

Architecture as Idea in France 1500-1550

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Art History
University of Toronto

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Abstract

In early sixteenth-century France, architecture was more an idea than a set of buildings. Architecture was drawn upon as a rhetorical authority around 1500, where sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, printers, masons, and other skilled craftsmen strived to act as architects in the media in which they were skilled. *Rhétoriciens* used the architectural idiom increasingly to flatter patrons and receive commissions. Perhaps due to the fact that “architecture” was not circumscribed by guild membership, it was often conceptually elided with other notions like sculpture, the antique, and ornament.

This thesis reconsiders the relationships between the artistic categories of architecture, sculpture, and painting. It also analyses the word “ornament”, and suggests that the term assumed ambiguous designations in the early modern period that rarely reflected the definitions it inherited from eighteenth-century contexts.

Four chapters establish how architecture as an idea is given presence in the early decades of the sixteenth century. The first chapter shows how ceramicists, painters, and sculptors practiced “architecture” when they migrated to France to furnish the royal chateaux. The chapter further argues that concepts of order and license were derived from

these various craft contexts, and related less to concepts of harmony and proportion that has been conventionally attributed to “classical” architecture. The second chapter is an exploration of architecture’s corpus as a collection of objects. With this in mind, the chapter investigates the relationship between the culture of collecting, the naming of objects, and the appeal of the fragment. Chapter three shows how architecture was commonly presented as a frame, particularly in royal entries and as title pages. The final chapter shows how some of the most enduring architectural types, particularly the temple, were most effectively expressed in miniature and as what we conventionally think of as ornament.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents, Jack and Sasha Bissett and Yvonne Walker, who taught me that education was freedom. They also told me to sit down on Friday and just write the thesis before dawn on Monday. I also thank my parents, Terry Bissett and John Bissett, who showed me that curiosity is a virtue, and that everything is interesting. I am especially thankful to my mom, who led by example and continues to do so, and who has left her phone on every night since I was born in case I need to call her. And also thanks to Gil van Elslande. The thesis is also for Charlie Salmon, whose love and support was essential in this PhD experience, and whose musical wonderfulness will always live on in my memories.

I am eternally grateful to my supervisor, Professor Matt Kavalier, who always allowed me to find my way, but who introduced me to ideas, art, and scholarship that I would never have discovered on my own. Without his patience, support, and gentle prodding from time to time, this thesis would still be underway. As much as he was a mentor, Professor Kavalier also made the PhD writing experience civilized and pleasurable by arranging opportunities for his students to meet with visiting scholars, and to visit galleries on roadtrips, or inviting us for discussion over wine and cheese. It is without a doubt that I am indebted to him and have benefitted enormously from his generosity as a scholar and as a person.

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In no way does this last category reflect a hierarchy of gratitude. Without these last mentions, this dissertation would quite literally not be finished. I would like to thank Cynthia Saruk and Kerry Fast. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the administrative staff at the Art History department kindly and graciously indulged my inability to operate on an administrative level. But it's much more than that. Thank you so much for your support, Gaby Sparks and Joanne Wainman, without whom everything was impossible on

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Right: (Photo Tara Bissett)

0.2

Fountain at Gaillon, engraved by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, 1576
(Image reproduced in Jean Guillaume. *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau: un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. Under the direction of Jean Guillaume et al. Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010).

0.3

Tomb of Dukes of Orleans. Viscardi et al. St. Denis. 1502
(Image from Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*. Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1957, fig. 12 A).

0.4

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(Image from Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*. Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1957, fig. 14).

0.5

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Excerpts from Diego de Sagredo's *Raison d'Architecture antique*. Paris, circa 1536.
Original publication: Toledo, 1526.
(Image on page 22 r and page 22 v).
Accessible online:
http://static.lib.virginia.edu/speccol/gordon/gordonimages/Gordon1526_S27/

0.7

Reliquary of the Virgin's Milk, Simon Heyeneufve, Angers, circa 1516
(Photograph reproduced in *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*. ed. Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010, 301).

Chapter One: Crafting Architecture

1.1

Oronce Fine, Title Page for his book *Protomathesis*, 1532

Fine may have designed the title border for his book.

Woodcut

(Image from *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), no. 225.

1.2

Two examples of printed title pages used by Simon de Colines for books written by Oronce Fine. The frames offer different interpretations of the same theme.

A. Title page: *Quadrans astrolabicus (...)* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1534)

(Reproduced in: "Die Bücher-Ornamentik Der Renaissance" by A. F. Butsch, Leipzig, 1881).

B. Title Page: *Phinatis Regii Mathemaricarum professoris...* Paris: Simon de Colines, 1536.

(Reproduced in *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, no. 226.)

1.3

Blois Chateau, Wing of Francis I, circa 1515

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.3 B

Blois Staircase, ornament commissioned by Francis I, circa 1515.

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.4

Coner Codex (Andreas Coner circa 1510).

(Photo: Ashby, Thomas. "Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 2. 1904, 1-26).

1.5

Principle façade of Chateau Lasson, Hector Sohier (architect), circa 1520

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(Photo:

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Candelabra Motifs

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(Photo: Tara Bissett)

B. Gaillon Chapel, Choir Stalls, circa 1510

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

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Bernardino Gatti, Candelabra detail from between the frescoes of *Assumption and Birth of the Virgin Frescoes*, 1543

Copied from Piacenza, Sta. Maria di Campagna

(Image reproduced in Jacqueline Biscontin, "Antique Candelabra in Frescoes by Bernardino Gatti and a Drawing by Giulio Romano." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 57. 1994, 264-269. 1994, 265.)

1.9

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(Image: Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Châteaux of the Loire Valley*. Tamdem Verlag GmbH. 1997, 295-296).

1.10

Architectural Orders presented in Cesariano's *Vitruvius*, Como, circa 1521

(Image: Cesariano, Cesare. *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece...* Como, G. da Ponte, 1521, Book IV, LXIII).

1.11

Choir Stall, originally in Gaillon but now in St. Denis Cathedral

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Attributed to the Workshop of Nicolas Castille (active 1503-21)

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

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Master J.G. *Saint-Jean Baptiste enfant*, circa 1520, Lyon

(Engraving. Held in the BNF, Department of Prints and Drawings. Reproduced in Leutrat, Estelle. *Les Débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France. Lyon 1520- 1565*. Librairie Droz, Geneva, 2007, 430).

1.13

Fountain of Beaune in Tours, circa 1511

Commissioned for the city by Jacques de Beaune

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

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Emblem of Charles V, Barcelona Choir Stalls, 1518
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.15

Domenico Ghirlandaio. *Codex escurialenses*.

Left: Candelabra. Right: Grotesques.

(Image: Egger, Hermann. *Codex escurialenses. Ein Skizzenbuch aus Werkstatt*. Soest, Holland: Davaco Publishers, 1975).

1.16

Heures de Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle à l'usage de Besançon.

Christ raising Lazarus from the Dead.

Attributed to Master of the Francois de Rohan

(Photo: Held in the British Library. Additional 21235, f. 90 v).

<https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourPopup.asp?TourID=168>

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Unknown artist

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

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Blois Chateau, *Studiolo*, circa 1520

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(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.19

Frans Crabbe van Esplegem, *Death of Lucretia*, circa 1520

Engraving

Print held at the Cleveland Museum of Art

Dudley P. Allen Fund 1925.157

1.20

Chambord Chateau, Stairs

Detail of antique fragments in the capitals (circa 1520)

Artist unknown

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.21

Chambord Chateau, Stairs

Detail of antique fragments in the capitals (circa 1520)

Artist unknown

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.22

Chenonceau Chateau, Stairs, Circa 1520

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C Surround of portal of the Chapel

Artist unknown

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

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(Photo: Tara Bissett)

1.24

Master J.G. *Le Massacre des Innocents*, circa 1520, Lyon

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(Held in the BNF, East. B6a reserve, box 1. Reproduced in Leutrat, JG 41.)

1.25

Master J.G. *l'Enfant dans la galerie*, circa 1520, Lyon

Engraving

(Held in the British Museum, 1848.11.25.40)

1.26

Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Vues*, Orléans, 1551

Engraving

Held in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

(Image reproduced in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010, fig. 282. See page 314 [VO] for holdings.)

1.27

Portrait of Oronce Fine, Page of *Protomathesis*, circa 1530

Woodcut

(Image reproduced in *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), no. 225.

1.28

David and Bathsheba (Fol. 65), Rosenwald Hours, circa 1524-1530

Associated with the workshop of Noel Bellemare, Touraine

(Held in the Library of Congress. Rosenwald ms. 10)

1.29

Bathsheba (Fol. 72), *The Hours of Anne of Austria*, circa 1520,

Associated with the 1520s Hours workshop

(Held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France: LAT 3090)

1.30

Bathsheba *The Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, circa 1520

Associated with the 1520s Hours workshop in Tours

(Held in the Walters Art Museum. Accession Number: W. 449. 76R)

Also held in the Wikimedia Commons:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Master_Jean_de_Maul%C3%A9on_-_Leaf_from_Book_of_Hours_-_Walters_W44976R_-_Open_Obverse.jpg.)

1.31 A

Bathsheba

Antwerp Mannerists

Drawing

(Photo: Orth, Myra D. "Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop ." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 47 (1989), pp. 61-75, 77-90), 61.)

1.31 B

The Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl

Jan Gossaert

Pen and Black Ink Drawing

Held in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinet

Circa 1516

(Photo: (ExtravagANT!: A Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting, 1500-1530. Ed. Kristin Lohse Belkin and Nico van Hout. Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2005, 43).

1.32

Image from Sebastiano Serlio's *The Extraordinary Book of Doors*

Published in Lyons, Jean de Tournes, 1551. Door VII.

A. Rustic (French) Gateway

B. Delicate (Italian) Gateway

(Images held in *Architectura*: http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/ENSBA_LES1745.asp?param=)

1.33

Workshop of Nicolas Castille. Panels from the choir grille originally in the chapel of Gaillon (now destroyed), circa 1510.

Carved Oak. 23 x 9 ¼ Inches.

(Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 41.190.494a.)

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/209127>

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Nicoletto da Modena, *Panel of Ornament with a Birdcage*, circa 1500-1510.
(Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 21.30.1)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/400843>

1.35

Girolamo della Robbia, *Altarpiece of the Birth of the Virgin*, between 1517 and 1518
Made for the chapel in the chateau of Cognac
(Image from *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*. Ed. Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010, 206).

1.36

Master of Amiens, *Au juste pois véritable balance*, (and frame), circa 1518-1524
[Photo from *ExtravagANT!: A Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting, 1500-1530*. Ed. Kristin Lohse Belkin and Nico van Hout.
(Image from: Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2005, 84).

Chapter Two: Objects as Architecture

2.1

“Candlestick” from *L’Architecture et l’art de bien bastir (...)* by Alberti, Leon Battista.
Translated by Jean Martin. (Paris: J. Kerver, 1553).
(Held in Tours, Cesr, SR/2B. 4781.)

2.2

Philibert De Lorme, Urns on the Chateau d’Anet, circa 1547-1552
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

2.3

Sebastiano Serlio, “Geometry of a Vase”
Woodcut illustration in Serlio, Sebastiano. *Le second livre de perspective... de Sebastiano Serlio*. Jean Martin, Paris: 1545, 16. (Held: Paris. ENSBA, Les 1736).
(Image from: <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/index.asp?param=>)

2.4

Lazare de Baïf. Vase, “De Vasculis”
Woodcut illustrations are those in *Annotationes in legem II*, Basel, Froben, 1541
(Held in Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto)

2.5

Androuet du Cerceau, Furniture: Chair, Candelabrum, Table (circa 1550)
(Candelabra: Held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Etching: 1548-49. Accession Number: 32.95.11 <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/428486>;

Chair and Tables are found in the Macclesfield Collection. See image of chair [Chaise à Dossier] found in Fuhring, Peter, “L’oeuvre Gravé” *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l’architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010, 54).

2.6

Battista Brunelleschi, Engravings by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, ca. 1510
(Image found in Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Cod. A.78.I, fols. 93v–94r)

2.8

Lazare de Baïf’s *De Re Navali, Annotationes in legem II*, Basel, Froben, 1541
(Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto)

2.9

Woodcut Illustration of the silver candelabra presented to the Queen by the city of Paris
Royal entry pamphlet by Tory & Bochetel, 1531.
(Reproduced in *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, no.200).

2.10

Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, 1484-1492. The panels a) “The Vase Bearers,” b) “Corselet Bearers,” and c) “Julius Caesar”
Commissioned by the Duke Federico I Gonzaga (or his son Francesco II).
Tempera on Canvas
(Held in the Royal Collection. Hampton Court Palace)

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Certosa di Pavia Monastery, Church, principle façade
Architects: Briosco Benedetto and Amadeo Giovanni Antonio
Pavia, circa 1491

2.12 A

Certosa di Pavia Monastery
Architects: Briosco Benedetto and Amadeo Giovanni Antonio
Pavia, 1491
Detail of window surround on church façade
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

2.12 B

Certosa di Pavia Monastery, Architects: Briosco Benedetto and Amadeo Giovanni Antonio
Pavia, 1491
Roundels modeled after antique coins on the church façade
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

2.13

Tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Certosa di Pavia Monastery
Architects: Gian Cristoforo, Briosco Benedetto, and others
1493-1496

2.14

Tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise
Sculptor-Architect: Roland Le Roux
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

2.15

Tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise
Self-portrait of Roland Le Roux
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

2.16

Original Wings from the *Adoration of the Magi*
Master of the Antwerp Adoration Group (1510/25)
Painting held in the Chicago Institute of Art
Oil on Panel

2.16 A

Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba
Original Wings from the *Adoration of the Magi*
Master of the Antwerp Adoration Group (1510/25)
Painting held in the Chicago Institute of Art
Oil on Panel

2.16 B

David Receiving the Cistern Water from Bethlehem
Original Wings from the *Adoration of the Magi*
Master of the Antwerp Adoration Group (1510/25)
Painting held in the Chicago Institute of Art
Oil on Panel

Chapter Three: Architecture as Frame

3.1A

Allegory of Virtue holding coats and arms of Asciano and Corio families. Illustration for *Patria Historia* by Bernardino Corio, *Patria historia*, for Alessandro Minuziano, Milan, 1503.
(Reproduced in the De Agostino Picture Library Online. Getty Images).

3.1 B

The Printer Device of Jacques Saçon. This would appear on his title pages as a small frame within the larger frame of the page or frontispiece itself.

(Reproduced in *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, no.64).

3.2

The *Fontaine of Innocents*, Paris, 1549. Androuet du Cerceau, circa 1560. Etching.
(Reproduced in Zerner, Henri. *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism*. Paris: Flammarion, 2003. fig.186).

3.3

Triumphal Arch of Honour and Virtue from the Royal Entry of Henri II and Catherine de Medici into Lyon, 1548

Pamphlet published by Guillaume Rouillé, Lyon, 1549

Woodcuts by Bernard Salomon

(Image held in the British Library. Renaissance Festival Books Online)

3.4

The gate at the Porte Saint Denis in the Entry of Henri II into Paris, 1549

Pamphlet published by Jacques Roffet, Paris, 1549

(Image held in the British Library. Renaissance Festival Books Online)

3.5

Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. Triumphal Arch. Circa 1545.

Drawing

(Held in Chantilly, Musée Condé. Accession: I repository, 3323)

3.6

Azay-Le-Rideau frontispiece, circa 1518-24.

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.7

Courtyard loggia and triumphal arch portal of the Abbey of Fontevrau, circa 1545

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.8

Portal surround to the Chapter House in the Abbey of Fontevrau, circa 1545

Detail

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.9

Portal surround to the Chapter House in the Abbey of Fontevrau, circa 1545

Detail

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.10

Occidental portal in the church of Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul de Sarcelles , circa 1540s

Jean Bullant

(Photos found on wikicommons: Pierre Poschadel-personal photo)

3.11

Portal of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien, Luzarches, circa 1548

Detail of tympanum

(Photos found on wikicommons: Clicsouris- personal photo)

3.12

West façade portal (Occidentale), Saint Gervais-Saint Protais church at Gisors, Parish Church, circa 1530

Associated with the workshop of Robert Grappin

3.13

Portal of Magny-en-Vexin, circa 1540s

Associated with the workshop of Robert Grappin

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.14

Portal of Saint-Gervais-en-Vexin, begun 1549

Associated with the workshop of Robert Grappin

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.15

Facade of the church of Saint-Pierre, Genainville, circa 1550

Associated with the workshop of Robert Grappin

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.16

Portal of Collegiate church, Notre-Dame du Grand-Andely, Les Andelys, circa 1550

Unknown artist

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

3.17

Portal frontispiece, Saint-Nicolas, Troyes, 1554

Meridional Portal

Realized by Jean Faulchet and Domenico del Barbière

(Reproduced in Sara Galletti, “L’architecture de Domenico del Barbiere: Troyes, 1548-1552,” in *Revue de l’Art*. v. 136. (2002), 37-54, fig. 1).

3.18

Printed Triumphal Arch of Maximilian. Woodcut. Albrecht Durer

Made from 36 individual woodcut sheets, 1512-1515.

(Photo: National Gallery of Art. Online Database: entry 1991. 200.1. Public Domain)

3.19

Architectural Title page for Thielman Kerver and Jean Petit, *Le second Volume des Chroniques & Annales de France(...)*, 1520 (with Jean Petit's name "engraved" into the Frame.

Woodcut

3.20

Niccolò Malermi: *Biblia Italica*, Venice. Lucantonio Giunta, 1490

(Held in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession Number: 33.66

<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/33.66/>)

3.21 A-D

Simon de Colines' Title Pages (1520-1540s)

Woodcuts

(Reproduced in Schreiber, Fred. *Simon de Colines. An Annotated Catalogue of 230 Examples of His Press, 1520-1546*. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1995).

3.22 A

Albrecht Dürer, Dürer's Coats of Arms, 1523

Woodcut

(Held in the British Museum. Museum Number: 1895, 0122.745).

<http://culturalinstitute.britishmuseum.org/asset-viewer/albrecht-d%C3%BCrer-d%C3%BCrer-s-coat-of-arms-a-woodcut/0gFxD3ni64KyTg?hl=en>

3.22 B

Printer's Device for Jehan de la Porte, circa 1530s

Imprinted on the title page of Michael Lochmaier, *Parrochiale curatorum..*(Paris: Jean de la Porte, c. 1530). Please note that this mark was printed on several of his published books.

3.23

Printer's Device for Hughes de la Porte, circa 1540

Large mark found on *Digestum Vetus*, (Lyon: Hughes de la Porte. MDXLII)

(Book held in the Lyon Municipal Archives)

3.23 B

Illustration of Samson in Barthelemy Vérard's *Triumphes*. 1514. Source for the image of Hughes de la Porte's Printer's Mark.

(Reproduced in Grove, Laurence. "Pour faire tapisserie?/ Moveable Woodcuts:

Print/manuscript, text/image at the birth of the emblem." *An interregnum of the sign: the emblematic age in France*. ed. David Graham. Glasgow : Dept. of French, University of Glasgow, 2001).

3.24

Printer's Device for Hughes de la Porte, circa 1550

Reproduced in *Harvard College Library... French Sixteenth-Century Books*, ed. Mortimer, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964.)

Chapter Four: The Monumental in Miniature: The Temple of France

4.01

Att. to Jean Fouquet, *Construction of Jerusalem*, 1465

Illumination from *Antiquités judaïques*, by Flavius Josephus.

(Held in the BNF, Department of Manuscripts, Français 247 fol. 163)

4.02

Illumination from *Le Livre de la dédicace du temple saint françois*,
(Anonymous), circa 1507

(Held in the BNF, ms. Fr. 1680, f 12 v. Reproduced in Lecoq, Anne-Marie. *François Ier Imaginaire. Symbolique et Politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*. Paris: Macula, 1987, 60.)

4.03

Cast bronze medal of Pope Julius II commemorating the building of St Peter's,
Caradosso, 1506

(Held in the British Museum Online access:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=30530001&objectId=945957&partId=1)

4.04

Geoffroy Tory, Book of Hours (*Petit Office de la Vierge*), 1525

Latin

Print with Woodcuts

A. *Annunciation*

B. *Pentecost*

C. *Triumph of Death*

D. *David Penitent*

(Images are reproduced in *Geoffroy Tory, Imprimeur de Francois I*. An original version is held in the BNF: BP16_105017).

4.05

Book of Hours originally owned by Bona Sforza. Acquired by Margaret of Austria and gifted to Charles V on his Imperial Coronation. Designed by Giovanni Pietro Birago and Gerard Horenbout (circa 1520).

(Manuscript located in the British Library Add. MS 34294, f. 145v. It is reproduced in digital format on the British Library Website in the “Turning Pages” collection.)

- A. Folio 4 V. Saint Matthew. By Giovanni Pietro Birago
- B. Folio 12 V. By Giovanni Pietro Birago.
- C. Folio 24 V. By Giovanni Pietro Birago.
- D. Folio 233 V. David Penitent. By Giovanni Pietro Birago

4.06

Donato Bramante and Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, Santa Marie della Grazie
Apse and Dome exterior
Milan, circa 1493
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.07

Bruno Prevedari, but attributed to Bramante
Ideal Street Scene (Print), Circa 1499
(Image from *Frühe Italienische Druckgraphik, 1460-1530*), Ed. Michael Matile. (Basel: Verlag; Schwabe & Co. AG, 1998), 179.

4.08

Pierre Lecuyer, Stained glass paintings for the Tullier family in Bourges
1520-1532
(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.09

Jan de Beer, *Adoration of the Magi (Shepherds)*, Antwerp, 1529-1530
Oil on Panel
(Held in the Chateau Écouen, Musée nationale de la Renaissance).

4.10

Bernard von Breydenbach, of *Die Heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem zu dem heiligen Grab*, 1488.
Woodcut. City view
(Images found in Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Speyer, 1486; The same photos appeared in the French publication by F. Regnault, 1517).

4.11 A

Bernard von Breydenbach, of *Die Heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem zu dem heiligen Grab*, 1488.
Woodcut. Church courtyard.

(Images found in Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Speyer, 1486; The same photos appeared in the French publication by F. Regnault, 1517).

4.11 B

Bernard von Breydenbach, of *Die Heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem zu dem heiligen Grab*, 1488.

Woodcut. Holy Sepulchre.

(Photos: Bernhard von Breydenbach. *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Speyer, 1486; The same photos appeared in the French publication by F. Regnault, 1517, 197 r. 213).

4.12

Sepulchre Replica, Görlitz (Commissioned by Georg Emerich), after 1467.

Image from (Kroesen, Justin E. A. *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages. Its form and function*. Leuven: Peeters, 2000, 118).

4.13

Church of Jerusalem, Bruges

Unknown Builder

Commissioned by the Genoese family, Adornes

Circa 1450-1484

4.14

Solesmes, Entombment of Christ, South Transept

Attributed to Michel Colombe, 1495-1500

(Photo: Mark Ryckaert- Wikicommons)

[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89glise_de_J%C3%A9rusalem_\(Bruges\)#/media/File:Brugge_Jeruzalemkerk_R01.jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89glise_de_J%C3%A9rusalem_(Bruges)#/media/File:Brugge_Jeruzalemkerk_R01.jpg)

4.15

Solesmes, Entombment of the Virgin, North Transept

Various Attributions, 1530-1550

(Reproduced in Zerner, Henri. *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism*. Paris: Flammarion, 2003, fig. 375 and fig. 376).

4.16

Chateau of Chenonceau, Wall Tabernacle

Chapel, circa 1520

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.17

Bourges Wall Tabernacle

Hotel Lallement, Bourges

Oratory, circa 1525

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.18

Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, Saint Pierre Cathedral, Vannes, commissioned by the Canon, Jean Daniello, 1537

(Reproduced in Zerner, Henri. *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism*. Paris: Flammarion, 2003. fig. 10).

4.19

Baldachins, Church of Saint-Pantaléon in Troyes

Date and Artist unknown. First half of the sixteenth century

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.20

Chambord, roofline, circa 1520

(Photo: Tara Bissett)

4.21

Guillaume Philandrier, Temple ‘replica’ in the gable of the Cathedral of Rodez,

(Photo: Wikimedia Commons: Par MOSSOT — Travail personnel, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21859611>)

4.22

Frontispiece showing the “Geometer and Ancient Ruins” in *Antiquarie Prospetice Romane*, attributed to Bramante.

Woodcut.

(The booklet is held in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome).

Architecture as Idea in France (1500–1550)

Introduction

Between 1500 and 1550, the idea of architecture exceeded the possibilities afforded by the execution of a building. It is with this statement in mind that this thesis analyses the creation of architecture in France in this period from the point of view of four themes that we commonly associate with ornament: fragments, collectible objects, frames, and miniatures. When we consider that an “architect” such as Jacques Androuet du Cerceau likely did not construct any building in his lifetime, but instead devoted his life to making pictures of buildings and objects, we can get a sense of two patterns in architectural design of the early sixteenth century. First, an architect was not required to have built a building. Second, architecture and the so-called minor arts were often considered to have intersecting, even fluid, boundaries. For instance, Androuet du Cerceau documented his period’s material culture less through buildings and more in the reflection of small objects, columns and candelabra, grotesques and arabesques, and a class of monuments we now refer to as microarchitecture. These artifacts documented by Androuet du Cerceau are those that stood for “architecture,” which as an idea was a disassembled corpus in the years before 1550. The concept of architecture was boundless and without stable parts, although in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, treatises assigned increasing fixity to architectural ornament through labels, rules, and even nomenclature.

While scholars have noted that architecture in these years was often practiced by sculptors, painters, enamellists, or other craftsmen, the changing relationship between

architecture, craft, and ornament at the dawning of the print era is still not widely discussed in the scholarship of architectural history.¹ I argue that architecture was not merely represented in the numerous media used, it was literally manifest in them. Notably, architecture did not constitute a guild.² Unlike painting, goldsmithery, or other crafts in which an artist was bound to specific media and tools, architecture could feasibly be created by any number of skilled craftspeople using different media. Second, as discussed in chapter one, architectural treatises of the period were dedicated to sculptors and painters.³ With these points in mind, I argue that until 1550, architecture did not require the execution of buildings to be constituted as such. The stained glass painter who was a specialist in “architecture” and who made architectural frames for stained glass windows was both painter and architect. When a writer claimed that he was an architect because his literary construction of tombs and buildings were immortalized in contrast to the physical realization of these monuments, he was both a writer and an architect. And what of the publisher who took on representation in the form of the triumphal arch portal fronting his or her printed books? Arguably the publisher

¹ The article by Alina Payne was foundational in bringing the discussion in architectural history to relations between craft and architecture in the early modern period. Her article is addressed more at length later in the introduction. See, Alina Payne, “Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture,” *Oxford Art Journal*. Vol. 32.3 (2009).

² On the art and craft guilds of the early modern period, see François Icher, *The Artisans and Guilds of France. Beautiful Craftsmanship Through the Centuries*, trans. John Goodman. (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers: 2000).

³ That these treatises are dedicated to sculptors and goldsmiths is discussed more at length in chapter Two. The passage of dedication appears in the introduction of the original Spanish publication: Diego De Sagredo. *Medidas del Romano*, (Toledo, 1526); On the French translation, see Frédérique Lemerle. “La version française des *Medidas del Romano*” in *Medidas del Romano. Diego de Sagredo. Remoin de Petras. Toledo. 1526*. ed. Fernando Marias et al. (Toledo: Pareja: Spain, 2000), 93-106.

commissioned a work of architecture when he had a printmaker design an original portal for a printed frontispiece.

Indeed, architecture in the early decades of the sixteenth century took shape in all materials—paint, ink, alabaster, marble, stone, brick, pearl, wood—as well as various media—sculpture, painting, print, text, and small collectable objects. In this dissertation, I investigate architecture from several vantage points. First, a new rhetoric of architecture as positive, productive, and even authoritative, developed throughout Europe. But architecture also came to be understood as a formal language, whose individual components increasingly received names in the circulating treatises of the period. Finally, architecture was also increasingly associated with a class of objects that were printed on paper and disseminated through artistic workshops throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Architecture as an idea literally underwent a process of self-validation by manifesting itself in those arts we conventionally understand today as “ornament.”

Architecture and Authority

The term “architect” became an authoritative interface for relations between artists—even writers—and patrons. Architecture as an idea developed a new rhetorical authority around 1500. This is not to say that patrons had not been building magnificent palaces and churches for purposes of self-aggrandizement for centuries, but it was not until the late fifteenth century in France that architecture as an abstract idea became a subject upon which artists drew in hopes of raising their own status. At this time, the writings of *rhétoriciens* showed that architecture had become an agent for simultaneously

displaying the skills of writers and for commemorating noble patrons. The notion that a state or kingdom could be represented by architecture had Graeco-Roman roots, but it was not a common trope in the late fifteenth century in France. In medieval writings, when the theme of building was invoked, it was employed to connote ruin where the building's physicality held the potential of its imminent collapse.⁴ Thus before 1500 the building metaphor, and its threat of ruin, was rarely used in writings to represent the empire or kingdom. David Cowling has argued that the earliest writers to connote the state as building in the sense of "solidity and perfect form" instead of structural ruin, were *rhétoriciens* like Jean Molinet. Indeed, it may have been the desire to portray the Burgundian house as an image distinct from the *maison de France* that revived the architectural metaphor for these writers.

Architecture as a subject was used for propagandistic aims to intensify courtly authority. Charles VIII, for instance, was referred to as the "*architecte de France*" by Octovien de Saint-Gelais in the *Séjour d'Honneur* (1494).⁵ New architectural imagery of antiquity was first tested in these courtly writings. As discussed by Anne-Marie Lecoq, the temple as a metaphor for kingdom was being used in the sixteenth century, though how effective it would be as official imagery was still being worked out.⁶ Nonetheless, in 1508, a manuscript dedicated to Louis XII, *Livre de la dédicace du temple Saint François*, produced a miniature that was pivotal as an early visual representation of

⁴ On the use of the building as a trope for 'collapse', see David Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in late medieval and early modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 84-88.

⁵ Octovien de Saint-Gelais, *Le Séjour d'Honneur* (1494), ed. Joseph Alston James. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

⁶ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 102-104; Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire: Symbolique et Politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Éditions Macula, Paris: 1987), 56-65.

France as a temple. The concept of the *temple de France* elided the French kingdom with the divinity of the church, a conflation that was made explicit in the illumination, which presented a hybrid structure of a Gothic church and a courtly chateau.

Although Louis XII received the dedication of the manuscript and accepted the epithet of the “*Grant Pasteur*,” he likely questioned the suitability of the temple metaphor, fearing it might not be tenacious enough to represent French royalty. As Cowling writes, “the analogy between kingdom and temple [was] not immediately obvious to the king; his reason to doubt its appropriateness is that a building (and an ecclesiastical one at that) is not sufficiently bellicose an image and is therefore incompatible with royal ideology.”⁷

Nonetheless, many *rhétoriciens* engaged in a culture that flattered members of court in the houses of nobility while simultaneously espousing the vocabulary of elements associated with architecture as equally authoritative. For instance, in the *Chroniques* (1475–1506), although Molinet drew upon previous allegories in which Burgundy was portrayed as a stone in the *palais du triomphe du monde* of France, he positioned the Burgundian nobility as an “admirable, opulent” house unto itself.⁸ Molinet pictured the house of Burgundy in terms of its parts; its weight was carried by strong, rich pillars, which were metaphorically allied with the dukes, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, and Charles le Téméraire. For his Habsburg patrons, Molinet eventually replaced the vague and outdated metaphor of the *maison* with the more specific term, *arche*, which further played on the title *archiduc*. In *Arche ducalle* (1501), Molinet avoided drawing upon the house entirely, and thus its potential collapse, and instead invoked the image of

⁷ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 103.

⁸ *Ibid.* 99.

a triumphal arch, whose nested pilasters and columns were dignified with the names of the Burgundian dynasty.⁹ In fact, the Royal panegyric in the *Livre de la dédicace du temple Saint François* would also depict French kings as saints paired with *tabernacles*, which were illuminated as Lombard-type candelabra pillars.¹⁰

If the concept of architecture developed a new rhetorical authority around 1500 in writing and other crafts, architecture was also established as a class of objects. These objects were laid out as typologies in treatises and in loose-leaf sheets of engravings and drawings: temples, arches, columns, cornices, and dentils, among other such fragments.¹¹ The printing press and the surplus of paper available secured a sense of architecture's visual discourse in terms of this typological form. It also emerged as fragments expressed as ruins, modules, and other antique and gothic details. Mario Carpo has argued that the invention of reproducible print correlated with a new architectural discourse, one that self-consciously represented itself in visual format.¹² For Carpo, the design habits

⁹ Ibid. 101.

¹⁰ Ibid; Anne-Marie Lecoq, "Saint François and his Temple in 1508: BN MS français 1680" in *Humanism and Letters in the Age of François Ier*. (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1996), 1-16.

¹¹ On the dissemination of architecture in fragments and as loose-leaf engravings and sheets, see Michael J. Waters, "A Renaissance without Order. Single-Sheet Engravings, and the Mutability of Architectural Prints." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Vol. 71, No. 4. (September 2012), 488-523.

¹² Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the age of printing: orality, writing, typography, and printed images in the history of architectural theory*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001. For Carpo invention of the printing press and the reproducible print correlates to a new architectural discourse, one that self-consciously represented itself in visual terms. Mario Carpo has referred to this phenomenon as a shift from design habits associated with oral culture, geometry and memory to those valuing picture-based architectural knowledge brought about through surplus of architectural imagery in circulation. While scholars have shown that Carpo's argument accidentally marginalized an important experimental discourse in the period of 1490-1550, it is fair to say that the invention of the printing press ushered in a new visual discourse about architecture, one where discrete pictures of objects associated with the conceptual category of 'architecture' comprised its corpus.

associated with oral culture, geometry, and memory were slowly being replaced with ideals that valued picture-based architectural knowledge in constant circulation. Although scholars have contested Carpo's assertion that these changes established a body of imagery comprising a stable corpus for imitation, it is widely accepted that the proliferation of architectural imagery on paper constituted an innovative and remarkable new discourse.

Moreover while architecture developed a forceful new authority in the sixteenth century, one that was associated with small objects as much buildings, it was also composed of a fragmented visual discourse or an identifiable language that rippled through media. One such instance appears in a book that was popular at the court of France in the early decades of the sixteenth century, Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published in 1499 in Venice and translated into French by Jean Martin in 1546.¹³ The book established the dream as a ruse for architectural ekphrasis, or for an intense study of architecture, which was articulated as much in terms of its "ornaments" as in its spatial sense of architecture as a building. The dream narrative offered by Colonna's story provided an opportunity for visualizing a building's details. In this context, architecture and ornament were collapsed in concept. Architecture consistently acted as a type of language instead of a set of instructions about masonic conventions for constructing buildings.

¹³ It was published by Jacques Kerver, and translated into French by Jean Martin, in 1546 as *Hypnerotomachia, ou Discours du songe de Poliphile (...)*, (Paris: Jacques Kerver, 1546). Held in Paris, Ensba, Les 1358. See fol. B111. On the popularity of this book at the court of France, see Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire. Symbolique et Politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*, (Paris: Macula, 1987). Lecoq argues that much of French royal propaganda drew upon the illustrations from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

Finally, because the emergence of architecture was expressed in multiple media, its boundaries and those of the other arts were often porous. We see an example of this phenomenon, discussed in chapter one, in the relationship between the candelabrum, a column and thus an element undisputedly “architectural,” and the grotesque, a surface carving that better resembled “sculpture.” Both are composed of the same figural and abstract elements but are articulated in different spatial terms. The complex relationship between these two forms can be said to represent the soft boundaries between architecture and sculpture. This is especially pronounced when the same artists produced structural columns as well as low-relief friezes *à l’antique* inspired by designs in architectural treatises. In other cases, as discussed in chapter two, a solid distinction between architecture and antique objects is also difficult to establish. The reason for this is that when distinct components of architecture are given names, they are often nouns or descriptors of individual objects: cornices, vases, columns, trophies, and garlands. When the vocabulary of architecture is reduced to its fragmented state, architecture itself is indistinguishable from sculpture, or at least from the minor arts responsible for the creation of these miniature forms and objects. Finally, when architecture is signified as object types, fragments, and as an abstract authoritative language across media it becomes impossible to distinguish between the “representation” of architecture and the act of making architecture.¹⁴

¹⁴ One way to look at the relationship between the “representation” of architecture and architecture as a miniature is to consider the difference between a model and microarchitecture or *kleinarchitektur*. Alina Payne discusses the differences between microarchitecture, *kleinarchitektur*, and models in her article, “Materiality, Crafting and Scale,” 373-376.

The Idea of Architecture as the Idea of Ornament

The minor arts, in which architecture manifested itself in the sixteenth century, includes small objects and furnishings that were later classified as ornament or decorative arts by museological standards.¹⁵ However, there is little evidence that the term “ornament” provided a category for a class of objects in the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ Ornament had many other designations. It could be understood as a fragment with form-generating capacity or as a part of any given whole. It had the ability to frame and accent a subject. It was associated with praise and admiration. And the last of ornament’s qualities linked it with the activity of making, the process of craft, and even sometimes the qualities of material or media, qualities that will be addressed later in this introduction.¹⁷

I take many of my definitions of ornament and architecture from late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century discourses. While this is not an attempt to define the term “ornament” comprehensively, there is little evidence that the term carried the more

¹⁵ On the collections of “ornament” in prints in drawings held in impressive collections, see Janet Byrne. *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981); The French context is given consideration in Peter Fuhring’s, “Renaissance Ornament Prints: The French Contribution,” in *The French Renaissance in Prints*. (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994); The history of the terms, categories, and provenances related to the collections of ornament is addressed in Elizabeth Miller’s, *16th- Century Italian Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. (London: V&A Publications, 1999); The following book, moreover, is an example of the type of publication more common in the 19th century that helped coin the term “ornamentalist”: Guilmaud D *Les Maitres Ornemanistes*. (E. Plon. Paris, 1880-81).

¹⁶ There is little evidence that “ornament” as a term acted to provide a category for a class of objects in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Most inventories and contracts referred to specific names of items included in the prints (arabesques, grotesques, etc) instead of being classed under the single category of “ornament”.

¹⁷ Chapter Two of this thesis addresses this relationship between craft and ornament.

complex associations that it may have begun to develop after 1550.¹⁸ In fact, the word had ambiguous designations. Leon Battista Alberti referred to ornament as an accent. He wrote: “Ornament may be defined as a form of auxiliary light and complement to beauty. From this it follows, I believe, that beauty is some inherent property, to be suffused all through the body of that which may be called beautiful; whereas ornament, rather than being inherent, has the character of something attached or additional.”¹⁹ For Alberti, ornament was perceptually distinct from the subject it appeared to supplement. Nonetheless, to *what* it was attached, or *how* it came to provide the quality of something additional, Alberti did not explain. In Alberti’s passage, it is not clear whether ornament was, by necessity, physically attached to its subject. *Ornamento*, as he called it, was a Latin term that carried the same connotations as the word “jewellery.”²⁰ In this sense, although jewellery assumes the role of adorning its subject, in itself it is hardly a parergon in the Kantian sense, as discussed below.

In the 1499 publication of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Colonna understood ornament as a multivalent concept.²¹ He used the term “*ornati*” in the sentence “*ornati di sculptura et dit vario liniamento*” as a past participle to indicate the different kinds of

¹⁸ As discussed later in this chapter, it is possible that the concept of ornament underwent change after 1540 or 1550, particularly when prints of frames and objects were perceived to circulate in great volume. See Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Leone Battista Alberti. *Ten Books on Architecture*. ed. Joseph Rykwert. (London: A. Tiani, 1955), Book 6, 156.

²⁰ Alison Wright, “‘...con uno inbasamento et ornamento alto’: The Rhetoric of the Pedestal c. 1430-1550,” *Art History*. (February 2011, 34, 1), 13. In Italian contracts, the term *ornamento* was often employed to denote the frame or pedestal.

²¹ *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*..., (Venise, Alde Manuce, 1499), 42.

ornaments (*sculptura* and *liniamento*) that appeared on the monument he described.²² The French publication of the same text in 1546 published by Jacques Kerver retained this sense when employing the phrase, “*estoit ornee des petites figures et histoires de demybosse et droit.*”²³ Colonna also understood ornament as a noun, when he referred to it as “*ornamenti*” and “*ornamento.*” Most curiously, ornament often appeared in his text as *di vario ornamento*, a phrase that coupled ornament with the act of diversity or variety.²⁴ Moreover, in this context, Colonna understood the term ornament as a physical “thing”; indeed this definition was maintained in meaning and translated in the French edition as *des ornemens*.²⁵ In many of his passages, physical ornaments were usually those diverse and varied fragments that came to constitute the whole of another object.²⁶ These were sometimes referred to as sculptural elements, but they could also be the subdivisions of any given object. Colonna compared ornament to music: “After the architect has done this [established the solid body of any object], he reduces it by minute divisions just as the musician sets the scale and the largest unit of rhythm before

²² Ibid, 42, The entire passage reads as, “Pervenuto dunque ad questa veterrima porta di opera molto spectabile, et cum exquisite regulatione et arte, et praeclari ornati di sculptura, et di vario liniamento maravegliosamente consttucta.”

²³ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie* (France).

²⁴ Colonna’s French publication was published in Paris by Jacques Kerver as *Hypnerotomachie, ou Discours du Songe de Poliphile* (...) in 1546. The word *ornemens* is used throughout in this translation.

²⁵ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*... (Venice), 51 & 57. The word *ornemens* appears several times in the French edition of 1546. See fol. 14 for example.

²⁶ Other writings refer to the use of ornament as a necessary feature. See for instance the passage in the following. Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De Rerum Proprietatibus inscriptum* (...), (Nuremberg: J. Koberger, 1519). Here John Treviso uses the word in his 1398 translation. Ornament particles were also sometimes the required parts belonging to a single thing. Treviso refers to ornament as a necessary element, albeit one whose variety in gesture or composition is not fixed. If the requisite beard was “ornament of mannes face”, the hand was a “greet help & ornament to the body”.

subdividing them proportionately into chromaticisms and small notes.”²⁷ Such a focus on fragmented form finds its parallel in archival documents for architectural objects, which were commonly described as composites whose holistic identity was eclipsed by the parts. For instance, the motifs comprising frames or objects were frequently written out in the nouns of their individual elements, such as “architrave,” “candelabra,” or “cymus.”

The fragmented character of ornament in the early sixteenth century resembles the Greek concept of *diakosimisis*. In his article on the cosmic nature of ornament, Spyros Papapetros has shown *diakosmisis* to denote “both splintering and decoration,” manifesting as “disparate accessories” that “are part of this original fragmentation of cosmic matter—the division of the original *Thing* into *things*, a universal splintering that marks the origin of decoration.”²⁸ In this manner, while ornament is a fragment of a larger whole, it belongs to an entity that exists only as an idea, which itself has been physically altered at the moment of its original rupture.

In Diego de Sagredo’s treatise on antique architecture, which was published in Spanish as *Medidas del Romanos* in 1526 and then a decade later in French as *Raison d’Architecture*, ornament was referred to as *ornamētos* and *aornemēs*, respectively.²⁹ Sagredo conceived of ornament in a similar vein as Colonna had in *vario ornamenti*,

²⁷In this quotation, I have used Joscelyn Godwin’s English translation. See Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The Strife of Love in a Dream*. trans. Joscelyn Godwin. (Thames & Hudson: New York, 1999), 47; The French translation reads “...car il le peult après facilemēt reduire en menues diuisions, ne plus ne moins qu’un musician aiant inventé le ton sur un temps, par une longue ou maxime, il le proportionne après en minims chromatiques...” in Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie* (France), 15.

²⁸Spyros Papapetros, “Aby Warburg as Reader of Gottfried Semper: Reflections on the Cosmic Character of Ornament,” in *Word & Image Interactions*, (2009), Issue 6, 324.

²⁹The first publication was written in Spanish: Diego da Sagredo. *Medidas del Romano*. (Toledo, 1526). It was translated as *Raison d’Architecture...*, and published by Simon de Colines in 1536 in Paris. The original Spanish employed a similar term: “ornamētos.”

where it stood for several discrete parts that came to comprise a larger whole, in this case, the candelabrum, itself a potent index of the antique.³⁰ For the translators of Sagredo's French edition, the term "*aornemēs*" had a very similar meaning to the original Spanish word. The passage in French links ornament with an admired ability to vary and enrich: "*Il est vray que en plusieurs edifices y a moult diversite de aornemēs, qui se mettent plus pour enricher que pour necessite.*"³¹ In this regard, the concept of ornament approached one of the definitions of the word "*copia*," which was associated with variation and abundance—qualities of bricolage, collage, and assemblage, processes discussed in chapter one, that architectural design privileged in the early decades of the sixteenth century.³²

Architecture as Ornament

Architecture as it was manifest in the early sixteenth century resembled these qualities of ornament especially because until 1550, architecture was signalled as much through an

³⁰ Pierre Grosnet, *Le manuel des vertus morales et intellectuelles*. (Denis Janot, Paris: 1534). Pierre Grosnet understands ornament in this manner. For Grosnet, virtues are the *aornemeēs* of the human spirit. They are the individual, quantifiable "things" that animate or realize the entirely amorphous "spirit".

³¹ Diego de Sagredo, *Raison d'architecture antique, extraicte de Vitruve et autres architecteurs nouvellement traduit Despaignol en Francoys* [...]. (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1536), 23; A similar passage of writing is found in the original Spanish. Fol. CI. See Diego de Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano*.

³² My understanding of *copia* is similar to how Margaret Goehring describes the term in *Space, Place and Ornament: The Function of Landscape in Medieval Manuscript*, (Turnhout : Brepols, 2013), 56 In chapter two, Goehring discusses how *copia* figured in the northern context of landscape painting; Also see Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold*, 158-164. Zorach discusses *copia* in a slightly different manner as it pertains to a different context and from how I understand it in this light. This is discussed more at length in chapter one.

individual fragment, a portable antique object, a frame, or a miniature, as it was through a building. The works I analyze in my dissertation are equally architecture and ornament: painted candelabra from illuminated books of hours, sculptural fragments in capitals of chateaux, framed portal surrounds, and printed triumphal arches on title pages. Even the use of the architectural subject in writings of the *rhétoriciens* mostly focused on certain techniques, materials, and surface detailing. When the spatial constructs of the idiom were employed, it was often to the advantage of showing hierarchical placement, which had the functional attribute of framing.

This fragmented character of architecture better resembles conceptions of ornament. In fact, I argue that in the early sixteenth century, ornaments were vessels that carried architecture. As a fragment, two ornamental tropes were declaratively architectural: the ruin and the module.³³ These ornamental features could also be considered schema that guided architectural design. The ruin was engaged in the process of historical legitimizing that established an ideal field of constitutive parts that made up the body of architecture. The module allowed for these ruins to be envisioned as a regenerative force that could be productively assembled into new and inventive architectural designs. Both the ruin and the module at the heart of early modern architectural practices were fragments—details, motifs, and parts that signaled architecture’s presence without having to corroborate evidence of the Albertian *idea* as a

³³ On how ornament reveals itself as a ruin and a module (especially in sketchbooks) see Claire Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 445.

necessary precursor for proper design.³⁴ Even in prints and treatises, architecture circulated as fragments. Its parts frequently exceeded any sense of itself as a whole. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, architectural ideas were manifested through processes of assemblage, a phenomenon discussed at length in chapter one. The candelabrum, for instance, was a compelling schema that drew upon a palette of discrete elements that could be recombined in an almost infinite number of ways. Indeed the candelabrum, which emerged in architectural treatises in Spanish and then in French translations, was assigned the highest columnar order.³⁵ Rather than being composed by way of rule and exacting imitation, it was a composite of diverse forms that could be assembled as any number of given expressions. It also had the potential to be several things: an object, a relief, an order, a column, and an ornament. In this regard, the candelabrum was the ideal schema for the representation of architecture as ornament in all its diversity and agency in its display of *copia*.

Architecture and ornament were also conceptually compressed in other ways. They both operated as frames. While the appeal of the triumphal arch in the early sixteenth century explicitly referred to antiquity, the arch was also a frame for its subjects. Like Alberti's concept of *ornamentum*, which had the ability to monumentalize a subject, a triumphal arch portico or frame added to a parish church was an homage to the members entitled to pass through its doors. These doors were also fragments of a type

³⁴ Alberti, Leon Battista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. (MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England. 4th ed. 1992), Book 6, 156.

³⁵ Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano*; See Nigel Llewellyn's article on the candelabrum and baluster as important central elements in Sagredo's treatise on architecture. "Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, (vol. 40, 1977), 292-300.

that were added to extant buildings. Architectural frames or portals also appeared on publisher's title pages to the same effect; the frames were intended to embellish the publisher. Finally, as discussed in chapters two and four, architecture was as likely to emerge as a miniature. I discuss these subjects in more detail at the end of the introduction where I describe individual chapters.

Ornament and its Discontents

To say that architecture manifested as ornament in the early sixteenth century is not without consequence, not least because ornament has received a negative appraisal in the twentieth century. Indeed, considering architecture as ornament forces us to confront some of the biases against ornament that have permeated architectural history. Ornament has been a problematic category, if we can even call it that. One reason for this is that ornament is a relational, or floating, concept without a static designation. It is sometimes seen as the harbinger of craft and can be as nebulous as the expression of limits in any given material, such as the way a particular type of wood is bent or the way a motif is rendered in gold, marble, or print. Ornament has also acted as the site for ludic creativity. Romanesque capitals, medieval margins, and choir stall misericords were loci for playful, and sometimes subversive, commentary. When discussed in these contexts, ornament has raised concerns about rules and order, and by extension, its purpose is frequently called into question.

For one thing, post-Enlightenment definitions of ornament do not allow architecture and ornament, as ideas, to merge. Immanuel Kant viewed ornament as

parerga, those elements that are auxiliary to the more fundamental subject they complement and to which they are subordinate. In his view, ornaments, such as picture frames, colonnades of palaces, and statue draperies were understood to refer only to the literal object to which they were physically attached. The purpose of ornament was to “recommend” its subject; the orders in a colonnade spoke on behalf of the type of palace they were meant to complement. For Kant, the danger was that ornament could take two potential paths. It could appeal negatively to the body by way of affect or positively to the mind by way of judgment.³⁶ When ornament exceeded boundaries of “good” aesthetic judgment, it dangerously produced emotion or kitschy charm, which were two undesirable qualities that served to undermine the subject it meant to serve. In the paradigm Kant constructed, ornament had an ethical imperative to behave in a manner that revealed good judgment, rather than elicit emotional response. He wrote, “But if the ornament does not itself consist in beautiful form, and if it is used as a golden frame is used, merely to recommend the painting by its *charm*, it is then called *finery* and injures genuine beauty.”³⁷ According to Kant, for ornament to serve its subject, its role as a beautifying or accenting agent had to be achieved via a priori knowledge of the just and beautiful. If ornament did not accord to these rules of aesthetic judgment, it threatened to expand beyond its frame.

Ornament retained these ethical dimensions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For mid-nineteenth-century reformers like Augustus Welby Pugin, ornament

³⁶ With this in mind, ornament developed negatively as a satellite of the realm of the feminine—it was capricious, sensual and merely cosmetic. On other connections between ornament and the feminine, see Llewellyn Negrin, “Ornament and the Feminine”. *Feminist Theory*. Vol 7, Issue 2 (2006), 219 – 235.

³⁷ Immanuel Kant. *Critique of Judgment*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 46

had the capability to bring about moral crisis or, alternately, regeneration.³⁸ Half a century later, the concern with ornament's morality remained evident. Adolf Loos wrote the famous essay "Ornament is Crime," casting ornament not only as an unnecessary addition to objects and buildings, but as an immoral one that frivolously wasted the time and energy of the maker.³⁹ Loos claimed ornamentation was tantamount to a crime whose origins could be traced to degenerate inner urges. Unlike Kant, however, Loos did not set out a prescription for acceptable ornament. Instead he claimed that ornament itself was the problem. It was strictly unnecessary and should be banished from architecture and objects.

The second problem that emerges when architecture and ornament are brought into the same conversation is that architecture has conventionally taken the role of ordering ornament. This is the case in the dominant histories of ornament. While less austere than Loos's take on the subject, the discourses taken up on the relationship between ornament and paradigms of order were more insidious.⁴⁰ John Ruskin established a moral dichotomy of good and bad ornament. According to Ruskin, "good"

³⁸ A. W. Pugin. *An Apology for the Present Revival of Christian Architecture in England*. (London: W. Hughes, 1843), 5

³⁹ Adolf Loos "Ornament and Crime", 1929, republished in Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays* (Riverside, California, Ariadne Press, 1998).

⁴⁰The concept of order has dominated histories of architecture and ornament. When not ordered through the narrative of the architectural treatise, or the rhetoric of post-enlightenment modernism, sixteenth-century ornament has often been classified, categorized and explained through the lens of nineteenth-century theories that privileged universal ordering systems. Architectural historians are often anxious to establish principles of order underlying ornamental repertoires, as if a distinct body of knowledge lies behind complete systems of design. Some books that have addressed this include: Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*. (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979); Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton: 1992). The quality of ornament as a "mediator" is discussed in Chapter Four.

ornament was driven by divine order, a fundamental and essential framework to link discrete ornamental components.⁴¹ In a similar vein, Ruskin's contemporary, Owen Jones, provided an overarching system for ornament in his tome *The Grammar of Ornament*. Jones avoided the moral overtones of Ruskin's notion of divine order and Kant's incantation of pure judgment by introducing the seemingly neutral word "grammar." However, for Jones, the grammatical system that organized ornament was architecture. He proposed a series of general principles, claiming architecture as the guiding idea, or *Zeitgeist*, that provided a platform of supreme order, to which ornament was ultimately subordinate.⁴² For Jones, architecture took the place of divine order and had the power to order ornament, even if the given ornament was not attached to an architectural body. For instance, many of his examples consisted of graphic patterns, book illustrations and designs, motifs for fabric, and other wide-ranging examples that had little to do with actual buildings.

