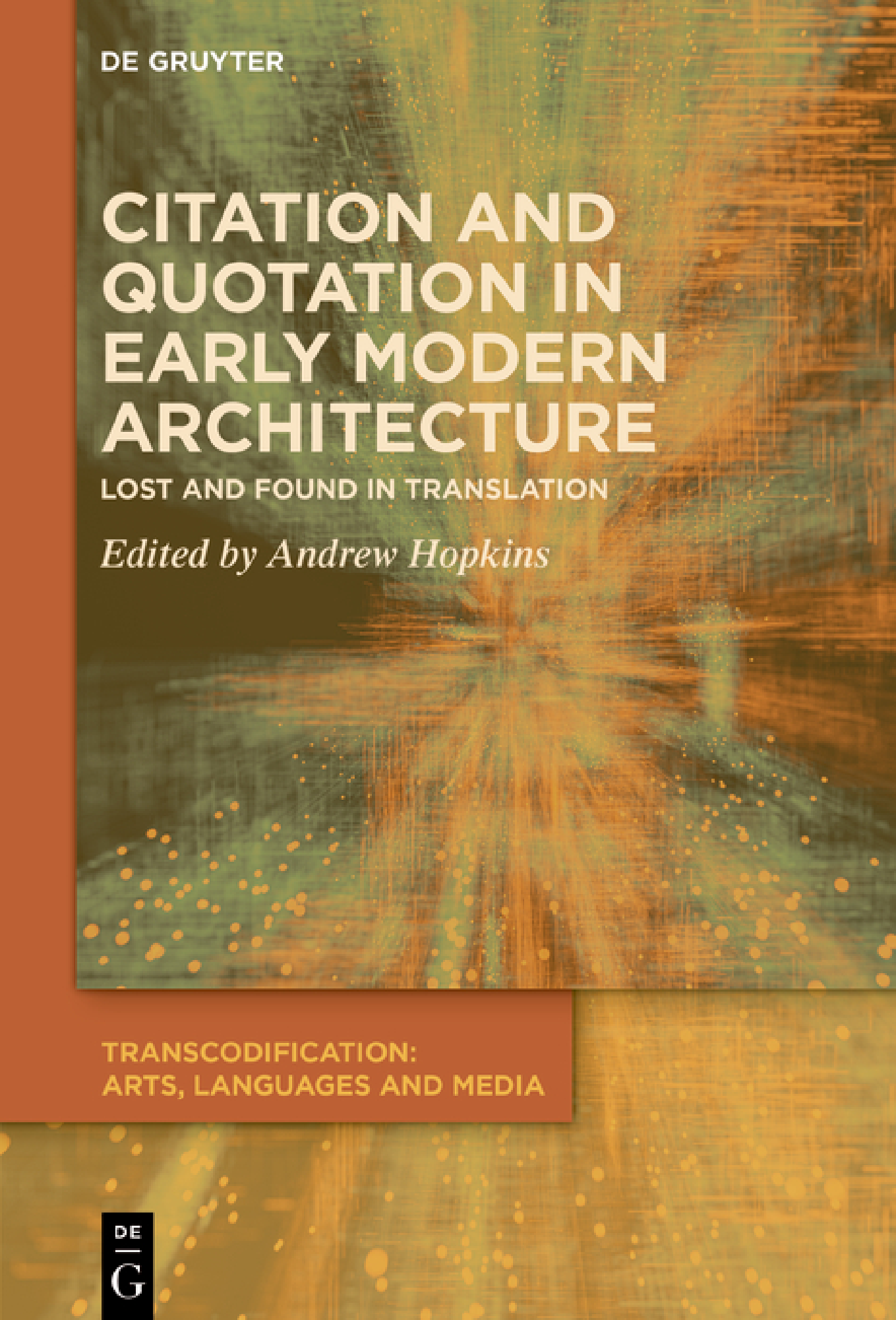
DE GRUYTER
CITATION AND QUOTATION IN EARLY MODERN ARCHITECTURE
LOST AND FOUND IN TRANSLATION
Edited by Andrew Hopkins
TRANSCODIFICATION: ARTS, LANGUAGES AND MEDIA
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Citation and Quotation in Early Modern Architecture

Transcodification: Arts, Languages and Media

Edited by
Simone Gozzano

Volume 5

Citation and Quotation in Early Modern Architecture

Lost and Found in Translation

Edited by
Andrew Hopkins

DE GRUYTER

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In memoriam Amanda Claridge 1949–2022

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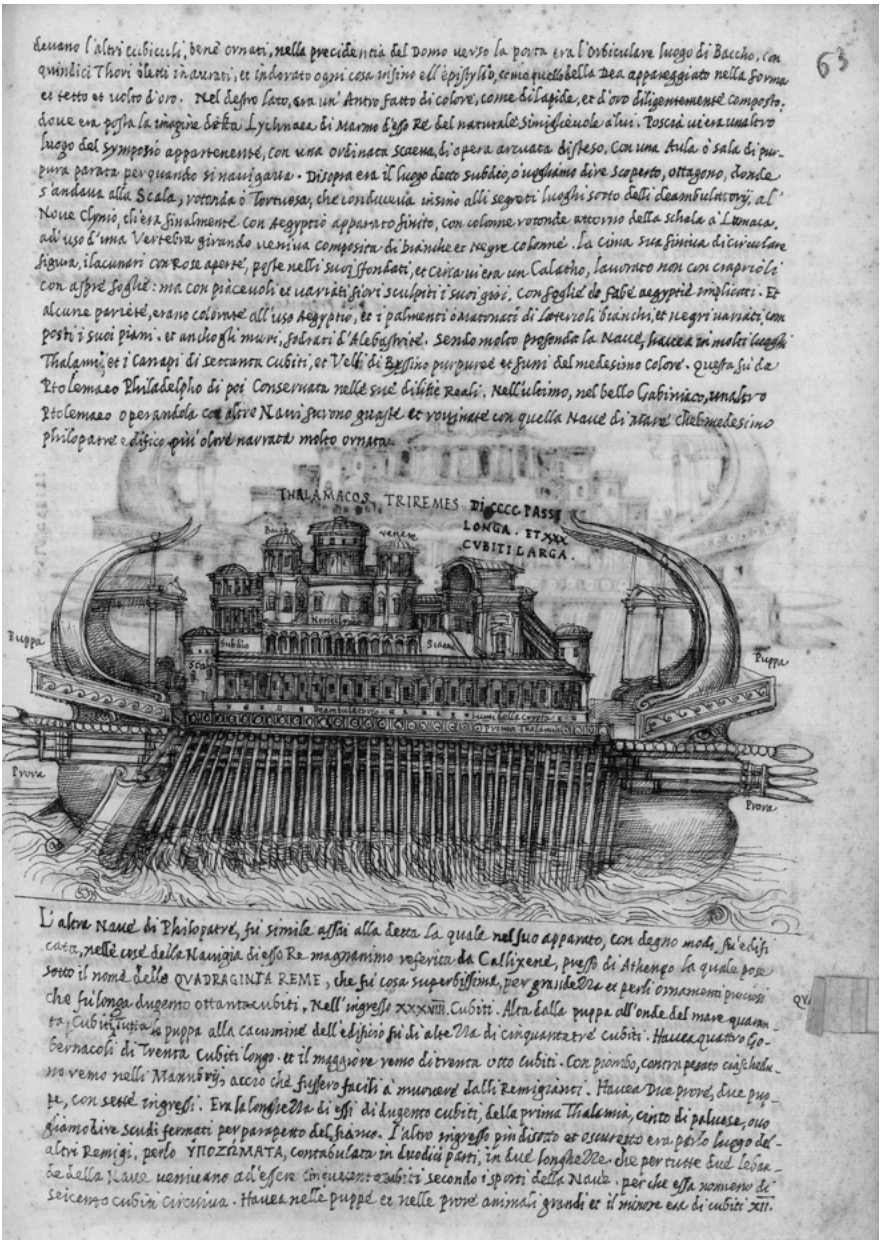

Pirro Ligorio, drawing of the '*Thalamegos trireme*' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, f. 63*r* [photo: Turin, ASTo]).

Andrew Hopkins

Introduction

Lost and Found in Translation: Citation and Quotation

Citare in Italian means both to cite and to quote. *Citazione* means both citation and quotation. Shortly after 2010, I purchased online on Abebooks.com the first volume of *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary* of 1962 edited by Barbara Reynolds (1914–2015) dedicated to 'Italian – English'. It was quite inexpensive because it was described as being underlined and annotated in all sorts of pencils, pens and markers which, to the bookstore, were evidently negative signs. Little could I believe it when it duly arrived and turned out to be the personal copy of the great twentieth-century scholar of ancient Greece: Kenneth James Dover (1920–2010).[1] Dover 'went up to Balliol as the top classical scholar in 1938, won a Gaisford Prize in his first year, and collected his First in Mods in 1940. He then joined the Army, and served as a subaltern in an anti-aircraft battery in Egypt, Libya and Italy. He was mentioned in despatches in the Italian campaign, and incidentally acquired a good knowledge of Italian and Italian life'.[2] He was elected to the Presidency of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1976. His copy was full of postils made over many years (Figs. 1 and 2).

This volume, with many discussions of annotations or marginal notes (postils), aims to tease out one of the principal threads of the over-arching theme of what might be termed 'Lost and Found in Translation' with regard to Early Modern Architecture. Citation of texts, both ancient and more recent, in relation to Early Modern architectural design, treatise writing and theory, has long been studied, but mostly in ways which have never clearly distinguished between three important but different terms: mindset, citation and quotation. One might well ask why bother distinguishing between the last two terms when, in Italian, *citare* covers both and does not distinguish between them. The somewhat arbi-

1 https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/1470/11_06-Kenneth_Dover.pdf [accessed 18.06.2024]; https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/mar/08/sir-kenneth-dover-obituary [accessed 18.06.2024]; https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/14/books/14dover.html [accessed 18.06.2024]; Kenneth Dover, *Marginal Comment: a memoir* (London, 1994), esp. chaps 4 and 9.
2 Stephen Halliwell, 'Kenneth Dover and the Greeks', available online at https://www.academia.edu/2581374/Kenneth_Dover_and_the_Greeks [accessed 18.06.2024]. See also, Stephen Halliwell and Christopher Stray eds, *Scholarship and Controversy: Centenary Essays on the Life and Work of Sir Kenneth Dover* (London, 2023).

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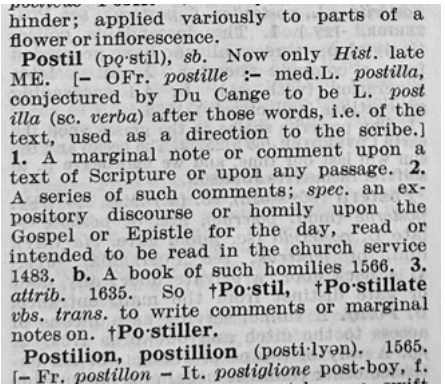
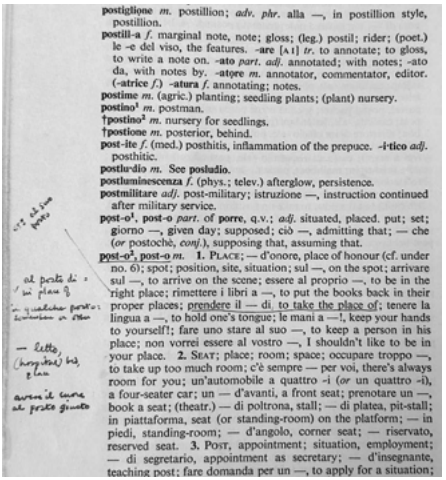


hinder; applied variously to parts of a flower or inflorescence.

Postil (pǫ·stil), *sb.* Now only *Hist.* late ME. [– OFr. *postille* :– med.L. *postilla*, conjectured by Du Cange to be L. *post illa* (sc. *verba*) after those words, i.e. of the text, used as a direction to the scribe.] **1.** A marginal note or comment upon a text of Scripture or upon any passage. **2.** A series of such comments; *spec.* an expository discourse or homily upon the Gospel or Epistle for the day, read or intended to be read in the church service 1483. **b.** A book of such homilies 1566. **3.** *attrib.* 1635. So **†Po·stil,** **†Po·stillate** *vbs. trans.* to write comments or marginal notes on. **†Po·stiller.**

Postilion, postillion (posti·lyən). 1565. [– Fr. *postillon* – It. *postiglione* post-boy, f.

Fig. 1: 'Postil', in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed., 2 vols (Oxford, 1983), II, 1638 col. 1.



postiglione *m.* postillion; *adv. phr.* alla —, in postillion style, postillion.
postill-a *f.* marginal note, note; gloss; (leg.) postil; rider; (poet.) le -e del viso, the features. **-are** [A 1] *tr.* to annotate; to gloss, to write a note on. **-ato** *part. adj.* annotated; with notes; -ato da, with notes by. **-atore** *m.* annotator, commentator, editor. (**-atrice** *f.*) **-atura** *f.* annotating; notes.
postime *m.* (agric.) planting; seedling plants; (plant) nursery.
postino[1] *m.* postman.
†postino[2] *m.* nursery for seedlings.
†postione *m.* posterior, behind.
post-ite *f.* (med.) posthitis, inflammation of the prepuce. **-itico** *adj.* posthitic.
postludio *m.* See **posludio.**
postluminescenza *f.* (phys.; telev.) afterglow, persistence.
postmilitare *adj.* post-military; istruzione —, instruction continued after military service.
pǫst-o[1], **post-o** *part.* of **porre**, q.v.; *adj.* situated, placed. put; set; giorno —, given day; supposed; ciò —, admitting that; — che (*or* postochè, *conj.*), supposing that, assuming that.
post-o[2], **post-o** *m.* **1.** PLACE; — d'onore, place of honour (cf. under no. 6); spot; position, site, situation; sul —, on the spot; arrivare sul —, to arrive on the scene; essere al proprio —, to be in the right place; rimettere i libri a —, to put the books back in their proper places; prendere il — di, to take the place of; tenere la lingua a —, to hold one's tongue; le mani a —!, keep your hands to yourself!; fare uno stare al suo —, to keep a person in his place; non vorrei essere al vostro —, I shouldn't like to be in your place. **2.** SEAT; place; room; space; occupare troppo —, to take up too much room; c'è sempre — per voi, there's always room for you; un'automobile a quattro -i (*or* un quattro -i), a four-seater car; un — d'avanti, a front seat; prenotare un —, book a seat; (theatr.) — di poltrona, stall; — di platea, pit-stall; in piattaforma, seat (or standing-room) on the platform; — in piedi, standing-room; — d'angolo, corner seat; — riservato, reserved seat. **3.** POST, appointment; situation, employment; — di segretario, appointment as secretary; — d'insegnante, teaching post; fare domanda per un —, to apply for a situation;

Fig. 2: 'postill-a', in Barbara Reynolds ed., *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1962/1981), I, 588 col. 1.

trary and artificial distinction set out here is that in the English language, citation is most often literary, such as when Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) cites Vitruvius (80/70–*c.*15 BC), Filarete (*c.*1400–*c.*1469) cites Pliny (AD 23/24–79), Andrea Palladio (1508–80) cites Sebastiano Serlio (1475–*c.*1554), and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616) cites all of the above.

On the other hand, quotation in the architectural context might helpfully be defined as being more often associated with buildings as built and their indebtedness to other buildings and architects. Why, for example, in the first third of the eighteenth century, in places as diverse as Lisbon and L'Aquila, were there such strong, vibrant, local phenomena of quoting specific 'Baroque' forms in terms of elements for windows and portals on the exteriors of palaces. Yet, these architects had not absorbed any of the Baroque spatial intelligence of the sources they de-

pended on, such as the works and treatise of Francesco Borromini (1599–1667). Except for some more or less direct copies of his Roman San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, in Gubbio in Italy with the church of the Madonna del Prato, and in Lisbon in Portugal with San Antonio (both churches rather than residential palaces), why were Baroque elements adopted and applied as quotations to palace façades, while in plan these buildings were so traditional that they could easily be confused with palace plans of the sixteenth or seventeenth century? These architects demonstrated little or no interest in the extraordinary developments in Baroque spatial planning that characterized seventeenth-century Rome with the works of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), Borromini and Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), in Venice with Baldassare Longhena (1597–1682), as well as in Turin and beyond with Guarino Guarini (1624–83), priest, mathematician, and astronomer;[3] as well as with Bernardo Vittone (1704–70).[4]

In the above instances, with citation and quotation, scholars sometimes search successfully for the source, but fail to explain its significance. Why cite Vitruvius as opposed to Pliny?[5] What about Filarete rewriting the fables in ancient descriptions of Near Eastern architecture (see Fane Saunders, chapter 1)? If you were Scamozzi, why avoid citing Palladio, even though he had interesting things to say?[6] Why was it Borromini who was quoted in Portugal and not another architect's works, and does this have any significance? In addition to citation and quotation, however, there is another term: mindset, which has been used widely in recent scholarship in a perceptive and interesting way, if not always with a clear definition of what it is, or might be. For example, why does Alberti choose to cite some sources and not others?[7] Was it because his early education had furnished him with access to certain sources and not to others? In many cases, mindset appears to come into focus when an individual has had an accident in life, or embarks on another path or profession, bringing to their new *mestiere* knowledge

3 Branko Mitrović, 'Guarino Guarini and the understanding of space and place in early modern architectural theory', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 82/2 (2023), 170–83.

4 John B. Bury, 'The "Borrominesque" churches of colonial Brazil', in *The Art Bulletin* 37/1 (1955), 27–53. Teresa Leonor M. Vale, *Ourivesaria barroca italiana em Portugal: presença e influência: acervo, contexto, agentes, processos de importação e de difusão* (Lisbon, 2016). Joseph Connors, 'A copy of Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Gubbio', in *The Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995), 588–99.

5 See the fundamental study by Peter Fane Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the emergence of Renaissance architecture* (New York, 2016).

6 Nobody has examined this in detail, citing chapter and verse.

7 Leon Battista Alberti, Martin McLaughlin trans and ed., *Biographical and autobiographical writings* (London-Cambridge MA, 2023).

and experience from their past training, and formation.[8] Bureaucratic boffins of a more modern age might want to define such a change simply as professional development, but here it adheres more often to establishing resilience through new expertise, having had one's career path altered, either by force or choice.

In this context, there are numerous examples and only a few can be mentioned here. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) was trained as a goldsmith but ended up creating some of the most important architecture of the Italian Renaissance, including the enormous dome of Florence cathedral. How does a master of the art of metalwork, which was usually executed on a relatively small scale, end up successfully supervising the design and construction of one of the largest structures of the Renaissance? Did his training in fine detail give him the ability to produce the exquisite detailing of the Ospedale degli Innocenti loggia and the refined Barbadori chapel in Santa Felicità, as well as the perspective effects within Santo Spirito?[9] The Sangallo clan were musicians, painters and architects: the architectural drawings of Giuliano (1445–1516) are among the most fascinating of the late Quattrocento; together with his younger brother Antonio the Elder (1453–1534), they were responsible for two of the most important centralized plan churches of the time, Santa Maria delle Carceri at Prato and San Biagio at Montepulciano.[10] The double portrait by Piero de' Cosimo (1462–1522) of Giuliano and his recently deceased father Francesco (1405–80), who was both an architect and musician, as the sheet of music before him indicates, illustrates his dual training, what might be best described as his expertise in two disciplines indebted to proportion and harmony. Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570), a Tuscan trained sculptor, had important experiences in Rome with his master Andrea (*c*.1467–1529), working on the Sforza tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo in the 1500s. In the 1520s when designing and constructing the Palazzo Gaddi, he witnessed the extraordinary creations of Michelangelo (1475–1564), Raphael (1483–1520), and Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481–1536), which changed his approach to design, so that subsequently when he went to Venice, prompted by the Sack of Rome, he was able to offer Doge Andrea Gritti (1455–1538) a completely different, exciting Romanizing architectural language

8 David Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity: Renaissance buildings from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo* (New Haven-London, 2019).

9 Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity*. Nicholas Terpstra ed., *Lost and Found: locating foundlings in the early modern world* (Milan, 2023).

10 Amedeo Belluzzi et al. eds, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Milan, 2017). Francesco Benelli, 'Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's reactions to the Pantheon: an early modern case of operative criticism', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78/3 (2019), 276–91. Dario Donetti, *Francesco da Sangallo e l'identità dell'architettura toscana* (Rome, 2020). Sabine Frommel, *Giuliano da Sangallo. Architekt der Renaissance: Leben und Werk* (Bern, 2020).

that his initial training in Tuscany would never have prepared him for.[11] Francesco Primaticcio (1504–70) trained as a painter in Bologna, became one of the leading artists of the 'first School of Fontainebleau', and culminated his career with an architectural masterpiece, the Valois Chapel at the Abbey of San Denis in Paris.[12] Inigo Jones (1573–1652), who was trained as a joiner and cabinetmaker later became a set designer and architect.[13]

In the Early Modern period there was always the issue of the manuscript tradition, when and why manuscripts were copied and how exactly errors of transcription were introduced and subsequently had significant effects on later scholars and their understanding and interpretation of these texts. Vitruvius had long proved impervious to understanding (see Günther, chapter 2). A major milestone was the first illustrated edition of Vitruvius by Giovanni Giocondo (*c*.1433–1515), which operated a process of turning words into images, with all the consequences that ensued (see Salatin, chapter 3).

With Pirro Ligorio (*c*.1512–83) and his engagement with ancient texts, the results of his reading had important consequences (see Di Salvo, chapter 8). Alberti's deliberate decision to not have illustrations in *De Re Aedificatoria*, following the ancient example of Vitruvius, whose images never survived, provided a template for an unillustrated architectural treatise in the fifteenth century. In light of the subsequent shift to woodcut and print illustrations in treatises of the sixteenth century, the contemporary reader is struck dumb almost with the inconceivability of reading Alberti's long explication of how to construct the Doric capital which leaves one desperately wishing for a printed image instead, precisely what Serlio pioneered beginning in the late 1530s, ensuring his enduring success (see Manrique, chapter 4).

Serlio instinctively understood that a picture was worth a thousand words, as had his master, Peruzzi, before him.[14] So too Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543), likewise pursuing visual reconstructions in his folio edition of Vitruvius printed at Como in 1521, not only managed to depict a very odd reconstruction of the temple of Artemis but, twenty years or so after Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) had created

11 Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity*.

12 Sabine Frommel, 'Sebastiano Serlio et Francesco Primaticcio: deux architectes bolonais à la Cour de France', in Olga Medvedkova ed., *Les Européens: ces architectes qui ont bâti l'Europe (1450–1950)* (Brussels, 2017), 41–63.

13 Gordon Higgott, 'Inigo Jones and the architects of antiquity', in *Annali di architettura* 31 (2019), 127–34.

14 Ann Huppert, *Becoming an architect in Renaissance Italy: art, science, and the career of Baldassarre Peruzzi* (New Haven-London, 2015).

one of the most compelling images of all time, Cesariano managed to invent one of the ugliest images of the sixteenth century: his Vitruvian man stands perpetually and painfully splayed, his penis permanently erect.[15]

In 1572, just two years after the publication of Palladio's treatise, in Holland Marten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) had printed as engravings by Philip Galle (1537–1612) his drawings of the seven wonders of the ancient world plus the Colosseum. Fraught with difficulties, because six of the seven ancient wonders no longer existed, Heemskerck adopted interesting visual and pictorial strategies for his depictions, sometimes hedging his bets where the sources were unclear (see Hopkins, chapter 5). Forty-five years later, Palladio's successor, Vincenzo Scamozzi resorted to twisted words and borrowed wisdom, i.e. misleading citation in his *Idea dell'architettura universale* of 1615 (see Milburn, chapter 6). The utterly refined art of calligraphy was and remains the opposite of twisted words, and its role on a large scale in late-Ming and Qing-period China, and the reconstruction of architectural spaces, has been a largely understudied phenomenon until now (see Hertel, chapter 7).

Invention, imitation and reiteration are three variations on the theme of specific models and their re-incarnation over time, including palace elevations (see Hemsoll, chapter 9), church plans, including centralized models and basilica plans as examples of citing from memory (see Guidarelli, chapter 10), and a case study of a Palladian villa, villa Emo, and its later re-incarnation in Germany as an Amthouse (see Günther, chaper 11). Finally, how architectural models were found and reshaped in translation between their use in artistic centres, and their echoes in the periphery (see Bösel, chapter 12) highlights, across a broad range of time and geography the concepts of citation and quotation examined here.

15 Ingrid D. Rowland, 'Vitruvius in print and in vernacular translation: 'Fra Giocondo, Bramante, Raphael and Cesare Cesariano', in Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks eds, *Paper Palaces: the rise of the Renaissance architectural treatise* (New Haven, 1998), 105–21. See the various chapters in Frédérique Lemerle ed., *Le "Vitruvio" de Cesare Cesariano* (1521) (Turnhout, 2023).

Peter Fane-Saunders

Chapter One
Rewriting the Fables: Filarete and Ancient Descriptions of Near Eastern Architecture

Towards the end of one of the more curious compositions to emerge from fifteenth-century Italy, the reader comes across an exchange between a powerful patron and his architect:

> Tell me something: one even reads—you will find it in Diodorus Siculus, among others—that those ancient kings would think it shameful to make store of gold and silver, and instead would order very large buildings to be constructed rather than desire to accumulate gold in this way.
>
> Well, this cannot be called accumulating because they would always be spending, since they used to spend those [resources] of the previous ten years in the ten years following; and [a king] would forever spend and forever make store in this way so that if a need arose, he would always find he had money without troubling his subjects; this really seemed to me a very good arrangement.
>
> And I intend to order it likewise in this our city. See whether there is any other fine command written in this book.[1]

The first speaker is the ruler of a fictitious capital, Sforzinda; the second, his wondrously talented architect. The book mentioned is the *Libro d'oro* (the so-called Golden Book) in which the two men read of a second, even more marvellous city that once stood on the site—the equally fictitious Plusiapolis.

All this is the literary creation of the artist Antonio di Pietro Averlino (*c*.1400–*c*.1469), better known to posterity by the moniker Filarete. Composed mainly in the first half of the 1460s, the manuscript from which this dialogue is taken comprises a lengthy text—part theory, part narrative, part *speculum principis* (mirror for a prince)—interspersed with detailed illustrations of buildings.

1 *LA*, II, 621–2 (XX) [Magl., fol. 168*r*]: "'Dimi un poco, e' si legge pure, intra gli altri in Diodoro Sicolo il troverrai, che quegli antichi re tenevano per vergogna di fare munizione d'oro e d'argento, e inanzi facevano fare grandissimi edificii che volessino accomulare oro in questa forma". "Ben, questo non si può chiamare accomulare, perché sempre spendevano, ché quegli di dieci anni passati si spendevano negli altri dieci anni seguenti, e sempre in questa forma si spendeva e sempre si faceva munizione, ché se uno bisogno fusse accaduto, sempre si trovava avere danari sanza agravare i suoi sudditi, sì che questo mi pareva bonissimo ordine". "E così io intendo e in questa nostra città ordinare. Guarda pure se alcuno altro ordine che bello sia c'è scritto in questo libro"'. Cf. Diod. Sic. I.xlv.1–lxviii.6, I.lxxiii.6.

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With it, the Florentine Filarete hoped to solicit further architectural patronage from the military ruler of Milan, Duke Francesco Sforza (1401–66).[2] True, he had already been engaged in some of the most prestigious projects of the age, such as the city's Ospedale Maggiore (begun 1456) and Castello Sforzesco (1450 onwards), but Sforza's purse-strings had tightened in the meantime, with funding and recognition proving increasingly elusive in the face of stiff local competition.[3] The manuscript '*Libro architettonico*' ('Architectonic Book'), as he styles his opus, is in effect an impressive calling card, in which Filarete—through a carefully worked veil of classical and contemporary allusions—importunes Sforza to continue construction on a grand scale so that patron and architect alike may, through their *virtù* (virtue/power), secure personal glory and lasting fame.[4]

In its principal objective, the '*Libro architettonico*' appears to have failed: the first twenty-four books, addressed to the duke, did not elicit additional commissions and Filarete proceeded to dedicate a final book to Piero de' Medici (1416–69), which serves as an encomium to Florence.[5] Later in the century, the work received a royal audience in the form of a Latin translation made by Antonio Bonfini (1427/34–*c.*1502) and then copied in Buda for Matthias Corvinus (1443–90), king of Hungary; but this version had limited diffusion and soon came to form part of the convent library of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.[6]

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2 On the persuasive strategies employed by Filarete see Mia Reinoso Genoni, '*Vedere e 'ntendere*: Word and Image as Persuasion in Filarete's *Architettonico Libro*', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 23–38; Berthold Hub, 'Persuasive Wort-Bild-Strategien in den Architekturtraktaten der italienischen Frührenaissance', in Franz X. Eder et al. eds, *Bilder in historischen Diskursen* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 111–44.

3 On the differing approaches of the Florentine architect and his ducal patron see Maria Beltramini, 'Questioni di stile? Francesco Sforza, Filarete e l'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano', in Lucia Corrain et al. eds, *Architettura e identità locali*, 2 vols (Florence, 2013), I, 393–404. On Sforza's programme of works see Patrick Boucheron, 'Les Expressions monumentales du pouvoir princier à Milan au temps de Francesco Sforza (1450–1466)', in Michel Balard et al., *Les Princes et le pouvoir au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993), 117–35.

4 On the significance of the term *virtù* in the work of Filarete ('Lover of Virtue') see Hans W. Hubert, 'Filarete – Der Architekt als Tugendfreund', in Joachim Poeschke et al. eds, *Die Virtus des Künstlers in der italienischen Renaissance* (Münster, 2006), 31–54; Indra Kagis McEwen, 'Virtù-vious: Roman Architecture, Renaissance Virtue', in *Cahiers des études anciennes* 28 (2011), 255–82, at 272–82. On Filarete's previous efforts at self-promotion and 'self-fashioning' see Robert Glass, 'Filarete's *Hilaritas*: Claiming Authorship and Status on the Doors of St. Peter's', in *The Art Bulletin* 94 (2012), 548–71.

5 Valentina Vulpi, 'Finding Filarete: The Two Versions of the *libro architettonico*', in Lauren Golden ed., *Raising the Eyebrow: John Onians and World Art Studies. An* Album Amicorum *in His Honour* (Oxford, 2001), 329–39.

6 MS Venice, BNM, Lat. VIII, 2 (2796). See Antonio Bonfini, *La latinizzazione del* Trattato d'architettura *di Filarete (1488–1489)*, Maria Beltramini ed. (Pisa, 2000); Maria Beltramini, 'Filarete in toga: la latinizzazione del *Trattato d'Architettura*', in *Arte lombarda* 139 (2003), 14–20.

Intended to be read aloud to its audience, the text comprises the fictional account of an architect—an avatar for Filarete himself—who follows his lord's desire to establish a city, all the while integrating his own ideas as he instructs his master in the art of architecture.[7] The capital, to be known as Sforzinda, is a clear reference to Milan and its ruling family. The architect is joined at various times by figures that correspond to members of the Milanese court, and the lord is none other than an analogue of Francesco Sforza. Sforzinda is an exercise in geometry. The walls assume the shape of an eight-pointed star, formed from two overlapping squares in turn circumscribed by a circular moat. Each outer corner of the fortifications is guarded by a tower, whereas the inner angles accommodate gates with radial roads converging on a central square, smaller open spaces being ranged in a second circle at the halfway point. The main structures—including a ducal fortress and palace, a hospital, schools and private houses—merge elements of Lombard and Florentine design in creative *imitatio* of ancient Roman practice.[8]

The further one reads, though, the more the '*Libro architettonico*' feels like a nest of Russian dolls. When groundworks begin at Sforzinda a *Libro di bronzo* (Book of Bronze) containing the names of outstanding figures of the current age is buried in an elaborate ceremony. And at the heart of Filarete's composition is the *Libro d'oro*, mentioned above—a second book-within-a-book and a literary conceit that serves to impress on the reader the alien nature of a second, even more extraordinary architectural setting (Fig. 1.1).[9] Discovered during excavations for Sforzinda's harbour and written in Greek, this latter tome relates how the monarch Zogalia (or Zogaglia), with apparently endless financial reserves, erected a capital known as Plusiapolis—'Rich City'—that was filled with astonishing monuments and formerly located on the site now occupied by Sforzinda. So captivated are members of the ruling family for whom the narrator is working, they ask him to develop a series of buildings based on these structures for their own embryonic metropolis. Some structures are also rebuilt in the locality of the new city, Sfor-

7 *LA*, I, 7, 11 (I) [Magl., fols 1*v*, 2*r*]. See also Ayşe Sevil Enginsoy, 'The Visuality/Orality/Aurality of Filarete's *Treatise on Architecture*', unpublished PhD dissertation (Cornell University, 2002). On Filarete's attempt to improve his intellectual profile at the Sforza court see Berthold Hub, 'Filarete's Self-Portrait Medal of *c.*1460: Promoting the Renaissance Architect', in *The Medal* 66 (2015), 50–60.

8 On the question of Sforzinda's identity see, *inter alia*, Luigi Firpo, 'La città ideale del Filarete', in Felice Balbo ed., *Studi in memoria di Gioele Solari* (Turin, 1954), 11–59; Sabine Rahmsdorf, *Stadt und Architektur in der literarischen Utopie der frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg, 1999), esp. 53–9; Hubertus Günther, 'Ideal und Utopie in Filaretes irrealen Stadtentwürfen', in *Das Mittelalter* 18 (2013), 73–97; Alberto Pérez-Gómez, 'Filarete's Sforzinda: The Ideal City as a Poetic and Rhetorical Construction', in *Chora. Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture* 7 (2016), 243–62.

9 On this narrative device see Ulrich Pfisterer, 'I libri di Filarete', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 97–110.

zinda, again adhering to descriptions in the *Libro d'oro*. Crucially, several of these are inspired by accounts of architecture in ancient Greek literature, above all the *Bibliotheca historica* (Historical Library) of Diodorus Siculus (*fl.* 1st century BC). The *Libro d'oro* can, in a sense, be read as a cipher for classical Greek sources, since both reveal the existence of lost marvels through the medium of a foreign alphabet.[10] (Indeed, by chance or design, this golden *Libro* has as many pages—forty—as there are volumes in the *Bibliotheca*).[11] Filarete himself emerges as the first artist in the Latin West to make abundant use of such material—a significant milestone in the history of Renaissance architectural theory.

Fig. 1.1: Cover of the *Libro d'oro*, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fol. 108*v* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

10 On Diodorus and his scholarly enterprise see esp. Charles E. Muntz, *Diodorus Siculus and the World of the Late Roman Republic* (New York, 2017). The concept of Plusiapolis is explored by Luciano Patetta, 'Il mito di Plusiapolis, dell'Insula Citera e la Città Ideale del Rinascimento', in Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi ed., *Il mito nel Rinascimento* (Milan, 1993), 101–16; Alessandro Gambuti, 'La mitica Plusiapoli del Filarete', in *Architettura & arte* 4 (1998), 23–5.

11 *LA*, II, 412 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 109*r*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. I.iv.6–v.1.

Filarete and the Architecture of Ancient Rome and the Near East

One of Filarete's main contentions in the '*Libro architettonico*' is that architecture from the remote past is revealed in its true splendour only through knowledge of the ruins and literary witness. As Filarete remarks on more than one occasion, the loss of ancient literature matched the decline of ancient Roman architecture.[12] The buildings of Rome, models for any enlightened patron of the arts, make sense only when one has both seen the physical remnants and studied the relevant books; the twin expressions of antique culture—text and architecture—are inextricably linked. Texts preserve the *memoria* (memory) of buildings, while ruins validate the veracity of texts:

> And if the bones of the buildings that one sees in [Rome] did not exist, I do not think that half of what there was would be believed from literature that is found on the subject. But when one only sees those devastated fragments of it, he who considers them well then appreciates that everything one reads about [the city] is true.[13]

Architecture should, according to Filarete, be modelled on the ancient Roman template: The shattered fabric of the city ought to inform the general design, with literature providing details of patronage and absent ornament. Over the course of the '*Libro architettonico*', the patrons of classical Rome emerge as archetypes for the reader; they built on a massive scale and treated their architects with respect, or so Filarete contends. Writers such as Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24–79) are mined for instances of exceptional commissions, though the '*Libro*' frequently modifies these passages to suggest key figures in Roman architectural history acted with moral integrity—not always in line with the sense of the original texts. Thus, the Theatre of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, a structure castigated by Pliny for its needless extravagance, is presented as a commendable example of public benefaction; and while the theatre at Sforzinda adopts the overall form of the Circus of Maxentius, it also takes its ornamental cue from Scaurus.[14]

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12 *LA*, I, 220, 228–9 (VIII), 382 (XIII) [Magl., fols 57*r*, 59*r*–*v*, 100*r*–*v*], where Filarete connects the decline of the architectural discipline and the loss of classical literature.

13 *LA*, I, 238 (VIII) [Magl., fol. 61*v*]: '[. . .] e se non fusse le ossa delli edificii che in essa si vede, non credo che per scrittura che si truovi d'essa fusse creduto la metà di quello che era. Ma quando solo si vede quelli sua conquassamenti, chi bene gli considera stima essere vero poi tutto quello che d'essa si legge'.

14 Cf. Pliny *NH* XXXVI.ii.5–6, XXXVI.xxiv.113–15. See Peter Fane-Saunders, 'Filarete's *Libro architettonico* and Pliny the Elder's Account of Ancient Architecture', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 111–20, at 118–19.

But it is the parallel presence of Greek literature that enriches the plot and leads it in a very different direction. Despite a heavy accent on ancient Rome, many of the structures illustrated in Filarete's work draw on literary records of opulent buildings located in the East. Texts, in particular those of the ancient Greek historians, encouraged Filarete to develop fresh architectural forms—blueprints that shape the narrative of the treatise as well as define, at a fundamental level, the appearance of the two cities, Sforzinda and Plusiapolis.[15] Foremost among these 'ancient' forms is the labyrinth-calendar-tower, a hybrid structure that combines features of various Eastern monuments described by Diodorus Siculus, Vitruvius (*c*.80–70 BC–after *c*.15 BC) and Pliny the Elder. Prominent, too, is a palace complex resembling the Hanging Gardens of Babylon as relayed in the writings of Diodorus and Strabo (64/3 BC–*c*.24 AD). The protagonist of this building campaign is portrayed as mythical; the equal, as it were, of the great herobuilders of the ancient Near East recollected in the Greek histories.[16]

Filarete's Classical Authors and Humanist Contacts

But how could Filarete, a sculptor-turned-architect with no formal education, have consulted such a variety of texts in Latin and in Greek, let alone understood them?[17] A likely answer resides in the form of a humanistic adviser. Indeed, several scholars may have been involved. In the late 1450s, the courtier-poet Gian-

15 For an early enquiry into the Greek dimension to Filarete's work see John Onians, 'Alberti and ΦΙΛΑΡΕΤΗ. A Study in Their Sources', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), 96–114, at 104–14, which argues for the influence of Plato's dialogues. There is an internal tension between Filarete's classical sources, insofar as Pliny often denounces Eastern architecture while the Greek sources usually offer praise.

16 On this theme in classical Greek literature see, e.g., Iris Sulimani, *Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission. Historiography and Culture-Heroes in the First Pentad of the* Bibliotheke (Leiden-Boston, 2011), 246–80.

17 Even if sometimes hard to trace, Latin manuscripts were still more readily accessible than those in Greek. Copies of *De architectura* were in circulation in Milan as early as the 1440s; see Mirella Ferrari, 'Fra i "latini scriptores" di Pier Candido Decembrio e biblioteche umanistiche milanesi: codici di Vitruvio e Quintiliano', in Rino Avesani et al. eds, *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, 2 vols (Rome, 1984), I, 247–96, at 256–64. A copy of the *Naturalis historia* (MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 24 inf.) was made in 1389 for Pasquino Capelli, chancellor to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and Petrarch's own exemplar of the text (MS Paris, BnF, Lat. 6802) appears to have been held in the Sforza library at Pavia, but the extent to which these versions were more broadly available remains unknown.

nantonio Porcellio de' Pandoni (before 1409–after 1485) compiled an epitome of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* for a certain Antonio in Milan, a bronzeworker by profession, in which he included Pliny's numerous passages on the paintings, sculpture and architecture of antiquity.[18] 'Antonio' should probably be identified as Filarete. Another contributor could well have been Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), born in Tolentino in the Marche, one of the outstanding Hellenists of the period and resident poet at the Sforza court. Casting aside his customary arrogance, Filelfo found much to admire in the Florentine sculptor. With the scholar's assistance, Filarete would have gained access to a host of texts far beyond his ordinary reach and comprehension.[19]

Indeed, in recognition of Filelfo's qualities as a translator, the '*Libro architettonico*' identifies him as the interpreter of both hieroglyphs and the lost language of the *Libro d'oro*.[20] Reading and writing are essential for good architecture, Filarete states; an architect should be lettered, otherwise he cannot be a '*perfetto artefice*' ('perfect creator').[21] Erudition is essential for the construction and preservation of great buildings. As Filarete indicates on more than one occasion, architecture and

18 MS Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 2118. For a transcription of the text see Ulrich Pfisterer, 'Filaretes Künstlerwissen und der wiederaufgefundene Traktat *De arte fuxoria* des Giannantonio Porcellio de' Pandoni', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 46 (2002), 121–51, at 131–42. On Porcellio's mixed encounters with Filelfo see Ugo Frittelli, *Giannantonio de'Pandoni detto il "Porcellio" (studio critico)* (Florence, 1900), 58–67.

19 On their relationship see Susanne Lang, 'Sforzinda, Filarete and Filelfo', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972), 391–7, at 396–7; Alessandro Rovetta, 'Filarete e l'umanesimo greco a Milano: viaggi, amicizie e maestri', in *Arte lombarda* 66 (1983), 89–102, at 98–101; Maria Beltramini, 'Francesco Filelfo e il Filarete: nuovi contributi alla storia dell'amicizia fra il letterato e l'architetto nella Milano sforzesca', in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* 1–2 (1996), 119–25. Filarete may even have illuminated one of Filelfo's copies of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (MS Florence, BML, Plut. LV, 19, fol. c. 55*r*); Giordana Mariani Canova, '*Revival* dell'antico, citazioni, riusi tra Venezia e Milano nella miniatura del Quattrocento: il caso di Francesco Filelfo e del Filarete', in *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 23 (2019), 37–45, at 41–4. I thank Silvia Fiaschi for signalling this article. The '*Libro architettonico*' directly cites a passage from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*: *LA*, II, 584 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 156*v*]; cf. Xen. *Mem.* III. x.1–5.

20 In a letter to Francesco Scalamonti, Filelfo discusses the meaning of certain hieroglyphs; Francesco Filelfo, *Francisci Philelfi viri grece & latine eruditissimi Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII ex eius exemplari transumpti: Ex quibus ultimi XXI novissime reperti fuere & impressorie traditi officine*, ed. Gaspare Alemanno (Venice, 1502), fol. 34*r*–*v* (V: 29 September 1444). This information is repeated in part by Filarete; *LA*, I, 335 (XII) [Magl., fol. 87*v*]. Filelfo owned at least two manuscripts of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*: MSS Florence, BML, Plut. LXXXI, 15, fols 97*r*–115*r*; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 871, fols c. 115*r*–37*v* (formerly owned by Cristoforo Garatone).

21 *LA*, II, 428 (XV) [Magl., fol. 113*r*]: 'Dice ancora gli bisogna sapere lettere, perché sanza lettere non può essere perfetto artefice [. . .]'. Cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* I.i.3.

letters rose and fell in line with each other; their fortunes were entwined—just as Vitruvius had determined when outlining the rôle of *auctores* (authors) in civilizing man.[22]

Of the Greek historians, Diodorus is explicitly named by Filarete on three occasions: Books XX and XXII cite '*Diodoro Siracusano*' ('Diodorus the Syracusan') and his account of royal expenditure, customs and lavish tombs in ancient Egypt.[23] In each case, the context suggests that Filarete had specific knowledge of the text. He may have acquainted himself with Diodorus through the Latin translation by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) of the first five books, finished by 1449, manuscripts of which were in general circulation by the late 1450s.[24] A second possibility is that the artist turned to his good friend Filelfo, in much the same way he had to Porcellio de' Pandoni for a synopsis of Pliny's catalogue of ancient art and architecture.

Filelfo's library was well-stocked with Greek texts, especially in the wake of the humanist's return from Constantinople with chests of manuscripts.[25] He probably acquired part of the *Bibliotheca historica* during his travels in the East in the 1420s; a copy was registered in his possession in 1427, although this is now lost.[26] The work was not always available on his shelves. In a letter to Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) dated 2 May 1433, the prior general of the Camaldolese Order was reminded by Filelfo of having received a copy only on loan.[27] Similarly, at the end of December 1442 he wrote to another scholar, Lodrisio Crivelli (b. 1412), requesting that the text be restored to him after it had been gone for two years.[28] Filelfo

22 Cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* IX.*praef*.2. See n. 12 above.

23 *LA*, II, 621 (XX) [Magl., fol. 168*r*]; cf. Diod. Sic. I.lvi.1–lviii.3. *LA*, II, 623–5 (XX) [Magl., fol. 169*r*–*v*]; cf. Diod. Sic. I.lxxvii.1–lxxxi.7. *LA*, II, 649 (XXII) [Magl., fol. 176*v*]; cf. Diod. Sic. I.lii.4, I.lxiii.2–lxiv.14; Bonfini, *La latinizzazione del* Trattato, 184 (MS Venice, BNM, Lat. VIII, 2 [2796], fol. 164*r* [XXII]). Diodorus came from Agyrion, not Syracuse; see Diod. Sic. I.iv.4.

24 Antonio Averlino, *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture: Being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero Averlino, Known as Filarete*, ed. and trans (Eng.) John R. Spencer, 2 vols (New Haven CT-London, 1965), I, 301 n.7.

25 See Paolo Eleuteri, 'Francesco Filelfo copista e possessore di codici greci', in Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato eds, *Paleografia e codicologia greca* (Alessandria, 1991), 163–79; David Speranzi, 'Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo nella biblioteca di Ianos Laskaris', in *Segno e testo* 3 (2005), 467–96; Stefano Martinelli Tempesta and David Speranzi, 'Verso una ricostruzione della biblioteca greca di Francesco Filelfo. Un elenco di codici', in Silvia Fiaschi ed., *Filelfo, le Marche, l'Europa. Un'esperienza di ricercar* (Rome, 2018), 181–212, esp. 188–208.

26 Ambrogio Traversari, *Ambrosii Traversarii generalis Camaldulensium aliorumque ad ipsum, et ad alios de eodem Ambrosio Latinae epistolae [. . .]*, ed. Lorenzo Mehus, 2 vols (Florence, 1759), II, col. 1010 (XXIV.32).

27 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 13*r* (II).

28 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 32*v* (V: 30 December 1442).

also wanted to improve his copy of the *Bibliotheca* and recover the missing books. Between 1440 and 1443 a second copy of Diodorus entered his library.[29] And in May 1452, he wrote to his son Xenophon, asking him to search for manuscripts recently brought to Italy from Greece:

> I have the first five books of the work of Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in Greek a universal history that was not only Greek and Latin but also barbarian. I hear that more than these exist in Italy because Cristoforo Garatone, the bishop of Corone [in the Peloponnese] who was lately killed by the Turks, brought [them] over from Greece. I want you to investigate the matter most carefully, whether they may be found in Rome; if this is the case, tell me as soon as possible whether there is any Greek copyist there who might accept that part of the work to be transcribed.[30]

Filelfo's search for the remaining books of Diodorus was unfortunate in its timing. The Byzantine Empire was rapidly losing ground to the Ottomans, so much so that in 1453 Constantinople was besieged, then sacked, by the forces of Sultan Mehmet II (1432–81). Something of this trauma, the loss of Christendom's eastern bulwark, is reflected in Filelfo's letters. A second letter to Xenophon, written in early June 1452, requests news of developments in the hunt for the Diodorus text, but soon turns into a meditation on the uncertain future of texts and prelates.[31] In February 1458, he contacted Basilius Bessarion (1403–72), the cardinal from Trebizond on the Black Sea who, as part of the train of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1392–1448) two decades earlier, had attempted to negotiate the union between the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Florence:

> On this matter, I would very much like to know how many books of Diodorus Siculus you possess. For I have nothing from the history composed by him except the first five volumes.

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29 MS Florence, BML, Plut. LXX, 18 (Diod. Sic. I/2, II–III, V). Copied by Theodore Gaza, this may have been the version from which Filelfo derived material on the celebrated Greeks who travelled to Egypt (Diod. Sic. I.xcvi.1–2) for his *Commentationes florentinae de exilio* (1442–4); see Francesco Filelfo, *On Exile*, ed. and trans (Eng.) Jeroen de Keyser and W. Scott Blanchard (Cambridge MA-London, 2013), 170 (I.234).

30 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 71*v* (X: 31 May 1452): 'Diodori Siculi, qui universam historiam non graecam et latinam solum sed etiam barbaram graece scripsit, mihi sunt ab initio sui operis libri quinque. Audio in Italia his plures esse, quo Christoforus Garattonus chorenensis episcopus qui a Turcis modo occisus est [= 1448] advexit ex Graecia. Volo rem diligentissime odoreris, an ii Romae reperiantur, quod si ita sit fac me quamprimum certiorem, an istic librarius graecus sit ullus, qui id operis exscribendum assumeret'. Garatone's version of the *Bibliotheca historica*, copied in Constantinople in 1427, may be identified with MS Florence, BML, Plut. LXX, 34, fols 1*r*–73*v* (Books I–III).

31 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 71*v* (X: 9 June 1452): 'Ad haec me velim facias certiorem, quod de Diodoro Siculo iusseram'.

> I long, however, to have what rest is found. [. . .] If you have anything of the sort I speak of, let me know.[32]

The tone of the letter is tentative yet hopeful, the request clear: did Bessarion, among all the manuscripts he had shipped from Constantinople, own any material from the later tomes of the *Bibliotheca*? Filelfo may have been angling for Bessarion's two exemplars that between them contained Books XI to XX.[33] Evidently impatient, about three weeks later he wrote to the cultivated banker Palla Strozzi (1372–1462) in Florence:

> There are two [works] that I ardently desire: Arrian's *History on King Alexander* and the books of Diodorus Siculus, if you have any more than I myself do; for I possess the first five volumes. The reason I long so much for both Arrian and Diodorus is that I would like those two most majestic empires, Persian as well as Macedonian, be known in Latin or else in my history. So, if I learn that such codices are in your possession or in Venice, I shall undertake that the text is copied out provided I hear that some Greek scribe is found at Padua or Venice.[34]

Filelfo held Herodotus (*c.*484–*c.*425 BC) in similarly high esteem, obtaining a copy of the *Historiae* early in his career and soon beginning to employ its mass of information on the East. While the manuscript is now lost, letters to friends indicate that he consulted it on various matters over the subsequent decades. Writing to Tommaso de' Bizzocchi from Florence in 1433, Filelfo celebrates the Persian king Cyrus for his justice.[35] In the same year, he relates the infancy of Cyrus to Antonio Caponorese.[36] At the court of Francesco Sforza in Milan, he draws on the sections regarding episodes from the battles between the Greeks and Croesus in a letter to

32 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 100*v* (XIV: 21 February 1458): 'Ad haec scire admodum velim, quot sint tibi libri Diodori Siculi. Nam mihi pra<e>ter prima quinque volumina, aliud ex eius hominis historia est nihil. Habere autem cupio quod reliquum invenitur. [. . .] Siquid habes inquam huiusmodi, facito ut intelligam'.

33 MSS Venice, BNM, Marc. gr. 375 (310), a tenth-century copy comprising Books XI–XV; Marc. gr. 376 (854), a copy of Books XV–XX made in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

34 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 101*r* (XIV: 11 March 1458): 'Duo sunt quae vaehementer cupiam: Arrhiani historia de Alexandro rege, et Diodori siculi libri, siqui plures apud vos sunt quam ipse habeam. Habeo enim quinque prima volumina. Quod autem tantopere, et Arrhianum desyderem, et Diodorum: causa est quod duo illa nobilissima imperia, et Persarum et Macedonum, vel mea historia latinis cognita esse velim. Si huiusmodi igitur codices aut apud te aut Venetiis esse cognoro, exscriptum iri curabo, modo vel Patavii vel Venetiis librarium graecum aliquem inveniri accepero'. See also his letter to Giovanni Aloisio; Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 125*v* [= 133*v*] (XVIII: 27 May 1462): '[. . .] tum ex Diodoro Siculo [. . .]'.

35 Giuseppe Zippel, 'Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429–1434)', in Gianni Zippel ed., *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano* (Padua, 1979), 215–53, at 245–6. Cf. Hdt. I.cxiv.1–5.

36 Zippel, 'Il Filelfo a Firenze', 245. Cf. Hdt. I.cix.1–cx.3.

Alberto Parisio, and on details of the customs of the Thracians in an oration dedicated to Jacopo Antonio Marcello (1397–1464/5).[37]

Strabo's *Geographia* could also be seen on Filelfo's bookshelves, although its *fortuna* in his collection was more chequered. Filelfo initially paid for a copy to be made in 1423 by the deacon Georgius Chrysococca (*fl.* 1340s), while he was attached to the Byzantine court.[38] By 1431, however, he no longer had access to the work since in a letter of the same year, he offers Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459) a copy of Dio Chrysostom in exchange for one of Strabo.[39] Correspondence over the next three decades chart his struggles to secure a complete manuscript. Only in 1461 and 1462—the years in which Filarete was composing the '*Libro architettonico*'—do we find Filelfo using select passages from the *Geographia* in letters to the Dauphin of France (the future Louis XI) and Giovanni Aloisio Guidoboni (d. 1467), respectively, likely the result of his access to a copy of Strabo's text now kept in Milan.[40]

37 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fols 154*v*–5*r* [= 162*v*–3*r*] (XXII: 23 July 1459): 'Id autem facile cognosci potest ex Herodoto, antiquissimo rerum gestarum nobilissimoque scriptore'. Filelfo quotes Hdt. I.lxxxi.1–lxxxii.8, in Latin and refers to a scribal error. Francesco Filelfo, *Orationes Philelphi cum aliis opusculis* (Venice, 1492) (*editio princeps*: Milan, 1483–4), fol. xxxviii*r*. Cf. Hdt. V.iii.2. Elements from Herodotus may also be found in two works Filelfo wrote under the previous Visconti regime, the *Commentationes florentinae* (see Filelfo, *On Exile*, 126 [I.174; cf. Hdt. I.ccxi.2–3, VII.cciv.1–ccxxxviii.2?], 308 [III.1; cf. Hdt. I.xxvi.1–xxxii.9?], 362 [III.71; cf. Hdt. I.xxiii.1–xxiv.8]) and the *Mediolanensia convivia duo* of 1442–4 (*editio princeps*: Milan, 1483–4, sigs l6*v*–l7*r*; cf. Hdt. I.23ff.); see Aristide Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo', in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 20 (1913), 204–424, at 322. Filelfo took great interest in the encounter between Solon and Croesus (Hdt. I.xxix.1–xxxiii.1); see Silvia Fiaschi, 'Rivisitazioni umanistiche di una storia antica', in Luisa Moscati Castelnuovo ed., *Solone e Creso. Variazioni letterarie, filosofiche e iconografiche su un tema erodoteo* (Macerata, 2016), 81–104, at 88–104. On the presence of Herodotus in another Sforza library (that of Alessandro, lord of Pesaro from 1445 to 1473) see Daniele Guernelli, 'Tracce della biblioteca sforzesca di Pesaro. Considerazioni su una grande raccolta libraria del Rinascimento', in *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 15 (2011), 156–70, at 164.

38 MS El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, T.II.7. See fol. 307*v* for the names of the patron and copyist, as well as its date of completion (12 August 1423).

39 Francesco Filelfo, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe publiées intégralement pour la première fois d'après le Codex Trivulzianus 873*, ed. and trans (Fr.) Émile Legrand (Paris, 1892), 13–17 (§ 7), at 13–14 (9 January 1431).

40 Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fols 121*v* [= 129*v*] (XVII: 25 February 1461; cf. Strab. *Geog.* V.i.6), 125*v* [= 133*v*] (XVIII: 27 May 1462; cf. Strab. *Geog.* IV.i.1). MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 93 sup., copied principally by Ioannes Arnes, possibly in Constantinople, and annotated by Filelfo. See David Speranzi, 'Su due codici greci filelfiani e un loro lettore (con alcune osservazioni sullo Strabone Ambr. G. 93 sup.)', in Silvia Fiaschi ed., *Philelfiana. Nuove prospettive di ricerca sulla figura di Francesco Filelfo* (Florence, 2015), 83–117, at 103–17; *contra* Calderini, 'Ri-

Sforzinda and its Literary Sources

While it would be a mistake to hunt for literary citations on every page of Filarete's work, textual sources can nevertheless be detected behind a number of his descriptions and illustrations. As one might expect, Roman accounts inform his typology of buildings and columns, material here being drawn principally from Vitruvius. But much else of Filarete's inspiration derives from Greek histories that were most probably summarized for him in the vernacular. What is more, the structures in these Greek texts are reimagined in the context of projects then underway in Sforza Milan.

First to be constructed at Sforzinda is its star-shaped circuit wall with polygonal towers. The scheme proceeds at a remarkable pace, not least due to the truly enormous workforce that runs into the hundreds of thousands and is cleverly staggered along the length of the site:

> One *braccio* of this wall from the ground level up to the top will require per day four master masons and seven labourers to serve each master [. . .]. [The masters] should be three *braccia* apart, and for every ten masters there should be one [overseer], that is someone who can command masters and labourers. [. . .] When these [overseers] and masons are organized and separated [. . .], they will cover a space of six miles and build according to this plan [. . .]. And so, working in this way, no time will be lost.[41]

As a result, Sforzinda receives its fortifications in weeks rather than years. The speed and organization far outstrip Quattrocento norms, the most obvious point of comparison being Milan's Castello Sforzesco which was a building site for the duration of Filarete's stay in the city. There are parallels with written testimonies of the grand projects of antiquity, several of which are cited in *De re aedificatoria* (On the Art of Building) by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), including the manufacture of the fabled Walls of Babylon.[42] But the closest correspondence would ap-

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cerche intorno alla biblioteca', 396, who argues that Filelfo successfully acquired a copy of Guarino da Verona's manuscript of Strabo in the late 1450s. See also MS Paris, BnF, Gr. 1408, a copy of Strabo annotated and probably commissioned by Filelfo.

41 *LA*, I, 94, 96, 97 (IV) [Magl., fol. 23*r*, 23*v*]: 'Il braccio di questo muro, dal piano della terra per infino alla fine della sua altezza, vuole quattro maestri el dì e sette lavoranti per uno perché gli servino [. . .]. [I maestri] stieno tre braccia di lunga l'uno da l'altro. E tra ogni dieci maestri sia uno di questi sopradetti, cioè che possino comandare a' maestri e anche a' lavoranti. [. . .] Così ordinate, tutte queste persone e maestri, e scompartirgli [. . .], terranno spazio di sei miglia, murando continuo per questo ordine. [. . .] E così, in questa forma faccendo, non si perderà tempo'.

42 *DRA*, I, 109 (II.3). See also Hubertus Günther, 'Society in Filarete's *Libro architettonico* between Realism, Ideal, Science Fiction and Utopia', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 56–80, at 67 with nn. 78–9.

pear to be the report in Diodorus of a seemingly impossible feat: the tyrant Dionysius the Elder throwing a defence around Syracuse in twenty days.[43] As Diodorus relates, Dionysius adroitly organized the populace to counter any land invasion:

> For each stade he appointed a master builder and for each *plethron* [i.e., one hundred Greek feet] a mason, and the labourers from the common people assigned to the task numbered two hundred for each *plethron*.[44]

The passage in question occurs in Book XIV of the *Bibliotheca historica*. If indeed Filarete's source, it poses the problem of where his humanist adviser could have acquired the text. By 1453, Iacopo di San Cassiano (1395/1413–1453/4) had translated Books XI–XIV of the second surviving pentad of Diodorus; but as far as we can tell, few copies of his work were made.[45] More likely, if anything, is that Filarete's scholarly friend approached the owner of a version of the original Greek text. As we have seen, in 1458 Filelfo asked Bessarion whether he knew where the later books of the *Bibliotheca* could be found; Bessarion owned just such a manuscript, which he left to the Republic of Venice in 1468.[46] Other manuscripts with Books XI–XV were in circulation in Quattrocento Italy, although no direct evidence survives that Filelfo succeeded in his efforts.[47]

On higher ground at the heart of Sforzinda is a citadel-fortress complete with walls, bastions and watchtower (Fig. 1.2). As with the fortifications, there are echoes of Sforza's programme in Milan; in this case, the Castello's tower to which Filarete had contributed ideas. Here again, the architecture of the ancient East makes its presence felt, with the architect suggesting to his lord that the Etruscan or Egyptian labyrinth should serve as the model for the castle defences—structures that are chronicled at length by Pliny the Elder and the Greek historians,

43 Diod. Sic. XIV.xviii.2–8. Hubertus Günther, 'Utopische Elemente in Filaretes Idealstadt Plusiapolis', in Albert Dietl et al. eds, *Utopie, Fiktion, Planung. Stadtentwürfe zwischen Antike und Früher Neuzeit* (Regensburg, 2014), 198–220, at 208–9 with n. 50. As Günther observes, Diodorus's report of Queen Semiramis's wall-building at Babylon (Diod. Sic. II.vii.3–viii.1) does not concur as closely with Filarete's account (*LA*, I, 94–7 (IV) [Magl., fol. 23*r*–*v*]).

44 Diod. Sic. XIV.xviii.5: 'καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν στάδιον ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐπέστησε, κατὰ δὲ πλέθρον ἐπέταξεν οἰκοδόμους, καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ὑπηρετήσοντας ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εἰς ἕκαστον πλέθρον διακοσίους'.

45 See, e.g., MSS Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 709; London, British Library, Harl. 4916.

46 On Bessarion's manuscript see n. 33 above.

47 MSS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 131 (owned by pope Nicholas V; see Robert Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican City, 1965), 388 [§ 35]); Paris, BnF, Gr. 1662, 1666.

respectively.[48] (Daedalus, the author of the Greek labyrinth, had employed similar tactics—narrow, winding paths—to ensure a city he was constructing in Sicily would be impregnable to attack).[49] When the lord consents, the architect produces an extravagant design for the main tower's elevation. Running the height of the manuscript folio, the drawing is an architectural florilegium that represents a distinct departure from the towers then dominating the skyline of Lombardy.[50]

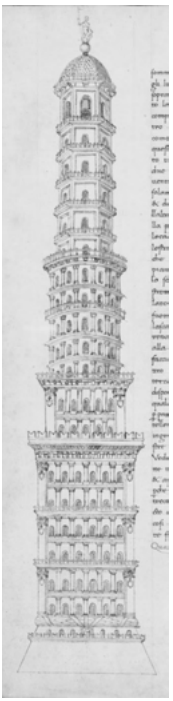

Fig. 1.2: Design for the citadel tower at Sforzinda, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fol. 41*v* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

48 *LA*, I, 148–9 (VI) [Magl., fols 37*v*–8*r*]. Cf. Pliny *NH* XXXVI.xix.84–9, 91–3; Hdt. II.cxlviii.1–7; Diod. Sic. I.lxi.1–4, I.lxvi.3–6; Strab. *Geog.* XVII.i.37. On Filarete's interest in Egyptian architecture and its antiquity see Berthold Hub, 'Ursprung Ägypten und die Renaissance der Architektur', in Helmut Seng ed., *Platonismus und Esoterik in byzantinischem Mittelalter und italienischer Renaissance* (Heidelberg, 2013), 207–61, at 218–39. For illustrated instances of labyrinths in the 'Libro architettonico' see Magl., fols 38r, 40v (VI), 99r (XIII), 110r (XIV), 121r (XV).

49 Diod. Sic. IV.lxxviii.2.

50 Magl., fol. 41*v*. For an equivalent blend see the design of Sforzinda Cathedral, Jens Niebaum, 'Filarete's Designs for Centrally Planned Churches in Milan and Sforzinda', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 121–38, at 129–32.

There are recollections of ancient Rome: With their giant corner pilasters, the lower levels of this structure evoke the base of Hadrian's Mausoleum; the serried rows of arched windows are flanked by half-columns or pilasters in the manner of the Colosseum.[51] Concessions to the Italian vernacular—predominantly Lombard and Tuscan—include balustrades and Ghibelline merlons to mark the various levels (an analogous stick-like balustrade circles the lantern of the Old Sacristy (1419–28) by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446); such merlons are on prominent display at Palazzo Vecchio and were likely used for the Castello Sforzesco).[52] A large church bell and fish-scale tiling for the cupola crown the edifice (comparable *tegole a squama* can be found on the roof of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy in Florence); the tiling of the Cappella del Crocifisso by Michelozzo di Bartolomeo (1396–1472) in San Miniato al Monte (1447–8); and Vincenzo Foppa's (1427/30–1515/16) frescoes on the inner dome of the Cappella Portinari at Sant'Eustorgio in Milan (1464–8).[53] But overall, the format is unique. No fewer than twenty storeys are stacked one above the other; and while the initial stages appear quadrangular in plan, the upper half of the structure is circular rather than polygonal.[54] The total height amounts to 365 *braccia*, the architect explains to his lord, just as there are 365

51 Cf. Filarete's reimagining of Hadrian's Mausoleum, sculpted on his bronze doors for Old St Peter's (1433–45) and possibly prompted by a drawing made by Ciriaco d'Ancona (a copy of which survives in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc. d. 85, fol. 63*r*). See also Charles Seymour, 'Some Reflections on Filarete's Use of Antique Visual Sources', in *Arte lombarda*, 38–9 (1973), 36–47.

52 Filarete had proposed a garland frieze and marble corbels (*beccatelli*) for the Castello's towers, only to be opposed by Lombard artisans: Luca Beltrami, *Il Castello di Milano sotto il dominio degli Sforza. MCCCCL–MDXXXV* (Milan, 1885), 52–5. See also Galvano della Fiamma's various representations of fourteenth-century Milan (e.g., the view of Alba Mediolanum in his *Chronica de antiquitatibus civitatis Mediolani*: MS Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. 1438, fol. 6*r*).

53 The motif derives from ancient sarcophagi. See, e.g., the lid of the marriage sarcophagus depicting Castor and Pollux (2nd century AD; Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence, Inv. No. 2005/928) that was on public display near the cathedral from the Middle Ages onwards. My thanks to Richard Schofield for his thoughts on the matter. On the Florentine inflections of Filarete's drawings (at least of those in the Codex Magliabechianus [MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140], dedicated to Piero de' Medici) see Maria Beltramini, 'Le illustrazioni del *Trattato d'architettura* di Filarete: storia, analisi e fortuna', in *AdA* 13 (2001), 25–52, at 30–40.

54 The text indicates (*LA*, I, 162 (VI) [Magl., fol. 41*v*]) that the tower was 'quadra, tonda e affacciata, cioè a otto facce e poi a dodici [. . .]'.

windows—as many as days in the year—thus rendering it a 'calendar tower', for want of a better expression.[55]

Such overtly cosmological references chime with the general emphasis of the '*Libro architettonico*' on the rôle of astrology in the planning and foundation of cities, together with the relationship of microcosm to macrocosm.[56] They also find parallels in ancient writings on the East. In Diodorus, we find the tomb of the Egyptian king Ozymandias, whose funerary chamber was surrounded by a gold band that ran for 365 cubits (according to Diodorus, each day of the year was represented on the band by a sculpted relief of one cubit).[57] And Queen Semiramis, again according to Diodorus, wanted to make the walls of Babylon precisely 365 stades long.[58] An allusion to Eastern design in the context of a 'calendar tower' would not have been unique in mid-Quattrocento architectural thought. Alberti in *De re aedificatoria* set out his idea for a *specula*, or watchtower, based on the eight-tiered temple in Babylon from which astrologers plotted the heavens.[59] In Book I of the '*Libro architettonico*', Filarete names Alberti (along with Vitruvius) as one of modern architecture's guiding lights; he may even have had some knowledge of Alberti's architectural writings—both authors give the same unusual requirement that such a tower should host a place of worship (*sacellum* in Alberti; *cappella* in Filarete).[60] Filarete also appropriates the grammar of Trajan's Column, giving the base of his design a *torus* with a laurel wreath bound by a fillet, and thus bringing it in line with Alberti's recommendation that a watchtower should follow columnar proportions. Variations on this tower theme, with its Eastern literary inflections,

55 *LA*, I, 161–2 (VI) [Magl., fols 41*v*–2*r*]. A term I borrow from Berthold Hub, 'Founding an Ideal City in Filarete's *Libro architettonico* (*c.* 1460)', in Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven eds, *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden-Boston, 2012), 17–57, at 21 fig. 3. On the design of the tower see esp. Marcello Fagiolo, 'Il castello delle meraviglie: nuove ipotesi sulla genesi di Sforzinda e su Galisforma', in Sandro Benedetti and Gaetano Miarelli Mariani eds, *Saggi in onore di Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat* [= *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, 1–10 (1983–7)] (Rome, 1987), 187–96, at 190–6.

56 See Berthold Hub, 'La planimetria di Sforzinda: un'interpretazione', in *Arte lombarda* 155 (2009), 81–96, at 85–6, 88–90.

57 *LA*, I, 161–2 (VI) [Magl., fol. 41*v*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. I.xlix.1–6. See Spencer, I, 72 n. 6. Alberti explicitly mentions this feature of the monument (*DRA*, II, 609 [VII.10]).

58 Diod. Sic. II.vii.3. See Berthold Hub, *Filarete. Der Architekt der Renaissance als Demiurg und Pädagoge* (Vienna, 2020), 181 n. 93.

59 *DRA*, II, 699 (VIII.5). Cf. Hdt. I.clxxxi.2–clxxxiii.3.

60 *LA*, I, 9–11 (I) [Magl., fols 1*v*–2*r*]. *DRA*, II, 703, 707 (VIII.5); *LA*, I, 156, 162 (VI) [Magl., fols 40*r*, 42*r*].

recur at several intervals in Filarete's narrative, whether as a corner turret, guard post, castle keep or lighthouse.[61]

A third extraordinary project lies in the valley outside Sforzinda. The lord's architect is commissioned to undertake a pair of hilltop fortresses, one larger than the other, on the steep banks of the river Averlo (Fig. 1.3). Whimsically enough, the bridge linking the castles is habitable and incorporates clandestine tunnels:

> And from this tower it was possible to pass through a secret and covered way to the other castle. The lord could also go through a novel and secret passage. [. . .] As soon as [the lord] understood what we had done, he came to see. And after seeing—and wanting to understand—how everything was arranged, he also desired to go from one [castle] to the other through the subterranean passages that crossed [the river] by means of the bridge.[62]

These hidden routes cannot, apparently, be shown in drawings.[63] Once more, the main spur appears to be Diodorus. Book II of the *Bibliotheca historica* recounts how Semiramis constructed a magnificent bridge as well as a citadel-palace on either side of the Euphrates. To pass unseen from one residence to the other, however, she diverted the river in order to excavate a tunnel, then returned the water to its original course.[64] But Filarete does not focus solely on the fantastical. He wheels out the grand projects of Roman antiquity: Trajan fording the Danube; Caesar spanning the Rhine.[65] He also brings his discourse into the present with reflections on the suspension bridge that engineers had created at Todi, presum-

61 Magl., fols 42*r* (VI), 97*r*, 99*r* (XIII), 109*r*, 110*r* (XIV). On the relationship between the towers projected by Alberti and Filarete, respectively, see Marcello Fagiolo, 'La Basilica Vaticana come tempio-mausoleo "inter duas metas". Le idee e i progetti di Alberti, Filarete, Bramante, Peruzzi, Sangallo, Michelangelo', in Gianfranco Spagnesi ed., *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. La vita e l'opera* (Rome, 1986), 187–209, 565–74, at 189–91, 567 figs 2–3.

62 *LA*, I, 378–9 (XIII) [Magl., fol. 99*v*]: 'E da questa torre si puote andare per via secreta e coperta per infino all'altra dell'altro castello, e così in essa si potrà andare dal Signore per nuova e segreta via [. . .]. E subito, inteso quello avamo fatto, venne a vedere. E veduto e voluto intendere ogni cosa come stava e come erano ordinati, e da l'uno all'altro vuolse andare per le vie sotterranee, le quali per lo mezzo del ponte passavano'.

63 *LA*, I, 375 (XIII) [Magl., fol. 98*v*]: '[. . .] le quali vie per disegno non si possono mostrare'. On Filarete's bridge designs see Caterina Palestini, 'Imagination and Images: From the Treatise to the Digital Representation. Sforzinda and the Bridges in the Inda Valley', in *Proceedings of the International and Interdisciplinary Conference IMMAGINI? Image and Imagination between Representation, Communication, Education and Psychology* (Bolzano, Italy), 27–28 November 2017, 1, 893, 2017, 1–9; doi:10.3390/proceedings1090893.

64 Diod. Sic. II.viii.2–ix.3. See also *LA*, I, 356–78 (XIII) [Magl., fols 93*v*–9*v*].

65 *LA*, I, 369 (XIII) [Magl., fol. 96*v*]. Cf. Caes. *BGall.* IV.xvii.1–xix.4, VI.ix.1–5, VI.xxix.1–3. Filarete refers to a pontoon bridge as depicted on Trajan's column rather than the stone version described in Cass. Dio LXVIII.xiii.1–6.

ably in 1433, for Francesco Sforza's troops to cross during their conquest of the Marche.[66] As illustrated, the towers again recall the design of the Castello Sforzesco. With this bridge over the Averlo, the '*Libro architettonico*'—as before—reconfigures the architecture of territory under Sforza rule.[67]

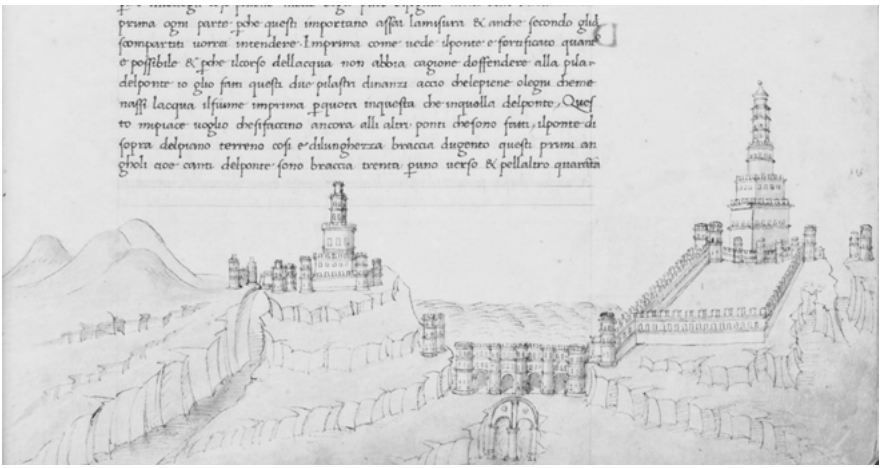

Fig. 1.3: Design for two fortresses and a bridge outside Sforzinda, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fol. 97*r* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

Diodorus and the *Libro d'oro*

After inspecting plans for Sforzinda, the architect and his lord head to the coast. It is there, while digging a harbour to accommodate the fleet, that they uncover the *Libro d'oro*.[68] Stashed inside a lead box within a stone chest along with a green cup containing dust, this strange tome charts the building schedule of the vanished city of Plusiapolis ('πλουσιαπολισ' [*sic*]) as recounted by its monarch Zoga-

66 Sforza's campaign of November 1433 subjugated the Marche in the space of just three weeks. He abandoned the territory in the summer of 1443, when he fled to Fano and the protection of Sigismondo Malatesta (who had wed his daughter Polissena). Filarete remarks (*LA*, I, 368–9 (XIII) [Magl., fol. 96*v*]) that the bridge shook violently but withstood the weight of Sforza's army. See Francesco Pirani, 'Lo stato sforzesco nelle Marche: forme e rappresentazioni del potere', in *Filelfo, le Marche, l'Europa*, 1–25.

