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A comparison of approaches to art in the constitutions of the Orders of the Discalced Carmelites and Trinitarians

A key issue while studying the art of religious orders is to ascertain whether they actually promoted specific practices that were considered to be exemplary, and to what degree that resulted from their mission, spirituality, and laws. As far as the Italian Congregation of Discalced Carmelites is concerned, the issue was exhaustively addressed in the works of Fr. Józef Wanat and Maria Brykowska,¹ and was partially analysed with regard to the Discalced Trinitarians by Fr. Andrzej Witko.² In turn, the norms regulating the artistic activity of the Spanish Congregation of Reformed Carmelites have as yet raised no major interest.³ In this essay, I shall demonstrate that they were borrowed by the Discalced Trinitarians and discuss their evolution in the successive constitutions of the Trinitarian Order.

The post-Tridentine reform of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity was embarked upon independently in Spain and in France. The Spanish reform was strongly influenced by the Teresian Carmel.⁴ Its initiator, Juan García Rico, known

¹ B. J. Wanat o.c.d., *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztory karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605–1795*, Kraków 1979, p. 91–99; B. J. Wanat o.c.d., *Sztuka w Karmelu*, Kraków 1999, p. 19–21, 24–25; M. Brykowska, *Architektura karmelitów bosych w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1991, p. 30–32, 66–68, 80–81, 100, 117, 120–125.

² A. Witko, *Arte en la doctrina de la orden de los trinitarios*, “Boletín de Arte” 8 (1997), p. 57–59. See also: A. Witko, *Sztuka w służbie Zakonu Trójcy Świętej w siedemnastym i osiemnastym stuleciu*, Warszawa 2002, p. 37–39. The first Constitutions of 1614 have been completely ignored. The author discusses only come regulations in the constitutions of 1637 and 1663, and referring to the later editions of the constitutions of Discalced Trinitarians, states that “they show no differences in respect to the doctrine of art.” See: A. Witko, *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 37, footnote 21.

³ Some are briefly presented by B. J. Wanat. See: B. J. Wanat o.c.d., *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 24–25.

⁴ J. Pujana o.s.s.t., *San Juan Bautista de la Concepción. Carisma y misión*, Madrid 1994, p. 114–115.

under his monastic name of Fr. John Baptist of the Conception, encountered the Discalced Carmelites early, during his childhood. It was in their monastery in his hometown of Almodóvar del Campo (La Mancha) that he learned grammar. At the age of 13 or 14, he met St Teresa of Avila, whom the family entertained at his home. Leaving, the nun is believed to have announced to Juan's mother, that one of her children would become a great saint and reformer. Already as a minister of the Trinitarian monastery in Valdepeñas (La Mancha), Fr. John Baptist was in touch with the Discalced Carmelites residing in nearby Manzanares, while his writings prove that he knew the literary output of St Teresa very well. During his stay in Rome, where he went to obtain the consent of Pope Clement VIII to establish a congregation of Discalced Trinitarians, he lived in the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites by the Church of S. Maria della Scala. He even considered donning their habit, when his mission was believed to be doomed. Finally, however, he reached his goal in 1599, after nearly 18 months of efforts. Having returned to Spain, he embarked upon the establishment of monastic communities observing the original rule of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity (1198) without subsequent mitigations. For five years, he was supported in this activity by Fr. Elijah of St Martin, former superior general of the Discalced Carmelites, who was entrusted by the papal nuncio with the supervision over the developing Trinitarian congregation. In 1605, it already consisted of eight monasteries gathering at least eight brethren each, which – according to the founding papal brief – was the condition for the establishment of an independent province, directly reporting to the superior general of the order. Its beginnings coincided with the division of the Discalced Carmelites into two congregations (1600): Italian of St Elijah and Spanish of St Joseph.⁵

Considering the circumstances discussed above, it seems natural that the Trinitarian reformer used no other constitutions but those of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites, approved and published in Latin in 1604.⁶ In the first statutes of 1614,⁷ written in Spanish, not only did the Discalced Trinitarians use an identical division of the text into parts and chapters but also literally repeated many provisions,

⁵ St Joseph was chosen the patron of the province in 1628.

