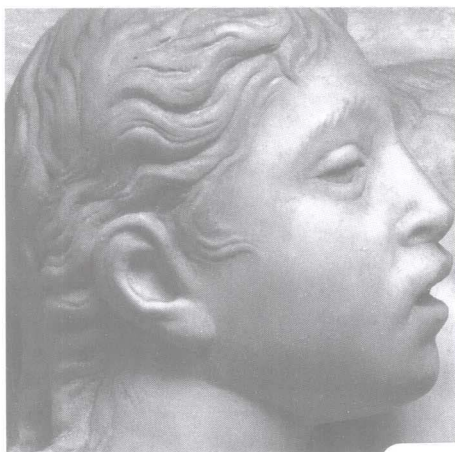


RENAISSANCE ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Gordon Campbell

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This volume was suggested by Oxford University Press editors in the United States, but editorial responsibility was undertaken by OUP editors in Oxford. The commissioning editor was Pam Coote, who was pleased that my notion of Renaissance art and architecture included gardens, a subject in which she has formidable expertise. Day-to-day oversight of the project was the responsibility of Rebecca Collins, who dealt with the usual crises with aplomb and prepared the thematic index herself. Once the text was submitted, she departed on maternity leave, during which time editorial responsibilities were ably managed by Judith Wilson, who carried the volume through to publication. I was fortunate in being able to secure once again the services of Edwin Pritchard and Jackie Pritchard as copy editors. I am also grateful to Kathie Gill, who proofread the text, production manager Emma Gotch, and designer Nick Clarke. The team seemed happy to be inconvenienced by late insertions designed to bring the volume up to date, the last of which was the identification in May 2004 of the sitter in Holbein's *Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling*.

I have been privileged in being able to travel widely in Europe for decades and to see at first hand the work of many of the artists and architects represented in this volume. Many of my European travels have been holidays, and on these journeys I have been accompanied by my wife Mary, my companion of some forty years. At the conclusion of holidays dominated by demanding schedules of cultural and historical excursions, she has sometimes thought that she deserved a certificate for what seemed to be attendance at a particularly taxing summer school rather than the rest required by her own demanding professional life. I should like to dedicate this book to her in tribute to her perseverance in cheerfully staying the course on these peripatetic seminars and throughout the periods of intensive writing between seminars.

Leicester
May 2004

G.C.

INTRODUCTION

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Words and phrases in small capitals (e.g. *VASARI*) indicate entries in the main body of the book.

I. Retro Renaissance

At the turn of the millennium the Chrysler Corporation introduced a new model, the PT Cruiser. Its retro design, which recalls the shape of 1930s cars, discreetly accommodates many modern features, such as a CD player that takes six discs. Chrysler's blurb-writers describe the car as 'classic in form, flexible in function, modern where it matters most, and timeless in appeal'. It is these qualities that have appealed to buyers in North America and in Europe: it is not a thirties car, but in appearance it evokes one, and so creates an image that reaches to the past, bypassing the decadent vulgarity of the chrome monsters of the post-war period, instead connecting the buyer to what is seen as a classic age of motoring.

The most important retro movement in western cultural history is the Renaissance. There was a classic age, that of ancient Greece and Rome. There was then a period of decline now known as the Middle Ages, a term first used in the early fifteenth century. Whether the Middle Ages really constituted a period of decline is open to serious doubt, as anyone who has visited a medieval cathedral must know, but that is not the point at issue: the idea of a cultural rebirth (that being the literal meaning of 'renaissance') in art became entrenched in western historiography. This was a model that glorified the present and the remote past but disparaged the intervening centuries.

The term 'Renaissance' (Italian *Rinascimento*) might now be defined as a model of cultural history in which the culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe is represented as a repudiation of medieval values in favour of the revival of the culture of

ancient Greece and Rome. The parallel religious model is the Reformation, in which the Church is seen as repudiating its medieval degeneracy in favour of a renewal of the purity of the early Church. In the arts, it was Giorgio VASARI who first used the term *rinascità* to denote the period from CIMAUE and GIOTTO to his own time. The broadening of the term 'renaissance' to encompass a period and a cultural model is a product of the nineteenth century. In 1855 the historian Jules Michelet used the term 'Renaissance' in the title of a volume on sixteenth-century France. Five years later Jakob Burckhardt published *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* ('The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy'), in which he identified the idea of a Renaissance with a set of cultural concepts, such as individualism and the idea of the universal man. Vasari's designation of a movement in art had become the term for an epoch in history associated with a particular set of cultural values.

The historical model of a European Renaissance is a partial truth. There was indeed an attempt to revive the glories of ancient Greece and Rome. On the other hand, there was more continuity with the Middle Ages than is acknowledged by this model. Just as the technology of the PT Cruiser is based on the achievements of the 'dark ages' of motoring, so the Renaissance grew out of the Middle Ages. The revival of classical antiquity is an important feature of the period, but so is continuity with the immediate past.

2. Renaissance art

The term 'art' is now associated primarily with painting, but in this volume it extends to sculpture (in ALABASTER, BRASS, MARBLE, and PORPHYRY) and the various forms known collectively as the decorative arts, which include ARMS AND ARMOUR, CALLIGRAPHY, CARPETS AND RUGS, CLOCKS AND WATCHES, COINS, EMBROIDERY, ENGRAVING, FURNITURE, GLASS (including STAINED GLASS), INTARSIA, MEDALS, PLAQUETTES, POTTERY, PRINTING, ROCK CRYSTAL and TAPESTRY. Each of these terms has a general entry that leads to other entries, all of which are listed in the thematic index. For the purposes of this introductory essay, the term 'art' is for the most part restricted to painting and sculpture.

