



*National and Private Ambitions in
the Patronage of French Cardinals
at the Papal Court (Fifteenth to
Sixteenth centuries)*

Flaminia Bardati

National and Private Ambitions in the Patronage of French Cardinals at the Papal Court (Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)

Flaminia Bardati

Abstract: Few French cardinals left important traces in the form of architectural patronage in Rome during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a period characterised by the alternation of times of strong tension between the French kings and the Papacy, and phases of political harmony. French cardinals' relations with Rome reflected such a changeable contingent political situation: their position was extremely delicate because they owed obedience to the pope, as princes of the church, and to their king, as French nobles and bishops. Generally, their engagement was projected more towards France, typically in the areas of family influence, than towards Rome. Nevertheless, some French cardinals, such as Guillaume d'Estouteville, Jean Jouffroy, Jean de Bilhères, and Jean Du Bellay, were well-established in Rome, participating in cultural life and artistic production. Analysing their architectural patronage helps to evaluate if they were agents of the King of France aiming to promote, in part by supporting art and architecture, royal policy at the papal court, or if they were driven by personal ambitions. Comparing these men with the patronage of Thomas Leroy—not a cardinal, but a Breton-prelate established in Rome where he undertook a brilliant career in the Curia—permits us to place the conduct of cardinals in a more general context, and to verify if it was different from that of other French resident prelates.

The presence of French cardinals in Rome between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries varies according to several factors. First of all, the quality and the degree of cardinals' relations with Rome reflects the changeable contingent political situation: times of strong tension with the Papacy under Charles VII, Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII; phases of political harmony, strengthened by family alliances, under François I; and a delicate balance under Henri II. Alongside the tensions linked to French territorial designs on Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples, there were deep concerns on the part of the French clergy over the recognition of Papal authority, stigmatized by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438, and the opposition to the Concordat signed with Leo X in 1516.¹

In this situation, the position of the cardinals was extremely delicate because they owed obedience not only to the pope, as princes of the church, but also to their king, as French nobles and bishops. As cardinals, their duty was to reside in Rome and assist the pope with spiritual and temporal administration.² As nobles and bishops, they participated actively in

¹ Robert J. Knecht, "The Concordat of 1516: A Reassessment", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. 9 (1963), 16-32; Robert J. Knecht, *Un prince de la Renaissance. François Ier et son royaume* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 95-113.

² According to Claude Loyseau, the position of French cardinals was very delicate: "Les Cardinaux sont

court and administrative life, often as members of the *conseil du roi*.³ So, for the most part, the actions and ambitions of each cardinal wavered between the poles represented by the pope and the king, taking the side of one or the other, depending on the benefits they could gain—either personally, or on behalf of their family. In general, their political engagement was projected more towards France, typically in the areas of family influence, than towards Rome, where they rarely had personal business.

These phenomena became more acute during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, leading French cardinals to live increasingly away from Rome unless they had diplomatic business there.⁴ Yet, many French diplomatic missions were entrusted to men of the church, because they were more effective at the papal court. According to Louis Adhémar, ambassador of François I, belonging to the ecclesiastic hierarchy was the *conditio sine qua non* to acquire credit within the Vatican and the diplomatic community acting in Rome: “pour la reputation de sa Majesté, il est mieux d’y tenir un Evesque, qu’un homme de robe courte”.⁵ Cardinals, in particular, were often charged with the most delicate or representative missions. Moreover, unlike civil ambassadors, a cardinal could also hold a diplomatic post in his home country on behalf of the pope, as a nuncio or even *legatus a latere*, the highest form of legation.⁶ But frequently, cardinals were asked to reside at the papal court to support the work of ordinary ambassadors, due to their rank and potential to interface with both the College of Cardinals and the Roman aristocracy.

Of the French cardinals who spent most time in Rome during the period under consideration, as resident cardinals or as diplomats, such as Guillaume d’Estouteville, Richard Olivier de Longueil, Jean Jouffroy, Jean Bihères Lagrulas, Guillaume Briçonnet, Jean Du Bellay, François de Tournon, Georges d’Armagnac, Robert de Lenoncourt, and Philippe De La Chambre, few have left important traces in the form of patronage, especially in the sphere of architecture. The art of construction requires huge financial resources and long time frames, and was less effective than other arts in terms of propaganda and image construction. This

conseillers du Pape, qui est un Prince temporel, ce qui est prohibé d’ancienneté aux Evesques de France, à cause du serment de fidélité qu’ils ont au Roy”. As they were bound by oath of loyalty to their king, they could not serve any other, but on account of the wording of the consistorial pronouncement *estote fratres mei et principes mundi*, they became *ipso facto* princes of the Church and shared the spiritual and temporal papal power. Claude Loyseau, *Traité des Ordres et simples dignités* (Paris: Abel L’Angelier, 1610), 33; Flaminia Bardati, “Between the king and the pope: French cardinals in Rome (1495-1560)”, *Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2010), 419-433. On the role of cardinals: Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

³ Flaminia Bardati, *Hommes du roi et Princes de l’Église romaine. Les cardinaux français et l’art italien (1495-1560)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), 15-19.

⁴ Bardati, “Hommes du roi et Princes de l’Église romaine”, 7-13.

⁵ “For His Majesty’s reputation [at the papal court], it is better to have a Bishop than a secular ambassador”. Louis Adhémar to Anne de Montmorency, Rome, 22 April 1539 (Guillaume Ribier, *Lettres et mémoires d’estat des roys, princes, ambassadeurs, & autres Ministres, sous les Règnes de François premier, Henry II & François II*, 2 vols. (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1677), vol. 1, 443.

⁶ The legate *a latere* was the full representative of the pope, and in this role, he possessed full plenipotentiary powers in the country where he was sent. On diplomacy in the early modern period: Paolo Prodi, *Diplomazia del Cinquecento. Istituzioni e prassi, lezioni tenute alla Facoltà di Magistero dell’Università di Bologna nell’anno accademico 1962-1963* (Bologna: Patron, 1963), in particular chapters V, VII, and IX. On papal diplomacy and functions of *legati*: Paolo Brezzi, *La diplomazia pontificia* (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1942); Robert A. Graham, *Diplomazia pontificia: studio sulla Chiesa e lo Stato sul piano internazionale* (Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1962); Giuseppe Alberigo, “Diplomazia e vita della chiesa nel XVI secolo”, *Critica storica* 1 (1962), 49-69.

kind of economic engagement was normally done in the private estates in the cardinals's home country, where it could be useful to their families.

Some French cardinals, however, were well-established in the political and administrative machinery of the Eternal City, participating in Roman cultural life and artistic production. The cases of Guillaume d'Estouteville, Jean Jouffroy, Jean Bilhères Lagrulas, and Jean du Bellay in particular offer opportunities for reflection.

The aim of this study is to evaluate the extent, nature, and purposes of their commissions. Were they agents of the King of France, aiming to promote—in part by supporting art and architecture—royal policy and the so-called 'French party' at the papal court, or were they driven by personal ambitions? Was their conduct different from that of other French resident prelates? To answer these questions, we will also briefly examine the case of Thomas Leroy, a Breton prelate who settled in Rome and undertook a brilliant curial career and who, until his death in 1524, kept close relationships with Brittany and France.

Guillaume d'Estouteville

The patronage of Guillaume d'Estouteville is the richest and the most various.⁷ Estouteville, a member of the high aristocracy of Normandy, settled in Rome after he was appointed cardinal of San Martino ai Monti in 1439, and he remained in the city until his death in 1483.⁸ He returned to his home country on only two occasions: as papal legate, between 1451 and 1455. Although he was officially expected to work on a treatise of peace with England, on University reform, and on the rehabilitation trial of Joan of Arc, the real task of his legation in France was to obtain the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction.⁹ He then moved definitively to the papal court, though he continued to maintain profound ties to Normandy, where he distinguished himself for his magnanimous patronage. In addition to routine maintenance work in the diocese of Rouen, where he was archbishop from 1453, he commissioned funerary monuments for his mother and sister at Valmont, and for himself in the Cathedral of Rouen. He funded the reconstruction of the choir in the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel,¹⁰ the completion of some parts of Rouen cathedral and of the abbey of Saint-Ouen, the construction of new apartments in the castle of Gaillon, and in the archbishops' palaces at Rouen and Pontoise.¹¹

⁷ Meredith J. Gill, *A French Maecenas in the Roman Quattrocento: the Patronage of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1439-1483)*, (Princeton University, D.Phil. thesis, 1992); Meredith J. Gill, "Guillaume d'Estouteville's Italian journey", in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art 1450 - 1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, 2009), 25-45.

⁸ Anna Esposito, "Estouteville, Guillaume d'", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 43 (1993) 456-60; Anna Esposito, "Tra legami politici e legami clientelari. Il caso esemplare del cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville, camerlengo di S.R.E. nel tardo '400", in *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer (Florence: SISMEL Ed. del Galluzzo, 2013), 111-126.

⁹ Gill, "Estouteville's Italian journey", 25-26.

¹⁰ Estouteville was appointed abbot of Saint-Michel in 1444. The abbey was an important place for his family, because there his brother Louis resisted the English siege from 1525 to 1528, before regaining Normandy back to France in the battle of Formigny (Luce Siméon, "Louis d'Estouteville, le bâtard d'Orléans et la défense du Mont-Saint-Michel", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXIV, vol. 4 (1890), 314-315.

¹¹ Bernard Beck, "Le mécénat des d'Estouteville", in *L'architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie*, eds. Bernard Beck et al, 2 vols. (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen/Éditions Charles Corlet, 2003), vol. 1, 23-40; Philippe Lardin "L'Archevêché de Rouen au XVe siècle. Transformations et réparations courantes", *Les amis des monuments*

Aside from the works commissioned in his abbeys of north Italy,¹² his patronage in Rome and Lazio was copious and mainly covered four areas: the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, of which he was archpriest from 1443; buildings connected to the Augustinian order, of which he was protector from 1449; the properties in the cardinal's seat of Ostia and Velletri, to which he was appointed in 1461; the private estates accumulated towards the south, between the Castelli and the Lepini mountains, and towards the north, between the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Sabina.¹³



Figure 1: Mino da Fiesole, Ciborio della Neve, Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore

The works in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore concerned the opening of two doors into the west façade, the completion of the bell tower, the construction of the chapel of St. Michael the Archangel, and the reorganization of the relics in the presbytery area.¹⁴ Estouteville

rouennais, (1992-1993), 63-75.