67 On this phenomenon see Alessandro Rovetta, 'Le fonti monumentali milanesi delle chiese a pianta centrale del *Trattato d'Architettura* del Filarete', in *Arte lombarda* 60 (1981), 24–32.

68 *LA*, I, 385 (XIV) [Magl., fols 101*r*–2*r*].

lia, a rough anagram of Galeazzo (Maria) (1444–76), eldest son of Francesco Sforza and heir to the duchy of Milan. As such, it provides the sole testimony to Plusiapolis's former splendour. Zogalia believes his city to be dormant; it will, he prophesies, rise again—at least, in the mind's eye—when the text of the *Libro* is discovered and read by a successor possessing *virtù*.[69] Only books preserve architectural deeds against the depredations of time and war, Zogalia laments; 'for this reason, I made this record [*memoria*] in this book'.[70] Indeed, the cover of the *Libro* is dominated by a female personification of *MEMORIA* set between the twin figures of *INGENGNO* and *INTELLETO*.[71] Because the text comes without illustrations, it is left to the architect and his lord to attempt to make sense of the descriptions. The script is in Greek characters and so the architect turns to an interpreter who happens to be at hand; this helpful courtier goes by the name of Iscofrance Notilento, another anagram, this time of Francesco da Tolentino (Francesco Filelfo).[72]

Certain elements regarding the *Libro d'oro*'s appearance and discovery have led one modern scholar to link Filarete's account to *Alexander's Treasury* (*Thesaurus Alexandri*; *Kitāb Dhakhīrat al-Iskander*), a supposedly ninth-century Arabic text in which a gold book in foreign script is unearthed, in this instance inside a copper box, by an architect and his prince; a translator is likewise required to read the text.[73] The thesis is attractive enough, and would explain some of the intricacies and idiosyncrasies of Filarete's work. Problematic, though, is the question of whether an Italian architect operating in mid-century Milan, albeit one with notable humanist contacts, could have encountered the *Thesaurus* in some form; its transmission in the West was extremely limited in the Quattrocento, more so than Diodorus.[74]

69 *LA*, I, 393 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 103*r*–*v*].

70 *LA*, I, 399 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 105*r*]: '[. . .] sì che per questo io feci questa memoria in questo libro'. Cf., e.g., *LA*, I, 408 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 107*v*], where Zogalia presents the design of his temple; for its beauty 'lo feci scolpire questo libro d'oro', which he intends to act as *testimonianza* (testimony) to his rule.

71 Magl., fol. 108*v*. The significance of these terms in the context of Filarete's work is addressed in Ulrich Pfisterer, 'Ingenium und Invention bei Filarete', in Bruno Klein and Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck eds, *Nobilis arte manus. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Antje Middeldorf Kosegarten* (Dresden-Kassel, 2002), 265–89. The word *memoria* appears at several key moments, especially in connection with classical literature and the *Libro d'oro*: see, e.g., *LA*, I, 36 (I) [Magl., fol. 7*r*]; II, 469, 492 (XVI), 562 (XVIII), 582 (XIX), 663–4 (XXIII) [Magl., fols 125*r*, 131*v*–2*r*, 151*r*, 156*r*, 180*v*].

72 *LA*, I, 411 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 108*v*].

73 Berthold Hub, 'Filarete and the East. The Renaissance of a *Prisca Architectura*', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70/1 (2011), 18–37, at 29–32.

74 Moḥammad bin Khālid (?), *Livro do Tesouro de Alexandre. Um estudo de hermética árabe na officina da história da ciência*, ed. and trans (Port.) Ana Maria Alfonso-Goldfarb and Safa Abou Chahla Jubran (Petrópolis, 1999).

There is another possibility that may offer a more direct explanation of the *Libro d'oro*'s function. While lacking the parallels of the Arabic tale, this second explanation fits more closely with the sources Filarete is known to have consulted. Around the middle of Book V of the *Bibliotheca*, Diodorus incorporates the story of Euhemerus, a Hellenistic mythographer at the Macedonian court and the author of the *Sacra historia* (Sacred History). According to Euhemerus, the verdant island of Panchaea in the Indian Ocean had a temple to Zeus Triphylius, 'Zeus of the Three Tribes', which Zeus himself founded when he was king of all inhabited lands. Within the sanctuary stood a large gold stele ('στήλη χρυσῆ μεγάλη') inscribed with hieroglyphs that recounted the deeds ('πράξεις') of Uranus and Zeus when they lived among men, to which Hermes added the achievements of Artemis and Apollo.[75] In the following book of Diodorus, the same gold stele is credited with documenting the exploits of Cronus, Uranus and Zeus, including their discoveries and civilizing influence on mankind.[76] This concept, that mythical figures aided in the development of society and practical knowledge, runs like a *fil rouge* through Filarete's writings; as does the notion of a deified king leaving behind traces of his accomplishments. Similarly, Panchaea's location—off the coast of India—complements the orientalizing elements of Filarete's narrative, where a city named Sforzinda is located on the banks of the river Indo.[77]

Plusiapolis and the East

Of the buildings dotted around Zogalia's kingdom, many of the most imposing are Eastern in origin. While features outlined in Roman accounts can be observed in several designs, not least the repeated motif of the labyrinth, much of Filarete's

75 Diod. Sic. V.xlvi.7. A possible connection between the *Libro d'oro* and the stele of Zeus Triphylius is also noted in Hermann Bauer, 'Über einige utopische Topoi und die Anfänge der Kunsttheorie in der Renaissance', in Georg Jenal ed., *Gegenwart in Vergangenheit. Beiträge zur Kultur und Geschichte der Neueren und Neuesten Zeit. Festgabe für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1993), 1–9, at 5–6. The passage is rephrased in Lactant. Div. inst. I.xi.33), an author well known to Filelfo. On Filelfo and Lactantius see the humanist's letter to Antonio da Rho; Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. 32*v* (V: 30 December 1442). See also Antonio Rollo, 'La tradizione dei graeca nelle Divinae institutiones di Lattanzio nel Quattrocento', in *Studi medievali e umanistici* 14 (2016), 469–546, at 537–46.

76 Diod. Sic. VI.i.6–10 (Euseb. *Praep. evang.* II.ii.59B–61A). Cf. Diod. Sic. III.lvi.1–lxi.6 (on the Atlantean and Phrygian myths of the genesis of the gods from Uranus onwards).

77 Panchaea, like the valley around Sforzinda, is a *locus amoenus* rich in natural resources: Diod. Sic. V.xlii.4–xliii.3, V.xliv.3–5, V.xlv.1–2, V.xlvi.4. On Filarete's toponymic allusions to India see Hub, 'Filarete and the East', 24.

creativity derives from the Greek histories, most probably translated (or summarized) for him in the vernacular. Reflections of Rome's ancient architecture in the *Libro d'oro* are generally vague, the Mausoleum of Hadrian and Colosseum being the most frequent visual echoes.[78]

Only on one occasion in Plusiapolis does Filarete seem to use a Latin text other than Vitruvius as the main prompt for a design *all'antica*. The revolving tower devised by the chief architect to Zogalia, Onitoan Nolievra (an anagram of Antonio Averlino), appears partly literary in origin, with its roots in the twin theatres of Gaius Scribonius Curio (*c.*84–49 BC) as communicated by Pliny the Elder (Fig. 1.4). According to Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, Curio sponsored the construction of two identical theatres that faced back-to-back for plays but then swung round—balanced on separate pivots ('*cardines singuli*')—to be brought together as an amphitheatre for gladiatorial games.[79] The building described and illustrated by Filarete takes the form of a rectangular block, above which rises a cylinder divided into arcaded storeys by *atlantes* (sculpted figures of men). At the summit stands an equestrian statue of Zogalia's son, his charger rearing and sword in hand. According to the *Libro d'oro*, the circular floors turn via 'large round objects of bronze in the form of cylinders, or that is to say wheels'.[80] Judging from the accompanying drawing, these are attached to the central axis ('*il suo bilico, cioè il polise*') by a series of iron and bronze screws.[81] The two designs, those of Curio and of Nolievra, have aspects in common, above all the use of a pivot to turn a cylindrical structure. That Nolievra's creation—'*questa torre volubile*' ('this rotating tower')—resembles the Roman Colosseum, the amphitheatre *par excellence*, would conceivably support this reading.[82]

For the most part, Filarete resorts to the Greek histories (and the Eastern architecture they describe) to engineer a raft of buildings that are both larger and

78 On this curious paradigm see Paolo Marconi, 'Filarete e la città sul fiume Indo: Temi vitruviani e temi orientali a confronto', in idem et al eds, *La città come forma simbolica. Studi sulla teoria dell'architettura nel rinascimento* (Rome, 1973), 59–67. See also Giorgio Muratore, 'Città rinascimentale e trattatistica estremo-orientale', in ibid., 335–85.

79 Pliny *NH* XXXVI.xxiv.116–20.

80 *LA*, II, 634 (XXI) [Magl., fol. 172*r*]: '[. . .] perché di sotto era ancora di bronzo tondi grossi a guisa di curri, o vuoi dire ruotole, in modo che aiutava assai il voltare d'essa torre'.

81 *LA*, II, 633 (XXI) [Magl., fol. 171*v*]. *LA*, II, 634 (XXI) [Magl., fol. 172*r*]: 'El modo del voltare era con viti di ferro e di bronzo'.

82 Filarete was familiar with Pliny's account of the double theatre since elsewhere he identifies Curio by name (*LA*, I, 333 (XII) [Magl., fol. 87*r*]). If, as seems likely, Porcellio de' Pandoni dedicated his short treatise *De arte fuxoria* to Filarete (n. 18 above), the artist-architect would have read in translation how Curio's twin theatres were 'versatili et voluptibili'; see Pfisterer, 'Filaretes Künstlerwissen', 137.

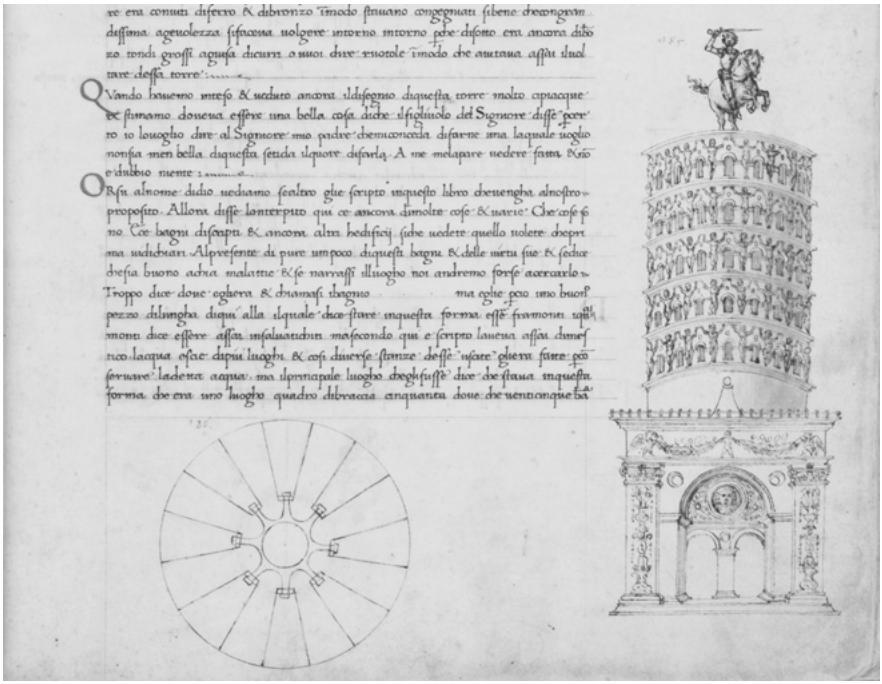

Fig. 1.4: Rotating tower monument to King Zogalia's son, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fol. 172*r* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

more astounding than anything that could ever be realized in fifteenth-century Milan. Diodorus Siculus, in particular, serves as a treasury of myths and a font of curious structures.[83] Filarete's belief that Egypt was the cradle of architecture stems in part from the *Bibliotheca historica*, since he credits the designers of the Egyptian Labyrinth, Menedotus and Velnaron, as the first *architetti (*architects*)*—names plucked, so it would seem, from the pages of the *Bibliotheca* and Pliny's *Naturalis historia*; so, too, his interest in Babylonia, which to a large extent de-

83 Diodorus's presence in the '*Libro architettonico*' was first addressed in Liliana Grassi, 'Sforzinda, Plusiapolis, Milano: città ideale, città del mito, città della storia nel *Trattato* del Filarete', in *Studi di letteratura francese* 11 (1985), 26–50, in which the *Bibliotheca historica* is considered a key component in the network of references to the three interrelated capitals (Milan, Sforzinda and Plusiapolis). The relationship is further explored in eadem, 'Diodoro Siculo nel *Trattato* del Filarete: un codice diodoreo nella biblioteca degli Sforza?', in *Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche* 61 (1987), 53–8, but without close analysis of the visual and philological similarities between the buildings described in the two texts.

pends on episodes and achievements that are transmitted by Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus.[84] But not only: Plusiapolis is, in a very real sense, predicated on Diodorus. The city's laws hinge on Egyptian customs listed in Book I of the *Bibliotheca* and reproduced fairly accurately in Book XX of the '*Libro architettonico*', likely with the aid of a skeleton translation prepared by a humanist.[85] The very name—'Rich City'—may reflect Diodorus's description of Nilotic Thebes as the most prosperous metropolis not only of Egypt, but of the entire world.[86]

And yet, despite this accent on the history of the ancient Near East, these buildings and laws are not restricted to the past. After reading the *Libro d'oro*, the interpreter remarks how noble it would be to realize the architecture of Plusiapolis and observe its legal code.[87] Accordingly, Sforzinda's ruler decides to 'reconstruct' these Egyptian and Babylonian archetypes, admittedly after a Roman, Lombard and Florentine fashion.

The City and Country Palaces of King Zogalia

Zogalia is not a modest patron of the arts; his two palaces are confident statements of power and dynastic identity. The urban residence reveals the historical figures on whom he is modelled. A sequence of paintings runs around the main courtyard portraying the great rulers of the ancient Near East and their achievements, with scenes selected from the lives of Assyrian sovereigns Semiramis and Sardanapalus, as well as of the Persian kings Cyrus, Cambyses II, Oropastes and Darius.[88] The result is a 'picture encyclopaedia' of oriental monarchy and sweeping empires.[89]

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84 *LA*, II, 564 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 151*v*]. Menedotus appears to be a corruption of 'Mendes' (Diod. Sic. I.lxi.1) or 'Imandes'/'Ismandes' (Strab. *Geog.* XVII.i.37, 42), while Velnaron resembles the 'Chaeremon' of Pliny the Elder (Pliny *NH* XXXVI.xix.89). For a list of the Labyrinth's builders as given in the ancient sources see Alan B. Lloyd, 'The Egyptian Labyrinth', in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970), 81–100, at 91–2.

85 *LA*, II, 623–5 (XX) [Magl., fol. 169*r*–*v*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. I.lxxvii.1–lxxxi.7.

86 Diod. Sic. I.xlv.5–6.

87 *LA*, II, 586 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 157*r*]. On the use of Diodorus to shape society and civic infrastructure in Plusiapolis see esp. Günther, 'Society in Filarete's *Libro architettonico*', 78–9.

88 *LA*, I, 406 (XIV) [Magl., fols 105*v*–7*r*]. Cf. Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, eds Pier Giorgio Ricci and Vittorio Zaccaria, in Vittore Branca et al. eds, *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, 10 vols (Milan, 1964–98), IX, 44–52 (II.12: Sardanapalus), 182–4 (II.21: Cyrus), 216 (III.5: Cambyses, Oropastes), 316–22 (IV.9: Darius).

89 A term I take from Horst Bredekamp, 'Babylon as Inspiration: Semiramis' Encyclopedia of Pictures', in *Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike* 10 (2008), 85–102, at 87. Zogalia's

Individual cycles of *viri illustres* (illustrious men) were not uncommon in the literature and visual arts of the period.[90] Models known to Filarete would have included the *De viris illustribus* (begun 1337) of Francesco Petrarch (1304–74), the series of famous warriors at the palace of Azzone Visconti in Milan (1335) by Giotto (*c*.1267–1337), the relief panels by Andrea Pisano (1290–1348) around the bell tower of Florence Cathedral (1337–41), in addition to the frescoes of Andrea di Bonaiuto (*fl*. 1343–77) in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli at Santa Maria Novella (1365–7). But in Filarete's version, the scope has been expanded to encompass lawgivers and civilizing influences on foreign lands, recording in visual form the common origins of society. The level of detail, especially for the stories of Cyrus and Semiramis, suggests he had access to a variety of literary sources including classical Greek texts (even if he considers Semiramis to have been Egyptian, not Mesopotamian).[91]

One explanation for Filarete's choice of theme—and his keen knowledge of the subject—lies in events that immediately preceded his composition of the '*Libro architettonico*'. Sforza Milan was well aware of the political potential of such programmes and, in the second half of the 1450s, Filelfo penned a series of epigrams to accompany a pictorial cycle of ancient heroes and heroines for the Corte dell'Arengo, seat of the ruling family and centre of civic administration.[92]

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scheme acts the counterpoint to a similar programme at the ruler's palace in Sforzinda: *LA*, I, 259–64 (IX) [Magl., fols 67*v*–8*v*]. See Silvana Sinisi, 'Il Palazzo della Memoria', in *Arte lombarda* 38–39 (1973), 150–60. Another analogous cycle can be found in the House of the Architect in Plusiapolis: *LA*, II, 557–86 (XVIII–XIX) [Magl., fols 150*r*–7*r*]. See Berthold Hub, 'Filaretes papierenes Haus des Architekten', in Andreas Tacke et al. eds, *Künstlerhäuser im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Petersberg, 2018), 58–77.

90 See, *inter alia*, Theodor E. Mommsen, 'Petrarch and the Decoration of the *Sala Virorum Illustrium* in Padua', in *The Art Bulletin* 34 (1952), 95–116; Nicolai Rubinstein, 'Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), 179–207, at 189–207; Maria Monica Donato, '*Famosi cives*: testi, frammenti e cicli perduti a Firenze fra Tre e Quattrocento', in *Ricerche di storia e dell'arte* 30 (1986), 27–42.

91 Cf. Diod. Sic. II.iv.1–v.7. Worth noting in this context, Filelfo harboured a great interest in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. He owned at least two manuscripts of the text (MSS Florence, BML, Plut. LV, 19, fols c. 55*r*–228*v*; Plut. LV, 21, fols c. 75*r*–168*v*) and completed a Latin translation by 1469. For Babylon and Semiramis in Egypt see Diod. Sic. I.lvi.3, 5; Strab. *Geog*. XVII.i.30.

92 On changes made to the Corte during the Visconti and Sforza regimes see Maria Nadia Covini, 'Visibilità del principe e residenza aperta: la Corte dell'Arengo di Milano tra Visconti e Sforza', in Lucia Bertolini et al. eds, *Il Principe inVisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Turnhout, 2015), 153–72; Jessica Gritti and Francesco Repishti, 'Francesco Sforza e il Palazzo Ducale di Milano', in *Libri & documenti* 42–3 (2016–17), 27–57, esp. 28 n. 5, 31–5, 53–5.

The content of Filelfo's verses owe much to the Greek historians and it is no coincidence that several of the same heroic figures—Ninus, Semiramis, Cyrus the Great and Tomyris—feature on the palace walls of Plusiapolis and draw on the same histories.[93] Filarete's lengthy account of 'Egyptian' Semiramis and her birth derives from the *Bibliotheca historica* rather than the pages of Petrarch or Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), and Cyrus from Herodotus rather than a more modern source.[94] There are also points of comparison between Zogalia's scheme and the Eastern monuments detailed by Diodorus: specifically, the palace built by Semiramis in Babylon, where—in a confluence of image and architecture—colourful friezes depicted her achievements; and the paintings of battle scenes at the tomb of Ozymandias, which testified to the valour of the erstwhile ruler.[95]

On delving deeper into the *Libro d'oro*, Sforzinda's ruler, his architect and interpreter encounter one of the most impressive set-pieces in Plusiapolis: a quadrangular complex that can perhaps best be defined as Zogalia's country retreat, only here the gardens range over several levels and surround the courtly dwellings on every side (Fig. 1.5a–b).[96] Again, there are parallels with local architecture—the Visconti castles at Vercelli, Pavia (with its extensive deer park), Melegnano and Pandino (both close to the hunting grounds around Spino d'Adda)—as well as with an Eastern prototype, this time none other than the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. Surrounded by a labyrinth, set within a moat and macrocosmic *mappamondo* (world map), is a square structure subdivided into nine units, each one of which runs to a hundred *braccia* in length and breadth.[97] Tiered gardens,

93 Francesco Caglioti, 'Francesco Sforza e il Filelfo, Bonifacio Bembo e "compagni": nove prosopopee inedite per il ciclo di antichi eroi ed eroine nella Corte Ducale dell'Arengo a Milano (1456–61 circa)', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 38 (1994), 183–217; Annarita Ferranti, 'Ricerche sugli epigrammi latini di Francesco Filelfo (Reggia dell'Arengo, Milano, 1450 ca.). Tre eroine appartenenti alla tradizione delle neuf preuses: Semiramide, Tomiride, Pentesilea', in *Fontes. Rivista di filologia, iconografia e storia della tradizione classica* 11–13 (2008–10), 35–53; Annarita Ferranti, 'Ricerche sugli epigrammi latini di Francesco Filelfo (Reggia dell'Arengo, Milano, 1450 ca.). I sei eroi: Nino, Ciro, Alessandro, Cesare, Annibale e Scipione', in *Fontes. Rivista di filologia, iconografia e storia della tradizione classica* 14 (2011), 15–32.

94 *LA*, I, 404–6 (XIV) [Magl., fols 106*v*–7*r*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. II.iv.1–6. See also *LA*, II, 572 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 153*v*]: 'Eragli ancora Semiramis, la quale si dice che trovò le brache'. Cf. Diod. Sic. II.vi.6. *LA*, I, 401–3 (XIV) [Magl., fols 105*v*–6*v*]. Cf. Hdt. I.cvii.1–cxxx.3, I.ccv.1–ccxiv.5.

95 Diod. Sic. II.viii.6, I.xlvii.6–xlviii.3.

96 *LA*, II, 450–6 (XV) [Magl., fols 120*r*–2*r*]. See Hubertus Fischer, 'Utopia, Science and Garden Art in the Early Modern Era', in Hubertus Fischer et al. eds, *Gardens, Knowledge and the Sciences in the Early Modern Period* (Cham (Switzerland), 2016), 153–80, at 162–8.

97 On Filarete's quadratic planning method see Hans W. Hubert, 'In der Werkstatt Filaretes: Bemerkungen zur Praxis des Architekturzeichnens in der Renaissance', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 47 (2003), 311–44, esp. 314–27.

bedded on the four corner towers and the central portion, are connected by cloisters in the remaining plots. Ramps for access by horse lead to the top of each terrace, while water runs through a large pipe to feed the middle garden and then trickles down to reach the lower plantations.[98]

The original Hanging Gardens appear in several classical texts, where they are surveyed to varying degrees of detail. Certain aspects of the *Libro d'oro*'s description tally with the account given in Diodorus, not least the opening line, which records how 'this site was partitioned into mountains as best as was possible [. . .] according to how [they are] on the world map'—a witty play on one of the celebrated tropes of the Gardens, that they were built on terraces to gratify a Persian concubine who missed the mountains of her homeland.[99] Noteworthy, too, is the way the terraces are said to contain a variety of lodgings: 'camere e altri luoghi da potere abitare', according to the *Libro d'oro*.[100] The *Bibliotheca historica* refers to 'many royal abodes of every kind' ('πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς [. . .] διαίτας βασιλικάς')—'*regia diversoria*' in Poggio's translation of 1449.[101] The corner pavilions of the gardens, moreover, sport as weather vanes 'figures of noble men and inventors of noble things'.[102] Mythical heroes and founders are themes dear to Filarete and Diodorus alike, and a reference to Bacchus teaching Egyptians to plant the vine is extracted directly from Book I of the *Bibliotheca*.[103]

98 Cf. the design of the *podestà*'s palace in Sforzinda: *LA*, I, 274–6 (X) [Magl., fols 71*r*–2*r*]. For modern reconstructions of the irrigation system employed at the Hanging Gardens see D. W. W. Stevenson, 'A Proposal for the Irrigation of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon', in *Iraq* 54 (1992), 35–55, at 46–55; Stephanie Dalley and John Peter Oleson, 'Sennacherib, Archimedes, and the Water Screw: The Context of Invention in the Ancient World', in *Technology and Culture* 44 (2003), 1–26, at 5–17.

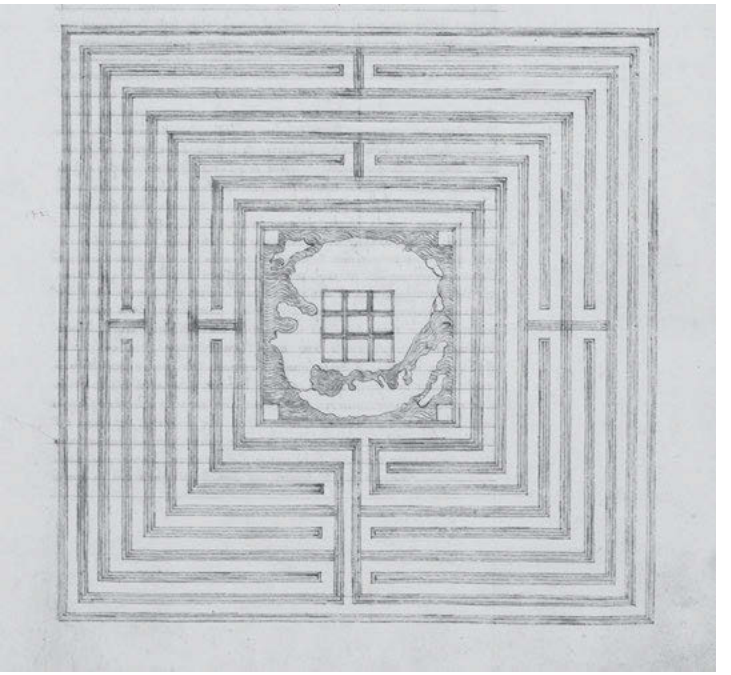
99 *LA*, II, 452 (XV) [Magl., fol. 120*v*]: '[. . .] questo luogo era scompartito di monti il meglio che fu possibile a scompartirgli secondo che <stanno> nel mappamondo'. Cf. Diod. Sic. II.x.1; Joseph. *AJ*, X.xi.1 (who states she was Median).

100 *LA*, II, 454 (XV) [Magl., fol. 121*v*].

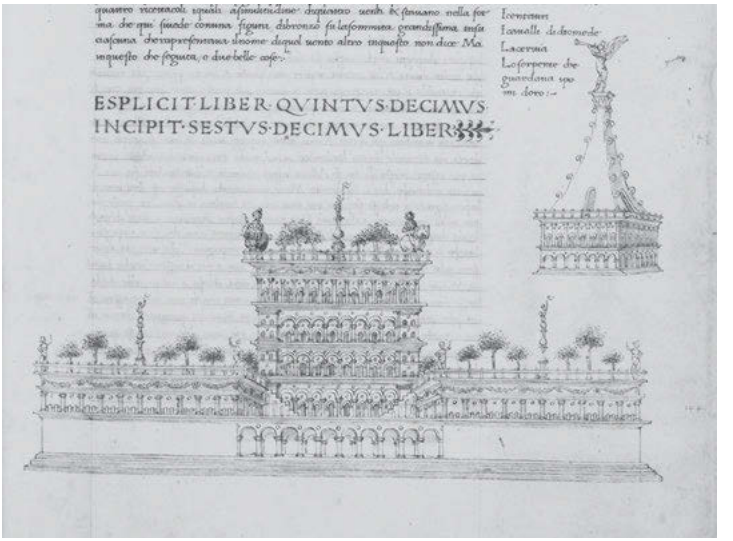
101 Diod. Sic. II.x.6. Cf. MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1812, fol. 59*v*. On the fifteenth-century circulation of ancient texts describing the Hanging Gardens see Maria Elena Gorrini, 'Fonti antiche per il giardino del Rinascimento', in *Viglevanum* 25 (2015), 80–7. On Italian hanging gardens of the period, both real and literary, see Gianpaolo Angelini, 'Da Pier de' Crescenzi a Filarete: il giardino pensile nei trattati tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento e il caso di Vigevano', in *Viglevanum* 25 (2015), 88–95, esp. 93–4.

102 *LA*, II, 455 (XV) [Magl., fol. 122*r*]: '[. . .] figure d'uomini degni e inventori di cose degne [. . .]'.

103 Diod. Sic. I.xv.6–8. The other civilizing divinities are all to be found in Boccaccio: Saturn, bringer of cultivation to Italy (*Genealogia*, VIII.1); Minerva, the inventor of wool and weaving (*Genealogia*, II.3; *De mulieribus claris*, VI.3–4); Carmenta, creator of the Latin alphabet (*De mulieribus claris*, XXV.12–13). On Boccaccio and the mediaeval tradition of inventors, which appears to have been known to Filarete, see Paolo Cherchi, 'The Inventors of Things in Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum gentilium*', in Igor Candido ed., *Petrarch and Boccaccio. The Unity of Knowledge in the Pre-Modern World* (Berlin, 2018), 244–69.



a)



b)

Fig. 1.5a–b: Plan and elevation of the garden palace of King Zogalia, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fols 121*r*, 122*r* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

Other facets align more closely with the writings of Strabo. Zogalia's garden palace is portrayed as built '*tutto in colonne*' (all in columns).[104] As the interpreter of the *Libro d'oro* remarks, the vault of each storey was carried by a particular kind of column called '*nane e bastage*' (dwarf and weight-bearing), the most primitive type.[105] The presence of such stone supports at the Hanging Gardens is established early in Strabo:

> The hanging garden is quadrangular in shape and each side measures four *plethra*. It consists of arched vaults on established terraces in the shape of cubes [πεττῶν ἱδρυμένοις κυβοειδῶν], one above another. The terraces are hollow and filled with earth so that they allow the largest trees to be planted; these have been fashioned of baked brick and asphalt, as have the vaults and the arches.[106]

The quadratic design of Filarete's accompanying drawings is suggestive of this chequerboard effect. His apparent reliance on Strabo continues when the *Libro d'oro* reveals that Zogalia's architect had devised an ingenious method of irrigation:

> In my opinion, there was a square of eight *braccia* in that cavity, which contained a spiral stair [*scala a chiocciola*], and in the centre of the stair—that is, the column a man holds with his hand [when climbing]—there was a pipe [*cannone*] of either bronze or copper, whatever it was, through which water would rise to the top of the garden in the middle.[107]

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104 *LA*, II, 452 (XV) [Magl., fol. 120*v*].

105 *LA*, II, 454 (XV) [Magl., fol. 121*v*]. On *nani* and *giganti* in Filarete's theory see *LA*, I, 15 (I) [Magl., fols 2*v*–3*r*], 218–19 (VIII) [Magl., fol. 56*v*].

106 Strab. *Geog*. XVI.i.5: '[. . .] ὁ κρεμαστὸς κῆπος ἔχων ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἑκάστην πλευρὰν τεττάρων πλέθρων: συνέχεται δὲ ψαλιδώμασι καμαρωτοῖς ἐπὶ πεττῶν ἱδρυμένοις κυβοειδῶν ἄλλοις ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις: οἱ δὲ πεττοὶ κοῖλοι πλήρεις γῆς ὥστε δέξασθαι φυτὰ δένδρων τῶν μεγίστων, ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ αἱ ψαλίδες καὶ τὰ καμαρώματα'. Cf. Guarino da Verona's translation of the same passage (1453–8) – MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 2049, fol. 297*v*: 'Item horti pensiles in figura quadrata quorum latus quodlicet quaternum est iugerum. hi fornicibus continentur sese in forcipis modum intercidentibus sitis *super pilis in aleatoriarum tabularum forma*: alius super alia positarum. Pile concave sunt et terra plene ut arbores maximas consitas recipere possint ex lapide coctili et bitumine structe: tam ipse quam fornices et fornicum intersectiones'. (My emphasis.) Elsewhere, this feature is mentioned only by Quintus Curtius Rufus, who remarks (Curt. V.i.32–5) how the edifice was sustained by columns made of rock. Access to the text of Curtius would not have proved difficult – Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477) had produced a vernacular translation in 1438 for the then duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti. Filelfo himself valued Curtius's composition since he commends it as an exemplary history to Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga; Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarium libri XXXVII*, fol. c. 172*v* (XXV: 28 July 1465).

107 *LA*, II, 453 (XV) [Magl., fol. 121*v*]: '[. . .] nel quale vacuo era, secondo il mio parere, uno quadro di otto braccia, dove che nel mezzo andava una scala a chiocciola, e nel tondo la scala, cioè quella colonna che l'uomo tiene in mano, era uno cannone, o di bronzo o di rame che si fusse, dove che l'acqua andava in cima del giardino di mezzo'.

Strabo records an almost identical arrangement used for watering the uppermost gardens:

> The uppermost roof-terrace is reached by stairways [προσβάσεις κλιμακωτὰς]; and alongside these stairs there are also screws [κοχλίας], through which the water is continually conducted up into the garden from the Euphrates by those appointed for this purpose.[108]

This combination of an Archimedean screw running alongside stairs is, in fact, unique to Strabo among ancient accounts; it seems to have foxed Filarete or his translator, since the '*Libro architettonico*' misconstrues the κοχλίας as a spiral staircase ('*cochlea*' in the Latin translation of Guarino da Verona (1374–1460)) with a pipe running through its centre.[109] Filarete might have been thinking of the stairs wrapped around one of the giant bell-chamber columns on the Torre di Arnolfo at Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, or those running inside the commemorative columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Ever practical, the architect suggests to his lord that this hydraulic system would also have been tapped for the king's private apartments.[110]

The Lord of Sforzinda as Zogalia's Heir

The essence of King Zogalia—his pomp, ambition and exoticism—is captured in the architecture erected in his honour (Fig. 1.6). When the lord of Sforzinda learns of Zogalia's existence, he decides to build the long-lost sovereign a grand monument, partly to memorialize his deeds, but also as '*qualche bella fantasia*' (some fine work of the imagination), in an experiment with the new architectural lexi-

108 Strab. *Geog.* XVI.i.5: 'ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτω στέγη προσβάσεις κλιμακωτὰς ἔχει, παρακειμένους δ' αὐταῖς καὶ κοχλίας δι' ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνῆγον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου συνεχῶς οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι'.

109 Cf. MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 2049, fol. 297*v*: 'supremum tabulatum ascensus scalares habet, et cochlias ipsis adiacentes per quos continue aqua de Euphrate in hortis afferebatur ab hominibus adhoc ipsum constitutis'.

110 *LA*, II, 455 (XV) [Magl., fol. 121*v*]: '[. . .] dice qui al libro che questa acqua era sopra questo cannone ordinata che a ciascuno abituro se ne poteva cavare con certe spine, o vuoi dire cannelle di bronzo; si poteva avere dal fondo, cioè dal piano terreno, infino alla sommità di ciascuno e ciascheduno aveva la sua parte dell'acqua: come è detto, ciascuno aveva la sua fonte, cioè una fonte di sopra'. On hanging gardens in the villa culture of fifteenth-century Florence see Gabriele Morolli, 'Giardini pensili e orti suburbani', in Cristina Acidini and Gabriele Morolli eds, *L'uomo del Rinascimento. Leon Battista Alberti e le arti a Firenze tra ragione e bellezza* (Florence, 2006), 217–20.

con emerging from the *Libro d'oro*.[111] The structure itself is a histrionic affair, an eye-catching blend of the Egyptian and Greco-Roman forms that will characterize subsequent discussion of Zogalia's city. The ground floor incorporates the corner pilasters and *bucranium*-garland frieze of Hadrian's Mausoleum, the upper storeys are supported by rows of nude *atlantes* in a variation on the Persian portico cited by Vitruvius, while the superstructure recalls the Vatican obelisk (the globe of which purportedly held Caesar's ashes).[112] Here, too, there are reminiscences of Greek histories of the East. Running through the centre is a bronze pole containing a *scala a chiocciola* (spiral staircase) and water pipe—a second reference to Strabo's report of water screws ('κοχλίας') operating at the Hanging Gardens. The phrasing to describe the cylinder at the centre of the stairs, 'that column that a man holds with his hand when climbing', is almost identical to that used for the passage on Zogalia's garden palace.[113]

It is at this point, just as the memorial is about to be built, that the worlds of past and present collide, as the line between the lord of Sforzinda and the Eastern kings of Greek literature becomes increasingly blurred. A letter arrives with news that two vases of dust, originally recovered from the same casket as the *Libro d'oro*, have been determined to possess alchemical properties; when mixed, these powders transmute base metals into precious, like the philosopher's stone.[114] On realizing he has almost inexhaustible reserves at his disposal, the lord decides to mount a major programme of building, overseen by his son, to reconstitute the architecture of Zogalia's realm—in effect, he becomes like one of the 'ancient kings' of Diodorus Siculus who, according to Filarete, 'thought it shameful to make store of gold and silver' and 'would always be spending'.[115] And like the cities of Eastern antiquity, Sforzinda is built 'with no small expense and difficulty'.[116]

111 *LA*, I, 389 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 102*v*]. On the concept of *fantasia* see Martin Kemp, 'From "Mimesis" to "Fantasia": the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts', in *Viator* 8 (1979), 347–98, at 369–70.

112 *LA*, I, 389–91 (XIV) [Magl., fols 102*v*–3*r*]. Such figures also appear at the *Tempio della Virtù*, where Filarete labels them 'certain subjugated peoples' ('*certi popoli [. . .] suggiugati*'); *LA*, II, 557 (XVIII) [Magl., fol. 150*r*]. Cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* I.i.6.

113 *LA*, I, 389 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 102*v*]: 'La scala andrà dentro a questa colonna di bronzo, la quale è fatta a chiocciola, e nel tondo che fa questa scala, *cioè quella colonna che l'uomo tiene in mano quando si sale*, andrà l'acqua in essa e monterà, per forza della caduta grande ch'ell'ha, per infino alla sommità d'essa'. (My italics.) See n. 107 above.

114 *LA*, I, 388–9 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 102*r*–*v*].

115 *LA*, II, 621–2 (XX) [Magl., fol. 168*r*]. See n. 1 above.

116 *LA*, II, 481 (XVI) [Magl., fol. 128*v*]: 'Fatti tutti questi edificii nella città e 'l giardino, e non con piccola spesa e difficultà furono fatti [. . .]'.

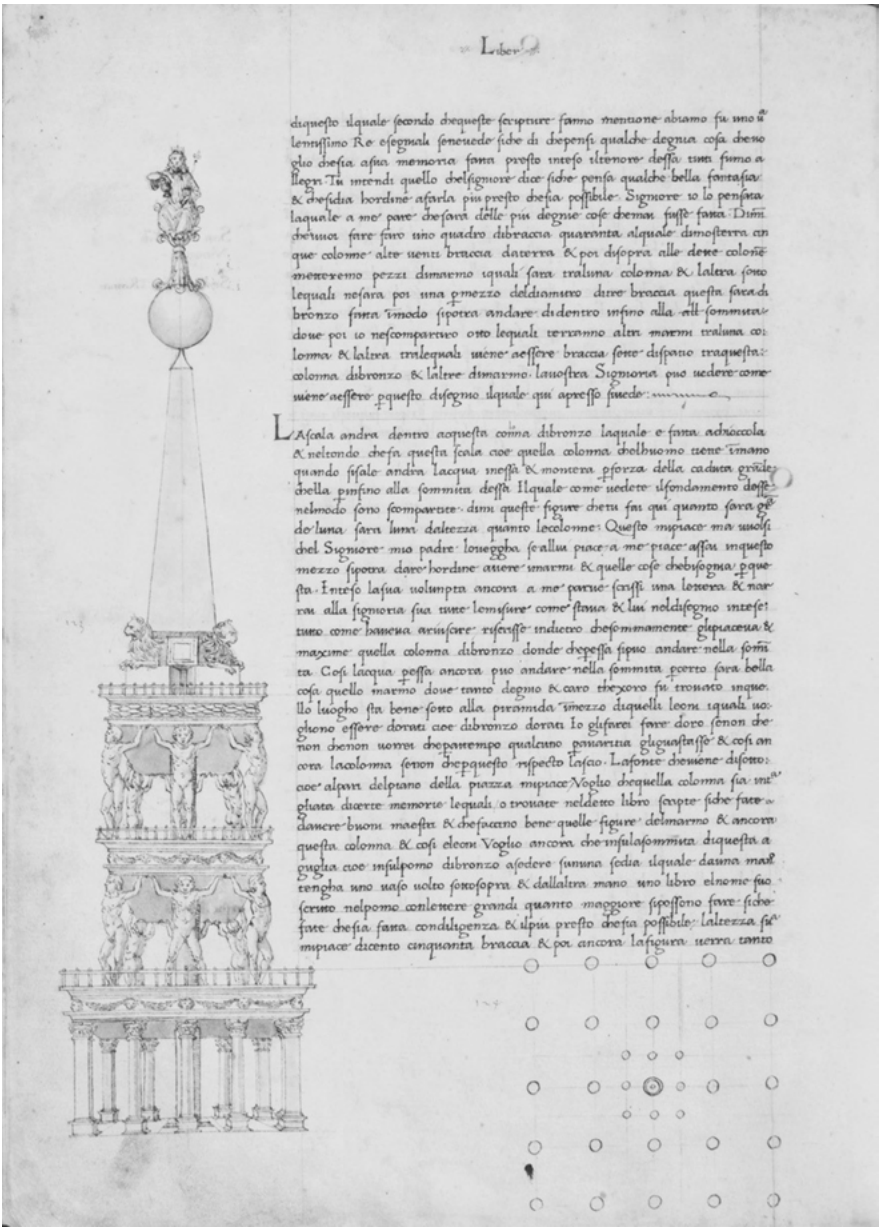

Fig. 1.6: Monument in honour of King Zogalia, MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140, fol. 102*v* (photo: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

The link between Zogalia, Sforzinda and the ancient Near East is made yet more explicit towards the end of the narrative, in an episode that mirrors the discovery of the *Libro d'oro*. As before, it is the text of Diodorus that helps establish the connexion. During groundwork for an arsenal at Sforzinda, the lord's son—in the company of the architect and interpreter—uncovers a vaulted structure, the only surviving remnant of Zogalia's lost metropolis. Inside stands an ancient ship, a *cassa* (chest) placed on its stern. (Taking the form of a dragon-like serpent, the barque bears more than a passing resemblance to the *biscione*, or large grass snake, the heraldic charge of Milan inherited by the Sforza from the Visconti.)[117] On opening the chest, the group finds a gold casket, which in turn contains:

> [. . .] a covered cup of finest emerald, carved with most dignified engravings and figures; and in the middle of the bottom there was a figure in the form of a nymph and with a unicorn, which she was holding on one side, and a tigress on the other, and letters around it stated:
>
> 'I, Queen Demiramisse, send you this cup, with which you would like to drink; and when you see it, remember your Demiramisse'.
>
> And many other charming things were sculpted there, hunts of animals that we do not have in our parts.[118]

The cup forms a pair with the goblet belonging to Zogalia that was discovered in the same casket as the *Libro d'oro*, and Demiramisse is a close anagram for Semiramis. Filarete strengthens the allusion to Babylon through his description of the cup's decoration. While the composition echoes an earlier drawing in the manuscript depicting *Virtù* personified as a warrior holding a date palm in his right hand and a laurel in his left, the carvings also appear to be a clever reworking of a passage in Diodorus's *Bibliotheca historica* in which one of Semiramis's palaces is documented as having been adorned with fired brick depicting beasts and the queen hunting.[119] Thus:

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117 *LA*, II, 588 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 157*v*]. Cf. Pisanello, designs for a dragon *nef* (table ship), c. 1448–9, black chalk, pen and ink with wash, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, 2289*r*, 2291*r*, 2292*r*–*v*.

118 *LA*, II, 589 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 157*v*]: '[. . .] una tazza di smeraldo finissimo coverchiata, intagliata di degnissimi intagli e figure, e nel mezzo del fondo era una figura in forma d'una ninfa e con uno liocorno, il quale essa teneva da una mano, da l'altra teneva una tigra, e lettere intorno che dicevano: "Io, Regina Demiramisse, ti mando questa tazza colla quale ti piaccia di bere, e quando tu la vedi ricordati della tua Demiramisse". E molte altre gentilezze gli era scolpite di cacce d'animali, i quali in queste nostre parti non abbiamo'.

119 *LA*, I, 264 (IX) [Magl., fol. 68*v*]; II, 533 (XVIII) [Magl., fol. 143*r*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. II.viii.4–7. Of ancient and mediaeval sources, only Diodorus and Aelian (Ael. *VH* XII.39) refer to Semiramis as a hunter. See, *inter alia*, Val. Max. IX.iii.ext.4; Just. *Epit.* I.ii.1–10; Oros. *Hist.* I.iv.4–8, II.ii.1, 5, II.iii.1, II.vi.7; Paulinus Minorita, *Chronologia magna* (e.g., MS Paris, BnF, Lat. 4939, fol. 14*r*). The compo-

> On both the towers and the walls there were again animals of every kind, artfully executed by the use of colours and the imitation of the figures; the whole had been made to represent a hunt, complete in every detail, of all sorts of wild animals, and their size was more than four cubits.
>
> Among the animals, moreover, Semiramis had also been portrayed, on horseback and in the act of hurling a javelin at a leopard; and nearby was her husband Ninus, in the act of thrusting his spear into a lion at close quarters.[120]

If Demiramisse corresponds to Queen Semiramis, then Zogalia is analogous to Ninus. According to Diodorus, Ninus initiated the first great city of Assyria, Nineveh, endowing it with giant ramparts in the form of a triangle.[121] On Ninus's death, Semiramis inherited his mantle and embarked on grand construction projects, founding Babylon and bestowing on it not just walls but also palaces, a temple and even a giant obelisk, before launching a massive shipbuilding programme to wage war against India.[122] Intriguingly, over the course of the next few folios the lord of Sforzinda—Filarete's cipher for Francesco Sforza—starts to adopt some of these Eastern traits and build in the manner of Semiramis/Demiramisse following her husband's demise.[123] Barely a paragraph has passed before he expresses the desire to reinforce his new arsenal with two fortresses on either side of the harbour entrance, one larger than the other—recalling the castles in Sforzinda joined by a bridge, an architectural motif borrowed from Semiramis's building campaigns.[124] In fact, shortly afterwards the lord of Sforzinda cites Semiramis by name and her grand scheme of cutting through a mountain to supply the city of Ecbatana with

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sition also plays on the mediaeval notion that only a virgin could tame a unicorn (see, e.g., the *verso* of Pisanello's 1447 medal of Cecilia Gonzaga).

120 Diod. Sic. II.viii.6: 'ἐνῆσαν δ᾽ ἔν τε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ τείχεσι ζῷα παντοδαπὰ φιλοτέχνως τοῖς τε χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι κατεσκευασμένα: τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ἐπεποίητο κυνήγιον παντοίων θηρίων ὑπάρχον πλῆρες, ὧν ἦσαν τὰ μεγέθη πλέον ἢ πηχῶν τεττάρων. κατεσκεύαστο δ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ Σεμίραμις ἀφ᾽ ἵππου πάρδαλιν ἀκοντίζουσα, καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ Νίνος παίων ἐκ χειρὸς λέοντα λόγχῃ'. A pair of drinking cups ('δύο καρχήσια') appear in Diodorus's account of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis in Babylon (Diod. Sic. II.ix.7).

121 Diod. Sic. II.iii.1–4.

122 Diod. Sic. II.vii.2–ix.9, II.xi.4–5, II.xvi.6.

123 For another interpretation of Demiramisse's rôle in the '*Libro architettonico*', in which Semiramis is seen as the model for Filarete himself, see Kenneth L. Hayes, 'Machiavelli's Architect. Filarete and the Archē', unpublished MArch dissertation (McGill University, 1993), 85–6. Filarete names Semiramis on several occasions: *LA*, I, 38 (I) [Magl., fol. 7*r*], 237 (VIII) [Magl., fol. 61*r*]; II, 404–5 (XIV) [Magl., fol. 106*v*], 473 (XVI) [Magl., fol. 126*r*], 572 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 153*v*], 593 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 159*r*], 659 (XXIII) [Magl., fol. 179*v*], 673 (XXIV) [Magl., fol. 183*r*].

124 *LA*, II, 589 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 158*r*].

lake water—an episode recorded in the *Bibliotheca*—before ordering the same from his own architect.[125] The size of the respective tunnels is comparable.[126]

The watercourse must be navigable, too (in the manner of the Milanese canal system).[127] Soon after, the lord orders a hanging garden of his own, to be built to the *Libro d'oro*'s specifications, and a hunting park, another of the trappings of a Babylonian king (and a move anticipated by Sforza who, by 1460, had expanded and restocked his own *riserva di caccia* (hunting park) beside the Castello).[128] In a final nod to the East, and as noted above, the laws of Sforzinda are to follow not only those of Plusiapolis but also the code of the ancient Egyptians as specified by Diodorus.[129]

Conclusion

Why should Filarete have chosen to frame his discourse in such peculiar terms in Quattrocento Milan? He was, after all, writing for Francesco Sforza, a soldier of fortune who had little understanding of the edifices of Roman antiquity, let alone those of the ancient Near East. And why did he craft a hybrid architecture with recondite allusions to parts of the world visited by few of his peers? The tenor had been set by Filelfo's epigrams and the cycle of heroes at the Corte dell'Arengo. For his part, Filarete believed that ancient Egypt and Babylonia had established the discipline of architecture and fostered a climate in which exceptional building projects could prosper. The first significant architects hailed from the East, he claims on the authority of his classical sources, and together they designed the Egyptian labyrinth

125 *LA*, II, 593 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 159*r*; ill. fol. 160*r*]. Cf. Diod. Sic. II.xiii.6–8.

126 Diod. Sic. II.xiii.8 gives the tunnel's dimensions as 15 feet wide by 40 feet high (Milanese = 6.53 m × 17.41 m); *LA*, II, 595 (XIX) [Magl., fol. 159*v*] refers to an excavation 10 *braccia* wide and some 15 *braccia* high (Milanese = 5.95 m × 8.92 m).

127 *LA*, II, 600 (XX) [Magl., fol. 161*v*]. See Spencer, I, 276 n. 26, who detects in the watercourse echoes of aqueducts in the Roman *campagna* as well as of Milan's canal network for barges (the Navigli) that tapped Lago Maggiore and Lago di Como; work on the Naviglio della Martesana was restarted by Francesco Sforza in 1457. The proportions of the concentric ditches may also suggest knowledge of Plato (Pl. *Criti.* 115c–18d) regarding the design of Atlantis; Matthew Landrus, 'Evidence of Leonardo's Systematic Design Process for Palaces and Canals in Romorantin', in Constance Moffatt and Sara Taglialagamba eds, *Illuminating Leonardo. A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating His 70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)* (Leiden-Boston, 2016), 100–13, at 111–12.

128 *LA*, II, 605–7 (XX) [Magl., fol. 163*r*–*v*]. On Filarete's combination of hanging gardens and hunting lodge, and their possible influence on the design of Poggio Reale, see Paola Modesti, *Le delizie ritrovate. Poggioreale e la villa del Rinascimento nella Napoli aragonese* (Florence, 2014), 187–9.

129 *LA*, II, 609 (XX) [Magl., fol. 164*r*]. See n. 87 above.

(hence the recurring theme of labyrinths in the '*Libro architettonico*').[130] Besides, Eastern kings felt obliged to spend vast sums on their projects—an admirable virtue in Filarete's eyes and one that he hoped to inculcate in the ruler of Milan.

At the same time, the passages drawn from ancient Greek historians underline Filarete's assertion that texts not only amplify one's understanding of ruins; they also preserve the *memoria* of structures that have been wholly lost. Sforzinda and Plusiapolis are vehicles for the fantastical recovery of vanished architecture. As a visitor to Sforzinda remarks in an oft-quoted passage: 'Lord, I seem to see those noble buildings that were once in Rome, and those that one reads were in Egypt. I feel reborn on seeing these buildings so noble'.[131] Each literary reference in the '*Libro*' is essentially a rumination on the importance of the written word, a leitmotif that is given added poignancy by the fact that Filarete's writings were, in the end, more fully realized than his architectural commissions in Milan.

Just how serious was Filarete, though, in raising buildings in the strange idiom of the '*Libro architettonico*'? While his 'real-life' projects such as the Ospedale Maggiore and (possibly) palazzo del Banco Mediceo (1455/6–60) display eclectic features, and he clads Sforza with the robes of an Eastern monarch in a variation on the *speculum principis*, it would be going too far to suggest that he intended to recast his own designs in a Near Eastern likeness inspired by ancient Greek accounts.[132] Filarete's enthusiasm for the East likely stemmed, in part, from the opportunities presented by these sources for demonstrating, on paper at least, his learning and striking powers of invention. After all, material from the texts of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo had, until this point, never been incorporated into the writings of an artist.

The '*Libro architettonico*' and its ancient Eastern architecture should, moreover, be read against the ecclesiastical events of the 1430s and the political situation of the 1450s. Filarete first felt the lure of the East during the Council of Florence in

130 See n. 48 above.

131 *LA*, I, 381 (XIII) [Magl., fol. 100*r*]: '"Signore, a me pare vedere di quegli degni edificii ch'erano a Roma anticamente, e di quegli che si legge che in Egitto erano. Mi pare rinascere a vedere questi così degni edificii"'.

132 On the instructive character of the '*Libro architettonico*' see, *inter alia*, Alessandro Gambuti, 'I "libri del disegno": Filarete e l'educazione artistica di Galeazzo Maria Sforza', in *Arte lombarda* 38–9 (1973), 133–43. See, e.g., the more classicizing forms of the city palazzo (Magl., fol. 169*r* [XX]) vis-à-vis Filarete's possible involvement in the project for Ca' del Duca in Venice, as delineated in Richard Schofield and Giulia Ceriani Sebregondi, 'Bartolomeo Bon, Filarete e le case di Francesco Sforza a Venezia', in *AdA* 18–19 (2006–7), 9–51. On Filarete's possible authorship of the palazzo del Banco Mediceo and its antiquarian references see Jessica Gritti, '"al modo che s'usa oggi dì in Firenze, all'anticha": il palazzo di Cosimo Medici a Milano', in *AdA* 30 (2018), 21–44, esp. 34–6.

1439, when Pope Eugenius IV (1383–1447) attempted to forge a union between the Eastern and Western Churches in the face of the Ottoman threat. A witness to the processions of the Byzantine court, he would later depict the emperor John VIII Palaeologus in bronze busts and on the doors of Old St Peter's. By the time Filarete wrote his '*Libro*', Constantinople had been overrun and more than two millennia of Greek civilization in Asia Minor had effectively come to an end. The numerous antiquities around the Propontis, Sea of Marmara, were being despoiled at an alarming rate. The classical manuscripts that did survive in the monasteries dotted around the Bosphorus and the Greek mainland faced a perilous future—indeed, a complete copy of Diodorus (all forty books) from the imperial library appears to have perished in the Sack.[133] Filarete was not dissuaded: On 30 July 1465, Francesco Filelfo wrote to a Greek friend, remarking that the artist intended to travel to Constantinople.[134] It is not known whether Filarete ever made the journey. If he did, he may have left in search of new patrons, given his failure to persuade the Sforza and Medici dynasties to engage his services.[135] But it is tempting, too, to see his trip as the manifestation of an urge to see the wonders of the East—the kind of fabulous works he had, until then, only read about—before they disappeared forever.

Abbreviations

AdA	*Annali di architettura*
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
DRA	Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura: De re aedificatoria*, ed. and trans (Italian) Giovanni Orlandi and Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1966)
LA	Antonio Averlino, *Trattato di architettura* [= '*Libro architettonico*'], eds Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi, 2 vols (Milan, 1972)
Magl.	MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II.I.140

Greek text is taken from the relevant Teubner edition.

133 N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1992), 162 n. 4.

134 For the text of Filelfo's letter of recommendation to George Amiroutzes (*c.*1400–after 1469), a fellow scholar in Constantinople, see Filelfo, *Cent-dix lettres grecques*, 120–1 (§ 70).

135 On the Italian dimension to Constantinople under Mehmet II, Ottoman sultan (r. 1444–6, 1451–81), see esp. Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople', in *Muqarnas. An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 29 (2012), 1–81.

Hubertus Günther

Chapter Two
Difficulties in understanding Vitruvius

Introduction

The subject dealt with here belongs to the realm of the early history of those sciences whose methods, despite all subsequent advances, are essentially so close to those of today that the epoch is referred to as the beginning of the modern age, or Early Modern. This development began around 1400, primarily with the humanities, including archaeology, philology and history; in most cases the natural sciences, including medicine, followed somewhat later. Ancient texts formed a basis for the revival of science. The examination of the architectural treatise of Vitruvius (80/70–*c.*15 BC) provides an example of how difficult it was, in general, to understand ancient writings at the beginning of the Renaissance. Here, the focus is on the problems inherent in the text of Vitruvius, taking into account how humanists and architects tried to solve problems by comparing the indications of Vitruvius with those of other ancient writers or with the remains of ancient buildings. First, the main types of difficulties are presented, followed by some examples of the ways they were solved in the Renaissance. The aim is by no means to highlight the progress made by science from the Renaissance to the present day, but rather to show concretely how modern science began, that is to say, how scholars used the inductive method, which characterizes modern science, to solve their problems.

In the course of the fifteenth century, most of the ancient literature now known became accessible.[1] In 1416 Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) purchased and brought the best surviving copy of Vitruvius's text, the Codex Harleianus, to Florence.[2] But the circle of those who had access to the manuscript, or to other handwritten copies, was limited. Contacts were needed to view the texts or to have them copied.[3] It was

1 Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici italiani e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1905). Herbert Hunger and Karl Langosch eds, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* (*Überlieferungsgeschichte der antiken Literatur* 1) (Zurich, 1961). L. D. Reynolds ed., *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (New York, 1983).

2 Carol Herselle Krinsky, 'Seventy-eight Vitruvius manuscripts', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), 36–70. Stefan Schuler, *Vitruv im Mittelalter. Die Rezeption von "De architectura" von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzerit* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 1999).

3 Hubertus Günther, *Das Studium der antiken Literatur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen, 1988), 160–1, whose digitized publications are located at: https://katalog.ub.uni–heidelberg.de [accessed 18.06.2024].

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not until the publication of the treatise in print that a wider public was able to study it (from about 1486 with the edition printed in Florence by Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli (*c.*1440–*c.*1508).[4]

The text of Vitruvius had been distorted in the course of copying. In order to understand it, it was first necessary to emend it, but this was a very difficult task, because it presents a logical contradiction in terms. One ought first to have understood the text in order to be able to recognize and correct the errors; on the other hand, one must first have emended the text in order to understand it correctly. The decisive edition of Vitruvius in the Renaissance was published by Fra Giovanni Giocondo (*c.*1433–1515) in Venice in 1511. Today's editions largely conform with his text, but not entirely. In the preface, Fra Giocondo points out the imperfection of the surviving text and the need to compare passages with ancient buildings and other ancient writings in order to correct it.[5] Leon Battista Alberti (1406–72) had already used this method to make sense of Vitruvius and to evaluate his text for his own architectural treatise. Later editions of Vitruvius and architectural treatises, beginning with the book on the orders of columns published by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–*c.*1554) in 1537 often repeat what Fra Giocondo had said.[6]

Another obstacle to understanding was the plethora of technical terms used, most of which are Greek in origin. Alberti lamented that Vitruvius's treatise was half written in Greek and was therefore barely comprehensible.[7] The artist Antonio di Pietro Averlino (*c.*1400–*c.*1469), better known to posterity by the moniker Filarete, in his own architectural treatise (1460–64) also angrily pointed out how obscure the technical terms of Vitruvius were. Like Alberti, Filarete would not make use of them: 'He [Vitruvius] uses these ancient words. I do not want to use them, because they are scabrous and are not used. I will instead refer to the names that are used today, because I do not like this awkwardness [. . .]'.[8] When Filarete and other architects in the fifteenth century did nevertheless use Vitruvius's technical terms, it

4 Bodo Ebhardt, *Die zehn Bücher der Architektur des Vitruv. und ihre Herausgeber* (Berlin, 1918). Laura Marcucci, 'Regestro cronologico e critico' and 'Giovanni Sulpicio e la prima edizione del "*De architectura*" di Vitruvio', in *Studi e Documenti di Architettura* 8 (1978), 11–196.

5 *GGV*, fol. AAii (dedication to pope Julius II).

6 Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici* (Venice, 1537), fols 37*r*–*v*, 49*v*, 61*v*–62*v*, likewise idem, *Il terzo libro, nel qual si figurano e descrivono le antiquita di Roma e le altre che sono in Italia e fuori d'Italia* (Venice, 1540), 124, 128.

7 *DRA*, 440 (VI, 1).

8 *LA*, 216, 244, 'Questi vocaboli antichi lui (Vitruvio) gli usa. Io non ne gli voglio dire, perchè sono scabrosi e non s'usano. Io vi dirò pure e nomi, che s'usano oggi, chè queste scabrosità non mi piacciono [. . .]'.

often confirms how misleading they really were at that time.[9] Humanists tried to decipher the technical terms by comparing them with explanations in other ancient writings. But sometimes the comparisons caused even more confusion, because—as is generally the case with languages—the terms often had different meanings and, moreover, these meanings changed over time.

Vitruvius's treatise, as claimed by the author, was originally illustrated and he sometimes refers to his illustrations in order to better understand or to clarify what he wrote. But these illustrations are lost. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) believed that 'a writer would be overcome by sleep and hunger before he could write in words what a painter can depict in a moment'.[10] Renaissance architectural theorists often professed the advantage of drawings over words. Filarete wrote: 'It is impossible to make matters of building intelligible without drawing them [. . .]'.[11] Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616) confirmed this opinion in his treatise, the *Idea* of 1615: 'by means of drawing one easily expresses everything that a quantity of words cannot achieve'.[12] Renaissance authors illustrated their architectural treatises accordingly. Alberti's treatise was an exception, but Cosimo Bartoli (1503–72) illustrated his translation of it in 1565. Vitruvius's treatise and some of his descriptions were also illustrated in the Renaissance, beginning with the editions by Fra Giocondo and Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543) of 1521.

The Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1550) addressed the problem that historians generally face when evaluating old accounts: 'Without exception, all chroniclers have made the mistake of not writing about many things because they seemed to them to be common knowledge'.[13] But the memory of what was once universally known is usually lost over the course of time and later readers no longer have knowledge of it. This is also true for the text by Vitruvius.

Many Renaissance authors complained about the difficulty of understanding Vitruvius. Guillaume Philandrier (1505–63), in justifying the necessity of his Vitruvian commentary of 1544, wrote:

> The treatise of Vitruvius is the only writing on architecture rescued from the shipwreck of antiquity, but the text had suffered such injuries, soiling and wounds (*affectum, maculosum, ulcer-*

9 Günther, *Studium*, 158–60.

10 Horst W. Janson and Anthony F. Janson, *History of art* (New York, 2001), 613.

11 *LA*, 157–8, 'È impossibile a dare a intendere queste cose dello edificare, se non si vede disegnato'.

12 'per via del disegno si esprime molto facilmente tutto quello, che non può far la moltiplicità delle parole espresse ò descritte in carta', Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Venice, 1615), I, 47.

13 Francesco Guicciardini, *Ricordi, diari, memorie*, Mario Spinella ed. (Pordenone, 1991), 214–15 (nr 143).

> *osum*) that not even its author, if he was alive today, would recognize it. As a result, nothing but the name of Vitruvius was heard for centuries. Moreover, the foreign vocabulary rendered the text obscured to such an extent that those who wanted to understand Vitruvius despaired.[14]

In the preface (1531/39) to a planned translation of Vitruvius, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546) summarized in seven points why Vitruvius had not yet been understood.[15] The first reason he gives is that literary men without knowledge of architectural practice attempted to interpret the treatise. The next is the distortion of the text through incorrect transcription or false interpolations, as well as the incomprehensible technical terms. The most important reason for misunderstanding was considered to be the absence of the illustrations to which Vitruvius refers. Indeed, in order to understand Vitruvius, it was necessary to compare his text with ancient buildings and writings, as Sangallo explicitly confirms.

So much for the list of reasons for the difficulties in understanding the ancient text. Now some precise examples are presented of passages that were difficult to understand.[16] It is useful here to concentrate on highlighting the essential elements.[17]

Emendation Issues: A Questionable Number and the Design of the Doric Portal

It was an emendation problem with the Vitruvian text that was at the root of the issue studied most intensively in the Renaissance, because it was essential for building practice: the orders of columns. There were many problems in this regard: Vitruvius only describes the Greek orders of columns, which the Romans adopted. It was assumed that the Etruscans already had their own order of columns, but Vitruvius only cursorily mentions columns as part of a wooden temple

14 Guillaume Philandrier, *In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis architectura annotationes*. (Rome, 1544), dedication.

15 Gustavo Giovannoni, *Antonio da Sangallo* (Rome, 1959), 394–7.

16 The standard edition of Vitruvius with archaeological commentary is Vitruvio, *De architectura*, Pierre Gross ed. (Torino, 1997). Cf. on individual words or points Hermann Nohl, *Index Vitruvianus* (Darmstadt, 1980); the respective keywords in August Pauly and Georg Wissowa eds, *Realenzyklopädie der classichen Alterthumswissenschaften* (Stuttgart: 1893–1978). Fundamental to the history of the interpretation of Vitruvius is Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, *Archäologische Unterhaltungen ueber Vitruv* (Leipzig, 1820). For comparison with Roman architecture, Pierre Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire* (Paris, 1996–2001). Eva-Margareta Steinby ed., *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* (Rome, 1993–2000).

17 Cf. the overviews in: Günther, *Studium*. Idem, *Was ist Renaissance? Eine Charakteristik der Architektur zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt, 2009), 213–74.

of the Etruscans.[18] Vitruvius completely ignores the columns of Solomon's temple, referred to in the Bible, even though rhetorically it was generally regarded as the apogee of ancient architecture in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and despite the fact that several columns were believed to be preserved in St Peter's in Rome. The Italians usually overlooked this omission, but in France it was noticed.[19] In the text there were many inconsistencies in the individual members of the orders of columns when compared with ancient architecture.[20] For example, in ancient architecture it is clear that pedestals were part of the orders of columns, yet Vitruvius hardly mentions them. Similarly, he fails to describe the special bases for the Doric order. Vitruvius describes the Tuscan column as slimmer than the Doric one, but this proportion was altered because it was assumed that the orders of columns became progressively slimmer over time and that the Tuscan order was the most primitive one. Vitruvius traces the special design of the Doric entablature back to wooden construction, but real Doric entablatures did not usually adhere to the corresponding arrangement of the members.

A small emendation problem continues to obscure Vitruvius's description of the Doric portal to this day.[21] As the text has been handed down, the proportions of the portal are as follows. The clear height is equal to 2 of 3½ parts of the height of the temple from floor to ceiling. The clear width of the portal is equal to 5½ of 12 parts of its clear height. The door is enclosed by a narrow frame, and above the frame is a cornice reaching to the architrave. What follows from these indications was correctly depicted by Giocondo, Serlio, Claude Perrault (1613–88) and many others (Fig. 2.1).[22] But something is obviously wrong here: the door is too low and its cornice too high. The mistake was immediately recognized. Alberti, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (1496–1548) and even Serlio depicted how such a door should look: taller with a lower cornice.[23] None of these three authors explained the reasons for their deviating from the surviving text, but it can be as-

18 *GGV*, 4.7. These textual references refer to the division into books and chapters in *GGV*, after which the lines are also sometimes given.

19 Hubertus Günther, 'Die Salomonische Säulenordnung. Eine unkonventionelle Erfindung und ihre historischen Umstände', in *RIHA Journal* 0015 (2011).

20 Hubertus Günther, 'Serlio e gli ordini architettonici', in Christof Thoenes ed., *Sebastiano Serlio* (Milan, 1989), 154–68. Günther, *Renaissance*, 241–54.

21 *GGV*, 4.6.3ss.

22 *GGV*, fol. 40*r*. Serlio, *Regole generali*, II, fol. 2*r*. Claude Perrault ed., *Vitruvius*, *Dix livres d'architecture* (Paris, 1673), 121.

23 *DRA*, 618. (7.12). Illustrated in: Idem, *L'architettura*, trans. Cosimo Bartoli, (Venice, 1565), 243. Vitruvius, *Ten books on architecture. The Corsini Incunabulum with the annotations and autograph drawings of Giovanni Battista da Sangallo*, Ingrid D. Rowland ed. (Rome, 2003), fig. 99. Serlio, *Regole generali*, fol. 23*r*.

sumed that they were guided by examples of extant antique portals. Various interpretations of this error have been put forward. It often has been assumed that the height should correspond to 2½ of 3½ parts of the height of the temple. Fabio Calvo (*c.*1450–1527), in the Vitruvian translation he made for Raphael (1483–1520), gives the height of the door as 2 by 3 parts or 2 by 3½ parts, but the latter alternative is crossed out. Here Raphael commented, 'Where Vitruvius says 3½, he wants to say 4½, and where he says 2 parts for the height, he wants to say 3½', but this is also crossed out.[24] What is clear is that the different statements demonstrate that many variations were contemplated.

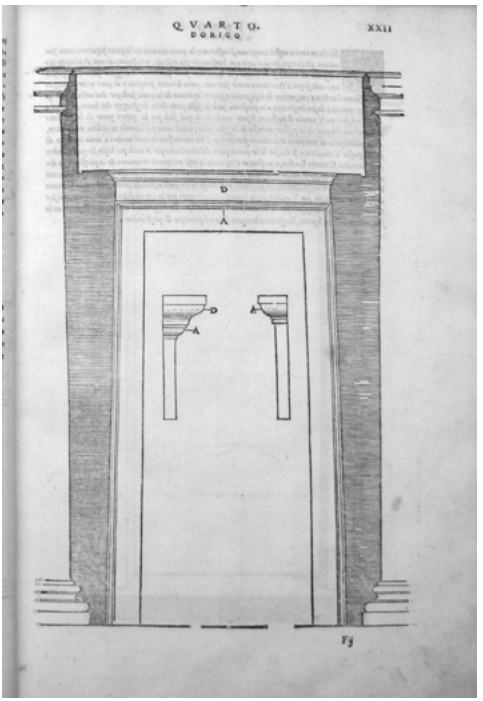


Fig. 2.1: Sebastiano Serlio, Doric portal, *Regole generali di architettura*, 1537, fol. 22r (photo: Günther).

A drawing by Simone Pollaiolo (1457–1508), known as Cronaca, entitled '*porta doricha*' (Figs 2.2 and 2.3) belongs to his studies of antiquities, but it is the only one

24 *Vitruvio e Raffaello. Il "De architectura" di Vitruvio nella traduzione inedita di Fabio Calvo Ravennate*, Vincenzo Fontana and Paolo Morachiello eds (Rome, 1975), 185.

that explicitly refers to architectural theory.[25] Cronaca, in obvious reference to Vitruvius, indicates proportions for the doorway: the height of the door is 2½ by 3 parts (instead of 2 by 3½) of the height of the temple—this increases the height of the door so much that only a little space remains for the upper cornice; the width of the door is 5½ by 12 parts the height of the temple (instead of the height of the door)—this increases the width so much that the door retains approximately its proportions as given by Vitruvius.[26] The drawing does not conform to the proportions indicated. The door as depicted is significantly too low. It resembles the portal of the Temple of Romulus at the Roman Forum.

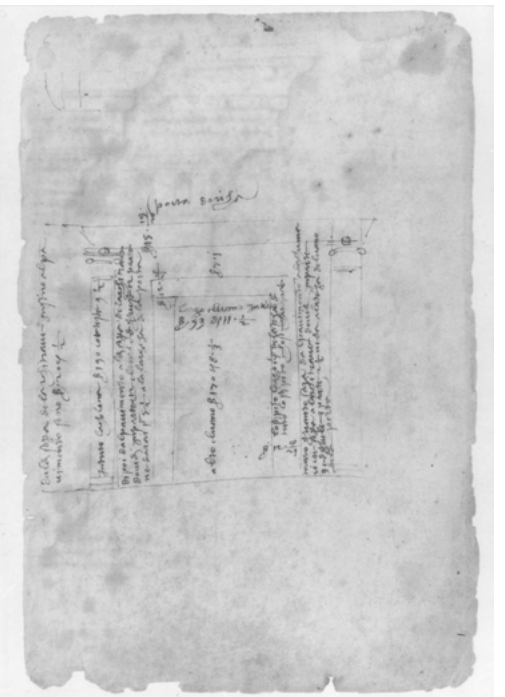


Fig. 2.2: Cronaca, Doric portal, Castellino group, 3v (photo: H. Günther, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur* [Tübingen, 1988]; Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal).

25 Canadian Centre for Architecture. Günther, *Studium*, 100–3.

26 'tanto quanto sara dal pavimento a lachunari cioe sopra al architrave divide in parte 3 e di quele tre parte 2½ ne da al alteza del vano de la porta'; 'dipoi dal pavimento al disopra del architrave dividi in parte 12 el tuto e di queste 12 parte ne darai p(art)e 5½ a la largeza dela porta', Günther, *Studium*, 331, Appendix I, fol. 3*v*.

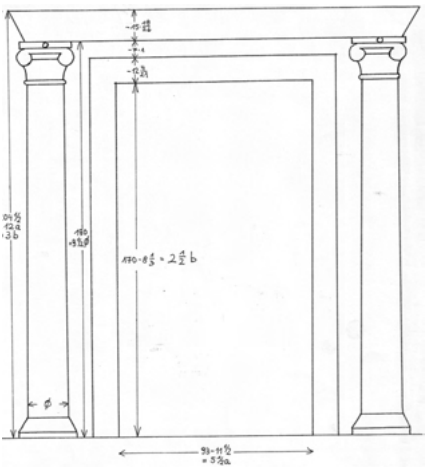


Fig. 2.3: Cronaca, Doric portal, Redrawing according to the proportions (drawing: Günther).

In addition to the proportions, Cronaca also provides concrete measurements. This information corresponds roughly to the proportions and to the dimensions of one of the portals of the Florentine Baptistery (Fig. 2.4). The shape of the capitals—they resemble Corinthian-Composite capitals—and the small space for the cornice also match the Florentine Baptistery.

Fig. 2.4: Florentine Baptistery, Doorway (photo: Günther).

Here, in order to understand Vitruvius, Cronaca adopted the method of comparing the text with ancient buildings. The comparison apparently had a further purpose:

Florentines of the time usually regarded their Baptistery as being ancient.[27] Occasionally it was even considered an example of Vitruvius's description of a round *peripteros* (peristyle).[28] The close correspondence of the Florentine Baptistery portal with Vitruvius's text (relying on Cronaca's interpolation) would confirm that the portal was antique. The similarity of the drawing with the portal of the temple of Romulus points in the same direction. The drawing was part of Cronaca's wider research into the Baptistery. He also compared in detail its capitals with those of SS. Apostoli in Florence, with the result that they correspond very closely.[29] Thus, he confirmed the then widespread conviction that SS. Apostoli was still built in the ancient manner, even though it only dates back to the Carolingian period. Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) reported that Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) took SS. Apostoli as a model for his churches because its architectural articulation demonstrated that after the end of antiquity '*in Toscana era rimaso ovvero risorto qualche buono artefice*' ('in Tuscany had remained or rather had been resurrected some good craftmen'.)[30]

Emendation Issues: A Questionable Letter of the Alphabet and the Description of the Tuscan Temple

Vitruvius describes many different types of temples. Most of these are magnificently designed on the exterior with various types of columned porticoes, while the design of their interior, their articulation and decoration, is hardly addressed. Because such temples were no longer extant or only preserved as small fragments, these descriptions were of little relevance to the revival of ancient architecture at the beginning of the Renaissance. They were of interest only to scholars of Vitruvius's treatise. The most prominent temples that were known, or thought to be known, were at most fitted out with porches on the front, but for the rest they had only plain brick walls on the outside, while on the inside they were variously structured and magnificently decorated. Examples of this type are the Pantheon, the Temple of Peace of Vespasian (today identified as the Basilica of Constantine), the Temple of Bacchus (S. Costanza)

27 Gerhard Straehle, *Die Marstempelthese. Dante, Villani, Boccaccio, Vasari, Borghini, die Geschichte vom Ursprung der florentiner Taufkirche in der Literatur des 13. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 2001).

