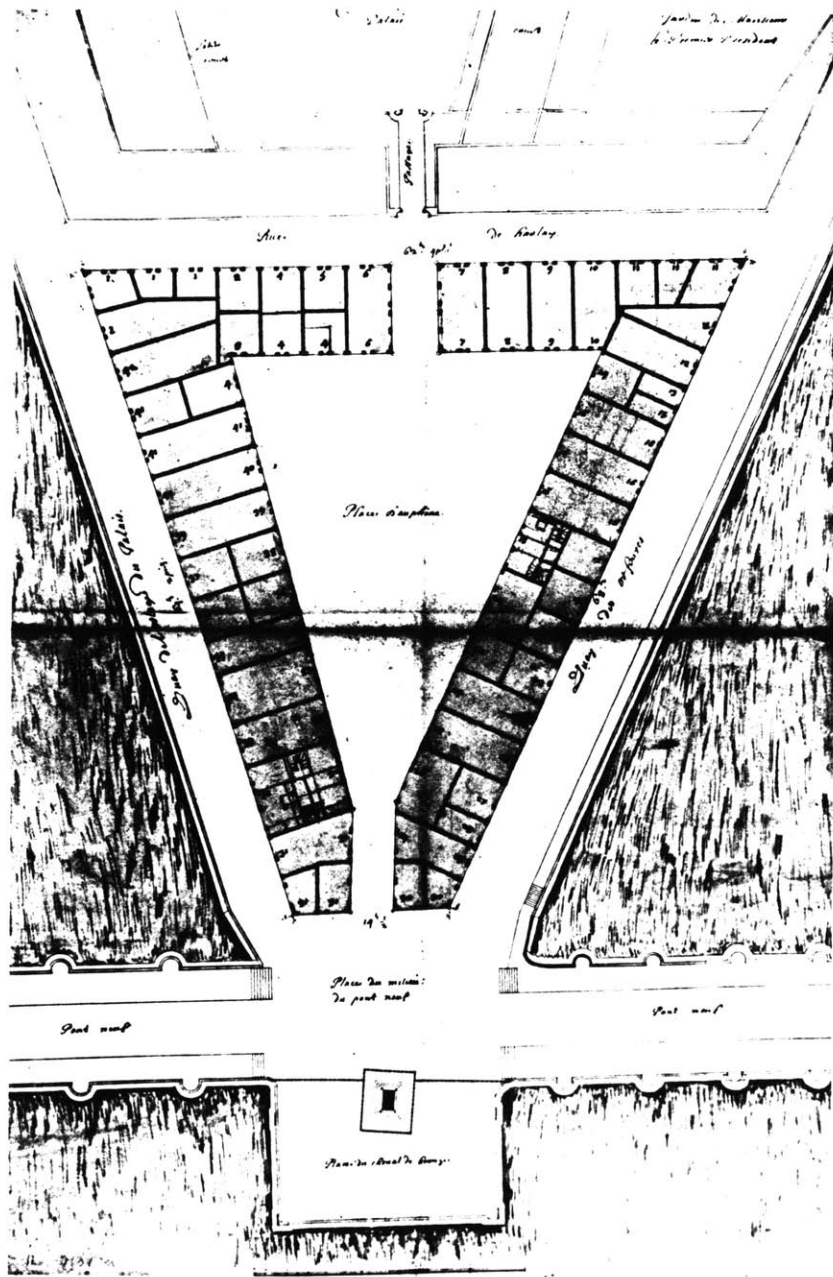


Fig. 11: Robert de Cotte, Plan of the Place Dauphine, 1685.

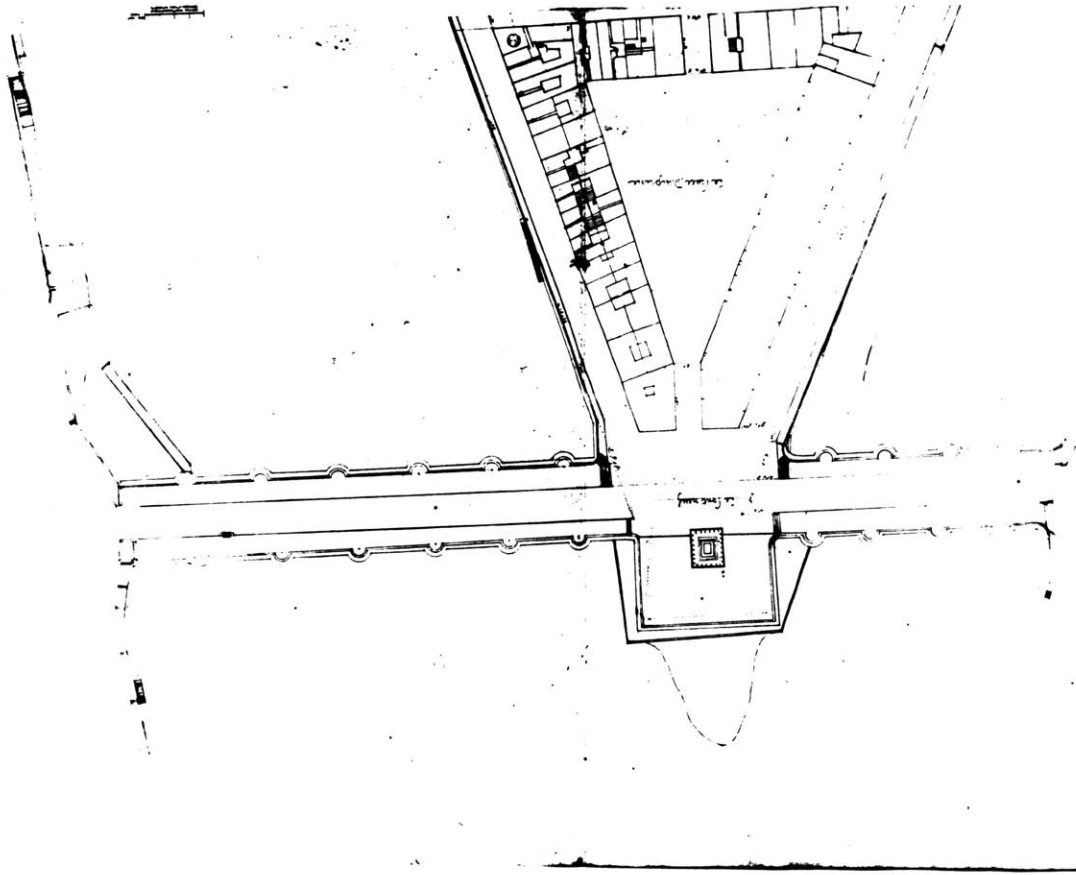


Fig. 12: Abbé Delagrive, Plan of the Place Dauphine, c.1740's.

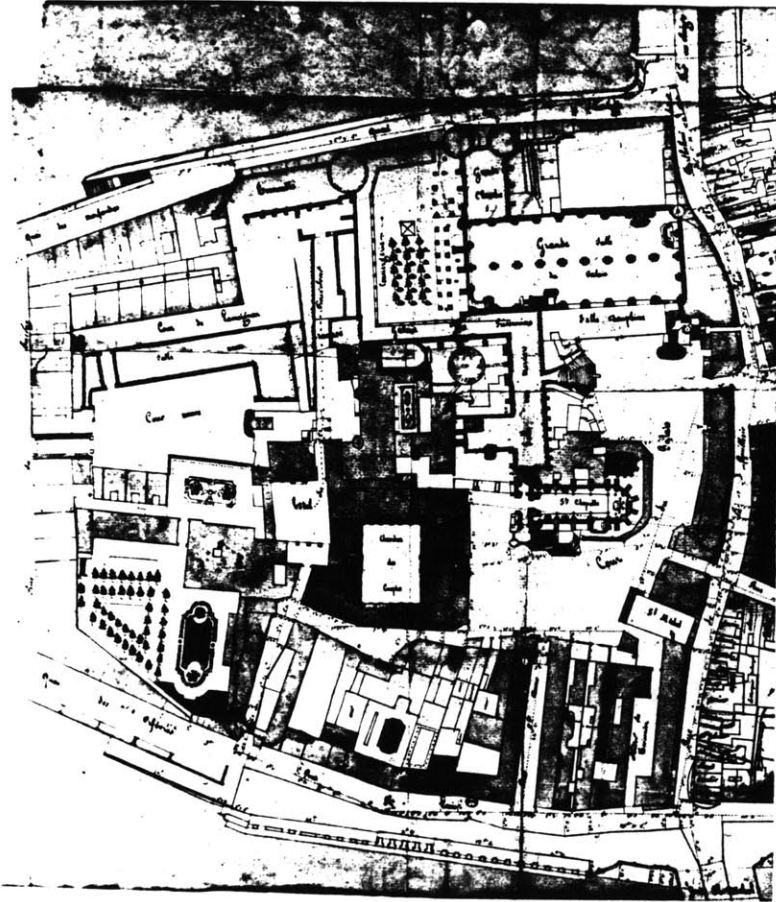


Fig. 13: Abbé Delagrive, Plan of the Ile de la Cité, 1740's. 1740's. Detail of the Rue de Harlay and the Palais.

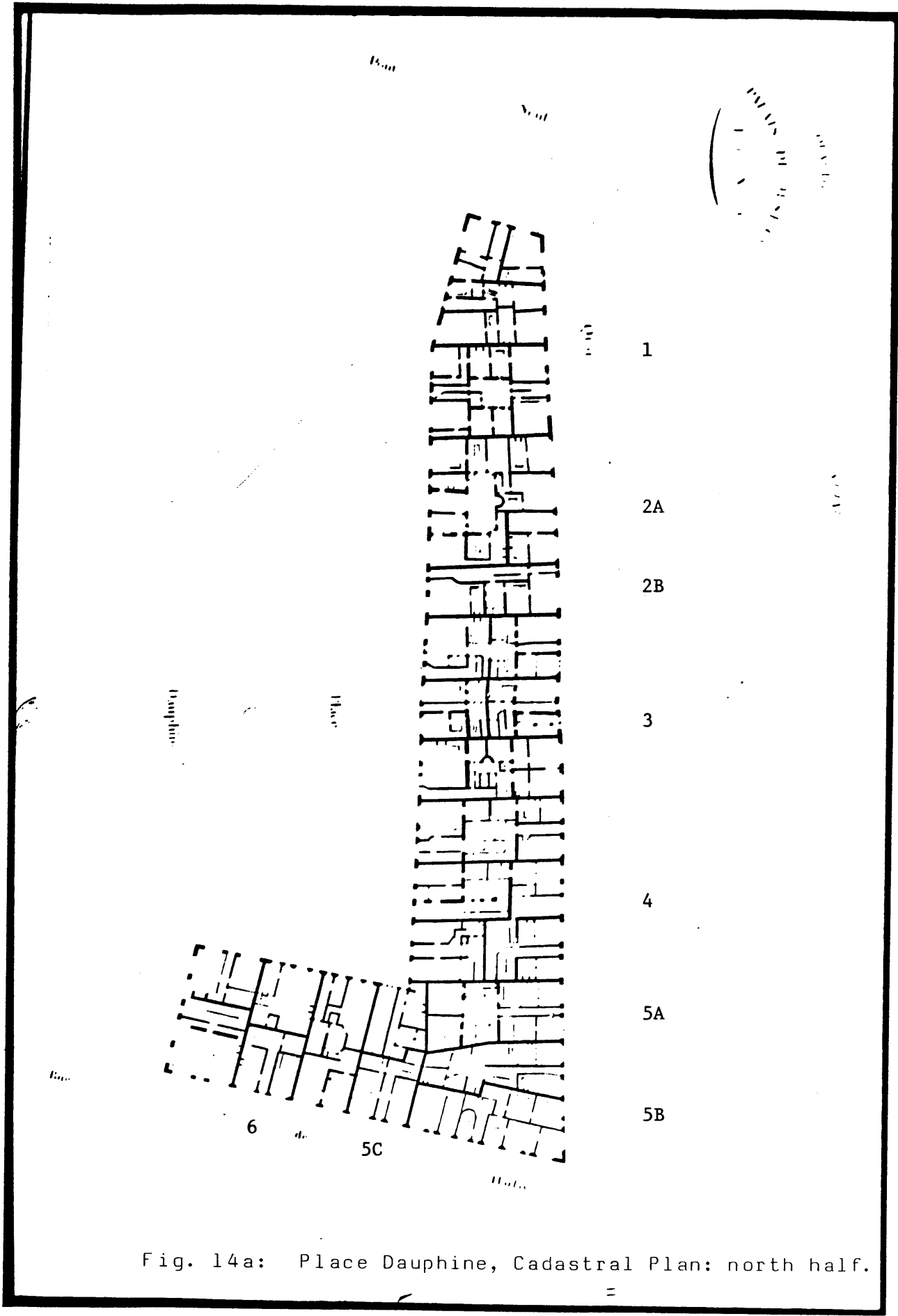


Fig. 14a: Place Dauphine, Cadastral Plan: north half.

