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THE FRENCH WAY OF BUILDING IN ROME:
S. AGOSTINO AND SS. TRINITÀ DEI MONTI

*In Renaissance Rome several churches were built which deliberately adopted a German or French architectural style and which therefore
shed interesting light on the tension between the Gothic tradition and the new* all'antica *manner. This article first discusses the examples
of S. Maria dell'Anima and S. Agostino to illuminate this phenomenon, and then focuses on the SS. Trinità dei Monti, which in
1520–1521 was explicitly described as having been "made in the French manner". Here it is argued that this qualification referred not
only to the fact that the church had been built using stones imported especially from France, but also, and more specifically, to its Gothic
parts, most notably the choir and the vault (including a star vault similar to that of the Cathedral of Amiens), which here were combined
in a striking manner with the* all'antica *articulation of the lower walls of the nave.*

This paper addresses the topic of a deliberate choice of style to convey identity and purpose in contrast to the idea of a continuous development of style as the sole factor determining architectural design. At the beginning of the modern era, builders primarily had to decide whether to keep the Gothic tradition or to take up the new *all'antica* manner[1]. In Italy, a famous example of this choice is the Cathedral of Pienza, which Pope Pius II (1459-1462) expressly wanted to be built according to the model of the late Gothic *Hallenkirchen* (hall churches), which he had admired in Germany. However, its architect Bernardo Rossellino designed the architectural articulation largely in the manner of the Italian Renaissance[2]. At about the same time, in the mid-fifteenth century, the Senate of Venice decided to build the main entrance to the Arsenal in the new *all'antica* style, probably to express the spirit of progress, while the main entrance to the Doge's Palace (Arco dei Foscari) had to retain Gothic elements, probably in consideration for the venerable tradition of the Venetian government. Alfonso of Aragon probably had similar reasons when, at the beginning of his reign (1443), he considered how to rebuild the Castel Nuovo in Naples: he had designed the triumphal entrance façade in the new *all'antica* style to celebrate the beginning of the new era under the rule of the House of Aragon in the kingdom of Naples, while the Sala dei Baroni was given a

magnificent Gothic shape with respect to the tradition of the nobility who assembled there. Some contemporary commentaries suggest that the ancient architecture, which was to be revived in the Renaissance, had the stigma of paganism, while it seems that the Gothic was sometimes associated with the sacred[3]. Therefore, in Italian churches the choir area was occasionally distinguished by Gothic elements (Cathedral of Pienza, S. Zaccaria in Venice, from 1458). This approach was rare in Italy, but in France, sacred buildings often adopted a Gothic or a Gothicizing style while secular buildings adopted the new Renaissance style. In many French Renaissance castles, the chapel preserves a Gothic style – in contrast to the rest of the building. King François I of France had the town hall of Paris built in a Renaissance style, while the great parish church of Saint-Eustache in the centre of Paris was built in a Gothic style with a superficial adaptation of the decor to the Renaissance style. Even before this time, Franco-Flemish book illuminations distinguished between Gothic and Renaissance styles for the sacred and the secular. A well-known example of this is the representation by Jean Fouquet of the patron in adoration of the Madonna in the *Livre d'heures* of Étienne Chevalier (c. 1452-1460, Musée Condé, Chantilly). The Madonna sits enthroned in a Gothic portal, while the patron kneels before her in a Renaissance courtyard.

Patrons who built their places of residence in the new Renaissance style, when building abroad, often adapted to the style prevalent there, even when it was considered retrograde and unsightly in their own towns. Examples from the fifteenth century include the filial branches of the Medici bank in Milan and Bruges or the palace of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere in Avignon. Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan wanted to complete the Ca' del Duca in Venice in "forma moderna e lombarda", i.e. the way in which people built in his country, but the façade overlooking the Grand Canal was to be designed "al modo veneziano", on the grounds, as his *chargé d'affaires* wrote, that the Venetians liked their own way of building better than other modes of building[4]. Paolo Cortesi and Pietro Summonte stated in 1510 and 1524, respectively, that during the Middle Ages, in southern or central Italy, German, French and Spanish rulers had built in the style of their home countries. This will be explained in more detail later. During the Renaissance, Rome, as the centre of Christianity, offered foreign builders the opportunity to show the world what the architecture of their own nation was like[5].

In Rome, an explicit testimony to the demonstration of different national architectural styles has long been known: it is contained in the decision of the German brotherhood in Rome to build their church of S. Maria dell'Anima

[1] P. Frankl, *The Gothic*, Princeton 1960; H. Hipp, *Studien zur "Nachgotik" des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Böhmen, Österreich und der Schweiz*, Diss., Universität Tübingen 1979; M. Hesse, *Von der Nachgotik zur Neugotik. Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Gotik in der französischen Sakralarchitektur des 16ten, 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main 1984; L.S. Sutthoff, *Gotik im Barock. Zur Frage der Kontinuität des Stiles außerhalb seiner Epoche*, Münster 1990. I have dealt with various aspects of the deliberate choice of styles during the Renaissance in general and in particular from this point of view with the two churches of S. Agostino and SS. Trinità. The present contribution is intended to explore individual aspects of the subject matter and point out new correlations. My contributions to individual aspects, especially to the two churches, are quoted below when we treat them. For the conscious choice of styles in general, see H. Günther, *Was ist Renaissance? Eine Charakteristik der Architektur zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, Darmstadt 2009, pp. 50-80; Id., *Visions de l'architecture en Italie et dans l'Europe du Nord au début de la Renaissance*, in *L'invention de la Renaissance*, éd. J. Guillaume, Paris 2003, pp. 9-26; Id., *Die ersten Schritte in die Neuzeit. Gedanken zum Beginn der Renaissance nördlich der Alpen*, in *Wege zur Renaissance. Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und in den Nachbargebieten um 1500*, herausgegeben von N. Nußbaum, Köln 2003, pp. 30-87; Id., *Gotik in der Architektur der internationalen Renaissance*, in *Echters Werte. Zur Bedeutung der nachgotischen Baukultur um 1600 unter Fürstbischof Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn*, herausgegeben von S. Bürger, I. Palzer, Berlin-München 2017, pp. 179-205.
[2] L.H. Heydenreich, *Pius II. als Bauherr von Pienza*, "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", VI, 1937, pp. 105-146; M. Brandis, *"La maniera tedesca". Eine Studie zum historischen Verständnis der Gotik im Italien der Renaissance*, Weimar 2002, pp. 125-138.
[3] H. Günther, *Die Gotik als der europäische Baustil*, in *Europäische Erinnerungsorte*, II (*Das Haus Europa*), herausgegeben von P. den Boer, H. Duchardt, München 2012, pp. 137-150.
[4] L. Beltrami, *La "Ca' del Duca" sul Canal Grande ed altre reminiscenze sforzesche in Venezia*, Milano 1900; W. Wolters, *"al modo veneziano" und nicht "alla moderna". Zu den Anfängen der venezianischen Renaissancebaukunst*, "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", XXXVIII, 2007-2008, pp. 205-230: 219.
[5] H. Günther, *Rom um 1500: Ausländische Nationen stellen ihre Architektur aus-Gotische Lokaltraditionen und Renaissance*, in *Architektur im Museum: 1977-2012. Winfried Nerdinger (Festschrift)*, herausgegeben von U. Kiessler, München 2012, pp. 95-109.
[6] F. Nagl, *Urkundliches zur Geschichte der Anima in Rom*, Rom 1899, pp. 65ff.; J. Schmidlin, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, S. Maria dell'Anima*, Freiburg 1906; J. Lohninger, *S. Maria dell'Anima. Die deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom*, Rom 1909, pp. 38ff.; further literature listed by B. Baumüller, *Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rom. Ein Kirchenbau im politischen Spannungsfeld der Zeit um 1500*, Berlin 2000; *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650*, a cura di A. Koller, S. Kubersky-Piredda, Roma 2015, pp. 43-53.
[7] G. Weise, *Die Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und Renaissance im mittleren und nördlichen Spanien*, "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", IV, 1935, pp. 214-227; Id., *Die spanischen Hallenkirchen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance I, Alt und Neukastilien*, Tübingen 1953; P. Sesmat, *Les "églises-halles". Histoire d'un espace sacré (XIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, "Bulletin Monumental", CLXIII, 2005, pp. 3-81.
[8] L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, III (*Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Wahl Innozenz' VIII. bis zum Tode Julius' II. 1484-1513*), Freiburg im Breisgau-Rom 1924, pp. 741f.; F. Bardati, *Hommes du roi et princes de l'Église romaine. Les cardinaux français et l'art italien (1495-1560)*, Roma 2015.

(1499). Most of the foreign inhabitants of Rome and most of the pilgrims to Rome came from the German Empire. At that time the protector of the brotherhood was Cardinal Francesco Tedeschini Piccolomini, a nephew of Pope Pius II, who wanted to build the cathedral in Pienza as a hall church after the German model. In the decision to build their church, the brotherhood stated their intention: "so that we do not appear to be unequal to the other nations and behind them", they wanted to have a new church built for the praise and glory of God, for the "honour of our Germanic nation and for the adornment of the city of Rome", to be designed in a German style ("Alemannico more compositum")[6]. They wanted to build a hall church in the Gothic style. The intention to build in the Gothic style is indirectly shown by the fact that they appointed construction workers from the Strasbourg region. A few months later, however, the brotherhood dismissed the German workers and commissioned Italian workers to build in the Renaissance style. They retained the layout of a hall church but with variants. Due to the change of plans, it is not certain what was meant by *Alemannico more*: the Gothic style, which was usually called *maniera tedesca* in Italy, or the disposition of the hall church, which at that time was particularly widespread in Central Europe and was also renowned abroad because of its clarity, brightness and manageability. However, the nearby church of the Kingdom of Castile, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, which was built during the pontificates of two Spaniards, Calixtus III and Alexander VI, a little previously, had also been designed as a hall. Outside Central Europe, the hall churches spread mainly in Spain, especially in Castile[7].