28 Claudio Sgarbi ed., *Vitruvio ferrarese De architettura* (Modena, 2003), fig. 66.

29 Günther, *Studium*, 80.

30 Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architettori* (Florence, 1568), Gaetano Milanesi ed. (Florence, 1878–85), I, 235. Cf., in relation to Vasari's approach to history, Paul Frankl, *The Gothic* (Princeton, 1961), 290–4.

and the Temple of Venus and Roma at the Roman Forum, the *peristasis* of which had been completely destroyed and was therefore unknown.

Vitruvius does not consider such temples at all. The prominent ancient structures that were recognized and acknowledged corresponded to the Renaissance idea that pagan services had taken place inside these temples, just as was customary in Christian churches. According to the interpretations believed in the Renaissance, two of the temple types described by Vitruvius corresponded approximately to the idea that the disposition of the interior was more important than that of the exterior, and they were therefore of particular importance in the Renaissance. One of them is the temple *in antis*, discussed below, and other is the Tuscan temple—however, the question of whether Vitruvius is really describing the disposition of the interior here depends on whether the letter 'i' is in his text or not.

The typical Etruscan temple consisted of a block-like building with a large porch with free-standing columns in front of it (Fig. 2.5). According to today's conception, the block of the building was divided into three cells side by side, wider in the middle and narrower at either side. They were not connected to each other, but rather opened directly onto the porch. This notion is the result of excavations and a contemporary reading of Vitruvius's text.[31] However, no real Etruscan temple was known in the Renaissance and Vitruvius's text had been handed down in two versions, differing by an 'i'. This difference allowed an entirely different interpretation.

According to the reading preferred today, made on the basis of excavations, Vitruvius states the following: 'The length of the temple is related to its width with the proportion 6 to 5' (Fig. 2.5). This length is to be divided into two parts. One part is occupied by the porch with free-standing columns, the other part by the interior with the three '*cellae*'. The 'middle temple' (as Vitruvius says) is 4 tenths of the width of the temple. To the left and right of it are smaller '*cellae sive aliae*'. They are each 3 tenths of the width of the temple. Today it is assumed that the 'middle temple' is the *cella* in the middle, and the phrase '*cellae sive aliae*' is understood to mean 'cella or other spaces' without it being possible to specify what or where these interpolated spaces are supposed to be. It is not clear from the text how many smaller *cellae* are to the left and right of the 'central temple'. Today it is assumed that there was only one on either side, because the spaces on the left and right occupy the entire width left by the central space. The text also leaves open the issue of where the entrances to the *cellae* are located.

The current version of the text is found in the first printed editions of Vitruvius. Later on, beginning with Fra Giocondo's edition and the source of Calvo's

31 *GGV*, 4.7.

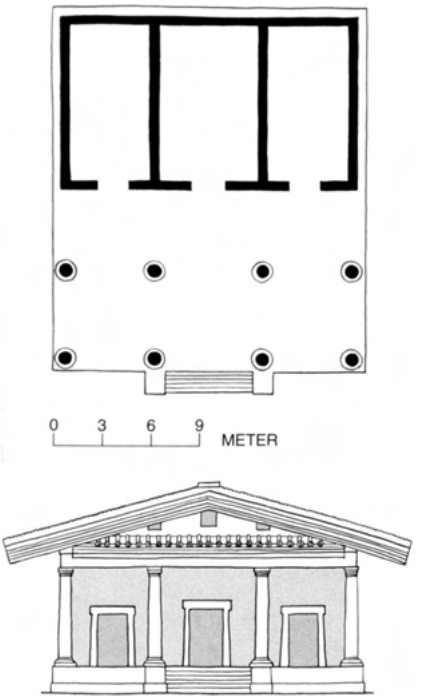


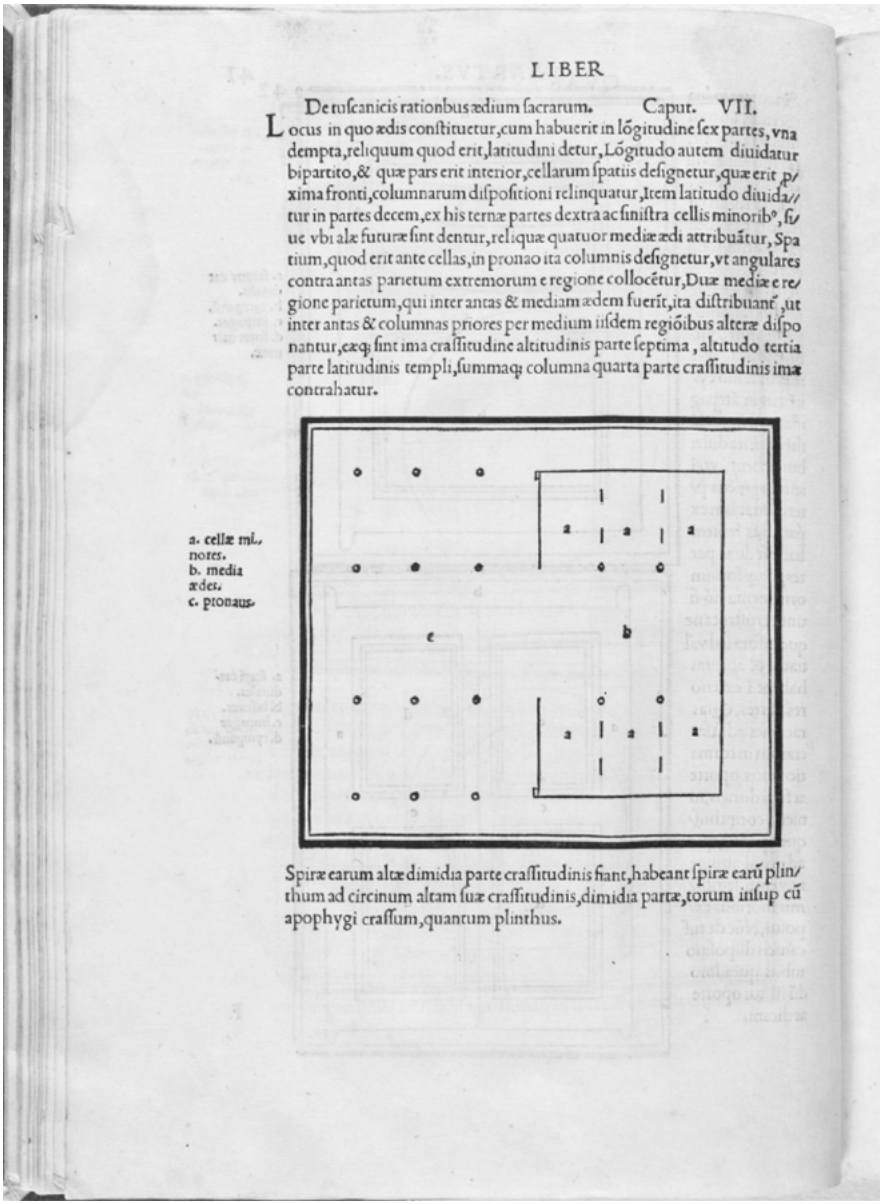
Fig. 2.5: Tuscan temple, schematical modern reconstruction (photo: Wikimedia Commons, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Etruskischer_Tempel.jpg [accessed 18.06.2024]).

translation, another version of the text seemed to make more sense.[32] Instead of '*sive aliae*' it reads '*sive alae*'. '*Alae*' meaning spatial alignments. Vitruvius also uses the word in this sense in connexion with the atrium of the house and, accordingly, sequences of rooms were reconstructed to the left and right of the main room in the atrium.[33] In the case of the Tuscan temple, according to this version, the text should read: 'On both sides of the "middle temple" are smaller cells, or wings'. Accordingly, from the beginning of the Renaissance until the nineteenth century, several side chapels were reconstructed to the left and right of the 'middle temple' or main room (Fig. 2.6).[34] The alignment of these cells or wings each occupy 3/10 of the width of the temple and the cells open onto the main room.

32 *GGV*, fol. 41*v*. Calvo, *Vitruvius*, p. 189.

33 *GGV*, 6.3., illustrations on fols 63*r* and 64*v*. Vitruvius, *Corsini*, figs 130, 133.

34 Cf. the illustration in *GGV*, fol. 41*v*, and the drawings in Sgarbi, *Vitruvio Ferrarese*, fig. 58, as well as in the Mellon sketchbook (after 1513), fol. 2*r*. Hans Nachod, *A recently discovered architectural sketchbook of an intimate assistant of Bramante in the Construction Office of St. Peter's in Rome* (New York, 1955). Rudolf Wittkower, 'The 'Menicantonio' Sketchbook in the Paul Mellon Collection', in *Idea and Image* (London, 1978), 90–107. Charles Ryskamp ed., *Nineteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978–1980* (New York, 1981), 27–8. Giovanni Battista



LIBER

De tuſcanicis rationbus ædium ſacrarum. Caput. VII.

Locus in quo ædis conſtituetur,cum habuerit in lõgitudine ſex partes, vna dempta,reliquum quod erit,latitudini detur,Lõgitudo autem diuidatur bipartito,& quæ pars erit interior,cellarum ſpatiis deſignetur,quæ erit proxima fronti,columnarum diſpoſitioni relinquatur,Item latitudo diuidatur in partes decem,ex his ternæ partes dextra ac ſiniſtra cellis minoribꝰ, ſiue vbi alæ futuræ ſint dentur,reliquæ quatuor mediæ ædi attribuãtur, Spatium,quod erit ante cellas,in pronao ita columnis deſignetur,vt angulares contra antas parietum extremorum e regione collocẽtur,Duæ mediæ e regione parietum,qui inter antas & mediam ædem fuerĩt,ita diſtribuantᵉ,ut inter antas & columnas priores per medium iiſdem regiõibus alteræ diſponantur,eæq; ſint ima craſſitudine altitudinis parte ſeptima , altitudo tertia parte latitudinis templi,ſummaq; columna quarta parte craſſitudinis imæ contrahatur.

a. cellæ mi-
nores.
b. media
ædes.
c. pronaus.

Spiræ earum altæ dimidia parte craſſitudinis fiant,habeant ſpiræ earũ plinthum ad circinum altam ſuæ craſſitudinis,dimidia partæ,torum inſup cũ apophygi craſſum,quantum plinthus.

Fig. 2.6: Fra Giocondo, Tuscan temple, ground plan, Vitruvius edition of 1511, fol. 41v (photo: Günther).

da Sangallo even depicts the Tuscan temple in his illustration for the first printed edition of Vitruvius, despite the text differing from *GGV*, Vitruvius, *Corsini*, fig. 102.

Alberti opens up the possibility of placing the reconstructions of the Tuscan temple in the Renaissance into a broader historical context. He was not interested in temples with porticoes because so few of them were extant or still visible, and because they quite simply were not useful for contemporary Renaissance architecture. Instead, he supplements the description of the design of the interior, which is largely missing in Vitruvius. His template for this is to be found among the remains of ancient buildings, especially the Temple of Venus and Roma in the Forum Romanum, the colonnaded portico of which had been destroyed and was not known of at the time (Fig. 2.7). For his description of the typical Roman temple, Alberti adopts from this building the 'tribunals', or niche-like side chapels and the exedra termination.[35] In his view, the exedra probably served as a frame for the altar, because he assumed that it should have stood inside the temple and that in antiquity worship and sacrifice took place inside.[36]

Alberti contrasts the special Tuscan type with the typical ancient temple in the manner of the temple of Venus and Roma.[37] He largely adheres to Vitruvius's description of the Tuscan temple. He assumes, as was to become customary, that in contrast to the niche-like tribunals, rows of smaller cells were aligned on the sides of the central temple and formed their own spaces. He interprets the indication that the length is to be divided into two parts, one of which occupies the porch, the other the interior with the *cellae*, as meaning that the phrase 'divided into two parts' is meant only as a distinction between interior and exterior and not as a division into two equal halves. He gives the porch smaller dimensions. In addition, he again adds an exedra for the altar and two more on the sides.

The Tuscan temple Vitruvius describes was a wooden building from primitive times. The question arose as to what its successor in stone looked like in the classical Roman era under the emperors. In the case of the orders of columns, this question was intensely debated in the sixteenth century. The Tuscan and Doric orders of columns had to contain the essential elements based on wooden construction.

Alberti did not refer to the Tuscan order of columns, but he did consider what the successors to the Tuscan temple looked like under the emperors. A century ago, in his translation of Alberti's architectural treatise, Max Theuer (1897–1994) pointed

35 *DRA*, 552f. (7.4).

36 Alberti explicitly stated his opinion that in antiquity worship and sacrifice took place in the temple: David Marsh tr., *Dinner Pieces. A translation of the Intercenales* (Binghampton NY, 1987), 175 (*templum*).

37 *DRA*, 554–6 (6.3).

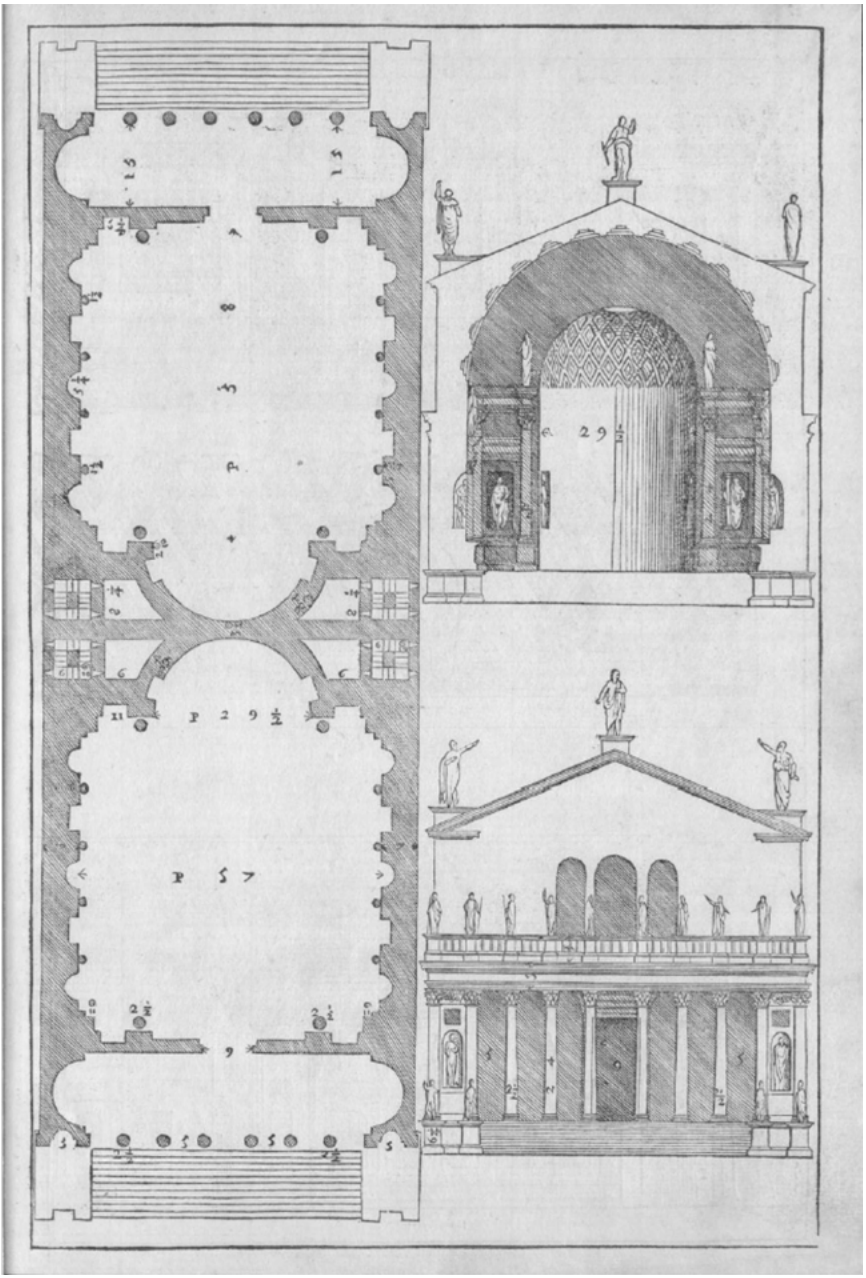


Fig. 2.7: Temple of Venus and Roma at the Roman Forum, Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, 1570), Book IV, fol. 37 (photo: Günther).

this out and Richard Krautheimer elaborated further.[38] Alberti writes about the large central hall of the baths with its adjoining rooms ('*cum cellis*')—he has the frigidarium of the Baths of Diocletian in mind—and that it resembles the disposition (*lineamentum*) of the Etruscan temple.[39] The correspondence of this hall with the reconstruction of the Tuscan temple common in the Renaissance is obvious. There was, on the other hand, another ancient building that corresponded even more closely to the Tuscan temple as Alberti reconstructed it: the Basilica of Constantine (Fig. 2.8). From this, Alberti took the three exedras (strictly speaking it only had exedras on two sides, but in the Renaissance it was generally assumed to have had three exedras so that it was symmetrical). In the Renaissance, the Basilica of Constantine was generally considered to be the Temple of Peace dedicated by Vespasian that

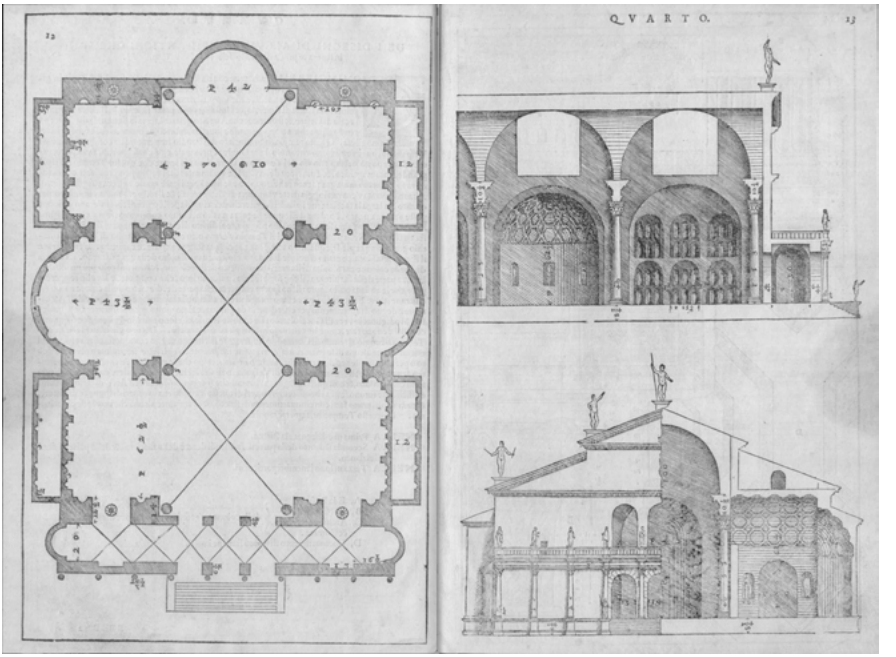


Fig. 2.8: Alleged Templum Pacis Vespasiani, today identified as the Basilica of Constantine, Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, 1570), Book IV, fols 12–13 (photo: Günther).

38 Leon Battista Alberti, *Zehn Bücher über die Baukunst*, Max Theuer tr. and ed. Ger. (Vienna-Leipzig, 1912), 619f. Richard Krautheimer, 'Alberti's Templum Etruscum', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 12 (1961), 65–72.
39 *DRA*, 768f. (8.10).

Pliny described as one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome.[40] Andrea Palladio (1508–80) placed the supposed *Templum Pacis* at the beginning of his book on temples, as if to point out how significant it was in terms of ancient architecture.[41]

Thus, the reconstruction of the Tuscan temple with the lateral alignment of smaller *cellae* opening onto the main room gave rise to an Italic building tradition of its own, which was at least as grand as the Greek tradition from which Vitruvius derived most Roman temples. It thus ranged from a primitive wooden construction to one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome. The tradition of such a type lived on in the Middle Ages, in the churches of the mendicant orders with their side chapels attached to the main hall, albeit with the irregular disposition that was repeatedly criticized during the Renaissance regarding medieval architecture. Alberti revived this tradition with the design for S. Andrea in Mantua, comprising a hall with laterally aligned *cellae*, i.e. smaller enclosed chapels (Fig. 2.9). By this time, it was al-

Fig. 2.9: S. Andrea, Mantua (photo: Günther).

40 Pliny, *Nat. hist*. 36.102.

41 Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'Architettura* (Venice, 1570), IV, 11–14.

ready believed that the Etruscans had founded Mantua and Alberti commented on his model for the new building in a letter to Ludovico Gonzaga (1412–78) with the remark, 'This form of temple is named in antiquity Etruscan sanctuary'.[42]

The Meaning of an Uncommon Technical Term: '*antae*'

Vitruvius often uses the term '*antae*'. He does not explain it, but several times the context reveals that it means something like the front of a wall, a pillar projecting in front of the wall or something similar. It clearly derives from the word '*ante*', meaning 'in front of'.

Accordingly, in ancient literature it denotes an object located at the front, for example the foremost of a row of vines. The term was not otherwise used in connexion with architecture. Vitruvius occasionally contrasts '*antae*' with '*parastaticae*', which means '*parastades*' or pilasters.[43] Nevertheless, scholars of the Renaissance quickly agreed that '*antae*' meant pilasters.[44] One of the reasons for this was that Vitruvius repeatedly states that there should be '*antae*' on the wall behind freestanding columns. In ancient architecture, there were often pilasters setback behind columns, especially on triumphal arches and on the corners of temples. That triumphal arches were drawn more often than any other ancient monuments in the Renaissance was apparently because they were seen as a paradigm for the proper use of the orders of columns.

Vitruvius also takes into account the '*templum in antis*'.[45] As with the Tuscan temple, at the front it has the '*antae*' of the walls enclosing the cella, with two columns between the '*antae*' surmounted by an entablature and pediment. The *prostylos* is arranged like the '*templum in antis*', but in addition there is a column immediately in front of each of the two '*antae*' at the corners. Today it is assumed that here '*antae*' exceptionally means significantly projecting wall elements. This interpretation results in the reconstruction of a porch between the wall elements (Fig. 2.10). Such an alternative was already recognized in the sixteenth century, be-

42 'Questa forma de tempio se nomina apud veteres etruscum sacrum', Girolamo Mancini, *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence, 1882), 528.

43 *GGV*, 4.2.6.

44 Philandrier, *In decem libros*, 62. Bernardino Baldi, *De verborum vitruvianorum significatione* (Augsburg, 1612), 13.

45 *GGV*, 3.1. final sentences.

cause it was supported in extant architecture by a corresponding type of temple.[46] But this is not clear from Vitruvius's text. According to which, a façade with corner pilasters and two columns between them, as depicted in the Vitruvian editions of Giocondo and Perrault (Fig. 2.11) could as easily be intended.[47] When Pope Pius II (1405–64) wrote of the façade of the Cathedral of Pienza (1459–62) that 'it evidently took the form of ancient temples', he was perhaps not simply repeating a rhetorical topos, but was thinking of the '*templum in antis*'.[48]

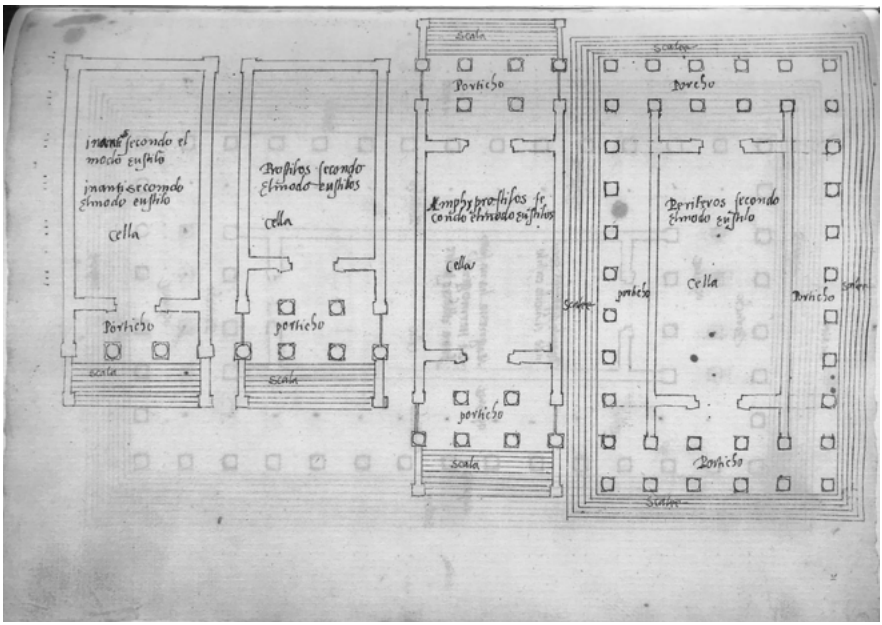


Fig. 2.10: Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, Templum in antis and other types of temples, designs illustrating the edition of Vitruvius by Giovanni Sulpicio, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome, Ms. 50. F. 1 (source: *Vitruvius Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. I. Rowland [Rome, 2003]).

In the chapter on the 'disposition of the interior of the cella and vestibule', Vitruvius again describes a temple with '*antae*'.[49] General understanding of this text is

46 Vitruvius, *Corsini*, fig. 97. Sgarbi, *Vitruvio Ferrarese*, figs 14, 52.
47 *GGV*, fol. 38*v*. Perrault, *Vituvius*, 63. Comp. Calvo, *Vitruvius*, 182s.
48 'vetustarum aedium prae se formam tulit', Pius II, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium* (Rome, 1584), 430 (9.24).
49 *GGV*, 4.4.

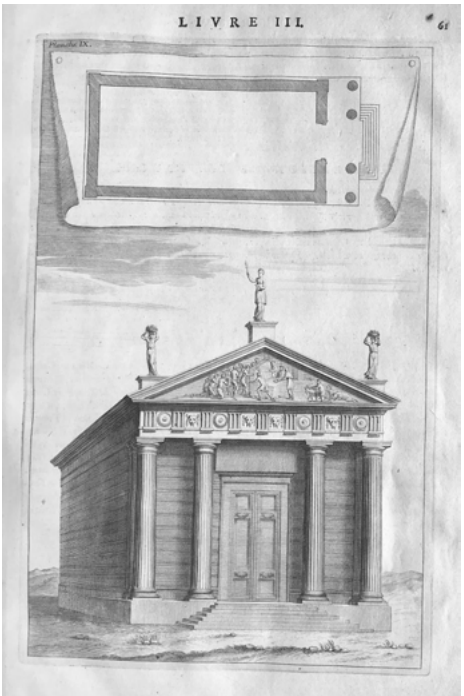


Fig. 2.11: Claude Perrault, Prostylos, Vitruvius edition of 1673, 61 (photo: Günther).

in close accordance with the wording, not according to the modern interpretation of '*antae*' as significantly projecting wall elements, but in the sense of Fra Giocondo's illustration as pilasters, in which the temple has a porch, of which Vitruvius only gives the dimensions. The front of the cella is arranged like the '*templum in antis*'. The intercolumnia between the '*antes*' and the columns between them are closed with '*plutei*', i.e. with walls or similar, which have entrances. Behind the columns between the '*antes*', other columns are to be placed *introrsus* (inwards). They are as high as the columns at the front. The fact that this has to be said specifically seemed to confirm that the front and rear columns belonged to different building components.

This interpretation results in no less than four of the temple types listed by Vitruvius having their interior space shaped with architectural elements, as was often seen in ancient architecture. In addition to the Tuscan temple, the related '*templum in antis*' and the *prostylos* and *amphiprostylos*. Fra Giocondo's reconstruction of the porch is quite similar to Vitruvius's description of the Tuscan temple, thus creating another example of a porch consisting of free-standing columns, as was also often seen in ancient architecture. Its correspondence with the temples known at that time seemed to support the reconstruction of the '*templum in antis*'.

The Meaning of Uncommon Technical Terms: '*scamilli inpares*'

The most renowned example of the difficulty in understanding Vitruvius's technical terms is to be found in the chapter dealing with '*scamilli inpares*'.[50] There are many studies on the subject from the Renaissance to the present day.[51] The term '*scamilli inpares*' does not appear elsewhere in ancient literature. Therefore, one has to rely entirely on Vitruvius's text to understand its meaning. However, the passage is quite vague, containing ambiguous words and several unclear technical terms. Vitruvius himself saw that it was difficult to understand and incomplete, therefore he refers the reader to an illustration, but unfortunately it is lost. There are also problems of emendation.

The passage deals with the podium on which the temple stands. Today it is translated as follows:

> The level of the stylobate must be increased along the middle by the *scamilli impares*; for if it is laid perfectly level, it will look to the eye as though it were hollowed out a little [a declivity]. At the end of the book a figure will be found, with a description showing how the *scamilli* may be made to suit this purpose.

So, it is about balancing visual appearance. The surface of the stylobate should be curved upwards to make it appear flat (one can think of it as horizontal entasis). To this day, it is unclear what exactly the '*scamilli inpares*' are supposed to be. They are believed to have been minor projections of some kind because in some copies of Vitruvius instead of '*scamilli*' there is '*scabilli*' or '*scabelli*', i.e. a stool or something similar (Fig. 2.12).

Vitruvius often discusses how the elements of the temple should be adapted for its visual appearance: the columns should have entasis, so that they appear to taper evenly upwards; the columns at the corners of a portico should be thicker than the others, because they would appear thinner otherwise; for the same reason, the front columns of porches should be thicker than the rear columns; the lateral columns should be slightly inclined inwards, to appear as if they were standing upright; for the same reason, pediments and acroteria should be inclined forward slightly. Accurate measurements have shown that Greek temples really were, as Vitruvius would

50 *GGV*, 3.3.30ss.

51 Here is a small selection, taking into account mainly the early comments that are revealing in our context: Baldi, *De verborum*, 147. Stieglitz, *Archäologische Unterhaltungen*, 48–67. Stefano Piale Romano, *Gli scamilli impares di Vitruvio* (Rome, 1834). More oriented towards the modern view of archaeologists is, Ian Campbell, 'Scamilli inpares: a problem in Vitruvius', in *Papers of the British School of Rome* 48 (1980), 17–22.

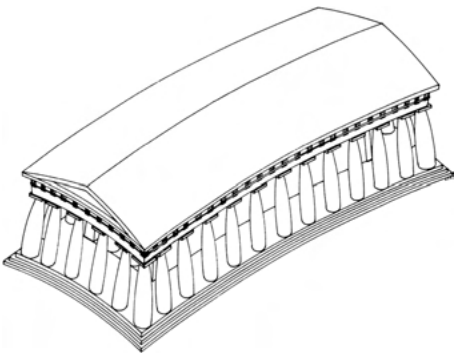


Fig. 2.12: Scamilli inpares, balancing the optical appearance, modern exaggerated demonstration by J. J. Coulton (M. Georgiadou, A battle of curves, www: https://georgiadis-architektur.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/georgiadis-a-battle-of-curves_vollstc3a4ndig.pdf [accessed 18.06.2024]).

have it, designed with visual appearance in mind. It was only the *in situ* study of Greek temples that led to an interpretation of this passage from Vitruvius as described above.[52] Vitruvius apparently recommends these adaptations in order to obtain those optical appearances according to the Greek model. With the exception of the entasis, it was rarely observed on Roman buildings.

For Renaissance scholars then, the problem of interpreting this passage from Vitruvius was aggravated by the fact that they could not see these optical adaptations for visual appearance as described by him for ancient buildings. In contrast to Vitruvius, architects of the Renaissance only rarely took these optical adaptations into consideration for their buildings, and mostly maintained the maxim that architectural articulation should be designed according to uniform rules throughout.[53]

As long as Greek temples were not known, i.e. up to the eighteenth century, the passage was interpreted quite differently than it is now. It has not been understood to mean that the surface of the podium should be slightly raised towards the centre, but that the columns of the *peristasis* should be placed on pedestals rather than set on a dais or podium, or that the dais of the temple is projecting under each column

52 Lothar Haselberger and Hansgeorg Bankel eds, *Appearance and Essence. Refinements of Classical Architecture: Curvature* (Philadelphia, 1999).

53 Cf. Bramante's opinion on the Tiburio of Milan Cathedral, the choir of S. Maria presso S. Satiro in Milan and his Tempietto. Hubertus Günther, 'Bildwirkung von Architektur in Renaissance und Barock', in *Kolloquium Architektur und Bild in der Neuzeit, Stuttgart, 12. und 13. November 1999* (https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/1496/1/Guenther_Bildwirkung_von_Architektur_in_Renaissance_und_Barock_2002.pdf [accessed 04.04.2023]. Idem, 'Das komplizierte Ebenmaß der Renaissance-Architektur', in *Architectura. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 32 (2002), 149–66.

(Fig. 2.13). This was the general opinion from the beginning of the Renaissance until the eighteenth century, even though the details were interpreted differently.[54]

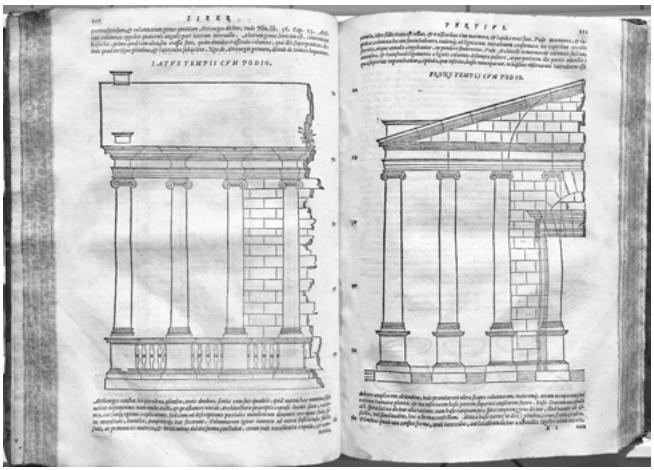


Fig. 2.13: Daniele Barbaro and Andrea Palladio, Scamilli inpares, Vitruvius comentary of 1567, 1101–11 (photo: Günther).

Now the question arises as to how the old interpretation, which lasted for centuries, was justified. There is little sense in citing the Renaissance translations here, because their adaptations of Vitruvius's text are often so intricate that they can hardly be understood. The pivotal point is the technical term '*stylobata*'. It has two meanings: either 'podium of an entire building' (*zoccolo*) or 'pedestal or support of an individual column' (*piedistallo*). In the Renaissance, Vitruvius was believed to have meant the latter, and Varro (116–27 BC) was understood in the same way.[55] Hence pedestals were also called stylobates.[56]

This Renaissance interpretation was the result of several factors. Which of the two meanings Vitruvius was referring to seemed to be determined by whether he used the term in the singular or plural. For example, just before the passage cited above, he states:

54 *GGV*, illustrations fol. 28*r*. Vitruvius, *Corsini*, figs 68, 74, 76. Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice, 1556), 85–7. Perrault, *Vitruvius*, 80–3. Marco Vitruvio Pollione, *L'architettura*, tr. It. Berardo Galiani, (Naples, 1758; 2ed. 1790), fig. 5.

55 Varro, *Rerum Rust.* 1.13.3 and 3.5.11–12.

56 For example Serlio, *Regole generali*, fol. 21*r*: 'lo Stilobathe detto Piedestalo'.

> *Extruxtis autem fundamentis ad libramentum stylobatae sunt conlocandi. Supra stylobatas columnae disponendae.*[57]
>
> Once the foundations have been built up to the level, the stylobates should be placed. The columns should be set on the stylobate.

Hence the columns are to be placed on the stylobates (plural), not on a stylobate—that is, on pedestals, not on a podium. In describing round temples, Vitruvius speaks alternately of '*stylobata*' and '*stylobatae*' in such a way that the impression can arise that he is using the singular when referring to a single column.[58] Moreover, the passage on the round *peripteros* in the early printed Vitruvian texts, including that of Giocondo, reads: '*Sin autem peripteros ea aedes constituetur, duo gradus & stylobatae ab imo constituantur [. . .]*'.[59] 'If, on the other hand, this temple is to be designed as a *peripteros*, then two steps and a stylobate should be designed from the bottom upwards'. Therefore, round temples in Renaissance editions of Vitruvius are always depicted with pedestals instead of a podium (Fig. 2.14).[60] This is how the stylobate became a pedestal.

The modern translation: 'The level of the stylobate must be increased along the middle' is, in Latin, '*Stylobatam ita oportet aequari, uti habeat per medium adiectio*'. This was understood in the Renaissance as follows: 'The stylobate (meaning here: each of the pedestals) should be shaped in such a way that it half protrudes'. The pedestals were designed to project, it was interpreted, projecting either in front of the podium or in front of a balustrade that stands between them. And the passage explaining how they should protrude '*per scamillos inpares*' was interpreted as follows: 'Because the projections, the bases under the temple, are unequal, the pedestals should protrude by half'.

This Renaissance interpretation had the disadvantage that it did not correspond to ancient architecture. Ancient temples, round as well as rectangular ones, stand on podia and there is no projection in alignment with the bases of the columns (Fig. 2.15). Nevertheless, this interpretation generally became accepted because it had the advantage of fitting perfectly with the idea of order that prevailed in the Renaissance. Architectural articulation was to be consistent from top to bottom, including the pedestal. In contrast, disrupting overall uniformity by altering individual elements in order to balance visual appearance contradicted Renaissance thinking on order. Pedestals belonged to the doctrine of the order of columns. They were necessary as a counterpart

57 *GGV*, 3.3.14ss.

58 *GGR*, fols 42*v*–43*r* (4.7).

59 *GGR*, fol. 43*r*.

60 *GGR*, illustrations fol. 43*r-v*. Vitruvius, *Corsini*, figs 102–3. Barbaro, *I dieci libri*, 123–4. Perrault, *Vitruvius*, 134–7. Galiani, *Vitruvius*, fig. 9.

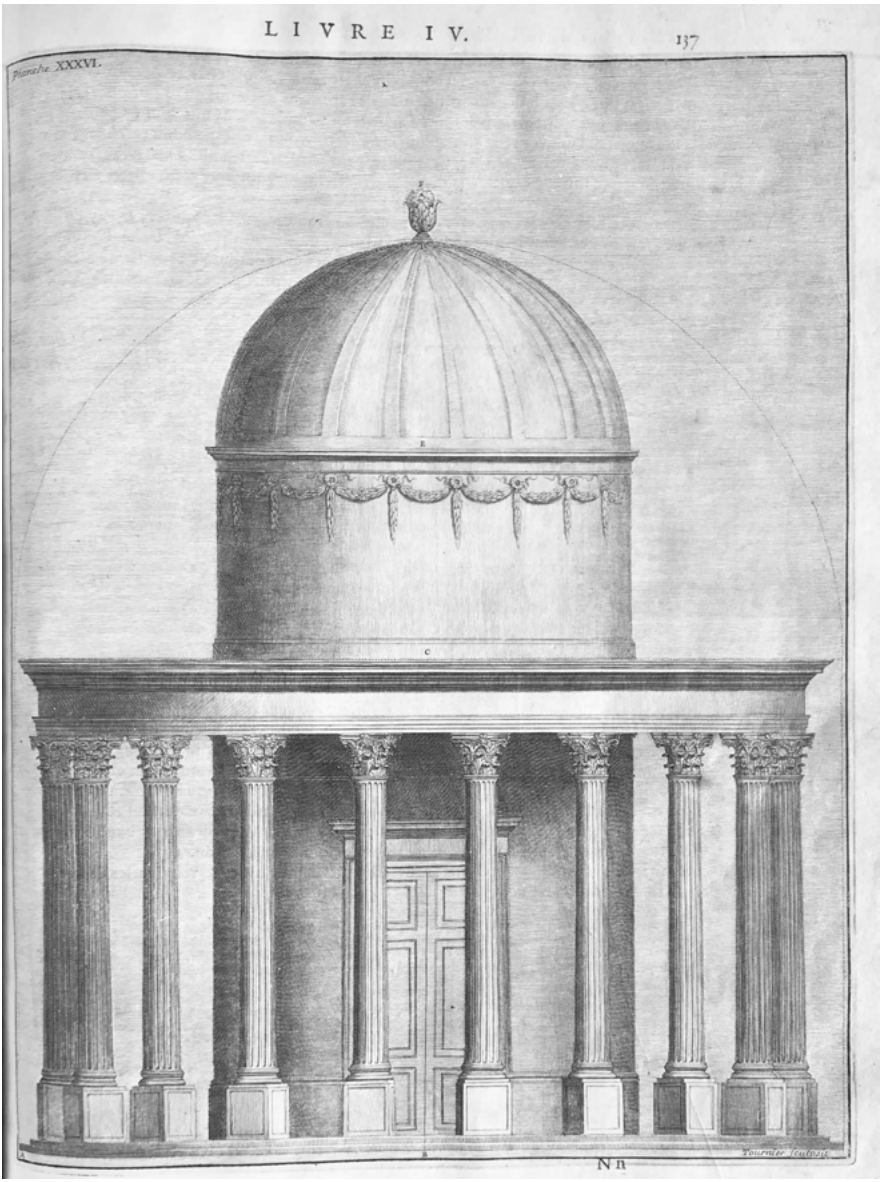


Fig. 2.14: Claude Perrault, Round Peripteros, Vitruvius edition of 1673, 137 (photo: Günther).

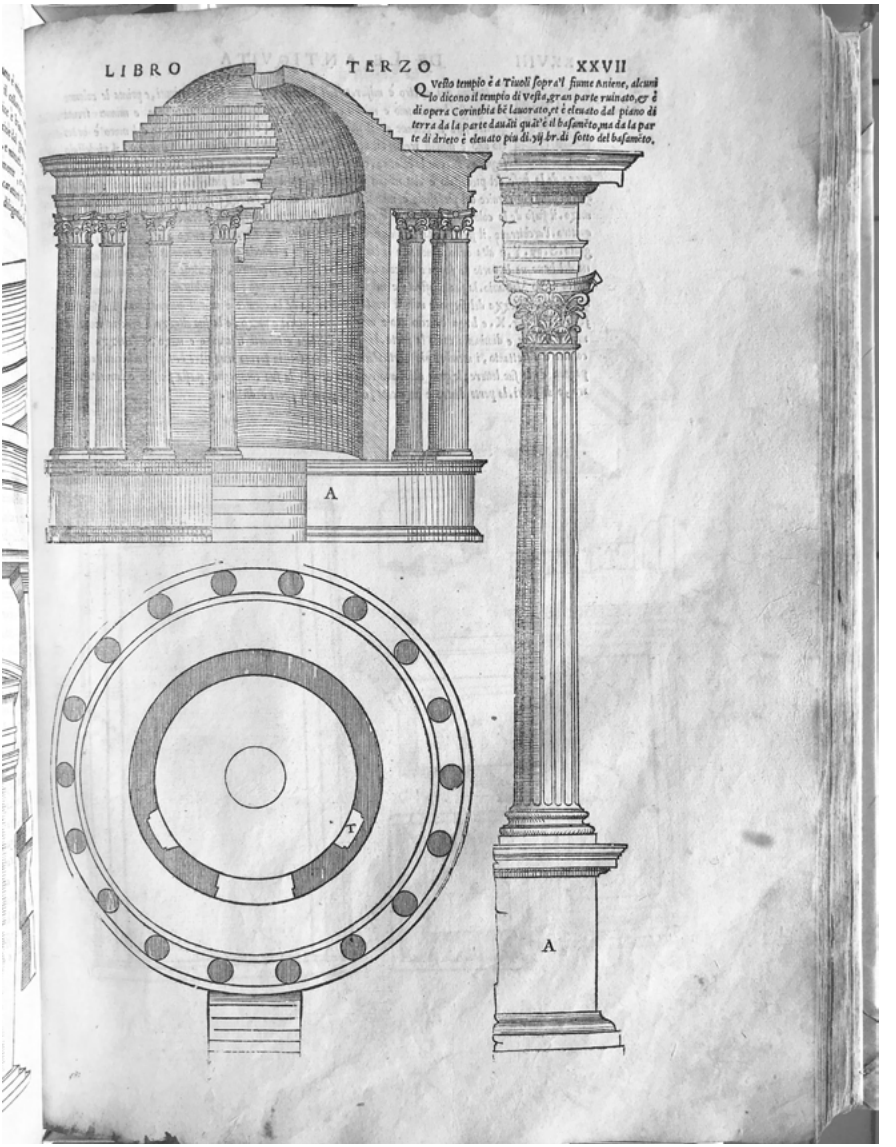


Fig. 2.15: Sebastiano Serlio, Round temple at Tivoli, *Il terzo libro*, 1540, 27 (photo: Günther).

to the entablature and as a mediation between column and wall. They were inspired in particular by triumphal arches. Vitruvius does not discuss pedestals in the doctrine of columns. Directly before the passage dealt with he states: 'The individual elements of the columns and the entablature should be adapted to the stylobate under the bases'. This statement enticed one to understand its meaning as being that the columns and entablatures should harmonize with the pedestals. Accordingly, in Renaissance column theory, the forms of the pedestals are adapted to the other elements of the columns according to their orders.[61]

The Meaning of Renaissance Technical Terms for Rooms in the House in Comparison with Ancient Texts

Scholars also encountered problems when they tried to understand Vitruvius's technical terms by turning to other ancient literature. For example, how to understand the disposition of the house in its essence depends on three terms for the main rooms: *vestibulum*, atrium, *cavaedium* (Fig. 2.16).[62] But ancient authors sometimes gave quite contradictory information about the meaning of these three terms. The grammarian, Aulus Gellius (*c*.125–after 180), had indeed complained about the confusion of terms that prevailed in this case.[63] Even today, what Vitruvius intended with these terms is still disputed, but the question is no

61 Hubertus Günther, 'Sebastiano Serlios Lehrprogramm. Spuren von architektonischen Leitlinien im dritten und vierten Buch', in Adriano Boschetti-Maradi ed., *Fund-Stücke. Spuren-Suche* (*Zürich studies in the history of art* 17/18) (Berlin, 2011), 494–517.

62 Hubertus Günther, 'Albertis Vorstellung von antiken Häuser', in Kurt W. Forster ed., *Leon Battista Alberti als Humanist und Theoretiker der bildenden Künste* (Berlin, 1999), 157–202. Idem, 'Dal palazzo di Mecenate als palazzo Farnese', in Aurora Scotti Tosini ed., *Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia tra XV e XVI secolo* (Milan, 2001), 218–38. Idem, 'La concezione delle case private nel "De re aedificatoria"', in Arturo Calzona ed., *Leon Battista Alberti: Teorico delle arti e gli impegni civili del "De re aedificatoria"* (Florence, 2007), II, 787–813. Cf. Filippo Coarelli, 'La casa dell'aristocrazia romana secondo Vitruvio', in 'Munus non ingratum', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, supp. II (Leiden, 1989), 178–87. Linda Pellecchia, 'Architects read Vitruvius: Renaissance interpretations of the Atrium of the ancient house', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992), 377–416.

63 'There are many words we use without knowing exactly what they mean. By simply following uncertain and vulgar conventions, we imagine we say what we want without actually saying it. An example of this is the word 'vestibulum', which is often pronounced without all those who use it knowing its true meaning [. . .]', Aulus Gellius, *Noctes attice* 16.5.3.

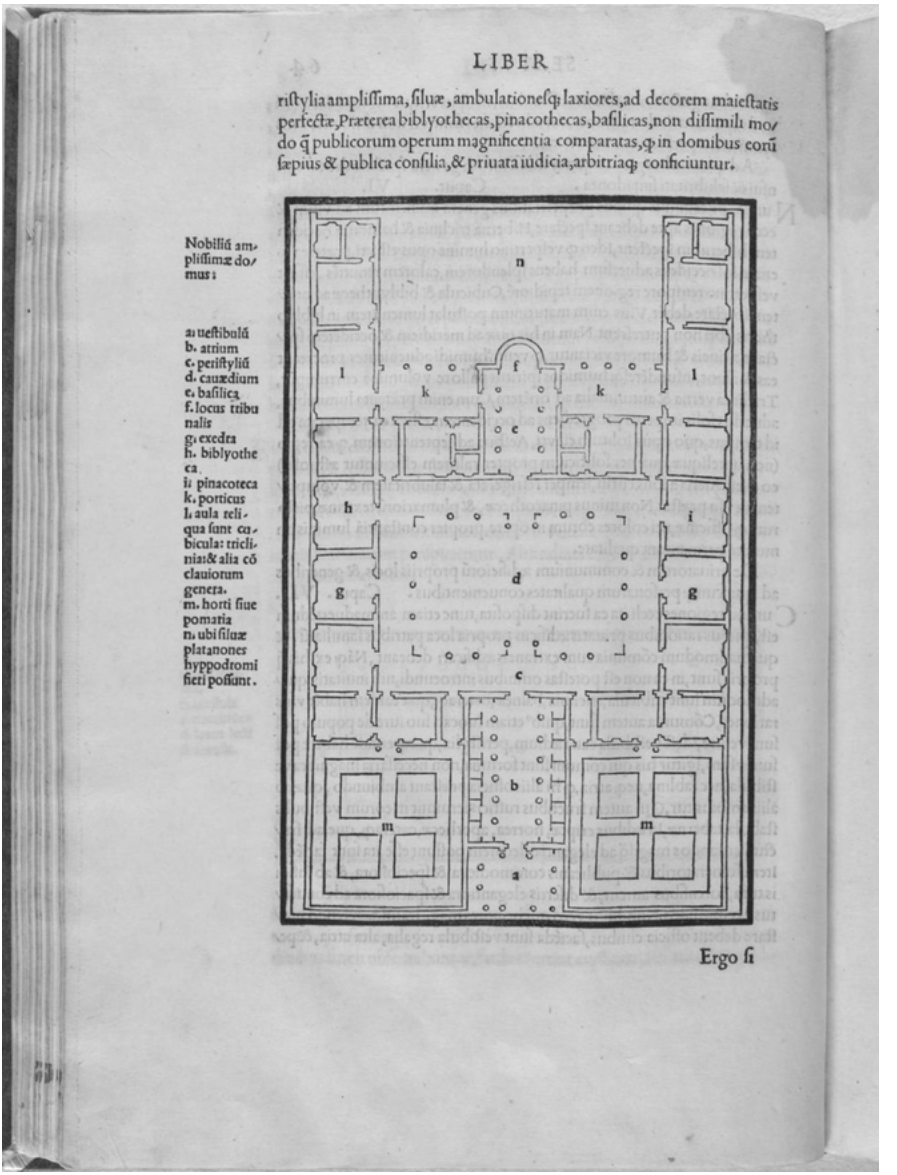


Fig. 2.16: Fra Giocondo, Roman house, ground plan, Vitruvius edition of 1511, fol. 64v (photo: Günther).

longer as important as it was during the Renaissance, because archaeologists now rely more on evidence from excavations in Pompeii and elsewhere.

Vitruvius gives general guidelines on how city and country houses of the nobility in Greece and Rome ought to be arranged.[64] He characterizes them as spacious and magnificent complexes with many sumptuous rooms and courtyards. He leaves open what their outward appearance was like, dealing only with which rooms inside are required and how they should be arranged.

Vitruvius mentions many different types of rooms, which he calls *cavaedium*, atrium, *vestibulum*, *peristilium*, *triclinium*, and so on. He treats *cavaedium* and atrium in particular detail. These seem to be the main elements of the house. But he also singles out the vestibule as being magnificent. *Cavaedia* can be designed in different ways. On the one hand, they are courtyards usually surrounded by ambulatories of different kinds. On the other hand, *cavaedia* can form vaulted spaces (*cavaedia testudinata*). According to Renaissance interpretations, either the entire space, or only the ambulatories, of an open courtyard were vaulted. Atria form large high halls and they are partially covered, but have a large opening in their centre (*compluvium*) to admit light. From the atrium, a passage leads to a smaller room called the *tablinum*. Bathrooms, libraries, *pinacothecae*, studios or *cubicula* are additional spaces within the house. Other rooms can be designed in different ways, some as exedra or with elaborate colonnades, some even resemble basilicas. Vitruvius does not say what the vestibule should look like.

Vitruvius differentiates the rooms according to their function in public or private life. For example, *cubicula*, *triclinia*, baths are private. *Cavaedia*, *peristilia*, *atria*, *tablina* and *vestibula* are public and also accessible to uninvited people. The latter being explicitly remarked upon as being magnificent, princely and great. Ordinary people get by without such rooms, but high-ranking figures who hold state offices need halls:

> which should be as splendidly equipped as state buildings, because in the houses of these men political deliberations are often held and judgements and decisions in private matters are made.[65]

The disposition of the rooms is barely explained. It might be concluded that it was arbitrary, if it were not mentioned in passing. For example, it is said that the atrium is usually located directly at the entrance and that the *tablinum* is behind it.[66]

Regarding the '*vestibulum*', Vitruvius says that, apart from being particularly magnificent, it was the only place where those who wanted to pay their respects

64 *GGV*, 6.
65 *GGV*, 64*r* (6.6).
66 *GGV*, fol. 65*r* (6.5.7), 65*v* (6.7.9).

to the master of the house would be found. The grammarians Varro and Gellius and other writers agree that it was not in the house but in front of it.[67] Apparently, it was an open space leading from the entrance of the house to the street. Occasionally porticoes at the front of the house belonging to the vestibule are mentioned. Incidentally, besides Vitruvius, the shape of the vestibule is also never precisely defined in other ancient literature. Gellius reports that many people used the word '*vestibulum*' without knowing its true meaning.[68]

According to Varro, the *cavaedium* is the most prominent room of the house and is located in its centre.[69] All the other rooms are located around it. Moreover, Varro's text suggests an interpretation which, if correct—as it seems to many—results in *cavaedium* and atrium being synonymous.[70] This understanding is also suggested by some peculiarities in Vitruvius's text, although there the two terms are used for different spaces.[71] The importance of *cavaedium*—as *atria* as the cen-

67 Aulus Gellius, loc. cit., Varro, *Ling. lat.* 7.81. Servius, *Comm. in Vergilii Aen.* 2. 469. Cf. the corresponding information from Livius 2.48, Plautus *Mostell.* 3.2 (132) and others, later: Isidor, *Etymol.* 15.3.4. Compare in an analogous sense Columella 8.3 and 8, and 9.12. Vergil, *Georg.* 4.20. It is not even quite certain that the vestibule was in front of the house. According to Seneca, *Epp.* 84.12, and Livius 5.41, the vestibules were possibly in the house.

68 Aulus Gellius, loc.cit.

69 'Cavum aedium dictum qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. In hoc locus si nullus relictus erat, sub divo qui esset, dicebatur testudo ab testudinis similitudine, ut est in praetorio et castris. Si relictum erat in medio ut lucem caperet, deorsum quo impluebat, dictum impluvium, susum qua compluebat, compluvium utrumque a pluvia. Tuscanicum dictum a Tuscis, posteaquam illorum cavum aedium coeperunt', Varro, *Ling. lat.* 5.161.

70 At the end of the cited treatment of the cavaedium in § 161, this sentence follows directly: 'Atrium appellatum est ab Atriatibus Tuscis . . .'. The following paragraph addresses the spaces that lie around the *cavaedium*, beginning with the words: 'Circum cavum aedium . . .'. Therefore, it is reasonable to understand: 'It (the *Cavaedium*) is called Atrium after the Etruscans of Atria' (i.e. analogous to: 'It is called Etruscan after the Etruscans' for 'Thuscanicum dictum a Tuscis'). Without regard to the context, the result is: 'The atrium is named after the Etruscans of Atria'.

71 Vitruvius 6.3.1ss. explains how each of the five types of *cavaedium* should be covered. By Tuscan is meant those *cavaedia* in which the beams, which are stretched across the 'atrium', thus loosely translated: have supporting beams and load bearing beams extending obliquely from the walls, so that rainwater runs off the edges of the walls towards the middle *compluvium* ('in quibus trabes in atrii latitudine traiectae habeant interpensiva et collicias ab angulis parietum ad angulos tignorum incurrentes, item asseribus stillicidiorum in medium conpluvium deiectus'). What else can 'atrium' mean here but *cavaedium* or at least a part of it? Consider also: Vitruvius 6.7 explains how the rooms of the house should be arranged with regard to whether they are private or public. He first lists the private rooms, then the public ones, including '*vestibula, cavaedia, peristylia* and similar rooms of this kind'. Therefore, ordinary house owners (without public offices) would have 'non necessaria magnifica vestibula, nec tablina, neque atria'. This sounds as if Vitruvius wants to name the same rooms here as above with the difference that he only explicitly mentions the most important ones above, but all those that are omitted below. *Atria* and/or *Cavaedia* are the main rooms of the

tre and core of the house might explain why many ancient writers, including celebrated ones such as Ovid (43 BC–17/18 AD), applied the term '*atrium*' to the entire house.[72] More than one ancient house in Rome was described as an '*atrium*'.[73]

Gellius calls the atrium '*pars primor*' of the house.[74] In the context of his text, the phrase obviously means 'front part'. This in turn fits with the repeated statements by Vitruvius that the atrium is at the entrance, and this is also confirmed by other ancient writers, including such prominent ones as Virgil and Quintilian.[75] The grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus (*fl.* 2 century AD) even defines the atrium as an enclosed courtyard or space in front of the house.[76] Accordingly, several ancient writers use the term '*atrium*' synonymously with '*vestibulum*'.[77] To this day, the forecourt in front of churches is referred to as '*vestibulum*' as well as '*atrium*'. Of course, under such circumstances it no longer seems likely that the atrium would be identical with the centre of the house. Some of the statements of Vitruvius also speak against equating atrium and *cavaedium*. What Vitruvius says about the *cavaedium testudinatum* with a high hall, which he describes as the atrium, can be compared to the younger Pliny's description of his Villa Laurentina as being entered through an atrium, followed by a courtyard and only then by a *cavaedium*.[78]

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house. Then it is stated: people with high public offices need '*vestibula*', '*atria*', '*peristylia*' with '*ambulationes*', '*praeterea bybliothecas*, basilicas'. Here, the enumeration is supposed to be complete. But it is only complete if '*atria*' also means '*cavaedia*'.

72 Ovid, *Heroides* 16.184. Idem, *Metam*. 13.968. Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Aen*. 1.726. Likewise later: Isidor, *Etymol*. 15.3.4.

73 Servius, loc. cit.

74 'Pleraque sunt vocabula quibus vulgo utimur, neque tamen liquido scimus quid ea proprie atque vere significent; sed incompertam et vulgariam traditionem rei non exploratae secuti, videmur magis dicere quod volumus, quam dicimus; sicuti est "vestibulum", verbum in sermonibus celebre atque obvium, non omnibus tamen qui illo facile utuntur satis spectatum. Animadverti enim quosdam haut quaquam indoctos viros opinari "vestibulum" esse partem domus primorem, quam vulgus "atrium" vocat'. I: 'De significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent', II: 'vestibulum esse dicit non in ipsis aedibus neque partem aedium, sed locum ante ianuam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad aedis est, cum dextra sinistraque ianuam tecta saepiunt viae iuncta atque ipsa ianua procul a via est, area vacanti intersita'. Aulus Gellius 16.5.2.

75 Vergil, *Aeneis* 2.483ss. Quintilian 11.2.20.

76 'Atrium proprie est genus aedificii ante aedem, continens mediam aream, in quam collecta est omni tecto pluvia descendit', Festus, *Epit*. 13.

77 Cf. esp. Aulus Gellius, loc. cit. 'alii dicunt Atriam Etruriae civitatem fuisse, quae domos amplis vestibulis habebat: quae cum Romani imitarentur atria appellaverunt'. Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* 1.726. Cf. also the accounts of the colossus of Nero which, according to Suetonius, *Nero* 31, stood in the 'Vestibulum'; according to Martial, *De spectaculis* 2, in the 'Atrium' of the Domus aurea.

78 Pliny the Younger, *Ep*. 2.17. Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny from antiquity to posterity* (Chicago, 1994).

In view of such confusion of language and terminology, one can easily believe Alberti when he wrote that he learned 'far more from ancient buildings than from writers'.[79] Indeed, his description of the house and his interpretation of Vitruvius's text are clearly inspired by an ancient building. Today, archaeologists can no longer find any of the noble houses of Rome, but the situation was different in the Renaissance. Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), in his description of ancient Rome—the first authoritative work of modern archaeology—notes that:

> in such a great almost marvellous jumble of ruins as Rome has today, it is impossible to distinguish where there were two or more or many buildings.[80]

Enormous monuments towered in this confusion, which Biondo identified as houses. Which monuments were considered houses depended on how houses were thought to look like. In principle, the situation was as equally contradictory as was the emendation of texts: on the one hand, it was necessary to understand Vitruvius in order to recognize the houses while, on the other hand, one had to know the houses in order to understand Vitruvius. The results of the studies of Biondo or other Renaissance scholars often do not correspond to present-day views.[81] Both Biondo and Alberti saw two magnificent buildings on the Quirinal that they supposed to be houses. These ruins were later destroyed and, in any case, are now believed to have been other building types. One of them was the palace of the Cornelians, which is now considered to be the Baths of Constantine (Fig. 2.17). In the middle of the supposed front (today regarded as the rear) a large rotunda half projected in front of the building—for Alberti it was apparently the vestibule, as it belonged to the building and yet also stood in front of it—followed by a smaller room, the *tablinum*, and then in the middle of the complex a large rotunda with a dome, to which the other rooms adjoined. Thus, for Alberti, it was the atrium alias *cavaedium testudinatum*. Opposite the palace of the Cornelians was the palace of Maecenas, which today is often regarded as Caracalla's temple of Serapis, or at any rate as a temple (Fig. 2.18). It formed a cubic block with a two-storey, colonnaded courtyard inside. This courtyard may have been connected with the *cavaedium testudinatum* in the other available interpretation: with a vaulted ambulatory. Above all, the cubic building block, with its central colonnaded courtyard, corresponded to a type of palace that became widespread at the beginning of the Renaissance. Biondo, who identified the building as the palace of Maecenas, derived his understanding of the disposition of the mod-

79 *DRA*, 256f. (3.16).

80 'Quamquam in tanta tamquam mirabili ruinarum confusione quam nunc habet urbs Roma, ubi duo aut plura aut multa fuerint aedificia discerni non potest', Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, 2.22.

81 Günther, 'Albertis Vorstellung', 157–202. Idem, 'Dal palazzo di Mecenate', 218–38; Idem, 'La concezione', 787–813.

ern palace type with a central colonnaded courtyard, together with its medieval predecessors, from that of ancient houses. In his view, the ancient disposition survived in the cloisters of monasteries. Therefore, it is clear that the fixation on antiquity and tradition, or simply what one was accustomed to, all played a distinctive role in the Renaissance interpretation of Vitruvius.

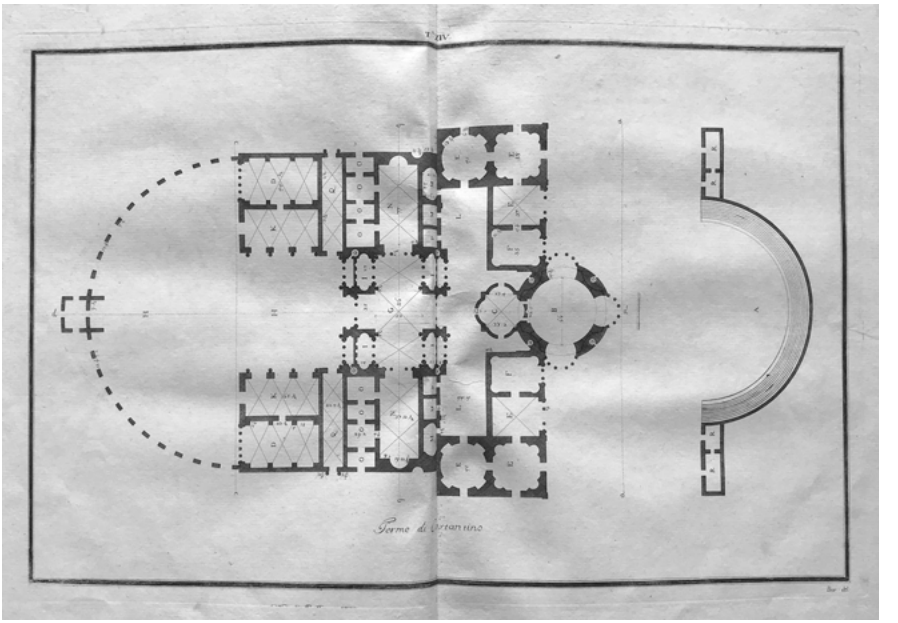

Fig. 2.17: Formerly alleged Domus Corneliorum, today identified as the Baths of Constantine at the Quirinal hill, Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, *Le terme dei Romani disegnate da Andrea Palladio*, 1785, tav. 14 (photo: Günther).

The Mission of Data and its Consequences on the Ideas of the Ancient House

The observation by Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) that chroniclers do not write what is self-evident to them, together with the fact that later readers fill-in the gaps with what seems self-evident to them leads to misunderstanding. Fra Giocondo thus presents a house as an example of the types of projection treated

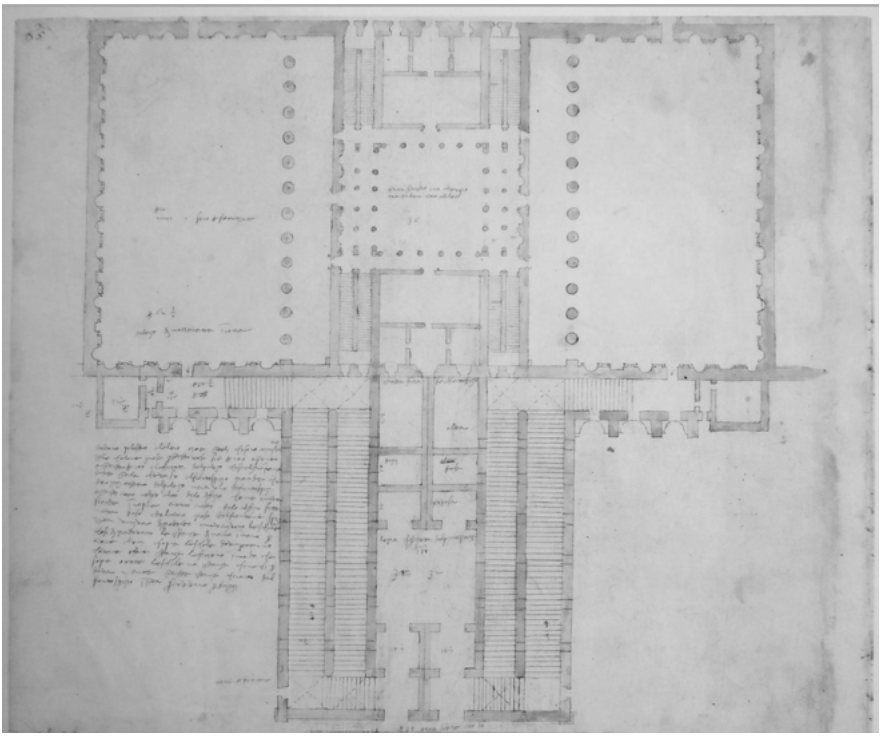

Fig. 2.18: Giuliano da Sangallo, Alleged house of Maecenas, today identified as the temple of Serapis at the Quirinal hill, ground plan, Vatican, Cod. Vat. Barb. lat. 4424, 65v (photo: Chr. Huelsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo. Codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424* [Leipzig, 1910]).

by Vitruvius (Fig. 2.19).[82] It looks like a Renaissance palace at first glance, but the high gable and the reference to Vitruvius suggest that it should be ancient. In this case, the idea of antiquity was guided by the premise that the ancient tradition lived on. Vitruvius does not mention windows in distinguished Roman town-houses as, for him, it was probably self-evident that they had no windows.[83] In

82 *GGV*, fol. 4*r*–*v*.

83 Vitruvius mentions windows only in one type of Greek house, in country houses and in the representation of simple houses in stage sets of comic scenes. For the representation of simple houses in contrast to that of noble houses, cf. the representations of the tragic and comic scenes in Vitruvius, *Corsini*, pl. 115, and in Sebastiano Serlio, *Il secondo libro di prospettiva* (Paris, 1545), fol. 68*r*, 69*r*. Serlio also provides windows for noble houses.

the Renaissance it was equally self-evident that houses of all kinds had windows. That is why Fra Giocondo depicts them. Only by excavating Pompeii have archaeologists discovered that houses there had no windows. This aroused great astonishment. The highly-educated architect Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736–1800), for example, reported on the phenomenon in 1790 and believed it derived from the austerity and self-discipline for which the ancient Romans of the Republican era were celebrated: 'One did not ask for views of the street because one knew nothing about spending one's idle time at the window [. . .]'.[84] The Palazzo Farnese, which Antonio da Sangallo designed and built in Rome, from around 1514, is clearly in the tradition of Renaissance palaces with central courtyards as mentioned above, but the atrium designed on the Vitruvian model and the depiction by Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (1496–1548) of the '*cavedium testudinatum*' like the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese (Fig. 2.20) confirm—despite its windows—that it was also meant as a revival of ancient architecture.[85]

When interpreting descriptions of ancient buildings, it was taken for granted that the various elements would be placed on an axis of symmetry in the sequence in which they were discussed. This was how the illustrations which accompanied Vitruvius's description of the house were designed. The same pattern was adopted at the Villa Madama, which Raphael designed guided by the description of the younger Pliny of his Villa Laurentina.[86] At Hadrian's villa in Tivoli, which Biondo already knew well, instead one could see how irregularly the individual parts are scattered. Apparently because Hadrian's villa lacked the necessary order, architects largely excluded it from their studies of antiquities until the middle of the sixteenth century. Although Fancesco di Giorgio had already drawn an individual element such as the *teatro marittimo* (maritime theatre) it was Pirro Lirogio who first studied the complex as a whole.

84 Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, *Kunsthistorisches Journal einer fürstlichen Bildungsreise nach Italien 1765/66*, Ralf-Torsten Speler ed. (Munich-Berlin, 2001), 183s.

85 Vitruvius, *Corsini*, fig. 129.

86 Pliny the Younger, loc. cit. Christoph L. Frommel et al. eds, *Raffaello architetto* (Rome, 1984), 311–56, esp. 325ff for the transcription of the description of the project for the villa Madama which Raphael wrote after the example of Pliny. Yvonne Elet, *Architectural invention in Renaissance Rome: Artists, humanists, and the planning of Raphael's Villa Madama* (New York, 2017).

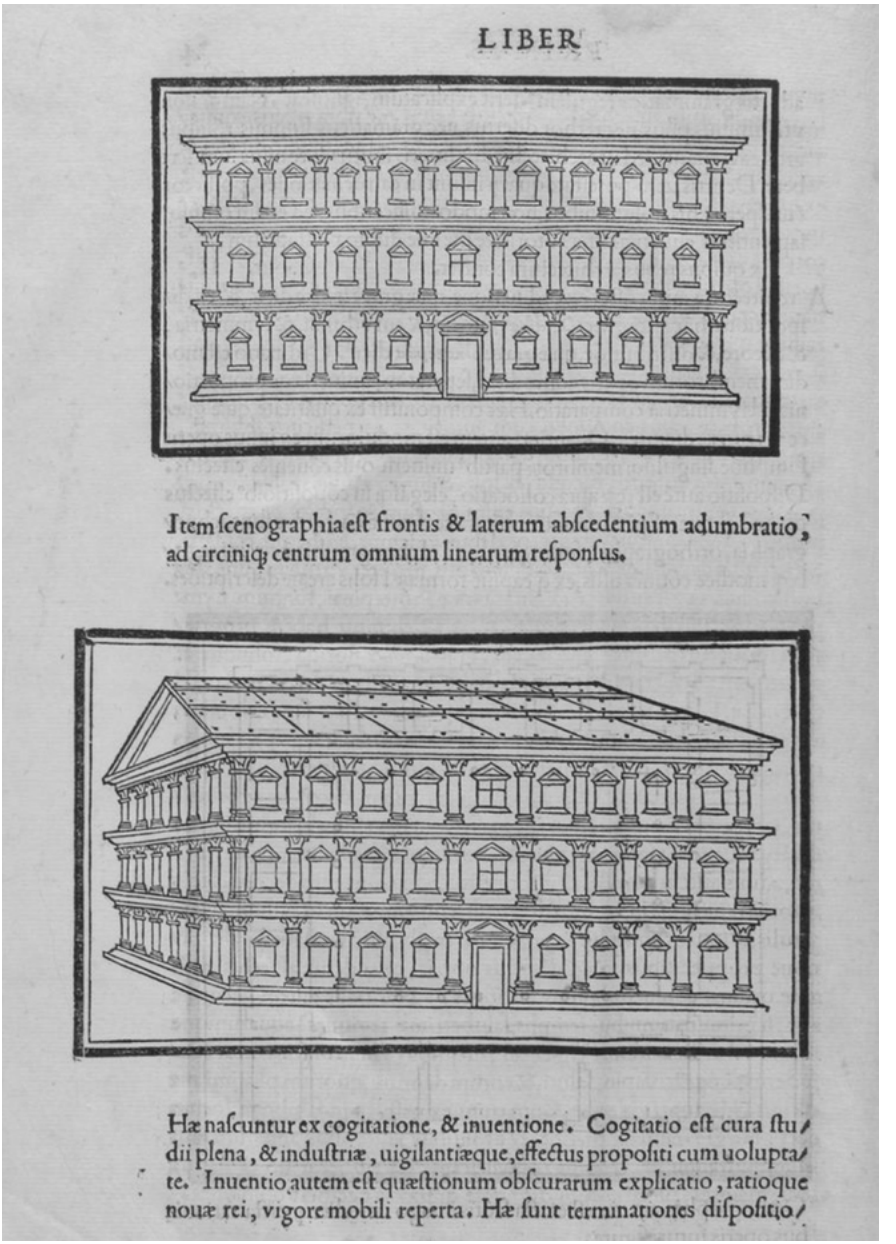

Fig. 2.19: Fra Giocondo, House as an example of the types of projection treated by Vitruvius, Vitruvius edition of 1511, fol. 4v (photo: Günther).

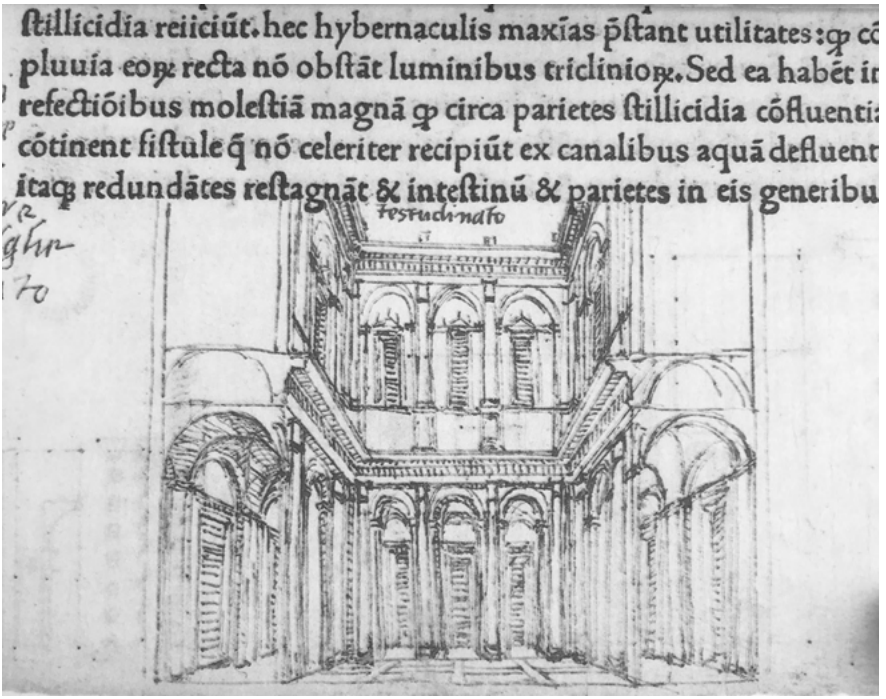

Fig. 2.20: Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, Cavaedium testudinatum, design illustrating the edition of Vitruvius by Sulpicio, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome, Ms. 50. F. 1 (source: *Vitruvius Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. I. Rowland [Rome, 2003]).