⁶ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Ordinis B. Mariae de Monte Carmelo Congregationis Hispaniarum [...]*, Matriti 1604.

⁷ Roma, Archivio dei Padri Trinitari di San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, manuscript, *Constitutiones de los religiosos descalzos de la Orden de la Santísima Trinidad, Redención de Cautivos, hechas con autoridad apostólica [...] en el año del Señor 1614*, no. 434/2. The text of the manuscript was published in: J. Pujana o.ss.t., *San Juan Bautista...*, op. cit., p. 740–816.

including the norms regulating their activity in the sphere of construction.⁸ The first of these required that monasteries were established only in places in which friars would have appropriate maintenance as well as the possibility of living in an enclosure, and likewise where other principles of the monastic life were guaranteed. Until these conditions were met, the newly established location could become home to no more than three or four brothers (two or three in the Carmelite Order), supervising construction works. Moreover, a suggestion was made that monasteries should not be situated in the city but in its close vicinity. Should, however, this prove impossible, the outskirts were permitted. The following regulation determines the dimensions of the structures, expressed in Castilian feet.⁹ The width of the church should exceed 24 ft, that is nearly 6.7 m, yet not 27 ft (7.5 m). The length and height of the church were to be determined proportionally to this dimension. The length of the monastic quadrangle was defined at 55–60 ft, and the width of the cloister at 9–10 ft, with a simultaneous prohibition on excessive height. The cells in the monastery should be built on the plan of a square, with the side under 11 ft yet not less than 10 ft, height ranging from 8 to 9 ft, and the width of the corridor leading to them in the range of 5–6 ft. It was also instructed that the rooms on the ground floor of the monastery should range from 11 to 12 ft so that the height of the perimeter wall of the building did not exceed 22 ft counted from the level of the quadrangle to the roof; a deviation from the provision was only allowed when the place selected for the construction of the monastery was too narrow and/or adjacent to buildings, in which case friars could be exposed to being observed by the laity. The placement of individual rooms was left to the architect's discretion. Without his design, neither construction nor significant expansion could be initiated. A penalty for the failure to observe these principles was to be the removal of the superior of the monastery from his function.

There were, however, a number of differences that require attention. While Carmelite constitutions mention the architect of the order, the Trinitarian ones speak of the constructor appointed by the vicar general. With the agreed dimensions retained, all the changes in the plans depended on a permit of the superior general or architect in the Carmelite Order, yet in the case of Trinitarians only

⁸ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1604, op. cit., f. 40r–41v; J. Pujana o.ss.t., *San Juan Bautista...*, op. cit., p. 768.

⁹ 1 Castilian foot = 27.86 cm. Acc. to J. R. de la Cuadra Blanco, *Génesis de las medidas de El Escorial. Herodoto y la cuestión del codo bíblico*, [in:] *El Escorial. Historia, arte, ciencia y matemáticas*, ed. M. T. González Alarcón, Madrid 2011, p. 223.

on the approval of the latter. Without the written permit of the provincial superior, Carmelites could not embark on construction works whose cost would exceed 100 gold escudo, a sum that the Trinitarians reduced to just 30 gold escudo. Moreover, the Trinitarian legislation lacked a statement transferring the Teresian asceticism into monastic architecture: “As no imposing nor excessively decorated houses become a man on a pilgrimage who has taken a vow of poverty, we order that our monasteries and churches are not magnificent.”¹⁰ Omission of these words does not however mean that Discalced Trinitarians subscribed to the idea of *magnificentia ecclesiae*, it is rather a manifestation of a tendency to abbreviate Carmelite regulations, which is visible throughout the text of their first constitutions. For the same reason they do not quote the reason for the definition of the dimensions of the structures built by the Order, which Carmelites expressed as follows: “so that they were built in a uniform manner in all the provinces.”¹¹

The statutes of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites from 1604, updated by the general chapter in 1640 and 1652, and approved by Pope Alexander VII in 1658, were repeatedly edited.¹² The clauses concerning the construction activity of the Order were retained in the same wording, with the only addition being a new rule to allow the increasing the length of cells for the ailing to 14–15ft², and their number could not exceed eight even in large monasteries.¹³ Certain modifications that were a manifestation of the progressive democratisation of monastic life were implemented in the constitutions approved by Pius VI in 1786.¹⁴ From that time onward, a permit to changes in the design had to be expressed by the superior