Italian art

A national style of art began to emerge in Italy in the mid-thirteenth century, some 600 years before Italy was united as a single state. In sculpture, the classical elements in the work of artists such as Nicola and Giovanni PISANO and ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO formed a style that was imitated all over Italy. In succeeding centuries, the gradual rediscovery of antique sculpture meant that Italian sculpture became the most classical of Renaissance art forms. The study of the CONTRAPPOSTO of antiquity caused the composition of classical sculptures to be revived, but the absence of paint on any surviving ancient sculpture misled Renaissance artists into thinking that ancient sculptors had not coloured their statues, and Renaissance statues, in marble and bronze at least, were therefore normally unpainted. The bronze statues of DONATELLO and the marble statues of MICHELANGELO remained unpainted, and the sense that such materials would be defaced by paint has persisted through the centuries; paradoxically, unpainted POTTERY seems unfinished to a modern eye, perhaps because the pottery of the Renaissance was richly coloured.

In the historiography of painting it is said to be CIMAUE who was the harbinger of GIOTTO and therefore the progenitor of Italian Renaissance painting. It is difficult to be confident of Cimabue's importance in this respect, but the dramatic realism of Giotto

was undoubtedly an important influence on the development of Italian art, and forms an important element in the style of successors such as Ambrogio and Pietro LORENZETTI. In the early fifteenth century, Florence became the most important artistic centre in Italy. In painting the seminal figure was MASACCIO, whose classical modelling of the human figure owes much to Donatello. Masaccio's FREScoes in the Brancacci Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine also mark a considerable technical advance in his creation of the illusion of a single source of light to unify a composition extending over several walls. In the middle decades of the fifteenth century the Florentine inheritors of Masaccio included Fra ANGELICO and Filippo LIPPI. In late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Florence, the most important artists included BOTTICELLI, PIERO DI COSIMO, and GHIRLANDAIO. The decline of Florence was marked by the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492, the French invasion of Italy in 1494, and the iconoclastic rule of Savonarola (1494–8). Painting and sculpture were subsequently revived in Florence, but by then other Italian cities had become established as artistic centres, in some cases stimulated by the work of Florentine exiles. In Umbria, VERROCCHIO and PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA shaped the style of Perugian painters such as PERUGINO and PINTORICCHIO. Artists such as Piero and Paolo UCCELLO worked in Urbino, where the court of Federico da Montefeltro became an important cultural centre, and LEONARDO DA VINCI moved to Milan. In Padua, the sculptures of Donatello shaped the sculptural paintings of MANTEGNA. Mantegna was



Giotto, *The Lamentation*, in the fresco cycle on *Lives of the Virgin and Christ* (1305–8) in the Arena Chapel, Padua. The cycle is unusual in its tendency to displace miracle stories in favour of human emotion, and this scene is typical in its representation of human grief. In about 1308 the fresco was copied into a choir book which is now in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Padua.

in turn an important influence on the work of his Venetian brother-in-law Giovanni BELLINI, and through him the paintings of GIORGIONE and TITIAN), and may also have influenced the fresco painters of the Este court in Ferrara, including Cosimo TURA and Francesco del COSSA.

The richness of cultural life in Renaissance Italy was largely dependent on patronage, which could be civic or private. The wealth of centres such as Florence, Milan, and Venice sustained generations of distinguished artists. In the early years of the sixteenth century the most important artistic centre in Italy was Rome, where the most powerful patron was Pope Julius II. Artists such as Michelangelo, who continued the decoration of the SISTINE CHAPEL (inaugurated by Sixtus IV), and RAPHAEL, who painted the Vatican *Stanze*, enjoyed his patronage. This period of Roman ascendancy came to an abrupt end with the Sack of Rome by imperial troops in 1527; this calamity created a hiatus in the cultural life of Rome, and when order was eventually re-established much of Italy was under Spanish control. Artistic patronage was affected by these changes, and the Counter-Reformation led to the regulation of art. In the remainder of the sixteenth century, the period of the style known as MANNERISM, the principal painters were GIULIO ROMANO and PARMIGIANINO, and the most important sculptors CELLINI and GIAMBOLOGNA.

Spanish and Portuguese art

With the exception of the Asturias, early medieval Spain was under Islamic domination, and the earliest distinctively Hispanic art is the hybrid form known as Mozarabic, the art of Spanish Christians in Moorish Spain. Throughout the period of the *Reconquista* it was Moors who were the most skilled craftsmen, and their MUDÉJAR architecture and architectural decoration inevitably influenced the development of Spanish art. The POTTERY of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, for example, is known as 'Hispano-Moresque', and the fine tiles known as AZULEJOS are clearly Moorish in origin.

Spain was not a unified country until the late fifteenth century, and artistic culture was markedly regional in character. The principal schools of art in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spain are known as the Catalan School and the Hispano-Flemish School. In the 1430s the most important figures in Catalan art were Bernat MARTORELL and Lluís DALMAU; later in the century the most important Catalan painter was Jaume HUGUET. In the Valencian School, which is sometimes distinguished from the Catalan School, the principal artist was JACOMART, whose stylistic influence can be discerned in the surviving altarpiece of Rodrigo de OSONA.

