

# Famagusta Cathedral Reconsidered: On Architectural Transfer in Rayonnant Gothic ca. 1300

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## European Architecture Around 1300, at the Crossroads

Church architecture around the year 1300 and in the following decades of the fourteenth century is one of the most fascinating phenomena in the artistic culture of the late Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> At the turn of the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century, Gothic architecture in major European centers in France, England, and the western regions of the Holy Roman Empire was at a crossroads. By midcentury it had already reached a level of unquestionable excellence within the framework of the Rayonnant style, in terms of both aesthetic sophistication and engineering advancement.<sup>2</sup> Builders active after 1270 thus had the choice of either sticking faithfully to already proven spatial types and stylistic formulas that appealed to the wealthiest commissioners or seeking new paths of artistic expression.<sup>3</sup>

English masters of the Decorated style took the second path, while in continental Europe architects from the western and southern lands of the Holy Roman Empire (Alsace, Swabia, Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia) and southern Poland (Silesia and Lesser Poland) followed suit; their creative output led in the mid-fourteenth century to the formation of a new style—late Gothic—as unfolded in the work of craftsman-architect Peter Parler.<sup>4</sup> Intensive research has shown that master masons in the Upper Rhineland, Swabia, and the Lake Constance area began to go beyond standard High Gothic forms and Rayonnant

styles to experiment with innovative solutions around 1270. Peter Kurmann has aptly described this as “proto-late Gothic” (nowadays simply “architecture around 1300”).<sup>5</sup> The sculpturally treated mass of the wall, the abandonment of capitals in piers, wall responds, and portal jambs, curvilinear tracery with flame-like forms, sharp and linear moldings, and the smooth interpenetration or intersection of architectural forms are the distinguishing features of this “architectural avant-garde” around the year 1300, which grew out of the experience of Upper Rhenish and Swabian builders, especially those associated with the Strasbourg Cathedral lodge.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to intensive contact and resulting artistic migrations, this current made its appearance very quickly in East Central Europe, with the full force of its artistic expression.<sup>7</sup>

Twentieth-century assessments of French Gothic architecture after 1270—that is, during the reign of the successive heirs of Saint Louis (d. 1270), especially Philip the Fair (1285–1314)—typically reflected the fact that master builders in France were strongly attached to the Parisian version of the Rayonnant style.<sup>8</sup> Beginning with the publication of Georg Dehio’s survey of 1901, French builders were judged uninspired and “doctrinaire” in their repetition of mid-thirteenth-century building models (hence the pejorative *Doktrinäregotik*).<sup>9</sup> More recently, Yves Gallet and others have properly assessed this architecture. The number of buildings raised in France after 1270 that evince minor or major design innovations is quite considerable, with churches of the highest status and prestige among them.<sup>10</sup> The avant-garde, innovative solutions in many of these buildings possibly emerged within the decorative modus of the Rayonnant style (see the collegiate church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes, begun 1262), or they may reflect a reductive tendency toward stylized formal simplification

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that did not include deserting the search for novelty (as in the ingenious shape of the collegiate church at Mussy-sur-Seine, ca. 1300).<sup>11</sup> When the achievements of French builders from 1260 to ca. 1320 are brought together, they represent a major contribution to the stylistic development of European Gothic architecture. Gallet is right to point out that the design innovation of master builders active in France weakened considerably as early as the second or third decade of the fourteenth century and that adherence to the tried-and-tested formulas of the Rayonnant style as it had been known since the middle of the previous century had again advanced.<sup>12</sup> The beginnings of “proper” late Gothic architecture did not occur in France until the end of the fourteenth century, clearly later than in other European countries.<sup>13</sup>

### **Famagusta Cathedral: A Gothic Jewel in the Eastern Mediterranean**

Research on the architectural development of France and the Holy Roman Empire at the beginning of the fourteenth century can greatly benefit from in-depth stylistic analysis of buildings that, although distant from artistic centers in Western and Central Europe, directly reflect their influence. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta, Cyprus (converted to a mosque following the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571; now the Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque), begun around 1300, is one of these. Given its grandeur, lavish decoration, coherence of architectural concept, and high level of workmanship, this edifice can be considered one of the finest Gothic structures outside Europe. Studied for the first time in 1899 by Camille Enlart, it became the subject of intense interest among art historians at the beginning of the current century.<sup>14</sup> The special relevance of Famagusta Cathedral comes from the fact that it owes its shape to a master well acquainted with the buildings of both France and Germany and thus demonstrates the complex and at the same time ambiguous stylistic character of the architecture around the year 1300.

Medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Cyprus has recently become the subject of a major, comprehensive monograph by Michalis Olympios, in which the most important church in Famagusta receives detailed discussion.<sup>15</sup> To add to Olympios’s landmark achievement, this article revisits the Cypriot cathedral to develop further a stylistic analysis of its formal pedigree. The identification of the stylistic sources of the building will prove important for the entire study of Gothic architecture between the High Gothic and the late Gothic styles, especially with regard to the question of the influence of the new architectural patterns from the Rhineland and their confrontation with waning but still inspiring French architecture. This study, however, goes

beyond purely formal analysis of the church: The case of Famagusta Cathedral and its anonymous designer provides a starting point for a discussion of the modes of long-distance transfer of architectural forms in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which, in turn, are inextricably linked to the education and career patterns of master masons and to the ways in which they were employed by clients from distant countries. At stake here, then, are agency, technological transfer, and professionalization. Given the almost complete absence of written sources on these subjects, they can be examined only through the testimony of buildings like Famagusta Cathedral. In order to offer a new perspective, this article oscillates between a detailed architectural analysis of the Cypriot cathedral and more general considerations of the designing architects of the era. As foundational to the discussion of the latter, the article begins with an overview of the building culture of Frankish Cyprus and a description of the cathedral, which serves as a starting point for the stylistic analysis of its sources. Current views on the artistic education of master masons of the period are then presented, as well as conclusions about the anonymous designer of the building at Famagusta. All of this leads finally to general conclusions that reveal the significance of the cathedral in the broader study of Gothic architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

### **Medieval Cyprus and Its Architectural Culture**

Cyprus formed a province of the East Roman (i.e., Byzantine) Empire until the revolt of the self-proclaimed Emperor Isaac Doukas-Komnenos in 1185. In 1191, during the Third Crusade, the island was conquered by Richard the Lionheart, who quickly sold it to the Knights Templar. However, just a few months later, an uprising broke out in Nicosia, the capital of the province, with the result that the Templars returned Cyprus to Richard. The latter sold it again in 1192 to the king of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, who established Frankish rule on the island. His brother and successor, Aimery, founded the Kingdom of Cyprus in 1197, ruled by the Lusignans until it was taken over in 1489 by the Venetian Republic, following the forced abdication of the island’s last queen, Catherine Cornaro (regent in 1473–89).<sup>16</sup>

King Guy saw to it that settlers from both the Levant and Europe were brought to Cyprus, and shortly after his death (1194) the structures of the Latin Church were established there in 1195–96, with an archbishopric in Nicosia and three suffragan dioceses in Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. The last of these was the least well endowed, despite being located in one of the island’s most important ports; it is worth mentioning that after the fall of Acre in 1291 Famagusta became the wealthiest harbor city of the kingdom. The Latin Church in Cyprus often struggled with serious financial problems

and had to rely on the support of the crown and nobility; the cathedral chapter in Famagusta counted only six canons and was endowed with just one village.<sup>17</sup>

The multiethnic and multireligious character of Cyprus translated into stylistic heterogeneity in the buildings raised there during Frankish rule. After the acquisition of the island by Guy of Lusignan, local architecture shaped by the Byzantine tradition was greatly enriched by new patterns arriving from the rich material culture of the crusader states in the Levant, where Romanesque architecture took root strongly, and later also from the Western European centers of the Gothic.<sup>18</sup> Although Cypriot archives were completely annihilated after the Ottoman conquest in 1571, we know from the few sources preserved elsewhere that architectural projects on the island were carried out by masons of diverse origins—Europeans, Greeks, Syrians, and even Armenians. Most buildings in Cyprus from the Lusignan period thus combine (to varying degrees) elements of the native Byzantine tradition (for example, the shape of church apses and flattened domes), motifs derived from Levantine Romanism (with preference for thick walls with rather small openings and groin vaults as well as diverse forms of architectural ornamentation), and some Gothic structural solutions (especially rib vaults, tracery windows, and foliate decorations).<sup>19</sup>

In contrast, “pure” forms of Gothic architecture are found almost exclusively in the churches of Nicosia and Famagusta, the two main cities in which the royal court and nobility were concentrated.<sup>20</sup> The most important of these are the cathedrals, adhering to a clearly Western European style, although some of their features, like plans without transepts and large expanses of bare walls (both inside and outside), could have been perceived as compliant with local architectural traditions. It is worth mentioning that side chapels of Byzantine-Romanesque form have been secondarily appended to both churches, additions that clearly show the “eclectic” architectural culture of medieval Cyprus.<sup>21</sup> The earliest of these buildings is the archiepiscopal cathedral in Nicosia, laboriously built from 1209, distinguished by its early Gothic chevet choir (partially reconstructed after 1491) and impressive though unfinished west end (1270s–ca. 1350), maintained in the advanced Rayonnant style.<sup>22</sup> Compared to this building, Famagusta Cathedral is a much more homogeneous work and an epitome of the Rayonnant style in its continental version typical of the time around 1300.

### **Stylistic Roots of Famagusta Cathedral as a Research Problem**

Scholars have encountered difficulties in properly identifying the artistic origins of the Famagusta Cathedral. The diversity of its European stylistic sources and political and cultural factors that heavily influenced the nineteenth- and

twentieth-century study of medieval Cypriot architecture have been challenging, since the island remained in the orbit of colonial powers such as France and Britain. Research findings often fit a preconceived thesis—for example, that Famagusta Cathedral grew exclusively out of French antecedents, and therefore should be perceived as colonial in its artistic nature. Others have polemically asserted a wholly different view on the subject, often not entirely convincing either.

Camille Enlart, who was sent to Cyprus (along with other distinguished scholars) by the French government in 1896 to secure French interests in the Levant, argued that the episcopal church of Famagusta was the finest example of “French colonial architecture” to be found in Cyprus, embodying the cultural dominance of Franks in the kingdom created by the Lusignan dynasty.<sup>23</sup> In his view, the model was the coronation cathedral of Reims, especially its façade, because after the fall of Acre in 1291, the coronation ceremonies of the kings of Jerusalem were transferred to Famagusta, which attained royal status as a temporary seat of the “exiled kingdom.” Similarly, the ground plan could be traced to the church of Saint-Urbain in Troyes.<sup>24</sup> Although Georg Dehio noted as early as 1901 that the cathedral’s four-light traceries recall models in Cologne and Oppenheim on the Rhine, belief in the building’s predominantly French roots and its colonial character prevailed, rather surprisingly, until the early twenty-first century.<sup>25</sup> Nicola Coldstream has correctly identified forms originating in the Rhineland, mainly in the cathedral lodges of Cologne and Strasbourg, even stating that nothing in the Famagusta church recalls thirteenth-century French architecture, and that its front gables are a simplified reference to the divisions of the west façade of Strasbourg Cathedral.<sup>26</sup> Arne Franke and Michalis Olympios share the conviction that the style of the building is predominantly Lower Rhenish, but at the same time they point to solutions rooted in contemporary buildings raised in northern France.<sup>27</sup> Olympios, however, is convinced that the master who designed the Cypriot church had previously worked specifically at the cathedral construction site in Cologne and that all French motifs in his designs might be explained by French sources that influenced the forms of the Rhenish cathedral.<sup>28</sup>

As the style of the Famagusta church does indeed evince an unusual combination of solutions drawn from these two directions, a nuanced analysis of it shows the power of influences from both northern France and the western regions of the Holy Roman Empire. Clearly, the cathedral is the work of a master who was well versed in both French and Rhenish architecture. This essay focuses primarily on the stylistic aspects of the architecture of Famagusta Cathedral and draws conclusions about the artistic background and

education of its unknown designer. Despite the lack of written sources, this method produces surprisingly plausible findings, more revealing than attributions of political and social significance to this very building presented in the politically tinged nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography. We know very little about the cathedral's commissioners (i.e., local bishops and the chapter), and no preserved medieval texts mention their views and intentions in relation to their patronage of the church.