⁴¹ For a more thorough discussion about Ruskin and his concepts of Divine Order, see Debra Schafer, *The Order of Ornament. The Structure of Style. Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20.

⁴² Owen Jones. *The Grammar of Ornament*. (Van Nostrand Reinhold Co, 1972), 5: Among these principles were the following propositions: "Proposition 1: The decorative Arts arise from, and should properly be attendant upon, Architecture. Proposition 2: Architecture is the material expression of the wants, the faculties, and the sentiments of the age in which it is created. Proposition 3: As Architecture, so all works of the Decorative Arts, should possess fitness, proportion, harmony, the result of all which is repose"; Also see pg. 154; Nonetheless Jones reveals an anxiety about the relationship between ornament and architecture, one that was not so apparent in sixteenth century discourse. In his chapter on "Leaves and Flowers from Nature", Jones offers the caveat: "Although ornament is most properly only an accessory to architecture, and should never be allowed to usurp the place of structural features, or to overload or disguise them, it is in all cases the very soul of an architectural monument." Much like Alberti, who proposed that ornament was essential to architecture, Jones privileged the idea of structure, grammar, or system as if these elements were more architectonic than the ornamentation. This way of understanding ornament as subordinate to structure was not evident in the sixteenth-century and was only given full expression in the eighteenth-century with the advent of architecture's relationship with engineering.

Invoking the word “grammar” reveals a perceived need to submit ornament to a system. At the outset of his study, Jones established that ornament was subordinate to architecture, in a similar way that Kant had done a century earlier. These post-Enlightenment notions of architecture as an organizer, container, or structuring device for loose ornaments had a problematic consequence: they contrasted the concept of architecture with that of ornament. These concepts of architecture and ornament were not in opposition in the early sixteenth century, yet relatively recent architectural histories of the early sixteenth century have adopted these same paradigms for explaining French art of the period.

The principal characterization of the field has been teleological. It is one that describes the “ornamental” architecture of the first three decades of the sixteenth century as immature and confused, only to mature into “proper architecture” around 1550. Scholars have also interpreted the profuse, Italianate motifs covering building surfaces in France as fundamental misinterpretations of the “correct” Italian model. Other times, the term “pre-architectonic” has been used to describe the profuse carved forms on surfaces of buildings and furniture whose visual language was somehow connected to ideas about architecture, even if their expression did not conform to our modern expectations of structure, scale, and proportion.⁴³

⁴³ Yves Pauwels, “La Fortune du Sagredo Francais en France et en Flandres au XVI et XVII siecles.” *Medidas del Romano. Diego de Sagredo. Remoin de Petras. Toledo. 1526.* ed. Fernando Marias et al. (Toledo: Pareja: Spain, 2000). Pauwels, echoed by many other art historians, has argued that the candelabra-centered treatise of Sagredo is pre-architectural. Suggesting that it is still in a phase of “becoming architectonic”, the candelabra column is presented as if it was in an early stage of architectural evolution, like an embryonic relative of the orders laid out in Serlio’s treatise, which was published in Venice the following year. He uses the types of architectural forms seen in Diego de Sagredo’s to exemplify his term—architecture that is not tectonically capable or able to

This ornamented architecture has also been understood as “immature” architecture. For instance, in characterizing the chateau of Chambord, Anthony Blunt referred to the “forest of chimneys, turrets, and dormers, all different and all of the most complex form. The fantasy of the design brings this roof into line with the strangest inventions of Flamboyant Gothic.”⁴⁴ Although Blunt argues that these microarchitectural protrusions on the chateau show advanced understanding of the antique idiom, he nonetheless notes that these designs are experiments “in the evolution of the chateau” that would mature in the period that would follow.⁴⁵ Despite giving equal treatment to architecture and sculpture in his important book *Renaissance Art in France*, Henri Zerner referred to the architecture of the period as one that cultivated “the aesthetics of the disparate.”⁴⁶ Although Zerner was positively inclined to the period’s art, he implies that the naivety of the artists’ misunderstanding of the original models resulted in an inconsistent aesthetic. One of the reasons the sixteenth century has been problematic for architectural history is that the discipline has focused on the “proper” ordering of architecture’s elemental parts or fragments as if these ornamental constituents required justification. Even the recent ornamental turn accompanying digital tectonics and design

provide structure. We often see terms such as ‘confectionery’ or ‘gingerbread’ describing the flourishes of the sixteenth century, as if its ornamentation is worthy only of the most ephemeral of objects: food.

⁴⁴ Anthony Blunt. *Art and Architecture in France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism*. (Paris: Flammarion, 2003,) 15. Also see Michel Foucault. *Archaeology of Knowledge*. (London: Routledge, 2002). The analysis of architecture according to oeuvres, whether treatises, buildings or architect biographies—when taken as a whole—tells a story whose framework and points of reference are rooted in post-enlightenment ideals, not early modern ones.

revolves around the question of how ornament is structured.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, conventional discourses that account for the relationship between order and architecture fall short of understanding the ephemeral, intermedial, fragmented, and small-scale monuments of the early sixteenth century.

Since the late twentieth century, new and innovative studies of ornament in the early modern period have produced more complex appraisals of the term and its various manifestations. Anne-Marie Sankovitch has revisited the Kantian parergon, suggesting ornament as a necessary supplement for what is lacking in the structural elements of late Gothic design.⁴⁸ Several large-scale studies on ornament have been undertaken recently, including those by Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu, that consider ornament from multiple perspectives and global contexts. Moreover, the volume of essays edited by Ralph Dekoninck, Caroline Heering, and Michel Lefftz, *Questions d'ornements, XVe-XVIIIe siècles*, has contributed to new conceptions of ornament as a driving force of design in early modern art practices.⁴⁹

Ethan Matt Kavalier has shown that ornament was not a peripheral art, but was a vanguard artistic practice across media. Kavalier argues that ornament had several active purposes by becoming a conveyer of narrative in various media throughout Europe, but also by performing an important role in the transmission of artistic designs and

⁴⁷ On the recent scholarship on ornament, see Greg Lynn's article on ornament and structure: Greg Lynn "The Structure of Ornament" *Digital Tectonics*. (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Academy, 2004), 62-68.

⁴⁸ Anne-Marie Sankovitch, "Structure/Ornament and the Modern Figuration of Architecture. *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 80, No. 4 (Dec., 1998), 687-717. Also see Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 59.

⁴⁹ *Questions d'ornement (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. R. Dekoninck, M. Lefftz and C. Heering, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

practices.⁵⁰ Kavalier introduces the category “Renaissance Gothic” that speaks to the previously understudied phenomenon of artistic intersections of the antique and Gothic modes of design that was highly revered in court circles throughout Europe.⁵¹ Many of Kavalier’s categories for understanding the multivalent ways that ornament functioned in the early modern period are taken up in this thesis. These include understanding ornament from the perspectives of microarchitecture, hybridity, artistic translation, and artistic production.

Rebecca Zorach’s book *Blood, Milk, Ink, and Gold* has also been significant for laying the groundwork for this thesis for many reasons, not least because her work on ornament has revealed aspects of continuity but also points of rupture between the earlier and later periods of the sixteenth century in France.⁵² Zorach has drawn attention to how notions of excess and abundance thematized the visual culture of the French Renaissance. Abundance as a theme in the arts was reflected in subject matters that ranged from flowing breast milk and abundant feminine bodies to the collections of precious objects of gold and bronze at Fontainebleau, especially under Francis I.⁵³ Zorach points out that these tropes were buttressed by the political fantasies of the milieu of the French court about the abundant nature of France—its populace, artistic enterprise, self-representation, and natural resources. Moreover, Zorach argues that alongside these refrains of abundance were parallel discourses of control. Ornament had a fundamental role in her

⁵⁰ Ethan Matt Kavalier, *Renaissance Gothic. Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe. 1470-1540*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Ethan Matt Kavalier. “Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament.” *Art Bulletin*, vol. 82, no. 2, (June 2000), 226-251; Ethan Matt Kavalier, “Renaissance Gothic: Pictures of Geometry and Narratives of Ornament.” *Art History* 29 (2006), 1-46.

⁵¹ Kavalier, *Renaissance Gothic*. Especially see page 1-45.

⁵² Zorach, *Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance*.

⁵³ *Ibid*; see chapter Three, “Milk”, 83-134.

analysis of the period's art, having the potential to flow out of control—in the case of ornament prints, particularly the “empty” frames that mimic the sculptural surrounds in the gallery of Fontainebleau—but also signifying control in its own right, where ornament sometimes presented itself as a picture of self-domination, as depicted, for example, in caryatids and *termes* or in the ornament prints after the style of Cornelis Bos where bodies were trapped in grotesques by strapwork or architectural elements.⁵⁴ There are thematic continuities between the work of the earlier period I discuss and that of the slightly later period Zorach discusses. For instance, the spectacle of entrapped spolia in the Tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise as early as 1515 showed anticipation of those tensions in the display of abundance and the tropes of control that Zorach analyzes in her chapter ‘Ink’ (fig. 2.14). On the other hand, the period Zorach addresses is rooted mostly in the years after 1530, but the prints she considers are nearly all dated at the terminus of my project, after 1545. Because printing was still relatively new in the 1520s and 30s (the years that dominate my study), it is arguable that the threat of ornament prints and fragments being out-of-control instruments of excess may not yet have been developed so fully as it would be several decades later.

⁵⁴ Caroline Heering, “Questionner l’ornement,” *Questions d’ornement (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. R. Dekoninck, M. Lefftz et C. Heering, (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014), 12. In her article on ornament’s designations, Caroline Heering drafted three categories to which ornament is understood to speak: Order, Signification and Sensation. Unlike earlier writers such as Rudolph Wittkower and Owen Jones, who thought ornament required an ordering system like the theoretical principles of harmony and proportion in classical architecture to keep it from wandering, Heering claims it is ornament that drives order. On page 1, she writes, “L’ornement est rythme, ce qui veut dire qu’il instaure, dans les répétitions et les continuités, des nœuds, des tensions, des pauses, des précipitations, des relâchements, etc. Créant de l’ordre, instaurant un rythme, l’ornement revêt une fonction structurante et est doté d’une réelle opérativité dans l’articulation d’unités plastiques, qu’elles soient architecturales, picturales et/ou sculpturales.”

Finally, Claire Lepraik Guest has also changed our expectations of ornament in the sixteenth century in her comprehensive study.⁵⁵ Although her focus is the Italian Renaissance, she analyzes ornament in contexts as diverse as humanist concepts of praise and physical qualities of fragmentation inherent in artifacts like ruins, trophies, and the grotesque. As she puts it, “like aesthetics, ornament concerned the apprehensions of natural or artificial things as beautiful; the question is to understand what the nature of this apprehension was. Thus ornament was not just a ‘thing’ but a mode of conceiving and perceiving.”⁵⁶ Guest has challenged post-Enlightenment definitions of ornament by suggesting that early modern apprehensions of the concept were hardly fixed in the terms we have inherited.

Many scholars have considered the complexities of ornament in northern European contexts without necessarily taking up the thorny issue of ornament as a central theme. These studies have undoubtedly paved the way for a dissertation such as this one. In particular, Krista De Jonge, Ethan Matt Kavalier, and Henri Zerner have brought certain terminology to our attention—*à l’antique* and *moderne* (Gothic)—that depicted different stylistic indices in which artists worked.⁵⁷ Both terms highlight the transmedial character of art and craft practices of the early modern period. De Jonge and Kavalier have shown that these terms appeared in contracts to describe works of sculpture,

⁵⁵ Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 2.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Zerner discusses the relationship between these two concepts in chapter One, “The Gothic in the Renaissance” in his book *Renaissance Art in France*, 11-54; Kavalier analyses the use of the terms “antique” and “moderne” throughout his book, *Renaissance Gothic. Architecture*; For a discussion of the antique mode in the Netherlands, see Krista De Jonge, “Anticse Wercken: la découverte de l’architecture antique dans la pratique architecturale des anciens Pays-Bas.” *Livres de modèles et traités (1517-1599)*,” ed. M-C. Heck, F. Lemerle & Y. Pauwels. (*Théorie des arts et creation artistique dand l’Urope du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIe siècle*, (Lille, PUL: 2002), 55-74.

architecture, painting, and other crafts and reflected two equally admired modes in which artists could achieve expertise and show proficiency of the most cutting-edge art appreciated at court and in religious contexts. Both the antique and the *moderne* referred to a strictly “ornamental” discourse that was nearly exclusive to a vocabulary composed of motifs that referred to antiquity and the Gothic period, respectively. I study the art of the so-called antique in this project because of the wider ranging monuments and sources in which it was manifest in the early modern period, for instance, architectural treatises and the ornamental frames of printed books rarely included examples of *moderne*. Finally, important scholarship that has highlighted the transfer of motifs and themes, and even major artists working in microarchitectural projects have also contributed to the field from which I draw for my own project. These include the extensive studies of French chateaux, churches, and other buildings undertaken by Jean Guillaume, Monique Chatenet, Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels, and several other scholars who have further illuminated the migratory habits of craftsmen, many of whom practiced some form of “ornamental” architecture.

Material and Craft in the Formulation of Architecture as Idea

My above discussion of ornament referenced its potential tropes as a formal discourse. The first is the way architecture functioned as ornament in the early sixteenth century: as a frame, a fragment, and as a vocabulary or visual language. The second is how ornament and architecture met as a discourse about form: as a module or ruin, as a repertory of discrete and nameable objects, as types of objects like temples and candelabra, and as

modes of design such as antique and *moderne*. What follows addresses the role of media or materials in the changing discourse of architecture in the first few decades of the sixteenth century.

In this transitional period, all kinds of materials both common and precious such as stone, paper, pearl, alabaster, and gold were active agents in architectural discourse. On the one hand, we see this phenomenon occurring in the written discourses about temples, tombs, arches, and columns that were increasingly associated with architecture as an authoritative subject. The court *rhétoriciens*, whose texts, as we saw, frequently drew upon architecture as a subject, did not merely discuss the principles of formal invention at play in the making of rhetorical architecture, they also remained focused on terms like “lush,” “rich,” “radiant,” “sheen,” and other adjectives that related to the qualities of the media used (stone, gem, or wood, etc).⁵⁸ We see a similar trend in royal entry accounts, which also zealously recorded the richness of the drapery and the types of stones in monuments well into the 1530s.⁵⁹ This is interesting because materials such as polished gems, gold, and velvets, which were often described in texts, referenced a luxury culture associated with the nobility at court or foreign merchants. The formal language of architecture, its nomenclature, and its recombinant parts, conversely, comprised a language that was accessible as a visual discourse across media for a diverse group of people. We might say that these two discourses of material and form were in constant dialectical play in the formation of the emerging idea of architecture throughout this period.

⁵⁸ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 12.

⁵⁹ See Chapter Three of this thesis on how architecture acts as a frame, especially the passages on the royal entries (footnotes 27-32).

On the other hand, the ability of the architectural idiom to be realized in any material resonated as a statement about craft as much as about architecture. Just as patrons of the arts looked to be elevated by the idiom of architecture, artists working in many forms of media also strove to be architects. For artists, architecture presented itself as a vehicle for the expression of invention that was inflected by their expertise in a craft. This may be related to the fact that architecture did not constitute a specific guild; sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, stained glass painters, and other artists were able to create architectural designs using techniques and materials in which they were uniquely skilled.

Ornament, Craft, and Architecture: Current Scholarship

With this in mind, I argue that the idea of architecture in this creative period was newly defined as a field that held material, craft, technique, and design as mutually informing loci of authority. In fact, Zorach's conception of abundance in the French Renaissance in terms of its flowing, liquid substances is certainly reflected in how I broach similar issues such as the migration of craftsmen, the fluidity of art terminology, and the boundaries of craft in the earlier decades.⁶⁰ The essays in Piet Lombaerde's edited book *The Notion of the Painter-Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries* advance the view that architects in the early modern period were often experts in arts of sculpture and painting. In his introductory essay, editor Piet Lombaerde shows how woodworkers, masons, goldsmiths, engravers, and sculptors were often hired as architects, depending on the

⁶⁰ Zorach, *Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance*.

situation.⁶¹ Lombaerde reminds us of the fluidity of artistic identities when he writes that “there were not only painter-architects, and sculptor-architects, but also goldsmith-architects (Brunelleschi), carpenter-architects (Giuliano da Sangallo), writer-architects (Alberti) and stonemason-architects (Bernardo Rossellino).”⁶² Moreover, writers at court drew upon architecture as an allegory of the competing French and Burgundian houses of nobility. Printers and publishers increasingly used the new genre of architectural title pages for their own professional self-promotion.

In other recent scholarship, the scope of architecture from the multiple vantage points of craft, ornament, and object histories has been addressed. Many of these current avenues of research have reappraised relationships between architecture and the so-called minor arts. Alina Payne has been central to much of the scholarship that has sought to understand the role of smaller objects in the theoretical backdrop of architectural history.⁶³ In her article “Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture,” Payne has written about how major Italian architects of the Renaissance such as Brunelleschi, Francesco di Giorgio, Michelozzo, and Ghiberti were known for their designs in particular crafts that art history has traditionally associated with minor arts: intarsia, woodwork, and goldsmithery for instance. Among numerous examples, she

⁶¹ Piet Lombaerde, “Painter-Architect or Painter & Architect?” in *The Notion of the Painter-Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries*. ed. Peter Lombaerde, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), xxi.

⁶² Ibid, xv.

⁶³ Payne. “Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture;” Alina Payne, “Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Vol. 58, Issue 3. (Sept. 1999), 292-299. in which she attributes the problem to increased specialization and the drifting apart of disciplines that has occurred since the nineteenth century. Also see Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: genealogies of architectural modernism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). In this book, she reevaluates the role of ordinary objects in the formation of modern architectural discourse.

discusses Francesco di Giorgio, whose sculpture, so-called decorative works, and architecture, she argues, are rarely conceived as a holistic enterprise because these crafts have not always been considered as integral to architecture's oeuvre in architectural history.⁶⁴ As she writes, "[...] Francesco di Giorgio's sculpture and minor arts activity is still perceived as relatively disconnected from his architectural career or at least separate and not in dialogue with it. The two volumes on his oeuvre as architect and artist, respectively, illustrate this malaise. The same is true about scholarship on the careers of others, like Raphael, Jacopo Sansovino, Ammannati, Buontalenti, and so on."⁶⁵ In historical accounts of modern art, where artistic disciplines are understood to intersect, they are often perceived as discrete and stable fields that can be perfected through the application of artistic "genius." These narratives of distinction that have defined art and architectural history have their roots in biographical narratives of the Renaissance that glorify artistic biography. As Payne writes, "In his *Lives of the Artists* Giorgio Vasari constructed the myth of Michelangelo as the titanic personality and unique performer in painting, sculpture, and architecture, all of which he transformed, and although Vasari delighted in acknowledging others active in multiple areas he reserved the most emphatic accolades for Michelangelo alone."⁶⁶

The second half of Payne's article focuses on theoretical writings, especially those of Alberti and Vasari.⁶⁷ Alberti was well-known for his concept of the architectural

⁶⁴ Ibid, 5. Payne addresses as well the historiography of architecture from the perspective of the minor arts in the writing of Heinrich von Geymüller's *Die Architektur der Toscana* (F. Bruckmann: Munich, 1885-1908) and Jacob Burkhardt's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* C.H. Beck: Munich, 2000. First edition: 1867).

⁶⁵ Payne, "Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," 367.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 376-383.

“idea,” which he conceived as an invention residing and originating in the mind of the architect.⁶⁸ Alberti postulated that the idea invented by the architect underwent a series of transformations before it was ready to be executed by artisanal experts working in the scale of a building. For Alberti, the development of the idea as an integral moment in the process of design had specific consequence: the artist conceives of the idea of any given design as a holistic entity. He posited that this design would be executed not by the architect, but through the *gesamkunstwerk* of several skilled artisans with expertise in the material and techniques required for its realization. For Alberti, the architect was a thinker, a visionary, unequivocally a separate person from the skilled laborer who executed the original idea. But ultimately, Alberti’s polemic that situates the architect as a distinguished figure who was distinct from the physical execution or craft of the work of architecture was not reflected in the reality of sixteenth century practices. Indeed evidence points to a phenomenon that shows how craft, ornament, and the idea of architecture were often compressed as a merged field before 1550 in France.

In fact, it was only in the 20th century that architectural historians regularly omitted objects, ornament, and other classes of artifacts that are not exclusively limited by the idea of a building from their historical accounts. Payne shows how several texts of the eighteenth century, such as Gottfried Semper’s *Der Stil*, focused on a wide range of objects that did not necessarily privilege the architectural monument but included a rigorous analysis of “crafts,” which Semper asserted were the very basis for architectural production.⁶⁹ Alois Riegl, Aby Warburg, and others also conducted extensive studies of fungible objects, textiles, and furniture, but many of these objects have fallen into the

⁶⁸ Alberti. *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Rykwert, Book 6, 156.

⁶⁹ Payne, Alina. “Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture,” 368.

interstices of our disciplines today. Jacob Burkhardt and Heinrich von Geymüller included examples of more modest objects in their grand narratives of Italian architecture.⁷⁰ I address these specific examples in chapter two when I explain the terms “microarchitecture” and “*kleinarchitektur*,” whose definitions Payne also elaborates on in her article.

Despite the omissions of ornament and non-monumental objects from several twentieth-century architectural history surveys, scholars still grapple with the fact that disciplinary categories are not sufficient for the discussion of the sculpture, painting, and architecture of the early sixteenth century. For instance, in Anthony Blunt’s *Art and Architecture of Renaissance France* (1957), the reader is confronted with three categories that serve to organize the art of the period: painting, architecture, and sculpture.⁷¹

However, for understanding the works created at the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the first four decades of the sixteenth century, these categories confuse more

⁷⁰ See Heinrich von Geymüller’s *Die Architektur der Toscana* (F. Bruckmann: Munich, 1885-1908), and Jacob Burkhardt’s *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* C.H. Beck: Munich, 2000. First edition: 1867).

⁷¹ Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1957); The assumption that discrete artistic disciplines had watertight boundaries was solidified in the seventeenth century. The establishment of the Academies in France the Cardinal Richelieu in 1634 and Cardinal Mazarin in 1648 marked the institutionalization of the arts as professions with distinct character. Inscriptions and medals constituted another institution, while architecture received its own academy, “Académie royale d’architecture”, as named by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1671. Architecture, sculpture and painting as conceptually distinct entities was an idea manufactured in the seventeenth century but is nonetheless persistent even now. The establishment of the Academies by the French official Cardinal Richelieu in 1634 and Cardinal Mazarin in 1648 marked the institutionalization of the arts as entities with distinct character. Sculpture and painting were collapsed in a single class entitled, ‘Académie de peinture et de sculpture’, and inscriptions and medals constituted another institution, while architecture received its own academy, ‘Académie royale d’architecture’, as named by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1671. See N. Guérin, *Description de l’Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*. (Paris 1715). See also Tomas Macsotay, *The Profession of Sculpture in the Paris ‘Académie’*. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014).

than clarify; the structure they impart to Blunt's great survey is less helpful than it may seem. Indeed, whether his survey's monuments are classified as architecture or sculpture seems arbitrary. While the large chateaux of Blois, Chambord, and Chenonceau constitute much of Blunt's category "architecture," their architectural monumentality was expressed through their interiors, such as Hector Sohier's apse and ambulatory in Caen (1528–45), or as individual parts, like the triumphal frontispiece affixed to the chateau of Gaillon (1508) (fig. 0.1).⁷² Blunt also includes under "architecture," the tomb of Raoul de Lannoy, a fountain at Gaillon (fig. 0.2), and the choir screen at Fécamp. In Blunt's section on sculpture, however, he also provides examples of tombs, such as that of the dukes of Orléans, of Louis XII, and of the Amboise cardinals (fig. 0.3, 0.4, 2.14). The later attribution of these monuments to either canon of architecture or sculpture reflects the porosity of these categories in the early modern period.

It is unclear how the objects come to receive their status as either "architecture" or "sculpture" in Blunt's survey. The "architecture" of Gaillon is signified by the antique pilasters and other sculptural flourishes on the face of the portal. Moreover, Sohier's ambulatory is an interior space notable not only for its height afforded by the late Gothic vaulting, but also for the innovative and substantial antique tabernacles accentuating the ribs and bosses. For Blunt, the "architecture" of the Hôtel Princé (1523–1533) in Angers was best represented in a close-up photograph of its surface, that is, its sculptural appliqué: the coin-like roundels, candelabra pilasters, and capitals (fig. 0.5). Likewise, the works Blunt included in the category "sculpture" could just as feasibly be understood

⁷² Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France* (1957). For all of these images in this paragraph, I refer to this early publication by Blunt. See the image list of this dissertation for references to the plate numbers.

as architecture. The twelve apostles shown in the base of the Tomb of the Dukes of Orléans are flanked by antique Corinthian columns that could have been drawn from Vitruvian discourses (fig. 0.3). Moreover, the Tomb of Louis XII takes the shape of an edifice, providing an arcaded house or chapel for the *gisants* lying within it. Like a miniature temple, the tomb is punctuated with antique motifs—composite capitals, pilasters, cornices, dentils, and bas-reliefs—that simultaneously signified architecture (fig. 0.4).

The Corpus of Early Sixteenth-Century Architecture in France

What constitutes the corpus of architecture in this dissertation? One approach in answering this question is to consider the multifarious visual discourse of architecture, how it is circulated, and in what contexts. A starting place is the engravings, etchings, and drawings by Androuet du Cerceau produced around 1545.⁷³ They are important not only for their own material evidence but also in that they suggest what types of objects and monuments were dear to the French in the period. These same types of objects are those that are considered as part of “architecture’s” discourse in this thesis. Also significant is the fact that two of his contemporaries considered Androuet du Cerceau as one of France’s greatest architects, despite evidence suggesting that he did not build any buildings. His prints and drawings were seemingly created for purposes of paper

⁷³ A comprehensive source for the work of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau was published as a compendium of several articles: *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau: un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010).

collections, and they may have had the aim of documenting the material culture of his time.

Relatively few entire buildings were the focus of Androuet du Cerceau's early prints. His subjects were more likely to take the form of trophies, candelabra, grotesques, and small portable objects like vases.⁷⁴ Yet these motifs of triumph were also those that comprised the antique structures of tombs and the encrustation of building facades. Androuet du Cerceau also documented furniture, which likely cultivated an air of eminent luxury for several reasons. Furniture was an art of the interior; most interiors with furniture worth documenting were accessed by a narrow social group associated with the court. Mantelpieces and chairs, moreover, designated hierarchy, if not through relative positioning then through exquisite carvings and heraldry.

Androuet du Cerceau did represent several series of monuments that we accept today as monumental architecture: triumphal arches, temples, and views of Jerusalem and scenography in the vein of the Lyonnais engravers. The arches were detached from any buildings, and they were presented in different series of various iterative designs. The temples were also given an extensive range of expression. Represented were tomb-like rotundas, round *tempietti*, and variations on colonnaded Roman temples. These types of buildings were never built in France, but were more likely to be represented in miniature as discussed in chapter four. Androuet du Cerceau did document French buildings

⁷⁴ On Androuet du Cerceau's ornament prints, see Jean Guillaume's article "Ornement et architecture," in *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010), 144-182.

occasionally, but it was not until the 1570s that he began to catalogue buildings in this way.⁷⁵

Architecture's corpus was just as likely to be disembodied; it offered more than typology of discrete forms like arches and candelabra, and achieved synecdochal representation in fragments such as dentils, cornices, bases, and other framing elements. These fragments are abstract in character and constitute a large portion of so-called architectural ornament in manuals and treatises in circulation after 1500. Moreover, as Michael Waters has argued, architecture's discourse was promulgated outside of theoretical texts by prominent architect-writers.⁷⁶ He has shown that loose-leaf sheets containing designs that were often fragments of cornices and parts of columns circulated widely for other architects to draw from and recombine in new compositions.⁷⁷

An uneasy question emerges: Is everything architecture? This question was answered most recently by Hans Hollein in his manifesto "Everything is Architecture."⁷⁸ Writing in the 1960s at the dawn of a new age of media, Hollein argued that architecture ascribed to several roles. It was cultic, he argued, and given to signification. It controlled body heat, thus functioning as a protective shelter. It determined space, though not exclusively in an empirical sense. And it conditioned psychological states. He emphasized that architecture was more than just a building. For Hollein, architecture was

⁷⁵ Françoise Boudon discusses and summarizes Androuet du Cerceau's work of the 1570s that dealt with the subjects of buildings and chateaux in "Du Cerceau et Les *plus excellents bastiments en France*," *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010), 258-274.

⁷⁶ Waters, "A Renaissance without Order," 488-523.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Hollein, Hans. "Alles ist Architektur" in *Bau 1/2*, (1968), 2.

a means of communication; its corpus was culled from imagery in the everyday environment and inserted into compositions through collage.

While I do not make such a wide claim as Hollein, I argue that collage, or bricolage, of particular discrete elements forms much of the authoritative processes underlying architectural design of the sixteenth century's first decades. The repertory of sixteenth-century designs, however, drew from the relatively limited repertories of antique and Gothic vocabularies. How these elements were combined seemed to produce an infinite number of potential design combinations. For Hollein, conversely, the repertory of architecture was itself infinite, having been constituted by the commercial goods of everyday life itself. Yet major changes in technology undergird both Hollein's era, with the invention of the computer and changes in media, and the early sixteenth century, which was shaped by the invention of the printing press. Both of these inventions affected media, and they changed the way makers, artists, architects, and craftspeople interacted with the material world. Both inventions also allowed for a greater number of artists and tradespeople to engage in "architecture": printers, sculptors, painters, and furniture makers in the earlier period and coders, analysts, and computer specialists in our time.

To summarize the main issues addressed thus far in this introduction, I locate sixteenth-century architecture within three contexts: the increasing authority of the architect figure, the prestige of collectible objects and microarchitecture, and the awareness of the antique's fragmented repertoire. With this in mind I suggest that architecture as an idea was not alienated from craft practices, and in fact was likely to be manifested as ornament. Thus it follows that the objects and monuments considered in

this project are drawn from a wide range of artifacts. To be more specific, the fundamental criterion for inclusion in this dissertation is the presence of the architectural idiom as I have defined it in terms of a visual discourse: the candelabrum frame, the fragmented architectural form that has been assembled into composite wholes without recourse to built structure, or typological elements such as triumphal arches and temples rendered as significant subjects. These elements are found in prints, in illuminated manuscripts, on interior furnishings, in printed books, and in baldachins, for instance, as much as they are found on building exteriors. I argue that they are as “architectural” in nature when present on objects as they are when they are manifested on a building’s surface. The objects that I consider fall into three categories. The first is the art of the court that features chateaux interiors, tombs, and furniture inside privileged spaces. Many of these monuments and ornaments were created by experts in their unique craft or medium who were either brought to France from Italy or who trained in large workshops in cathedrals or chateaux. Consider, for instance, an object such as the Reliquary of the Virgin’s Milk, a tiny temple-like structure attributed to the goldsmith and distinguished architect, Simon Heyeneufve, who was trained in the art of antique, reflected in the object as Composite capitals, pilasters, and the frieze of baluster columns (fig. 0.07).⁷⁹ The reliquary is simultaneously architecture and sculpture.⁸⁰ Illuminated manuscripts such as those by the so-called Antwerp Mannerists who were hired to work for nobles in the Loire Valley also fall into this category. The literature of the early sixteenth-century

⁷⁹ *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*. ed. Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010), 301.

⁸⁰ The same might be said for furniture such as several wood cabinets also made in the mode à l’antique. See *Ibid*, page 303, for examples created in the early sixteenth century.

French *rhétoriciens*, which described large-scale monuments in terms that were more familiar to interiors is also included here.

The second category comprises parish church portals in prominent regions such as Troyes and the Northern Loire Valley along the Loire River between Paris and Rouen, the architectural frames of printed book frontispieces by humanist publishers, as well as prints created by the Lyonnais engravers whose narratives and figural subjects were commonly cast in the shadow of complex architectural settings. With this grouping I wish to investigate how the idea of architecture permeated contexts outside of court. The items in the final category straddle court culture and civic contexts: royal entry pamphlets, frames in printed books of hours, and architectural engravings and treatises.

At the core of my dissertation is the question of how architecture of the earliest decades in sixteenth-century France received its authority, particularly in light of its creative incorporation of what we understand as ornament. Certainly the definitions of ornament as put forward by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century writers came to be indistinguishable from the function and presentation of architecture. The four chapters of my dissertation reflect these alliances where the idea of architecture is manifest in four ways: as craft, in small objects, as a frame, and in miniature.

Outline of Chapters

The first few decades of the sixteenth century were a period of creative exchange undergirded by complex relationships between the practice of craft and the idea of architecture. Architecture was practiced by painters, sculptors, ceramicists, joiners,

printers, writers, and other artists. Indeed, it would be an oversimplification to state that “architecture” was merely represented across media. In many cases, architects *were* goldsmiths, sculptors, and painters, among others. In chapter 1, “Crafting Architecture,” I portray architecture much as Colonna conceived of ornament—a process that was enacted upon an object or substance. I argue that the concept of architecture was inflected by its manifestation as craft.

I consider how the relationship between the crafts at the heart of architectural expression produced a phenomenon of artistic “translation.” First, I look at how the paper arts functioned as formidable players in the artistic *paragone* rather than as neutral transmitters of designs. Second, I discuss how the ubiquity of particular motifs, especially the grotesque and candelabra, in the first few decades of the sixteenth century attested to these intermedial practices. Repertories of these motifs were composed of established antique fragments that could be combined in seemingly infinite permutations. In particular, the relationship between the columnar candelabrum and the grotesque as an expansive surface relief allowed for a reconceptualization of order at the heart of many artistic practices of the period. I argue that architecture before 1540 drew upon a system of assemblage, whose aesthetic principles were different from those of harmony, holism, and proportion that dominate post-eighteenth-century discourses. Finally, I discuss how these values of translation and assemblage in architectural ornament relate to artistic license.

In chapter Two, “The ‘Things’ of Architecture,” I consider how architecture was taken up in fungible objects and portable luxury goods; the “things” of architecture were not always the canon of monuments we conventionally attribute to the discipline today.

The concepts of the antique and architecture were often elided, and their shared semantic space allowed for architecture to be signified through an object, such as a fountain, a *jubé*, a candelabrum, or other types of interior furniture. The idea of architecture was also summoned through “things” antique, such as trophies, portrait bust carvings, candelabra reliefs, and imperial coins. When realized in print, these small objects were often given antique nomenclature that shaped complex discourses at many levels of society.

Moreover, architecture was understood as a corollary to the new culture of collecting. I further analyze the relationship between objects of triumph and concepts of architecture in the wake of the Italian wars and the discourses surrounding the highly valued encrustation of the surface of the Certosa di Pavia. This chapter not only considers how architecture and concepts of the antique were often merged fields, it posits architecture as a fragmented field, which was one of the tenets ascribed to ornament in the early sixteenth century.

In chapter 3, “Architecture as Frame,” I consider how architecture took on the framing capabilities often attributed to ornament in the sixteenth century. The act of framing has several dimensions as I present it in my dissertation. First, while the triumphal arch had precedence as an antique monument, its potency in this context stems from its ability to signify a contract between city members and the court. Eventually, the triumphal arch was usurped as a symbol of civic ideals, emerging as an insignia as such on parish church portals and in printed title pages.

Second, architecture as a frame always has a referent, though its referent is not always physically attached to it. In this way, the architectural frame takes on emblematic characteristics. Emblems, or *devises*, were commonly assembled from antique or

allegorical images culled from a collective repertoire and then recombined to invent a personal image that reflected “true” character. Triumphal arch frames that were affixed to parish and collegiate church portals operated in this manner; they were constructed as faces representing the specific communities that were privileged to access these particular entrances. Moreover, printers’ devices and printed frontispieces developed alongside these active properties of the frame. Rarely did the title page refer to the content of the book it fronted; it was a virtual space representing the printer.

The final chapter, “Monument as Ornament,” shows how some of the most powerful architectural monuments of the period manifested in interiors, as printed book illustrations, and in miniature. I pay extensive attention in this chapter to the reinvention of the temple as an important trope. Beginning in early rhetorician texts, the temple had propagandistic aims and was taken up in court culture as the *Temple de France*. It was the perfect idiom for underscoring enduring and natural courtly power; rhetoricians and court printers drew upon the temple theme to bolster the image of the court while also seeking noble patrons for future projects. The temple construct was strengthened through its culmination as ornament, such as baldachins, Holy Sepulchral tombs, and stained glass paintings.

Chapter One

Crafting Architecture

Architectural histories often explain architecture of the Renaissance as something highly distinct from craft. This argument has validity on the one hand. Early modern writers like Leone Battista Alberti and Francesco Colonna dedicated several passages in their books on architecture and antique material culture to the distinction between the cerebral acts of the architect and the manual labour of the craftsperson, the latter as a figure also commonly in charge of ornamentation.⁸¹ On the other hand, in other passages by these writers there is little distinction between the architect, the maker of ornament, and the

⁸¹ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie* (Paris), 12 Colonna discusses the plight of the contemporary (or modern) or architect in his time, who he argued claimed to know architecture but were (in the French translation) “sans lettres and sans doctrine.” The French translation of Colonna’s text states that proper architecture must first be “invented” before it can be “enriched.” This conceptualization is similar to Alberti’s notion of *disegno*. See Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 115-116. Alberti distinguishes between works of the ‘hand’ and that of the ‘mind’, with properties like “election” and “distribution” attributed to the former and “amassing, chipping and polishing” to the latter. Alberti associated design, or *disegno*, with the faculty of reason. The design of architecture, and by extension architectural ornament, is envisaged as an intellectual endeavour, rooted in *lineamenta* or *disegno*, rather than *materia*. See pages 422-423 and page 5.

craft specialist. While these concepts as distinct entities may have been in the process of forming in the early sixteenth century in certain contexts, they were also often conflated in that period. A similar phenomenon can be seen in terminology dedicated to the concept of the “architect” in France. Many architects labeled as such were not builders but rather “inventors” on paper. Yet most of the artists imported from other parts of Europe to build and invent furniture and monuments at court in France were specialists in the minor arts, though they were celebrated for providing designs that were unequivocally architectural in nature. This chapter investigates the relationship between architecture, ornament, and craft in the first five decades of the sixteenth century in France. It shows these concepts were closely linked in that period. The idea of architecture, I argue, is not rooted in an a priori concept of design made exclusively by an architect and transferred by imitation to a building project. Instead it is located in the artistic practices that favour the collage-like principles of assemblage, which dominated the arts as an intermedial phenomenon and which eschewed any presupposition of a distinct separation between an abstract idea of architecture made by an architect and its execution by craftsmen.

Painters, sculptors, writers, and ceramicists were expert architects. These architects, however, practiced architecture in their own crafts. As a result, the phenomenon that ensued was not characterized by rivalry in the sense of a *paragone* but was better understood as a desire to produce intermedial translation. Much of this artistic ferment occurred as “ornament,” a term that was hardly stable itself in the period. In fact, ornament could signify an embellishment of a work’s substance or medium. But it also signalled formal permutations and bricolages inherent in the process of making architecture. Indeed, the works associated with these processes relied upon assemblage as

the driving force for innovation. The ubiquity of the candelabrum and the grotesque, two related visual tropes that were composite in nature, further attest to the value of these artistic methods. The candelabrum was also given prominence in theoretical contexts; it was included as an order in architectural treatises known in France before 1540. Ultimately the practice of architecture by artists from many crafts resulted in contemporaneous discourses about artistic license as a corollary of ornament.

Terminological designations were not often fixed regarding the subjects of “ornament” and “architecture.” Writers treated the terms differently from passage to passage within the same book. The term “architect” was also not stable. It did not necessarily denote “builder” but was more concretely linked to elusive notions of authority, whether outside of the context of the arts altogether or as an ambassador of sorts who was acquainted with architecture, however vague this concept itself may have been. As there was no guild for architects, the term “architect” itself was an ideal construct that inhabited diverse cultural, social, and political contexts. At its broadest, an architect indicated a master creator, as when King Charles VIII was referred to as the “*architecte de France*,” which denoted his role as master builder of a unified kingdom.⁸² Perhaps more interesting is the case of the court poet Jean Lemaire de Belges who referred to himself as an architect in a letter to Margaret of Austria.⁸³ He drew upon the term “architect” as a metaphor for his rhetorical constructions in his written work. Granted, Lemaire was in charge of the extraction of alabaster for a tomb at Brou under the patronage of Margaret of Austria, showing that his interest in construction had a

⁸² Octavien De Saint-Gelais, *Le Séjour d'Honneur*. ed. Joseph Alston James. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

⁸³ Cowling, 167–168.

material goal as well. David Cowling has shown that Lemaire's status of "architect" was almost definitely tied to his "literary edifices," which were undoubtedly the main activities guaranteeing his artistic authority, not least because words were understood to last forever.⁸⁴

Two other figures consistently received the label "architect" in the first half of the sixteenth century in France: Sebastiano Serlio and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.⁸⁵ Serlio of course was Italian, but he spent his final years at the Fontainebleau of Francis I. Although Serlio's first treatise, *Regole generali di architettura*, was published in 1537 in Venice, it was translated into French, Dutch, and German by Pieter Coecke, and thus was distributed quite widely.⁸⁶ Serlio's work was immensely popular in France; in 1545 Jean Martin translated Serlio's *Books I and II (Geometry and Perspective)* into French, although these were probably dedicated to the narrow audience who had expertise in these rigorous fields. Serlio also wrote a book on antiquities, *Book III*, which was published in Venice in 1540 and then translated into French by Coecke in 1550. Serlio's writings targeted a wide audience of people including nobles, humanists, masons, royal entry designers, and presumably also the *deviseurs* of various chateaux, who usually specialized first in a craft such as gold- or woodwork; in short, his treatises were for those who had different uses for the architectural idiom. One of his most interesting books, *Livre extraordinaire (Extraordinary Book on Doors)*, was published in France in 1550

⁸⁴ Ibid, 166–188. See also Cynthia Skenazi's for more information on Lemaire's letters to Margaret of Austria. Cynthia Skenazi, *Le poète architecte en France. Constructions d'un imaginaire monarchique*. (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2003), 27.

⁸⁵ On Pierre Lescot, see Leon de Laborde, *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*, tome I. (Paris: J. Baur, 1880), 249–251.

⁸⁶ On Serlio's *Book IV*, see Yves Pauwels, "La method de Serlio dans le *Quarto Libro*," *Revue de l'Art*, 119 (1998), 33–42; W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Literary Remains of Sebastiano Serlio," *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), 55–91.

and was not intended to be part of the original series that he put out in 1537. Instead, the *Book on Doors* was developed when Serlio was in France and provided examples of fifty truly “extraordinary” doors that were certainly acting as sites of license rather than as strict models for Vitruvian regulation.⁸⁷ Moreover, it is fitting that this architect produced a book of doors that may not have been intended to be built; very few of these doors were ever constructed.

The term “architect” was not reserved for Italian theorists, as Androuet du Cerceau was also given the same title by at least three of his contemporaries. Not only was he considered an architect, but he was highly praised as “*un des plus grandes architectes*,” “*l’un des plus savants architectes de nos temps*,” and “*des plus grandes architectes de notre France*.”⁸⁸ Androuet du Cerceau spent his early years in Paris and Fontainebleau, but later moved to Orléans and, after that, Montargis.⁸⁹ He was not known, however, for constructing buildings but rather for producing etchings, engravings, and drawings in their style. More precisely, most of his oeuvre was dedicated to pictures of objects, monuments, and ornaments that comprise the imagery at the core of this thesis. He started out with maps and views of Jerusalem but continued by making

⁸⁷ Mario Carpo, *Le maschera e il modello. Teoria architettonica ed evangelism nell’ Extraordinario Libro di Sebastiano Serlio*, (Milan: Jaca, 1993). Carpo has argued, however, that Serlio may have been burying the Vitruvianism under the layers of bizarre ornament.

⁸⁸ Jean Guillaume, “Qui est Jacques Androuet du Cerceau?” 29–30. *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l’architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010). The three chronicles of Androuet du Cerceau came from Etienne Pasquier (who had been working on the Sainte-Chapelle), the Duke of Nevers, and a slightly later documentation notice that was dedicated to the artist.

⁸⁹ Jean Guillaume, “Le Parcours de Du Cerceau,” *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau: un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l’architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010), 290-291.

frames after Fontainebleau and pictures of various mauresques, which were designs of friezes in the vein of arabesques and that one might find on book covers or on building surfaces. Through 1545 to 1549, he documented antique temples and arches and all the various fragments mined from the world of the antique. These include trophies, details of orders, caryatids, window frames, vases, candelabra, cartouches, and jewelry. Before 1550, the term “architecture” was used only once as a category, and this occurred on a sheet of fragments of architecture, or *Fragments d’architectures antiques*—elements that could just as easily be classed in a category of things “antique” or “sculpture.”

We might surmise that Serlio and du Cerceau received the title of architect because of their visionary abilities to produce images of architecture on paper and in treatises. Are these the works of architecture that Philibert De l’Orme complained about in his own treatise when he claimed that architects of earlier generations were merely “*donneur de portraits et faiseurs de desseings*”?⁹⁰ De l’Orme used the term “portraits” to describe the unrealisable projects and drawings of antique and modern works in the vein of Androuet du Cerceau. As a son of a master mason, De l’Orme was arguing for architecture’s revival as an art of masonry. Yet De l’Orme’s invective was not an attitude shared by architects of the previous generation. When De l’Orme referred to “portraits,” he might also have been indexing the fact that the making of architecture was undertaken by sculptors, ceramicists, publishers, printmakers, and stained glass painters who worked as architectural specialists by representing the idiom within their respective crafts and artistic designation.

⁹⁰ Philibert De l’Orme, *Premier Tome de l’Architecture...* (Paris, F. Morel, 1567-1568), 1. The original phrase is as follows: “*donneur de portraits et faiseurs de desseings*”.

Architecture has been most closely linked to the art of painting, in part because both architecture and painting were defined in terms of their components that were brought together into a single holistic entity. Moreover, it was well established that painting was a required skill for the humanist architect. In *De Re Aedificatoria*, Alberti underscored proficiency in painting as essential to the architect's ability to invent architecture from the mind in the neoplatonic ideal of translating idea into material form.⁹¹ Most notable sixteenth-century architects began as painters, including the renowned architectural theorist Serlio.⁹² In setting out to establish his lineage as an architect, Serlio deferred to his mentors Donato Bramante and Baldassare Peruzzi, but he first became an expert as a painter of architecture, particularly of architectural perspectives.⁹³ Painting showcased the architect's ability to "invent" architectural form and space without the conventional limits required by the architectonics of building.⁹⁴ In the Netherlands, the court artist Jan Gossart may be one of the best and earliest examples of an architect-painter, showing highly sophisticated architectural fantasies in both the

⁹¹ Leone Battista Alberti. *Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. Joseph Rykwert, 206.

⁹² Sabine Frommel, "Sebastiano Serlio prospettico: Stages in his artistic itinerary during the 1520s", *Perspective, Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), 77.

⁹³ Sabine Frommel, *Sebastiano Serlio, architect*. (Milano: Electaarchitecture, 2003). See the introduction of this book. Serlio began as a painter, probably specializing in perspectives, as he made constant reference to this fact. In 1525, Serlio painted the Cappella Nuova de San Benedetto in the church of San Michele in Bosco in Bologna, with Girolamo da Cotignola.

⁹⁴ Estelle Leutrat, *Les Débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France. Lyon 1520- 1565*. (Librairie Droz, Geneva, 2007). Several well-known "architects", or "deviseurs", were in France before 1530, including Fra Giocondo and Antonio da Sangallo. We have evidence that some of their architectural engravings were used in the works of Lyonnais engravers Jean de Gourmont and Maître CC, who created narrative pictures, but these architects' engravings were rarely used in the actual architectural context, whether in buildings or in engravings, until Du Cerceau widened the discourse on printed architecture in the 1540s

moderne and the antique mode.⁹⁵ Yet, it was not merely panel painting in which architects engaged as their foundational training for the purposes of design. Oliver Kik has shown that a Flemish illuminator was one of the architects paid to submit a design for the Milan Cathedral around 1400.⁹⁶ Moreover, designers of stained glass, an art related to panel painting, learned the art of architecture in order to design the elaborate frames for their windows in cathedrals across France.⁹⁷

Less is known about early sixteenth-century French painter-architects. Jean Perréal, who is best known as an illuminator in the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII, was embedded in military campaigns and commissioned to record admirable objects, events, and monuments through his draftsmanship.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, he was also the “Jean de Paris” hired in Lyon and other places to create in painting the temporary architectural edifices, stages, arches, and coats of arms in the magnificent displays for royal entries.⁹⁹ We might also call upon Geoffroy Tory as an architect. Trained as a painter but acting as printer to the king and endowed as the most privileged book designer in the kingdom,

⁹⁵ Ethan Matt Kavaler. “Gossart as Architect,” in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart’s Renaissance: The Complete Works*. ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁹⁶ Oliver Kik. “From Lodge to Studio: Transmissions of Architectural Knowledge in the Low Countries 1480—1530” in *The Notion of the Painter-Architect in Italy and the Southern Low-Countries*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 73-88.

⁹⁷ Catherine Grodecki, *L’Histoire de l’art au XVIe siècle, 1540-1600, Documents de Minutier Central*. (Paris: 1985), Tome I, 230. The archival document of 1548 for a stained glass painter by the name of Francois Bunel was a painter and glazer, who was entrusted to teach “the art of architecture”.

⁹⁸ A.V. Antonovics. “Il semble que ce soit Ut un vrai Paradis terrestre’: Charles VIII’s conquest of Naples and the French Renaissance,” in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–95: Antecedents and Effects*. ed. Abulafia, David. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995).

⁹⁹ E. M. Bancel. *Jean Perréal Dit Jehan de Paris. Peintre et Valet de Chambre des Rois...* (Slatkine Reprints: Genève: 1970), (original, 1885), 52.

Tory showed, in his prefaces, his extensive knowledge of architecture as a subject.¹⁰⁰ Before setting out to Italy to capture on paper the architecture he allegedly observed firsthand, Tory was taught how to draw, and possibly to paint, so that his observations could be translated into *disegno*.¹⁰¹ Manuscript illuminators in France were also invested in architectural innovation. Such artists as Jean Bourdichon and Noël Bellemare invented extensive, highly detailed architectural fantasies on the pages of coveted manuscripts.

The practice of architecture, however, was inflected by and sometimes even indistinguishable from other arts in early modern France. For instance, other early sixteenth-century artists that we today refer to as architects were given other titles such as *deviseur*. Dominique de Cortone (Domenico da Cortona), called *Boccador*, hired to design the royal chateau of Chambord, was labeled a *deviseur*, and yet he prevails in the art historical canon as an architect.¹⁰² In 1498, Fra Giocondo similarly received the title “*deviseur de bastiments*.” As late as 1546, the Louvre architect, Pierre Lescot, was named by Francis I as a *deviseur*. All of these artists were engaged as designers of architecture in their respective decades. It is clear that the linguistic terms for the designation of the architect were not fixed.

There are also examples of masons working in fields that more closely resembled sculpture and who were entrusted with providing designs in antique or *moderne* for small

¹⁰¹ On Tory’s biography in the early years see chapter one in Deprouw, Stéphanie, Olivier Halévy & Magali Vène, ed., *Imprimeur de Francois I. Graphiste avant la lettre*. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux: Grand Palais, 2011), 32-67. Also see Auguste Bernard, *Geofroy Tory: Painter and Engraver: First Royal Printer: Reformer of Orthography and Typography under Françoise I; An Account of his Life and Works*. Trans. George B. Ives (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), 3-8.