France was politically most influential at the Curia during the time when Rome, after its descent caused by the exile of the Curia in Avignon and the schism, rose again to be the occidental metropolis. Under Pope Sixtus IV, Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen in Normandy and representative of the King of France at the Curia, held the office of chamberlain, the highest ecclesiastical rank after the Pope, and therefore was responsible for the urban renewal of Rome. The kings of France repeatedly threatened the popes with invasions of Italy in order to enforce their claim to the Kingdom of Naples. The overwhelming influence of King Louis XII even triggered fears that the election of a French pope and the withdrawal of the Curia to Avignon might take place again[8].

The Augustinian Church of S. Agostino, built by Cardinal d'Estouteville in 1479-1483 as his burial place close to his residence at one of Rome's most important traffic centres, is an obvious, though not an explicitly guaranteed, example of the demonstration of national architecture in Rome (fig. 2)[9]. The identity of the patron is pointed out all too clearly: his name appears on the façade with his rank and offices:

GVILLERMVS. DE. ESTOVTEVILLA. EPISC. OSTIEN. CARD. ROTHOMAGEN. S. R. E. CAMERARIVS. FECIT / M.CCCC.LXXXIII.

Inside, his coat-of-arms is often displayed on the walls and keystones. The shape of the interior is French, but similar to the cathedral of Pienza and S. Maria dell'Anima; the articulation is largely adapted to the Renaissance style. In 1942 Piero Tomei presented a polemical but, nevertheless, apt style analysis of S. Agostino from the point of view of the classicist, who was still struck by the deviations from the regularity of the Italian Renaissance[10]. In summary, he criticizes the elongated proportions of the interior, of the nave and side aisles, arcades and vaults, etc. All this belongs to a Gothic church, he notes. Decoration in Renaissance style would be a bad disguise. The semi-columns, which are used as articulation, would be far too low to comply with

their constructive task of supporting the vaults. These "strange incongruities, discordances, mergers of two styles" would show that the architect "had the best experience as a constructor, but not the ability to confer artistic value to a building". The avant-garde of the Renaissance criticised Gothic buildings with similar words. Tomei calls the features that he criticises *Gothic*, but they do not belong to the Italian Gothic, instead they are typical of the French Gothic or overall of medieval, even Romanesque buildings in Normandy (such as the Abbey of Jumièges). The architects of S. Agostino, Jacomo da Pietrasanta and Sebastiano Fiorentino, both from Tuscany, did not otherwise stand out with such deviations from the norms of the Italian Renaissance. Cardinal d'Estouteville had his architecture in his Normandy diocese built in the Gothic style that was customary there, while he left it to Antonio da Como to design the cloister of S. Oliva in Cori in the Lombard style that the architect had learned in his homeland. Apparently, d'Estouteville commissioned the architects of S. Agostino to adapt the interior of S. Agostino to the style customary in France, or more precisely in his diocese of Rouen, though he permitted integrating Renaissance *décor*.

The design of many French churches, especially that of Saint-Eustache in Paris, followed S. Agostino in so far as it has a Gothic form with super-slender proportions combined with decoration in the Renaissance style, which integrates columns with antique elements, but, basically uses them like Gothic vaulting shafts[11]. In France, the idea circulated that although the Gothic style produced unsightly decorations, its tectonics were admirable. This idea was only formulated in the course of Classicism, but it has a long prehistory that can be traced back to about the time of Saint-Eustache. French Renaissance writers often admired Gothic buildings for their boldness (*hardiesse*) and lightness (*légèreté*),

i.e. for the refined tectonics of Gothic architecture. From the first French guide books at the beginning of the Renaissance (Gilles Corrozet) to Classicism, these two characteristics were repeatedly praised in individual buildings[12]. The authors from Gilles Corrozet and Etienne Pasquier up to Germain Brice (1684) and beyond describe the Sainte-Chapelle as the climax of this kind of construction, as "l'ouvrage le plus hardy"[13]. The critical Italian variant thereof was pronounced by Torquato Tasso in a report of his travels in France during 1570-1571 by commenting on the churches there:

> *l'architettura è barbara, e si conosce che è stato avuto solo riguardo a la sodezza e a la perpetuità, e niente a l'eleganza e al decoro*[14].

The same arguments then return in French architectural theory for the defence of Gothic architecture. A typical example of this is Antoine Le Paultre (1652), who rejected Gothic decor, but wrote admiringly about the tectonics:

> *Ceux qui ont bâti les eglises gothiques, se sont efforcez de rendre leurs ouvrages durables et les faisant paroitre surprenans, en faire concevoir autant d'admiration que de respect; ils ont tellement réussi dans ce genre de bâtir, que ses ouvrages qui subsistent depuis plusieurs siecles, leur ont acquis la réputation d'etre les plus hardis ouvriers qui ayent élévé des édifices*[15].

Since then, the special tectonics of Gothic architecture have increasingly been dealt with in art theory. As unsightly as Gothic ornament still seemed, the bold construction aroused admiration. In this sense, a French encyclopaedia summarises in 1752:

> *Architecture gothique, c'est qui est éloignée des proportions antiques, sans corrections de profils, ni de bon goût dans ses ornemens chimériques. Elle a beaucoup de solidité et de merveilleux*[16].

Since the seventeenth century in France, the precepts of Gothic construction have been explicitly presented as a model for new architec-

[9] The building includes in the eastern part older structures, but they have been adapted so much to the new concept that they are not visible. Cf. R. SAMPERI, *L'architettura di S. Agostino a Roma (1296-1483). Una chiesa mendicante tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Roma 1999.

[10] P. TOMEI, *L'architettura a Roma nel '400*, Roma 1942, pp. 123-128.

[11] A.M. SANKOVITCH, *A Reconsideration of French Renaissance Church Architecture*, in *L'Église dans l'Architecture de la Renaissance*, actes du colloque (Tours, 28-31 mai 1990), éd. J. Guillaume, Paris 1995, pp. 161-180; H. ZERNER, *L'art de la Renaissance en France. L'invention du classicisme*, Paris 1996, pp. 13-54.

[12] HESSE, *Von der Nachgotik zur Neugotik...* cit., pp. 36ff., 53ff.; R.D. MIDDLETON, *The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal. A Prelude to Romantic Classicism, Part 1*, "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XXV, 1962, pp. 278-320: 294ff.; W. HERRMANN, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory*, London 1962, pp. 235-248. J. Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs*, München 1972; J. VANUXEM, *L'art du Moyen Age vu par les contemporains de Louis XIV*, "Le XVIIe siècle", 114-115, 1977, pp. 85-98; GÜNTHER, *Gotik als der europäische Baustil...* cit.

[13] G. CORROZET, *Les antiquitéz chroniques de Paris*, Paris 1550, p. 68; Voss, *Das Mittelalter...* cit., pp. 135f.; E. PASQUIER, *Les recherches de la France*, éd. M.M. Fragonard, F. Roudaut, Paris 1996 (première édition 1621), I, p. 783. In 1612 it is repeated also by a German writer. HIPP, *Studien zur "Nachgotik"...* cit., p. 612.

[14] Letter to Conte Ercole de' Contrari, Ferrara, 1572. T. TASSO, *Lettere*, a cura di E. Mazzali, Torino 1978, I, p. 27.

[15] A. LE PAULTRE, *Les oeuvres d'architecture*, Paris 1652, p. 37.

[16] VOSS, *Das Mittelalter...* cit., p. 203.

Fig. 2 *Church of S. Agostino, Rome. Nave (photo H. Günther).*

ture. In the course of the conscious conception of a modern French Classic style, architects from Claude Perrault to Marc-Antoine Laugier made reference to it. The starting point for this development was the construction of the city façade of the Louvre (1665-1667 competition) which Colbert apparently wanted to be a model for the new French Classicism[17]. As the main element of classical Greek architecture, the freestanding columns were recognised, which, in contrast to the usual illusionary articulation of the Italian Renaissance, express the real tectonics of loading and bearing weight. This context recalled the tectonics of Gothic architecture with its free-standing pillars. Gothic architecture was approved to follow a principle of carrying a burden similar to that of Greek antiquity. Claude Perrault, in his Vitruvian commentary (1684), expressly emphasized the "lightness" of Gothic construction as a French tradition:

Le goust de nostre siècle , ou moins de nostre nation, est différent de celuy des Anciens et peut-estre qu'en cela il tient un peu du Gothique: car nous aimons l'air le jour et les dégagements […] mais supposé que le Gothique en general est à considerer tout ce qui le compose ne fust pas le plus beau genre d'architecture, je ne pensois pas que tout ce qui est dans le Gothique fut à rejetter. Le jour dans les edifices et les dégagements dont il s'agit, sont des choses en quoy les Gothiques different des Anciens: mais ce n'est pas en cela que le Gothique est à reprendre[18].

François Blondel went so far as to praise even the elongated proportions of Gothic cathedrals by referring to those of Milan Cathedral as demonstrated in the Vitruvian commentary of Cesare Cesariano (1521)[19].

SS. Trinità dei Monti

Just as for S. Agostino, a prominent place in Rome was chosen for the SS. Trinità dei Monti; the church stands on the slope of the Pincio, visible from afar (figs. 1, 3). The church belonged to the convent founded on the Pincio in 1474 by the French Minims, an austere mendicant order which was widespread in France and whose founder, Francesco di Paola (1416-1507), was active in Paris from 1483 and was held in high esteem at the French royal court[20]. The kings of France supported the order, promoted the canonisation of Francesco (1519), and financed the construction of the convent on the Pincio from the very beginning. Their representatives at the Holy See supervised the work: at first Cardinal Jean Bilhères de Lagraulas and after his death in 1499, Cardinal Guillaume Briçonnet, who was from 1497 to 1507 Archbishop of Reims, then of Narbonne. The guide to Rome published by Francesco Albertini in 1510 deals with the SS. Trinità dei Monti together with the national churches, because it had been begun by the French king and attended to by a French car-

[17] J.M. Pérouse de Montclos, *L'architecture à la française XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1982, pp. 236-253 ("Le classicisme français").
[18] Vitruve, *Les dix livres d'architecture*, éd. C. Perrault, Paris 1684, pp. 79ff. (Vitruvius 3. 2).
[19] F. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture enseigné dans l'Académie Royale d'Architecture*, Paris 1675-1683, V, pp. 774ff.
[20] F. Bonnard, *Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinité du mont Pincio à Rome*, Roma-Paris 1933; P. Pecchiai, *La Trinità dei Monti*, before 1965, unpublished printing proofs in the Bibl. Hertziana, signature Dt. 4690-5651; L. Salerno, *Piazza di Spagna*, Napoli 1967, pp. 27-42; C. D'Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma*, Roma 1973, pp. 131-208; *La Trinité-des-Monts redécouverte: arts, foi et culture. Trinità dei Monti riscoperta. Arti, fede e cultura*, catalogue d'exposition (Rome, 12 juin-8 septembre 2002), éd. Y. Bruley, Rome 2002; C. Di Matteo, *L'église et le couvent de la Trinité-des-Monts à Rome. Les décors restaurés*, Dijon 2015; *La chiesa e il convento della Trinità dei Monti. Ricerche, nuove letture, restauri*, a cura di C. Di Matteo, S. Roberto, Roma 2016, with further literature.

dinal[21]. From then on, the guides to Rome mention the patronage of the kings of France, and the inscription on the façade also announces it:

S(ANCTAE). TRINITATI. REGUM. GAL-
LIAE. MVNIFICENTIA. ET. PRIOR(VM).
ELEMOSYNIS. ADIVTA. MINIMOR(VM).
SODALITAS. STRVXIT. AC. D(E)D(IT).
ANNO. D(OMINI). M.D.LXX.