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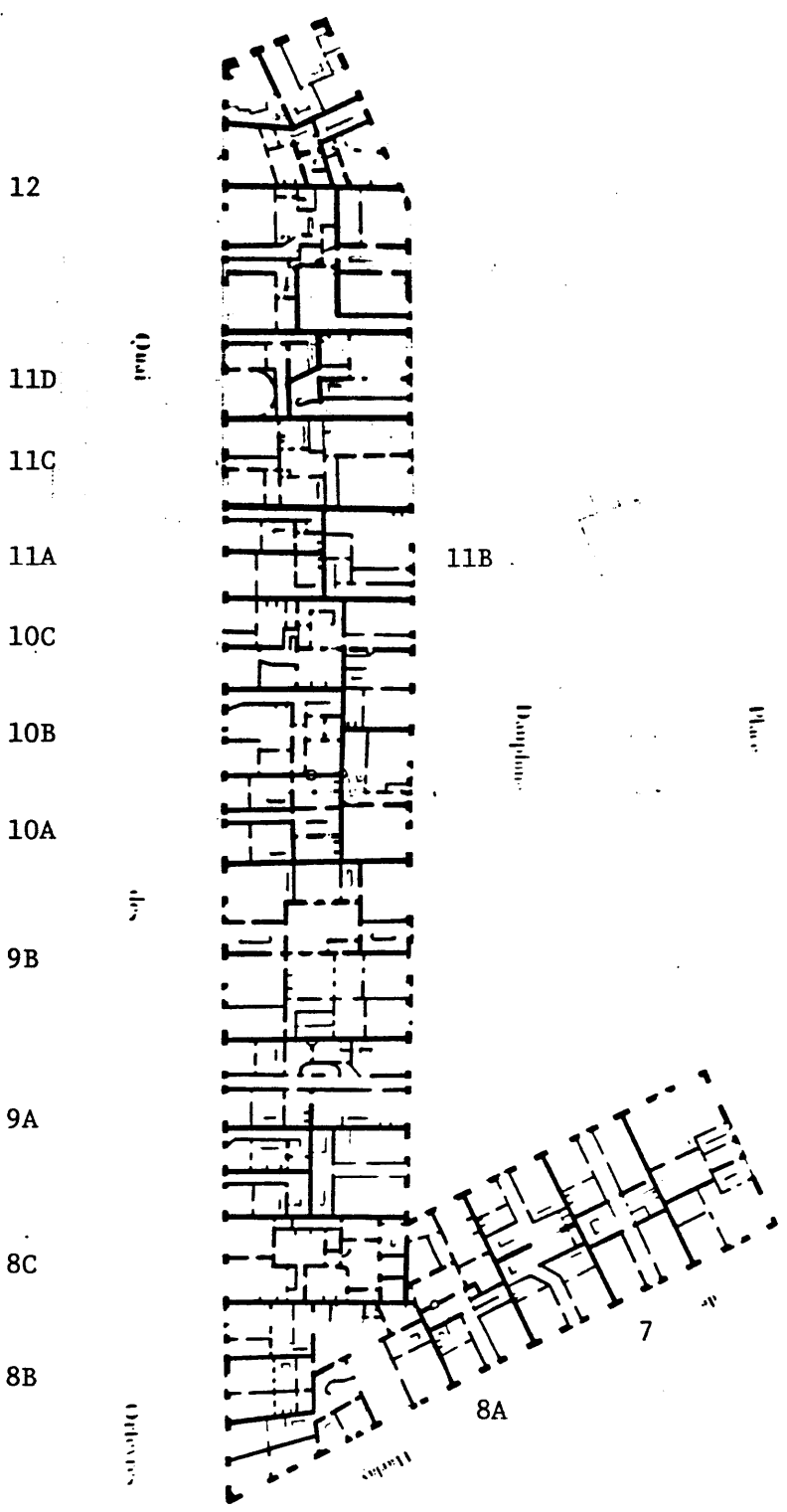
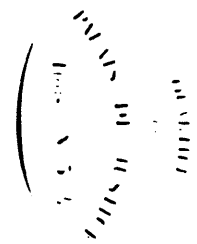


Fig. 14b: Place Dauphine, Cadastral Plan: south half.

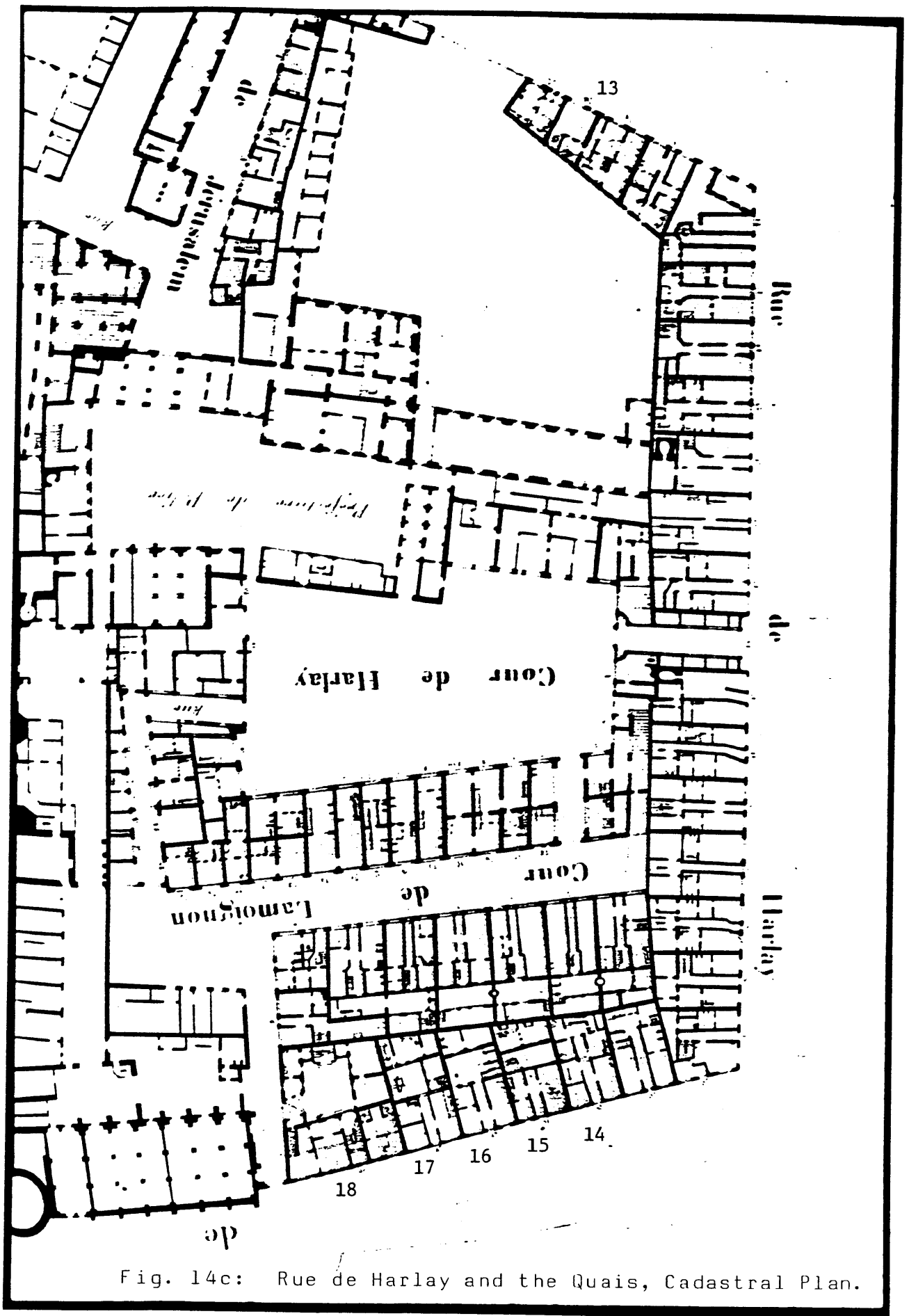


Fig. 14c: Rue de Harlay and the Quais, Cadastral Plan.