¹⁰² Jean Guillaume, "Léonard de Vinci, Dominique de Cortone, et l'escalier du modèle en bois de Chambord" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 81 (February 1968), 93-108.

sculptural objects. This is evident in the commission for a marble fountain at the court of Cardinal d'Amboise (fig. 0.2). One of the artists, Bertrand de Myenal, was referred to as “Genevois, masson et tailleur de marbre.”¹⁰³ Another artist with whom de Myenal worked, Guillaume Pacherot, was also referred to in the documents as a mason.¹⁰⁴ Yet today both are considered sculptors who excelled as carvers *à l'antique* of small-scale projects, objects, and antique frames.¹⁰⁵

Sculptors as Architects

The mutual space of architecture and sculpture seems a natural connective terrain. The Netherlandish architectural theorist, painter, and designer of tapestries Pieter Coecke van Aelst considered architecture as an idea with manifest potential whatever the media. Coecke published his treatise *Die inventive der colommen* in 1539, dedicating the book to “painters, wood carvers, stone carvers etc and all who take pleasure in antique buildings.”¹⁰⁶ Coecke hoped to acquaint artists specializing in their respective, unique

¹⁰³ A. Deville. *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du chateau de Gaillon*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850), cii; Although the design for the fountain was likely provided by Genoese sculptors, artists in France who were knowledgeable about the new antique mode were in charge of assembling it according to plan.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*. (Picard, Paris: 1943-52), 128; Also the articles in the following publication address several of these artistic circumstances and intermedial situations. *La réception de modèles cinquecenteschi dans la théorie et les arts français du XVIIe siècle*. Ed. Sabine Frommel & Flaminia Bardati. (Genève, Droz, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ Krista De Jonge, “*Anticse Wercken: la découverte de l'architecture antique dans la pratique architecturale des anciens Pays-Bas. Livres de modèles et traités (1517-1599)*”, M.-C. Heck, F. Lemerle et Y. Pauwels (ed.), *Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIe siècle*, Lille, (PUL, collection UL3 Travaux et Recherches, 2002), 55-74; The title page read *Die Inventie der Colommen met haren*

crafts with the visual language of the architectural antique. Diego de Sagredo went even further by framing the art of architecture in terms of other crafts entirely. Although his treatise *Medidas del Romano*, published in Toledo in 1526 and translated into French as *Raison d'Architecture* in 1536, focused on architecture, the book was addressed to sculptors. Sagredo was a humanist from Burgos and an architectural consultant for various projects within the bishopric of Toledo. For the most part, his treatise followed the models of Vitruvius and Alberti, save for a few important differences. It unfolded as a dialogue between Tampeso, a pseudonym for Sagredo, and Leon Picardo, who was a French painter working in Burgos. In providing examples of where the antique architectural forms could be seen in Spain, Sagredo did not refer to masons, but instead he pointed to the sculptor Felipe Bigarny “de Bourgogne” and the ironworker Cristobal de Andino, further indications that he intended the book for painters, sculptors, and specialists in all crafts in the architectural mode and not just for masons or builders.¹⁰⁷

As Sagredo was an expert in designs for interiors and for ephemeral architecture, he would have been working primarily with painters and sculptors who created architecture of interior furnishings. This may be the reason that Sagredo in his treatise isolated the baluster and candelabrum as among the most important features of the architectural antique. Although he noted that neither the baluster nor the candelabrum had Vitruvian origins, they both deserved to receive the highest praise of all the orders.¹⁰⁸ As will be discussed more at length below, he lauded both of these forms for their abilities to

coronementen Ende Maten. [Wt] Vitruvio ende andere diversche Auctoren optcorste vergadert, voer Scilders, beeltsniders, steenhouders, & c. En allen die ghenuechte hebben in edificien der Antiquen.

¹⁰⁷ Sagredo. *Medidas del Romano*. (Toledo, 1526); Lemerle “La version française des *Medidas del Romano*,” 93-106.

¹⁰⁸ Llewellyn, “Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo,” 292-300.

yield diversity of design rather than present strict rules related to classical precedent; Sagredo particularly appreciated the baluster for its potential for innovative change when manifested in different materials. Both the candelabrum and the baluster were among the most popular forms used to frame the border of illuminated manuscripts of court commissions throughout the 1520s and 30s (fig. 1.13). These motifs, whose origins were in surface reliefs and interior furniture, were among the most monumental of any architectural order of their time. Even Charles V's personal emblem in the Barcelona cathedral choir stalls depicts the great columns of Hercules as baluster types better known from furniture design (fig. 1.14).¹⁰⁹

Among the most revered artists and designers that were brought to France in the first few decades of the sixteenth century were artists skilled in particular crafts: furniture makers, ceramics specialists, and other artists whose primary specialization was rooted in the so-called minor arts. These artists were engaged in projects that today are considered architectural in nature: the design of building facades and triumphal arches in royal entries and the elaborate invention of antique frames and columns throughout royal chateaux. There is no indication that these craft experts were hired to merely execute designs that were first provided by "true" architects. If anything, these artists acted as architects and ornament designers simultaneously, as if one required the other for its validation.

When Louis XII and Charles VIII returned from their Italian campaigns, they furnished their chateaux with the help of well-respected artists who were specialists in

¹⁰⁹ On the inspirations contributing to the emblem of Charles V, see Earl Rosenthal "Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 34 (1971): 204-228.

woodwork or low-relief carvings. Dominique de Cortone (Domenico da Cortona), the son of a goldsmith, was acclaimed for his wonderful woodcarvings for interior spaces, although today he is best known as a contributor to the design of the Chateau of Chambord.¹¹⁰ In contracts detailing his work, however, he was referred to as a “*faiseur de chasteaulx et menuisier de tous ouvrages de menuiserie.*”¹¹¹ Domenico di Rota, who was also brought to work at the court of Louis XII, specialized in making moresques, a motif often conflated with grotesques or candelabra.¹¹² Many such documents from the French expedition in Naples show that dignitaries brought to the court of Amboise were Italian craftsmen competent in carving and designing with expertise in alabaster, gold, and wood, in other words, materials associated with small, interior objects and furnishings. Other furniture specialists like the intarsia artist Fra Giovanni da Verona may have been known to French diplomats who were in Naples during the French invasions when he was reportedly visiting the city as well.¹¹³ Fra Giovanni was best known for his work in the choirs of the Abbey of Monte Oliveto and S. Maria in Organo (circa 1500).

Fra Giovanni’s representations of the architectural idiom resonated on several levels: the city view, the antique gate, and the classical pilaster. Even in these cases, the artist brought his earlier training as a manuscript illuminator to the architectural subject:

¹¹⁰ A. V. Antonovics, “Paradis terrestre”, 322; Picot, Emile. “*Les Italiens en France au XVIe Siècle,*” (Manziana: Vecchiarelli editore, 1995), 242.

¹¹¹ A. de Montaignon, *Etat des gages des ouvriers italiens employés par Charles VIII, Archives de l’art français*, tome I, 1851-1852. (Paris: J.B. Dumoulin, 1852), 108-110; On de Cortone, see Pierre Lesueur. *Dominique de Cortone dit Le Boccador: Du château de Chambord à l’hôtel de ville de Paris(...)*. (Paris: H. Laurens, 1928), 96-97.

¹¹² On Domenico di Rota, see: A. V. Antonovics, “Paradis terrestre”, 322; Picot, “Les Italiens en France au XVIe Siècle” 242 : [Il] est pensionne, en 1522, a 750 l. Il ne touche plus que 600 l en 533. On the genealogy of the term ‘grotesque’, see: Nicole Dacos. *La découverte de la Domus Aurea.* (London: Warburg Institute, 1969), 51.

¹¹³ Luca Trevisan, *Renaissance Intarsia: Masterpieces of Wood Inlay.* ed. Luca Trevisan. Translated by Marguerite Shore. (Abbeville Press: New York, 2012.)

the pilasters were inlaid with gilded Italianate arabesques reminiscent of borders on the page.¹¹⁴ In France such designs associated with book illumination and interior furnishings inspired monumental architectural facades.¹¹⁵

Under Francis I, the Florentine Girolamo della Robbia was brought to the court to work as an architect, sculptor, and enameller. Related to the famous della Robbia family from Tuscany, Girolamo also specialized in terra cotta, and his artistry was manifested in the glazed tiles that once panelled the surfaces of the Chateau of Madrid. While in France, he made several terra cotta altarpieces, roundels, and several other small antique objects.¹¹⁶ One such work includes the *Altarpiece of the Birth of the Virgin*, which was created for a chapel in the chateau of Cognac between 1517 and 1518. Girolamo not only represented the Virgin's birth in a low relief terra cotta panel after a famous engraving by Durer, he established the scene within a frame of fashionable candelabra pilasters that showed his knowledge of the architectural idiom as well (fig. 1.35).¹¹⁷ Curiously after 1531 Girolamo was referred to in documents as a master mason, a fact that has

¹¹⁴ Kim Williams and Hartwig Thomas, "Fra' Giovanni's Intarsias in Verona." *Mathematical Intelligencer*, Volume 22, Issue 2 (2000), 38-40; Indeed Giovanni da Verona began his career as an illuminator in a monastery.

¹¹⁵ A. V. Antonovics, "Charles VIII and the French Renaissance," 320; Pierre Lesueur, "Les Italiens a Amboise au début de la Renaissance," Imprin. Daupéley-Gouverneur, 1930; M. Fillon, "Ouvriers italiens employés par Charles VIII", *Archives de l'art français*, 1 (1851-1852), 94-122; On the theoretical turn to interiors and furniture, see the articles in *Toward a New Interior. An Anthology of Interior Design Theory*. ed. Lois Weinthal. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Monique Chatenet, et al, *Le château de faïence de François Ier: les terres cuites émaillées de Girolamo della Robbia au château de Madrid, bois de Boulogne*, ed. Monique Chatenet, Florian Meunier et Alain Prévert, (Monique Chatenet, Florian Meunier et Alain Prévert (Paris: CTHS, 2012), 17-18; Stephanie R. Miller, "A material distinction: fifteenth-century tin-glazed terracotta portraits in Italy," *Sculpture Journal*. 22.1 (June 2013).

¹¹⁷ *France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2010), 206-207.

bewildered some art historians.¹¹⁸ In part, this designation had to do with his work at the Chateau of Madrid. The two artists in charge of the chateau were “*Pierre Gadier, tailleur de pierres et maistre maçon*” and “*Jherome de Robia, tailleur d’images et esmailleur.*”¹¹⁹ We know little of Pierre Gadier, but Jherome de Robia was referred to as the sculptor of the architectural projects.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, he clearly had expertise in architectural design. Consider the archival document outlining his work for Charles V’s entry into Paris (1539); Della Robia is cited as a sculptor who was commissioned to “paint two triumphal arches” with highly specified antique details, such as pillars, bases, friezes, fillets, orders, and capitals.¹²¹ Other documents show that he was hired to create architectural arches, or sixty-four *arceaux*, which may have comprised the faience-tiled arcade of the loggia in the Chateau of Madrid.¹²² It seems that della Robbia’s knowledge of architecture through his creation of terra cotta frames in altarpieces and through the tiling of the arches in Madrid meant the artist was categorized as a mason due to the shifting boundaries of terminology of the period.

It becomes apparent that the artists who were given prestigious positions and titles in French chateaux, and who sometimes worked as architects or even masons, were likely to have expertise in the so-called minor arts, the work we today associate with “ornament.” And while it is difficult to know exactly what these artists such as de Cortone and della Robbia worked on in the chateaux, it seems that they oversaw the craft

¹¹⁸ Monique Chatenet, et al, *Le château de faïence de François Ier*, 19. Monique Chatenet discusses the peculiarity of Robia as a ‘master mason’; Also see P. Lesueur. “Arrivée de Girolamo della Robbia en France (Document inédit) *Bull. De la soc. D’hist, de l’art français*, (1937), 194-203.

¹¹⁹ Monique Chatenet et al, *Le château de faïence de François Ier*, 17-18.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ M. Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France*. (Paris, 1929), 69-70.

¹²² Monique Chatenet et al, *Le château de faïence de François Ier*, 23.

economy of one or several court workshops. The craftsmen working under these artists sometimes artists moved around as a group; for instance, the carpenter, joiner, glazier, and roofer who worked at the Châteaux de Madrid also worked at Fontainebleau, Villers-Cotterêts, Saint-Germain, and La Muette.¹²³ Jean Guillaume has shown that the similarities in the carving of capitals, friezes, and wall surfaces suggest that the workshops of Bonnivet, Blois, and Chambord formed a fluid artisanal economy.¹²⁴ Such work patterns appear consistent throughout the construction of the major châteaux of the period. Yet even in the great châteaux of the first decades of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to know who executed the designs and ornament of the interior furniture, portals, and mantelpieces; the names of those who provided the designs for principal façades, stairs, and structures are also often unknown.¹²⁵ Nonetheless the artists in charge of any given château were often working simultaneously as architects, sculptors, and furniture makers, a fact that has caused problems in understanding the history of the hybrid architectural culture that prevailed through the early sixteenth century.

¹²³ Ibid, 17-19.

¹²⁴ Jean Guillaume, *Le Château de Bonnivet: Entre Blois et Chambord: le chaînon manquant de la première Renaissance*, (Paris: Picard, 2006), 99-125.

¹²⁵ Monique Chatenet, *Chambord*. (Paris: Monum, 2001), 50-51; Attribution for specific elements of an architectural ensemble can be difficult. The great château of Chambord was begun in 1519. Some of the artists were imported to Chambord from Italy—Leonardo and Domenico da Cortona—but there were also lesser known names of master masons (Jacques Sourdeau, Pierre Nepvue and Jacques Coqueau) about whom we know little today; On Fontainebleau, see: Françoise Boudon et Jean Blécon (with Catherine Grodecki). *Le Château de Fontainebleau de François Ier à Henri IV*. (Paris: Picard: 1998); The main entrance to the château of Fontainebleau in the early period was the *Porte Dorée*, whose gilded tympanum shows victories and putti resting on armour, while the gilded capitals were no more than collections of trophies assembled as an architectural conceit. While Guillaume and Gilles de Breton are called up as the masons of the early production of Fontainebleau, the number of sculptors, joiners and woodworkers were undoubtedly numerous, as many were employed simultaneously at Madrid.

Craft, Ornament, and Architecture

Evidently, many of these various artists brought to France were experts in several fields that included the design of the antique or architecture and the craft in which they were uniquely trained. De Cortone was recognized for his woodcarvings, and della Robbia was imported into the French court because of his innovations in faïence. Both were seemingly hired to produce, or oversee, designs of architectural projects of varying scale. What is interesting, however, is that artistic authority in the first decades of the sixteenth century had become associated with the complex interaction of the material in which the artist was an expert and the inventive forms *à l'antique* or *moderne* in which any given material could be wrought. This was a departure from the previous decades where qualities linked to the raw materials of gold, pearl, or stone were often the major signifiers of invention, albeit divine invention correlated to the miraculous. Therefore when formal inventions and permutations as fashioned in a given material came increasingly to denote a sort of artistic license, they were increasingly linked to the abilities of the sculptor, carver, goldsmith, or even printer who crafted the designs.

Until about 1500, craft had a split identity. On one hand, crafting was partially defined as manual labour, and yet the idea of craft was also understood as God's work, or a divine practice. Reliquaries, prayer nuts, and censers that had come to stand in for the medieval vision of the heavenly Jerusalem were traditionally described in terms of their material beauty: radiance and transparency, or qualities that were inherent in the

substance, whether pearl, gold, or alabaster.¹²⁶ These qualities were what we would understand as ornamental in character.¹²⁷ The late fourteenth-century English poem *Pearl*, for instance, equated the lustrous and blinding material of pearl with the radiant vision of the Holy City.¹²⁸ The narrator was a jeweller with specialized interest in gems and pearls, but the story seized upon the transformative effects of the materials, rather than the technique or the designs. Yet the monstrances and tabernacles inside cathedrals were rendered with virtuosic and breathtaking Gothic designs with such complex cuts and folds as to apparently dissolve the material in which they were wrought. The same goes for other types of objects around 1500. For instance, the virtuosity of boxwood miniatures produced a semblance of the miraculous associated with the act of divine making and thus hid the evidence of the artisanal handiwork.¹²⁹ As Frits Scholten has shown, tiny boxwood miniatures and prayer nuts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were rendered with such complex openwork tracery or architectural housing that merely tracing the designs by touch led the pious to sacred visions.¹³⁰ In the legend

¹²⁶ Marian Campbell, 'Gold, Silver and Precious Stones,' in *English Medieval Industries. Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, eds. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay (London/Rio Grande, 1991), 107-66; Tony Davenport, "Jewels and Jewellers in Pearl," *Review of English Studies*. 59. 241 (September 2008), 508-520.

¹²⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images*. (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹²⁸ *Pearl: A Translation*. ed. Jane Draycott. (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2011).

¹²⁹ A recent exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario has highlighted the extent to which artists would hide the 'hand of human craft' to underscore a sense of the divine. See, *Small Wonders. Gothic Boxwood Miniatures*. ed. Lisa Ellis & Alexandra Suda. (Toronto: AGO, 2016); Further discussion of the miniature: Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). Also see Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

¹³⁰ Fritz Scholten and R. Falkenburg, *A Sense of Heaven. 16th century Boxwood Carvings for Private Devotion*. (Leeds: The Henry Moore Institute, 1999.); Fritz Scholten, *Small*

of Theophilus, the word “crafting” implied praying, pointing to the link between fantasies of the sacred and the miracle of making.¹³¹ In the early 1500s, while matter and medium still held considerable influence in terms of constituting the value of any given object, formal expression was increasingly associated with the properties and professionalism of craft.

When publishers and printers first looked to invent their trademark title pages, they sought the authority of material associated with specific crafts, and their motifs initially resembled marginal imagery from woodwork such as choir stalls. In the printed title page of Felix Balligault, the frame is composed of scenes that could be drawn from misericords; the woodcuts could be understood as transfers of the woodcarvings. In other cases, precious stones and materials of gold were transferred into print media.¹³² Two title page designs for the prestigious publications of Oronce Finé around 1530 also drew upon the material value of small objects like jewellery and embossed leatherwork (fig. 1.2A & B).¹³³ In one of Finé’s title pages of 1534, we find a *criblé* frame with a knotted pattern whose inspiration may have been the leatherwork of manuscript covers. The vignettes within the frame were figural allegories of the liberal arts. Two years later, when another volume of Finé’s text was reprinted, the liberal arts were the unsurprising subject of the frame, although the title page itself had changed considerably. This time the page evoked the craft of goldwork. The figures, vegetal ornament, and crests were

Wonders: Late-Gothic Boxwood Micro-Carvings from the Low Countries. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2016.)

¹³¹ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 70; Jennifer Lyons. *Crafting Marian Devotion: The Representation of the Theophilus Legend in Northern Europe (9th-14th c.)*. Laney Graduate School. PhD Dissertation. 2016.

¹³² This is evident in Netherlandish prints like those of Dirk Vellert and Frans Crabbe.

¹³³ A.F. Johnson. “Oronce Fine as an Illustrator of Books,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, vol. 3 (1928), 107-109.

rendered with a shadowing technique that suggested three-dimensional objects. Shadow also served to offset the ultra-white areas, which lent the work a glint we associate with metalwork. In this work, gold itself was represented and offered as an index of authority, while the ability to transfer ideas into a variety of materials was a concomitant virtue.

Finé was a mathematician, astronomer, and cartographer for Francis I.¹³⁴ One of the title pages he used to front his own mathematical textbook of 1532, *Protomathesis* (fig. 1.1), is interesting precisely because it signifies simultaneously goldwork and architecture, suggesting both as equal authorities. The frontispiece was unusual and displayed an architectural frame supported by dainty candelabra columns with paired low-relief pilasters. The design was crowned with dolphins and *putti* in the Netherlandish style of manuscript frames, and his device, the sleeping dog, rested in the foreground below. The artist took pains to knowledgeably represent an antique cornice, with meticulous rows of dentils. Although Finé's title pages show how ornament was perceived as a landscape of signifiers—substance, motifs, and antique details composing

¹³⁴ Alexander Marr, *The Worlds of Oronce Fine. Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France*. (Shaun Tyas, Donington: 2009); Stephen Clucas “Epilogue”. *The Worlds of Oronce Fine. Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France*. Ed. Alexander Marr. Shaun Tyas, (Donington: 2009); Sven Dupré, “Printing Practical Mathematics: Oronce Fine’s *De Speculo ustorio* between paper and craft.” in *The Worlds of Oronce Fine. Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France*. ed. Marr, Alexander. (Shaun Tyas, Donington: 2009.). Some scholars have claimed that Fine worked as a title page designer for his own books and for some stock designs used by the well-respected Parisian printer Simon de Colines. On Fine as a designer of title pages, see R. Brun. “Un illustrateur Méconnu: Oronce Finé.” *Arts et Métiers graphiques*. Vol. 41 (1934), 51-57; Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in early modern Europe*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 544; Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of printing 1450-1800*, (London: NLB, 1979), 98. Febvre and Martin argue that Fine was influenced by German designs in how he framed the subject of his own published work; A.F. Johnson, “Oronce Fine as an Illustrator of Books,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, vol. 3 (1928), 107-109; Oronce. Fine *Protomathesis*. Paris 1532. Held in the BNF [Res-v-120]

a template from which one could cull and recombine to create important monuments regardless of scale or medium. That he chose to represent these architectural details as a small portal made of gold is equally significant. Small objects were harbingers of this architectural discourse where representation of material was as important as form, at least in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Although Renaissance architecture is rarely considered from the point of view of craft or materials, Payne has considered the field from this perspective. I previously discussed Payne's analysis of artistic interdialog and the inclusion of small objects and materiality in architectural histories. It is necessary to reassert here that materials had a prominent voice in the theory of early architectural treatises of the turn of the sixteenth century.¹³⁵ Payne notes that Alberti's strongest sections on materials takes up the subject of revetments, which were the marble, relief, or paneled dress that came to face buildings. These were typically elements that would have been created by skilled craftsmen who excelled in the material that was used for the facing and that were either applied or attached to the building's surface. As Payne also points out, Alberti buttresses his own argument on the importance of these materials in his praise of the gleaming marbles on the roof of the Temple of Jerusalem.¹³⁶ Nonetheless, as argued by Payne, the discussion of these crafts and the importance of the material in this discourse were for Alberti an essential narrative for the study of architecture. As she writes, "[the] process Alberti outlines in these stories of origins is paradigmatic for it is precisely that process through

¹³⁵ Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," 381.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 183-184.

which manifold materials and the forms they are attached to continued to enter architecture.”¹³⁷

In several passages of Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, the elements of craft, architecture, and ornament are blended to such an extent as to raise the question of whether or not these ideas were really so distinct in the early modern period. This goes against the presumption in modern scholarship that architecture was associated with the mind, while craft was a product of the hands.¹³⁸ And while there was no doubt that artistic hierarchies existed—Colonna discussed the differences between the inventor of designs and the labourers who executed them—the architect was not only preoccupied with tectonic elements of actual building. For instance in the later French translation of 1547, the writer complains about the “*architectes modernes*” who were bereft of specific

¹³⁷ Ibid, 381.

¹³⁸ Glen Adamsom. *Invention of Craft*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Glen Adamsom, *Thinking through Craft*, (Oxford: New York: Berg, 2007); John Ruskin. “The Lamp of Life,” *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (London: J. Wiley, 1849), 160. Ruskin was concerned with the relationship between ornamentation and the ‘joy of work’. He writes, “I believe the right question to ask, respecting all ornaments is simply this: Was it done with enjoyment—was the carver happy while he was about it?” Also see William Morris, *Selected Writings and Designs*, ed. Asa Briggs. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962), 131. Morris understood craft as a vehicle for societal renewal, especially in the wake of the industrial revolution: “The beauty of the handicrafts of the middle ages came from this, that the workman had control over his materials, tools and time”; Loos, Adolf “Ornament and Crime”, 1929, republished in Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays* (Riverside, California, Ariadne Press, 1998), 167-176. Loos famously declared “ornament as crime” but many of his concerns were raised around the production of ornament (craft versus machine); Glenn Adamson has pointed out that our current notions of craft emerged at the dawn of the industrial revolution when craft developed its association with trades, skill and material in opposition to the idea of the mechanical labour afforded by the machine.¹³⁸ One current understanding of ornament as a physically attached and sometimes unnecessary addition to an object emerged in the wake of mass-production. For John Ruskin, William Morris and even Adolf Loos, ornament risked becoming immoral, licentious or excessive when subject to the production processes made possible by the machine, or in other words when it was made outside of the purview of “craft”.

education that would lead them to understand the rules and proportion (*mesure*) of building.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, these artists that knew little of how to erect buildings were still referred to as “*architectes*” by the translator Jean Martin, suggesting that at mid-century the actual constructing of buildings as an exclusive act of architecture was a novel idea. We recall that De l’Orme made a similar complaint about these paper architects at this time.

When we consider that both Colonna and Alberti discussed figural ornaments on monuments in the same light as abstract or architectural ones, it becomes even more obvious that the realm of architecture was fair game to be practiced by any number of skilled artists whose primary legitimacy was rooted in craft. In one scene, Poliphili came before a magnificent portal, which he immediately praised for its having been marvellously constructed of “*sculptura, et di vario liniamento.*”¹⁴⁰ Alberti conceived of lineaments as the preliminary design that originated in the mind of an architect, as opposed to the quality of materials belonging to the natural world of “matter.” It seems, however, that Colonna pictured *sculptura* and *liniamento* as equal elements—both rendered in the same scale and seemingly as elements attached to or carved into the principle object. The word “*sculptura*” was used in Pomponius Gaurico’s treatise on sculpture, published in French in the Netherlands. Gaurico differentiated *sculptura* from *sculptura* by defining the former as an art that was manifested through the techniques of

¹³⁹ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie* [...] (Paris), 12

¹⁴⁰ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* [...] (Venice). The full quote is as follows. “Pervenuto dunque ad questa veterrima porta di opera molto spectabile, et cum exquisite regulatione et arte, et praeclari ornati di sculptura, et di vario liniamento maravegliosamente consttucta. Per le quale tutte cose essendo io studioso et divoluptate infiammato di intendere il fetoso intellecto, et la pervestigatione acre dil perspicace Architecto, dilla sua dimensione, et circa il liniamento et la pratica perscrutandola subtilmente cusì io feci.”

engraving or incising the hard surface of marble.¹⁴¹ *Sculptura*, on the other hand, was an art of the bronze that was poured and cast by a mastercaster. A *sculptore* used the tool of scissors (*les ciseaux*) to literally cut into the stone. Once again the distinctions between architecture and the craft disciplines are rendered unclear in these terminologies as the word “cut” was often used in the period to signify the architectural/ornamental art of the antique or *moderne*.¹⁴² Even the French translation of 1547 used a similar phrase that still indicated a great deal of ambiguity when it came to differences between the categories of sculpture and architecture.¹⁴³ In fact, both sculpture and architecture seem to inhabit the world of ornament in the phrase describing something as “*ornee de petites figures & histoires de demybosse & droit*.”¹⁴⁴ The word “*demybosse*” reflects the low-relief character of *sculptura*, while “*droit*” may signify the linear quality of the line in *liniamento*. In these examples from Colonna, both in the original and the French translation, where the lineaments are viewed in line with the sculptural elements, the

¹⁴¹ Pomponio Gaurico, *De Sculptura*. Annotated and trans. A Chastel and R Klein. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969), 70. Also see the introduction to book that addresses the terminology regarding the artists on page 33.

¹⁴² The German word “*schneiden*” which means “to cut” was used to denote the profession of a tailor. In the context of the Netherlands, a similar term “*snyden*” emerges in the compound word “*antycksnyden*” to refer to sculptors who were specialized in the art of carving the antique. Presumably this is a similar construction to Gaurico’s *sculptura*, which entails the “cutting away” of matter to create sculpture. See Lynn Jacobs, “The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron.” *Art Bulletin*. (Vol. 71. No. 2. Jun., 1989), 207. She refers to a 1453 contract, where architectural decoration is referred to as being carved by sculptors, ‘cut’ (*metselriden moegen snijden*). In 1505, she mentions a contract that shows how joiners might have had a hand in diverse tasks, ranging from the production of carpentry to the architectural decoration, and even possibly the creation of the statues. Moreover, a contract of 1507 shows that Jan Borman was responsible for the figures and the Leuvan joiner Jan Petercels was “responsible for the ancillary carving”, 215.

¹⁴³ The phrase in the French appears a couple of pages earlier than where it appears in the Italian version, but seems to exactly translate the phrase I transcribed above with regards to the “*sculptura*” and “*liniamento*”.

¹⁴⁴ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie*, [...] (Paris), Biii

differences between them are only tantamount to the content where one is figural and the other characterized by “line.” The artist responsible for the invention of these elements may be one and the same.

Architecture as Form: Collage and Assemblage

Architecture and ornament of the early sixteenth century also meet at a juncture that captures the processes of making as part of the final product. These processes privileged assemblage, a collage-like approach to making architectural designs that could be manifest across media. Such approaches are described by Michael Waters, who showed how architectural designs circulating on paper were conceived as templates from which artists might select one or several of its discrete elements. Single-sheet engravings by architects like Antonio Sangallo and Giovan Battista Aleotti remained malleable images in their transfer from one shop to another. Waters shows that when architects drew upon these authoritative designs, they often felt free to select certain elements from several pictures, only to recombine these elements in inventive fashions that promoted variety and mutability in design instead of standardization and exact imitation.¹⁴⁵ The period’s architecture assembled in this manner required the fragmentation of ornament, but it also depended upon the practice of assemblage as a means for expression.

¹⁴⁵ Waters. “A Renaissance without Order,” 488-523; Mario Carpo. *Architecture in the age of printing: Orality, writing, typography, and printed images in the history of architectural theory*. (Translated by Sarah Benson. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001). Mario Carpo suggested that the birth of the printing press established standardization in design. This construct has been critiqued by many, including Michael Waters in his recent publication.

The aggregate concept as an impetus for artistic creation permeated the arts of the sixteenth century. Claire Lepraik Guest has argued that ornament of the Italian Renaissance was characterized by the admiration of aggregate form.¹⁴⁶ Motifs like garlands, mosaics, and trophies found in tombs, books, paintings, and furniture also exhibited the same proclivity for sameness and variety at once. Even Alberti's concept of eloquence, which is cast as a mosaic tile floor brought together as a picture through scraps of "found" marble pieces, reflect these values of assemblage.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, Yves Pauwels has shown that mid sixteenth-century architectural design adapted strategies rooted in the teaching of rhetoric, which extracted works of the ancients in fragments and pieces to be recombined to produce innovative compositions.¹⁴⁸ For architects, the antique world had two manifestations: the dream where it was intact as an entity and the field of "extracts, quotations and pieces that could be refashioned and organized in any manner."¹⁴⁹ Finally, Payne has also written on the fragment as a synecdoche for wholeness in the Renaissance. Specifically, she shows how architectural literature of the Italian Renaissance depended on processes of bricolage. This is the case, she asserts, in the assembly of woodcuts in treatises, but also in the way that architectural writers discussed aspects of distribution and ordering in the general composition of a building. Payne shows that assemblage of fragmented form was a concern for a wide range of

¹⁴⁶ Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 218. The concept of eloquence in Alberti's *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri*, is compared to a mosaic tile floor brought together as a picture through scraps of 'found' marble pieces. On aggregate structures, see page 445.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 445.

¹⁴⁸ Yves Pauwels, "The rhetorical model in the formation of French architectural language in the sixteenth century: the triumphal arch as commonplace." *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European architecture. C 1000- c. 1650*. (Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 2000.)

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

architectural writers from Vitruvius to Vignola and Palladio. In discussing the work of Serlio, she argues that the aggregative method of his architectural paradigm was the wellspring of his inventive creativity.¹⁵⁰

Assemblage as a design process was significant for the period because it incorporated two particular strategies, one from previous periods and another inspired by new technology. The first looks back to Gothic systems of design. Ethan Matt Kavaler has shown that cutting-edge innovations of the Renaissance Gothic, a pan-European artistic phenomenon that occurred across media, was admired because it promoted variety and carried potential for unique permutation from one motif to the next on building surfaces, in altarpiece wings, and on vaults, to name but a few instances.¹⁵¹ In the case of Gothic designs, the complex ribs, archivolt, and patterned vaults relied on complex geometries that were sometimes exclusively in the hands of master masons who had a sufficient arithmetical background to be able to produce such dazzling displays. Assemblage, as we will see, approximates the effects of Gothic syntax—the ability to vary, a limited palette combined in infinite possible ways, a site of license—but the approach depends not on geometry, but on cut and paste strategies.

Artists were not only drawing upon the venerated arts of permutation at the heart of Gothic designs; the new technology of the printing press also reflected the process of assemblage. While the press allowed for models to circulate for imitation, the new printed page relied on collage of the cut-out forms that would be stamped onto paper to bring about its own *mise-en-page*. This is especially the case in the early years of printing

¹⁵⁰ Alina Payne, “Creativity and Bricolage in Architectural Literature of the Renaissance. *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*. (34. Autumn, 1998,) 32

¹⁵¹ Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*. See especially the chapters, “Ornament and Aesthetics,” 47-113 and “Flamboyant Forms,” 115-163

when woodcuts were also discrete motifs or letterforms reassembled into seemingly endless combinations. In fact, the art of the book and that of stone and woodcarving shared terminology, suggesting that there were exchanges between their respective crafts. Joiners could work as *huissiers* (door makers), *huchiers* (chest makers), or *châssiers* (window framers).¹⁵² The *châssier* was a term that emerged to describe frames on built surfaces, such as window frames, but it also referred to the printer's *tympanne*, or the frame surrounding the printed title page. The shared design underlying the two different objects determined the dual meaning of the word *chassis*. In this fertile period where architecture was articulated as ornament, craft was an intimately related concept.

The inventive techniques of collage at the heart of these design protocols was the primary mode of composition in printmaking and book design. Valérie Auclair has shown how sometimes only a few select prints or drawings, sometimes by unknown authors, circulated in printmakers' circles.¹⁵³ Printmakers and book designers would draw upon these limited sources in designing their own prints and books, but in so doing they produced innovative compositions by rearranging the components in a collage-like fashion. Auclair shows how relatively unknown drawings provided the schematic forms that ranged from printed architectural elements to body parts, like arms and hair, which would then be combined in inventive fashion to create cities, towns, and even human bodies in a cut-and-paste approach.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² François Icher. *The Artisans and Guilds of France. Beautiful Craftsmanship Through the Centuries*. (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers: 2000). Trans. John Goodman. The *compagnonnages*, or the journeyman confraternities, includes limited crafts, traditionally based on skills required to build a cathedral.

¹⁵³ Valérie Auclair, *Dessiner à la Renaissance: La copie et la perspective comme instruments de l'invention*. (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 87-163.

A group of printmakers working circa 1520s in the region of Lyon, Master J. G., Master C. C., and Georges Reverdy, adopted these strategies of design in their printmaking techniques while taking architecture as their main subject.¹⁵⁵ This architecture was composed of inventive collage in their popular engravings.¹⁵⁶ Undeniably, architecture vied with the narrative elements of the engravings, usually biblical narratives, to become a subject in its own right; characteristic of all these engravers' works was that the human figures were distinctly diminished in size and overwhelmed by hauntingly theatrical and complex, antique interiors.¹⁵⁷ The deep contrasts of light and shadow heightened the melodramatic mood, and the drama seemed to reside more in the architecture than in the figural compositions. The prints of Master J. G had an afterlife. They were especially appreciated for their architectural schemes; Androuet du Cerceau used some of the younger master's scenes in his own engraved series. Note that Androuet du Cerceau divested the scenes of the narrative content, which unquestionably made architecture the explicit subject. Like Serlio, Androuet du Cerceau

¹⁵⁵ The interiors are similar to Jan Gossart's paintings. Vredemann de Vries and Androuet du Cerceau also took up similar types of perspectival rendering in their own works that showed architectural spaces as 'Views' ('Vues'). In these latter examples, the human figures were sometimes removed entirely. Also see: Estelle Leutrat. *Les débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France*, 62-65.

¹⁵⁶ Henri Zerner also includes the Lyon engravers in his book, *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism*, but he attributes the master J.G. to Jean de Gourmont (325-327). Estelle Leutrat's study on the engravers had not yet been published: Estelle Leutrat. *Les débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France*; Lyon had become an international city, drawing humanists from all over Europe. In 1527, the College of the Trinity was established and with it was associated erudite and cultivated artistic patrons such as Symphorien Champier and Barthélemy Aneau. In the 1540s Lyon would become an important centre of literary ferment, with resident poets like Louise Labé, Maurice Scève and Pernette du Guillet. Lyon was a principle hub for book printing due to its proximity to Basel, Geneva and Italy. Humanist publishers such as Sébastien Gryphe and Étienne Dolet lived in Lyon; the engraver, Reverdy, eventually took up his talents in book illustration there.

¹⁵⁷ Estelle Leutrat. *Les débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France*, 62-65.

raised the entire architectural scenario on a plinth, bringing his views in line with Serlio's stage compositions (fig. 1.26).¹⁵⁸

Master J. G.'s method of design demonstrates the love of imaginative assemblage at the heart of architectural creation of this period. From one to the next, his engravings show remarkable variety of puzzle-like architectural expression (fig. 1.24). Authoritative architectural subjects and motifs could be read as quotations, but were also assembled in original, surprising ways. Estelle Leutrat has argued that some of the works draw upon Dürer's woodcuts, as seen in *l'Enfant dans la galerie*, with the massive but stout columns and the series of heavy architraves along the ceiling (fig. 1.25).¹⁵⁹ Yet the capitals are different from those in the Dürer woodcut; they more closely resemble capitals in Bible illustrations and title pages in Basle and Nuremberg. Evidently Master J. G. selected parts from his available palette and reassembled them into holistic architectural compositions on the page.

Moreover, Master J. G. incorporated motifs from other heavily circulated prints, such as those by Nicoletto da Modena, Fra Giocondo, Bramante, and Bruno Prevedari, which he combined into innovative architectural projects.¹⁶⁰ For instance, in *Le massacre des Innocents*, the central-left vaulted space with an arched portal containing an oculus seems to draw upon a famous print by Prevedari. If Master J. G. borrowed from the Prevedari print, as Estelle Leutrat has argued, he made several changes to the original image in order to innovatively update it with the addition of architectural details. For

¹⁵⁸ *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 72-73.

¹⁶⁰ Leutrat, *Les débuts de la gravure sur cuivre en France*, 74-75.

instance, as if building a paper collage, he added to it lengthened classical columns with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian capitals, which displayed his knowledge of the Vitruvian orders. In *Saint Jean-Baptiste enfant*, the artist depicts a single, “perfect” Corinthian column on an antique pedestal base as if displayed for the purpose of admiration. St. John is seated under a monumental portal, whose scale rivals that of the ruined building in which he stands. The antique ruin suggests the Baptist’s role in prophesizing the demise of one age and the emergence of another in the birth of Christ (fig. 1.12). It is composed in three registers, fitted with antique cornices and entablatures and topped with an oculus in a gable with a broken pediment. Two ranges of columns further articulate the surface. The lower register is announced by full-storey ionic columns with entasis of the shaft, while the upper register showcases baluster columns that would become popularized in Diego Sagredo’s treatise on the antique in 1526.

Architecture and the 1520s Workshop

A group of relatively unknown court manuscript painters, the so-called 1520s workshop who worked in court milieu within the Loire valley. The manuscripts included Book of Hours, including that of Anne of Austria (fig. 1.29), the Rosenwald Books of Hours (fig. 1.28) and The Hours of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 1.30), and several others. The provenance of these books is not always completely clear, although they were undoubtedly commissioned by patrons at court. These Books of Hours broke with the previous French Loire Valley tradition established by Jean Fouquet, Jean Poyet and the Master of Claude de France by incorporating stylistic inventions associated with Antwerp artists, such as

Noel Bellemare, Godefroy de Batave, Jan de Beer and Jan Gossart.¹⁶¹ In the early 1520s, Netherlandish sculpture, panel painting and prints were highly revered both at court and in other humanist circles. It is unsurprising that the French court would desire works of art valued by harbingers of taste such as Margaret of Austria and Philip of Burgundy. However, when brought to France, the arts of architecture and sculpture emerge in the conventionally elevated medium of manuscript illumination.¹⁶²

Like the Lyonnais engravers producing printed work around the same time, these artists also engaged in architecture insofar as that the paintings they produced in their manuscripts were heavily inflected with the architectural idiom. This occurred in several ways. First, these artists drew attention to the monuments within their illuminations by adding ornamental details that were highly varied from one page to the next. The scenes depicting David and Bathsheba were especially given to unusual and fanciful buildings, arches, and fountains that came together to comprise the courtyard in which the act of David's voyeurism occurred (figs. 1.28-1.31). It was not uncommon for artists to take

¹⁶¹ Myra D Orth, "What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 54, Essays in Honor of Lilian M. C. Randall (1996), 189-201; Myra D Orth, "Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop ." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 47 (1989), 80-82; Myra D Orth, *Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illuminations: 1515-1530. Godefroy le Batave and the 1520s Hours Workshop*. PhD Thesis. NYU, 1976; ExtravagANT!: A Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting, 1500-1530. ed. Kristin Lohse Belkin and Nico van Hout. Koninklijk (Museum voor Schone Kunsten: Antwerp, 2005).

¹⁶² Orth, "Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop," 86; The diverse and attentive expression of architecture in these manuscripts epitomizes the multimedia nature of architecture of the period. For one thing, as Orth has argued, the models for the architecture and the figures had more in common with stained glass *patrons* than with French manuscripts. Orth suggested that these Hours may have been in dialogue with prestigious stained glass windows commissioned contemporaneously, but which are now lost to us. One extant example are the stained glass windows in the Cathedral of Bourges, painted by Jean Lecuyer, and discussed more at length below

advantage of the story of David and Bathsheba for showcasing knowledge of architectural vocabulary. King David was a keen patron of the arts and music, and was often depicted with his artistic instruments. Meanwhile Bathsheba's bathing not only highlights the mechanism of vision in the voyeuristic position assumed by the reader, but her bared flesh also reflects a sensual luxury mimicked in the materiality of sculpture: marble, alabaster, gold or painted wood. Moreover, the scene in which the bathing takes place presents the context of the court. Moreover, if these manuscripts' narrative illuminations were showcases for the display of architecture, their frames were also frequently taken up as elaborate, unique, and colourful candelabra, whose sculpturally plastic form seemed to project into the space of the beholder.

Second, the illuminators of the 1520s workshop engaged in the same assemblage process employed by engravers such as those in Lyon, and also by sculptors, carvers, and furniture makers described by Sagredo in his treatise. On one hand this is evident when we compare the frames of the manuscripts with the innovative wooden frames of panel paintings that were created by artists working in the same milieu of these so-called Antwerp mannerists (fig. 1.36). Like the frames of the illuminations, the wooden surrounds of the panel painting features an aggregate of antique elements cobbled together into a candelabrum column. Moreover, these frames were not the only architectural elements composed in the process of bricolage, the settings of the manuscripts' narratives displayed equally inventive architectural design. Myra Orth has shown that the 1520s workshop culled individual elements from specific drawings that they would then recombine into new compositional fantasies of architecture. One drawing in particular originated in Antwerp (fig. 131 A) and resembles another drawing,

The Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl, associated with the court artist Jan Gossaert that seems to offer architecture as an alternate subject to the narrative (fig. 1.31 B.)¹⁶³ The drawing upon which the 1520s illuminators drew depicts Bathsheba, as she bathes unabashedly in front of a fountain wrought in both the mode *à l'antique* and *moderne*. The addition of the mirror in the image suggests the vanity of her pose. The musicians in the foreground reflect the love of the arts at the heart of the court of King David, and presumably the contemporary courts in Europe as well.

It seemed to provide much of the inspiration for the architectural details of these various illuminated *hystoires* created by the members of the workshop in their depictions of buildings surrounding the event of Bathsheba bathing (fig. 1.31).¹⁶⁴ The variety of activities represented in the human figures of the drawing has its lively counterpart in the architectural form (fig. 1.31). The bathing takes place in a courtyard bordered by clusters of buildings making up the palace complex. On the left, we can see an Italianate palazzo with a heavy cornice and arcaded façade, but also a chateau-style turret. Baluster columns comprise the tiny arcade encircling the turret. In the background a roman-style circular temple like Hadrian's mausoleum is visible. The entrance to the courtyard is punctuated by a portal with intricate gothic tracery. Behind that appears a multi-storey palace with a selection of antique ornaments such as a scalloped tympanum, cupola and cornice assembled on the crown. King David can be seen peering out from one of the windows at left of the central building. He is placed within a lombardesque temple façade, worked in

¹⁶³ On the Gossaert drawing (*The Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*) see *ExtravagANT!: A Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting*, 41-43; Also see the drawing on page 192, titled *Architectural Fantasy* with anonymous attribution, and which also circulated among the so-called Antwerp Mannerists.

¹⁶⁴ Orth, "Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop," 61 and 80-82.

the Brabant manner. The complexity, variety and intricacy of the architectural fantasies are heightened by the presence of antique ornament usually found on microarchitecture and in sculpture but here presented with monumental countenance.

The drawing circulated among illuminators working in the Loire Valley. Orth has shown how its imagery was used in a recombinant fashion to provide innovative compositions in prestigious manuscripts. This was especially the case among artists working in the 1520s workshop, who used the drawing as inspiration for other Bathsheba scenes, including those in at least three Books of Hours such as *The Hours of Anne of Austria*, *The Rosenwald Hours*, and *the Hours of Jean de Mauléon* (figs. 1.28-1.30).¹⁶⁵ The process whereby the miniaturist selected parts from the drawing to be reassembled into unique combinations accorded with the love of assemblage valued in the arts at court. In the *Rosenwald Hours* (fig. 18), a classical triumphal arch with a church-façade gable dominates the architectural scenery. In the *Hours of Jean de Mauléon* (fig. 19), some of the Brabant palace of the original drawing was retained in a manner that departed only slightly from it, while the fountain was reduced to a well. The *Hours of Anne of Austria* (fig. 20), on the other hand, retained the elaborate fountain, but chose the candelabrum form, which was increasingly popular around 1520, as the main vehicle for its manifestation. The palace to the left and the temple from which David leans out closely quoted the original drawing.¹⁶⁶ The rich and dynamic architectural ensembles of

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 80-82.

¹⁶⁶ Striking though is that the drawing may not have been famous in itself at the time. Compare this to the famous circulation of Bramante prints, where Bramante's authorship seemed to have as much weight as his designs. Bramante's *Tempietto*, for instance, was included as an 'antique' in Serlio's architectural treatise. Moreover, several of Bramante's prints (and Prevedari's after Bramante) circulated in French contexts. Artists seemed to be aware of the author when they drew upon works attributed to Bramante.

the buildings, frames, and fountains were assembled by way of *bricolage* to produce innovative images of court circa 1520. Beholders were encouraged to appreciate the architectural designs in the drawing and illuminations as they gazed freely at the body of Bathsheba—a voyeurism on both accounts that was sanctioned by the king’s active presence.

Moreover the painted frames offered a complementary architectural discourse. Unlike earlier French manuscript traditions, the *Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, the *Rosenwald Hours*, and the *Hours of Anne of Austria* were unique in their inclusion of sculptural frames that elicit a tactile response in the form of a magnificent candelabrum column. Each page of these manuscripts presents a unique column, original to the illuminator who created it. Uninhabited by the beings and monsters that inhabited the margins and frames in earlier French manuscript precedents, the candelabrum in these examples stands unmistakably as architectural exempla. By rendering the column illusionistically as a three-dimensional object, the reader is invited into the margin to admire the candelabrum with close inspection.

The Bookish Vocabulary of Building

Architecture of the period, however, was not only assembled on the page. When Francis I came to rule, his buildings were uttered in a bookish vocabulary, albeit a surprising one. In 1515, when the king added a new wing to the Chateau of Blois, costuming its surface à

l'antique was the strongest and most auspicious way to promote the kingdom.¹⁶⁷ Unlike Louis XII, who had erected an equestrian statue on the façade of his wing, Francis I built a massive staircase to monumentalize his royal processions. But Francis's great wing behind Louis XII's grand entrance did not emulate the colossal triumphal arch imagery of the Roman Empire. Instead the façade emulates the motifs and patterns that would have been familiar from interiors, furniture, and book arts. In conception, the surface of the building resembles an empty page upon which segmented strips, emblems, and fragments are set in horizontal and vertical reliefs (fig. 1.3).¹⁶⁸ The pilasters with candelabra insets and the trophy frieze around the windows are incised into the surface like engravings. The repeats of serial ornament at the level of the cornice bring the antique details into relative scale with one another: the miniaturized shell motifs fall in line with the dentils. If we compare the detail at Blois with the ornamented cornice circulating among the architectural sketchbook, the Coner Codex, of the same period (1510), we observe an

¹⁶⁷ On Blois chateau, see J.M Pérouse de Montclos, *L'architecture à la française : XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, (Paris: Picard, 1982); Wolfram Prinz and Ronald Kecks. *Das französische Schloss der Renaissance*. Forwards by Uwe Albrecht and Jean Guillaume. (Berlin: Mann, 1985); Jean-Pierre Babelon. *Le Chateau en France*. (Paris : Berger-Levrault, 1986).

¹⁶⁸ *Architecture à l'antique* of the first three decades of the sixteenth century is often described by its profuse ornamentation encrusted on the wall and building surfaces: Jean Guillaume. "Le Temps des expériences. La réception des formes à 'l'antique' dans les premiers années de la Renaissance française" in *L'Invention de la Renaissance*. ed. Guillaume, Jean. (Paris : Picard, 2003.); Elizabeth Miller, *16th- Century Italian Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. (London : V&A Publications, 1999); On its use in Normandy, see Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, "Georges Ier d'Amboise et la Renaissance en Normandie", *Du Gothique à la Renaissance: Architecture et décor en France, 1470-1550*. ed. Y. Esquieu. (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2003). This book highlights how the prints of Giovanni Pietro da Birago, Zoan Andrea and others working in the atelier of Mantegna very likely traveled among workshops in Normandy, for various commissions from Cardinal d'Amboise.

interesting phenomenon: the architectural façade at Blois is conceived like a collage of motifs assembled from woodcuts on a printed page (fig. 1.3 & 1.4).¹⁶⁹

Before 1530, the architecture of many buildings was the assemblage of architectural revetments onto building surfaces. One of the first buildings designed in the antique mode was Cardinal d'Amboise's Chateau of Gaillon (fig. 0.1). Its triumphant entrance facade bears architectural pilasters that resemble paper-like strips that mark out areas on the surface of the building. The bands of pilasters bearing grotesques that extend from the lower windows, for instance, do not serve as frames emphasizing architectonic features, but rather as ornamental pictures that create a sense of facade. Another exterior portal on the south wing of the Chateau Lasson also appears as a picture projected onto an empty facade. The door itself is tiny, but its monumental effect is derived from the collaged fragments: the pilasters and the rounded tympanum (fig. 1.5).¹⁷⁰ Hector Sohier, the architect in charge of the façade at Lasson, was an esteemed sculptor, known for his beautiful *chêvet* in Caen and for other interior works that celebrated the highly plastic arts in the early decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁷¹ Sohier was evidently also an expert in the popular low-relief carvings that came to dominate building surfaces, yet the praise he received from his contemporaries in the archives of Rouen was related to his activities as

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Ashby. "Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 2 (1904), 1-262; Liu Chen. *Between Perception and Expression: The Codex Coner and the genre of architectural sketchbooks*. (PhD Princeton University. 2011).

¹⁷⁰ Guillaume Stanislas Trébutien, *Caen: Son Histoire et ses Monuments (...)* (Paris: Valin, 1877), 180. The precise date of the chateau is unknown, but it is classed as an important monument of Francis I's era.

¹⁷¹ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 33; Jacques Baudoin *La sculpture flamboyante en Normandie et Ile-de-France*. (Nonette: Créer, 1992), 83-84.

a master mason.¹⁷² And what can we make of the grand portal at the Maison Dupré-Latour (fig. 1.6)?¹⁷³ Its frame monumentalizes the effect seen in title page borders from printed books, especially those circulating among prestigious German publishers and printmakers such as Hans Springinklee and Hans Holbein. The language of the antique borrows the schematic countenance of the woodcut for reinsertion into stone.

Assemblage: The Candelabrum and the Grotesque

Assemblage, like collage, consists of the process where each composition has a meaning that is slightly different from the elements of which it is composed. This is especially the case with the candelabrum, a form made up of antique objects that, when brought together in a column, signify architecture. Before 1540, the candelabrum garnered its great authority as a discursive element for several reasons. Candelabra were ubiquitous in all media. Like Alberti's revetments, candelabra were motifs appended to surfaces, but they were also objects in their own right. Their physical attributes also rendered them as showcases of valuable elements: vessels, putti, cornices, and other objects culled from the image pool of antiquity (fig. 1.7 & 1.8). The first constituents were antique motifs such as vases, urns, dolphins, acanthus leaves, putti, cornucopia, and griffin's feet. The second were fragments that were fundamentally non-representational in nature—cornices, architraves, volutes, and dentils. These discrete elements were increasingly associated with architecture due to the detailed analysis they received in architectural treatises.

¹⁷² Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante*, 83

¹⁷³ The dates of this portal's construction are usually attribute to the period 1528-32.

Assemblage was so important to the practice of design of the period that the candelabrum was presented by Cesare Cesariano and Diego Sagredo as a principal, and unprecedented, concept in their early theorizations of architecture.¹⁷⁴ While Sagredo claimed that Vitruvius did not include candelabra or balusters in his passage on columns in his treatise, he concluded that their presence in ancient buildings was enough to warrant a place in theoretical discussions.¹⁷⁵ Cesariano's *Vitruvius* of 1521 included the candelabrum as a relief enclosed in the frame of a pilaster crowned with an antique capital (fig. 1.10).¹⁷⁶ Yet there was no question it was considered an integral element of architecture. Placed among a range of other columns that one expects to find in the orders, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Tuscan, the candelabrum column is labeled "Attic" or, more precisely "*Columna Attigurga Sive Quae Attica Dicitur & Peraequata.*"¹⁷⁷ Also included in Cesariano's illustrations was the baluster, which was certainly not a requirement for antique temples in the time of Vitruvius. It was, however, a popular

¹⁷⁴ Llewellyn, "Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo," 292-300. Although candelabra have been appraised by scholars in multiple contexts, and they have been acknowledged as a potent sign of the architectural antique, their architectural character is less often discussed. Jean Guillaume has written about the longevity of the form as an ornamental motif and its particular resonance in Normandy. Nigel Llewellyn and Krista de Jonge have addressed its significance in Spain, France and the Netherlands. David Hemsoll and Paul Davies attempted a typology of the form, while also addressing its inclusion in theoretical texts.