In the Baroque era the kings of France erected the great staircase that leads from the Pincio up to the SS. Trinità; they also wanted to emphasize their patronage there, but the popes opposed their thirst for representation, and in the meantime the complex unjustly came to be called the Spanish Steps[22].

I have found a contemporary account, ignored until now, which explicitly states that the church was built in the French style. The testimony is provided by two travel companions of the Abbot of Clairvaux, Dom Edme de Saulieu, who came to Rome at the turn of the year 1520-1521 to pursue the reform of the Cistercians wanted by the king of France. Above all, his intention was to limit the pernicious influence that the Holy See exerted by awarding French benefices to members of the Curia. The French wanted to control their clergy themselves, however the Pope maintained his lucrative privilege. The ancestral heritage was defended in many areas as in architectural styles.

The travelogue states on 31 December 1520:

Le dernier jour du dict mois, fumes a la Trinite qui est une eglise de nouveau edifiée et faicte selon la mode francoise. La cause estoit quil y avoit ung convent de Minimes tous françoys, lesquelz commencoient a faire ung beau lieu.

On 6 January 1521, the report repeats that the church was built in the French style because the convent was French, adding that it was littered with fleurs de lis, the emblem of the kings of France, and in several places bore the coat-of-arms of France:

Le VI, jour de lepiphanie, Monseigneur et moy allames dire messe et disner au couvent des Minimes, nomme la Trinite. Les religieux estoient quasi tous francois, et leglise faicte a la mode francoise et semee de fleurs de lis, et en plusieurs lieux, les armes de France[23].

Edme de Saulieu and his companions were not experts in architecture and express little interest for art in their travelogue. Surely they did not recognize by themselves that the SS. Trinità was built in the French style, but rather reflected what the Minims told their visitors when showing them the church. The intention to build the church *a la mode francoise* also seems to have been mentioned in the files of the convent, which have been lost, but probably entered into the chronicle of the convent written short-

[21] F. ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae & veteris urbis Romae*, Roma 1510, fol. X 2*v*.
[22] SALERNO, *Piazza di Spagna...* cit.; D'ONOFRIO, *Scalinate di Roma...* cit.; *La scalinata di Trinità dei Monti*, a cura di L. Cardelli, Milano 1996.
[23] *Relation d'un voyage a Rome, commencé le XXIII du moi d'aout 1520, et terminé le XIV du mois d'Avril 1521, par Révérend père en Dieu Monseigneur Dom Edme, XLIe abbé de Clairvaux*, éd. Harmand, "Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres du Département de l'Aube", s. II 2, 15, 1849-1850, pp. 143-235: 203ff.; for Dom Edme cf. *Peregrinatio hispanica, voyage de Dom Edme de Saulieu, abbé de Clairvaux, en Espagne et au Portugal, 1531-1533*, éd. C. de Bronseval, M. Cocheril, Paris 1970.
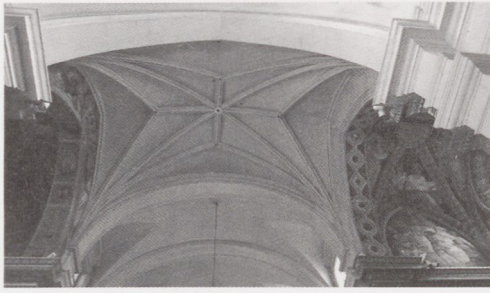
Fig. 4 *Church of SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome. Crossing (photo H. Günther).*

Fig. 5 *Church of SS. Trinità dei Monti, Rome. Right transept (old chapel of St. Michael; photo H. Günther).*

[24] Rome, Archives des Pieux Établissements de la France à Rome et à Lorette, Fonds courant 884bis. C.P. MARTIN, *Histoire du couvent royal des Minimes français de la très Sainte Trinité sur le mont Pincius à Rome*, éd. M.G. Canzanella-Quintaluce, Rome 2018, p. 114.

[25] ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de mirabilibus...* cit.; MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, a cura di E. Bulletti, Roma 1931, pp. 220f.

ly after 1806 by Father Charles-Pierre Martin[24]. Briçonnet's intention to present *la mode francoise* is also expressed by the fact that he had the delicate architectural elements of the church made from French stone, i.e. from the precious coloured limestone of the Roussillon quarries located in his archdiocese of Narbonne, had them carved in France and moreover had a French artist, Guillaume de Marcillat, paint the stained glass windows. The laborious transport of the stones from France to Rome attracted so much attention that Albertini in his Guide to Rome drew attention to it[25]. The figurative stained glass windows, which are treated below, were as clearly related to France as the fleurs de lis and coats-of-arms that Edme de Saulieu noted.

In order to be able to assess the statements in the travelogue, we must trace what Dom Edme could see of the SS. Trinità. For this purpose, we first present the essential known data of the building's history (figs. 1, 3-7). In 1502 Cardinal Briçonnet laid the foundation stone for the church. As is obtained from the aforementioned chronicle of the convent, the building materi-

al of the convent seems to have been partly prepared before 1499 under Cardinal Bilhères de Lagraulas, the predecessor of Briçonnet as orator of the King of France at the Holy See[26]. The work progressed rapidly at the beginning: according to the travel report, the church was largely completed by 1520. In any case, at that time the entire eastern part with choir and transept as well as at least the first bay of the nave with its side chapels were executed, but probably more bays were finished. In 1513 a side chapel was handed over to a patron; in the following year two side chapels were completed; on 4 November 1514 three further side chapels were commissioned. The contract stipulates that they were to be built on the model of the first two[27]. At least by 1527, at the Sack of Rome, the four bays originally planned had been completed. One of the two side chapels of the fourth bay west of the transept was handed over around 1526. The painting of the nave and of the side chapels had also started before the Sack of Rome. Edme de Saulieu had certainly seen the earliest of these frescoes, because they are still as described, in the circle of Perugino (fig. 6). The construction was interrupted by the sack of the city; the invaders plundered the convent. From 1540 the church was extended by a further two bays and finally the prominent double-tower façade was erected.

The parts of the SS. Trinità that Dom Edme saw are no longer completely preserved (fig. 3). The choir was demolished in 1676 and replaced by the present construction. The vaults of the nave, including the clerestory, were remodelled in 1774. The walls of the nave below the clerestory, the side chapels, the crossing and the two arms of the transept have retained their original form (figs. 4-6). I have attempted to reconstruct how the SS. Trinità looked like when Dom Edme visited it (fig. 7)[28]. The result has been adopted recently, essentially unchanged, but without a new evaluation of the sources[29]. My reconstruction is mainly based on four eyewitness accounts: that of the journey of Edme de Saulieu, one of a visitation of the SS. Trinità on 12 January 1629[30], another published by Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza in 1703[31], and, especially, the detailed report in the compendium on Roman Churches written by Giovanni Antonio Bruzio shortly after 1662, which has not been published[32]. In addition, there is the abovementioned chronicle of the SS. Trinità written by Charles-Pierre Martin, who perhaps used the archives of the SS. Trinità, now lost.

The SS. Trinità adopts the building type of a church without aisles (*Saalkirche*). It has a nave with chapels on each side and, as was often the case with this type of building at the time, a distinctly secluded eastern section (fig. 3). The eastern part originally comprised a polygonal choir with an ante-bay, and the surviving crossing and transept, which terminates on the outside in the same alignment as the side chapels (figs. 4-5). A chapel was connected to each arm of the transept in the east[33]. Their original entrances which opened onto the east walls of the transept have been preserved, but their interiors were altered during the Baroque rebuilding. The ante-bay of the choir situated between the two side chapels of the transept was similar in disposition to the present situation[34].

The lower zone of the church is entirely in the Renaissance style. The walls of the nave are articulated by an order of pilasters with Doric capitals and a mighty Ionic-Corinthian entablature. Between the pilasters, arcades with round arches lead into the side chapels, which all have the same shape: an almost square ground plan, a groin vault with cylindrical caps and a round-arched window (fig. 6). The imposts of the arcades continue under the beginnings of their vaults. There is no further architectural articulation in the side chapels. The crossing is separated from the nave by deeply protruding pilasters

[26] MARTIN, *Histoire du couvent royal...* cit., p. 114: "le cardinal Briçonnet projeta le dessein d'un monastère en règle avec une église à la française, et en fit tracer le plan par les plus habiles architectes. Il en conmença l'execution avec les matériaux qu'avait achetés le cardinal Jean de Lombez, et au mois d'avril de l'an 1502, il jeta les fondements de l'église du côté de l'orient et y forma le grand autel et les deux chapelles collatérales. Il débourse du sien pour le seul objet 1700 écus d'or au soleil et fit venir par mer de Narbonne les pierres de taille toutes préparées pou former le dit maître-autel, et jusqu'aux vitres pour les fenêtres, sur lesquelles maître Guillaume de Marseille l'avait peint en posture de suppliant aux pieds de saint Juste et de saint Pasteur". Jean de Lombez, Cardinal Bilhères de Lagraulas, bishop of Lombez, died in 1499. Martin, p. 617 says: The unexpected death of King Charles VIII and the death of Cardinal Bilhères "retardèrent l'execution de l'édifice matériell du couvent [...]. Le cardinal Briçonnet, qui succéda au défunt dans l'emploi d'orateur à Rome, lui succéda aussi dans son zèle pour l'avancement de cette maison. Aux materiaux qu'il trouva, il ajouta ceux qu'il avait fait tailler ou polir à Narbonne, qu'il destina à former le choeur et une partie de la nef de l'église".