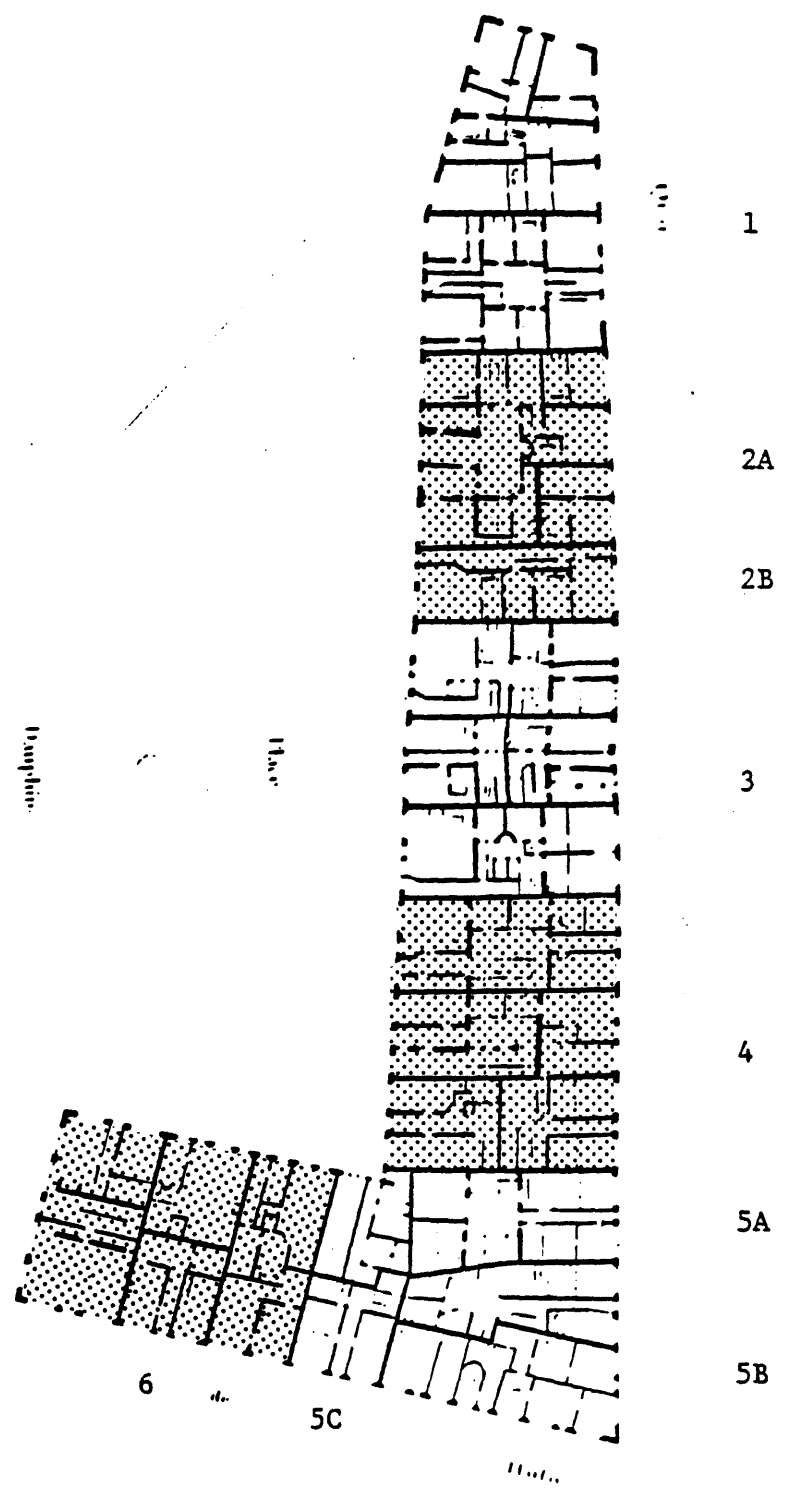


Fig. 15a: Place Dauphine, Original Lots: north half.

12

11D

11C

11A

10C

10B

10A

9B

9A

8C

8B

Quai

des

Chapelles

11B

Dauphine

Place

8A

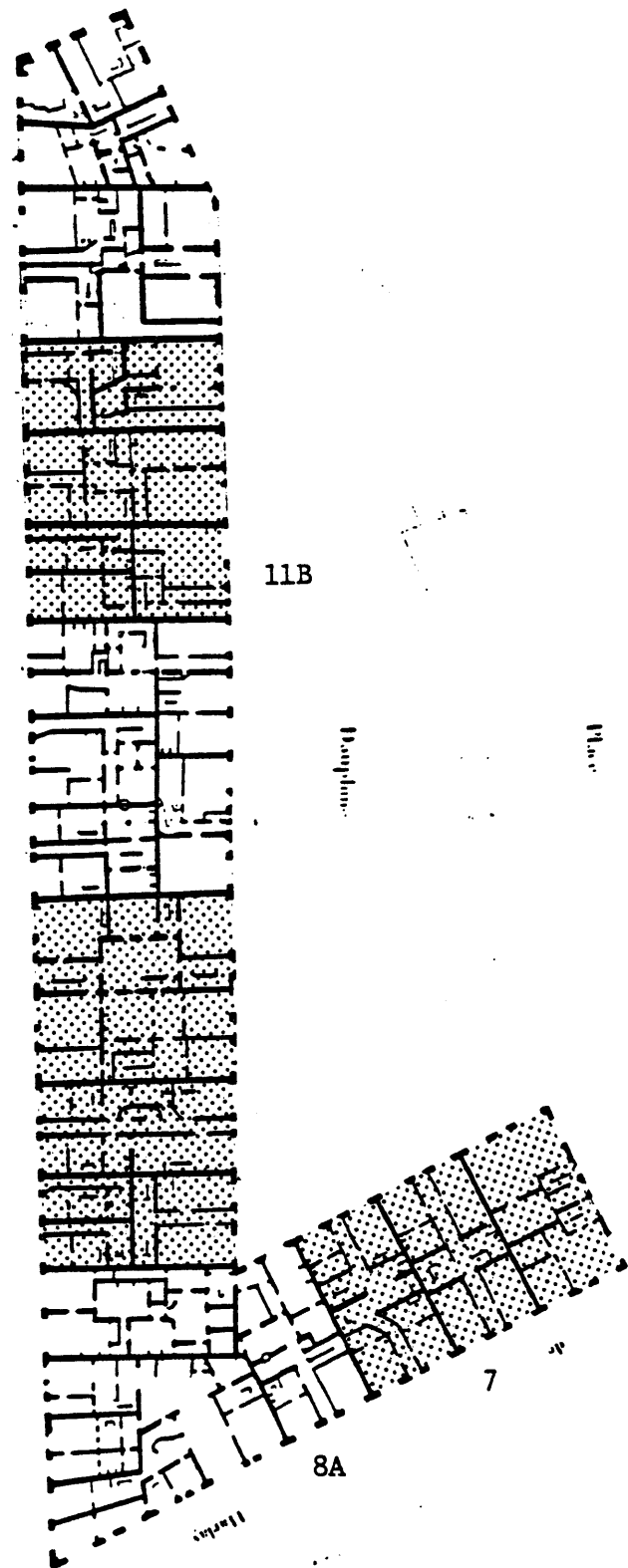


Fig. 15b: Place Dauphine, Original Lots: south half.

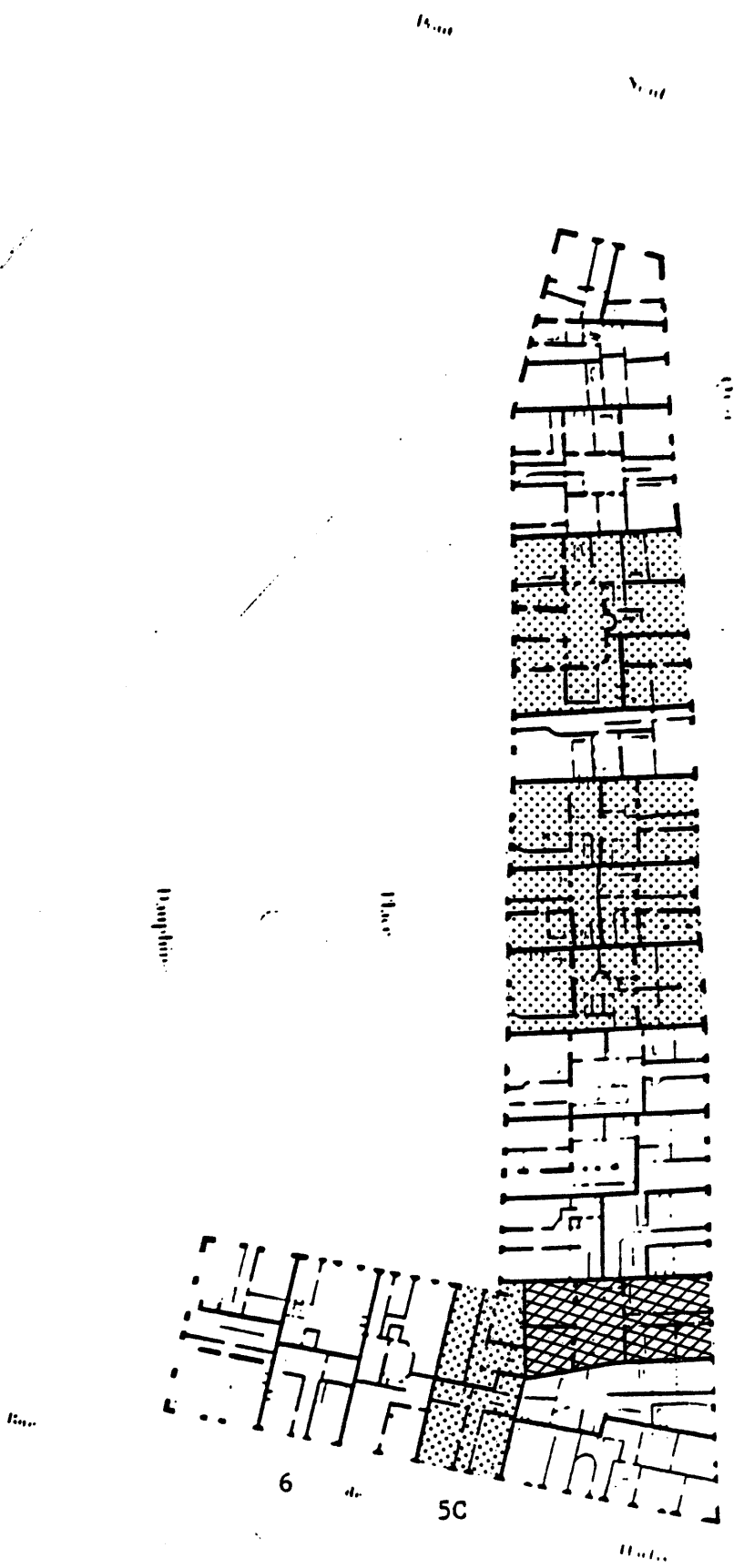


Fig. 16a: Place Dauphine, Lot Division: north half.

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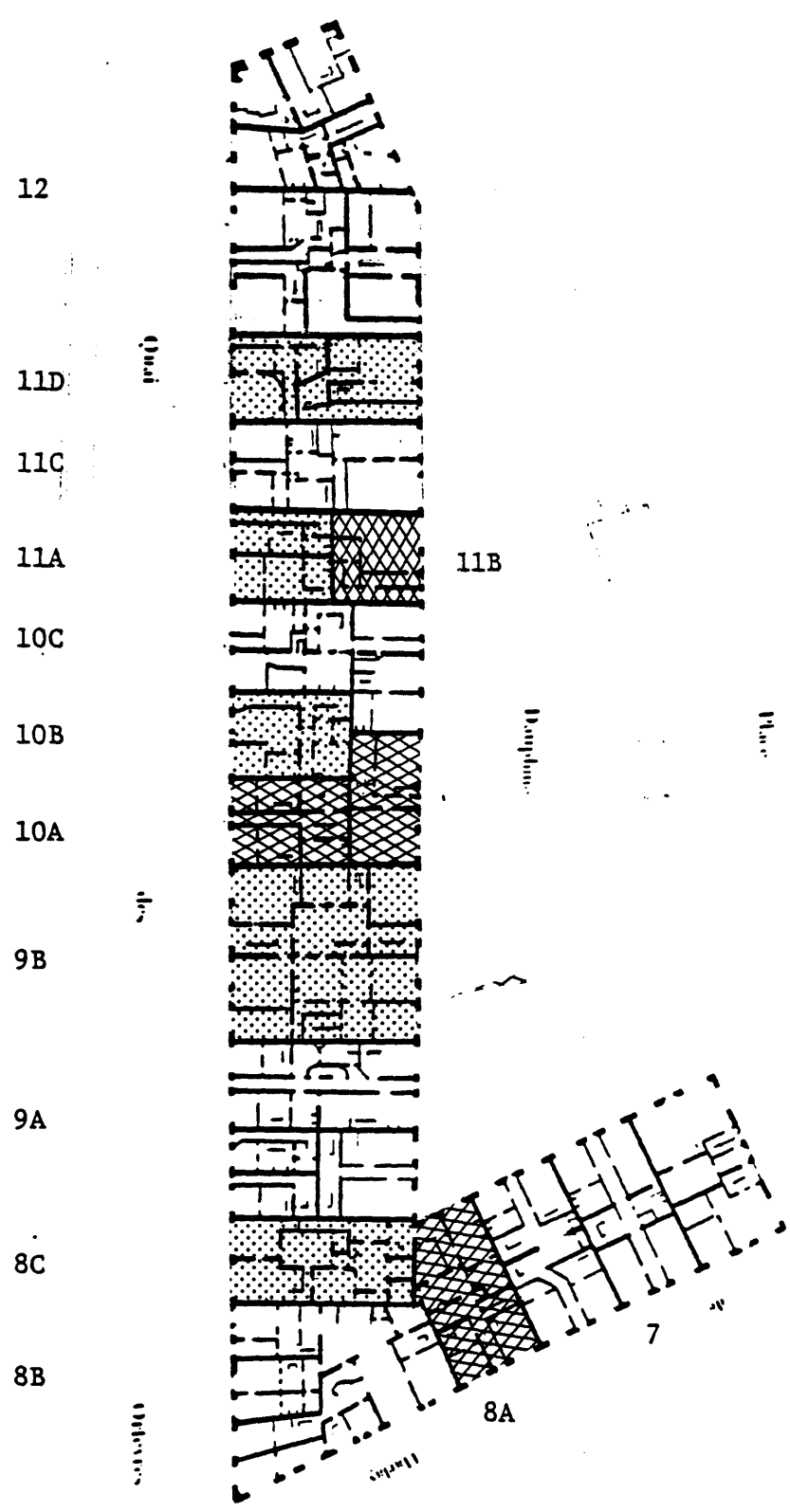
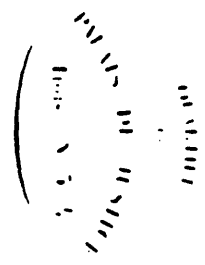


