

die Belebung einer immer noch stark im Spezialistentum verfangenen und traditionellem Ästhetizismus verhafteten Debatte über eine Epoche der Zeichenkunst, die auffälligerweise in den obengenannten Projekten völlig unberücksichtigt bleibt. Indem es dabei grundsätzliche Perspektiven auf die Zeichnung und damit verbundene kulturgeschichtliche Prozesse eröffnete, schloß es zu den aktuellen akademischen Diskussionsforen zur Zeichnung auf.

Unter den Museen war dies bislang dem Louvre vorbehalten: Die von Philippe-Alain Michaud 2005 realisierte Ausstellung *Comme le rêve le dessin. Dessins italiens des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles du Musée du Louvre; dessins contemporains du Centre Pompidou* war das

für die Zeichnungswissenschaft der Zeit um 1600 einschlägigste Projekt aus einer Serie von Ausstellungen und Tagungen, bei denen es um nichts weniger geht als um die Rückgewinnung eines sinnlichen und sinnhaften Raumes zeichnerischer Intellektualität. Ein Verdienst der Frankfurter Tagung war es zudem, den Blick so auf die Zeichnung zu lenken, daß dabei übergeordnete Themen berührt und Aufschluß über die komplexe, von Heterogenität und Umbruch bestimmte Situation der Kunst in Rom um 1600 gewonnen werden konnte. Ihre Vielschichtigkeit macht die Zeichnung zu einem heuristischen Instrument, das geeignet ist, die »Geburt« des Frühbarock als Integrations- und Ausdifferenzierungsprozeß zugleich zu verstehen.

Johanna Scherb

An Unpublished Drawing by Ferdinando Fuga for the Royal Chapel in the Church of Santa Chiara in Naples

Together with Luigi Vanvitelli (1700-1773), Ferdinando Fuga (1699-1782) was one of the principal architects in Italy during the second half of the XVIIIth century. A new drawing of an unexecuted plan for the Bourbon royal chapel in the Angevin church of Santa Chiara can now be added to the catalogue of his works in Naples. The drawing (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Piante e disegni*, cart. XIII, dis. 15) adds new information not only about Fuga's architecture, but also on Bourbon funerary strategy.

Even though the drawing is listed in the catalogues on the Archivio di Stato in Naples, it has never been published or discussed as a possible work by Fuga. More than a decade ago Paola D'Antonio noticed the drawing, but only as a possible document on the chapel, without giving any account about its attribution to Fuga (see P. D'Antonio, *L'opera napoletana di Ferdinando Fuga*, Ph.D. diss., Univ.

di Napoli, 1995, 339f.). This was perhaps due to the fact that parts of the sheet on which the plan is drawn are missing, and it was there that Fuga had apposed his signature, as we can deduce from the manuscript inventory of the drawings collection in the Archivio di Stato (*Inventario Piante e disegni*, 47). In the inventory the drawing is described as »Santa Chiara (chiesa di), Pianta della cappella funeraria dei Borbone. Firm. Ferdinando Fuga«. The signature of the drawing, now lost, would have been therefore on the missing part of the sheet. However, since the subject of the plan and its author are certain, it is important to clarify its dating in order to place the drawing correctly within the catalogue of Fuga's works.

The sheet (*fig. 1*, 450 x 645 mm) shows a plan drawn in black ink with washes in black, red, and pink. The drawing includes a scale of 24 Neapolitan palms and the object of the design is made clear by the inscription »Pianta della

Cappella Nobilitata ove esistono i Reali Depositi della Famiglia Reale, esistente nella reggia Chiesa di S. Chiara, ingrandita per quanto permettono le adiacenze dell'altre Cappelle, e siti attorno la medesima«. Another inscription clarifies the meaning of the different colours used in the plan: »Il colorito di rosso gagliardo indica Fabbriche vecchie, che restano in opera. Il colorito di Rosso leggieri indica Fabbriche da demolirsi. Il colorito di Negro indica Fabbriche nuove«. At the bottom of the sheet there is a third inscription, apparently written by the same hand but in different ink, saying: »[...] le quali son fatti i rispettivi alzati della Cappella. E: sei depositi per personaggi adulti. F: Scala per calare / [...] al Socorpo della Cappella. G: Cancellata per osservare detto Socorpo«. The first half of this third inscription clearly refers to the two perpendicular lines labelled AB and CD, that indicate the elevation drawings, whose present whereabouts remain unfortunately unknown.