¹² Such as the cathedral of San Giusto in Val di Susa (Carlo Tosco, "Architettura gotica in San Giusto", in *La basilica di San Giusto di Susa*, eds. Centro Culturale Diocesano Susa (Susa: Centro Culturale Diocesano Susa, 2002), 73-87.

¹³ Esposito, "Estouteville, Guillaume", 456-460.

¹⁴ Gill, "A French Maecenas"; Anna Delle Foglie, Francesca Manzari, *L'inventario dei beni della basilica conservato nell'archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore*, in *Humanis Divina Iunguntur: un percorso museale della Basilica Liberiana*, ed. Michał Jagosz (Rome: Lisanti, 2001), 51-71 (60-62). The interior of the church was completely altered by subsequent transformations; most of the sculptures are relocated to the apse or the Museum of Palazzo Venezia.

entrusted to Isaia da Pisa the sculptures for the altar of the Holy Sacrament, and to Mino da Fiesole those in the tomb of St. Jerome and the *Ciborio della neve* (Figure 1), where the donor also appears.¹⁵ Critics are divided in attributing the frescoes in the chapel of St. Michael to Piero della Francesca (and his workshop) or Benozzo Gozzoli.¹⁶ Accessed directly from the right-hand aisle, the chapel comprised a large apsidal room, a sacristy, and an oratory (Figure 2). The iconographical programme has been connected to the support given by Estouteville to Pius II for his planned crusade against the Turks,¹⁷ while the chapel's size and lavish decorations suggest a funerary purpose.¹⁸ However, the cardinal was not buried in Santa Maria Maggiore, but in the church of Sant'Agostino.

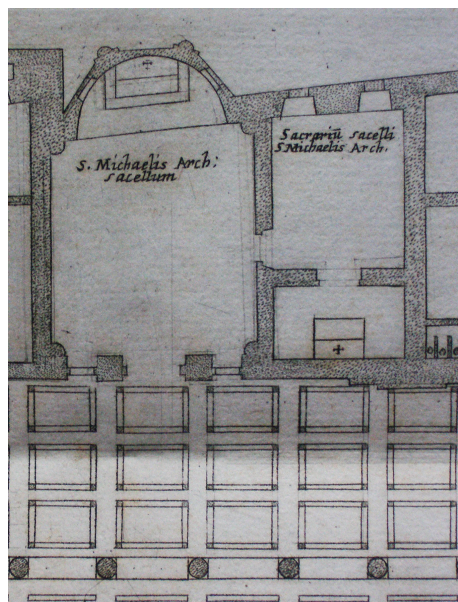


Figure 2: Rome, Plan of the chapel of St. Michael Archangel in Santa Maria Maggiore in the fifteenth century (*Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe a Liberio Papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio auctore abate Paulo de Angelis*, Rome: Bartholomeus Zannetti, 1621)

¹⁵ Francesco Caglioti, "Per il recupero della giovinezza romana di Mino da Fiesole: il 'ciborio della neve'", *Prospettiva*, vol. 49 (1987), 15-32; Francesco Caglioti, "Su Isaia da Pisa. Due 'angeli reggicandelabro' in Santa Sabina all'Aventino e l'altare eucaristico del Cardinal d'Estouteville per Santa Maria Maggiore", *Prospettiva*, vol. 89-90 (1998), 125-160.

¹⁶ Arianna Antoniutti, "Piero della Francesca a Roma, la committenza di Pio II e del cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville", in *Il 400 a Roma. La rinascita delle arti da Donatello a Perugino*, eds. M. Grazia Bernardini and Marco Bussagli (Milan: Skira, 2008), 161-168; Arianna Antoniutti, "Il cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville: un' ipotesi di committenza politica", *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa*, vol. 2 (2003), 22-32; Simona Olivetti, "La cappella dei Ss. Michele e Pietro ad Vincula: Piero della Francesca, il cardinale d'Estouteville e la crociata di Pio II", *Storia dell'arte*, vol. 93/94 (1998-1999), 177-182; Patrizia Di Benedetti, "La cappella d'Estouteville in Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma", in *Benozzo Gozzoli, allievo a Roma, maestro in Umbria*, eds. Bruno Toscano and Giovanna Capitelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 238-245.

¹⁷ Olivetti, "La cappella dei Ss. Michele e Pietro ad Vincula", 177-182.

¹⁸ Gill, "A French Maecenas"; Meredith J. Gill, "Where the danger was greatest: a Gallic legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* vol. 59 (1996), 498-522; Meredith J. Gill, "Death and the Cardinal: The Two Bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville", *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 2 (2001), 347-388.

From as early as 1453, he promoted the construction of the large mendicant church behind Tor Sanguigna and Piazza Navona, next to the palace of Sant'Apollinare, his Roman residence,¹⁹ and near the church of San Luigi dei Francesi (Figure 3), where it is possible he played an active role in the start of construction in 1478.²⁰

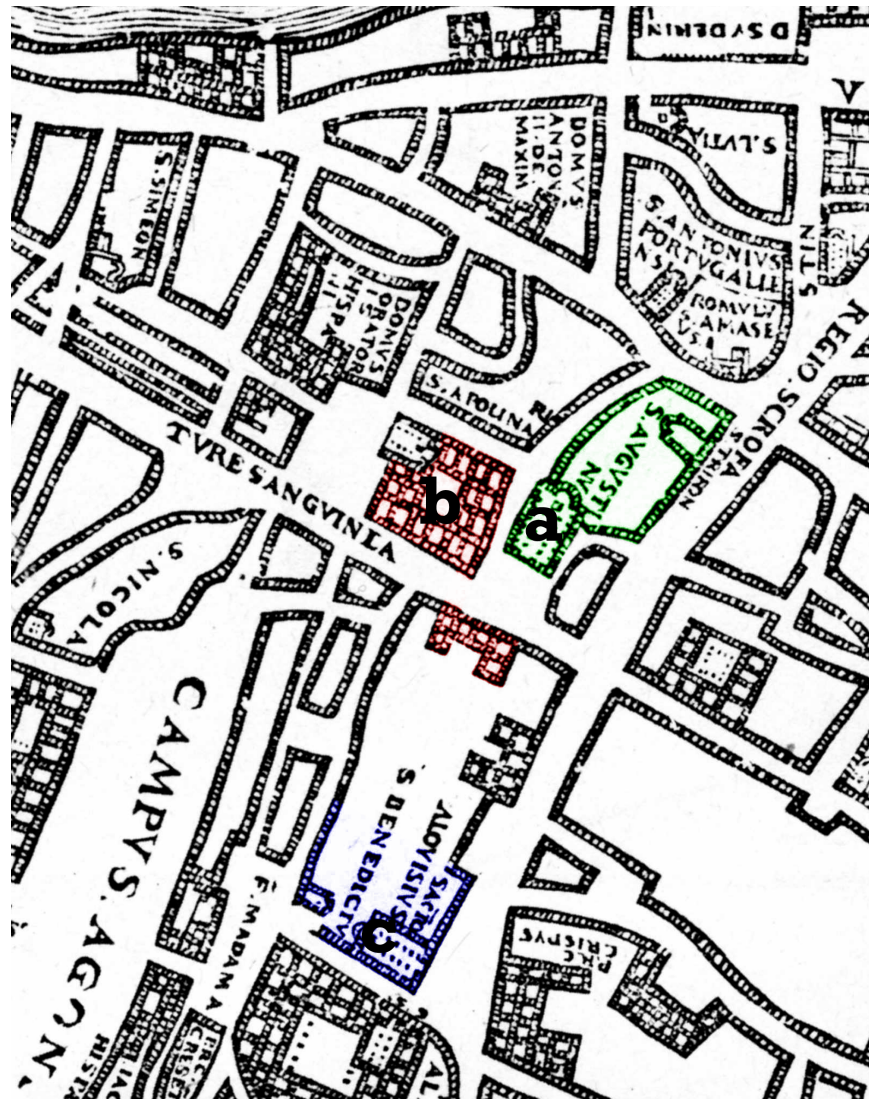


Figure 3: Rome, (a) Sant'Agostino, (b) Estouteville's palace of St. Apollinare, (c) San Luigi dei Francesi on Leonardo Bufalini's plan of Rome (1551)

¹⁹ The palace was completely altered in 1574 to host the Collegium Germanicum. In the diary of Giovanni Rucellai (1450) it is one of the very few private buildings included in the description of Rome, which is otherwise focused on churches, relics, and ancient monuments: "Una casa del cardinale d'Angieri francese murata alla moderna, bella et gentile casa" (Giuseppe Marcotti, "Il giubileo dell'anno 1450 secondo una relazione di Giovanni Rucellai", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. 4 (1881), 563-580 (578). In 1450, Estouteville had not yet been appointed archbishop of Rouen, he was still bishop of Anger. Gill, "Estouteville's Italian journey", 30-36.

²⁰ Sebastiano Roberto, *San Luigi dei Francesi. La fabbrica di una chiesa nazionale nella Roma del '500* (Rome: Gangemi, 2005).

The work for the Augustinian church had been proceeding slowly since 1296, but in 1453, on the return of his first French legation, Estouteville decided to relaunch it, partially modifying the structure of the nave and the transept to host the large cross-vaults inspired by ancient bath complexes, and entrusting the large marble façade to Jacopo da Pietrasanta in 1479. The construction of the monastery began in 1469, on the area of the ancient church of San Trifone.²¹

The works at Sant'Agostino marked the beginning of his munificent patronage in the Augustinian monasteries of Rome and Lazio, where Estouteville was always assisted by Ambrogio Massari.²² As protector of the order, he also took an interest in the worksites of Santa Maria del Popolo, the monasteries at Anagni (reconstructed in the eighteenth century), and Cori, begun in around 1467 next to the medieval church of Sant'Oliva. Here, adjoining the monastery, a small cardinal's residence was also built. The cardinal's coat of arms, sculpted in three capitals on the first floor, marks the axes of the cloister (Figure 4), while he is recorded as the donor in the fresco in the chapel of the Crucifix.²³



Figure 4: Cori, Monastery of Sant'Oliva, the cloister with the arms of Guillaume d'Estouteville.