Fig. 16b: Place Dauphine, Lot Division: south half.

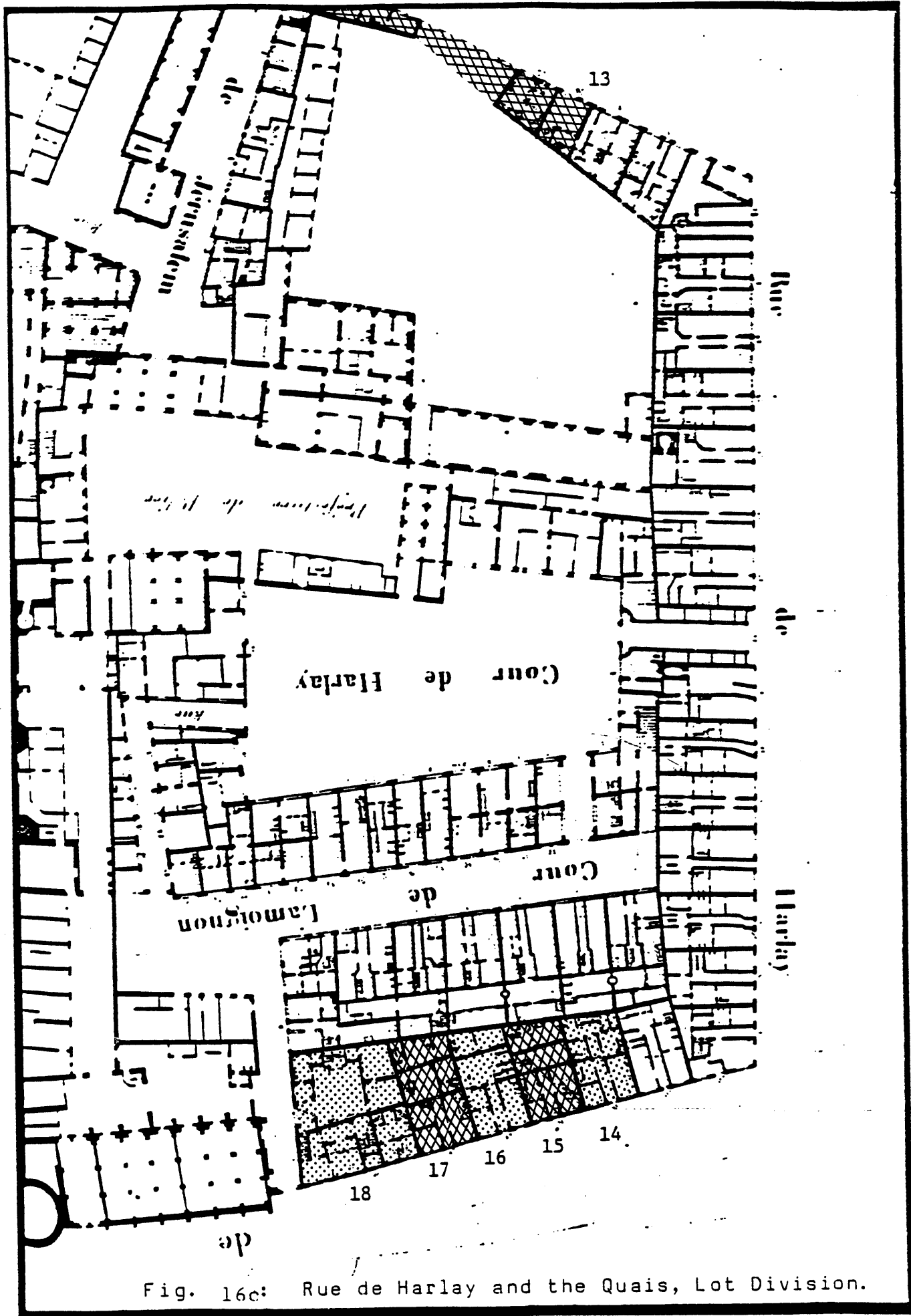


Fig. 16c: Rue de Harlay and the Quais, Lot Division.

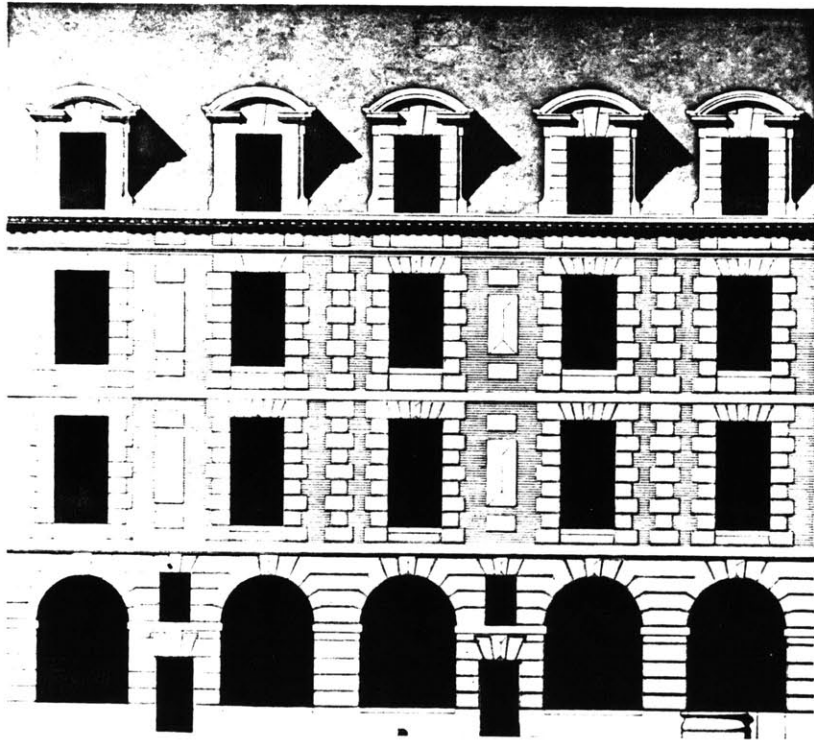
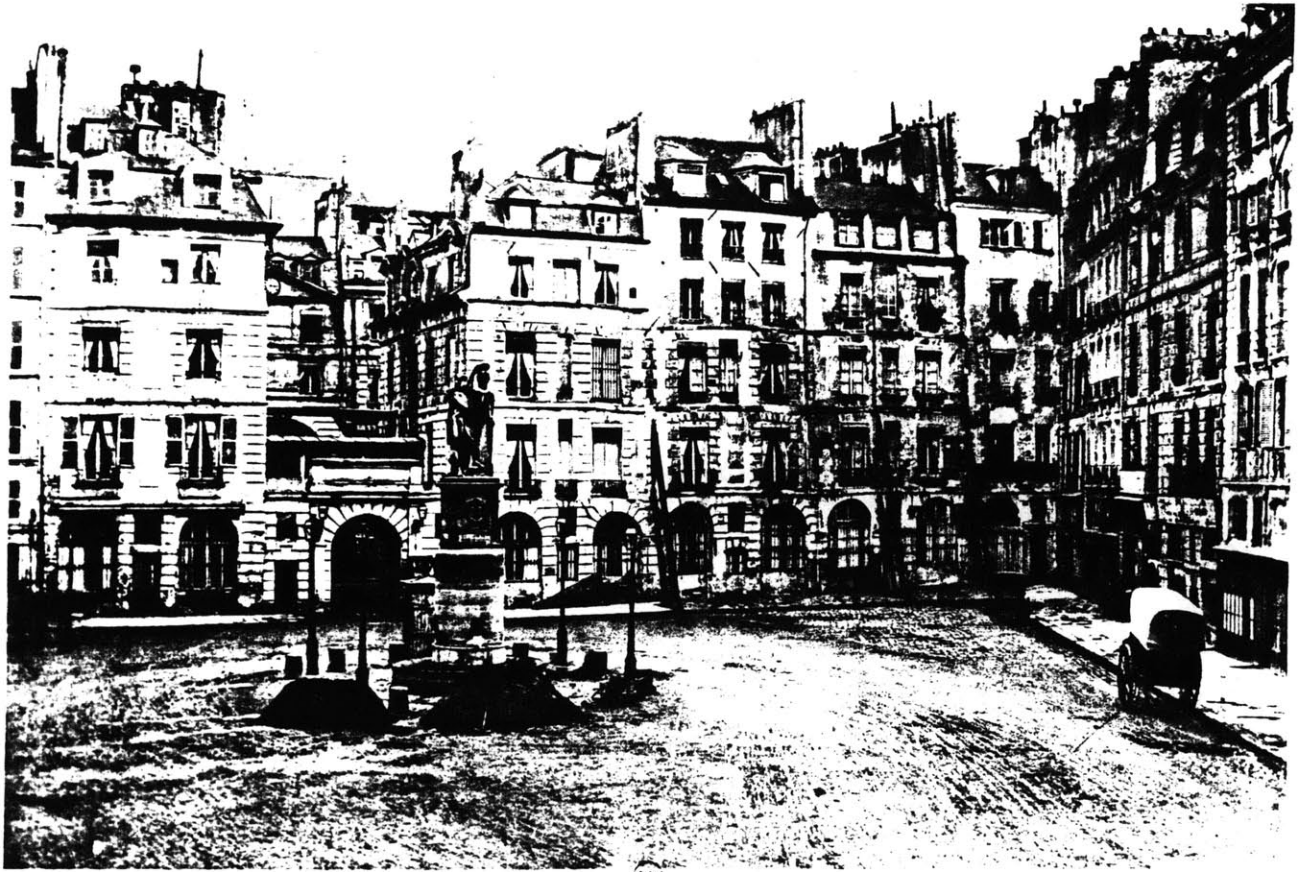