The Effect of Omitting any Indication of a Formely Well-Known Object: The Temple in Antis as a Cross-Domed Church

Vitruvius omits to mention that temples had flat ceilings because it was self-evident to him. For scholars of the Renaissance, it was equally self-evident that prestigious rooms, especially those of distinguished places of worship, had vaulted ceilings. Alberti states this explicitly and, consequently, he wanted to vault S. Andrea in Mantua according to the model of his imagined Tuscan temple.[87] Even in the Middle Ages, prominent churches were usually vaulted, and most prominent ancient tem-

87 *DRA*, 612f. (7.11).

ples that were known were also vaulted: the supposed Temple of Peace of Vespasian, the Temple of Venus and Roma at the Forum Romanum, the Pantheon and many other such buildings that were thought to be temples. Ancient writers from Virgil (70–19 BC) to Isidore of Seville (560–636) and Hrabanus Maurus (780–856) also repeatedly mention vaults in temples.[88] Alberti adopted the barrel vault of the temple of Venus and Roma for S. Andrea.

In his Vitruvian commentary of 1521, the Lombard scholar Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543) reconstructed the interior of the cella of the '*templum in antis*', as well as the *prostylos* and *amphiprostylos* in ground plan, in a manner quite similar to Fra Giocondo, with four columns in the cella, the major difference being that he gives the cella a square perimeter.[89] He also shows how temples should be covered. Namely with a dome in the centre, hanging domes in the corners and barrel vaults in the arms of the cross, which would thus project, or cross vaults in all the side rooms. This results in the typology of the cross-domed church (Fig. 2.21). According to the state of knowledge at the time, this was quite plausible.

Cesariano's reconstruction was based on northern-Italian cross-domed churches, which have their roots in the Byzantine tradition. The earliest of them in Italy was reputed to be S. Giacomo di Rialto in Venice, which was generally considered to be the founding building of the city.[90] Today the church is dated to the twelfth century, but in the Renaissance it was said to have been founded in 421 and to have retained its original form. It was known to be in the Byzantine tradition and was considered the prototype for the many cross-domed churches built in Venice during the Renaissance, even that of the twelfth century rebuilding of S. Marco (Fig. 2.22). The most prominent ancient building close to this tradition was Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. It was often celebrated in the East, as well as in the West, as the most beautiful building in the world, even by Italian humanists, even in Rome.

Vitruvius states that the temples he describes originated in Greece. From late antiquity through the Middle Ages and to the beginning of the Renaissance, in Constantinople it was repeatedly emphasized that the city continued the tradi-

88 Enrico Fenzi, 'Di alcuni palazzi, cupole, e planetari nella letteratura classica e medievale e nell' "Africa" di Petrarca', in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 153 (1976), 12–59.

89 Cesariano, *Vitruvius*, fol. 52*r*–*v*.

90 Hubertus Günther, 'Geschichte einer Gründungsgeschichte. San Giacomo di Rialto, San Marco und die venezianische Renaissance', in Annelies Amberger ed., *Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam. Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen zum 65. Geburtstag* (St. Ottilien, 1997), 231–60. Idem, 'Vorstellungen vom griechischen Tempel und der Beginn der Renaissance in der venezianischen Architektur', in Paul von Naredi-Rainer ed., *Imitatio: von der Produktivität künstlerischer Mißverständnisse* (Berlin, 2001), 104–43. Gabriella Belli et al eds, *Venetia 1600: births and rebirths* (Venezia, 2021), for a retrograde perspective on 'origins'.

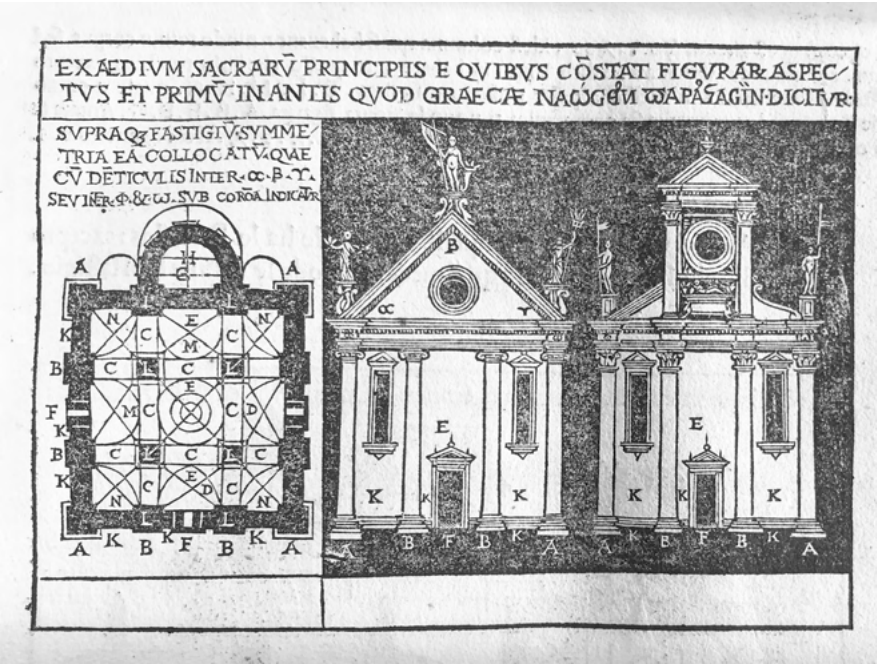

Fig. 2.21: Cesare Cesariano, *Templum in antis as cross-domed church*, Vitruvius edition of 1521, fol. 52r (photo: Günther).

tions of Rome.[91] Manuel Chrysolaras (*c*.1355–1415) spread this view throughout Western Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He described Constantinople as a 'daughter of Rome'. Rarely in the Italian Renaissance was the question explicitly raised as to how much of Roman heritage lived on in Byzantine architecture. But there was an idea at the time that the ancient tradition remained unbroken in the East. Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98) thought that Greeks still dressed in his time as they had done 1000 or 1500 years ago, that is, as they had done under the Roman emperors.[92] He was referring to the clothes worn by John VIII Palaiologos (1392–1448) when he came to Florence in 1438 to the Council for the Unification of the Christian Churches of East and West. Piero della Francesca (*c*.1415–92) depicted Constantine and Pilate in the same costumes as John VIII, as if the regalia of rulers had remained the same from the Augustan era until that of

91 Erwin Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (Munich, 1968).

92 Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del sec. XV*, Paolo d'Ancona and Erhard Aeschlimann eds (Milan, 1961), 16, 87.

Fig. 2.22: S. Giacomo di Rialto, Venice (photo: Günther).

Constantine and the current reigning emperor of Byzantium.[93] A similar effect had already been exerted by the visit of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) to Paris during the years 1400–02. In the representation of the *Adoration of the magi* in the Book of Hours of the Duke of Berry (1340–1416), the oldest king of the Orient is depicted in the same regalia as the Byzantine emperor.[94] On the occasion of the visit, commemorative medals of emperors Constantine and Heraclius were cast according to Byzantine models. From then on, they were considered to be ancient for a considerable time and apparently provoked the revival of the genre of Roman medals in Renaissance Italy.[95] Gentile Bellini (*c.*1429–1507), in his painting of the *Sermon of St. Mark in Alexandria*, clearly depicts the urban setting with the

93 In the fresco cycle in Arezzo and in the *Flagellation of Christ*. Ludovico Borgo, 'New questions for Pier's "Flagellation"', in *The Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979), 547–53. Carlo Ginzburg, *Erkundungen über Piero* (Berlin, 1981), 168f. Ginzburg links political ideas to this, which have been contradicted several times.

94 Geroen Sievernich and Hendrik Budde eds, *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, exh. cat. (Gütersloh, 1989), 166.

95 Roberto Weiss, 'The medieval medallions of Constantine and Heraclius', in *Numismatic Chronicle* Ser. 7, 3 (1963), 129–44. Idem, 'Le origini franco-bizantine della medaglia italiana del Rinascimento', in Augustino Pertusi ed., *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Venice, 1966), 339–50.

intention of representing the eastern metropolis at the time of the Apostle: During the heyday of the Roman Empire.[96] The temple in the centre of the picture resembles S. Marco in Venice, although the exterior is modified to conform to antiquity. In his series of engravings of the wonders of the world, Georg Balthasar Probst (1731–1801) still depicted the Artemision of Ephesus as being similar to S. Marco.[97] In a debate at the Paris Academy in 1668, the depiction of the deacon's vestments of St. Sebastian on the Byzantine model in a picture by Agostino Carracci (1557–1602) was justified with the argument that the 'Greek Church' was closer in time and place to early Christianity than the 'Latin Church'.[98] Even Vasari echoes the idea that Roman heritage lived on in Byzantium when he claims that Constantine took all the good artists from Rome to Constantinople.[99] Despite the emphasis on the connexion with Greece, Venice was sometimes praised as another Rome during the Renaissance.[100] This only makes sense if the descent comes from Rome via Constantinople, the 'daughter of Rome', and was intended as meaning 'Venice as a granddaughter of Rome', as it were.[101]

Cesariano's interpretation had the advantage of confirming that the indigenous building type of the cross-domed church, which was revived especially in the Venetian Renaissance, followed an ancient tradition. Donato Bramante (1444–1514) may already have believed this when he proposed to give the new building of St Peter's the same form of the cross-domed church. There, the reception of this Greek building type would have referred to the Hagia Sophia. Cesariano identified himself as a pupil of Bramante. Giocondo based an alternative longitudinal plan for the new building of St Peter's on the model of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, the disposition of which formed the model for S. Marco.[102]

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96 Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Gentile Bellini* (Stuttgart, 1985), 87–102. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian narrative painting in the age of Carpaccio* (New Haven-London, 1988), 203–09.

97 Max Kunze and Alfred Grimm, *Die Sieben Weltwunder. Wege der Wiedergewinnung aus sechs Jahrhunderten* exh. cat. (Mainz, 2003), 93s.

98 Hans Willem van Helsdingen, 'Summaries of two lectures by Philippe de Champagne and Sébastien Bordon, held at the Paris Académie in 1668', in *Simiolus* 14 (1984), 177.

99 Vasari, *Le vite*, I, 226.

100 Barbara Marx, *Venezia - altera Roma? Ipotesi sull'umanesimo veneziano* (Venice, 1978). Wolfgang Wolters, *Der Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes. Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 265ss. Cornelia Limpricht, 'Der Salomonische Tempel als typologisches Modell', in Paul von Naredi-Rainer, *Salomos Tempel und das Abendland - monumentale Folgen historischer Irrtümer* (Cologne, 1994), 239ss.

101 We pass over in silence the far-fetched political theses that have been attached to the phrase of Venice as the second Rome.

102 Hubertus Günther, 'I primi progetti per la ricostruzione della basilica di San Pietro: due proposte ideali fra Oriente e Occidente', in Francesco P. Di Teodoro and Jens Niebaum eds, *Donato Bramante: "luce & inventor de la buona & vera architettura"* (Rome, 2021), 209–38.

Conclusion

The intellectual focus of Renaissance scholars sometimes complicated the understanding of Vitruvius and other ancient writings even when the text itself offered no cause for confusion. The interpreters of Vitruvius in the Renaissance more or less involuntarily filled in ambiguous passages and the gaps Guicciardini addressed with what seemed to them to be common knowledge. Although the phenomenon of the recipients' mindset does not actually belong here, it may be briefly addressed.

Some involuntary conjectures resulted from what scholars of the Renaissance were used to. The custom of setting up altars in Christian churches was involuntarily projected back onto ancient temples because Vitruvius had omitted to mention that, in his time, altars were placed in front of temples and services were held there, rather than inside sanctuaries, as the Christians did later on.[103] Thought about orderliness, as it was inherited by the Renaissance from the Middle Ages, influenced the design of the orders of columns and the reconstruction of some building types or components of them. The idea that the ancient tradition lived on in some areas, despite the 'shipwreck' of the Roman Empire, influenced ideas about ancient houses and temples. This conviction was so deep-seated that when it came to determining the size of linear measures, on which hollow measures and weights depended, the ancient measures were simply equated with the modern ones in Rome and Paris.[104] Indeed, one could easily have noticed how arbitrary this identification was from the differences in size that existed between the local measures at that time. The functions of the rooms in the Imperial Baths were reconstructed according to the moral values of the Renaissance (compare Fig. 2.17).[105] For a long time, consensus prevailed regarding the idea that the central rooms of the Imperial Baths served public representation. Today it is assumed that bathing was concentrated in them. But Renaissance humanists apparently took for granted that these spaces were far too grand and splendid for what was then judged to be such a banal pleasure. Instead, generally they located bathing in small rooms in the wings. Vitruvius's description of the Curia is clear and simple in itself, but Renais-

103 Vitruvius 4.9.

104 Hubertus Günther, 'Die Rekonstruktion des antiken Fußmaßes in der Renaissance: Geschichte und Methode', in Dieter Arens, Rolf Rottländer, Florian Huber eds, *Ordo et Mensura* (*Internationaler Interdisziplinärer Kongreß für Historische Metrologie* 4–5) (Sankt Katharinen, 1998), 373–93.

105 Hubertus Günther, '"Insana aedificia thermarum nomine extructa". Die Diokletiansthermen in der Sicht der Renaissance', in Andreas Beyer, Vittorio Lampugnani, Gunter Schweikhart eds, *Hülle und Fülle. Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg* (Alfter, 1993), 251–83.

sance scholars could not imagine that the single hall described by Vitruvius was sufficient for the Senate.[106] Because many Italian cities had magnificent town halls, the central government of the Roman Empire needed to look majestic beyond measure. Many therefore imagined a building of unheard-of splendour on the Capitoline Hill as the centre of government (Fig. 2.23).[107] Biondo and Alberti realized that this fantasy did not correspond to reality. They supplemented the hall described by Vitruvius with various other spaces to obtain a building complex worthy of the grandeur of ancient Rome.[108]

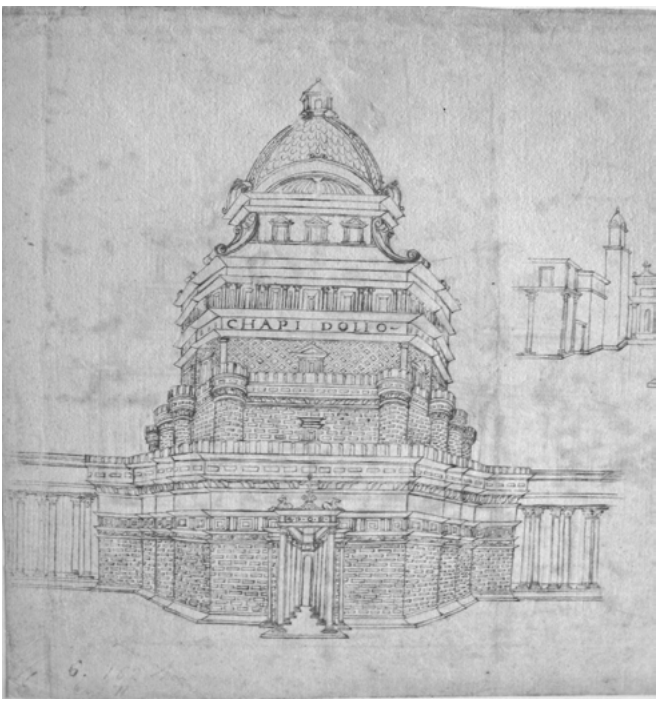

Fig. 2.23: Anonymus, Fantastic design of the Capitoline palace, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, GDSU, Santarelli 162v (photo: A. Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1915]).

106 Vitruvius 5.2.

107 Hubertus Günther, 'Fantasie scritte e disegnate a confronto. La rappresentazione di edifici antichi nei disegni della collezione Santarelli', in Marzia Faietti, Gerhard Wolf eds, *Grafie di Immagini tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (*Linea* 1) (Venice, 2008), 121–34.

108 Hubertus Günther, 'Vorstellungen der Renaissance vom Sitz der Regierung im antiken Rom', in Konrad Ottenheym ed., *Public buildings in early modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2010), 29–52.

Some matters were simply excluded from the perception of antiquity: most conspicuously—despite the constant theoretical invocation of Greece as the cradle of art—monumental Greek architecture in southern Italy and even classical architecture in Greece itself.[109] At the beginning of the fifteenth century Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–1453/5) and Cristoforo Buondelmonte (*c*.1385–*c*.1430) had explored Greece through archaeology, but then interest in Greece lapsed. The reasons for this were not raised at the time. Recently art historians have searched for practical obstacles: Belligerent Turks in the East or malaria in Paestum etc., but these invented fictions cannot be confirmed in reality. The essential motivation only emerged in the eighteenth century, when curious, educated travellers came across these overlooked monuments. This discovery did not lead to enthusiasm. In the West, observers spontaneously became horrified at how primitive and ugly what had come to light was. Even the Parthenon was not exempt from condemnation. As usual, the unfamiliar, the strange, met with prejudice. After initially not being of interest, what was discovered was then rejected. Within view of the temples of Paestum, Goethe expressly declared that the repulsive effect they had was due to the fact that their style ran counter to the usual norms.[110]

At the beginning of the Renaissance, ancient temples were often associated with rotundas or at least centralized buildings. In this sense, the scholar from Frankfurt, Johann Fichard (1512–81), wrote about Rome in 1536: 'Throughout the city there are innumerable temples and sanctuaries. Those that have survived from antiquity have a uniform basic shape. They are, in fact, mostly round (though some were square)'.[111] In the manuscripts of Buondelmonte's description of the island of Delos, or in the map of ancient Nola published by Ambrogio Leoni (1458/9–1525) in 1514, all temples are depicted as rotundas (Fig. 2.24).[112] This view obviously contradicted reality. In all Rome, only two round temples were preserved: the Pantheon and the so-called Temple of Vesta on the Tiber. This unreal-

109 Hubertus Günther, 'Begegnung mit dem Fremden. Die Auseinandersetzung mit griechischer Architektur von der Renaissance bis zum Beginn des Klassizismus', in Reinhold Baumstark ed., *Das neue Hellas. Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I* exh. cat. (Munich, 1999), 149–70.

110 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italienische Reise*, Herbert von Einem ed. (Munich, 1981), 219 (Naples, 23.3.1787).

111 'In der ganzen Stadt gibt es unzählige Tempel und Heiligtümer. Diejenigen, die aus der Antike erhalten sind, haben eine einheitliche Grundform. Sie sind nämlich meist rund (wenngleich manche quadratisch waren)', Johann Fichard, 'Italia', in *Frankfurterisches Archiv für Ältere Deutsche Literatur und Geschichte* 3 (1815), 22.

112 Ambrogio Leoni, *De Nola* (Venice, 1514), fol. 11*r*; Cristoforo Buondelmonte, *Description des îles de l'archipel*, Émile Legrand ed. (Paris, 1897), 207, fig. 32. Charles Mitchell, 'Archeology and romance in Renaissance Italy', in Ernest J. Jacob ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies* (London, 1960), 455–83, fig. 37.

istic perception, however, was not caused by ancient written testimonies. While Vitruvius describes many kinds of longitudinal rectangular temples, he only takes two round types into account, the round *monopteros* and *peripteros*. On the other hand, archaeologists believed that many round or polygonal temples were located outside Rome and, on the basis of the same ideal conception, many of the round or polygonal mausoleums or thermal baths that were preserved in Latium and Campania were identified as temples, unless inscriptions or other evidence expressly contradicted this.

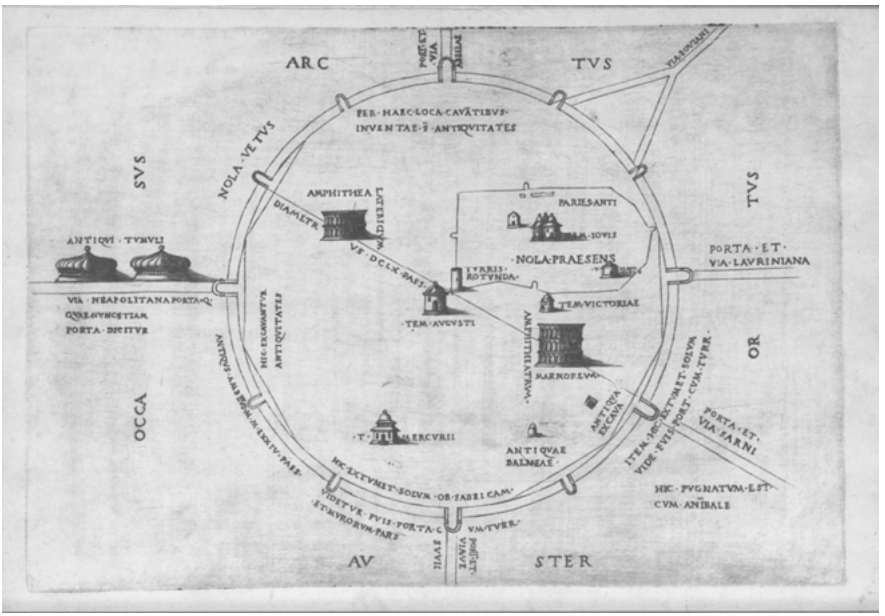

Fig. 2.24: Ambrogio Leone, Plan of ancient Nola, De Nola (Venice, 1514) (photo: Günther).

Finally, the quest for objectivity reached its limits when antiquarian studies were mobilized for political or social purposes.[113] In this case, arbitrariness sometimes gained the ascendancy over considered thought. This is an essential aspect, because antiquity should not be regarded indifferently, but taken as a guideline for Early Modern times. When, for example, prominent rulers built villas and gardens in or near Rome, their humanist protégés endeavoured to find ancient pred-

113 Annette Helmchen, *Die Entstehung der Nationen im Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Bern, 2005). Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago-London, 2008), with further literature.

ecessors, so that the new edifice appeared as a revival of antiquity. The location of the palace of Maecenas on the Quirinal, for example, was probably related to the fact that Prospero Colonna (1452–1523) adapted the ruin there as a villa. When the Villa Lante was built on the Gianicolo, it was said that the villa of Martial (38/41–102/4) had been located there.

A lack of interest in Greek architecture was also related to the fact that Italians combined the revival of antiquity with pride in their own nation's glorious past. The Venetians dated S. Giacomo di Rialto, and with it the disposition of the cross-domed church, to antiquity on the basis of a forged document in order to construct a worthy early history for their city, while the connexion of their architecture with that of the Eastern Roman Empire suitably emphasized legal independence from the Western Roman Empire that brought Venice many advantages.[114]

According to today's ideas, all the results obtained from studies of Vitruvius that have been cited here are wrong. Most of them have been superseded by excavations or building investigations. But that does not alter the fact that the interpretations were plausible according to what was known and taken for granted in the past. At all times, historians cannot but work with their preconceived opinions. In fact, these are often necessary as working hypotheses—they only become prejudices when they are not open to being revised on the basis of new arguments. But, in practice, working hypotheses and prejudices are not as easily distinguished from each other as they are in theory.

Perception in the broad sense depends on involuntarily preconceived concepts. Pliny had already remarked that we perceive with the mind, while the visible only passes through the eyes.[115] Seeing becomes perception by involuntarily measuring external things against what is known. We need a predetermined scheme to be able to process visual impressions and categories are imposed largely involuntarily. An unbiased mind or an unbiased psyche is just as hard to imagine as the 'innocent eye' of John Ruskin (1819–1900), about which Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001) wrote: 'In reality, every visual impression is immediately classified in some way, categorized and combined with other contents to form groups'.[116] The everyday phenomenon of being biased by what we are used to, inevitably limits the pursuit of objectivity. Goethe's *Faust* addresses the phenomenon in response to Wagner's delight in 'getting into the spirit of the times' with the words:

114 Günther, 'Geschichte einer Gründungsgeschichte', 229–58.

115 Pliny, *Nat. hist*. 11.146.

116 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation* (New York, 1960).

My friend, it is to us, – the buried past, –
A book with seven seals protected;
Your spirit of the times is, then,
At bottom, your own spirit, gentlemen,
In which the times are seen reflected.[117]

This insight also applies to the Renaissance, despite its intention to turn away from what was considered the wayward thinking of the Middle Ages. Bias is a condition not only of individuals but also of entire societies. Decorum, meaning what is decorous or appropriate, is, according to its usual definition, determined by tradition in addition to utility. Collective conditions of propriety and convention further cement bias. Those who perceive or think differently become outsiders. Looking back at earlier epochs demonstrates these conditions more clearly than looking at our own time, because of course we cannot recognize for ourselves the prejudices that seem self-evident to us.

Abbreviations

DRA Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura: De re aedificatoria*, ed. and tr. (It.) Giovanni Orlandi and Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1966)

GGV Giovanni Giocondo da Verona ed., *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit* (Venice, 1511)

LA Antonio Averlino, *Trattato di architettura* [= '*Libro architettonico*'], eds Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi, 2 vols (Milan 1972)

117 'Mein Freund, die Zeiten der Vergangenheit / sind uns ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln. / Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heißt, / das ist im Grund der Herren eigner Geist, / in dem die Zeiten sich bespiegeln', Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust, Der Tragödie erster Teil* (Berlin, 1912), 575ff.

Francesca Salatin

Chapter Three
Sources, Method, Understanding and Misunderstanding in Fra Giocondo's *Vitruvius*

In September 1537, the first edition of *Le Regole generali di architettura* (*General Rules of Architecture*), was published in Venice by Francesco Marcolini da Forlì (d. 1559). This treatise on the orders by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) ranks as one of the most fruitful testimonies of the 'rediscovery' of and interest in the *De architectura* by Vitruvius (*c*.80–70 BC–after *c*.15 BC) the only systematic treatise on the art of building passed down from antiquity. Within the same period, Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) employed the language of antiquity, notably Vitruvian, in his projects to transform the side of Piazza San Marco facing the Ducal Palace.[1] It was a challenge to 'speak Latin' in a city where the architectural language was still strongly—and deliberately—dialectical. Venice seemed to compete with Rome, where, in the 1540s, Claudio Tolomei (*c*.1492–1559) founded the Accademia delle Virtù to study and comment on *De architectura*. The climate was so intense that some leading figures came to the lagoon city, including Francisco de Hollanda (1517–85), a principal figure of the Portuguese Renaissance, and Guillaume Philandrier (1505–63), French ambassador to the Serenissima and author of the *Annotationes*, published by the Roman printer Giovanni Andrea Dossena in 1544.

To trace the first act of Venice's transformation into an international Vitruvian centre one must look to May 1511, when the publisher Giovanni Tacuino (1482–1541) sent to press the *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit* (Fig. 3.1) edited by Fra Giocondo of Verona (*c*.1433–1515).[2]

1 See, Manfredo Tafuri, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, science, architettura*, (Turin, 1985); Manuela Morresi, 'Treatises and the architecture of Venice in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries', in Peter Hicks and Vaughan Hart eds, *Paper Palaces: the rise of the Renaissance architectural treatise* (New Haven-London, 1998), 265–70; Margaret D'Evelyn, *Venice & Vitruvius: Reading Venice with Daniele Barbaro and Andrea Palladio* (New Haven, 2012).

2 Fra Giocondo, *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iamlegi et intelligi possit* (Venice, 1511).

Note: I would like to thank the Giorgio Cini Foundation Library in Venice for the concession of images of the volume FOAN TES 763 [RHODES 2011 v.42].

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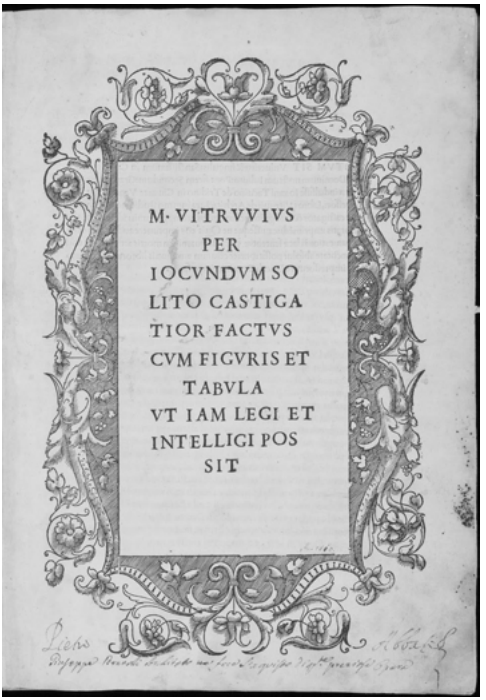


Fig. 3.1: Giocondo 1511, Frontispiece (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).

This was a turning point in Vitruvian studies, coinciding with the culmination of Giocondo's rich and multifaceted intellectual and practical activity. Fra Giocondo was a humanist who eluded any single definition: architect and mathematician, the friar was not only a recognized and much appreciated philologist—he discovered the letters of Pliny the Younger (AD 23/24–79)—as well as a celebrated epigraphist, but also a respected hydraulic engineer.[3] Before being hired by the

3 For Giocondo bibliography, Pier Nicola Pagliara, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 56 (2001), 326–38. The most recent studies on Giocondo and his Vitruvius are, Ingrid Rowland, 'The Fra Giocondo Vitruvius at 500 (1511–2011)', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70/3 (2011), 285–9; Adolfo Tura, *Fra Giocondo et les textes francais de geometrie pratique* (Genève, 2008). Pierre Gros and Pier Nicola Pagliara eds, *Giovanni Giocondo: umanista, architetto e antiquario* (Venice, 2014) with bibliography. Fundamental remain, Lucia Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona and His Edition of Vitruvius', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 72–90; Manfredo Tafuri, 'Cesare Cesariano e gli studi vitruviani nel Quattrocento', in Arnaldo Bruschi et al. eds, *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura* (Milan, 1978), 387–405; Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Vitruvio da testo a canone', in Salvatore Settis ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana, III: Dalla tradizione all'archeologia* (Turin, 1984), 3–85.

Council of Ten as a hydraulic engineer, Giocondo had lived in Naples—after a probable sojourn in Rome—and in Paris, where he was involved in the design of Notre Dame bridge and, as Vladimir Juren's and Lucia Ciapponi's studies have pointed out, he contributed significantly to the beginning of Vitruvian studies beyond the Alps by lecturing on the Latin treatise to French scholars. These are paths that made Giocondo a prominent name in a very dense network of relationships that included Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501), Ermolao Barbaro (1554–93), Jacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530), Guillaume Budè (1468–1540), Giano Lascaris (1445–1534), Lefèvre d'Etaples (*c*.1450–1536), Bernardo (1443–1519) and Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), and Aldo Manuzio (*c*.1450–1515), to name but a few.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate 'what was left unsaid' in the 1511 Vitruvius by exploring the friar's interests, his process of understanding, and misunderstanding, and his sources of reference. As is well known, Giocondo did not publish any commentary or translation, and gave no explanation of his choices, so his method can only be reconstructed from the text itself, the dedicatory letter, a few brief captions to the illustrations, and indirectly through the notes of those who took part in Giocondo's Vitruvian orations.

With the 1511 edition, Vitruvius's treatise reached a new audience of readers. In fact, Venice was not new to *De architectura*. Still to be clarified are the boundaries of the contribution made to Vitruvian studies in the city in the last two decades of the fifteenth century by Giorgio Valla (1447–1500), who occupied the chair once held by Giorgio Merula (1430–1494)—who, in a letter to Jacopo Antiquari, claimed to have rescued *Vitruvius* from obscurity and brought him back to the light.[4] According to Carol Herselle Krinsky, this project would have come to fruition in 1497, when Simone Papiense known as Bevilacqua printed—along with works by Cleonide (2nd century), Frontino (*c*.30–*c*.103) and Angelo Poliziano (1554–94)—the third edition of *De architectura*, following the edition *princeps* of Sulpicio da Veroli (*c*.1440–*c*.1508) and the Florentine edition. Variously assigned—though in the absence of evidence—to the names of the aforementioned Valla, Vittor Pisano or Fra Giocondo, the 1497 edition represents important evidence of interest in the Latin treatise.[5]

However, the horizon of reference was different from Giocondo's edition.[6] A distance that emerges effectively from a reading of the dedicatory letter to Giu-

4 Pagliara, 'Vitruvio da testo a canone', 23.

5 See Pierre Gros's paper https://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/traite/Notice/Vitruve1497.asp?param=en?param=en

6 On the fortunes of the Vitruvian treatise see Pagliara, 'Vitruvio da testo a canone', 32–8. Lucia Ciapponi, 'Frà Giocondo da Verona', 72–90; Pierre Gros, *Giocondo Lectures de Vitruve*, in Pierre Gros ed., *Giovanni Giocondo*, 11–19.

liano della Rovere (1443–1513), the '*Beatissimo Iulio II Pontifici Maximo*', with which the volume edited by Tacuino opened. In all likelihood, Cardinal della Rovere, who ascended the papal throne in 1503, could grasp the potential of such a turning point, given his involvement in matters of architecture, demonstrated by the cultural updating of the great building sites of which he became the patron in his programme of *Renovatio urbis* of Rome, first of all New St. Peter's, as well as by the artistic personalities engaged in his projects, such as Donato Bramante (1444–1514), Giuliano da Sangallo (1445–1516), Raphael (1483–1520) and not least Michelangelo (1475–1564).

From the outset, Giocondo's dedicatory letter emphasized the change that his Vitruvian studies made: the friar restored the text '*ad pristinae lectionis normam*' ('according to the original reading'), that is, emending the numerous errors that had piled up in the manuscript tradition. The approach to *De architectura* changed radically over the centuries. The discontinuous and partial use of the ten books in the medieval period was first replaced by trials of critical recomposition of the subject during the late fifteenth century, and then by the assumption of the treatise as an indisputable authority for architectural syntax from the first decades of the sixteenth century.[7]

The Vitruvius of 1511 proved to be revolutionary as it departed from the purely literary and philological interests that characterize the first three editions, but meets the demand for the practical use of Vitruvian norms. The edition printed by Tacuino overcame two main limitations to the text for a broad audience, composed not only of literati but also of the cultural class made up of technicians and operative figures: the absence of figures—or rather the loss of the *schemata*[8] originally envisaged—and that 'unedited eloquence' to use the words of Leon Battista Alberti (1406–1472), which would lead Claudio Tolomei to judge Vitruvian authority as an 'obscure oracle'.[9] The substantial aniconicity that characterizes the manuscript tradition and early editions, coupled with the corruption of the text, had distanced the work from architectural craftsmen, directing it toward cultured readers: as proof, one need only consider the notorious and numerous difficulties encountered by Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1501) in attempting a translation.

As emphasized in the title, the edition edited by Giocondo offers numerous images (136 woodcuts) and an index called '*tabula*' to facilitate reading and com-

7 Tafuri, *Cesare Cesariano*, 394–7.

8 Antonio Corso, 'I disegni che corredavano il *De architectura* nel contesto delle rappresentazioni antiche di temi architettonici, in Paolo Clini ed., *Vitruvio e il disegno di architettura* (Venice, 2012), 47–59. Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, VI, I.

9 Letter of Claudio Tolomei to Agostino de Landi, 14th Nov. 1542. Cfr. *Delle lettere di M.C. Tolomei libri Sette* (Venice, 1547), 105.

prehension ('*ut legi et intelligi possit*') of a text that is 'more correct' ('*castigatior*') than previous proofs editions which compensated for gaps: the result it is a work *'non sine sudore et lassitudine*'('not without sweat and toil'),which adhered to the plurality of skills of the editor '*duplici studio intentus*' ('engaged on a double track of study'). Fra Giocondo, in fact, made a radical revision of the text, not only by collating many codices from different contexts—'*ad antiqua exemplaria [. . . .] me contuli, nec ad pauca quidem nec una tantum regione vel urbe reperta sed multis*'—but by comparing architectural terms with vestiges of antiquity '*verba et sensum cum ruinarum veterum quae dificiorum reliquiis*'. This was evidence of the antiquarian and philological culture whose sources have yet to be traced, because Giocondo only appears in documentary evidence at the age of fifty, which in all likelihood has its roots in Verona of the second half of the fifteenth century. It was Verona that boasted the presence of the intellects Guarino (1374–1460), Ermolao Barbaro (1454–93), Domizio Calderini (1446–78) and Felice Feliciano (1433–79), as well as the city Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–1452) passed through on his travels.

Returning to the 1511 Vitruvius, a didactic intent can be identified, which is particularly embodied by the inclusion of images, a guarantee of immediate comprehension. Varied are the evidences of Giocondo's aptitude for the transmission of knowledge: among the most significant are the Vitruvian lectures he held at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Paris at the house of Germain de Ganay (d. 1520), according to the testimony of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1450–1536), a leading figure of humanism in France, who reported in his *Libri logicorum ad archetypos recogniti* names of those who attended the friar's lessons. Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) and the Venetian ambassador to Louis XII, Francesco Morosini, both mentioned Giocondo's lectures on *De architectura.*[10] Two incunabula stand as witnesses of the activities of this cultural circle: two 1497 Venetian editions of *De architectura* postilled by the French humanist Guillaume Budé (1468–1540), who defined Giocondo as his preceptor,[11] and the Greek fellow-member of the Aldine Academy, Giano Lascaris, currently held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (V.318) and the Vatican Library (Inc. II 556). The two incunabula are mirrors of interpretation and representation that were directly articulated by Giocondo and

10 See, Vladimir Juren, 'Fra Giovanni Giocondo et le début des études vitruviens en France', *Rinascimento*, 14, (1974), 101–14; Lucia Ciapponi, 'Agli inizi dell'umanesimo francese: Fra Giocondo e Guglielmo Budé', in *Forme e Vicende. Per Giovanni Pozzi*, (Padova, 1989), 101–18; Francesca Mattei and Francesca Salatin, 'Lezioni Vitruviane. Guillaume Budé e Giano Lascaris', in *Scholion*, 8 (2014), 80–102; Francesca Salatin, 'Tra Francia e Venezia. Fra Giocondo, Giano Lascaris e il Vitruvio del 1511', in *Studi Veneziani* 72 (2015), 247–74.

11 Guillaume Budé, *Annotationes in quatuor et vigintiPandectarumlibros ad Ioannem Deganaium cancellarium Franciae* (Paris, 1508), LXXXVr.

precious examples of the emendation process and illustration practice, shared by friar with the French gymnasium. Not least, these annotated editions of Vitruvius are also an expression of teamwork. Drawings and annotations, which Budé and Lascaris reserved for the Vitruvius text alone, leaving the rest of the incunabulum completely untouched, offer a demonstration of the methodological assumptions of the 1511 edition.[12] Lascaris, like Budé, annotated in Latin and often in Greek, leaving on a guard sheet the outline of an index. Very close similarities are also identifiable in the graphic apparatus, albeit schematic, that accompanies the two incunabula,[13] thus constituting the most fruitful witness to the gestation of the *Vitruvius* printed by Tacuino: they reveal the smoky mirrors of interpretation and representation that were directly articulated by Giocondo, while also being precious examples of the process of emendation, and practice of illustration that the friar shared with members of the French gymnasium. Last, but certainly not least, these marginal notes on Vitruvius are also expressions of teamwork.

In the exemplar annotated by Lascaris (Vatican Inc. II 556), it is possible to identify material evidence of Giano's critical contribution in deciding to restore all the original Greek words that were missing in *De architectura*. His major contribution in this sense appears in Book VIII.[14] Whereas, in all three previous editions of *De architectura*, blank spaces had been left, here the Greek epigrams were reinstated. Giocondo's consultation of Lascaris, who also had identified some Byzantine *poliorcetic* sources used by Giocondo for Vitruvius, is mentioned in a letter by the Venetian noble Giovanni Bembo (1473–1545), who likewise credited himself, 'Ioannes Marcus of Lendinara, the expert on optics' together with 'Nana, the German mathematician' as Giocondo's collaborators in the elaboration of the 1511 edition.[15] The 136 woodcut illustrations accompanying Giocondo's Vitruvian text, an outstanding feature of his edition, can usefully be compared with

12 The prepared woodcuts are: 8*v*, 14*v*, 16*v*, 17*r*, 23*v*, 24r, 28*v*, 28*r*, 29*r*, 29*v*, 30*r*,34*r*, 37*r*, 31*v*, 35*v*, 37*v*, 38*r*, 38*v*, 46r, 50*r*, 52*r*, 54*r*, 55*r*, 67*v*, 72*r*, 85*r*, 95*v*, 96*v*, 96*r*, 97*r*, 99*v*, 100*v*, 102*r*, 104*r*.

13 These are the pages where there are concordances between drawings in Inc. II 566, V.318 and woodcuts in *Vitruvius* 1511: *opus reticulatum* f. 19v= Biiiiiv=16v; attic base f. 25v=Ciiii v=28v; origins of doric order: 29r=Diir; moulding:f. 29v; fulmine (*flumina*): 30r=Diiir; dripstone: 31r; *tribunal* of Fanum Basilica: 33v=Dvi v; graphic construction of ecumene: 39v=Evi v=58v; orbits: 58r=Hvii v; analemma: 61r; *testudo arietaria* 65r=Lii r= 107v; tortoise of Hegetor: 65v=Liiv; Archimede screw: 70r=Kiiv.

14 See: Francesco Paolo di Teodoro, ' Πάντα καθαρμὸν ἔκοψεν ἀπόκρυφον εὖτ΄ἄν΄ἀπ΄Ἄργους, Οὔρεα τρηχείης ἤλυθεν Ἀρκαδίης . . . Gli epigrammi dell'ottavo libro del De Architectura di Vitruvio (VIII, 3, 21–23): *Fra Giocondo, Angelo Poliziano, Fabio Calvo e qualche protagonista di troppo* ', in Vitruvius 1 (2022), 35–48.

15 'Uraniam [. . .] frater Iocundus Veronesis, Consili X maximus architectus, baptizarat: qui primus, a Joanne Marco Lendenariae, opticae peritissimo, adiutus; et a me aliquantulum, et a Nana Germano; atque Ludovici regis Gallorum; primus, inquam, Iocundus Vitruvius De Architectura,

a drawing found in Budè's annotated exemplar (V.318), revealing that a large part of the body of illustrations in the Tacuino edition had already been delineated during the friar's French period.

Meticulous corrections, textual and graphic notes by the two humanists are proof of a strong interest in the entirety of Vitruvius's text. It was studied analytically principally by comparing the text with those of other authors: Pliny the Elder *in primis*.[16] Other important 'contemporary' authors were Leon Battista Alberti, Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), Battista Pio (1460–1540), Ermolao Barbaro and, naturally, the ancient ruins were themselves studied in detail. Giocondo found and studied new manuscripts, as he stated in the dedication to the pope in the 1511 edition: 'I directed my attention to ancient manuscripts, not few, not in just one place, but in many', '*ad antiqua exemplaria [. . .] me contuli, nec ad pauca quidem nec una tantum regione vel urbe reperta sed multis*', stated Giocondo in his dedicatory letter to Julius II.

For example, when discussing the characteristics of the *pozzolana* found near Baia, situated between Procida and Pozzuoli, on the outskirts of Naples (Vitruvius II, 6, 1), Vitruvius reminds the reader of the physical properties of lime which hardens when placed in sea water, and therefore its use in building docks (*moles*). This is the opportunity for Lascaris to take note (V.318, f.19*v*) of a parallel to be found in the Aeneid, IX, 'So on the Euboic shore of Baiae falls at times a rocky mass, which, built up first of mighty blocks, men cast into the sea: so as it falls, it trails havoc, and crashing into the waters finds rest in the depths; the seas are in turmoil and the black sands mount upward', '*talis in Euboico Baiarum litore quondam saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante constructam ponto iaciunt, sic illa ruinam prona trahit penitusque vadis inlisa recumbit*', when the giant Bizia, who was felled and killed, was compared with a stone pile thrown into the sea. Lascaris recalls Pliny the Elder's remarks on the term '*aesculus*' (f. 22*v*), *ischium*, a plant similar to horse chestnut, the use of which is described by Vitruvius (Vitruvius II, 9, 9) as convenient; it was also mentioned in volume XVI of the *Naturalis Historia*. Similarly, at f. 49*r*, Lascaris compares the procedure of falsifying *chrysocolla* (Vitruvius VII, 14, 2), from which a green-coloured pigment is produced, to the one described by Pliny (NH, 29, 48). When dealing with the issue of the *atrium*, whose notion – as is well known – is one of interpretative keys of the earliest Renaissance exegetes of Vitruvius, Lascaris writes: '*Atrium genus ędificii unde edem continens mediam aream in*

cum figuri set formis, Tacuino impressore, Venetiis depromsit'. See: Adolfo Tura, 'Noterelle su Fra Giocondo e Parrasio', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 65 (Geneva, 2003), 305–16.

16 For the connection between Vitruvius and Pliny see Peter Fane Saunders, 'Pliny the Elder: an early reader of Vitruvius', in Paolo Sanvito ed., *Vitruvianism. Origins and transformations* (Boston, 2016), 65–81.

quam collecta ex omni tecto pluvia descendit, dictum autem atrium quia ad genus edificii atrii primum in ethruria sit institutum' and finishes with '*Festus. Falsa etimologia*'. The etymon proposed by Sextus Pompeius Festus (2nd century AD) is then taken into consideration: by reversing the connection, he proposes that atrium originates in the Etruscan city of *Hadria*.

The comparison with Giocondo's text, by a figure who, because of his interests and competences, represents some sort of exceptional intellect, triggers in Lascaris an interest for specific issues, technical issues: such is the case of instruments for levelling water (f. 53*v*), of *opus sectile*, a type of mosaic work, or regarding Roman building techniques (f. 65*r*).

What captivates the two intellectuals and the whole Paris gymnasium is probably the interest in machine design (*machinatio*), to which Vitruvius dedicates Book X of *De architectura*, in line with the Hellenistic tradition of scientific treatises. Another field Giocondo paid much attention to was professional practice: as Budé reminds us, during the reconstruction work on Notre Dame Bridge, Giocondo made a working replica of Archimedes' screw – also called *coclea*– mentioned in Book X, (Vitruvius X, 6, 1–4). This was a machine used to lift water within the spiral tube to a higher elevation and Fra Giocondo's woodcut on 102r, and the drawing by Budè in V.318 (kii v) and by Lascaris in Inc. II 556 (70 r), are surely connected to this pump. During his Neapolitan period, Lascaris had already studied *machinatio* and translated a fragment by Polybius (*c*. 200–*c*. 118 BC), that had been unknown in the West until that moment (VI 19–42) and could have been an important interlocutory source for Giocondo, promoting discussion of several different aspects of this discipline. Earlier, in his Neapolitan period, Lascaris already had studied the construction of machinery (*machinatio*) and had translated a relevant textual fragment by Polybius (*c*. 200–*c*.118 BC), which had hitherto been unknown in the Western world (VI 19–42). This could be deployed by him as something akin to an interlocutor with Giocondo, to debate several different aspects of this discipline. As has been demonstrated, it was through Lascaris's mediation that Giocondo was able to access the Poliorcetic codices that were his source for a woodcut of a catapult (f.*105v*) as well as *balista* (f.106*v*), a type of siege machine. This is a highly technical field: an abstruse list of numbers and technical terms that would sound difficult and strange even to the ears of an intellectual such as Giocondo, as he explicitly states in the 1511 edition (Fig. 3.2).

Giocondo himself indicated that he had difficulties and that there were limits to his comprehension: despite all his efforts, even by searching for similar material in other authors' texts, he had been unable to arrive at a correct understanding:

> I have taken the drawing of the catapult from the same Greek authors whom Vitruvius cites, and also have made it with the same Greek terms I found in them, so that I could be of some help to clever scholars who may be able to finish what I have left lacking ever since, to confess the weakness of my talent. I have not been able to extract a complete and correct understanding either from Vitruvius or from the Greek authors.[17]

It is no surprise, therefore, that Budé, when treating these technical issues in Book X (V.318), noted that 'this chapter, like the previous one, is not easy to understand', *'Hoc caput cum pecedente non potest facile intelligi*'.

When Giocondo did not understand parts of Vitruvius's text, he refers to other authors, as demonstrated by the discussion of the chip log in Book X (V.318, f.104*v*), an instrument to measure distances at sea, previously described in the past by Hero of Alexandria, but also an object of interest for Alberti, who outlined it in his *Ex Ludi Mathematicarum* (1450–52), setting out a different solution from what both Heron and Vitruvius had proposed.

The figure on folio 104 represents the chip log in a way that is not consistent with the text of *De architectura* and Giocondo even admits that 'the description of the vessel doesn't follow Vitruvius text, but instead another knowledgeable author',[18] so that while strongly criticizing the machine described by Vitruvius, he also proposes to improve it.

Similar objections to those raised by the friar can be found in a text by Leonardo (Ms. G, f. 54*r* Institut de France) where he criticized the proposed ancient solution as well as Alberti's, arguing that it could not be used on every ship: 'Our ancients used different talents to see what voyage a ship makes in one hour, under which Vitruvius [. . .] But this invention is of little value [. . .] Here is another way made with the experience of a space known by one island to another, [. . .] this is in Alberti. But this invention fails'.[19]

These two incunabula also are useful to understand the nature of Fra Giocondo's misunderstandings or, more accurately, limits to his comprehension. There is little point re-examining the best-known cases which have been widely discussed by schol-

17 'Hanc catapultae descriptionem ex iisdem habui graecis auctoribus quos Vitruvius citat quam quoque iisdem dictionibus graecis annotavi quas ibi inveni ut studiosis et ingeniosis non deessem qui forsan ibi proficere poterunt ubi ego defeci quando neque ex Vitruvio neque ex ipsis auctoribus (ut ingenii mei tenuitatem fatear) integram rectam ve intelligentiam extorquere valui', (f. 105*v*). Cfr. Lucia Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona', 85.

18 'Haec navis descriptio non ea ratione facta est qua ab auctore traditur, sed alia non minus solerti'.

19 'Anno li nostri antichi usato diversi ingegni per vedere che viaggio faccia un naviglio per ciascun ora, infra li quali Vitruvio [. . .] Ma questa tale invenzione e' di poca valetudine [. . .] Ecci un altro modo fatto colla sperienzia d'uno spazio noto da una isola a un'altra, [. . .] questo è in Alberti. Ma tale inventione non riesce'.

ars, such as the notion of *atrium-cavedium*, the *domus* and temple configurations, whereas some examples that have been much less explored offer fruitful insights.

In Book VI, Budè left a marginal note in which he identifies the Telamons, the male figures deployed as pillars to support an entablature (also known as Atlantes), with mutules, the stone blocks projecting under a cornice in the Doric order. It is interesting to note that this misunderstanding is also present in the so-called Vitruvio Ferrarese manuscript, as well as in the first printed edition of the treatise translated into Italian by Cesare Cesariano.[20] In contrast, in Giocondo's 1511 edition (f. 35*v*), a mutule corresponds to a modillion.

An example of a different nature is found in Book X, where the simplest kind of Roman crane, called a three-pulley-crane (*trispastos*), is described. The Latin text has *tigna duo* because a model with a scaffolding made of a couple beams is taken into consideration: beams placed in a reverse 'V' shape and fixed to the ground by cables. The issue of the stability of a structure made from only two beams is considered by the anonymous author of the Ferrarese Vitruvius (f. 22*r*) who, in order to solve the problem of the crane's stability and balance, inserted two inclined supports at the bases of the legs.

The solution proposed by Vitruvius sounded problematic to Giocondo's ears as well, and in fact he corrects the text to 'three beams' (*'tigna tria'*). It is interesting to notice how, in the correction made by Giocondo, the uncompromising philologist did not prevail, but the architect did instead: his emendation is not capricious, the friar understood how the machine could work, and this emendation was warmly and widely accepted, even with unconditional approval, by commentators in the following centuries, with a consequent influence on graphic illustrations.

Nevertheless, the problems faced when trying to understand Vitruvius and working on the re-appropriation of classical language and the ancient lexicon between the fifteenth and sixteenth centurys extends to many issues, even less specialist ones. This explicitly appears in drawings from Guillaume Budè's Vitruvius (C iv r) and its twin in the Vatican Library (25*v*), concerning the attic base and the name of different mouldings. Aside from the need to explain to the reader what is meant for a base (*spira*), the interesting fact lies in the effort made by Giocondo to relate architectural objects with what would, in the printed edition, become essentially captions: a one-to-one correspondence between text and image. Such captions, and this is the fundamentally new information conveyed by Giocondo's graphic translation, are extremely faithful to Vitruvius's lexicon. This is not an expedient to be taken for granted. Previous approaches, such as those by Alberti

20 Claudio Sgarbi, *De architectura: Vitruvio ferrarese. La prima versione illustrata* (Modena, 2004).

and Francesco di Giorgio Martini, had led to a parallelism between the *De architectura* lexicon and alternative terminology.[21] For example, Alberti uses the word *latastrum* instead of *plinthus* for plinth, the word *orbiculus* instead of *Trochilus* for *scotia,* the hollow concave molding: 'The die is that quadrangular element at the bottom, so called because it has a face to every side'; 'The scotia is a circular recess, like that in the wheel of a pulley, sandwiched between the tori'.[22] From that moment on, this became a constant element of procedure and was the approach taken by Sebastiano Serlio in his treatise.

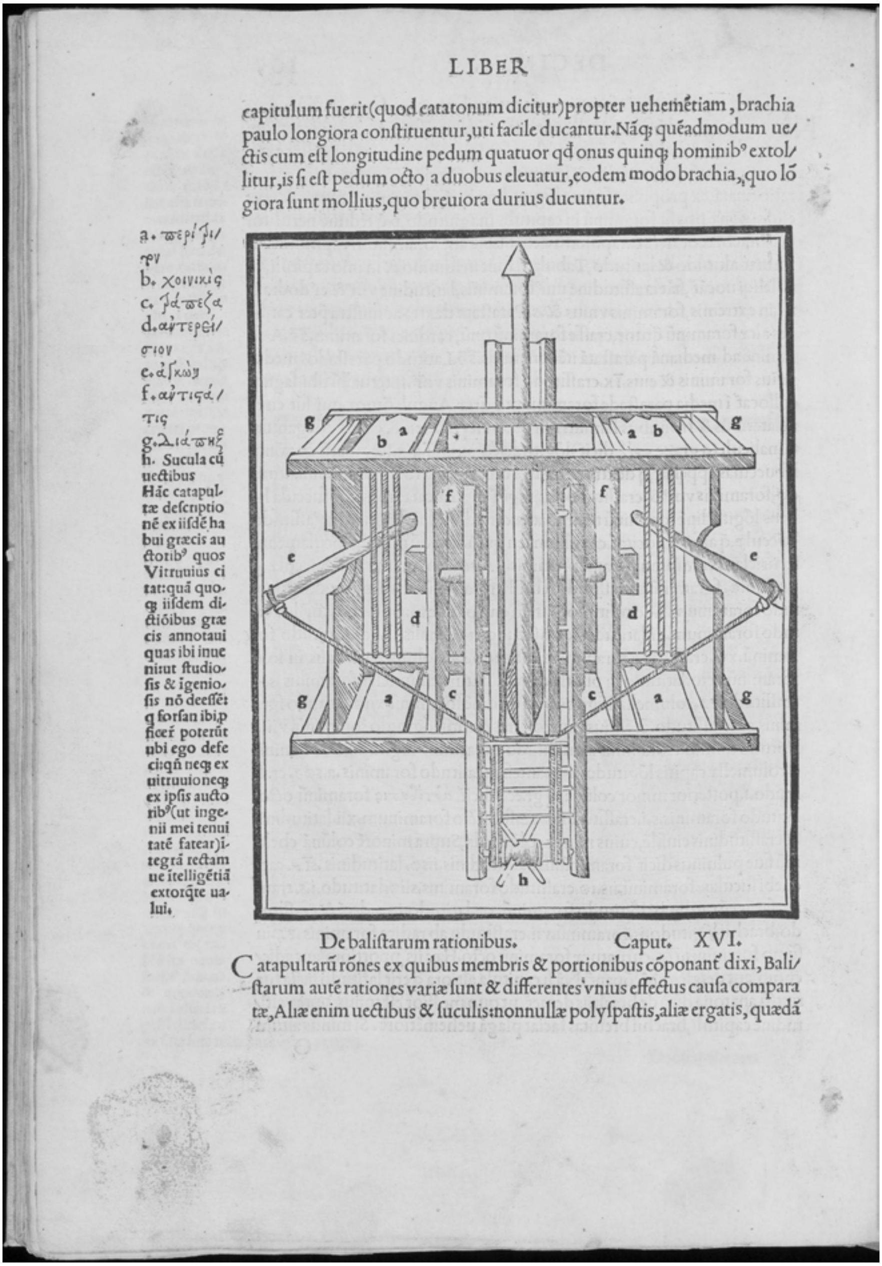
Probably in line with this need for clarification, of 'citing Vitruvius', Giocondo presents some wood-cut illustrations that set out a very different approach to the next generation of interpreters of *De architectura*, for whom Giocondo's choices would almost be read as misunderstandings.

For example, in Book III (f.27v), Giocondo, to explain the concept of entasis and tapering, represents the column through its essential element, the shaft. This proposal is consistent with Vitruvius's text and his concept, but one that is extraneous to the idea of 'order' in a classificatory sense, which is a typical and widespread Renaissance cultural phenomenon (see Hubertus Günther, chapter 2). Giocondo's approach in 1511 is, by contrast, distant from later considerations of the 'order' in the classifying sense intended by architects such as Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73). Vignola's was the epitome of a process that (with some differences) was already evident in the representations by Cesare Cesariano and the Ferrarese Vitruvius in their versions of Vitruvius's treatise.

In Book IV (f. 32r) Giocondo represents two columns with bases and capitals, one is an Ionic column capital and base, while the other illustrates a Corinthian column capital but with an Attic base. It might seem pleonastic but reveals that the conceptual association among different morphologies that generate 'order' was not yet fully mature, but the author chooses a paratactic method: depicting Corinthian as a variant of Ionic. Yet again a Corinthian capital is associated with an Ionic column (f. 34*r*) (fig.3.3–4).

21 Marco Biffi, 'Sulla formazione del lessico architettonico italiano: la terminologia dell'ordine ionico nei testi di Francesco di Giorgio Martini', in Riccardo Gualdo ed., *Le parole della scienza* (Galatina, 2001), 253–91.

22 Translation from Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert et al. (Cambridge MA, 1988), 202 and 393 n. 77, where the translators make the suggestion: '*Latastrum*', 'die': a term apparently coined by Alberti from *latus*, 'wide', and *struere*, 'to construct'. Alberti explained his choice thus: 'Est quidem lastratum quadrangula in imo supposita pars, quam sic appello, quod ea quidem quaqueversus in latitudinem diffundatur' (VII,7); 'Orbiculus est in girum incavus, qui veluti in troclea sic istic inter thoros pressatur' (VII,7).


LIBER

capitulum fuerit(quod catatonum dicitur)propter uehemētiam, brachia paulo longiora constituentur,uti facile ducantur.Nāq; quēadmodum uectis cum est longitudine pedum quatuor qđ onus quinq; hominib⁹ extollitur,is si est pedum octo a duobus eleuatur,eodem modo brachia,quo lōgiora sunt mollius,quo breuiora durius ducuntur.

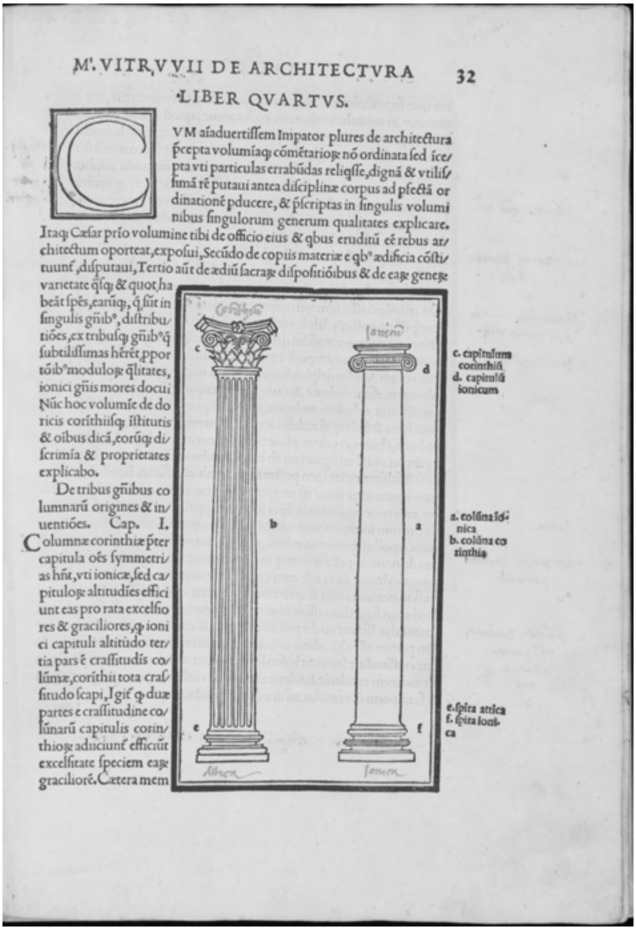
a. περίτρητον
b. χοινικίς
c. τράπεζα
d. ἀντερείσιον
e. ἀγκὼν
f. ἀντιστάτης
g. διάπηξ
h. Sucula cū uectibus

Hāc catapultæ descriptionē ex iisdē habui græcis auctorib⁹ quos Vitruuius citat:quā quoq; iisdem dictióibus græcis annotaui quas ibi inuenirut studiosis & igeniosis nō deesse: q forsan ibi,pficeř poterūt ubi ego defeciq̄ñ neq; ex uitruuioneq; ex ipsis auctorib⁹(ut ingenii mei tenuitatē fatear)itegrā rectam ue itelligētiā extorq̄re ualui.

De balistarum rationibus. Caput. XVI.

Catapultarū rōnes ex quibus membris & portionibus cōponant̄ dixi, Balistarum autē rationes variæ sunt & differentes vnius effectus causa comparatæ,Aliæ enim uectibus & suculis:nonnullæ polyspastis,aliæ ergatis,quædā

Fig. 3.2: Giocondo 1511, f.105v, catapult (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).


M'. VITRVVII DE ARCHITECTVRA 32

LIBER QVARTVS.

CVM aíaduertissem Impator plures de architectura ꝑcepta volumíaq; cōmētarioꝝ nō ordinata sed íce/
pta vti particulas errabūdas reliqsse, dignā & vtilis/
simā rē putaui antea disciplinæ corpus ad pfectā or
dinationē pducere, & ꝑscriptas in singulis volumi
nibus singulorum generum qualitates explicare.
Itaq; Cæsar prío volumine tibi de officio eius & qbus eruditū eē rebus ar/
chitectum oporteat, exposui, Secūdo de copiis materiæ e qb⁹ ædificia cōsti/
tuunť, disputaui, Tertio aūt de ædiū sacraꝝ dispositióibus & de eaꝝ geneꝝ
varietate q̄sq; & quot ha
beāt spēs, earūq;, q̄ sūt in
singulis gn̄ib⁹, distribu/
tiōes, ex tribusq; gn̄ib⁹ q̄
subtilissimas hērēt ppor
tóib⁹ moduloꝝ q̄litates,
ionici gn̄is mores docui
Nūc hoc volumíe de do
ricis corīthiisq; ístitutis
& oíbus dicā, eorūq; di/
scrimía & proprietates
explicabo.

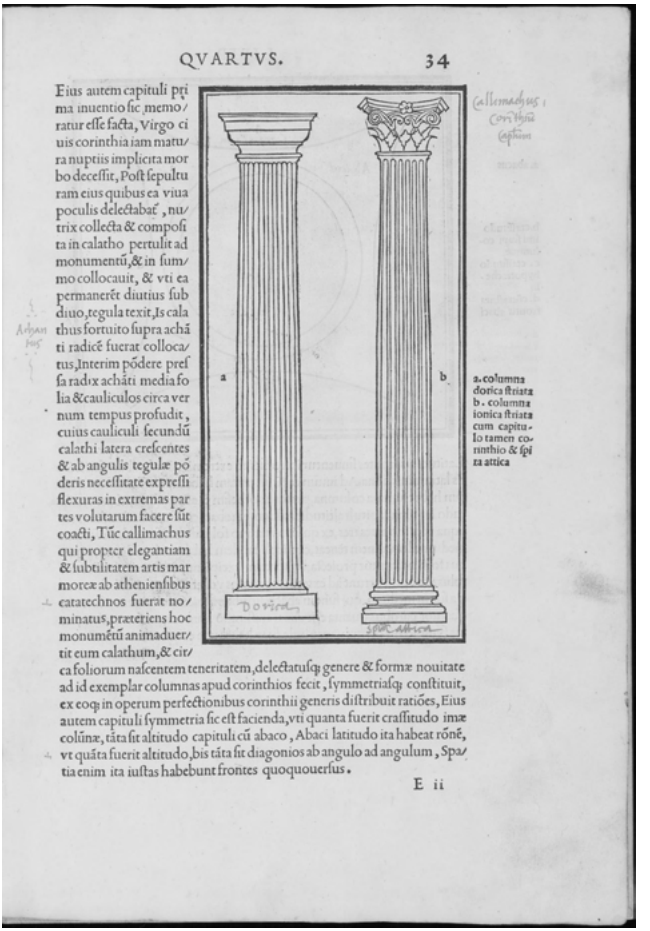
De tribus gn̄ibus co
lumnarū origines & in/
uentiōes. Cap. I.

Columnæ corinthiæ ꝑter
capitula oēs symmetri/
as hn̄t, vti ionicæ, sed ca/
pituloꝝ altitudíes effici
unt eas pro rata excelsio
res & graciliores, q̄ ioni
ci capituli altitūdo ter/
tia pars ē crassitudís co/
lūmæ, corīthii tota cras/
situdo scapi, Igiť q̄ duæ
partes e crassitudine co/
lūnarū capitulis corin/
thioꝝ adiiciunť efficiūt
excelsitate speciem eaꝝ
graciliorē. Cætera mem

Fig. 3.3: Giocondo 1511, f. 34*r*: Fluted Doric column and fluted Ionic column with Corinthian capital (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).

From these 'biological' considerations on 'order',[23] that are also to be found in the well-known folio drawing by Antonio da Sangallo (1484–1546) Uffizi 826A, the wood-cut illustration of the 1511 edition (f.35*r*), representing the capital invented by the sculptor Callimachus (5th century BC) can be seen to derive (Fig. 3.6). Giocondo presents a capital with exaggerated volutae, perhaps to underline the derivation of Corinthian from Ionic, as reported by Vitruvius. The interesting point is that this

23 Francesca Salatin, '*Questi capitelli nascono l'uno dall'altro*. Gli ordini architettonici nel Vitruvio del 1511', in *Vitruvius* 1 (2022), 97–105.


QVARTVS. 34

Eius autem capituli pri
ma inuentio sic memo/
ratur esse facta, Virgo ci
uis corinthia iam matu/
ra nuptiis implicita mor
bo decessit, Post sepultu
ram eius quibus ea viua
poculis delectabat, nu/
trix collecta & compos
ta in calatho pertulit ad
monumentū, & in sum/
mo collocauit, & vti ea
permanerēt diutius sub
diuo, tegula texit, Is cala
thus fortuito supra achā
ti radicē fuerat colloca/
tus, Interim pōdere pres
sa radix achāti media fo
lia & caueliculos circa ver
num tempus profudit,
cuius cauliculi secundū
calathi latera crescentes
& ab angulis tegulæ pō
deris necessitate expressi
flexuras in extremas par
tes volutarum facere sūt
coacti, Tūc callimachus
qui propter elegantiam
& subtilitatem artis mar
moreæ ab athenien sibus
catatechnos fuerat no/
minatus, prætereiens hoc
monumētū animaduer/
tit eum calathum, & cir/
ca foliorum nascentem teneritatem, delectatusq; genere & formæ nouitate
ad id exemplar columnas apud corinthios fecit, symmetriasq; constituit,
ex eoq; in operum perfectionibus corinthii generis distribuit ratiōes, Eius
autem capituli symmetria sic est facienda, vti quanta fuerit crassitudo imæ
colūnæ, tāta sit altitudo capituli cū abaco, Abaci latitudo ita habeat rōnē,
vt quāta fuerit altitudo, bis tāta sit diagonios ab angulo ad angulum, Spa/
tia enim ita iustas habebunt frontes quoquouersus.

E ii

a. columna dorica striata
b. columna ionica striata cum capitulo tamen corinthio & spira attica

Fig. 3.4: Giocondo 1511, f.105v, catapult (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).

characteristic connotes the Corinthian capital as Composite, an order that is not found in ancient Greek architecture and not included by Vitruvius in his text, yet it was added by Renaissance writers to create the five classical orders.

Giocondo, therefore, could be considered the first–unaware–writer to present the composite order in a treatise. His solution prompts speculation about whether this was a misunderstanding, in which he did not recognize genre identities: the corresponding passage in Budé's Vitruvius does not include any drawings and simply focuses on philological questions such as the variants of the term '*catatechnos*' in Pliny.

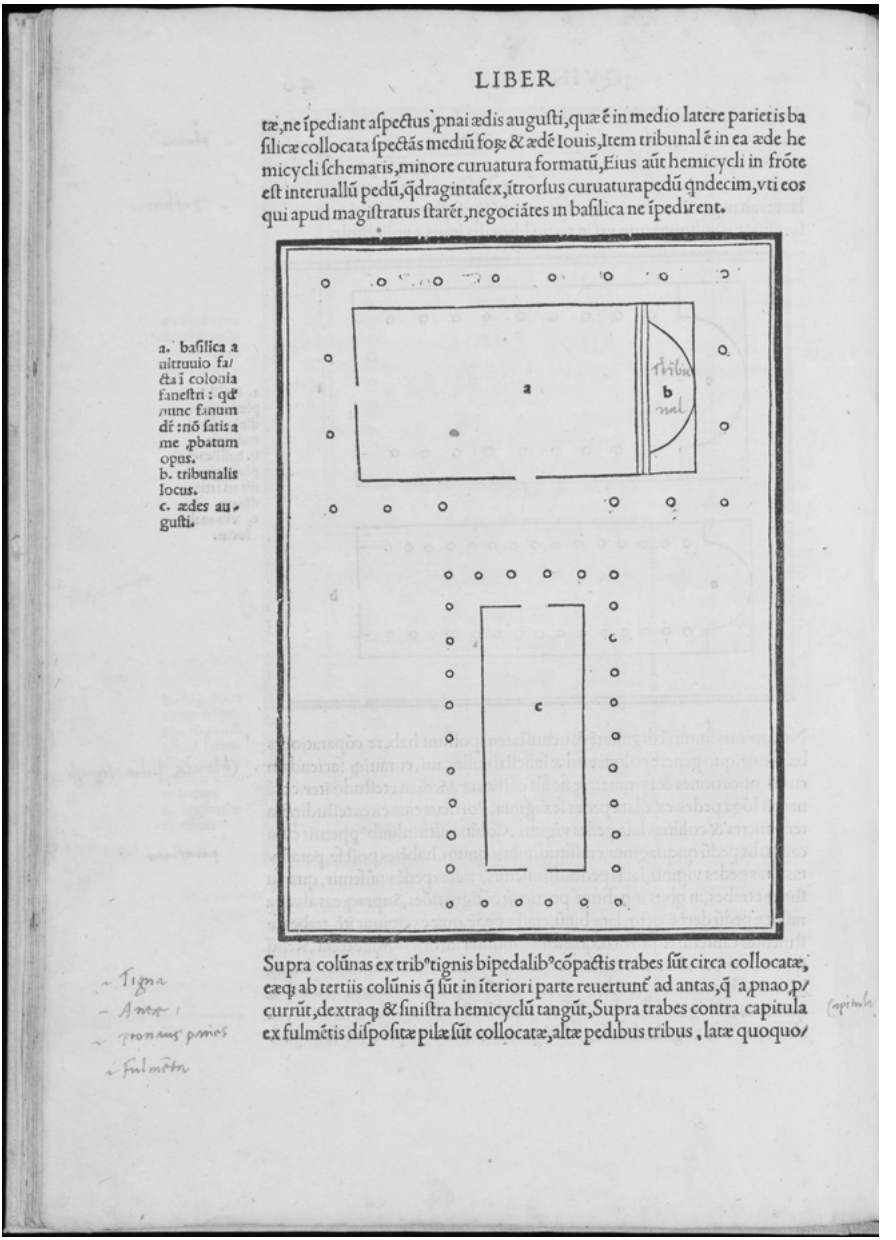
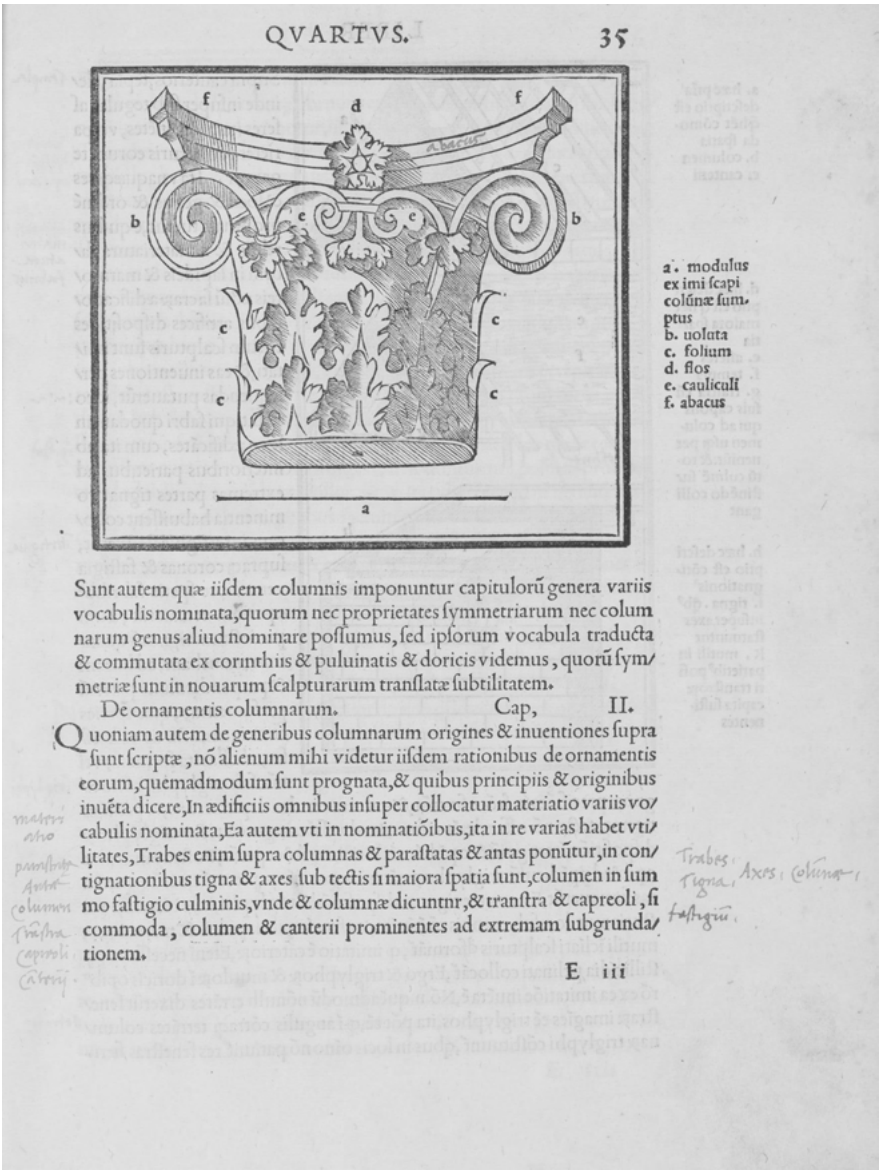


Fig. 3.5: Giocondo 1511, f.46v Basilica of Fano (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).