### The Architecture of Famagusta Cathedral

Built of yellow stone (calcarenite and sandstone), the cathedral is an aisled, seven-bay basilica without a transept, terminating in the east with three apses, the central one pentagonal and the flanking pair three-sided (Figures 1 and 2).<sup>29</sup> Square towers rise above the first western bays of the aisles, framed by octagonal stair turrets at the corners of the church. The interior is divided by arcades resting on smooth cylindrical piers, which support triads of roll shafts. A stringcourse separates the two stories and continues into the choir apse, where it becomes the windowsill (Figures 3 and 4). On the outside of the apse, the sills become a corbeled passageway connecting the flat roofs of the aisles. Responds on the perimeter walls of the church support aisle vaults and are similar to the shafts in the central nave. The capitals of all the supports are plain (Figure 5). Three imposing western portals in the projecting section of the façade form a shallow terrace at the base of the second story of the building (Figure 6). The clerestory walls are braced by flying buttresses decorated with a band of openwork tracery. The portals, clerestory windows, and openings in the third story of the towers are crowned with gables filled with tracery motifs or foliate decoration. It must be noted, however, that the majority of the flyers, as well as those clerestory windows that have no tracery or gables (especially those in the four eastern straight bays), owe their present simplified form to the Ottoman reconstruction of the church after the great earthquake of 1735.<sup>30</sup>

The first papal indulgences in favor of the construction of the cathedral were issued by Nicholas IV, just a few months after the fall of Acre in 1291. As was stated in a later bull of Pope John XXII, promulgated on 24 November 1318, the loss of the Holy Land caused a massive influx of refugees to Famagusta, and this necessitated urgent work on a new magnificent church.<sup>31</sup> Its construction was emphatically promoted by King Henry II (r. 1285–1324), who hoped that his successors would be crowned in Famagusta as kings of Jerusalem *in exilio*.<sup>32</sup>

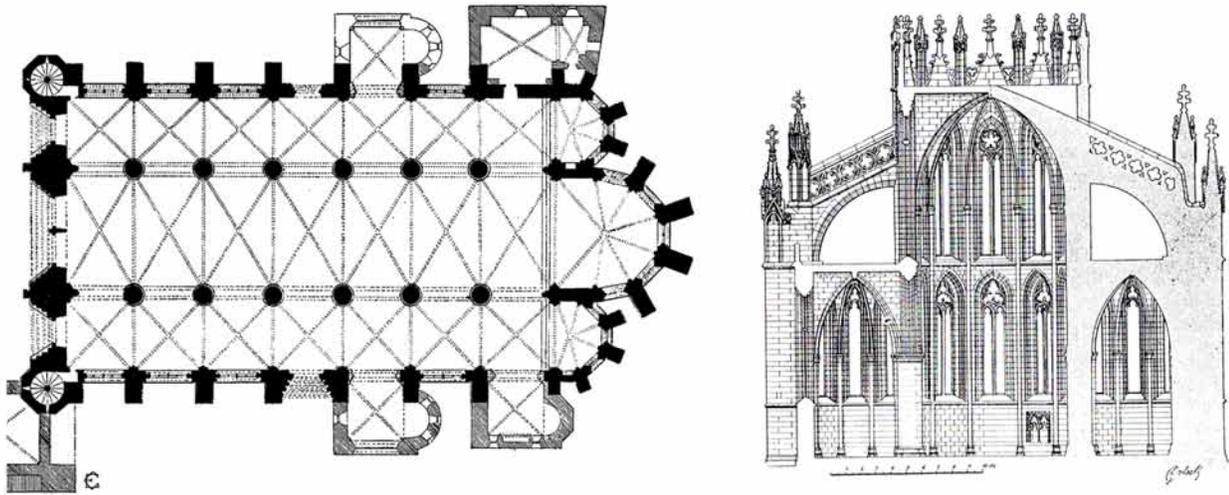
The construction of the cathedral was finally started by Bishop Guy of Trento (in office 1298–1308, earlier archdeacon of Famagusta) at the beginning of his episcopate; the

earliest record confirming the transfer of funds to finance the work dates from the year 1300.<sup>33</sup> Between 1306/8 and 1310, work on the church was interrupted owing to political and economic turmoil; it was resumed in 1311 on the initiative of Bishop Baudouin Lambert (1309–28, earlier canon of Tortosa/Tartus).<sup>34</sup> This fact is commemorated with exceeding precision by an inscription on the buttress west of the south portal (Figure 7). It reports that the funds for the construction of the cathedral were transferred on 4 August 1311, and on 1 September of that year Bishop Baudouin began the works. At this point, six bays of vaulting in the aisles (i.e., vaults covering the apses and two adjacent straight bays in both aisles) were completed, whereas vaults in a total of ten bays in the aisles and eight in the central nave still needed to be built.<sup>35</sup> This means that in 1311, the ground story of the eastern part of the church was finished; it can be assumed that the perimeter walls and arcades of the other bays were also completed, since the inscription refers to the missing vaults of the aisles (and not the walls or piers themselves); the progress of work on the west façade at this time cannot be determined.

The pace of construction was therefore initially fast, despite a break in work lasting several years until 1310. From 1311, however, progress slowed, as evidenced by two further papal bulls promoting work on the cathedral, promulgated in 1313 and 1318 by Clement V and John XXII, respectively. The date of the completion of the project, unfortunately, is not known. Arne Franke has pessimistically estimated the middle of the fourteenth century, before the plague of 1348, as the progress of the work in 1311 suggested that it would have taken five decades to complete the building.<sup>36</sup> Philippe Plagnieux, Thierry Soulard, and Michalis Olympios have assumed completion in the 1320s, noting that the coronation of Hugh IV as king of Jerusalem in 1324 could have taken place in the finished (or nearly finished) cathedral.<sup>37</sup> Yet information about a coronation in Famagusta in 1324 does not say anything about the progress of work on the church at that time. We also do not know the effects of the papal support given in 1313 and 1318. The exact date of completion is therefore impossible to determine. It is possible, however, that the cathedral was indeed nearing its completion in the third decade of the fourteenth century, to the original design of ca. 1300. As usual in Gothic church construction, the upper stories of the west towers may have been the last parts of the edifice to be completed, perhaps after 1330.

### The Style of Famagusta Cathedral and Its Sources

The most distinctive feature of the cathedral's style is the eclecticism of its sources, characteristic of continental



**Figure 1** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, ca. 1300–1330, ground plan and section (Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. David Hunt [1899; London: Trigraph, 1987], figs. 165, 168).



**Figure 2** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, ca. 1300–1330, view from the southeast (author's photo).



**Figure 3** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, ca. 1300–1330, interior looking east (author's photo).



**Figure 4** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, interior of the central choir apse, ca. 1300–1310 (author's photo).



**Figure 5** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, western bays of the nave, ca. 1300–1330 (author's photo).



**Figure 6** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, west façade, ca. 1300–1330 (author's photo).



**Figure 7** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, portal of the south aisle, ca. 1300–1310, with inscription from 1311 on the left-hand buttress (author’s photo).

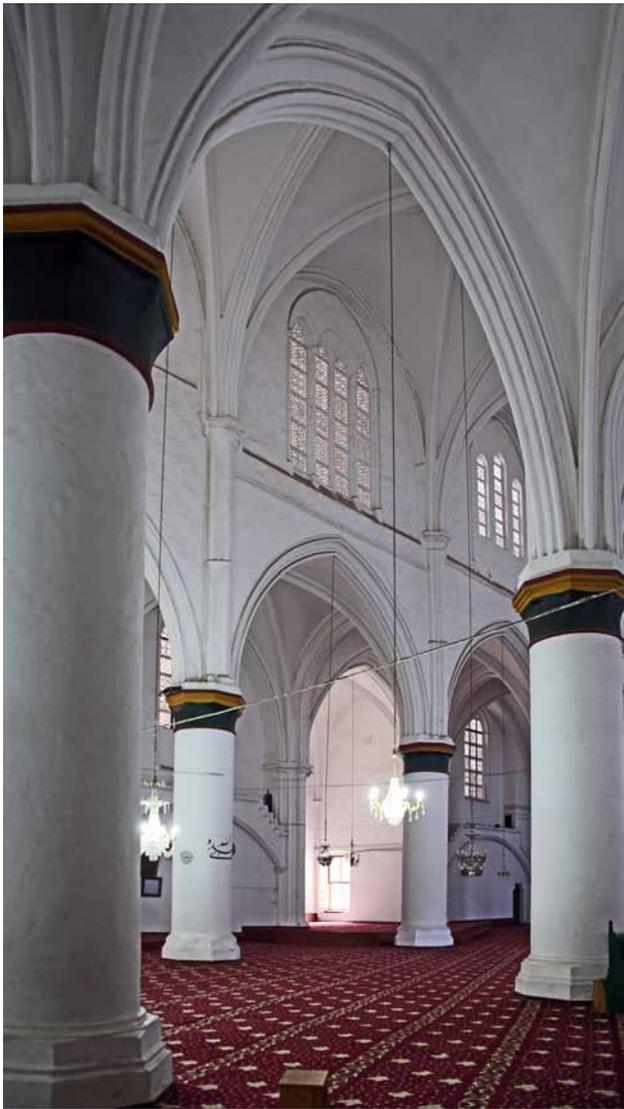
Gothic architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century. While recalling both France and the southwestern regions of the Holy Roman Empire, these sources form a fairly coherent whole, to some extent compliant with formal habits of local Cypriot architecture. The building is not a work of exclusively French or exclusively Rhenish architecture, and it is surprising to encounter doubts about its Rayonnant style. After all, this distinctive current of Gothic architecture does not relate exclusively to works of Parisian architecture from around 1230–50.<sup>38</sup> Despite earlier interpretations to the contrary, Famagusta Cathedral is a fine example of the late Rayonnant, characterized by a linear aesthetic stemming from the amalgamation of many small forms, by a graphic sharpness in architectural members, and often by simplification of some details. This style frequently went hand in hand with a multiplicity of sources used by the

master mason, which, in turn, would have been conditioned by the availability of a large stock of architectural drawings accumulated in his workshop.<sup>39</sup>

Before turning to the predominantly European sources of the cathedral’s design, it is important to recall the macro-regional tradition of crusader architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean. First and foremost, the three-apse choir termination and the absence of a transept are typical of Latin churches of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries located in the Syro-Palestine (e.g., Acre, Beirut, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Lydda, Tartus, Tyre), but the polygonal terminations of the longitudinal naves and the type of bays used (square in the aisles, rectangular with a ratio of 2:1 in the nave) are foreign to that tradition.<sup>40</sup> Some of the Byzantine and Latin churches in the Levant (like St. Anne’s in Jerusalem) used polygonal choir terminations on the outside, though containing round apses inside.

Second, the nave arcades at Famagusta are supported by massive cylindrical piers, the imposts of which support the shafts of the nave vault. This is also strikingly archaic for ca. 1300—that is, before the revival of this form in late Gothic architecture from the mid-fourteenth century onward. In France, this solution had been dispensed with at the beginning of the thirteenth century with the spread of *cantonné*-type supports with four added shafts, which, in turn, in the Rayonnant style gave way to compound piers with a stepped core. It was mostly in the fairly conservative church architecture of the Netherlands that plain circular piers remained popular until the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>41</sup> They were occasionally found in monastic buildings as well. The Cistercian church of Altenberg, near Cologne (construction begun in 1259), has been cited in the context of the Cypriot cathedral.<sup>42</sup> It is indeed characterized by a similar articulation of the nave; it seems, however, that the system of arcades at Famagusta is another element derived from the architecture of Cyprus itself.

The strikingly massive smooth piers, compatible neither with the slenderness of the shafts they carry nor with the delicacy of the elements decorating the exterior of the building, have an equivalent in the most important church on the island: the cathedral of Nicosia (Figure 8).<sup>43</sup> That in Famagusta we are dealing with a deliberate architectural quotation from the metropolitan church of Cyprus is corroborated by the fact that this specific pattern of articulation was repeated, without any changes, in two more of the city’s most lavish ecclesiastical buildings, both dating from the mid-fourteenth century: the church of the Nestorians, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul (now Sinan Paşa Mosque), and the church of the Greeks, dedicated to Saint George (now ruined).<sup>44</sup> Interestingly enough, their articulation scheme follows that of the cathedral closely, but in overall design,



**Figure 8** Nicosia Cathedral, Cyprus, interior of the nave, ca. 1230–50 (author’s photo).

their boxy silhouettes, round apses covered with semicircular domes, and narrow lancet windows evoke comparisons with Romanesque churches of the crusaders in the Levant. It seems, therefore, that the pier-and-respond system in their central naves was deliberately modeled on that of the Latin cathedral, and that this type of arcade support was simply regarded as a hallmark of high-rank ecclesiastical architecture of the time in Cyprus.

### Famagusta and Cologne

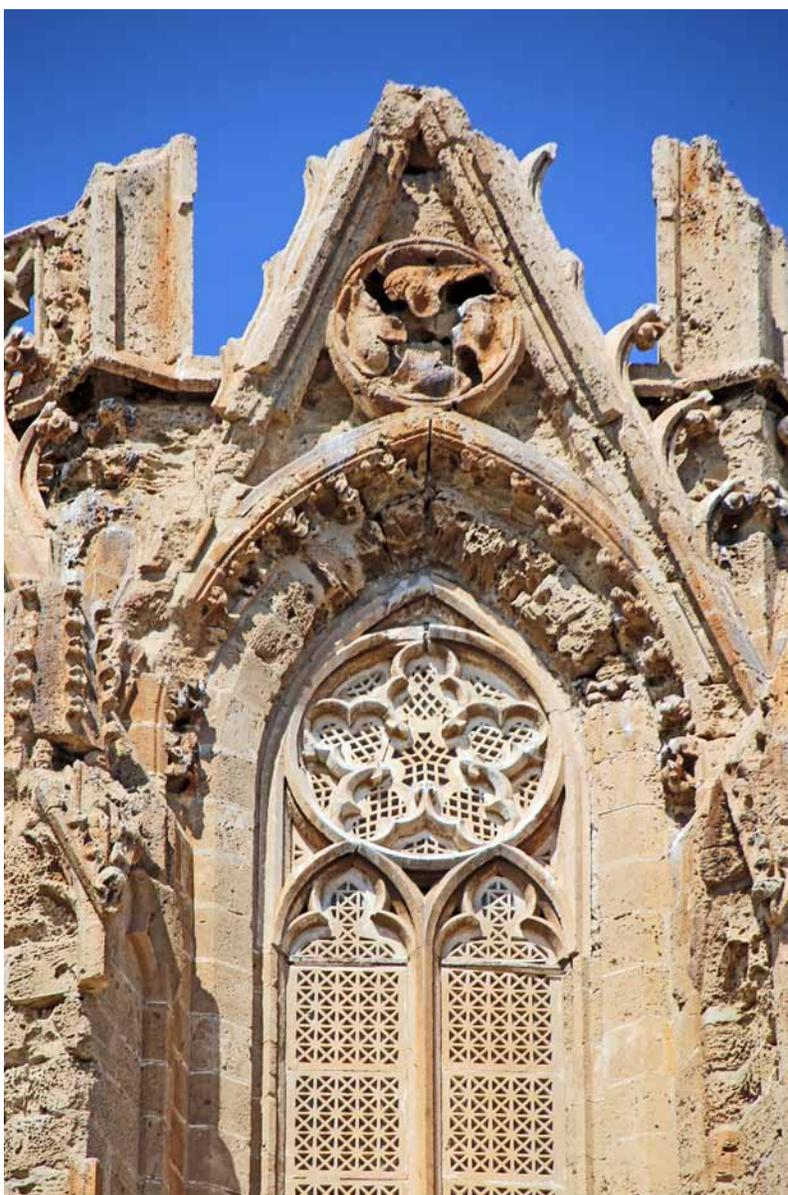
It is to the credit of Nicola Coldstream, Arne Franke, and Michalis Olympios that motifs derived from the architecture of Cologne Cathedral (choir built 1248–1304, consecrated in 1322) have been meticulously identified in the Famagusta church.<sup>45</sup> Yet those of their many arguments that

refer to the particular forms shown in the famous “Design F” from Cologne must be treated with caution, because the new dating of this drawing places it well after the completion of Famagusta Cathedral.