In the fifteenth century, Castile and León had important commercial links with Flanders, and Flemish art became fashionable in the court of Queen Isabella, who collected Flemish paintings and appointed one Fleming as her royal architect (Juan GUAS) and another, JUAN DE FLANDES, as her court painter. The gradual blending of Flemish styles with the native traditions of Mudéjar architectural decoration produced the distinctive style known as Hispano-Flemish or Hispano-Flamencan, which is characterized by a sombre palette, a love of architectural settings, and a demotic realism in portraiture and narrative composition. The cultural hegemony of Castile gave Hispano-Flemish art a national standing; the greatest artists in this tradition were Fernando GALLEGU and Bartolomé BERMEJO.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the PLATERESQUE dominated architecture and decorative art. In painting and sculpture, the other important stylistic presence was Italian Mannerism. The most prominent mannerist sculptors were JUAN DE JUNI, Alonso

BERRUGUETE, and Gaspar BECERRA. In painting, the principal exponents of the mannerist style were Pedro de CAMPAÑA, Joan Vicent MAÇIP, and, above all, Pedro BERRUGUETE.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish art was dominated by the patronage of Philip II, who was preoccupied with the construction and decoration of the ESCORIAL. King Philip employed many foreign artists for his monastery-palace, but the small number of Spanish artists that he employed included the mannerist Juan FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE. Philip also introduced the tradition of the court PORTRAIT to Spain, employing the Dutch artist Antonio MORO and then the Portuguese Alonso SÁNCHEZ COELLO as court portraitists, so inaugurating the tradition that was to culminate in Velázquez and introducing the first wholly secular genre in Spanish art. Philip's patronage did not extend to those of whose style he did not approve, so neither Luis de MORALES nor El GRECO received the call to the Escorial.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a new style of naturalistic Spanish painting emerged, anticipated by Juan Fernández de Navarrete's dramatic use of shading (*tenebrismo*) and characterized by the use of light and shade to portray three-dimensional shapes which were often sculptural in form. The principal exponents of this style were the painters FRANCISCO RIBALTA, Juan Bautista Maíno (1578–1649), and Juan SÁNCHEZ COTÁN, who before he became a monk painted STILL LIFES of food.

The characteristics of Portuguese art before the mid-fifteenth century are virtually unknown, because only a few mural fragments precede the earliest surviving Portuguese paintings, the magnificent panels executed by Nuno GONÇALVES in the 1460s. In the sixteenth century a native school of Portuguese painters emerged; these prolific painters are often described as the 'Portuguese Primitives', but the term 'primitive' makes insufficient allowance for the pronounced influence of Flemish art on their paintings, and they are more accurately described as the Luso-Flemish School of painting. The only significant Portuguese painter to adopt an Italianate style was the miniaturist Francisco de HOLANDA. In sculpture, however, the influence of the Italian Renaissance was to become a central feature of sixteenth-century Portuguese art. The first artist to introduce the idioms of Italian Renaissance sculpture into Portugal was the French decorative sculptor Nicolas Chanterene (c.1485–c.1555), who worked on the north door of the Hieronymite monastery at Belém before establishing himself in Coimbra, where he became the principal sculptor and the inaugurator of the Coimbra School of sculpture, a group of French and Portuguese sculptors whose work was avowedly Italianate and erudite.

French art

Late medieval and early modern France was neither politically united nor culturally homogeneous. In fifteenth-century Burgundy, which was not part of France, the artistic culture was more Flemish than French (especially after the ducal court moved from Dijon to Bruges in 1420); in Avignon, which became a papal possession in 1348, the artistic culture was more Sienese than French, and in the fifteenth century, when artists such as Enguerrand QUARTON and Nicholas FROMENT worked in Avignon, the dominant influence was Flemish.

In the fourteenth century, Paris was Europe's most important centre of book illumination, and artists such as Jean PUCELLE were among the first to deploy the iconography and techniques of perspective that derive from the early period of the Italian Renaissance. In the fifteenth century the court at Tours offered patronage to artists such

as Jean FOUQUET, who lived for several years in Rome and introduced Italian elements into his paintings and illuminations. These isolated examples of Italian influence did not become an important force in French art until the end of the fifteenth century, when the onset of the Wars of Italy exposed French patrons to Italian art.

In the sixteenth century Italian decorative motifs began to appear in French architecture, and the interior decoration of French chateaux became the most important medium of Italian art in France. The most influential chateau was FONTAINEBLEAU, to which King Francis I brought Italian artists such as IL ROSSO FIORENTINO, PRIMATICCIO, and NICCOLÒ DELL'ABBATE. King Francis also bought and commissioned paintings by artists such as RAPHAEL and TITIAN, and persuaded LEONARDO DA VINCI and ANDREA DEL SARTO to come to France.

Italian mannerist art was quickly adapted to French courtly tastes to produce a distinctive French style characterized by emotional restraint, a secular treatment of mythological themes, and a taste for elegant etiolated nudes. Flemish influence was most important in portraiture, as is apparent in the work of the CLOUET FAMILY. In sculpture, the presence of Benvenuto CELLINI in France from 1540 to 1545 was to have a lasting influence on sculptors such as Jean GOUJON; similarly, the work of Germain PILON was shaped by his period as an assistant to Primaticcio at Fontainebleau.

Northern art

The term 'northern art' includes the art of the Netherlands, Germany, Scandinavia, central Europe, and Britain. The most important artistic centres in northern Europe were in Flanders and Germany. In the fifteenth century Burgundian patronage extended all over the Netherlands, and there was a common culture of Netherlandish art, within which there were regional centres. As north and south gradually separated, distinctive Flemish and Dutch artistic cultures began to emerge, and this process was accelerated by the population movements in the wake of the Revolt of the Netherlands, which made the north more Protestant and the south more Catholic. The proximity of Flanders to the Burgundian and Habsburg courts meant that patronage was centred there rather than in the north, and the artistic culture of Flanders soon assumed a European importance on a scale wholly disproportionate to the small size of Flanders.