¹⁰ See: *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1604, op. cit., f. 40v: “Et cum sumptuosae domus, seu earum curiosus ornatus, homines peregrinos, et professione pauperes, minime deceant; statuimus, ne Monasteria nostra, neque etiam templa, magnifica sint.” See: *Regla primitiva y Constituciones de los religiosos descalzos de el Orden de la Bienaventurada Virgen María de el Monte Carmelo [...] confirmadas por [...] Alexandro Papa Septimo, día tercero de Julio del año de 1658*, Madrid 1736, p. 130: “No siendo proporcionadas para hombres peregrinos y pobres de profesión las casas sumptuosas ni curiosamente adornadas, mandamos que nuestros conventos y templos no sean magníficos.”

¹¹ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1604, op. cit., f. 40v: “Quae, ut in omnibus provinciis, ad eandem formam uniformiter construantur.” See: *Regla primitiva y constituciones...*, 1736, op. cit., p. 130: “para que en todas las provincias se labren con uniformidad.”

¹² H. Cz. Gil o.c.d., *Historia Karmelu Terezjańskiego*, Kraków 2002, p. 88–89.

¹³ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo Primitivae Observantiae Congregationis Hispaniae, a ss. D.N. Alex. Papa. VII. confirmatae. Die III. Iulii Anno M.DC.LVIII. Pontificatus sui Anno Quarto, Matriri 1701*, p. 127–131.

¹⁴ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo Primitivae Observantiae Congregationis Hispaniae [...]*, Matriri 1787, p. 100–103.

general or architect, and – by a majority vote – by the entire monastic community. It was also the community that, together with the general definitorium, decided about embarking on investments whose cost could exceed 100 gold escudo.¹⁵

Before discussing the first printed constitutions of the Discalced Trinitarians from 1637, a few words need to be devoted to the reform of the Order that took place in France. In 1578, the hermit community operating for 12 years in Pontoise (Île-de-France) turned to Pope Gregory XIII for awarding a special status within the Order of the Most Holy Trinity.¹⁶ The pious men, known as Reformed Trinitarians, lived according to the mitigated rule of 1267. Approved by Pope Clement VIII in 1601, their congregation developed intensively. Nonetheless, despite the pressure from the Apostolic See, it did not embrace the original rule from 1198. That rule was only adopted by the French Discalced Trinitarians under Fr. Hieronymus Hélie. Holding the post of the general procurator of the Reformed Trinitarians in Rome, he set up the new community in 1620. For five years its members continued their formation under the guidance of the Spanish brethren from S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane monastery. In spite of opposition from the French Calced and Reformed Trinitarians, Pope Urban VIII approved the French Congregation of the Discalced Brethren of the Holy Trinity in 1629 and awarded it the right to open a separate province, as soon as it had developed eight houses with eight professed friars in each of them, which had not happened until 1670.

The title of the constitutions of 1637, published in Latin in Aix-en-Provence,¹⁷ does not however suggest which congregation of Discalced Trinitarians they belong to.¹⁸ Their text is generally tantamount to the statutes of 1614 as far as division into parts and chapters, and the wording of the majority of provisions go. The fundamental difference, besides increasing the dimensions of the order's buildings (discussed further) includes the introduction of a word denoting France (*Gallia*) to replace Spain (*España*): e.g. the instruction ordering the vicar general to appoint his deputy for the period of longer sojourns beyond the borders

¹⁵ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Beatissimae...*, 1787, p. 103.

¹⁶ G. Cipollone o.ss.t., *La famiglia trinitaria (1198–1998). Compendio storico*, Roma 1998, p. 52, 58–61. A. Witko, *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 28, 32. D'Errico Anthony o.ss.t., *The Trinitarians. An overview of their eight-hundred-year service to God and humanity*, [Roma 1998], p. 183–188.

¹⁷ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum, Congregationis Primitivae Observantiae, Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis pro Redemptione Captivorum. In quatuor partes divisae*, Aquis–Sextiis 1637.