²¹ Renata Samperi, *L'architettura di S. Agostino a Roma (1296 - 1483): una chiesa mendicante tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Rome: Dedalo 1999); Renata Samperi, "Il cantiere quattrocentesco della chiesa di Sant'Agostino in Campo Marzio (1453 - 1483): ipotesi e riflessioni per una ricostruzione delle vicende della fabbrica", in *Santa Monica nell'Urbe dalla tarda Antichità al Rinascimento; storia, agiografia, arte*, eds. Myriam Chiabò, et al (Rome: RR inedita, 49, 2011), 227-237.

²² *La carriera di un uomo di Curia nella Roma del Quattrocento. Ambrogio Massari da Corti agostiniano: cultura umanistica e committenza artistica*, eds. Carla Frova, et al (Rome: Viella, 2008).

²³ Fabrizio Biferali, *Ambrogio Massari, Guillaume d'Estouteville e il chiostro figurato di Sant'Oliva a Cori* (Tolentino: Centro Studi Agostino Trapè, 2002); Rosaria Coletta, "Ambrogio Massari e Guillaume d'Estouteville a Velletri: l'affresco della cappella del Crocifisso da Santa Maria dell'Orto", in *La carriera di un uomo di curia nella Roma del Quattrocento. Ambrogio Massari da Cori, agostiniano: cultura umanistica e committenza artistica*, ed. Carla Frova (Rome: Viella, 2008), 183-194.

Between 1472 and 1479, following a project recommended by Pius II to ensure and repopulate the stronghold of Ostia, he restored the village's defensive walls and built three rows of terraced houses and the bishop's palace, later altered by Giuliano della Rovere.²⁴ In Velletri, he built a small palace near the cathedral with Guelph windows on the first floor.²⁵

The quantity and quality of works commissioned certainly make Estouteville one of the protagonists of Roman architecture in the second half of the fifteenth century. The synergy with contemporary papal projects, evidenced both by the decorative programmes and the recourse to the same stonemasons,²⁶ is an indication of a desire to support the papal policy and, at the same time, to construct an image of a munificent prince of the church. By contrast, the image of the French monarchy does not seem to be his main concern. His commissions postdate the return of the legation of 1453, which marks a break with Charles VII and with the French clergy, and intensify from 1461, the date corresponding to the accession of Louis XI, with whom Estouteville did not manage to establish a collaboration, and to the arrival in Rome of three French cardinals: Richard Olivier de Longueil, Jean Jouffroy, and Jean Balue. After 1453 the likelihood of playing a leading political role in France faded away, and Estouteville turned his interests towards Rome, where he consolidated his career. He obtained first the seat of Porto, and then in 1461 that of Ostia. Most importantly, he became Dean of the Sacred College in 1472, and then *camerlengo* in 1477. This focus on promotion at Rome, certainly dictated by the impossibility of playing a front line role with Charles VII and Louis XI, was later reinforced by dynastic aims, linked to his numerous children with Girolama Tosti, to whom Estouteville became attached in the late 1460s. The vast wealth he accumulated allowed him to create a network of properties destined for his two sons, Girolamo²⁷ and Ambrogio, and to give large dowries to his daughters Caterina (married to Saba Mattei, son of Estouteville's administrator), Margherita (married to Mario Massimi, son of the Estouteville's banker), and Giulia (married to Giorgio Beninbeni, son of Estouteville's notary).²⁸

Jean Jouffroy

In comparison, the architectural patronage of Jean Jouffroy is 'microscopic', but it is very interesting considered in its context. Jean Jouffroy gravitated for years around the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and was therefore very distant from France.²⁹ After the council of Ferrara (1438), he entered the 'cardinal family' of Francesco Condulmer, and had the opportunity to live in Rome for some years. On his return to Burgundy, he undertook a

²⁴ Gill, "A French Maecenas", 163-169; *Il Borgo di Ostia da Sisto IV a Giulio II*, eds. Silvia Danesi Squarzina and Gabriele Borghini (Rome: De Luca, 1981), 13-21.

²⁵ *La Cattedrale di San Clemente a Velletri*, ed. Marina Cogotti (Rome: Gangemi, 2006), 75-76.

²⁶ As in the case of Francesco dal Borgo, working in Santa Maria Maggiore in 1455 (Di Benedetti, "La cappella d'Estouteville", 242).

²⁷ Known as Totavilla or Tuttavilla, Girolamo married Ippolita, daughter of Napoleone Orsini.

²⁸ Esposito, "Tra legami politici", 121; Johannes Burckardus, *Johannis Burckardi liber notarum ab anno MCCCCXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910), vol. 1, 536n4.

²⁹ Charles Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps (1412-1473)* (Coutances : Salettes, 1874); Claudia Märkl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (+1473): Leben und Werk* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996); *Le goût de la Renaissance italienne : les manuscrits enluminés de Jean Jouffroy, cardinal d'Albi (1412 - 1473)*, cat. exp. (Albi, 2010), eds. Matthieu Desachy and Gennaro Toscano (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010).

number of diplomatic missions to Portugal, Saxony, France, England, and Hungary. In the late 1450s, taking advantage of the conflict between Charles VII and his son Louis, he became close to the latter, laying the foundations for his future in France and Rome. Already as a bishop, in 1461 his 'double belonging' and the consequent conflicts of interest were evident: after Louis XI's consecration in Reims, he entered the Royal Council, but at the same time Pius II named him legate in France. According to the ambassadors of Francesco Sforza, in this circumstance Jouffroy's attitude was ambiguous. In his dispatches to the pope, Jouffroy wrote that Louis XI was ready to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, while Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terrani, another papal emissary in France, presented a completely opposite situation:

Nam per lettere del reverendo vescuo Attrabatense³⁰ Sua Santità non haveva queste cose per cossi dure come scriveva il vescuo de Terrani. Primo circa la pragmatica, quantunque il vescuo de Terrani scrivesse che la Maestà del re non la voleva toire, se non con le conditione et capituli che sa Vostra Excellentia, tamen Attrabatense scrive come il re liberamente la vole levare.³¹

In December 1461, in the hope that his influence over Louis XI would serve to have the Pragmatic Sanction definitively abolished, Pius II appointed him cardinal. Jouffroy entered Rome as part of a French embassy in March 1462 and immediately tried to join the group of cardinals close to the pontiff. In May, he followed Pius II to Viterbo with cardinals Todeschini, Forteguerra, Eroli, Ammannati, Gonzaga, Borgia, and Estouteville, and during the journey he took part at the banquets and the *divertissements* of the group.³² To please the pontiff, Jouffroy supported the project to turn the village of Corsignano into the town of Pienza early.³³ He was one of very few cardinals who actually bought property at Pienza and built a palace there, behind that of Rodrigo Borgia on the Corso Rossellino.³⁴

The façade (Figure 5) and courtyard of his palace were in the same style of the palaces commissioned by the Italian prelates, almost all from Pius's family, revealing Jouffroy's desire to show his relationship with the same group. Probably, he partially succeeded in this

³⁰ Referring to Jouffroy, bishop of Arras, whose dioceses in the lands anciently inhabited by the Atrabates, was commonly called 'Atrabatense'.

³¹ "Indeed, through the Arras's Bishop letters, His Holiness did not consider the subject matter as serious as described by the Bishop of Terrani. Although Terrani's Bishop wrote that His Majesty the King would revoke the Pragmatic Sanction only under the conditions and agreements Your Excellency is aware of, the Bishop of Arras writes that the King wishes to freely revoke it." Ottone del Carretto and Prospero da Camogli to Francesco Sforza, Rome, 29 Oct. 1461, published in Märkl, "Kardinal Jean Jouffroy", 351-316. In May 1463, the same ambiguity was noted also by Iacopo Ammannati and Francesco Todeschini, both cardinals and nephews of the pope (*ivi*, 319-320).

³² In the castle Orsini at Campagnano the cardinals danced till 1 a.m.: "stetero in una sala fin passata una hora de notte a ballare [...] e facevano de gran salti, secondo che anche hanno fatto tuti questi dì in campagna" (Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene to Barbara of Hohenzollern, Marquise of Mantua, Viterbo, 8 May 1462, published in Anna Modigliani, "Ozi cardinalizi. La comitiva di Pio II tra Roma e Viterbo", *RR Roma nel Rinascimento* (2006), 21-30.

³³ Nicholas Adams, "The identification of the Palazzo Jouffroy. Pienza", *Architettura. Storia e Documenti* (1990), 5-23; Charles R. Mack, *Pienza: the creation of a Renaissance city* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 125-131.

³⁴ On 12 July 1462 Jouffroy's palace was already under construction (Adam, "The identification of the Palazzo Jouffroy", 22-23; Mack, "Pienza", 127); in September 1462, under the pope's pressure, cardinal Gonzaga bought three houses, but on 21 July 1463 he had not yet started to build his palace (David S. Chambers, "The housing problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 39 (1976), 21-58 (48, 50).

objective, because even if Jouffroy's behaviour was deeply criticized in Pius's *Commentarii*, the pope never punished him.³⁵ Actually, despite the violent invective pronounced in Rome by Iacopo Ammannati in September 1464, in which he criticized Jouffroy's greed and French partisanship, and the deep tensions that obviously ensued,³⁶ the two cardinals re-established a good relationship during Paul II's pontificate, and even spent time together in Pienza.³⁷



Figure 5: Pienza, the palace of Jean Jouffroy (© Francesca Bordoni 2016)

Jouffroy's palace in Pienza is the only certain architectural commission—in either Italy or France—by a man who devoted every effort to seeking out and collecting ancient texts.³⁸

³⁵ Richardson, "Reclaiming Rome", 119.