¹⁷⁵ Llewellyn, "Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo," 292-300. Llewellyn argues that the baluster/ candelabrum has unique resonance in Spain for the Hapsburgs. But it more likely had power as a floating symbol of visual erudition that could be taken up in myriad contexts.

¹⁷⁶ Cesare Cesariano, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece...* (Como, G. da Ponte, 1521), 143; Notably, earlier versions of Vitruvius published by Fra Giocondo in Venice did not include the candelabra columns in the section on the orders.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

ornament in Lombardy, particularly in the works of Amadeo.¹⁷⁸ Cesariano, who was publishing from Milan, dedicated his work to the ruler of Milan, Francis I. Perhaps the inclusion of the ornamental baluster and candelabrum was meant to appeal to a taste cultivated outside of Italian theoretical contexts but significantly geared to the values of French-ruled Lombardy.¹⁷⁹

Candelabra were extensive subjects of multi-media discourse throughout Italy, Spain, and France.¹⁸⁰ In his visit to Rome in 1450, Giovanni Rucellai recorded the candelabrum in the church of Sant' Agnese, describing in minute detail all of its antique elements.¹⁸¹ These candelabra were part of a group of six that may originally have been built for Sant' Agnese, a church founded by Constantine's daughter, Constance in 337.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ *Giovanni Antonio Amadeo: scultura e architettura del suo tempo*. Curated by Janice Shell and Liana Castelfranchi. (Cisalpino, Milan: 1993).

¹⁷⁹ Cesare Cesariano, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece...*(Como),143.

¹⁸⁰ The hybridity of the "balustre" (baluster), candelabra columns, and the decorated column will be discussed in other chapters. For literature on the subject, see Llewellyn. "Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo," 292-300; Krista de Jonge, "Columns and Pillars, Antique and Modern. Notes on Netherlandish Formal Inventions of the early sixteenth century." *Reibungspunkte : Ordnung und Umbruch in Architektur und Kunst : Festschrift für Hubertus Günther*. Ed. Hanns Hubach and Barbara von Orelli-Messerli. (Petersberg : Imhof, 2008); Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, "L'ornementation "à l'antique" en Normandie au debut du XVI siecle." *L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie (I), Regards sur les Chantiers de la Renaissance*. (Editions Charles Corlet. Presses Universitaires de Caen : 2003); For a taxonomic approach that aims to distinguish between different kinds of these candelabrum forms, see: Jean Guillaume, "Le candelabre en Normandie. Les metamorphoses d'un ornement de 1500 a 1540." *L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie (I), Regards sur les Chantiers de la Renaissance*. Editions Charles Corlet. Presses Universitaires de Caen : 2003), 83-98 ; On balusters, particularly, as a hybrid form, see Paul Davies and David Hemsoll. "Renaissance Balusters and the Antique." *Architectural History*, Vol. 26 (1983), 1-23.

¹⁸¹ P.P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein. *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, (London and Oxford, 1986), 92; *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone, i*. (London, 1960.), 74

¹⁸² Jacqueline Biscontin, "Antique Candelabra in Frescoes by Bernardino Gatti and a Drawing by Giulio Romano." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.*, Vol. 57. (1994),. 264-269. The B. Gatti frescoes are allegedly based on a Gulio Romano drawing from between 1532-1537.

Although Vitruvius mentioned them only once, in the late fifteenth century candelabra became associated with early Christian antiquity, receiving a good deal of scholarly attention.¹⁸³ Giorgio Vasari and the French humanist and theorist, Guillaume Philandrier, for instance, described the forms in their writings on the antique.¹⁸⁴ Just as Rucellai had exclaimed earlier, Philandrier praised the composite nature of the candelabrum because it allowed him to isolate terms specific to the object, such as “*longe pulcherimma*” and “*balustrae*”; this subsequently placed him in the company of other historians and specialists on architecture, such as Sagredo who also depicted the candelabrum as a muse.¹⁸⁵ In France, the presence of the candelabrum motif often signified distinctions in space and was often found as a relief over important portals and within tympana of prestigious buildings. For instance, over the entrances of a stair tower and a chapel in the Chateau of La Possonnière were two large flaming candelabra flanking the central sculptural ensemble (fig. 1.9). Owned by Loys Ronsard, the father of Pierre Ronsard, the chateau was conceived as a showcase of emblematic motifs heralding the antique through Latin inscriptions, imperial busts, and Italianate devices. Candelabra played an important role in indexing the purest notion of the antique in these visual terms.¹⁸⁶ In another instance, Jacques de Beaune, the Baron of Semblançon, ordered the great fountain of

¹⁸³ Vitruvius takes up the topic of candelabra in “Chapter V”. He is uncomfortable with the content of candelabra, which are not only composed of various elements, but also are structurally impossible in that the ‘soft’ things such as organic elements are holding up the more solid, architectonic elements comprising the form.

¹⁸⁴ Guillaume Philandrier, *Annotationes in Vitruvium*. Paris, 1545, 62; For a discussion of the annotations, see Frédérique Lemerle, *Les Annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres V à VII, Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, (Paris: Picard, 2011). Vasari, *Vite*. 226.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Histoire de L’Architecture Française. De la Renaissance à la Révolution*. (Paris : Mengès : Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites: Ed. du patrimoine, 1989-1999).

Beaune in Tours to be wrought as a single candelabrum. As a gift to the city, it was begun around 1511, and was made of Genoese marble by Martin and Bastien François, nephews of Michel Colombe.¹⁸⁷

Order

Assemblage as a beloved process or approach for design associated with architecture of the first few decades of the sixteenth century privileged systems of order that are not typically associated with so-called classical architecture. Yet the assembled forms are undeniably antique in their modal expression. As Jean Guillaume and others have written, the candelabrum and the baluster were two omnipresent signs of the antique in the first three decades of the sixteenth century in France. Guillaume has discussed at length the genesis of the candelabrum motif in Normandy, a region that hosted some of the most novel and inventive expressions of this new composite convention.¹⁸⁸ In examples as different as the exterior window surrounds of the Hotel Bourgetheroulde (fig. 1.7), the wooden choir stalls originally in Gaillon (fig. 1.11), and the innovative marble tomb of the Amboise cardinals in the Rouen Cathedral (fig. 2.14), candelabrum forms were recognizable as *à l'antique* candelabra, but were nonetheless different in all their varying expressions from one context to the other.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, 163.

¹⁸⁸ Jean Guillaume, "Le candelabre en Normandie. Les metamorphoses d'un ornement de 1500 a 1540," in *L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie (I), Regards sur les Chantiers de la Renaissance*. Editions Charles Corlet. Presses Universitaires de Caen (2003).

¹⁸⁹ There are also a number of microarchitectural works that I have not included in this study. A notable example that could also be discussed and mentioned here is the

The assemblage technique at the heart of the vertical candelabrum column in architectural design differed fundamentally from the way in which the classical orders were arranged—the classical orders characterized architecture as a system of perfect proportion. Conversely, candelabra eschewed the hierarchical and nested qualities that architectural history has come to look for in the architectural orders of the Renaissance. Order derived from Pythagorean principles of harmony and proportion was not represented in these systems of assemblage and collage. Unlike the Greek and Roman orders, which were determined by rules, the candelabrum was more a genus whose ultimate form was determined by process. Its fragmented nature allowed for variation, yet the candelabrum itself could still be elevated as an idea. Indeed, Sagredo’s inclusion of the candelabrum in the architectural canon was dependent on the form’s inherent quality of yielding creative bricolage. In both the original and the French translation the candelabrum and baluster forms were composed from a diversity of *aornemēs* whose prime purpose was to show enrichment, not function (“*plus pour enricher que pour necessite*”).¹⁹⁰ Sagredo also declared candelabra as “*monstueuses*,” which may have been a reference to the grotesque that couched a reference to the monstrous, a term that sometimes conveyed the act of showing or displaying (*monstrare*).¹⁹¹ On show was diversity and permutation.

Eucharistic tabernacle originally in Sainte Chappelle, but now held in the Museum at the Chateau of Ecoen.

¹⁹⁰ “Il est vray que en plusieurs edifices y a moult diversite de aornemēs, qui se mettent plus pour enricher que pour necessite et ne tiennent point mesure determiner, comme sont les colonnes qui s’appele monstueuses, candelabres, et crestes[...].” Diego de Sagredo, *Raison d’architecture* (Paris), 21

¹⁹¹ Lisa Verner. *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3. The etymology of the word ‘monstrous’ relates to the act of ‘showing’ or ‘displaying’ through its relationship to the word ‘demonstrate’. As Verner

This approach resonates with the notion of assemblage put forward in the 1970s by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.¹⁹² Their theory proposed an organic system for understanding the organization of administrative bodies and thus was geared to the social world, not strictly to artistic processes. But their framework can be generalized to this circumstance. For Deleuze and Guattari, social and political worlds were not composed of discrete and static institutions nested hierarchically into one another but were instead made up of complex constellations that were constantly in flux as overlapping entities. To describe these bodies in their states of (re)formation they use terms like “mosaic,” “patchwork,” and “heterogeneity.” As Deleuze has written, “in assemblages you find states of things, bodies, various combinations of bodies, hodgepodes; but you also find utterances, modes of expression, and whole regimes of signs.”¹⁹³

The model of assemblage advanced by Deleuze and Guattari helps us understand the candelabrum as a constellation of discrete elements within principles of order and ordering privileged in sixteenth-century France.¹⁹⁴ For one thing, the relationships

writes, “Thus, once again the function of the monster, its ability to show humankind something about divinity, becomes more important than, but inseparable from, the monster itself.” In this account, the grotesque or candelabra shares a similar function with the bestiary in medieval margins. Another interesting connection is that of architectural design and the ‘monstrous’ body. Serlio referred to the ‘wild beasts’ of Fontainebleau in his *Libro Estraordinario*, for instance. See Sebastiano Serlio, “The Extraordinary Book of Doors” in *On Architecture*. ed. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks. (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996-2001), 459-511; Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 157. Zorach has written on the relationship between concepts of licence in Serlio’s *Libro Estraordinario* and the fantastic portals that were the subject of his treatise.

¹⁹² Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: Minesota Press, 1987), 475-478.

¹⁹³ Gilles Deleuze, “Eight years Later: 1980 Interview,” in Gilles Deleuze, *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975-1995*, (New York: Semiotexte, 2007), 177

¹⁹⁴ Recently, new paradigms for ordering have been brought to light as a result of advanced digital technologies ushering in theories around emergence or chaos and complexity theories. Some of these modes of ordering are closer to the values held in the

between the content of candelabra ornament—putti, dolphins, harpies, cornices, and architraves—was deliberately obscure except for the fact that they all belonged to the class of the antique. This seems to be one of the most important values underlying artistic assemblage; additive processes like collage and juxtaposition were favoured over the post-Enlightenment systems of design that privileged harmony and proportion. Moreover, assemblages resisted limitations of scale. As clusters of grotesques, candelabra, capitals, and other forms, they continually assembled and reassembled in myriad combinations and contexts.

The appeal of candelabra may have had to do with their striking similarity, at least in the early reception in France at the time, to other low-relief motifs, especially grotesques which, unlike candelabra, were an art of incision and suited the graphic arts, metal engraving, and similar pursuits. Domenico Ghirlandaio depicted the semantic resemblance of the candelabrum and the grotesque when he drew a series of these two types of forms on adjacent pages as if he had conceived them as potential expressions of the same species (fig. 1.15).¹⁹⁵ Partly this is due to their composition of shared motifs: putti, urns, harpies, vases, cornices, architraves, and other fragments taken from the landscape of ruins. Differences also exist. One is that candelabra and grotesque each have distinct ways of occupying space. The grotesque is executed in low relief, whereas candelabra are plastic. Candelabra threaten to become grotesques when incised into a

early sixteenth century. This is particularly true with techniques of assemblage, which came to define approaches to ‘building’ architecture across media. See Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 475-478.

¹⁹⁵ Hermann Egger. *Codex escurialenses. Ein Skizzenbuch aus Werkstatt*. (Soest, Holland: Davaco Publishers, 1975); On Ghirlandaio and the travelling of his sketches potentially circulating in France, see Emile Picot, “*Les Italiens en France au XVIe Siècle*,” (Manziana: Vecchiarelli editore, 1995), 199.

surface. This “threat,” however, is mostly playful and is better characterized as a paradigm for showcasing the limits afforded by the properties of materials, tools, and craft in general.

The plastic and potentially structural candelabrum and the incised and pictorial grotesque were commonly displayed in juxtaposition as if to showcase the transformative limits afforded by each, whether manifest through techniques of cutting, incising, drawing, or engraving, on one hand, or of sculpting, rounding, painting, or shading on the other. The mantelpiece of the fireplace inside the King’s Chamber at Blois (1515–1518) shows how artists played with the tension between plastic and incised form—here the candelabra motifs are represented as an engraved image within the pilaster and then are represented as independent objects in juxtaposition (fig. 2.8).¹⁹⁶ Contrasts in expression of the candelabrum motif was by no means limited to these few examples; paired columns and pilasters were popular in buildings throughout France but also in illuminated manuscripts and printed frontispieces, which would have circulated widely (fig. 1.16).

In the first three decades of the sixteenth century, the ubiquitous presence of candelabra and grotesques as linked binaries suggests they were undergoing the process of translation from one medium to another, even when the same artist crafted them. These motifs allowed the sculptor, architect, or printer to act as a kind of *traducteur*, as characterized by Etienne Dolet, who was concerned with the translation of antique Latin

¹⁹⁶ For Milanese examples see Jean Guillaume. “Le candelabre en Normandie”; The pilaster framing low-relief grotesque appears as early as 1496, in the Sepulcher tomb in Solesmes, a work of Italian craftsmen that reflects popular styles in Milan at the time. Many of these appear in Normandy between 1508 and 1530. However, it was in German frontispieces that paired columns and candelabra most rigorously, in particular, the baluster-candelabra with a tapering top ending in a candelabrum or acanthus foliage, became a regional signature. These types were extremely popular in Normandy much later.

or Greek texts into living languages.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, in the visual arts, the artist assumed the role of translating the architectural idea into the vernacular, or in some cases the craft of another artist's guild. For instance, the candelabrum in the Tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise seems to capture elements of two- and three- dimensions simultaneously (fig. 2.14 D). Translation requires an active and mutually informing relationship between the idea and material of expression. In an introduction to Paul Ricoeur's book *On Translation*, Richard Kearney describes the process as an act that is "said to carry a double duty: to expropriate oneself as one appropriates the other. We are called to make our language put on the stranger's clothes at the same time as we invite the stranger to step into the fabric of our own speech."¹⁹⁸ Within this paradigm, the goldsmith, carver, architect, sculptor, or any other artist is drawn up as an intermediary between material and form, each with its conventions and requirements.

I. Internal Ordering

The greater distinction between the grotesque and the candelabrum is that the two forms fundamentally expressed ideas about order in separate ways.¹⁹⁹ But together they often displayed a system about order and control. This is significant because the traditional

¹⁹⁷ Étienne Dolet. *Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en l'autre*. Originally published in Lyon in 1540. (Paris: 1972). BNF: MICROFICHE M-294.

¹⁹⁸ Paul Ricoeur, *On Translation*. (Translated by Eileen Brennan; With an introduction by Richard Kearney. London :New York: Routledge, 2006), 6

¹⁹⁹ The dialectical relationship between grotesques and candelabra is parallel to those bound and unbound human figures of the 1530s-40s found generated by the contrast of bound architectural caryatids and the unbounded, peopled frames of Fontainebleau, respectively.

narratives about the ways architecture and ornament interrelated posits the control of the latter by the former.²⁰⁰ In ancient Roman wall paintings, grotesques were structured by a stem, central rod, or architectonic feature that rendered them upright. Many grotesque designs by Nicoletto da Modena and others in his milieu that circulated throughout France were conceived quite differently from the way they were depicted in the grotesque paintings in Nero's Rome (fig. 1.31).²⁰¹ The North Italian engravings were presented as a visual cacophony of antique motifs assembled without a clear structuring principle. Verticality was emphasized, but these engraved grotesques lacked any internal framework. Structure was imposed from outside: the boundary of the page, the framed compartment, or the contours of the column itself.

Grotesques were often displayed in demarcated partitions as if to curb their potential for transgression of the frame. On the mantelpiece in the room of Francis I at Blois, grotesques grow like vines over the columns, but they are also framed as pilasters (fig. 1.17). The wooden choir screen, originally in Gaillon, conceives of grotesques as portraits of antique motifs. The partitioned frames limit their expansion across the screen and provide a sense of order that would not otherwise be present (fig. 1.33). The grand staircase at Blois, while covered in a surface of grotesque ornament, presents the grotesque as a series of framed elements in the form of a pilaster. It may not come as a

²⁰⁰ On concepts of order in architecture, see the introduction of this thesis. Also see Debra Schafer, *The Order of ornament, the Structure of Style. Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ernst Gombrich. *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*. (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1979); *Oleg Grabar, The Mediation of Ornament*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton: 1992).

²⁰¹ On the circulation of grotesques in France, see *Du Gothique a la Renaissance: Architecture et décor en France, 1470-1550*. ed. Y. Esquieu. (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2003).

surprise that Francis I had his personal *studiolo* at Blois, built around 1520, wrapped in the language of grotesques (fig. 1.18). The walls were paneled with grotesques, constrained and framed for close perusal.

Candelabra, on the other hand, are necessarily ordered by their verticality. Their components are always stacked and they present as a static and inanimate column. For this reason, architectural discourses of the 1520s and 1530s usurped the candelabrum as one of its principle motifs by presenting the form as an order alongside the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian.²⁰² If low-relief grotesques seemed to require “framing,” candelabra were by default “frames” in their own right. Even in the display of the bizarre candelabrum column on the right of his print, the Netherlandish printmaker Frans Crabbe shows that regardless of either the content or the organization of objects within a candelabrum, it nonetheless could serve distinctly as a frame (fig. 1.19). Such notions of control and order retained at the level of ornamental discourse suggest that the modern concepts of “architecture” as the great ordering principle for “ornament” were not yet in place.

II. *Copia* and License

²⁰² Krista De Jonge. “Columns and Pillars, Antique and Modern.” On rhetoric and fragmentation, see: Yves Pauwels. “The rhetorical model in the formation of French architectural language in the sixteenth century: the triumphal arch as commonplace.” *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European architecture. C 1000- c. 1650*. (Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 2000); Popular in the Netherlands and Spain as well, the techniques of assemblage at the heart of architectural building across media is referred to by Krista de Jonge as a phenomenon betraying affection for “complex conjugations” in architectural expression rather than imitation of standardized models.

Arguably, the relationships between the authority of matter (material) and form (modes of assembly) were changing and unstable in the first four or five decades of the sixteenth century. In terms of artistic authority, both material (craft) and form (design) were important signifiers until 1550. This is evidenced in the fact that the artists brought to France were known for their expertise in minor arts, and yet many of them seemed to practice the art of architecture. The medieval concept of crafting as a divine process that heralded raw material and hid the hand of the artist gave way to ideas about artistic process, especially that of inventive collage techniques that were available to artists working in any art or craft. In fact, the process of assemblage began to rival the attractions of material as the prime locus of artistic authority. The concept *copia*, which had both positive and negative definitions depending on the context, might explain some of the period's love of diversity and translation of artistic form. Margaret Goehring has shown how *copia* carried multivalent meanings and even bundled several definitions into one, including "variation, abundance, eloquence and the ability to vary."²⁰³

Since *licenzia* was closely related to concepts of *copia*, it is unsurprising that candelabra and grotesques presented ideal opportunities for artistic license, with their compositions drawn from authoritative motifs that could be combined by artists into infinite permutations. Grotesques were most famously associated with Raphael's descent

²⁰³ Goehring, *Space, Place and Ornament*, 56 In chapter two, Goehring discusses how *copia* figured in the northern context of landscape painting; Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 158-164. Zorach cites Erasmus's cautionary approach to *copia*. Note that Zorach analyses a slightly later period (mostly later than 1540s) and the taste of the time may indeed have shifted its perceptions to adopt a slightly negative attitude toward the earlier fashion. Or as Zorach puts it, the love of "abundance" was eventually understood in terms of "excess." With this in mind, Zorach also mentions the relationship between *copia* and a need for control—a tension that may have been increasingly exacerbated by the culture that would have been more awash in image culture from the printing press.

into the Domus Aurea, from which he produced sketches that he would use in the decoration of the Vatican Loggias in 1519.²⁰⁴ Yet even in the 1480s and 90s, artists like Filippini Lippi, Pinturicchio, Pietro Perugino, and Luca Signorelli crept down into the subterranean ruins to have a look at the paintings and in some cases sketch them.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Nicole Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea*, (London: Warburg Institute, 1969), 51; Also see the introduction of the following: Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Most famously, Raphael made his descent into the ancient palace, emerging with sketches that he would use in the decoration of the Vatican Loggias in 1519. However, it is entirely possible that sculptors were working from sketches or prints that traveled from one workshop to another. In part, many of these designs, at Gaillon, Chateaudun and Blois are derived from the grotesque, or some variation of it. The grotesque became one of the first major subjects of printed material, and the sheer ubiquity of these specific types of images had resounding resonance in and around the French court. The first French campaigns into Italy coincided with the excitement around the discovery of the Grotesques in Nero's Domus Aurea. In the 1480s and 1490s, artists like Filippini Lippi, Pinturicchio, Perugina, Signorelli, and Ghirlandaio crept down into the subterranean ruins to have a look at the paintings, and in some cases sketch them; On Ghirlandaio and the travelling of his sketches potentially circulating in France, see: Picot, 199; Domenico Ghirlandaio, among the first artists to explore the Domus Aurea and to leave his signature in the spot, made many sketches of the strange forms he observed. It is possible that a copy of his sketches landed in the hands of French craftsmen, as two of his brothers spent several years in France before 1500; On G da Sangallo, see: Stefano Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo. I Disegni di Architettura E Dell'Antico*. (Officino Edizioni: Roma: 1985). In the first decade of the sixteenth century, Lombardian engravers created several prints of grotesques that very likely circulated among the workshop of Gaillon. Giulani da Sangallo left drawings of candelabra in his Barberini sketchbook, which some scholars believe was circulating in French workshops; Miller, *16th- Century Italian Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. V & A Publications; On its use in Normandy, see: Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, "Georges Ier d'Amboise et la Renaissance en Normandie", *Du Gothique a la Renaissance: The prints of Giovanni Pietro da Birago, Zoan Andrea and others working in the atelier of Mantegna very likely traveled among workshops in Normandy, for various commissions from Cardinal d'Amboise*.

²⁰⁵ On the earlier use of grotesque-like ornament before the discovery of Nero's Palace, see: Alessandra Zamperini, *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical decoration from antiquity*. Trans. Peter Spring). London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 92. There were earlier representations of similar kinds of ancient ornamental relief, including the friezes in the Santa Broce *Annunciation* by Donatello or Filarete's designs for the bronze doors for St. Peter's (1433-24). However, it would have been the excitement around the discovery of the Domus Aurea that would probably have had an effect on the imagination of French

Along with other artists, Ghirlandaio even left his signature in the spot, after having made several sketches of the strange forms he observed.²⁰⁶ It is possible that a copy of his sketches landed in the hands of French craftsmen, as two of his brothers spent several years in France before 1500.²⁰⁷ In any case, grotesque and candelabra designs were popular subjects of North Italian painter-engravers like Nicoletto da Modena and Antonio da Brescia (fig. 1.34), whose grotesques may have circulated among the workshop of Gaillon, Chambord, and other court milieus. Indeed, the architect Giuliano da Sangallo produced several drawings of grotesques and candelabra in his Barberini sketchbook, which some scholars believe was circulating broadly among French workshops.²⁰⁸

We see evidence that the grotesque and candelabra were also prime sites for self-portraiture and signature in French art. In the Tomb of the Cardinals of Amboise, we observe that the candelabra-grotesque motifs in the lowest range on the tomb's base were the ideal place for the sculptor-architect Le Roux to effect his own signature in the form of a self-portrait (fig. 2.15). Sagredo's mention of candelabra as both crests and the monstrous are realized here: Le Roux joined antique motifs with monstrous and grotesque ones, to which he added a blank crest.²⁰⁹ Self-portraits on tombs were not very

artists. This 'excitement' was precipitated by the circulation of the ornament in print media.

²⁰⁶ Ibid; Ghirlandaio left his signature in the spot.

²⁰⁷ On Ghirlandaio and the travelling of his sketches potentially circulating in France, see Emile Picot, "*Les Italiens en France au XVIe Siècle*," 199.

²⁰⁸ On G da Sangallo, see Borsi. *Giuliano da Sangallo*.

²⁰⁹ Candelabra were columns, but they were semantically linked to crests, an interesting association considering that heraldry and signatures were often hidden in these specific types of ornaments. Moreover in these early years, the candelabrum column was a likely place on which crests, heraldry and other identity plaques would hang, suggesting the motif as an idiom of identity. While grotesque motifs in early projects were sometimes inflected with the same character of literal grotesquerie from manuscript margins and misericords, they were increasingly associated with the antique. Nonetheless the

common at this time, thus it is likely that Le Roux depended on multiple signs—crest, assemblage, monsters—to tell us this was indeed an act of license. Similarly in printed books, publishers and printers established their names and trademarks as crests of ornament, often taking the form of grotesque motifs. Principles of license associated with assemblage were not isolated as a court art; they also permeated the culture of books and manuscripts.²¹⁰ Oronce Finé nested his self-portrait in a vast network of complex grotesque tracery (fig. 1.27). Geoffroy Tory included his initials hanging on plaques in the grotesque borders of his printed books. It is surprising and notable that Tory was issued an unprecedented copyright on his grotesque and candelabra borders for his prestigious *Book of Hours* (1526) dedicated to the French king Francis I. To have them protected by royal privilege (a form of copyright) was exceptional and suggested that ornamental borders were associated with the trademark as a quasi-proprietary feature (fig. 4.04 A-D).²¹¹

compositional syntax—lack of rules and varietal composition—of the grotesque and candelabrum associated the forms with artistic identity, signature and invention.

²¹⁰ This may be due to that assemblage allied with the technology of woodcut techniques. Title pages were also an important site for self-promotion of the printer, so again the alliance of assemblage with signature is retained here. The relatively new technology of moveable woodcuts, which allowed for the reconstitution of diverse ornamental fragments into a new composition with each new publication run, allowed printers to have a part in the acclaimed artistic practice so dear to court culture. See Laurence Grove, “*Pour faire tapisserie?/ Moveable Woodcuts: Print/manuscript, text/image at the birth of the emblem,*” *An interregnum of the sign: the emblematic age in France*. ed. David Graham. (Glasgow : Dept. of French, University of Glasgow, 2001). Grove argues that this may have been an attraction of moveable woodcuts, as in some of the most popular works, such as Guillaume de La Perriere’s *Theatre des bons engines* (Janot, 1540), the cuts were not used anywhere else.

²¹¹ Auguste Bernard, *Geoffroy Tory: Painter and Engraver: First Royal Printer: Reformer of Orthography and Typography under Francois I; An Account of his Life and his Works*, (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1909).

We might even look at the candelabrum frames that appeared regularly in the prestigious Books of Hours commissioned by members at court as a type of artistic license, if not a kind of unique signature. The Rosenwald *Hours* (circa 1524–1530) is one such example; it is associated with the workshop of Noël Bellemare from Antwerp, an illuminator who was established in the Loire valley and ended his career in Fontainebleau (fig. 1.28).²¹² As Myra Orth has shown, the frames in the court manuscripts of the early sixteenth century increasingly took on the architectural idiom as exuberant displays in which each page presented a distinct frame. Often frames were composed of two columns or borders, with one projecting slightly forward as if offered for closer perusal. A full-page illumination from the *Hours of Anne of Austria* is another such example; notably the candelabrum of the frame mirrors the gilded fountain placed behind Bathsheba (fig. 1.29). Most of these architectural frames were uninhabited by the creatures and monsters that were so common in margins only two decades earlier.

Retable-like, these illuminated frames established the page as a virtual altarpiece showcasing the potential array of expressions usually engendered by the single column.²¹³ Moulding is fastidiously “sculpted” on the column’s base, and the illuminator is able to show the candelabrum’s complex expression through its gilded wash. Here architecture is translated into the candelabrum form, which itself points not to buildings but to the wonderful carved altarpieces that were gaining in popularity in the early

²¹² On the so-called 1520s Hours workshop, see Orth, “What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts,” 194-195. For general information about the so-called 1520s workshop, see Orth, “Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Workshop” 61-75; Orth, *Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination*.

²¹³ Orth, “What Goes Around,” 194.

sixteenth century in the Netherlands.²¹⁴ Of course, the gilded frames offer just one interpretation of the architectural subject; the narrative of the Adoration is also framed in elaborate antique ruins, containing polished marble columns and a rotunda preserved from the remains of what may have been a temple (fig.1.28 & 1.29). Similarly, the Master of François de Rohan, an illuminator who made prestigious manuscripts for Francis I, Marguerite of Navarre, and Anne Montmorency, also developed his personal style around his unique frames (fig. 1.16).²¹⁵ *Copia* as the articulation of extensive variation is one of the defining hallmarks in these works.²¹⁶ In the illuminated manuscripts of both Bellemare and the Master of François de Rohan, the motifs are not graphic or flat. Instead both artists painted the frames illusionistically as *representations* of architecture—architecture in furniture, carved reliefs, and portable objects.²¹⁷ Architecture, especially architecture as a candelabrum or baluster column, was the ideal site of license for artistic self-promotion.

²¹⁴ Lynn F. Jacobs, ‘The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron.’ *Art Bulletin*. (Vol. 71. No. 2. Jun. 1989), 208-229.

²¹⁵ For one thing, it appears François de Rohan follows the approach of G. Tory, who had made printed versions of a Book of Hours for Francis I in two modes: *Moderne* (Gothic) and *à l’antique* (Italianate antique motifs often articulated as grotesques and candelabra). The Master of François de Rohan draws upon frames from earlier Gothic manuscript traditions with delicate jewels, butterflies and precious stones in the margins, but he also displays an incredible variety of architectonic frames, including the grotesque and pilaster pairings (somewhat out of date in 1540), pillars with niches whose putti have stepped out from them, and other arches covered in grotesque, candelabra and trophies. On the other hand, François de Rohan worked in many different styles of frames: In his *Hours of Francis I* of 1539, the illuminator includes caryatids and more rustic architectural frames heralding the work more recently popularized from Fontainebleau. See Orth, “Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings,” and Orth, “What Goes Around,” 194-195.

²¹⁶ Mary E. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 2000), 18-19.

²¹⁷ Jacobs, “South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces.” In fact they might have specifically signalled the carved and gilded wood altarpieces known from Netherlandish carvers whose works were exported all over Europe, 208-212.

III. Rule and Control

It seems that architecture, loved and admired for its range of possible and permutative expression in the period from 1500 to 1550, became increasingly and productively associated with measure, rule, and knowledgeable order as the century's midpoint approached. This change is noted by writers such as De l'Orme and Jean Martin who, in separate incidences, both complained about the number of different types of architects practicing the art in the earlier period. One exception emerges from a late body of work by Serlio, one of the French kingdom's most celebrated architects, who produced a treatise that was most unlike a rule-based Vitruvian manual and more representative of the way of making architecture in terms of *copia* and assemblage. The term *copia* is related to the word "extraordinary," which was used in the title of the book *The Extraordinary Book of Doors* (fig. 1.32). In her article on the central role of the fragment in the systems of architectural bricolage revered in the Italian Renaissance, Payne has focused on Serlio's book of doors and suggests that he conceived of architectural creativity specifically in terms of the process of composition by assembling aggregates.²¹⁸ As discussed earlier in this chapter, the entire book was devoted to the gateway as an architectural type, though it was split into two sections: "rustic gateways" and "delicate gateways." Although he dedicated the book to Henry II, King of France, Serlio distinguished the two types of portals in psycho-geographical terms. Rustic gateways, which were those given to extraordinary and fantastic features, were those without rules

²¹⁸ Alina Payne, "Creativity and *bricolage* in architectural Literature of the Renaissance," 33.

and thought to be fitting for the French context. Delicate gateways, on the other hand, were designed in accordance with the orders and were appropriate for Italian contexts.

For Serlio, the portal seemed to function much as candelabra had for Sagredo over two decades earlier. By 1551, the candelabrum and grotesque no longer had the potency to signify so many important social concepts, such as intermedial translation, innovative assemblage, and the act of benevolent licence. But it appears that Serlio understood portals to be a unique type of monument that were appropriate to acts of license. Indeed, they resembled the character of du Cerceau's engravings of arches, many of which contained empty panels where a purchaser could conceivably add his or her crests, heraldry, or even self-aggrandizing inscriptions. At this time, the idea of the architectural portal, and its image in print, became associated with notions of license and self-promotion, phenomena witnessed most profoundly in the emergence of title pages by publishers, discussed more at length in chapter three.

Zorach has described Serlio's book on doors in terms of artistic license, a concept that was fundamentally understood to reside outside of order. She writes, The notion of *licenzia* is particularly present in architecture, where the theory of the orders, which form the basis for the idea of architectural rule, was more developed than any corresponding guidelines for painting. The title means not simply "Extraordinary" in our sense of the word, but "outside order," specifically outside the orders of classical architecture.²¹⁹ But Zorach suggests that Serlio's

²¹⁹ Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 157. On page 83, Zorach also discusses Serlio's writing of "The Extraordinary Book of Doors" and his environment at Fontainebleau. She includes Serlio's mention of living among wild beasts while at Fontainebleau. The quote is found in Serlio's "The Extraordinary Book of Doors", 459-511. In the preface he wrote, "Therefore finding myself in this solitude of Fontainebleau, where there are more

doors were not so much a manifesto about license as they were documents about confinement, where, as she puts it, “the portals’ Doric or Corinthian columns appear imprisoned within bands of rusticated stone.”²²⁰ Similarly, Zorach allies concepts of *copia* with notions of abundance and excess, and even *desguisement* (or disguise); she suggests that license can represent a threat unless it is mitigated by formal boundaries or measures of control.²²¹ Certainly Serlio’s publication on extraordinary doors has been understood as an aberration from his earlier treatises. Although it is possible that Serlio’s later treatise was a continuation of earlier practices of creative assemblage, it is also likely that the treatise represented a change in conceived relationships between ideas about ornament and those about architecture—ideas that were not prevalent in the making of architecture through the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Conclusion

Architecture was often signified through ornament, which was commonly articulated as decorative low-relief carvings that seemed to grow upon interior and exterior surfaces. Conceived as such, ornament had three incarnations. First, I have linked ornament conceptually to notions of craft by suggesting that early sixteenth-century ideas about artistic license and architectural invention were rooted in the gradually changing ideas

beasts than there are men, and having brought a long task of mine to conclusion, the desire came into my mind to form in a visible design several gateways in the Rustic style, but which were mixed with different Orders, that is, Tuscan, Doric, ionic, Corinthian and Composite.”

²²⁰ Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 157.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 156-157.

about how material and form interrelate. It follows that architectural ornament ended up serving as the ideal locus for discourse about how one craft might be translated as another. Second, the love of fragmentation and aggregate form at the heart of architectural design in the early sixteenth century suggest that the invention of architecture was an endeavour that could be manifested in multiple media. In other words, assumptions about structure, order, medium, and monumentality inherited and revered from the later period (post-eighteenth century) are not valid indices for understanding ornament, and architecture, of the early sixteenth century. Finally, from the context of the court milieu to that of the printed book, these values of intermediality and assemblage became established as important signifiers of artistic signature, a licence whose corollary was often the idea of architecture.

Chapter Two

Objects as Architecture

Much attention has been given recently to the importance of the object as the central subject for architectural discourse. For objects to resonate as architecture, the things or the noun-constituents of the ornamental discussion became central. In the early sixteenth-century, ornament *à l'antique* and *moderne* became ever more fixed as their fragmented components assumed nomenclature. Antique ornament was also given representation as a collection of discrete objects in writings, treatises, contracts, and paintings. I argue that the architecture of early sixteenth-century France needed objects, sometimes even small or portable ones, to secure its authority as a pervasive if ambiguous idea.²²² These

²²² Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: genealogies of architectural modernism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 7-8; While the importance of objects for architecture has been addressed by Payne, she asserts that objects took on an unprecedented role only in the early twentieth century, as if they had “*become* architecture.” According to Payne, one of the hallmark events marking this paradigm shift was the *Pavillon de l’Esprit Nouveau* of 1925, an exhibition as much a manifesto about objects as it was about architecture. Payne argues that twentieth-century, modernism created a climate in which the “prominence for objects was unprecedented.” She continues, admitting that it was not as if “architecture and objects had not ‘conversed’ before,” but that “[...] in every historical period objects and architecture had

changes were heralded by two phenomena. First, specific object types mediated ceremonies, rituals, and the content of architectural theory. Second, the discourse of ornament *à l'antique* was constituted by its own objects in the form of statuary, architectural ruins, and other elements drawn from the imaginarium of courtly collections.

Kleinarchitektur, Microarchitecture, and Archisculpture

The recent turn to objects and away from large-scale monuments in architectural discourse is heralded by the increased attention to terms, such as “microarchitecture,” “*kleinarchitektur*,” and “archisculpture,” which have emerged to account for objects such as tombs, triumphal arches, and candelabra—objects that fall between disciplinary categories. Microarchitecture as a broader category is attentive to the fluidity of craft, whether this is expressed as the translation of a design from one medium to another or as the expression of architecture as a palette of formal elements that can be rendered across

existed in profound synchronicity. But what seemed new here was the self-consciousness of their deployment, the subtle because nondiscursive theoretical attention they received, a form of coming of age as subjects of reflection in and of themselves. They were not just functional and mass produced; they were not just made to ‘go’ with the architecture as an effort toward aesthetic coherence, nor were they embedded in it. One has the sense that architecture *needed* them. A theoretical space had opened up just as another, the millennial use of ornament, had imploded.”²²² For Payne, the twentieth-century interest in the architectural object was a consequence of the demise of ornament. She argues that ornament once signalled architectural presence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was expunged from architecture in the twentieth century, and objects were left to fill the conceptual vacuum. In this thesis, objects of another kind are understood to stand in as ‘architecture’ as early as 1500.

media.²²³ Ethan Matt Kavalier, François Bucher, and others have discussed how microarchitectural objects, such as censors, tabernacles, and pulpits, displayed form-generating capacities that were cutting edge in their time.²²⁴ There have been several recent studies of small-scale architectural objects, such as the volume edited by Christine Kratzke and Uwe Albrecht, *Microarchitektur in Mittelalter: Ein Gattungübergreifendes* (2008) and the 2014 International Conference, *Microarchitecture of Buildings*, held at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art in Paris.

Microarchitecture can manifest as an object whose scalelessness of design allows for its reification in miniature or monumental measure. Scale, function, space, structure—tropes that have shaped the history of architecture—are less relevant for this class of objects than questions of design, craft, and material. Many works of microarchitecture were constructed by sculptors, goldsmiths, and artists belonging to other guilds. On this subject, Bucher writes:

A definition of the ideal Gothic structure through the use of small monuments of architecture usually classified within the “minor arts” is

²²³ Kavalier, *Renaissance Gothic*. See the chapter “Microarchitecture,” 165-198; See *Microarchitektur im Mittelalter. Ein gattungübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination*, ed. Christine Kratzke und Uwe Albrecht, (Leipzig, Germany: 2008); François Bucher, “Micro-Architecture as the ‘Idea’ of Gothic Theory and Style.” *Gesta*. 15, Essays in Honor of Sumner McKnight Crosby (1976), No. 1/2, 71. On design strategies shared between so-called major and minor arts, Bucher writes, “A definition of the ideal Gothic structure through the use of small monuments of architecture usually classified within the ‘minor arts’ is based on the following premises: many objects and designs from the late thirteenth century onwards show that the design theory applied to small works was identical to that used for large structures; contracts show that the boundaries between metalwork, carpentry and construction were fluid; stylistic inventions were often developed in small works and transferred to architecture; and, eventually, the trend-setting morphology realized in small objects became so sophisticated that it could no longer be duplicated in buildings which themselves, in a strange reversal of reference, became mere shelters for micro-architecture.”

²²⁴ Bucher, “Micro-Architecture as the ‘Idea’ of Gothic Theory and Style,” 71.

based on the following premises: many objects and designs from the late thirteenth century onwards show that the design theory applied to small works was identical to that used for large structures; contracts show that the boundaries between metalwork, carpentry and construction were fluid; stylistic inventions were often developed in small works and transferred to architecture; and, eventually, the trend-setting morphology realized in small objects became so sophisticated that it could no longer be duplicated in buildings which themselves, in a strange reversal of reference, became mere shelters for micro-architecture.²²⁵

In addition to his discussion that addresses the porous boundaries of certain crafts of the period, there are two other important points made by Bucher in this passage. First, he states that some of the most virtuosic Gothic designs were manifested in small monuments of the period. Theories of design were not more complex in larger structures, precisely because “design,” as Bucher argues, was as likely to be appreciated in small objects as in buildings. In fact, when the structural capacities required in actual buildings did not have to be considered in the production of small objects, the elements of design were actually too sophisticated to be reproduced in large-scale buildings. I argue that this remains a consistent feature of architectural design in the early sixteenth century. Bucher takes this even further and claims that buildings themselves were “mere shelters” for these microarchitectural projects that had become the prime objects.

In the French sixteenth-century context, these microarchitectures were truly the major monuments that marked both secular and sacred rituals, but yet they are rarely

²²⁵ Ibid.

seriously discussed in architectural surveys. There are exceptions. Tombs are almost always included as a major element of architectural history. One reason for this may be that tomb design in France underwent a major transformation at the turn of the century. In particular, tombs increasingly became temple-like structures that housed the bodies of the dead. Arguably, the architectural apparatus championed the kings in terms of their worldly and acquisitive successes. As a result, these tiny buildings furnishing cathedral interiors vied with the building itself for a monumental statement. For instance, tombs such as that of the cardinals of Amboise in the Rouen Cathedral, or entombments like those of Christ and the Virgin in the Abbey of Solesmes (all of these are discussed at length later in the dissertation) are massive monuments, even small buildings in their way, despite their interior placement within a sacred shelter.

The tomb functioned increasingly as a building, albeit one inhabited by the dead, that glorified the worldly and military deeds of rulers whose lives were frequently fashioned in the shadow of ancient emperors. When Francis I came to power with similar imperial ambitions to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan who had married Isabelle of Valois, he commissioned the Tomb of Louis XII (1515) from the workshop of Jehan and Anton Juste for the creation of an entirely new type of tomb arrangement.²²⁶ The tomb was innovative at the time for its triumphal mausoleum that enclosed the *gisants* of Louis and Queen Anne of Bretagne while providing a raised platform for the *priants* above.²²⁷ The Tomb of Louis XII spoke of French desires for conquest through

²²⁶ The former was referred to by Francis I as the 'sculpteur ordinaire'. The phrase is drawn from a quote of a letter written by Francis I, and which was published in Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 360.

²²⁷ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 375; Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Berkeley:

the sepulchre's merging of two forms: the temple and triumphal arch. As an edifice, the canopy contained the *gisants* much like the Holy Sepulchre did for Christ's tomb. But the canopy over the earthly bodies also echoed the baldachins in royal entries that were used to cover the King's head as he passed from the city gate to the church, or from secular to sacred power. If there was a sense of passage through the aedicular screen of the triumphal arch, it was Louis XII's own procession from his secular to divine triumphs.

The tomb's discourse about conquest and dominion through material acquisition was constituted in its ornamental encrustation. Bolstering the *gisants* in the stylobate were carved battle reliefs proclaiming the victories in the Italian wars waged under Louis's reign. The presence of the antique appeared on the exterior and interior surfaces of the tomb like trophies: amalgam candelabra, spandrel victories, and grotesque-covered pilasters. Like monuments to triumph, the "ornament" of the tomb incorporated the individual elements as booty from Lombardy. These forms had not yet appeared in Cesariano's *Vitruvius* (Como, 1521), but they would be incorporated into architectural theory as part of the canon. Much as Jean Lemaire wrote in his book on the proper conduct of funerals, *Des Pompes funèbres antiques and modernes*, the tomb relied on its wealth of ornamental "plunder" to resonate monumentally. Included in the plunder were "*tabernacles de boys*," which should be carried like monuments to victory in the vein of Mantegna's *Triumphs*.²²⁸

University of California Press, 1973), 132-134; A.V. Antonovics. "Louis XII en Milanais: XLie Colloque," *French Studies*, (2009, Volume 63, Issue 4), 454 – 455.

²²⁸ Jean Lemaire de Belges. *Des anciennes pompes funeralles*. (Société des textes français modernes, Paris: 2011), 40; These objects, which he describes simply as "tabernacle de boys", refer to elements representing imperial desires.

Undoubtedly, Louis XII's tomb was in dialogue with the tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in the Certosa church (fig. 2.13), who died in 1402 and had been married to the daughter of the French Valois king.²²⁹ It should not be surprising that both the Certosa church facade and the tomb inside made a strong impression on French administration traveling with the military and on the French nobility, who undoubtedly wanted to buttress their conquests in the area by showing the natural, ancestral descent of the Valois from the Visconti. Moreover, the battle for the rule of several Lombard cities was the focus of many French military campaigns in Italy. The massive tomb with its freestanding double triumphal arch and immense attic was constructed from 1493 to 1496 to stand within the monastery church of the Certosa, a monument itself that captured the imagination of French nobles, as discussed below. The imperial aims of Visconti were conspicuous in the tomb: trophies were framed within pilasters and shields depicted the twenty-four cities in Visconti's territory.²³⁰ Because the church was conceived as a dynastic monument for the Visconti, the tomb was the natural centrepiece of the ensemble even insofar as that the Certosa Monastery itself has been referred to as a frame for the tomb.²³¹

Tombs notwithstanding, many other works of the period constitute major microarchitectural monuments even if they are not given adequate attention in architectural surveys. These include the grand furniture that directed social habits in the

²²⁹ On Louis XII, see Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 114; In 1499, France invaded Milan, overthrowing Ludovico Sforza and allowing Leo XII to recapture the title of Duke of Milan, an honor to which he insisted he was entitled as heir through marital ties to the Visconti; Norris, Andrea S. *The tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti at the Certosa di Pavia*. (PhD Diss. New York University, Graduate School of Arts and Science, 1977), 68.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 101.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 102.

great chateaux: mantelpieces over chimneys, grand staircases and chimney mantelpieces such as those in the Chateau of Blois (fig. 1.3 B & 1.17), triumphant antique door frames that marked the hierarchy of passage as discussed in chapter three (fig. 122 C), and even frames for the Eucharistic host found in private chapels in these buildings (fig. 4.16 & 4.17). Many other microarchitectural objects had a sacred character, and are often found in parish churches, monasteries, and cathedrals: altarpiece frames, tiny alabaster retables, the surrounds and grills of choir stalls (fig. 1.11), and reliquary containers. *Jubés* are another type of object to be considered here. As Bertrand Jestaz has argued, *jubés* were among the first objects to transport ideas about the Italianate antique into France.²³² Many early sixteenth-century *jubés* are no longer extant in French churches, but other interior objects such as reliquary containers and choir stalls must also have provided the same potential for ingenuity of design. Interestingly these small objects also allow for antique and *moderne* designs to transfer from materials as distinct as wood, alabaster, and gold.²³³ The *Musée National de la Renaissance* at the Chateau of Écouen holds many such objects that fall into these categories. The main compartment that once held the reliquary of the Passion in Sainte-Chappelle (Paris, 1524) partitions the main events of Christ's passion among profuse Italianate-inspired motifs within arches of triumph articulated by paired baluster columns (fig. 2.17).²³⁴ The new antique mode that appeared on the facades of chateaux such as Blois, Chenonceau, and Chambord—and thus are considered as the

²³² Bertrand Jestaz, “Le Jubé comme organe de diffusion des formes classiques.” *L’Eglise dans l’Architecture de la Renaissance*. (Picard. Ed. Guillaume. 1996), 181-194.

²³³ A fascinating early jubé that is not discussed here due to its slightly earlier date than several of the other monuments considered in Troyes is the jubé of the Church of the Madeleine in Troyes.

²³⁴ The reliquary container is photographed in the following. Hervé Oursel, *Musée National de la Renaissance. Chateau d’Écouen*, (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006), 26.

corpus of Renaissance architecture—was the same visual language that we see in this interior furniture of the period.

The imagery of microarchitecture were often the primary subjects of representation in narratives, book illustrations, and prints (such as those by Androuet du Cerceau) of the early sixteenth century. Consider the great monuments of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. While the subject, Poliphilo, stumbles upon immense structures like pyramids and temples, they are always described in a way that renders the monuments as composites of several microarchitectural elements. Colonna is even more interested in describing the small, sometimes portable antiquities such as ciboria, candelabra, pedestals, frames, arches, vases, and trophies that Poliphilo finds along his path. These are also the material evidence that the illustrators of both the original edition and the French translation find most interesting to depict.²³⁵ Finally, Colonna's obsession with ruins further breaks down the scale of buildings that might have otherwise have been too big to appreciate as a whole.

The subjects of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's engravings and drawings reflected these early sixteenth century interests in interior furnishings and microarchitectural monuments. These have been discussed in other chapters but suffice it to say here that Androuet du Cerceau focused extensively on furniture. While temples and triumphal arches were also being recorded around 1540, he included variations of ornamented vases, chalices, candelabra, chairs, tables, and other interior furnishings (fig.

²³⁵ The Italian publication: Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*... (Venice: A. Manuce, 1499). Held in Paris, Ensba, Les 1358; The French translation: Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie, ou Discours du Songe de Poliphile*... (Paris: J. Kerver, 1545). Held in Paris, Ensba, Les 1358.

2.5).²³⁶ Although Androuet du Cerceau may not have consciously classified all his represented objects as architecture, he clearly understood larger structures that we conventionally think of as grand monuments as being consonant in value with smaller objects. This was certainly the case when he executed images of such things for purposes of collection in print media. For Androuet du Cerceau, all objects were worthy carriers of antique embellishment. A chair was likely to be depicted in the same ornamental costume as a triumphal arch or a temple. We can observe this practice in one engraving that depicts a chair raised on a high plinth. The ordinary chair received the treatment we might expect of a building: a heavy cornice, caryatids, and candelabrum columns (fig. 2.5).

The category “*kleinarchitektur*” also speaks to those types of artifacts that lie somewhere between object and architecture, as we use the terms. Typically, objects of *kleinarchitektur* were not miniatures but were true to their ontological scale and included fountains, tombs, ciboria, baptismal fonts, altarpieces, and other similar objects.²³⁷ In 2006, Guggenheim Bilbao hosted an exhibition entitled *ArchiSculpture: Dialogues between Architecture and Sculpture from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*. Unlike “microarchitecture” and “*kleinarchitektur*,” the term “archisculpture” readjusts the relationship between architecture and sculpture, where the latter assumed the prime focus or authority in the exhibition. In the introduction of the accompanying catalogue,

²³⁶ *Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010).

²³⁷ Alina Payne. “Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture.,” Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*. Munich 1977. (First edition: Vienna 1907). Alois Riegl used the heading *kleinarchitektur* for small architectural objects in this publication. In these accounts, while architecture, decoration and sculpture are conceived as a merged field, it is one that refers to architecture as its prime authority.

Marcus Brüderlin shows how works that fall between the conventional boundaries of sculpture and architecture are often omitted from the canons of art and architectural history. He argues that art historians return time and again to the question of “function” as the main criterion for determining whether a work falls into the category of architecture or sculpture. In conventional accounts, architecture is understood to fill a basic need or function, while sculpture is conceived as fundamentally superfluous to function.²³⁸ Like many of the works represented by archisculpture, the “things” and “objects” of early sixteenth-century architecture do not speak to function. In fact, microarchitecture, *kleinarchitektur*, and archisculpture are all productive categories under which the works in this thesis can variably be classified.

Objects versus Things

Microarchitecture, *kleinarchitektur*, and archisculpture address objects as typologies in architectural discourse: arches, temples, chimneys, stairways, tombs, and other small monuments that carry “ornament.”²³⁹ What about the *things* of ornament, these representations of tiny antique objects that appear encrusted onto microarchitectural surfaces in the form of grotesques, trophies, *spolia*, and other represented objects? These

²³⁸ Markus Brüderlin, *ArchiSculpture: Dialogues between architecture and sculpture from the eighteenth century to the present day*. (M. Brüderlin: Ostfildern, 2004), Chapter One. Architect Adolf Loos, who is most famous for his invective against ornament, and constructivist Norm Gabo both railed against the practice of ‘confusing’ architecture with art. In these and other Archisculpture as a concept undermines these modernist projections.