¹⁸ According to Fr. A. Witko, these are the statutes of the French congregation, Fr. G. Cipollone only lists them, and Fr. A. O. D'Errico omits them and only enumerates the successive editions of the 1614 constitution. See: A. Witko, *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 37; G. Cipollone o.ss.t., *La familia...*, op. cit., p. 57; A. O. D'Errico o.ss.t., *The Trinitarians...*, op. cit., p. 189.

of Italy or France, and in the chapter devoted to the duties of general procurators, of whom one was to reside in Rome and the other by the Royal Court in France.¹⁹ This could provide grounds to believe that the statutes belong to the French brethren, yet the information on the organisational structure they contained (the text mentions two provinces, of the Holy Spirit and of the Transformation of Christ, governed by provincial ministers subject to the vicar general) are a reference to the Spanish congregation in 1614–1636.²⁰ Let's reiterate that the first and only province of the French Discalced Trinitarians had not been erected until 1670, moreover, it never had a vicar general, who would have been appointed only after the setting up of the second province. Another point worthy of attention is the fact that beginning in 1636, the brethren in Spain were presided over not by the vicar general but the minister general. At the current stage of research, the question why their unrevised constitutions were published in France must remain unanswered.

In the context of our considerations, it is nonetheless significant to discover the reason why the sizes of the Order's buildings were significantly increased in the statutes of the Discalced Trinitarians published in 1637.²¹ The minimum width of the church increased by precisely $\frac{2}{3}$, from 24 to 40 feet, and its maximum width by over $\frac{3}{4}$, from 27 to 48 feet; a side of the monastery's quadrangle was extended precisely by a third, fixing its minimum length at 73, and maximum at 80 feet instead of the previously used 55 and 60 feet respectively. The maximum height of the monastery was raised from 22 to 30–32 feet. The changes are the more puzzling as the 1614 norm was returned to in the following constitutions from 1656 (discussed below). There is much to suggest that their introduction was connected to S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, the Roman church of the Order, whose construction began in 1638. Together with the monastery built in 1634–1636, it covers the entire area of a small, corner plot that the Order had at its disposal. This means that Francesco Borromini, the architect of both, determined

¹⁹ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum...*, 1637, op. cit., p. 187–188, 261–266. Cf. J. Pujana o.ss.t., *San Juan Bautista...*, op. cit., p. 788, 805–806.

²⁰ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum...*, 1637, op. cit., p. 105: "Ordinamus nostrarum Provinciarum primam *Sancti Spiritus*, secundam *Transfigurationis* titulo nuncupari;" p. 184–185: "Religiosi nostri omnes magna submissione, et humilitate Fratri nostro Vicario Generali, tanquam Patri, et totius nostrae Congregationis Discalceatorum Pastori Universali morem gerant, illeque solus in eam integram potestatem, et iurisdictionem, quam, in conventu suo Minister, et in sua Provincia Provincialis habent." Cf. J. Pujana o.ss.t., *San Juan Bautista...*, op. cit., p. 767, 787–788.

²¹ *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum...*, 1637, op. cit., p. 107–108. Dimensions of monastery rooms remained unchanged.

(at least approximate) dimensions of the church whose nave is around 11.8 m wide (around 42 Castilian feet) and exceeds the maximum value defined in the constitutions of 1614 by over 4 m, already in 1634.²² He certainly did it with the permits of the *spiritus movens* of the project and the minister of the monastery in Rome and the Order's procurator general at the papal court, Fr. John of the Annunciation (1595–1644).²³ Since 1628 he had been the confessor of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, winning the recognition and favours of his paternal uncle, Pope Urban VIII. It was for the personal request of the friar that the Pope awarded the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians the right to elect their own minister general in 1636 (brief from 28 February) without the need to have him approved by the Apostolic See (brief from 3 December).²⁴ This presents S. Carlino as a monument commemorating the autonomy obtained by the Order. Let us add that Fr. John was an ardent supporter of the idea of *magnificentia ecclesiae*. He used to say that “if he could, he would make it [S. Carlino – author's note] far richer than the Temple of Solomon, and he would not be satisfied with the floor of emerald and precious gems, as he was building a house for the Creator himself, and when it comes to His abode, even such materials cannot be considered too extravagant, as the external is a testimony to the internal and the love we have for our God.”²⁵ The above allows us to hypothesise that the liberalisation of the rule concerning the size of the church was an initiative of Fr. John of the Annunciation, while

²² P. Portoghesi, *Borromini. Architettura come linguaggio*, Milano 1967, p. 39, 43.