QVARTVS. 35

a. modulus ex imi ſcapi colúnæ ſumptus
b. uolata
c. folium
d. flos
e. cauliculi
f. abacus

Sunt autem quæ iiſdem columnis imponuntur capitulorũ genera variis vocabulis nominata, quorum nec proprietates ſymmetriarum nec columnarum genus aliud nominare poſſumus, ſed ipſorum vocabula traducta & commutata ex corinthiis & puluinatis & doricis videmus, quorũ ſymmetriæ ſunt in nouarum ſcalpturarum tranſlatæ ſubtilitatem.

De ornamentis columnarum. Cap, II.

Quoniam autem de generibus columnarum origines & inuentiones ſupra ſunt ſcriptæ, nõ alienum mihi videtur iiſdem rationibus de ornamentis eorum, quemadmodum ſunt prognata, & quibus principiis & originibus inuẽta dicere, In ædificiis omnibus inſuper collocatur materiatio variis vocabulis nominata, Ea autem vti in nominatiõibus, ita in re varias habet vtilitates, Trabes enim ſupra columnas & paraſtatas & antas ponũtur, in contignationibus tigna & axes ſub tectis ſi maiora ſpatia ſunt, columen in ſummo faſtigio culminis, vnde & columnæ dicuntur, & tranſtra & capreoli, ſi commoda, columen & canterii prominentes ad extremam ſubgrundationem.

Fig. 3.6: Giocondo 1511, f. 34r: Corinthian capital (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).

Looking at the *mise en page*, it would be easy to conclude that Giocondo, based on his direct observation of a manifold archeological reality, created this mixed order described by Vitruvius and subsequently justified the insertion of the composite. In fact, the illustration is succeeded by the passage about different types of capitals that is not easily categorized: Vitruvius, actually, remembers only other sorts of capitals differing in proportion and standing on a different sort of shaft that cannot refer to any other class (Vitruvius IV, I, 12).[24]

Giocondo had to deal not only with issues of interpretation connected with the actual themes presented in the text, but also with the choice of the best ways to illustrate them. For example, with regard to the representation of the *cavaedium*, for which he offers a rendition that is commonly recognized as filled with errors of interpretation, Giocondo correctly uses perspective representation, which he managed by removing one wall in order to make the other three visible, as he explains (f. 60r): *'omnibus his cavaedis latus unum apertum reliquimus ut pictura in tribus lateribus apparens videatur eorum interna description'* – 'so that one side of which is open into the inner hall, I have left all these things appearing to be seen in a picture on the three sides of the internal description of them'.

Giocondo's intention to open up the Vitruvian text to an 'operational' public is translated into representations that reveal a construction-oriented way of thinking. This is the case of the pages related to different types of masonry (ff.7v, 8v, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r). Here Giocondo reveals the tight relationship between external surface and internal structure (through axonometric representation), also revealing his own understanding of the ancient model and of the (uncommon) construction issues, as emerges from a comparison with the subsequent 1521 representations by Cesare Cesariano. On this specific theme, the xylographic print on f.14v is particularly interesting, since it illustrates different types of bricks. Although two-dimensional, the illustration tends toward a three-dimensional grip on the issue: Giocondo shows how to obtain solid brickwork by superimposing one row of the right-side column onto the corresponding one on the left.

With regard to the issue of his representation of a constructional operation, such as the method for realizing a Ionic volute, one of the most delicate Vitruvian issues, Giocondo's approach is particularly interesting (Vitruvius, III) on f.30r (Fig. 3.7). Although working with an incomplete text, he provides an exact term of graphic comparison to it, through a schematic yet exhaustive representation: the friar proposes a sort of 'unwrapped' flattened depiction of the Ionic capital, showcasing the upper part and breadth of the abacus, as well as the upper and lower diameters and lateral

24 'Sunt autem, quæ iisdem columnis imponuntur, capitulorum genera variis vocabulis nominata, quorum nec proprietates symmetriarum, nec columnarum genus aliud nominare possumus'.

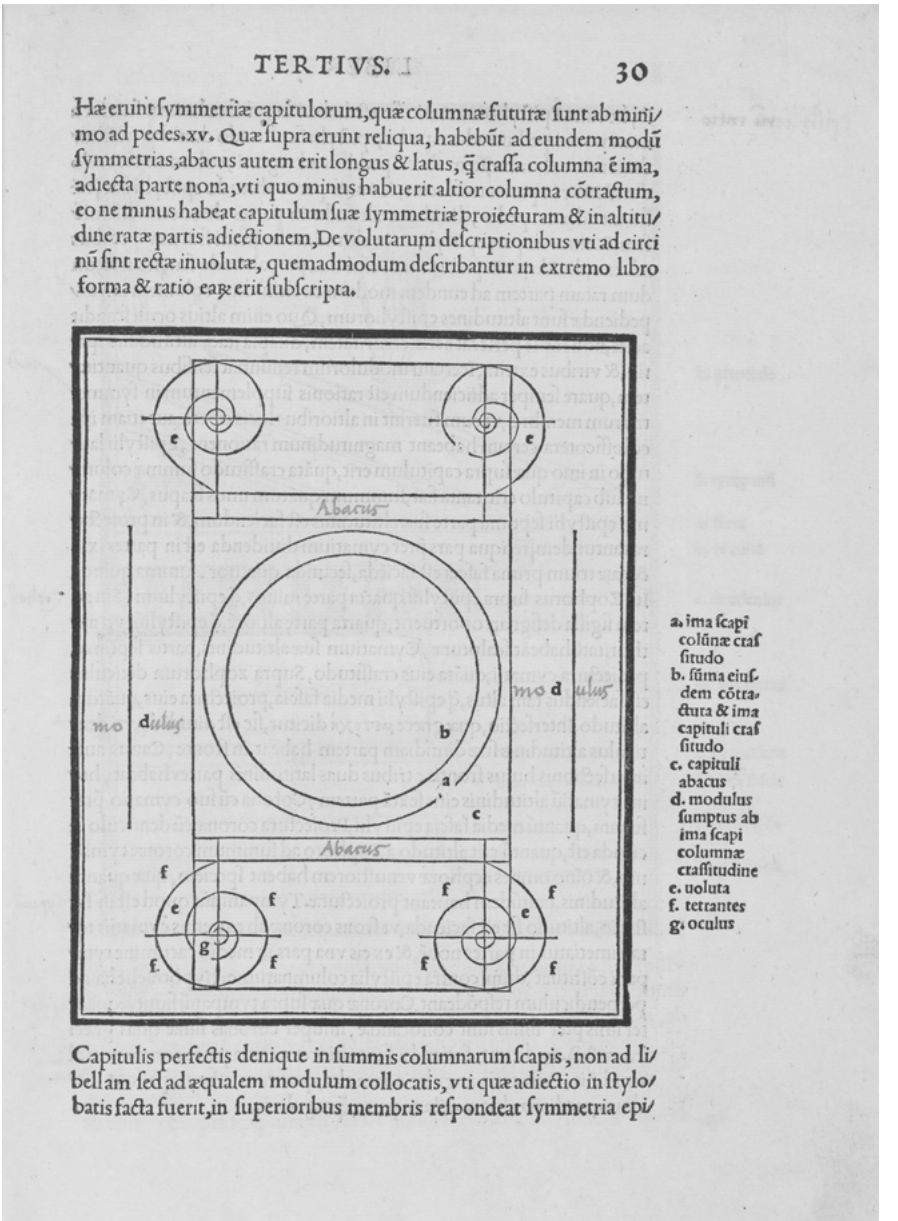


Fig. 3.7: Giocondo 1511, f. 30, construction methods of the Ionic Volute (photo: Giorgio Cini Foundation, FOAN TES 763).

volutes, all at the same time, thus providing all the necessary information for a three-dimensional visualization of the capital and its construction scheme.

Giocondo offers rare occasions when the caption becomes a proper marginal comment: an example is given by the brief explanation accompanying the woodcut about the Basilica of Fano (f. 46*v*) (fig. 3.5) that Vitruvius claimed as his own project. The friar describes an almost square floor plan, on the long side of which lies a round-arched apse opposite the entrance that encloses a *tribunal*, defined as *Aedes Augusti*. Giocondo proposes something different in his illustrations: a rectangle with the apse on the short side and the *Aedes Augusti* as a detached building, therefore misinterpreted, but understandably defined as a temple.

Giocondo's alteration here was not caused by difficulties in interpreting the Vitruvian text, but rather generated by his disapproval for that type of configuration, as is explained in the caption: '[the] basilica built by Vitruvius in colonia Fanestri, now called Fano: in my opinion, not worthy of being approved', '*basilica a Vitruvio facta in colonia Fanestri quod nunc fanum dicitur non satis a me probatum opus*'. The V.318 provides an explanation for Giocondo's choice. In this incunabulum, the Basilica is drawn in plan and elevation, with a proper internal peristasis, and accompanied by a comment that relates the ancient Roman public building to Christian basilicas: [Roman] Basilicas were the places for the administration of justice and the layout was similar to our Churches / the place for altar was the place for jurisdiction:

> In our countries, however, basilicas were very often used for sacrifices, both because people had previously been accustomed to gather in private basilicas upon convocation, and because the altar could be arranged in the most dignified manner in place of the courtroom, and a space remained perfectly suited for the choir around it.[25]

This echoes Alberti's statement in Book VII and, later, Andrea Palladio in his *Quattro Libri* of 1570 who was of the same opinion. The prominence given by Giocondo to the basilica of Fano could therefore be explained in the light of its functional contiguity with sacred Christian buildings. Palladio, too, would later remark that churches 'closely resemble basilicas, in which porticoes were made on the inside, as we do in temples'.[26] Because of its layout, the basilica thus becomes a cue for the definition of another kind of religious architecture, being easily adaptable to the Christian liturgy, and in this sense the 'corrections' to Vitruvius made by various authors are justified.

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25 'Basilicae loca erant ubi ius reddebatur et forma prope similes erant nostris basilicis, id est templis et aedibus sacris / Cuius loco in aedibus sacris magnum altare habemus, illic locum illic enim erat iusdicentium tribunal'.

26 Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, 1570), Book IV, Ch. V, 10.

The interest in the basilica of Fano is also well demonstrated by the anonymous author of the so-called Vitruvio ferrarese, manuscript 176 class II in the Ariostea Library in Ferrara. As Pierre Gros rightly pointed out, in the Vitruvius of Ferrara there is evidence of a graphic interpretation that is often more correct than that of Giocondo's.[27]

In the Ferrarese manuscript, great attention was given to the description of the basilica of Fano, for which three different graphic interpretations are provided. These can be related to different models in terms of chronology and context of origin, implicitly opening up new perspectives on the reason for and period of the manuscript's drafting. In the first drawing dedicated to Fano, 70*r*, two solutions are proposed for the elevation of the portico and the plan of the basilica, according to proportions of 2:1. The plan, as in the image of the 'canonical' basilica on folio 69*v*, is ambiguous: the arched court is placed in the centre of the long side, as indicated by Vitruvius, but is also replicated on the short side. The author thus seems to have oscillated between adherence to the Vitruvian text and the 'Christianized' image of the basilica, with an apse on the short side. In a context of substantial fidelity to the Vitruvian dictate, the inclusion of the second apsidal room is forced. The next page, 70*v*, also includes the Aedes Augusti with a pronaos and a hemicycle shaped tribunal on the long side, but traces remain of a rectangular 'tribunal' on the short side. The last sheet dedicated to the basilica of Fano, fol. 71*r*, illustrates a building with the tribunal placed on the short side. The Aedes Augusti, here drawn as a tetrastyle peripteral temple, is separated from the basilica and preceded by two rows of columns, between which the '*pronaus aedes augusti*' is indicated. The significant misinterpretation of the temple of Augustus as an autonomous building, if considered in the light of the different interpretations in the preceding sheets, seems to be conditioned by Giocondo's interpretation.

The three sheets are witness to an investigation characterized by continuous rethinking and can be interpreted as an unwritten criticism of the configuration described by Vitruvius. This objection is, moreover, justified through observation of the remains of the basilica of Maxentius, which is equipped with two apses on the long and short sides respectively, and the still visible layouts of the early Christian basilicas founded by Constantine and his successors, with only one apse on the short side. In the same manner as Fra Giocondo, the anonymous author of the sheets of the Vitruvius of Ferrara would therefore seem to disapprove of the structure of the basilica at Fano.

27 Pierre Gros, 'De l'«Anonyme de Ferrare» à l'Incunabulum Corsini: les difficultés de l'interprétation graphique de la typologie vitruvienne des temples à la charnière des XVème et XVI èmesiècles'(introduction read at the Accedemia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 12 Novembre 2010).

The debate over the location of the courthouse in this basilica also left its mark on Andrea Palladio's restitution. In the *Quattro Libri*, in order to justify the lack of an image of the basilica of Fano, which Palladio mentioned in the text, he wrote, 'With other compartments', that is, in a different way from the one described above, a veiled criticism that again echoed Giocondo's.[28]

Palladio thus seemed to distance himself from the image he had previously created for the *Commentari* by Daniele Barbaro (1514–70) where the circular-arch court, in adherence to the Vitruvian text, had been inserted on the long side.[29]

Included in the *Vitruvio* of Francesco Lucio Durantino (1524) and in the *Architecture* of Jean Martin (1547) and maybe a source of inspiration for the work on page 71r of the Vitruvius Ferrarese, and in the commonly known codex of Antonio da Faenza (sixteenth century), the wrong image of the Basilica, although being represented without Giocondo's warning to the reader, would reach a wide audience and leave a significant legacy.

As the comments on the basilica of Fano and the chip log demonstrate, for Giocondo Vitruvius was not a source to which to give unconditional assent, but a text to be manipulated and amended in order to concretely apply the lessons of the ancients. For him, recourse to the *De architectura* goes beyond pure erudition to become operative practice. Proof of this was Budé's words that recalled how Giocondo, who was then active in the reconstruction of the bridge of Notre Dame, precisely placed the Vitruvian machines on site. The persistence of 'errors', moreover, confirms the authority of the 1511 Vitruvius, which, while constituting the first act of an impressive editorial proliferation of treatises in the sector, became a guarantee of correctness and truthfulness. In addition, the interest in these woodcuts lies in the possibility of deepening understanding of Giocondo's horizons of investigation and reflection, as well as his possible intellectual contacts, such as the one that seems to emerge with Leonardo, in his departure from Vitruvian dictates. This particular point of view partially sheds light on the work of emendation and graphic interpretation conducted by the friar on Vitruvius's text, as well as on the cultural and professional background of the friar, who turned his theoretical knowledge to the challenges of technology. When, in 1511, Giocondo's Vitruvius was printed he was almost eighty years old and it was the outcome of a life-long cultural and cognitive journey; a life about which, despite Brenzoni's

28 Palladio, *Quattro Libri*, III, XIX, 39.

29 *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradotti e commentati da monsignor Daniele Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileia, da lui riueduti In Venetia: appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese e Giouanni Chrieger alemano compagni* (Venice, 1567), 219; Louis Cellauro, 'Palladio e le illustrazioni delle edizioni del 1556 e del 1567 di Vitruvio', in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 22 (1998), 108.

ostentatious optimism in tracing a biographical profile of the friar, nothing is known about his first fifty years. This documentary void regarding his professional and cultural formation represents one of the greatest difficulties in approaching a man who over the years was intensely active in both the philological-epigraphic and technical-artistic fields.

What is outlined here is the combination of research, quotations, intellectual comparisons and misunderstandings underlying Giocondo's Vitruvius—and making the words he used to discuss the Ctesibius pump mine: 'due to the iniquity of space, one cannot explain every detail, but I believe I have done enough, opening the door to other scholars'.[30]

30 'Singulaenim et in his machinis et in multis superiorum rerum descriptionibus siquis declarare vellet opus esset et plura scribere et cuiusque rei varias figurationum facies pingere quibus et q rebus ipsis intra sunt et extra monstrari possent sed satis mihi fecisse videor aperuisse scilicet studiosis fores et ostendisse semitas quibus hic auctor intelligi valet'.

César Manrique

Chapter Four
Tracing Renaissance Italian Architectural Books in Colonial Mexico

The material traces of Serlio's texts and patterns in colonial Latin America

It is well-known that the original sixteenth-century publications by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–*c.*1554) and their subsequent Spanish translations, along with other Italian Renaissance architectural treatises, such as those by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73) were enormously influential for several major architectural projects across the vast Hispanic world. This world encompassed immense territories overseas, spanning regions as geographically distinct as the political entities of New Spain (present-day Mexico), the New Kingdom of Granada (Colombia), Peru and the Royal *Audiencia* of Quito (Ecuador) during the Early Modern period. And from New Spain to Peru, books inspired buildings: the façade of the Monastery of San Francisco in the Andean city of Quito, is a particularly celebrated case of this influence.[1]

Serlio's theoretical and practical principles were appropriated, reinterpreted and applied, especially in colonial religious projects by architects active in different parts of the Americas. The material traces of this practical reception have been analysed by scholars of Latin American colonial architecture since the 1940s, resulting in a rich body of scholarship.[2] The publications of these scholars have, naturally, provided a foundation for subsequent scholarship, up until the present.[3]

1 Susan V. Webster, 'Vantage Points: Andean and Europeans in the Construction of Colonial Quito', in *Colonial Latin American Historial Review* 20/3 (2011), 303–30.

2 Diego Angulo Íñiguez et al. eds, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1945–50), I, on architecture. The Spaniard, Santiago Sebastián López, *Arquitectura del protorrenacimiento en el mundo hispánico* (Cali (Colombia), 1969); Santiago Sebastián López, *La ornamentación arquitectónica en la Nueva Granada* (Tunja (Colombia), 1966). The Mexican, Manuel Toussaint, *Colonial art in Mexico,* tr. Elizabeth Wilder Weismann (Austin TX, 1967) (1ed. Span. (Mexico, 1948)). The Americans, George Kubler, *Mexican architecture of the sixteenth century*, 2 vols (New Haven, 1948) (1ed. Span. (Mexico, 1983)); John McAndrew and Manuel Toussaint, 'Tecali, Zacatlán, and the Renacimiento purista in Mexico', in *The Art Bulletin* 24/4 (1942), 311–25; John McAndrew, *The open-air churches of sixteenth century Mexico: Atrios, posas, open chapels, and other studies* (Cambridge MA, 1965).

3 Sidney David Markman, *Architecture and urbanization in colonial Chiapas*, *Mexico* (Philadelphia PA, 1984); Valerie Fraser, *The architecture of conquest: Building in the viceroyalty of Peru,*

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111477909-005

The widely visible material traces of Italian Renaissance models can be seen with the naked eye in buildings built by architects active in New Spain, such as the Basque designer Claudio de Arciniega (*c.*1527–93), who oversaw work on the cathedral dedicated to the Assumption in Mexico City from 1570. He was also involved in the construction of different mendicant monasteries, such as S. Domingo and S. Agustín also in Mexico City.[4] Serlian precepts were applied in many of Arciniega's works, such as the decoration of the impressive open-air chapel of the Augustinian monastery of San Nicolás Tolentino in the village of Actopan in Central Mexico (Fig. 4.1).

Fig. 4.1: Open-air chapel of the Augustinian monastery of Actopan dedicated to San Nicolás Tolentino (photo: Pedro Ángeles, Archivo Fotográfico "Manuel Toussaint" del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM).

1535–1635 (Cambridge-New York, 1990); Robert James Mullen, *Architecture and its sculpture in Viceregal Mexico* (Austin TX, 1997); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean hybrid baroque: Convergent cultures in the churches of colonial Peru* (Notre Dame IN, 2010); Eleanor Wake, *Framing the sacred: The Indian churches of early colonial Mexico* (Norman OK, 2010); Alessia Frassani, *Building Yanhuitlan: Art, politics, and religion in the Mixteca Alta since 1500* (Norman OK, 2017). Cfr. chapters included in Clara Bargellini and Patricia Díaz Cayeros eds, *El Renacimiento italiano desde América Latina* (Mexico City, 2019).

4 For Claudio de Arciniega see, Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández, *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en Nueva España* (Mexico City, 2009).

Open-air chapels were a distinctive element of Mexican colonial architecture. They were designed as (mostly) outdoor spaces to celebrate Mass for a massive number of people. In the case of Actopan, Arciniega used Serlio's third book, *Il terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, nel qual si figurano e descrivono le antiquita di Roma & le altre che sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia*, published by the Marcolini press in Venice in 1540 and dedicated to ancient monuments and antiquities, as a source of inspiration for the geometric design of the vault decoration (Fig. 4.2).[5] Arciniega also drew upon Serlio's recommendations regarding the Tuscan order in the fourth book, *Regole Generali Di Architetvra Sopra Le Cinqve Maniere De Gli Edifici, Cioè, Thoscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, Et Composito, Con Gli Essempi Dell'Antiqvita, Che, Per La Magior Parte Concordano Con La Dottrina Di Vitrvvio*, from the same publishing house in 1537, for the slender columns of the Franciscan church dedicated to Santiago Apóstol (St James the Great) in the village of Tecali, now in ruins (Fig. 4.3).[6]

Fig. 4.2: The decoration of the vault in Actopan's Open-air chapel (photo: Archivo Fotográfico "Manuel Toussaint" del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM).

5 Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández, 'Sebastián Serlio y el virreinato de la Nueva España: usos y recepción(es)', in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 22 (2010), 73–86, at 78.
6 Cuesta Hernández, 'Sebastián Serlio', 73.

Fig. 4.3: The nave of the Franciscan church of Tecali, dedicated to Santiago Apóstol (photo: Cecilia Gutiérrez Arriola, Archivo Fotográfico "Manuel Toussaint" del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM).

Among other instances where architects and builders drew on Serlio's patterns, of particular interest are the sixteenth-century monasteries and cloisters belonging to the mendicant orders in Central and Southern Mexico which still stand, defying the centuries and the violent earthquakes that shake the country relatively frequently, as in September 2017, causing tremendous damage for these colonial monasteries both near Mexico City and further afield.[7] This surviving material evidence demonstrates clearly how specific architectural details, or even entire façades, drew upon Serlio's published work. For instance, among the Dominican monasteries in the southern region of Oaxaca, stands the façade of the old church of Cuilapan, also dedicated to Santiago Apóstol, which is notable for being directly inspired by the illustration of the Porta Venere at Spello mentioned in Serlio's Book III (Fig. 4.4).

Nevertheless, as has been convincingly observed, it is one thing to discuss the use of Serlio's precepts and reception in Hispanic America, and quite another to believe that his entire theoretical system was strictly followed or applied to the letter. Instead, it seems that architects working in the region during the sixteenth,

7 Diana Goldberg Mayo ed., *Sismos y patrimonio cultural. Testimonios enseñanzas y desafíos 2017 y 2018* (Mexico City, 2018).

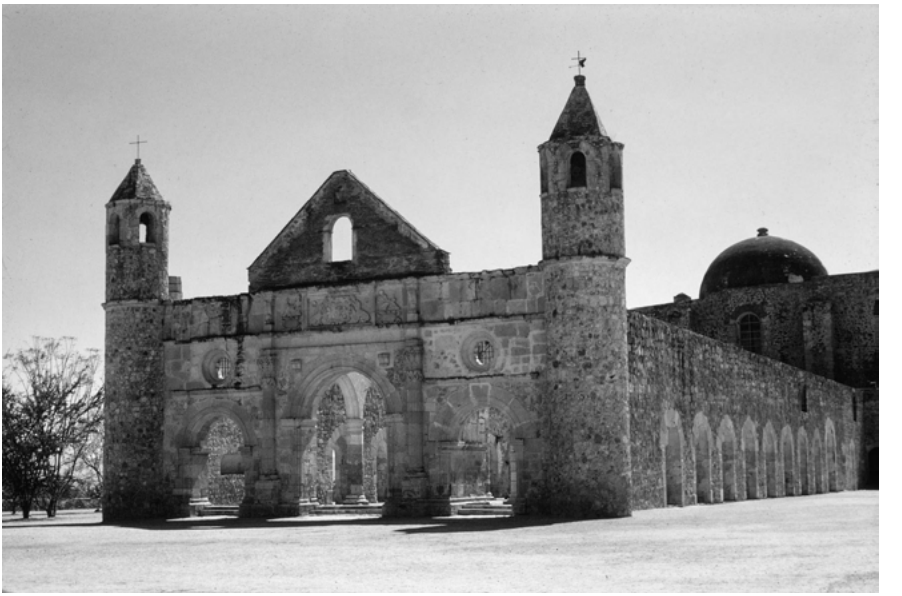


Fig. 4.4: Façade of the Dominican church of Santiago Apóstol in Cuilapan, close to the city of Oaxaca (photo: Archivo Fotográfico "Manuel Toussaint" del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la UNAM).

seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries, took some of Serlio's ideas, design elements, and recommendations, especially from Books III and IV, and used them in specific contexts, but without fully applying any larger theoretical framework.[8] Serlio's contribution, in the end, might be summarised as follows, he 'produced pattern-books that could be used and rules which could be applied, and took account of social conditions and national customs'.[9] Such a flexible use of Serlio's precepts can be explained by the varied relations between text and images in the layout of the original editions and in translations, which provided professionals of different abilities and training with visually friendly sources of inspiration, along with an easy to understand narrative.

8 Cuesta Hernández, 'Sebastián Serlio', 84.

9 Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A history of architectural theory: From Vitruvius to the present,* tr. Ronald Taylor et al. (London-New York, 1994), 78.

Trade and circulation from a book history perspective

The main purpose here is not to repeat what scholars have already presented in terms of Renaissance architectural *inventio* (invention), or architectural theory. Rather, this chapter addresses the issue of Italian Renaissance architectural treatises circulating in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, those by Serlio and other Italian authors, from the perspective of Early Modern book history, trade, materiality and reading practices, based on evidence from archives, surviving copies and marks of ownership.

From the context of the international book trade and book circulation between the various cities of Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, and more broadly the Hispanic world, the questions addressed are as follows. What kinds of Italian printed editions, particularly those imprints published during the sixteenth century, were circulating in Colonial Mexico? And not only Italian books: what about translations of Italian authors published outside Italy? Which genres were more popular than others; or more representative in quantitative terms? How were Italian publishers and booksellers able to build international networks of distribution? What kinds of surviving materials are still preserved in Mexican libraries today? These and other questions are fundamental for research on Italian books available in New Spain in the Early Modern period.[10]

Among the numerous original editions or translations of Italian treatises circulating in Colonial Mexico from the sixteenth century onwards, it is worth emphasising the presence of richly illustrated volumes on architecture. These were produced by influential authors and reached international audiences across cultural and political divides, such as Alberti, Serlio, Vignola, Andrea Palladio (1508–80) and Carlo Fontana (*c*.1634–1714), in addition to modern editions of the always complicated text of Vitruvius (*c*.80–70 BC – after *c*.15 BC).

What was the path by which such copies were shipped from Europe across the ocean and how did they circulate among different groups of readers in New Spain: not only architects but also other individuals, including scholars and savants during the Early Modern period? Before providing some examples of this international and long-lived circulation of architectural publications, it is useful to offer a brief historical panorama about the way the book trade between Italy and the Iberian world operated from the late fifteenth century onwards.

10 For the circulation of Flemish books in colonial Mexico see, César Manrique Figueroa, *El libro flamenco para lectores novohispanos* (Mexico City, 2019).

The early Italian book trade in Spain

Archival evidence demonstrates that the presence of Italian booksellers in Spain was established from the time of Queen Isabella of Castile (1451–1504) and King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516). Precocious Italian entrepreneurs fully envisioned the advantages offered by the growing, yet partially neglected, market of Iberian readers, where promising businesses supplying Italian books could be established in cities such as Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Toledo and Salamanca. Therefore, Italian papers and printed books could also be sold to a wide range of readers, including students of university cities such as Salamanca and Alcalá, scholars, clergy, officials working for governing bodies such as city councils and high courts and, finally, individuals in courtly and well-educated circles.[11] As a consequence, from the last quarter of the fifteenth century onwards large shipments of books were flowing into Spain from various Italian States, with Genoese and Florentine merchants in particular playing a key role.[12]

The prestige of Italian printers and their massive output was already significant in Spain by the late fifteenth century. Indeed, growing markets in Spanish cities were a prime target for these Italian publishers given their editorial dependency in terms of liturgical books. The printing in Venice in 1482 of a missal for Valencia, or the contract of 1483 for the Milanese merchant Bonagracia de Crivellis to deliver 500 Latin missals to Valencia prove that early liturgical books intended for Spanish dioceses were frequently printed abroad.[13] In sum, the last decade of the fifteenth century was characterized by the entrepreneurial drive of Italian printer-booksellers who reached agreements with Spanish merchants and scholars who were eager to purchase foreign books, or to publish their own texts abroad.[14] This success has been partially explained by the weakness of early Spanish printing presses being 'unable to meet this domestic demand' and resulting in a flood of 'in-

11 For early Spanish printing and its international connections see these classic works: Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: The history of a printing and merchant dynasty* (Oxford, 1988); Marta de la Mano González, *Mercaderes e impresores del libro en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca, 1998); José García Oro Marín and María José Portela Silva, *La monarquía y los libros en el Siglo de* Oro (Alcala, 1999); Julián Martín Abad, *Los primeros tiempos de la imprenta en España (c.1471–1520)* (Madrid, 2003).

12 For early Italian merchants active in Castille see also: Juan Manuel Bello León, *Extranjeros en Castilla (1474–1501). Notas y documentos para el estudio de su presencia en el reino a finales del siglo* XV (La Laguna (Spain), 1994).

13 Philippe Berger, 'La dépendance éditoriale de l'Espagne: le cas de Valence aux XV et XVI siècles', in Philipe Berger et al. eds, *Histoire du livre et de l'édition dans les pays ibériques* (Bordeaux, 1986), 6–25. Griffin, *The Crombergers*, 3.

14 Oro Marín and Portela Silva, *La monarquía*, 39.

ternational editions, that is to say Bibles, the classics, works of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy, and similar subjects, all printed in Latin'.[15]

Subsequently, during the sixteenth century, some major multinational Italian publishing businesses managed to establish branch offices abroad, in places such as Lyon, as well as in the Spanish cities of Salamanca, Burgos, Seville and, later on, Madrid. Among these leading publishing firms, which were normally staffed by extended family members or commercial partners, the celebrated Giunti family, known in Spanish as the *Junta*, 'quickly expanded to Venice, Florence, Rome, Lyon, Burgos, Salamanca and, in the last half of the sixteenth century to Madrid, printing, publishing and selling books in each of those cities'.[16]

The Giunti can be understood as a sort of major, multinational corporation with international ramifications.[17] Among other significant Italian publishing dynasties, the Giolito of Florence can be cited as well as the less well-known Portonariis family, or the networks of other important sixteenth-century printers active in Venice, such as the French born Vincenzo Valgrisi (active 1540–72), or, in Rome for example, Francesco Zanetti (active 1575–91), and these figures exemplify such active international exchange.[18] Because of the existence of these sixteenth-century internationally-oriented businesses, Italian imprints were increasingly flowing to the Iberian Peninsula along well-established commercial routes. This Italian editorial output published either in Latin or in the vernacular was perfectly suited to the Spanish market.

Seville and books aboard the fleets

It comes as no surprise that Seville was one of the major destinations for this European book trade, because of its central position as a commercial trading post in the Iberian world. Certainly, the role of the port of Seville must not be forgotten

15 Clive Griffin, 'Itinerant booksellers, printers and pedlars in sixteenth century Spain and Portugal', in Robin Myers et al. eds, *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade* (London, 2007), 43–60, at 43.

16 William A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence: A Renaissance printing and publishing family. A history of the Florentine firm and a catalogue of the* editions (New Castle DE, 2013), xi.

17 William A. Pettas, *A sixteenth-century Spanish bookstore: The inventory of Juan de* Junta (Philadelphia PA, 1995); William A. Pettas, *A history & bibliography of the Giunti (Junta) printing family in Spain 1526–1628* (New Castle DE, 2005); see also, Marco Santoro, *I Giunta a Madrid. Vicende e documenti* (Pisa-Rome, 2013).

18 Angela Nuovo, *I Giolito e la Stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva, 2005); Angela Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden-Boston, 2013).

or underestimated. It functioned not only as the departure point for the trade to Hispanic America from the early sixteenth to the eighteenth century, but also as a centre of distribution for international scholarly books, flowing not only from Italy but also from France, the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries, thanks to networks established by Italian, French, German, Flemish and Spanish printers, booksellers and merchants. In brief, the trade monopoly of the America's transformed Seville into a hub of people and merchandise as well as a compulsory port of call for everyone participating in the so-called *Carrera de Indias* or trade with Spanish America.[19]

From Seville, European books crossed the Atlantic Ocean and arrived in the Caribbean, New Spain, Central America, Colombia, Peru, and other regions. They travelled in booksellers' regular dispatches, or as part of large clerical shipments, or as part of the personal belongings and private reading materials of educated passengers *en route* to the Indies.[20]

Beginning in 1564 and lasting until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the annual fleet to New Spain departed from Seville (and subsequently Cádiz from 1718) to the port of Veracruz in the Gulf of Mexico during the spring, around the month of April. The return journey went via Havana, joined by the fleet from *Tierra Firme* (South America) in March of the following year. These fleets transported people, all kind of goods, and artistic objects. In general, books were shipped under three different circumstances:

Firstly, booksellers active in Spain, particularly in Seville, supplied this new market of readers with large shipments of books intended for their agents or their colleagues active in Mexico City.

Secondly, religious corporations were successful in creating networks of long-distance distribution of books and other objects among their religious communities using intermediaries such as the *procuradores* (envoys). These envoys were members of religious or civilian groups sent to Spain, or to the papal court in Rome, to resolve legal, juridical, and practical issues. Among other things, the envoys oversaw the supplying of books to the American provinces or dioceses.

19 Clara Palmiste, 'Los mercaderes de libros e impresores flamencos en Sevilla: organización de las redes mercantiles en Europa y América (1680–1750)', in Ana Crespo Solana ed., *Comunidades transnacionales: colonias de mercaderes en el mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Madrid, 2010), 251.

20 Regarding international book distribution using the mechanisms of the so-called *Carrera de Indias*, see for instance the classic works: Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Homo viator, homo scribens. Cultura gráfica, información y gobierno en la expansión atlántica (siglos XV–XVII)* (Madrid, 2007); Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard, *Orbe tipográfico: el mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón, 2003); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural, el comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias* (Seville, 2005).

Such individuals were necessary in a period where long distances and slow communications between the Indies and Europe resulted in exceedingly long and tedious legal processes.[21]

Thirdly, many passengers travelling to the Indies such as bishops, ministers, lawyers, scholars, or specialists in given professions, brought with them their own books or their own private libraries.

In brief, with booksellers, *procuradores*, and educated passengers, these three supply networks permitted and enabled the formation of New World bibliographic collections containing remarkably interesting and diverse texts and materials. Among the large book shipments dispatched every year from Seville to Mexico and registered in archival documentation, the presence of architectural works and many other genres of Italian books as well, can be traced.

For example, in June 1584, Benito Boyer (†1591), a prominent French bookseller from Lyon, who was well-established in the Castilian city of Medina del Campo, sent to Mexico via Seville a large shipment of forty cases of books distributed in different ships of that year's fleet.[22] When the cases arrived in port at Veracruz some months later, in October, local inquisitorial officers inspected the inventory of this large shipment, making sure that it complied with the Spanish Inquisition's regulations to prevent the circulation of prohibited books. Accordingly, this inventory provides detailed and lengthy descriptions of the contents of each of the forty cases. The document is preserved at the *Archivo General de la Nación* (National Archive of Mexico) among the Inquisitorial documentation.[23] It records that in case 'number 13' one copy of Serlio's, *De arquitectura*, in folio and bound in calf skin, was included.

Generally, a lack of details in bibliographic descriptions is typical for this kind of commercial documentation, which typically does not allow the proper identification of the exact edition referred to. Inventory information tends thus to be patchy, but at least sufficiently revealing. First, this was certainly not an inexpensive edition, since the quality of the binding substantially raised the cost of books at the time. This scholarly edition was targeted at a specific profile of reader: perhaps a bibliophile or a scholar at the university, or an architect, with sufficient financial means to acquire such a precious copy.

21 César Manrique Figueroa, 'From Antwerp to Veracruz: Looking for books from the Southern Netherlands in Mexican colonial libraries', in *De Gulden Passer* 87/2 (2009), 93–122.

22 Concerning the activity of Benito Boyer see, Vicente Bécares Botas, *La librería de Benito Boyer (Medina del Campo, 1592)* (Valladolid, 1992).

23 Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros del siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1914), 270.

Another copy of Serlio was included in the same shipment, this time in case 'number 23'.[24] The description is the same as the previous one: '1 *Architectura* de Serlio. Fo, *badana*'. In other words, it was also in folio and bound in calf skin. These two copies might be the Spanish edition of 1573 published in Toledo by Juan de Ayala. Given this evidence it seems clear that, by this time, Spanish translations of Serlio's books III and IV were popular and in demand across the Hispanic world.

Indeed, the first Spanish edition of Serlio, in folio, had appeared only two decades before. The title page reads Sebastiano Serlio, *Tercero y qvarto libro de architectura de Sebastián Serlio Boloñes [. . .] Agora nuevamente traduzido de Toscano en Romance Castellano por Francisco de Villalpando Architecto*, and was published in Toledo by Juan de Ayala in 1552 (Fig. 4.5).[25]

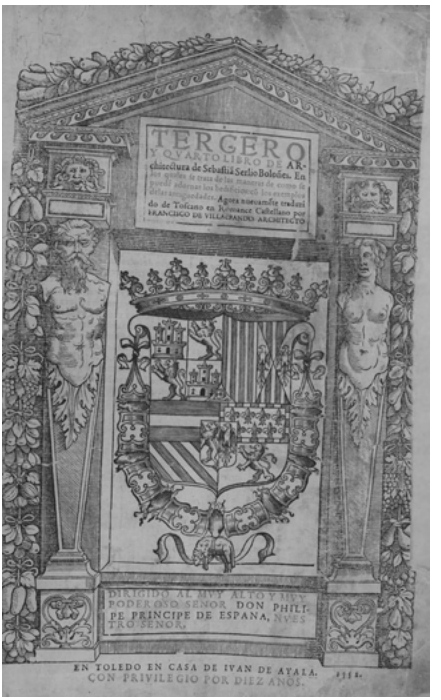


Fig. 4.5: Title page of the first Spanish edition of Serlio, published in Toledo by Juan de Ayala, 1552, copy of the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Palafoxiana).

24 Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros*, 274.

25 The National Library of Mexico and the Palafoxiana Library of Puebla have each one copy of this 1552 edition.

This folio size, beautifully illustrated edition was dedicated to the then young prince Philip of Spain, future King Philip II (1527–98). As is well-known, 'the prestige of the dedicatee and the preface [were] all factors in success or failure' in marketing books during the early modern period.[26] Furthermore, this 1552 edition was protected by a royal license granted for ten years, defending the work from piracy and dishonest competition. The treatise was translated by the Spanish architect Francisco de Villalpando (*c*.1510–*c*.1561), demonstrating the expanding interest in Serlio's works in mid-sixteenth century Spain. Subsequent re-editions appeared in Toledo in 1563 and 1573, both published by the same printer, Juan de Ayala, revealing the enduring success of these titles (Fig. 4.6).

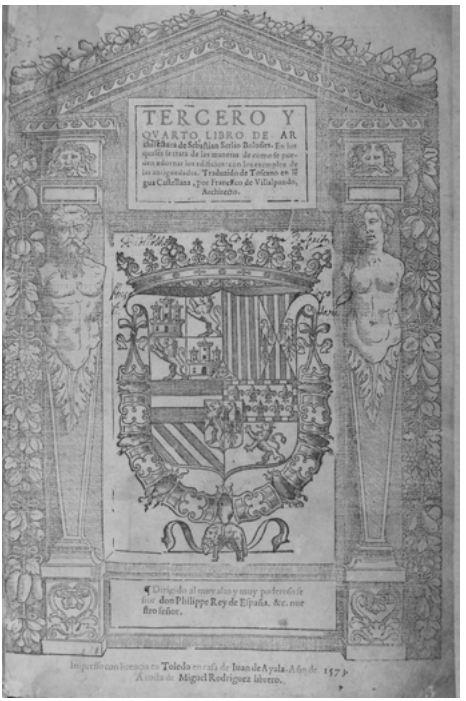


Fig. 4.6: Title page of the third edition of Serlio, published in Toledo by Juan de Ayala, 1573, copy of the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Palafoxiana).

In addition, in case 'number 15' of Benito Boyer's shipment, two copies of Alberti's *Arquitectura* in quarto, bound in calf skin, were registered. These two copies might

26 Ian McLean, 'The market for scholarly books and conceptions of genre in Northern Europe, 1570–1630', in Ian McLean, *Learning and the market place: Essays in the history of the early modern book* (Leiden-Boston, 2009), 30.

have been the edition recently published in Madrid: Leon Battista Alberti, *Los diez libros de Architectura, traduzidos de latín en romance* printed by Alonso Gómez in 1582. Probably this same Alberti translation was dispatched in another shipment recorded in Seville two years later. In October 1586, the merchant Pedro García de Neira sent six cases, with a total of 453 volumes, which were to be delivered to the city of Nombre de Dios in present-day Panama. From there, normally, muleteers carried merchandise inland across the tropical rigors of the isthmus *en route* to Panama City and then, sailing along the Pacific coast, further down to Peru. In case 'number 5', the inventory reveals two copies of Alberti bound in parchment, which might be examples of the recent edition issued in Madrid in 1582.[27]

Moreover, in the shipment dispatched by Benito Boyer in 1584, three copies of Vitruvius's *Arquitectura* were also included in cases 'numbers 3 and 4'. Two of these were printed in folio and also bound in calf skin.[28] It is possible that these two copies in folio could have been the recent Spanish edition of Vitruvius's *De architectvra, dividido en diez libros, traduzidos de Latin en Castellano por Miguel Vrrea Architecto,* published in Alcalá in 1582 by printer Juan Gracián. This edition was dedicated to King Philip II and, like Serlio's books, it had been translated by a Spanish architect and assembler, Miguel de Urrea (d. 1565–68).[29] He had died a good many years before and so this translation of Vitruvius, the first one into Spanish, was published posthumously.[30] In fact, the royal license was granted to Urrea's widow, Mari Bravo, in April 1569.[31] In other words, the first Spanish translation of Vitruvius had to wait thirteen years to be published, appearing only in 1582. Accordingly, it ought to be considered a product of the Spanish cultural context of the 1560s, even though it was published later when compared to the first Renaissance translations of Vitruvius elsewhere in Europe (Fig. 4.7).

This editorial lag emphasises the practical financial troubles that these superbly illustrated, large-format books cost in terms of labour and paper. Undertaking the task of printing a major work like Vitruvius could deplete the monetary resources of the people involved in such large-scale editorial projects. Consequently, it was crucial

27 María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *Impresores, libreros y mercaderes de libros en la Sevilla del quinientos. II. Libreros y mercaderes de libros, parte 1* (Zaragoza, 2009), 216–17.

28 Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros*, 265.

29 Agustín Bustamante García, 'Los grabados del Vitruvio complutense de 1582', in *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 55 (1989), 273–88, at 277.

30 José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, 'Miguel de Urrea, entallador de Alcalá y traductor de Vitruvio', in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 17 (1980), 67–72.

31 See the 'Privilegio' in Vitruvius, *De Architectvra, dividido en diez libros, traduzidos de Latin en Castellano por Miguel Vrrea Architecto* (Alcalá, 1582).


M. VITRVVIO
POLLION DE AR
CHITECTVRA, DIVIDIDO EN
diez libros, traduzidos de Latin en Castellano
por Miguel de Vrrea Architecto, y sacado en su perfectió
por Iuan Gracian impressor vezino de Alcala.
DIRIGIDO A LA S. C. R. M. DEL RET DON PHE-
lippe Segundo deste nombre nuestro Señor.
CON PRIVILEGIO.
Impresso en Alcala de Henares por Iuan Gracian.
Año. M. D. LXXXII.

Fig. 4.7: Title page of the first Spanish translation of Vitruvius, published in Alcalá by Juan Gracián, 1582, copy of the Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua).

to carefully target commercially promising readers and markets before embarking on these editorial ventures.

From this documentary evidence, a standardization of the titles of Serlio, Alberti, and Vitruvius becomes apparent. To save time, the people who drafted inventories only referred to these works with the name of the author and the Spanish word '*Arquitectura*' which, for the scholars of the time provided enough information to know that the books referred to were indeed these celebrated treatises.

Tracing copies in private libraries

Testaments and inventories of private libraries are also particularly useful for tracing the presence of Italian architectural treatises in colonial private libraries. For instance, in November 1573 an inventory of goods was made in the house of a

certain Pedro de Saucedo in Mexico City, who had recently died.[32] His belongings were already organized in twenty-four different cases and trunks to be sold at public auction. Case 'number 13' contained only books. In fact, it was a fine personal library, not so large, encompassing 180 titles that had been carefully chosen. It included a comprehensive selection of classic editions,[33] along with popular Spanish authors such as Pedro Mexía (1497–1551) and the poet Juan de Mena (1411–56). In terms of architecture, one copy of Vitruvius as well as the 'third and fourth books of Sebastiano Serlio *de Arquitectura*' were also mentioned, this last probably being the Spanish edition of 1563.

Surprisingly, many of the editions included in this small private library were printed 'in Tuscan', as the inventory shows: 'Dante *en Toscano*', works of Albertus Magnus (*c.*1200–80) '*en Toscano*', Boccaccio (1313–75), *La Fiammeta*, 'Cosimo Bartoli *en Toscano*', 'Pietro Bembo *en Toscano*', Pietro Cataneo Senese (*c.*1510–*c.*74), *Le pratiche delle dve prime matematiche*.[34] Further volumes included Anton Francesco Doni (1513–74), *Disegno del Doni: partito in piu ragionamenti ne quali si tretta della scoltura et pittura, de colori de getti, de modegli con molte cose appartenenti a quest arti*; Enea Vico (1523–67), *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano sopra le medaglie de gli antichi* among others.[35] This was indeed a remarkable private library in Mexico City, showing the humanist Italianized taste of the owner.[36]

This 1573 inventory reveals that books were also sold in *almonedas públicas* (public auctions), organized throughout the Hispanic world to sell the goods of the deceased in order to obtain a profit that could be redistributed among their heirs or to pay debts. These auctions took place in public squares upon the death or legal bankruptcy of an individual. Such auctions sold furniture, clothes, paintings, art, weapons, engravings and, naturally, books.[37] Significantly, these public auctions put second-hand books into circulation, allowing poorer readers, stu-

32 Notary Pedro de Trujillo, 'Inventario', November 1573, vol. 169, 2, 34*r*–36*v*. See Ivonne Mijares ed., *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México, Fondo Siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 2014). Available online: http://cpagncmxvi.historicas.unam.mx/catalogo.jsp [accessed 18.06.2024].

33 Euclid, Flavius Josephus, Livy, Ovid, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Quintus Curtius, and Seneca.

34 This was probably the edition published in Venice by Giovanni Griffi in 1567.

35 Published in Venice by Gabriele Giolito di Ferrari in 1549; published in Venice also by Gabriele Giolito di Ferrari, first in 1555 and then in 1558.

36 It has not been possible, so far, to establish who this Pedro de Saucedo was because research into his identity has only produced fragmentary information.

37 Miguel Falomir, ''Artists' responses to the emergence of markets for paintings in Spain, *c.*1600', in Neil de Marchi and Hand J. van Miegroet eds, *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout, 2006), 135–63, at 143.

dents, young professionals and those from the lower-classes to gain access to different kinds of goods. Occasionally, booksellers also went to these auctions, especially if the goods of other booksellers were being auctioned.[38] This was a way of passing on for a profit the libraries of deceased owners.[39]

Inventories of institutional and religious libraries

From the second half of the sixteenth century, scholarly culture in the Viceroyalty of New Spain flourished with the foundation of the first university in North America, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (established in 1551). Diocesan seminaries also emerged around this time, as did the large monasteries and colleges belonging to the regular orders: the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, the Discalced Carmelites, the Mercedarians, as well as nunneries.

These institutions gathered communities of readers, encompassing professors and students, bishops, canons, priests, seminarians, monks, and nuns. All these religious institutions favoured the formation of large libraries. One of the largest repositories in New Spain was at the *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo* (Jesuit College of Saint Peter and Saint Paul) in Mexico City. An inventory of its library was made some years after the general expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. This document captures this Jesuit bibliographic collection before it was looted and dispersed. Among the architectural volumes available, the library contained at least three different editions of Serlio. Fortunately, the inventory was made by professional booksellers, who understood the nuances of bindings, bibliographic references, and book prices. The three copies are mentioned as follows:

> Serlio, Sebastiano, One book in folio, *De Arquitectura* [sic] with the explanation in Italian, [valued at] 6 pesos.
>
> Serlio, Sebastiano, *De Architectura,* Venetiis [Francesco de Franceschi, Johann Criegher], 1569, fol. [also valued] at 6 pesos.
>
> Serlio, Sebastiano, *De Architetura,* in folio, bound in hardcover, written in Italian, without place or year of publication, at 6 pesos.[40]

38 Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Atlantes de papel, adoctrinamiento, creación y tipografía en la Monarquía Hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona, 2008), 91.

39 Enrique González González and Víctor Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 'Libros en venta en el México de Sor Juana y de Sigüenza, 1655–1660', in Carmen Castañeda and Myrna Cortés eds, *Del autor al lector. I Historia del libro en México, II. Historia del libro* (Mexico City, 2002), 106.

40 Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), *Jesuitas,* III, 30, fol. 581*v*.

As this inventory shows, all three copies were Italian editions, the second of which was published in Venice in 1569. Thus, Spanish translations were not the only versions crossing the Atlantic and nurturing colonial libraries. Indeed, by the time this inventory was prepared, these editions were already considered classic works, and were probably very much appreciated by Jesuit librarians and scholars. Unfortunately, none of these listed copies seems to have survived: hence the importance of archival records which itemize the materials of long-lost colonial libraries.

These were not the only printed copies of Serlio owned by the Jesuits in Mexico City. A handwritten note in a surviving copy now belonging to the National Library indicates that the Jesuit priests living at their conventual complex, the *Casa profesa*, owned the Venetian edition of Serlio, *Il primo libro d'architettvra*, Venice, per Cornelio & Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio, ad instantia di Melchiorre Sessa, 1551.

When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 from all the Spanish kingdoms, much of their bibliographic patrimony was lost or looted. Nevertheless, what remained of their libraries was incorporated into other diocesan collections, or even into the library of the University.[41] Notwithstanding all these transfers and historical upheavals, some books from Jesuit libraries in Mexico City ended up at the Royal Pontifical University of Mexico and are preserved today in the National Library's special collections.

Ownership marks in surviving books

Marks of provenance and ownership can reveal much, such as the names of the previous owner or owners, journeys made, and the price of the copy, thus documenting the unique history of a given book as it passed from hand to hand over time. For instance, in the seventeenth century, classic works of architecture printed in Italy during the Cinquecento continued to be coveted objects for collectors and bibliophiles. Nowadays, the Palafoxiana Library in Puebla houses a copy of the 1573 Toledo edition of Serlio (Fig. 4.6). This copy has belonged to different owners, who left on it their respective marks. Written on the dedication page to King Philip II is: 'This book was purchased by Ju[an] Gil from Francisco de Montú-

41 On the incorporation of Jesuit collections to the library of the Royal University of Mexico see Manuel Suárez Rivera, *La alhaja más preciosa. Historia de la biblioteca de la Real Universidad de México (1761–1815)* (Mexico City, 2022).

far for 25 pesos, in 1619' (Fig. 4.8).[42] This *ex libris* is crossed out at least twice, possibly by different owners. Heavily cancelling the *ex libris* of former owners was a common early modern practice.[43]

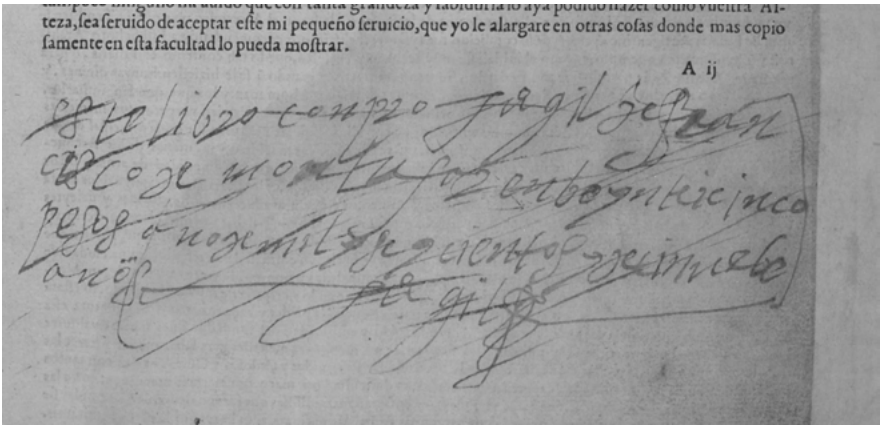


Fig. 4.8: *Ex libris* written by a certain Juan Gil on the dedicatory of the Serlian Spanish edition of 1573, copy of the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, Puebla, México (photo: Biblioteca Palafoxiana).

Francisco de Montúfar, from whom the copy was purchased in 1619, could be the Spanish painter and assembler Francisco de Montúfar Bravo de Laguna, who arrived in Guatemala around 1608 and was active in the city of Santiago de Guatemala at least until 1637. Therefore, this copy might have first arrived in Guatemala from Spain, probably as part of Montúfar's personal library.

Further examination of this copy reveals another *ex libris* at the end of the third book, that of a certain Joseph de Fuentes y de la Cerda, who was also born in Santiago de Guatemala in 1598 and died there around 1653.[44] It appears that this copy was circulating among readers within the city of Santiago de Guatemala, at least during the first half of the seventeenth century. To make things even more interesting, at a later moment the book also belonged to the Jesuit College of the Espíritu Santo in the city of Puebla. However, it is not clear when and how

42 The original Spanish annotation is: 'Este libro conpro Ju° Gil de Francisco de Montufar en beynte i cinco pesos año de mil seycientos y decinuebe años, Ju° Gil'.

43 A practice worthy of further investigation.

44 https://www.geni.com/people/Joseph-Fuentes-de-la-Cerda-Paz/6000000049589290849 [accessed 18.06.2024].

this copy ended up in a Jesuit library located hundreds of kilometres away from Guatemala.[45]

In brief, this copy had been owned by at least three different individuals living in Guatemala during the first half of the seventeenth century: Montúfar (a documented artist), Gil, and Fuentes de la Cerda; as well as one institutional library in Puebla (of the Society of Jesus). As already has been mentioned, some of the Jesuit collections were incorporated into other libraries after the orders' general expulsion in 1767. This is the reason why this copy is currently part of the Palafoxiana Library special collections, which was originally a diocesan library of the wealthy city of Puebla, the second largest urban centre in New Spain.

Usually, these *ex libris* reveal the names of unknown, long-forgotten readers. But from time to time, they also record the names of illustrious individuals, who indicated the ownership of their books through inscriptions and annotations. Consider, for instance the renowned scholar, scientist, historian, and writer from Mexico City, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), one of the most influential savants of seventeenth-century New Spain.[46]

According to his annotations, in 1673, a still young Sigüenza y Góngora bought for two pesos, from a bookseller in Mexico City called Juan Lorenzo Bezón a volume which contained different works bound together, such as, the third edition of Vitruvius's *De architectura liber primus*; Frontinus's *De aquaeductibus* (a work on the aqueducts of Rome); and the astrological work by Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis (De nativitatibus libri VIII)*.[47] The three works had been published in Venice in 1497 by Simon Bevilaqua (Figs 4.9–4.10).[48]

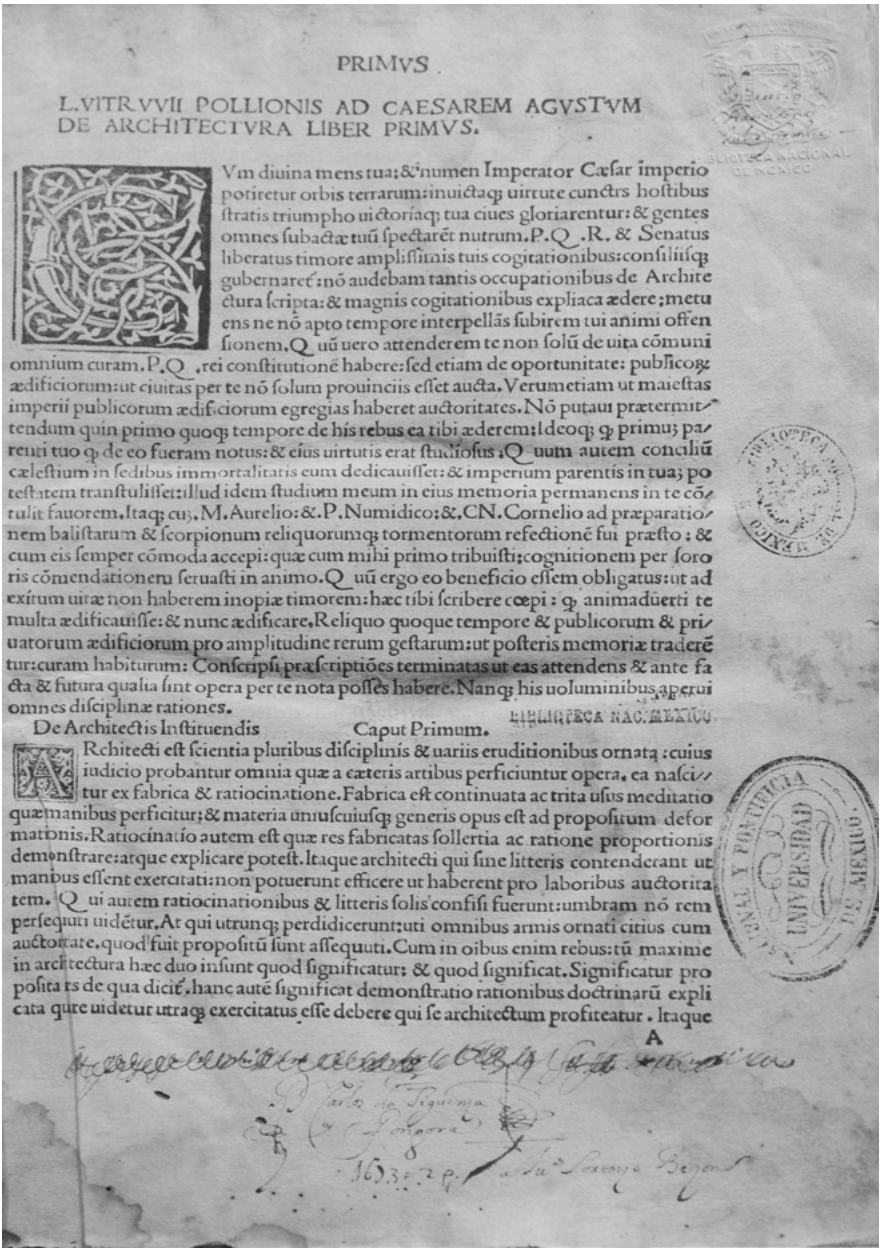
It is not known exactly when these three Venetian incunabula arrived in Mexico. It is, nonetheless, striking, that they remained in circulation, and were acquired by a scholar in Mexico City 176 years after they came off the press. When Sigüenza died in 1700, part of his library went to the Society of Jesus, and so ended up at the

45 The distance between Antigua Guatemala and Puebla is around 1300 km.

46 On Sigüenza y Góngora's thoughts and narrative, Kathleen Ross, *The Baroque Narrative of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A New World paradise* (Cambridge-New York, 1993); Anna Herron More, *Baroque sovereignty: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the creole archive of colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia PA, 2013).

47 The original annotation is: 'D[on] Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, 1673=2p[esos] a Ju[a]n Lorenzo Bezon'.

48 This is a rare copy because normally this volume contains the following works bound together: Cleonides, *Harmonicum introductorium* (translated by Giorgio Valla). Vitruvius, *De architectura*; Angelus Politianus, *Panepistemon*; *Lamia (Praelectio in Priora Aristotelis Analytica)*; Frontinus, *De aquaeductibus,* Venice, Simon Bevilacqua, 1497. However, in the copy of the National Library of Mexico the works of Cleonides and Poliziano are missing and instead there is a work of Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De Nativitatibus*, Venice, Simon Bevilacqua, 1497.



PRIMVS.

L. VITRVVII POLLIONIS AD CAESAREM AGVSTVM DE ARCHITECTVRA LIBER PRIMVS.

Vm diuina mens tua: & numen Imperator Cæsar imperio potiretur orbis terrarum: inuictaq; uirtute cunctis hostibus stratis triumpho uictoriaq; tua ciues gloriarentur: & gentes omnes subactæ tuũ spectarẽt nutrum. P. Q. R. & Senatus liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogitationibus: consiliisq; gubernaret: nõ audebam tantis occupationibus de Architectura scripta: & magnis cogitationibus expliaca ædere; metuens ne nõ apto tempore interpellãs subirem tui animi offensionem. Q uũ uero attenderem te non solũ de uita cõmuni omnium curam. P. Q. rei constitutionẽ habere: sed etiam de oportunitate: publicoq; ædificiorum: ut ciuitas per te nõ solum prouinciis esset aucta. Verumetiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum ædificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates. Nõ putaui prætermittendum quin primo quoq; tempore de his rebus ea tibi ædirem: Ideoq; q primũ; pareuti tuo q de eo fueram notus: & eius uirtutis erat studiosus: Q uum autem concilio cælestium in sedibus immortalitatis eum dedicauisset: & imperium parentis in tua; potestatem transtulisset: illud idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens in te cõtulit fauorem. Itaq; cuj. M. Aurelio: &. P. Numidico: &. CN. Cornelio ad præparationem balistarum & scorpionum reliquorumq; tormentorum refectionẽ sui præsto: & cum eis semper cõmoda accepi: quæ cum mihi primo tribuisti: cognitionem per sororis cõmendationem seruasti in animo. Q uũ ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus: ut ad exitum uitæ non haberem inopiæ timorem: hæc tibi scribere cœpi: q animadũerti te multa ædificauisse: & nunc ædificare, Reliquo quoque tempore & publicorum & priuatorum ædificiorum pro amplitudine rerum gestarum: ut posteris memoriæ traderẽtur: curam habiturum: Conscripsi, præscriptiões terminatas ut eas attendens & ante facta & futura qualia sint opera per te nota posses habere. Nanq; his uoluminibus, aperui omnes disciplinæ rationes.

De Architectis Instituendis Caput Primum.

Architecti est scientia pluribus disciplinis & uariis eruditionibus ornata: cuius iudicio probantur omnia quæ a cæteris artibus perficiuntur opera. ea nascitur ex fabrica & ratiocinatione. Fabrica est continuata ac trita usus meditatio quæ manibus perficitur; & materia unusquisq; generis opus est ad propositum deformationis. Ratiocinatio autem est quæ res fabricatas sollertia ac ratione proportionis demonstrare: atque explicare potest. Itaque architecti qui sine litteris contenderant ut manibus essent exercitati: non potuerunt efficere ut haberent pro laboribus auctoritatem. Q ui autem ratiocinationibus & litteris solis confisi fuerunt: umbram nõ rem persequuti uidẽtur. At qui utrunq; perdidicerunt: uti omnibus armis ornati citius cum auctoritate, quod fuit propositũ sunt assequuti. Cum in oibus enim rebus: tũ maxime in architectura hæc duo insunt quod significatur: & quod significat. Significatur proposita res de qua dicit, hanc autẽ significat demonstratio rationibus doctrinarũ explicata qure uidetur utraq; exercitatus esse debere qui se architectum profiteatur. Itaque

A

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MEXICO
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MEXICO
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MEXICO

Fig. 4.9: Title page of the third edition of Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, Venice, Simon Bevilacqua, 3 August 1497, copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de México, UNAM (photo: Biblioteca Nacional de México).

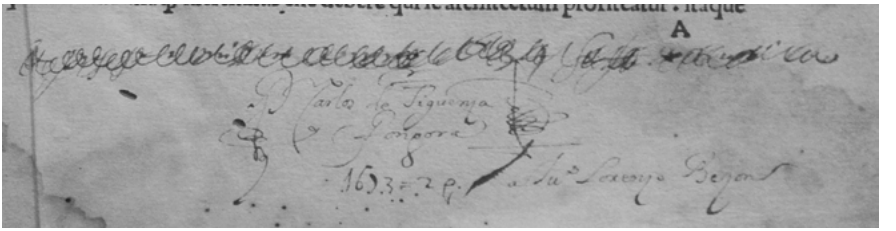


Fig. 4.10: Detail showing the ex libris of Sigüenza y Góngora at the bottom of the page, copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de México, UNAM (photo: Biblioteca Nacional de México).

Jesuit library of the aforementioned College of San Pedro y San Pablo. As happened to other Jesuit collections, these three works eventually joined the National Library of Mexico special collections. These copies provide a good example of how these editions became, as elsewhere, sought-after objects for collectors and bibliophiles in different places and different times, including colonial Mexico.

Annotations made by architectural professionals and erudite humanists

One outstanding example of marginalia was discovered less than twenty years ago by a scholar who found an annotated copy of the Toledan re-edition of Serlio from 1563 at the Hispanic Society of America in New York. It contains a revealing annotation on folio 25 of the third book, which says:

> This book belongs to Miguel Jerónimo García, mason of Valladolid [present day Morelia, Michoacán] and then an architecture practitioner [. . .] he learned this science in the very illustrious City of Mexico with the illustrious master Rodrigo de Aguilera.[49]

Although it is not known who this mysterious Miguel Jerónimo García was, his master, Rodrigo Díaz de Aguilera, was actively working as *aparejador mayor* (principal foreman) during the construction of Mexico City's cathedral between 1656 and 1678. This Miguel Jerónimo García was therefore active during the second half of the seventeenth century. The book also has other annotations and drawings made by the

49 *'este libro es de miguel jerónimo garcía oficial de albañilería de Valladolid [Michoacán] y después platico [sic] en arquitectura [. . .] que aprendio esta sienҫia en la muy ylustre ciudad de Mexico con los muy ylustres y dotrinos maestros Rodrigo de Aguilera*', Cuesta Hernández, 'Sebastiano Serlio', 76.

owner, which show how this apparently modest professional was using his copy of Serlio as a practical source of images and measurements as late as the second half of the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, the Lafragua Library, located in the Mexican city of Puebla, holds a copy of the Spanish edition of Vitruvius's *De Architectvra* published in Alcalá in 1582 (Fig. 4.7) This exemplar is also annotated across the pages by at least four owners or readers: one of whom wrote on the title page: 'It was given to me in 1672' (Fig. 4.11).[50]

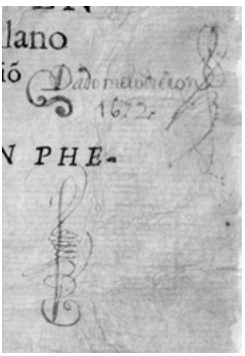
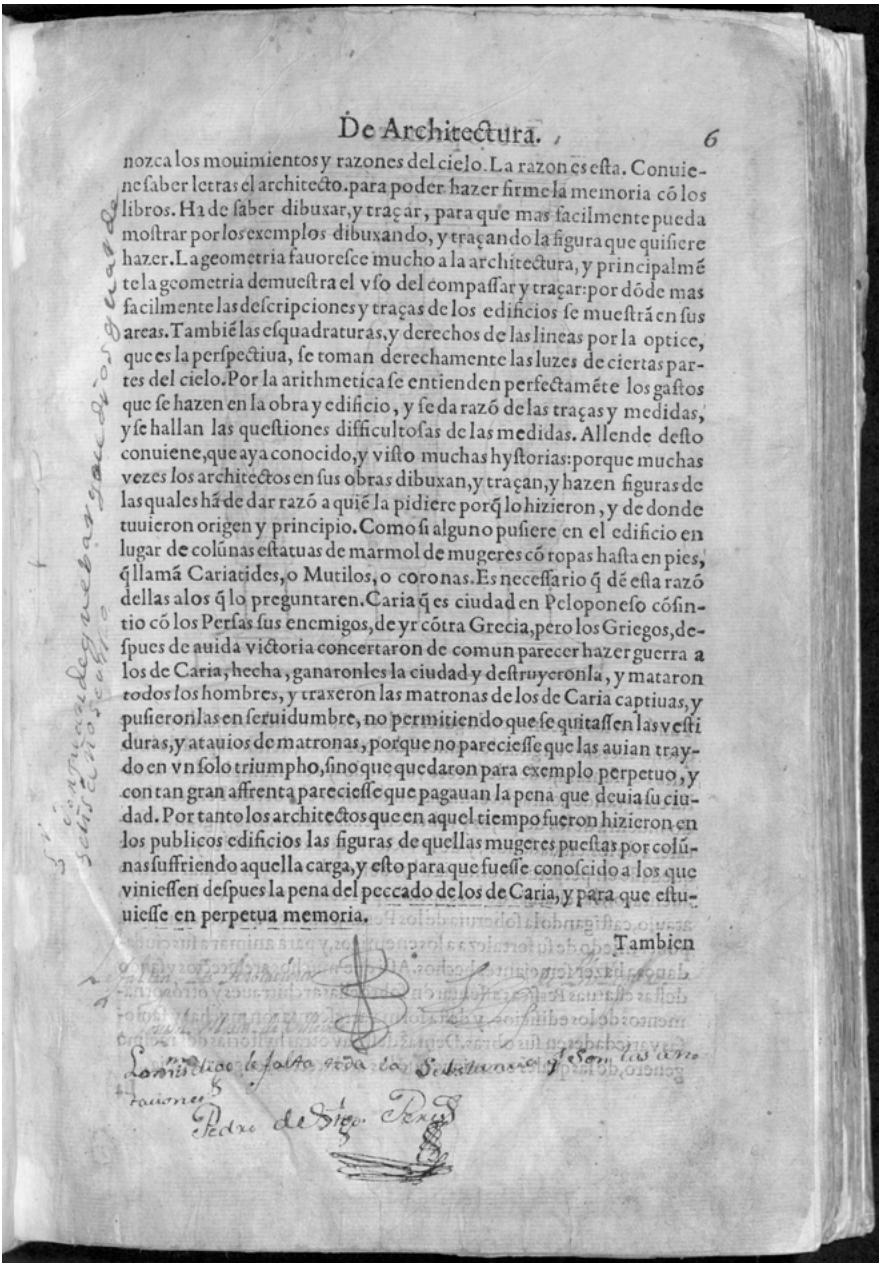


Fig. 4.11: Detail of the title page of Vitruvius', *De architectura*, Alcalá, Juan Gracián, 1582, copy of the Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua).

Often such annotations provide additional, erudite comments on the text. For example, on page six, a certain Joseph Marín de Villegas wrote: '*Le faltan las anotaciones de Philandro*' ('Philandrier's annotations are missing'). This is both an extremely observant and quite a spiky remark because, indeed, the Vitruvian Spanish translation of 1582 was not the best in philological terms. On the contrary, despite being based on the mid-sixteenth-century Latin translation by the French humanist and philologist, Guillaume Philandrier (1505–63) entitled, *De architectura libri decem* and published in Lyon, apud Jean de Tournes, in 1552, it was rather modest and did not include his commentaries.[51] Like the previous annotation, there is another one by a certain Pedro de Santiago Pérez added below, where he wrote: '*Lo mismo digo le falta toda la sustancia que son las anotaciones*' ('I say the same, it lacks all the substance given by the annotations'). These two annotations belonged to different owner-readers of this exemplar, and both were rather critical of this version (Fig. 4.12).

50 The original annotation is: 'Dado me lo dieron 1672'. This was written by a student whose name was Cristóbal de Guadalajara.

51 Bustamante García, 'Los grabados', 278.



De Architectura. 6

nozca los mouimientos y razones del cielo. La razon es esta. Conuiene saber letras el architecto. para poder hazer firme la memoria cō los libros. Ha de saber dibuxar, y traçar, para que mas facilmente pueda mostrar por los exemplos dibuxando, y traçando la figura que quisiere hazer. La geometria fauoresce mucho a la architectura, y principalmē te la geometria demuestra el vso del compassar y traçar: por dōde mas facilmente las descripciones y traças de los edificios se muestrā en sus areas. Tambiē las esquadraturas, y derechos de las lineas por la optice, que es la perspectiua, se toman derechamente las luzes de ciertas partes del cielo. Por la arithmetica se entienden perfectamēte los gastos que se hazen en la obra y edificio, y se da razō de las traças y medidas, y se hallan las questiones difficultosas de las medidas. Allende desto conuiene, que aya conocido, y visto muchas hystorias: porque muchas vezes los architectos en sus obras dibuxan, y traçan, y hazen figuras de las quales hā de dar razō a quiē la pidiere porq̄ lo hizieron, y de donde tuuieron origen y principio. Como si alguno pusiere en el edificio en lugar de colūnas estatuas de marmol de mugeres cō ropas hasta en pies, q̄ llamā Cariatides, o Mutilos, o coronas. Es necessario q̄ dē esta razō dellas a los q̄ lo preguntaren. Caria q̄ es ciudad en Peloponeso cōsintio cō los Persas sus enemigos, de yr cōtra Grecia, pero los Griegos, despues de auida victoria concertaron de comun parecer hazer guerra a los de Caria, hecha, ganaronles la ciudad y destruyeronla, y mataron todos los hombres, y traxeron las matronas de los de Caria captiuas, y pusieronlas en seruidumbre, no permitiendo que se quitassen las vestiduras, y atauios de matronas, porque no pareciesse que las auian traydo en vn solo triumpho, sino que quedaron para exemplo perpetuo, y con tan gran affrenta pareciesse que pagauan la pena que deuia su ciudad. Por tanto los architectos que en aquel tiempo fueron hizieron en los publicos edificios las figuras de quellas mugeres puestas por colūnas suffriendo aquella carga, y esto para que fuesse conoscido a los que viniessen despues la pena del peccado de los de Caria, y para que estuuiesse en perpetua memoria.

Tambien

Fig. 4.12: Annotations on page six of Vitruvius', *De architectura*, Alcalá, Juan Gracián, 1582, copy of the Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua).

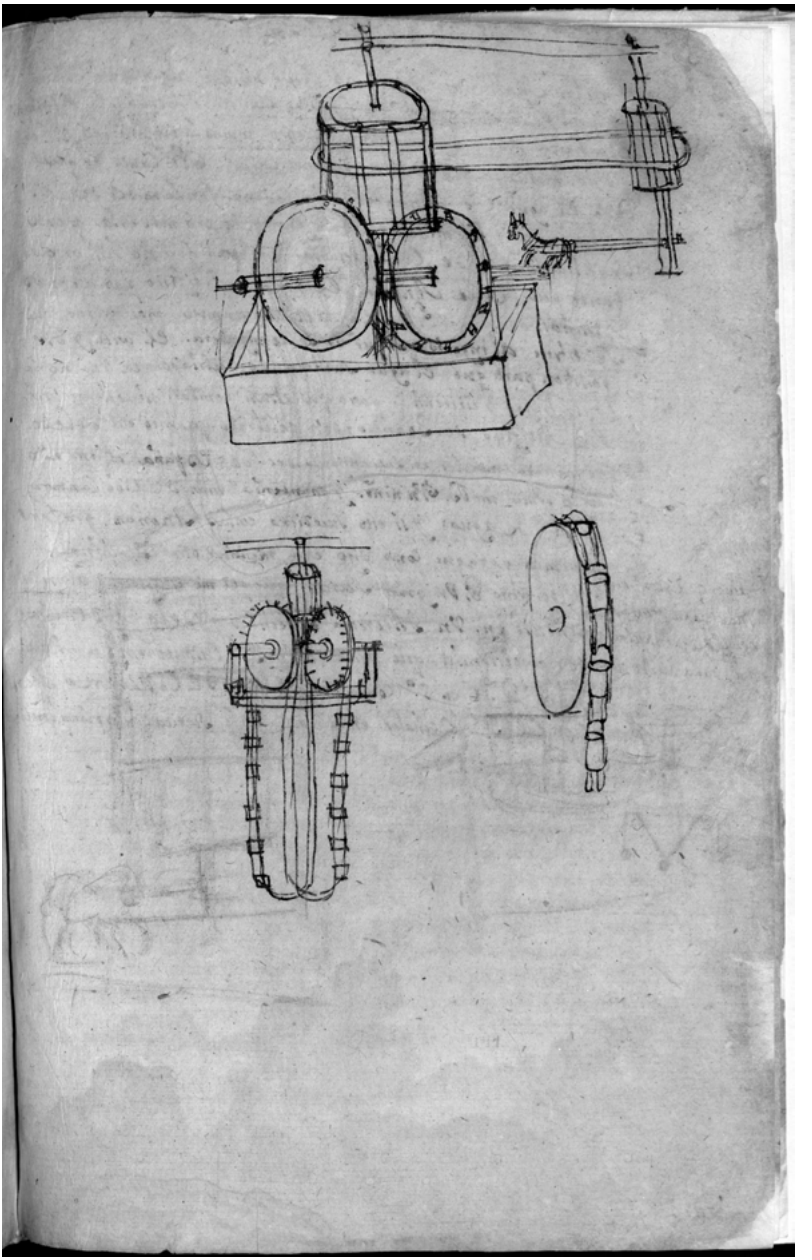


Fig. 4.13: Drawings at the end of Vitruvius's, *De architectura*, Alcalá, Juan Gracián, 1582, copy of the Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Puebla, Mexico (photo: Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua).