Contrary to the widespread belief that the Cologne façade design was drawn already around 1280 (as Marc Steinmann argues), it seems that Johann Josef Böker correctly dates this drawing to the middle of the fourteenth century, even if it follows some earlier design ideas worked out in the early fourteenth century, as convincingly proposed by Robert Bork.<sup>46</sup> The discovery of a coin minted after 1357 in the foundations of the south tower shows that work on the cathedral’s façade did not begin until around 1360. Given medieval construction practices, it seems improbable that the gigantic, detailed design of the Cologne west front, clearly the type of representative drawing intended to be presented to the building commissioners for their approval (*Visierung*), was made almost a century before construction actually began.<sup>47</sup> There is no doubt, however, that the immense “Design F” is based on numerous drawings, no longer extant, which were collected over many decades by the successive masters of the Cologne lodge. In this particular design we do not find tracery motifs typical of the late Gothic period around 1350. This explains why the forms recorded in the “Design F” have equivalents in the cathedral of Famagusta, designed around 1300.

Even if the question of whether the design(s) for the Cologne west front served as potential inspiration for the architect employed at Famagusta must be considered unanswered at this stage of research, the sheer significance of the Rhenish cathedral for this master mason is beyond doubt. From Cologne derives, above all, the system of decoration of the exterior elevations of the central nave, with its windows surmounted by gables with prominent crockets, separated by obliquely set pinnacles, once connected by an openwork balustrade.<sup>48</sup> The gables accommodate roundels adorned with fleshy foliage, the latter having a swirling arrangement in some places; this exact pattern is seen in the leafy rosettes in the gables of the first bay from the east in the clerestory in Cologne (begun 1270/71) (Figure 9). The same building was the source for the introduction of foliage carved into the outer band of the external windows and for the ornamentation of the diagonal edges of the flying buttresses with an openwork band filled with quadrilobes inside roundels (Figure 10).

Many tracery designs at Famagusta also originated in Cologne, as in the lower windows in the central choir apse crowned with a large pointed trilobe with fleur-de-lis cusps and filled with additional trefoil arches; the same figure is used in the side lights and in the gable of the great west window (Figure 11; see Figure 6). This motif has an early counterpart in the external openwork balustrade at



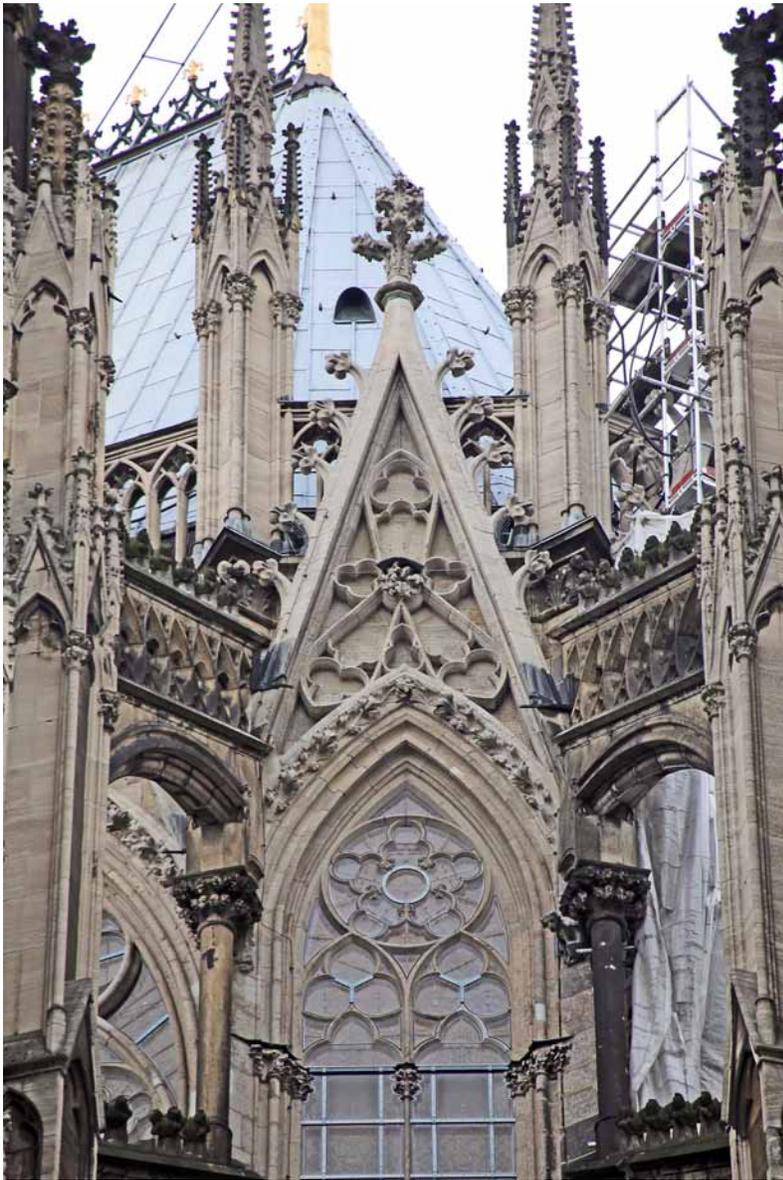
**Figure 9** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, tracery window in the upper tier of the central choir apse, ca. 1310 (author's photo).

the feet of clerestory windows in Cologne; in the 1280s it had appeared (in the rounded version) repeatedly on the façade of Strasbourg Cathedral (begun 1277) as the crowning of tracery panels on the buttresses of the first story, below the canopies with equestrian statues of rulers (Figure 12).<sup>49</sup> Traceries of analogous composition, originating in Strasbourg, decorate, among others, two panels of the former choir partitions of the Cistercian church in Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria (ca. 1280–95, now in the well annex of the cloister), attesting to the popularity of this Rhenish motif and the wide range of its occurrence.

In turn, the upper windows of the central apse at Famagusta are bipartite and surmounted by an oculus containing five interconnected trefoil arches with cusps ending in fleurs-de-lis (see Figure 9); the rings crowning the four-light traceries in the nave have the same filling. This

motif, derived from the choir tracery of Amiens Cathedral, is repeated several times in Cologne in almost all the clerestory windows, including—as in Famagusta—as the main figure in the traceries of the choir termination (see Figure 10).

Finally, the composition of the four-light windows in the aisles and of the openwork tympanum in the west portal have a Lower Rhenish origin (see Figures 6 and 7). Their main characteristic consists in crowning the two main lights with an unframed quadrilobe with fleur-de-lis cusps, with an additional trefoil arch inside each lobe. This distinctive tracery pattern is featured in the four eastern straight bays of the choir clerestory at Cologne; only in its western bay is the composition topped with a ring of six trefoil arches, similar to the other windows of Famagusta Cathedral, featuring five such arches (Figure 13). It is worth noting that although cusps in the form of fleurs-de-lis is an idea originally French



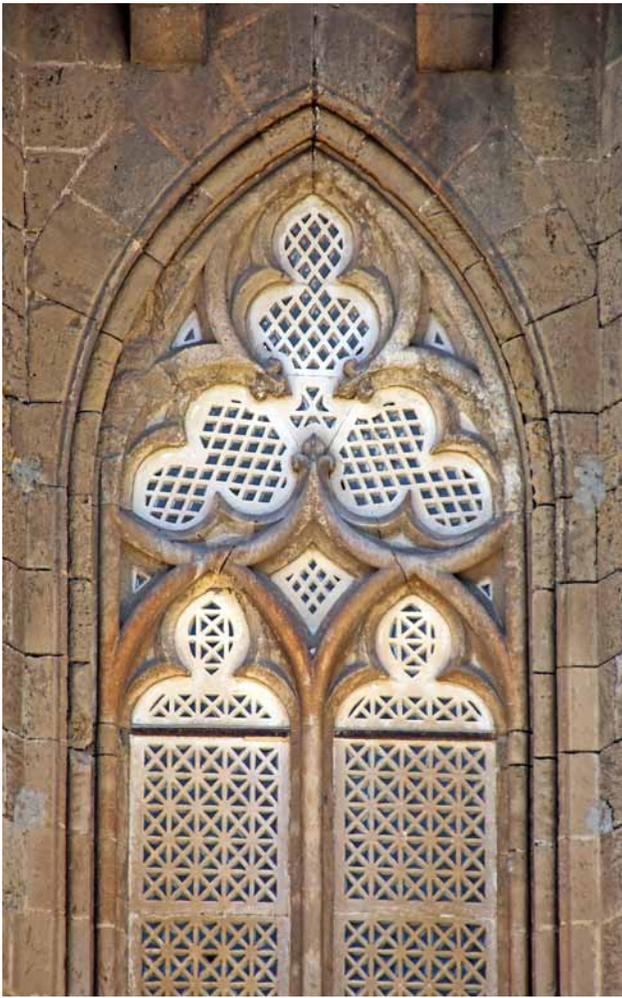
**Figure 10** Cologne Cathedral, Germany, tracery window in the choir termination, ca. 1280–85 (author’s photo).

(Amiens), the motif did not enjoy a greater career until the last third of the thirteenth century in the Rhineland, thanks to the exemplary role of designs by the masters of the cathedrals of Cologne and Strasbourg.

### **Famagusta and Upper Rhineland**

There is little doubt that the designer of the Cyprus edifice boasted a thorough, most probably eyewitness, knowledge of the architecture of the great cathedral of Cologne. Olympios believes that he had worked on the latter church, and that motifs of non-Cologne origin are explained by the stock of design patterns accumulated at the cathedral lodge there.<sup>50</sup> But solutions found at Famagusta have their origins not only in the Lower but also in the Upper Rhineland, as well as directly in France.<sup>51</sup>

The cathedral in Famagusta, unlike the one in Cologne, features continuous moldings with no capitals in all window and portal jambs and in the mullions of traceries, hand in hand with a graphic sharpening of the pear-shaped rolls that are found between the deep hollows of the moldings. Olympios has identified the portal and west window of the Franciscan church in Cologne (ca. 1300) as the source of this approach at Famagusta, but their relatively shallow jambs consist mainly of very thin and slender rolls, not a convincing model for the Cypriot edifice. The “continuous order” of the moldings of portals and arcades at Famagusta constitutes an example of architectural simplification (in this case, involving the abandonment of capitals and linear alignment of the supports and the archivolt resting on them), which at the same time leads to a refinement of a building’s design.<sup>52</sup> Although this was a reduction, it



**Figure 11** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, tracery window in the lower tier of the central choir apse, ca. 1300–1310 (author’s photo).

demonstrates the boldness and modernity of the artistic attitude, so the idea was picked up in the following decades of the fourteenth century by many architects throughout Europe and England.<sup>53</sup>

Crucially, however, this distinctive shape of jambs, which highlighted the linear aspect of the style, was among the distinguishing features of Upper Rhenish architecture already by the early 1280s, as well as of numerous structures in Central Europe that were built under its influence, such as the nave of the cathedral of Wrocław in Silesia, designed ca. 1305 by an anonymous master from Upper Rhineland (Figure 14).<sup>54</sup> The design of the portals at Famagusta was particularly modern, typified by extremely deep and finely molded jambs with no capitals, for which there are no adequate sources or comparisons in the French or Lower Rhenish architecture of the era (Figure 15; see Figures 7 and 21). The only exception is the central entrance in the west façade, which has conventional oblique walls with three pairs of canopy niches for figures and was generally modeled on the west portals of the cathedral in Nicosia



**Figure 12** Strasbourg Cathedral, France, tracery panel on the ground-story buttress of the west façade, ca. 1290–1300 (author’s photo).