[27] Roma, Archivio di Stato, *Not. Capitolino St. De Amannis*, 61, p. 156; D'ONOFRIO, *Scalinate di Roma...* cit., p. 369.

[28] H. GÜNTHER, *Demonstration avantgardistischer Architektur "à la mode françoise" an der SS. Trinità dei Monti in Rom*, in *Aufmaß und Diskurs: Festschrift für Norbert Nußbaum zum 60. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von J. Jachmann, A. Lang, Berlin 2013, pp. 187-211 (in particular: p. 199, fig. 8; p. 201, fig. 9); ID., *Der ursprüngliche Chor der SS. Trinità dei Monti in Rom und der Glasmaler Guillaume de Marcillat*, in *Licht(t)räume: Festschrift für Brigitte Kurmann-Scharz zum 65. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von K. Georgi, B. von Orelli-Messerli, Petersberg 2016, pp. 76-83 (in particular: p. 78, fig. 2; p. 80, fig. 4).

[29] S. ROBERTO, *La chiesa della Trinità dei Monti. Un prezioso e problematico palinsesto architettonico, tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, in *La chiesa e il convento della Trinità dei Monti. Ricerche, nuove letture, restauri...* cit., pp. 94-114. Roberto assumes that the windows in the upper galleries were round-arched, without systematically considering the evidence of the sources. In addition to the sources mentioned above, there is also the *veduta* mentioned below of SS. Trinità by Charles-Louis Clérisseau, which Roberto does not consider.

[30] Roma, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Congr. Visite Apostol.*, 3, 1624-30.

[31] C.B. PIAZZA, *La gerarchia cardinalizia*, Roma 1703, pp. 642-644.

[32] G.A. BRUZIO, *Ecclesiae Romanae urbis nec non Collegia Cannonicorum caeterorumque presbyterorum ac virorum monasteria regularia quaecumque*, XII (*De aede SS. Triadis in Pincio ac coenobio Minimorum Gallorum S. Francisci de Paula*), Roma, Biblioteca Apost. Vaticana, *Cod. Vat. Lat.*, 11881, foll. 121-143. First consulted for the reconstruction of the SS. Trinità by BONNARD, *Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinité...* cit., p. 28, but only partially considered, then after, to my knowledge, not systematically exploited.

[33] BRUZIO, *Ecclesiae Romanae urbis...* cit., fol. 125v, counts twelve chapels in the longitudinal direction (six side chapels on both sides of the nave) and five in the transverse direction (the two arms of the transept, the choir and the two side chapels).

[34] GÜNTHER, *Demonstration avantgardistischer Architektur...* cit., p. 199, fig. 8; ID., *Der ursprüngliche Chor der SS. Trinità dei Monti...* cit., p. 80, fig. 4.

and parts of entablatures in the manner of the articulation of the nave (figs. 3-4). This articulation is repeated at all four corners of the crossing and continues in the transept. The entrances to the side chapels, which adjoined the transept to the east, are similar to those of the side chapels of the nave. The articulation further to the east, beginning with pilasters and a transverse arch above it, belongs to the remodelling of the choir during the 17th century.

The vaulted zone begins directly above the order of pilasters. Originally, the design there changed abruptly to the Gothic style. Bruzio (fol. 125*v*) calls the old windows in the clerestory of the nave "Gothic" and describes them as filled with

tracery, with a central column, a tondo above and other curves:

> *fenestrae decem gothicae marmore interstinctae (columella media oculum aliaque ovata sustinente) et omnes vitreae.*

In contrast, he calls the windows of the side chapels simply round-arched without addition: "fenestra hemisphyrica vitrea". Two views of the SS. Trinità from the south, the one published by Giovanni Battista Falda in 1667-1669[35], the other drawn by Charles-Louis Clérisseau around 1749-1754[36], vaguely confirm Bruzio's statements that the windows of the side chapels were, as they are today, round-arched and with-

[35] G.B. FALDA, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, et edificii, in prospettiva di Roma moderna, sotto il felice pontificato di N.S. papa Alessandro VII, III (Il terzo libro del novo teatro delle chiese di Roma date in luce sotto il felice pontificato di nostro signore papa Clemente IX)*, Roma 1667-1669, fig. 18.
[36] *La Trinité-des-Monts redécouverte...* cit., p. 16.

out tracery, while those in the clerestory were pointed-arched, each divided by a central support, which carried trefoils and a tondo above. The 1514 building contract, quoted above, contains the commission to make six travertine windows in addition to the three side chapels; this might also have included the tracery in the clerestory, unless it was made in France of limestone from Roussillon.

In the crossing and in the transept, the upper zone is still preserved in its original form (figs. 4-5). The partition arches are ogival (except the eastern one, which was altered together with the choir). The cross arms, like the side chapels of the nave, are covered with groin vaults, but the caps, unlike those in the side chapels, are ogival. The crossing is covered with a Gothic vault, the ribs of which form a four-pointed star. In the longitudinal or east-west direction, it has an approximately semi-circular cross-section, similar to the present barrel vault in the nave and choir. In the transverse direction, where the width is considerably smaller, it has a pointed-arch cross-section. The caps are built in brick masonry with layers that run parallel to the sixteen apex lines of the caps. The ribs are set on short pieces of vaulting shafts above the entablature. They are uniform, without differentiation according to their position, and profiled in late-Gothic style with overlaps in the initial area.

The descriptions of the SS. Trinità that were written before the Baroque interventions treat the entire central space of the church as a single unit, running from the western end to the sanctuary; the two arms of the transept and the sanctuary are considered as chapels. Bruzio continues after the description of the "Gothic" windows in the clerestory of the nave: from there the vault rises, with ribs wonderfully diverging in different directions: "Tollitur inde concameratio cum fasciis mire deversatis". The report of the visitation of the SS. Trinità in 1629 states regard-

ing the shape of the church that it had only one nave, was paved with bricks and covered with an elaborately intertwined vault:

> unicam habet navem, cuius lithostratum est lateritum; caelum vero tegitur concamerata testudine artificiose laqueata[37].

Even before the 1774 intervention, Piazza claims that the vault of the nave and the windows were made entirely of stone. In reality, as indicated above, the vault of the crossing consists of bricks, only the ribs are made of cut stone. Piazza means, therefore, that the vault had ribs of cut stone. The large thermal window, which opens in the façade directly below the vault, shows that the longitudinal caps have throughout retained the same semi-circular cross-section as in the crossing (fig. 1). The descriptions testify that the nave was covered with a ribbed vault. Since they do not distinguish between the crossing and the parts adjoining in the longitudinal direction, it is likely that the whole church was covered with star vaults as in the crossing; the vault certainly fanned out in the choir, but hardly changed in the nave, because the bays there have similar dimensions as the crossing. The vaults of the two bays, which were added to the nave from 1540 onwards, apparently also retained Gothic elements, and this in the Rome where shortly before Michelangelo had taken over the direction of the construction of St. Peter's. Since there were no precise terms for such complex Gothic elements as star vaults, the eyewitnesses were forced to apply somewhat poetic paraphrases. They certainly did not refer to simple cross vaults, as in the side chapels and in the transept, for there was a clear term for this (cruciata or as nowadays cruciera, used even in 1514 in the building contract for the side chapels).

Piazza indicates that the new Baroque choir is larger than the original one, and this is confirmed by some old representations of the

[37] Roma, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Congr. Visite Apostol.*, 3, 1624-30, fol. 27r.

SS. Trinità, however vague they may otherwise be, and in plans of the area (in sixteenth-century plans of Rome and in a plan by François d'Orbay for the construction of a staircase at the Pincio in front of the SS. Trinità, 1660)[38]. Bruzio (fol. 125v) specifies the original dimensions:

Absidem longam habes palmos sex et triginta ac semis, latam vero septem et triginta ac quadrans tres.

The "apse", as he calls the choir, was therefore 37 ¾ Roman *palmi* wide, in contrast to the nave, which, as he aptly says, is 42 *palmi* wide (1 *palmo* = 22,34 cm). The choir was 2 ⅛ *palmi* (47 cm) recessed on each side. This was maintained in its Baroque reconstruction. The "length of the apse", i.e. the depth of the choir, was 36 ½ *palmi*. So the choir was almost as deep as it was wide[39]. It was divided in depth into two approximately equal parts. One half comprised the anterior bay between the side chapels of the transept, the other half the chevet. The measurements indicate that the chevet formed either an apse with a semi-circular ground plan according to the old Roman tradition or a polygon according to the Gothic manner[40].

The visit report of 1629 states that the high altar stands in the choir under a vault and is illuminated by three large windows with stained glass:

continet 7 supra 10 sacella quorum maius in abside positum est sub fornice tribusque amplis fenestris (quae vitreis specularibus clauduntur) illustrator.

Bruzio confines himself to addressing these windows when he treats the choir. Obviously, they completely determined his impression of the church. After he had described the vault of the church, he only writes, again taking the entire main space as a unit, that the nave was illuminated and adorned by a very large glass window in the choir, which was also Gothic (like the windows in the clerestory) and divided into three large windows:

navis tota, quae luce donatur [...] ab amplissima fenestra vitrea quae in eadem abside, pariter gothica et in amplas tres fenestras parata quaeque et lucem impartitur Aedi et sacello ornatum (fol. 125v).

Apparently, the large windows were so close together that they could all seem like a single very large window, which was divided by slender mullions. Elsewhere (fol. 130v) Bruzio speaks of the stained glass in the three windows that extended over the entire width of the choir. In these windows, he also reports (foll. 330v-331r), marble mullions were set in the Gothic manner:

Magnis his fenestris interiectae columnellae marmoreae more Gothico et quidem visu dignissime.