²³ The history of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane church and monastery and the role of Fr. John of the Annunciation played in the project are described in detail in an account drafted around 1650 by Fr. John of St John Bonaventura who lived uninterruptedly in the monastery in Rome from at least 1634 to 1643. See: *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane di Francesco Borromini nella 'Relazione della fabbrica' di fra Juan de S. Buenaventura*, a cura di J. M. Montijano García, Milano 1999, *passim*.

²⁴ *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane...*, op. cit., p. 78. *Magnum bullarium romanum, a Beato Leone Magno usque ad S. D. N. Benedictum XIII [...] Tomus quintus. Urbani VIII. Reliquas, deinde Innocentii X constit. complectens*, Luxemburgi 1727, p. 292–295.

²⁵ *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane...*, op. cit., p. 60–61: “Se lui potesse, la avrebbe fatta molto più ricca che quella di Salomone, e che non si contenterebbe di che il pavimento fosse di smeralde e preziosissime pietre, perché lui faceva casa non per altro che per Dio; che quando si trattava di far abitazione per Dio, anche che sia in questo materiale non può trovarsi eccesso, perché questo esterno è dichiarativo dell'interno e dell'amore che ogniuno porta a Nostro Dio.” According to *Relazione della fabbrica* as far as the monastic building was concerned, Fr. John observed the principle of poverty (“si agiustò allo che la povertà ordina”), as attested by width and length of the cells not exceeding 15½ palms i.e. 3.46 m (1 Roman palm = 22.34 cm), and their furnishing composed only of a bad of no more than 9 palms and width of 3¼ palms, table for books, stool, and lamp. It should nonetheless be noted that according to the constitutions from 1614 and 1637, the maximum length of a cell was 11 Castilian feet, i.e. 3.06 m.

increasing the dimensions of the monastery resulted from the preference to maintain appropriate proportions between the two structures.²⁶

It should be mentioned that, according to the constitutions of 1637, a design made by the Order's architect had to be approved by the vicar general, without whose consent no changes whatsoever were possible.²⁷

The first constitutions of the Discalced Trinitarians after obtaining full independence were published in Spanish in 1656, and later, in 1663.²⁸ They received a new, original structure preserved in the following editions. Their text consists of 43 chapters that comment on the individual points in the original Rule of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity. The clauses referring to artistic issues are contained in chapter 3. Its framework is the norms drawn from the constitution of 1637, with the exception of the provision defining the size of Order's buildings, which repeats the statutes of 1614, only increasing the maximum height of the building of the monastery from 22 to 26 feet. Moreover, it states the maximum height and width of the windows in the cells as 2ft 4in and 2ft 5in respectively, and sets the length of a cell for the ailing at 15–16 ft like the statutes of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites of 1658. What was probably decisive for the return to the dimensions from the Carmelite prototype was the Trinitarians belief that too magnificent structures contradict the vows of poverty that they had vowed to uphold. Two norms absent from the texts analysed earlier seem to attest to the above. The first states that the coping of the chancel is to be low and inexpensive, and decorative profiles can be used only in the church; even in the sacristy decoration is only allowed in the form of flat strips.²⁹ The other regulation concerns

²⁶ The dimensions of the quadrangle in S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane monastery are even smaller than established in the constitutions of 1614, which resulted from the small size of the plot.

²⁷ Let's remember that the text from 1614 mentioned an architect appointed by the vicar general, authorised to introduce changes in plans already approved.

²⁸ The author could not access a 1656 edition. The article refers to their second edition: *Regla primitiva y Constituciones de la Orden de Descalzos de la Santísima Trinidad Redención de Cautivos*, Alcalá 1663.