In fifteenth-century Flanders the most important painters were Dieric BOUTS, Robert CAMPIN, Petrus CHRISTUS, Jan van EYCK, Hugo van der GOES, Hans MEMLING, and Rogier van der WEYDEN. Their art grew out of the indigenous tradition of manuscript illumination, and was not significantly indebted to the art of Italy; indeed, influence ran in the other direction, because fifteenth-century Flemish art had an influence on painting all over Europe. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries this pattern changed, and Flemish art, such as that of Jan GOSSAERT and Quentin MASSYS, came to be influenced by the style of Italian artists, though Pieter BRUEGEL the Elder and Hieronymus BOSCH remained firmly rooted in Flemish traditions.

In the early sixteenth century the centre of Flemish art shifted from Bruges to Antwerp, where the artists included JOOS VAN CLEVE, Jan Sanders van HEMESSEN, MARINUS VAN REYMERSWAELE, and visitors such as DÜRER and HOLBEIN. Fifteenth-century Flemish artists such as JOOS VAN Wassenhove had travelled to Italy as painters and teachers, but their sixteenth-century successors increasingly went to Italy to learn the art of painting and then returned home as northern mannerists. In the traditional historiography of the Flemish Renaissance, the moment deemed to symbolize the advent of the

Renaissance style in Flanders was the arrival of Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries in the SISTINE CHAPEL in Brussels in 1517; it is true that the cartoons influenced artists such as Bernaert van ORLEY, but Italian motifs had been apparent in the art of Flanders for at least a generation before the arrival of the cartoons. The most important sixteenth-century Flemish artists to paint in an Italian idiom were Lanceloot BLONDEEL, Pieter COECKE VAN AELST, FRANZ FLORIS, Hendrik GOLTZIUS, Willem KEY, and Lambert LOMBARD. In sixteenth-century sculpture, the influence of Italy can be seen in the work of Konrad MEIT, Jean MONE, and Jacques DU BROEUCQ, whose pupil GIAMBOLOGNA, the greatest of Flemish sculptors, pursued his career in Italy.

The most important indigenous tradition of sixteenth-century Flemish art was LANDSCAPE PAINTING, of which the finest exponents were Herri Met de BLES, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Gillis van CONINXLOO, and Joachim PATINIR. This tradition was continued in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the art of painters such as Jan BRUEGHEL the Elder, Joost de MOMPER II, and Roelandt SAVERY, whose works reflect the transition from constructed to naturalistic landscapes. There was also a tradition of STILL LIFE painting which was distinguished from the parallel tradition in the northern Netherlands by a predilection for flowers (notably in the work of Jan Brueghel) and the absence of any overt didactic element.

In the sixteenth century Dutch painting achieved great distinction, and the fact that it seems to have been overshadowed by Flemish art is exaggerated by the loss of so many northern paintings. It is nonetheless true that Flanders benefited from proximity to the Burgundian court, and many Dutch artists either moved to the south (e.g. Pieter AERTSEN and Gérard DAVID) or adopted a style influenced by painting in Antwerp (e.g. Cornelis ENGELBRECHTSZON and LUCAS VAN LEIDEN). The link with Flanders was also maintained in Catholic Utrecht, where late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century painters such as Abraham Bloemart, Paulus Moreelse, and Hendrick TERBRUGGHEN worked in a distinctively Flemish idiom. In the late fifteenth century Haarlem was the home of artists such as Albert van OUWATER and GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS, and early in the sixteenth century of Jan JOEST and Jan MOSTAERT. At the end of the sixteenth century Haarlem emerged as the most important centre of Dutch art; during this period the city's artists included Cornelis CORNELISZON, Hendrik GOLTZIUS, and Karel van MANDER.

The modern state of Germany is a creation of the nineteenth century, and its antecedent state, the Holy Roman Empire, extended far beyond the borders of modern Germany. The establishment of the imperial court in Prague led in the late sixteenth century to the emergence of Prague as the most important artistic centre in the Empire. Within what is now Germany the principal artistic centre was Nuremberg, which had strong commercial and artistic links with Italy; Augsburg, Basel (which joined the Swiss Confederation in 1501), and Cologne were the other important centres for the arts. Germany produced some of Europe's greatest painters, notably Dürer and Holbein; Germany was also the home of PRINTING and the principal European centre for ENGRAVING (including BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS). The first signs of the influence of the Italian Renaissance on German art become apparent in the 1490s (Dürer first visited Italy in 1494), but the transition from Gothic to Renaissance styles is a phenomenon of the 1520s. During this period Mathias GRÜNEWALD painted the greatest of Gothic paintings, the Isenheim altarpiece, but at the same time artists such as Holbein and CRANACH were beginning to incorporate Italian elements into their work.

The principal citizens of the seaports of fifteenth-century Sweden and Denmark were German traders, and the art that they installed in their churches was German, notably Bernt NOTKE's free-standing group of *St George* in Stockholm Cathedral and his carved and painted altarpiece in Århus, and Claus BERG's altarpiece in Odense. With the advent of the Reformation, art became secularized and its purpose to satisfy the tastes of the royal courts. The most important cultural centre of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scandinavia was Copenhagen, to which Kings Frederick II and Christian IV invited large numbers of Dutch and German architects, painters, sculptors, and musicians.