The walls of the anterior bay were closed because of the adjacent side chapels of the transept. Presumably the anterior bay, so called up to now, formed a unit with the chevet. This results in a typical Gothic choir with the usual fivefold closure, the walls of which opened to the east largely as windows with tracery[41].

All windows – in the choir as well as in the side chapels and in the clerestory – were filled with figurative stained glass[42]. Bruzio states this (foll. 125v, 130v), Piazza confirms it for the nave and side chapels. Bruzio describes the stained-glass images in the choir in detail (fol. 130v): in the middle window, according to the consecration of the church, the *Trinity* was depicted in the upper part and the *Miracle of Pentecost* below. The window on the left showed the three holy bishops of the diocese of Narbonne and above them the patrons of the cathedral of Narbonne and of Briçonnet's first diocese of Saint-Malo in Brittany. In the right window, the Apostle Princes Peter and Paul and Mary were portrayed, as well as the three popular Saints of Southern France: the penitent Mary Magdalene, Martha of Bethany and her brother Lazarus, whom Brizio calls, as legend has it, Bishop of Marseille. Briçonnet wearing the Cardi-

[38] Maps of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini 1551, Étienne du Pérac 1577. Cf. *Le piante di Roma*, a cura di A.P. Frutaz, Roma 1962, pianta 109, 127, fig. 196, 255; D'ONOFRIO, *Scalinate di Roma...* cit., pp. 279ff., fig. 210.
[39] The fact that Bruzio means with the "length of the apse" the extension of the church from the crossing to the east end, is confirmed by his indications for the length of the whole church and its remaining parts: length of the church outside = 201 *palmi*, inside = 188 *palmi*; length of one of the side chapels inside = 19 *palmi* (length of the nave: 6 × 19 *palmi* + 6 × wall thickness of approx. 2 *palmi* between the side chapels); width of the transept = depth of the crossing = 26 *palmi*; length to the choir accordingly = approx. 152 *palmi*.
[40] GÜNTHER, *Demonstration avantgardistischer Architektur...* cit., p. 199, fig. 8; ID., *Der ursprüngliche Chor der SS. Trinità dei Monti...* cit., p. 80, fig. 4.
[41] Ibidem.
[42] GÜNTHER, *Der ursprüngliche Chor der SS. Trinità dei Monti...* cit., pp. 76-83.

nal's robe was depicted kneeling in front of the three holy bishops of the diocese of Narbonne[43]. The stained glass must have been made between 1507 and 1511, because in 1507 Briçonnet became Archbishop of Narbonne and in 1511 he left Rome because Pope Julius II had excommunicated and deposed him.

The interior was decorated with frescoes during the sixteenth century, beginning immediately after the completion of its first parts (fig. 6). The original decoration in the southern arm of the transept and in some chapels is quite well preserved and has recently been restored[44]. The nave, except for the arch fronts of the arcades and spandrels between them, was whitewashed in the Baroque era. The transept frescos were painted from 1520-1522 onwards by a pupil of Raphael on behalf of the Minims (fig. 5). A pupil of Pietro Perugino created the frescoes in the first southern chapel (fig. 6) at the beginning of

the period between 1513 and 1525. The dating results from the facts that Melchiorre Guerrieri assumed patronage of the chapel in 1513 and died in 1525. The spandrels above the arcade that opens from his chapel to the nave show the coats-of-arms of Guerrieri and of his wife Giustina Calandra, who died in 1520 (fig. 6). In the chapel there is an architectural articulation painted with Doric pilasters and Ionic Corinthian entablature. It is quite similar to the architectural articulation of the southern arm of the transept in shape and its painted decoration, although these are by different artists. This similarity conveys the impression that the Minims originally planned to paint the walls in a uniform Renaissance style.

Probably the vaults of the nave, crossing and choir were also originally painted, but not in a Renaissance style. The French fleur de lis with which Dom Edme saw the church "littered"

[43] The chronicle of MARTIN, *Histoire du couvent royal...* cit., pp. 564f. mentions the stained glass windows of the choir after its destruction: "Les trois grandes fenêtres qui l'eclairaient en bas (the choir), étaient tissues en dehors d'excellentes ferrates, et ramattes en fer, comme on en peut juger d'une qui est restée pour la montre du côté de la sacristie, et à une des fenêtres supérieures aux corniches de pierre dudit choeur, était peint à genoux aux pieds des saints Juste et Pasteur, le cardinal Briçonnet, archevêque de Narbonne, qui avait fait venir de ce pays les pierres toutes taillées pour bâtir cette église, l'an 1502, et jusques aux vitres peintes pour le choeur, qu'on conserva dans la construction du nouveau, en mémoire du bienfait et du bienfaiteur".
[44] DI MATTEO, *L'église et le couvent de la Trinité-des-Monts...* cit.; *La chiesa e il convento della Trinità dei Monti...* cit.

in 1520-1521 must have been painted there, as there was hardly any space left for them on the walls. The French coats-of-arms may have been attached to the intersections of the ribs, as is often the case with star vaults.

Figure 7 shows how I reconstruct the SS. Trinità. The illustration of the interior is intended to convey an overall idea of the original appearance with its combination of two styles which constitute opposites in classical Italian architectural theory. In order to achieve this, elements in the choir, whose form is not known in detail, have been added in accordance with the appropriate style. The high altar and choir stalls are missing because there is no indication of their original appearance. In order to avoid the creation of an abstract atmosphere in the illustration, despite this central gap, modern parts of the furnishings of the nave that are irrelevant to the construction have been retained or inserted.

Now the question arises as to what special feature of the SS. Trinità, the classification *a la mode françoise* relates. In order to prepare an answer, we first systematically place the original elements of the church in the context of art history[45].

The building type is certainly not addressed here as a French peculiarity. The aisleless church with its simple plan was already typical of mendicant orders in the Middle Ages and remained so during the Renaissance, but the side chapels were given a uniform layout. A transept was rare in this type of construction, but the eastern part could generally be designed very individually. Recently, the double-tower façade of the SS. Trinità has repeatedly evoked the memory of the French Gothic, since, despite its Renaissance elements, it seems alien to Rome (fig. 1)[46]. But Dom Edme has not yet seen it, and perhaps it was not even originally planned.

[45] GÜNTHER, *Demonstration avantgardistischer Architektur...* cit., pp. 202-207; ROBERTO, *La chiesa della Trinità dei Monti...* cit., adopted the reference to the relationship with S. Salvatore al Monte in Florence, but paid too little attention to the other relationships.

[46] T. MANFREDI, *Il problema della facciata "gotica" della Santissima Trinità dei Monti a Roma*, in *Presenze Medievali nell'Architettura di Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, a cura di G. Simoncini, Milano 1997, pp. 126-135.

The balanced proportions of the interior, the Doric architectural articulation, the side chapels and their painting are all typical of the Italian Renaissance. The articulation even reflects the most advanced contemporary style in Italy. Like the disposition of the nave, it obviously adheres to S. Salvatore al Monte (also known as S. Salvatore e S. Francesco) in Florence, which was built by a branch of the Franciscan Observants, i.e. also a particularly severe mendicant order (fig. 8). S. Salvatore was largely completed in 1500, thus two years before the laying of the foundation stone for the SS. Trinità, and consecrated in 1504[47]. Cronaca planned the construction. Also S. Salvatore is a church without aisles. The eastern part is also clearly dissociated from the nave as in the SS. Trinità, but not with a pointed arch. The walls of the nave are articulated in the lower zone as in the SS. Trinità: with an architectural order and, framed by it, arcades which give access to the side chapels. The articulation also consists of pilasters with Doric capitals and a large Ionic-Corinthian entablature. Apart from a few exceptions, it is only towards the end of the fifteenth century that the order with Doric capitals appears in sacred buildings as prominently as it does here. Until then, orders similar to the Corinthian dominated almost exclusively. The churches without aisles that are close to S. Salvatore in time and disposition, like S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi by Giuliano da Sangallo, also have orders of Corinthian columns, as has Cronaca's plan for an aisleless church denominated S. Piero in Scrimio, but Cronaca had also planned a centralized building with a Doric articulation similar to the SS. Trinità[48]. The complete Vitruvian Dorica with a metopic triglyph frieze in the entablature had not been revived at the time when the SS. Trinità was planned. Bramante introduced it at the Tempietto only in 1502. With the Tempietto the new style of the High Renaissance began in architecture.

Although this has hardly been noticed so far, the SS. Trinità occupies an essential position in the development of Renaissance architecture in Rome: it is closer to Cronaca's new style than any other Roman building and forms the link between the Tuscan churches without aisles and their Roman successors, such as Antonio da Sangallo's S. Marcello al Corso and S. Spirito in Sassia. As an aisleless church with a vault and a transept that terminates on the periphery of the side chapels, it comes closer to the disposition of the Gesù than any other church built in Rome before the Gesù.

Usually, in keeping with their modesty, mendicant orders had aisleless churches covered with flat ceilings or even with exposed roof trusses. The clerestory therefore forms a separate tier of the elevation. This is also the case in S. Salvatore, S. Marcello al Corso and S. Spirito in Sassia. However, the insertion of vaults in the SS. Trinità, did not, on its own, necessarily have to appear as a French peculiarity to Dom Edme either. There were also several vaulted mendicant churches in Rome. The main churches of mendicant orders, as in Rome S. Maria sopra Minerva, had vaults as well as aisles. The same disposition had been given by Pope Sixtus IV and Cardinal d'Estouteville to S. Maria del Popolo and S. Agostino, as they were intended as burial places of the Della Rovere family and of the Cardinal himself, respectively. The vault manifests first and foremost the will to design the building in a representative manner, for vaults were considered the most noble form of roofing[49]. For S. Pietro in Montorio it is documented that the patron placed emphasis on a design that was appropriate to his dignity. In 1488, the King of Spain, Ferdinand of Aragon, who together with his wife Isabella of Castile financed the construction, wrote to his procurators in Rome that the church, as a settlement of the Observant Franciscans, should adhere to what was customary in

[47] On S. Salvatore, its building type and its succession, see A. MARKSCHIES, *Gebaute Armut. San Salvatore e San Francesco al Monte in Florenz (1418-1504)*, München 2001, which, however, does not consider SS. Trinità dei Monti.
[48] H. GÜNTHER, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen 1988, pp. 89-97.
[49] L.B. ALBERTI, *De re aedificatoria*, 7.11.

this order, i.e. be modest rather than great, but, he added with concern, it should not appear so inconspicuous that it "is detrimental to the greatness of the person who has it made"[50]. S. Pietro in Montorio has, as is typical for normal churches of the mendicant orders, no aisles, but despite the Franciscan Observance, it is vaulted. The Gesù was vaulted at the request of the patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, against the will of the Jesuits. As a peculiarity of the SS. Trinità, it had to be noticed in Rome, however, that the choir and the vault, including the clerestory, were Gothic, in contrast to the articulation of the nave, and that, as the eyewitness accounts testify, they gave the interior an overall Gothic appearance. The choice of style for the choir can be explained by the phenomenon mentioned at the beginning, which is that the Gothic style evoked associations with the sacred sphere; however, this explanation does not apply to the other parts of the church.