The drawing shows us that Fuga wanted to build a chapel bigger than the one already in existence by moving back the altar wall that would thus occupy the entrance to the sacristy from the friars' cloister. The new chapel would have comprised two spaces, a nave and a chancel separated by two columns partially engaged to the walls. At the left side of the chancel a spiral staircase would have linked the upper chapel to the »succorpo« or crypt below. The walls of the nave would have been articulated by pilasters and niches alternatively semicircular and rectangular. The general articulation of the plan seems to be modelled on the Carafa chapel of the *sucorpo*, built in the cathedral of Naples between 1498 and 1508, though the Bourbon chapel would have had a vaulted ceiling instead of a flat one. No indications of the shape of the ceiling appear on the plan: we can assume that the nave was intended to be covered by a barrel vault, but it is uncertain whether Fuga had planned a smaller barrel

vault for the chancel too, or whether he wanted to build a cross vault. An existing wall would have completely isolated the space of the chapel from that of the church, transforming it into an autonomous mausoleum, just like the unexecuted Bourbon chapel that Louis XIV intended to build next to the royal church Saint Denis in France a century before.

The plan of the present royal Bourbon chapel in Santa Chiara, last on the right, is very different from Fuga's drawing, as it is much smaller, very similar to the other chapels in the church and covered by a gothic cross vault (*fig. 2*). On the rear wall there is a simple altar with a rectangular altarpiece and triangular pediment, while on the left wall we find a small XXth-century monument and seven white marble tablets: five of them date from the XVIIIth century, the other two bear the date 1984. The left wall is entirely occupied by the great tomb of Filippo de Bourbon: a green marble sarcophagus lies on a violet marble basement; two puttos are seated on the top of the yellow scrolls crowning the monument, holding a white marble cartouche with the epitaph. Today the chapel opens directly onto the nave of the church, but it was originally closed by a wall which was pulled down during the XXth-century restorations, as we can see in an old photograph of the church published in G. Dell'Aja, *Il pantheon dei Borboni in Santa Chiara di Napoli*, Napoli 1987, 25.

Fuga was the preferred architect of King Ferdinando and, though he does not appear as the official architect in charge of Santa Chiara, he was called on to rebuild parts of the convent and church. He was, for example, responsible for the design of the new marble pavement of the church which was laid by the stonemasons Antonio di Lucca and Gennaro De Martino in 1761-63 (see B. Spila, *Un monumento di Santa Chiara in Napoli*, Napoli 1901, 92; Don Ferrante, Santa Chiara, in: *Napoli Nobilissima* XI, 1902, 31; R. Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga*, Napoli 1956, 154; R. Mormone, *Il rifacimento sette-*