In central Europe main artistic centres were Kraków (which was the capital of Poland until 1569) and Prague. Polish painting began to adopt Italian idioms in the 1460s, and a decade later the German sculptor and woodcarver Veit STROSS (Polish Wit Stwoszcz) moved to Kraków, where he carved the vast altarpiece for the Church of Our Lady. The Emperor Charles IV established his principal residence at Prague, where he established in 1348 the university that still bears his name and attracted to his imperial court scholars and artists from all over Europe. Prague thus became an important artistic centre, but its art was international rather than Bohemian, because the artists came from Strassburg, Nuremberg, and the cities of northern Italy. By the mid-fifteenth century, Bohemia had declined in importance as a cultural centre, but a second period of artistic importance began in the early 1580s, when the Emperor Rudolf II moved the imperial court from Vienna to Prague; his court included artists such as Hans von AACHEN, Bartholomäus SPRANGER, Adriaen de VRIES, and Joris HOEFNAGEL. For the next 30 years Bohemia was one of Europe's most important artistic centres. On the death of Rudolf in 1612 the artists were dispersed and the collections gradually moved to Vienna.

In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries England was an important centre of ALABASTER sculptures, STAINED GLASS, and EMBROIDERY. The finest painting of the period is the Wilton Diptych (c.1395–9, National Gallery, London), a depiction in the style of INTERNATIONAL GOTHIC of the presentation of King Richard II to the Virgin by his patron saints; the artist may have been English or French. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the style of Flemish art began to influence English painting; the best surviving example of this style is William Baker's series of wall paintings (1479–83) in the chapel of Eton College depicting the miracles of the Virgin.

In the sixteenth century the English Reformation stifled religious art and architecture, but the secular art of portraiture flourished early in the century with Hans Holbein's two visits to England and late in the century with portrait MINIATURISTS such as Nicholas HILLIARD and Isaac OLIVER; in the seventeenth century the principal portrait painters in England were Flemish (Sir Anthony Van Dyck), Dutch (Sir Peter Lely), or German (Sir Godfrey Kneller), and King Charles commissioned Rubens to paint the ceiling of the Banqueting House. The English architecture of the period achieved great distinction, notably in country houses, but in art England was more remarkable for its collections and the presence of foreign artists than for indigenous traditions.

3. Renaissance architecture

Italian architecture

In the late twelfth century the Romanesque and Byzantine traditions of Italian architecture began to be penetrated by GOTHIC architecture, which in Italy as elsewhere was introduced from France by the Cistercian order, initially with Fossanova Abbey, in Lazio

(begun 1187, consecrated 1208), which has a fine Gothic chapter house (c.1250); this was the first Cistercian building in Italy, and its fame was enhanced by the presence of the grave of Thomas Aquinas, who had died in the guesthouse in 1274. Cistercian architecture in Italy culminated in the construction of the Certosa di Pavia (1396–1481).

Italian Gothic soon became a distinctive architectural style. The powerful vertical lines of Gothic architecture north of the Alps are subdued in Italian Gothic churches by horizontal cornices and string courses. Italian Gothic churches typically have a flat roof, a circular window in the west front, stripes of coloured marble instead of mouldings, and small windows without tracery; unlike northern churches, they have neither pinnacles nor flying buttresses. By the fourteenth century, Italy's Gothic churches had become much more spacious than their French prototypes, principally because the openings in the arcades are typically twice the width of those in French Gothic churches.

Many of the finest Gothic ecclesiastical buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are Franciscan churches, such as the Church of San Francesco in Assisi (begun 1228, apparently modelled on Angers Cathedral), the Church of Santa Croce in Florence (begun 1294, attributed to ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO on stylistic grounds), and the Church of San Francesco in Siena (begun 1326). The Dominicans also built Gothic churches, notably SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (1246–1430) and Santa Maria Novella in Florence (1278–1470). In the ecclesiastical architecture of Rome, the Gothic style made little impact; the only Gothic church in Rome is the Dominican Santa Maria sopra Minerva (c.1290). Elsewhere in Italy, there are important Gothic churches in Bologna (San Petronio, 1390–1437), Padua (Basilica del Santo, 1232–1307), and Verona (Sant'Anastasia, 1261). The principal Gothic cathedrals in Italy are those in Florence (1296–1462), Milan (1385–1485), Orvieto (1290–1310), and Siena (1245–1380).

In secular architecture, Italy's greatest Gothic building is the Doge's Palace in Venice (1309–42). Gothic buildings continued to be built in Venice throughout the fifteenth century, including the Ca' d'Oro (1421–36), the upper part of the Campanile of San Marco (collapsed 1902 and subsequently rebuilt), and several palaces on the Grand Canal, such as the Foscari and the Contarini-Fasan (now advertised as Casa di Desdemona). The Ponte Vecchio in Florence (1345) is Gothic, as are the towers of San Gimignano; the finest example of an Italian Gothic city is Siena.

The Renaissance style was inaugurated in Florence by BRUNELLESCHI, who in 1421 began work on the Ospedale degli Innocenti (Foundling Hospital, see p. xiv), which has a loggia with a classical colonnade, semicircular arches, and hemispherical domes; the design, like those of his subsequent buildings, observes the mathematical proportions of classical antiquity. Brunelleschi also designed the sacristy (now known as the Old Sacristy) of San Lorenzo (from 1419), the dome of the cathedral (1420–34), the churches of San Lorenzo (1425) and San Spirito (1436–82), the Pazzi Chapel (from 1429/30), and the PITTI PALACE. Brunelleschi's successors included MICHELOZZO, who built the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (begun 1444), which has the first three-storeyed façade and the first palace courtyard (*cortile*) in the new style, and Giuliano da SANGALLO, who erected many buildings on the principles established by Brunelleschi.