²⁹ *Regla primitiva y Constituciones...*, 1663, op. cit., p. 21–22: “Los remates de las capillas mayores de nuestras iglesias sean humildes y de poco gasto. Y en otra parte que en la iglesia, no haya cortados o molduras aunque sea en la sacristía, pero podrá haber alguna faja.” This is how Fr. A. Witko comments on the provision: “Only in the constitutions of the discalced orders in Spain, do we find an indication on how to decorate the external side of the church sparingly so that it were modest and cost little. Churches could not even have cornices, although certain decorative elements were allowed also in the sacristy.” See: A. Witko, *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 38. The researcher based the erroneous interpretation of the quoted norm on its Latin translation: “Pinnaculum item, sive extremitas cappellae maioris humilis sit. Nec extra ecclesiam opera affabre elaborata,

the monastery's cloister, which should neither be magnificent nor built at a great cost.³⁰ The third point of the Rule of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity, "Omnes ecclesiae istius Ordinis intitulentur nomie Sanctae Trinitatis, et sint plani operis,"³¹ should be consulted for the sources of this new content. Another novelty in the statutes in question is the order to set up convents in cities, though obviously in a location where the friars could lead an unharassed life.³² Certainly, such a location helped to collect donations for the mission of the Order focused on redemption and charity.

Further development of the rules regulating the construction activity of the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians is observed in the constitutions approved by Pope Clement x and published in 1676.³³ The term "profiling" (*cortados o molduras*) present in the Spanish text of 1663, was replaced by *opera affabre elaborata, et curiosis crustis ornata*, an expression that can be freely translated into elaborately made stucco decoration.³⁴ The norm concerning the cloister is replaced by guidelines regarding the form of the monastery: built at a low cost, the roofs and façades should have simple structure.³⁵ The last requirement is repeated for churches and complemented with a request to keep the decoration tempered, emphasising the need to minimise the cost of construction and respecting the established dimensions that must not be exceeded in major cities nor reduced in small locations; it is also recommended that the number of rooms in a monastery is adjusted to the number of the friars.³⁶

et curiosis crustis ornata siant: in sacrario vero aliquam permittimus fasciam, ut vocant." Quoted from *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum, Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum*, Matrity 1676, p. 50. From the linguistic point of view, the phrase "extra ecclesiam" is ambiguous and can be translated as "with the exception of the church" and "outside the church". The decisive, Spanish version of the provision confirms the correctness of the first translation.

³⁰ *Regla primitiva y Constituciones...*, 1663, op. cit., p. 23: "Las galerías no sean suntuosas, sino de poco gasto."

³¹ "All the churches of this Order are to be entitled with the name of the Holy Trinity. They are to be of simple construction." Quoted from *The Trinitarians' rule of life. Texts of the six principal editions*, ed. J. J. Gross, Rome 1983, p. 7.

³² To reiterate: the constitutions of 1614 and 1637 made the foundations located close to cities or on their peripheries.

³³ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1676, op. cit., p. 50.

³⁴ See: footnote 29.

³⁵ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1676, op. cit., p. 50: "Solaria autem, et prospectus plani sint operis, et parvis expensis fabricentur."

³⁶ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1676, op. cit., p. 50: "In civitatibus, magnisque oppidis ecclesiae, et claustra pertingant, et non excedant summam longitudinem, et latudinem ex supra-

The statues from 1694 brought no significant changes in the matter in question.³⁷ Unlike the constitutions approved by Pope Clement XII in 1738, which sanctioned the division of the Order of the Discalced Trinitarians into two families: the Spanish Family and Outside-Spain-Family,³⁸ they for the first time feature a norm that infringes the coherence of the previously developed regulations concerning the size of the Order's buildings. Although the requirement determining their dimensions is repeated and modesty is preserved in other questions, size can now be exceeded in major cities, with a simultaneous obligation to apply minimum values in smaller locations.³⁹ The aforementioned modification might probably have aimed at legalising accomplished matters in the Polish-Lithuanian Province. Lack of respect for the limitations imposed by the law of the Order resulted from the will of its benefactors who, guided by the Sarmatian piety, funded lavish and magnificent churches to the glory of not only God but also themselves.⁴⁰ It is enough to recall the church of the Order in Vilnius, whose construction began in 1694, with the nave 18m, i.e. 65 Castilian Feet, wide, i.e. over twice greater than the maximum established in the constitutions (27 ft).