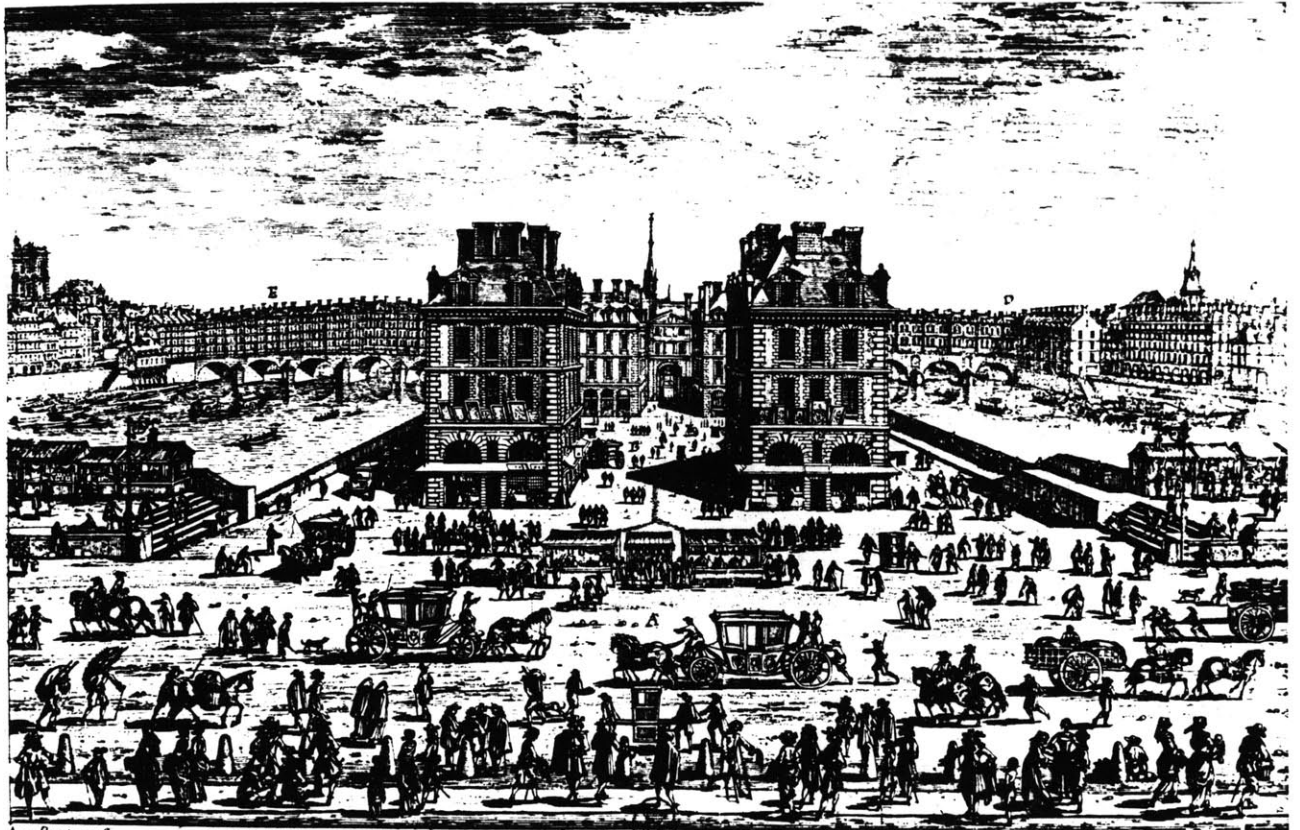
Fig. 17: Place Dauphine, Elevation, mid-19th century.



(EN)

NL - La Bas Dauphine - nord - sud - 1874

Fig. 18: Place Dauphine, East Range, 1874.



A. le Pont neuf
 B. la Place Dauphine
 C. le Quay des Augustins

LA PLACE DAUPHINE du costé du Pont neuf fut commencée en 1608. et a continuée par le bastiment de Louis XIII. Les deux tours qui sont de meisme hauteur et symetrie. font voir dans l'enfoncement la nouvelle porte du Palais.
 Perelle, fecit.

D. le Pont d'Arche
 E. le Pont au Change
 F. le Quay de la Reguerie

Fig. 19: Perelle, Place Dauphine, mid-17th century.
 View from the west.



Vue et perspective de la place Dauphine de Paris, du côté de la rue de St. André
Par M. de la Haye, graveur sur bois.

Fig. 20: Aveline, Place Dauphine, mid-17th century.
View from the east.

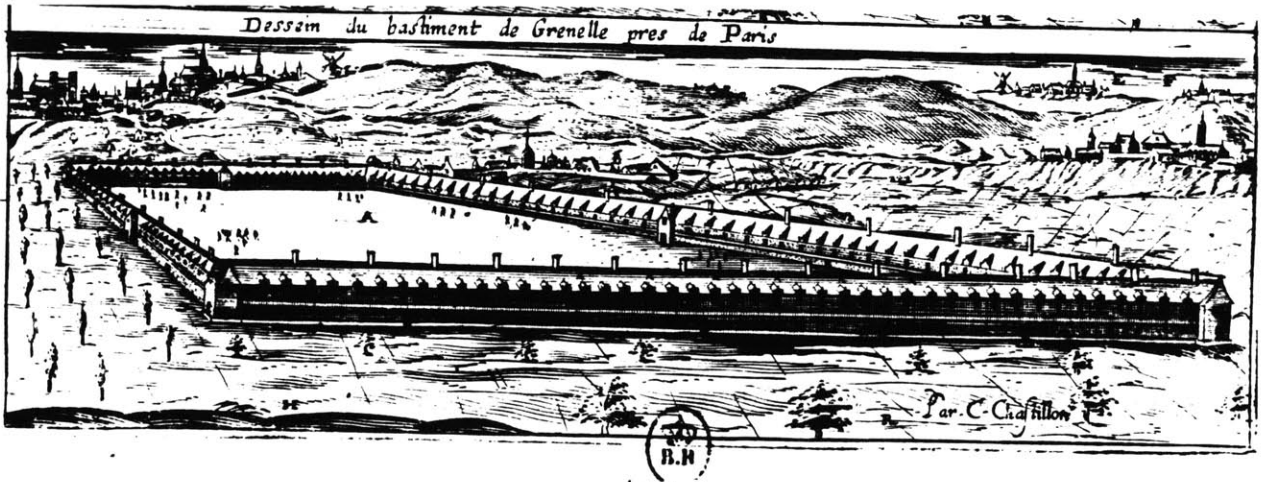


Fig. 21: Claude Chastillon, Plague Hospital at Grenelle, c.1580.

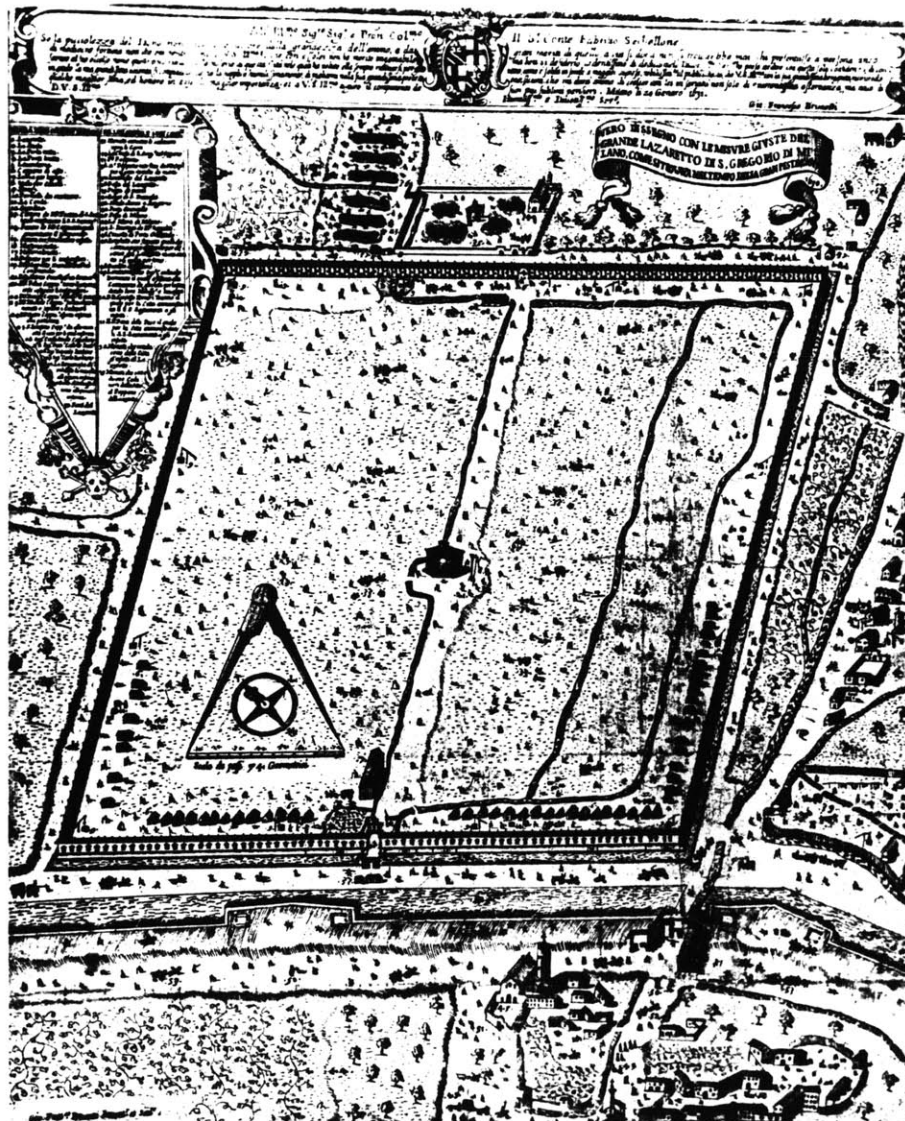


Fig. 22: Giovanni Brunetti, Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, Milan, 1632.