The clearly French element of the SS. Trinità is the star vault[51]. In contrast to the simple cross vaults common in Italy and or to the complex vault formations that were created in Central Europe during the late Gothic period and shaped new spatial forms, in France the vaults adhered to the patterns that had developed during the High Gothic period and respected the conventional elevation. The four-pointed rhombic star, which was installed in the SS. Trinità, appears at the Cathedral of Amiens (from about 1264). This formation is still quite close to the cross vault; later it was enriched by increasing the number of points to six or eight. Often in French churches, as in Amiens, only the crossing is marked by a star vault, while even in the late Gothic period the other bays of the nave are covered with cross vaults. In this case, the ground plan of the crossing is distinguished as a square and not, as in the SS. Trinità, as oblong as are the bays of the nave. However, in France,

there is a whole series of late-Gothic churches that are covered throughout with star vaults from the west to the choir, with four-pointed rhombic stars, for example St. Nicolas-de-Port in Lorraine (1481/1495-1530) or the cathedral of Condom, Midi-Pyrénées (1496-1531), or in Paris considerably later still, the parish church of Saint-Eustache (from 1532). Also typical for France is the brick masonry of the Gothic vault of the SS. Trinità with layers that run parallel to the apex lines of the caps. This complicated way of laying bricks was already used in the star vault in Amiens[52].

In the main spaces of late Gothic churches, the ribs of the vaults are usually differentiated according to their position. Uniformly designed, as in the SS. Trinità, they are located rather in subordinate spaces (vestibules, side chapels etc.), or in separate chapels that were not part of a church (e.g. the chapel of the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris, 1485-1490). Similar remnants of the SS. Trinità type of vaulting, where the ribs overlap each other, can be observed in the Hubertus chapel of the royal residence of Amboise (1491-1496). Only for the short pieces of single vaulting shafts over which the ribs in the SS. Trinità start, there are no parallels. They were probably inserted in consideration of the pilaster articulation in the lower zone.

The painting of the vault reconstructed here was typical for France: by this point the vaults of the Sainte-Chapelle or some late-Gothic vaults of the fifteenth century, and even at the end of the sixteenth century, the barrel vault of the large hall in the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon were "littered" with golden fleur de lis on a blue background (fig. 9)[53]. The magnificent fireplace that Cardinal Briçonnet had erected in the Archbishop's Palace in Reims is also covered with fleurs de lis and bears many coats-of-arms: those of the King of France, of the Archdiocese of Reims and of Briçonnet himself, four times.

[50] A. DE LA TORRE, *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, Barcelona 1947-1966, III, p. 143f., n. 152. H. GÜNTHER, *Bramantes Tempietto. Die Memorialanlage der Kreuzigung Petri in S. Pietro in Montorio*, Rom, Diss., Universität München 1973, pp. 202f., cat. doc. 10; F. CANTATORE, *San Pietro in Montorio. La chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma*, Roma 2007, pp. 43-45. Incidentally, in 1482-83 King Louis XI of France also donated money (500 scudi) for the construction of S. Pietro in Montorio, but this was an episode that had no influence on the design of the church (ivi, pp. 42-43).

[51] N. NUSSBAUM, *Das gotische Gewölbe. Eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion*, Darmstadt 1999, pp. 273-293. I thank Stefan Bürger and Christian Freigang for their substantial support for art historical classification of the star vault of the SS. Trinità.

[52] Ivi, p. 176.

[53] See, for example, the representation in a window of the chapel of Jacques Coeur in the cathedral of Bourges, 1451. J.M. LENIAUD, *La restauration du décor peint de la Sainte Chapelle haute par Duban, Lassus et Boeswillwald (1839-ca. 1881)*, in *Die "Denkmalpflege" vor der Denkmalpflege*, Akten des Kongresses (Bern, 30. Juni-3. Juli 1999), herausgegeben von V. Hoffmann, J. Schweizer, W. Wolters, Bern 2005, pp. 333-360: 335f.; *Primitifs français. Découvertes et Redécouvertes*, catalogue d'exposition (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 27 février-17 mai 2004), éd. D. Thiébaut, P. Lorentz, F.R. Martin, Paris 2004, pp. 81, 83; B. KURMANN-SCHWARZ, *Vitraux commandités par la cour. Le vitrail et les autres arts; ressemblances et dissemblances*, in *Hofkultur in Frankreich und Europa im Spätmittelalter*, herausgegeben von C. Freigang, J.C. Schmitt, Berlin 2005, pp. 161-182, coloured fig. 1.

Fig. 9 *Cathedral of Bourges. Chapelle Jacques Coeur, window with representation of the Annunciation (photo H. Günther).*

Now we try to understand what *la mode française* should mean, as it is difficult to discern what terms like *mode* (Italian: *modo, uso*, etc.) or manner (Italian: *maniera*), style or fashion (Italian: *stile*, French: *façon*) and similar ones might indicate in the Renaissance in the modern sense of the terms *style*, or *building type* or *genus* or *kind of construction* or other criteria[54]. Before the record of the visit of Dom Edme de Saulieu to the SS. Trinità, architecture was rarely characterized as *la mode françoise* or by similar terms. During the Renaissance, the Italians referred to the style of medieval buildings, as indicated above, as *maniera tedesca* or as *maniera moderna*, without distinguishing between Gothic, Romanesque or other medieval styles, and opposed it to the style of antiquity which was

considered to be authentic and exemplary for new architecture[55]. The French were hardly taken into account in this context, although it was well known that the "uso e modo" of medieval architecture, as Filarete says (1460-1464), was established "da' tramontani, cioè da Todeschi e da Francesi"[56]. In 1521 a Lombard architectural theorist writing about Milan Cathedral noted that the German architects ("Germanici Architecti") had made the equilateral triangle the basis of their planning, although an Italian, Gabriele Stornaloco, came up with the idea[57].

The term *mode* definitely refers to French style in the chronicle of a Bohemian monastery, which reports that King John of Bohemia of the House of Luxembourg (1296-1346) had artists from France come to build in "modo galli-

[54] Regarding the *mode Françoise*, see FRANKL, *The Gothic...* cit., pp. 295-299; HESSE, *Von der Nachgotik zur Neugotik...* cit., pp. 33-36. Generally E. PANOFSKY, *Das Problem des Stils in der bildenden Kunst*, in *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, herausgegeben von H. Oberer, E. Verheyen, Berlin 1980, pp. 19-27; M.E. BLANCHARD, *Stil und Kunstgeschichte*, in *Stil. Geschichten und Funktionen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Diskurselements*, herausgegeben von H.U. Gumbrecht, K.L. Pfeifer, Frankfurt am Main 1986, pp. 559-573.
[55] BRANDIS, *"La maniera tedesca"...* cit.
[56] A. AVERLINO DETTO IL FILARETE, *Trattato di architettura*, a cura di A.M. Finoli, L. Grassi, Milano 1972, p. 382.
[57] VITRUVIUS, *De architectura libri decem*, translated and commented by C. Cesariano, Como 1521, fol. 13v.

[58] P. DESCHAMPS, *Saint Louis et le rayonnement de l'art français*, in *Le siècle de Saint Louis*, éd. R. Pernoud, Paris 1970, pp. 143-152, note 13.

[59] Around 1280-1290 in Wimpfen there is mention of "opus francigenum", but its meaning remains controversial. FRANKL, *The Gothic...* cit., pp. 55-57; G. BINDING, *Opus Francigenum. Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsbestimmung*, "Archiv für Kulturgeschichte", LXXI, 1989, pp. 45-54; C. FREIGANG, *Zur Wahrnehmung regional spezifischer Architekturidiome in mittelalterlichen Diskursen*, in *Kunst & Region. Architektur und Kunst im Mittelalter*, herausgegeben von U.M. Bräuer, Utrecht 2005, pp. 14-33: 26f.; J.M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *L'architecture à la française. Du milieu du XVe siècle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2001², pp. 28f.

[60] C.A. BRUZELIUS, *'ad modum franciae'. Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily*, "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", L, 1991, pp. 402-420: 403.

[61] G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, Firenze 1823, II, p. 156.

[62] K. WEIL-GARRIS, J.F. D'AMICO, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace. A Chapter from Cortesi's "De Cardinalatu"*, in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture, 15th through 18th Centuries*, edited by H.A. Millon, Rome 1980, pp. 45-123: 77.

[63] Letter to Marcanton Michiel of 20 march 1524. R. PANE, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, Milano 1975-1977, I, pp. 68-70. Not regarded by BRANDIS, *"La maniera tedesca"*... cit.

[64] PH. DE L'ORME, *Premier tome de l'architecture...*, Paris 1567, fol. 142v (5. 11). For de L'Orme cf. A. BLUNT, *Philibert de L'Orme*, London 1958; J.M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *Philibert De l'Orme*, Paris 2000; H. GÜNTHER, *Philibert de l'Orme zwischen italienischer Avantgarde und französischer Tradition*, in *KunstKritikGeschichte: Festschrift für Johann Konrad Eberlein*, herausgegeben von J. Aufreiter, Berlin 2013, pp. 229-254; *Philibert De l'Orme, un architecte dans l'histoire*, éd. F. Lemerle, Turnhout 2015.