dictis. In minoribus vero oppidis attingant minorem mensuram designatam, non tamen sit infra illam. Idemque volumus, proportione servata, de minima elegantia structurae Ecclesiarum, que semper juxta Regulam nostram debent esse plani operis. Maior autem cellarum, et officinarum numerus in unoquoque conventu disponatur juxta maiorem, vel minorem religiosorum numerum, qui ibidem sustentari valent."

³⁷ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones Patrum Discalceatorum, Ordinis ss. Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum*, Viennae 1694, p. 42–44. Only in the regulation on maintaining modesty in decorating the church the phrase "minima elegantia structurae" was replaced with the word "curiositate". See: *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1694, op. cit., p. 44. See: footnote 36.

³⁸ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones Patrum Discalceatorum, Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum, Congregationis Hispaniae*, Romae 1738, p. 197–198; for regulations on artistic issues, see: p. 62–65. The Outside-Spain-Family consisted of three provinces: the Polish-Lithuanian province of St Joachim, the Austrian province of St Joseph, and the Italian province of St John de Matha, established in 1726, 1728, and 1731 respectively. See: G. Cipollone o.ss.t., *La familia...*, op. cit., p. 65–66; A. Witko, *Sztuka...*, op. cit., p. 32–33; A. O. D'Errico o.ss.t., *The Trinitarians...*, op. cit., p. 191–194, 222.

³⁹ *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones...*, 1738, op. cit., p. 65: "In civitatibus, magnisque oppidis, ecclesiae, et claustra excedere poterunt longitudinem, latudinemque, modestia tamen in omnibus servata. In minoribus vero oppidis numquam excedant minorem mensuram designatam, nec sint infra illam".

⁴⁰ M. Sobczyńska-Szczepańska, "De Tuis Donis et Datis offerimus Tibi Domine". *Motywacje i cele protektorów Zakonu Przenajświętszej Trójcy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, t. 8: *Fundator i dzieło w sztuce nowożytniej*, cz. 3, red. J. Lilejko, I. Rolska-Boruch, Lublin 2007, p. 109–115.

In 1766, answering a request issued by the general chapter of the Discalced Trinitarians, Pope Clement XIII allowed every Trinitarian family to modify and adjust the Order's statutes to its needs.⁴¹ As far as the Spanish Family is concerned, its constitutions from 1787 and thereafter repeat the rules on the artistic issues in the wording from 1738.⁴² On the other hand, the Outside-Spain-Family introduced significant modifications to its unpublished statutes approved at the general definitorium in Vienna in 1770.⁴³ Unchanged since 1656, the guidelines on the selection of the site for the foundation and the number of friars supervising the construction works are followed by a norm stating that the minister general may assign the duty to verify the concept for conformity with the ideal of poverty and humility which becomes discalced friars to the provincial and one of the provincial definitors; and it is with them that the changes in the already approved design are to be agreed, and any derogation is to be punished with suspension.⁴⁴ It is also worth emphasising that the absolute requirement for designs to be made by the Order's architects, present in all the constitutions after 1637, was tempered with the words "if possible" (*si fieri possit*), which corresponded to the actual state of affairs: services of builders from outside the Order were often used in all its provinces. The following provision orders that, complying to the rule, both churches and monasteries are structurally simple. While building them, one should consider local circumstances, and always care more about permanence than useless decorative character and excessive elegance.⁴⁵ Importantly, these are

⁴¹ *Bullarii romani continuatio. Summorum pontificum Clementis XIII, Clementis XIV, Pii VI, Pii VII [...] constitutiones, literas in forma brevis [...]. Tomus quartus continens pontificatus Clementis XIV [annum] primum ad sextum*, Romae 1841, p. 133–134.

⁴² *Regula primitiva et Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Congregationis Hispaniae, Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum*, Matriti 1787, p. 71–75.