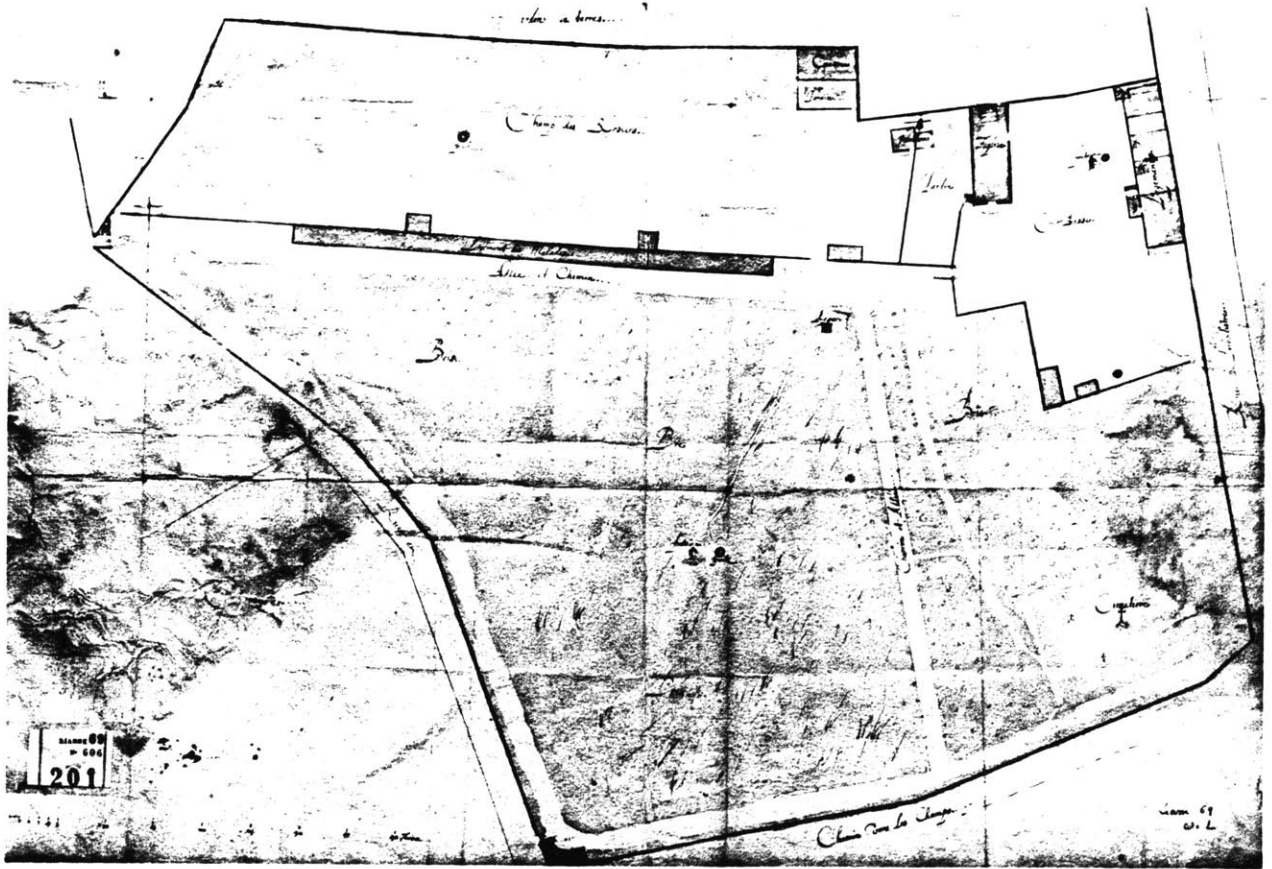


Fig. 23: Hôpital St. Marcel, Site Plan, c.1620.

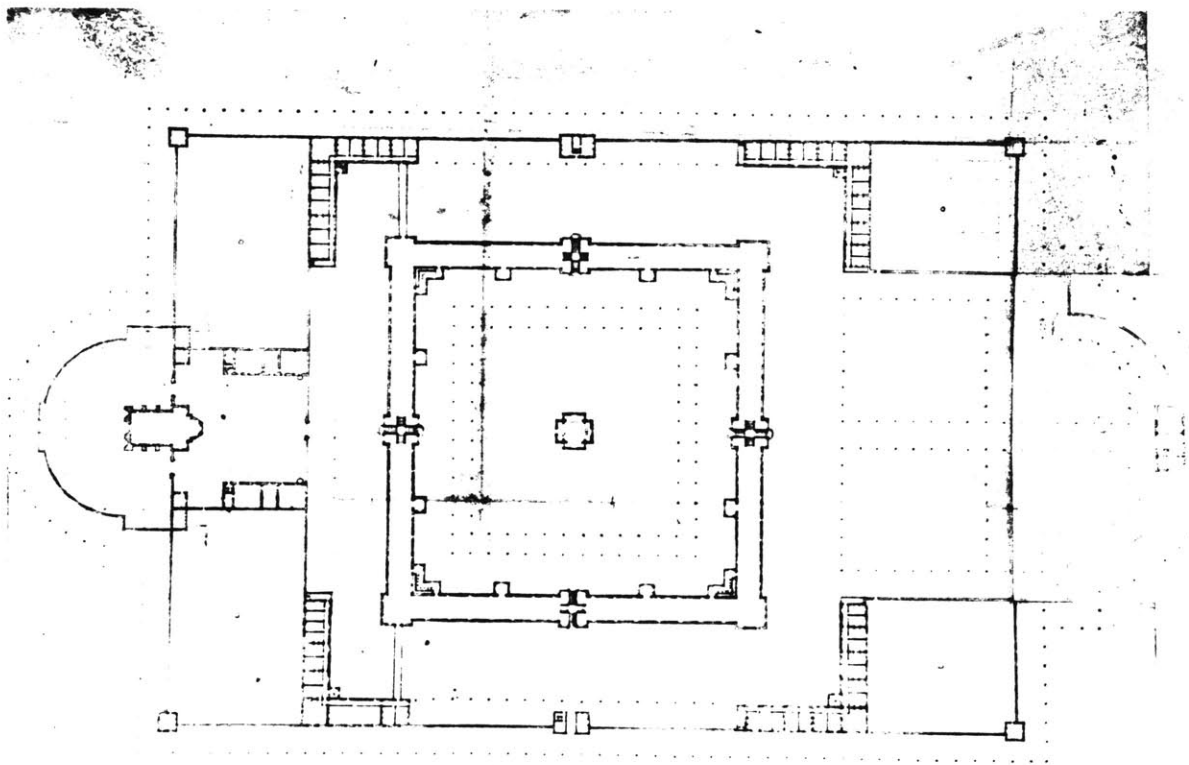


Fig. 24: Hôpital St. Louis, Plan signed by Sully, 1607.

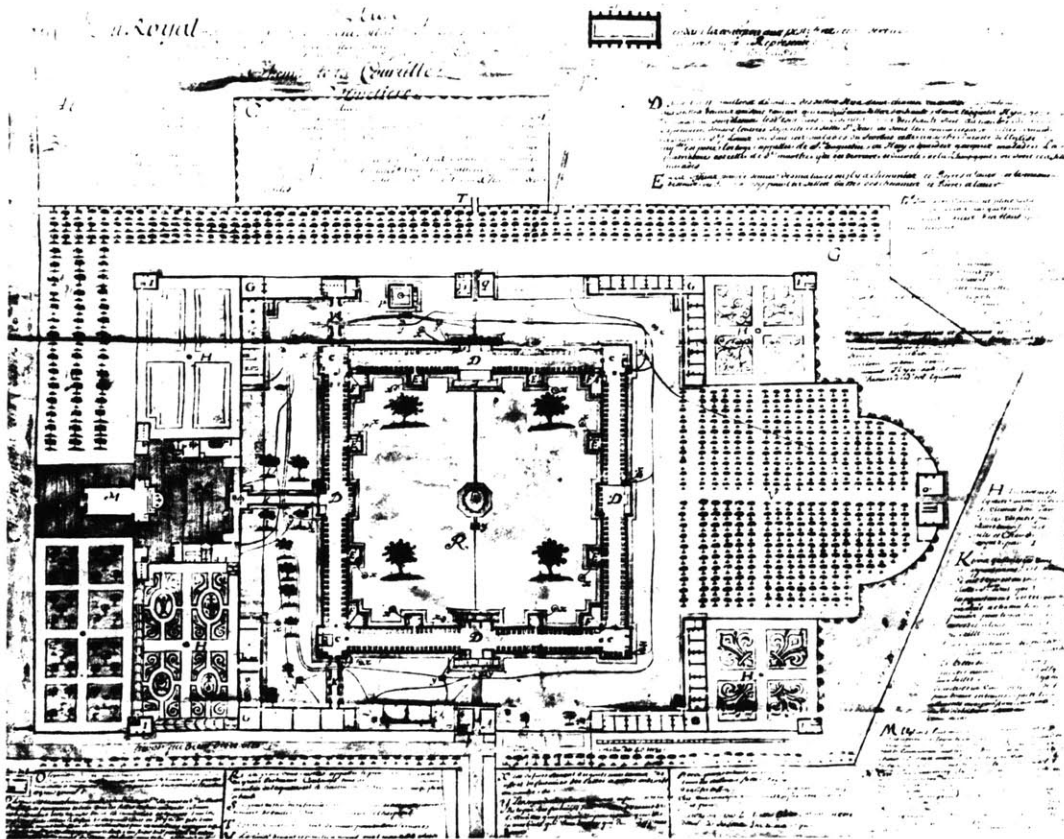


Fig. 25: Robert Davesne, Plan of the Hôpital St. Louis, 1681.

Robert Davesne, Plan of the Hôpital St. Louis, 1681.
(A.P. Plan 191)

Transcription of the Key

Plan du royal et somptueux edifice de l'hospital de St. Louis proche Paris destiné pendant la contagion aux pestiferez et qui sert à present à faire prendre l'air aux convallescens de l'hostel Dieu de Paris et à retirer les malades dud. hostel Dieu affligez du scorbut et d'autres maux. Representé en toutes ses parties suivant l'eschelle cy dessous et cotté par lettres alphabetiques nouvellement tiré en 1681 par M. Robert Davesne serrurier ordinaire dudit Hostel Dieu.

- A Le pavillon et l'entrée du costé de Paris ou est la chambre du Portier et les appartements des chirurgiens qui sont audessus.
- B Les quatre escalliers et perrons pour monter aux salles des malades par dessous lesquelz sont les passages pour entrer en la grande cour quarrée et dedans les salles d'en bas.
- C Les 4 pavillons des coings faisant le bout des salles, 2 desquelz pavillons on a posé deux chapelles, dont l'une pour les malades du scorbut marquée I et l'autre pour les convallescens marqué 2. Le troisieme pavillon est marquée 3 dans lequel il y a une cloison que separe les malades du scorbut avec les convallescens, une cheminée, et un escalier qui descend aux estuves soubz ledit pavillon. Dans le quatriesme pavillon marqué 4 est une cheminée, une petite gallerie, servant de passage aux prestres pour aller à couvert de leur Chambres aux salles.
- D sont les 4 pavillons du milieu des salles. Il y a dans chacun un escallier qui prend au rez de chaussée des salles d'en bas qui sont voutées qui conduit aux salles d'en haut dans lesquels il y a 353 etaux lanternes qui sont dessus lesd. escalliers. Lesdittes salles d'en hault sont au nombre de quatre: la premiere devant l'entrée s'appelle la salle St. Jean ou sont les convallescens; celle de main droite, la salle de St. Louis ou sont les malades du scorbut; celle à gauche du costé de l'eglise sur laquelle est posée l'orloge appellée de St. Augustin, ou il n'y a que deux garçons malades. La quatriesme est celle de St. Marthe qui est derriere et du costé de la campagne ou sont les filles malades.