²³⁹ On “typology”, see Quatremère de Quincy, *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Architecture. Vol. 2. Part II, Paris (1825); Anthony Vidler, “The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal, 1750-1830”, in *Oppositions*: (8; 1977): 147-150.

ornaments “carried” by microarchitectural objects fall between disciplinary categories, and thus are often omitted from comprehensive analysis within architectural histories. Alina Payne refers to these particular kinds of object-ornaments when she writes, “But the function of the sculptural matter *on* architecture rather than its overall *Gestalt*—the shells and garlands, masks and urns, reliefs and figures attached to the walls of premodernist work—tended to be left out of discussions and remain on the periphery of scholarship to this day.”²⁴⁰

We might further suggest that architecture has stakes in the worlds of both “objects” and “things.” The difference between these two categories is not a theoretical indulgence. According to Bill Brown, “objects” are defined by their function of directing normative behaviour by indicating through their typologies a range of possibilities for their use, engagement, or interaction. “Things” are different only inasmuch as we consider their purpose or use. For instance, “things” are those physical elements that we name and categorize—their uncanny presence leads us to describe and fetishize them.²⁴¹ Merleau-Ponty argued that we perceive objects as vessels for our own intentionality.²⁴² This perception occurs bodily and preconsciously. Antique architecture’s objects (altars, tombs, stairways, portals) belong to the category of “objects.” These microarchitectural elements direct the behavioural habits of humans, organizing them in relation to their rituals. For instance, a *jubé* separated the laity from the canons in the choir. In the same vein, the main portal of a church divided secular and sacred space for a town’s

²⁴⁰ Payne, *From Ornament to Object*, 15

²⁴¹ Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 28. No. 1 (Autumn, 2001), 1-22, 4. Also see Daniel Miller, *Materiality*. Ed. David Miller. (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2005), 8-48.

²⁴² Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. (New York: Routledge, 2002).

demographic or lay constituency, whereas an elaborately framed door to a sacristy or an intricate choir stall grille functioned typologically: these objects confirmed social hierarchies.

These same objects, or other kinds of objects, can become “things” if we suddenly, consciously, and physically become aware of their presence. Brown describes this sudden awareness of objects as things as a phenomenon emerging from a perceptual confrontation. This new subject-object relationship might occur if an object breaks; a car is transformed from its use-value as an object to a physical thing when it breaks down and can no longer be used to travel from one place to another. The difference between an object and a thing is a difference of perception.

For the purposes of this chapter, I do not distinguish between objects and things quite so absolutely, although the theoretical distinction remains useful. We can distinguish between two types of architectural objects. The first are typological, such as altarpieces, *jubés*, and fountains that direct habits of practice, ritual, and procession. These are the fundamental objects that have come to comprise the category of microarchitecture and *kleinarchitektur*. The second category of objects is a different species altogether. These were foreign and new, and they commonly stemmed from contexts of conquest. They were collected in cabinets of curiosity. And the kind of engagement they demanded was one of perusal and description. As if seen for the first time, things were newly given nomenclature—brought into being through the act of naming. These included temples and triumphal arches, which are discussed in the following chapters. But less discussed in architectural history, but that also belonged to the architectural canon, were these new and fascinating things antique that were often

associated with the grotesque or candelabra repertoires such as vases, coins, candelabra, portrait busts, putti, and trophies: in short, the stuff of collections. But these things were also represented in architectural discourse.

Antique Architecture as an Architecture of Representation

A notable quality of the historical narrative of ornament in antique architecture is its fundamentally representational nature. In writing his ancient treatise on architecture, Vitruvius crafted the story of the orders in classical architecture as the story of imitation. The founding story of the column began, for instance, at the moment the primitive hut required a tree to hold it up; the column developed as an abstraction of the tree trunk. For Vitruvius, the establishment and maturity of the orders grew out of the practice of mimicking the structural elements of a building, but in so doing they improved upon the structure to provide a more aesthetically pleasing arrangement. The triglyph, he explains, emerged from a need to represent the ends of a supporting beam, which if left as they were would present only the rough work of the carpenter, as if the difference between carpentry or masonry and architecture was one of representation.²⁴³ In his passage on the “Ornaments of the Orders,” Vitruvius explained how architecture’s ornamental details originated as representations of its structural practice.

Thus each and every detail has a place, origin, and order of its own. In accordance with these details, and starting from carpenter’s work, artists in building temples of stone and marble imitated those arrangements in their

²⁴³ Vitruvius Pollio, *Ten Books on Architecture*. trans. Ingrid D. Rowland. (New York, Cambridge Press, 1999).

sculptures, believing that they must follow those inventions. So it was that some ancient carpenters, engaged in building somewhere or other, after laying the tie-beams so that they projected from the inside to the outside of the walls, closed up the space between the beams, and above them ornamented the coronae and gables with carpentry work of beauty greater than usual; then they cut off the projecting ends of the beams, bringing them into line and flush with the face of the walls; next, as this had an ugly look to them, they fastened boards, shaped as triglyphs are now made, on the ends of the beams, where they had been cut off in front, and painted them with blue wax so that the cutting off of the ends of the beams, being concealed, would not offend the eye. Hence it was in imitation of the arrangement of the tie-beams that men began to employ, in Doric buildings, the device of triglyphs and the metopes between the beams.²⁴⁴

Although Vitruvius describes the ornament of the orders as a kind of imitation of structure, the ornament of early sixteenth-century France—even of the orders in the period—did not represent structural considerations as such. Instead, the representational ornament *à l'antique* popular in the first decades of the century depicted small objects and ruins imagined to have been mined from the material culture of the antique imaginarium: things like cups, vases, and broken entablatures. That these small objects, or “things,” were a mainstay of sixteenth-century theory has been ignored in architectural history. When Jean Martin published Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria* for the first time in French, he included a full page engraving of a candlestick, which Vitruvius claimed

²⁴⁴ Ibid. Chapter II. 2. “The Ornaments of the Orders,” 107.

belonged to the domain of the architect who should be in charge of all interior furnishings (fig. 2.1).²⁴⁵ When Cesare Cesariano published his edition of *Vitruvius* he included illustrations of vases whose surfaces received the same antique encrustation as larger monuments. In 1552, when he designed the Chateau of Anet, Philibert De l'Orme garnished the entrance gate and garden fence with sturdy pillars capped with urns, the quintessential antique object (fig. 2.2).²⁴⁶ By casting the urns as stone, De l'Orme removed from them their fungible purpose and reified them as independent architectural subjects. Such ruminations on the object as a subject fit for monumental display emerged as well at the Chateau of Écouen, where Jean Bullant carved small vases in stone in a way that similarly conflated the antique and the architectural.²⁴⁷

Antique things like urns or candelabra, were frequently displayed or discussed as if they held the same significance as geometrical architectural fragments. Circulating around 1510, the engravings of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia illustrate this phenomenon. In the engraved print we find a selection of architectural things such as capitals and bases, which are presented in a dissected and objectified manner alongside an urn, an acanthus leaf, and the head of a satyr (fig. 2.6). Moreover, vases were frequently depicted as the paradigmatic trope for explaining the principles of perspective.²⁴⁸ For instance, a vase could provide the model for geometrical perfection, as Serlio explained in his *First Book*

²⁴⁵ Leone Battista Alberti, *L'Architecture and Art de bien bastir*. Translated by Jean Martin. Paris: Jacques Kerver, 1553.

²⁴⁶ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 412-414. De l'Orme oversaw all of the ornament of the chateau.

²⁴⁷ Peter Fuhring discusses this in regards to Écouen. "Ornamental Prints", in *The French Renaissance in Prints*. (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994), 161.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

on *Architecture* (fig. 2.3).²⁴⁹ As a small object, it could be held in the hand and might thus act as a microcosm of large-scale buildings. We see this in Lazare de Baïf's treatise *De Vasculis*, where an antique vase provides the prototype for ideal geometrical composition and thus stands for knowledge of the liberal art of geometry (fig. 2.4).²⁵⁰

Making "Things" out of Objects

Although these small objects have their provenance in architectural theory stemming from Vitruvius, they also materialized in the sixteenth century amidst exclusive discourses generated through activities at court and among humanists. In particular, the arcane language that cropped up to describe the elements of the antique (and architecture) and the collecting of luxury goods brought antiquarianism and architecture into the same conversation. Across Europe antique goods were increasingly objectified, classified typologically, and named in the process of trying to understand the past in material terms. Erasmus remarked on this activity in a letter to Haio Herman of Friesland. Though Erasmus was interested in Greek terminology, he acknowledged the historical work of the two French scholars, de Baïf and Guillaume Budé, who both excavated the material world of Rome.²⁵¹ Baïf was counsellor to Francis I, and by 1525 he was in the service of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, but he was best known for his three books on the subject of antiquities: *De re vestiaria*, *De re navali*, and *De Vasculis* (1526, 1531, 1536), which

²⁴⁹ Sebastiano Serlio, *Le premier livre d'architecture...* (Paris: Jean Barbé, 1545).

²⁵⁰ Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*. ed. Joseph Rykwert, 422-423. Both large-scale monuments and smaller objects could be analysed according to their expression of *lineamenta*, a term Alberti used for evaluating beauty or harmony in architecture.

²⁵¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1356 to 1534, 1523 to 1524*. (University of Toronto Press. Toronto: 1974), 339-340.

took up the subjects of clothing, ships, and vases, respectively (fig. 2.8).²⁵² Baïf had a fourth book underway on the subject of architecture, but it was never published.²⁵³ His work on objects furnished vocabularies for architectural discourses; *stola* as defined in his *De re vestiaria* was adopted by Walter Ryff in his depiction of caryatids for his 1548 edition of Vitruvius.²⁵⁴

These visual documents of material culture were circulating increasingly through the kingdom as the printing press gained headway. Rebecca Zorach has shown how notions of excess fostered in the late sixteenth century were the results of seeds planted in the first decades of the century, which cultivated airs of “newness, foreignness, and arcane knowledge.”²⁵⁵ Zorach begins her analysis of a slightly later period than the one

²⁵² There are two publications held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto: Lazare de Baïf, *De vasculis libellus. Adulescentulorum causa ex Bayfio[...]*. Paris. Rob. Stefani, 1536. The second is the following: Lazare de Baïf, *De Vasculis, Annotationes in legem II*, Basel, Froben, 1541. In the decade between the first publication by in 1531 and Froben’s publication of 1541 there is a difference of perception in terms of what acts as the important harbinger of antiquity. In the 1531 publication the descriptions of antique vases are classified by type, and more significantly by material. By 1541 the illustrations present a slightly different narrative. Each vase was depicted to have slightly different characteristics due to their function, which required certain elements, such as a lid or a pourable spout. But all vases were carriers of antique ornament, a combination of figural and abstract ornamental motifs that included grotesqueries, antique masks, and ancient mythological figures as well as cornices, fluting and dentils (abstract ornament that merely referred to the antique in its assembled combinations). In essence, architectural members such as columns or candelabra are similar ‘carriers’ of the antique as the vases and ships. Not only are they composed of the same repertory of elements they are given meaning almost exclusively via their ornamental composition and its reference to antiquity. This was because the tiny fragments were also increasingly given prestige as ‘objects’ in their own right; Another extant publication was taken up by Lazare Baïf, *Annotationes in legem II* Basel: Apud Hier. (Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, 1537), Edited by Charles Estienne.

²⁵³ Richard Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65*. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); Also see the manuscript held in the BNF, MS. Fr 3941.

²⁵⁴ Yves Pauwels, *L’Architecture et le livre en France à la Renaissance. “Une magnifique decadence”?* (Classiques Garnier, Paris: 2013), 165

²⁵⁵ Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 1.

studied here with several examples also discussed here, including Baif's books and the design for candelabra for the entry of Eleanor of Austria into Paris in 1531, that show how the later concepts that point to a flowing nature of abundance were rooted to intense documenting of things exotic and antique several years earlier. Zorach has also shown how, by 1574, the royal historiographer Bernard de Girard spoke of architecture of the earlier sixteenth century in terms of magnificence, massive expenditure, and even excess. He writes:

It was thirty or forty years ago that this excessive and magnificent manner of building came to France....[Before this] one knew nothing of confecting so many friezes, cornices, frontispieces, podia, pedestals, capitals, architraves, stylobates, flutings, moldings and columns, and, in brief, one was not aware of all these antique manners of architecture, which mean spending great sums.²⁵⁶

De Girard's elaboration of buildings as a confection of the many parts that he names overwhelms the reader by eschewing any sense of the whole building. For de Girard the building—its excess and magnificence—was wrapped up in all its language of the antique. In some circles, the rematerialization of precious 'things' in books and as printed imagery testifies to the complex and changing relationship between abundance and excess from the early to the later sixteenth century.²⁵⁷ However, in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, when the court and humanists were not yet awash in visual information as they would have been after the printing press had settled in post-1550, the profuse and plentiful ornament of things as part of the architectural repertory

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid. Zorach discusses these changing attitudes toward abundance and excess from the early to the later periods of the sixteenth century.

may not have been considered quite so excessive as it would have been when de Girard described it later in the century.

Objectifying Things: Nomenclature and Collecting as Architecture

What of the naming of these things? When architecture's fragments began to emerge in engravings, etchings, and drawings that passed through workshops and when they were recorded and procured for paper collections, these part-elements were subjected to the act of naming. The habit of intense labeling emerged much earlier than de Girard's writings, and it permeated contracts for works, discussions about works, and even treatises and texts. All kinds of fragments, modules, and parts of objects were increasingly known in terms of their Latin or Greek terminology in the early sixteenth century. When named, such species of ornament were transformed into specific things, which constituted a world governed by those who spoke that language.

Naming was not an end in itself; it always had an epistemological directive connecting knowledge with meaning and power. Umberto Eco provides a metaphor in a passage in his book, *The Search for the Perfect Language*:

God spoke before all things, and said "Let there be light" (Genesis 1:3–4).

Thus Creation itself arose through an act of speech; it is only by giving things names that he created them and gave them an ontological status:

“And God called the light Day and the darkness He called Night...and
God called the firmament Heaven” (1:5, 8).²⁵⁸

The act of naming is the act of creation. Recording and publishing the names of antique ornaments gave wide access to a new public world that could be described in effable terms while also confining its access to the nobility and intelligentsia.²⁵⁹

It is not surprising that the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* made use of arcane language of the antique to present the detail of architecture to readers. For Colonna, antiquity was reinvented as a universe dreamt by the hero Poliphilo but shared as a mental state with the reader. The book opens with the phrase: “The Hypnerotomachia of Poliphilo, in which it is shown that all human things are but a dream, and many other things worthy of knowledge and memory.”²⁶⁰ The dedicatory epistle outlines the scope and boundaries of Poliphilo’s antique cosmos:

[Poliphilo] represents himself as having seen many ancient things worthy of memory, and everything that he says he has seen he describes point by point in the appropriate terms and in an elegant style: pyramids, obelisks, huge ruins of buildings, the varieties of columns, their measurements,

²⁵⁸ Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans James Fentress. (Blackwell. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1995), 7

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 190-191; Eco discusses the medieval differences between the effable and ineffable as a consequence of truth.

²⁶⁰ Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, trans. Jocelyn Godwin, 1. This is Godwin’s English translation of Colonna’s original publication. I chose to depict this version as I want to underscore the original context in which Poliphilo wrote (instead of the French translation).

capitals, bases, epistyles or straight beams, bent beams, zophori or friezes, and cornices with their ornaments.²⁶¹

Poliphilo's ancient world is also an airless landscape magically brought into existence through the reader's comprehension of its particles and fragments.

There is also the matter of terminology in architectural treatises. In many ways, architecture is defined by its lexicon of parts; these parts are abstract in the sense that they comprise a highly specialized vocabulary. Alberti provided new terminology for all of architecture's parts, but it was not until the illustrated treatises of Cesariano's *Vitruvius*, Sagredo's *Medidas*, and Serlio's *Book IV*—all popular in France—provided images that elucidated the esoteric terms by directly corresponding to them. Krista De Jonge has shown in her analysis comparing architectural terms from Pieter Coecke's translations of Serlio's treatises how Vitruvian vocabulary was introduced.²⁶² In the French translation, highly specialized ancient words such as *echine*, *stilobate*, *astragalus*, *fontispice*, *zophoro*, *abacus*, and *frize*, for instance, were given a slightly French gloss as they were peppered throughout the text. Coecke retained the erudite Vitruvian language for the most part through the German, Flemish, and French examples. As De Jonge puts it,

Coecke much preferred to use the Graeco-Latin terms mentioned by Serlio (who always added the *volgare* term to be understood), than to search for equivalent words in Flemish, or as the case might be, French, and when

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, 5.

²⁶² Krista De Jonge, "Inventing the Vocabulary of Antique Architecture." *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*. eds. H.J. Cook & S. Dupré. (Zurich: Verlag, 2012), 226.

necessary even coined new Latin or Greek-sounding terms inspired by the Vitruvian repertory.²⁶³

It is interesting to note, as De Jonge also points out, that Coecke's texts of the 1540s did not make recourse to the language of the mason, as this was referred to as a "corruption" of the original. It may also give us a clue that the perceived audience for these early translated texts were humanists, not craftsmen. Yet in the later 1540s and 50s, when Jean Martin translated Alberti's and Serlio's treatises into French, he was less concerned about linguistic corruption; he incorporated terminology that was specific to the crafts as they were practiced in the French context.²⁶⁴ These differences of translation may suggest that although the antique as a visual discourse was granted authority in all crafts, the corresponding architectural language was still considered exclusive in the early 1540s.

Nomenclature and the Candelabrum

In prominent cases it is evident that the naming of objects and parts constituted a vital social discourse. One such event occurred in 1531 when a candelabrum took centre stage as the royal gift at Eleanor of Austria's entry into Paris.²⁶⁵ As wife of Francis I and sister to Charles V, Eleanor was given a grand and conspicuous entry for her marriage to the

²⁶³ Ibid, 226.

²⁶⁴ On Jean Martin's translations, see Mario Carpo, "Problèmes de la traduction du *De re aedificatoria* d'Alberti, 1553," *Jean Martin. Un traducteur au temps de Francois Ier et de Henri II, Cahiers V.L. Saulnier*, 16, (Paris,: PENS, 1999), 127-135.

²⁶⁵ It is worth noting that this event occurred prior to the French publication of Sagredo's *Raison d'Architecture* (1536).

king. In turn, the city was compelled to make a majestic impression by ensuring that the gift presented to her on behalf of city officials was of unprecedented importance.

Queens entering Paris were usually presented with a buffet of silver plate, but the officials in charge of Eleanor's entry pressured the city council to substitute two monumental silver candelabra for this conventional gift. These candelabra, which were prominently fashioned in the mode *à l'antique*, made an enormous impression for several reasons. They engendered a conversation in which many people participated at various levels of society months in advance of the entry itself. The discourse was shaped by the more specific discussion of Eleanor's candelabrum when its design was disputed at city hall. Notably, when the candelabrum was brought up, it was not referred to merely as a single candelabrum (or candelabra pair) but instead it was described as an ensemble of parts that were each individually named.

In recording the debate within the halls of city council, the clerk who transcribed the debate over the gift showed that it was conceived as an aggregate.

“(...)Above a large band in rounded form, garnished with foliage *à l'antique*, on which there are 18 satyrs and fauns arranged in a dance; Above a round and square platter garnished with a cornice and “*art qui traive*”, bearing circles and squares and friezes, on which there is an inscription (...)” The description of the candelabrum as an assemblage of various antique elements is continued, “In the middle of these is a baluster

dressed in the foliage (*feilles*) on a flower in the shape of a pyramid

(...).”²⁶⁶

The discussions surrounding the approval of the gift invited those involved in the preparations to demonstrate their acquaintance with the form of the candelabrum as a collection of newly validated antique parts but also as a prestigious object.²⁶⁷ This ekphrasis showcased the antique vocabulary of the speaker or writer. The city clerk did not fully understand the terminology bandied about to discuss the candelabrum. By not sharing in the comprehension of this exclusive language, the clerk misunderstood the antique word “*architrave*”, which is exclusive to the vocabulary of the antique and architecture, and instead wrote “*art qui traive*,” thus imagining a phrase that translates as art that “*traive*.” Whether the clerk was thinking of art that travels or art that represents

²⁶⁶ “Lettres missives de monsr le Gouverneur de Paris.” 17 Sept, in *Histoire générale de Paris. Registres des deliberations du bureau de la ville de Paris*. Ed. Alexandre Tuetey. Vol. 2. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), 76. The original French passage is as follows. Plus, au dessus ung grand collet en forme ronde, garny de feuilles d’antique, sur lequel y a dix huit satyres el feaunes en forme de dance; au dessus une assiete ronde et carré garnie d’une cornice et art qui traive (lisez: architrave), portant rondeur et carreure et frize, en laquelle y a escripture, sur laquelle sont assis deux satyres et soubz ung siège d’anticque portans ung cornet partans de leurs bouches, duquel il sort une fleur servant à porter des flambeaulx. Au meilleu d’iceulx est ung ballustrerevestu de feilles sur une fleur servant de piramide, ouquel y a deux teblettes a tachées portans la devise de ladicte Dame; sur la teste et molure d’icelluy y a une terrasse portans flambes et brindelles estrelz en forme de boys et triumphes pendans; et sur icelle terrasse ung grand phénix, lequel demonstre par ses ailles faire feu.” The candlestick and the description of it in the printed account (a passage from which is reproduced above) is addressed by Zorach. See Zorach, *Abundance and Excess*, 6 And ft. 11).

²⁶⁷ William Kemp. “Transformations in the Printing of Royal Entries during the reign of Francois Ier; The Role of Geoffroy Tory.” *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century. Event, Image, Text*. Ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin. (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. Toronto: 2007), 111-132.

truce (*trêve*), it is hard to know, but it nonetheless shows us that the language of antiquity was composed of an exclusive vocabulary established as a repertory of ornament.²⁶⁸

Several editions of pamphlets followed the event of Eleanor's entry.²⁶⁹ One of the lavishly published books written by Guillaume Bochetel and printed by Geoffroy Tory (1531) included an equally unprecedented woodcut of a candelabrum on the title page. The appearance of the gift on the title page marks its importance not only as an object but also as a concept (fig. 2.9). Of all the rich and luxurious objects included in the event, a candelabrum was deemed the most dignified and appropriate to represent the ritual. Its assemblage of discrete elements is underscored on the title page. The idea that the fragmented manifestation of the object was as important as the object itself is present here.²⁷⁰ Tory employed a scheme whereby the candelabrum acted as an explanatory diagram with the corresponding letters A, B, and C used to draw out the differences of each of the object's sections. This suggests that he comprehended the value of the candelabrum as a pedagogical tool. Although he was concerned with explaining the iconography rather than the ornamental repertory, its fragmented depiction nonetheless led to its increasing objectification.²⁷¹ Choosing the candelabrum as a site of social

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 76.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 111-132.

²⁷⁰ Serving as a memory of the event, the booklet was the first in France to commemorate a royal entry in the Roman font. The designer of the book was Geoffroy Tory, publisher and humanist, who was well versed in architecture; he published the very first issue of Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* in France in 1512. Remarkably, the booklet contained a series of sculptural borders, including candelabra frames that provided points of entry for specific junctures, such as the entry Parlement officials, officers of the court of Justice and, finally, the Queen. Anticipating the triumphal arches that would eventually appear in entry booklets, this innovative booklet draws upon sculpture as the reference, where the borders frame the events like a narrative, not unlike the organization of a retable.

²⁷¹ Waters, "A Renaissance without Order. Single-Sheet Engravings, and the Mutability of Architectural Prints," 488-523.

discourse and exchange is noteworthy, particularly as the object represented the most cutting edge artistic ferment where sculpture, architecture, and the collecting of objects bled into one another.

Things of Triumph: Architecture as “Collection”

Besides accruing terminology, another way in which architecture was objectified and portrayed as an assemblage a “thing” worthy of sudden notice and scrutiny was through classification and collection. The representation of antique objects, statuary, fragments, and other exotic things as an assembled collection is not unlike conceptualizations of the candelabrum.²⁷² Giulio Romano’s drawing for the *Triumph of Scipio* features a monumental candelabrum composed of statuary or “live” elements, as if the candelabrum genus provided a hypothetical container for such disparate elements (fig. 2.17). Similarly, Bernardino Gatti’s friezes flanking the scenes in the life of the Virgin frescoes in Sta Maria di Campagna also shows the balustered form of the candelabra accompanied by plump putti offering gifts of antiquities: vases, jewelry, small urns, etc., as if the pairing of the stalk of the candelabrum and various objects of triumph, or statuary figures, were inexorably entwined in the early modern imagination.

Moreover, if Vitruvius discussed ornament as a phenomenon born of representing structural elements, then he may have been surprised to find that much of the encrusted ornament *à l’antique* found on tombs, candelabra, and fountains of the early French

²⁷² Hermann Egger. *Codex escurialenses. Ein Skizzenbuch aus Werkstatt.* (Soest, Holland: Davaco Publishers, 1975). Ghirlandaio’s *Codex Escorialense*, for instance, depicts grotesques and candelabra of a similar type but each transformed into their unique forms, as discussed in chapter two.

Renaissance often represented distinct things like coins, tabernacles, statues, and trophies—things that in no way referred back to the construction of a building. These were not the abstract fragments that required nomenclature (*cymus*, *echine*, *stilobate*, etc.) in order to be understood as nouns; rather the ornament displayed on these monuments was the rhetoric of acquisitive triumph. Referred to by Claire Lepraik Guest as a “fragment aesthetic,” the appropriation of antique objects was related to fantasies where the display of *spolia* was a surrogate for military accomplishments. Lepraik Guest records a passage from Joachim Du Bellay’s *Deffense et Illustration* (1549) that recounts the practice of making use of *spolia* at the heart of architectural ornament of the period discussed in this thesis. Du Bellay writes, “March boldly then, Frenchman, to that proud Roman city: and as you have done more than once, adorn your temple and altars with spoils seized from it.”²⁷³

Like collage, incorporating *spolia* and found fragments into a new composition required that these antique particles were understood from a point of view that eschewed “*auctoritas*, where fragments point to a whole which is unrecoverable but normative,” and rather conceived of antiquity as “*vestustas*, where a lost whole to which each fragment points can be reconstructed, but also adapted to different contexts.”²⁷⁴ These ideals of a reconstructive antiquity underlie the processes of assemblage, but they also point to an early modern concept of architectural design that borrowed from the schema of the triumphal arch as scaffold for display of loot and regalia. More specifically, such

²⁷³ Joachim du Bellay, *Poésies* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), 264; Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*. I have used Lepraik Guest’s translation of the quote. The original is as follows. “Là donc, Français, marches courageusement vers cette superbe cite romaine et des serves dépouilles s’elle (comme vous avez fait plus d’une fois) ornez vos temples et autels,” 468.

²⁷⁴ Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 468.

ideals allowed for historical details, fragments, and shards to be recombined in museums, on facades, and in tombs, and redeveloped as political or familiar narratives, much as the ruins and wrecks in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* generated a story within the dream structure.²⁷⁵

The “façade museum,” a type of building whose façade was conceived as a display case or complex pedestal with niches to show off collected trophies, statues, or other antiquities, seems to be a driving precept of the earliest architectural innovation in France. Some of what we know of these façade museums comes from an archaeological project described in a letter by Raphael and Castiglione to Leo X.²⁷⁶ Lepraik Guest discusses the letter in relation to a shift that occurred in response to the popularity of *spolia* museums, including those on facades, and the decorum and establishment of proper habits for regulating exactly how these disparate elements should be holistically combined as a single façade. While the details of this erudite discourse do not need to be outlined here, what is important is that it provides evidence that the spheres of collecting antiques and architectural design were enmeshed.

The concepts of “architecture” and “antique” were not always so distinct from one another as they are today. Architectural treatises of the first few decades of the sixteenth century indicate that these concepts had porous boundaries. When Sagredo initially published his treatise in Spanish as *Medidas Romanos (The Way of the Romans)*, the title spoke only about antiquity without referring to architecture.²⁷⁷ The antique was presented

²⁷⁵ I would like to thank Philip Sohm for his discussion with me regarding the dream structure in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

²⁷⁶ Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 466.

²⁷⁷ Diego de Sagredo’s *Medidas del Romano* was first published in Toledo in 1526, and translated by Simon de Colines into French (*circa* 1536, Paris) as the first illustrated

as a process through the use of the word “way.”²⁷⁸ Yet it focused on objects we conventionally accept as architectural: the orders, triumphal arches, bases, and other elements of physical buildings. When the text was translated a decade later into French, the vague reference to the “way” of the Romans was replaced with the word “architecture.” The new title read *Raison d’Architecture*, suggesting that the fields of the antique and architecture were often completely merged.²⁷⁹

We can observe how French nobles en route to Italy throughout the wars in the earliest decades of the sixteenth century may have conceived of architecture in the most fragmented sense in terms of *spolia*. For instance, when Francois I entered Lyon en route to Milan, he made his descent into the city toward the cathedral, where he passed through a triumphal arch whose main attributes were depictions of candelabra. One observer wrote that the portal was “*paint à candélabres et fassai antique.*”²⁸⁰ And when Philippe de Commines, a diplomat and historian embedded in the French military during the Italian wars, wrote about the conquests of Milan, he specifically recalled the Certosa Monastery in Pavia in terms of its “marbles” (fig. 2.11 & 2.12 A).²⁸¹ Though the

treatise on architecture to be published in France with the new title, *Raison d'architecture antique, extraicte de Vitruve et autres anciens architecteurs nouvellement traduit Despaingol en Francoys : alutilite de ceux qui se delectent en edifices.*²⁷⁷ Diego da Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano*. Toledo 1526; Diego da Sagredo. *Raison d'architecture antique, extraicte de Vitruve et autres architecteurs nouvellement traduit Despaingol en Francoys [...]*. (Paris: Simon de Colines, circa 1536).

²⁷⁸ Sagredo, *Medidas del Romano* (Toledo). On the candelabra and balusters in Sagredo’s writing, see Llewellyn, “Two Notes on Diego da Sagredo,” 300.

²⁷⁹ Lemerle, “La version française des *Medidas del Romano*,” 93-106.

²⁸⁰ Richard Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France*, 39; Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*. 144-148; Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 3.

²⁸¹ Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*, 144-148; In fact, some of the pillars in Francis I’s entry into Lyon, 1515, were described as being “de Lombardie”.²⁸¹ On Commines’s comment about the ‘marbles’ on the Certosa, see: Andrew R Scoble, *The Memoirs of*

expression “marbles” is a literal reference to the colourful and varied material comprising the building’s face, it also suggests the presence of antiquities. For the façade of the Certosa was a display of portrait busts, sacred figures, framed marble roundels, baluster columns, and pilasters containing reliefs of candelabra and grotesques.²⁸² On the socle of the façade appear several medallions depicting Roman emperors. Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, the sculptor in charge of the Certosa’s façade, was almost certainly consulting ancient coins and medals for the design of the roundels (fig. 2.12 B).²⁸³

The earliest buildings to import a mode *à l’antique* into France continued in the vein of the façade museum. The Hotel Princé in Angers (fig. 0.5) presents several series of framed trophies and other Italianate motifs among portrait roundels that hang like busts on the wall, even if these “walls” were exterior. Although actual “old” antiques were not set into the surface, “things antique” such as urns, vases, balusters, and candelabra appear as faint outlines, reflecting the contents of a collector’s cabinet or *studiolo*. Arguably even the organization of ornament on the stairs of the Chateau of Blois leads the viewer to appreciate each element on its own terms, rather than as a composite whole (fig. 1.3 B). Moreover, antique statuary and architectural ruins were reified in miniature as architectural ornament. The capitals in the Chateau of Chambord

Philip de Commines, vol. 2. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856), 283-284; On the façade of the Certosa, see Giovanni Antonio Amadeo: *scultura e architettura del suo tempo*. Curated by Janice Shell and Liana Castelfranchi. (Cisalpino, Milan:1993). Andrea S. Norris, The tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti at the Certosa di Pavia (PhD Diss. New York University, Graduate School of Arts and Science, 1977), 134; L. Marchesi, “Da Bernardino da Novate a Bernardino da Nove, scultore al mausoleo di Gian Galeazzo Visconti nella Certosa di Pavia,” *Arte Lombarda*, (102-103. 1992), 74-76.

²⁸² *La Certosa di Pavia : il grande racconto della facciata*. Curated by Luisa Erba, Maria Teresa Mazzilli Savini, Chiara Pagani. L. (Ponzio e figli. Pavia: 2009.)

²⁸³ Charles. R. Morsheck. *Relief sculpture for the facade of the Certosa di Pavia, 1473-1499*, (New York: Garland Pub.,1978), 236-238.

scarcely strive to mimic the orders, but instead provide pedestals for antique statuary. Putti, in the guise of imperial portrait busts, are presented as if on plinths for perusal (fig. 1.20 & 1.21). In smaller chateaux such as the Portal à l'antique at the Maison Dupré-Latour in Valence a similar approach is taken (fig. 1.6). While the process of its design approximates the cut-and-paste method of woodcut design of title pages, the essence of the triumphal arch as a scaffold for displaying *spolia* is undoubtedly apparent: the putti and imperial portrait busts, but also the frieze of what appears to be miniature statuary attest to these desires in the construction of this portal.

The changing habits of collecting in the first few decades of the sixteenth century were in dialogue with architecture à l'antique, insofar as they were sometimes inseparable from it.²⁸⁴ Collecting precious objects had always been a pastime of the nobility, but after 1400, when exchanges between the French court and Italian princes became more commonplace, new types of objects increased in value.²⁸⁵ French

²⁸⁴ One important avenue for the establishment of collections in France was the copying, drawing and printing of objects after excavations, but also after Fontainebleau; See Sarah Cree, "Translating Stone into Paper: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Prints after Antique Sculpture," *Paper Museums. The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500-1800*. ed. Rebecca Zorach & Elizabeth Rodini. (The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art: The University of Chicago, 2005), 75-76. Cree discusses the first Italian sculptors, such as Giuliano da Sangallo and Michelangelo Buonarroti who were in Rome to watch excavations and draw the statues coming from the earth.

²⁸⁵ On changes at this time in practices of collecting, see *Early modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*. Paula Findlen, ed. (Routledge, London: 2013); Genoways, Hugh H. *Museum Origins: Readings in early Museum history and Philosophy*. Ed Hugh H Genoways and Mary Anne Andrei. (Left Coast press, Walnut Creek CA: 2008). On specific collection, see Jean Adhémar, *Collections de Louis XIV : dessins, albums, manuscrits: Exposition: Orangerie des Tuileries, 7 octobre 1977--9 janvier 1978*. Directed by Jean Adhémar. (Éditions des musées nationaux. Paris: 1977); See individual studies on studiolo: *Le Studiolo d'Isabelle d'Este: catalogue*. Sous la direction de Sylvie Béguin par Candace Adelson. (Etude au Laboratoire de recherche des Musées de France sous la direction de Madeleine Hours, par Suzy Delbourgo et Lola Faillant. (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1975); *Lo studiolo del Duca : il ritorno*

antiquarianism is usually associated with King Francis I's renovations of the hunting lodge of Fontainebleau in 1528. Francis Haskell and Nicolas Penny claim that it was not until 1540 that Francois I could "appreciate to the full that an essential element of modernity, as the Italians conceived it, lay in the worship of antiquity."²⁸⁶ In fact, in 1518–1519, Cardinal Bibbiena had written with surprise that the King of France had still not procured any ancient or modern marble sculpture.²⁸⁷ Two events, both taking place in 1540, have claimed near legendary status regarding the induction of antiquarianism in France. The first was the making of a copy of the famous antique figure *Bronze with a Thorn* sculpted by Benvenuto Cellini, and which was given as a gift to the king from the papal legate to France, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. The second was sending Primaticcio to Italy to copy antiquities that could then be refashioned by artists at Fontainebleau.²⁸⁸ The assumption was that through imitation, antiques could be produced within the sculptural workshops of France.

There were many collectors of antiques in France before 1540, but these collections were more a panoply of unusual fragments and exotic objects and not the canon of figural "sculpture" that was revered in the 1540s. Scholars Margaret McGowan and Richard Cooper have addressed at length the collecting interests of French humanists

degli uomini illustri alla corte di Urbino. Curated by Alessandro Marchi. (Skira, Milano: 2015); On intarsia and some collections in studiolo, see several essays on the subject in Luca Trevisan, *Renaissance Intarsia: Masterpieces of Wood Inlay*. Ed. Luca Trevisan. Translated by Marguerite Shore. Abbeville Press. New York: 2012. First Ed.

²⁸⁶ Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*. (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 1. By the accounts of Haskell and Penny, 'antique sculpture' is antiquarian (old) and usually constituted as a figure in the round.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 2.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*; See Nicole Bensoussan. *Casting a Second Rome: Primaticcio's bronze copies and the Fontainebleau project*. (PhD Thesis. Yale University. 2009.)

and nobles, but only a few instances are discussed here as select examples. In 1494, when Charles VIII returned from Naples, he brought with him a collection that included forty-three tons of diverse objects including “*tapisseries, libraire, peintures, pierres de marbre et de porfire et autres meubles.*”²⁸⁹ Amboise, the seat of court culture in France at that time, became in effect a gallery of exotic objects pillaged mostly from travels in Italy and usually in the wake of military crises.²⁹⁰ Before Fontainebleau, as early as 1526–1527, Guillaume du Bellay was sent on a diplomatic mission to Italy, where he collected antiques for the king of France. The Lyonnais humanist Claude Bellièvre visited Rome in this same period to peruse the collections of important Roman families such as that of Gabriele de Rossi. But he also recorded many of the great Roman monuments and their details such as inscriptions, statuary, and ornament.²⁹¹ Bellièvre’s interests were not confined to Italy; when he returned to Lyon, he studied the antiquities at home in France.²⁹²

In the early sixteenth century, antiques did not have to be old.²⁹³ Records tell us, for instance, that Charles VIII had “antiquities made in Rome.”²⁹⁴ At the time, to be

²⁸⁹ The household accounts of Charles VIII are recorded and kept in the BNF: N. a. fr. 7644, ff. 195-5v, dated 24 décembre, 1495. Some of the contents are reprinted in Margaret McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in late Renaissance France*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 56-57; Also see Richard Cooper *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France*; Jean Adhémar. *Influences antiques sand l’art du moyen age Français*. (The Warburg Institute, London: 1939), 120-127.

²⁹⁰ Adhémar. *Influences*, 120-127.

²⁹¹ Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France*, 23-25.

²⁹² Claude Bellièvre, *Souvenirs de Voyages en Italie et en Orient*. (Geneva, Librairie E. Droz. 1956); Also see Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France*, 23-25. Claude Bellièvre recorded monuments of Rome, including the Circus of Domitian, the statues on the Quirinale and he transcribed roman inscriptions as well.

²⁹³ For this reason, scholars have been reluctant to consider collecting practices of the first few decades of the sixteenth century as truly antiquarian.

considered antique, an object was not required to be ancient or even particularly old.²⁹⁵ Small sculptures or architectural works might refer to original antique projects that had developed authority through contemporary imitations in print or marble.²⁹⁶ Italian sculptors like Andrea Riccio were renowned for creating newly made antique works.²⁹⁷ Moreover, before 1540, French collectors, furnishing their homes or gardens with antiques, were likely to commission them from contemporary sculptors. These buildings presenting displays of antique motifs “made after” true Roman antiques blended two auspicious spheres of artistic activity: making and collecting.

Luxury Goods and Architectural Display

²⁹⁴ Janet Cox-Rearick, *La Collection de François Ier*. ed. Janet Cox-Rearick. (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux, 1972).

²⁹⁵ Leon Rosenstein, “The Aesthetic of the Antique,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 45. Vol.4 (1987): 393-402.

²⁹⁶ This is especially the case for the work of Paduan sculptors, whose works were often referred to as ‘antiques’: Jonathan Spicer, “An “Antique” Brass “Candlestick in the Shape of Hercules” by Peter Vischer the Younger and Workshop.” *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, Vol. 63 (2005): 65-71.

²⁹⁷ Ian Wardropper, *European Sculpture, 1400–1900, In the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, no. 14 (2011), 50–53; The sixteenth-century passion for collecting objects contributed to cultural reverence toward certain object types, classes of particular kinds of things better suited to signal antiquity than other things. Early in the sixteenth century, ships stood for antiquity as an ideal subject, one whose authority was first signalled by its presence in Roman carvings. The low-reliefs on Trajan’s column in Rome were one such site for the excavation of antique imagery. Artists plundered the pictures as evidence of Roman material culture. When small bronze antiques were first popularized in collections across Europe, the Roman ship was a quintessential theme reifying the antique as an idea. The ship-image familiar from Trajan’s column was one of the most common types appearing across media as ‘officially’ antique. Moreover, the north Italian sculptor Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi was venerated for his classical sculptures that rendered full-scale figural subjects as perfect miniatures to be held in one’s hand and preserved in the *studiolo*. So ensconced in a narrative of antiquity was he that he went by the name Antico.

Louis XII established similar habits of collecting at court when he returned to France with a cornucopia of precious and exotic objects, not to mention artists who could recreate antique and Italianate things.²⁹⁸ Following in the king's suit, the French minister of state, Georges d'Amboise, who was also ambassador and cardinal, made himself known as much through his habits of collecting antique objects and his importation of several Italian artists into France as through his titles. One of the earliest consistent procurers of antiquities in Renaissance France, the cardinal had accompanied Louis XII on his campaigns into Lombardy and had helped reorganize the province by securing French control. But he also knew the Certosa of Pavia and its tombs well. As discussed in other chapters, his Chateau of Gaillon was significant for several reasons. It incorporated the Italianate vocabulary *à l'antique* as signifiers of the cardinal's artistic erudition on its façade.

In the creation of the chateau of Gaillon, triumph emerged in terms of processional features and as an act of showcasing *spolia* of the antique.²⁹⁹ The chateau's main portal the *Porte des Gènes*, a massive triumphal passageway, was incorporated into

²⁹⁸ Thomas Arlt, *Andrea Mantegna: Triumph Caesars: ein Meisterwerk der Renaissance in neuem Licht*. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005). Mantegna's *Triumphs* may have been inspired by accounts by Suetonius and Pliny, or perhaps even Petrarch, although the themes in the paintings reflected an organization that privileged the showing of different kinds of objects collected in the campaigns. The canvases are themed as follows: The first four take the subject of bearers of pictures, standards, trophies/coins and vases, respectively. The fifth pairs elephants with candelabra; the elephants are emblematic of Asia and the candelabrum may refer to the domination of Jerusalem as signified in the menorah on the arch of Trajan. The sixth painting continues the theme displaying precious objects, such as coins, trophies and arms. The seventh and eighth present the human capital: captives/slaves and musicians. Finally, fronting the procession are Julius Caesar himself and his legal cohort in the guise of senators.

²⁹⁹ Lepraik Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance*, 360-362. Lepraik Guest writes about the "celebratory character of the act of showing" in relation to Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* and the decorations in the various chambers of the Gonzaga residence.

the chateau in imitation of Italian palaces and with anticipation that the cardinal might host triumphal entries into his chateau. Visible upon stepping through its threshold was an impressive frieze of a triumphal procession in the manner of Andrea Mantegna, an artist greatly admired at the court of France. Although we do not know who carved the great relief in the hall at Gaillon—whether it was Mantegna or after his paintings—we know that the cardinal was an admirer of Mantegna’s work. Whether or not the cardinal saw Mantegna’s *Triumphs of Caesar*, or perhaps drawings of the subject, is unknown, but he was almost certainly familiar with notions of triumph that went hand in hand with the desire of political acquisition. The frieze in Gaillon no longer exists, but a letter from Jacopo Probo d’Atri, the Count of Pianella, to Isabella d’Este-Gonzaga, Marchioness of Mantua describing the Gaillon frieze gives the sense that it was similar to Mantegna’s *Triumphs*. Mantegna’s original nine paintings were commissioned by Duke Gonzaga between 1484 and 1492 to hang in his ducal palace.³⁰⁰ The series shows Caesar’s campaigns (his victory over the Gauls and the recovery of Pontus in Asia Minor) and the victorious procession of Roman soldiers carrying spoils of war led by Caesar and Roman senators (fig. 2.10). Vasari’s account of Mantegna’s *Triumphs* lingers less on the procession itself and more on the objects, “ornaments and countless pieces of plate.”³⁰¹ Vasari writes:

³⁰⁰ Roberto Weiss. “The Castle of Gaillon in 1509-1510,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 16, No. 1/2 (1953): 1-12. The letter is discussed in this article by Weiss. The frieze is described in a letter by Iacopo Probo d’Atri, Count of Pianella to Isabelle d’Este-Gonzaga; On the Mantegna reliefs, see Paola Tosetti Grandi, *I trionfi di Cesare di Andrea Mantegna : fonti umanistiche e cultura antiquaria alla corte dei Gonzaga*. (Sometti. Mantova: 2008.)

³⁰¹ Vasari, G. *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. J.C. Bondanella and P. Bondanella. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

We can see grouped and cleverly arranged in the Triumph the ornate and beautiful chariot, the figure of a man cursing the victorious hero, the victor's relations, the perfumes, incense, the priests, the bulls crowned for sacrifice, the prisoners, the booty captured by the troops, the rank of the squadrons, the elephants, the spoils, the victories and the cities represented in various chariots, along with a mass of trophies on spears, and with helmets and armour, headgear of all kinds, ornaments, and countless pieces of plate.³⁰²

The spoils in Mantegna's *Triumphs* comprised antique vessels, military gear and costumes, and other regalia as evidence of a sweeping victory in terms of material conquest. There is no doubt that Cardinal d'Amboise tried to recreate this atmosphere of triumph at his own chateau within the building itself, but also in its interior friezes and in the ornament on its façade.

Not surprisingly, when the cardinal died, the spirit of sacred and profane triumph was carried through in his tomb, which was installed within the Cathedral of Rouen.³⁰³ Sculpted by Roland Le Roux, who was given the title "architect of the cathedral" in 1508 and who designed its stunning Gothic portal in 1509–1514, the tomb was in line with the cardinal's earlier projects that displayed his secular and sacred accomplishments, even if it was highly unusual.³⁰⁴ For a wall tomb its conception was innovative.³⁰⁵ Conceived in three horizontal sections, its lowest register displayed six virtues interspersed with

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ He would eventually share his tomb's dedication with his nephew, Georges d'Amboise (II).

³⁰⁴ Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante*, 69-73.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

smaller *pleurants*. The tomb's central platform was a stage for the *priants*, the Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, and his namesake nephew who died in 1550 after having also been named a cardinal. Several saints flank the cardinals, and a sculpted relief of St. George slaying the dragon is framed as a central subject. The succession of fully plastic candelabra crown the most sacred region of the tomb like antique interpretations of Gothic pinnacles (fig. 2.14 A).

Although Le Roux was an expert in the Gothic mode of architecture and ornamentation, he chose the triumphal vocabulary *à l'antique* for the cardinal's tomb. From afar, the Amboise Tomb registers as a monument of sacred triumph, but on closer observation this rhetoric is evident as well in the sheer amount of antique things on display, as if they had been looted from missions of conquest (fig. 2.14 A–E). Trophies came in the form of dolphins, antique vessels, putti, and geometric elements (fig. 2.14 B–E). Conceptually the tomb can be classified as scaffolding for the hanging of “wonders” and “singularities” one might find in the landscape of other worlds, both old and new.³⁰⁶

Abstract elements like pilasters and cornices are on show next to statuary, putti, and even monsters. The pilaster on the left side of the tomb is conceived almost as a cabinet of curiosities for the praying cardinal. Sculpted in the round, the candelabrum is more a collection of objects than a relief or a stacked column (fig. 2.14 D). Cornice fragments, urns, and putti literally bulge from the frame. Just above it, the heads of indigenous people from the new world and skulls are represented as if they were tied to

³⁰⁶ Lorraine Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature. 1150-1750*. (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 148-149. Literature of discovery in the period used the terms ‘wonders’ and ‘singularities’.

the post. Even the winged putto motif, so common in French antique tombs, is shown here as a singular element worthy of its own frame (fig. 2.14 E).

The conglomerate of objects pulled together to present an idea of architecture vis-à-vis the candelabrum presages later concepts of the abundant caryatid, which was sometimes portrayed as a number of unrelated things grouped together to form a whole. For example, Jean Mignon's etching of *Diana of Ephesus* (1540) realizes a similar concept in print, where the caryatid statue is a massing of discrete elements—insects, crustaceans, monsters, satyrs, exotic fruit, volutes, and scrolls.³⁰⁷ We can observe a similar phenomenon in the frames and borders of illuminated books. The manuscript of the *Rosenwald Hours* presents objects for close inspection and admiration in two adjacent pages (fig. 1.28). One is a microcosm of the natural world, with its various floral and insect species captured for close perusal. The other side presents a baluster-type candelabrum; like these natural species, each column is varied from one page to the next.

Architecture and its constituents were also presented in the Amboise tomb as luxury objects, or “foreigners” captured for conspicuous display.³⁰⁸ Similar such tropes were also profoundly apparent in the paintings attributed to the so-called Antwerp Mannerists, a group of painters and designers from the Netherlands. Most of these artists remain anonymous, though their fame extended beyond the Netherlands as several of their paintings ended up in French churches over the course of the sixteenth century.³⁰⁹

Two wings that originally flanked a panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* by the Master of

³⁰⁷ Sarah Cree, “Translating Stone into Paper,” 82-83.

³⁰⁸ These are similar in conception to what Rebecca Zorach refers to as the “captured beauties” of “royal architectural ornaments.” See Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold*, 155.

³⁰⁹ See the catalogue, *ExtravagANT!: A Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting*. Artists associated with their workshops were patronized by the French court to illuminate manuscripts in the same architecturally ebullient manner.

the Antwerp Adoration Group (1510/1525), held in the Art Institute of Chicago, use architecture to achieve two aims. First, it directs the narrative; the pilaster and column in each panel divides the space into two sections allowing the viewer to distinguish the two main actors in the narratives (fig. 2.16). Second, the columns also provide the ground for admiring sumptuous objects, many which were acquired in exotic lands. The eye is invited to wander through the room much as one would through a room of rich, antique pieces assembled as a miscellany and impervious to any rule of order we might associate with theoretical precepts laid out in architectural treatises.

In these panels, architecture and sculpture each have several iterative manifestations, although neither is completely distinct from the other. First, architecture is the *Roma antica* fantasy in the background. Second, in the panel *Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba*, architecture is also the prominent antique column marked by its veined, porphyry marble. Here it acts as a monumental pedestal for the gilded statuary it presents (fig. 2.16 A). Third, architecture is geometrical elements, or frames, contrasted with figural elements. In *David Receiving the Cistern Water from Bethlehem* (fig. 2.16 B) the central pilaster acts as a frame for a gilded statue. Atop its acanthus capital, three putti frolic under an antique tabernacle crown. The richly varied materials used in the costumes reveal a preoccupation with satins, furs, and lace, while the inventive variation of patterns, brocades, and styles beckon the viewer to appraise each individually.

Conclusion

In the early sixteenth century, ornament constituted the nexus of architecture and the antique. Much of this blended field was established through architecture's constituency as a repertory of luxury objects. On one hand scholarship has assigned to architecture's furniture, interiors, and portable objects terms such as *kleinarchitektur* and microarchitecture. However this chapter also considers the "things" of architecture. These roundels, candelabra, balusters, pilasters, egg-and-dart motifs, and other such low relief encrustations that are often found on building facades and microarchitectural surfaces are usually attributed to sculpture. These ornamental elements were often representations of objects which have been rendered functionless due to their representational nature or their inclusion in a collection. Propelling the discourse were small objects, or things, drawn from contexts of collecting and conquest: veined porphyry fragments, capitals made of portrait busts, coin roundels, tiny statuary, and geometrical components. Moreover as ornament, these "things" of both architecture and sculpture increasingly underwent a process of becoming fixed, through humanist acts of ascribing terminology or nomenclature to their dissected body of named, discrete elements.

Chapter Three

Architecture as Frame

In the early sixteenth century, one of architecture's authoritative voices manifested as a frame.³¹⁰ While architectural histories usually cast it as the essential subject “framed” by the ornament it receives or carries, the account of architecture in this thesis suggests that architecture functioned as a framing device. As a frame, especially as a triumphal arch frame, architecture developed an emblematic quality where its presence represented several complex, exclusive, and erudite ideals on behalf of a wide range of communities—publishers, parishes, artists, merchants, and even rulers. In this context, architecture assumed numerous qualities that we associate with ornament, namely that of mediating the social relationships between these professionals, artists, rulers, and other

³¹⁰ My understanding of how architecture operates as a frame is taken from Oleg Grabar's notion of “mediation”, which is discussed in a later part of this chapter. See Oleg Grabar. *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Others such as Erving Goffman and several authors writing in a compendium of essays compiled by Paul Duro have considered the frame's ontology from a variety of perspectives. See Erving Goffman. *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. (New York : Harper & Row, 1974); Paul Duro. *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundary of the artwork*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

communities, and thus establishing a visual language for respective identities that grew out of these changing relationships.

Commonly and increasingly through the sixteenth century, the triumphal arch was the central form that negotiated these relationships. Historians have addressed the emergence of the triumphal arch as a grand portal on the façade of a chateau, such as that of Azay-le-Rideau, and the spectacle of the antique arch as stages in early sixteenth century royal entries.³¹¹ The phenomenon that saw the rise of the triumphal arch in church portals and frontispieces of printed books is less well documented in art history. Yet in all these contexts, the triumphal arch portal was an architectural frame that mediated the interpretation of socio-political events and professional relationships by directing social hierarchy. While candelabra and grotesques acted as mediators between the ruler and the city in the 1520s, by the 1540s the triumphal arch took on a similar role in even wider contexts. In the 1540s, triumphal arches emerged on church facades as principal entrances, with the intent to frame particular members of the laity who were entitled to process through them. These portals spoke on behalf of those who were entitled to pass into its space. The antique doorframes were emblematic of those who received privileged access through particular entrances. The triumphal arch acted as a device signalling civic community, and increasingly, professional identities, especially of the printer-publisher. Eventually the triumphal arch would become one of the most

³¹¹ On the chateau of Azay le Rideau, see Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos. *Les châteaux du Val de Loire*. (Paris: Editions Mengès, 1997), 56-65. The royal entries are discussed below in greater depth. For general scholarly discourse on the French royal entries, see V. E. Graham, "The Triumphal Entry in 16th century France," *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 22. No. 3 (1986), 237-256, and *Writing Royal Entries in early modern Europe*, ed. Marie-Claude Canova-Green, Jean Andrews and Marie-France Wagner. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

profound statements of self-fashioning for publishers in their frontispieces of printed books.