Some other minor annotations can be found throughout the following sections. However, at the very end of this copy, immediately after the glossary entitled 'Vocabulary of obscure and difficult Vitruvian terms', there are some drawings of machines, accompanied by a handwritten text on hydro-powered or water-raising machines, known in Spanish as *norias* (Fig. 4.13). These notes and images reveal a practical approach to the text left by one of its owner-readers.

Conclusion

The international circulation of Italian printed material outside the boundaries of Europe reveals a number of things. First, is the vitality of the international book trade during the sixteenth century, and the wide scope of distribution of printed materials, which were 'travelling' around the globe in the wake of the military and political expansion by the rulers of Iberian Kingdoms. Commercial archival records furnish an idea of the wide array of printed material circulating in the Spanish Atlantic during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In fact, these shipments encompassed a wide range of imprints, from popular and ephemeral vernacular editions to elegant scholarly books published in folio, both in Latin or other languages, from the most important typographic centres of Spain and Europe such as Venice, Paris, Antwerp, Basel or Lyon. This was undoubtedly an expanding period for humanistic texts in the Hispanic world, in direct response to the fast-growing communities of readers established throughout the flourishing cities of the New World: Mexico, Puebla, Guatemala, Havana, Bogotá, Quito, Cusco, Potosí, and Lima.

A second point is how archival evidence and surviving copies reveal that Italian books on architecture, which enjoyed extraordinary name recognition, were also read or owned by readers with different profiles: scholars, both clerical and lay, bibliophiles, masons and, naturally, well-trained architects or individuals linked to architecture as a way of living. Indeed, the materiality of the books, including their format, their fine woodcut illustrations, and their bindings also played a key role in the way potential readers or book collectors perceived these scholarly editions as desirable for their own private libraries. These enduring material aspects, which made the books particularly attractive, are one of the reasons so many copies are preserved nowadays around the world, which prompts the conclusion regarding the Western world at least:

> The book became also an object to be collected as a potentially valuable possession, as a token of social or intellectual prestige, as an item of exchange, and not just the physical manifestation of a message to be consumed by an intellect.[52]

The importance of marks of ownership such as *ex libris* help modern scholars to reconstruct the life, circuits, transferences and reading practices of surviving printed copies, permitting an increased understanding of these books, and their materiality as cultural artifacts, communicating to us in a plethora of ways beyond their texts.

52 McLean, 'The market', 24.

Andrew Hopkins

Chapter Five
Conjuring up the Wonders: from text to image

Like the ancients, writers of the Renaissance excelled at the description of places and works of art, made in an elaborate virtuoso style, in order to compete in expressive strength with the thing itself described. On the other hand, painters of religious art in the Renaissance have spent their time engaging in an inverse procedure. This might be described as an Early Modern parallel to ancient ekphrasis (ἔκφρασις) in reverse, transforming descriptions found in the Bible and the *Golden Legend* into representations in the windows and on the walls of churches, in what became one of the great achievements of the visual arts and the Church Triumphant. So too, in the Renaissance and Early Modern periods, architects engaged in the same pursuit when they drew up representations of monuments long lost, often, but not exclusively, on paper and in two dimensions.

Sometimes their research into, and understanding of, long-lost buildings subsequently influenced those architects' own designs and built projects. In Italy in the sixteenth century, with the burgeoning interest in antiquarianism, and curiosity about ancient edifices, a significant number of those lost monuments from the ancient past were re-imagined by artists and architects, in painting, in the new and highly important industry of print making, as well as in projects by erudite architects and their patrons.[1]

1 Peter Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the emergence of Renaissance architecture* (New York, 2016), avoided the term ekphrasis because it is culturally inflected, but a number of historians and art-historians have used the term recently. See Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis*: *the illusion of the natural sign* (Baltimore-London, 1992), esp. the foreword, xiii–xvii, for reverse ekphrasis, and 1–28, 'Picture and word, space and time: the exhilaration—and exasperation—of *Ekphrasis* as a subject', for a good account of the concept. Jaś Elsner, 'Art History as Ekphrasis', in *Art history* 33/1 (2010), 11–27. In addition: Robert Romagnino, *Théorie(s) de l'*ecphrasis *entre Antiquité et première modernité* (Paris, 2019); J. Cale Johnson and Alessandro Stavru, 'Introduction', in J. Cale Johnson and Alessandro Stavru eds, *Visualizing the invisible with the human body: physiognomy and ekphrasis in the ancient world* (Berlin-Boston, 2019), 1–10; Arthur DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Leiden-Boston, 2019), 282. Yona Dureau ed., *Images sources de textes, textes sources d'images* (Les Ulis, 2020); Hubertus Günther, 'Das Erlebnis der Architektur in der "Hypnerotomachia

Note: My thanks to Peter Fane-Saunders. All errors are mine alone. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

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In the Early Modern period, architects—especially those of a theoretical bent, and those who wrote treatises—were often engaged in attempts to represent buildings of the ancient past that were no longer extant, but which were known through ancient texts. This textual to visual process, creating two-dimensional drawings and three–dimensional objects, might be considered ingenious or vain, but it was both a miracle and a mirage, and always, as Jaś Elsner described it, a process that is inevitably a betrayal: something lost in translation.[2] Neither a drawing or reconstruction can bring back the original, except as imitation or pastiche, because this process involves the illusionary representation of the unrepresentable.[3] These architects' various attempts at this process, which is much more than the simple and oversimplified concept of 'reconstruction', offer a fascinating insight into both their thought processes and their mindsets.

One of the finest instances is that of Pirro Ligorio (*c*.1512–83) and his collation and interpretation of some of the most celebrated vessels of antiquity, wherein he mistranslated and misunderstood some information. This went on to have implications for the built forms of the '*Thalamegos trireme*', or '*Megala*' ship and the ongoing design and construction of the Cortile del Belvedere in the sixteenth century (see Marco di Salvo, chapter 8).

'Reconstruction' is a restrictive term for what was actually taking place in treatise illustrations, architectural drawings and building design and construction in this period. Where does the measured drawing leave off, and flight of fancy begin? Peter Fane-Saunders' impressive volume on Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24–79) uses the term reconstruction, but also introduced whimsy, flights of fancy, and the mind's eye, into an operation by architects of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of describing, both in word and image, extant ancient monuments 'for posterity' by 'logging the ancient remains that lie before them' before they disappear forever (see Peter Fane-Saunders, chapter 1).[4]

Poliphili'", in Barbara von Orelli-Messerli ed., *Ein Dialog der Künste: Neuinterpretation von Architektur und die Beschreibung in der Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Petersberg, 2020); Paulina Spiechowicz, '"Concordantia oppositorum": il paradosso dell'ecfrasi architettonica nell'Orlando furioso di Ludovico Ariosto', in *Studi rinascimentali* 18 (2020), 79–94. See however, Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, imagination and persuasion in ancient rhetorical theory and practice* (London, 2009), esp. the introduction, 1–7, where she defined the term as 'A speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes', and noted that all other definitions are modern; see also 6 n.12 for the first modern use of the word in Italian, *ecfrasi*, by Gregorio Comanini (1550–1608), *Il Figino, overo il fine della pittura* (Mantua, 1591).

2 Krieger, *Ekphrasis*, xiii, xvi. Elsner, 'Art History', 11–27.

3 'Pastiche', in Krieger, *Ekphrasis*, xv.

4 Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder*, chapter 12, 229–80, at 242.

Yet this was not all that was going on. Indeed, from Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–*c*.1453) to Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), from Andrea Palladio (1508–80) to Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), architects and painters were conjuring up in two dimensions, on paper, canvas and other materials, images of the lost three-dimensional architectural wonders of the ancient world. Two architects of significance in this respect were Giuliano da Sangallo (*c*.1445–1516) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546), both the focus of recent studies in this regard.[5] This approach continued in the seventeenth century with artists and architects alike, with such examples as the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, by Pietro da Cortona (1597–1669) and Domenico Castelli (*c*.1582–1657), and so many more.[6]

For the Early Modern period, the seven ancient Wonders are a most pertinent place to start.[7] Van Heemskerck, who enjoyed a five-year sojourn in the Eternal city from 1532, depicted some of the Seven Wonders in his splendid canvas of 1535–6 now held at the Walters Art Museum, *Panorama with the Abduction of Helen* (Fig. 5.1).[8] The Colossus of Rhodes, the Lighthouse or Pharos of Alexandria,

5 Cammy Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo and the Ruins of Rome* (Princeton, 2022) examined how his studies and inventive representations of Roman ruins formed an integral part of his work as an architectural designer or, to use another term, were operative criticism, also examined by Francesco Benelli, 'Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's reactions to the Pantheon: an early modern case of operative criticism', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78/3 (2019), 276–91, based on Manfredo Tafuri's concept. Fundamental is Ingrid D. Rowland, *Ten Books of Architecture: the Corsini Incunabulum with the annotations and autograph drawings of Giovanni Battista da Sangallo* (Rome, 2003).

6 Jörg Martin Merz, *Das Heiligtum der Fortuna in Palestrina und die Architektur der Neuzeit* (Munich, 2001); Jörg Martin Merz, *Il santuario della fortuna in Palestrina: vedute e interpretazioni attraverso i secoli* (Palestrina, 2016); Victor Plahte Tschudi, *Baroque antiquity: archaeological imagination in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2017), 1, 14.

7 Peter Clayton and Martin Price eds, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (London-New York, 1988); John Romer and Elizabeth Romer, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World: a history of the modern imagination* (London, 1995); Inmaculada Rodríguez-Moya and Victor Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders in the Early Modern World* (London-New York, 2017); Michael Higgins, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World: science, engineering and technology* (New York, 2023).

8 https://art.thewalters.org/detail/21286/panorama-with-the-abduction-of-helen-amidst-the-wonders-of-the-ancient-world [accessed 14.02.2024]. The subtitle is probably mistaken because, as has been pointed out by Adam Sammut, 'Maarten van Heemskerck's Eight Wonders of the Ancient World: Contesting the Image in an Age of Iconoclasm', in *Dutch Crossing* 38/3 (2018), 1–23, at 20 n.17, only a few of the Wonders were actually depicted. By contrast, Martin Stritt, *Die schöne Helena in de Romruinen. Uberlegungen zu einem Gemälde Maarten van Heemskercks*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt A.M., 2004), I, 44, interpreted it as metonymy, as explained also by DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck*, 172 and 469 n.16, 283, his inclusion of 'some as opposed to all of the ancient wonders [. . .] was thus a natural choice'. See also Caecilie Weissert, 'Nova Roma: Aspekte der Antikenre-

and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus appear together with the Hanging Gardens within a landscape full of ruins, as well as a rainbow in the right-hand background. He understood perfectly well that these monuments had never been located all together in one place, but it was part of his flexible, flight of fancy approach to the ancient past, the rainbow reiterating that ephemeral moment of wonder. But van Heemskerck's knowledge of what exactly were the Seven Wonders of the World, and what they might have looked like, appears to fall short at this time: his depiction does not include a pyramid, let alone two or three, or a temple dedicated to Zeus with an oversize statue within it.

Fig. 5.1: Maarten van Heemskerck, *Panorama with the Abduction of Helen Amidst the Wonders of the Ancient World*, oil on canvas, 147.3 x 383.5 cm, 1535–6, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 37.656 (photo: https://art.thewalters.org/detail/21286/panorama-with-the-abduction-of-helen-amidst-the-wonders-of-the-ancient-world [accessed 18.06.2024]).

In a brilliant manoeuvre, in 1553, after his return home, van Heemskerck painted a self-portrait with the Colosseum in Rome in the background, having clearly done his research and discovered that Martial (38/41–102/4), in his *Epigrams*, had deemed the Colosseum to be an additional, eighth, Wonder:

zeption in den Niederlanden im 16. Jahrhundert', in *Artibus et historiae* 29/58 (2008), 173–200. Ron Spronk, 'Maarten van Heemskerck's Use of Literary Sources from Antiquity for His Wonders of the World Series of 1572, in Jane Fenoulhet and Lesley Gilbert eds, *Presenting the Past: History, Art, Language, Literature* (London, 1996), 227–41. Ilja Veldman, '"Eloquent Inventions": Maarten van Heemskerck inspired by Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert', in Ilja Veldman ed., *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450–1650)* (Leiden, 2006), 45–89. Karl Enenkel et al eds, *Recreating ancient history: episodes from the Greek and Roman past in the arts and literature of the early modern period* (Leiden, 2001), esp. Anton Boschloo, 'The representation of history in artistic theory in the early modern period', 1–25.

> Let barbarous Memphis speak no more of the wonder of her pyramids, nor Assyrian toil boast of Babylon; nor let the soft Ionians be extolled for Trivia's temple; let the altar of many horns say naught of Delos; nor let the Carians exalt to the skies with extravagant praises the Mausoleum poised in empty air. All labor yields to Caesar's Amphitheater. Fame shall tell of one work in lieu of all.[9]

The advantage for a visual artist such as van Heemskerck seems clear: the Colosseum actually could be seen and inspected in all its material magnificence by interested visitors (Fig. 5.2).[10] The significance of this additional Wonder, also later made into a print in 1572 without his portrait, was to imply the accuracy of all of his representations—because it could be verified on the spot by anybody interested to do so—and by association, the veracity and accuracy of the other Seven Wonders, for which no such verification had been possible for a very long time. Surely, van Heemskerck knew about the new Martial edition published by his colleague and collaborator Hadrianus Junius—the dutchman Adriaen de Jonghe (1511–75)—in the 1560s, given that, as Spronk and DiFuria have noted, not only did the Rederijkerskamers (Chambers of Rhetoric) study seriously the ancient sources, but van Heemskerck had close contacts with these humanists in Haarlem, including Junius who composed many captions for his prints, including the Wonders series.[11]

Eventually, van Heemskerck drew up eight individual illustrations of the Wonders which were then engraved by Philippe Galle (1537–1612) in 1572.[12] His images of these monuments were so visually compelling they became the roster, akin to the standardizing order of the orders achieved by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–*c.*1554) in 1537, with his treatise *Regole generali di architetura* (for which see César Manrique, chapter 4). Just two years earlier, in 1570, Palladio's utterly compelling *Quattro libri*

9 Martial, *Martial. Epigrams*, trans. David Roy Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge MA, 1993), *De Spectaculis Liber*, 1, 'Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis, Assyrius iactet nec Babylona labor; nec Triviae templo molles laudentur Iones, dissimulet Delon cornibus ara frequens: aëre nec uacuo pendentia Mausolea laudibus inmodicis Cares in astra ferant. Omnis Caesareo cedit labor Amphitheatro, unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus'.

10 https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explore-our-collection/highlights/103 [accessed 14.02.2024]. See the discussion in DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck*, 217–42, 281–6.

11 *M.Val. Martialis Epigrammaton libri XII* (Antwerp, 1568); there was an earlier unacknowledged edition printed in 1559. Spronk, 'Maarten van Heemskerck', 127; DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck*, 282.

12 See Marco Folin and Monica Presti, 'Da Anversa a Roma e ritorno: le 'Meraviglie del mondo' di Maarten van Heemskerck e di Antonio Tempesta', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 64/1 (2022), 30–67, with extensive bibliography. Also see, Maria Luisa Madonna, '"Septem mundi miracula" come templi della virtù: Pirro Ligorio e l'interpretazione cinquecentesca delle meraviglie del mondo, in *Psicon* 3/7 (1976), 24–63.

Fig. 5.2: Maarten van Heemskerck, *Self-portrait with the Colosseum*, oil on canvas, 42 x 54 cm, 1553, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (photo: https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/1521, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0).

di architettura appeared in print, with his reconstructions of the ancient Greek and Roman house, as well as the basilica. What was particularly innovative about van Heemskerck's depictions was the extent to which he aimed at placing each Wonder into an apparently historical context, as well as depicting workers in and around each monument, and highlighting the sheer importance of their architectural invention.[13] This, all the while generally eschewing any representation of the technical innovations that characterized several of the Wonders in the ancient sources.

His list was inspired by and indebted to a text which had only been published after his Walters Art Museum painting had been completed: the account provided by Pedro Mexía (1497–1551), in his *Silva de varia lección* (Seville, 1540) (*Miscellany of Several Lessons*), most probably read by van Heemskerck in the Italian transla-

13 Rodríguez-Moya and Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders*, 8.

tion (Venice, 1544) by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano (*c*.1500–73/80).[14] This source was recently identified by Marco Folin and Monica Preti in their study of the prints of van Heemskerck and Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). Using Mexía's text as his departure point, with its citation of ancient sources, van Heemskeerck could, if he felt the need, also have investigated these sources for himself, written in Latin, or in translations into Latin from the Greek, or from Latin into Italian, such was the plethora of publications in translation that became available in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. More importantly, the *Silva*'s repeated observation that the ancient sources contradicted themselves was surely a godsend for an artist such as van Heemskerck, because it allowed him to pick and choose the information from the past that would best suit his pictorial, representational strategies when composing his eight drawings. Unlike Scamozzi, who misleadingly used Early Modern compendia and digests without acknowledging them, as though he had read the original sources (for which see Milburn, chapter 6), van Heemskerck surely appreciated and found helpful the fact that Mexía's digest precisely flagged up to his readers such contradictions in the sources, which, in a way also suggested that a reader or artist might be free to choose his own preferred list of the Seven Wonders and the order of their depiction (3. 30. c.294*r*):

> Delle sette maraviglie del mondo le quali sono in diversi luochi nelle sei sono tutti gli auttori conformi, ma qual sia la settima sono varie l'opinioni, e similmente differenza nell'ordine di porre una innanzi l'altra, ma io intendo dir prima delle mura di Babilonia, che sono annoverate per una di queste maraviglie [. . .]
>
> Of the Seven Wonders of the World, which are in different places, of six all authors agree, but opinions differ as to which is the seventh, and similarly the order in which one is placed before the other, but I intend to speak first of the walls of Babylon, which are counted as one of these Wonders [. . .].

14 Pedro Mexía, *Silva de varia lección* (Seville, 1540), trad. It. *Della selva di varia lettione* (Venice, 1544; 2ed. 1547 (that consulted at the Biblioteca Correr, Venice); 3ed. 1555). See Folin and Presti, 'Da Anversa a Roma e ritorno', 32. See also, Anna Bognolo, 'Nel labirinto della *Selva*: la traduzione italiana della *Silva de varia lección* di Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano', in Valentina Nider ed., *Il prisma di Proteo: riscritture, ricodificazioni, traduzioni fra Italia e Spagna (sec. XVI–XVIII)* (Trent, 2012), 257–306; Anna Bognolo, 'Roseo, Mambrino', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 88 (2017), 465–8. For the significance of Mexía's text appearing in so many translations see, José María Pérez Fernández, 'Andrés Laguna: Translation and the Early Modern Idea of Europe', in *Translation and Literature* 21/3 (2012), 299–318, at 315, it 'appeared in translation into Italian, French, and English over at least seventy-five editions. In his preface Mexia declared that his purpose was to distribute among readers in the vernacular the sort of knowledge which so far had only been available to those who could read Latin'.

The Great Pyramid of Giza

The Great Pyramid of Giza is generally considered the first Wonder, because it is the oldest, and because it largely survives to the present.[15] Dating from Old Kingdom Egypt, around 2560 BC, it was built for the pharaoh Khufu (*c.*2589–66 BC), and Heemskerck deliberately placed workers in the foreground, and in the river, thus creating a scene of work in progress, despite the Pyramids appearing complete beyond (Fig. 5.3).

The pyramids were Mexía's third Wonder and, in this case, he flagged up how difficult their form was to describe (c. 296*v*–97*r*):

Fig. 5.3: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Great Pyramid of Giza*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1891-A-16450 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114915).

15 Peter Clayton, 'The Great Pyramid of Giza', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 13–37.

> Erano le Piramide certi edifici, che cominciavano in quadro, & cosi andavan fino alla cima assotigliandosi della forma, che é un diamante in punta, però erano di tanta grandezza, & altezza, & di talei & tante pietre, & in tanta perfettione, che é cosa difficile molto da scrivere [. . .]
>
> The Pyramids were certain buildings that began in a square and went all the way up to the top, becoming tapered in shape, which is a diamond at the tip, but they were of such size & height, & of such many stones, & in such perfection, that it is very difficult to write [. . .].

The list of writers Mexía cited included Pliny and his *Natural History* (*Naturalis historia*) which van Heemskerck could have read in Italian (It. trans., Cristoforo Landino, Venice, 1476); Diodorus Siculus (fl. 60–30 BC); Herodotus of Halicarnassus (*c.*484–25 BC); Ammianus Marcellinus (332/35–391/400) and his *Res gestae* (Am. li.xxii), but also a modern source: the *Legatio Babylonica Opera, scilicet legationis babylonicae libri tres, Oceani Decas, Carmina, hymni et epigrammata* (Seville, 1511) written by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526) based on his visit there in 1501. Yet, Mexía's text at this point conjures up no visual image of what these pyramids might have looked like or why they were such a marvel. Indeed, the sources he cited, such as Herodotus's *Persian Wars* spoke of their technical marvel, but not of their specific form (2. 125):

> After laying the stones for the base, they raised the remaining stones to their places by means of machines formed of short wooden planks. The first machine raised them from the ground to the top of the first step. On this there was another machine, which received the stone upon its arrival, and conveyed it to the second step, whence a third machine advanced it still higher.

The first Italian translation of Herodotos was by Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441–94), published in Rome in 1533, followed by later editions of 1539 and 1553, and was based on the Latin translation by Lorenzo Valla (1407–57).[16] It is uncertain whether van Heemskerck read this translation, but given that the date of its printing coincides with his burgeoning interest in the subject of the Wonders, signalled by the Walters Art Gallery painting of the same years, it is pertinent that he chose not to

16 *Herodoto Alicarnasseo Historico, delle guerre de greci, et de persi*, trans. It. Mattheo Maria Boiardo (Venice, 1533; 1539; 1553). Philo of Byzantium (*c.*280–*c.*220 BC) was apparently astonished by the techniques and materials used for the pyramids' construction, but it was not possible van Heemskerck could have known of this text: the first translation into Latin by Lukas Holste (1596–1661) remained unpublished until 2023: Federico Condello and Lucia Floridi eds, *Pseudo-Filone di Bisanzio, Le sette meraviglie del mondo. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, note esegetiche e testuali; con la traduzione latina di Lukas Holste* (Bologna, 2023). 'While it is impossible to build the pyramids in Memphis [today], it is marvellous to describe them [. . .] The sheer size of the squared masonry is difficult for the mind to grasp and everyone is mystified at the enormous strength that was required to prize up such a weight of material', from Romer and Romer, *The Seven Wonders*, trans. Hugh Johnstone, 231.

depict any construction machines at all; on the other hand, this also was a consistent choice for his eight illustrations.

Certainly, van Heemskerck could have examined the second text flagged up by Mexía, the description by Diodorus Siculus in his *Historical Library* (1. 63), because the first Latin translation had been published in Bologna in 1472, translated by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), *En damus Diodori Siculi Historici Graeci, quae nunc quidem extare noscuntur opera*:

> The eighth king, Chemmis of Memphis, ruled fifty years and constructed the largest of the three pyramids, which are numbered amongst the Seven Wonders of the world [. . .] by the immensity of their structures and the skill shown in their execution they fill the beholder with wonder and astonishment.

Yet again, this text offered no visual clues, but it did mention the plurality of the pyramids. Whereas Diodorus considered all three pyramids together as one of the Wonders, Strabo of Amaseia (*c*.64 BC–AD 21) in his *Geography* (17. 1. 33), regarded only two of the three pyramids as worthy of being counted among the Wonders:

> one comes to a kind of mountain-bow; on it are numerous pyramids, the tombs of the kings, of which three are noteworthy; and two of these are even numbered amongst the Seven Wonders of the World.

Van Heemskerck surely knew of Strabo's work, either by way of the first translation into Latin by Guarino Veronese (1374–1460), published at Rome in 1469 or, quite probably, given his aim to have published as engravings his illustrations of the Seven Wonders, the contemporary translation into Italian: Strabo, *La prima parte della Geografia di Strabone, di greco tradotta in volgare italiano da M. Alfonso Buonacciuoli* (Venice, 1562), and Strabo, *La seconda* parte (Ferrara, 1565), which appeared in the decade leading up to the production of Galle's engravings.[17] Given his apparent knowledge of this text, van Heemskerck depicted one large pyramid flanked by two obelisks, with a further two obelisks in the background to the left of what could be taken to be a second pyramid, topped by an obelisk. This mixing of two distinct typologies, pyramid and obelisk, had appeared in a woodcut image in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* attributed to Francesco Colonna (1433–1527), published by Aldus Manutius (1452–1515) in Venice in 1499 (Fig. 5.4).[18] But in this in-

17 For Alfonso Bonaccioli of Ferrara (1502–81) see, Elpidio Mioni, 'Bonaccioli, Alfonso', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 11 (1969), 454–5.

18 *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* (Venice, 1499). Also see, Oren Margolis, *Aldus Manutius–the invention of the publisher* (London, 2023), ch. 2 'After Daedalus', 57–89. For obelisks, Brian Curry, *Obelisk: a history* (Cambridge MA, 2009); Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder*, 132–6.

stance, van Heemskerck does appear to demonstrate his specific knowledge of Mexía's text which, in its concluding paragraphs, flagged up the possibility of other works as strong candidates for being considered Wonders (c. 300*v*–301*r*):

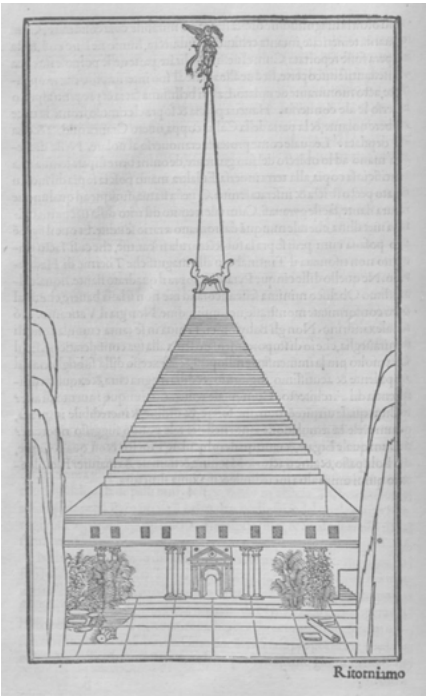

Fig. 5.4: *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*, 'temple', 1499 (photo: Archive.org, https://archive.org/details/hypnerotomachiap00colo/page/n29/mode/2up [accessed 18.06.2024]).

> Lodovico Celio nel libro delle sue antiche lettioni narrando queste sette maraviglie non pon per la settima questa torre di Faro, ne i giardini Pensili, ma l'Obelisco di Semiramis, il quale era una cosa della medesima fattura, che le Piramide, che cominciava parimente in quadro, & finiva in punta, ne havevano dalle Piramide questi Obelischi differenza alcuna se non che gli Obelischi erano di un pezzo solo, ne percio delle Piramidi molti minori pò si scrive di alcuni grandi à guisa di torri, et di bellissima pietra, & hoggi di ne è uno in Roma chiamata la Guglia la qual fu condotta d'Egitto che è cosa maravigliosa veder la sua grandezza; & pensar come fusse quivi condotta per mare. Di questo di Semiramis, che come ho detto lo racconta Celio per la settima maraviglia, scrivono che era di piedi cento cinquanta di altezza, & ventiquattro di grossezza il suo quadro che in tutto sarebbe il suo circuito novantasei, & fu questa pietra cosi intiera cavata dalle montagne di Armenia, & cosi per commandamento della Regina Semiramis trasportata in Babilonia di Caldea, che in vero considerar come si potesse cavare, alzare, & condurre par cosa incredibile quando l'antiquita non havesse havute cose cosi stupende, & maggiori, che sappiamo per tanti degni auttori esser certe. D'altri grandissimi Obelischi che furon fatti da i re di Egitto scrive Plinio nel libro xxxvi. nel capitolo ottavo, et nono, dove dice in qual modo si cavavano intieri fuori delle miniere di quella pietra.

> Lodovico Celio in the book of his ancient writings, narrating these Seven Wonders, does not place as the seventh this tower of Faro, nor the Hanging Gardens, but the Obelisk of Semiramis, which was a thing of the same make, as the Pyramids, which also began in square form, & ended at the tip, nor did these Obelisks differ in any way from the Pyramids, except that the Obelisks were of a single piece, and therefore of the Pyramids there are many smaller ones, some of which are large like towers, and of beautiful stone, & today there is one in Rome called the Spire, which was brought from Egypt, which is marvellous to see its grandeur; & think how it was brought thither by sea. Of this one of Semiramis, which, as I have said, Cælius recounts as the seventh marvel, they write that it was one hundred and fifty feet high, & twenty-four feet thick, which would be ninety-six in all, & this stone was so entirely quarried from the mountains of Armenia, & thus by the command of Queen Semiramis transported to Babylon of Chaldea, that to consider how it could be quarried, raised & led seems incredible when antiquity had not seen such stupendous & greater things, which we know from so many worthy authors to be certain. Of other great obelisks that were made by the kings of Egypt, Pliny writes in Book xxxvi. in chapter eight, and nine, where he tells how that stone was quarried intact from the mines.

Whether van Heemskerck looked personally at Mexía's main source, Pliny the Elder, who wrote of the pyramids in his *Natural History* (36. 16) is uncertain, but if he did this text was hardly suitable for explicit depiction in the 1570s, because Pliny had followed Herodotus in writing of the cruel way the building of the pyramids were financed, in this case not focusing on the Great Pyramid of Cheops and the prostituting of his daughter, but rather the smallest of the three pyramids built by Mycerinus (r. 2530–25 BC) and financed by the prostitution of Rhodopis (36. 17): 'She was once a fellow-slave and concubine of Aesop, the philosopher of fables, and we are even more amazed that such expense was met by the earnings from prostitution'. Counter-Reformation cultural context could hardly embrace prostitution as the method for financing the creation of a Wonder.[19]

19 Rodríguez-Moya and Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders*, 200–01. Notably, van Heemskerck's title is in the plural, '*Pyramides Aegipti*' (The pyramids of Egypt), and many successive artists would follow his arrangement. Van Heemskerck's caption in Latin reads: 'Ardva piramidvm phary miracvla reges. Svrgentes gradibvs moles, monvmenta sepvltis, Struxere, et rapidi docvere Hyperionis ignes. Vicinos ferre, ad magnae confinia Memphis'. 'Egypt is home to the pyramids, lofty marvels that the kings built for their tombs, and whose enormous masses, rising by degrees, perpetuate the memory. These kings thus forced the fires of the impetuous Hyperion to support emulators on the borders of the great Memphis'.

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus

Mausolus ruled Caria (377–53 BC) as part of the King of Persia's empire. The son of Hecatomnus of Mylasa (r. 395–77 BC), he established his capital on the coast at Halicarnassus *c*.370–65 BC (modern Bodrum) and lived there with his sister Artemisia, whom he had married in childhood. His enormous tomb monument was a combination of architecture and extensive figural sculpture that created an iconographic programme of royal apotheosis as well as giving its name to future mausolea.[20]

This is Mexía's fourth Wonder and the first author he cited was Aulus Gellius (*c*.125–after 180) and his *Attic Nights* (*Noctes Atticae*) (10. 18) which described Artemisia's rather macabre post-mortem action: 'Artemisia, inflamed with grief and with longing for her spouse, mingled his bones and ashes with spices, ground them into the form of a powder, put them in water, and drank them'.[21] Yet, Mexía's description of the structure (c. 298*r*–*v*), on the contrary, was not based in the least on this entirely non-visual text and instead was highly visual:

> [. . .] era di marmo eccellentissimo la pietra di tutto questo edificio che cingeva di circuito quattrocento, & undici piedi, & venticinque gombiti in altezza, haveva intorno ventisei colonne d'ammirabil pietra, & miracolosa scultura, & era aperto da tutte le parti con archi di settantatre piedi di larghezza fu fabricato per mano di più eccellenti maestri che fussero in quei tempi.
>
> [. . .] the stone of this entire building was of the most excellent marble, encircled by a circuit of four hundred and eleven feet and twenty-five gombits in height, with twenty-six columns of admirable stone and miraculous sculpture around it, and open on all sides with arches seventy-three feet wide. It was built by the hand of the most excellent masters of the time.

Mexía also listed other ancient sources in the margins of his commentary, singling out Strabo's *Geography* (14. 2. 16) where the author nominated Artemisia as the patron, although the monument was most likely only brought to 'completion' during her very short reign of two years, 353–51 BC.[22] Yet, why Mexía should cite the single line of Strabo: 'Then to Halicarnassus, the royal residence of the dynasts of Caria,

20 Rodríguez-Moya and Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders*, 103.

21 Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, trans. John Carew Rolfe (Cambridge, MA-London, 1927). As noted by Pier Mattia Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an: a Renaissance Companion to Islam* (Pennsylvania PA, 2021), 164, 'Mexía's *Silva*, based on the model of the *Attic Nights* by Aulus Gellius, spread throughout sixteenth-century Europe and became the archetype of an ancient genre that had been given a new life'.

22 The Roman poet Lucian had Diogenes say, 'Mausolus will mention his tomb in Halicarnassus built by his wife and sister, Artemisia', *Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead. Dialogues of the Sea-Gods.*

which was formerly called Zephyra. Here is the tomb of Mausolus, one of the Seven Wonders, a monument erected by Artemisia in honour of her husband', and ignore the three important passages written on the subject by Vitruvius (*c*.80–70 BC–after *c*.15 BC) remains a mystery;[23] this omission being all the more striking, especially because Mexía had made clear mention of the mausoleum's outstanding sculptures executed by the best artists of the time, a topic specifically discussed by Vitruvius, who spoke of these in the context of a list of treatises written by ancient authors, as well as listing those sculptors possibly involved, whose work also had caused it to be included among the Wonders, suggesting van Heemskerck personally had read Vitruvius on the matter (7. 12–13):

> Each front was assigned to a separate artist, to ornament and try his skill thereon [. . .]. The great art displayed by these men, caused this work to be ranked among the Seven Wonders.

Mexía also nominated the Latin author Gaius Julius Hyginus (*c*.64 BC–17 AD) who considered the mausoleum one of the Seven Wonders, mentioning the striking stones of its construction as well as its height at 80 feet.[24] Pliny in his *Natural History* (36. 4) also furnished quite detailed information regarding its size and shape:

> It is 63 feet long on the north and south sides, shorter on the façades, its total circumference is 440 feet, it rises to a height of 25 cubits. And is surrounded by 36 columns. They called the circumference a 'colonnade' [. . .] For above the colonnade is a pyramid, equal in height to the lower part, contracting by 24 steps to the topmost point; on the summit is a marble four-horse chariot, made by Pythis. When this is included, it brings the whole building to a height of 140 feet.

Dialogues of the Gods. Dialogues of the Courtesans, various trans. 8. vols, (Cambridge MA, 1969–92) (7. 24).

23 Vitruvius mentioned it briefly (2. 8. 11), within a larger discussion about Mausolus, Artemisia, and the city they had had built: 'The site of the city bears a resemblance to a theatre, as to general form. In the lowest part of it, near the harbour, a broad wide street was laid out, in the middle of which was built the Mausoleum, a work so remarkable that it is classed among the Seven Wonders of the World'. Also see Geoffrey Waywell, 'The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 100–23, at 104. The first Spanish translation of Vitruvius was only published four decades after Mexía was writing, in 1582 by Miguel de Urrea and Juan Gracián.

24 Hyginus, *Fabulae from The Myths of Hyginus*, Mary Grant trans. (Lawrence KS, 1960), 232, 'The temple of Diana at Ephesus which the Amazon Otera, wife of Mars, made. The Monument of King Mausolus made of marble blocks, 80 feet high, 1,340 feet around. The bronze statue of the Sun at Rhodes, which is colossal, being 90 feet high. The statue of Olympian Jove which Phidias made, a seated statue of gold and ivory, 60 feet high. The palace of Cyrus the King of Ecbatana, which Memnon made, of many coloured and shining white stones bound with gold. The wall in Babylon, which Semiramis, daughter of Dercetis made, of baked brick and bitumen, bound with iron, 25 feet broad, 60 feet high, and 300 stades in circuit. The pyramids in Egypt, whose shadow isn't seen, 60 feet high'.

Van Heemskerck clearly knew this text and, rather teasingly, depicted horses at the four corners of the edifice set over the projecting entablature above paired Solomonic spiral columns;[25] they do not appear with the chariot at the upper limit of the image, presumably as a suggestion that they were above in the clouds where they could not be seen. Unlike the impressive, sketched reconstructions of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, where the columns of the colonnade surrounding the tomb are depicted as being monolithic and entirely free-standing, van Heemskerck boldly decided to depict freestanding columns on pedestals situated directly in front of the wall structure where they frame statues in niches (Fig. 5.5).

Fig. 5.5: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Mausoleum at Halicarnnasus*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1904-3303 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114927).

25 Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder*, 7, 12, 255–71. See Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's plan and elevation of the tomb of Lars Porsenna. Fabio Colonnese, 'The tomb of Porsenna: textual and graphical translations of Pliny's 'Labyrinthus Italicus'', in Robert Carvais et al. eds, *Traduire l'architecture. Texte et image, un passage vers la création?* (Paris, 2015), 161–72.

Van Heemskerck's image also was in contrast to the illustration offered in 1521 by Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543), in his Italian translation of Vitruvius, published in folio format in Como, where a single colossal statue stands atop the mausoleum.[26]

Van Heemskerck included the following caption by Junius indicating his awareness of Artemisia's first act as a mourning widow, most likely based on Mexía's digest of the ancient sources:

> Mavsoli a bvsto calidos havrire mariti Deposcens conivnx cineres, pietatis advitae Exemplo posvit tvmvlvm spirantia cvivs Artifices svmmi caelarunt marmore signa.
>
> A wife trying to steal from the stake, the hot ashes of Mausolus, her husband, set up a tomb as an example of eternal affection, the greatest artists sculpted statues in marble that seemed to be endowed with life.

The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus

Herodotus, in his *Persian Wars* (1. 92) recounted how Croesus of Sardis, who reigned *c*.585–46 BC, patronized construction of the new temple, some of whose columns are held by the British Museum and have inscriptions on them including, 'BA KP AN ΘHK EN'; 'βα[σιλες] Κρ[οῖσος] ἀν[έ]θηκεν', 'King Croesus dedicated (it)'.[27]

In Mexía's account (c. 298*v*–299*v*) of what he nominates as the temple of Diana, he provided a varied list of ancient authors ranging from the well-known such as Pliny (16. 36), and Strabo (14), to a series of less well-known authors whose ancient accounts had received an *editio princeps* relatively recently, permitting Mexía to flaunt his wide range of reading. These authors included Gaius Julius Solinus (*c*.210–58), *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (Venice, 1473), the *Cosmographia sive De situ orbis* of Pomponius Mela (fl. 43–50) (Milan, 1471) (ch. 1), the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX* (Strasbourg, *c*.1470) of Valerius Maximus (fl. 30) (lib. 2), and Aulus Gellius. As if this was not enough, in the margin Mexía added even more ancient authors:

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26 Cesare Cesariano, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione De architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare* (Como, 1521), c. 41*v*. See also Romer and Romer, *The Seven Wonders*, 101.

27 British Museum, no. 1872,0405.20, excavated by John Turtle Wood (1805–94). See St John Irving, 'John Turtle Wood, discoverer of the Artemision 1869', in *Isis* 28/2 (1938), 376–84; Debbie Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the wonders of Ephesus* (London, 2006), 55–76 and 114–39 for the British excavations at Halicarnassus and Ephesus. The inscription is found in Annick Payne, 'Native Religious Traditions from a Lydian Perspective', in Sandra Blakely et al. eds, *Religious Convergence in the ancient Mediterranean* (Atlanta GA, 2019), 231–48, at 232.

> Pluta. Ne la vita di Alessandro & Cicero li. della natura de gli Iddii in dui luochi & nel lib. Della divinatione.
>
> Plutarch in the *Life of Alexander* & Cicero, book on the *Nature of the Gods* in two places, & in the book *Of Divination*.

Certainly, the published account by Solinus was full of useful details for Mexía, including the name of the arsonist reponsible (40. 2):

> The glory of Ephesus is the temple of Diana, work of the Amazons. It was so magnificent that Xerxes, when he had burned down all the other temples in Asia, spared it. But Xerxes' clemency did not long protect these sacred shrines from evil. For Herostratus, to immortalize his name by committing a crime, set fire to the noble building with his own hands, from a desire to achieve wider fame, as he himself confessed. It is recorded that the temple of Ephesus was burned down on the same day as Alexander the Great was born at Pella.[28]

Vitruvius (10. 2. 11–12, 15) was yet again ignored by Mexía, despite the fact that, in three separate paragraphs, he described the ingenious methods deployed by the architect Chersiphron (fl. 6th century BC) to transport the stone columns from the quarry to the building site, his son Metagenes's adoption of the same method to transport the entablatures, and finally, how this extraordinary quarry was first discovered, thus setting out a tripartite marvel of technical and observational genius:

> He [Chersiphron] made a frame of four pieces of timber, two of which were equal in length to the shafts of the columns and were held together by the two transverse pieces. In each end of the shaft he inserted iron pivots, whose ends were dovetailed thereinto, and run with lead. The pivots worked in gudgeons fastened to the timber frame, whereto were attached oaken shafts. The pivots having a free revolution in the gudgeons, when the oxen were attached and drew the frame, the shafts rolled round, and might have been conveyed to any distance.
>
> I must digress a little and relate how the quarries of Ephesus were discovered. A shepherd, of the name of Pixodarus, dwelt in these parts at the period in which the Ephesians had decreed a temple to Diana, to be built of marble from Paros, Proconnesus, or Thasos. Pixodarus on a certain occasion tending his flock at this place, saw two rams fighting. In their attacks, missing each other, one fell, and glancing against the rock with his horns, broke off a splinter, which appeared to him so delicately white, that he left his flock and instantly ran with it into Ephesus, where marble was then in much demand. The Ephesians forthwith decreed him honours, and changed his name to Evangelus.

28 The first English translation was, Arthur Golding trans, *The Excellent and Pleasant Worke of Julius Ca. Solinus* (London, 1587) The trans used here is Arwen Apps, 'Gaius Iulius Solinus and his Polyhistor',(PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2011): https://topostext.org/work/747 [accessed 24.04.2024].

The technical challenge for Chersiphron was also described by Pliny (36. 21), who had it resolved through a dream about the goddess Artemis:

> [. . .] the architect was driven to such a state of anxiety and desperation as to contemplate suicide. Wearied and quite worn out by such thoughts as these, during the night, they say, he beheld in a dream the goddess in honour of whom the temple was being erected; who exhorted him to live on, for that she herself had placed the stone in its proper position. And such, in fact, next morning, was found to be the case, the stone apparently having come to the proper level by dint of its own weight.

It was convenient for van Heemskerck to ignore all Vitruvius's and Pliny's texts, just as Mexía had done—although Mexía's reason remains unknown—because a constant in his depictions was that, notwithstanding sculptors, stonemasons, and architects being shown, all the buildings were also illustrated as being complete, and only partially—in separate vignettes usually in the foreground—as being in the process of being built, which is where the construction techniques would have had to be depicted.

Van Heemskerck's depiction of this monument represents a true flight of fancy (Fig. 5.6). He completely eschewed any attempt at depicting an ancient Greek temple, and instead illustrated a building having a mélange of Early Modern architectural elements, with which he would have been familiar with from his travels, especially his sojourn at Rome.[29] Rising above three broad steps which form a stylobate, is the Hecatompedon, a hundred-foot-long building which looks like a sixteenth-century church. Composite columns or semi-columns with capitals identical to that in the left foreground, are set above pedestals. A similar arrangement pertains to the smaller storey above, and again to the diminutive third storey with pilasters which is surmounted by a long barrel vault covering the edifice all the way along its length from the façade to its rear termination. Albertian or Della Porta-like volutes connect the lower, lateral 'aisles' to the higher central 'nave' of this temple. To the right, in the foreground, is Croesus, the crowned monarch patron of the temple who gazes to his left, where three figures appear to be discussing the plan of the temple represented in plan on the board by a series of columns. Van Heemskerck thus referenced the ancient nature of the temple in ground plan, while in perspective he offered something contemporary. In the foreground, in the centre and on the left, diligent stonemasons are shown carving other architectural elements, perhaps supervised by the architect, armed with compass and rule. The celebrated statue of the goddess Artemis, with her multiple breasts, does not make an appearance whatsoever, presumably a consequence of the conservative re-

29 Bluma Trell, 'The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 78–99.

Fig. 5.6: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1891-A-16452 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114924).

sponse in artistic matters provoked by the Counter Reformation which was entirely current in 1572.[30]

The Pharos at Alexandria

The Pharos, or lighthouse, at Alexandria, situated on the Egyptian Delta was the last monument to be added to the 'standard' list of the Seven Wonders of the World, as noted by Mexía (c. 300*r-v*). It was constructed in 332 BC, when Alexan-

30 In an ancient parallel, St Paul had condemned silver idols in the first century AD, but in Ephesus the crowd responded 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians' (*Acts* 19: 24–34). See, for Solomonic columns, Juan Antonio Ramirez, *Construcciones ilusorias: arquitecturas descritas, arquitecturas pintadas* (Madrid, 1988), 35.

der the Great of Macedon (356–23 BC) came with his troops from Memphis, Egypt's ancient capital, and established a new capital at the fishing village of Rhacotis, located on an isthmus between an inland lake and the sea, which he renamed Alexandria.[31]

Mexía cited various ancient authors including Pomponius Mela (2. 104), and Pliny the Elder, and then added (c. 300*r*), 'this island called Faros according to some because a great helmsman of Menelaus who was buried there was called that'; yet he also cited Caesar's *Commentaries* (3. 112), where the name is simply given as being that of the island on which it was built.[32] Indeed it was Homer (8th century BC), in the *Odyssey* (4. 351), who sowed the earliest confusion about the name of the place, while Pliny in his *Natural History* (36. 18) provided details of its cost and the building's patron, as well as the name of the architect and its function:

> Another tower made by a king is glorified—the one on Pharos, the island that dominates the harbour of Alexandria. People say that it cost eight hundred talents. To complete the account, we should add that it was through the generosity of King Ptolemy that permission was granted for the name of Sostratus, the Cnidian, the architect, to be inscribed on the structure itself. Its function is to shine with beacons for ships as they make voyages by night —to warn them off from the shallow waters and to reveal the entrance to the harbour.

Mexía did not cite Strabo's *Geography* (8. 25) in which the dedication on the Pharos was transcribed: 'Sostratus the Cnidian, friend of the sovereigns, dedicated this, for the safety of those who sail on the seas', an omission all the more surprising given that Strabo's text offered the most visual account of the lighthouse (17. 1. 7–10):

> Pharos is an oblong island, is very close to the mainland, and forms with it a harbour with two mouths; for the shore of the mainland forms a bay, since it thrusts two promontories into the open sea, and between these is situated the island, which closes the bay, for it lies lengthwise parallel to the shore [. . .] the extremity of the isle is a rock, which is washed all round by the sea and has upon it a tower that is admirably constructed of white marble with many storeys and bears the same name as the island.

Like Pinocchio's nose growing longer and longer, the supposed height of the Pharos kept getting taller and taller. As Peter Clayton noted, for Epiphanes it was 306 fathoms high (559.6m); in the *Jewish War*, Josephus (*c*.37–c.100) described its visibility at sea as being 300 stadia (34 ½ miles); Lucian of Samosata (115–*c*.180) proposed 300 miles. Certainly, van Heemskerck captured the main point because

31 Peter Clayton, 'The Pharos at Alexandria', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 138–57. Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder*, 13–14.

32 *The Commentaries of Caesar*, trans William Duncan (London, 1753).

his lighthouse towers monumentally above the rock on which it is perched, dominating everything below it as well as the town in the background (Fig. 5.7). He conveyed the sense of its stupendous visibility from afar by including enormous, rocky mountains in the far distance, which of course were entirely extraneous to the actual flat, monotonous Egyptian Delta. He also referenced one crucial aspect of the mechanism that the ancient writers agreed about, namely a huge fire in its base, which of course cannot be seen, but which the billowing smoke above instead represents. Absent, however, are the mirrors supposed to have been at the top of the structure to reflect the strong light from the fire below. Also absent is the crowning statue dedicated to the sailors' saviour, Zeus Soter, that Posidippus (*c*.310–*c*.240 BC) described (AB 115).[33]

Fig. 5.7: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Pharos at Alexandria*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1891-A-16449 (photo: Rijksmuseum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114916).

33 Benjamin Acosta-Hughes et al eds, *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309)* (Cambridge MA, 2004).

The lengthiest description of the Pharos dates to 1166 and was written by a traveller, Abou Haggag Youseff Ibn Mohammad el-Balawi el-Andaloussi (fl. 1166). He was writing after the building had been damaged in 956 by an earthquake, and noted that parts had been rebuilt, but the most singular observation he made came at the outset: 'The building is square, about 8.5m each side'. Van Heemskerck, by contrast, depicted the Pharos as clearly circular at its base, a circular ascending spiral above, and capped by a circular *tempietto*; its base resembles the sort of fortified architecture represented by the work of Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559). His choice of the circular form may have been based on knowledge of Roman coins, because the half-drachmas of Hadrian (117–38), struck at Alexandria, like most Renaissance medals for the founding of buildings, are simply too small and imprecise to interpret concretely one way of the other: the Pharos might be circular or square. Somewhat later coins produced under Antoninus Pius (138–61) represent the building as having hard edges, indicating the corners of a squarish building, unless this was simply the result of a change in pictorial technique?[34]

Junius's poetic caption focused on its benevolent function to seafarers:

> Cvrsibvs extrvxti rativm Ptolemaee Regundis. Nocturnis pharon, vt qvvm nox tenebrosa sileret, Clara, vicem in Phaebes, vomerent funalia lvcem, Infida vt nili sic tvtivs ora svbirent.
>
> He built a lighthouse to guide the ships of the Ptolemaic city on their nightly voyages, so that, when the dark night falls silent, the luminous torches spread their brightness, rivals of Phoebe, and that the ships may approach the treacherous banks of the Nile in greater safety.

The Statue of Zeus at Olympia

The king of the gods' statue at Olympia, was the core site and focus of worship for centuries, long before this crucial shrine dedicated to Zeus was eclipsed in the collective memory by the games held in the same place.[35]

34 Peter Clayton, 'The Pharos at Alexandria', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 148–53. In one of the most celebrated mosaics in the ducal chapel of San Marco in Venice, dating to the thirteenth century and located in the Zeno Chapel, St Mark is depicted arriving by boat in Alexandria, with the Pharos—now rebuilt as a mosque—represented with a domed upper tier, which might imply that the entire lighthouse was circular. So too, in the twelfth century, the drawing by Al-Gharnati is a model of ambiguity Rodríguez-Moya and Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders*, 63 fig. 3.3.

35 Martin Price, 'The Statue of Zeus at Olympia', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 59–77.

Pedro Mexía went straight to the point in his account: Phidias's enormous, seated statue of Zeus seemed caged so tightly in its temple that it certainly could not have stood up, and this was its sole defect (c. 298*r*–*v*):

> [. . .] dicono che fu Fidia in una sola imperfettione tassato, che non compensò bene la proportione dell'imagine con il tempio; perché la fece che sedeva et così grande che imaginandosi come sarebbe stata se fusse stata in piedi non poteva per niun modo capir nel tempio.
>
> [. . .] they say that Phidias was guilty of a single imperfection, that he did not compensate well for the proportion of the figure with the temple; because he made it sitting and so large that, imagining how it would have been if it had been standing, he could not in any way understand the temple.

Indeed, in the first century AD Strabo had also described the statue thus (8. 3. 30):

> The statue is made of ivory and of such size that although the temple itself is very large, the sculptor may be criticized for not having appreciated the correct proportions. He has shown Zeus seated, but with his head almost touching the ceiling, so that we have the impression that if Zeus moved to stand up, he would unroof the temple.

Van Heemskerck depicted Zeus in just this way, his head framed by the ribs of the dome either side, and his hair just overlapping the crowning oculus (Fig. 5.8). He included naked male participants in the games in the foreground, wrestling, running, and being crowned with laurel. All this is dominated by the enormous, monumental architecture of the shrine behind, a massive, curved niche articulated with Doric pilasters without and within. Built by Libon of Elis around 466–56 BC using the local stone, on the middle day of the games 100 oxen were slaughtered and burned on the altar in front of Zeus's temple, which protected his sacred cult image, apparently sculpted by Phidias (*c*.480–30 BC).

Van Heemskerck may well have known of the description by Pausanius (*c*.110–*c*.180) found in its 1551 Latin translation, but its detailed description of materials and their colours was hardly helpful for a black and white print, more useful was the information about the presence of the eagle (5. 11. 1–2):

> The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and – on her head – a garland. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily.
>
> The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot. On

Fig. 5.8: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Statue of Zeus at Olympia*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1891-A-16455 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114921).

> each of the two front feet are set Theban children ravished by sphinxes, while under the sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe.[36]

Hardly any of this detailed information was incorporated into van Heemskerck's print, but he did depict Zeus's symbol of victory in his right hand, while in his left hand rather than a sceptre there is an orb, and it rests upon the eagle rather than the other way around. Zeus appears barefoot rather than wearing sandals, and no flowers or animal figures adorn his garments. From an artistic point of view, it would have been near impossible to depict all the things Pausanias mentioned while maintaining the legibility of the image, and the colour of individual materials such as gold, precious stones, ivory and ebony, could hardly be conveyed in a black and white print.

36 Romulus Amasaeus trans, *Veteris Graeciae Descriptio* (Florence, 1551) (5. 11. 1–9); Pausanius, *Description of Greece*, various trans, 5 vols (London-Cambridge MA, 1918–35), II.

Junius's inscription completed the image:

> Elis olympiadvm mater, qvae signat achivvm. Nobilibvs fastos lvdis, miracvla clavdit: Phidiacvm qve iovem ostentat niveo ex elephanto. Qvalis caesarie ac nvtv concvssit olympvm.
>
> Elis, mother of the Olympiads, which, for the Greeks, mark the calendar with noble games. Enclosing marvels and offering to the eye, Phidias's Jupiter, all snowy ivory, who, with a nod, once shook Olympus.

The Colossus of Rhodes

In 408 BC the capital of Rhodes was created from three distinct territories, each with their own principal city and, following this, five harbours were established. Repelling the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius (337–283 BC), the son of Antigonus (382–01 BC), of 305 BC, the Rhodians commissioned a gigantic bronze sculpture of their deity.[37]

Mexía provided the essential details (c. 295*v*–296*r*):

> Era questa una statua ò figura d'huomo da gentili offerita, & dedicata al Sole, & altri dicono a Giove, de incredibil grandezza fatta di metallo, & alta come una gran torre di maniera, che non può immaginarsi come si potesse alzare, et fabricar.
>
> This was a statue or figure of a man offered by gentiles, & dedicated to the sun, & others say to Jupiter, of incredible size made of metal, & as tall as a great tower of such a kind, that one cannot imagine how it could be raised, & constructed.

He also cited the *Historiae adversus paganos* of Paulus Orosius (375/385–*c*.420) (Augsburg, 1471) which referred to pagan vanity and the consequent hubris of the project (c. 296*r*):

> [. . .] fu questa cosa smisurata, & vanità si grande, che non parve che la terra potesse longo tempo partire, perche solo cinquantasei anni scrive il medesimo Plinio, & Paolo Orosio, che stette in piedi, nel fin de quali cade per un gran terremoto.
>
> [. . .] this thing was immeasurable, and such a great vanity, that it did not seem that earth could sustain it for a long time, because only fifty-six years [later] writes the same Pliny, & Paolo Orosius, that it remained standing, at the end of which it fell due to a great earthquake.

That the statue had toppled over and been broken into pieces was a key point reported by the other ancient sources such as Pliny, for example, who had this to say (34. 41):

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37 Reynold Higgins, 'The Colossus of Rhodes', in Clayton and Price, *Seven Wonders*, 124–37.

> 56 years after its erection, [it] was overthrown by an earthquake, but even lying on the ground it is a marvel. Few people can make their arms meet round the thumb of the finger, and the fingers are larger than most statues.

So too Strabo in his *Geography* (14. 2. 5):

> [. . .] the Colossus of Helius [. . .] but now it lies on the ground, having been thrown down by an earthquake and broken at the knees.

Therefore, van Heemskerck's representation of the Colossus is remarkably unphilological (Fig. 5.9). Following the graphic example of the French Franciscan André Thevet (1516–90), in his *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon, 1554), 104, where the Colossus's legs straddle the harbour entrance, one foot on each side, and a ship passing between them, its uppermost mast almost touching his genitals, van Heemskerck replicated and expanded upon this image. He depicted what appears to be an animated but safe working harbour with boats within and without. The ship between the Colossus's spread legs emphasizes the statue's enormous height,

Fig. 5.9: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Colossus of Rhodes*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1926-416 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114923).

and the technical sophistication that designing and constructing it in such a way would imply. On the other hand, it was simply impossible for a bronze statue of these dimensions to have its legs apart, set astride the harbour entrance. The vase in its right hand has smoke or flames or both billowing out from it, suggesting a link in function to the Pharos of Alexandria in guiding ships to port.[38]

Strabo, Pliny, and Philo had the most to say about this statue, of which less was known that the other six Wonders. Philo described in impressive detail how the statue was constructed, explaining that because of its enormous size, it was cast, bit by bit, lowest layer first and then the casting machines set upon this lowest layer and casting of the second layer began, and so on and so forth until completion.[39]

Perhaps what liberated van Heemskerck from the ancient sources was the fact that, following the collapse of the statue during the earthquake of 226 BC, it remained in situ on the ground until in 654 AD when the Arabs took Rhodes and shifted the fragments across the strait to Asia Minor where they were sold, thus leaving no material trace or contemporary depiction of the colossus. Cunningly, van Heemskerck not only depicted the complete, standing monument, but also the head, in the foreground, as a work in progress, that might just allude as well to its toppled-over state.

Although of a much later date, and unknown to van Heemskerck, an Italian pilgrim, Nicola Martoni (fl. 1390s), wrote of seeing the statue in situ in Rhodes in 1394–5, and related local lore that one of its feet was still located at the Fort of St Nicholas (previously a church), Mandraki Habour's east entrance, the other resting on the other side.[40]

Van Heemskerck as usual included a pithy inscription by Junius:

> Septimos decies cvbitos aeqvare colossvs, Dictvs, par turri mole svb nomine solis, Aere cavo factvs, saxorum vasta caverna, Intvs, apvd Rhodios sacros accepit honores.

---

38 When making his series of engravings in 1608, Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) distinguished himself from van Heemskerck's depiction of the Colossus by showing it as toppled over and in pieces. See Folin and Presti, 'Da Anversa a Roma', 40.

39 Denys Haynes, 'Philos of Byzantium and the Colossus of Rhodes', in Journal of *Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957), 311–12, reprinted in Higgins, 'The Colossus', 130–2. Higgins, *The Seven Wonders*, 6, points out that Philo's, or Pseudo-Philo's text could date as late as the sixth century AD, and the unique textual survival of the ninth century is not intact and omits part of the description of the Temple of Artemis and the Mausoleum entirely.

40 Léon Le Grand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de M. notaire italien', in *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), 566–669; also see Michele Piccirillo, *Io notaio N. de Martoni. Il pellegrinaggio ai Luoghi Santi da Carinola a Gerusalemme 1394–1395* (Jerusalem, 2003); Michele Piccirillo, 'Martoni, Nicola', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 71 (2008), 352–4, who noted that Martoni was educated: he knew the Holy Scriptures and quoted Roman history and the Homeric poems, although he was confused between Trojans and Romans and between the Colossus of Rhodes and the Colossians of Asia Minor to whom Saint Paul wrote one of his letters.

> Seven cubits high, they say, the mass of the Colossus looked like a tower raised to the glory of the sun. Its hollow bronze body formed a cavern full of rocks and in Rhodes it received divine honours.

The Hanging Gardens

It was Antipater of Sidon (170–100 BC) in his *Palatine Anthology* (*Antologia Palatina* some of whose epigrams are attributed to the synonymous Antipater of Thessalonica) composed one of the earliest lists of the Wonders as an ekphrasis:

> I have set eyes on the wall of lofty Babylon on which is a road for chariots, and the statue of Zeus by the Alpheus, and the hanging gardens, and the Colossus of the Sun, and the huge labour of the high pyramids, and the vast tomb of Mausolus; but when I saw the house of Artemis that mounted to the clouds, those other marvels lost their brilliancy, and I said, "Lo, apart from Olympus, the Sun never looked on aught so grand".[41]

He considered Babylon and the Gardens as separate Wonders, also ranking another two of them as being 'the best': the statue of Zeus at Olympia, and the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The Pharos at Alexandria was yet to be nominated. Van Heemskerck certainly could not have known of this text because the Ms. Pal. graec. 23 was only discovered at Heidelberg in 1607, by the French humanist Claude Saumaise (1588–1683). The list had, however, been reported by other ancient authors.

Mexía returned to the issue of which Wonders were 'in' and which 'out' in the concluding paragraphs of his account because, again, he was aware of the confusion and contradictions among the ancient sources, but wanted to do his best as someone compiling a digest (c. 300*v*):

> Questa é l'ultima maraviglia quantunche da molti non sia nel numero di queste sette annoverata, ma in suo luoco i Giardini pensili che habbiano detto che erano in Babilonia [Lattantio Firmiano.], che eran sopra quelli archi, & torrioni, di maniera, che sotto vi conversava la gente dove erano molti altissimi alberi con molte fontane. La forma di questo edificio scrive distesamente Diodoru Siculo maravigliosamente nel terzo libro il quale io lascio à dietro per non esser piu longo [Li. Xii.].
>
> This is the last marvel, although it is not counted among the number of these seven by many, but in its place are the Hanging Gardens which were said to be in Babylon [Lactantius Firmianus.], which were above those arches and towers, in the manner that people were talking underneath where there were many very tall trees with many fountains. The

41 *The Greek Anthology*, trans. William Roger Paton, 5 vols (London, 1915), 4, *Epigrams* (9. 58).

> shape of this building Diodoru Siculo writes marvelously at length of in the third book which I leave behind so as not to be longer [Li. Xii.].

This was the only Wonder for which ancient, pagan, Jewish, and biblical sources collided, and comprised a tower (a veritable tower of Babel); or a city, and tower or lofty structure (Gen. 10:10, 11.8–9), where the confusion of tongues took place. Pictorially, the affront to, and contempt of God, was depicted by artists such as Pieter Breugel the Elder (1525/35–69) in 1563 in his large canvas in the Kunsthistoriches Museum in Vienna, by including clouds as an ominent warning of what is about to befall its inhabitants. Breugel's tower is a work still in progress, with Nimrod in the left foreground inspecting the stonemasons' work, something van Heemskerck omitted. But, perhaps, the dark cloud in the centre, set over the mountains and walls in the background, where *Babylonis Muri* appears ominously, reinforces the sense of impending distaster, in contrast to the magic of the Hanging Gardens to the right (Fig. 5.10)

Fig. 5.10: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Walls and Gardens of Babylon*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1904-3304 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114931).

In his account of the walls, Mexía stated (c. 295*r-v*):

> [. . .] par incredibile la grandezza del luoco, & sito della cittade [. . .] la torre di Babello, della quale piglio il nome della cittade [. . .] le mura maravigliosamente alte, & con mirabile artificio lavorate [. . .] son differenti gli auttori, & non concordi dell'altezza, & grandezza di questo circuito, che potrebbe nascere per esser la misura che fanno diversa [. . .] erano si larghe, che vi potevano andare sei carra da cavalli insieme alla volta senza impedirsi l'un l'altro [. . .] i giardini fatti à mano sopra de gli archi, & torrioni dove erano alberi di smisurata grandezza [. . .].

> [. . .] the grandeur of the place, & site of the city seems incredible [. . .] the Tower of Babel, from which the city takes its name [. . .] the walls marvellously high, & with admirable artifice worked [. . .] the authors differ, & do not agree on the height, & grandeur of this circuit, which could arise from the measure they use being different [. . .] were so wide that six horses and carts could go around at the same time without hindering each other [. . .] the man-made gardens above the arches & towers where there were trees of immense size [. . .].

Of the established Seven Wonders of the ancient world, Babylon was exceptional: Herodotus did not mention the Gardens, although he did describe the city.[42] As Karen Foster noted, 'the descriptions of five later writers, who were themselves quoted and paraphrased by others and whose accounts of the Gardens are often opaque, contradictory, and technologically baffling at best'; even the earliest account dates to *c.*280 BC many centuries after the Hanging Gardens no longer existed.[43] Indeed, archaeological excavation to this day has found no trace or convincing evidence for their existence. In terms of conjuring up a convincing image of them, that was hardly an issue, but exactly how to depict them posed some interesting questions. Some scholars today believe that they may have been a series of sunken terraces, rather than a raised garden, in which case they ought not be depicted in the same way as the other Wonders: as large structures prominently rising above the ground. Indeed, the description by Diodorus Siculus (2.7) made it sound like a theatre carved out of, and constructed on, the hillside making it part of the landscape rather than a prominently vertical structure like the other Wonders:

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42 Irving Finkel, 'The Hanging Gardens of Babylon, in Clayton and Price', *Seven Wonders*, 38–58. John Milton Lundquist, *Babylon in European Thought* (New York, 1995); Jean-Jacques Glassner, *La tour de Babylone: que reste-t-il de la Mésopotamie?* (Paris, 2003); Béatrice André-Salvini ed, *Babylone* (Paris, 2008); Stephanie Dalley, *The mystery of the Hanging Garden of Babylon: an elusive world wonder traced* (Oxford, 2013); Stephanie Dalley, *The city of Babylon: a history,* c.*2000 BC–AD 116* (Cambridge, 2021).

43 See the thoughtful article, Karen Polinger Foster, 'The Hanging Gardens of Nineveh', *Iraq* 66 (2004), 207–20, with this summary: 'the Babyloniaca of Berossus, written about 280 BC, which does not survive save in quotations and condensations from it in other sources, among them two works by the first-century AD Josephus, who twice quotes the short note about the gardens'.

> There was also, beside the acropolis, the Hanging Garden, as it is called [. . .]. because the approach to the garden sloped like a hillside and the several parts of the structure rose from one another, tier on tier, the appearance of the whole resembled a theatre.

Once again it was Strabo who offered the most useful account of the gardens:

> [. . .] on this account that this [the Walls] and the Hanging Garden are called one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The garden is quadrangular in shape, and each side is four plethra in length. It consists of arched vaults, which are situated, one after another, on checkered, cube-like foundations. The checkered foundations, which are hollowed out, are covered so deep with earth that they admit of the largest of trees, having been constructed of baked brick and asphalt—the foundations themselves and the vaults and the arches. The ascent to the uppermost terrace-roofs is made by a stairway; and alongside these stairs there were screws, through which the water was continually conducted up into the garden from the Euphrates by those appointed for this purpose. For the river, a stadium in width, flows through the middle of the city; and the garden is on the bank of the river.

Heemskerck followed the early writers in visualizing the Hanging Gardens as a large structure projecting above ground, together with the walls of the city and its tower. He located it across the river from the tower, the walls, and the gate dedicated to Semiramis, close to the riverbank, as described by Strabo. It thus became a monumental building, rising high above ground level, that filled the view, alongside the tower of Babel and the walls. It is no wonder then, for consistency's sake in artistic terms, that Heemskerck chose to depict the Hanging Gardens as a rectangular, three-story building based on a series of arched vaults supporting and sustaining the 'hanging' garden above.

The Colosseum, and Conclusion

In contrast to the seven preceding engravings depicting the traditional Seven Wonders of the World, when he came to depict the Colosseum, van Heemskerck changed tack: unlike the pristine, modern-looking monuments of the rest of the series, in this case it was illustrated as a ruin rather than a reconstruction (Fig. 5.11).[44] It was shown as being properly ancient, in contrast to the other Wonders which all look brand new, and some, such as the temple of Artemis, being depicted with architectural forms very close to relatively recent contemporary ecclesiastical architecture such as that which could be found in Rome.

44 DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck*, 283–4.

Fig. 5.11: Maarten van Heemskerck/Philippe Galle, *The Colosseum at Rome*, engraving, 1572, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1891-A-16456 (photo: Rijksmueum, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.114930).

Why did van Heemskerck decide to illustrate the Wonders when he did, and what might be their significance in a wider context? Although his main source, Mexía's *Silva*, cited the *Historiae adversus paganos* of Paulus Orosius (375/385–*c.*420) (Augsburg, 1471) which referred to pagan vanity and consequent hubris (c. 296*r*), van Heemskerck represented as intact and standing the Colossus of Rhodes and it was only Tempesta, subsequently, who depicted this as having toppled to the ground and as lying in pieces. It would be quite difficult to interpret van Heemskerck's pristine, modern Wonders as unworthy monuments except—perhaps—the walls of Babylon. Rather, they were depicted by him as being marvellous and to be admired. This, then, seems to be the most likely motive on his part: to create attractive images of the fabulous Wonders of the ancient past, in order to sell them successfully, commercially, on the open market.

Van Heemskerck's compelling, illustrated series of the Wonders were just one of innumerous examples in the Early Modern period of how things so easily got lost and found in translation. Not just humanist translations from one lan-

guage to another, and not only the shift from manuscripts to incunabula and then to *cinquecentine*, but also from word to image, and what was chosen and what was, for whatever reason, left aside. Pedro Mexía deliberately avoided citing Vitruvius, and van Heemskerck followed his lead: after all, there were so many other ancient sources that provided more, and more interesting, information. Pliny the Elder, of course, was a hugely important source, as has been recently demonstrated, as was Strabo, for whom much more work on his Early Modern reception and influence needs to be done.[45]

Editions

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 12 vols, various trans (London-New York/Cambridge MA, 1933–67).
Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 4 vols, trans. Alfred Denis Godley (London-New York/Cambridge MA, 1920–5).
Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols, various trans (Cambridge MA, 1938–62).
Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 8 vols, trans. Horace Leonard Jones (London-New York, 1917–24).
Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, 2 vols, trans. Morris Hicky Morgan (Cambridge MA, 1914).

45 My thanks to Sundar Henny, see his 'Caught in the crossfire of early modern controversy: Strabo on Moses and his corrupt successors', in *Intellectual History Review*, 28/1 (2018), 35–59. Now see, Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Strabo's reception in the West (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)', in Daniela Dueck, *The Routledge companion to Strabo* (New York-London, 2017), 367–83, at 374 for Buonaccioli's translation of the 1560s.

Erika Milburn

Chapter Six
Twisted Words and Borrowed Wisdom: Misleading Citation in Scamozzi's *Idea della architettura universale* (1615)

The *Idea della architettura universale* by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), printed in Venice in 1615, presents itself throughout as a work of great erudition. Virtually every page of the treatise contains a plethora of citations, mainly of classical authors; the source texts consulted are indicated in the copious marginal annotations, often accompanied by page numbers or by book and chapter references. The numerous direct quotations, mostly in Latin, are highlighted by the use of an Italic font. In both text and paratext Scamozzi thus projects an image of himself as an architect-scholar, an embodiment of the ideal architect described in his text. The sources cited range from Greek and Roman geographers and historians to philosophers, from works on art and architecture, ancient and modern, to writings on subjects as disparate as medicine, oratory, mathematics, jurisprudence and classical literature.

The quantity and diversity of information provided in the *Idea* are closely linked to the two fundamental premises set out in Book I: first, that architecture is a theoretical and speculative discipline (a '*scientia*', to use Scamozzi's own terminology) and not a practical or manual profession (an '*arte*'); second, that for this reason the architect should possess a universal knowledge of all disciplines in order to express his full potential. This wide range of knowledge can be obtained in two main ways: through extensive reading, especially of classical texts, and—as concerns architectural design more specifically—through first-hand observation of built structures. While for architectural works, past and contemporary, Scamozzi expresses a preference for direct knowledge, he is well aware that this may be difficult or impossible to obtain. Many works of architecture have vanished, victims to the passage of time or to wars and other destructive events, while others are in inaccessible places. Furthermore, the architect may not have the time or the financial means needed to travel extensively. In all these cases, broad reading helps to fill the gap.

Scamozzi was clearly well-read and well-informed on an extraordinary range of subjects. Yet, if we examine his references and quotations more closely, problems soon emerge. Many of the classical texts that Scamozzi claims explicitly or implicitly to have studied turn out to have been read, not in the original, but

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through Early Modern handbooks and reference works. The sources so carefully cited have frequently been misunderstood, decontextualized or deliberately manipulated; the quotations altered or truncated to suit Scamozzi's own priorities. This misleading use of sources can be broken down into two main categories, though they are not wholly separate and often overlap: cases in which Scamozzi conceals or fails to acknowledge his sources, and instances where the meaning or spirit of the original source text has been in some way changed, deliberately or otherwise.

To start with the former category, it is common to find references to or quotations from sources, almost invariably classical texts, that Scamozzi did not consult directly but obtained through an intermediate source, an Early Modern compendium or reference work. In Book I of the *Idea*, he makes recurrent use of several such sources, though they are of different types and serve different purposes. These include the digests of the works of Aristotle (384–322 BC) and Averroes (1126–98) by Marco Antonio Zimara (*c*.1430–*c*.1532) and Giulio Palamede (*fl*. 1557–84); the *Adagia* of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536); and the *Dictionarium* of Ambrogio Calepino (*c*.1440–1510).

It is clear from the *Idea* that Scamozzi had a solid grounding in Aristotelian philosophy, which largely supplies the theoretical framework for his treatment of architecture.[1] Numerous works by Aristotle are referenced repeatedly and the text often includes quotations from Latin translations of the philosopher's texts. However, only a tiny minority of such quotations and citations derive from first-hand consultation of Aristotle's works. The majority are drawn from two early modern digests of the works of Aristotle and the commentaries on them by Averroes. Zimara's *Tabula* was first published in 1537, probably as an aid to students, and was extremely popular, with numerous reprints during the sixteenth century.[2] This digest breaks down the works of Aristotle, principally those on natural philosophy and metaphysics, into their key concepts, arranged alphabetically and accompanied by references to the source text(s) and brief discussions: the latter range in length from simple definitions of terminology to 'micro-essays' on important concepts that also include references to Renaissance commentaries and Zi-

1 Werner Oeschlin, 'Scamozzi, "'Vitruvio della nostra età": il sapere dell'architetto e la "scientia" architettonica universale, ". . . perché lei sola abbellisse il Mondo tutto"', in *Annali di architettura* 27 (2015), 17–30.