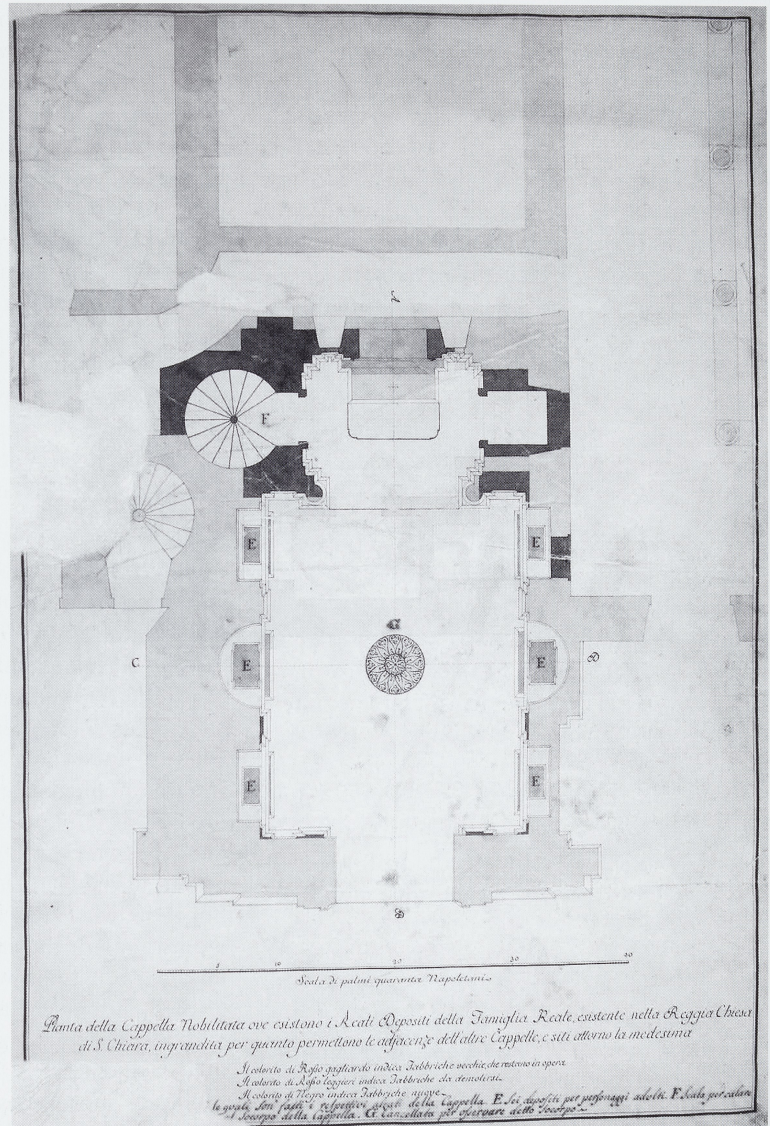


fig. 1
 Ferdinando Fuga,
 Planzeichnung für die
 Grabkapelle der
 Bourbonen in
 S. Chiara, Neapel
 (Neapel, Archivio di
 Stato, Pianta e disegni,
 cart. XIII, dis. 15)
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centesco nella chiesa di Santa Chiara a Napoli, in: *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, Napoli 1959, vol. III, 103, 196). Further evidence shows that Fuga was involved in the restoration of the monastery. In a letter to his brother Urbano written in 1766, Vanvitelli mentions that »Fuga ... ha avuto ... l'ornato del Cortile di S. Chiara che se viveva l'Abbate

Ruffini, aveva già accomodato che lo dovessi far io« (see *Le lettere di Luigi Vanvitelli della Biblioteca Palatina di Caserta*, ed. by F. Strazullo, Galatina 1976-77, III, 325); this »cortile« most probably corresponds to the »vestibolo avanti la clausura« of the nuns, for which payments to the builders, signed by Fuga in 1768, are known (Naples, Archivio di Stato,

Mon. Sopp., vol. 2561). Vanvitelli (*Le lettere*, III, 325) also refers to a new altar to be constructed in Santa Chiara by Fuga »con spesa cospicua«: that could reasonably be identified with the present altar of the Bourbon chapel, since the main altar of the church had already been rebuilt by Ferdinando Sanfelice only twenty years earlier (see B. De Dominicis, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani*, Napoli 1742-45, III, 650; T. M. Gallino, *Il complesso monumentale di Santa Chiara in Napoli*, Napoli 1963, 69; A. Blunt, *Architettura barocca e rococò a Napoli*, [London 1975] Milano 2006, 147, 159, n. 97; A. M. Ward, *The Architecture of Ferdinando Sanfelice*, New York/London 1988, 190-191).

Fuga worked twice in the Bourbon chapel, in 1766 and in 1777. In a list of works for King Ferdinando dated 20th of July 1766 it is recorded that »il Re vuole a sue spese far la cappella e li depositi. Fuga faccia il disegno e si dia l'avviso al delegato di S. Chiara per intelligenza dell'Abbadessa e Monache« (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Carte farnesiane*, busta 1296/II; cit. from Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga*, 213). In 1777 Fuga drew the tomb of Prince Filippo, modelled on the one he had designed for Alessandro Rinuccini in the church of Santa Maria dell'Avvocata in Naples in 1758 (see E. Catello, Sanmartino e la facciata dei Girolamini, in: *Napoli Nobilissima*, s. 3, XXII, 1983, 3-11). However, it is improbable that the plan for a whole reconstruction of the chapel could be dated to 1777.