(ca. 1270–1310).<sup>55</sup> One can easily imagine that this more traditional element was introduced into the Famagusta design at the explicit request of the building’s commissioners.<sup>56</sup>

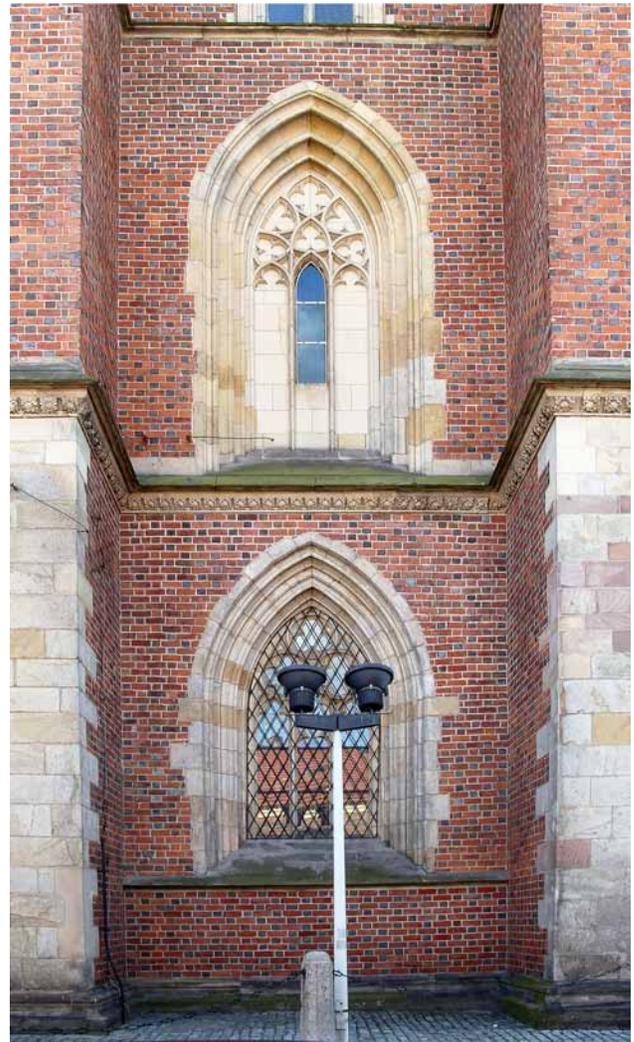
The most peculiar element at the Famagusta portals, evidently of Upper Rhenish origin, is the rhythmic segmentation of the jambs in the side entrances (as well as of the archivolt of the central portal), as it consists of four distinct “steps” with a thicker pear-shaped roll on the axis, emerging from oblique planes above smooth socles (see Figure 15). The earliest known example of this arrangement of jambs, found exclusively in the architecture of southwestern German regions, the Crown of Bohemia, and southern Poland (especially Silesia), is offered by the (still quite modest) portal in the north transept arm at the collegiate church of St. Stephen in Mainz on the Rhine (before 1275), and early examples include the western entrances of the Canons’ Regular church at Sankt Arnual in Palatinate (now within the boundaries of Saarbrücken, construction begun 1315) and the parish church of Raabs an der Thaya in Lower Austria (ca. 1300) (Figure 16).<sup>57</sup> Wide portals and arcades with a dense sequence of moldings, devoid of capitals and grouped in distinct “steps,” were installed in hundreds of buildings erected between the end of the thirteenth and the end of the fourteenth century, located in a wide belt stretching between the Upper Rhineland in the west and Poland and Austria in the east; characteristically, surrounds



**Figure 13** Cologne Cathedral, Germany, tracery window in the north choir clerestory, ca. 1280–85 (author's photo).

of this type gained no particular popularity in the Lower Rhineland (Figure 17).

The types of moldings used in the Cypriot cathedral, in both vertical and horizontal elements (such as bases and plinths), are mostly conventional and consist of forms widespread in the architecture of the late Rayonnant style (rolls and half rolls, rolls and fillets, hollows, chamfers, and setoffs); they have been documented by Olympios.<sup>58</sup> Yet one molding pattern at Famagusta stands out and might be of Upper Rhenish origin: It is the profile occurring on the axes of half piers between the choir apses and of arcade arches, certainly executed in the first years of the construction process, just after 1300—specifically, a flattened half roll passing into a broad fillet, which resembles a stretched pear-shaped profile (Figure 18).<sup>59</sup> Richard Morris classifies such a profile as “wave molding.”<sup>60</sup> This rather rare motif finds a direct counterpart in the ground-story tower arcades of the great parish church at Rouffach in Alsace, some 50 miles south of Strasbourg (Figure 19). Incidentally, this façade, begun around the time when the construction of Famagusta Cathedral was launched, was modeled on the tower block of the Strasbourg Cathedral and belongs to



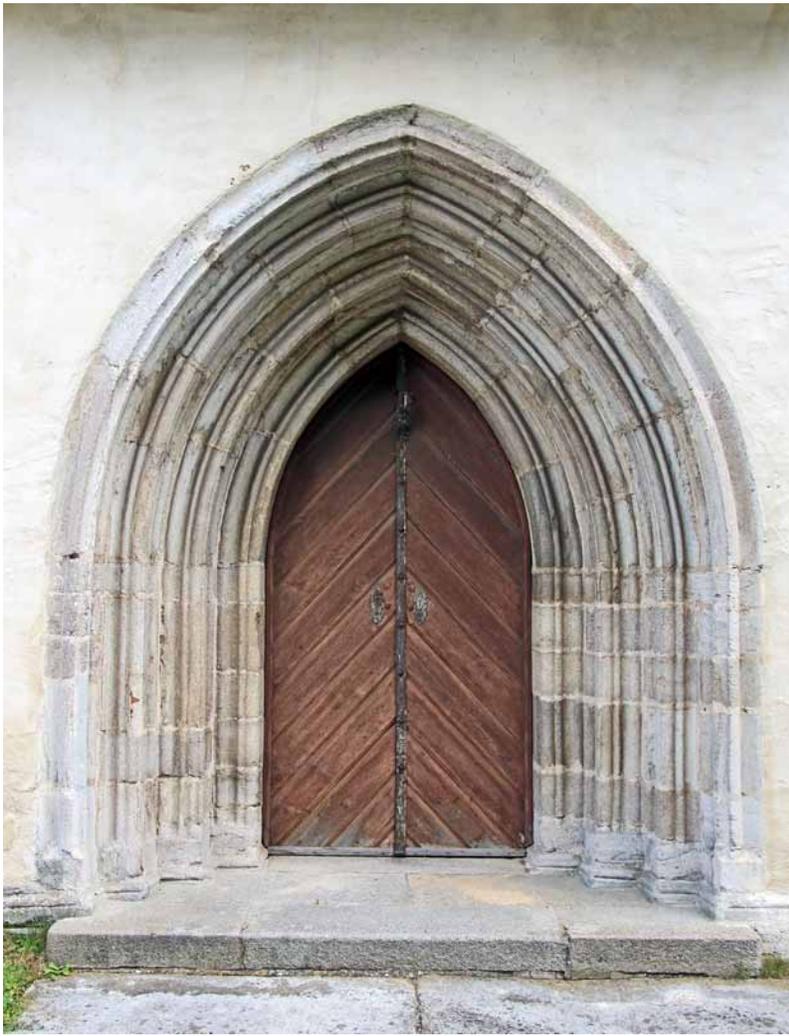
**Figure 14** Wroclaw Cathedral, Poland, window jambs of the north tower, ca. 1305–20 (author's photo).

the most important and influential works of Upper Rhenish architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

The simultaneous occurrence of the wave molding at Famagusta and Rouffach does not seem to be a mere coincidence, for this motif had a great career in the stylistically most advanced buildings of the fourteenth century in Central Europe, stemming directly from the experience of Alsatian and Swabian architecture around the year 1300. But broad wave profiles gained considerable popularity in England from around 1280–90; Richard Morris, a leading expert on Gothic moldings, links their origins hypothetically to some French buildings of the Rayonnant style.<sup>62</sup> A broad filleted half roll occurred in the first quarter of the thirteenth century as the axial molding in the main arcades of Reims Cathedral (begun 1211), but subsequent examples in France are distinct from the broad and symmetrical waves used in England: They are usually irregular, sharp, and keel-molded, applied most likely in cusping of dados and blind tracery.<sup>63</sup>



**Figure 15** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, fragment of the south portal in the west façade, with stepped jambs and continuous moldings, ca. 1300–1330 (author's photo).

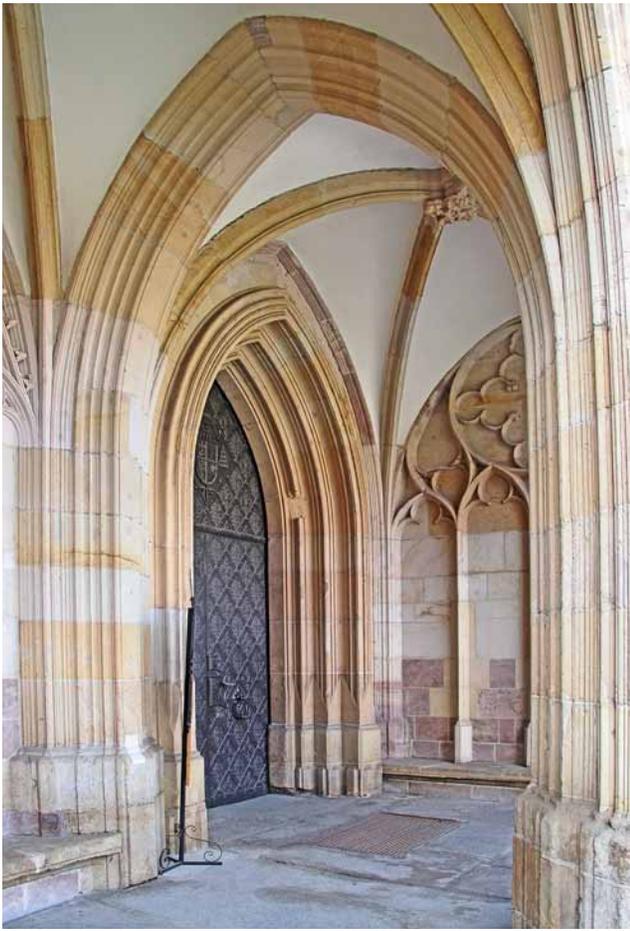


**Figure 16** Parish church of Raabs an der Thaya, Austria, west portal, ca. 1300 (author's photo).

Although wave moldings were becoming increasingly popular in various areas of Europe around 1300, it is significant that the arcade profiles featured at Famagusta and Rouffach are, unlike the French ones, broad and strictly symmetrical, and used on a large scale in a major part of the building. Admittedly, in view of the uncertain dating of the beginning of the works at Rouffach, it is impossible to prove a direct link between the two structures; this question must remain open. Other architectural links between the Cypriot cathedral and the Upper Rhineland tempt one to consider this origin for the wave moldings at Famagusta. Theoretically, this profile type might have come from architectural experiments in the lodge of Strasbourg Cathedral, directed from ca. 1280 by Erwin von Steinbach. Thick filleted rolls were one of the architectural “themes” undertaken by this master mason, found in the early phases of the Strasbourg west façade: They were introduced into the molding of the great arcade separating the central nave from the entrance bay and in the arches of the arcades separating this bay from the interior of the ground floors of the towers (Figure 20).

Pear-shaped forms remained a key design device of the masters operating in the Strasbourg lodge for most of the fourteenth century. The two-bay St. Catherine’s Chapel at the south aisle, designed by master Gerlach in the 1340s, is an example.<sup>64</sup> Its interior is articulated exclusively with multiplied pear-shaped elements, some of which (especially those directly touching the wall) are clearly flattened and stretched.

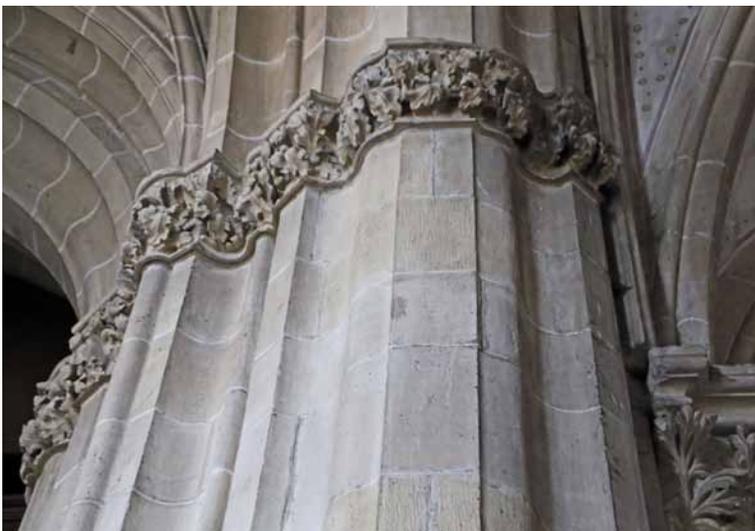
The wave molding was adopted most likely from Upper Rhenish buildings by Matthias of Arras, who was brought from Avignon to Bohemia in 1344 on the initiative of Charles IV of Luxembourg to build the choir of Prague Cathedral; before that, he made his architectural apprenticeship both in Languedoc and (likely) Alsace.<sup>65</sup> This motif was strongly emphasized by the architect, as the chevet piers and the arches connecting them were shaped from segments of precisely this cross section, strongly recalling the tower piers at Rouffach. Identical molding was used around 1350–60 in a dozen important buildings in Bohemia and Upper Palatinate (located in Prague, Sázava, Skalice, Litomyšl, Šternberk, Vetlá, Oybin, and Lauf),



**Figure 17** Wrocław Cathedral, Poland, north porch of the nave, ca. 1350 (author's photo).



**Figure 18** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, upper part of a half pier between the north and central apses, with stretched pear-shaped profile, ca. 1300–1310 (author's photo).



**Figure 19** Parish church of Rouffach, France, upper part of a tower pier, ca. 1300–1310 (author's photo).



**Figure 20** Strasbourg Cathedral, France, arcade arch between the entrance bay and the north tower, with pear-shaped moldings, ca. 1290 (author's photo).



**Figure 21** Famagusta Cathedral, Cyprus, portal zone of the west façade, ca. 1300–1330 (author’s photo).

often erected under royal patronage, as well as in the great parish church at Strzegom (begun around 1350), one of the most important works of Gothic architecture in Silesia, likely sponsored by Duchess Agnes of Habsburg.<sup>66</sup> According to Richard Němec, the stretched pear-shaped profiles belonged to the official “Imperial style” of Charles IV; they were deliberately promoted in his prestigious architectural foundations and adopted by other building sponsors who appealed to the ruler’s majesty.<sup>67</sup> Famagusta Cathedral provides an early and pronounced example of the use of the symmetrical wave molding, which was still drawing the attention of the most skilled master masons from France and the Holy Roman Empire even several decades later, in the 1360s. The Upper Rhenish origin of this motif at Famagusta, although not conclusively proven, seems very likely.

### Famagusta and France

As to the two-towered and three-portal west front of the cathedral in Famagusta, we are fully justified to look for its origins in French architecture, where countless examples of harmonic façades of this type can be found; this clearly cannot be said of the architecture of the Holy Roman Empire.