Frames and Intermediaries

I take the concept of the frame from several contexts. The first invokes early modern concepts of *ornamento*. As Alison Wright has discussed, the concept of ornament often signified the frame or pedestal.³¹² The role of ornament in the context of the pedestal was to dignify the statue or other art that sat upon it through the act of physically setting it apart in space. Yet in other realms, the pedestal was both architecture and ornament; the base was considered integral to architecture's corpus, which included the treatise of Diego de Sagredo, translated into French in 1536. A triumphal arch in a royal entry had similar acting principles as the pedestal: it was also both an architectural subject and a frame. This is the case because triumphal arches acted as frames for the people passing through them, rather than as references to works of art on which they were attached. As such, these triumphal arch signifiers were intermediaries between the event of the royal entry or procession and the status of the onlookers and participants in the event. As I argue in this chapter, church portals and printed frontispieces of books also both functioned as arbiters of social hierarchy while simultaneously referring to architecture in the abstract.³¹³

³¹² Alison Wright, "'...con uno inbasamento et ornamento alto': The Rhetoric of the Pedestal c. 1430-1550," *Art History*. Vol 34, 1. (February 2011), 13.

³¹³ Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 41. On ornament acting as the subject of its design, Oleg Grabar discusses the relationship between objects and the ornamental patterns covering them as one where the ornament itself directs the use of the object

Oleg Grabar conceptualizes ornament in terms of its intermediary role. When Grabar refers to ornament as an intermediary, he argues that its presence connects the viewer and/or the maker to the work it complements. He states that “ornament is itself or exhibits most forcefully an intermediate order between viewers and users of art, perhaps even creators of art, and works of art.”³¹⁴ For Grabar, there are four intermediaries of ornament: writing, geometry, nature, and architecture. For the most part, these subjects can be abstracted into patterns or frames that direct the viewer’s interpretation of a space, event, or object. Within his chapter on how architecture works as an intermediary, he argues that architectural frontispieces in medieval codices of the Qur’an functioned to signal the book’s “importance and uniqueness by physically and visually separating it from its surroundings or by inciting in the user a sentiment of awe, perhaps of holiness, certainly of anticipatory and sensory pleasure, as he opened the book.”³¹⁵ Moreover, Grabar suggests that architecture functioned as an intermediary when represented in two dimensions as such even if it did not represent a specific holy monument but only referred indirectly to the potential for architecture to signify hierarchy and prestige.³¹⁶ Grabar’s construct of architecture as an intermediary is useful for considering the subjects of this chapter: arches and architectural frames in processions, printed books, and as added to extant church portals.

insofar as to change the object altogether. Such a concept of ornament is valid in the case of the objects in chapter two as well.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 45

³¹⁵ Ibid, 190.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 190-192. On the other hand, on page 45, Grabar argues that “an intermediary has the quality of being “necessary to the comprehension of a work of art...[but are not]... the work of art itself.” I don’t take quite the same approach here as the ornament of this chapter often has the emblematic quality of ornamenting the person, patron, or artist than the work of art on which it is placed (such as the building or within the book).

In this manner, the concept of *parergon* as formulated by Jacques Derrida is also useful.³¹⁷ For Derrida, ornament's function as a frame positions it outside of the work of art it frames but simultaneously central to the art—to remove the ornament would be to deface the art. Derrida argues that ornament has a revelatory quality whereby it reveals a fundamental lack or deficiency within the art itself. I argue that the printed frontispiece and the triumphal arch portal—the architectural ornament in this chapter—achieved their paramount function through their “ornamentation” of the artists and patrons who made and used the objects and monuments, respectively. Subsequently these architectural objects functioned more like emblems or devises. As ornamental *parerga*, triumphal arches in these contexts framed their human subjects. They mediated between the event or ritual and the makers and users of the architectural frame. Most of all, particularly in the case of the printed title page frontispieces and the parish church portals, they represented the wish of a person or group to counterfeit the status of privilege and power that traditionally lay in the hands of the elite.

Triumphal Arch and Royal Entries

By 1550 the idea of the triumphal arch as a mediator for social, professional, and societal relationships was entrenched in French material culture. The genesis of the triumphal arch as a device for stipulating the rhetoric of triumph was rooted as much in ritual as it

³¹⁷ Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod, (Chicago, IL, 1987), 59–61 and 67–73. Derrida's discussion of the *parergon* is a critique of Kant's *Critique of Judgement*, which was discussed in this thesis in the introduction.

was in architectural theories and treatises. While Serlio included antique arches in his *Book IV* and Androuet du Cerceau invented several series of arches as engravings and drawings, the small printed books that were distributed in the aftermath of royal entries disseminated both written descriptions and images of arches to a larger population. Moreover, when printed in these royal entry descriptions, the images of triumphal arches retained their context in the wake of the memory of the French processions.

Royal entries were social events that required several months of intense preparation to provide a display in the city's streets that aimed to represent the contract between civic officials and the royalty entering the city.³¹⁸ The events involved citizens and foreign stakeholders at all levels of their planning and execution. As a result, they provided ample social and professional opportunities for establishing relationships between artists, merchants, and city officials. These entries also were beneficial for artistic interchanges, many of which were not documented due to the evanescent nature of the projects that were created for such events.³¹⁹ The route the king or queen would take was determined by convention and by historical precedent usually archived in the

³¹⁸ Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony. Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*, (Geneva, Droz: 1986). Bryant presents just one example of the Parisian entries, but as discussed throughout this section of the chapter, the royal entries throughout France in the early sixteenth century provided a spectacle on behalf of the rulers. However, it also formulated an illusion that a "contract" was underway that represented the socio-political obligations of the ruler toward the city and vice versa.

³¹⁹ The following analyses of Henri II's royal entries into Paris, Rouen, and Lyon dedicate sections to the architectural projects that lined the processions. Scève, Maurice. *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon. September 1548*. ed. by Richard Cooper. (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997); *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*, intro. by Margaret M. McGowan. (Amsterdam and New York: Theatrum Orbis terrarum and Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1974); *L'Entrée de Henri II à Paris 1549*, ed. I.D. McFarlane. *Medieval & Renaissance texts & Studies*, 7. (Binghamton, NY: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982).

oral histories and practices of the city itself. The procession usually began at the city gates, which were often embellished for the event, and ended inside the cathedral. Along the way, the royal member would stop at several stages that included displays of theatre or *mysteres* on high scaffolds, fountains flowing with wine, and triumphal arch stages with virtues or heroic statuary whose iconography was in the service of crafting complex new narratives that associated the French ruling nobility with flattering historical protagonists from antiquity.³²⁰ It was within these contexts in the first decades of the sixteenth century that these royal entries began to take on the theme of triumph.

As Michael Wintroub has shown, the concept of “triumph” as an ideal permeated social and professional relationship outside of the courtly milieu of the royal entries as well.³²¹ Like the royal entries, the theme of triumph emerged in these literary groups as a representational hinge connecting court culture and humanist citizens. The Rouennais Puy de Palinod, for instance, was a poetry society that valorized rhetoric, poetry, and the advent of new learning over the barbarism of war by members identifying themselves through the theme of triumph. While triumph as a central notion structured some of their poetry, the word “triumph” also stood for the staging of the actual meetings and events carried out. Interestingly, the society’s membership was composed not of academic

³²⁰ Ibid. The previous footnotes entries also include descriptions of the processions in each of the entries of Henri II into the different cities.

³²¹ Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror. Power, Identity and Knowledge in Early Modern France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Wintroub has shown how Rouen’s cultural elite engaged with allegorical notions of triumph in religious, ceremonial and literary situations. In fact, the Cardinal Georges d’Amboise may have been the first to translate Petrarch’s *Triumphes* into the French language; he offered the manuscript as a gift to Louis XII at his entry into Rouen and Gaillon. Guillaume Tasserie’s chant royale, *Triomphe des Normands*, which celebrated the natural alliance between the triumph of the Virgin and that of Normandy, was reified in stained glass windows in the church of Saint-Foy in Conches.

dignitaries, but of citizens from diverse classes, ranging from municipal officials, to artists, to lawmakers, and to official representatives of the king. Yet many of these men were also associated in one way or another with royal entries and triumphal celebrations for Louis XII and Charles VIII.³²² The poetry society ultimately solidified a distinct Rouenais social culture in which membership was defined less through one's noble class and more through erudition. Triumph, in this case, would have functioned as a tool for self-fashioning, where professional identity was established through association with humanist subjects.

Much in the way the theme of triumph facilitated relationships between literary citizenry and humanist endeavours, architectural stages and monuments had a similar function in processions. In particular, triumphal arches developed a prominent role in “framing” events or mediating relationships between people belonging to distinct sectors of society in the royal entries into cities, namely merchants and civic guilds that had individually commissioned the arches or other stages as simultaneous acts of self-representation and dedication to the kingdom.

Royal Entry *livrets*

Royal entries were opportunities for artists to become involved in planning and showcasing some of the most avant-garde art of the time, even if these displays were ephemeral. Artists trained in the antique manner were employed to invent the *hystoires*

³²² For a discussion on the relationship between triumph in this context and civic performances, see: Elina Gertsman. *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*. (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 225-229

and monuments that lined the pageant's route. For example, the painter Jean Perréal was sent to Italy to record what he saw there during the military campaigns.³²³ He then played an important role in the preparation for the entry of Francis I into Lyon in 1516.³²⁴ Poets also played an important role of mediating between aristocracy and posterity by “building” ephemeral structures for these pageants. Remy du Puys, for instance, was given the task of “inventer et bastir...mysteres” for the 1515 entry of Archduke Charles into Bruges.³²⁵ Remarkably, the artists involved in creating the monumental celebrations also sometimes created the entry booklets for these occasions. The poet Pierre Gringore was noted for having made the booklets for the entries of Marie Tudor (1514) and Claude de France (1517).³²⁶ Gringore also worked with master carpenter Jean Marchand to develop *mystères* and allegories at various stops along the processional route. These few examples tell us that artists were asked to take on multiple roles, both in the creation of the event that itself took place in real time and also in the establishment of the memory that was monumentalized in print after the fact.

While the entries were created by some of the most distinguished artists of the period, the *livrets* that established a physical memento of the events often consisted of intense descriptions of the stages, arches, and fountains that lined the procession route.

³²³ There is little known about Jean Perréal despite that he was an important figure at court and in the arts. Although written quite early, the following article is useful. René de Maulde La Clavière, “Jean Perréal dit Jean de Paris: sa vie et son oeuvre,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1895); E.M. Bancel, *Jehan Perréal dit Jehan de Paris, peintre et valet de chamber des rois Charles VIII, Louis XII et François Ier: Recherches sur sa vie et son oeuvre*, (Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 1970. Original: 1885), 52.

³²⁴ E. M. Bancel, 52.

³²⁵ Remy Du Puys, *La Triomphante et solonelle entree de Charles-Quint en sa ville de Bruges, le 18 Avril 1515, decrite par Remy DuPuys*, (Reprinting, Bruges: 1850), 5.

³²⁶ Pierre Gringore, *Les Entrées Royales de Marie d'Angleterre et Claude de France (1517)*, ed. Cynthia Brown. (Geneva, Droz: 2005).

Most of what we know about the visual culture in these entries comes from these pamphlets that were printed on paper and were sometimes accompanied by schematic woodcuts that had the purpose of drawing the reader's attention to certain material aspects of the event, namely the costumes, arches, and other architectural features. Although the *livrets* were rarely illustrated in the early decades of the sixteenth century, the descriptions of the monuments give us a sense of what elements were observed and considered important. We cannot know how accurately the pamphlets represented the festivals, nor can we know for whom the books were intended, but scholars have suggested the upper bourgeoisie may have been the audience for the books.³²⁷

Several notable changes occurred in the account of traditional royal entries between 1515 and 1550. First, descriptions began paying less attention to expensive materials and focussing more on the artistry in the later decades. In the accounts before 1520, the value of materials was the lens that provided the construct for authority. For instance, in Louis XII's entry into Genoa (1507) the account opened by laying out the processional order. It then likened the city to a lush and fully draped room, covered in silk, velvet, and gold textiles.³²⁸ Genre conventions dictated that the royal entry pamphlets detailed the order of the procession, which was more an inventory-like account of the attendees, listed in order of rank as witnessed in the entry of Eleonore of Hapsburg

³²⁷ Margaret M. McGowan, "The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance: The Status of the Printed Text," in *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century. Event, Image, Text*, ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin. (Toronto, CRRS: 2007) 31-32. McGowan discusses the complicated matter of the 'audience' of the royal entry pamphlet. She suggests that the texts may have had diverse audiences, although levels of understanding of the iconography and text in the books may have been varied from one micro-audience to another.

³²⁸ *Das innemen und inryten und entpfahen des kunigs von Franckrych in Genua und von des selben Statt Genua altherkommen*. [Printer: Matthias Hüpfuf. Stradburg, 1507]. A copy of this printed book is currently held in the British Library.

into Rouen. In this account, like many others earlier, the processional descriptions and the social hierarchy of those in attendance were classed in relation to costume and the richness of material.³²⁹

The second change that occurred in the conventions circumscribing the production of pamphlets for these processions is that they had been unillustrated in the early years, but came to be illustrated with woodcuts that usually represented the material elements of the event. As we have seen throughout this thesis, attention to formal invention, description of the “processes” of making, and even explicit descriptions of objects began to rival the accounts of luxurious, rich, and sumptuous materials and costumes. This is important as it signals a shift in focus for what was considered necessary to be recorded in the aftermath of the event; writers found reason to document the processes of making—the new “formal” inventions that manifested as antique art and architecture.

Over the course of the decades between 1500 and 1550, the writers of *livrets* became ever less interested in documenting raw materials, gems, and luxurious textiles, and more focused on formal elements of design.³³⁰ If in the 1510s and 1520s, draperies and textiles signalled what the triumphal arch would eventually index for a greater

³²⁹ See descriptions from Claude Chappuys. *S'ensuivent les triumpantes et honorables entrees faictes par le commandement du Roy tres-christien Francoys premier de ce nom, a la sacree Majesté Impériale* [...]. (Josse Lambert, Lille: 1539). (BNF: Tolbiac: RES-LB30-80). Also see *Entrée de Éléonore de Hapsburg (reine de France) 1531*. Rouen. (Rouen, Raulingaultier). (BNF Res 8-LB30-146).

³³⁰ *Writing Royal Entries in early modern Europe*, ed. Marie-Claude Canova-Green, Jean Andrews and Marie-France Wagner. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). This compendium of writings is an excellent source on the writings accompanying royal entries. The earliest royal entries of the sixteenth century were not illustrated, but they were often described in pamphlets and other accounts.

number of people in the 1540s.³³¹ A turning point is exemplified in the case of Remy Dupuy's account of the triumphal entry of Charles V into Bruges in 1515. Krista De Jonge has written about the use of language in Dupuy's descriptions of the event: "The early 'antique' and the 'modern' repertory shared one characteristic that was greatly appreciated by the critics: complexity of formal invention and ingenuity of design; or, in court historiographer Remy Dupuy's words, the quality of being *moult artificiellement composez*."³³² De Jonge continues to explain how the *antique* and *moderne* modes equally dominated the descriptions by Dupuy with the "ephemeral arches and porticoes, erected by foreign merchants in Bruges, [that] were apparently decorated with pilasters with arabesque ornament, medallions and other motifs of an antique stamp, while the stages and galleries built by the guilds show the ogee arches and proliferating vegetal ornament of the flamboyant."³³³ We can see that the words Dupuy's used to praise the ephemeral art, architecture, and other objects in the event referred to the act of making, with adjectives such as "*bien artificiellement*," "*moult ingenieusement divisee*," "*richement et tresartificiellement eslever*," and "*tresingenieux artifice*."³³⁴

In the 1530s, writers started using the adjective "antique" more consistently, suggesting that the *moderne* style that was so popular earlier may have started to be

³³¹ V. E. Graham, "The Triumphal Entry in 16th century France," *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 22. No. 3 (1986), 237-256.

³³² Krista De Jonge, "Anticse Werken: Architecture in the antique Manner 1500-1530", *Unity and Dicontinuity. Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*. (Architectura Moderna 5). Ed. Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim. (Turnhout, Brepols: 2007), 24.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ De Jonge, "Anticse Werken," 24. See footnote 25 on this page. De Jonge has first pointed out that these words emerge from Dupuy's entry pamphlet; *Du Puy's, Remy. La Triomphante et solonelle entree de Charles-Quint*. See the following fols: A. iv.v & B.iv.v & G.ii.r & C.iv.v.

eclipsed by the antique mode. While the booklet for the entry of Eleonore of Hapsburg into Rouen relied upon descriptors of gold drapery and “rich” materials as indices of social hierarchy, it also discussed the extensive use of the qualifier *à l’antique*, which demonstrated that a new language of triumph was being introduced.³³⁵ The writer mentions the trumpets that were “turned in the mode of the antique” and a triumphal chair with *tabernacles à l’antique*.³³⁶ These antique motifs that were likely those designs we now refer to as moresques, arabesques, or even grotesques had started to serve as signifiers for a much larger audience who appreciated this visual discourse. Concurrently, it became more common to see phrases such as “à la manière” and “façon” that underscored the way in which an object or textile was wrought, rather than the material in which it was wrought. This language indicates a shift from the appreciation of exclusive materials to how precious objects were made.

By the 1540s, antique stages, temples, and especially triumphal arches became the ostensible subjects of these books. The accounts of the royal entries of Henri II into Rouen (1548) and Paris (1549) discussed below not only described the allegories and physical elements of the triumphal architecture, the pamphlets were also illustrated like de facto architectural treatises; the gifts and arches would be described in great detail.

The triumphal arch developed its pervasive authority from these contexts.

³³⁵ Among many examples, see: Chappuys. *S’ensuivent les triumpantes et honorables entrees*. Also see *Entrée de Éléonore de Hapsburg (reine de France) 1531*. Rouen. (Rouen, Raulingaultier). (BNF Res 8-LB30-146); On an account of the “richness” of the entry, see: Theodore Godefroy, “L’ordre observe a l’entree du Roy Francois I a Paris. 1515,” *Le Ceremonial de France, ou description des ceremonies, rangs, et séances observes aux couronnemens, entrees et enterremens des roys e t roynes*. (Paris: A. Pacard, 1619). (BNF SMITH LESOUEF S-5106 < Ex. 1 >), 147-166. Gold drapery is mentioned here. It refers also to the mode “mode francoys” vs “the mode espagne,”

³³⁶ See *Entrée de Éléonore de Hapsburg*: “Douze homes portans buccines tourne a la forme antique sonnans.”

Shifts in the ontology of the royal entries' objects

Another change occurring over the course of the early sixteenth century involved new dimensions in how objects publicly mediated relationships between the entrant and the citizens. Objects became a surrogate that had the ability to stand in for the complex social relationships between poles of power. For this reason, objects like fountains and triumphal arches came to symbolize authority in the abstract beyond their ontological function. For instance, the role of portals and scaffolds for theatrical display changed, culminating in the great entries of Henri II, which privileged the triumphal arch as synecdoche for the entire exchange between citizens and king.

Objects too took up such focus that they almost seemed to act as the ostensible subjects of royal entries. As Margaret McGowan has argued, a change occurred throughout the first half of the sixteenth century whereby objects played more of a visible role in mediating the interactions between members of society and the court. McGowan has described these changes as distinct differences in the way material culture functioned in the entries: "In early entries, the emphasis in these pamphlets was on processions with the monarch being greeted by citizens dressed as angels or prophets who emerged from complex machines. Gradually these machines became the principal focus, so much so that interactions between citizens and king were considerably diluted."³³⁷ One of the best ways to see how these new practices were reflected is to consider the pamphlets, which from 1515 increasingly acknowledged in the woodcuts' imagery three major aspects: the

³³⁷ Margaret McGowan, "The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance: The Status of the Printed Text," 29-30.

ceremony surrounding the gift offered to the entrant, the material culture of the event such as the costumes and fountains, and finally the triumphal arch stages. Eventually these objects would stand for the recognition of authority that was previously acknowledged only in the transaction within the ritual itself. We see how these transformations were manifested over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century.

I. Gifts

The first object to be glorified in the *livrets* documenting the royal entries was not the triumphal arch or the perspective that dominated the later entry pamphlets, but the gift given to the queen on behalf of the city officials. This is significant because the gift stood for the contract between these two poles of power, the monarch and the city, much as the triumphal arch would in the decades to follow. As discussed in chapter two, the entry of Eleanore of Austria into Paris (1531) offered a site of much discourse about the decorum and appropriateness of the gift that ought to be given the queen.³³⁸ With the event's organizers arguing that convention should be upheld by offering the entrant the traditional buffet of gold plate and other officials claiming that the gold buffet was no longer a worthy gift and that it should be replaced by a massive bronze candelabrum, the gift-object itself became a focus of the event. The candelabrum was the site of the complex discussion between city officials, the audience of the entry, the king and queen, and printers and publishers. The gift arguably signified its importance in an abstract and

³³⁸ On the printings after the royal entry of Eleonor's entry into Paris (1531), see William Kemp, "Transformations in the Printing of Royal Entries," *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century. Event, Image, Text*, ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin. (Toronto, CRRS, 2007); On the transformation in the sixteenth century of the concept of the gift, see: Natalie Zemon Davis. *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

self-referential manner, eventually eclipsing the idea of the ceremony as the source of authority.³³⁹ As was also shown in chapter two, when Geoffroy Tory and Guillaume Bochetel came to represent the entry in the first illustrated pamphlet in France of these events, the candelabrum was the image that appeared on the title page.³⁴⁰

The gift remained an important part of royal entry proceedings. Due to several written documents that provide extensive evidence about Henri II's entry into Lyon in 1548, we can see the elaborate productions that were in place to establish the designs for the gift that was to be presented to Henri and Catherine. While the goldsmith Jehan Delabarre was brought in to create the sculpture that would be given to the entrants, it was the well-respected illustrator and painter, Bernard Salomon, who was in charge of the design. Moreover, eminent humanists such as Maurice Scève, Guillaume Du Choul, and Barthélemy d'Aneau comprised the advisory committee that provided the inscriptions on it.³⁴¹ In short, it becomes clear that the object was the subject of serious deliberation that involved several of the kingdom's most revered scholars and artists in the collaboration of its design. Yet by the time of Henri's entry, the gift would no longer be the main focus of the *livrets*, as we will see below.

II. Fountains

³³⁹ This was discussed more at length in chapter two of this thesis.

³⁴⁰ William Kemp. "Transformations in the Printing of Royal Entries during the reign of Francois Ier; The Role of Geoffroy Tory." *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century. Event, Image, Text*. Ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin. (Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. Toronto: 2007), 111-132.

³⁴¹ For the detailed descriptions of the preparations for the event, Maurice Scève. *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 16.

Fountains, which were also fundamental in mediating between cities and royal powers—fountains that provided the wellspring of water to urban communities were delivered and run by the combined royal and civic authorities—had had a symbolic role in the royal entries since the previous century. As Naomi Miller and other historians of the royal entry have shown, both large scale and table fountains were a document of secular and religious virtues that were linked to the pageant itself.³⁴² An important stop on the procession route, fountains flowed with wine, offering a sacred symbol of communion.³⁴³ The eternal wine carried within it the promise of abundance flowing both ways in the union of city and monarch.³⁴⁴ So important was this stop in the entry that the quest to develop a new design for the fountain was already underway in the coronation of Queen Anne in her 1504 entries, for which the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* provided a source of imagery.³⁴⁵

It is interesting that fountains should become one of the foremost types of objects that were admired for their antique character and designs. Lawrence Bryant has argued that the act of offering the king a symbolic drink from the fountain underwent a transformation whereby its ceremonial gesture was replaced by the material presence of the fountain itself in entries.³⁴⁶ The gift of wine was replaced by the concept of the city's loyalty to the king, a concept concretized by the physicality of the fountain as an object.

³⁴² Naomi Miller *French Renaissance Fountains*, (Ann Arbor, Mich. University Microfilms: 1968), 30.

³⁴³ Ibid; Graham, "The Triumphal Entry in 16th century France," 237-256.

³⁴⁴ Bryant, *The King and the City*, chapter 6; Theodore Godefroy, *Le Ceremonial de France, ou description des ceremonies, rangs, et séances observes aux couronnemens, entrees et enterremens des roys et roynes*. (Paris: A. Pacard, 1619), 662. (BNF SMITH LESOUEF S-5106 <Ex. 1 >).

³⁴⁵ Miller, *French Renaissance Fountains*, 143

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

Loyalty was conveyed through the elaborate displays in the program of the fountains and gates. Even now, the fountain is proclaimed as one of the first major monuments importing the antique into France, symbolized most frequently by the fountain at Gaillon, commissioned by Cardinal d'Amboise.³⁴⁷ Androuet du Cerceau depicted this fountain in one of his engravings (fig. 0.2).

III. Triumphal arches

A few decades later, in the 1540s, the triumphal arch would play the same role of mediation that the fountain had played earlier in the century.³⁴⁸ But in the earlier events, the stages and portals, as described in accounts of royal entries, contributed to the development of the arch or gateway as a formidable type of object. The authority of triumphal arches in churches and title pages of the 1540s grew out of the earlier changes in royal entries that began to focus on the material objects that represented the city and its occupants. Before 1540, entry pamphlets did not consistently describe the triumphal arch as an abstract signifier denoting ideas about socio-economic power. The portal itself was a threshold that was often described as a verb. For instance, Theodore Godefroy conflated the noun "*portail*" with the act of passing through the structure; underscored in his account is the passage from one type of space to another.³⁴⁹ The idea of the portal as a conveyer of authority stemmed from these rituals that sought to distinguish different types of "space", whether sacred from divine space or noble from plebeian space. The

³⁴⁷ Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France*. (1999), 8

³⁴⁸ Bryant, *The King and the City*, 140-143.

³⁴⁹ Godefroy, *Le Ceremonial de France*; Godefroy uses the term "*portail*" in this manner throughout the text.

increasing association of the portal as an abstract image and harbinger of unquestioned authority was reinforced through the symbolic link between the city gate and the cathedral portal that brought royal, civic, and sacred communities into dialogue. This relationship was symbolized during the pageant with the covering of the king's head with a canopy or *poelle* or "ciel" as he entered the city; the canopy was removed upon his arrival in the sanctuary of the cathedral.³⁵⁰ The event was witnessed by the city.

The portal was not the only object that assumed the aura of triumph. The word "triumph" was used frequently to refer to the monuments lining the processional route taken by the royal entrant, although what actually comprised these monuments was not entirely clear. In the written description of a series of entries to honour Charles V into Poitiers and Orléans (1539), Claude Chappuys mentions a triumphal arch that stood in front of the great entrance to the street.³⁵¹ The arch, however, is only recorded for its function as a bearer of imperial arms. In civic processions, these temporary arches would be superimposed onto existing gates as well as churches and civic buildings; the king might receive the key to the city gate, which had been completely transformed from its heavily fortified medieval state into an antique marker through the affixed triumphal arch.³⁵²

The genesis of the triumphal arch portal as an important, permanent civic monument grew out of these ceremonies that had increasingly come to rely on a structure

³⁵⁰ Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City*, 140-143.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² V.E. Graham, "The Triumphal Entry in 16th century France," 237-240.

referred to as an *echauffaut*.³⁵³ The *echauffaut* was a type of scaffolding designed to display heraldry, ornament, and sometimes dramatic performances.³⁵⁴ This temporary framework offered stages for “theatres,” which sometimes featured moral mysteries and, later, heroic sculptural groups.³⁵⁵ The *echauffaut* itself was literally a framework, only conceived as a carrier of more important elements such as arms, smaller triumphal arches, fruit, and the gold that constituted the kingdom’s abundant wealth.³⁵⁶

In the entry of Queen Claude into Paris in 1517, there were two notable *echauffauts*, one at the entry of St. Denis and the other in front of the altar inside the church.³⁵⁷ Presumably, the *histoires* performed on the stages of the church portal—a presentation of the virtues Justice, Magnanimity, Prudence, and Temperance—were intended to interact with sacred narratives built permanently into the surfaces of the

³⁵³ The term échaffaut is used in most early royal entry accounts before 1540. See *Entrée de Éléonore de Hapsburg*. The term is used throughout the text to denote a monument that functions as a cross between a scaffold and a stage.

³⁵⁴ George R. Kernodle, *The Theatre in History*. (London: The University of Arkansas press, 1989), 291-292. Kernodle briefly addresses the evolution of the Renaissance stage; The several articles in the following also give a rounded perspective on stages and entries across Europe in this period. “*All the world’s a stage...*” *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*. Ed. Barbara Wisch & Susan Scott Munshower. Part I Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft. (Pennsylvania: Penn. State University Press, 1991).

³⁵⁵ I do not address the development and decline of *mystères* in this thesis. Frances Yates’s books are informative on the subject. Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Warburgh Institute, 1967); Frances Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*. (London: Warburgh Institute, 1975).

³⁵⁶ Claude Chappuys, *S’ensuivent les triumpantes et honorables entrees faictes par le commandement du Roy tres-christien Francoys premier de ce nom, a la sacree Majest...* (BNF: MICROFILM M-9521)

³⁵⁷ “L’ordre Observe au Sacre et couronnement a Saint Denys, et a l’entree a paris de la royne Claude...1517.” *Les entrées solennelles à Paris des rois et reines de France, des souverains et princes étrangers, ambassadeurs, (etc...)*, (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1896), 167-198.

church.³⁵⁸ The interior *echauffaut* was likewise less of a portal and more of a frame. These frames, thresholds, and portals were the precursors to the triumphal arches that would emerge in descriptions and images for royal entries, as emblems on title pages, and as exclusive portals for parish churches.

The Royal Entries of Henri II

In the later civic entries of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici beginning in 1548, the *echauffaut* and the *tableau-vivant* as enablers of either theatrical performances or ritualistic processions through the actual passages were replaced by massive triumphal arch monuments that were endowed with antique inscriptions, imperial ornament, and heroic allegories. The relationship between citizens and royalty that was ritualized in these entries found its surrogate monument in a permanent display for the city of Paris. In fact, the idea of the fountain as a triumphal arch is memorialized in the Fontaine des Innocents in Paris, which was established as an enduring marble feature of the city. The wine was replaced by an "allegory of water," the ideal supplement to the city of Paris, which had notoriously poor water flow (fig. 3.2).³⁵⁹ By the time that the Fontaine des Innocents was inaugurated at Henri II's 1549 entry into Paris, the idea of the fountain had grown into a tomb-like edifice adorned with triumphal arches. A loggia with carvings by Goujon celebrated the gift of water to the city, while nymphs carrying jugs posed among

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Pierre Du Colombier, *Jean Goujon*. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949), 64; Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 179-182.

the pilasters.³⁶⁰ It would seem in this monument that the triumphal arch and the fountain were indissolubly united. Moreover, the project was so grand that it united artists such as sculptors and architects, but also engineers and masons, and humanists, who provided the narratives or *hystoires* for the mythological carvings it bore.

In Henri II's entry into the city of Lyon, most of the reputable artists, printers, poets, and painters had been engaged for several months in the preparations for the event that Daniel Russel referred to as imparting "multiple discourses: architectural, theatrical, epideictic, and emblematic."³⁶¹ With the inclusion of thirty-three painters, fifteen sculptors and even more carpenters and joiners, and with the four "*maistres conducteurs*" of the entry—Jehan de Rohan, Jean de Romans, Bernard Salomon, and Estienne Genyn—wearing privileged satin robes for the day of the event, clearly the entry provided much artistic ferment for the city itself.³⁶² The *livret* of Henri and Catherine's entry into Lyon was written by Maurice Scève and published in French; it was so important that several weeks after the event an Italian edition by Guillaume Roville was issued.³⁶³

The *livrets* of the late 1540s entries acted as memorial traces of the material elements and objects produced for the entries by describing in fixed terms the triumphal arch and its static statues, rather than merely recounting the events and processional line

³⁶⁰ Pierre Du Colombier, *Jean Goujon*, 64; Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 179-182.

³⁶¹ Daniel Russel, "Emblematic Discourse," 70. Russel refers to the multiple discourses in the context of the French entry, though it can be generalized to the Lyon case as well. Moreover, Russel also employed the term *gesamtkunstwerke*.

³⁶² Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 17.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

up that was ordered to march past the stations.³⁶⁴ Remarkably, with the exception of Henri II's entry into Rouen, which took up a Petrarchan theme, the illustrations in both the Lyon and Paris *livrets* of 1548 and 1549 were explicitly fixated on the events as displays of architecture—mostly triumphal arches and temples.³⁶⁵ In one example from the Lyonnais entry, the triumphal arch that was illustrated was a hybrid monument that conflated the sacred temple with the imperial triumphal arch motif in the so-called Temple of Honour and Virtue, an antique edifice that had been previously immortalized in the writings of Jean Lemaire de Belges.³⁶⁶

All of the stops were preceded by arches, some derived from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*; others were loosely inspired by Serlio or by ancient temple ruins such as the temple of Venus and Mars. All were recomposed, however, in highly original assemblages.³⁶⁷ Arches were conceived as composites of temples and triumphal arches, with one of Henri II's arches replete with both caryatids and a cupola crown familiar from *Roma antica* fantasies of the ancient temple (fig. 3.3).³⁶⁸ Whether or not these arches were schematic representations of the event's architecture is unknown. Nevertheless, the same eminent artist, Bernard Salomon, who was also in charge of the

³⁶⁴ On the relationship between immobile *tableaux vivants* and processional elements, see: Daniel Russel, "Emblematic Discourse in Renaissance French Royal Entries," *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century. Event, Image, Text*, ed. Nicolas Russel and Hélène Visentin. (Toronto, CRRS, 2007), 55-72; Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon*; For a more general discussion, see Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*. (Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1984).

³⁶⁵ *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*, intro. by Margaret M. McGowan. (Amsterdam and New York: Theatrum Orbis terrarium and Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1974); *L'Entrée de Henri II à Paris 1549*, ed. I.D. McFarlane. *Medieval & Renaissance texts & Studies*, 7. (Binghamton, NY: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982).

³⁶⁶ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, (Geneva, Librairie Droz: 1957).

³⁶⁷ Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 17

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

gift design likely provided illustrations for the costumes, arches, and perhaps even the woodcuts appearing in the *livret*.³⁶⁹

It was at this time that the entry pamphlets became inventories of architecture. Approximating architectural treatises, these *livrets* were filled with detailed and minute accounts of the arches. While these descriptions included copious technical nomenclature, the terminology was undigested and often amounted to little more than a list of familiar French nouns with Latinized endings.³⁷⁰ The Paris entry pamphlet of 1549, published by Jacques Roffet, became a manifesto of triumphal iconography with its obelisks, triumphal arches, and colonnaded stages. The gate at the Porte Saint Denis was portrayed as a rustic antique portal with enslaved caryatids, a rusticated façade, and Doric bases—the architectural elements described in excruciating detail within the book itself (fig. 3.4).

After Henri II entered Lyon and Paris in 1548, the triumphal arch as an archetypal image was almost a cliché in publishers' title pages and on parish church portals. The triumphal arch had suddenly acquired status as an icon that allowed it to function in a heraldic manner, albeit one that was associated with the virtue of knowledge rather than familial lineage. The model of triumph as a visual symbol of cultural capital—which had

³⁶⁹ Ibid; The artists include: Bernard Salomon, Loys Pictry (built loggia from which the King watched ceremony), Guillaume Granger and Jehan de Romans (built arches and Obelisks), Estienne and Pierre Genyn (statues, trophy, fountains). The manuscript collaborators/humanists are Guillaume du Choul, *Des Antiquites romaines*, Maurice Sceve, *Le Grand Triumphe* (he was principle coordinator), Barthelemy Aneau (advice on design of gifts). 17; Moreover, Henri Zerner discusses the importance of Bernard Salomon's printing oeuvre: Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 325-326; For sources regarding Guillaume du Choul and antiquarianism, see Richard Cooper, "L'antiquaire Guillaume Du Choul et son cercle Lyonnais," *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*. Lyon: Ens editions, 2003), 261-286.

³⁷⁰ McGowan, Margaret, "The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance," 30.

previously been associated with expensive materials, luxurious objects, coats of arms, and elegant costumes—was now compressed into the image of the triumphal arch. In royal entries, the arch now assumed the function of defining the social contract between the monarchy and its subjects. As parish and collegiate church portals, the triumphal arch signified the rising power of an urban elite. In the growth of the printed title page, the arch came to stand for a sense of community in reference to the publisher or printer, one which arose around ideas of self-promotion.

Processions in Stone

By mid-century, nothing signified a bid for authority better than the image of triumph in either the form of an antique arch or a framed page. This was true in royal entries, where arches increasingly came to front important stops in the procession. In the mid-1540s, the triumphal arch as an ornament came to represent certain communities outside of the royal entry context. As frames in the sense of an intermediary discussed by Grabar, triumphal arch portals on parish churches are best understood as an ornament of the privileged lay community, rather than as an ornament of the church building itself. A parallel phenomenon is the title page, which developed as an idiom for self-framing on the part of the publisher, rather than as liminal space to the book. When appearing on churches or in other permanent contexts, triumphal arch portals for instance were not always literal supplements referring to the object they appeared to ornament. Or we might say that as ornament, a triumphal arch supplemented the people who commissioned the work. As a supplement in the sense that Derrida discusses, these triumphal arch frames augmented

the perceived status of certain communities, particularly when these frames were commissioned for facades of churches or title page designs.

Triumphal arches were integral to the corpus of architectural theory, but in France the portal as an important microarchitectural structure further consolidated the form as an important feature of architectural discourse. As previously discussed, Serlio's last book on extraordinary doors was written at Fontainebleau and dedicated to Henri II in 1551.³⁷¹ In the dedication, Serlio suggested that the book on portals was especially relevant in the French context where doors were given special status as locus for invention.³⁷² When Philibert De l'Orme wrote *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (1567), he included a section that dealt explicitly with doors and portals.³⁷³ The triumphal arch engravings and drawings of Androuet du Cerceau (circa 1545) included arches whose blank compartments provided an opportunity to the consumer of the print to have their own ornaments, heraldry, name, or inscriptions added to the graven and drawn images before adding the images to their collection (fig. 3.5).³⁷⁴

Whether appearing in print, on surfaces, or around portals, the presence of an architectural frame signified the concept of status, either of the artist through license or of the patron through access. Antique frames of doors and portals that separated spaces in

³⁷¹ *Sebastiano Serlio on domestic architecture* (...), text by Myra Nan Rosenfeld. (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1978), 8. Rosenfeld argues that Serlio does not ask the architect to "reject licentious forms in the matter of judgment" but rather that "aesthetic taste in France was different from that in Italy."

³⁷² Sebastiano Serlio, "The Extraordinary Book of Doors" in *On Architecture*. ed. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks. (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996-2001), 459-511.

³⁷³ Philibert De l'Orme, *Premier Tome de l'Architecture...* (Paris, F. Morel, 1567-1568).

³⁷⁴ The drawing is held in a collection at Centre Canadien d'architecture. It is titled the Arc d'Ancône and is dated to 1545-1550. It is reproduced in Guillaume, *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau* and given the file number in the book as (MO 73), 326.

chateaux or churches were monuments that spoke of spatial access limited to a certain social group. Highly ornamented doors leading to the sacristy, for instance, were visual markers that distinguished the space of the choir from that of the sacristy for which visual access was limited and entrance was privileged. When we connect the triumphal arch as a frame to this context we can refer to Yves Pauwels' discussion of the triumphal arch as a commonplace.³⁷⁵ By this he means that the arch had become a schema that can be applied in any number of architectural circumstances, such as a door of a church. In part this has to do with its composition as a collage-like object in which its compartments can be reduced to fragments and reassembled in endless compositions like rhetorical strategies.³⁷⁶ The triumphal arch retained its status as an *idea* while surfacing in a variety of manifestations throughout France.

Also commonly discussed in scholarship are the triumphal arches on buildings such as chateaux and royal churches that concretized the ephemeral nature of the royal entry processions. The great frontispiece of the Chateau of Azay-Le-Rideau (circa 1518–1524) seems to reinterpret the entrance of the Castelo Nuovo in Naples as a Late Gothic frame for the grand staircase (fig. 3.6).³⁷⁷ Here the stairway frames the procession as it passes from one floor to the next. Twenty years later, the chapel of Champigny-sur-Veude (Indre-et-Loire) received its triumphal arch over its primary entrance, an arch

³⁷⁵ Yves Pauwels, "The rhetorical model in the formation of French architectural language in the sixteenth century: the triumphal arch as commonplace."

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ On Azay le Rideau, see Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie. *Les châteaux du Val de Loire*. Paris: Editions Mengès, 1997, 56-65.

considered “precocious” and “knowledgeable” for its date.³⁷⁸ There are several earlier instances of such arches in stone, particularly on parish or collegiate churches. These have received surprisingly little recognition but will be discussed below.

As several scholars have noted, antique arches were also included within buildings.³⁷⁹ At Gaillon, Cardinal d’Amboise built the *porte des Gènes* to the long loggia that allowed him to enact a triumphal procession through the halls of his own chateau.³⁸⁰ Another ceremonial passage was realized by Louise of Bourbon at the Abbey of Fontevrau (fig. 3.7). Louise fitted the cloister as a Renaissance portico and triumphal hallway.³⁸¹ The cloister of the Grand Moutier in the eastern gallery was rebuilt around 1545. Abandoning Renée de Bourbon’s efforts to construct in the manner of the 12th century, Louise clothed the loggia facing the courtyard with an arcade flanked by paired ionic columns raised on high plinths (fig. 3.8). An outsized triumphal arch framed the passage to the chapter house. Much like triumphal arches in royal entries, this one was engraved with the arms of the House of Bourbon, those of François I, and the monogram

³⁷⁸ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 32-35. The chapel of Champigny-sur-Veude was built circa 1445-50. It has been compared to Alberti’s Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini.

³⁷⁹ The phenomenon of triumphal or processional features incorporated into chateaux is addressed among the surveys of individual buildings. Monique Chatenet, *Chambord*. (Paris: Monum, 2001); Monique Chatenet, *La Cour de France au XVI^e Siècle. Vie Sociale et Architecture*. (Éditions A. et J. Picard. Avril, 2002); F.-R. Cottin, "Philibert De l’Orme et le portail de l’église Saint-Nizier", *Philibert De l’Orme lyonnais*, Lyon, archives municipales, 1993, pp. 81-85; Guillaume, Jean. *Architecture et vie sociale*.

L’organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance, Actes du colloque de Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988. (Paris: Picard, 1994).

³⁸⁰ This is described in a letter by Iacopo Probo d’Atri, Count of Pianella to Isabelle d’Este-Gonzaga, which is published in the article, Roberto Weiss, “The Castle of Gaillon in 1509-1510.”

³⁸¹ Gabrielle Esperdy, “The Royal Abbey of Fontevrault: Religious Women & the Shaping of Gendered Space.” *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 6(2), (2005), 59-80; C. Joubert, “L’Abbaye de Fontevrau: Historique.” *Les Monuments Historiques de la France* (v. 3). 1973, 2-9.

of Louise herself. The placement of arms on the arch was rare enough that she had to receive a privilege for it from the pope.³⁸² Behind the triumphal arch in the cloister was the door to the chapter house, which also received a framing portal (fig. 3.9). The complex archivolt contained statuettes of the evangelists and emblematic lozenges, while the vault carried the instruments of the Passion on alternating Doric columns and candelabra pilasters.

Civic Virtues: The Triumphal Arch and the Church

Troyes provides an interesting case study of how the triumphal arch portal was conceived to be linked to royal entry processions. The city was home to an increasing bourgeois elite, comprising prominent merchants and lawyers.³⁸³ A massive fire in 1524 caused severe damage to churches in the centre of town, requiring much rebuilding. In the 1540s, around the time that Henri II was entering cities across his kingdom, plans for triumphal portals were underway for Troyes's parish churches. Sara Galletti has argued that Henri II's entry into Troyes on May 9, 1548, partly prompted the development of these triumphal portals.³⁸⁴ Galletti suggests that some of the ephemeral decorations for Henri's

³⁸² L. A. Bosseboeuf, *Fontevrault: Son Histoire et Ses Monuments*. (Tours, Louis Bousrez, 1890), 49.

³⁸³ Penny Roberts, *A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion*, (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 13-15.

³⁸⁴ Sara Galletti, "L'architecture de Domenico del Barbieri: Troyes, 1548-1552," in *Revue de l'Art*. V. 136 (2002), 37-54. Although we do not have these today, there are documents that tell us he designed two triumphal arches *à l'antique*. may have been commissioned by a member of the Gonzaga family who was part of the courtly retinue. There is a document that mentions the numerous references to antiquity that were presented in poems composed for the event and comparing Troyes to Troy, etc. A

entry were echoed in the portals of Saint-Nizier, Saint-Andre, and Saint-Nicolas in Troyes.³⁸⁵ Although there are few documents pertaining to the design of these portals, some exist for the south portal of Saint-Nicolas, which I will consider here.

The portal of Saint-Nicolas, the principal access to the church on the south side, was executed by master mason Jehan Faulchot in 1554 with the aid of the sculptor François Gentil (fig. 3.17).³⁸⁶ A drawing for the building's façade suggests the source of the design may have been of Italianate origin but it was recast as a regional expression of triumph—Galletti suggests the Belvedere courtyard at the Vatican may have been the impetus for the frontispiece. If this is the case, the borrowed elements were extricated from the wall decoration of the original building; only a section of the courtyard was extracted, however, and this section was refashioned into the portal for Saint-Nicolas's triumphal arch façade.³⁸⁷ Ancient Roman works on French soil may also have been referenced in the design, whose triangular gable recalls the ancient triumphal arch at Orange nearby. These sixteenth-century triumphal arches are conceived of the principle of bricolage, and they seem to have been assembled first as designs on paper, where ornamental quotations were added from various sources such as the Belvedere's walls and the arch at Orange.³⁸⁸ The final composition appears to have been attached to the

document from Mantua archives discusses the triumphal event, but doesn't really address the issue of how the arches looked.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 329-331. We know François Gentil realized the statues of David and Isaiah.

³⁸⁷ Sara Galletti, "L'architecture de Domenico del Barbieri," The drawing is found in the Troyes archives and dates to 1547-51. The drawing may be associated with Dominique Florentin (Domenico del Barbieri), who was in charge of Henri II's Royal Entry.

³⁸⁸ The manner of creation seems to make use of the principles of assemblage discussed by Valérie Auclair in *Dessiner à la Renaissance: La copie et la perspective comme*

surface of the Church of Saint-Nicolas, with little attention to the original elements or the scale of the building. It strongly resembles the ephemeral designs of royal entries, which were likewise conceived as graphic enhancements to existing buildings.

The portal in the form of a triumphal arch resonated in urban contexts across France, especially on parish and collegiate churches around 1540. These antique frontispieces often extended across the entire façade; sometimes they stood out against a Gothic foundation. In some cases, these portals marked an exclusive entrance for the elite members of the parish. Often they elevated the parish community in relation to episcopal power.³⁸⁹ In short, they helped invent a visual identity for an increasingly powerful bourgeoisie. Many of the churches that received triumphal porticoes were built in towns along the Seine between two hubs of secular power, Rouen and Paris—significantly these cities bordered the region of the Loire valley in which most of the royal chateaux were nestled.

Between 1475 and 1550 in France, augmentation of parish churches increased dramatically; church houses and elements were added to accommodate different types of

instruments de l'invention. (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), where several references might be embedded in a single design.

³⁸⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991). The arches are best understood as an ideal form manifested in their multiple contexts. It is useful to consider Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'social capital', which emerges from social relations constituted by everyday practice. For instance, the fact the triumphal arch portal was not described in detail until the 1540s does not mean that it was absent from processions, but rather that its importance as an authoritative urban type was not recognized until that time. We might argue that the triumphal arch emerged as an ideal form shaped by the interests of the dominant class. At first this comprised the royal and religious elite, but it soon changed to the urban patriciate. From this perspective, the arch as an idea or schema was retained over decades despite the lack of a specific model or prototype dictating their form.

secular and cultural activities.³⁹⁰ While secular events, such as weekly assemblies to discuss financial problems or civic artistic commissions, had always been held in churches, sixteenth-century French parish church took on new roles as their towns grew. The administrative organs of parish churches and local governments had a symbiotic relationship. Even during Sunday Mass the French curé might discuss seigniorial and state matters.³⁹¹ These shifting changes in relation to the administration of cities and townships offer the context for the emergence of the triumphal arch portals across France.

There are few studies on the topic of triumphal arch facades for parish and collegiate churches, although micro-histories of various regions have briefly discussed this phenomenon in local contexts.³⁹² The better-known examples are those attributed to notable architects: the occidental portal of Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul de Sarcelles at Goussainville is that of Jean Bullant (fig. 3.10).³⁹³ The portal is a Late Gothic door fitted into the church façade under a massive rose window that is framed by pilasters. The portal is a receding system of frames, with the first layer of Corinthian columns

³⁹⁰ Anne-Marie Sankovitch, “The Parish Church as Archive in Late Medieval Paris”, *Demeures d'éternité : églises et chapelles funéraires aux XVe et XVIe siècles*. (Paris : Picard, 2005), 247-267.

³⁹¹ Michel Aubrun. *La Paroisse en France des Origines au XVe siècle*, (Paris: Picard: 2008); Beat A Kümin, “The English Parish in a European Perspective.” *The Parish in English Life.1400-1600*, ed. Katherine French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin. (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1997), 15-31.

³⁹² On churches specifically in the renaissance, see Jean Guillaume, *L'Eglise dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*. (Paris : Picard, 1995); On Normandy, see Etienne Hamon, *Un Chantier Flamboyant et son Rayonnement: Gisors et les Eglises du Vexin Français*. (Besancon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté; Société des antiquaires de Normandie: 2008). Also on Normandy, the following provides several articles on topics related to the construction of portals: *L'Architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie*. ed. Bernard Peck. (Caen: Condé-sur-Noireau : Presses universitaires de Caen, 2003).

³⁹³ Mathieu Lours, “Sarcelles - Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul”, *Églises du Val-d'Oise : Pays de France, vallée de Montmorency*, (Gonesse, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gonesse et du Pays de France, 2008), 251-254

supporting a rusticated cornice. Within the elegant, hybrid frame immediately around the door, two Corinthian colonnettes on high bases support a pediment of antique scrolls, shells, and putti that resemble motifs in the frames of Fontainebleau. The Church of Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien at Luzarches is conceived as a similar system with the antique arch nested into the lower portal under the massive rose window (fig. 3.11).³⁹⁴ There is also an interior arch framing the door with a Serlio-like attic that resembles a plaque and a strapwork vaulting system, which suggests awareness of the ornamental systems at Fontainebleau.

The areas of the Loire Valley, the Vexin, and Normandy are home to clusters of churches whose parishes commissioned triumphal arch portals. Two patterns emerge: the exclusive use of the church exterior for the display of triumphal forms and the adoption of imagery from royal entries. We can see this on two major portals that grace the facades of the church of Gisors, just north of Paris. The north portal, finished by 1516, refers to Rouen Cathedral, but the west portal begun only fourteen years later by Robert Grappin, was conceived entirely in the antique mode, with a rounded and vaulted arch, classical motifs, and a miniature representation of a temple with arches in the gable. Gisors's west façade was built on behalf of parish officials who wanted Grappin to design an entrance that matched the grand size of the nave (fig. 3.12). This is significant, as the commission seems to have been an extension of the nave which was traditionally relegated to the

³⁹⁴ The master mason Nicolas de Saint-Michel was documented as the architect of the façade in 1548. See Dominique Foussard, "Luzarches - Saint-Côme-Saint-Damien", *Églises du Val-d'Oise: Pays de France, vallée de Montmorency*, (Gonesse, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gonesse et du Pays de France, 2008), 167-171. Possibly with aid from architects, Robert de Luzarches et Jean Guillot.

control of parishioners.³⁹⁵ The portal was intended to provide an access restricted to the privileged parishioners who commissioned the façade, a grand entrance much like the arches in royal entries.³⁹⁶

At Magny-en-Vexin (circa 1540s) in another of Grappin's work, the triumphal arch was likewise a bricolage of its ornamental details: ionic capitals on earlier piers, fluted Corinthian columns, pilasters with candelabra, tiny antique temples in the voussiors, and both dentils and egg and dart motifs (fig. 3.13).³⁹⁷ After 1549, the year of Henri II's entries, these church portals were transformed from an ensemble of antique motifs to unified and cohesive triumphal arches. Other portals by the Grappin family include that of Saint-Gervais-en-Vexin, begun in 1549, whose triumphal arch portal projects from the façade (fig. 3.14).³⁹⁸ We might also note the unusual facade of the Church of Saint-Pierre, Genainville (southwest of Magny-en-Vexin) (fig. 3.15).³⁹⁹ Two adjacent triumphal arches decorate the frontal surface of this church; each portal fronts a separate nave and choir in the interior, perhaps signalling a difference of membership afforded by each entrance.

³⁹⁶ Etienne Hamon, *Un Chantier Flamboyant et son Rayonnement*. The parish officials are referred to as 'commanditaires', which usually means 'commissioners'.

³⁹⁷ Ibid; Most of the churches in the Vexin that I address here are also discussed by Hamon.