- E Les offices pour le service des malades ou il y a cheminées et pierres à laver est le mesme au dessous ou il y a aussy pour les salles basses des cheminées et pierre à laver.
- F Les lieux communes placez dans les recoins de la cour qui repondent tant dans les salles d'en haut que dans celle d'en bas.
- G Quatre bastimens de equaire separez du grand corps des salles par une grande allée plantée de noyers et meuriers faisant le tour des salles, à gauche dans d'une des equaires sont les appartemens des dames religieuses ou il y a une grande chapelle pour elles, leur dortoire, chambre aux draps et linges, refectoire, et cuisine qui sert aussy de refectoire aux servantes. Dans l'autre equaire aussy à gauche sont les logements des prestres, officiers, et jardiniers, la cuisine et refectoire des chirurgiens et serviteurs, et l'escurie des mullets pour la machine. Dans les deux autres separez, haut et bas ou l'on entre par des corridors, au bout desquels sont les lieux communs il y a sens chambres à chacune desdites equaires.
- H Les jardins des equaires au coin; en dehor de chacun desd. jardins il y a un petit pavillon couvert d'ardoise ou il y a salle et chambre qui sont marquez par I.
- K Trois galleries qui vont aux appartemens des equaires dont l'une est au bout de la salle St. Jean qui va à l'appartement des religieuses ou sont à chacun trois arcades pavée pour le passage des carosses. A l'autre bout est une pareille gallerie qui conduit aux appartemens des prestres ou paroissent aussy trois arcades. Et celle du milieu des deux galleries qui sert à monter de la cour de l'eglise aux salles, au bout de lad. gallerie du costé de la cour est le tour destiné pour donner en temps de peste les alliments aux pestifferez sans que les officiers qui les distribuent ayent avec eux communication.
- M L'Eglise St. Louis couverte d'ardoise avec son clocher vis à vis le portail de laquelle est une grande porte qui repond dans la rue, par ou entre le peuple en temps de contagion pour n'avoir pas de communication avec les pestifferez, avec le maistre autel du choeur. Il y a encore deux autres au costez. Il y a un jubé de pierre au bout vis à vis le maistre autel.
- N C'est la cour pavée en laquelle il y a une fontaine à main droite, et entrant au dessous de laquelle court sont les caves, au rez de chaussée à gauche et entr'autres une cuisine, boucherie, laiterie. Et à droit est pressoir et boulangerie et dessus de fort belles chambres pour les officiers, au dessus desquels

sont les greniers aux deux costez de la cour. Il y a deux escuries et chambres au dessus qui sont separez de l'eglise. Il y a aussy dans lad. cour deux escalliers de pierre de taille, l'un à droite et l'autre à gauche, qui conduisent par ou pendant la contagion un (?) aux pestifferez. L'un desd. escalliers est pour les officiers de la boulangerie et l'autre pour ceux de la boucherie et cuisine.

- O Le pavillon royal couvert d'ardoise ou pendant la contagion Messieurs les administrateurs, lors qu'il y a necessité, tiennent le bureau. Il y a par bas une salle et une grande cuisine et par haut deux grandes chambres et grand grenier.
- P Le puids et la machine nouvelle que Davesne maistre serrurier ordinaire de l'hostel Dieu a faicte pour porter de l'eau dans les salles entr'autres endroits, scavoir dans l'appartement des religieuses, dans la lavanderie et lavoirs dans la grande cuisine, et dans le bassin de la grand cour ou il y a des jets d'eau.
- Q Le pavillon couvert d'ardoises ou sont les chambres pour les emballeurs et garçons d'offices au dessous desquelles est un magasin pour le bois. Au sortie dud. pavillon, on entre dans un grand clos ou l'on (?) du foing faisant tout le tour de l'hospital clos depuis 25 ans de murs, dans lequel clos il y a 332 pieds d'ormes et autour des murs des arbres fruitiers en espailliers.
- R La grand cour carrée appelee le preau dans le centre du grand bastiment contenant tant de (blank) en carré au milieu de laquelle est le bassin ou est le jet d'eau de douze pieds de hault.
- S Le grand bassin du reservoir des eaus venant de Belleville couvert de pierre de taille, scituée hors l'enclos de l'hospital.
- T Est le cimetiére clos de murs pour enterrer les morts.
- V Le bois devant le pavillon royal ou il y a 344 pieds d'ormes plantez en eschiquier.
- X Les puisarts servant d'esgouts aux lavoirs des offices, des fontaines, des salles, et autres endroits au nombre de (blank).
- Y Les regards de pierre quarrée ou sont des cabinets, des tuyeaux, des fontaines, tant de celle de venant de Belleville qui produit un pouce d'eau que de la machine qui vient de pays qui donne 14 pouce eaus.

Notez qu'aux endroits ou il y a de la grisaille tant au tours des bastiments, salles, esquaires, pavillons, court d'eglise, bassins, (blank) en grand chemin, c'est une marque qui montre que ces endroits sont pavez. Notez que tous les trasse bleus autours du corp des salle ce sont les tuyaux de plomb.

Chemin qui va aux carrieres (Left margin)

Sentier qui va à la Courtille (Right margin)

Chemin qui vient des Recolletz (Bottom margin)

Eschelle de 40 toize

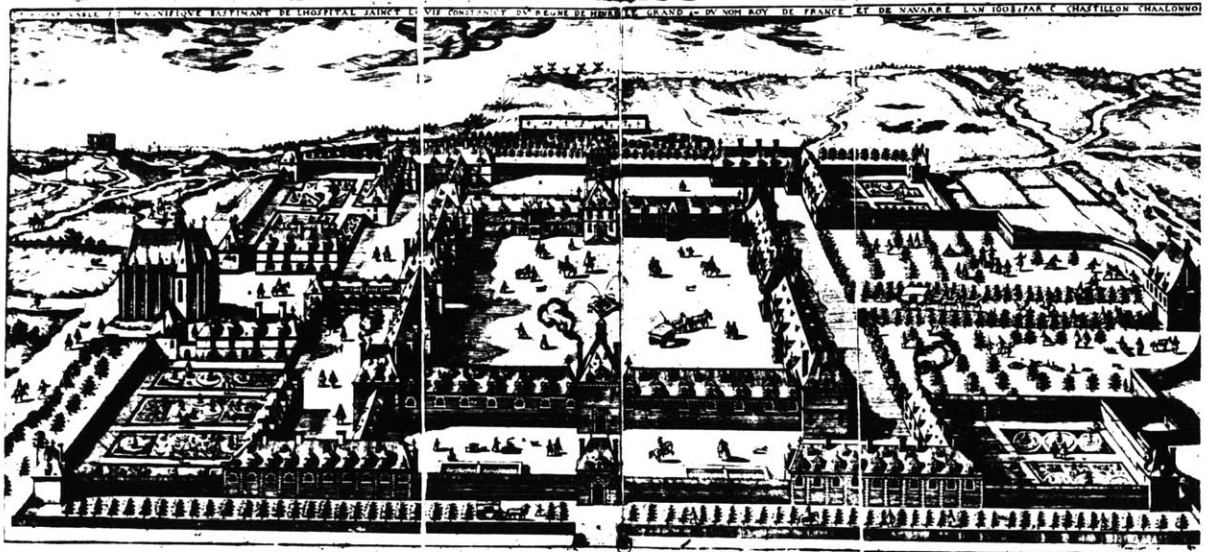
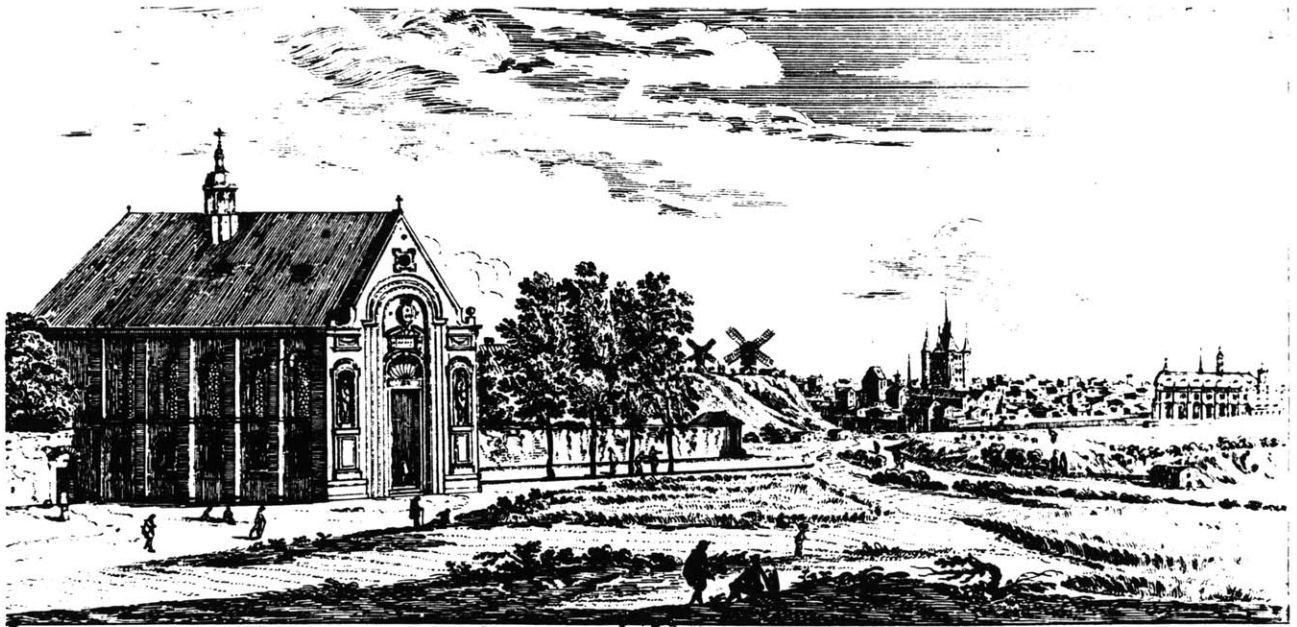


Fig. 26: Claude Chastillon, Hôpital St. Louis, c.1615.
View from the South.



Israël Silvestre delin. et sculp.

Vue de l'Eglise de l'Hôpital de Saint Louis bastie hors la porte du Temple par Henry quatriefme pour la commodité et le soulagement de ceux qui sont attaquez de la maladie.

Israël Silvestre sculp. par son grand Roy.

Fig. 27: Israel Silvestre, Church of the Hôpital St. Louis, c.1650-55.

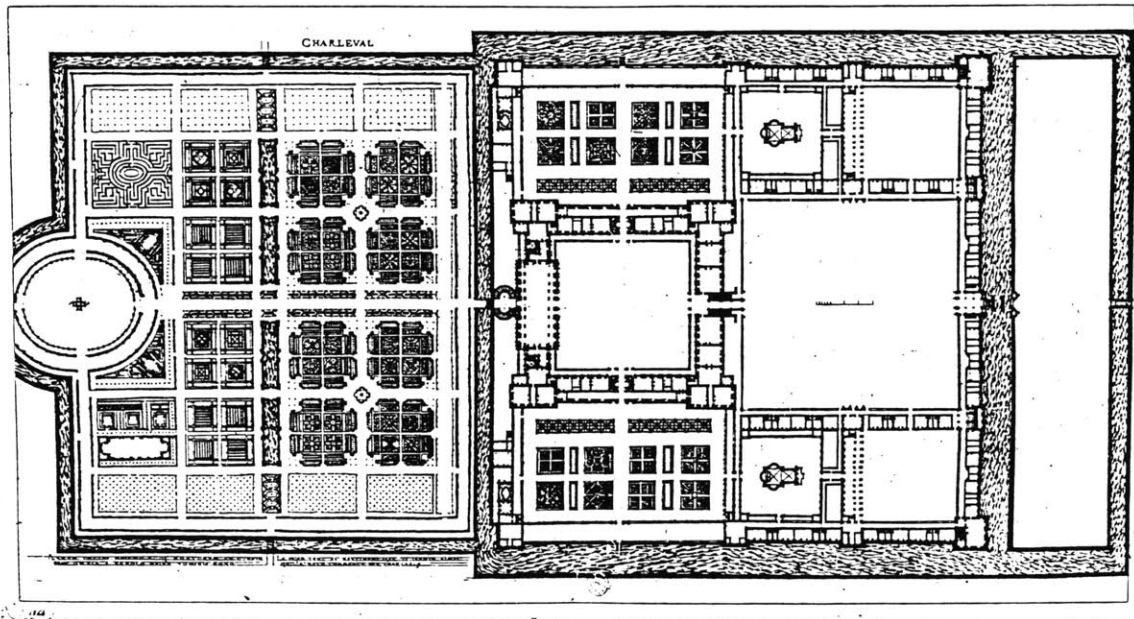


Fig. 28: Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Charleval, 1570.