[65] DE L'ORME, *Premier tome de l'architecture...* cit., foll. 107r, 110v, 112r (4. 8, 10, 11).

co", and his son, King Charles IV (1346-1378), had the Prague Castle built "ad instar domus regis Franciae"[58]. Occasionally, terms such as *opus francigenum* or *ad modum franciae* were used in the Middle Ages to mark special work techniques for bricks or roof tiles[59]. This is also true for Italy, as has not been considered until now: in 1279 a certain "tegularius" Thomas received the order to supply roof tiles "ad modum franciae" for the abbey of S. Maria di Realvalle, which Charles of Anjou had founded for French Cistercians in 1277[60]. More often terms like *French* or *German* refer more to the builder than to the style. So it is in the examples I know. The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani (died 1348) writes about Charles of Anjou, who came to Italy in 1265:

> E poco appresso al re non piacque di abitare nel castello di Capova, perch'era abitato al modo tedesco; ordinò che si facesse castello nuovo al modo francese, il quale è presso a san Piero in Castello dall'altra parte di Napoli[61].

Paolo Cortesi writes in his treatise "On the Office of the Cardinal" (1510): following the train of time to abandon the "prisca ratio symmetriae" in order to introduce a "nova ratio" of architecture, Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250), a German, used the "germanica symmetria" in the planning of his Campanian house (perhaps the Castel Capuano in Naples), and Pope Martin IV (1281-1285), a Frenchman, was led by the same "ratio novitatis" when he built his Faliscan house "gallico genere" – "domum in phaliscis gallico genere aedificatam ferunt" (probably the Rocca of Montefiascone is meant here)[62]. In 1524, the Neapolitan humanist Pietro Summonte explains how the architecture of his homeland was degraded in the Middle Ages under the foreign rulers from the dynasties of the Staufer, Anjou and Aragon[63]: at that time only primitive, German, French and barbaric buildings were built there ("non si facevano se non cose piane, te-

desche, francesche e barbare"), and the foreign rulers robbed spolia of ancient monuments in order to use them in a barbaric way for French and German buildings ("in uso barbarico di opere francese e tedesche"). The most important of the "barbaric" buildings in Naples, i.e. the Sala dei Baroni, which Alfonso of Aragon had built in the Castel Nuovo, is disparagingly called by Summonte a Catalan thing, far from ancient architecture ("pur grande opera; ma è cosa catalana, nihil omnino habens veteris architecturae"). Contrary to these statements, the expression *la mode françoise* and the indication of the many fleurs de lis and "armes de France" in the record of the visit of Dom Edme de Saulieu, really characterise the appearance of the SS. Trinità as made in the French manner and explain it by stating explicitly that the Church was intended for French monks. This understanding of the term is confirmed by the classical architectural treatise of the French Renaissance, Philibert de L'Orme's *Premier tome de l'architecture*, which appeared later, but refers to idiomatic expressions that had long been used in France (1567). De L'Orme writes that the buildings that were built before the invasion of the new Italian style in his nation were made in a French manner; literally, as in the record of Dom Edme's visit to the SS. Trinità, he says, that they are "faicts à la mode Françoise"[64]. He repeats this classification several times, specifically with reference to Gothic vaults or such vaults, as he writes, that were customary in France before the invasion of the Italian Renaissance, but meanwhile were no longer used[65]. Primarily, de L'Orme treats here the star vault with four points similar to those in the SS. Trinità, merely over a square ground plan (4.8). This "façon de voute" no longer in use was "appellée entre des ouvriers La mode Françoise". The linguistic parallel confirms that Dom Edme's travel companions with their phrase of the *mode françoise* referred, specifical-

Fig. 10 *Abbey church of Saint-Gilles.*
Remains of the spiral staircase of the destroyed
Romanesque choir (photo H. Günther).

ly, to the Gothic parts of the SS. Trinità, i.e. the choir and the vault, not only because they were Gothic, but also because they corresponded to what was especially common in France before the penetration of the forms of the Italian Renaissance.

But this is not the end of the matter. In the record of Dom Edme's journey, the entire church is assigned to the *mode françoise*. This classification also includes the articulation in Italian style and the balanced proportioning of the entire space. We are therefore faced with the question of what the connection between the two means, in the sense of the Italian Renaissance opposing styles in the SS. Trinità. De L'Orme also helps us to understand this connection when we consider the *Premier tome de l'architecture* as a whole.

De L'Orme proudly identifies himself as the person who had introduced the style of the Italian Renaissance into French architecture, and his treatise is intended to teach the new way of designing. He therefore takes Italian architectural theory as his point of departure and focuses on the hallmark of the *all'antica* style, i.e. the columnar orders. In this context, de L'Orme, as was standard practice in Italy at the time, denigrates the Gothic style: "Telle façon barbare" had been abandoned by builders after he, de L'Orme, had taught them the better way of building more than thirty years previously (fol. 142*v*).

But the *Premier tome* also has another focus, namely vaults. De L'Orme treats them in the context of stereotomy (stone cutting) and the complicated geometric basics necessary to form the individual stones, which are set in the vaults exactly according to the conditions of the spherical surfaces (livres 3-4). The title page of the treatise does not show the columnar orders or ancient monuments, but geometric constructions on which stereotomy is based (see the contribution of Yves Pauwels, fig. 2, in this volume). In the *Nouvelles inventions pour bien bastir* (1561),

de L'Orme deals mainly with vaults. De L'Orme personally built highly complex vaults in ashlar, and such vaults became a characteristic element of subsequent French architecture. In French architectural theory, the treatment of stereotomy and vaults had a great following, and the later treatises emphasise that de L'Orme was the first to deal with the subject[66].

Concerning the vaults, de L'Orme does not teach the new Italian style. In Vitruvius and in Italian architectural theory, vaults, as far as they are considered at all, play at most a subordinate role. Sebastiano Serlio largely ignores them; Leon Battista Alberti dedicates only two chapters of his voluminous architectural treatise to them, and concentrates, according to the Italian way of construction, on rather simple modes of laying bricks[67]. In relation to the vaults, de L'Orme opposes Italian polemics against French architecture with a criticism of the Italian Renaissance from the perspective of a French avant-gardist (fol. 124*v*). In an almost schoolmasterly manner, he disciplines an incunabulum of the High Renaissance, the spiral ramp at the Cortile del Belvedere, and its architect Bramante, whom the Italians celebrated as an "illuminator and innovator of architecture". He says that the way in which the columns were inserted there, and the design of the vaulting, would demonstrate that the "craftsman" who had designed it – so disparagingly he addresses Bramante – did not comprehend what a real architect should actually understand. Then de L'Orme teaches such "ignoramuses" in detail how to design proper vaults and how to apply the columnar orders. In the first book of his treatise, de L'Orme opposes the idea of bringing craftsmen and ashlar from abroad to France, because France had enough of both; there would be no better ashlar than in France (foll. 27*r-v*). The same conviction probably prompted Cardinal Briçonnet to order that the stone for the SS. Trinità be carved in France.
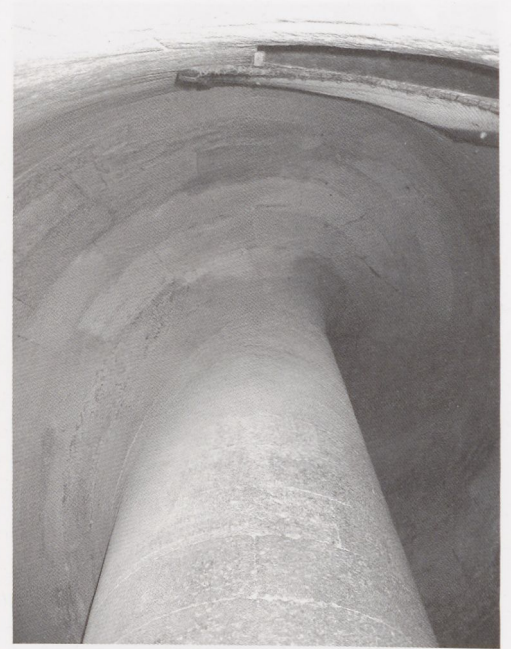
Fig. 11 *Statue of an architect from the entrance to the east choir of Mainz Cathedral, Bischöfliches Dom und Diözesanmuseum Mainz (photo H. Günther).*

[68] PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *L'architecture à la française…* cit., pp. 143-146; J.M. PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, *La vis de Saint-Gilles et l'escalier suspendu dans l'architecture française du XVIe siècle*, in *L'escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, éd. A. Chastel, J. Guillaume, Paris 1985, pp. 83-89; A. HARTMANN-VIRNICH, *L'escalier en vis voûté et la construction romane: exemples rhodaniens*, "Bulletin Monumental", 154, 1996, 2, pp. 113-128; ID., *La 'vis' de Saint-Gilles*, "Gard. Session/Congrès Archéologique de France", CLVII, 1999, pp. 293-299; F. MIELKE, *Handbuch der Treppenkunde*, Hannover 1993, pp. 230-232.
[69] DE L'ORME, *Premier tome de l'architecture…* cit., fol. 123v-125r (4.19).
[70] A. PESCHLOW-KONDERMANN, *Rekonstruktion des Westlettners und der Ostchoranlage des 13. Jahrhunders im Mainzer Dom*, Wiesbaden 1972, pp. 10-15; *Der Naumburger Meister Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, Ausstellungkatalog (Naumburg, Dom, Schlösschen und Stadtmuseum Hohe Lilie, 29. Juni 2011-2. November 2011), herausgegeben von H. Krohm, Petersberg 2011, I, pp. 106f., n. I.3; H. GÜNTHER, *Philibert de L'Orme and the French Tradition of Vaulting*, in *Building Techniques in Architectural Treatises: Construction Practices versus Technical Writings*, éd. C. Cardamone, P. Martens, "Aedificare. Revue internationale d'histoire de la construction", 2017, 2, pp. 119-142.
[71] See the schematic representation of the stones in the vault of the spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles by HARTMANN-VIRNICH, *L'escalier en vis voûté…* cit., p. 119, fig. 6.
[72] M.M. BARES, *La vis de Saint-Gilles del castello Maniace di Siracusa: un'audace sperimentazione di stereotomia*, "Lexicon. Storie e architettura in Sicilia", 2007, 4, pp. 15-23; A. KNAAK, *Prolegomena zu einem Corpuswerk der Architektur Friedrichs II. von Hohenstauen im Königreich Sizilien (1220-1250)*, Marburg 2001, pp. 47-57; F. MAURICI, *L'architettura federiciana in Sicilia e Castel Maniace*, "Tabulae del Centro Studi Federiciani", XX, 40, 2008, pp. 91-120; S. ZORNER, *Nachtrag zu Reims und Naumburg. Die Kapitelle des Castello Maniace in Syrakus*, in *Der Naumburger Meister Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, III (Forschungen und Beiträge zum internationalen wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium in Naumburg vom 05. bis 08. Oktober 2011), herausgegeben von H. Krohm, Petersberg 2012, pp. 528-539.