³⁶ On the invective of 1464 and subsequent tensions: Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444-1479)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1997), vol. 2, 533-543, 607-612. To define the cardinal *ethos* in terms of *utilitas et dignitas Ecclesiae*, Jouffroy's behaviour of was useful to Ammannati to exemplify a negative exponent of the Sacred College (Marco Pellegrini, "Da Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini a Paolo Cortesi. Lineamenti dell'*ethos* cardinalizio in età rinascimentale", *RR Roma nel Rinascimento*, (1998), 23-44 (30-31).

³⁷ In addition to a dinner in Pienza in summer 1468 (Ammannati, "Lettere", 1121-1124), good relations are testified by Ammannati's correspondence, in particular by a letter written in 1469 where their old disagreements are relativized (*ivi*, 1298).

³⁸ Angela Lanconelli, "La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy", in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento. Aspetti e problemi*, eds. C. Bianca et al (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1980), 275-294; Maria Elena Bertoldi, Antonio Manfredi, "San Lorenzo in Lucina, Jean Le Jeune, Jean Jouffroy: libri e monumenti tra l'Italia e Francia a metà del secolo XV", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae*

On the part of a cardinal who did not plan to live long in Rome and who ended his days in France, the adherence to a short-term project like Pienza can only be explained with a desire to flatter the Pope in the hope of boosting his own ecclesiastical career.³⁹

Jean de Bilhères Lagraulas

The case of Jean de Bilhères Lagraulas is more delicate. Originally from the south of France, Lagraulas became a favourite of Louis XI, for whom he undertook several embassies, especially to Spain.⁴⁰ In 1474, on the death of Jean Jouffroy, thanks to the king's support, he obtained the prestigious abbey of Saint-Denis, in place of Guillaume d'Estouteville, a candidate for the papacy. As the king's right hand, he was appointed councillor of the Parliament of Paris in 1475, and delegate of the Parisian clergy at the *Estates-General* of Tours in 1484. He made a ceremonial entry to Rome on 11 November 1491 as the orator of the king of France,⁴¹ and immediately succeeded in winning over Innocent VIII. On the pope's death, during the *sede vacante*, the Sacred College appointed him governor of the city of Rome. In 1493 he became a cardinal and, according to the diary of the Papal master of ceremonies Johannes Burckard, from then on he was very often present at the pope's side on public occasions and at Mass in Saint Peter's or in the *capella majori*, following the pope to Viterbo during the plague of October 1493.⁴² However, the charms of the papal court do not seem to have distracted him from his role as royal emissary during the delicate period of the Italian campaigns. He was not present at the pope's side on only a few occasions, not coincidentally related to the alliance of Alexander VI with Aragon in Naples, or to the presence of the French army in Rome in 1495. In these circumstances, his bipolar attitude toward both the king and the pope was particularly difficult to manage. Lagraulas position was very delicate, and his behaviour could risk being ambiguous. His principal diplomatic actions were aimed at having Charles VIII recognized as King of Naples, and his way of pressuring the pope was as always the mirage of the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. But at the same time, his close relationship with the pope represented a way of exerting pressure on the king to maintain a primary role in the French political balance. In fact, his influence was in danger because of the rise of the ambitious councillor of Charles VIII, Guillaume Briçonnet, who strongly supported the War of Naples and then was created cardinal during Charles's stay in Rome.⁴³

Vaticanae, vol. 11 (2004), 81-207.

³⁹ According to Ammannati, in June 1468 Jouffroy sold his palace to Goro Lolli (Ammannati, "Lettere", 1127).

⁴⁰ Charles Samaran, *Jean de Bilhères-Lagraulas, cardinal de Saint-Denis. Un diplomate français sous Louis XI et Charles VIII* (Paris: Champion, 1921); Georges Couarraze, *Lombez évêché rural 1317-1801: au pays du Savès* (Lombez: Selbstverlag, 1973), 80; Gerhard Rill, "Bilhères de Lagraulas, Jean", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 10 (1968), 459-461.

⁴¹ Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 1, 324-325.

⁴² Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 1 (1483-1496): 448, 452, 454, 460, 462, 463, 468, 580, 581, 590, 592, 593, 597, 600, 602, 604, 613, 648, 651; vol. 2 (1497-1502): 8, 13, 15, 18, 20-22, 24, 41, 46-47, 49-50, 55, 59-60, 63, 68, 71, 74-76, 79, 91, 100, 123, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134-135, 137, 140, 142.

⁴³ Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 1, 565-566. On Guillaume Briçonnet's career and political influence, see: Bernard Chevalier, "La guerre pour un chapeau de cardinal. Guillaume Briçonnet instigateur de l'entreprise de Naples, mai 1493-août 1494", in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, eds. Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 159-165; Bernard Chevalier, *Guillaume Briçonnet (v. 1445-1514): Un cardinal-ministre au début de la Renaissance* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005).

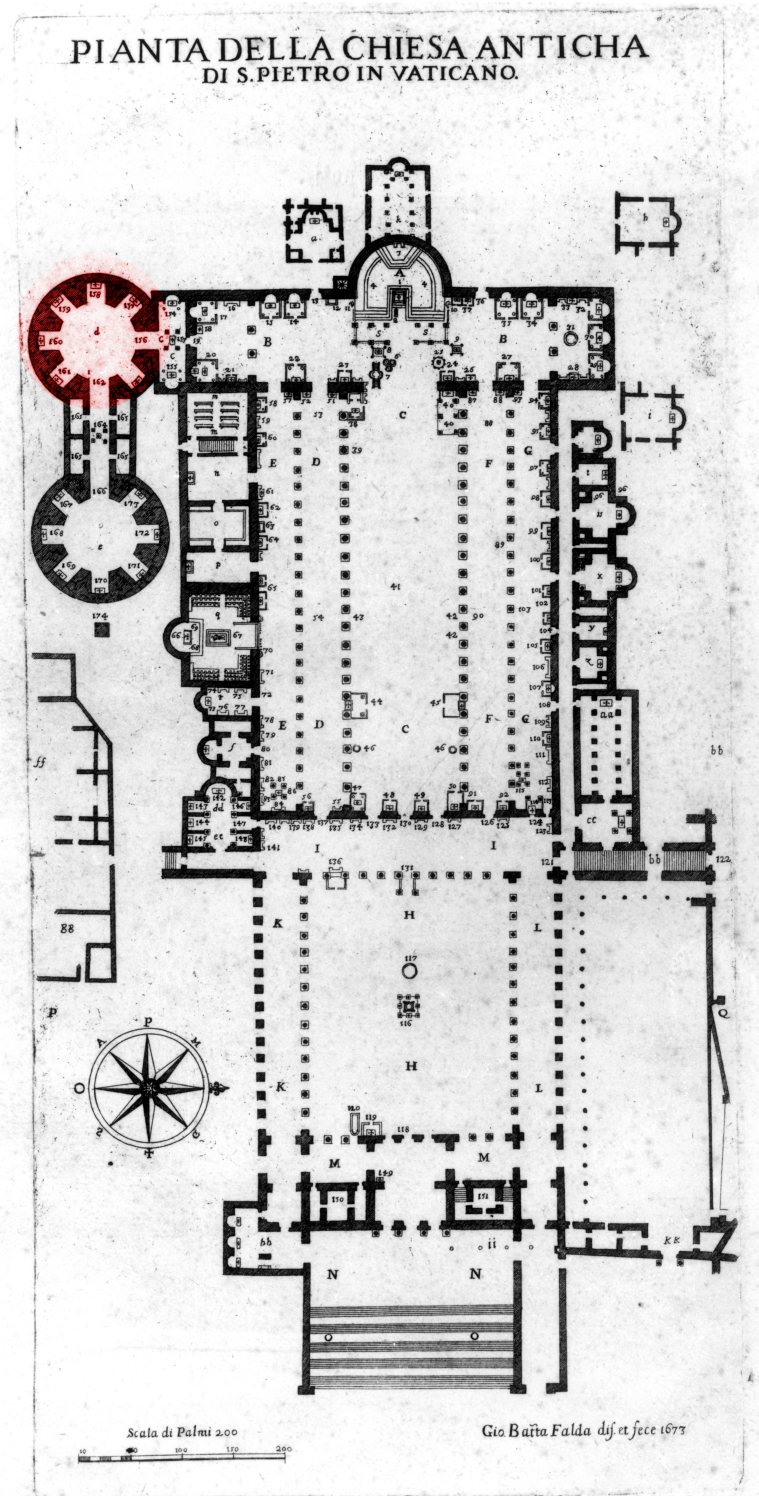


Figure 6: Alfarano's plan of the Old Saint Peter's: the chapel of Santa Petronilla (*Tiberii Alfaranii De Basilicae Vaicanae antioiquissima et nova structura*, ed. Michele Cerrati, *Documenti e testi per la storia dell'antica basilica Vaticana* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1914), 1).

The ambivalence of Lagraulas's position is reflected in his patronage. As the king's emissary in Rome, Lagraulas was actively involved in the foundation of the monastery of the Minims at Trinità dei Monti, and of the church of San Luigi, donating huge sums of money for their constructions.⁴⁴ But the focal point of his interest was his tomb in the chapel of Santa Petronilla in Saint Peter's (Figure 6) the late antique mausoleum on the left-hand side of the Constantinian basilica.⁴⁵ The tomb was to be overlooked by the statue of the *Pietà*, commissioned of Michelangelo in 1497, but still unfinished when Lagraulas died on 6 August 1499.⁴⁶ The location of this monument is of enormous importance. The chapel was also known as the chapel of the King of France, and its establishment dated back to Pepin the Short, who in 758, with Pope Paul I, decided to have the relics of Santa Petronilla moved into the mausoleum.⁴⁷ This was a way of underlining the links between France and the papacy, later renewed by Charlemagne in the Vatican basilica, and this link saw the role of Defender of the Church of Rome be transferred from the eastern emperor to the King of France. It is not by chance that Charles VIII went to attend mass in the chapel of Santa Petronilla during his stay in Rome.⁴⁸ So, his obedience to his king and the image of the French monarchy seem to have motivated Lagraulas's choice of burial place. The northern iconography of the *Pietà*—with the dead Christ in the arms of his seated mother—requested by the cardinal may also go in this direction. However, Voci sees in this iconographic choice the desire to flatter Alexander VI, through an allusion to the pope's heartfelt grief at the death of his son Giovanni, Duke of Candia, probably murdered on the orders of his brother, Cesare. If we accept this interpretation, Lagraulas was caught between two sovereigns in his patronage as well.