The Renaissance style was introduced to Rome by ALBERTI, who also built the first Renaissance church in Mantua (San Sebastiano, begun 1460). Michelozzo and FILARETE took the style to Milan in the 1450s. The earliest Renaissance structure in Venice is the portal of the Arsenale (1457). In Urbino, construction on the Palazzo Ducale began in the 1460s; Luciano LAURANA was appointed architect in 1468 and the palace was later completed by FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO.



The loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti (1421–4), in Piazza della SS Annunziata in Florence. The building was designed by **Brunelleschi**, who received the commission in 1419. The façade was the first since classical antiquity to revive the conventions of ancient Roman architecture; its loggia consists of an arcade of Corinthian columns and semicircular arches; the roundels in the spandrels depict babies, and are the work of Andrea **DELLA ROBBIA**. The arcaded elevation of the Ospedale was subsequently imitated on in the church of SS Annunziata on the left of the picture.

In 1499 **BRAMANTE** moved from Milan to Rome and inaugurated what is known as the High Renaissance, a period deemed to last until the Sack of Rome in 1527. Bramante began **ST PETER'S BASILICA** (1506) and built the **BELVEDERE COURT** in the Vatican; **RAPHAEL** built the **Villa MADAMA** and **PERUZZI** built the **Villa Farnesina** for the banker Agostino Chigi.

The High Renaissance was followed by the style known as **MANNERISM**, in which motifs are used in deliberate opposition to their original purposes and contexts. The most important Italian mannerist architects are **MICHELANGELO** (especially his **Biblioteca Laurenziana** in Florence, which has columns that carry no cornices, but also his contributions to **St Peter's** in Rome), **GIULIO ROMANO** (especially his **Palazzo del Tè** in Mantua, which has keystones out of line and twisted pilasters), **VIGNOLA** (especially his **Villa FARNESE** and **Villa GIULIA**), **LIGORIO** (especially the **CASINO** of Pope Pius IV), **VASARI** (especially the **UFFIZI**), **SANSOVINO** (especially the **Libreria Vecchia**), and **SANMICHELE** (the palaces of Verona). Vignola's **Il Gesù Church** in Rome, which was begun in 1568, had chapels instead of aisles, transepts, and an oval dome. This was the design that led to the development of **BAROQUE** architecture in the seventeenth century.

Spanish and Portuguese architecture

The substantial Moorish presence in late medieval Spain meant that there was a significant Islamic element in Spanish architecture. As late as the fourteenth century, it was possible to have in the **Alhambra** of Granada a Moorish building that was virtually untouched by the architectural traditions of Europe. In areas where the *Reconquista* had been completed in the thirteenth century, however, there was a tradition of Christian architecture, albeit transformed by **MUDÉJAR** traditions into distinctively Hispanic forms:

the thirteenth-century Mudéjar towers of Calatayud, Teruel, and Zaragoza are Christian belfries, but they are unmistakably based on minaret design.

In the eleventh century, the Lombard Romanesque style appeared in Catalonia, first in Ripoll (the heavily restored Church of Santa Maria, built 1010–32) and then in Cardona (San Vicenç, consecrated 1040); French Romanesque architecture started at its highest point with Santiago de Compostela (c.1075–1188). In the thirteenth century, French Romanesque yielded to French Gothic (e.g. Burgos, León, and Toledo), except in Catalonia, where a distinctive style of Catalan Gothic emerged in the cathedrals and churches of Barcelona and Palma (Majorca). The late Gothic style in Spain was inaugurated by masons from the Netherlands and Germany, most distinctively in Juan de COLONIA's Germanic spires on Burgos Cathedral.

Despite these important northern influences, the handling of space in Spanish cathedrals remained unique because of its debt to the tradition of mosque architecture which reaches back to the eighth-century mosque of Córdoba. The combination of Islamic floor space and Gothic height produced the largest cathedrals in Europe in Seville (from 1402), Salamanca (1512), and Segovia (1525). The spirit of Islam also lived on in the PLATERESQUE architectural decoration of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The influence of Renaissance Italian architecture can be discerned in the early sixteenth century in the staircase (1504) of the Hospital de Santa Cruz in Toledo (now the Museo Provincial) and in the courtyard of the Castle of La Calahorra (1509–12). The most Italianate of Spain's palaces is Pedro MACHUCA's unfinished palace for Charles V in the grounds of the Alhambra in Granada (1526–68). The structural features of the palace, which is designed around a circular courtyard, are entirely Italian, but some of the decorative features, such as the garlanded window frames, are Plateresque.

The last great Italianate building to be built in Spain was the ESCORIAL, which in its final form was the work of Juan de HERRERA. The Herreran style, which may reflect the austerity of King Philip II as much as the predilections of the architect of the Escorial, draws on the principles of Italian mannerism, and is chiefly remarkable for its uncompromising lines and avoidance of ornament. The eschewing of ornament has given the style its Spanish name, *estilo desornamentado*. At its best, as in the Escorial, the Herreran style can be noble, even magnificent, but to some eyes and in some buildings it can be cold, forbidding, and monotonous. The Herreran style remained the dominant style of Spanish architecture throughout the seventeenth century, especially in cathedral architecture: the cathedral in Valladolid was not completed to his vast designs, but is unmistakably Herrera's building. Herreran monumental severity also characterizes the style of the cathedrals of Salamanca and, in Spanish America, Mexico City, Puebla, and Lima.