This connection is demonstrated, above all, by the presence in Famagusta of a combination of three characteristic solutions: (1) three unusually deep portals with large gables, which are set close to one another and project forward beyond the actual face of the façade; (2) the blocky and at the same time planar treatment of the individual parts of the elevation; and (3) square ground plans for the upper stories of the towers, which are of openwork structure (Figure 21). Examples of this façade type in France could be multiplied, starting with the west front of Laon Cathedral (ca. 1200), whereas there is not a single comparable edifice in Germany. Enlart strongly emphasized the model role of the Reims façade for Famagusta, an argument justified primarily by the idea of replacing carved tympana with openwork tracery, which is shared by both buildings; beyond that, the similarity of these structures is merely typological.<sup>68</sup>

The Famagusta façade inevitably represents a much later variant of the Rayonnant style. The graphic separation of the portals and upper bays of the façade by means of angled projections in the masonry that form the bases for pinnacles has its origin in the transept façades (under construction from ca. 1258) and the unified elevations of the ambulatory chapels (around 1300) of the cathedral in Paris, from which

the motif spread throughout Central Europe.<sup>69</sup> For the blind tracery present in the side gables of the portal zone, which are decorated with a rotating arrangement of spherical triangles with trilobes inside, Olympios finds a convincing prototype in the analogous elements of the splendid *Portail des Libraires* in the north transept arm of the Rouen Cathedral (ca. 1281–1300).<sup>70</sup> These motifs did not necessarily come to Famagusta via Cologne, as Olympios assumes, for we do not encounter them there. Finally, it can be argued that, despite all the obvious differences, a good counterpart to the type and style of the Cypriot façade is the lower part of the west front of Lyon Cathedral (from the period of Archbishop Pierre de Savoie, 1308–32), as may be indicated by their similar structures, with the protruding portal part, and by the comparable combination of a planar elevation with the graphic shaping of all architectural segments (Figure 22).<sup>71</sup> Even without a direct genetic link between the two buildings, the façade of Famagusta has stylistic parallels exclusively in France, where many other architectural features of the church originated. One should not overlook the importance of the great façade projects of Strasbourg and Cologne, both referring, in general terms, to French models. But the openwork tracery screens placed in front of the solid walls of these German tower blocks have little in common with the type of façade realized in Famagusta.

French sources for the cathedral's architecture are not limited to its west front. Perhaps the most peculiar solution in the Famagusta choir is the clear division of the central apse into two stories with separate windows (containing tracery of Rhenish origin, in this case). Such a composition derives from early Gothic churches in France, in which apses (not surrounded by an ambulatory) are provided with a triforium, continuing the divisions of the rest of the interior, and thus forcing the separation of the apse windows into two zones (as in the transept of Noyon Cathedral or the churches at Braine, Essômes-sur-Marne, Saint-Léger in Soissons, or Notre-Dame in Dijon). There are also early Gothic churches in which the apse has two tiers of windows without a triforium (as in Voulton, Larchant, Mons-en-Laonnois, and many other places). Evidently, such a solution was widely accepted in France, perhaps evoking visual associations with more grandiose ambulatory choirs, while in Germany it appears only as an exception, and only in buildings raised strictly according to French models (as in *Liebfrauenkirche* in Trier, St. Elisabeth's Church in Marburg, and Regensburg Cathedral, the eastern part of which is modeled after Saint-Urbain in Troyes).<sup>72</sup> Significantly, multistory window arrangements in polygonal apses remained popular in France until at least the first half of the fourteenth century—that is, within the framework of the mature and late

Rayonnant style. Diverse variants of this solution were used: with two rows of windows separated by a glazed triforium (as at Saint-Sulpice-de-Favières and Saint-Amand-sur-Fion), with a glazed triforium (or false triforium, without a passageway in the walls) at the bottom and proper windows at the top (as at Saint-Urbain in Troyes, Mussy-sur-Seine, and Saint-Thibault-en-Auxois), or with unified high windows, but with their clear division into two zones by means of a thick transom (as at Saint-Martin-aux-Bois). If the architect employed at Famagusta had operated solely on Upper and Lower Rhenish patterns, he would have been unlikely to introduce separate window stories in the choir termination; Olympios himself notes that apses with tall windows starting just above the dado wall were favored in German countries, the model for which was provided by the choir of the cathedral at Toul in Lorraine, under construction since 1221.<sup>73</sup> The corbeled passageway on the outside of the apse in Famagusta seems to be a way to exploit an opportunity arising from the division of the windows into two tiers, not a reason for such a division.

Finally, it should be noted that the interior of Famagusta Cathedral, in contrast to the rich decoration of the exterior elevations, is characterized by a restrained though elegant architecture, as attested by the smooth shafts of the piers and parts of the plain wall above the arcades and around clerestory windows, and by the use of smooth capitals, devoid of typical foliate decoration. Such a sober style gained considerable popularity in the late thirteenth century both in France (especially in Burgundy and Champagne, as well as in the south) and in the southern Germanic lands (Alsace, Swabia, Franconia, Austria) and Bohemia, most notably in monastic buildings.<sup>74</sup> Among those, the churches of the Benedictines of Saint-Germain in Auxerre (construction begun in 1277, works resumed around 1300) and the Cistercians in Valmagne near Montpellier (under construction from the 1270s at the earliest) are distinguished inside by substantial planes of smooth masonry and by single and triple cylindrical responds with smooth capitals that closely resemble those of Famagusta.<sup>75</sup> German buildings of comparable interior designs were usually articulated with wall responds of polygonal or pear-shaped profile, a feature that is absent at Famagusta. Particularly symptomatic in this context is the example of the great Dominican basilica at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume in Provence, founded by King of Naples Charles II of Anjou in 1295 (choir consecrated in 1316, eastern half of the church completed in the 1330s).<sup>76</sup> Like the Cypriot cathedral, it is an aisled basilica with no transept, terminating in three apses, the central of which has two rows of windows without a triforium; the vaults rest on triads of roll shafts with plain capitals, and the octagonal piers have plain cores

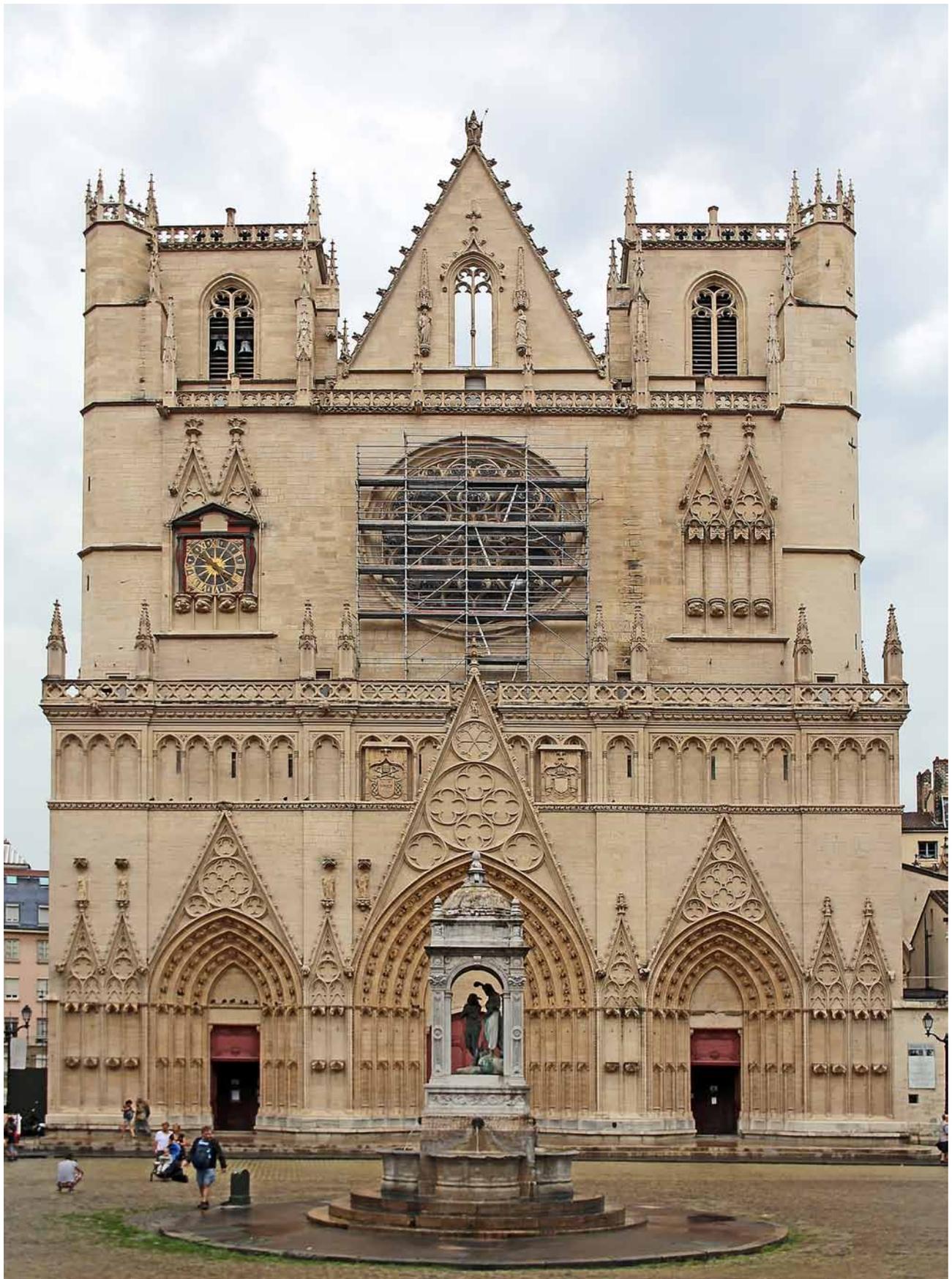
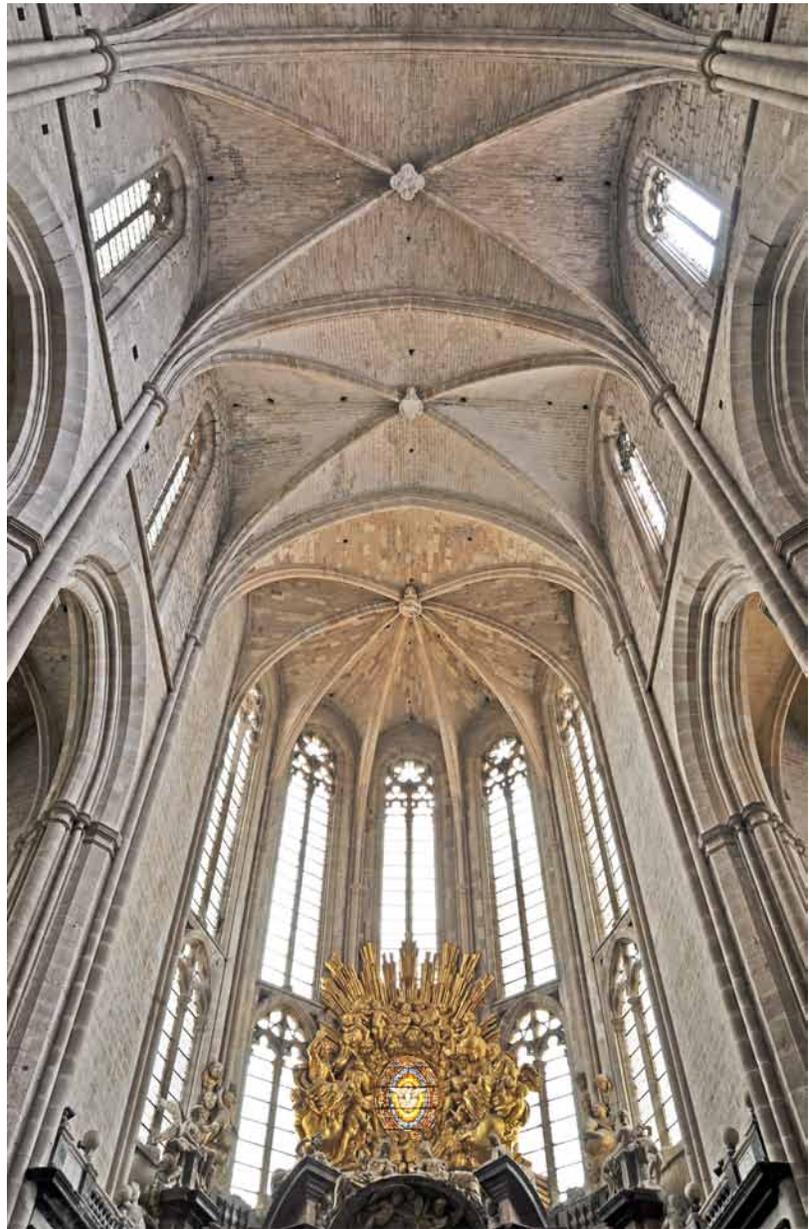


Figure 22 Lyon Cathedral, France, west façade, lower part 1308–22 (author's photo).