Thomas Leroy (Regis)

Thomas Leroy's early career at the Curia overlapped with Lagraulas's stay in Rome, and chronologically links the cardinals of the fifteenth century with Jean Du Bellay. When he arrived in Rome, probably in the early 1490s,⁴⁹ Leroy was neither the king's official ambassador nor a member of the high aristocracy, but a young prelate, devoted to Anne of Brittany, embarking on a career in the papal administration from the bottom ranks.⁵⁰ From 1508, he

⁴⁴ Bardati, "Hommes du roi et princes de l'Église romaine", 50-52.

⁴⁵ Michael Hirst, "Michelangelo, Carrara and the marble for the Cardinal's Pietà", *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 127 (1985), 154-159; Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, "Michelangelo's Pietà for the Cappella del Re di Francia", in *Il se rendit en Italie : études offertes à André Chastel* (Paris-Rome: Ed. dell'Elefante-Flammarion, 1987), 77-119; Anna Maria Voci, *Il figlio prediletto del papa: Alessandro VI, il duca di Candia e la Pietà di Michelangelo in Vaticano. Committenza e destino di un capolavoro* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 2001).

⁴⁶ Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 2, 156.

⁴⁷ Anna Maria Voci, "'Petronilla auxiliatrix regis Francorum' Anno 757: sulle memorie del re dei Franchi presso San Pietro", *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano*, vol. 99 (1993), 1-28.

⁴⁸ Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 1, 565.

⁴⁹ Up to now, the first documentary mention of Thomas Leroy (i.e. Thomas Regis in the Latinized form) in Rome is his presence on Burckardus' list of the *Sollicitatores litterarum apostolicarum* on 4 April 1493 (Burckardus, "Johannis Burckardi liber notarum", vol. 1, 432).

⁵⁰ Salomon de La Tullaye, *Histoire de messir Thomas Regis*, Arch. dép. Loire Atlantique, 2 E 1383/123 de La Tullaye ; Guillaume Mollat, "Thomas Le Roy, dit Regis, et le Palazzetto de la Farnesina, via de' Baullari", *Annales de Saint-Louis des Français*, vol. 6 (1902), 159-200.

appears as a guarantor in all the deeds concerning the community of Sant'Ivo dei Bretoni,⁵¹ and while his relations with San Luigi remain very superficial, his position there allowed him to keep the favour of Julius II during his numerous conflicts with Louis XII, and to be one of the procurators at the Lateran Council of 1512.⁵²

With the accession of François I and Leo X, his position changed drastically. Taking advantage of the position he had acquired in the curia,⁵³ and the considerable wealth amassed and astutely invested in properties in Rome and in bonds at the Monte di San Giorgio in Genoa,⁵⁴ Leroy entered the service of the king, who appointed him *Maître de requestes ordinaires du Conseil et Chancellerie de Bretagne*.⁵⁵ In 1521, he obtained the charge of *Clericus Camerae Apostolicae*, which made him a powerful exponent of the papal organization; the *Clerici* were to help the *camerlengo* in the temporal administration of the State, and to participate in the works of the *Piena Camera* Court, with deliberative vote.⁵⁶ In 1522, François I conferred upon him the *lettres de noblesse*, granting him the use of the *fleur-de-lys* on his coat of arms.⁵⁷ Strengthened by his flourishing economic position, Leroy was not an ambassador but a resident prelate, who now enjoyed both the trust of the king and of the pope and in this guise he began to deal with the community of San Luigi.

Since 1513, he had been acquiring houses and properties in the rione Parione between the Cancelleria, the palace of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and the via Papalis.⁵⁸ In 1523, he started the construction of a palace in front of the Cancelleria,⁵⁹ attributed both to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (especially the windows and the organisation of the façades in brick), and to Baldassarre Peruzzi (especially the courtyard with superimposed loggias in the form of *serliana*), reflecting the architectural research of architects acting in Rome in the early sixteenth century (Figure 7).⁶⁰ His recent elevation to the nobility was advertised by the use of the *fleur-de-lys* of France in the decorations, always accompanied by the ermines of Brittany; on the

⁵¹ Archivio dei Pii Stabilimenti di Roma e Loreto, *Archivio della chiesa di S. Ivo dei Bretoni*, reg. 244, f. 2 v-17 r; Barthélemy-Amédée Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "La compagnie de Saint-Yves des Bretons à Rome", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. 37 (1918), 201-283.

⁵² *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta, quae olim quarta parte prodiit auctior, studio Ph. Labbei et G. Cossartii; nunc vero integre insertis Stephani Baluzii et Joannis Harduini additamentis... longe locupletior et emendatior exhibetur curante Nicolao Coleti*, 23 vols. (Venezia: Coleti and Albrizzi, 1728-1733), vol. 19 (1732), col. 697, 15 May 1512.

⁵³ Leroy is listed in 1497 between the *Scriptores litterarum apostolicarum* and in 1500 between the *Abbreviatores*. In 1501 he is *Procurator in Romana curia causas*. On 11 May 1506 he became *Clericus et secretarius sacri Collegii*, a position that allowed him to interact with the cardinals present in Rome (Flaminia Bardati, "Un committente bretonne a Roma: gli interventi di Thomas Regis nel rione Parione", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, n.s., vol. 31 (1998), 41-58, (42).

⁵⁴ In 1520 Leroy acquires 605 *luoghi di monte* on 6 different investment funds of the Bank of San Giorgio in Genoa. The bonds, confirmed in 1521 and 1522, were registered in the name of his nephew Raoul. (Bardati, "Un committente bretonne a Roma", 54n34).

⁵⁵ *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, vol. 7 (1896), 415, no. 25332.

⁵⁶ Bardati, "Un committente bretonne a Roma", 44.

⁵⁷ "Catalogue des actes de François Ier", vol. 1 (1887), 280, no. 1571.

⁵⁸ Bardati, "Un committente bretonne a Roma", 45-47.

⁵⁹ Bardati, "Un committente bretonne a Roma", 49-53.

⁶⁰ Domenico Gnoli, "La Farnesina dei Baullari in Roma", *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, vol. 2 (1889), 93-400; Christoph L. Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1973), vol. 3, 270-273; Carla Benocci, "Il palazzo Regis ai Baullari, sede del museo Barracco", in *Museo Barracco. Storia dell'edificio* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995), 9-21.

façade, a sequence ermine-lily-ermine in the axe of the portal, a motif made by the alternation of lilies and couples of ermines in the fascia separating the first and the second floors, with the alternation of lilies and couples of ermines in the squares between the modillions beneath the corona of the upper cornice. Lilies and couples of ermines were also sculptured on the metopes of the Doric frieze in the courtyard, and on the *anditus*, while lilies and ermines adorned the ceramic tiles of the loggias floors and the ceiling beams of Leroy's apartment.



Figure 7: Rome, the palace of Thomas Leroy, now Museo Barracco.

The display of ermines after 1514 was clearly an allusion to his Breton origins, underlined also on the epigraph laid in the foundation of the building in 1523, and discovered during archaeological excavations of 1900: the text of the epigraph is ended by the ducal crown of Brittany instead of the Royal one (Figure 8).⁶¹ Thomas Leroy built up a social and economic position for himself and his nephew Raoul, his universal heir, and both the construction of the palace and the ostentation of the *fleur-de-lys* served as a form of self-representation and not as an indication of national identity.

⁶¹ "THOMA REGIS BRITO DE MECZACO REDONENSIS DIOCESIS CAMERA APLICAE CLERICUS ABBRETOR DE MAIORI ET SCRIPTOR APLIC ME FIERI FECIT MDXXIII"

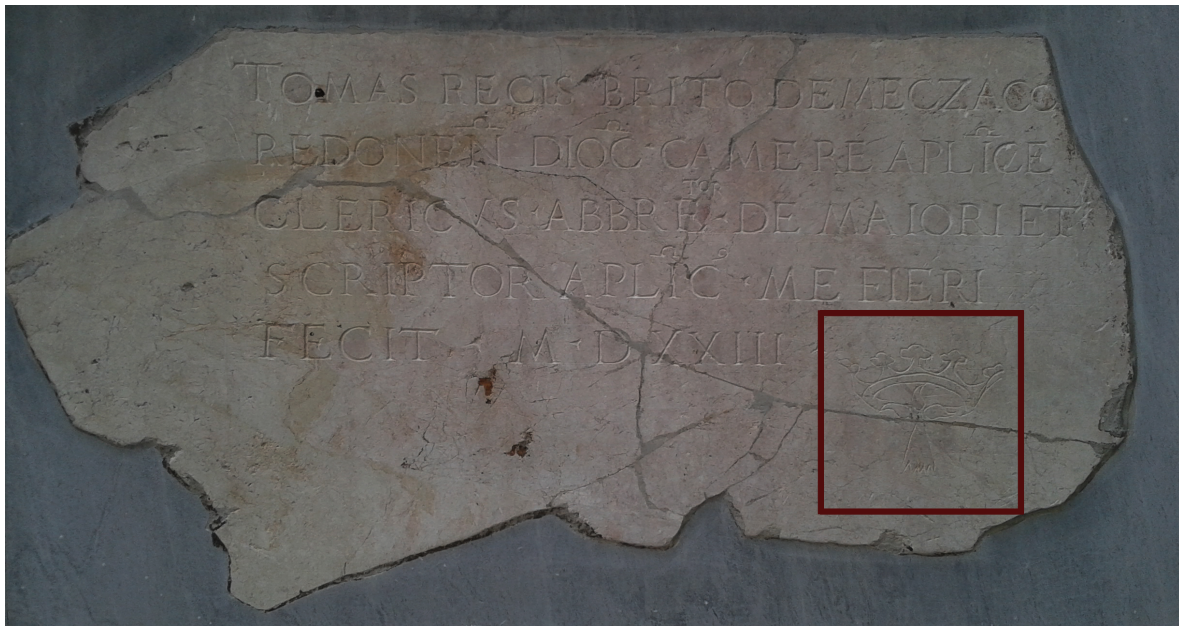


Figure 8: The Ducal crown of Brittany on the epigraph laid in the foundation of Leroy's palace in 1523.