Until the end of the fifteenth century, the history of Portuguese architecture was part of the common architectural history of the Iberian peninsula. The Mozarabic architecture of the tenth century (e.g. Lourosa) yielded to the Romanesque of the twelfth century (e.g. the cathedrals of Braga, Coimbra, and Évora) and then to the Gothic, which was introduced by the Cistercians in the Abbey of Santa Maria Alcobaça (1178–1252) and flowered in the early fourteenth-century cloisters of the cathedrals in Coimbra, Évora, and Lisbon.

The advent of the late Gothic (or Flamboyant Gothic) period is marked in its triumphant expression at Batalha Monastery, where between 1402 and 1438 an architect called Huguet built the façade, the Chapel of John I, and vaults for the cloister and the chapter house. In the 1490s the late Gothic idiom reached its zenith in the first distinctly

Portuguese architectural style, the *MANUELINE*, which was a Portuguese version of the Plateresque in which Mudéjar design inspired structures as well as decorations and so facilitated a totality of design that was uniquely Portuguese.

The influence of Renaissance Italian architecture is most magnificently evident in the Claustro dos Felipes in the Convento de Cristo in Tomar; this large two-storeyed Palladian cloister was built by Diogo de TORRALVA between 1557 and 1566. The only cathedral built in the style of the Italian CINQUECENTO is Leiria, which was built by Afonso Álvares between 1551 and 1575. The baroque did not arrive in Portugal until the mid-seventeenth century, but dominated Portuguese architecture until the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 inaugurated a period of French influence.

French architecture

The Gothic style that was to dominate European architecture in the late Middle Ages originated in France, where it is known as the *style ogivale*. Individual features of Gothic architecture had long been apparent in late Romanesque architecture (and, in the case of pointed arches, Islamic architecture), but Gothic first emerged as an integrated style in the Île de France in the mid-twelfth century: the first building to be conceived in what later became known as the Gothic style was the choir and chevet (i.e. apse and ambulatory) of the Abbey of Saint-Denis (1140–4). In the second half of the twelfth century construction began on the Gothic cathedrals of Sens, Noyon, Laon, Soissons, Paris, Bourges, and Chartres, and in the early thirteenth century the cathedrals built or rebuilt in the Gothic style included Reims, Amiens, and the abbey Church of Saint-Denis. The style of these buildings is characterized by soaring vertical lines and the use of pointed arches, rib vaults, flying buttresses, traceried stained-glass windows, high clerestory windows, and pinnacles. The Gothic style of French churches and cathedrals changed very little from the early thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries, when Flamboyant tracery (which derived from English cathedrals) began to appear in France. Flamboyant Gothic survived into the sixteenth century in structures such as the west porch of the Church of Saint-Maclou in Rouen (c.1500–14) and the west front of Troyes Cathedral (from c.1507).

In secular architecture, the country house began to replace the castle in the fifteenth century, initially in the Gothic style (e.g. Plessis-lès-Tours, 1463–72) that was also favoured in towns for both large private houses (e.g. the Palais Jacques Cœur in Bourges, 1442–53) and civic buildings (e.g. the fifteenth-century Hôtel de Ville in Compiègne and the Palais de Justice in Rouen, 1499–1509). The style of the Italian Renaissance began to appear as decorative motifs in the closing years of the fifteenth century, but did not begin to affect structural design until the early sixteenth century, when some of France's finest palaces and CHATEAUX were built. The most important Renaissance palaces were the LOUVRE, the TUILERIES (destroyed 1871), and SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE, and the principal chateaux were AMBOISE, ANET, BLOIS, CHAMBORD, CHENONCEAUX, and FONTAINEBLEAU.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Italian motifs introduced into the structures and decorative schemes of chateaux such as Blois, Chambord, and Fontainebleau had been adapted to French tastes and conditions to the point at which distinctive French Renaissance buildings were being designed by French architects such as Philibert DELORME, Pierre LESCOT, Jean BULLANT, Jacques DUCERCEAU the Elder, and (later in the century) Salomon de Brosse.

Northern architecture

Gothic ecclesiastical architecture in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Flanders was a syncretic and distinctive blend of south German *Sondergotik* traditions in its exteriors (especially its very tall towers) and its vaultings and French Flamboyant elements in its interior fittings (especially rood-screens and pulpits). These stylistic features were characteristic of the work of masons from Brabant who dominated architecture during this period, and so the style is known as the Brabantine School. The finest churches from the Brabantine period are those of Antwerp Cathedral (with its 130-metre (425-foot) tower) and Mechelen/Malines Cathedral (with its 100-metre (330-foot) tower, originally planned to be 170 metres (560 feet)). The same architectural elements are evident in secular architecture of the period, notably in the town halls of Bruges (c.1376–1482), Brussels (1402–55), Louvain (1448–63), Ghent (1517), and Oudenaarde (1525–30), but also in the guildhalls and merchants' houses that survive in Bruges, Ghent, and Tournai.