To further understand the Bourbon commission and Fuga's involvement in the project it is important to consider the juridical status of the chapel. The chapel was founded by Charles de Bourbon (1716-1788) when he was King of Sicily and Naples, and it was used from 1742 to 1755 to bury five of his children (see Dell'Aja, *Il pantheon dei Borboni*, 22f., 139-149). For a long time it was unclear if the chapel had been included in the royal posses-

sions that Charles had left to his son Ferdinando together with the crown of Naples in 1759, when he became King of Spain and moved to Madrid. In the first instance Ferdinando might have thought the chapel was the property of the King of Naples, and therefore planned to enlarge it in order to make it the burial place for the whole Neapolitan branch of the Bourbon family, as is demonstrated by the document of 1766. The chapel subsequently turned out to be still Charles' personal possession and therefore not transferrable to the new King of Naples: this would have been evident when King Ferdinando tried to rebuild the chapel, and could explain why Fuga's plan remained unexecuted.

A confirmation that the design was commissioned by the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbon family is given by the fact that Fuga's plan shows six tombs for adults. At that time all the members of the Spanish branch were living in Madrid, and it seems improbable they would have chosen Naples as their burial place. Charles' intention was that the chapel in Santa Chiara should be reserved only for the children of his family following a tradition dating back to Angevin time. The only adult who was buried in the chapel, in 1777, was Filippo de Bourbon, the eldest male son of Charles who did not inherit the crown because of his mental disease. Filippo was thirty years old when he died, but his mental age was that of a child, and his funerary ceremony followed those used for childrens' funerals (see V. Florio, *Memorie storiche ossiano Annali Napolitani dal 1759 in avanti*, in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* XXXI, 1906, 44-46). The tomb of Prince Filippo was paid by his father, who was already King of Spain, as we read in the epitaph: »PHILIPPI / FILII PRINCIPIS QUI MENTIS MINOR / VACUUM FRATRIBUS PRINCIPATUM RELIQUIT / VIXIT ANNOS XXX MENSES III DIES VI / MORTUUS EST XIII KAL. OCT. A.C. MDCCLXXVII / CAROLUS III / REX HISPANIAR. ET INDIARUM / RELIQUIAS HIC DEPONI IUSSIT«.



fig. 2
S. Chiara,
Grabkapelle der
Bourbonen,
Innenansicht
(Archiv Autor)

In conclusion, considering the juridical status of the chapel, it becomes clear that Fuga's plan was designed in 1766, when King Ferdinando thought it was still possible to rebuild *ex novo* the chapel. By 1777, the King of Naples knew that the chapel was not legally his and that therefore he could not rebuild it. It is also improbable that the King of Spain would have instructed Fuga to refashion a chapel that he and his adult sons would have never used again. The status of the chapel was surely clear in 1778, when Prince Carlo Tito, Ferdinando's son and heir to the crown of Naples, died, and could not be buried in the chapel as it was not the property of the Neapolitan royal family, but of the Spanish one; we know that »nella mattina seguente alla funzione due cappellani palatini, in unione del detto padre guardiano, trasporta[ro]no la cassa del reale deposito da quella cappella la quale è della real corona di Spagna, in una stanza contigua al coro dei religiosi« (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Casa Reale*,

inv. IV amm., vol. 1494; cit. from Dell'Aja, *Il pantheon dei Borboni*, 26). Then Prince Carlo Tito was buried in Santa Chiara, but in a chapel under the friars' choir, next to the main entrance of the church; the other children of King Ferdinando were also buried there (see Dell'Aja, 26f., 75-88, 162-181). Another list of works by Fuga for royal commissions (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Casa Reale amministrativa, III inventario, siti Reali*, vol. 1043, cit. from P. D'Antonio, Ferdinando Fuga architetto della corte borbonica, in: *Ferdinando Fuga 1699-1999*, ed. by A. Gambardella, Napoli 2001, 305-312), mentioning the »incombenze della direzione di queste Reali Fabriche ... de' Reali Depositi nella Chiesa di S. Chiara«, dated 1780, should also be referred to the tombs under the friars' choir, because it cannot refer to the Bourbon chapel. It should be noted that this list does not mention the chapel, as the 1766 list does, but only the tombs.