⁴³ *Natsional'na Akademiya Nauk Ukrayiny, manuscript Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Discalceatorum, Primitivae Regulae Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum* [1770], no. 4149. The constitutions had not previously been mentioned in the literature. Regulations of artistic questions: *Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Discalceatorum...* [1770], op. cit., f. 6v–7r.

⁴⁴ *Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Discalceatorum...* [1770], op. cit.: "Nullius conventus aut collegii fabrica incipiat, nisi prius exemplar illius ab aliquo, eoque, si fieri possit, nostri Ordinis architecto delineatum, examinarit ejus Superior Generalis, aut ex hujus commissione Superior Provincialis cum uno vel altro Diffinitore Provinciae. Isti reformabunt excessus, si qui contra humilitatem et paupertatem, quae decet Discalceatos, fuerint inventi. Illo semel, ut dictum, examinato et approbato, nihil sine istorum licentia contra illud fiat, sive per additionem sive per diminutionem. Qui vel in toto vel in parte huic Constitutioni contraverint, aut contravenire permiserint, sit suspensus ab officio suo juxta gravitatem culpae."

⁴⁵ *Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Discalceatorum...* [1770], op. cit.: "Tamen ecclesiae, quam caenobia nostri Ordinis, ad tenorem nostrae Sanctae Regulae, sint plani operis. In eorum

the only constitutions which resigned from stating the sizes of the church and monastery, with the exception of the length of a cell side (12 ft).

To recapitulate, Spanish Discalced Carmelites created concise provisions regarding art in their constitutions of 1604, which did not aim at a precise definition of the shape of the Order's structures but at preventing their excessive lavishness. Similarly, the third point in the Rule of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity of 1198 also stems from the spirit of poverty. And it is in the statutes of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites and the Trinitarian Rule that norms concerning artistic activity in the constitutions of the Discalced Trinitarians, systematically modified and adapted to the changing reality in which such structures were built, should be sought.

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Abstract

The reform process of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity (Trinitarians) developed under the strong influence of the Teresian Carmel, which is reflected in the dependence of the first constitutions of the Discalced Trinitarians (1614) on the statutes of the Spanish Congregation of the Discalced Carmelites (1604). The article discusses the regulations on the artistic activity contained in the aforementioned texts and in the later statutes of both orders (including the unpublished constitutions of the Outside-Spain-Family of the Discalced Trinitarians compiled in 1770) that have as yet not been studied by historians of the Trinitarians Order. The analysis of these provisions leads to the conclusion that Trinitarian approach to art was determined by the legislations of the Spanish Discalced Carmelites and by the third point of the Trinitarian Rule, ordering that their churches were of simple construction. Unlike the Spanish Discalced Carmelites, the Discalced Trinitarians systematically modified their regulations, adapting them to the changing circumstances in which the religious buildings were constructed.

Keywords

Discalced Trinitarians, Discalced Carmelites, religious constitutions, art, architecture

Abstrakt

Wspólne spojrzenie na sztukę w konstytucjach reformowanych zakonów karmelitów i trynitarzy

Proces reformy zakonu Trójcy Najświętszej przebiegał pod silnym wpływem terezańskiego Karmelu, czego wyrazem jest zależność pierwszych konstytucji trynitarzy bosych (1614) od statutów hiszpańskiej kongregacji karmelitów bosych (1604). W artykule zostały omówione przepisy dotyczące kwestii artystycznych zawarte we wzmiankowanych tekstach oraz w późniejszych statutach, w tym w niepublikowanych konstytucjach poza-hiszpańskiej rodziny trynitarzy z 1770 roku, które dotychczas nie znalazły się w orbicie zainteresowań historyków zakonu. Analiza tych norm prowadzi do wniosku, że poglądy

trynitarzy bosych na sztukę zostały zdeterminowane przez przepisy karmelitańskie oraz trzeci punkt reguły zakonu Trójcy Najświętszej nakazujący, by ich świątynie były prostej struktury. W odróżnieniu od hiszpańskich karmelitów bosych trynitarze bosy systematycznie modyfikowali swoje przepisy, adaptując je do zmieniających się realiów, w których powstawały ich budowle.

Słowa kluczowe

trynitarze bosy, karmelici bosy, konstytucje zakonne, sztuka, architektura