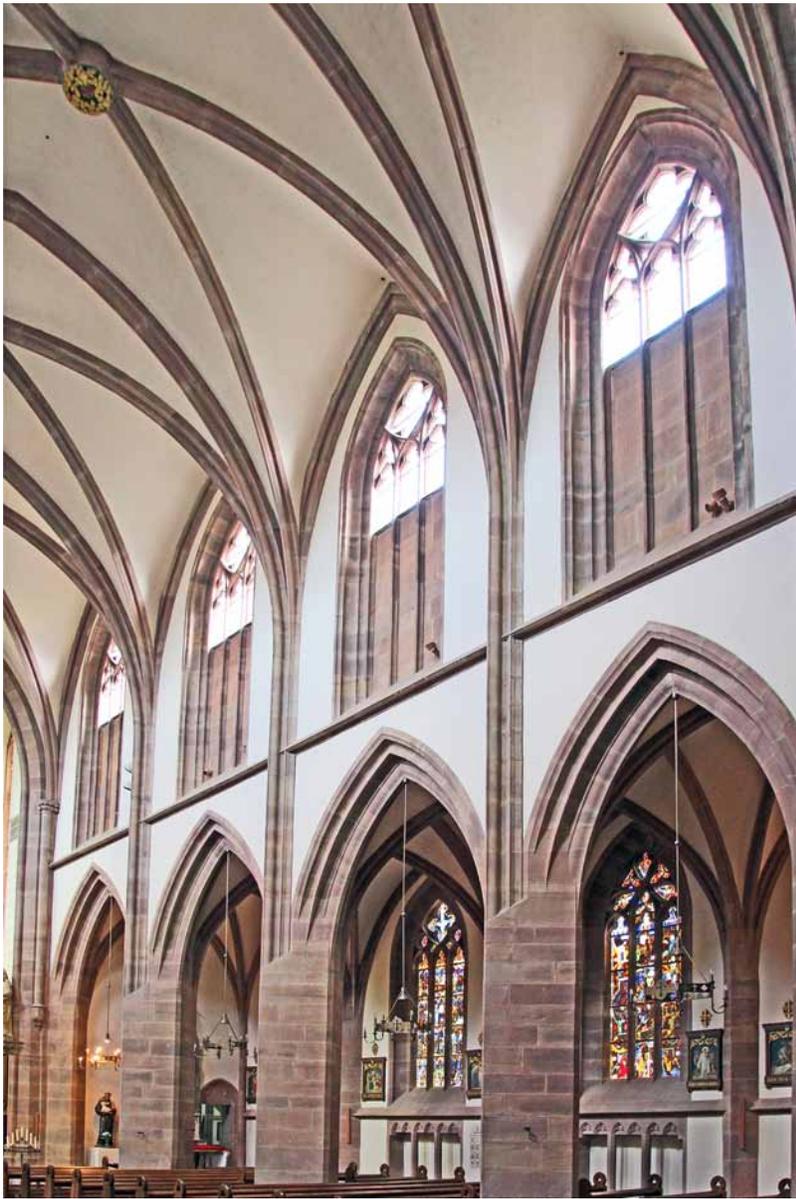
**Figure 23** Basilica of St. Mary Magdalene, Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, Provence, upper part of the choir apse, 1295–1316 (author’s photo).

(Figure 23). The two buildings are admittedly quite different in their proportions, but they are similar in their restrained albeit elegant style, with preference for bulky and plain architectural members. Since these edifices were under construction simultaneously, they could not easily have been modeled on each other. Yet it is suggestive that the interior of Famagusta Cathedral is closer in its general appearance to the church at Saint-Maximin than to the contemporary German buildings in the Rhineland, which are characterized by the linear sharpness of multiplied elements like vaulting shafts, tracery bars, and arcade moldings, as best exemplified by the Cistercian minster at Salem on Lake Constance (begun ca. 1285) and the collegiate church at Niederhaslach near Strasbourg (works commenced around 1300) (Figure 24).<sup>77</sup>

### **Modes of Stylistic Transfer in the Architecture ca. 1300**

The designer of Famagusta Cathedral had likely received a thorough professional education and had an excellent knowledge of architecture in the leading artistic centers of the late thirteenth century, not only in the Upper and Lower Rhineland but also in France. Research on the stylistic sources of this Cypriot building reveals that previous interpretations have been, for the most part, too restricted: The designer of the cathedral neither copied the patterns of French architecture exclusively nor drew only from the design resources of the cathedral lodge in Cologne, nor was he attached only to forms of Upper Rhenish origin.

In the study of Gothic architecture, two extreme positions have emerged regarding patterns of professional



**Figure 24** Collegiate church of Niederhaslach, France, interior of the nave, ca. 1300–1330 (author’s photo).

education and modes of distant stylistic transfer. Since the nineteenth century, it has quite commonly been assumed that young masons traveled over large areas of Europe as part of their journeyman wanderings, learning in situ forms of the most interesting buildings of their time, and then using the knowledge they gained to create their own designs in places where they managed, often by a chance, to find attractive employment. Perhaps the most famous concept of this type is the assumption, formulated by Christopher Wilson and later developed (despite initial skepticism) by Paul Crossley, that Peter Parler, prior to being hired at the age of twenty-three in 1356 as *magister operis* of the cathedral in Prague, had made a journeyman’s tour of the English West Country. It was there, in Wells, Bristol, Exeter, and Ottery St Mary, that he studied innovative buildings, thanks to which he was later able to propose new stylistic

and structural solutions in Prague, and to quote there some idiosyncratic details of the English churches, like the “swallow’s nest” type of vault boss.<sup>78</sup>

An opposing position, much more frequently adopted today, undermines the possibility of such distant journeys by apprentices while also exposing the significant role played in a master mason’s education by the study of the great stocks of architectural drawings accumulated in the leading cathedral lodges. In such a view, it seems that a journeyman had to spend at least a few months in each of several important architectural workshops (not necessarily located far away from each other) that held such design collections, but the travels themselves did not take nearly as long as formerly assumed.<sup>79</sup> Symptomatically, Jens Ruffer has recently questioned the possibility that by 1356 the young Peter Parler could have achieved anything more than a solid mastery of

the fundamentals of the architectural profession, obtained through successive levels of work in the building lodges of the Rhineland and southern Germany.<sup>80</sup> In this context, Parler's excursion to England seems questionable, in view of which it might be cautiously assumed that he owed his knowledge of buildings there to his study of English architectural drawings, likely accessible in German workshops.

A careful analysis of all types of contemporary sources leads to the conclusion that the truth can be somewhere in between. Large collections of architectural designs were indeed crucial sources of knowledge about the most interesting buildings of the time (see, for example, the great variety in the residually preserved collection of architectural drawings from the lodge of Vienna Cathedral, now housed in Vienna's Academy of Fine Arts).<sup>81</sup> However, the mobility of many master masons of the era was much greater than we might infer from what we know of the sheer difficulty of traveling in the Middle Ages; moreover, it was not limited to the journeyman period. A surviving construction contract from 1253, concluded by the cathedral chapter of Meaux in Île-de-France with master mason Gauthier de Varinfroy, allowed him to stay up to two months a year at Évreux in Normandy, where he was also in charge of building the cathedral. This meant that each year he had to travel at least between the two cities, some 100 miles apart.<sup>82</sup> In this context, it is most telling that Henri de Mondeville, court physician of Louis X and Philip IV and author of the treatise "La chirurgie," begun in 1306, compared the representatives of his profession to master masons, who walk the streets of Paris from one construction site to another, every day, even on Sundays, to survey the newly erected structures and learn from an analysis of their designs.<sup>83</sup> Finally, one should bear in mind the cases documented in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, when masters hired to design large churches were sent on journeys at the founders' expense to see specific buildings that were to provide the necessary design inspiration—as for the church of St. Waltrude in Mons, initiated by the local canonesses in 1449–50.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps such trips had been customary for several centuries already. Besides, the patron's wishes, formulated either very generally or in detail, with specific patterns indicated, played an important role in the formulation of the architectural program of any given building.

Who took care of the drawings in cathedral lodges in practice and under what conditions journeymen could access such collections—those questions generally remain open.<sup>85</sup> It would be interesting to know the time balance among manual labor, travel, and learning from drawings in the formation of master masons-in-training, but there are no sources whatsoever for the period around 1300 that shed light on these matters. What is certain, however, is that the apprentices must have had the opportunity to study and

copy architectural drawings, because in the absence of a tradition of writing about architecture in the Middle Ages, this was the only way for them to acquire the necessary artistic education, which, next to the engineering competencies, formed the fundament of the architectural profession.<sup>86</sup> It suffices at this point to recall the most famous, though still rather mysterious, source: the portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt, which contains sketches of molding templates, patterns of tracery, and schemes of ashlar cutting, as well as ground plans of entire buildings or their parts.<sup>87</sup> Robert Bork has demonstrated that Villard had access to the designs of Laon Cathedral, as his rendering of the ground plan of the church's towers is clearly based on a precisely executed design drawing.<sup>88</sup> While we still do not know how Villard's portfolio was created, what its practical purpose was, or how it was used by his successors, surely such sketchbooks must have been one of the most important means of recording and transmitting architectural ideas in the late Middle Ages, especially since finished design drawings were only rarely allowed to leave the lodges in which they were created (such cases did occur in fifteenth-century Germany, however, as attested by loans approved by city councils and testament legacies of architects).<sup>89</sup> It is also likely that master masons created their own collections of molding templates, certainly made of lightweight materials (such as board, parchment, or even canvas) and therefore easy to transport. In the end, such templates became, along with the compass, one of the symbols of the architectural profession. This is brilliantly demonstrated in a portrait of an anonymous architect attributed to Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1500–1559), now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. In the background of the painting, behind the architect's left shoulder, two molding templates are prominently displayed, nailed together to a wall; one is made of board and the other appears to be made of parchment or paper.<sup>90</sup>

Finally, it should not be forgotten that builders have almost always undertaken long-distance travels, often overseas—as did the master of Famagusta Cathedral—and these expeditions conditioned the far-reaching transfers of forms in the history of architecture. The second half of the thirteenth century, however, brought a significant change: the professionalization of designing architects as a kind of esteemed "working class."<sup>91</sup> At the least, the most talented of them became highly specialized engineers, greatly individualized also in developing the artistic aspects of their work.<sup>92</sup> For this reason, their services were highly valued, and they themselves were sought after by wealthy commissioners, often from distant lands; this in turn contributed to the widespread reception of the Rayonnant style throughout Europe (and even beyond), in its different regional variations. In this context, it is useful to keep in mind the importance of waterways, especially rivers, which served

as “transmission belts” for the cultural patterns of the era, including in architecture; water transport was the cheapest and fastest means of communication at the time.<sup>93</sup> This is exemplified by rivers such as the Rhine and the Rhône, which played a key role in architectural development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in the beginnings of the late Gothic style in Central Europe.<sup>94</sup> The removal of the papacy to Avignon, which started with the election of Clement V in 1305, became one of the main factors influencing the transfer of inventive architectural forms from the building sites of the cathedrals of Languedoc, Auvergne, and Limousin to the Holy Roman Empire, and rivers greatly facilitated this transfer. Frequent trips by German, Austrian, Bohemian, and Polish rulers, magnates, and church hierarchs to the Provençal seat of the Roman Curia—which led them through the Danube and Rhine, the Lake Constance area, the borderland between Burgundy and Savoy, and the Rhône Valley—certainly were a decisive factor in the development of late Gothic architecture in Europe.<sup>95</sup>

### **Famagusta Cathedral in the Context of European Architecture Around 1300**

What about the anonymous master of the cathedral in Famagusta, located hundreds of miles away from the places where he received his architectural education? Evidence favors predominantly Rhenish training; it seems likely that he had access to the cathedral lodges in Cologne and Strasbourg, but that he drew his knowledge of current architectural development from France just as extensively. The lodges of both Rhenish cathedrals must have possessed large collections of design drawings of French buildings.<sup>96</sup> Such drawings would have been a crucial source of inspiration for the master later employed at Famagusta, but one is tempted to assume that he may have become directly acquainted with at least a few important French churches, likely in Burgundy, Champagne, and/or Île-de-France—after all, Cologne and Paris are only 280 miles apart, and around 1300 the two cities shared very close contacts in all areas of artistic creation.<sup>97</sup>

While it may seem irrelevant to debate the ethnicity of the master mason, with no preserved written sources, there are indications that he may have originated from the westernmost regions of the empire, such as Alsace or Lower Rhineland, which were always natural “melting pots” of French and German culture. It is easily imaginable that the master of Famagusta Cathedral spoke both German and French; his presumed linguistic skills, as well as the fact that he was evidently familiar with German and French buildings, may have led to his hiring by clients from the Frankish Kingdom of Cyprus. The French inscription carved on a

buttress of the cathedral indicates the state of construction in 1311 in a language certainly spoken by the church’s principals and, presumably, the designing master mason (regardless of his actual ethnic origin). His professional career recalls the slightly later case of Matthias of Arras.<sup>98</sup>

The designer-to-be of the cathedral in Famagusta may have arrived with his own pattern book full of architectural drawings and molding templates, but he undoubtedly designed the church while in Cyprus. Stylistic analysis shows that he incorporated local early thirteenth-century motifs like those in the interior of the metropolitan cathedral in Nicosia and imitated the west portals of this church; otherwise, he mainly used recent models from the Rhineland and France, perfectly combined into a unified design. We can identify sources for all these motifs, but in the eyes of contemporaries, Famagusta Cathedral must have seemed a coherent modern whole—not only in comparison with the mostly early Gothic architecture of its counterpart in Nicosia but also in relation to the entire building culture of the crusaders in the Levant and its local Cypriot offshoots.

Nicola Coldstream and Michalis Olympios have identified the commissioners of Famagusta Cathedral as Bishops Guy of Trento and Baudouin Lambert, even if the project was strongly supported by King Henry II.<sup>99</sup> It would be satisfying to know where, how, and under what conditions the sponsors of this building acquired a master with such great expertise and comprehensive training. The romantic vision of wandering architects seeking employment in remote parts of the world must be retired, given the certain role of intermediaries.<sup>100</sup>

The choir of the Gothic cathedral in Kraków, the capital of medieval Poland, dating from 1320–46, is one of the finest works of the Upper Rhenish stylistic trend in this part of Europe (Figure 25). It was designed by an anonymous master, who must have come from the area between Strasbourg and Lake Constance; no building erected in this part of Poland before 1320 indicates earlier work by this architect in the region.<sup>101</sup> Kraków Cathedral is distinguished by a rather archaic ground plan combined with a rectangular ambulatory, modeled directly on the High Gothic choir of the cathedral of Wrocław in Silesia (1244–72), with the most advanced, sharp, and linear style from Alsace and Swabia. How could a master from this artistic milieu find his way to a distant Slavic capital on the east borders of the Latin world and win such a prestigious architectural commission there? Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, construction of the nave of Wrocław Cathedral (which was added to the High Gothic choir) was under way, and the work there was directed by a master builder recruited from Alsace or Swabia. Given close ties between the two Polish episcopal capitals, which belonged to the same ecclesiastical metropolis seated at Gniezno, it seems that the Kraków cathedral



**Figure 25** Kraków Cathedral, Poland, interior of the choir, 1320–46 (author’s photo).

chapter headed by Bishop Nanker used ecclesiastical contacts in Wrocław to recruit a master mason who could erect a cathedral in the fashionable Upper Rhenish style dominant in Central European architecture in 1320.<sup>102</sup> Alternatively, the master of Wrocław Cathedral could have, at the request of the Wrocław and/or Kraków chapters, used his contacts in the land of his origin to find a suitable builder for the Kraków choir. We can conjecture that this is how networks of artistic contacts were formed in the late Middle Ages, based on defined groups of actors: wealthy commissioners, ecclesiastical institutions with their own administrative networks, and designing architects, who were already forming a clearly distinguished professional group.