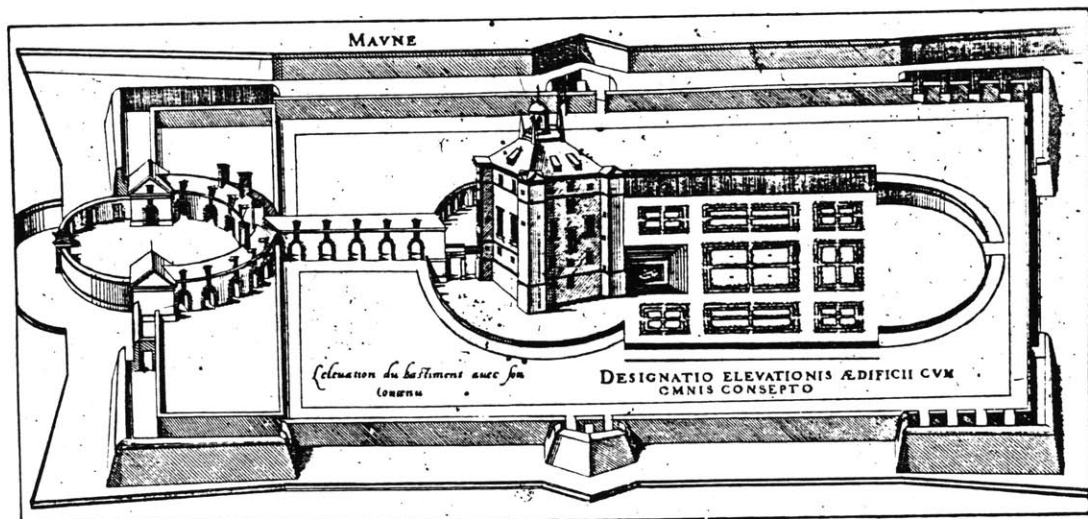


Fig. 29: Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Maulnes.

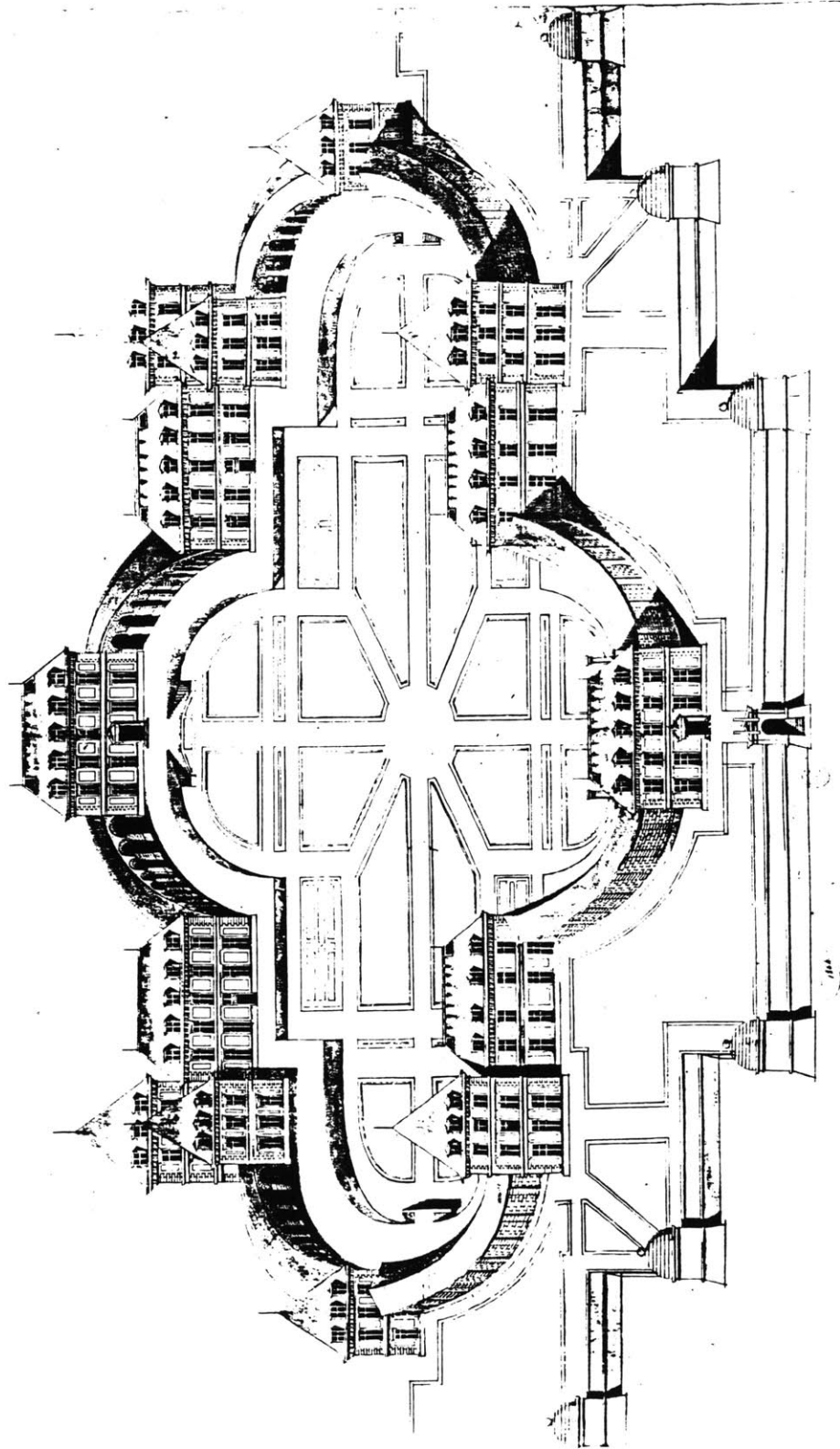


Fig. 30: Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, Design of a Palace, c.1570's.



Fig. 31: Mathieu Merian, View of Paris from the north, 1616.

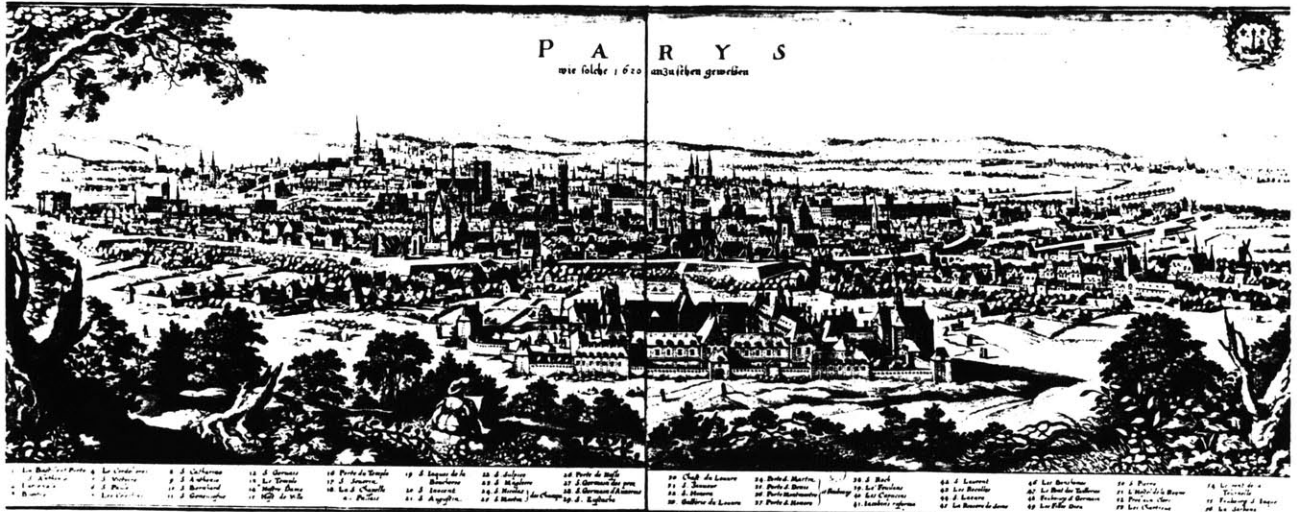


Fig. 32: Martin Zeiller, View of Paris from the north, c.1620.

L'ADMIRABLE DESSEIN DE LA PORTE ET PLACE DE FRANCE AVEC SES RUES COMMENCE A CONSTRUIRE ES MAREUX DV TEMPLE A PARIS DV RANT
LE REGNE DE HENRY LE GRAND 4^{me} DV NOM ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE L'AN DE GRACE MIL SIX CENS ET DIX PAR CLAUDE CHASTILLON CHALONNOIS

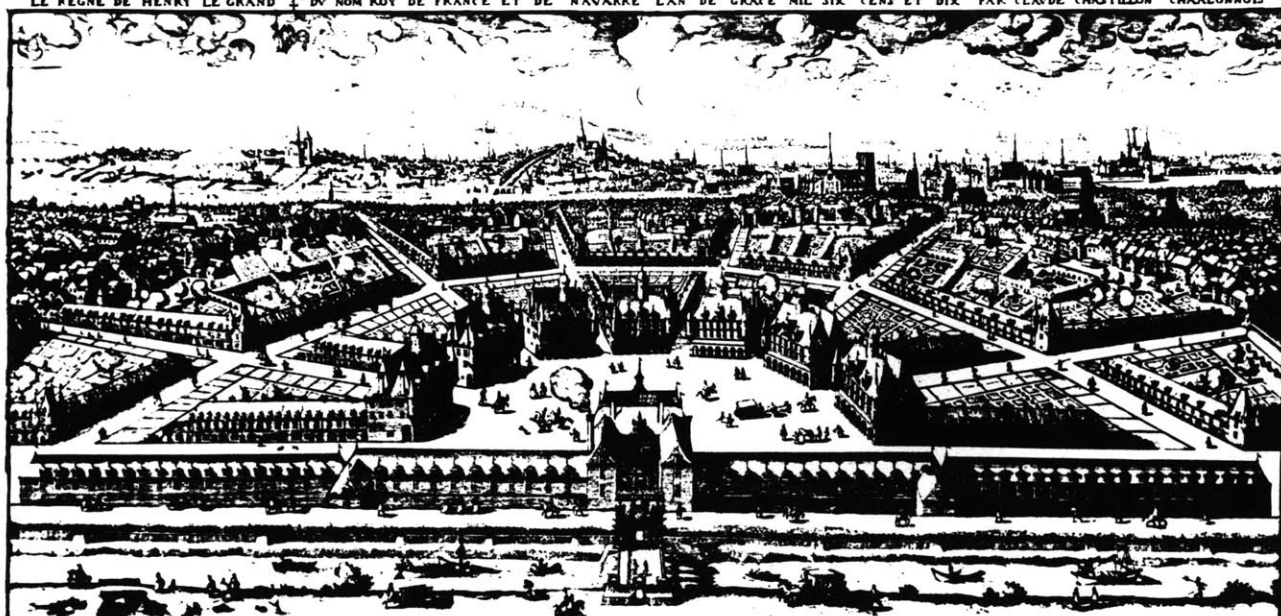


Fig. 33: Claude Chastillon, Place de France, 1615.

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