In 1517 Margaret of Austria rebuilt part of her palace in Mechelen (which was the capital of the Netherlands from 1517 to 1530) in a resolutely Italianate Renaissance idiom; although two years earlier Bruges had been decorated in the Italian style (with GROTESQUES and relief medallions) for the triumphal entry of the future Emperor Charles V, the façade of Margaret's palace, with its Italianate scrolls and swags, was the first monumental embodiment of the Renaissance style. This style was used again in the design of Granvelle's palace in Brussels (c.1550), but in most sixteenth-century buildings the Renaissance style was either restricted to decorative details or combined with indigenous styles; surviving examples of this mixed mode include the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace in Liège (1526), the Hôtel du Saumon in Mechelen (1530–4), the Maison de l'Ancien Greffe ('Old City Clerk's Office', now the courthouse) in Bruges (1535–7), with its magnificent CHIMNEY PIECE commemorating the Peace of Cambrai, the home of the PLANTIN family in Antwerp (1550, now the Musée Plantin-Moretus), the Town Hall in Ypres (1575–1621, destroyed in the First World War and replaced by a replica), and Cornelius FLORIS DE VRIENDT's Antwerp Town Hall (1561–6), the grandest and most influential of Flemish Renaissance buildings. Awareness of Italian architecture models was enhanced by the publication of Pieter COECKE's Flemish translation of SERLIO in Antwerp in 1539. The most influential decorative element in Flemish Renaissance architecture was the combination of French STRAPWORK (which originated at FONTAINEBLEAU) and Italian grotesques. This Flemish motif was widely disseminated in the pattern books of Jan VREDEMAN DE VRIES.

The prevailing style of architecture in the northern Netherlands from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries is known as 'Dutch Gothic', which in ecclesiastical architecture is distinguished by a large nave, usually without side chapels, by a preference for brick rather than stone, and by a principled plainness with respect to decorative detail; the best example of Dutch Gothic is the Great Church in The Hague. In the secular architecture of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries there was less inhibition about decoration, notably in the façades of town halls (e.g. Middelburg, 1412–1599, destroyed in the Second World War and since rebuilt) and in the stepped gables of merchants' houses.

Renaissance architecture was introduced in the 1530s in buildings constructed by Italians, including the Bolognese architects Alessandro Pasqualini (who built the tower of Ijsselstein church, 1532–5) and Tommaso Vincidor (who built the courtyard of Breda Castle, on which work began in 1536). Dutch architects began to consult Pieter Coecke's translations of VITRUVIUS and Serlio and to use Renaissance decorative motifs on the

façades of town halls such as Nijmegen (c.1555) and The Hague (1564–5). The interpenetration of indigenous Dutch structures and Italianate decoration produced a distinctive style of Dutch Renaissance architecture characterized by the adventurous mixture of stone and brick and the elaborate and varied development of the gable. The most important Dutch architect to use this style in secular buildings was Lieven de KEY. In Dutch Renaissance ecclesiastical architecture, interiors were adapted to the Protestant ideal of a focus on the pulpit rather than the altar, most successfully in the Amsterdam churches of Hendrick de KEYSER.

In Scandinavia, Dutch architects designed buildings in the style of the Netherlandish Renaissance: Antonius van Opbergen (1543–1611) and Hans Steenwinckel the Elder (c.1545–1601) built Frederick II's palace of Kronborg at Helsingør (Hamlet's Elsinore) and Hans Steenwinckel the Younger (1587–1639) and his brother Lourens (c.1585–1619) built Christian IV's magnificent palace at Frederiksborg (now the Museum of National History). The Steenwinckels were also responsible for the Exchange (Børsen) in Copenhagen (1619–25); its spire is one of the city's landmarks. In Scania, which was Danish until 1658 and is now Swedish, the church at Kristianstad (1618), which may be the work of the Steenwinckels, is one of the finest Protestant churches ever built; it is a hall church (i.e. its aisles are as high as the nave) with slender piers, and its gables are Netherlandish in style. In Sweden, the royal castles in Stockholm and Kalmar were refashioned under Dutch influence, and new castles, notably the royal palace at Vadstena (1545–1620) were built.

The late Gothic (*Spätgotik*) architecture of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Germany took different forms in north and south Germany. In north Germany the preferred building material was brick, and the simplified Gothic of its churches and public buildings, notably the brick town halls in Thorn (now Polish Toruń), Lübeck, and Stralsund, is called *Backsteingotik*. The corresponding style in south Germany, Austria, and Bohemia is called *Sondergotik*, which finds its fullest expression in the hall churches of the *PARLER FAMILY*; in these churches the aisles are approximately the same height as the naves, and so the naves are lit from the windows of the aisles rather than from above; the preferred building material was stone, though Hans STETHAIMER chose to work in brick. Elsewhere in the German territories, the earliest example of the Italian Renaissance style is the Fugger funeral chapel (Fuggerkapelle) in St Anne's Church in Augsburg (1509–18). The small number of monumental buildings in the Renaissance style included Schloss Hartenfelds in Torgau (1483–1622) and the Stadtresidenz at Landshut (1537–43).

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the imitation of Italian forms yielded to a distinctive German Renaissance style, which was characterized by the use of gables, of relatively short columns, and of a decorative style that owes as much to Flanders as to Italy. The most important surviving German Renaissance buildings are the town halls of Leipzig (1556), Altenburg (1562–4), Lemgo (1565–1612), Rothenburg ob der Tauber (1573–8), and Augsburg (1615–20, by Elias HOLL), the Plassenburg in Kulmbach (rebuilt in 1559), the eastern façade of the Gewandhaus (Linen Hall) in Brunswick (1592), the Pellerhaus in Nuremberg (1602–7, reduced to a shell during the Second World War and since rebuilt); the greatest of the lost buildings was the Neues Lusthaus in Stuttgart (1584–93) by George Beer (d. 1600) and Heinrich SCHICKHARDT. Contemporaneous with these buildings are syncretic German Renaissance buildings that incorporate elements from other architectural traditions: Schloss Johannisburg in Aschaffenburg (1605–14, reduced to a shell in 1944 and since rebuilt) is in some respects