2 Marco Antonio Zimara, *Marci Antonii Zimarae Tabula dilucidationum in dictis Aristotelis et Averrois* (Venice, 1537).

mara's own interpretations.[3] The similar work by Palamede, also entitled *Tabula*, was published in 1561, with a second edition the following year.[4]

Palamede's digest closely resembles its predecessor, to which it is also substantially indebted: many entries are copied verbatim, or almost, from Zimara. However, Palamede's *Tabula* is both more comprehensive, covering works barely touched on by Zimara such as the *Ethics*, *Politics* and *Magna Moralia*, and more succinct, with none of the longer entries found in the earlier text. Given the similarities between the two digests it is not always possible to determine which of the two Scamozzi used; however, the fact that the *Idea* includes materials present in Zimara but not Palamede, and vice versa, shows that he consulted both.

Scamozzi seems to have used the handbooks of Zimara and Palamede primarily to bolster the theoretical framework underpinning the *Idea* by providing overviews of Aristotle's thought on specific concepts or topics of relevance to his treatment of architecture. Though borrowings from Zimara and/or Palamede do occur singly, especially when they are quoted directly, the passages in which Scamozzi draws upon the digests often present an accumulation of information centred around one or two concepts or key words:

> Laonde l'artefice non si doverebbe veramente chiamare artefice, se non mentre egli fa cose piene d'artificio e con qualche eccellente forma e fine [4]. Poi, quando l'artefice si fa artefice di qualche arte non propria, allhora egli non può conoscere né sapere i principii convenevoli a quell'arte [5]. Inoltre, l'artefice non dee soggiacere alla materia, ma la materia al proprio artefice [3]; vero è che tutte le arti operative hanno la loro sollecitudine circa la materia [2], essendo che il compimento dell'arte è nella cosa materiale e che può esser capita dal senso [1].[5] Margin: 2 Metaf. com. 5 | 2 Fis. com. 21, 26 | 2 Anim. cap. 45 | 2 Phisic. com. 25 |3 *Coelo*, cap. 61.

> Therefore, the artist should not truly be called an artist, except when he makes things full of artistry, and with some excellent form and purpose [4]. So, when the artist works as an artist in an art not his own, he can neither understand nor know the principles proper to that art [5]. Furthermore, the artist must not be subordinate to his material, but the material to its artist [3]; it is true that all the practical arts are concerned with the material [2], since the fulfilment of art lies in the material object that can be understood by the senses [1].

3 Bruno Nardi, 'Marcantonio e Teofilo Zimara: due filosofi Galatinesi del Cinquecento', in *Archivio storico pugliese* 8 (1955), 121–59, at 145–46.

4 Palamede, known as the Doctor of Atri, lived in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a friend of Cieco d'Adria (1541–85), the dramatist Luigi Groto. Palamede, Francesco Girolamo Bocchi, *Memorie di cinque illustri personaggi della città di Adria raccolte ed estese da Francesco-Girolamo Bocchi nobile adriese* (Modena, 1783).

5 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 85.

The entirety of this passage is a mosaic made up of separate entries from Palamede's *Tabula*, all beginning with the key words *Artifex* or *Artes*, and drawn from the same couple of pages of the handbook:

> [1] Artis complementum est res sensibilis et visibilis. 3. Caeli tex. com. 61
> [2] Artes operativae habent solicitudinem circa materiam. 2. Physi. com. 24. 25
> [3] Artifex non patitur a materia, sed materia ab artifice. 2. de Anima tex. com. 45
> [4] Artifex non vere dicitur artifex, nisi cum utitur artificio. 9. Metaph. com. 5
> [5] Artifex artis in quantum est artifex alterius artis non potest cognoscere principia recepta in illa arte. 2. phy. 22. 26.[6]
>
> [1] The fulfilment of art is the perceptible and visible thing.
> [2] The practical arts are concerned with the material.
> [3] The artist is not subject to the material, but the material to the artist.
> [4] An artist cannot truly be called an artist unless he uses artistry.
> [5] The artist working in an art, insofar as he works in the art of another, cannot understand the principles inherent in that art.

Scamozzi translates Palamede's entries fairly literally, with only very minimal additions and comments, citing the works of Aristotle in the marginal notes rather than his actual source. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the timing of his use of Zimara's and Palamede's digests, and the relationship between his consultation of these handbooks and the direct reading of some Aristotelian texts. Because of this, it is unclear whether he used the *Tabulae* simply to save time, obtaining an overview of the philosopher's thought without the need for extensive first-hand research, or whether they served him as a study guide, both supplying materials for direct use and also directing him towards passages that might repay in-depth consultation.

Another intermediate source that Scamozzi uses frequently, but for a somewhat different purpose, is the *Adagia* of Erasmus, a collection of sayings or proverbs drawn from classical texts and accompanied by short commentaries explaining their origin and often providing further quotations. The adages are not always—or even usually—direct quotations or translations: as a rule Erasmus takes a passage that presents some sort of general precept or maxim and then condenses and depersonalizes it, stripping out any superfluous material. The commentary accompanying each adage quotes and, for Greek works, translates the original source text, briefly discussing its context and meaning. The first collection of adages was published in 1500, and subsequently revised and expanded until the author's death in 1536, after

6 Giulio Palamede, *Tabula Iulii Palamedis Adriensis in Aristotelis Averroisque Opera* (Venice, 1561), fols C8*r*–D1*r*.

which it continued to be reprinted on numerous occasions in various European cities.[7]

In the *Idea*, Erasmus's compilation serves principally as a source of rhetorical *sententiae*: short, pithy sayings used to adorn or support an argument, rendered persuasive by the canonical status of the text or author from which they come. At the same time, Erasmus may have helped Scamozzi to fill a perceived gap in his knowledge: the *Adagia* are the source of all the quotations from Greek literature, and many of those from Latin literature, in Book I of the treatise. For both reasons, the materials drawn from the *Adagia* are always quoted directly, not paraphrased, and are often preceded in the text by formulas such as '*perciò disse* + author' or '*come disse* + author' ('as such and such an *author* said'); in his marginal notes, Scamozzi attributes the quotations to the original author or text. As with the digests of Aristotle, materials borrowed from the *Adagia* are often used cumulatively, with several quotations appearing in a single paragraph; in general, they add little of substance to Scamozzi's text and do not form a starting point for further discussion:

> Ma noi [. . .] si siamo affaticati XLV anni continovi [. . .] con quel detto de' Greci: '*semper superioris anni meliora*' e '*noctesque diesque*', ed anco come disse Virgilio: '*exercitatio potest omnia*', e tutto affine di non lasciar inrugginire quel talento che piacque alla Maestà d'Iddio, dator delle gratie, di donarci; perché come disse Homero: '*mortalis divum auxilium desiderat omnis*'.[8] Margin: Georg. Odissea.
>
> But we have toiled continuously for 45 years, in accordance with that Greek saying: 'past times were always better' and 'by night and by day', and also as Virgil said: 'practice accomplishes everything': and all in order to prevent from rusting that talent that it pleased the Lord God, bestower of graces, to give us; because, as Homer said: 'All mortals desire the help of the gods'.

As in this case, the exact nature of the quotation may vary: usually, the adage created by Erasmus is given, less often the original text or its translation drawn from the commentary, and even, on a handful of occasions, the entry in the index:

> *Adagia* 2492: Semper superioris anni proventus melior. Ἀεὶ τὰ πέρυσι βελτίω, id est Superior annus semper anteponitur. [. . .]. [Index: *Semper superioris anni meliora*].[9]

7 John N. Grant, 'Erasmus' Adages', in *Prolegomena to the Adages* (Toronto, 2017), 1–83, at 1–38.
8 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 4.
9 Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Des. Erasmi Rot. Adagiorum Chiliades Quatuor* (Basel, 1559), col. 861; Index, fol. cc*r*, col. 1.

> Last year's harvest was always better. Ἀεὶ τὰ πέρυσι βελτίω, that is, the previous year is always preferred. [. . .]. [Index: *Better things always belong to the previous year*].
>
> *Adagia* 324: *Noctesque diesque*. Assiduam atque infatigabilem diligentiam passim hac figura significant.[10]
>
> *By night and by day*. People often refer to assiduous and indefatigable diligence using this figure.
>
> *Adagia* 1153: *Exercitatio potest omnia*. Μελέτη πάντα δύναται, id est Cura omnia potest. [. . .]. Vergilius in Georgicis: Labor omnia vincit / Improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas [. . .]'.[11]
>
> *Practice accomplishes everything*. Μελέτη πάντα δύναται, that is, effort accomplishes everything. [. . .] Virgil in the Georgics: 'Unrelenting toil conquers all / and poverty, pressing under harsh circumstances [. . .]'.
>
> *Adagia* 2854: Sine ope divina nihil valemus. Manca est omnis mortalium industria omnisque conatus, nisi favor aspiret divinus. Ad id accommodare licebit Homericum illud ex eodem libro: Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ᾽ ἄνθρωποι, id est *Mortalis divum auxilium desiderat omnis*.[12]
>
> We are worth nothing without divine assistance. All mortal industry and every endeavour are vain unless divine favour breathes upon them. We can adapt to this that Homeric phrase from the same book: Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ᾽ ἄνθρωποι, that is, *Every mortal needs the help of the gods*.

A third intermediary source used by Scamozzi serves a hybrid purpose, combining the functions of the *Tabulae* and the *Adagia* to provide both factual information and learned quotations. This is the Latin dictionary compiled by the humanist Ambrogio Calepino and first published in 1502, followed by over fifty reprints in the first half of the sixteenth century alone.[13] Successive editions of the *Dictionarium* were enlarged and emended, by the author himself until his death in 1510 and subsequently by other editors and publishers in cities all over Europe. These changes comprised both significant additions to the original Latin text and the translation of the headwords into an increasing number of other languages, European and non-European. In 1552, the dictionary was translated into Italian by Lucilio Minerbi (*fl.* 1535–53). As with the sources discussed above, it is unclear which edition of the *Dictionarium* Scamozzi consulted, or, for that matter, whether he used a monolingual or multilin-

10 Erasmus, *Adagiorum*, col. 168.
11 Erasmus, *Adagiorum*, col. 473.
12 Erasmus, *Adagiorum*, col. 944.
13 Albert Labarre, *Bibliographie du Dictionarium d'Ambrogio Calepino (1502–1779)* (Baden Baden, 1975).

gual version, or both; he cannot have relied solely on the Italian translation, which omits many of the entries that provided information for the *Idea*.

Scamozzi probably turned to Calepino's dictionary primarily for precise definitions, and sometimes etymologies, of individual words—principally technical terms—such as '*aedificium*', '*architectura*', '*architectus*', '*archetypus*', and so forth:

> Il Modello si può dire che sia come noncio et espresso argomento della cosa che si ha da edificare; Archetypus è tanto quanto esemplare o modello, come si cava da Martiale e Plinio Cicilio scrivendo ad Antonio. Margin: libro 8.[14]

> We can say that the model is like an announcement and direct demonstration of the thing that is to be built; Archetypus means the same as exemplar or model, as we learn from Martial and Pliny the Younger writing to Antonius.

At the same time, Scamozzi took advantage of the fact that Calepino frequently illustrated his entries with examples from classical Latin texts to copy or reference these quotations as well:

> *Archetypus* [. . .] Modello [. . .] Est et *Archetypum* substantivum, quo significatur primum exemplar, quod quis sibi imitandum proponit: Plin. iun. ad Antonium: 'Ut pictores pulchram faciem in peius effingunt: ita ego ab hoc archetypo labor et decido'. Dicuntur etiam Archetypa signa, statuae, vasa et tabulae, non ad aliorum similitudinem efficta, sed a nobili quopiam artifice primum confecta. Martial. Libro 8. 'Archetypis vetuli nil est odiosius Aucti'.[15]

> *Archetypus* [. . .]. [Italian] Modello. [. . .] There is also the noun *Archetypum* which means the original model that someone proposes to imitate: Pliny the Younger to Antonius: 'As painters portray a beautiful face less perfectly, so I fall short and degenerate from this model'. Also known as *Archetypa* are images, statues, vases and paintings, not executed in imitation of those of others, but originally made by some renowned artist. Martial. Book 8. 'Nothing is more disagreeable than old Auctus's originals'.

Scamozzi's tendency to omit mention of his recent sources is not confined only to those that provided him with materials relating to the classical world. His extensive debts to early modern writers on art and architecture are rarely acknowledged, and—aside from a handful of marginal notes—tend to be restricted to brief allusions in lists of authorities on these subjects. Nonetheless, we can sometimes reconstruct his use of such sources thanks in part to information provided in the *Idea* and in part to Scamozzi's own annotated books where these survive. An example is the short discussion of the wooden model by Antonio da Sangallo

14 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 51.

15 Ambrogio Calepino, *Ambrosii Calepini dictionarium* (Venice, 1558), fol. 35*r*.

the Younger (1484–1546) for St Peter's, implicitly presented as an account based on first-hand observation, but in fact deeply indebted to the *Vite* of Giorgio Vasari (1511–74):

> Il modello della chiesa di San Pietro di Roma, veduto più volte da noi, d'inventione di Antonio San Gallo e *fatto da Antonio Labaco suo creato*, era lungo piedi 22, largo 16 et alto circa 13 de' nostri, e circa una trentesima parte dell'opera, *il quale solo de' maestri e legnami costò circa 4184 scudi di Roma*, et *all'architetto ne furono poi assegnati 1500*.[16]
>
> The model of St Peter's church in Rome, which we have seen several times, an invention by Antonio San Gallo *and made by his apprentice Antonio Labaco*, was 22 of our feet long, 16 wide and about 13 high, and about a thirtieth part of the work itself, and *it cost about 4184 Roman scudi just for master carpenters and wood*, and *the architect was later given 1500*.

Though the measurements provided by Scamozzi probably reflect first-hand knowledge of the model as they are given in Venetian feet, the remainder of the account simply repeats information found in Vasari. The borrowing is strongly suggested already by the word '*creato*', meaning apprentice or assistant, common in Vasari but not used elsewhere by Scamozzi. It finds further corroboration from another source: Scamozzi's copy of the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*, studied by Lucia Collavo, contains numerous annotations in the form of symbols and brief notes. The specific passage under consideration here presents symbols marking all of the various pieces of information offered by Scamozzi in the *Idea*: the cost of the wood and the carpenters, the name of Antonio Labacco (1495–1570), responsible for making the model, and the sum of money owed for his work:[17]

> Ma tutto quello che Antonio fece di giovamento e d'utilità al mondo è nulla a paragone del modello della venerandissima e stupendissima fabbrica di san Pietro di Roma [. . .] come si può vedere *nel modello fatto per mano d'Antonio d'Abaco suo creato*, di legname ed interamente finito. [. . .] Poco dopo la morte d'Antonio, si trovò, che detto modello di san Pietro *costò (quanto appartiene solamente all'opere de' legnaiuoli e legname) scudi quattro mila cento ottantaquattro*. [. . .] *Fu donato ad Antonio*, per la fatica di questo suo modello, e molti disegni fatti, da i deputati sopra la fabbrica di San Pietro, *scudi mille cinquecento* [. . .].[18]
>
> But all that Antonio did of benefit and utility to the world is as nothing compared to the model of the most venerable and stupendous Basilica of St Peter's in Rome [. . .] as can be seen from the model made by the hand of Antonio d'Abaco his apprentice, of wood and completely finished. [. . .] Shortly after Antonio's death, it was found that the aforemen-

16 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 51.

17 Lucia Collavo, 'L'esemplare dell'edizione giuntina de Le Vite di Giorgio Vasari letto e annotato da Vincenzo Scamozzi', in *Saggi e Memorie di storia dell'arte* 29 (2005), 1–213, at 65 n. 90.

18 Giorgio Vasari, *Delle vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori et architettori Scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari [. . .] Primo Volume della Terza Parte* (Florence, 1568), 320–21.

> tioned model of St Peter's cost (for the work of the carpenters and the wood alone) 4184 *scudi*. [. . .] For his efforts in making this model and numerous drawings, Antonio received 1500 *scudi* from the authorities in charge of St Peter's [. . .].

Scamozzi's concealment of his modern sources raises the issue of how to classify this practice at a time when often undeclared imitation was the norm for all texts, literary and factual. Particularly interesting is the grey area falling between imitation proper, where materials inspired by source texts are fully assimilated into a new context, and plagiarism, where whole texts, or substantial portions of them, are copied without acknowledgement. This grey area, termed '*furto*', or 'theft', by Amedeo Quondam, comprises all those practices that involve unacknowledged copying, adaptation or translation but that do not rise to the level of plagiarism in terms of quantity.[19] Scamozzi's uncredited use of Zimara, Palamede, Erasmus and Calepino (but we could also add other Renaissance sources like Vasari) falls into this latter category: far short of plagiarism in terms of quantity and perhaps in intent to deceive, but nonetheless illicit to some degree and much complained about in the Renaissance and beyond. His practice in the *Idea* thus shares aspects of a specific form of plagiarism typical of the second half of the sixteenth century and practiced particularly by a group of writers usually known collectively as the '*poligrafi*' for the heterogeneous nature of their production. Paolo Cherchi's seminal study of this phenomenon identifies the salient feature of this form of plagiarism as pseudo-erudition: the copying of materials relating to the ancient world from Renaissance humanist sources, especially printed reference works such as florilegia and compendia. The works of the '*poligrafi*' also share some stylistic traits: the tendency to accumulate long lists of facts or anecdotes relating to the classical world, the ostentatious citation of preferably obscure texts and authors, and the frequent use of Latin quotations. In contrast to true humanists, the '*poligrafi*' were either unable or unwilling to undertake first-hand research on ancient texts, and their understanding of antiquity was thus often superficial and second-hand.[20]

Though Scamozzi's debts to Renaissance reference works are far less extensive than those of the '*poligrafi*', his writing practice does share some important features with them. The intermediate sources used in the *Idea* are of the same general type as those exploited by plagiarists, to whom Erasmus in particular provided a copious supply of materials. Like the '*poligrafi*', Scamozzi owes a debt to print technology, which ensured increasing access to an ever-proliferating range

19 Amedeo Quondam, 'Note su imitazione, furto e plagio nel Classicismo', in Roberto Gigliucci ed., *Furto e plagio nella letteratura del Classicismo* (Rome, 1998), 373–400, at 399.

20 Paolo Cherchi, *Polimatia di riuso: mezzo secolo di plagio (1539–1589)* (Rome, 1998).

of handbooks, dictionaries and encyclopaedias; he also displays an extremely high level of skill in using these new aids to scholarship. In his case, digests and compendia offered an easy and time-efficient way of supplementing the information gleaned from the in-depth first-hand reading and annotation of sources, less a substitute for learning than an addition to it. Scamozzi likewise shares with the '*poligrafi*' the cultural value and prestige attached to an extensive knowledge of classical texts and authors, and the desire to flaunt this erudition through an accumulation of overtly signalled quotations and citations. This cataloguing style of writing, in evidence in passages of the *Idea* reliant on intermediate sources, also creeps into sections based on Scamozzi's own research, especially those relating to the ancient world. Here we find the same combination of ostentatious citation of classical authorities, Latin quotations and an encyclopaedic, but often superficial or piecemeal, display of erudition so common in the literature of the late sixteenth century. The result is a stylistic divergence between those sections of the *Idea* that concern antiquity or that rely predominantly on ancient sources, and the far more discursive and relaxed style of chapters in which Scamozzi draws on his own personal knowledge and experience.

Instances in which Scamozzi fails to acknowledge his debts to source texts are not the only cases of misleading citation in the *Idea*. On many other occasions, his sources are correctly credited, but the contents or tenor of the original text are misinterpreted or manipulated in some way. Such instances range from cases of simple misunderstanding to others where the source text seems to have been deliberately altered to suit Scamozzi's own arguments or priorities.

Failures to understand the literal meaning of source texts are common and occur particularly when Scamozzi uses Renaissance Latin translations of Greek sources, as he does in almost all cases (the principal exception being Strabo (64/3 BC–*c.*24 AD), for whom an Italian version is preferred). An example is his short description of the temple of Hera at Argos:

> Parimente, Eupolemo argivo fu architetto del tempio di Giunone vicino a Micena, nel quale, come dice Pausania, *vi erano colonne ornate con la pugna de' giganti* e *nel vestibulo* molte statue delle sacerdotesse, et altre *a destra e sinistra dell'entrata*, le quali erano di molta stima. Margin: [Pausanias] lib. 2, fac. 138.[21]

> Similarly, Eupolemos of Argos was the architect of the temple of Juno near Mycenae in which, as Pausanias says, *there were columns decorated with the war against the giants*, and *in the vestibule* were many statues of the priestesses, and others *to the right and left of the entrance* that were highly regarded.

21 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 15.

As we learn from the marginal note, the description draws on the Latin translation of Pausanias (*c*.110–*c*.180) by Romolo Amaseo (1489–1552):

> Fani architectum Argivum Eupolemum produnt. Quae *supra columnas opera sunt, ea partim ad Iovis natales, partim ad Gigantum cum dis pugnam, partim etiam ad Troianum bellum et Iliii eversionem* pertinent. *Statuae pro vestibulo stant*, cum foeminarum, quae sacerdotio Iunonis functae fuerint, tum heroum, et aliorum [. . .]. *In primo templi aditu, ad laevam* Gratiarum prisci operis signa extant, *ad dexteram* Iunonis lectus.[22]

> They say that Eupolemos of Argos was the architect of the temple. *The works that are above the columns allude in part to the birth of Jupiter, in part to the war between the giants and the gods, and in part to the Trojan War and the sack of Troy*. *In front of the vestibule are statues*, some of women who served in the priesthood of Juno, some of heroes and others. [. . .] *Inside the front entrance of the temple are, to the left*, statues of the Graces of ancient workmanship and, *to the right*, the couch of Juno.

Though brief, Scamozzi's account is riddled with both omissions and errors. He interprets Pausanias's description of the 'works above the columns'—presumably either the pediment statues or the sculpted metopes, or both—to mean that the columns themselves are decorated. He leaves out three of the four subjects listed by Pausanias for these: the birth of Zeus, the Trojan War and the sack of Troy. Immediately afterwards, he positions the statues of priestesses within the vestibule, though Pausanias says that they are in front of the temple entrance, and notes that there were unspecified 'others' (though it is not clear if he means more statues of priestesses or simply more statues) to the left and right of the entrance – these, according to Pausanias, were inside the building. Here, too, numerous details are missing: Pausanias lists multiple subjects for the statues outside the entrance, not just priestesses of Hera, and specifies that the works on the left and right-hand sides of the front chamber are statues of the Graces and the couch of the goddess. Similar errors occur frequently whenever Scamozzi relies on Renaissance Latin translations of Greek texts for his accounts of ancient architectural works. To give just a couple of examples, he describes the Greek theatre at Epidaurus as round—as an amphitheatre—because his source, again Pausanias, mentions the theatre and a separate round building, the so-called tholos, in the same sentence. The description by Diodorus Siculus (*c*.97–*c*.27 BC) of the funeral pyre built by Alexander the Great (356–23 BC) for Hephaestion is mistaken for an account of the tomb of Alexander himself; Scamozzi also describes it as being shaped like a pyramid, misreading the word '*pyram*', 'pyre', as a contraction.

The frequency of such unintentional mistakes raises questions about Scamozzi's linguistic skills and reading practices. How good was his Latin in fact? Why

22 Pausanias, *Pausaniae de Florentiss. Veteris Graeciae Regionibus Commentarii* (Basel, 1557), 138.

was he apparently capable of reading and understanding the difficult text of Vitruvius (*c*.80–70 BC– after *c*.15 BC), while his renderings of the (usually far more straightforward) humanist translations of Greek texts are so often inaccurate? To some extent, the difference may simply be one of time and attention: as he himself writes, Scamozzi studied Vitruvius repeatedly and in depth from a young age. He may also have been more reliant on translations and commentaries than he admits: Vitruvius is always quoted directly in Latin and the many available study aids are mentioned only rarely. Scamozzi's evident difficulties with Latin in turn make it hard to understand why he so often chose to read Greek texts in their Latin translations, even when Italian versions were available. For some authors, including Pausanias, the deciding factor was probably timing: when the first Italian translation by Alfonso Buonacciuoli (d. 1593) appeared in 1593 Scamozzi had already collected at least some information from a Latin version of this source, as we know from his manuscript *Sommari* of 1586.[23] For other works, the issue is less easy to resolve: printed Italian versions of Herodotus (*c*.484–*c*.25 BC) and Diodorus, to name but two, were available long before Scamozzi was born. In these cases, Scamozzi may have had difficulties in accessing the translations or, more simply, been unaware of their existence. Regardless, he clearly considered Latin translations more authoritative and prestigious: in the case of Strabo, the numerous paraphrases are based on the Italian text by Buonacciuoli, but the handful of direct quotations come from the Latin version by Wilhelm Holtzman, called Xylander (1532–76).[24] Irrespective of his motivations, the frequency with which Scamozzi misunderstands his sources raises the possibility that these errors may have influenced his view of ancient architecture as well as his own architectural designs. Did Scamozzi (or his architect-readers) incorporate specific details or forms into his designs or built projects in the mistaken belief that he was quoting a famous structure of antiquity? Might the cumulative effect of his misreadings have conditioned his understanding of classical architecture and its development as a whole? All these are aspects deserving of further consideration.

Though Scamozzi's erroneous readings of sources are generally his responsibility alone, some mistakes are traditional and shared with others. A particularly complicated example is his account of the achievements of the early Roman architects Cossutius (*fl*. 175–64 BC) and Gaius Mucius (end second century BC), drawn from

23 Angelo Fabrizi, 'Vincenzo Scamozzi e gli scrittori antichi (studio sui "Sommari" inediti)', in *Studi secenteschi* 17 (1976), 101–37.

24 Strabo, *La prima [- seconda] parte della Geografia di Strabone, di greco tradotta in volgare italiano da M. Alfonso Buonacciuoli* (Venice, 1562 [1565]). Xylander, *Strabonis nobilissimi et doctissimi philosophi ac geographi rerum geographicarum commentarij libris XVII contenti, Latini facti. Guilielmo Xylandro Augustano interprete* (Basel, 1571).

Book VII of Vitruvius's *De architectura*, part of a catalogue of writers on architecture. The passage in question merits a more detailed treatment because, as well as clarifying the origins of Scamozzi's errors, it also effectively illustrates the difficulties encountered by early modern readers in understanding Vitruvius's obscure text, and the long and tortuous process of emending, elucidating and translating it:

> Poi de' romani, dice Vitruvio che vissero famosi Cosutio e Gaio Mutio, ambedoi cittadini; il primo finì con gran magisterio il famoso tempio di Giove Olimpo in Athene, sotto al Re Antioco (come dicessimo), havendolo adornato di marmi da tutte quattro le faccie, con bellissima dispositione. Egli pigliò anco assunto del *tempio di Giove Olimpo in Asti*, opera grandissima et ornatissima, d'ordine corinto. Poi Gaio Mutio, huomo di lettere e di scientia, ordinò con veri termini d'architettura (se bene di materia lateritia) *il tempio dell'Honore e della Virtù della Cella Mariana*, con colonne ed ornamenti sopra fatti con grandissima diligenza.[25]
>
> Then, of the Romans, Vitruvius says that Cossutius and Gaius Mucius, both citizens, enjoyed fame in their lifetime; the former masterfully completed the famous temple of Olympian Jupiter in Athens under King Antiochus (as we have said), adorning it with marble on all four facades, in a beautiful design. He was also responsible for the *temple of Olympian Jupiter at Asti*, a very large and ornate work in the Corinthian order. Then Gaius Mucius, a man of letters and science, designed *the temple of Honos and Virtus of the Marian Cella* in keeping with the true principles of architecture (though it was made of brick), with columns and ornaments above them executed with great diligence.

Scamozzi mentions two ancient works of architecture, one fictitious and one bizarrely named: a temple of Olympian Jupiter in Asti, designed by Cossutius, and a brick temple in Rome built by Gaius Mucius which he calls 'the temple of Honos and Virtus of the Marian Cella'. The ultimate source of these problems is instantly apparent from the relevant passage of Vitruvius:

> *In asty* vero Olympium amplo modulorum comparatu corinthiis symmetriis et proportionibus, uti supra scriptum est, architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur, cuius commentarium nullum est inventum. Nec tamen a Cossutio solum de his rebus scripta sunt desideranda sed etiam a G. Mucio, qui magna scientia confisus *aedis Honoris et Virtutis Marianae cellae* columnarumque et epistyliorum symmetrias legitimis artis institutis perfecit.[26]
>
> At Athens, as I have already said, Cossutius is recorded as having undertaken the design of the Olympeion using a system of larger modules following Corinthian commensurability and proportions, but no written account by him has been found. But it would be desirable to have writings on these subjects not just from Cossutius; there is also Gaius Mucius, who, relying on

25 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 15. See also chapter 2 in this volume.
26 Vitruvius, *De architectura*, VII proem. 17.

> his great technical skill, perfected the modularity of the cella, the columns and the architraves of Marius' Temple of Honour and Valour according to the accepted rules of the art.[27]

In the first instance, as he often does, Vitruvius transliterates a Greek word in his text: 'ἄστῠ', 'city', here referring to Athens and presumably misunderstood by Scamozzi as a reference to Asti in Piemonte. As a result, he credits Cossutius with the design of two temples: one in Athens, mentioned immediately beforehand in both his own text and that of Vitruvius, and one in Italy. In the second case, the confusion is caused by Vitruvius's sentence structure: the adjective '*Marianae*', 'of Marius', referring to the temple, has instead become attached to '*cellae*', which immediately follows: the 'Temple of the Honos and Virtus of Marius' has thus become a temple of the 'Marian cella'.

Though the root source of Scamozzi's errors is easily identified, he did not arrive at this interpretation single-handedly. Unlike the previous examples of misreading, the erroneous rendering of this passage has a long history that begins with the 1521 translation of Vitruvius by Cesare Cesariano (1475–1543), the first complete Italian version to appear in print. Cesariano's rendering mentions first what seems to be a temple of Mars and then two separate temples, one dedicated to *Honos* and one to *Virtus*, and some '*mariane celle*' ('Marian cellas')—given the wording it is unclear whether these should be understood as a part of one of the temples or as an entirely separate structure. The very extensive marginal commentary on the text is of little assistance as it carefully avoids both issues:

> *Ma a Marte ad Olympum*, con amplo vestibulo, acomparato de moduli con le Corynthie symmetrie e proportione (sì como è scripto di sopra) da architectare Cossutio haverlo suscepto è memorato, di'l quale niuno commentario si è trovato. Né anche perhò da Cossutio solamente de queste cose li scripti sono da essere desiderate, ma anchora da Gneo C. Mutio, il quale ne la gran scientia confidato, le *aede del Honore e de la Virtute e le mariane celle* e de le columne e de li Epistylii le symmetrie con le legiptime institutione l'è perfinite.[28]

> But it is recorded that Cossutius took on the design of *[the temple of] Mars at Olympus* [!], with a large vestibule, constructed using modules with the symmetries and proportions of the Corinthian order (as is written above); no commentary by him has been found. Nor are writings about such matters by Cossutius alone sought after, but also by Gnaeus C. Mutius, who, trusting in his great expertise, completed *the temples of Honos and Virtus and the Marian cellas*, and the symmetries of the columns and the architraves according to true precepts.

27 Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, tr. Richard Schofield (London, 2009), 196.

28 Cesare Cesariano tr., *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione De architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare* (Como, 1521), fol. CX*v*.

Cesariano relied on a variety of different sources for his translation of the *De architectura*.[29] Here he seems to have used the 1496 Florentine edition, an emended version of the *editio princeps* published in Rome by Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli (*c*.1440–after 1508) in around 1486.[30] The source is identified by the inclusion of the phrase '*uti supra scriptum est*' ('as is written above'), translated by Cesariano but absent from both the Roman edition and its Venetian derivative of 1497, which read simply '*uti est*' ('as it is'):

> Marti vero ad olympum amplo modulorum comparatu cdrinthiis [sic.] symmetriis et proportionibus uti supra scriptum est architectandum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur, cuius commentarium nullum est inventum. Nec tamen a Cossutio solum de his rebus scripta sunt desideranda, sed etiam a C. Mutio, qui magna scientia confisus aedes Honoris et Virtutis marianae cellae columnarumque et epistyliorum symmetriis legitimis artis institutis perfecit.[31]

In this case, at least, Cesariano's choice of base text was unfortunate; in his *Castigationes Plinianae et in Pomponium Melam* of 1492–93, Ermolao Barbaro (1454–93) had proposed some emendations to the first part of this passage that clarified its meaning:

> Caeterum in Vitruvio non 'masti' sed 'in asti' legendum videtur, hoc est in civitate: ita enim per quandam exochen Athenae vocabantur, et Alexandria Aegypti quoque, ut ait Stephanus. Idem error libro septimo: 'Marti – inquit – ad Olympum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur'; scribendum enim non 'Marti ad Olympum', sed 'in asti Iovem Olympium'.[32]

> Besides, it is clear that in Vitruvius we should read not '*masti*' but '*in asti*', that is to say in the city: this is how they referred to Athens by a sort of antonomasia, and also to Alexandria in Egypt, as Stephanus says. The same error occurs in book seven: '*Marti*' – he says '*ad Olympum Cossutius suscepisse memoratur*'; this should be written not '*Marti ad Olympum*' but '*in asti Iovem Olympium*'.

Barbaro elucidates both the origin of the odd reference to '*Marti*' ('to Mars')—presumably an attempt to correct the non-existent '*Masti*', in turn a scribal error for '*in asti*' [i.e. in the city]—and its meaning, a reference to the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens. His changes were accepted by Giocondo in his 1511 edition of the

29 Francesco Paolo Fiore, 'La traduzione vitruviana di Cesare Cesariano', in Silvia Danesi Squarzina ed., *Roma centro ideale dell'antico nei secoli XV e XVI: da Martino V a Leone X* (Milan, 1989), 458–66.

30 Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo da Verona and His Edition of Vitruvius', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 72–90, at 73.

31 Vitruvius, *L. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura libri decem* (Florence, 1496), fols F5*v*–F6*r*.

32 Hermolai Barbari, *Castigationes Plinianae at in Pomponium Melam*, Giovanni Pozzi ed., (Padua, 1978–79), vol. 3, 1293; Ciapponi, 'Fra Giocondo', 81–82.

De architectura, which consequently reads somewhat differently from its predecessors, presenting a version of this passage almost identical to that still preserved in modern editions.[33]

Cesariano's vernacular translation of Vitruvius was followed a few years later by that of Francesco Lucio Durantino (*fl*. 1522–37), published in Venice in 1524, without a commentary but provided with an ample glossary of terms. Perhaps to resolve the evident problems with Cesariano's version, Durantino turned to Giocondo's Latin edition, thus offering his readers an Italian translation that incorporated Barbaro's proposed changes:

> *Ma in Asti* Iove Olimpio con amplo comparatu de moduli, con le Corinthie Simmetrie e proportione (sì come è scripto di sopra) da architectare Cossutio haverlo suscepto è memorato, di 'l quale niuno commentario si è trovato, né anche però da C. Mutio, il quale ne la grande Scientia confidato le *Ede del Honore e de la Virtute de la mariana cella*, e de le colonne e de li Epistilij le simmetrie con le legitime institutione del arte perfinite.[34]
>
> But it is recorded that *in Asti*, Cossutius took on the construction of [the temple of] Olympian Jupiter with a large system of modules, with the symmetries and proportions of the Corinthian order (as is written above); no commentary by him has been found, nor by C. Mutius either, who, trusting to his great skill, completed the *Temples of Honos and Virtus of the Marian cella*, and the symmetries of the columns and of the architraves with the true precepts of the art.

Following Giocondo, Durantino correctly identifies the first temple as that of Olympian Zeus, but describes it as being '*in Asti*', thus giving rise to the confusion that will persist into Scamozzi's treatise and beyond. (In a note to a subsequent occurrence of '*Asty*', again referring to Athens, Durantino glosses the toponym as '*una città e regione del Asia*', 'a city and region of Asia'.)[35] He retains the two temples of Honos and Virtus, but emends Cesariano's plural '*mariane celle*' to read '*mariana cella*', correctly understanding the original '*marianae*' as a genitive singular rather than a nominative plural, but continuing to attach it to '*cellae*' rather than to the temple. Once again, the very literal translation makes it difficult to determine whether Durantino understands the '*mariana cella*' as a toponym, describing the location of the temples, or as a reference to a part of them, like the columns and the architraves.

A new edition of Durantino's translation appeared in 1535, published by Niccolò Zoppino (before 1478–after 1544). Though often described as simply a reprint

33 Giovanni Giocondo ed., *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit* (Venice, 1511).

34 Francesco Lucio Durantino, *M. L. Vitruvio Pollione De architectura traducto di latino in vulgare dal vero exemplare* (Venice, 1524), fol. 69*v*.

35 Durantino, *M. L. Vitruvio*, fol. AA4*r*, col. 1.

of its predecessor, the text had in fact been substantially revised, moving decisively away from the attempts to replicate Latin spelling and word order so apparent in the first edition. Not coincidentally, perhaps, the intervening years had seen the publication of one of the most influential works in the history of written Italian, the *Prose della volgar lingua* of 1525 by Pietro Bembo (1470–1547). Bembo's call for a return to the fourteenth-century Tuscan of Petrarch (1304–74) and Boccaccio (1313–75) led to the gradual abandonment of the overtly Latinate style popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and the effects of this shift are clearly apparent even in the short passage under consideration here, more idiomatic and fluent in style. Nonetheless, the revision did little to rectify the problems of interpretation present in the earlier edition; the only substantive change is the emendation of '*de la mariana cella*' to '*alla Mariana cella*', an indication that Durantino now understood this to be a place name:

> Ma (sì come di sopra è scritto), Cossutio havere tolto la impresa da fabricare *in Asti* Giove Olimpio con ampio comparato de moduli, con le Corinthie simmetrie et proportioni è ricordato: non però di lui Commentario alcuno si è ritrovato, nè da Cossutio solamente sono di queste cose li scritti desiderati, ma anchora di C. Mutio, il quale nella grande scientia confidatosi, fece *li Tempii dello Honore e della Virtute alla Mariana cella*, e le Simmetrie delle colonne e delli Epistillii con legitime institutioni della arte.[36]
>
> But (as is written above), it is recorded that Cossutius took on the task of building the [temple of] Olympian Jupiter *in Asti*, using a large system of modules, and the symmetries and proportions of the Corinthian order: however, no commentary by him has been found. Nor are writings about these matters by Cossutius alone sought after, but also by C. Mutius, who, trusting in his great skill, made the *Temples of Honos and Virtus at the 'Marian Cella'*, and the symmetries of the columns and the architraves with the true precepts of the art.

Scamozzi certainly knew of Cesariano's translation and at least of Durantino's 1535 edition: the former is mentioned in the *Idea* and the latter in his annotations to the 1567 translation by Daniele Barbaro (1514–70).[37] However, his direct source for this passage was almost certainly the later Italian version by Barbaro, of which three successive editions appeared in 1556, 1567 and 1584. Scamozzi owned and annotated copies of both the 1556 and 1567 Italian editions, alongside the 1567 Latin edition and commentary.[38] Barbaro's translation is more readable than

36 Francesco Lucio Durantino ed., *M. L. Vitruvio Pollione Di Architettura dal vero esemplare latino nella volgar lingua tradotto* (Venice, 1535), fol. 15*v*.

37 *Idea*, I, 18; Branko Mitrovic and Vittoria Senes, 'Vincenzo Scamozzi's Annotations to Daniele Barbaro's Commentary on Vitruvius' *De Architectura*', in *Annali di architettura* 14 (2002), 195–213, at 212.

38 Katherine Isard, 'The Practice of Theory in Scamozzi's Annotated Architecture Books', unpublished PhD dissertation (Columbia University, 2014), esp. 105–26.

those of his predecessors, but in other respects his rendering of this specific portion of text improves little on the efforts of Durantino. The specification '*in Asti*' returns to describe the location of the temple completed by Cossutius, as does the designation of '*cella mariana*' applied to the temple designed by Mucius:

> *In Asti* si dice ancho, che Cossutio si pigliò la impresa di far Giove Olimpio con amplissimi moduli, et di misure et proportioni Corinthie, come s'è detto di sopra, del qual niuno commentario è stato ritrovato. Né solamente da Cossutio tal sorte di scritti sono da desiderare, ma ancho da Caio Mutio, il quale confidatosi nella sua grande scienza, con legitime ordinationi dell'arte condusse a fine il *Tempio dell'honore et della virtù della cella Mariana*, et le proportioni delle misure et de gli Architravi.[39]

> It is also said that *in Asti*, Cossutius took on the task of building [the temple of] Olympian Jupiter with very large modules, and with the measurements and proportions of the Corinthian order, as we have said above; no commentary by him has been found. Nor are such writings by Cossutius alone sought after, but also by Gaius Mucius who, trusting to his great skill, brought to completion the *Temple of Honos and Virtus of the Marian cella*, and the proportions of the measurements and of the architraves with the true precepts of the art.

Unlike Durantino, Daniele Barbaro knew that 'Asti' was synonymous with Athens: a subsequent occurrence of the word in Book VIII is glossed to explain that '*per Asti intende Athene*' ('by Asti he means Athens').[40] Nonetheless, when read without the support of this later comment, his decision to follow Vitruvius and maintain the pretentious loanword creates an obvious ambiguity. As concerns the second structure, Barbaro, like Durantino in his 1524 translation, makes the '*Marian cella*' a part of the name of the temple, here identified correctly as a single building. As with 'Asti', Scamozzi might have gained a better understanding of Barbaro's meaning by cross-referencing this mention of the temple with another in Book III, where we read of the '*cella [. . .] Mariana dell'Honore et della virtù, fatto da Mutio*' ('the Marian cella of Honos and Virtus, made by Mutius'), where 'cella' probably stands for the temple as a whole.[41] Nonetheless, Barbaro was clearly uncertain about the exact nature of the structure. In his commentary to this latter passage, he states that '*Mario similmente edificò un Tempio all'Honore, et dal Tempio della virtù s'entrava*' ('Marius likewise built a Temple to Honos, and it was entered from the Temple of Virtus'), suggesting that he envisioned two separate temples, joined in a single complex to create a sort of allegorical structure by which manly valour led to honour.

39 Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio, tradotti & commentati da Mons. Daniel Barbaro* (Venice, 1567), 309.
40 Barbaro, *I dieci libri* (1567), 336.
41 Barbaro, *I dieci libri* (1567), 120.

As has been seen, then, Scamozzi in this case is far from solely responsible for his mistaken interpretation of Vitruvius; his misreadings ultimately result from the gradual accretion, emendation and reintroduction of mistakes over time. Nor is he the last to misinterpret this particularly thorny passage, which continues to lead translators and commentators into the same or similar errors until at least the mid-nineteenth century.

Instances in which Scamozzi simply misunderstands the meaning of a source are accompanied by others in which misreadings are compounded by the deliberate alteration of the content or spirit of the texts on which he draws. In his brief overview of the achievements of the Athenian architect Philon (fourth century BC), for example, Scamozzi claims that the celebrated arsenal that he designed for the city of Athens was mentioned by none other than Plato (*c*. 423–*c*. 347 BC) in the *Gorgias*, and provides a strangely ungrammatical quotation in support of this assertion:

> Fu di gran nome e riputatione Filone, perché narra l'istesso Plinio ch'egli facesse il famoso Arsenale d'Athene; e nelle cose d'Athene Platone lo connumera dicendo: '*Scis utique haec navalia et moenia Athenarum, portusque dispositionem partim*', per grandezza e per proportione capace di mille navilii, benché Strabone dica quattrocento [. . .].[42] Margin: [Pliny, *Natural History*] li. 7, c. 37 | [Plato] De Rheto. [=*Gorgias*] f. 235, col. 1. m. | [Strabo] lib. 9, fac. 161.

> Philon enjoyed considerable renown and repute since, as Pliny himself recounts, he built the famous Arsenal of Athens, and Plato lists it among the buildings of Athens, saying '*you know that these shipyards and walls of Athens, and the fitting out of the harbour in part*'; thanks to its size and proportions it could hold a thousand ships, though Strabo says four hundred [. . .].

The quotation comes from one of the numerous identical editions of Plato's collected works in the Latin translation by Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) published in Lyon from 1548 onwards by Antoine Vincent (before 1532–after 1572) and his heirs:

> *Gor[gias]*: Conabor equidem omnem tibi rhetoricae facultatem planius explicare. Ipse enim perbelle ad id nos deduxisti. *Scis utique haec navalia et moenia Athenarum, portusque dispositionem partim Themosticlis, partim Periclis, non opificum consilio esse constructa.*[43]

> *Gorgias*: I will therefore attempt to explain to you more clearly all the power of rhetoric. For you have elegantly led us to this point. *You know that these shipyards and walls of Athens, and the layout of the harbour, were built in part on the advice of Themistocles, in part on that of Pericles, not on that of the builders*.

42 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 14.

43 Marsilio Ficino tr., *Omnia divini Platonis opera tralatione Marsilii Ficini* (Lyon, 1548), 235, col. 1.

Scamozzi's claim that Plato mentioned Philon's arsenal seems to be a simple misunderstanding: the '*navalia*' ('docks' or 'shipyards') referenced in the text are read as an allusion to this structure, alongside the walls and harbours of Athens. In fact—though Scamozzi may well not have known this—Plato mentions neither Philon nor his arsenal, nor could he have done so: its construction is generally dated to around 330 BC, some fifty years after the composition of the *Gorgias* in the 380s BC. This does not, however, explain the strange truncation of the quotation itself, which lacks the subordinate clause introduced by '*scis utique*' ('you know that') and ends abruptly with '*partim*' ('in part'), which has nothing to refer to. That the omission of the second half of the sentence was the result of a deliberate decision, rather than an incidental error, is evident both from its contents and its context. In this section of the *Gorgias*, the rhetorician of the same name (485 or 483–*c*.375 BC), in debate with Socrates (470/469 BC–399 BC), argues in favour of the powers of oratory to act for the common good. He contends that credit for the construction of the shipyards and walls of Athens, and the fitting out of its harbour, should go not to those who designed and built these structures (the '*opifices*'), but to the politicians Themistocles (*c*.524–*c*.459 BC) and Pericles (*c*.495–29 BC), and their skill at public speaking. This assertion clearly contradicts the prominent role assigned to architects throughout the *Idea*, thus forcing Scamozzi to cut the sentence short.

The truncation of the quotation from Plato appears to be both deliberate and mendacious, misrepresenting the meaning of the original text. However, Scamozzi may also have been influenced in his treatment of his source by the way in which he read it. The editions of Plato published by the Vincent press, like others, contained various aids to consultation: a detailed analytical index, with references to key concepts grouped under headwords and indicating their position on the relevant page (column 1 or 2, and the approximate location within the column: beginning, middle and end), and brief marginal annotations signalling important contents. Almost all the quotations from Plato included in Book I of the *Idea* are marked in this way and the passage in question is no exception; it is referenced in the index as: '*Athenarum moenia et navalia quorum consilio constructa sint 235.1.m*' ('on whose advice the walls and shipyards of Athens were built', [page] 235 [column] 1, middle').[44] There is thus a real—though not verifiable—possibility that Scamozzi never actually read Plato's text in any meaningful sense, but instead simply perused the index to find suitable passages for incorporation into his own work, guided by the key words. Such a decontextualized reading practice might explain the ease with which Scamozzi disregards the overall

44 Plato, fol. β1r, col. 2.

meaning of the texts that he cites, incorporating quotations or paraphrases into his own work without consideration for their original context.

The crucial role of context for Scamozzi's interpretation of his sources is best illustrated by cases in which a single passage is referenced more than once and tailored in each case to suit its specific purpose. One such instance is Vitruvius's account of the law governing public contracts granted to architects in the Greek city of Ephesus.[45] According to the Roman author, this law stipulated that any architect chosen to execute a public project was to submit an official estimate of costs to the city authorities, putting up their own property as collateral. If the architect completed the project on or under budget he was rewarded with public honours; if he went over budget by up to a quarter, the city covered the extra expenditure; if he exceeded the amount specified by over a quarter, the city used the architect's properties to make up the difference. Vitruvius then goes on to lament the lack of a similar law in Rome and the resulting costs in terms of a proliferation of incompetent architects, bankrupt patrons and unfinished projects. Scamozzi cites this passage twice in Book I of the *Idea*. On the first occasion, in chapter 6, the context is a discussion of the rewards due to excellent architects and writers on architecture. Here, the Ephesian law is mentioned simply as an example of the generosity with which the ancients honoured public architects, carefully omitting any mention of fines and penalties to focus exclusively on the remuneration:

> Per quello c'habbiamo da Cicerone, da Vitruvio et da Catone nell'Agricoltura, si vede che già appresso gli Effesii era una legge et un instituto di honorare e premiare grandemente gli architetti c'havevano carico publico.[46]
>
> Based on what we learn from Cicero, Vitruvius and Cato in *De agricultura*, we see that already among the Ephesians it was a law and a custom to honour and reward lavishly the architects who held public offices.

The point is further supported by a list of rulers who generously remunerated their architects, from Alexander the Great to the emperor Charles V (1500–58), King François I of France (1494–1547) and Duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Florence (1519–74), thus bringing an ancient practice up to date.

The Ephesian law reappears later in chapter 26, in the completely different context of methods for estimating the costs of architectural works. This time, Scamozzi translates Vitruvius's account in full, including all the various provisions of the law—though he does extend the granting of honours and decrees to architects

45 Vitruvius, *De architectura*, X proem. 1.
46 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 19.

who have gone over budget by no more than a quarter—followed by a detailed discussion of its advantages and disadvantages. He begins by noting that an architect who exceeds his original estimate might be punished though he has been neither dishonest nor negligent, as the circumstances causing the work to cost more than originally forecast may be out of his control. Ultimately, though, Scamozzi pronounces himself in favour of the law, as any competent architect who has done his due diligence should be able to correctly estimate the costs of his projects to at least a reasonable approximation.

Alongside cases where Scamozzi alters or truncates a source text to factually suit his argument are others in which important elements are omitted or changed for moral reasons. This is true particularly of his account of the lives of (sometimes legendary) ancient architects, the details of which often fail to meet the high moral and ethical standards prescribed in the *Idea*. A good illustration of this tendency is the short biography of the legendary Greek architect Daedalus (though both Scamozzi and his sources clearly considered him an historical figure), who opens a catalogue of the famous architects of antiquity:

> E passando alla loro [degli architetti] nobiltà, Dedalo, nato di sangue reale de' Metronidi di Epulamo d'Athene (come dice Pausania et Diodoro Siciliano), fu di tanto singolar ingegno che per l'opere sue meravigliose fatte in Athene, e per il Laberinto in Creta, e di là passato in Sicilia (come afferma Diodoro) fece i sudatoi in Selinunte, e poi in Italia; ove fu molto chiaro et illustre architetto, come afferma l'istesso, dicendo: '*praeclarus architectus fuit, quae re multa ad architectorum artem adiumenti contulit*', e fu anco celebrato da Homero. Margin: [Pausanias] lib. 7, fac. 472 | [Pausanias] lib. 2, fac. 81 | [Diodorus Siculus] li. 5, c. 13 | Illiade.[47]
>
> And moving on to their [architects'] nobility, Daedalus, born of the royal blood of the Metronides [sic: Metionides], of Epulamos [= Eupalamos] of Athens (as Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus say) was of such singular intelligence that, for his marvellous works built at Athens, and for the Labyrinth in Crete, and moving thence to Sicily (as Diodorus states), he made the steam baths at Selinunte, and then to Italy; thanks to which he was a very famous and illustrious architect, as the same [Diodorus] states, saying: '*He was a famous architect, which great thing brought aids to the art of architects*', and he was also celebrated by Homer.

Scamozzi briefly outlines the architect's noble birth and achievements, citing Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus as his sources and noting that he was lauded by Homer (eighth century BC) in the *Iliad*. The account is accompanied by what purports to be a direct quotation from Diodorus, read here in the Latin translation by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), describing the fame of Daedalus and his significance for the development of architecture. As with the passage from Plato discussed above, the quotation itself, both grammatically incorrect and containing

47 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 14.

an obvious non sequitur, signals some sort of problem. The original text clarifies that what Scamozzi presents as a single sentence in fact consists of parts of two separate sentences, several lines apart and referring to two different people: first Daedalus and then his nephew Talus:

> Daedalus [. . .] *praeclarus architectus fuit*. [. . .] Aufugit autem a patria Daedalus iam clarus architectura, caedis ob causam huiusmodi damnatus. Talus adolescens sororis filius ab eo erudiebatur, cum ingenii acumine praestaret Daedalo, primum rotam qua utuntur figuli, adinvenit; deinde reperta serpentis maxilla, parvulum cum secasset lignum, imitatus postea dentium serpentis spissitudinem, serram ferream fabricavit. *Qua re multum ad architectorum artem adiumenti contulit* [. . .].[48]

> Daedalus [. . .] *was a famous architect*. [. . .] Daedalus fled his hometown when he was already a celebrated architect, convicted of a murder of the following sort. The young man Talus, his sister's son, was being trained by him and surpassed Daedalus in the keenness of his intelligence. He first invented the wheel that potters use and then, finding the jawbone of a snake, cut up a small piece of wood with it; afterwards, imitating the jagged form of the serpent's teeth, he created an iron saw. *With this, he contributed much of service to the art of architects*. [. . .]

Though it is not apparent why Scamozzi chose to create this strange, hybrid sentence (perhaps simply the references to architects?), his other omissions are immediately explained by the details of Daedalus's biography. Diodorus relates that Talus, Daedalus's nephew, became his apprentice and quickly surpassed his master in skill. He invented first the potter's wheel, then, copying the teeth of a dead snake in iron, the saw—it is this instrument that is of assistance to architects—and finally the compass. In the continuation of the passage we learn that Daedalus, envious of his nephew's talents and inventions, murdered Talus in a fit of rage and attempted to conceal the body; when the crime was discovered, he was exiled from Athens and travelled first to Crete, where he built the labyrinth, then to Sicily and finally to mainland Italy. The details of Daedalus's life are thus at evident odds with Scamozzi's insistence that the architect should be morally upstanding, and, more specifically, with the injunction that he should treat his subordinates kindly, especially when they demonstrate professional skill.

As with other types of textual manipulation, Scamozzi's sanitized version of the life of Daedalus is not an isolated instance. The very next entry in his catalogue of famous architects, on the brothers Trophonius and Agamedes, credited with building the fourth temple of Apollo at Delphi and the treasury of King Hyrieus, presents a series of similar omissions and alterations. Scamozzi skirts around many of the lurid details recounted by his source, in this case Pausanias:

48 Diodorus Siculus, *Diodori Siculi bibliothecae historicae libri XVII* (Lyon, 1552), 384–5.

the brothers' plan to defraud King Hyrieus by building a secret entrance to his treasury; the trap set by the king, puzzled by the disappearance of his valuables, to catch the thieves; Trophonius's murder and subsequent decapitation of his brother to avoid identification. Instead, we find only vague mentions of a 'deception' ('*inganno*') and of someone—it is not clear who—losing their life as a result ('*egli vi lasciasse la vita*').

In the various cases described above, the reasons for Scamozzi's alterations and omissions—though different—are generally easy to reconstruct. However, there are also instances in which the divergences between Scamozzi's text and his source or sources are harder to explain. An example is his account of the construction of the Ducal Palace in Venice, part of a chapter devoted to the decline of architecture after the Roman period caused by the so-called 'barbarians' and exemplified by a series of medieval buildings: the churches and palaces of Ravenna, the cathedral of Milan, and the Ducal Palace in Venice among others:

> Quanto a' palazzi reggi, che cosa poteva fare, di gratia, con maggior desiderio di gloria e liberalità d'un prencipe di quello che fece la Serenissima Signoria di Venetia sotto Angelo Partecipatio, che l'edificatione d'un palazzo, il maggiore e più bello, et anco il più ornato che fusse al mondo; onde a questo fine fece raccorre da diverse parti della Grecia (che allhora ella dominava) gran quantità di marmi et altre pietre di molta stima e valore, e buona quantità di maestri per condurre l'opera al desiderato fine. Onde egli ne ottenne questi due versi:
>
> 'Tecta Palatina communis parvula fundo,
> Aedifico Santum Zacariam Ilariumque'. Margin: Anno 809. | Sabellico lib. 2 | Descrittione di Venetia.[49]

> As for royal palaces, what, by God's grace, could the Serenissima Signoria of Venice do with a greater desire for glory and princely generosity than it did under Angelo Partecipazio, than to build a palace, the largest and finest and also the most ornate in the world; so to this end he had gathered from various parts of Greece (which the city then controlled) a large quantity of marbles and other stones of great repute and value, and a good number of master stonecutters to bring the work to the desired conclusion. For this he obtained these two lines of verse:
>
> 'I establish the little palace of the Comune,
> I build the churches of San Zaccaria and Sant'Ilario'.

Scamozzi cites two sources. One is the history of Venice by Marco Antonio Coccio, known as Sabellico (1405–85), originally composed in Latin as the *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita libri XXXIII* in 1487 and later published in Italian, partially in 1508 and fully in 1544. The second is a 'Descrittione di Venetia' that must be the work by Francesco Sansovino (1521–86) initially published in 1561 and subsequently reissued numerous times—Scamozzi would have used the expanded 1604 edition with its ad-

49 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 58.

ditions and deletions by Giovanni Stringa (*fl.* 1600–10), some of which were likely dictated to him by Scamozzi himself.[50] Yet only a handful of details in Scamozzi's account can be found in either text: Sabellico remarks that the original palace was built by Angelo Partecipazio, the doge (811–27) who first moved the centre of power to the Rialto.[51] Sansovino provides the date at which Partecipazio took office and the text of the Latin couplet, though he cites the latter not in reference to the palace but to the reforms of Venetian government attributed to this doge.[52] In other important respects, both sources are at odds with Scamozzi's account. Sabellico expresses serious doubts—which he claims were shared by other chroniclers and historians—that the palace standing in his own time was indeed that built by Partecipazio, as it was unlikely that the fine columns and marbles could have been sourced at this early date. He also gives an effusive description of the Ducal Palace that is notably different from Scamozzi's ultimate dismissal of the building as '*assai difforme e brutto*' ('very misshapen and ugly') in its overall design and in its parts. The mention of Greek marbles and Greek master masons does appear in Sansovino—but in connexion with the ducal chapel of St Mark's, at a much later date and under a different doge.[53]

It is difficult to determine why Scamozzi cited Sabellico and Sansovino at all, given the minimal amount of material actually drawn from their works and his own intimate familiarity with the building in question. This is the more so as modern and contemporary sources are only infrequently cited in the *Idea*: did Scamozzi feel uncomfortable providing historical (as opposed to architectural) information without a supporting source? Were Sansovino and Sabellico considered sufficiently authoritative that a failure to mention them might signal ignorance on Scamozzi's part? Or did he simply intend for readers to understand that the citation of a source might refer to just one small piece of information? Once again, the passage on the Ducal Palace is not unique: immediately beforehand, describing the Duomo of Milan, Scamozzi cites the history of the city by Bernardino Corio (1459–1519), though the only information taken from it is the date at which construction began and the name of its patron, Gian Galeazzo Sforza (1469–94).[54] Instances such as this, where just a single word (often 'architecture',

50 Marco Antonio Sabellico, *Le historie vinitiane di Marco Antonio Sabellico* (Venice, 1544); Giovanni Stringa ed., *Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare; Descritta già in XIIII Libri da M. Francesco Sansovino* (Venice, 1604).

51 Sabellico, *Le historie*, fols 11*v*–12*r*.

52 Sansovino/Stringa, *Venetia*, fols 360*v*–361*v*.

53 Sansovino/Stringa, *Venetia*, fol. 8*r*.

54 Bernardino Corio, *L'historia di Milano volgarmente scritta dall'eccellentissimo oratore M. Bernardino Corio* (Venice, 1554).

'architect' and their cognates, or the name of an architect or architectural work) occasions a quotation or paraphrase from an otherwise extraneous or even contradictory source are so common that they can be considered a hallmark of Scamozzi's citational practice. As in the case of Plato discussed above, it is possible that his reading methods also had an influence here. From the surviving books belonging to Scamozzi's library, we know that he habitually annotated or otherwise marked concepts in these considered of particular importance, as well as summarizing and excerpting passages separately.[55] Though this certainly allowed him to organize and cross-reference the information he gleaned from his readings, it may also have induced a sort of tunnel-vision, leading him to focus on key words and concepts whilst ignoring their context and the general gist of his sources.

Overall, the numerous instances of misleading citation found in the *Idea* are important because they provide information about Scamozzi's reading and writing practices, and his priorities and self-image as an architect-author. At the same time, questions remain about the extent to which he deliberately set out to deceive, about the ways in which citations and quotations were meant to be interpreted, and thus about Scamozzi's intended readership. In the first chapter of Book I, Scamozzi motivates his many citations and quotations as follows:

> E, sì come di sopra, così in molti altri luoghi dove richiederà il bisogno, per maggior giustificatione della verità addurremo le autorità latine, affine che le persone dotte le possino riconoscere a' luoghi loro e farne poi fede a' molti che non le saperebbono ritrovare; e così gli uni e gli altri verranno ad intendere il vero senso degli autori e parimente ad acertarsi della verità.[56]

> And, as above [the reference is to the introduction], so in many other places where required, as a further guarantee of the truth we will cite the Latin authorities, so that the learned can identify them in their places and then confirm them to the many who would otherwise be unable to find them; and in this way both the former and the latter will reach an understanding of the true meaning of the authors and simultaneously ascertain the truth.

In other words, sources—specifically those in Latin (presumably including translations of Greek texts)—are cited so that those sufficiently learned to read the language will be able to find the original text, identify the passage referenced and then pass this knowledge on to those incapable of consulting the source texts on their own. Significantly, the testimony of the Latin authors—and, by extension,

55 Margaret Daly Davis, 'Vincenzo Scamozzi and the *antichità di Roma*: purposeful reading, systematic recording', in *Annali di architettura* 27 (2015), 61–72.
56 Scamozzi, *Idea*, I, 6.

the assertions made by Scamozzi himself based on their authority—is described twice as the 'truth'. Given the very large number of misleading quotations and paraphrases in the *Idea*, this claim and the invitation to refer directly to the source texts are puzzling. Did Scamozzi believe that he had, in fact, accurately represented his sources in his own text? Were his focused readings, aimed at seeking out the minutiae of architectural history, so targeted that he simply ignored aspects considered irrelevant? Or was he so determined to assert his own status as a scholar-architect and the resulting vision of architecture that he deliberately misrepresented the texts from which he claimed to draw inspiration? These questions are currently impossible to answer. Further research may shed light on Scamozzi's intentions; for the present the ubiquity of misleading citations in the *Idea* suggests the need for a more nuanced approach, moving away from the traditional view that takes Scamozzi at his own estimation as an incontrovertibly erudite and scholarly architect.

Shao-Lan Hertel

Chapter Seven
Formats and Functions of Large-Scale Calligraphy in Late-Ming and Qing-Period China and the Reconstruction of Architectural Spaces

Introduction

As has been pointed out, in western-language scholarship on Chinese calligraphy, the term *shufa* 書法, commonly translated into English as calligraphy, is in fact misleading. Literally and more accurately translated as 'the methods of writing', *shufa* describes the techniques, aesthetics and styles of writing with Chinese brush and ink in various script types. As an art, it was traditionally valued as the highest among those pursued by 'men of letters' (*wenren* 文人), the literati-scholars, respectively, scholar-officials, of premodern China, whose historical traditions and textual cultures date back to the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). The misleading translation of *shufa* as 'calligraphy"—in its derivation from the Greek terms for 'beauty' (*kállos* κάλλος) and 'to write' (*gráphein* γράφειν)—as 'beautiful writing', is inadequate given the multitude of social, political, ethical, religious, didactical and philosophical entanglements crucial to the technical and aesthetical development of calligraphy in Chinese history.[1] This holds true not least with regard to the intricate entwinement of calligraphy and architecture in the overall

1 Hence, preferable alternative designations are terms such as 'the art of writing', 'l'art de l'écriture', or 'Schriftkunst'. Since this issue is not the main focus of inquiry, adherence here is to the commonly used English-language term 'calligraphy' in this text. For further discussion, and possible alternative definitions of Chinese calligraphy, see Shao-Lan Hertel, *The Inner Workings of Brush-and-Ink: A Study on Huang Binhong (1865–1955) as Calligrapher, with Special Respect to the Concept of Interior Beauty (neimei)* (PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2017), 1–3. http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-5782 [accessed 18.06.2024].

Note: This text adheres to standard *pinyin* transliteration of Chinese characters (rendered in full form when initially referenced) as well as the traditional East Asian system of rendering personal names in the order of family name first, followed by the given name. Lengthier citations from Chinese sources in the footnotes are rendered without transliteration. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author. I thank Qiu Ruyue for kindly helping me to obtain information from various Chinese digital databases.

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history of China, as well as with particular regard to the late-Ming (1368–1644) to early-Qing (1644–1912) periods, which presented crucial periods of large-scale political, economic, and social transformation and mobility in imperial China.

When engaging with Chinese art, the intimate, indeed inherent connections permeating the two specific fields of calligraphy and architecture reveal themselves, inevitably, in a lucid manner and in many instances. They can be made tangible in a multitude of contexts running through the histories and theories of art and architecture in China, including such aspects as artistic concepts and practices, the display and dissemination of artefacts as well as the aesthetic reception and reproductive transmission thereof. Building on previous scholarship undertaken by historians of Chinese art and architecture, this chapter expands discussion of the physical and spatial dimension of Chinese calligraphy: specifically focussing on the complex relationship that exists between a calligraphic work and the respective architectural space within which it is hung. A perfect example of this interrelation is exemplified by the throne chamber of the Palace of Heavenly Purity (Qianqing Gong 乾清宫) in the Forbidden City (Zijincheng 紫禁城) in Beijing, China, which shows the arrangement of calligraphic couplets hung on the chamber's four columns flanking the throne, and one horizontal board hung above the throne (Fig. 7.1). As enhancing frames, their ceremonial inscriptions reinforce the central element's architectural efficacy in its magnitude: as the emperor's official seat, symbol of the 'Son of Heaven's' (Tianzi 天子) supreme power.[2]

Taking into consideration the material formats, textual genres and creative functions of Chinese calligraphy, the perspective chosen here facilitates a reconstruction of space in its broader sense: indicating both the material, physical space of calligraphic works and the material, physical space of living environments—thus understood together in terms of architectural space. The chosen perspective is historically embedded within the culture-specific spatio-temporal frame encompassing the late-Ming to early-Qing dynasties here highlighting, in particular, the phenomenon that historiographically has been coined the 'Ming-

2 The horizontal tablet, whose four-character inscription was originally penned by Qing-dynasty Emperor Shunzhi (1638–61, r. 1644–61), reads the credo 'Righteous and Bright' (*Zhengda guangming* 正大光明). For transcriptions and translations of the vertical couplets, penned by the succeeding Qing emperors Kangxi (1654–1772, r. 1661–1722), Qianlong (1711–99, r. 1735–96), see the Mission and Diakonia Archives, VID Specialized University [online]: https://bildearkiv.vid.no/fotoweb/archives/5031-Glassdias-fra-Kina/Indekserte%20bilder/Glassdias%20fra%20Kina/MHS-A-1045-Uk-00671.JPG.info [accessed 24.01.2021]. For detailed discussion of calligraphic inscriptions at the Forbidden City, see Li Wenjun 李文君, *Zijincheng babai yinglian bian'e tongjie*《紫禁城八百楹聯匾額通解》[General Understanding of Eight Hundred Column Couplets and Horizontal Inscribed Boards at the Forbidden City] (Beijing, 2011).

Fig. 7.1: Throne Chamber of the Palace of Heavenly Purity in the Forbidden City (photo: Luo Bupo 羅布泊, CC BY 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=53825717 [accessed 24.08.2021]).

Qing transition'.[3] As crucial periods of large-scale political, economic, and social transformation and mobility in imperial China, the late Ming and early Qing manifest particularly tangible phenomena and developments within the interrelated spheres of calligraphy and architecture, both in practice and theory.

It is hardly surprising that Chinese architectural theory and calligraphy theory appear to share similar ideals, since artisanship and craftsmanship in traditional China are generally held to be founded on a cosmological worldview based on the relational condition of humans, nature, and *wanwu* 萬物, the 'ten thousand', or 'myriad things of the world'. The visual manifestations of manual skills are moreover understood as a symbiotic energetic extension of the human body; in the case of calligraphy, the written characters as an immediate physical and

3 Denoting the years of *c.*1618–83, with reference to the overthrowing of the ruling Ming house by Manchu conquerors, establishing the Qing dynasty in 1644. For a dynastic chronology including a list of the Ming- and Qing-dynasty era names see Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'List of Rulers of China', in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York, 2000–), published online October 2004, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/chem/hd_chem.htm [accessed 24.12.2020].

efficacious *presenceing*, a making-present of the scribes themselves, decipherable as imprints of their disposition of body and mind.[4] As the well-known statement popularly attributed to the fourth-century 'Sage of Calligraphy' (*shusheng* 書聖) Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (*c*.303–61) goes: 'The idea precedes the brush, the writing follows from the heart-mind' (*Yi zai bi qian, zi ju xin hou* 意在筆前, 字居心後). In light of the above considerations, the principal question of the present study, then, is: in what way can the form and content of certain calligraphy types particular to the Ming-Qing transitional period be interpreted as a citation of architectural spaces (or vice versa)?

Connecting Chinese Calligraphy and Architecture

Structural Engineering

A general approach to formal, technical and compositional aspects can be formulated so as to permit the analysis of calligraphic and architectural bodies, or buildings, in terms of what may be called their structurally engineered nature. While Chinese characters are made up of a formally determined sequence of brushstrokes, which permits the recreation of the time-based act of writing when examining and appreciating a work of calligraphy as a viewer, similar holds true for the execution of the individual strokes that together constitute any given written character: a horizontal (*heng* 横) stroke, like the initial stroke in the character *cun* 存, 'to store', can only be written from left to right, never the other way around; A falling leftward curved (*wan* 彎) stroke, like the second stroke in sequence, can only be executed from the upper right diagonally moving down leftwards (Fig. 7.2). One brush stroke is equivalent to one uninterrupted movement with a definite beginning and ending, such that '[. . .] each stroke has a coherent shape with clear-cut contours. It is a graphic element that cannot be further divided'.[5]

4 On this understanding fundamental to Chinese calligraphic discourse, see Richard Barnhart, 'Chinese Calligraphy: The Inner World of the Brush', in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30/5 (1972), 230–41; Wen C. Fong, 'Chinese Calligraphy as Presenting the Self', in Wen C. Fong et al. eds, *Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven-London-Beijing, 2008), 1–31; John Hay, 'The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy', in Susan Bush and Christian Murck eds., *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton, 1983), 74–102; Yuehping Yen, 'Calligraphy or Handwriting as the Extension of the Body-Person', in Yuehping Yen, *Calligraphy and Power in Contemporary Chinese Society* (London 2005), 75–80.

5 Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts* (Princeton, 2000), 10f.

Fig. 7.2: Detail of Fig. 7.13 showing the Chinese written character *cun* 存 ('to store').

The art of calligraphy, then, plays with this fixed repertoire of brush strokes, always aiming to combine and form these strokes into stable and coherent individual characters which, moreover, follow the guiding aesthetic principle of 'asymmetrical balance'.[6] Given their fixed position among the overall text, must in themselves present individual stable buildings. Interconnected through invisible lines, they aim towards a visually coherent landscape. The architectural nature of calligraphy can be precisely illustrated by taking a closer look, for example, at the written character *zhai* 齋 (Fig. 7.3), incidentally the character that semantically also stands for 'building', or 'room', signifying a built structure of some kind. The character in its full form is composed of seventeen strokes and the etymological derivation of this written character reveals some useful insights into the inherent way in which calligraphy and architecture can be considered 'together'. Depending on the context, *zhai* carries many further meanings: aside from buildings and rooms, including specifically retirement homes, student dormitories, and temple hostels, the term can also denote a vegetarian religious diet; purification and purifying oneself; abstinence; fasting; giving alms to a monk. In the context of ancient terminology, it also means pious and respectful. Nowadays, *zhai* in the first instance denotes something along the lines of 'studio', 'library' and 'loft'.[7]

6 As elucidated by Yee Chiang in his seminal early western-language publication on Chinese calligraphy: 'We Chinese prefer asymmetrical balance, for the reason that it seems to us to possess more movement'. Yee Chiang, *Chinese Calligraphy: An Introduction to Its Aesthetic and Technique, 2nd ed.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954 [1938]), 115.

7 Cf. Hubei Cishu Chubanshe 湖北辭書出版社 ed., *Hanyu da zidian*《漢語大字典》[Comprehensive Chinese Character Dictionary (8 Vols.)] (Wuhan, 1988), 7, 4785; Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm, 1957), entry 593y [n.p.]; Robert H. Mathews, *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary, Revised American Edition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975 [1ed. 1943]), 115.

Fig. 7.3: Detail of Fig. 7.13 showing the Chinese written character *zhai* 齋 ('studio').

The seventeen strokes of this character in fact show the combination of two separate building blocks, or components, signifying two separate semantic meanings: *qi* 齊, placed over *shi* 示. While *qi* carries the meanings 'neat', 'tidy', 'together', 'even'; 'equal in length or height'; 'complete', 'prepared', *shi* means 'to show', 'indicate', 'exhibit', 'proclaim', 'declare', 'inform'—as has been noted, possibly deriving from the depiction of an altar with dripping sacrifices on it, occurs as a signifier in characters bearing on religion and rites. Z*hai* can be further defined as 'Abstinence [. . .]. In this character, the two horizontal strokes of 齊 are mingled together with those of 示. The meaning is, 齊 to rule one's self, so that one may be fit to receive the 示 warnings [that is, the commandments] of heaven'. As known from the early second-century Chinese lexicon *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) compiled by Xu Shen 許慎 (*c.*55–*c.*149 AD), the former seal-script structure of the character *qi*, which had a different appearance consisting of three diamond-shaped heads, two horizontal and six vertical lines, has been interpreted as a pictogram showing the even height of ears in a cornfield, with the lower horizontal stroke representing the foreground, and the upper horizontal stroke representing the background, therein presenting 'A whole, regular and perfect harmony. [. . .] There is, in this character, an intention of representing the perspective. The ears are ascending when going towards the background. Three ears represent a multitude'.[8]

It can be inferred, in this instance, that the character *zhai* here translated as 'studio' originally derives from a pictographic attempt to create an effect of visual spatial depth—indeed, in the Peircean semiotic sense, in *iconic* form—presenting

8 Cf. Hubei Cishu Chubanshe, *Comprehensive*, IV, 2385; VII, 4783; Bernhard Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris, 1923), 882; Karlgren 1957: entries 553a, 593y [n.p.]; Cecilia Lindqvist, *China: Empire of Living Symbols. Translated from the Swedish by Joan Tate* (Reading MA, 1991), 274; Mathews, *Chinese-English* 560, 5788; Léon Wieger, *Chinese Characters* (New York, 1965 [1ed. 1915]), entry 3d [n.p.].

a mimetic depiction, or emulation, of the thing it stands for, the 'thing itself', that is: actual spatial depth, as perceived through human observation; therein correlating with the architectural idea of physically demarking a three-dimensional space and defining a place.[9] This inference, in fact, could be understood in terms of a citation of architectural spaces, or vice versa, of architectural space as a citation of calligraphy.

While the meanings associated with usages of *zhai* are multifarious, what they have in common is that they indicate a sense of learning and cultivation, likewise restraint and self-discipline as well as intact harmony, and proper alignment within a given (spatial) surrounding. Moreover, the construction of physical space is associated with moral virtue: as *Lu Ban's Classic* (*Lu Ban jing*《魯班經》, Fig. 7.4), a fundamentally important three-volume late-Ming compendium on carpentry and building, in paragraph 49 titled 'The True Rule for Levelling the Building Site' (*Dingpan zhenchi* 定盤真尺) contained in the first volume (*juan* 卷), records the following poem:

> For the levelness of the ten thousand things in the world,
> One wholly depends on weigh-beam, level and plumb-line.
> When building, one first measures the width of the platform,
> Interior and exterior parts are balanced evenly.
> The stone plinths must be positioned on their correct place.
> The centre of the building site must be determined first,
> And after it has been determined, the place is levelled by means of the True Rule. A good carpenter will adhere to this method as the correct one.[10]

To be sure, the notion that 'The centre of the building site must be determined first', applies likewise as a general rule in calligraphy practice, given that each character should revolve around a central point and axis that together determine balance and weight of the written body within an imaginary grid, as exemplified

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9 For disambiguation of icons in the Peircean sense, see Charles Sanders Peirce, 'Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs', ed. Justus Buchler, *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, (New York, 1955 rpt.), 98–119.