Jean Du Bellay

With Jean Du Bellay we move into the mid-sixteenth century, in the changed political conditions after the Battle of Pavia and the Sack of Rome, and the luxurious and cosmopolitan atmosphere of the European courts from the 1530s onwards. French diplomatic policy had also changed, with an increase of the number of French Cardinals in the Sacred College, and their more constant presence in Rome alongside the ordinary ambassadors.⁶²

A learned man of letters and profound connoisseur of antiquity, Du Bellay had close ties to François I, for whom he undertook embassies to England and Rome.⁶³ Here, he established an extensive network based on his membership of literary circles and his antiquarian research, including cardinals, aristocrats, men of letters, scholars, and artists. However, this network, as Du Bellay himself admitted, functioned in parallel to the political network, so that even the gift of an ancient artefact took on a diplomatic purpose, and the most secret information could be revealed in a learned gathering.⁶⁴ As an expert on Italian politics and the Roman balance of power, Du Bellay was a member of the *Conseil du roi*, and was very close to Anne de Montmorency and François I.⁶⁵

⁶² Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 19-24.

⁶³ Richard Cooper, "Notice biographique", in Jean Du Bellay, *Poemata* (Paris, 1546), ed. Geneviève Demerson (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 2007), 9-37; *Le cardinal Jean Du Bellay. Diplomatie et culture dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, eds. Cédric Michon and Loris Petris (Tours: Presses de l'Université François Rabelais, 2014).

⁶⁴ *Correspondance du cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, 7 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1969-2015), vol 1, ed. Rémy Scheurer, (1969), 371-376. The pivot of Du Bellay's network was Giovan Francesco Valier, one of the secretaries of cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (Guido Rebecchini, 'Un altro Lorenzo: Ippolito de' Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511-1535)' (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), 108-109, 199-201.

⁶⁵ Rémy Scheurer, "Jean Du Bellay", in *Les Conseillers de François Ier*, ed. Cédric Michon (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 319-330.

Until the death of the king in 1547, Du Bellay's architectural patronage was focused on the castle of Saint-Maur, near Fontainebleau,⁶⁶ but with the accession of Henri II and the new balance of power in the court and the *Conseil du roi*, his Roman missions intensified and concealed what was in effect an exile from the court. So from 1547, Du Bellay's career and patronage were concentrated in Rome. He passed from one titular church to another, moving up the hierarchy until he obtained Ostia, and was made Dean of the Sacred College. Caterina de' Medici donated to him the area of the Pontine marshes with the towns of Sezze, Priverno, and Terracina, where he intended to create a French stronghold on the border between the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples. Such a project was a utopian plan that betrays his hope of once again playing a strategic role at the court of Henri II, in the same way as the party organized in Rome in 1549 for the birth of the Duke of Orléans and described in great detail by Rabelais: a display of luxury and money to please the king, and to show off his standing with the Roman aristocracy and the Farnese family.⁶⁷

During this period, he financed many excavation campaigns, often in the properties belonging to his titular churches,⁶⁸ and rented various palaces, settling in 1554 in the Palazzo Della Rovere, in the *rione* Borgo. At the same time, he purchased lands in the area of the Baths of Diocletian to build a villa, known as Horti Bellaiani.⁶⁹ These were located near some famous cardinals' villas on the Quirinal hill (such as those of Ippolito d'Este and Rodolfo Pio), and exploited the hemicycle of the southern enclosure of the baths, with the *Casino* at its centre and a chapel in the north-west tower (Figure 9). The façade of the *Casino* presented superimposed loggias and a temple pediment reminiscent, thanks in part to the side wings ending in turrets, of Palladian prototypes. A geometrical garden was carved out among the massive ancient walls and the monumental gateway to the baths, while an uncultivated park extended towards the south. Part of the cardinal's famous collection of ancient sculptures was displayed on the two levels of the walkway.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Monique Kitaëff, "Le château de Saint-Maur-les-Fossés", *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Fondation Eugène Piot*, vol. 75 (1997), 65-86; Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Philibert de l'Orme. Architecte du roi (1514-1570)* (Paris: Mengès, 2000), 47-48, 338-341; Flaminia Bardati, "Jean du Bellay, bâtisseur passionné de la France à l'Italie", in "Cardinal Jean Du Bellay", 193-220 (195-206).

⁶⁷ On the *Sciomachie*: Richard Cooper, *Rabelais et l'Italie* (Geneva: Droz, 1991) 58-78; 183-223.; Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 165-176. On the Pontine marshes: Loris Petris, "Entre cité pacifiée et cité menacée: construction et représentation de la ville chez le cardinal Jean du Bellay", in *Cités humanistes, cités politiques (1400-1600)*, eds. Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan et al (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014), 181-199; Bardati, "Jean du Bellay, bâtisseur", 206-207.

⁶⁸ Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 158-162; Barbara Furlotti, "Le cardinal Jean duBellay et le marché des antiquités à Rome au milieu du XVI^e siècle", in "Cardinal Jean Du Bellay", 245-256.

⁶⁹ Bardati, "Jean du Bellay, bâtisseur", 209-216; Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 155-158.

⁷⁰ Jean Jacques Boissard, *Romanae Urbis Topographiae & Antiquitatum Qua succincta & breviter describuntur omnia quae tam publica quam privantium videntur quim adversione digna*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt: Theodorus de Bry 1597-1602), vol. 1 (1597), 90; L. Petris, "Annexe 3. Actes relatifs à Jean duBellay", in "Cardinal Jean Du Bellay", 315-352 (329-322); Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 162-165.

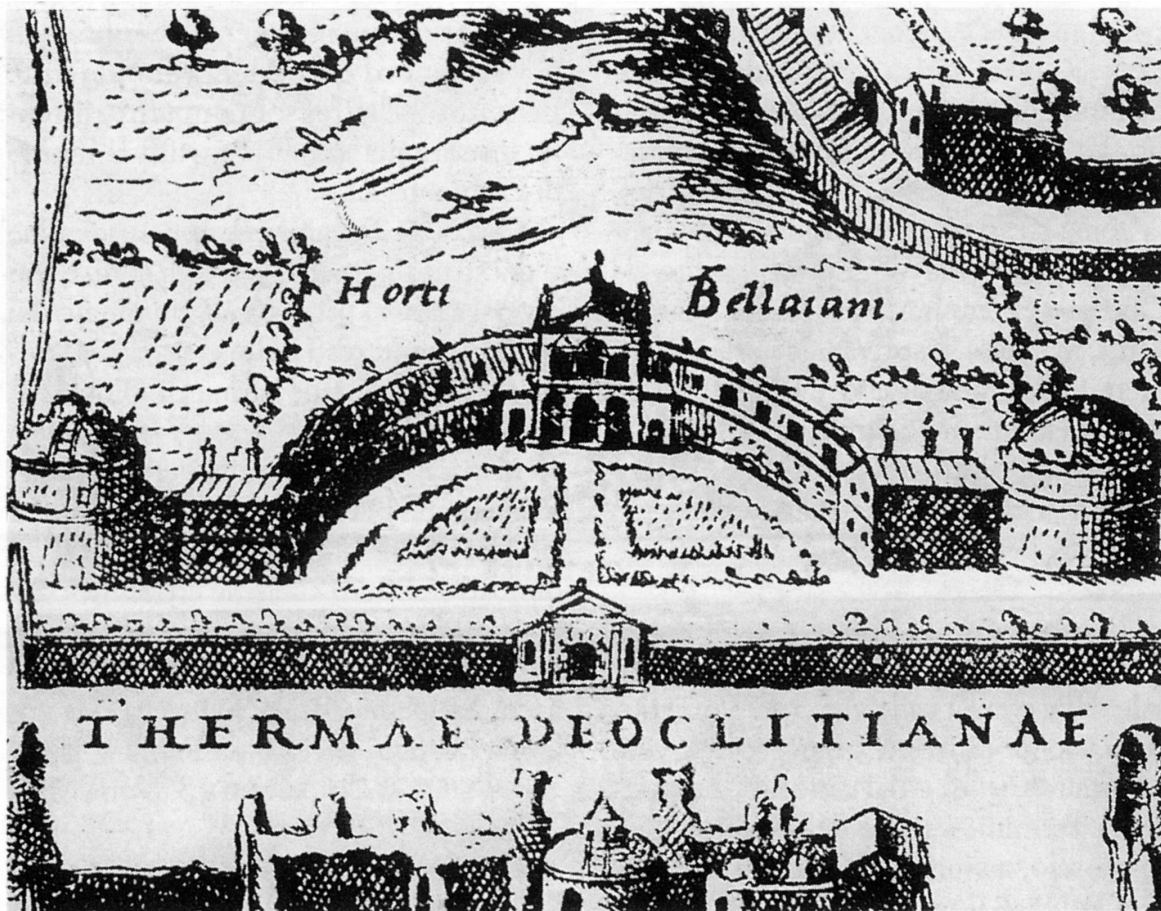


Figure 9: Horti Bellaiani (detail from Étienne Dupérac, *Pianta di Roma*, 1577).

In his official residence in the Borgo, already richly adorned with paintings by Pinturicchio and Salviati, Du Bellay had a loggia closed to make a frescoed gallery, in the French style, with a view of the Horti Bellaiani painted in the fourth bay (Figure 10). In a classical perspective, the palace and the villa embodied the two types of renaissance residences: the first one consecrated to the *negotium*, the second one to the *otium*. Both these buildings, with their ornaments, gardens, and collections, formed part of a strategy of self-representation, celebrating the position he attained in Rome, despite his exile from the French court.