³⁹⁸ Yves Pauwels, *L'architecture au temps de la Pléiade*, (Paris: Monfort, 2002), 26; Pauwels has suggested a similar design for the collegiate church in Les-Andeleys is of Spanish origin or influence.; The two-tiered triumphal arch façade is a type that was popular in Spain. Consider the Puerta del perdòn, in the Granada cathedral, by Diego Siloe, 1528. Or the triple storey portal on the University of Alcalá, by Rodrigo Gil de Hontanon, 1541-53. The link between Normandy and Spain is little discussed in French architectural scholarship. Yet Francis I was imprisoned there after 1525 and there was much discursive exchange between French and Spanish artists in the period.

³⁹⁹ Etienne Hamon, *Un Chantier Flamboyant et son Rayonnement*.

Finally, the portal of the prestigious collegiate church Notre-Dame du Grand-Andely is often included in architectural surveys, even though scholars have not been able to ascertain the model for its inspiration (fig. 4.16). Located by the Seine near Rouen, its north portal faces a street that winds through the village. Yves Pauwels has called this creation one of the most interesting interpretations of classical form in the early Renaissance.⁴⁰⁰ Pauwels places this frontispiece in the milieu of Androuet du Cerceau's *XXV exempla arcuum*, which provided engravings of twenty-five unusual and original triumphal arches and whose 1549 publication coincided with Henry II's entry into Paris, though it certainly does not resemble any of Androuet du Cerceau's specific examples.⁴⁰¹ The portal is composed of a double-storey arch with double Ionic and Corinthian columns in ascending order that frame both the passageway on the main floor and the large rose window above it. The victories in the spandrels and rings around the upper columns are distinctly Spanish in character. The arch's similarity to Spanish examples, like the *Sacra Capilla del Salvador* in Ubeda, suggests that the arch as an idea transcended any specific region. The triumphal arch had become a universal frame with the power to impute prominence to its patrons.⁴⁰²

Architectural Frontispieces in Print

⁴⁰⁰ Yves Pauwels, *L'architecture au temps de la Pléiade*, 26.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

⁴⁰² Even later, circa 1565, the example of the church Notre Dame at Hesdin is one such example of a massive triumphal arch portico. The town hall also received a portico at the same time.

The development of the parish church portal as a triumphal arch coincided with the rise of the “architectural” title page.⁴⁰³ If triumphal arch portals on parish churches “ornamented” the laity who commissioned the elaborate frame for the church, the title page functioned in the same way for the publisher: it projected an identity that reflected the individual publisher as a prominent member with the community. The medium of print would not have indicated less of the triumphant mood than portals and arches constructed in stone. For instance, one of the most significant instances of triumph in print was the massive triumphal arch of Emperor Maximilian I, which was neither reproduction nor proxy, but was built for manifestation as a printed format (fig. 3.18).⁴⁰⁴ As a print, it had the potential to circulate widely as propaganda for the emperor.⁴⁰⁵ The arch itself was a massive undertaking, consisting of one hundred and ninety-two woodcuts and employing several printmakers, including Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer, and Hans Springinklee. Springinklee was not only responsible for the designs of the ornamental features like the columns, he was also in direct contact with printers from Lyon via the Nuremberg publisher Anton Koberger.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ On Giuliano da Sangallo’s drawings, see: G.K. Loukomski, *Les Sangallo*, (Paris: Vincent, Fréal, 1934); Frommel, Sabine. *Giuliano da Sangallo*, (Firenze: Ente Cassa di risparmio di Firenze: Edifir, 2014); Borsi, Stefano. *Giuliano da Sangallo: i disegni di architettura e dell'antico*, (Roma: Officina, 1985).

⁴⁰³ Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* London: British Museum Press, 1995); Silver, Larry, “Paper Pageants: The Triumph of Emperor Maximilian I,” in *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed., B. Wisch et al (University Park, 1900), 292-332. There were several precedents for the printed triumphal arch, namely architectural treatises and loose-leaf prints and drawings after ancient Roman arches circulating among workshops like that of Giuliano da Sangallo.

⁴⁰⁴ Silver, Larry, “Paper Pageants: The Triumph of Emperor Maximilian I.”

⁴⁰⁵ Lynn Meskell, “Objects in the Mirror are Closer than they Appear,” *Materiality*, Ed. Daniel Miller. (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2005), 58-78.

⁴⁰⁶ *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part 1: French 16th Century Books*. Compiled by Ruth

While the publishing community in France never achieved status in any manner similar to the nobility for whom grand triumphal arch portals were erected in royal entries, by 1520, the social status of some publishers had increased significantly. Sometimes this included receiving royal privileges to protect their work. Around this time, skilled artists in other crafts tried to enter into the field of printing, perhaps encouraged by the lack of guild restrictions but certainly also motivated by the realization that printers and publishers could become enormously wealthy.⁴⁰⁷ French printers like Josse Bade, Gilles de Gourmont, and Henri Estienne cultivated complex roles through their publishing links to important institutions, such as universities and clergy.⁴⁰⁸ The printer Bernardo di

Mortimor. Vol. 1. *The Belknap* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 88; Because of its partitioned composition and involvement of so many printmakers, Maximilian's Triumphal Arch became a model for printed title pages. There is good reason to believe that some of the woodcuts or printed details from the triumphal arch traveled extensively, particularly as they would have circulated as single sheets representing only a fragment of the composition. For example, two specific expressions of columns from Maximilian's project—the double baluster column and the elongated candelabrum—appeared in title pages in those same decades. This picture of triumph was less that the arch as a whole and more a selection of various elements drawn from select woodcuts and reintegrated into the title page.

⁴⁰⁷ For instance, the pamphlets describing the Royal Entry of Henri II into Lyon indicate the hierarchy of the processors. Among those who assumed a privileged rank (as told through dress and relative position in the entry procession) were the printers of the de la Porte dynasty. On this point, see the account of the procession in Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon. September 1548*. Edited by Richard Cooper. (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997).

⁴⁰⁸ Maurice Lebel, "Josse Bade, éditeur et préfacier (1462-1535)." *Renaissance and Reform* (1981), 63-71; Lejard, André. *The Art of the French Book: from early manuscripts to the present time*. London: P. Elek, 1947; Distinguished as a scholar-publisher, Josse Bade, worked frequently with the University of Paris and printed books that were marked by erudition, vis-à-vis the readership of his public, so to speak. Bade chose to print and edit texts of early humanists, as well as ancient Greek and Roman writers. He often wrote prefaces to his published work, where he would expand on his ideals that he undoubtedly hoped would echo the voice of the author whose text he produced. Moreover, his prefaces would be written in Latin, targeting his audience and ensuring the context was limited enough for his aim to be made perfectly clear. Bade

Giunta, in his 1524 preface to Christophe de Longueil's *Orationes*, referred to the necessity of fashioning oneself after an author. He discussed the nature of mimesis and its importance in regard to both stylistic and biographic forms of self-promotion.⁴⁰⁹

The publisher Antoine Vérard established himself in association with artistic rather than academic prototypes. He was one of the first printers to receive royal privilege and achieve high social status.⁴¹⁰ Although he made use of printing technology, he stayed closer to tradition than Bade, often emulating structures and patterns that he found in manuscript illumination. Vérard was well-known for providing elaborate illustrations; his printed books were valued as much for their pictorial material as for their text. He often used vellum instead of paper. In fact, at first, he had painters add colour and details to his engravings to imitate manuscripts and efface the traces of the printed medium. He crafted elaborate and skilled prologues for courtly patrons. In an important frontispiece, he had his own portrait depicted in the position of a donor presenting the book to his patron. Despite the fact that the connection between the book, patron, and reader was obscure and complex, the title page frontispiece stood in for the gift that usually mediated relationships between the artist and patron.⁴¹¹ In essence, Vérard spent his entire career

focused on orthography in his graphic designs, using few images and relying on the Roman type by Janson and Altius Manutius, to impart a consistency in humanist visual presentation that he wished to suggest stood in for his own professional character.

⁴⁰⁹ MacDonald, Katherine M. "Selling Lives: The Publisher Bernardo Giunta (fl. 1518-50), Imitation and the Utility of Intellectual Biography." *CRRS*. Vol 37, No 3 (2001): New Series Vol 25, No 3. She argues how the Bernardo Giunta deliberately fuses and lends ambiguity to the two concepts of mimesis: "Longueil, who is to be admired primarily as an imitator of the ancients, is now established as a model for imitation himself."

⁴¹⁰ Lejard, *The Art of the French Book*, 42.

⁴¹¹ Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Vérard. Parisian Publisher, 1485-1512. Prologues, Poems and Presentations*. (Librairie Droz S.A., Geneva, 1997), 41-69; Antoine Vérard wrote prologues for some of his books, including nineteen from 1490-1508, which are extant.

emulating the functions of a court artist, although his audience expanded beyond the parameters of the court.

The Triumph of Fame

When title pages emerged as important facets of the printed book, they spoke on behalf of the publisher responsible for bringing the text to its material fruition, and in this manner printed title pages had an emblematic character. While not all publishers had the same trajectory as Vérard, nearly all of them in the early sixteenth century developed some element or all of the title page as a personalized emblem of self-promotion. Interestingly, the development of the printed title page aligned with the emergence of triumphal arch portals in urban centres.⁴¹² Title pages were paratexts; as such, they were less a portal to the printed book and more a frame of reference signalling the prestige of the printer/publisher.⁴¹³ They emerged from printers' marks, those utilitarian stamps whose

His purpose for using this form was to assert his role in the creation of the book. His books are printed, so he operates within the structure of print culture, not manuscripts, as he composes verse in the form of a prologue, which he dedicates to particular patrons. In effect, the publisher Vérard dedicated to his patrons books whose textual content was supplied by another person, and which was intended for wide distribution. He retained the social structure of the tradition of the 'gift', while seeking patrons to showcase his erudition.

⁴¹² The title page grew out of the printer's mark that originally sat on the blank page at the front of the book as a tool for identification purposes. See: Margaret Smith, *The Title-page, its early development, 1460-1510*. (London: British Library, 2000); Also see *La page de titre à la Renaissance: treize études suivies de cinquante-quatre pages de titre commentées et d'un lexique des termes relatifs à la page de titre*, ed. Jean-François Gilmont & Alexandre Vanautgaerden. (Tourhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008).

⁴¹³ One connection between civic architectural projects, such as the triumphal arch portal, and printed frontispieces may be better understood by understanding the relationship between architects and publishers. Figures like Etienne Dolet, Jean de Tournes, Maurice Sceve, Jean Martin and the book illustrator and festival designer Bernard Salomon are

sole purpose was to indicate the content of each unbound book to the binders.⁴¹⁴ At the turn of the century, printers' marks were still retained but they became more elaborate and ultimately surrounded in imagery that was intended to reflect the publisher in an emblematic manner. Jacques Saçon, for instance, established his new printer's device around his old marks, which were abstract signs now carried in the shields (fig. 3.1B). The device itself became an architectural frame or niche containing what appeared to be the allegory of Fame. (This is discussed more below.) When the printers' marks metamorphosed into emblematic devices, they were often positioned in the centre of the book's title page. Consequently, the title page came to represent the printer-publisher. The organization of frontispieces established certain patterns and conventions. By 1520, they were formed as a *mise-en-page*, more like a self-contained frame such as a triumphal arch or carved portal and less as a repository of visual and verbal snippets of typographic information collaged onto the page. The title became shorter and was cast in Roman instead of black-letter font, resembling inscriptions on an antique building.⁴¹⁵ If the

among several prominent people who very likely had roles in publicizing the emblem of the triumphal arch motif as a cultural 'ideal' appropriate to visually signify notions of civic community as well as royal and historical authority. Woodcuts from Italy and Basel, the work of Hughes Sambin and Jean de Gourmont's depictions of classicising architecture and imaginary antiquity will also be studied as innovative agents linking the publishing community to architectural designs. All of these artists had works published in Lyon, a city that has a particularly unique role in this story as its geographical placement allowed the city to become a stopover for most travellers en route to the northern countries from Italy or Germany, eventually becoming known for its diverse citizenship and immigration and, likely, the popularity of foreign architectural idioms.

⁴¹⁴ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Marin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of printing 1450-1800*, (London: NLB, 1979).

⁴¹⁵ On titles becoming shorter, see *Ibid.*

beginning of the text was the voice of the author, the title page belonged to the printer/publisher.⁴¹⁶

At first, printed title pages borrowed from imagery associated with eminent crafts such as woodcarving and gold work. And although these frames pieced together of discrete woodcut stamps were popular in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, they became less fashionable in books of the 1520s and 1530s. As Olivier Deloignon has shown in his comparative analysis of printed triumphal arch frontispieces with the models from which they derived, the three-dimensional architectural frame with new material implications began to take precedence in the 1520s.⁴¹⁷ In the title page for *Des Chronicques & Annalles de France* [...] issued by the printer Thielman Kerver and publisher Jean Petit, we can observe that while the publisher drew upon an earlier model (fig. 3.20) he refashioned the source imagery slightly to underscore the stone arch itself as the main focus. Unlike earlier title page precedents, the frame of this 1520 title page is divested of the usual monsters or ludic imagery drawn from manuscript marginalia, and it frames only the title and Kerver's printer's mark (fig. 3.19).⁴¹⁸ The pilasters are represented as plastic, three-dimensional piers supporting what appears to be a heavy stone cornice. The black and white medium approximates the material of marble, and Jean Petit's surname is engraved into the base like a carved inscription. The arch itself is rendered in perspective, with a deep, coffered vault. When we compare the frontispiece to

⁴¹⁶ Margaret Smith, *The Title-page*, 148.

⁴¹⁷ Olivier Deloignon, "L'envers du miroir, Le livre comme art de 'espace Architecturé.'" *Le Livre et L'Architecte*. (Paris: Institut National d'Historie de l'art. 2011), 149-157.

⁴¹⁸ *Le second Volume Des Cronicques & Annalles de France, augmentées en la fin dudit volume daucuns faictz dignes de memoire des feux roys Charles huytiesme. Loys douziesme & fra[n]-cois premier du nom Iusques en Lan Mil cinq cens vingt Nouuellement imprime a Paris* (1520); See Roberts, William. *Printers' Marks. A Chapter in the History of Typography*. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), 9.

the earlier models (fig. 3.20), it becomes clear that Kerver and Petit no longer wished to represent an *echauffaut* or a frame as a dimensionless combination of paper imagery—they transformed the page into a triumphal arch in itself.

In other cases, the title page was a reflection of the rising and waning popularity of various architectural motifs through each decade, as witnessed in the continual transformation of the title pages of Simon de Colines. The influential Colines, who worked as both a publisher and printer, hired Geoffroy Tory in the 1520s to invent some of his borders and illustrations for his prestigious books.⁴¹⁹ Colines used several designs for his frontispieces over three decades, continually updating them to reflect practices in contemporary arts (figs. 3.21). In the 1520s, Colines began to feature baluster columns, which had been popularized in the triumphal arch of Maximilian and, shortly afterward, in Sagredo's treatise on the antique, which Colines would later publish.⁴²⁰ In Colines's title pages of the 1530s, the baluster columns gave way to the paired candelabra and pilaster that were common in microarchitecture. In the 1540s, he included caryatids, reminiscent of the decorations at Fontainebleau and Serlio's treatise *Book 4*, which was likely known by Colines. Architecture had become both a frame and an index of authority.

Architectural Emblems

⁴¹⁹ Fred Schreiber, *Simon de Colines. An Annotated Catalogue of 230 Examples of His Press, 1520-1546*. (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1995).

⁴²⁰ Colines would publish Sagredo's treatise into French a decade after the original Spanish publication.

As printed title pages, architectural frames assumed an emblematic quality. These frames were emblematic by way of their compositions; the piecemeal way of bringing together antique motifs and objects into a triumphal arch resembled the symbolic appropriation of motifs as they were assembled in emblems of the period. The related word “*emblemata*” is etymologically rooted in craftwork, derived from inlaid work of gold and silver appliquéd to objects for adding value.⁴²¹ Like triumphal arch portals on churches or in printer’s devices, emblems spoke on behalf of its subject’s character, a worldview, or the sense of belonging to a particular social group.

In France, the emblem was referred to as a *devise*, and its function was similar to heraldry, although, unlike heraldry, which promoted its subject through family ties or noble lineage, *devises* had a greater range of possibility for expression.⁴²² *Devises* were invented for the purpose of self-made reflections; Henri Estienne was advised to place his *devise* on a mirror, which allowed it to reflect his ideal self.⁴²³ *Devises* were often personal expressions, cobbled together from a combination of images and words that imparted a specific aspect or character. They would have been understood as a form of counter expression to the elite and noble imagery of costume and heraldry, which was fixed by tradition. *Devises* were often displayed on jewelry and worn to reflect a message about one’s “true” character. Ultimately, the *devise* broke with the sumptuary customs

⁴²¹ Daniel Russel has argued that the arches still signified in an emblematic manner. Their forms were conceived as a *bricolage*, where the motifs comprising them became “emblematic by the decontextualizing fragmentation that permits a recontextualizing or simply a new and unexpected one.” 58.

⁴²² Daniel S Russel. *The Emblem and Devise in France*. (French Forum: Lexington, Kentucky, 1985), 34. The quote by Marot is reproduced in the text of Daniel Russel. I do not mean to suggest that emblems directly conveyed information about one’s interiority, but rather that the emblem’s composition afforded more flexibility of expression than a similar construct such as heraldry.

⁴²³ *Ibid*, 151.

signified by costume or dress by allowing non-nobles and humanists to draw upon a repertory of symbols to create individual statements, without recourse to heraldic codes.⁴²⁴

Architectural motifs were ideal content for emblematic expressions, especially when the emblem signified a group rather than an individual. For one thing, the content of architecture was increasingly known through its fixed and named fragments, as discussed in chapter two. But it could be accessed by a number of individuals, unlike heraldry which was only assigned through family lineage. When architectural emblems were used in publishing communities, the personal *devises* allowed merchant and humanist printers to show they shared a common vocabulary previously accessible to the nobility alone. For instance, when the eminent printer Jacques Sacon fashioned his printer's mark as an emblematic device in 1518, he replaced the language of heraldry from the original model with architectural language by drawing upon the title page of Bernardino Corio's *Patria Historia* for Alessandro Minuziano in Milan, although he updated the model to better serve his purposes (fig. 3.1A & 3.1B).⁴²⁵ The image of Fame is positioned in a deep niche with a cornice and Italianate columns that adopt the vocabulary of the recognized architectural orders. At the left of his coat of arms are

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 33-34.

⁴²⁵ In 1517, Jacques Sacon was a printer who worked with both Koberger and the Italian publishing dynasty, the Giunta; Corio's device was made circa 1503. To get a sense of the number of books printed by Sacon, and to understand his professional ties in Lyon and his humanist enterprises, a good source is the following. *French Books III & IV: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than France*. ed. Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012); On Sacon, also see *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part 1: French 16th Century Books*. Compiled by Ruth Mortimor. Vol. 1 and vol. 2. The Belknap (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 88-89.

pilasters. On the right, however, Saçon adopted the universal language of triumph with columns decorated with trophies and hanging garlands. The design recalls the columns from the printed triumphal arch of Emperor Maximilian, undoubtedly familiar to this printer and others within his professional milieu. Saçon retained Corio's old motto to humorous effect. Written in Latin, it reads in translation: "Not a Bad Reward for Labour." Fame, personified in the centre, with her double trumpet and wings, holds the arms into which she has etched Saçon's own printer marks.

Similar self-promotional imagery was used by Protestant printers. The de la Porte family, a printing dynasty that was successful in Paris and Lyon and well-known from printing bibles and law books, entered into the profession at the end of the fifteenth century with the eldest member Ayme.⁴²⁶ The family's emblematic self-representation through the printers mark was notable not only because they altered their device substantially over the course of five decades, but because they may have entered into a playful rivalry with other Lyonnais printers such as the De Tournes, who also produced numerous devices over short periods of time.⁴²⁷ The family name "de la porte" made the architectural portal a natural index or image on which to pun, and it allowed for them to update the device in the most current architectural dress at any given time.⁴²⁸ The first device used for this family belonged to Jehan de la Porte. It was heraldic in its

⁴²⁶ As can be see by tracing the partnerships of several printers, Ayme de la Porte originally went into partnership with Italian printing houses specializing in scholarly texts, and suggesting that he likely generated an income that was more substantial than what printers made at court. However, unlike a venerated artist like Tory, who wrote and likely illustrated his own books, Ayme and the younger Hughes de la Porte were only printers.

⁴²⁷ William Roberts, *Printers' Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography*, 133.

⁴²⁸ There are very few sources available on this family of printers. Their printer marks are discussed in *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts*, 97-99.

composition, and resembled Albrecht Durer's designs for his Burgher arms of the House of Durer (3.22A), except that instead of featuring a wooden door, the de la Porte device displayed the door (*porte*) as an oversized element hollowing out the façade of a chateau that vaguely recalled Chenonceau (fig. 3.22 B).⁴²⁹ In the early incarnations of the device, the symbol for *porte* was sanctioned by the larger authority of the chateau in which it was embedded.

Around 1540, however, Hugues de la Porte modified the device by erasing the chateau surrounds and allowing the door itself to stand as both the central feature and the ultimate frame for an image of Samson, which was shown passing through the portal (fig. 3.23). One of the most significant transformations was the representation of the door as an image of a triumphal arch. Where in the previous device of Jehan de la Porte the castle or chateau provided the authoritative structure that into which the door was inset, but here the triumphal arch itself—its Ionic columns and antique bases—endorsed the de la Porte name through architecture's association with humanism. These architectural elements interacted emblematically with the pieces of wood carried by the bearded soldier and inscribed with de la Porte's motto, *Libertatum Meum Mecum Porto*. In creating the device, Hugues de la Porte evidently adapted extant imagery from other well-known sources, which he then recombined innovatively to act as his own printer's device. The image of Samson, for instance, was culled from an illustration in Barthelemy Vérard's *Les Triumphe messire francoys petracque* (1514) and reinserted within the triumphal

⁴²⁹ The gated chateau was almost a cliché in prints and manuscripts of the period. It appears very often as a schematic image or symbol throughout printed books especially.

arch motif (fig. 3.23B).⁴³⁰ Finally, in 1549, Hugues altered his device again, but this time it reflected the architectural language of the first city gate of the royal entry of the King Henry II in Lyon (fig. 3.24). The printer may even have commissioned one of Lyon's most respected artists who also may have illustrated the pamphlets for Henri II's royal entry into Lyon, Bernard Salomon, to design the device. Designs and emblems of architectural motifs provided for printers, as for other members of the civic community, a language of self-representation through the idiom of architecture.⁴³¹

Conclusion: The Urban Triumph

⁴³⁰ Grove, "Pour faire tapisserie?/ Moveable Woodcuts: Print/manuscript, text/image at the birth of the emblem."

⁴³¹ "An International Renaissance Publishing Family: The Giunti Author": William A. Pettas Source: *The Library Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Oct., 1974), 334-349; De la Porte adopted the ornamental vocabulary of civic triumph. His connections, however, show that he would have come into contact socially with the first publisher of emblems, Andrea Alciato, with other Lyon humanists, and also with some of the first writers of antiquarian travelogues. De la Porte also had Protestant literary connections. In the 1550s, when he teamed up with fellow reform printer, Antoine Vincent, he retained the antique arch idiom, and this time it was a more literal copy of one published in the Lyon royal entry *livret*. It had now become a frame for the individual devices within. There was no sign of de la Porte's protestant affiliation or financial support of Sebastian Gryphe, but what was shown instead was his facility of ease of self-representation in an impeccable architectural vocabulary. At this time, he began financing the ventures of other printers, becoming involved with the establishment of protestant printers, like Sebastien Gryphe. It is tempting to suggest that the printer also wished to convey his sympathies to protestant reform, without jeopardizing his business contacts. Janus has resonance in Venice as a symbol of French Protestantism, vis a vis Marot. Moreover, the only time the doors were open to the Temple of Janus were in times of peace between normally warring factions. Although de la Porte was a well-known protestant he refused to print anything other than scholarly, or even catholic, books, and he even went so far as to turn down an offer in 1560s to sit on the Lyon protestant council, citing that he wished to be perceived as nothing other than catholic. Whether or not intentional, his business sense and religious ideals are wrapped up in the phrase in the roundel: *recondita pando* that literally translates as "to conceal AND to disseminate".

The triumphal arch was an important topos in architectural treatises. Its formation as an intermediary between loci of power was secured emblematically, but consolidated in rituals and print where it achieved its most far-reaching manifestations. Its popularity as a hinge between converging points of power and social identity emerged out of changing situations in the urban sphere. In royal entries, objects that exclusively signified privileged sections of society—gold, velvet, and other rich materials—imparted the highest order of importance. Eventually, fountains and ephemeral arches usurped their place in these entries, at a time when the increased wealth of the bourgeoisie shifted their relationship with their monarch. As the city's gift to the king, the ceremonial offering of wine from the fountain was replaced by a valued object much discussed in pamphlets, in the city council and, no doubt, among civilians. The triumphal arch portal would eventually come to stand for the exquisite gift or the elaborate fountain by the time Henri II entered Lyon and Paris in 1548. Moreover, no other image communicated as forcefully the heightened status of the urban elite, especially publishers and the congregations of parish churches.

Chapter Four

The Monumental in Miniature: The Temple of France

In France throughout the sixteenth century, important architectural monuments were expressed as miniatures or, at least, as microarchitecture. And while it may seem contradictory to declare monumentality in terms of diminution, the early modern period was rife with examples that tell us that the monument and smallness were not mutually exclusive. One of the most powerful visual tropes that resonated simultaneously as a miniature and as a monument in the early renaissance was the temple, a typology and an idea in itself that I consider at length throughout this chapter. Although imagery of pagan, antique temples circulated freely on paper, the temple as a large-scale building never took form in France in this period. Yet as an architectural type, the temple had several different kinds of socio-philosophical resonances and was imbued with numerous overlapping ideas about its potential manifestations, allowing for it to become the image standing in for powerful constructs such as the *temple de France*, the Tomb of Jerusalem, and as a synecdoche for *Roma antica*. In early modern France, the temple as an idea took many physical forms: tombs, baldachins, and Christian church façades. This chapter considers the micro-monument, both as a temple and in general, from two perspectives.

The first considers how the architecture depicted in a printed manuscript by the French printer to the king, Geoffroy Tory, was tantamount to a manifesto, albeit one with political consequences. The second line of enquiry in this chapter isolates the temple as an idea and considers how the subject was most monumental when envisioned as a miniature.

Smallness

In this section, miniatures are not merely described as small versions of proper large-scale monuments; they are rendered in the scale of the miniature for a purpose. Two purposes for their use in architectural discourse of the early sixteenth century are discussed here. The first reason is that the act of explaining or describing architecture is more effective when the subject at hand is perceived as small. Jean Lemaire's written descriptions of *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, which is analyzed below, render the monument of the temple in terms of its discrete elements: the façade, its antique carvings, and the sheen of the materials. Francesco Colonna's antique landscape in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is not unbounded and rolling out of sight as landscapes tend to be, but instead is composed of one small object after another described in minute detail. These literary conventions of casting the gigantic in terms of the miniature reflects Gaston Bachelard's argument that literary analyses of objects are often diminutive in form because, as he puts it, "the miniature is easier to tell than to do."⁴³² Literary

⁴³² Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 154; Moreover, Francesco Colonna's description as described in other chapters of antique ruins—

miniaturization is a process that begins with intense objective description, which in turn triggers a unique psychological experience that is accompanied by a daydream. Small things have perceptible boundaries that allow for the entirety of their bodies, surfaces, and edges to be visible.⁴³³

The second purpose of the miniature as discussed in this chapter is what John Mack has described as allowing for a “containedness of the image” where the small object can be seen in its entirety. If the beholder could hold an object in the hand, one could gain dominion over its details seen in entirety. Entombments of Christ, such as that at Solesmes discussed below, represented the microcosm of the Temple of Solomon by shrinking the temple in Jerusalem to a wall tomb—one that could be transported into the French context of an abbey.⁴³⁴ On these types of microcosms, Mack writes,

[it] is not just that small worlds are subsets of larger entities, they are also bounded, nucleated. Big things can expand to become limitless, but small things need definition; there can be no vagueness about their outer limits. All have some framing device. The frame may be literally that: an edge to a picture or illustration; or it may be a box, a container of some sort—even a building, as is the case with a museum.⁴³⁵

This manner of positive correlation between good vision and the miniaturized

architecture, sculpture and everything in between—exemplifies Bachelard’s proposition. The intense description of objects in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* has the unconscious effect of rendering the world in miniature, a state most suitable for teaching the reader about antique objects and architecture. In this manner, the ekphrastic narrative casts antiquity in miniature, so as to be inspected so thoroughly as if held in one’s hand.

⁴³³ John Mack. *The Art of Small Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 77.

⁴³⁴ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 351-353.

⁴³⁵ Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, 77.

form in the sixteenth century was reflected in writings of the sixteenth century. The early modern antiquarian Guillaume du Choul suggested that an architectural object is more effectively rendered in smaller scale for the patron to better appraise the design.⁴³⁶ Miniaturization acted as a process for more effective visualization of the architectural features, while it also allowed for the idea of the design to be visualized holistically by both the artist and patron or beholder in a glance.⁴³⁷ For instance, in *Antiquitez*, du Choul writes, “sire, I have reduced the triumphal arch to a tiny scale in order to give you a greater appreciation of its architecture,” suggesting that the reduction of scale occurred due to its execution as an image on a page.⁴³⁸ With du Choul’s comment in mind, we can argue that printed and drawn images effected the same response as miniatures, precisely because the scale of graphic arts was limited by the edges of the paper, and their ease of access allowed for intense scrutiny. Thus, in this chapter baldachins act as temples, and wall-tomb structures stand in for the monumental Tomb of Solomon in Jerusalem. But the miniature emerges as an image presented in print, painting, or carving. In fact, Geoffroy Tory’s grand printed *Book of Hours*, published while Tory was in the employ of Francis I, displayed its innovative architecture in the illustrations and borders as

⁴³⁶ In *Antiquitez*, Guillaume du Choul writes, “sire, I have reduced the triumphal arch to a tiny scale in order to give you a greater appreciation its architecture”. See, *Des antiquités romaines premier livre*, (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, ms. varia 212, c. 1538-1547). Note that the date is not known. This issue is also discussed by Margaret McGowan also addresses this issue. She provides the translated quote above in *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France*. (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2000), 73-76.

⁴³⁷ For discussions on the concept of the miniature, see Susan Stewart. *On Longing: Narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1984), 37-69; also see Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 148-182.

⁴³⁸ This issue is also discussed by Margaret McGowan, who provided the translated quote above: McGowan, *The Vision of Rome*, 73-76; Also see, Myra D. Orth, “Lyon et Rome à l’antique : les illustrations des Antiquités romaines de Guillaume Du Choul”, *Lyon et l’illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*, Gérard Defaux, (Lyon, ÉNS, 2003), 287-308.

monumental miniatures.

Geoffroy Tory: Architect for King Francis I

In France through the 1520s, one of the most important architectural projects to propagandize the French monarchy took place in the pages of a printed book of hours (fig. 4.04). Created by Tory, the hours was printed on paper in large format. In some ways, Tory's printed manuscript less resembled French precedents than Italian books such as *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.⁴³⁹ It was derived from multiple contexts, as discussed below, although its break with the traditional prototypes rendered it more impressive. The original version *à l'antique* was published in the stylistic mode *moderne*, and the illustrations were imitated and would appear later in illuminated manuscripts and even paintings. Most scholars have assumed that Tory composed his own borders and illustrations, although the production was extensive, and he may have consulted an illuminator.⁴⁴⁰

Tory had long acted as an interlocutor for court events through his representations of material culture in printed form that were widely disseminated. Along with Guillaume Bochetel, he produced the pamphlet for the entry of Eleanor of Austria, which was the first pamphlet to depict an image of the gift at the center of the processional display. Tory also worked with Simon de Colines, who had published the first architectural treatise to be translated into French in 1536, Diego de Sagredo's *Raison d'Architecture*. So integral

⁴³⁹ Tory was one of the first French book designers to consider maintaining the whitespace on the page as a productive quality of the typographic display.

⁴⁴⁰ Deprouw, Stéphanie, Olivier Halévy & Magali Vène, ed., *Imprimeur de Francois I. Graphiste avant la lettre*.

was Tory to the world of printing in France that in 1529 he published an important typographic treatise, *Champ Fleury. Art et science de la due et vraie proportion des lettres attiques*, about the designing of individual letters.⁴⁴¹

Like Serlio and other architects of his time, Tory was initially trained as a painter, and he began his career specializing in architectural topics. When he chronicled his Italian travels, his primary vocation was to document the buildings of each region.⁴⁴² These interests led Tory to become the first to edit Alberti's Latin treatise *De re Aedificatoria* for the printer Berthold Rembolt in 1512, subsequently introducing the first architectural treatise to be printed in France.⁴⁴³ Tory displayed his own knowledge of the subject of architecture in the preface, aligning himself with the author, Alberti. In fact, his corrections imply that he had more erudition and knowledge of architecture than Alberti. In the preface, Tory gave evidence of his expertise of the topic; he catalogued antique buildings and gave detailed mention of Roman antiquities, such as the Roman Colosseum, but he also extended his mapping of architectural wonders to French

⁴⁴¹ Geoffroy Tory, *Champ fleury*. (Paris: G. Tory and G. de Gourmont, 1529). Paris, bibliothèque de l'institute de France. Rés 8 Duplessis 2937.

⁴⁴² *Libri de re aedificatoria decem...Opus integrum et absolutum...*ed. Tory. (Paris: Berthold Rembolt, 1512). In fact, Tory's early training was not unlike that of Sebastiano Serlio, who was educated in Bologna between 1500-1505 and attended courses with Filippo Beroaldo, the famous philologist. On Serlio's early formations, see Silvia Fabrizio-Costa, *Filippo Beroaldo l'Ancien*. (Wien, Peter Lang, 2005). Also see Cesare. *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri dece...*(Como, G. da Ponte, 1521), 7. Tory's formative years, however, better reflected those of the architectural theorist, Cesare Cesariano. In 1505, Cesariano was working with Ludovico Sforza's ambassador, Antonio Visconti, in Ferrara, studying *Cosmographia* and Vitruvius's Ten Books on Architecture. For both Tory and Cesariano, architecture had political aims. Cesariano's Vitruvian edition was dedicated to Francis I, who ruled Lombardy at the time of its publication (1521). The Lombard landscape and its landmark monuments were drawn upon in the illustrations of antique architecture in Cesariano's treatise

⁴⁴³ Deprouw, Stéphanie, Olivier Halévy & Magali Vène, ed., *Imprimeur de Francois I. Graphiste avant la lettre*, 23.

examples like the Arch of Languedoc and the Theatre of Orange. In the preface he writes: “At Amiens, at Gaillon, at Tours, at Blois, at Paris, and in a hundred other well-known places, one may now see striking buildings, public and private, in the ancient style of architecture.”⁴⁴⁴ Perhaps most significant is Tory’s stay in Rome training under Jacopo Mazocchi, who had been one of the main propagandists for Julius II, a sworn enemy of Francis I’s predecessor, Louis XII.⁴⁴⁵ Tory claims to have watched the process whereby Mazocchi’s famous book *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* was printed circa 1516–1517. Mazocchi’s *Epigrammata* was as much a manifesto of antique architectural frames as it was a guide to epitaphs.⁴⁴⁶ For instance, the triumphal arch appearing in Mazocchi’s printed book is nearly identical to Serlio’s in *Book IV*, which was published two decades later. Like Mazocchi, Tory’s formation as a typographic specialist was bolstered by his

⁴⁴⁴ The dedication is found in Tory’s edited version of Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria*: Leone Battista ALberti *Libri De re aedificatoria* decem, ed G. Tory and R. de Dure, (Paris, L. Hornken and B. Rembolt, 1512). Paris, BNF, Held in the Rare Book Researve. Res. V. 1375. Nonetheless, Tory is referring to small-scale sculptural monuments, such as portals and religious sculpture, which he understands to epitomize perfectly the new style of antique architecture. Indeed, he refers to the buildings as having become ‘so nicely carved’ in the act of becoming antique.

⁴⁴⁵ D.S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War. The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*. (London: Tauris, 2006). See chapter: “The Julian Trumpet. 1503-1515”, 110-133; See also Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976-1984); Philippe Goldman, “Geoffroy Tory de Bourges,” in *Bourges à la Renaissance, hommes de lettres, hommes de lois*. ed. Stéphan Geonget. (Paris: Klincksieck, 2011); Goldman discusses how during the French control of Lombardy, between 1515 and 1521, Tory disappeared from all known sources, but surfaced in Rome in 1521 where he was studying under Jacopo Mazocchi.

⁴⁴⁶ Stéphanie Deprouw, “De Bourges à Paris en passant par L’Italie,” in *Geoffroy Tory, Imprimeur de Francois I. Graphiste avant la lettre*, 24.

specialist knowledge of architecture, which he conceived as the prime host for typographic and incised inscription.⁴⁴⁷

As Tory was developing the 1525 *Hours* upon his return from Rome, he would have been aware that the project was an important and massive undertaking. While printed books of hours were relatively common at the time, this publication was remarkable in its departure from the convention of earlier printed hours by Simon Vostres and others.⁴⁴⁸ The 1525 *Hours* was widely celebrated for its *mise-en-page*; in all of Tory's printed work, the page was understood as a united concept where the borders and *hystoires* were equally subordinated to the effect of the whole. He also employed subtle painted accents, which drew attention to the linear woodcuts without masking them to appear more as manuscript illuminations in the manner of Antoine Vérard.⁴⁴⁹ Introducing the antique as an innovative mode added to the prestige of the printed book; the self-consciousness of this decision to render the book in the costume *à l'antique* was

⁴⁴⁷ Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*. 92. Pope Leo X, installed Mazocchi in an esteemed role as printer of all the official documents that charted the interests of the anti-French League in the combined attack on behalf of papal and imperial forces on France early in the century. Tory must have felt he could learn techniques from the enemy's propagandist'. The chateaux of the Este was also the symbol of the city. The family was very aware of the important role of printing for their *imago urbis*, and they employed Rossi and then Mazocchi for this job.

⁴⁴⁸ The *Heures à l'usage de Besançon* (Paris: S. Vostre, 1512) are a good example of a popular book of hours that typified the convention of laying out the design of the pages before Tory's hours. The hours printed by Vostre are held in Écouen, at the muse nationale de la renaissance. E. CI, 1243.

⁴⁴⁹ Myra Orth, *Geoffroy Tory: The Illustrations and Decorations in his Printed Books of Hours* (Institute of the Fine Arts, NYU. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. February 1964). The Lorraine cross that appeared in his images were always thought to be a signature of Tory, but this is unlikely and is probably the mark of another engraver who worked at the shop for Tory; Deprouw, Stéphanie, Olivier Halévy & Magali Vène. "A L'enseigne du Pot Cassée. Des Livres d'Heures d'un Genre Nouveau", in *Geoffroy Tory, Imprimeur de Francois I. Graphiste avant la lettre*, ed. Stéphanie Deprouw, et al, 32-67; on Vérard, see Winn, *Antoine Vérard. Parisian Publisher*, 41-69.

reinforced by the presence the following year of the same *Hours* rendered in the version *moderne*.

The patronage of the printed work was auspicious, especially when we consider that King Francis I, the dedicatee, was imprisoned in Spain for his military defeat in Pavia after the unsuccessful attempt to retake Lombardy for France. The *Hours* was dedicated to the king of France by the prestigious and loyal courtly administrators from Bourges, Jean Lallement and Philibert Babou.⁴⁵⁰ With the financial backing of these ambassadors, particularly Babou, the minister of finance, it seems likely that the printed book was intended to craft a particular message in its imagery, one that depicted the royal administration as “most Christian.” Thus, in the king’s absence, a prominent and much-discussed book of hours, such as this one that circulated throughout the French kingdom and seemed to proliferate through the copies made after it, showcased the king’s private devotion and display of his devout Christianity. It would have been one of the most effective means for projecting an embodied presence, especially when the king was not physically present in France at the time.

Moreover, when considering the royal patronage of the works (and the dedication to Francis I), the providential timing, and the nature of the military defeat at the hands of Emperor Charles V, Tory’s *Hours* can be understood as a political retort. With this in mind the printed book of hours is less in dialogue with earlier printed French hours and

⁴⁵⁰ R.J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I*. (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 138-142; Moreover, the trésoriers resided at court most of the time, and when there were four of them they worked closely together to draw up the French budget. In 1523, the Kings coffers were so empty that he could not effectively wage war against Charles V, so in turn Francis I accused his own fiscal administrators. Jacques de Beaune, baron of Semblançay, was hanged for this in 1527. The king was dependent on good relations with his kingdom in order to wage strong wars and effect missions of foreign policy.

more dialectically engaged with another work, the relatively well-known Sforza *Hours*. Through his administrative connections with Babou and Lallement, Tory must have been aware of the Sforza *Hours* that Margaret of Austria gifted to Charles V on his imperial coronation (1520). This *Hours* originally belonging to Bona Sforza, the wife of Galeazzo Sforza, who had been the Duke of Milan in the late fifteenth century. Originally designed by Giovanni Pietro Birago, the manuscript had many missing pages when Margaret of Austria acquired it, but she had the *Hours* “completed” by her own court artist, Gerard Horenbout around 1520 (fig. 4.05).⁴⁵¹ Francis I may even have felt that the original Sforza *Book of Hours* was rightfully his to inherit, just as he felt that he ought to have received the title of “Emperor” and the title of de facto ruler of Milan by birthright—the latter he had most resolutely lost in the battle of Pavia.⁴⁵² Moreover at the time of Charles V’s coronation, Francis I had also been vying for the imperial title. Considering that Tory had just finished working with Mazocchi, the papal propagandist, his timing for such a grand undertaking of the *Hours* was auspicious, especially when considering that the *Hours* were backed by some of the kingdom’s most powerful administrators, and that the French king had just suffered a major defeat in Lombardy at the hands of Charles V. The Sforza *Hours* are thus a reasonable precedent for the highly praised 1525 French *Hours*.

Several opportunities to have seen or heard about the Sforza *Hours* were likely presented to Tory. He may have known about Horenbout’s work in completing the original Sforza *Hours* through Lallement, who, while working for Francis I, was also a regular visitor at the court of Margaret of Austria. Moreover, Horenbout may have been

⁴⁵¹ Mark Evans, *The Sforza Hours*, (New York: New Amsterdam, 1992). Margaret of Austria commissioned Horenbout to paint a page of David penitent to be placed within the extant the Sforza Hours (originally made in 1490, but completed in 1520).

⁴⁵² *Sforza Hours*, 1490-1494. (MS 3294, British Library).

acquainted with the Netherlandish miniature painters in the 1520s workshop, also known to Tory. Several of the innovative aspects of Tory's printed book of hours seem to be inspired by the lavish illuminated manuscript. For one thing, the pronounced Lombard architectural details in some of the illuminations by Birago that were distinct in the original work emerge in Tory's *Hours*. Folio 4V, which depicts St. Matthew seated in a room embellished with ornate architectural details *à l'antique*, represents the room of the evangelist in the material cladding associated with the churches of Milan designed by Donato Bramante (fig. 4.05A). The composition and content of the borders of the Sforza *Hours* also suggest Tory was inspired by the manuscript in his own development of the printed hours. This is particularly evident in the frames of folio 12 V, which are composed from unusual interlacing patterns that culminate variously in gold cornucopia stemming from vases and harpies (fig. 4.05B). The same can be said of the border by Birago in folio 24 v of the Sforza *Hours*, which is composed of unique candelabra rooted in an urn of griffin's feet (fig. 4.05C). These designs and their *mise-en-scène* composition are remarkably similar to several of Tory's frames.

However Tory's book of hours was not merely an imitation of the Sforza *Hours*; he had updated and reinvented it through careful and deliberate assemblage of specifically chosen architectural and antique elements. One of the most innovative changes made by Tory occurred in the illustrations, which brought architecture to the fore as a subject. Each page presents an architectural invention with antique compositions that were unprecedented in both contemporary printed books of hours and manuscripts.

Through a process akin to collage, Tory "built" the architectural scenes by combining

elements he had likely curated from a combination of prints or drawings in circulation that he thought best encapsulated the atmosphere *à l'antique* with a Lombard gloss.

In the scene of the Annunciation, the event is set between two antique edifices whose pediments are carried by baluster columns of the type popularized in furniture designs, on interior surfaces of chateaux, and as carved reliefs on Lombard buildings (fig. 4.04A). Curiously, the page that depicts the Hours of the Holy Spirit, where Mary received the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove shown immediately above her as she is seated in the central apse, is a significant departure from the Sforza *Hours*. In Tory's version, while he showed fidelity to earlier French conventions in printed hours that depicted the Virgin within the nave of a church, he changed the site to a palatial courtyard with a perspectival grid. As if to underscore the monumentality of the space, he depicted the apostles in a manner where they interweave between the massive, tapered balustered columns (fig. 4.04B). The phrase *Non Plus*, which is part of Tory's own motto *Sic ut Non Plus*, is inscribed in Roman font into the monumental complex. Indeed, Tory usurped Charles V's personal motto *Non Plus Ultra* and reassembled it for the purposes of his own device in a manner that reflects the bricolage techniques inherent in the architectural designs.⁴⁵³ Delicate grotesque and candelabra motifs that echo both the Sforza *Hours* and the panels and friezes known from the Chateau of Blois and others include several tiny plaques that variously contain his own monogram and empty space, presumably so that book owners could emblematically insert themselves into the moment of triumph.

⁴⁵³ Earl Rosenthal "Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 34 (1971): 204-228.

The arrangement of architectural elements in Tory's 1525 *Book of Hours* was invented in a manner in which the details and monuments were curated, isolated, and judiciously recombined as a composition that was both innovative and yet recognizable.⁴⁵⁴ Most notably, Tory drew upon images associated with Bramante. Tory's *Triumph of Death* (fig. 4.04 C) seems to evoke Bramante's frontispiece for the *Antiquarie Prospetive Roman*, which displayed a woodcut entitled *Geometer and Ancient Ruins* made circa 1500.⁴⁵⁵ Bramante's woodcut shows a man holding a globe and compass, flanked by a Greek-inspired temple on one side of the page and a rotunda or coliseum on the other.⁴⁵⁶ In the *Annunciation*, the large roundels interspersed among the columns on the temples seem to defy the ornamental logic conventionally associated with "classical" architecture, but they absolutely recall the interspersed candelabra-filled pilasters and oculi appearing on the apse of Bramante and Amadeo's Santa Marie della Grazie in

⁴⁵⁴ Tory's approach to the design of the narratives and frames drew upon practices of assemblage common to contemporary architectural design. As Valérie Auclair has shown, and as was discussed in chapter two of this thesis, painters and printmakers also used the same sheets of schematic images for very different works, choosing singular elements for other pictures, and re-enacting them into a variety of scenes. Images in circulation would have accrued greater authority as they were drawn upon and reused by artists in different milieu, thus inferring that the familiar images referred implicitly to a central 'ideal' concept, idea or building: Valérie Auclair. *Dessiner à la Renaissance: La copie et la perspective comme instruments de l'invention*. (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

⁴⁵⁵ Carlo Pedretti, "Newly Discovered Evidence of Leonardo's Association with Bramante." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Oct, 1973), 225; A work on antiquities in the form of a poem dedicated to Leonardo, and published in Rome around 1500; On Bramante's frontispiece, see Carlo Pedretti. *Leonardo. Architect. Leonardo architetto*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 116-123; The booklet is held in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

⁴⁵⁶ Tory synthesized many sources. It has been argued that Urs Graf's print *Two Missionaries and a Woman with Death* may have been another inspiration for the figure of Death: Deprouw, Halévy & Vène. "A L'enseigne du Pot Cassée," 40-41.

Milan, a church commissioned by Francesco I Sforza when he was Duke of Milan (fig. 4.34).

I. The 1525 Hours and the *Temple de France*

One of the most remarkable images in Tory's *Hours* is the page showing *David Penitent*, an image which would become acclaimed in its time (fig. 4.04D). Books of hours commonly showed scenes from the life of David, the most popular scene in the sixteenth century being the depiction of David and Bathsheba, in which luxurious and decadent court architecture was compared with Bathsheba's nude body that David voyeuristically and indulgently took in from his place of privilege in one of the adjacent buildings.⁴⁵⁷

The other common depiction of a story from the life of David in French hours of the early sixteenth century showed the king's military exploits and successes with the addition of soldiers and Roman military symbols and costumes in the scene. In Tory's *Hours*, however, while the antique fountain remains in the scene of David penitent a visual (vestige that possibly aimed to associate the sacred moment with the court context), the military exploits of David are all but eradicated. Instead, the text points the reader to Psalm 7, or the Psalm of David, in which David calls upon God for help.⁴⁵⁸ But in so doing, his lamentation is equally a protestation of innocence; the psalmist begs God to bring about justice against his wicked enemies who have brought him harm.

⁴⁵⁷ On the 1520s workshop, see Myra D Orth. "Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours," 61-75, 77-90.

⁴⁵⁸ The writing accompanying the image of the page refers to the penitential psalms, particularly Psalm seven as indicated, in the Pentateuch.

King David in the printed 1525 *Hours* shows some similarities with Birago's depiction of the same scene in the *Sforza Hours*. In Birago's representation, David kneels penitent in a rocky landscape before a grand fortified building that evokes a conflation of Lombard buildings and the domes of Jerusalem (fig. 4.05D).⁴⁵⁹ But in the 1525 *Hours*, many of the elements crowding the landscape are not present; the story of David penitent is narrated through the schematic juxtaposition of only a few elements. First, David's crown and harp lie next to him, evidence of his musical accompaniment of the penitential psalms, while also signifying the king's virtuous taste in the arts, just as the antique fountain reflects his fine taste in the antique.⁴⁶⁰ David is dressed in a Roman toga; he

⁴⁵⁹ There were many other images of David kneeling in penitence (including by Gerard Horenbout that were possibly intended as part of the reformed *Sforza hours*). For instance, some of Horenbout's images showed David with the harp and with a building in the background, but they are still not that close in composition to Tory's presentation. For a full account of the illustrations associated with the *Sforza Hours*, see Mark Evans' book, *The Sforza Hours*. However, more generally, the kneeling figure before a temple/church was a familiar picture in the courtly depictions of the *Temple of France*. See John Lowdon, "The 'Bible Moralisee' in the fifteenth-century and the challenge of the 'Bible-Historiale'." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 68 (2005), 73-136; 'kneeling' imagery was common in *Biblés Moralisés*, which had a much wider audience than courtly manuscripts. Lowdon establishes a difference between the Bible Moralisee and the Bible Historiales. The former began as a picture book, and it can be traced to the middle of the thirteenth century. It was characterized by its structure of associating biblical texts with moralizing images, often consisting entirely of image to text correspondence throughout. Typically, the Bible historiale was a French vernacular version of the bible, and, while illustrated sometimes, it is marked more by its textual content. In the fifteenth century, the two genres began to merge.

⁴⁶⁰ It was rare in sixteenth century printed book of hours to show David penitent, and much more common to depict him as a courtly voyeur gazing at Bathsheba. On reflection it might seem odd to present such a well-known type of King Francis as penitent, especially during such a tentative time in Francis's tenure as King. But this must not be construed as true penitence, nor an apology, but rather a portrait of sincere and truthful Christian prayer, an expression of David's recognition of his sin. In the early modern French context, there were two kinds of sins. A moral error caused by intentional sin, and an involuntary error common to all humans, caused by an external source trapping the morally virtuous into a minor error. More than anything, this kind of public display of penitence would be tacitly understood as a register of a deeper level of abstract 'truth'

wears sandals in the manner of Roman gladiators. Other soldiers are absent, and the only other beings in the picture are a cupid and curiously, a child at the fountain, who may represent royal lineage: King Solomon, the son of David was in turn the builder of the first Temple of Jerusalem.

Secondly, King David and the temple behind him are juxtaposed in a way that brings the image of the king into dialog with the temple, much as Pope Julius's coin had done with the early representations of St. Peter's Basilica. A palimpsest of layered associations is constructed in this innovative image. Throughout the sixteenth century, the temple as an idea remained a central image for the French monarch's sacred rulership, especially under Francis I, who was the self-proclaimed "Most Christian King."⁴⁶¹ Moreover, it was not lost on the French nobility that Pope Julius II had commissioned major architects, Donato Bramante, Antonio da Sangallo, and Fra Giocondo among them, to erect a new basilica on the site of old St. Peter's.⁴⁶² His original plan for St. Peter's in 1506 was a massive martyrium conceived as a large centrally planned church in the shape of a Greek cross with an immense dome.⁴⁶³ The foundation medal struck by Caradosso (Cristoforo Foppa) showed St. Peter's as an enormous domed basilica with towers, in

than it was a marker of wrongdoing. Knecht, Robert J, *The Valois: Kings of France, 1328-1589*, 122; David kneeling may also be construed as a "sign" of truth. On these "signs" appearing as visual documents in maps and views of the Holy Land, see: Yona Pinson, "The Iconography of the Temple in Northern Renaissance Art," *Assaph: Studies in Art History* 2 (1996): 147-74; Carol Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1-19.

⁴⁶¹ Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron*, 88.

⁴⁶² Bramante had fled to Rome when the French military captured Milan under Louis XII.