As de L'Orme points out, vaulting and stereotomy belong to the traditional way of building in France. In contrast to Italy, vaults made of perfectly bonded ashlars were already widespread in France in ancient times, for example in the so-called Temple of Diana in Nîmes or in the arcades and ambulatories of the arenas of Nîmes and Arles. In Italy, the ancient vaults are usually made of bricks or, as in the Pantheon, of concrete. However, de L'Orme does not mention the ancient precursors; he prefers to start in this field from the French tradition of the Middle Ages. His main focus is on the Romanesque period. In particular, he treats the spiral staircase in the choir of the abbey of Saint-Gilles as a real miracle of stereotomy (twelfth century) (fig. 10). It forms the paradigm for the genus[68]. Its vault is constructed of ashlars so large and long that they all had to be carved bent individually in three directions, depending on their position in the masonry: according to the helical turn, the inclined rise and the curvature of the barrel. The stones fit together exactly, without the use of mortar. Although the spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles was largely destroyed in the Huguenot Wars, it was still an attraction for stonemasons in the seventeenth century. The graffiti they left on its wall bear witness to this. De L'Orme (fol. 123v) states that the art of stonecutting in the manner of the spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles was still known during his lifetime and appreciated as a sign of supreme mastery[69].

The spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles had already aroused admiration in the Middle Ages. In my opinion, this is shown by the life-sized figure of a master craftsman carved around the middle of the thirteenth century, which was placed at the entrance to the east choir of Mainz Cathedral (fig. 11)[70]. From today's point of view it looks like the signature of an architect. What it meant in its time is an open question, because it is out of the ordinary, if not unique. It is as original as the figure of the Vitruvian measure-man, who used to stretch his limbs across the intersections of a groin vault in the western rood-screen of Mainz Cathedral (before 1239), or as the donor figures with their vivid individual characteristics in the western choir of Naumburg Cathedral. All of these figures are close in style to each other and to the sculptures of Reims Cathedral. The master craftsman at the entrance to the eastern choir of Mainz Cathedral wears the leather cap typical of members of his guild, and a noble cape. He is deeply bent under the burden of the responsibility of his important office and leans on a stick. This support has not the shape of timber, but is made in the form of a lengthened ashlar as a sign of his craft. An observer, standing in the middle before the east choir, would see the corner of the sculpture where the stone stick of the figure appears in the foreground, approximately as shown in figure 11. The stone is carefully carved and turns in a way similar to the stones in the vault of the spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles, only it is elongated in order to serve as a support for the master craftsman[71] (fig. 12). Any other kind of construction, in which a stone with such a formation could be inserted, besides the vault of a spiral staircase, is hardly imaginable. Since the master of the figure as well as the other masters of the Swabian sculptures of similar style (figures from the west rood-screen of Mainz cathedral, statues of the patrons of Naumburg Cathedral, etc.) was at least trained at a French mason's lodge, if not a native from France, he certainly would have known the famous spiral staircase of Saint-Gilles. Even in the Swabian architecture in southern Italy (Castel Maniace, Siracusa) the staircase of Saint-Gilles was imitated[72].

De L'Orme also treats Gothic vaults in detail, although they are usually not made of ashlar, but as in the SS. Trinità, of bricks (4.8-10). He ignores the complex forms that were common in Central Europe and on the Iberian Penin-

FIG. 6. — SCHÉMA D'UN VOUSSOIR
DE VOÛTE EN BERCEAU HÉLICOÏDAL
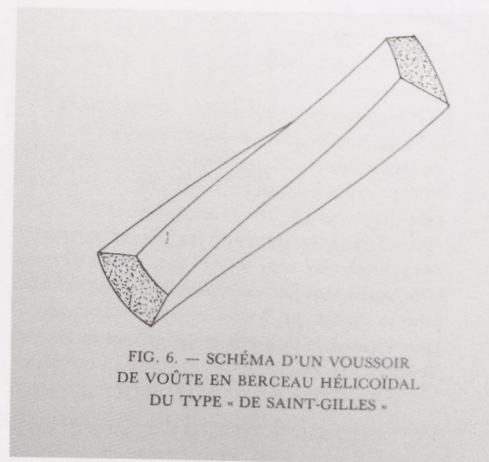DU TYPE « DE SAINT-GILLES ».

Fig. 12 *Schematic drawing of a stone in a screwed barrel vault in the manner of the spiral stair case of Saint-Gilles (by A. Hartmann-Virnich, 1996).*

sula and were studied in many pattern books[73]. Primarily, as already mentioned, he deals with stellar vaults. In connection with the vaults, de L'Orme assesses the Gothic with understanding. On behalf of the king of France, he personally closed the vaults of the Chapel of the Castle of Vincennes (1548-1552), which were commenced in 1379. Regarding the star vault, he admits that "ceste façon de voute, appellée entre des ouvriers La mode Françoise" was no longer in use, but that it was not to be despised; rather, it had very good sides (fol. 107r). Moreover, in contrast to what was customary in the Italian Renaissance, he allows Renaissance vaults to integrate elements from the Gothic ones, from the "voute de la mode Françoise", that were uncommon in the Italian Renaissance, especially ribs and jack arches (fol. 112v). Overall, the SS. Trinità dei Monti originally demonstrated how to build in the French avant-garde style: namely, by combining the columnar orders following the rules most advanced at the time, with the art of vaulting, which emanates from the high science of geometry. This demonstration was extraordinarily complicated, because in order to carry it out, artists from two different traditions had to work together. Central Italian artists could hardly create vaults in the French manner, and French artists could not design in the same way as Cronaca. However, the *mode françoise*, which was presented in the SS. Trinità did not correspond to what was customary in France at the time. The influence of the new Renaissance style on French architecture only became apparent some years after the construction of the SS. Trinità had started. The SS. Trinità demonstrated how the ideal *mode françoise* should be henceforth. This foresight was to be largely realised in the future. The design of the SS. Trinità still differs from the maxims set up by de L'Orme in that the pointed arch was inserted and that the vault had a Gothic

shape and, as usual in French Gothic, was made of bricks. But it already had in common with de L'Orme the crucial idea that the ideal architecture should combine the architectural articulation *all'antica* with the classical, i.e. the French art of vaulting.

In his building works in France, Briçonnet did not adopt Italian forms any more than Cardinal d'Estouteville did, but adhered to the local Gothic fashion[74]. At the SS. Trinità, he addressed the demonstration of the *mode françoise* to the Italians and to the foreigners who gathered in Rome. On his journey through Central Europe (1517-1518), the Italian cleric Antonio de Beatis noticed, as unusual compared with Italy, that so many churches were vaulted[75]. From a French point of view, the construction of vaults caused difficulties for Italians still half a century after de L'Orme. During his visit to Italy in 1601-1603, the Parisian geographer Pierre Bergeron observed that there were only a few churches vaulted in Rome. He lists six examples: the three French churches of S. Agostino, SS. Trinità and S. Luigi dei Francesci, built by the French brotherhood from 1518-1589, followed by the two most prominent later ones that had adopted the disposition of the SS. Trinità: the Gesù and S. Maria in Vallicella, the main centres of the Counter-Reformation in Rome[76]. Only S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli does not correspond to the argument. According to Guarino Guarini, the audacity of Renaissance architects to place mighty domes on high pillars, as at the crossings of the Gesù and S. Maria in Vallicella, was adopted from Gothic architecture, too[77].

[73] P. Booz, *Der Baumeister der Gotik*, Berlin 1956; L.R. Shelby, R. Mark, *Late Gothic Structural Design in the 'Instructions' of Lorenz Lechler*, "Architectura", IX, 1979, 2, pp. 113-131; K. Hecht, *Maß und Zahl in der gotischen Baukunst*, Hildesheim-New York 1979; *The Art and Craft of Masonry Construction Design-Stereotomy-Conservation*, edited by J. Grech, Malta 2013; R. García Bano, J. Calvo Lopez, *About an Early 16th-Century Stonecutting Manuscript in the National Library of Spain and the Origins of Modern Stereotomy*, in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Construction History*, Acts of the International Congress (Chicago, 3-7 June 2015), edited by B. Bowen and others, Chicago 2015, II, pp. 135-142; *Tecniche costruttive nel Mediterraneo dalla stereotomia ai criteri antisismici*, a cura di M.R. Nobile, F. Scibilia, Palermo 2016; *Crociere e lunette in Sicilia e in Italia meridionale nel XVI secolo. Dalla costruzione gotica all'affermazione di un modello peninsulare*, a cura di E. Garofalo, Palermo 2016.

[74] B. Chevalier, *Guillaume Briçonnet (v. 1445-1514). Un cardinal-ministre au début de la Renaissance*, Rennes 2005, pp. 327-337; Bardati, *Hommes du roi...* cit., pp. 206-210, 312-316.

[75] A. de Beatis, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien,1517-1518*, herausgegeben von L. Pastor, Freiburg im Breisgau 1905, p. 69.

[76] P. Bergeron, *Voyages en Italie (1603-1612)*, a cura di L. Monga, Moncalieri 2005, pp. 137f.

[77] G. Guarini, *Architettura civile*, a cura di B. Tavassi La Greca, Milano 1968, p. 209 (3.13.1).