Finally, one may wonder why so many motifs taken from Rhenish architecture are present in the design of Famagusta Cathedral, despite the lack of political or ecclesiastical ties

of the building’s principals to cultural centers in the Holy Roman Empire, as Olympios has emphasized.<sup>103</sup> Why was a master mason from the western part of the empire employed in Famagusta? Perhaps the most significant characteristic features of the modern (mostly Upper) Rhenish style of church architecture at the beginning of the fourteenth century were, first, its design flexibility—that is to say, its adaptability to buildings that reflected differing architectural aspirations and degrees of lavishness and formal complexity—and second, its highly innovative character. Although France had not yet lost its importance as a leading architectural center during this period (see the distinctly French character of Famagusta’s west front), the lodge of Strasbourg Cathedral had already become the most innovative “laboratory” for the development of church construction, drawing on the achievements of French masters and successfully experimenting with new solutions in the 1270s. The work of the master at Famagusta, who most likely came from this innovative artistic center, testifies eloquently to the cathedral’s commissioners; admittedly, nothing about their aesthetic preferences is revealed in the residually preserved written sources, but the church’s forms testify to their understanding of new trends in architecture.

Peter Kurmann has expressed how the stylistic pluralism that so strongly marked architecture around 1300 manifested itself in extremely varied constructions, with “compact, block-like buildings, their interiors enclosed by nonarticulated walls but illuminated by windows having an extremely sophisticated composition of traceries,” being raised “next to delicate stone skeletal structures, whose outer walls were replaced by mullions of traceries filled with glass.”<sup>104</sup> Common ground for these diverse creations of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was, of course, the repertoire of forms characteristic of the late Rayonnant style, originating in France and ingeniously modified in the German lodges. The international success of this style was conditioned by its receptiveness to design modifications, including reductions (eliciting more restrained architecture), hybridizations, and combinations with local traditions and formal habits.<sup>105</sup> The style conformed easily to the different scales, functions, and degrees of architectural lavishness needed for cathedrals, collegiate and abbey churches, castle oratories, and parish or mendicant churches.

Exact, wholesale repetitions of specific building designs are, in general, not encountered in this period, so it is only thanks to detailed stylistic analysis that we can trace the precise origins of a given design.<sup>106</sup> This means that in a given project, the decorative layer of Rhenish design, consisting of all kinds of architectural details, did not require that the organization of the ground plan and the shaping of the interior also be Rhenish. The cathedral of Famagusta

(and its Polish counterparts in Wrocław and Kraków) fits perfectly into this interpretation.

It may have been the wide range of architectural designs available to the master at Famagusta that made him attractive to his prospective patrons. As a result, the cathedral, although built in the easternmost Mediterranean, fully represents the experience of master builders from France and the Holy Roman Empire around the year 1300. It is also a symbol of the stylistic pluralism evident in the architecture of the time, consisting in a conscious and imaginative oscillation between the great tradition of French art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the innovative achievements of the building workshops active on the Rhine, Neckar, and Danube, which opened up new perspectives of stylistic development.

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## Abstract

This article is devoted to a stylistic analysis of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta, Cyprus, known as Famagusta Cathedral (now the Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque), begun around 1300. The special relevance of the cathedral comes from the fact that it owes its shape to masters well acquainted with the buildings of both France and Germany, and thus it demonstrates the complex and at the same time ambiguous stylistic character of the architecture around the year 1300. This study goes beyond purely formal analysis of the church, however: The case of Famagusta Cathedral and its anonymous designer provides a starting point for a discussion of the modes of long-distance transfer of architectural forms in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which in turn are inextricably linked to the question of the education and career patterns of master masons and to the ways in which they were employed by clients from distant countries.

**Keywords:** Gothic architecture; church architecture; Rayonnant style; Cyprus; Famagusta; Rhineland; France; stylistic transfer

## Notes

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334–453; Robert Branner, *St Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: Zwemmer, 1965); Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral. The Architecture of the Great Church 1130–1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 91–188.

3. See Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić, eds., *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

4. On the English masters, see, among others, Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250–1350* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979); Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240–1360* (London: British Museum Press, 1994); Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290–1350* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014); John Munns, ed., *Decorated Revisited: English Architectural Style in Context, 1250–1400* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). On the historiographic notion of the late Gothic style and its architectural manifestations, see the recent groundbreaking survey by Robert Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture: Its Evolution, Extinction, and Reception* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). See also Alice Isabella Sullivan and Kyle G. Sweeney, “Introduction,” in *Lateness and Modernity in Medieval Architecture*, ed. Alice Isabella Sullivan and Kyle G. Sweeney (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 1–35. On the work of Peter Parler, see especially Marc Carel Schurr, *Die Baukunst Peter Parlers: Der Prager Veitsdom, das Heiligkreuzmünster in Schwäbisch Gmünd und die Bartholomäuskirche zu Kolín im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und Geschichte* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); Richard Strobel, Annette Siefert, and Klaus Jürgen Herrmann, eds., *Parlerbauten: Architektur, Skulptur, Restaurierung: Internationales Parler-Symposium Schwäbisch Gmünd 17.–19. Juli 2001* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2004).

5. Peter Kurmann, “Spätgotischen Tendenzen in der europäischen Architektur um 1300,” in *Europäische Kunst um 1300: Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4.–10. September 1983*, vol. 6, ed. Hermann Fillitz and Martina Pippal (Vienna: Böhlau, 1986), 11–18, my translation. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. See also Jakub Adamski, “The Development of Western and Central European Gothic Architecture Around 1300 and Its Modern Historiography,” in Sullivan and Sweeney, *Lateness and Modernity*, 186–94.

6. Among others, see Peter Kurmann, “Niederhaslach, la nef de l'église Saint-Florent, 'nec plus ultra' du modernisme autour de 1300,” *Congrès Archéologique de France* 162 (2006), 79–89; Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, “Architektur und Glasmalerei um 1300: Die Wende zur Moderne im Langhaus der Zisterzienserkirche von Kappel bei Zürich,” in *Luft unter die Flügel . . .: Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Kunst; Festschrift für Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen*, ed. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Dagmar Täube (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 136–52; Christoph Brachmann, *Um 1300: Vorparlerische Architektur im Elsaß, in Lotbringen und Südwestdeutschland* (Korb: Didymos, 2008).

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13. Among others, see Philippe Plagnieux, “Les débuts de l’architecture flamboyante dans le milieu parisien,” in *La France et les arts en 1400: Les princes des fleurs de lys*, ed. Sophie Laporte and Françoise Autrand (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2004), 83–95; Jakub Adamski, “The von der Heyde Chapel at Legnica in Silesia and the Early Phase of Style Flamboyant,” *Gesta* 58, no. 2 (Fall 2019), 183–205; Stéphanie Diane Daussy, ed., *L’architecture flamboyante en France: Autour de Roland Sanfaçon* (Villeneuve-d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, 2020).

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15. Michalis Olympios, *Building the Sacred in a Crusader Kingdom: Gothic Church Architecture in Lusignan Cyprus, c. 1209–c. 1373* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 190–205. Olympios provides a complete bibliography of the earlier literature on Famagusta Cathedral.

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17. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 12–13.

18. Among others, see Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, 4 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1925–28); Paul Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1964); Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–2009); Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London: Routledge, 1999). For a recent discussion of how local architecture was shaped by the Byzantine tradition, see Thomas Kaffenberger, *Tradition and Identity:*

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22. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 37–73, 105–62.

23. For more on Enlart’s mission to Cyprus, see Nicola Coldstream, “Camille Enlart and the Gothic Architecture of Cyprus,” in Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 1–10; Coldstream, “Famagusta Cathedral,” 63–67.

24. Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 222–45.

25. Dehio and von Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst*, 438. Compare Plagnieux and Soulard, “Famagouste,” 218–37.

26. Coldstream, “Camille Enlart,” 9; Coldstream, “Famagusta Cathedral,” 67–70.

27. Franke, “St Nicholas in Famagusta,” 83–91; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 190–205.

28. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 204–5.

29. See Zehra Çağnan and Michael J. K. Walsh, “‘A Silent Witness’: Seismic Activity and the Structural Integrity of Saint Nicholas’ Cathedral, Famagusta, Cyprus—Some Recent Investigations,” in *City of Empires: Ottoman and British Famagusta*, ed. Michael J. K. Walsh (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015), 328–37.

30. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 195.

31. The church was to be erected “eleganti opere ac plurimum sumptuoso”; quoted in Olympios, 340. See also Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1313–1378* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2010), 163.

32. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 190.

33. Thierry Soulard, “Les ordres mendiants à Famagouste: Une référence spirituelle et architecturale,” in Walsh et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, 130.

34. Franke, “St Nicholas in Famagusta,” 76–78; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 190–91. The cathedral chapter of Tortosa (Tartus) in Syria was transferred to Famagusta after the loss of the former city in 1291, and in 1295 it merged with the Cypriot chapter, to serve “the see of Famagusta and Tortosa.”

35. “LAN · DE · M · E · TROI · CENS · ET · XI · / D · CHRIST · A · IIII · JORS · DAoust · FU · / DESPENDUE · LAMONEE · ORDENE · E · POR · LELABOUR · D · LIGLISE · D · FAM / AG · E · COMESA · ELABOUR · LEVESQ · / BAUDUIN · LE · DIT · AN · LEPRE / MIER · JOR · D · SEPTEMBRE · DO / U · QUEL · LABOUR · VI · VOTES · D · / DEUS · HELES · ESTOIENT · FAIT[ES · E ·] / X · VOTES · DES · HELES · AVE · VIII · VOTS · D · / LA · NAVE · D · / LIGLISE · E · STOIT · A · FA · IRE.” Quoted in Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 227; Franke, “St Nicholas in Famagusta,” 76.

36. Franke, “St Nicholas in Famagusta,” 80.

37. Plagnieux and Soulard, “Famagouste,” 223, 237; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 191.

38. See Coldstream, “Famagusta Cathedral,” 64–68.

39. On the architectural drawings of the period, see, among others, Johann Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik: Bestandskatalog der weltgrößten Sammlung an gotischen Baurissen* (Salzburg: Pustet, 2005); Johann Josef Böker, Anne