When Fuga designed the plan for the Bourbon royal chapel for King Ferdinando in 1766, he was at the apex of his career. Though unexecuted, the plan gives us further evidence of how he introduced a new starting point in Neapolitan architecture by transforming the exuberant local Baroque into a severe and controlled style, for which he found inspiration in local Neapolitan architecture, such as

the Carafa chapel in the Duomo. His talent to translate local architectural forms into a modern »international style« must have met the needs of King Ferdinando, who wanted to build a mausoleum capable of recalling the continuity with the Angevin past of Naples, but also the connections with the architectural strategies of the main branch of his family, the French one.

Fulvio Lenzo

ÉTIENNE HAMON

Un chantier flamboyant et son rayonnement: Gisors et les églises du Vexin français

Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté 2008 (*Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Franche-Comté*, n° 834, série „Architecture“, n° 5). Diffusion: Paris, Éditions Picard. 852 S., 414 Abb., 5 Diagramme und 7 Tabellen im Text, 22 Seiten Tabellen im Anhang. ISBN 978-2-84867-219-9

Seit Roland Sanfaçons *Architecture flamboyante en France* (1971) ist für diesen Stil monographische und regionale Einzelforschung gefragt wie die von Marcel Grandjean in der französischen Schweiz betriebene (in Vorbereitung: *L'architecture religieuse à la fin du Moyen Âge en Suisse romande*) oder die Untersuchung von Jürgen Hugger über das Flamboyant im Orléanais (1996). Im Fall der Stadtpfarrkirche von Gisors verspricht die gute Quellenlage wie einst in Xanten (Stephan Beissel, 1883-87) neue Einsichten in die Bauführung und in das Zusammenwirken der Akteure beim Bau großer Pfarrkirchen des Spätmittelalters, wie man sie aus Schwaben (Klaus Jan Philipp 1987) kennt. Schließlich handelt es sich – durch den Südwestturm – um einen in allen Übersichtswerken genannten Fall des Wechsels vom Flamboyant zur Renaissance (z. B. Palustre 1879ff., Geymüller 1898ff., Hauteceur 1943ff.). Der Autor, Archivforscher und Kunsthistoriker, forscht über die französische Kunst des 15. und 16. Jh.s und lehrt als »Maître de conférence« an der Sorbonne.

Das Vexin ist eine zwischen Paris und Rouen nördlich der Seine gelegene, durch die Ansprüche des Herzogs der Normandie und des französischen Königs zweigeteilte historische Landschaft; Gisors liegt an der Grenze zwischen Vexin français und Vexin normand und gehört heute zum Département Eure.

Patronatsherr der Stadtpfarrkirche der hll. Gervasius und Protasius von Gisors war seit 1037 die Abtei Marmoutier bei Tours. Das Präsentationsrecht für den Pfarrer war an das Priorat Saint-Ouen vor den Toren von Gisors delegiert. Zum Bau der Flamboyantzeit trugen diese Konvente nichts bei. Stadtgrenze und Pfarreigrenze stimmten überein; Stadtbewohner und Pfarrgenossen umfaßten dieselben Personen. Anders als etwa in Dole oder Ulm leitete nicht die Stadt, sondern die Pfarrei den Kirchenbau, die »Fabrik«; der Baukostenbeitrag der Stadt war vergleichsweise gering. Mit dem zumeist abwesenden Pfarrer war dabei kaum zu rechnen. Visitationsakten (Diözese Rouen, Archidiakonats Vexin) haben sich nicht erhalten; der Archidiakon wohnte der jährli-