⁴⁶³ Marie Tanner, *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of St. Peter's in the Renaissance* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010); Freiberg, Jack. *Bramante's Tempietto, The Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

other words, as a visual document of superimposed references: the Holy Sepulchre and Constantine's imperial basilica (fig. 4.03).⁴⁶⁴ The inscription *Templi Petri Instauracio* advanced the architectural project as both a revival of the original Constantinian basilica and a new beginning.⁴⁶⁵ There is little doubt that the French monarchy, with Louis XII originating the Italian campaigns and Francis I's later bid for the title of Emperor, needed to secure its own image as an imperial reflection.

For Tory to choose this particular image as the temple is not insignificant. The temple, with its triple bay articulation, central oculus window, and small cupola, exemplifies the contemporary Lombard building practices associated with Amadeo and Bramante. Here we find a literal quotation extracted from a print by Bruno Prevedari but attributed to Bramante; the *Ideal Street Scene* was known to have circulated north of the Alps (fig. 4.07).⁴⁶⁶ Although Bramante's picture depicted a street scene with buildings, colonnades, and an arch looking out to a Lombard-style church in the background, the church facade was plucked from the original print and used in the new book of hours to represent the Temple of Solomon behind King David. The identical temple image appears as a synecdoche for Roman Christianity in the sixteenth-century stained glass

⁴⁶⁴ Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 130-133.

⁴⁶⁵ Christof Thoenes, "Nuovi rilievi sui disegni bramanteschi in San Pietro," *San Pietro che non c'è da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovane*, ed. Christiano Tessari (Milan: Electa, 1996), 290.

⁴⁶⁶ Petrioli Tofani, "La scena teatrale" in *Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo*, ed. H. Millon and V. Magnago Lampugnani. (Milan: Bompieri, 1994), 530-531; Sabine Frommel, "Serlio pittore fantasma o realtà" in *Arti a Controntio*, ed. Lenzi, D. (Bolgne, Editrice Composition, 2004), 85-95. ; Kurt Zeitler, *Architektur als Bild und Bühne. Zeichnungen der Bramante und Michelangelo-Nachfolge aus dem Atelierbestand des Alessandro Galli Bibiena*, Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 2004), 62; Many argue that Bramante's tragic scene had among the most long-lasting circulation of all these designs.

paintings of the Bourges Cathedral by Jean Lecuyer. Not incidentally, Bourges was the center of Francis I's administration, the home of Jean Lallement and the former residence of Geoffroy Tory (fig. 4.08).⁴⁶⁷

In its printed format, the 1525 *Hours* would have received a much wider audience than the manuscript that Margaret of Austria gave to Charles V. Of all the narrative scenes in the 1525 *Book of Hours*, the image of King David kneeling before the Temple of Solomon was the most significant for other printers and illuminators. A retrospective on the work of Tory at the Chateau of Écouen (2011) revealed the extent to which the King David scene in the printed 1525 *Hours* influenced court manuscripts like the hours in the use of the Abbey of Saint-Pierre of Lagny.⁴⁶⁸ The illumination of David penitent in the Lagny *Hours* was created one year after Tory's publication and was nearly identical, save for the fact that the dome on the temple was an "onion" type that was even more closely associated at the time with the Temple of Solomon—this is because the Temple of Solomon was often misunderstood to be the Dome on the Rock. Tory's *David Penitent* is also cited as the likely source for the architectural features in the panel painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1529) by Jan de Beer, which moreover compressed the baluster column motifs in Tory's *Book of Hours* into a central subject in itself (fig. 4.09).⁴⁶⁹

Tory was not concerned merely with fashioning his own authority as an architectural *fictor*; he also aimed to establish a language of triumph by inventing a new

⁴⁶⁷ Philippe Goldman, "Geoffroy Tory de Bourges," in *Bourges à la Renaissance, homes de lettres, homes de lois*. ed. Stéphan Geonget. (Paris : Klincksieck, 2011).

⁴⁶⁸ Deprouw, Halévy & Vène. "A L'enseigne du Pot Cassée," 48.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 61-63. Tory's *David Penitent* is also said to have influenced Noel Bellemare's *Dutuit Hours (Adoration of the Magi)*, 1529.

aura for the French kingdom through architecture, particularly through the image of the temple. The innovative depiction of the temple as a Lombard church facade was enriched by its relationship to the figure of King David. Through his connections to the inner court administration, Tory would have been aware that Francis I was often portrayed as King David.⁴⁷⁰ While David was never able to build the temple as his tribute to God, he knew that his son, Solomon, would carry out the honor. Thus, Solomon's temple reflects the patrilineal fantasy of French royalty, whose future dynasties were also secured through heirs and monuments. In Tory's illustration, King David and Francis I were conflated typologically. We might argue that the "new antique" Temple of Solomon was conceptually superimposed with the concept of the Temple of France.

Moreover, Tory's *Book of Hours* was published at a moment that coincided with upheaval and defeat in the French kingdom. In October 1524, Francis crossed the Alps with his troops to invade Pavia at the location of the Certosa di Pavia, the monastery and first ducal complex in Milan dating back to the Visconti era.⁴⁷¹ On February 24, 1525, when the French troops entered the woods to meet with the imperial soldiers, their forces suffered so many casualties that the army was nearly annihilated. The French nobles that were not killed were taken prisoner along with the king and the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency.⁴⁷²

In this light, Tory's *Book of Hours* is an uncanny declaration of triumph. Its architecture speaks the language of the antique but with a distinctly Lombard accent.

⁴⁷⁰ Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*. 278-81. The portrayal of Francis I as King David was enhanced propagandistically after the defeat at Pavia.

⁴⁷¹ Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France*, 135-142.

⁴⁷² Francis Hackett, *Francis the First*, (London: Heinemann, 1935), 288-293. The Hours were begun in 1524, and published in January, 1525. However, at the time of Tory's publication, there was still one month before the French experienced defeat at Pavia.

With Francis I imprisoned in Spain after having lost his claim on Lombardy, the widely circulated *Book of Hours*, with its representation of King David and the Temple of Solomon, revised the defeat as a victory. Significantly, Tory received a ten-year copyright privilege when Francis I was released from prison in Spain, and Tory continued to produce more printed *Hours* until he officially became Printer to the King in the 1530s.⁴⁷³ Despite the copyright, no other illustrations from any printed book of hours was so imitated in paintings, illuminated manuscripts, or other printed works as Tory's 1525 *Hours*.

The Ancient Temple

The temple as one of the most important but elusive visual discourses in early sixteenth-century France was most powerful in the form of the miniature. In architectural history, the literature surrounding the temple is problematic, since it seldom acknowledges that, despite the temple's perfect origin in both secular and divine histories, it rarely emerged as an actual building. If it developed as a powerful idea, it did so in the wake of two narratives: the Temple of France and the Tomb of Jerusalem. These interweaving geneses evoked the Temple of Solomon, the Holy Sepulchre, ancient Rome, and the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem. The temple as an idea, however, was the quintessential architectural fantasy. It was most effectively realized in contexts that privileged expression as a

⁴⁷³ Deprouw, Halévy & Vène. "A L'enseigne du Pot Cassée," 46; When Tory (and Tory & Colines) began producing more Books of Hours, the ornamentation, borders and illustrations changed from one pressing to another. They also varied in quality. The image of David penitent remained fairly consistent, though, and it was also copied by other printers for Hours produced in Lyon, and also in manuscripts.

miniature or an imagined construct: sculptural baldachins, stained glass windows, motifs in church gables, and as propagandistic metaphors for France in rhetoricians' poetry.

Although rarely a model for large-scale building projects in France, the temple was a major subject in architectural treatises. Serlio included antique temples in *Book III* on antiquities.⁴⁷⁴ In his *Book V* on churches, which was translated by Jean Martin in 1547 and dedicated to Queen Marguerite of Navarre, Serlio brought the idea of temples in line with tombs and churches.⁴⁷⁵ In his dedication to the queen, Serlio made the connection between the Temple of Solomon and Christianity by claiming somewhat bizarrely that the “saviour Jesus Christ, expelled the Jews from the Temple of Solomon.”⁴⁷⁶ Like Alberti, Serlio used the word “temple” to refer to churches, especially those whose central plans referred closely to ancient temples.⁴⁷⁷ Containing twelve major projects, *Book V* presents churches as both longitudinally and centrally planned buildings.

⁴⁷⁴ Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro...*, (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1540); The French translation was titled *Des antiquités, le troisième livre...* Anvers, Pieter Coecke, 1546. See Krista de Jonge, “Anticse Wercken: la découverte de l’architecture antique dans la pratique architecturale des anciens Pays-Bas. Livred de modeles et traités (1517-1599),” ed. M.-C. Heck, F. Lemerle & Y. Pauwels. (Théorie des arts et creation artistique dand l’Urope du Nord du XVIe au début du XVIIe siècle, (Lille, PUL: 2002), 55-74; Also see A Bruschi. “Le chiese del Serlio”, ed. C. Thoenes, (Sebastiano Serlio, Milan, Electra, 1989), 169-186.

⁴⁷⁶ Serlio, Sebastiano. *Qunto libro d’architettura di...Serlio...*” Translated into French by Jean Martin. (Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1547). Held at Paris, Binha Res 1476; The original quote from folio 2: “Et nonobstant que les vrais temples soient les cœurs des bons chrétiens, dedans lesquels Jésus Christ notre sauveur habite par purité de foi (comme témoigne monseigneur Saint Paul, vaisseau d’élection, et souverain prêcheur entre tous les apôtres de notre religion digne et sacrée), si est-ce que les temples matériels sont nécessaires au service divin, comme étant ordonnés en remembrance de la maison de Dieu : auquel plaît que certaines places lui soient dédiées, afin que l’on s’y puisse humilier devers sa majesté divine, et y communiquer en dévoute oraison : chose qu’aussi nous affirma notre dit sauveur Jésus Christ, quand il chassait les juifs hors du temple de Salomon”.

⁴⁷⁷ Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, (London: A. Tirani, 1952. 2nd Edition), 17-19.

Beginning around 1540, when Androuet du Cerceau undertook the massive project of documenting the material culture and buildings of France and antiquity, temples were among the first subjects of his large and small drawings, engravings, and etchings.⁴⁷⁸ These included twenty such structures for a collection printed around 1545 entitled *Temples et bâtiments antiques et modernes*.⁴⁷⁹ Comprising the collection were French antiquities, such as the Arch of Langres and the Pont du Gard, as well as several ancient temples and other Roman buildings drawn from the imagination. Shortly afterward, Androuet du Cerceau produced several small texts with accompanying title pages. Each text took up a single subject: modern and antique triumphal arches, fragments of antique architecture, grotesques, optical views, antique Roman ruins, and temples after the antique.⁴⁸⁰ Throughout the years, Androuet du Cerceau would return to the temple as an idea that he would work out serially in the drawings of *Roma antica* and which he then reimagined in his own work as seemingly new inventions.⁴⁸¹

The Temple of France

Before these books and prints of the 1530s and 1540s appeared, the idea of the temple received prominence as a subject in French and Burgundian literature. As shown by

⁴⁷⁸ Giustina Scaglia, "Fantasy Architecture of Roma antica", *Arte Lombarda*, XVth year, second semester (1970), 21-22; Jean Guillaume, *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume ;en collaboration avec Peter Fuhring ; avec le concours de Valérie Auclair ... [et al.]. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010); H. von Geymüller, *Les Du Cerceau. Leur vie et leur œuvre d'après les nouvelles recherches*, (Paris/Londres: J. Rouam/G. Wood & C, 1887)

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, 308.

⁴⁸⁰ Guillaume, *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau*, 293-299.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

authors Cynthia Skenazi and David Cowling, architecture began to be taken up in literature as a metaphor in the early sixteenth century, and *rhétoriciens* increasingly drew upon architecture to distinguish and praise their noble patrons. These texts were rarely illustrated, thus they did not circulate new imagery on paper or in print. The writings of French *rhétoriciens* were often allegories that glorified the court with metaphors of architectural splendor. Courtly *rhétoriciens* like Jean Lemaire de Belges, Jean Molinet, and Georges Chastelain professed to have profound knowledge of architecture—indeed, their expertise in the subject rivalled their proficiency in literature and rhetoric.⁴⁸² The author might compare himself to a builder, using the structure of the building as the scaffolding for the tale. As an architect, the author was able to imagine the contours, precious materials, and details *à l'antique* of grand buildings and temples in a manner that led the reader to imagine the individual monuments deductively by piecing together the motifs and other formal details into a holistic building.⁴⁸³

The subject of the temple offered an ideal platform for mutual aggrandizement of patron and writer.⁴⁸⁴ Cynthia Brown has emphasized that Lemaire, in particular, used architectural metaphors as a tool to commemorate patrons, seek new benefactors, and self-publicize.⁴⁸⁵ Lemaire had his texts published in the new print media in a concerted effort to gain new benefactors. When he asked Antoine Vérard to print his texts, he specified his desire to have them read “*par tout*.”⁴⁸⁶ The first text of Lemaire’s that would

⁴⁸² Skenazi, *Le poète architecte en France*; Cowling, *Building the Text*.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 83-108.

⁴⁸⁵ Cynthia Brown, “Du Manuscrit à l’imprimé en France”, *Le cas des grands rhétoriciens*”, *Les Grands Rhétoriciens: Actes du Ve colloque international sur le moyen français*, vol. 1. (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1985), 119.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

be published as a printed book was *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus* (1504). His allegories brought the act of writing together with that of quarrying or stone carving, as if his folding of one art into the other elevated both.⁴⁸⁷

Although Lemaire first used the building metaphor in *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, he also made use of the temple construct in his well-received *Concorde des deux langages* (1511), which bolstered and secured his long career. *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus* was written while Lemaire was employed by Pierre de Bourbon, whose death inspired its rededication to Louis de Ligny and then, shortly afterward, to Bourbon's wife Anne de Beaujeu.⁴⁸⁸ The narrative is structured by way of three distinct sections. The first unfolds as a pastoral allegory serving to praise Pierre and Anne, while the second part envisions Pierre's funeral as a triumphant and noble event. The third section takes place in the dream of Anne (Aurora), who envisions the Temple of Honour and Virtue. In her dream, the temple also functions as a tomb, in which Pierre is given a triumphal entry into his own tomb/temple. The reader is not given a description of the temple-tomb in terms of the detailed properties of its craftsmanship, although the speaking statues on the exterior of the edifice embody the virtues of *Prudence*, *Justice*, *Esperance*, *Raison*, *Religion*, and *Equite*, whose first letters spell the name of the protagonist "PIERRE." Not incidentally, the word *pierre* also means "stone," referring to the material of alabaster in which Lemaire was a self-proclaimed expert.⁴⁸⁹ Despite using the dream allegory, Lemaire did not describe the temple in the detailed terms of architectural nomenclature as

⁴⁸⁷ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 170-200. Cowling has dedicated an entire chapter to Jean Lemaire de Belges.

⁴⁸⁸ Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, (Geneva, Libraire Droz: 1957), 7-18.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 75.

Colonna had with *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Although Lemaire describes the temple as being in the “manner” of the “antique,” he nonetheless engages the terms familiar to rhetorical conventions by employing descriptors such as “riche” or “sumptuous,” and by mentioning the “gold” and “precious stones.” Lemaire writes the following description:

En la plaine spacieuse et herbue se monstroit de front ung edifice
sumptueux à merveilles, à maniere d’ung temple anticque en ouvraige
mais riche outremesure en sa façon, lequel donnoit de prime face
esbahissement à l’oeil, tant pour l’excellence de sa beauté que pour la
reflamboyance de l’or et des pierres precieuses don't il estoit garny.⁴⁹⁰

As Cowling points out, when Lemaire mentions the facade of the building (*front ung edifice*) he is grappling with the temple as both a rhetorical structure and as an important element in the burgeoning architectural discourse. It is not incidental that Lemaire discusses the temple as beheld from “the front,” where the knowledgeable viewer is invited to imagine the temple as a specific type of building, perhaps one with a colonnade or portico. Or perhaps he was picturing the façade of the great Certosa church in Pavia that court diplomats also praised in terms of its “marbles.”⁴⁹¹ Despite including this detail that specifies the temple’s orientation as frontal, he also lauds it for the “excellence of its beauty as for the *reflamboyance* of gold and precious stones of which it is garnished.”⁴⁹² Notably such a description recalls a tomb whose materials require indoor placement, as alabaster is simply not hardy for a monumental building subjected to the

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 74.

⁴⁹¹ Andrew R Scoble. *The Memoirs of Philip de Commines*, vol. 2. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856), 283-284.

⁴⁹² Lemaire de Belges, *Le Temple d’Honneur et de Vertus*, 74: “. . . tant pour l’excellence de sa beauté que pour la refflamboyance de l’or et des pierres precieuses don't il estoit garny. . .”

inclement weather. Lemaire, however, only provides the possibilities through schematic points of reference; the patron or reader would then be called upon to assimilate more specific visual information by incorporating his or her knowledge of actual monuments into the cognitive process of imagining the scene.

While scholars have expressed disappointment that Lemaire's temple was scarcely described in architectonic terms, Cowling has argued that the schematic presentation of the temple was a rhetorical strategy that allowed for it to function semantically on several levels. Cowling writes:

Lemaire's temple functions on one level as an encomiastic structure designed to honour, in its outward manifestation of beauty, its immaterial nature, and its noble inhabitants, the patron whom it receives and, by extension, the dynasty to which he belongs. On another, it is a symbol of human collective memory and the perpetuation, in writing, of the great men of the past. Celebration of a patron and the implicit claims for attention of the writer can coexist, thanks to the inherent flexibility of the architectural metaphor.⁴⁹³

This "inherent flexibility of the architectural metaphor" extends to the idea of the temple, whose ambiguous typology bundled notions of posterity, antiquity, and triumph into a single vision. This vision allowed for the temple to hold authority for centuries as an allegory of the French kingdom. In French printing and manuscripts, the temple appropriated the appearance of the Gothic church, as it was known in France at the time. As early as 1465, an illumination in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquités Judaïques* of *The*

⁴⁹³ Cowling, *Building the Text*, 185.

Construction of Jerusalem shows Solomon's Temple as a Gothic building under construction in a mason's yard (fig. 4.01).⁴⁹⁴ The building in the illumination incorporates elements of the detailed tracery designs in the buttresses found on the façade of the venerated Saint-Gatien Cathedral at Tours in the Loire Valley.⁴⁹⁵ Through these appropriations of ornamental vignettes into the manuscript depicting the temple, the Tours Cathedral is not only associated with the Temple of Solomon, it becomes the de facto source for its inspiration.

Contemporary to Lemaire's *Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, the image of the temple was popularized in court culture as a true model of the French kingdom. We are given a sense of how this played out in a luxurious manuscript whose dedication remains obscured, *Le Livre de la dédicace du temple saint françoys* (1507).⁴⁹⁶ Small and lavish, the book was created by an anonymous *rhétoricien*, and it received six full-page illuminations by an unknown artist (fig. 4.02). Using the dream trope, the text served as a

⁴⁹⁴ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Fr. 247, fol. 163). Image of the "Temple of Jerusalem" is attributed to Jean Fouquet. See Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood. "Temples, Painted, Printed and Real" in *Anachronic Renaissance*. (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 159-174. The process of narrative conflation occurs easily in images, as they do not always reveal contradiction in a glance as well as the written word. Several 'truths' can exist at once and be revealed in multiple glances. Wood and Nagel have shown that artists in France had long depicted the Christian temple as a hybrid building, insofar as to show "pictorial overlap" of the Solomonic Temple and local building practices. We can see an example of this in Fouquet's painting of the Temple of Solomon as a Gothic structure, discussed earlier; Secondly, when printing became more popular, and a wider base of reader-consumers began to grow, the temple form became a very common symbol appearing in background imagery in biblical scenes as well as in other religious contexts. In this case, the temple is reduced to a meme, represented as either a tiny gothic church or a fortress-like portal labeled with the name 'temple'. Its connotative meaning would have been largely decided by the context in which it was presented.

⁴⁹⁵ Jean-Marie Guillouët. "In the Masons' Yard: Insights from French Gothic Manuscript Painting." *Gesta*. Vol. 52. No. 2. (2013), 181-196.

⁴⁹⁶ Anon. *Livre de la dédicace du temple saint francoys*. (BNF ms.fr. 1680).

panegyric to Louis XII who was referred to as the *Grant Pasteur*. The manuscript glorified the king's military and political strengths such as his desire for good governance and his peaceful relations with his subjects throughout the French kingdom, as well as his conquest of Milan and the submission of Genoa to his royal authority.⁴⁹⁷

One particularly interesting illumination in the manuscript depicted the Kingdom of France as an architectural allegory. All of the elements of the kingdom, such as its geographical, social, and statecraft institutions, were bundled into the single image of the temple. Most unusual, however, is how the temple and the monarchy were represented as a conflated idea. Anne-Marie Lecoq has shown how the image reads like a rubric: the woman kneeling before the temple represents France as an abstract concept, as suggested by her fleur-de-lis robe. Thus France is understood as the kingdom's subject kneeling before the grand temple of the French monarchy. The image of the temple, as the representation of the monarchy, is unsurprisingly depicted as a composite image of a cathedral and a chateau. The central Gothic tower with a pinnacle cross evokes the former, while the symmetrical five-bay façade with the projecting central articulation and the sloped roof resembles courtly domiciles.⁴⁹⁸ According to Lecoq, the illustration proclaims "the Temple of France."⁴⁹⁹ France as the "most Christian kingdom" is named

⁴⁹⁷ Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*, 57-59.

⁴⁹⁸ Anon. *Livre de la dédicace du temple saint francoys*. (BNF ms.fr. 1680); Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*, 56-63; France is conceived in geographical terms according to its different kinds of buildings that appear in varying areas. Churches are distinguished by arch-Episcopal and Episcopal membership; cities have parliamentary and university characters; areas are identified by the composition of notable society which includes, clergy, nobility of the blood, nobility of the robe, and merchants. The allegory itself is told as a dream where the allegorical motif 'Désir' is propelled by the horse 'l'acteur' in the pursuit of the grand dedication of the ``grand Temple de dame France``.

⁴⁹⁹ Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*, 57-59.

as a temple whose image is cast in equally secular and sacred terms of the royal chateau and the church.

Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre

Around 1500, the idea of the temple was also propagated through prints and books that depicted pilgrimages to the Holy Land.⁵⁰⁰ One of these publications, *Die Heiligen Reisen gen Jherusalem zu dem heiligen Grab*, was written by the Mainz canon Bernard von Breydenbach. His book came to be widely distributed, copied, and reprinted in several languages, beginning with the original edition of 1488 and continuing through the first two decades of the new century.⁵⁰¹ Breydenbach's text was influential in developing a proxy vision of Jerusalem. First, it provided an unprecedented virtual pilgrimage whereby readers would be able to see and read about the experience as if having been there. Jean Pèlerin would also follow in this tradition when he published his treatise on perspective, *De Artificiali Perspectiva* (1505).⁵⁰² Second, the woodcuts in Breydenbach's book provided pictures of Jerusalem as a city view, a hillside perspective that looked directly onto the Holy Sepulchre and Dome on the Rock (fig. 4.10–4.12).

⁵⁰⁰ Marie Tanner, *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of St. Peter's in the Renaissance* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010).

⁵⁰¹ Bernhard de Breydenbach, *Le Grand Voyage de Jherusalem divise en deux parties. En la premiere est raicte des peregrinations de la saincte cite de Jherusalem, du mont Saincte Kat....* (Printed in Paris, by Nicolas hygman imprimeur pour francoys regnault libraire.1517). (Microfilm M-10676, Held in the BNF). On Breydenbach, see Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014).

⁵⁰² Jean Pélerin. *De Artificiali Perspectiva*, 1505 & 1509, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).

There is no doubt that the imagery of Jerusalem had a major impact on French art of the period. The Lyonnais illustrator, Bernard Salomon, who was in charge of the procession route and iconography of Henri II's entry into Lyon, arranged the city as a vision of Jerusalem triumphant.⁵⁰³ Moreover, Salomon's illustrations for printed Bibles were collages of those same antique buildings, temples, ciboria, arcades, and sepulchers drawn from the Jerusalem perspectives and reassembled as innovative fantasies of the Holy City. The view of Jerusalem became the subject of many printed works in France and the Netherlands. Androuet du Cerceau's first engravings were perspectives of Jerusalem, although he assembled his vision from Netherlandish sources. He likely drew from two images: a woodcut by Harman van Borckeloo that was known to circulate among printmakers and a painting by Jan van Scorel. Both artists followed Breydenbach's formula for depicting the city and Sepulchre.⁵⁰⁴ Around 1528–1529, Scorel painted a portrait of the brotherhood to which he belonged, those who had made the challenging journey to the Holy Land. In the upper corner he included the image of the Holy Sepulchre represented very much in the same manner as Breydenbach had done several decades earlier.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ On Bernard Salomon, his illustrations in Lyon, and his involvement in the Royal Entries, see: Peter Sharratt, *Bernard Salomon: Illustrateur Lyonnais*, (Geneva, Droz: 2005), 230-235.

⁵⁰⁴ The Harman van Borckeloo print is dated circa 1538. Scorel's painting is *The Entry of Christ Into Jerusalem* (1526); On the relationship between Scorel's painting, van Borckeloo's print and Androuet du Cerceau's print, see Peter Fuhring, "Catalogue Sommaire des Estampes," in Guillaume, *Jean. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010), 303.

⁵⁰⁵ Larry Silver, "Jan van Scorel's Jerusalem Landscapes," *In Detail: New Studies of Northern Renaissance Art in honor of Walter S. Gibson*, ed. Larinda S. Dixon. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

Nothing gripped the sixteenth-century imagination like the Holy Sepulchre, Christ's tomb. The Sepulchre was both tomb and temple, simultaneously marking Christ's death while standing in as the moment of the origin of the Christian church. As in Scorel's painting, the Sepulchre was conventionally isolated from the views of Jerusalem and portrayed as a distinct structure on the frame or corner of the prints and paintings. In several prints and book illustrations, the object was rendered as a cube-like building with two entrances, one colonnaded and the other with a single portal and an elegant cupola on top. This schematic way of presenting the Sepulchre may have been vital to its transmission as an idea, yet when the Sepulchre was represented in microarchitectural projects the expressions were endless.⁵⁰⁶

One exception is the stunning replica of the Sepulchre still extant in Görlitz, where the patrician Georg Emerich erected an imitation of the sacred complex (fig. 4.12). Evidently Emerich had traveled to Jerusalem before 1465, bringing along with him his

⁵⁰⁶ The schematic way in which the Holy Sepulchre appeared in Breydenbach's imagery and others that followed was vital to its transmission; schematicism leaves more to the imagination, but it also provides only what was required to know by vision so that it traveled more easily in the mind. Andy Clark, "Material Surogacy and the Supernatural: Reflections on the Role of Artefacts in 'Off-line' Cognition," *Cognitive Life of Things, Recasting the Boundaries of the Mind*, ed. Lambros Malafouris & Colin Renfrew. (Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2010), 23-28. Clark argues that 'information' is easier to transfer when rendered as a schema. Curiously these new studies in neurology and information align with some of Richard Krautheimer's notions of how foreign buildings were copied from an original location and transplanted into a new place before the dawn of print (or even paper surplus). See: Richard Krautheimer. *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, (New York, New York University Press, 1969), 127. Krautheimer famously argued that imitations of medieval pilgrimage sites were not made by visual exactitude but by replicating measurements, geometry or other 'known' elements from the original to the copy; Mario Carpo. "The Typographical Architect," *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, ed. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Carpo has offered innovative perspectives on how the invention of the printing press affected concepts of imitation.

own architect who measured and drew the structure with the intention of replicating it in Germany.⁵⁰⁷ The building is very similar to Breydenbach's woodcut. Such an example is, however, an anomaly; most Sepulchre "replicas" did not look like the Sepulchre in Jerusalem. For instance, Gijsbert Willemsz Raet, a Knight in the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, created his own memorial chapel in Gouda as a large dodecagonal structure appended to a church. Its central plan was meant to evoke the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁵⁰⁸ The Jerusalem Church in Bruges is another such example. Built by the Italian brothers Pieter and Jacob Adornes, who had both made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the church's Netherlandish facade was set off by an unusual tower with a stacked, onion dome that would later come to represent Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre by way of association.⁵⁰⁹ One of the most famous examples of sepulchral imitations was the Rucellai Chapel designed by Alberti in 1467. Erected as a memorial for Giovanni Rucellai, the structure's measurements were based on the dimensions of the Holy Sepulchre, although the chapel scarcely resembled Emerich's or Willemsz Raet's interpretations. Alberti's Rucellai Chapel was given an imperial gloss: its rectangular vault chapel with Corinthian pilasters, a sophisticated antique cornice, and the Latin

⁵⁰⁷ Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages. Its form and function*. (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 118.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid, 119-121

⁵⁰⁹ The names with which they are associated are usually Pieter and Jacob. IN some sources, the name "Jacob" is given as "James." On this church, see: Malcolm Letts, *Bruges and its Past*. (Charles Beyaert, 1924. Bruges), 26. The book includes a source from 1662, in which the writer mentioned how the building had incorporated aspects of Jerusalem and the Sepulchre into its building; Marc Ryckaert, *Onder leiding van Adriaan Verhulst en Jean -Marie Duvosquel*. (Brussel, Gemeentekrediet, 1991); J. Haentjens, *Jeruzalem Brugge*, (Brugge, 1970); Jozef Penninck, *De Jeruzalemkerk te Brugge*, (Brugge, 1979); Jan Esther, *Monumentenbeschrijving en bouwgeschiedenis van de Jeruzalemkapel*, in: N. Geirnaert & A. Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem*, (Brugge, 1983).

inscription in Roman lettering elevated the patrons in its recourse to the imperial language of the Roman Empire.⁵¹⁰ The small Byzantine dome carried on high, slender columns on the top of the chapel is the single element that retains the visual character of the original Sepulchre.

Both Holy Sepulchre buildings and entombments of Christ as permanent Holy Sepulchres were rare in France until the late fifteenth century.⁵¹¹ But pilgrimage literature, combined with shifting liturgical emphases on Christ's human suffering, gave rise to depictions of the Entombment in various media. A remarkable example is the wall tomb in Solesmes, which was not only one of the earliest entombments in France, it was also one of the first monuments built *à l'antique*. The introduction of the antique mode elided with the theme of the Holy Sepulchre brings this wall monument in line with Alberti's Rucellai memorial while also prefiguring the great sepulchral tombs of Louis XII and Francis I.

Solesmes

An unusual and innovative entombment found in Solesmes coincides with the earliest years of transmission of the antique mode into France. Multifaceted and theatrical, the

⁵¹⁰ G. Petrini, "*La capella del Santo Sepolcro nella ex chiesa di S. Pancrazio in Firenze*". Franco Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1975). The inscription reads: "Johannes Rucellarius, the son of Paul, had this chapel built in the image of the tomb in Jerusalem in 1467, so that henceforth his salvation might be prayed for from the place where the resurrection of all with Christ was accomplished." There are plenty of other such examples: see the Jerusalem Church at Bruges for instance.

⁵¹¹ Louis Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age(...)*, (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1922), 133-134. According to Mâle, the oldest known entombment in France dates to 1453 in Tonnère.

Solesmes Holy Sepulchre is part of a complex that involved both transepts in the abbey. The south transept hosts Christ's entombment, which was constructed in 1494 and often attributed to the circle of Michel Colombe (fig. 4.14).⁵¹² The Virgin's entombment, directly across from it in the north transept, is dated between 1530 and 1550 and has various possible attributions, including Jean Goujon, Germain Pilon, and Ligier Richier.⁵¹³

The thirty decades between the construction of the two entombments produced stylistically different expressions of the event, but even this has not generated a great deal of scholarly attention; these tombs are often dismissed by the broad surveys on French art.⁵¹⁴ Christ's entombment is commonly referred to as "flamboyant," a category developed to deal with Late Gothic ornamental forms. For instance, the arches in the upper register contain unusual mouldings constituted of a complex Gothic rib system. As Zerner has pointed out, the material of the tomb is completely subordinated to form. He writes: "This is a sculptor's art—or more precisely that of a carver of stone (or of wood)—wherein the excavation of material is essential. The motifs appear independent of the background against which they stand out."⁵¹⁵ We can observe this phenomenon in the vegetal motifs in the moulding, the dematerializing effects of the ribbing, and the Gothic blind tracery. Yet flanking the guards and standing in the beholder's space are two delicately carved candelabra enclosed in pilasters that resemble those of Bramante's

⁵¹² Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 351-353.

⁵¹³ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 353-354. Zerner also mentions archival documents that suggest the names of two relatively unknown local sculptors: Jean Desmarais and Jean Guiffard; E. Cartier. *Les sculptures de Solesmes*. (Paris and Le Mans: V. Palmé. Monnoyer, 1877).

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, 354. Zerner points out that neither Henry Blunt nor André Michel mention it.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*, 28

scraffito candelabra in the apse of the Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan (1476–1482).

The entombment of the Virgin, which was made three decades later, is conveyed as two superimposed triumphal arches, which are constituted from a series of antique arcades that read as distinct registers (fig. 4.15). No surface is left bare. St. Timothy, for instance, is presented in a niche flanked by Italianate pilasters and crowned with an elaborate temple-like baldachin. The niches are filleted with a shelf motif, and the four saints in the second register are alternated with baluster-type candelabra columns that were still popular in the 1530s. The columns separating the beholder from the figural group are papered with an elegant Italianate design, and the fluted columns above rest on top of bases that contain tiny niches and statuary.

Zerner has shown that one of the reasons both of these wall entombments have been minimized in art history accounts is that these works are difficult to categorize.⁵¹⁶ Written surveys that are organized by the disciplines of architecture, sculpture, and painting either do not include the entombments or they split up certain aspects of the tombs to correspond to fixed, modern categories. When Prosper Mérimée visited Solesmes in 1835 he already described the monuments in terms of these distinct disciplines: architecture referred to the larger frame, ornament claimed the motifs hanging from this frame, and sculpture was the class pertaining solely to the statues.⁵¹⁷

Mérimée also complained that the dramatic emotional expressions combined with the polychromy of the statues in both entombments were garish in such a way that he

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, 354; When the ensemble was discussed in the surveys, the earlier entombment of Christ was described as the epitome of ‘flamboyant’ art.

⁵¹⁷ Prosper Mérimée, *Notes de voyages*. (Paris: Pierre-Marie Auzas, 1971), 283-286; Zerner also mentions Mérimée’s visit to Solesmes (2003), 351-352.

likened the group to wax figures. He claimed this problem made the figures simply “too real,” a quality he found unsettling.⁵¹⁸ The effect was heightened by the fact that both entombments were allotted a room that seemed to transform the wall surface into an actual experience of the entombment in Jerusalem.

Arguably, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the act of pilgrimage have been imported into the Abbey of Solesmes.⁵¹⁹ The façade-like frames replicate the experience of pilgrims approaching the tomb in Jerusalem from its courtyard. In the earlier Solesmes sepulcher in the south transept, the unprecedented insertion of the entombment within a deep recess, coupled with the upper register of architecturally enshrined prophets, suggests the double arcade entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that appear in Breydenbach’s woodcuts (compare fig. 4.10 B–C and fig. 4.14–4.15). Moreover, the later entombment of the Virgin reinforces the vision as one inspired by Jerusalem (fig. 4.15). The portico emphasizes the act of having to “enter” into a space—even if only in the pilgrim’s imagination—which is fronted by a triumphal arch façade with slender columns, like those in the woodcut of Breydenbach’s single sepulcher. The miniature temples on the frame’s cornice may also serve as mnemonic representations of the sacred realm by invoking the domes of Jerusalem, which by 1530, were becoming familiar images in prints and book illustrations.

If such entombments were linked to the Holy Sepulchre, we might argue that even smaller microarchitectural works functioned in a similar way; tabernacle niches also

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ There are other possible precedents for the double arch entombment, such as the Visconti tomb in the Certosa in Pavia. However, that too is a sepulchral tomb, suggesting that the Holy Sepulchre in general was a likely source for many such tombs, even if it is not imitated directly and literally. I suggest the Holy Sepulchre had become a driving fantasy in the collective imagination of the early sixteenth century.

performed as tombs for the body of Christ. Despite its earlier date of publication, a treatise by Amalarius of Metz unequivocally relegated to the tabernacle the role of Christ's tomb. He wrote,

Through the fragment of the sacrificial bread, dipped into the chalice, the body of Christ is shown, which has already risen from the dead. When it is eaten by the priest or congregation it still walks on earth. When it is put away in the altar it is lying in the grave.⁵²⁰

While in Germany, tabernacles, monstrances, and sacrament houses were fashioned as miniature buildings in extremely complex Gothic tracery, it was not until the early sixteenth century that wall tabernacles in French chapels were given elaborate antique frames.⁵²¹ As Alison Wright has shown, there were several precedents for this type of tabernacle in Italy, for instance, where reforms in fifteenth-century Tuscany focused on improving the furnishings for the house of the Blessed Sacrament.⁵²² The sacrament house as a wall tomb appears in the chapel of the Chateau of Chenonceau, where the host is literally entombed in a single arched niche (fig. 4.16). Like the Entombment of Christ at Solesmes, the tabernacle's main body is an antique portal that opens to the niche in which the host is held. Above the niche is an attic containing paired niches and statuary,

⁵²⁰ Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*. 113-115. He discusses Amalarius's quote with several examples of tabernacles, including one in the parish church in Piddington.

⁵²¹ Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the body of Christ, 1270-1600*. (Turnhout: Brepols: 2009). This is not the first instance of elaborate frames of tabernacles. Many late-gothic examples of house-like tabernacles (or sacrament houses) that are rooms for the host are similar in function. Bucher, "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," 71-89; However, the Holy Sepulchre theme was extremely rare in France: Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*, 113-115.

⁵²² On tabernacles in Tuscany in the 15th century, see: Alison Wright, "Tabernacle and Sacrament in fifteenth-century Tuscany," in *Carvings, Casts and Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*. (London: Victoria & Albert Press, 2013), 42-57.

all of which are crowned by a gable that resembles Flemish architecture. In the private oratory in the Hotel Lallement (Bourges, circa 1520), the wall tabernacle is in dialogue with the ornament *à l'antique* throughout the oratory and domicile itself, with the fashionable candelabra pilasters flanking the arched opening in a display of triumph (fig. 4.17).⁵²³

Roma antica

The idea of the temple in France was also associated with the concept of *Roma antica*. Giustina Scaglia has shown how fantasies of ancient Rome, circulating as pictures in prints and drawings around 1500, were often mined for their individual buildings. Drawings and prints of this subject were evidently passing through French workshops. Androuet du Cerceau's engravings of antique temples show he was familiar with several series of drawings from Florence and Lombardy, particularly the fantasy architecture of *Roma antica* by Buonocorso Ghiberti (made around 1489), which had been collected by sculptor Emilio Santarelli.⁵²⁴ Fra Giocondo, who worked in Naples, Lombardy, and France, also produced several drawings of temples that may also have been sourced by

⁵²³ Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*, 71. The tabernacle as a tomb for Christ had precedents in liturgical ceremonies that conflated the Easter sepulchre with the tabernacle. Kroesen discusses the relationship between the Easter Sepulchre and Tabernacle in depth.

⁵²⁴ Ibid, 21-22; Hubertus Günther, "Du Cerceau et l'Antiquité," *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010).

French artists.⁵²⁵ Sometimes these architectural visions of Roman antiquity surfaced as backdrops in tapestries, paintings, and small sculptural vignettes, like Jacques Julliot's *Meeting at the Golden Gates* (Troyes, 1539).⁵²⁶ Temples, in particular, were plucked from these Roman vistas, only to emerge in different contexts. When these same temples appeared as singular temple "portraits" in the prints and drawings of Androuet du Cerceau, they were retrospectively classified as architecture.⁵²⁷

For the most part, the temple was more likely to emerge in early sixteenth-century France as a miniature, whether in a manuscript illumination, or as a tomb, ciborium, or ruin, than as a building. One exception is the small chapel of the Holy Sacrament commissioned in 1537 by Canon Jean Daniello in Vannes after he returned from a lengthy visit to Rome (fig. 4.18). Centrally planned with alternating triangular and segmental pediments and superimposed orders on the façade, the chapel would have been a rare sight at that time. Although Zerner has suggested that it is somewhat naive to think that the rotunda building was conceived by the canon or perhaps inspired by drawings of

⁵²⁵ Thomas Ashby Jr, *Coner Codex (Papers in the British School at Rome)*, Vol. 2. (1904). Held in the BNF: 4-V-5513. The Coner Codex contains one of the sketchbooks of Giuliani da Sangallo. Another is the Barberini Codex (1465-1514).

⁵²⁶ Françoise Bibolet, *Histoire de Troyes*. (Troyes : Editions de la Maison du Boulanger, 1997); Isabelle Crété-Protin. *Église et Vie Chrétienne dans la diocèse de Troyes*. (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du septentrion, 2002); We know little about this artist who worked in Troyes in the 1530s and 40s. Later in the 1550s, other artists would draw upon the *Roma Antica* reserve in the works of Jean Cousin, Etienne Delaune. There are other artists that I am not discussing here because they present slightly unusual circumstances and different issues. Primaticcio's paintings in Fontainebleau, for instance, are an early example of the use of Roman landscapes in French painting. Later, in 1566 Antoine Caron would isolate Roman monuments as individual elements as a virtual procession through each one.

⁵²⁷ Peter Fuhring, "Catalogue Sommaire des Estampes," *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau : un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France*. sous la direction de Jean Guillaume et al. (Paris : Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine : Picard, 2010), 301-332.

buildings in prints from *Roma antica* and erected by French masons, it is an interesting testament to the French fascination with the centrally planned temple.⁵²⁸ There is no doubt that Bramante's *Tempietto* was known in France at the time, especially among canons travelling between France and Rome.

Even those temples that were canonized as major architectural monuments in treatises had appeal in contemporary written tracts as miniatures or microarchitecture. Consider Bramante's *Tempietto*, with its continuous Doric balustrade around the cella and its dome raised upon a drum, and which was held in high regard as a defining monument of its time. Bramante's round temple was so significant that Palladio included it in his architectural treatise as an example of a real antique building. Yet the building and others like it were often fondly appraised as miniatures or microarchitecture. Fra Mariano da Firenze described the *Tempietto* as "a large marble ciborium embellished with columns," an attribution that speaks to the building's function as martyrium marking the spot of St. Peter's death.⁵²⁹ By claiming the temple as a ciborium, he reflects Alberti in earlier writings, who also saw the temple and the sepulchre as related typologies when he wrote: "I would make (sepulchres) as if they were small temples."⁵³⁰

Temples of a sort even emerged as a type of frame or baldachin in other media. A stained glass window in the Cathedral of Bourges is one of the most elaborate displays of

⁵²⁸ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*; Zerner suggests that the French architects were "stammering in a foreign language," 19

⁵²⁹ Freiburg, "Bramante's Christian Temple," *Bramante's Tempietto, The Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Freiburg discusses the Christian origins of the *tempietto* and the liturgical significance of the reliefs on it.

⁵³⁰ Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*. ed. Joseph Rykwert. (London: A. Tiani, 1955). *VIII*, 3. 160-161. Alberti reinvigorated the older genre of the sepulchre church in his centralized churches of San Francesco, Santissima Annunziata and Sant' Andrea Mantua. It is argued that his churches are sepulchral in nature.

the architectural splendour of the temple, although it is used as a frame for the saints' canopies (fig. 4.08). Executed between 1520 and 1532 by Jean Lecuyer, the eight windows that show the martyrdom of Sts. Stephen and Laurence in Rome place an unprecedented emphasis on the architectural elements, both the microarchitectural temple-like baldachins and the Roman backdrop for the narratives. The antique architecture encloses the saints in rotundas, serving as more than frames with their differentiating crowning cupolas and depicted reliefs in *grisaille*. The temple-like canopies composed of buttresses and antique tracery are niches that act to glorify their worldly patrons, the important Tullier family, whose portraits also appear in the windows.⁵³¹

The idea of the temple resonated strongly as a miniature in the form of baldachins or canopies in France before 1540. As previously mentioned, Jean-Marie Guillouët has shown that as early as 1470 the Temple of Solomon in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquités Judaïques* was depicted as a building clothed in motifs that were nearly identical to the canopies and baldachins in the portals of nearby cathedrals of Nantes and Tours.⁵³² Moreover, one of the masons in the illumination is shown to be engaging in a rare technique that was particular to the craft of making tombs, liturgical furniture, and baldachins in the region's workshops. The illumination went beyond merely copying the ornament found on these cathedrals' facades. It also demonstrated an awareness of a particular geometric conceit utilized by the masons in charge of designing the ornamental motifs adorning the great façade.⁵³³ Likewise, in the Church Saint-Pantaléon in Troyes,

⁵³¹ Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France*, 289-291.

⁵³² Guillouët, "In the Masons' Yard," 181-196.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

the baldachins over the statues present complex and otherworldly Gothic and antique vignettes that closely resemble *tempietti* (fig. 4.19).⁵³⁴ These antique fragments collaged elements such as rounded arches, antique columns, and cupolas to provide temple-like canopies for the saints and render triumphant the sacred vision of Jerusalem. Replicas of temples, perhaps some drawn from *Roma antica*, were commonly included as miniatures in architectural projects. The skyline of Chambord is composed as a horizon of *tempietti* (fig. 4.20). Moreover, frequently the tympana of triumphal arches on church portals presented complex images of temple facades as aggrandized frames for sculptural figures. The triumphal temple façade on the Church of Gisors is one such example. The temple on Rodez Cathedral by Guillaume Philandrier can also be understood in this context (fig. 4.21).

Guillaume Philandrier and the Antique Temple as Ornament

The idea of the temple remained a significant subject for discourse in politics and architecture throughout the 1540s despite the fact that it still scarcely had an impact as a large-scale building. In fact, a replica of a “pure” Vitruvian temple was constructed in this period, though its placement within a cathedral gable may seem unusual to us today.

⁵³⁴ The exact date and artist of these baldachins is unknown but their date of creation is estimated at circa 1530-1550. See, *Les églises de Troyes, cathédrale, collégiales et églises paroissiales*, (les éditions Lieux-Dits, 2013); Charles Lalore, "L'Église Saint-Pantaléon de Troyes, in *Collection de documents inédits...Inventaires des principales église de Troyes*, volume II, (Dufour-Boucquot, Troyes, 1893), 204-208; Albert Babeau, *L'Église Saint-Pantaléon de Troyes*, in *Mémoires de la société académique de l'Aube*, (1881).

Appearing at the highest point of the Cathedral of Rodez's façade, the temple resonated monumentally as an ornament perched in the gable.

The temple frontispiece in the gable of the Cathedral in Rodez resembles a church façade. Composed of superimposed Doric and Ionic orders, the semi-circular niches and vertical columnar articulation combined with the stepped façade unambiguously recalled the façade that Tory included as the Temple of Solomon behind the kneeling King David. Remarkable here is that this façade is presented as an ornamental crest at the peak of the cathedral. Its small scale has been vilified by architectural historians, who have maligned the effort as absurd and ridiculous. Anthony Blunt was highly critical of the work, claiming Philandrier

simply planted a complete Roman church front on top of a tall plain Gothic façade. In its detail the design is remarkably pure and rather advanced for its date, even by Italian standards. But in its context it is preposterous. All sense of scale and appropriateness seems to have deserted Philandrier.⁵³⁵

As if recalling du Choul's comment regarding rendering great monuments as miniatures for better appreciation, Philandrier makes the temple façade that he has designed appear even smaller than it is by placing it on the highest register of a massive building.⁵³⁶ Philandrier was not misinterpreting the correct way of building temples. The temple façade—holding the arms of the Cardinal d'Armagnac to whom it was dedicated—was conceived as an archaeologically accurate facsimile of a Vitruvian

⁵³⁵ Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France* (1999), 57.

⁵³⁶ See footnote 5 above.

temple.⁵³⁷ Philandrier had visited Venice with Cardinal d'Armagnac as his personal *lecteur* in the 1530s. While in Venice, Philandrier met Serlio who agreed to tutor him in matters of architecture. In the 1540s, he followed the cardinal to Rome and studied Roman antiquities along the way. Philandrier met the humanists Girolamo Ruscelli, Tommaso Spica, and Claudio Tolomei, and he became involved in the *Accademia degli Sdegnati*, an extensive project that undertook rigorous analysis of Vitruvius and antique architecture. Throughout this period, Philandrier met the architects Antonio and Giovan Battista da Sangallo and Vignola as well as intellectuals like Angelo Colocci and Marcello Cervini. From this series of meetings, Philandrier developed his own commentary on Vitruvius, *Annotationes*, which was published in Rome in 1544 and reissued in France in 1545.⁵³⁸ Upon taking leave of the *Accademia*, Philandrier set out to build a replica of the temple front that through the course of the meetings was deemed truly Vitruvian. What emerged from these studies was his temple that he placed in the gable of Rodez. Philandrier was responding to the venerable French tradition in which architecture was monumentalized in miniature.

⁵³⁷ Frédérique Lemerle, "Le Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac et Guillaume Philandrier: le frontispiece de la cathedrale Notre-Dame de Rodez," in *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique*. ed. Lemerle, Frédérique et al. (Lille: IRHiS, 2009); Henri Zerner, in *Il se rendit en Italie, etudes offertes a Andre Chastel*. (Paris: Edizioni dell'Elefante: Flammarion, 1987). Zerner shows how this miniaturized architecture fits in perfectly with the medieval tradition, which ignored the separation between structure and ornament.

⁵³⁸ Frédérique Lemerle. *Les Annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres I à IV, Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, (Paris: Picard, 2000); Frédérique Lemerle, *Les Annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres V à VII, Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, (Paris: Picard, 2011). The annotations were reissued in France in 1545 by Jacques Kerver and Michel Fezandat.

Conclusion

The format of the miniature in print, painting, and sculpture was an integral force of architectural discourse in early sixteenth-century France. No other type of building or monument resonated as strongly in the miniaturized form as the temple. In part its ambiguity as a type allowed for it to be schematically and variously reimagined in numerous media as temple, tomb, ciborium, and church. While the temple was a major subject of discourse in the prints of *Roma antica* and in architectural treatises known in France, from Cesariano's *Vitruvius* (1521) to Serlio's *Book V* on churches (1547) and Philandrier's *Annotationes* (1544–1545), it constituted an earlier visual discourse taking place in books of hours, stained glass, tombs, and other interior elements. Moreover, when it was endorsed at court in textual contexts, the idea of the temple was reformed as the Temple of France, which conflated notions of the French church, chateau, and the antique edifice. As witnessed in the *rhétoriciens*' strategies of the early 1500s, the temple was secured as a beacon of ultimate authority. The temple was maintained as an important architectural subject throughout the century, though its most monumental expression was achieved in interiors, miniatures, and rhetorical fantasies.

Conclusion

In early sixteenth-century France, architecture achieved its greatest potential as an idea. In fact, it was better understood as a concept than as a definite corpus of buildings. In early sixteenth-century France, architecture was taken up in various media in surprising ways. Before 1500, the metaphor of architecture was not always invoked positively, and it usually connoted association with the ruinous, as in the imminent collapse of a house (of nobility) or temple (of France). When it was productively revived by *rhétoriciens* around 1500, architecture was central to these allegorical writings in a way that provided a display of the writer's knowledge of the subject but also offered the opportunity to flatter patrons at court. In these texts, architecture came to represent the kingdom of France as a temple and a chateau, but it was also articulated as a series of "ornamental" parts: arches, pillars, piers, and candelabra.

In the decades to follow, architecture was practiced in stained glass painting, in printed book illustrations, and as manuscript illuminations, and it was reified as baldachins, tabernacles, portals, and other such objects. In short, architecture was more an art of interiors. Under Louis XII and Francis I, the best-known artists imported to France were ceramicists, woodworkers, manuscript illuminators, and carvers. Several of

these artists would be referred to as *deviseurs*, architects, painters, or sculptors in various accounts.

Architecture was also the art of ornament. Our contemporary concepts of ornament, many of which stem from the eighteenth century, have not been useful for illuminating the issues of architecture at play in the early sixteenth century. Conventional ideas that posit ornament as subordinate to architecture are particularly inadequate for describing this era. Moreover, ideals that privilege proportion as the basis for order or that underscore tectonics and structure in architectural narratives are equally unproductive in picturing this intermedial practice of architecture. For instance, extremely popular motifs such as the candelabra, which manifested through media from the 1520s to the 1540s, reflected artistic values of the period that were driven by practices of intermedial bricolage. These early modern values resist our current disciplinary categories, which are conceived as separate from one another and which erroneously guide our assumptions about the role of ornament.

For architecture to have functioned as an idea, it shared semantic space with other ideas and practices: the antique, ornament, sculpture, painting, and any number of other crafts. Its composition as a fragment allowed for it to merge with practices of assemblage that governed design strategies in printmaking.

Architecture was also a frame, and as such, it emerged in monuments as diverse as royal tombs, triumphal arch portals, and title page designs, where it took on emblematic roles ennobling its subject. The visual and rhetorical trope of architecture was drawn upon in numerous contexts to generate fantasies of secular and sacred authority. Paradoxically, architecture achieved its most monumental status as a miniature.

Although the Temple of France emerged in the writings of *rhétoriciens* around 1500, the temple as an object of fantasy was realized most profoundly in baldachins and tombs.

Architecture was the locus of experimentation. Whether invented on paper, in small objects, as a building face, or in manuscript illuminations, the practice of architecture was a creative process. Access to architecture as a practice was not limited to experts in tectonics because it was as likely to be manifested in small objects like candelabra, fountains, tombs, and title pages. It is no small wonder that one of France's most famous early modern architects, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, never constructed a building but instead created works of architecture—from fungible objects to temples—as portraits on paper.

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