Figure 10: Rome, palace of Domenico Della Rovere, the loggia with the fresco representing the Horti Bellaiani.

Conclusion

From the arrival of Guillaume d'Estouteville in Rome in 1439, to the death of Jean Du Bellay in 1560—which coincided with several transformations in the European political balance—numerous factors modified the political context in which the actions of each of the cardinals

examined should be read. To consider these cardinals as a homogeneous group might overlook idiosyncratic factors, such as the process of the restoration of the papal monarchy, the relationships between the Papacy and the cardinals, and the relative status and political power of the Sacred College.⁷¹ From this perspective, in all the cases examined, the prestige acquired in Rome served as a tool that could be used for political purposes back home, just as the favour of the king and the potential to influence his decisions were exploited in Rome to advance the pope's plans, and hope for the bestowal of rents and benefits.

Though the power and the influence of the French kings altered between the kingdoms of Charles V (1364-1380), Charles VII, and Henri II (1547-1559), the memory of Avignon was recent enough to make French cardinals in Rome perceived as a 'dangerous group' that, potentially, could renew the Great Schism. Furthermore, connoisseurship and integration in the Roman society and in the Vatican life—essential levers for diplomatic action—could produce some side effects.

Despite their long stays in Rome, none of these cardinals occupied the position of cardinal-protector of France: the first mention of the role is Jean Balue in 1485,⁷² when d'Estouteville and Jouffroy were already dead. Lagrulas arrived in Rome as the orator of the king of France but he never had the role of cardinal-protector. Neither did Jean Du Bellay, even if on March 1548, with the imminent death of Agostino Trivulzio, cardinal-protector of France, he tried intensely but unsuccessfully to take his place.⁷³ In the cases of d'Estouteville and Du Bellay, who spent the major part of their life in Rome, this probably demonstrates that their position in the Sacred College, and their interactions with the pontiffs, were not always perceived as the more useful for the French king.

In the cases examined, the architectural patronage seems motivated above all by personal ambitions. Belonging to the French group, all the prelates examined had relationships with the French foundations in Rome: the *Universitas curialium nationis Gallicana* (the French community of curialists established in the area next to piazza Navona in the 1460s), the chapel of Santa Petronilla, and the churches of San Luigi and Trinità dei Monti. But their patronage is not more important than that of the other French prelates living in the eternal city, or that of the cardinals arriving just for the conclaves.⁷⁴ On the contrary, with the exception of Guillaume d'Estouteville, these cardinals distinguished themselves in Rome for their private patronage, concentrated in the construction of palaces, villas, and tombs. Cardinals' Roman palaces, as well as the buildings realised in their private estates in France, contributed in the auto-representation of each cardinal, and played an important role in his family's strategies in the dynamics of the French court.⁷⁵

A case apart concerns the architectural patronage of d'Estouteville, which was not focused on the private sphere, but rather the restoration of Augustinian properties, the new

⁷¹ For a synthesis of the transformations concerning the Sacred College, see: Marco Pellegrini, "A turning point in the history of the factional system in the Sacred College: the power of Pope and Cardinals in the age of Alexander VI", in *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8-30.

⁷² Pellegrini, "A turning point", 28.

⁷³ Merlin Thomas, "Odette de Chastillon et la prétendue disgrâce de Jean du Bellay en 1549", in *François Rabelais: ouvrage publié pour le quatrième centenaire de sa mort (1553-1953)* (Geneva: Droz, 1953), 253-262, 256.

⁷⁴ Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 50-52.

⁷⁵ Bardati, "Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine", 29-42.

works in Santa Maria Maggiore, and in the stronghold of Ostia –all of which show d’Estouteville’s commitment to the projects of a *renovatio urbis* that characterized the papal policy toward the Eternal City in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁷⁶ This was the munificent attitude shared by the group of the rich cardinals, in whose category d’Estouteville belonged, both for his nobility and for his ecclesiastic benefits.

Economically, all the prelates examined in this study could be defined by avarice, some for family and dynastic reasons; others, like Jouffroy and Du Bellay, to satisfy their collector’s thirst for manuscripts and ancient statues. However, these five individuals interpreted the relationship of French cardinals with Rome in different ways, as they did their position between the kingdom and the papacy and their use of patronage.

Jouffroy’s main objective was his personal social advancement, both in manoeuvring between the various factions as a diplomat and in the use of architecture as a means of flattering Pius II: a sort of diplomatic ‘mercenary’.⁷⁷

Lagraulas, by contrast, had close ties to the monarchy and resided in Rome as an instrument in the service of the national cause, underlining with his patronage the desire to boost the image of France in Rome, though without ever losing sight of the personal benefits that might accrue from papal favour.

Even if Estouteville was vastly richer than Du Bellay, they both shared their unbridled luxury and extensive networks of Roman and Italian relations. Both made Rome their residence of choice because they were marginalized from the French political scene, showing that the cardinalate and Rome might represent an alternative to a secular political career. For both, artistic patronage fulfilled a personal need for self-representation within the dynamics proper to the Roman elite, acting only occasionally and marginally as representatives of the King of France. Estouteville was also motivated by the desire to ensure a fitting future for his children, while the other cardinals had more wide-ranging and less specific family strategies: Jouffroy, Lagraulas, and Du Bellay had nephews as their ‘ecclesiastical’ heirs to succeed them in their bishops’ seats.

Finally, the case of Thomas Leroy demonstrates that it was not only cardinals who took part in these dynamics. Although he did not reach the same heights of power, like the cardinals he exploited the position he attained in Rome allowed him to obtain benefits at home and vice versa, astutely moving between France and Brittany, depending on the contingent political situation, and supporting the pope or the king, as circumstances demanded.

⁷⁶ Richardson, “Reclaiming Rome”.

⁷⁷ ‘Mercenarius’ is one of the epithets pronounced by Ammannati in his invective of 1464 (Ammannati, “Letters”, 537).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Ammannati Piccolomini, Iacopo, *Lettere (1444-1479)*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1997).
- Archivio dei Pii Stabilimenti di Roma e Loreto, *Archivio della chiesa di S. Ivo dei Bretoni*, reg. 244, f. 2 v-17 v.
- Boissard, Jean Jacques, *Romanae Urbis Topographiae & Antiquitatum Qua succincta & breviter describuntur omnia quae tam publica quam privantium videntur quim adversione digna*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt: Theodorus de Bry 1597-1602).
- Burckardus, Johannes, *Johannis Burckardi liber notarum ab anno MCCCCXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910).
- Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols. (Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1887-1908).
- Correspondance du cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, 7 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1969-2015).
- De La Tullaye, Salomon, *Histoire de messir Thomas Regis*, Arch. dép. Loire Atlantique, 2 E 1383/123 De La Tullaye.
- Loyseau, Claude, *Traité des Ordres et simples dignités*, (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1610).
- Ribier, Guillaume, *Lettres et mémoires d'estat des roys, princes, ambassadeurs, & autres Ministres, sous les Règnes de François premier, Henry II & François II*, 2 vols. (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1677).
- Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta, quae olim quarta parte prodiit auctor, studio Ph. Labbei et G. Cossartii; nunc vero integre insertis Stephani Baluzii et Joannis Harduini additamentis... longe locupletior et emendatior exhibetur curante Nicolao Coleti*, 23 vols. (Venice: Coleti and Albrizzi, 1728-1733).

Secondary Sources

- Adams, Nicholas, "The identification of the Palazzo Jouffroy Pienza", *Architettura. Storia e Documenti* (1990), 5-23.
- Alberigo, Giuseppe, "Diplomazia e vita della chiesa nel XVI secolo", *Critica storica*, vol. 1 (1962), 49-69.
- Antoniutti, Arianna, "Piero della Francesca a Roma, la committenza di Pio II e del cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville", in *Il '400 a Roma. La rinascita delle arti da Donatello a Perugino*, edited by M. Grazia Bernardini and Marco Bussagli (Milan: Skira, 2008), 161-168.
- , "Il cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville: un'ipotesi di committenza politica", *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa*, vol. 2 (2003), 22-32.
- Bardati, Flaminia, "Un committente bretone a Roma: gli interventi di Thomas Regis nel rione Parione", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, vol. 31 (1998), 41-58.
- , "Between the king and the pope: French cardinals in Rome (1495-1560)", *Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2010), 419-433.
- , "Jean du Bellay, bâtisseur passionné de la France à l'Italie", in *Le cardinal Jean Du Bellay. Diplomatie et culture dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, edited by Cédric Michon and Loris Petris (Tours: Presses de l'Université François Rabelais, 2014), 193-220.