- Christine Brehm, Julian Hanschke, and Jean-Sebastien Sauvé, *Architektur der Gotik: Ulm und Donauraum* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2011); *Rheinlande: Ein Bestandskatalog der mittelalterlichen Architekturzeichnungen mit einem Beitrag von Peter Völke über die Zeichentechnik der Gotik* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2013); Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
40. Coldstream, "Famagusta Cathedral," 69; Franke, "St Nicholas in Famagusta," 85–86; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 198–200.
41. See Peter Kurmann, "Architektur der Spätgotik in Frankreich und den Niederlanden," in *Gotik: Architektur–Skulptur–Malerei*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne: Ullmann & Könemann 2007), 178–81; Merlijn Hurx, *Architecture as Profession: The Origins of Architectural Practice in the Low Countries in the Fifteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).
42. Franke, "St Nicholas in Famagusta," 87; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 204.
43. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 37–73.
44. Olympios, 308–15.
45. Coldstream, "Camille Enlart," 9; Franke, "St Nicholas in Famagusta," 87–91; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 200–205.
46. See Bork, *Geometry of Creation*, 100–102; Robert Bork, review of *Michael von Savoyen und der Fassadenriss des Kölner Doms*, by Johann Josef Böker (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018), *JSAH* 78, no. 3 (Sept. 2019), 350–52. For Steinmann's argument, see Marc Steinmann, *Die Westfassade des Kölner Domes: Der mittelalterliche Fassadenplan F* (Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 2003); see also Bork, *Geometry of Creation*, 97–126.
47. Böker et al., *Architektur der Gotik*, 325–53; Johann Josef Böker, *Michael von Savoyen und der Fassadenriss des Kölner Doms* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018).
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49. See Steinmann, *Die Westfassade des Kölner Domes*, 58–59.
50. See Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 204–5.
51. See Coldstream, "Camille Enlart," 9; Coldstream, "Famagusta Cathedral," 68–69.
52. See Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 202–3.
53. See Ute Engel, "Raffinement und Reduktion: Nach den Querhausfassaden von Notre-Dame in Paris," in *Kunstgeschichte(n): Festschrift für Stephan Albrecht*, ed. Katharina Christa Schüppel and Magdalena Tebel (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2023), 64–70.
54. See Marc Carel Schurr, *Gotische Architektur im mittleren Europa 1220–1340: Von Metz bis Wien* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 220–46; Adamski, "Über den Anteil Schlesiens und Kleinpolens," 155–56.
55. See Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 105–62.
56. See the essays collected in Colum Hourihane, ed., *Patronage: Power and Agency in Medieval Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).
57. See Jakub Adamski and Thomas Flum, "Die Paulusportale in Striegau und Wien: Historischer und kunstgeschichtlicher Kontext einer Variation," in *St. Stephan in Wien: Die "Herzogswerkstatt"*, ed. Barbara Schedl and Franz Zehetner (Vienna: Böhlau, 2022), 223–35; Jakub Adamski, *Die gotische Kirchenbaukunst in Schlesien 1200–1420* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2024); Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner, *Die Elisabethkirche zu Marburg und ihre Künstlerische Nachfolge*, vol. 1, *Die Architektur* (Marburg an der Lahn: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Marburg an der Lahn, 1924), 268–72; Schurr, *Gotische Architektur*, 329; Brachmann, *Um 1300*, 111–12; Günther Brucher, *Gotische Baukunst in Österreich* (Salzburg: Residenz-Verlag, 1990), 64; Günther Brucher, "Architektur von 1300 bis 1430," in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 2, *Gotik*, ed. Günther Brucher (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 279–81.
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59. For the section drawing, see Olympios, 417, plate 19.
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65. See especially Yves Gallet, "Matthieu d'Arras et l'Alsace: Les relations architecturales entre les cathédrales de Strasbourg et Prague avant Peter Parler," *Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 30 (2012), 19–40; Christian Freigang, "Matthias von Arras, erster Baumeister der Kathedrale von Prag im Lichte neuer Forschungen," in *Kaiser Karl IV: Die böhmischen Länder und Europa; Internationale Konferenz aus Anlass des Jubiläums der Geburt Karls IV*, ed. Daniela Bělinová Břizová (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2017), 161–74.
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67. Richard Němec, *Architektur–Herrschaft–Land: Die Residenzen Karls IV. in Prag und den Ländern der Böhmisches Krone* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2015), 117–34.
68. See Enlart, *Gothic Art*, 50–51.
69. On this motif, see Peter Kurmann, "Prag, Straßburg oder Orléans? Zur Frage nach Übertragungsmodalitäten formaler Motive in der Bauhüttenpraxis des Spätmittelalters an einem Beispiel vom Berner Münster," in *Pierre, lumière, couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, ed. Fabienne Joubert and Dany Sandron (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 395–404. For recent studies of the transept portals of Notre-Dame Cathedral, with many new interpretations, see Stephan Albrecht, Stefan Breitling, and Rainer Drewello, eds., *Die Querhausportale der Kathedrale Notre-Dame in Paris. Architektur–Skulptur–Farbigkeit* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2021). See also Michael T. Davis, "Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290–1350," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (Mar. 1998), 34–66.
70. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 201. On the Rouen portals, see Markus Schlicht, *Un chantier majeur de la fin du Moyen Âge: La Cathédrale de Rouen vers 1300; Portail des Libraires, Portail de la Calende, Chapelle de la Vierge* (Caen: Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2005).
71. Nicolas Reveyron, *Chantiers lyonnais du Moyen Âge (Saint-Jean, Saint-Nizier, Saint-Paul): Archéologie et histoire d'art* (Lyon: ALPARA, 2005), 71; Kurmann, "Architektur der Spätgotik," 161.
72. See Schurr, *Gotische Architektur*, 23–37; Peter Kurmann, "Stilgeschichte der Architektur bis 1340: Der Regensburger Dom und sein Verhältnis zur französischen Rayonnant-Gotik," in *Der Dom zu Regensburg*, vol. 2, ed. Achim Hubel and Manfred Schuller (Regensburg: Anton Pustet, 2014), 93–132; Andreas Tacke and Stefan Heinz, eds., *Liebfrauen in Trier: Architektur und Ausstattung von der Gotik bis zur Gegenwart* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016).
73. Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 199.
74. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, 429–37; Gallet, "Le style rayonnant en France," 358.
75. Alexandra Gajewski, "Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Une abbatale rayonnante," *Bulletin de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments*

*Historiques de l'Yonne* 26/27 (2009/2010), 42–65; Lisa Schürenberg, *Die kirchliche Baukunst in Frankreich zwischen 1270 und 1380* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1934), 25–29; Christian Freigang, *Imitare ecclesias nobiles: Die Kathedralen von Narbonne, Toulouse und Rodez und die nordfranzösische Rayonnantgotik im Languedoc* (Worms: Werner, 1992), 323–30.

76. Schürenberg, *Die kirchliche Baukunst*, 139; Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden: Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 190–91.

77. See Ulrich Knapp, “Das Salemer Münster und die Architektur der Zisterzienser um 1300,” in *Das Zisterzienserkloster Salem im Mittelalter und seine Blüte unter Abt Ulrich II. von Seelfingen (1282–1311)*, ed. Werner Rösener and Peter Rückert (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014), 123–42; Kurmann, “Niederhaslach”; Schurr, *Gotische Architektur*, 233–35, 346–47.

78. Wilson, *Gothic Cathedral*, 224–32; Christopher Wilson, “Why Did Peter Parler Come to England?,” in *Archibuteure, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, ed. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout: Brepols), 89–109; Paul Crossley, “Peter Parler and England: A Problem Re-Visited,” in Strobel et al., *Parlerbauten*, 155–79.

79. See Kurmann, “Prag, Straßburg oder Orléans?”; Peter Kurmann, “York und Regensburg: Zum Problem der internationalen style rayonnant,” in *Regnum Bohemiae et Sacrum Romanum Imperium: Sborník k počtě Jiřího Kutbana*, ed. Jan Royt, Michaela Ottová, and Aleš Mudra (České Budějovice, Czech Republic: Halama, 2005), 197–209; Leonhard Helten, “Hallenkirchen: Drei offene Fragen,” in *Architektur als Zitat: Formen, Motive und Strategien der Vergegenwärtigung*, ed. Heiko Brandl, Andreas Ranft, and Andreas Waschbüsch (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2014), 96.

80. Jens Rüffer, “Peter Parler Baumeister und Bildhauer?,” in *Meister Ludwig – Peter Parler – Anton Pilgram: Architekt und Bildbauer? Zu einem Grundproblem der Mediävistik*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2021), 105–210.

81. See Böker, *Architektur der Gotik*.

82. Peter Kurmann and Dethard von Winterfeld, “Gautier de Varinfroy, ein ‘Denkmalpflger’ im 13. Jahrhundert,” in *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Lucius Grisebach and Konrad Renger (Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1977), 101–59; Peter Kurmann, “Gautier de Varinfroy et le problème du style personnel d’un architecte au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Les bâtisseurs des cathédrales gothiques*, ed. Roland Recht (Strasbourg: Éditions les Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, 1989), 187–94.

83. “Sunt autem similiter in artibus mechanicis tales retractores indagantes et retractantes parietes, domicilia et similia noviter jam constructa, qui multum proficiunt in eis construendis, qui diebus festalibus discurrunt per vicos et plateas civitatis intuentes opera, quae sunt nova. Et isti Parisiis vocantur operatores dominici et festivi et multotiens proficiunt edificatoribus per hunc modum.” (In the mechanical arts there are, likewise, such retractors who study and investigate walls, houses and similar newly erected edifices, who benefit much from exploring their construction. Even during public holidays they run through the streets and alleys of the city [of Paris] to examine works that are new. And those who are called “operators” by the Parisians often achieve a lot doing similar research, even during Sundays and holidays, exactly as builders.) Henri de Mondeville, “La chirurgie,” in *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville (Hermondaville) nach Berliner, Erfurter und Pariser Codices*, ed. Julius L. Pagel (Berlin: Hirschwald, 1892), 70. See also Adamski, “Development of Western and Central European Gothic Architecture,” 197–201.

84. See Klaus Jan Philipp, “Sainte-Waudru in Mons (Bergen, Hennegau): Die Planungsgeschichte einer Stiftskirche 1449–1450,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51, no. 3 (1988), 372–413; Hurx, *Archibuteure as Profession*.

85. For some basic information, see Günther Binding, *Baubetrieb im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), 198–206.

86. See Bork, *Late Gothic Architecture*.

87. For recent general surveys, see Carl F. Barnes Jr., *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt: A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Jean Wirth, *Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2015).

88. Bork, *Geometry of Creation*, 31–42.

89. See Binding, *Baubetrieb im Mittelalter*, 200–202.

90. See the painting (Gemäldegalerie cat. no. 629A) online at Bildindex der Kunst und Architektur, <https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj02558065?medium=gggg629a> (accessed 13 Mar. 2025). See also Hurx, *Archibuteure as Profession*, 269–70.

91. See especially Dieter Kimpel, “Le développement de la taille en série dans l’architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l’histoire économique,” *Bulletin Monumental* 135 (1977), 195–222; Dieter Kimpel, “Die Soziogenese des modernen Architektenberufs,” in *Stil und Epoche: Periodisierungsfragen*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Helga Scieurie (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1989), 106–43.

92. Stephan Albrecht and Stefan Breitling, “Die Querhausportale der Kathedrale in Paris: Architektur und Skulptur,” in Albrecht et al., *Die Querhausportale*, 58–59.

93. See the essays in the recent collection by Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, ed., *Flusslandschaften* (Düsseldorf: Düsseldorf University Press, 2023).

94. See, for instance, Hauke Horn and Matthias Müller, eds., *Gotische Architektur am Mittelrhein: Regionale Vernetzung und überregionaler Anspruch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

95. Jeannette Rauschert and Marc Carel Schurr, “Die Traumvision Kaiser Karls IV. in Terenzo und die Kirche Maria Schnee in Prag,” in *Licht(t)räume: Festschrift für Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz*, ed. Katharina Georgi et al. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016), 173. On the cathedrals of Languedoc, Auvergne, and Limousin, see especially Freigang, *Imitare ecclesias nobiles*.

96. The Cologne choir has direct models in Amiens and Beauvais, and the nave in Strasbourg is a work modeled on the restructured church of Saint-Denis; see Yves Gallet, “La nef de la cathédrale de Strasbourg, sa date et sa place dans l’architecture gothique rayonnante,” *Bulletin de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 25 (2002), 49–82; Schurr, *Gotische Architektur*, 79–97; Georges Bischoff et al., *La cathédrale de Strasbourg: La nef gothique* (Strasbourg: Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg, 2023).

97. See Klaus Hardering, ed., *Die Chorpfeilerfiguren des Kölner Domes: Festschrift Barbara Schock-Werner* (Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 2012); Michael Grandmontagne and Tobias Kunz, eds., *Skulptur um 1300 zwischen Paris und Köln* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016).

98. Matthias originated from the north of France, undoubtedly became familiar with the most important buildings in Languedoc (Narbonne Cathedral) and perhaps Alsace (Strasbourg Cathedral, the collegiate church at Niederhaslach), and was recruited by Charles IV of Luxembourg at the Provençal court of Pope Clement VI in Avignon to work in distant Bohemia, where German was one of the principal spoken languages, especially in bigger cities and among the elites. Thus, it seems likely that Matthias at some point probably spoke both French and German. See Pierre Heliot and Václav Mencl, “Mathieu d’Arras et les sources méridionales et nordiques de son œuvre à la cathédrale de Prague,” in *La naissance et l’essor du gothique méridional au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Édouard Privat (Fanjeaux: Privat, 1974), 103–25; Gallet, “Matthieu d’Arras”; Freigang, “Matthias von Arras.”

99. Coldstream, “Famagusta Cathedral,” 68–70; Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 205.

100. The example of Étienne de Bonneuil and his workshop being brought from Paris to Uppsala in 1287 to construct Sweden’s metropolitan cathedral suggests that the role of intermediary was usually played by one or more enterprising clerics dispatched to the given location by a distant, often overseas, cathedral chapter or city council. In the case of Uppsala, these clerics were “sire Olivier et sire Charles, clers escoliers à Paris”; quoted in Victor Morter and Paul Deschamps, eds., *Recueil de textes*

*relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France, au Moyen-Âge XI<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1995), 941–42. See also Christian Lovén, “La neige, les briques et l’architecte français: La cathédrale d’Uppsala 1272–,” in *Regards sur la France du Moyen Âge: Mélanges offerts à Gunnar Engwall à l’occasion de son départ à la retraite*, ed. Olle Ferm, Per Föörnegård, and Hugues Engel (Stockholm: Centre d’Études Médiévales, 2009), 3–33.

**101.** Adamski, “Über den Anteil Schlesiens und Kleinpolens”; Jakub Adamski and Piotr Pajor, “The Architecture of Poor Clares’ Nunnery in Sary Sącz: Early Fourteenth-Century Artistic Relations Between Lesser Poland and the Upper Rhineland,” in *Royal Nunneries at the Center of Medieval Europe: Art, Architecture, Aesthetics (13th–14th Centuries)*, ed. Klára Benešová et al. (Brno: Brepols, 2022), 22–37; Jakub Adamski and Piotr Pajor, *The Gothic Cathedral in Cracow and the European Architecture Around 1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2026).

**102.** Jakub Adamski, “Strasbourg–Wrocław–Cracow: On the Transfer of the ‘Upper Rhenish Style’ of Gothic Church Architecture to Silesia and

Lesser Poland in the First Half of the 14th C.,” *Quart: The Quarterly of the Institute of Art History at the University of Wrocław* 70, no. 4 (2023), 20–30.

**103.** See Olympios, *Building the Sacred*, 205.

**104.** Kurmann and Kurmann-Schwarz, “Architektur und Glasmalerei,” 136.

**105.** On reductions, see Werner Gross, *Die Abendländische Architektur um 1300* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1948); Engel, “Raffinement und Reduktion.” On hybridizations, see Norbert Nußbaum, “Hybrid Design Strategies Around 1300: Indications of a ‘Post-Classical’ Gothic Architecture?,” in Gajewski and Opačić, ed., *The Year 1300*, 143–50.

**106.** Peter Anstett makes this point in his monograph on the parish church of St. Martin at Colmar in Alsace, noting that Rhenish “formal habits”—that is, the repertoire of architectural forms developed in this artistic milieu—could easily be adapted to buildings of various structural and spatial organizations. Peter Anstett, *Das Martinsmünster zu Colmar: Beitrag zur Geschichte des gotischen Kirchenbaus im Elsass* (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 32–41.