- , *Hommes du roi et Princes de l'Église romaine. Les cardinaux français et l'art italien (1495-1560)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015).
- Beck, Bernard, “Le mécénat des d'Estouteville”, in *L'architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie*, edited by Bernard Beck, Pierre Bouet, Claire Étienne, and Isabelle Lettéron, 2 vols. (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen/Éditions Charles Corlet, 2003).
- Benocci, Carla, “Il palazzo Regis ai Baullari, sede del museo Barracco”, in *Museo Barracco. Storia dell'edificio*, edited by Carla Benocci, Paola Ciancio Rossetto, Gabriella Cimino, and Susanna Le Pera (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995), 9-21.
- Bertoldi, Maria Elena, and Manfredi, Antonio, “San Lorenzo in Lucina, Jean Le Jeune, Jean Jouffroy: libri e monumenti tra l'Italia e Francia a metà del secolo XV”, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 11 (2004), 81-20.
- Biferali, Fabrizio, *Ambrogio Massari, Guillaume d'Estouteville e il chiostro figurato di Sant'Oliva a Cori* (Tolentino: Centro Studi Agostino Trapè, 2002).
- Brezzi, Paolo, *La diplomazia pontificia* (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1942).
- Caglioti, Francesco, “Per il recupero della giovinezza romana di Mino da Fiesole: il ‘ciborio della neve’”, *Prospettiva*, vol. 49 (1987), 15-32.
- , “Su Isaia da Pisa. Due ‘angeli reggicandelabro’ in Santa Sabina all’Aventino e l’altare eucaristico del Cardinal d’Estouteville per Santa Maria Maggiore”, *Prospettiva*, vol. 89-90 (1998), 125-160.
- Chambers, David S., “The housing problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 39 (1976), 21-58.
- Chevalier, Bernard, “La guerre pour un chapeau de cardinal. Guillaume Briçonnet instigateur de l'entreprise de Naples, mai 1493-août 1494”, in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Age. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, edited by Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 159-165.
- , *Guillaume Briçonnet (v. 1445-1514): Un cardinal-ministre au début de la Renaissance* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005).
- Coletta, Rosaria, “Ambrogio Massari e Guillaume d'Estouteville a Velletri: l'affresco della cappella del Crocifisso da Santa Maria dell'Orto”, in *La carriera di un uomo di curia nella Roma del Quattrocento Ambrogio Massari da Cori, agostiniano: cultura umanistica e committenza artistica*, edited by Carla Frova (Rome: Viella, 2008), 183-194.
- Cooper, Richard, *Rabelais et l'Italie* (Genève: Droz, 1991).
- , “Notice biographique”, in Jean Du Bellay, *Poemata* (Paris, 1546), edited by Geneviève Demerson (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 2007), 9-37.
- Couarraze, Georges, *Lombez évêché rural 1317-1801: au pays du Savès* (Lombez: Selbstverlag, 1973).
- Delle Foglie, Anna, Manzari, Francesca, *L'inventario dei beni della basilica conservato nell'archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore*, in *Humanis Divina Iunguntur: un percorso museale della Basilica Liberiana*, edited by Micha Jagosz (Rome: Lisanti, 2001), 51-71.
- Di Benedetti, Patrizia, “La cappella d'Estouteville in Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma”, in *Benozzo Gozzoli, allievo a Roma, maestro in Umbria*, edited by Bruno Toscano and Giovanna Capitelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 238-245.
- Esposito, Anna, “Estouteville, Guillaume d’”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 43 (1993), 456–60.

- , “Tra legami politici e legami clientelari. Il caso esemplare del cardinale Guillaume d'Estouteville, camerlengo di S.R.E. nel tardo ‘400”, in *Die Kardinäle des Mittelalters und der frühen Renaissance*, edited by Jürgen Dendorfer (Florence: SISMEI, 2013), 111-126.
- Fierville, Charles, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps (1412-1473)* (Coutances: Salettes, 1874).
- Frommel, Christoph L., *Der Römische Palastbau*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1973).
- Furlotti, Barbara, “Le cardinal Jean duBellay et le marché des antiquités à Rome au milieu du XVI^e siècle”, in *Le cardinal Jean Du Bellay. Diplomatie et culture dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, edited by Cédric Michon and Loris Petris (Tours: Presses de l'Université François Rabelais, 2014), 245-256.
- Gill, Meredith J., *A French Maecenas in the Roman Quattrocento: the Patronage of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1439-1483)* (Princeton University, PhD thesis, 1992).
- , “Guillaume d'Estouteville's Italian journey”, in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450 - 1700*, edited by Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (Pennsylvania: University Park, 2009), 25-45.
- , “Where the danger was greatest: a Gallic legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 59 (1996), 498-522.
- , “Death and the Cardinal: The Two Bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville”, *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. 54, no. 2 (2001), 347-388.
- Gnoli, Domenico, “La Farnesina dei Baullari in Roma”, *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, vol. 2 (1889), 93-400.
- Graham, Robert A., *Diplomazia pontificia: studio sulla Chiesa e lo Stato sul piano internazionale* (Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1962).
- Hirst, Michael, “Michelangelo, Carrara and the marble for the Cardinal's Pietà”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 127 (1985), 154-159.
- Il Borgo di Ostia da Sisto IV a Giulio II*, edited by Silvia Danesi Squarzina and Gabriele Borghini (Rome: De Luca, 1981).
- Kitaeff, Monique, “Le château de Saint-Maur-les-Fossés”, *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Fondation Eugène Piot*, vol. 75 (1997), 65-86.
- Knecht, Robert J., “The Concordat of 1516: A Reassessment”, *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. 9 (1963), 16-32.
- , *Un prince de la Renaissance. François Ier et son royaume*, (Paris: Fayard, 1998).
- La carriera di un uomo di Curia nella Roma del Quattrocento. Ambrogio Massari da Corti agostiniano: cultura umanistica e committenza artistica*, edited by Carla Frova, Raimondo Michetti, and Domenico Palombi (Rome: Viella, 2008).
- La Cattedrale di San Clemente a Velletri*, ed. Marina Cogotti (Rome: Gangemi, 2006).
- Lanconelli, Angela, “La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy”, in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento. Aspetti e problemi*, edited by C. Bianca (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1980), 275-294.
- Lardin, Philippe, “L'Archevêché de Rouen au XV^e siècle. Transformations et réparations courantes”, *Les amis des monuments rouennais* (1992-1993), 63-75.
- Le cardinal Jean Du Bellay. Diplomatie et culture dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, edited by Cédric Michon and Loris Petris (Tour: Presses de l'Université François Rabelais, 2014).
- Le goût de la Renaissance italienne : les manuscrits enluminés de Jean Jouffroy, cardinal d'Albi (1412 - 1473)*, edited by Matthieu Desachy and Gennaro Toscano (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2010).

- Mack, Charles R., *Pienza: the creation of a Renaissance city* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Marcotti, Giuseppe, “Il giubileo dell’anno 1450 secondo una relazione di Giovanni Rucellai”, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. 4 (1881), 563-580.
- Märkl, Claudia, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (+1473): Leben und Werk*, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1996).
- Modigliani, Anna, “Ozi cardinalizi. La comitiva di Pio II tra Roma e Viterbo”, *RR Roma nel Rinascimento* (2006), 21-30.
- Mollat, Guillaume, “Thomas Le Roy, dit Regis, et le Palazzetto de la Farnesina, via de’ Baullari”, *Annales de Saint-Louis des Français*, vol. 6 (1902), 159-200.
- Olivetti, Simona, “La cappella dei Ss. Michele e Pietro ad Vincula: Piero della Francesca, il cardinale d’Estouteville e la crociata di Pio II”, *Storia dell’arte* 93/94 (1998-1999), 177-182.
- Pellegrini, Marco, “Da Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini a Paolo Cortesi. Lineamenti dell’ethos cardinalizio in età rinascimentale”, *RR Roma nel Rinascimento*, (1998), 23-44.
- “A turning-point in the history of the factional system in the Sacred College: the Power of Pope and Cardinals in the Age of Alexander VI”, in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, edited by G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8-30.
- Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie, *Philibert de l’Orme. Architecte du roi (1514-1570)* (Paris: Mengès, 2000).
- Petris, Loris, “Entre cité pacifiée et cité menacée: construction et représentation de la ville chez le cardinal Jean du Bellay”, in *Cités humanistes, cités politiques (1400-1600)*, edited by Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, Denis Crouzet, and Philippe Desan (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014), 181-199.
- Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Barthélemy-Amédée, “La compagnie de Saint-Yves des Bretons à Rome”, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, vol. 37 (1918), 201-283.
- Prodi, Paolo, *Diplomazia del Cinquecento. Istituzioni e prassi, lezioni tenute alla Facoltà di Magistero dell’Università di Bologna nell’anno accademico 1962-1963* (Bologne: Patron, 1963).
- Rebecchini, Guido, *‘Un altro Lorenzo’. Ippolito de’ Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511-1535)* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010).
- Richardson, Carol M., *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- Rill, Gerhard, “Bilhères De Lagrulas, Jean”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 10 (1968), 459-461.
- Roberto, Sebastiano, *San Luigi dei Francesi. La fabbrica di una chiesa nazionale nella Roma del ‘500* (Rome: Gamngemi, 2005).
- Samaran, Charles, *Jean de Bilhères-Lagraulas, cardinal de Saint-Denis. Un diplomate français sous Louis XI et Charles VIII* (Paris: Champion, 1921).
- Samperi, Renata, *L’architettura di S. Agostino a Roma (1296-1483): una chiesa mendicante tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Rome: Dedalo 1999).
- , “Il cantiere quattrocentesco della chiesa di Sant’Agostino in Campo Marzio (1453-1483): ipotesi e riflessioni per una ricostruzione delle vicende della fabbrica”, in *Santa Monica nell’Urbe dalla tarda Antichità al Rinascimento; storia, agiografia, arte*, edited by Myriam Chiabò, Maurizio Gargano, and Rocco Ronzani (Rome: RR inedita, 2011), 227-237.
- Scheurer, Rémy, “Jean Du Bellay”, in *Les Conseillers de François Ier*, edited by Cédric Michon (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 319-330.
- Siméon, Luce, “Louis d’Estouteville, le bâtard d’Orléans et la défense du Mont-Saint-Michel”,

- Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 4 (1890), 314-315.
- Thomas, Merlin, “Odet de Chastillon et la prétendue disgrâce de Jean du Bellay en 1549”, in *François Rabelais, ouvrage publié pour le quatrième centenaire de sa mort (1553-1953)* (Geneva: Droz, 1953), 253-262.
- Tosco, Carlo, “Architettura gotica in San Giusto”, in *La basilica di San Giusto di Susa*, edited by Centro Culturale Diocesano Susa (Susa: Centro Culturale Diocesano Susa, 2002), 73-87.
- Voci, Anna Maria, “‘Petronilla auxiliatrix regis Francorum’ Anno 757: sulle memorie del re dei Franchi presso San Pietro”, *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano*, vol. 99 (1993), 1-28.
- , *Il figlio prediletto del papa: Alessandro VI, il duca di Candia e la Pietà di Michelangelo in Vaticano. Committenza e destino di un capolavoro* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, 2001).
- Weil-Garris Brandt, Kathleen, “Michelangelo's Pietà for the Cappella del Re di Francia”, in *Il se rendit en Italie: études offertes à André Chastel*, edited by André Chastel (Paris-Rome: Ed. dell'Elefante-Flammarion, 1987), 77-119.