10 ["世間萬物得其平, 全仗權衡及準繩.創造先量基闊狹, 均分內外兩相停. 石磉切須安得正.地盤先宜鎮中心, 定將真尺分平正. 良匠當依此法真."] Following Klaas Ruitenbeek's translation in, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual Lu Ban Jing* (Leiden, 1993), 175–76. For the original Chinese text version on which his translation is based, see the facsimile of the *Lu Ban jing* as contained in the *Xiangzhai zaofu quanshu*《相宅造福全書》[Complete Book of Creating Good Luck in Houses of all Directions], which is the earliest extant edition of the *Lu Ban jing* dating from c. 1600, now kept at the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo; reprinted in Ruitenbeek 1993: 359–46; see here I 49 (page 15 of the facsimile), for the referenced paragraph.

Fig. 7.4: *Scholar in Studio*, Wanli reign-period (1573–1620) woodcut print from *Lu Ban's Classic* (*Lu Ban jing* 魯班經) (photo: after Ruitenbeek 1993, 123).

through the concept of 'The Eight Methods of the Character Yong' (*Yong zi ba fa* 永字八法; see Fig. 7.5); the established methods of the 'upright brush' (*zhengbi* 正筆), respectively, the 'centred brushtip' (*zhongfeng* 中鋒) further associated characterologically with ideals of the morally upright statesman.[11]

11 As has, for example, been expounded in detail by Amy McNair in her study on the Tang-dynasty (618–907) statesman Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785), see Amy McNair, *The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing's Calligraphy and Song Literati Politics* (Honolulu, 1998). The 'Eight Methods of the Character Yong' denote a foundational conceptual approach established in Chinese calligraphy theory and practice, which is traditionally attributed to the monk-calligrapher Zhi Yong 智永 (515?–604?) active during the Sui dynasty (581–618). According to this approach, the eight strokes that constitute the written character *yong* 永each indicate a different basic brush stroke type, which are to be executed consecutively with equilibrated impetus, through the scribe's implementation of the eight different, and respectively corresponding types of 'structural', or 'configurative force' (*shi* 勢). For further discussion, see Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda, the section 'The Eight Laws of Yong', in Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda eds, *Chinese Calligraphy* (Chicago, 1935), pp. 34–41; Fong et al. eds, *Chinese Calligraphy*, 58f. McNair coins the notion of calligraphy as a form of 'characterology' in the context of discussing Yan Zhenqing, whose calligraphy style was established during the Northern Song dynasty as a prototypical aesthetic and moral role model. See McNair, *The Upright Brush*, 1–2.

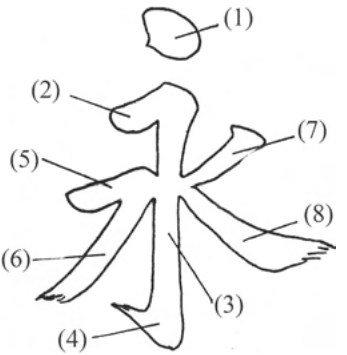

Fig. 7.5: Diagram showing the eight stroke types of the character *yong* 永 ('eternal') according to the *Eight Methods of the Character Yong* (*Yong zi ba fa* 永字八法): (1) *ce* 側 (slanting dot); (2) *le* 勒 (horizontal stroke); (3) *nu* 努 (vertical stroke); (4) *ti* 趯 (hook); (5) *ce* 策 (slightly upward tick); (6) *lüe* 掠 (left-falling stroke); (7) *zhuo* 啄 (left-downward short pick); (8) *zhe* 磔 (right-falling stroke) (photo: after Fong *et al.* 2008, 59).

Modular Systems

Useful for identifying connections between calligraphy and architecture in the Chinese context, is the reference to modules, or modular systems.[12] Chinese modular systems, including the systems of Chinese script and calligraphy, bronze casting, lacquer and porcelain production, wood architecture, printing, and painting, all have in common: '[. . .] two basic, somewhat contradictory objectives [that] are always evident: they produce objects in large quantities and of great variety'.[13] Within a hierarchical scheme of five levels of increasing complexity among module systems constituted, namely, by elements, modules, units, series, respectively, mass, in the cases of Chinese script, bronze casting and architecture these can be identified as early as the thirteenth to twelfth centuries BC.[14]

In the context of Chinese script as a modular system, its five levels of complexity translate as: firstly, the single brushstroke as 'element'; secondly, the building block or component as 'module'; thirdly, the singular character as 'unit'; fourthly, the coherent text as 'series'; and fifthly, the total of all existing written characters as 'mass' (for example, all the characters that a calligrapher ever wrote during their lifetime; all the characters that a calligrapher ever wrote in a specific script type; all the characters a calligrapher ever wrote during a specific production period of their oeuvre) (see Fig 7.6 a–e).[15] The ubiquity of Chinese script that was in existence over three thousand years and is still in use today

12 I am here relying on the seminal study by Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, which has received exceptional art-historical acclaim both in western- and Chinese-language academia.
13 Ibid., 1.
14 Ibid., 10.
15 Ibid.

(with around 55,000 known characters), has been remarked upon: 'Chinese script, which is arguably the most complex system of forms that humans devised in premodern times, is a module system part excellence [. . .]', and it has been observed that, as a hierarchical system, it is one that has effectuated 'the patterning of thought in China' and 'the standardization of society in most fundamental way'.[16]

Wooden post-and-beam constructions are a fundamental aspect of the Chinese architectural system, whose characteristic feature lies in the capacity to support the weight of a building, especially its roof, through vertical wooden columns, rather than walls (see Figs 7.7–7.8).[17] Its modular system can be considered as a division into five increasingly complex levels: firstly, bracketing, or the bracketing system also known as *dougong* 斗拱, as 'element', i.e. the simplest level in this modular system.[18] Secondly, the bay (*jian* 間), as 'module', denoting the span between adjacent frame supports (Fig. 7.9), whose number determines the proportional size of the bay as well as the size of all wooden members, together with that of the building as a whole. The building, in turn, presents the third level of complexity in the modular system and is thus denoted as 'unit' (Fig. 7.8). While the relation of bracketing system to bay equals the relation of element to module, the relation of bay to building equals that of module to unit. Courtyards present the fourth, next level of complexity in the modular system, denoted as 'series': 'Much as ritual bronzes and lacquer dishes come in sets, Chinese buildings do not stand alone but are assembled in courtyards [. . .]'.[19] Here, the relation of building to courtyard equals that of unit to series. The fifth level of complexity, denoted as 'mass', are cities, within which courtyards are assembled in systematic fashion, as in the grandest examples of premodern Chinese capitals which their imperial palaces aptly demonstrate.[20]

Three main advantages of this system have been identified: first, wood as an abundant and portable material was economic and easier to transport and work with; second, the strength of white cedar wood used as timber has four times the tensile strength of steel, and six times as much resistance to compression than concrete; third, post-and-beam construction lends itself to the development of a modular system. Advantages of a modular system are versatility, transformability, and the capability to adapt a desired structure to various topographical and climatic surroundings.[21] The idea is that through the use of a fixed repertoire of defined, yet

16 Ibid., 1, 61.

17 Ibid., 103.

18 More specifically, *dougong* denotes a bracket cluster system made up of the four basic types of wooden bearing blocks (*dou* 斗), bracket arms (*gong* 拱), horizontal beams, and diagonal beams.

19 Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, 113.

20 On this five-part division, see Ibid., 107–17, also for adequate illustration.

21 Ibid., 103.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

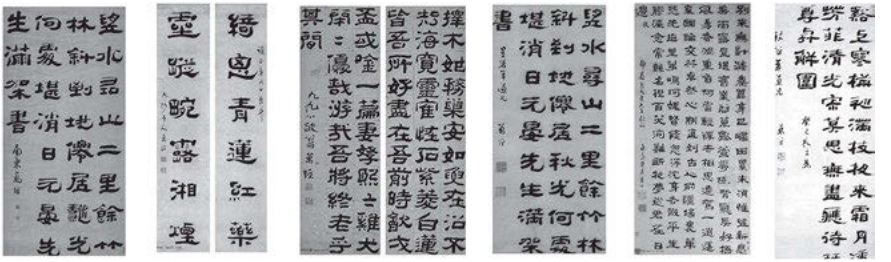

Fig. 7.6: a–e Exemplification of a) 'elements'; b) 'modules'; c) 'units'; d) 'series'; e) 'mass' (photos: manipulated images by Hertel.

in theory infinitely combinable few parts, an endless variety of forms—*wanwu*, the 'ten thousand things'—can be created.

Indeed, this idea likewise describes precisely the essential characteristics of the Chinese writing system and, importantly, also the aesthetic principle of constant change that permeates the theory and practice of writing calligraphy as, for example, put forward by Sun Guoting 孫過庭 (646?–691?) in his *Treatise on Callig-*

Fig. 7.7: Traditional Chinese wooden post-and-beam constructions (photo: after Liang 1984 [n.p.]).

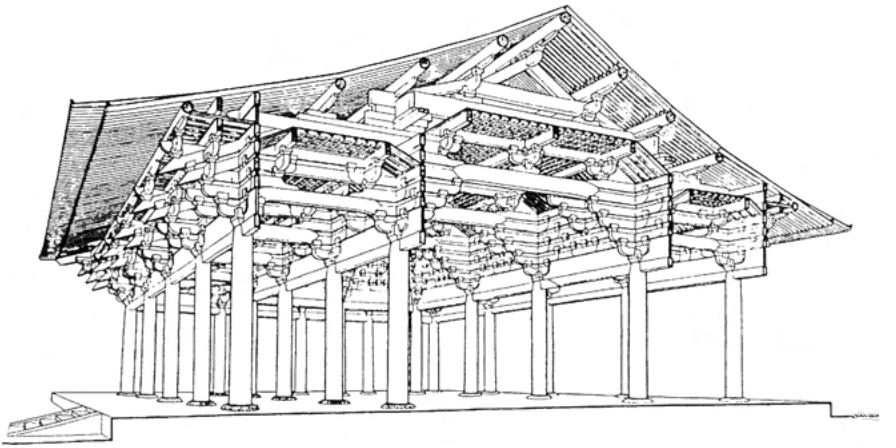

Fig. 7.8: Chinese traditional building system (photo: after Ledderose 2000, 105).

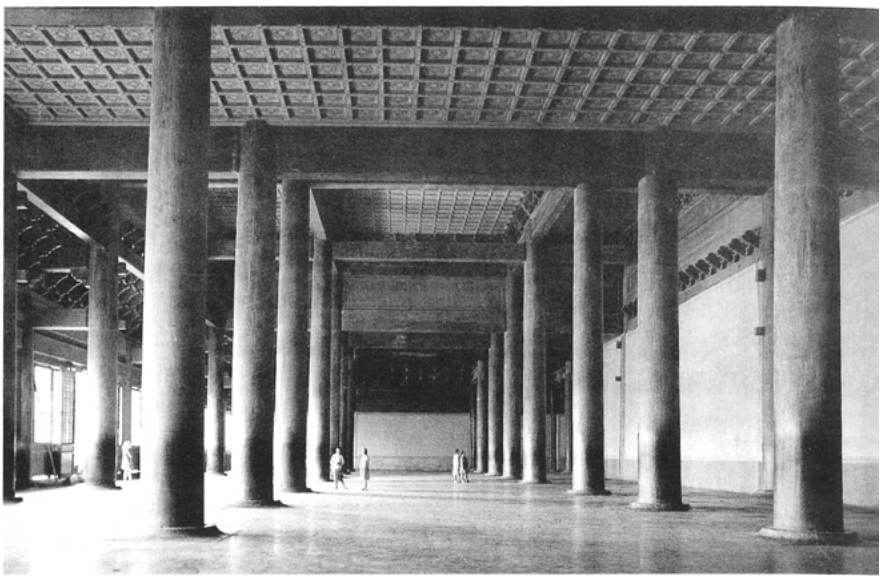

Fig. 7.9: Chinese architectural bay system (photo: after Ledderose 2000, 112).

raphy (*Shupu* 書譜) of 687 (Fig. 7.10), art historically among the most celebrated and influential texts on the matter:

> There may be differences, but there should be no conflicts; there ought to be harmony, but not repetition; you may linger, but you should not stand still; you may move swiftly, but you should

not rush. Dry strokes [must] bring out moistness; when the ink is too thick, it [must] lead to dryness.[22]

Fig. 7.10: Sun Guoting 孫過庭 (646?–691?), *Treatise on Calligraphy* (*Shupu* 書譜), detail, 687, calligraphy in cursive script, ink on paper, 26.5 x 900.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (photo: after Fong *et al.* 2008, 206–7).

Whether defined in terms of strokes and characters, or brackets and bays: as elements and units of modular as well as essentially linear structures, their physical matter defines and structures space, as much as its matter is defined and structured by space; therein accommodating a set repertoire of given materials to a given specific surrounding—be this in form of a mountainous terrain to be tackled, or an endlessly long scroll of paper to be traversed by the brush. The utilisation of modular systems has been compared with the act of piecing together a jigsaw puzzle, from which a 'coherent panorama invariably emerge[s]'; perhaps even more poignantly, the notion of the module has been compared with that of the *Versatzstück*, a German term borrowed from theatre terminology which denotes a moveable set piece, a kind of all-purpose, mobile piece of scenery; often pieces of furniture and other set décor that can be used in a variety of ways and rearranged in many plays to create different stage sets in a theatre.[23]

22 ['違而不犯, 和而不同; 留不常遲, 遣不恆疾; 帶燥方潤, 將濃遂枯(. . .)'] Following the translation by Chang Ch'ung-ho and Hans H. Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy* (New Haven, 1995), 14, 97. The exceptional status of Sun Guoting's work is also grounded in the particularity that his *Treatise on Calligraphy* presents not only an art-theoretical text and historical document but–quasi-performatively–also an aesthetic work of calligraphic art, therein accruing major culture-historical significance over time. The original work, a handscroll measuring over nine metres in length, is now held at the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

23 See 'Acknowledgements', in Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things,* [n.p.].

Microcosmic Significance

This idea of the 'coherent panorama' that 'invariably emerges', in other words the microcosmic endeavours in Chinese calligraphy and architecture, to create an organically whole, intact totality, becomes evident basically within all spheres of traditional Chinese arts and crafts. This is most literally embodied, perhaps, in the very genre of landscape painting, as seen in classical monumental 'mountain-water-paintings' (*shanshuihua* 山水畫) of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) (Fig. 7.11) and permeating further domains of every-day life and society in traditional China, such as garden planning and geomancy, interior design and furniture, medicine, physiognomy, cooking, eating and drinking; each sphere presenting, respectively, a 'microcosmic source of macrocosmic values'.[24]

Fig. 7.11: Guo Xi 郭熙 (1023–c. 1085), *Early Spring* (*Zaochun tu* 早春圖), 1072, hanging scroll, ink and light colours on silk, 158.3 x 108.1 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (photo: after Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* [New York, 1996], 129).

24 Hay, 'The Human Body'.

Handbooks, compendia, manuals, treatises, and essays have cemented this understanding with continuous impact as textual references over time, indicating the prevalence and interconnectedness of certain universal themes of thought and action in premodern China, prominently the notions of wholeness, variety, transformability, and adaptability. Next to the above-referenced quotes from *Lu Ban's Classic* and Sun Guoting's *Treatise on Calligraphy*, an exemplary selection of references to various sources of considerable influence among further spheres of Chinese textual discourse can be readily juxtaposed to illustrate the phenomenon, including the aforenoted genre of 'mountain-water' landscape painting. This genre carries its theoretical fundaments in Northern-Song texts on landscape painting such as Guo Xi's 郭熙 (*c.*1000–*c.*1090) famous *Lofty Message of Forest and Streams* (*Linquan gaozhi*《林泉高致》) of *c.*1080, wherein the first of its six sections, titled 'Advice on Landscape Painting' (*Shanshui xun* 山水訓), states:

> [. . .] The bridles and fetters of the everyday world are what human nature constantly abhors. Immortals and sages in mists and vapors are what human nature constantly longs for and yet is unable to see [. . .]
>
> But, are the longing for forests and streams, and the companionship of mists and vapors, then to be experienced only in dreams and denied to the waking senses? It is now possible for subtle hands to reproduce them in all their rich splendor. Without leaving your room you may sit to your heart's content among streams and valleys. The voices of apes and the calls of birds will fall on your ears faintly. The glow of the mountain and the color of the waters will dazzle your eyes glitteringly. Would this fail to quicken your interest and thoroughly capture your heart? This is the ultimate meaning behind the honor which the world accords to landscape painting. If this aim is not principal and the landscape is approached with a trivial attitude, it is no different from desecrating a divine vista and polluting the clear wind [. . .]
>
> To look at a particular painting, puts you in the corresponding mood. You seem to be in fact in those mountains. This is the mood (*i*) of a painting beyond its mere scenery. [. . .][25]

In *The Craft Of Gardens* (*Yuanye*《園冶》), the foundational late-Ming manual on garden design and landscape architecture written between 1631 and 1634, in the

25 ['(. . .) 塵囂韁鎖,此人情所常厭也;煙霞仙聖,此人情所常願而不得見也.(. . .) 然則林泉之志,煙霞之侶,夢寐在焉,耳目斷絕,今得妙手鬱然出之,不下堂筵,坐窮泉壑;猿聲鳥啼,依約在耳;山光水色,滉漾奪目.此豈不快人意,實獲我心哉? 此世之所以貴夫畫山之本意也.不此之主而輕心臨之,豈不蕪雜神觀,溷濁清風也哉!(. . .) 看此畫令人生此意,如真在此山中,此畫之景外意也. (. . .)'] Following the translation in Susan Bush, and Hsio-yen Shih, comp. and ed., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, second edition (Hong Kong, 2012; first ed. published Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 150–54. For the Chinese text of the *Linquan gaozhi*, originally compiled by Guo Xi's son Guo Si 郭思 (fl. *c.* 1080–1125) *c.* 1110–17, see rpt. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, ed., *Zhongguo hualun leibian*《中國畫論類編》[Chinese Painting Theory by Categories], 2 vols. (Beijing, 1957), vol. 1, 631–650; further, for the referenced section and cited passages, 631–40, 632, 635.

third chapter titled 'Buildings' ('Wuyu 屋宇', literally, 'the universe of the house'), author Ji Cheng 計成 (1582–*c*. 1642) discusses various types of building structures that can be integrated in a garden in the Chinese tradition, such as gate towers (*menlou* 門樓), halls (*tang* 堂), terraces (*tai* 台), belvederes (*ge* 閣), pavilions (*ting* 停), covered walkways (*lang* 郎), pillared structures (*jialang* 架郎), and more. He here emphasizes:

> All family seats and dwelling-houses, whether of five spans or three, should be built in accordance with the accepted conventions [. . .] The orientation [of the building] should be in accordance with the lie of the land, and the master-mason and landowner should be in agreement on the design. Family dwelling-houses are bound to be subject to general discussion, but the outlying buildings will only be right if they harmonize with the landscape [. . .].
>
> In the case of a single long and winding covered walkway, when you begin to set up the pillars you should pay attention to the magical effects of changes in viewpoint [. . .] Different prospects will appear and disappear inexhaustibly: an unending springtime will hover about your garden. Clouds will drift by beyond your threshold; water will flow through the mirror of your pool. The colours of the hills cannot be washed away, and the cries of the cranes are wafted to your ears. The whole area, a natural work of art, will resemble Yinghu, the land of the Immortals. You can fully satisfy your craving for woods and springs, and rejoice abundantly in the surroundings of parks and gardens. If you can act according to these principles, your garden will be worthy to last for a thousand years [. . .].[26]

Wen Zhenheng 文震亨 (1585–1645), in his contemporaneous twelve-volume *Treatise on Superfluous Things* (*Zhang wu zhi*《長物志》) of *c*.1615–20 similarly wrote in the tenth volume's paragraph on 'Positioning and Arranging' ('Weizhi 位置') concerned with interior design, and the correct placement and arrangement of specific pieces of furniture as well as functional and decorative objects in a room, including sitting tables (*zuoji* 座幾), couch-beds (*ta* 榻), and screens (*ping* 屏); flowers in vases (*ping* 瓶), incense burners (*lu* 爐), brush pots (*bitong* 筆筒) and inkstones (*yan* 硯), teasets (*chaju* 茶具), and more:

> The methods of arranging furniture are varied. Some are simple, others complicated. They also differ from winter to summer. The high-roofed hall, the spacious pavilion, rooms of

26 ['凡家宅住房, 五間三間, 循次第而造 (. . .) 方向隨宜, 鳩工合見; 家居必論, 野築惟因 (. . .) 長廊一帶迴旋, 在豎柱之初, 妙於變幻 (. . .) 隱現無窮之態, 招搖不盡之春; 檻外行雲, 鏡中流水, 洗山色之不去, 送鶴聲之自來; 境倣瀛壺, 天然圖畫, 意盡林泉之癖, 樂餘園圃之間; 一鑒能為,千秋不朽(. . .)'] Following Alison Hardy's translation of Ji Cheng's work, in Ji Cheng: *The Craft of Gardens: The Classic Chinese Text of Garden Design. Transl. by Alison Hardy. With a Foreword by Maggie Keswick.* (New Haven, 1988), 'Buildings' 64–75, 64f. Hardy's translation is based on the Republican-period (1912–49) text reprinted by the Chinese Architectural Society (Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe 中國營造學社), after having had fallen into oblivion for several centuries; see Ji Cheng 計成: *Yuanye san juan*《園冶三卷》[The Craft of Gardens, 3 Vols.] (Shanghai, 1995–2002; first published 1932); further Hardy's explanatory 'Preface' to the translation, in Ji Cheng, 1988, 9–12.

> various sizes—each has its own advantages for placing furniture. Likewise, books and ceremonial wares should also be suitably arranged so that they create a scene resembling lofty clouds, firmiana trees, and ancient rocks. With only a small table and a couch-bed installed, visitors can recognize a room's charm. Thus people with refined taste can make the entrance of their house appear vultured and tasteful. If, however, chickens and livestock are raised in the front courtyard, with flowers and rocks planted pretentiously in the back courtyard, then the situation is worse than dust covering the table. The surrounding walls will have a desolate air [. . .].[27]

In the earliest known account on portraiture techniques, written by the late-Yuan-dynasty (1279–1368) scholar Wang Yi 王繹 (*c.* 1333–?), the author took the 'Five Mountains and Four Rivers' (*wuyue sidu* 五嶽四瀆) as an analytical tool for memorizing the features and proportions of a human face; a reference that in turn informed later Ming-dynasty encyclopaedic painting manuals on portraiture compiled for daily use (Fig. 7.12),[28] with instructions such as: 'Horizontally, divide into five eyes; Vertically, measure three planes. [Consider] the eight directions [heaven] and the four quadrates [earth], and you will thoroughly comprehend the entire cosmos!'[29] As Monica Klasing Chen elucidates in this context, 'The division into three planes is based on the popular belief that the human face mirrors the cosmic order. In physiognomy, the upper plane stands for heaven, the central plane for man and the lower one for earth'.[30]

The fundamental significance of holistic aesthetic practices and theories grounded in a cosmological Chinese worldview, then, also finds reception in mod-

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27 ["位置之法, 煩簡不同, 寒暑各異.高堂廣榭, 曲房奧室, 各有所宜. 即如圖書鼎彝之屬, 亦須安設得所. 方如圖畫, 雲林清秘, 高梧古石中, 僅一幾一榻, 令人想見其風致, 真令神骨俱冷. 故韻士所居, 入門便有一種高雅絕俗之趣. 若使前堂養雞牧豕, 而後庭侈言澆花洗石, 政不如凝塵滿案, 環堵四壁, 猶有一種蕭寂氣味耳. (. . .)"] Following the translation by Huajing Xiu Maske, in 'One Ming Gentleman's Notions on Room Order: Selection from *Zhang Wu Zhi*–A Treatise on Superfluous Things, by Wen Zhenheng (1585–1645)', in Nancy Berliner *et al.*, *Beyond the Screen: Chinese Furniture of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Boston, 1996), 85–88, 85. The original text was included in the *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu*《文淵閣四庫全書》[Wenyuan Library Complete Writings of the Four Repositories Compiled by Imperial Order] edition (Beijing, 1782), in the 'Masters Division' (*Zibu* 子部), 'Miscallaneous Writers Section' (*Zajia lei* 雜家類), 'Miscallaneous Commentaries Group' (*Zapin shu* 雜品屬); see e.g. the 1936 reprint by The Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshu Guan 商務印書館): Wen Zhenheng 文震亨, *Zhang wu zhi*《長物志》[Treatise on Superfluous Things] (Shanghai, 1936), and here, p. 71, for the referenced paragraph.

28 See Monica Klasing Chen, 'Translating Practical Knowledge: three Theories for Portraiture Written During the Mid-Qing Dynasty', in Klaas Ruitenbeek ed., *Faces of China: Portrait Painting of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368–1912)* (Petersberg, 2017), 75–84, 76. The early account of portraiture techniques by Wang Yi was recorded by his friend Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–1410), in his *Chuogeng lu*《輟耕錄》[Records Compiled after Retiring from Farming] written *c.* 1366, see Ibid., 83, n. 3.

29 Following Klasing Chen's translation, Ibid., 76.

30 Ibid., 77.

Fig. 7.12: Graph from a physiognomy handbook of the mid- to late Ming dynasty indicating the "Five Mountains and Four Rivers" (*wuyue sidu* 五嶽四瀆) (photo: after Ruitenbeek 2017, 76).

ern western discourse on Chinese architecture. In an architectural review of 1947, the (at the time western-based) urban planner and architect Charles Chen (1916–2001) comments on the fundamentally influential work *Qing Structural Regulations* (*Qing shi yingzao zeli*《清式營造則例》[1934]) by the renowned Chinese architect Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–72), who is widely credited as a founding father of modern Chinese architecture in twentieth-century China, and assesses:

Frame construction was discovered in China at a time previous to historical records. The use of the module also was familiar in ancient China. Then there is the outstanding skill in grouping, which we find in Chinese architecture of the past. Mrs. [Lin Huiyin 林徽因, 1904–55] writes in her introduction to Prof. Liang's [Liang Sicheng's] revised edition of Ching Shih Ying Tsao Tsa Lih [*Qing shi yingzao zeli*], a book on building, published during the [Qing] Dynasty [. . .]: 'The essence of a Chinese layout is the grouping of individual buildings with court-yards and gardens over a wide area. Therefore, even the most important and grandest palace, when looked at in isolation and compared with any famous buildings abroad, will appear small, simple and of inferior appeal [. . .]'. If this is true and buildings were always designed as parts of some larger unit, then they should never be criticised independently; the qualities to be judged must be those of the whole. Not that this does not

also apply to certain European buildings. But a European church or palace can always be considered individually as well, a Chinese temple or palace never.[31]

In the following, to further expound the connections regarding Chinese calligraphy and architecture, these can be made more comprehensible through their historicization in specific culture-historical time contexts of late-Ming- and Qing-period China.

Some practical and theoretical basics of Chinese calligraphy, including its technical and aesthetic dimensions, need to be addressed before considering time-and-space-specific historical contexts in more depth. One representative example of a calligraphic work now held in the collection of Tsinghua University Art Museum (TAM, Qinghua Daxue Yishu Bowuguan 清華大學藝術博物館), Beijing, lends itself particularly well to investigation as a case study in these contexts. The piece is discussed according to three analytical categories. To begin with, a general approach to formal, technical, and compositional aspects is undertaken, allowing to initially juxtapose and establish calligraphic, respectively, architectural bodies, in terms of structural engineering, or what can be understood as the structurally engineered nature of these bodies. Sharpened then is a perspective on Chinese calligraphy and architecture with regard to modular systems, or what can be understood as the module-based nature of these two fields, in the Chinese culture-historical context. Consequently, calligraphic and architectural bodies are considered in their microcosmic significance: as texts, or signifiers, carrying meanings and functions of immaterial value; understood as bodies in their microcosmic nature and capacity to convey social codes, aesthetic preferences, political interests, and more.

This comparative approach serves to demonstrate how these basic connections between Chinese calligraphy and architecture can be translated to the cul-

31 Charles Chen, 'Chinese Architectural Theory: The Artificial Landscape', originally published in *The Architectural Review* 102/607 (July, 1947), 19–25; republished online in November 2015 (n.p.): https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/chinese-architectural-theory [accessed 23.08.2021]. Incidentally to be noted are the errors in Chen's review concerning the name of Liang Sicheng's wife, which is erroneously given as 'Liang Shih-Cheng', as well as the dating of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), erroneously specified as the 'Ching Dynasty (221–206 BC)', rather the applicable dating of the earlier Qin [Ch'in] dynasty. Such errors may be interpreted as due to a lack of linguistic knowledge and cross-cultural exchange that prevailed between China and the West well into the twentieth century. For Liang's work cited by Chen, initially published by the Chinese Architectural Society (Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe 中國營造學社) in 1934, see Liang Sicheng 梁思成, *Qing shi yingzao zeli*《清式營造則例》[Qing Structural Regulations] (Beijing, 1934). Incidentally, Chen moved to Beijing in 1949 and there came to collaborate with Liang Sicheng. Also known as Chen Chan-siang 陳占祥, he is today considered an important architect and urban planner in modern Chinese history.

ture-specific historical context of China's Ming-Qing transitional period. Spanning *c*. the late 1610s to early 1680s, the visual and material cultures of this period manifest the imprints of a certain intellectual mindset and aesthetic appreciation among the changing social class of scholar-literati, and evidenced through certain particularities of calligraphy practice and culture of the time.

That said, to be sure, the intention of the present study is not to provide a detailed introduction to either Chinese calligraphy or Chinese architecture.[32] Rather, by addressing connections on both general and specific levels of Chinese art history, I hope to offer up adequate entry points for historians of separate specializations, as gateways into possibly novel and unfamiliar fields; more precisely: grounded in the familiar field(s) they are respectively specialized in, encompassing the histories and arts of China, including calligraphy and architecture, and, potentially, also those of western architecture and architectural art. I thereby also hope to contribute to the further expansion of the global academic scope, and its ongoing diversification of cross-cultural inquiry.

A Visit to Wan Jing's 'Studio of Idle Lingering'

The piece titled '*Xiancun zhai* 閑存齋', translatable as 'Studio of Idle Lingering', and now held in the TAM collection, was written by the early-Qing-dynasty scholar and calligrapher Wan Jing 萬經 (1659–1741). Executed in brush and ink on silk on the format of a handscroll (Fig. 7.13), it measures 50.5 cm in height, and 139 cm in length. It is inscribed with three large-sized written characters rendered in the antiquarian, monumental and ceremonial style of clerical script (*lishu* 隸書), the prevalent script type used by officials since the first Chinese Empire of Qin (221–206 BC); each character measuring roughly 30 cm high and 25 cm wide. The scroll is further inscribed with a single-column inscription, or colophon, of four small-sized written characters rendered in the informal type of semi-cursive script (*xingshu* 行書). The scroll further shows the placement of three different seals, bearing different in-

32 For comprehensive introductions to the history and development of calligraphy in China, its individual script types, techniques, aesthetics, and styles, see e.g. Fong et al. eds, *Chinese Calligraphy*; Wen C. Fong and Robert E. Harrist eds, *The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John B. Elliot Collection at Princeton* (Princeton, 1999); respectively, to the history and development of architecture in China, including its theories and aesthetics, see e.g. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture: A History* (Princeton, 2019); Liang Ssu-ch'eng [Sicheng], *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types. Edited by Wilma Fairbank* (Cambridge MA, 1984). I further refer to the bibliographical references provided in my doctoral thesis, Hertel, 2017, 1, n. 3.

scriptions carved in the ancient eponymous script type of seal script (*zhuanshu* 篆書): in the upper right corner, one rendered in relief characters, and in the lower left corner, two seals, the upper rendered in intaglio, the other in relief.

Fig. 7.13: Wan Jing 萬經 (1659–1741), *"Studio of Idle Lingering"* (*Xiancunzhai* 閑存齋), calligraphy in clerical script, early Qing, undated, handscroll, ink on silk, 50.5 x 139 cm, Tsinghua University Art Museum (TAM), Beijing, inv.-no. H9-178 (photo: courtesy of TAM).

In reading this piece, the arrangement of its visual elements on the writing plane, that can be grouped into the three separate categories of main inscription, colophon, and seals, directs the movement of our gaze, beginning in the upper right with the initial seal, moving across from right to left with the main inscription, then top-down with the colophon, and again up and down with the concluding seals, arriving thus at an exit point in the lower left corner of the scroll. Compositionally diametrically juxtaposed with the initial point of entry in its upper right corner, a harmonious and stable closure of the structural space that was opened up with the first seal is achieved. The formally determined sequence of brushstrokes in any given Chinese character allows us to recreate the process and act of writing, which is also the moment that our visual appreciation comes into play: we are not just reading the characters as carriers of semantic meaning, but as ones of aesthetic meaning, displaying the calligrapher's technical skills, compositional methods, stylistic references and preferences; we are, in fact simultaneously reading the narrative sequence, or sequential narrative, unfolded visually in form of the brush line itself in an expanded moment of time.[33] The experience of temporality felt during the while of reading, indeed deciphering the text (semantically and visually), script type for script type, character for character, stroke for stroke, is similar to the experience of physically moving across space, and even traversing a landscape; sometimes, as if walking through a calm, well-kept and neatly built garden—as perhaps the case with the

33 Further discussed by Lothar Ledderose as a unique and fundamental aspects of Chinese calligraphy, see his pioneering essay, 'Chinese Calligraphy: Its Aesthetic Dimension and Social Function', in *Orientations* 17/10 (1986), 35–50.

presently discussed piece and its highly balanced and levelled, grounded and robust composition; and sometimes, as if trying to tackle a more unpredictable and dizzying terrain of tilting and tumbling characters, similar to river torrents cascading down a rugged high mountain-scape, as may, for example, be associated with the idiosyncratic cursive styles of late-Ming/early-Qing calligraphers such as Wang Duo 王鐸 (1592–1652) (Fig. 7.14).[34] As for the inscriptions as semantic texts, in Wan Jing's piece, the leading seal in the upper right corner, a leisure seal, reads 'Thatched Hut of Nine Sands of Xixi' (*Xixi Jiu Sha caotang* 西溪九沙草堂), providing an indicator of the calligrapher's identity as Wan Jing, since he was also known under the alias of Jiu Sha 九沙, 'Nine Sands', as well as an indicator of his native province Zhejiang, where the referenced Xixi wetlands are located. The main inscription reads '*Xiancun zhai* 閑存齋', literally, 'leisure', 'idleness' (*xian* 閑); 'to store', 'preserve', 'linger', 'remain' (*cun* 存); 'studio' (*zhai* 齋), thus, as noted, here translatable as 'Studio of Idle Lingering'. The colophon reads 'Wan Jing of Yongdong' (*Yongdong Wan Jing* 甬東萬經)—the artist's signature, specifying his geographical identity as a native of Yongdong, the present-day city of Zhoushan in Zhejiang Province. Placed after the signature, is a seal reading 'Yongdong Wan Jing Shouyi Family Library' (*Yongdong Wan Jing Shouyi shi tushu* 甬東萬經授一氏圖書), Shouyi referring to Wang Jing's courtesy name; and below that, the last seal with the official inscription 'Imperial Inspector of Qiannan [in service of] selecting men of talent for the advancement of the country' (*Luncai jin guo xiaoshi Qiannan* 掄才晉[進]國校士黔南); Qiannan referring to the prefecture Qiannan in Guizhou Province.

The piece carries no dating, yet assuming that it is authentic.[35] It can be inferred that it was written sometime between the late seventeenth century and mid-eighteenth century based on Wan Jing's living dates (1659–1741), and also on the fact that he belonged to the exclusive social class of select *jinshi* 进士 literati, those men

34 For a discussion of the late-Ming/early-Qing preference for large-scale hanging-scroll formats in the particular form of cursive-script calligraphy, as eminently embodied by Wang Duo's work, see Longchun Xue, 'From "Dot and Strokes" to "Lines": on changes great and small in Late Ming calligraphy', in Michael Knight and Joseph P. Chang eds, *Out of Character: Decoding Chinese Calligraphy* (San Francisco, 2012), 221–67.

35 Relying on formal, technical, and material criteria of the work, its inscriptions and seals as well as related aspects of provenance and historical transmission, and further based on stylistic features. While a style analysis exceeds the relevant scope of the present inquiry and cannot find in-depth analysis, suffice it may to note that Wan Jing's clerical-script calligraphy–which can be assessed, for example, on grounds of extant works collected by The Palace Museum (Gugong Bowuyuan 故宫博物院), Beijing, respectively, the Xiling Seal Art Society (Xiling Yinshe 西泠印社), Hangzhou–is distinctly modeled upon the prevalent contemporary styles of late-Ming and Qing-period epigraphic calligraphy. Here, the trend-setting style of pioneer Zheng Fu 鄭簠 (1622–93) in particular can be seen reflected in Wan Jing's work.

Fig. 7.14: Wang Duo 王鐸 (1592–1652), Poetry in Five-Character Verse (Wu yan shi 五言詩), calligraphy in semi-cursive script, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 220 x 56 cm, Tsinghua University Art Museum, Beijing, inv.-no. H5-93. (photo: courtesy of TAM).

of letters to successfully pass the highest imperial examinations in the Chinese civil-service system of scholar-bureaucrats, which, in this case under Qing Emperor Kangxi's reign (r. 1661–1722), paved Wan Jing's career as an educational inspector in Guizhou, and to which he refers in his seal—a seal which thus can only have been carved after 1703, the year of his successful entry into the government.[36] In Wan Jing's biographical sources, it is stated, somewhat elliptically, that '[He] served as educational inspector in Guizhou, [yet] because matters came up, ceased [his activities] and returned [home]' (*Shixue Qian zhong, yin shi ba gui* 視學黔中, 因事罷歸). This signifies Wan Jing's return to his native province of present-day Zhejiang—and to which the third and final seal may be referring to—carved after his retirement from office, which in turn can only have been prior to 1722, the last year of Kangxi's reign, at the Thatched Hut of Nine Sands of Xixi. The production of this scroll is thus likely datable to the 1710s.

Though the actual reasons for Wan Jing's early retiring remain obscure, it is useful to draw attention to the fact that he did leave the world of high politics prematurely, inasmuch as the name, that is, the title-giving inscription of this scroll, *Studio of Idle Lingering*, indicates not just a titular piece, hung to specifically identify a real existing place, or physical living space. As scholars of traditional Chinese culture, literature, and the arts will be familiar with, the references carried in the three characters '閑存齋' rendered by Wan Jing extend beyond the merely func-

36 As recorded in Wan Jing's biography, see rpt. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 *et al.* eds: *Qingshi gao: liezhuan erbai liushiba Rulin (er)*《清史稿: 列傳爾百六十八儒林(二)》[Manuscripts of the History of Qing: Biographies of 268 Confucian Scholars (Vol. 2)] (Beijing 1998), 13171.

tional. The intimacy of place, and space, invoked by the name 'Studio of Idle Lingering', is in fact one that establishes an identificatory connection with those literati-scholar figures of China's historical past whose biographies, similarly, carried the fate of an early retirement from office (indeed, mostly *on grounds* of severe political and ethical differences). The motif of 'returning' (*guilai* 歸來), in the sense of 'returning home', moreover refers to a personal withdrawal from worldly affairs, and the return to a humbled, simple lifestyle in the ideal reclusion of the countryside. This idiom of returning home, which has been idolized in literary and art discourse of the Chinese scholar-literati over time, is prominently associated with the famous hermit-poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427) of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), who became known for his withdrawal from government service to live a retired life in nature and devote himself to writing poetry.[37]

Here, the terminologies of 'idleness' (*xian* 閑) and, moreover, 'storing' (*cun* 存) imply a multitude of meanings, including notions of lingering, prevailing, remaining; further preserving, retaining, remaining on balance; cherishing and harbouring; existing, living, surviving.[38] The idiomatic use of 'Stored Idleness', respectively 'Idle Lingering' points towards generic themes that have accrued much historical tradition and weight over time, conjuring culturally and philosophically inscribed notions of carefree wandering, spiritual roaming, the pursuit of the amateur (rather than professional) arts, and the disengagement from government service and official duties; notions and themes that occupied particular significance in the historical context of the Ming-Qing transition. As noted, this period saw the superseding of the Ming dynasty through the Manchu rulers in 1644, bringing forth the so-called *yimin* 遺民, the 'leftover folk', or 'remnant class', of Ming-dynasty literati-officials who had formerly constituted the highest social class, and now saw themselves in the roles of social outcasts.[39] Wan Jing, born into a younger, quasi second-generation of Qing-dynasty scholar-officials, will most certainly have absorbed the zeitgeist of turbulence and trauma that came with the decades of bloodshed during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

37 On this rich and complicated topic in Chinese cultural history which cannot find detailed elucidation here, see for example: Richard Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Painting* (New York, 1983); Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle, 2005); Peter C. Sturman and Susan S. Tai eds, *The Artful Recluse: Painting, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century China* (Munich-Santa Barbara CA, 2012).

38 Cf. Hubei Cishu Chubanshe, ed, *Hanyu da zidian*, vol. 7, p. 4287; Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, pp. 609, 575, 1024; Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, entry 432a [n.p.]; Mathews, *Chinese-English*, p. 6891; Wieger, *Chinese Characters*, entry 96d [n.p.].

39 On the topic of *yimin* in the particular Chinese context of Ming-Qing transitional art, see Jonathan Hay, 'Posttraumatic Art: Painting by Remnant Subjects of the Ming', in Sturman and Tai 2012, 77–93.

His reference to, or *citation* of, 'idleness', then, evokes the well-known Chinese rhyme-prose poem (*fu* 賦) *The Idle Life* (*Xianju fu* 閑居賦) by the third-century scholar-official Pan Yue 潘岳 (*c.*247–300 AD). Inspiring poets, painters, and calligraphers through centuries to come, it is written: '[. . .] So I have retired, to live the idle life on the banks of [River] Lo, in body one with the hermit folk [deletion]; my name listed under the lower gentry. The capital at my back, [River] Yi before me, I face the suburbs, putting the market place behind [. . .]';[40] and ending with the lines: 'So with eyes upon the "many wonders", other thoughts cut off, cherishing my ineptness, I will live carefree to the end'.[41]

Historical Contexts: The Ming-Qing Transitional Period

This chapter section aims to close in on the principal question put forward at the outset: in what way can the form and content of certain calligraphy types particular to the Ming-Qing transitional period be interpreted as a citation of architectural spaces (or vice versa)?

To be sure, the general wide-spread production and consumption of calligraphy as a general phenomenon in this historical context must, for one, be situated within that '[. . .] period following the ban on maritime trade in 1567 [. . .], which was marked by a bustling economy with new-found wealth among the merchant class'.[42] The phenomenon can further be considered in its context of a 'changed relationship to goods, which arguably came into play in China between about 1500 and 1600, [that] took place at the same time as changes to certain concep-

40 ['於是退而閑居於洛之涘, 身齊逸民, 名綴下士. 陪京溯伊, 面郊後市.'] Following the translation of Burton Watson in, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose: Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods. Translated and with an Introduction by Burton Watson* (New York, 1971), 'P'an Yüeh, *d.* AD 300: The Idle Life', 64–71, 67. Here it may be noted that the two Chinese terms translated here as 'hermit folk' (i.e. *yimin* 逸民), and further above, as 'remnant folk' (i.e. *yimin* 遺民), present homophones that are to some extent interchangeable, moreover, 'inherently complicit', to borrow from Hay's wording; particularly so in the Ming-Qing transitional context, see Hay 2012, 77.

41 ['仰眾妙而絕思, 終優游以養拙.'] In Watson's translation, Ibid., 71. As the author notes, the 'many wonders' (*zhong miao* 眾妙) are an 'Epithet for the Way', as referenced in chapter one of the *Daodejing*《道德經》, see Watson 1971, 67, n. 15. The original poem by Pan Yue was included in the first volume, on rhyme-prose, of the foundational sixty-volume compilation *Wenxuan*《文選》[Anthology of Literature] of the sixth century.

42 As Curtis Evarts points out in his essay 'The Furniture Maker and the Woodworking Traditions of China', in Berliner *et al.* 1996, 53–77, at 65.

tions of the self and of personal identity'.[43] Social mobility found expression through new fashions and popularized cultural tastes, blurring the boundaries between the previously distinguished high class of scholar-officials, and the lower merchant class.[44]

The particular preference, moreover, for large-sized calligraphy formats in form of horizontal scrolls, hanging scrolls, and double hanging scrolls, a characteristic feature of calligraphy practice that became popular from the late-Ming and early-Qing periods on, and reaching the height of their fashion in the mid- and late-Qing periods, must be understood in the functional context of calligraphic works, which were made for specific uses, and to be appreciated in specific situations.[45] Large-sized handscrolls, based on the older tradition of inscribed wood tablets (*bian'e* 匾額), were hung in halls, their inscribed large-sized characters often denoting the names of the places in which they were hung: temple entrances, reception halls, altar rooms, throne chambers, study rooms, libraries, workshops, restaurants, shops. Hanging scroll pairs, in turn provided the writing space to accommodate *duilian* 對聯, poetic antithetical couplets, typically consisting of two lines with a same number of characters in each line; each scroll carrying the inscription of one couplet line.[46] A pair of hanging scrolls by Wan Jing's elder contemporary, the pioneer calligrapher and epigrapher Zheng Fu 鄭簠 (1622–93), dated 1688, appropriately illus-

43 Here quoting Craig Clunas from his essay 'Furnishing the Self in Early Modern China', in Berliner *et al.* 1996, 21–35, at 31.

44 For further readings on particularities of the culture and arts of Ming-Qing transitional-period China, see Dora Ching, 'The Aesthetics of the Unusual and the Strange in Seventeenth-Century Calligraphy', in Fong and Harrist, *The Embodied Image*, 342–59; Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana IL, 1991); Wai-kam Ho: 'Late Ming Literati: Their Social and Cultural Ambience', in *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period. An Exhibition from the Shanghai Museum*, eds. Chu-Tsing Li and James C. Y. Watt (London and New York 1987), 14–22. For a general and comprehensive history of the politics, economy, and culture of the Ming and Qing periods, see John K. Fairbank and Denis C. Twitchett, eds, *The Cambridge History of* China, 15 vols. (Cambridge 1978–2020), VII–VIII, Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote eds, 1988: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 1* and *Part 2*; vol. 9 (Willard J. Peterson ed., 2003; 2018): *The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1800, Part 1* and *Part 2*; Vol. 10 and Vol. 11 (John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu eds, 1978; 1980)*: Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1* and *Part 2*.

45 For further reading, see Knight and Chang 2012.

46 The generic Chinese term *duilian* thus referring both to the material visual format and the textual literary format. The above-referenced throne chamber of the Palace of Heavenly Purity at the Forbidden City seen in Fig. 7.1 exemplifies both formats of horizontally inscribed tablets and vertically inscribed *duilian*, see footnote 2. For further reading on the art and culture of *duilian*, see the comprehensive exhibition catalogue Jason C. Kuo and Peter C. Sturman, eds., *Double Beauty: Qing Dynasty Couplets from the Lechengzai Collection* (Hong Kong 2003), as well as the further volumes II and III published respectively in 2007 and 2017.

trates the *duilian* couplet format (Fig. 7.15). Its example (whose trend-setting calligraphic style, incidentally, is also evidently reflected in Wan Jing's piece) is moreover chosen here on grounds of the scholarly Ming-Qing zeitgeist conveyed through its inscribed seven-syllabic verses, which befit the subject of my present inquiry and related ideals of a humble life pursued in reclusion: 'Unless the self is deprived of riches, The Way remains difficult to enter; [only] the unfettered ability of reasoning [brought about by The Way] allows for true contemplation of books'.[47]

Fig. 7.15: Zheng Fu 鄭簠(1622–93), Seven-Character Couplet (Qi yan duilian七言對聯), 1688, calligraphy in clerical script, pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 113 x 30 cm each scroll, Tsinghua University Art Museum, Beijing, inv.-no. H8-155. (photo: courtesy of TAM).

Duilian, hung to flank the sides of doorways, mostly to celebrate festive events and auspicious occasions, can be further sub-categorized according to their intended use and function. The terms 'column couplets' (*yinglian* 楹聯), 'door couplets' (*menlian* 門聯), and 'spring couplets' (*chunlian* 春聯) indicate the location where, or season when, couplets are displayed, while 'wedding couplets' (*xilian* 喜聯), 'birthday couplets' (*shoulian* 壽聯), and 'funerary couplets' (*wanlian* 輓聯) demarcate occasions or events. As has been pointed out, 'such designations for couplets, however, fail to impart a sense of the format's origin or to recognize the importance of the central void or passage that couplets frame'.[48] Further:

47 '身若不貧難進道, 理能無礙可觀書.'

48 Here quoting Liu from his invaluable essential study on the topic, see Cary Y. Liu, 'Calligraphic Couplets as Manifestations of Deities and Markers of Buildings', in Fong and Harrist, *The Embodied Image*, 360–79 here 364. For his similarly illuminating study on the complexities of how space and related concepts of void were conceived in traditional Chinese architectural thought, considered also from a cross-cultural perspective, further see Cary Y. Liu, 'Concepts of

> From their earliest appearance as a calligraphic format, couplets were linked to ritual and building practices. Flanking a column bay, bracketing a door opening, or forming a triptych with a central scroll, altar, or throne (*chung-t'ang* [as seen in Figs 7.1, 7.16] couplets marked literal or phenomenal portals and were inseparable from religious and building rites [. . .] In China the architectural building process is accompanied at almost every step by rituals, and deities are believed to permeate various parts of a building [. . .] Each deity guarded a gateway to a spiritual realm that linked earthly abodes to heaven, earth, ancestors, and the afterlife. The placement of calligraphic couplets at these locations marked those passageways. Today couplets are still found flanking an auspicious image or piece of writing in a central location of many residencies.[49]

Fig. 7.16: Altar to Li Bing 李冰, the Drain God (Guankou shen 關口神), Qing dynasty, Fulong Monastery (Fulongguan 伏龍觀), Guanxian, Sichuan (photo: after Liu 1999, 360).

We may at this point recall the particular importance of a building's centre, as quoted before from *Lu Ban's Classic*, in the context of carpentry. As seen in an image of a central room of a modern dwelling in Lanxi, Zhejiang (Fig. 7.17), the arrangement of the scrolls in their auspicious function to come into effect on occasion of completion of the building's completion, is reinforced through this central scroll's inscription 'Auspicious airs fill the main hall' (*Ruiqi ying ting* 瑞氣盈庭).[50] Its message is not only a hypothetically idea; the written characters carry presence *themselves* and are therein efficacious. Indeed: 'The application of the expression "central hall" (chung-t'ang) to a painting or calligraphy scroll hung be-

Architectural Space in Historical Chinese Thought', in Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang eds, *A Companion to Chinese Art* (*Blackwell Companions to Art History*) (New York, 2016), 195–211.

49 Ibid., 361.

50 Ibid., 362.

Fig. 7.17: Central room of a modern dwelling in Lanxi, Zhejiang (photo: after Liu 1999, 362).

tween couplets in the main hall or behind an altar seems, in part, to derive from this tradition of marking the geomantic centre'.[51]

Various contemporary specimen aptly illustrate the continuity of this idea of the 'physical-architectural-geomantic' centre—i.e. in form of a 'central hall' triptych arrangement with couplets flanking a central hanging (as seen in Fig. 7.1 showing the imperial throne chamber): For example, the (for this author's just nearby) celebrated Old Gate of Tsinghua University (Qinghua Daxue Erxiaomen 清華大學二校門), reading 'Tsinghua Garden' (*Qinghua yuan* 清華園); the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tiananmen 天安門) at the Forbidden City, with 'New Emperor' Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 (1893–1976, r. 1949–76) portrait flanked by citations of propaganda slogans; furthermore, recently seen occupying the spaces of contemporary Catholic churches in Mainland China, Chinese President Xi Jinping's 習近平 (b. 1953, r. 2012–present) altar-like portrait, again framed, by citations of propaganda slogans, and moreover replacing the original symbols of religious wor-

51 Ibid., 361.

ship.[52] Such recontextualizations, obviously, do not serve only to lodge aesthetic ideas or stylistic preferences; their usage demarcates identity and status among specific social groups, ideological frameworks, political agendas.

On the note of gates, and triptych arrangements, another form of 'citation' that can be observed in the presently discussed context which shows how certain categories and functions of architectural forms were appropriated through calligraphy in China, attention may further be drawn to the particular compositional format of *longmen duilian* 龍門對聯, literally, 'dragon-gate couplets', denoting a specific form of arranging the columns of written characters such that as a whole composition, they visually form the Chinese character *men* 門, for 'gate', 'door', 'doorway', as a specimen of Qi Baishi's 齊白石 (1864–1957) calligraphy held in the TAM collection may serve to illustrate (see Fig. 7.18; or also the example the Drain-God altar shown in 7.16. Like the afore-discussed character *zhai*, for 'studio', this character, too, is a (re)presentational pictographic icon of the thing it stands for. Again, we recognize multiple layers of visualisation and reading, implying a complex relationality between real physical form, icon, text, image, and *Abbild* (borrowing from the German-language term).

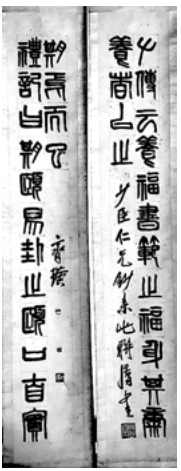

Fig. 7.18: Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864–1957), *Couplets in Longmen Composition* (*Longmen duilian* 龍門對聯), calligraphy in seal script, undated, pair of hanging scrolls, ink on paper, 128 x 21 cm each scroll, Tsinghua University Art Museum (TAM), Beijing, inv.-no. H7-40 (photo: courtesy of TAM).

52 See Tang Zhe, 'Xi Jinping Portraits Replace Catholic Symbols in Churches', in Bitter Winter: A Magazine on Religious Liberty and Human Rights in China [online], November 25, 2019, https://bitterwinter.org/xi-jinping-portraits-replace-catholic-symbols [accessed 21.01.2021]. For a critical discussion of Mao Zedong as 'New Emperor', see Geremie Barmé, 'For Truly Great Men, Look to This Age Alone: Was Mao Zedong a New Emperor?', in Timothy Cheek ed., *A Critical Introduction to Mao* (Cambridge, 2010), 243–72.

Further to be noted in the context of the late-Ming and Qing-period preference for large-sized calligraphy is the link to specific uses of so-called 'archaic,' or 'ancient' Chinese script types that simultaneously came into fashion, as seen in Wan Jing's example of clerical script, or the modern-period example of Qi Baishi rendered in seal script. Inasmuch as the decisions made by the calligrapher (or the calligrapher's client, or patron) regarding the chosen script type, respectively, the chosen writing format for a given work generally go hand in hand, the combination of large-sized writing formats with ancient-type script clearly reflects the epigraphic trends prevalent in calligraphy culture of the late Ming through early Republican (1912–49) periods, also known under the term of 'Stele School' (*beixue pai* 碑學派) calligraphy, whose erudite techniques and styles were modeled on rubbings typically taken from inscriptions found on Shang (*c.*1600–*c.*1046 BC) and Zhou-dynasty (1046–771 BC) ritual bronze artefacts and Han-dynasty stone tablets.[53]

The fact that Wan Jing's discussed example does not merely carry an inscription indicating the name of a place, referring to an extant custom within the historical traditions of Chinese calligraphy, but carrying additional inscriptions indicating the artist's name, his penname, as well as his official and personal seals (moreover, on the backside-label of the scroll, an added post-script indicating that the piece was later in possession of a 'collection of rare treasures'), allows us to assume that the piece was not primarily made and hung to accommodate the customary form and function as part of a tryptich over a doorway.[54] Rather, it may be considered in terms of an individual calligraphic artwork, to be looked at and appreciated for its brushwork and style; placing emphasis on the identity of the maker, and inseparable from this, the identity of the place it designated.

It has been noted that in the Ming period, articles of furniture were positioned according to their functions, and, as specified in *Lu Ban's Classic*, the afore-noted handbook on carpentry, the measurements of a given piece were adjusted in proportion to the size of the room, as the informative reconstruction of a late Ming-dynasty study room now kept in the Shanghai Museum may serve to illustrate

53 For discussions of the Stele School movement, see Hertel 2017, 33–37; Lothar Ledderose, *Die Siegelschrift (chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing-Zeit: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der chinesischen Schriftkunst* (Wiesbaden, 1970); Amy McNair, 'Engraved Calligraphy in China: Recension and Reception', in *The Art Bulletin*, 160/1 (1995), 106–14.

54 The scroll's post-script reads: '*Studio of Idle Lingering* panel-scroll in clerical-script calligraphy by Qing-dynasty Wan Jing. Jing Weng Collection of Rare Treasures. Renquan, in early autumn of *renchen*'. ('清萬經隸書閑存齋額. 靜翁珍藏. 壬辰初秋仁泉.') While the name Jing Weng likely refers to a member of the Weng family clan to which the calligrapher Wan Jing belonged, the Chinese dating *renchen* 壬辰 refers to the twenty-ninth year of the sexagenary cycle, here possibly indicating the years 1712, 1772, 1832, or 1892.

(Fig. 7.19).[55] Moreover, their positioning demonstrated '[. . .] a relationship to objects in which things do not merely confirm the status that the person already holds, but can actually *change* that status'.[56] If this is so, and if we consider scrolls of calligraphy as one among those articles of furniture—indeed, all the more so appropriately, inasmuch as hung calligraphy was understood as a particularly powerful, efficacious medium of self-furnishing—two things can be deduced.[57] For one, that the positioning of the scroll bore a close, if not to say inherent relationship with the given architecture of its surroundings; and second, that the hanging of a calligraphy could reinforce a person's desired status, therein catering towards what Clunas in the context of late-Ming subjecthood refers to as a:

Fig. 7.19: Reconstruction of a late Ming-dynasty study room; model study furniture from the tomb of the scholar official Pan Yunzheng 潘允徵 (1533–1589), unearthed at Zhaojiabang Road, Shanghai, in 1960. Shanghai Museum (photo: after Berliner 1996, 83).

> [. . .] multiplicity of subject positions (as son, father, official, recluse, painter, householder) that might be occupied at different moments. By the late Ming period, notions of possession, property, and appropriate consumption had to negotiate with this multiplicity, perhaps providing the idea of fitting different things to different subject positions.[58]

55 See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building*, 62 n. 34.

56 See Clunas, 'Furnishing the Self', 30.

57 The notion of self-furnishing here borrows from the terminology as established in Clunas, 'Furnishing the Self'.

58 Clunas, 'Furnishing the Self', 34.

Brushing up the Scholar's Studio: Conclusions

In conclusion, the above-discussed generation of *yimin* scholars, the 'remnant', or 'left-over folk' of the fallen Ming dynasty to whose younger generation Wan Jing belonged, marked an intellectually and artistically critical, creative era. Wan Jing's withdrawal from government service and retirement in scholarly reclusion present a generic biography of sorts, pointing towards a certain mytheme of culture-historically grown scholarly ideals based on Confucian loyalty and piety.

In the particular sociocultural context of literati culture of the Ming-Qing transitional period, and its emerging nouveau riche of so-called merchant-cum-scholars, the 'vulgar', 'common' (*su* 俗) social class that the former high class of conservatively-inclined 'refined', 'cultured' (*ya* 雅) men of letters sought to distance themselves from, Wan Jing's known biography moreover indicates the possibility that his scroll be read in its function of 'brushing up the scholar's studio': As a refiguring of living space and reinforcement of identity through the means of calligraphy-slash-architecture; an appropriation of traditional formats, script types and styles, here through the erudite practices of antiquarian clerical- and seal-scripts, to accommodate the personal and general yearnings of his and his like-minded peers' times. Though the exact conditions concerning the production, function and physical surroundings of Wan Jing's scroll will likely remain unknown, following the argumentation pursued in this study, we can nevertheless attempt to reconstruct, or at least imaginate, the 'mindset' of its architectural space, at least partially. This, how fortunate, is also possible for us as art historians, inasmuch as we are able to puzzle together pieces of knowledge acquired from various sources over time—as, for example, a glimpse into *The Studio of Tingqua* vividly illustrates (Fig. 7.20). Though embedded within an entirely different frame, namely, the temporal and geographical sphere of the celebrated mid-nineteenth-century Guangzhou trade artist Tingqua 庭呱 (fl. 1840–70, also known as Lian Guanchang 聯關昌), the image reveals informative parallels when viewed and considered through the perspective of the above-discussed calligraphy-architecture connection. Showing the prolific late-Qing painting workshop furnished with a triptych arrangement of calligraphy that likewise serves to frame the image as a work of painting, we may recognize and read the intimate relationship established between the written words and the human living and working space they inhabit. As can be deciphered on the central hanging at the top of the image, the main message of its four characters reads: 'Everything comes to one who waits' (*Jingguanzide* 靜觀自得), a phrase expressing the virtues of sober observance and calm patience. The antithetical couplet, hanging to the right and left, is interpretable in the given context of its physical embedment, within the pictorial and textual narrative of the artwork. Its poetic inscription reads, in translation:

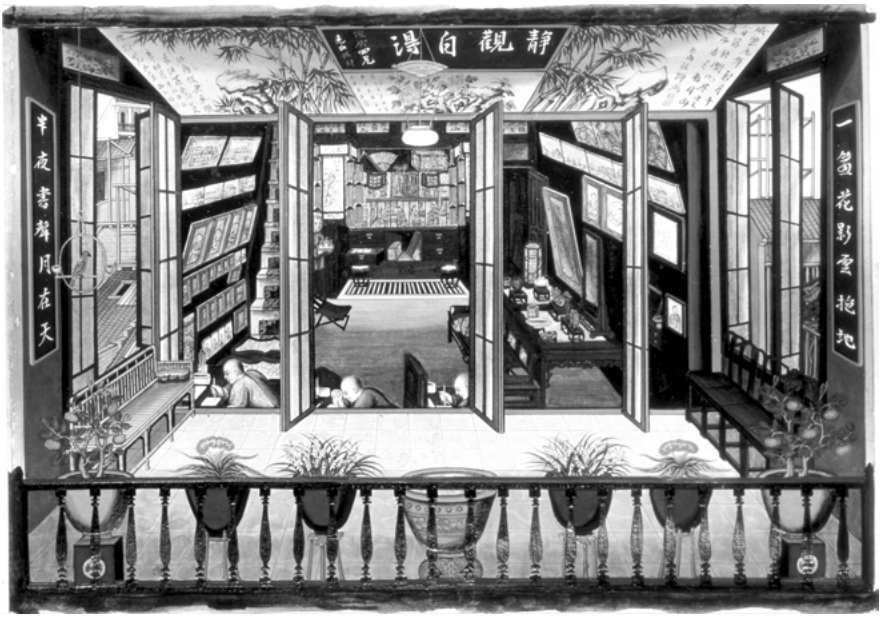

Fig. 7.20: Tingqua 庭呱 (fl. 1840–1870, also known as Guan Lianchang 關聯昌), *The Studio of Tingqua (located in 16 New China Street in Guangzhou),* showing the trade artist's painting workshop furnished with a triptych arrangement of calligraphy, mid-19th c., gouache on paper, 17.5 x 26.5 cm, Hong Kong Museum of Art Collection (photo: Hong Kong Museum of Art Collection).

> Under the shop signs,
> the flowers cast their shadows on the ground like dragging clouds.
> Burning the midnight oil to the sound of brush-and-ink,
> the moon stands high in the sky.[59]

With regard to the principal question of the present study, we can infer that the form and content of certain calligraphy types particular to the Ming-Qing transitional period are indeed interpretable as a citation of architectural spaces. This holds true, first and foremost, inasmuch as Wan Jing's calligraphic inscription—'The Studio of Idle Lingering'—contains a *literal* citation, namely, that of the studio's given name. And yet, the actual question to be raised must in fact be what we actually wish to define *as citation.* If Chinese calligraphies and architecture are read together, as considered in this study, in their spatial physical capacities as structurally engineered bodies; moreover, in their relational capacities as modular systems; and in further consideration of their shared theoretical frameworks and concepts grounded

59 "一簾花影雲拖地, 半夜書聲月在天."

in the intellectual history and textual traditions of Chinese cosmology, ritual culture, geomancy, aesthetics, and more—which as substrates have nourished the fields of Chinese calligraphy and architecture over time, that is, also with regard their inherently connected condition—then it appears even natural to conclude: Well, how could there *not* be an abundance of citations? Inasmuch as in China, calligraphy is traditionally considered not only as *representational*, that is, as a visible formal manifestation of an inscribed text, but moreover as *presentational*, that is, as a visible manifestation of human presence, we can conceive calligraphic and architectural phenomena together in their commonality, not only as structurally engineered *buildings*, but also as *animated living spaces*, lived space of human habitation itself.

In addressing connections on both general and specific levels of Chinese art history, what could be offered through this study is merely the proposal of possibly adequate entry points and gateways, in hope that scholars affiliated with related fields may discover some new and useful insights through the perspectives of their individual specializations—also in cross-cultural regard. On the note of border-crossing inquiry in this context, to be acknowledged is that:

> It is in the way a spatial volume is physically delimited and then filled that determines how architectural space is understood. The orchestration between the material and immaterial aspects is central to understanding notions of space in different cultures and times. [. . .] Although similar materials and forms may be used to shape space, the concepts and ways of filling space can differ between people in different places and times. [. . .] Understanding any one culture's architectural language through the prism of another's language, therefore, presents a serious challenge in translation.[60]

Within the given framework of my study, one can only go this far. A deeper and more comprehensive understanding building on extant literature and previous scholarship could be facilitated by further engagement with specific case studies and phenomena of late-Ming and early—Qing practices and theories in art and architecture, and further investigation into the relationships of calligraphic-architectural surroundings and settings as well as the personae and social groups with which these were entwined. Here, the associated fields of garden architecture and furniture architecture, for example, appear promising to expand in future research. Provided here is merely a small contribution; one that is also of essentially *translational* nature: attempting to translate not only between different genres in the Chinese context, but, with regard to the overarching theme of 'Lost and Found in Translation', moreover cross- and transculturally, between different disciplines and languages of academic discourse—an endeavour that, for this moment in history, still appears worthwhile 'burning the midnight oil' for.

60 Quoting Liu, 'Concepts of Architectural Space', 195.

Marco Di Salvo

Chapter Eight
Pirro Ligorio, the 'Megala' Ship and the Cortile Del Belvedere

Because no known ancient ships survived into the Renaissance, humanists and antiquarians had to rely on descriptions found in Greek and Latin literature, yet these referred to measurements that were often inconsistent. So, when Pirro Ligorio (*c*.1512–83) came to collate and interpret information about some of the most celebrated vessels of antiquity, some information was mistranslated and misunderstood, and this had implications for the built forms of the '*Thalamegos trireme*'.

In the third century BC, the king of Egypt, Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–05 BC), commissioned the luxury riverboat '*Megala*' or '*Thalamegos trireme*', a kind of 'floating palace' with loggias, rooms for symposia, bedrooms and nymphaea, as well as a colonnaded *vestibulum* and a proscenium.[1] The idea has been advanced that this huge 'house-boat' with a 'double bow and stern' belonged to the Ptolemy dynasty until Julius Caesar (100/102–44 BC) conquered Egypt in the first century BC, yet a recent reinterpretation of the *Lives* of Suetonius (*c*.69–after 122) has rejected this hypothesis.[2] Nothing remains of Ptolemy's 'cabin-cruiser' except for the descriptions by Kallixeinos of Rhodes (fifth century BC), Plutarch (50–120 AD) and Athenaeus of Naucratis (second-third century AD).

The '*Thalamegos*' was neither a warship nor a cargoship, as underlined by Athenaeus. It was probably closer to those '*thalamegói*' on which banquets were still held on the swamps of the Nile during the reign of Caesar Augustus (63 BC–

1 The names '*Megala*' and '*Thalamegos trireme*' derive from Ligorio's 'Book XIII on the antiquities' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 62*v*). Based on Athenaeus's text, the word '*trireme*', correctly '*triere*' technically, used by Ligorio wrongly identifies it as a warship instead of a riverboat.

2 Gianna Gardenal, *Il Poliziano e Svetonio. Contributo alla storia della filologia umanistica* (Firenze, 1975), 37. Thomas W. Hillard, 'The Nile Cruise of Cleopatra and Caesar', in *The Classical Quarterly* 52/2 (2002), 549–54. Martina Callegaro, 'Houseboating in Ancient Times: *Thalamegos*, *Lusoriae*, *Cubiculae* and the Nemi Ships as Ancestors of Nowadays Floating Houses Trend', in Ernesto Fasano et al. eds, *Nautical and Maritime Culture, from the Past to the Future* (Amsterdam-Berlin-Washington, 2019), 62–3. See also Pietro Janni, *Il mare degli Antichi* (Bari, 1996), 425–52.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111477909-009

AD 14), according to the *Geographia* of Strabo (64/3 BC–AD *c*.24).[3] At the same time, however, the 'cabin-cruiser' was something more than a simple riverboat, such as the cedar vessel 280 cubits long (*c*.127 m) that was built by pharaoh Sésostris (twentieth century BC) and mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (80–20 BC) in his *Historical Library* (II, 6).[4] In this regard, scholars have thought that perhaps a close relationship existed between Ptolemy's '*Thalamegos*', 'in the form of [a . . .] catamaran', and a 'luxurious Macedonian royal palace'.[5]

The allure of these ancient ships re-emerged during the Renaissance.[6] In this regard, Borso d'Este (1413–71), Lodovico Gonzaga (1460–1511) and the Prince-Electors of Saxony as well as members of the Venetian *signoria* commissioned a number of mostly smaller riverboats, with the exception of the extraordinary '*galia quinquereme*' designed by the humanist Vettor Fausto (1490–1546) and launched on 28 April 1529 from the shipyard of the Arsenale in Venice.[7] In addition, humanists, engineers, and architects such as Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501), Giuliano da Sangallo (1443/52–1516) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) were interested in ships, and a sixteenth century proto-Encyclopedia (*Libro XIII dell'antichità di Pyrrho Ligorio Patritio neapolitano et cittadino romano*) systematically investigated the subject of boats and shipping.

Of the thirty manuscripts of the Vatican architect, antiquarian and Neapolitan patrician Pirro Ligorio (1513/14–83) kept in the State Archive in Turin, here the focus is on 'Book XIII on the antiquities'.[8] One specific chapter of Book XIII is

3 Janni, *Il mare*, 450. Translating and commenting on Suetonius's *Vitae*, Angelo Poliziano mentioned the '*navem fluvialem*', a riverboat, by referring to Philopator's ship (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 754, fol. 217*r*).

4 During the Renaissance, it was possible to know about Sésostris's cedar vessel in the translation of Diodorus Siculus's *Historical Library*, see Poggio Bracciolini, *Diodori siculi historiarum priscarum a Poggio in latinum traducti* (Venice, 1476), II, n.p. 'Nave(m) ex cedro fecit ducento(rum) octaginta cubito(rum)'.

5 Michael Pfrommer, 'Fassade und Heiligtum: Betrachtungen zur architektonischen Repräsentation des vierten Ptolemäers', in Wolfram Hoepsen and Gunnar Brands eds, *Basileia, die Paläste der hellenistichen könige* (Mainz 1996), 101; Michael Pfrommer, *Greek Gold from Hellenistic Egypt* (Los Angeles, 2001), 16.

6 Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi derrariensis, de re nautica libellus, admiranda quadam & recondita eruditione refertus, nunc primum & natus & aeditus* (Basel, 1540), 41–2.

7 Giovanni Gobellino, *Pii secundi pontificis max. commentarii* (Frankfurt am Main, 1614), 308: 'Supra navim aedificatam fuisse domum existimant, qualem vidimus in Pado Borsii Ferrariensis, aut in Mintio Ludovici Mantuani, & qualibus in Rheno principes electores utuntur'; Corrado Ricci, 'Il foro d'Augusto – Il lago di Nemi', in *Gloriose imprese archeologiche* (Bergamo, 1927), 24; Ennio Concina, *Navis* (Torino, 1990), 4.

8 Author's translation: the original title is 'Libro XIII dell'antichità' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14).

examined here: the description of the '*Thalamegos trireme*' (fols 62*v*–63*v*) according to the unpublished Italian translation (Fig. 8.1). Ligorio's text is then compared with primary sources to distinguish similarities and differences from Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*. Finally, the '*Fluviale Navigio Thalamagos*' is contextualized by analyzing similar boats built in the Hellenistic and Roman period.

Given the long-standing relationship between ships and architecture, one of the skills of an '*architecto*' (architect), was also to be a '*coaedificantis navibus*' (shipbuilder), as set out by Alberti in the prologue of his *De re aedificatoria*. In addition, Alberti also explored this subject matter in book V, chapter twelve, where he talked about the 'floating palaces' of Caligula (12–41) on lake Nemi, examined later by Francesco de' Marchi (1504–76) in the sixteenth century (Figs 8.2 and 8.3).[9] Though enriched with porticoes to lighten the weight of the structure, Caligula's vessels evoke the '*thalamegói*'.[10] In the mid-fifteenth century, encouraged by the enthusiasm and willingness of cardinal Prospero Colonna (*c*.1460–1523), Alberti—author of the lost codex *Navis*—attempted to have retrieved the ships from lake Nemi but was unsuccessful.[11] Flavius Blondus (1392–1463) described the episode in his *Italia illustrata* and had previously recorded the event in the margins of the ms. Ott.lat.2369:

> Leon Battista arranged wine barrels tied together in a number of rows ('*ordines*') on the lake with the idea of setting up winches on either side, as though from a bridge. With these,

9 *DRA*, V, 12: 'Materiam omnem reprobant quae fissilis fragilis sidens, putricosaq(ue) sit clavos et ligulas eneas praeferunt ferreis ex navi Traiani per hos dies dum quae scripsimus commentarer ex lacu nemorensi eruta, quo loci annos plus mille .ccc. demersa, et destituta iacuerat adverti pinum materiam et cupressum, egregie durasse in ea tabulis extrinsecus duplicem superextensam et pice atra perfusam tela ex lino adglutinarant supraq(ue) id chartam plumbeam claviculis eneis coadfirmarant'. Francesco de Marchi, *Della architettura militare del capitano Francesco de Marchi bolognese* (Brescia, 1599), 42*r*–43*r*: 'non mi parerà fuori di proposito di parlare della Barca de Traiano, poiché il Biondo da Forlì, nella descrittione d'Italia, e il Faveno nelle Antigaglie di Roma, ne hanno parlato senza vederla; ma io, che l'ho veduta, e tocca con mano parlarò di quello che saprò. [. . .] ligai una parte della sponda della barca, la qual conressimo potuto carica doi buonissimi Muli, il qual legname era di più sorte, v'era Larice, Pino, e Cipresso, così fu giudicato in Roma da tutti gli valent'huomini; poi vi eran certi cavigli, li quali erano di Rovere, e venati così neri, che parevano di Ebano, & questo era per il gran tempo, che erano stati sotterrati, ma erano sani come il resto del legno. Vi erano ancora delli chiodi di ferro, li quali dimostravano di essere stati grossi, quanto è il dito grosso della mano, d'un huomo, & erano tornati sottili, come una penna d'occha da scrivere; e per la ruggine s'erano assottigliati e scurtati'.

10 Ricci, 'Il foro', 24; Marco Bonino, 'Alcune note sull'architettura e sulla tecnica costruttiva delle navi di Nemi e dei loro edifici', in Filippo Coarelli and Giuseppina Ghini eds, *Caligola. La trasgressione al potere* (Rome, 2013), 119.

11 See *DRA*, V, 12.

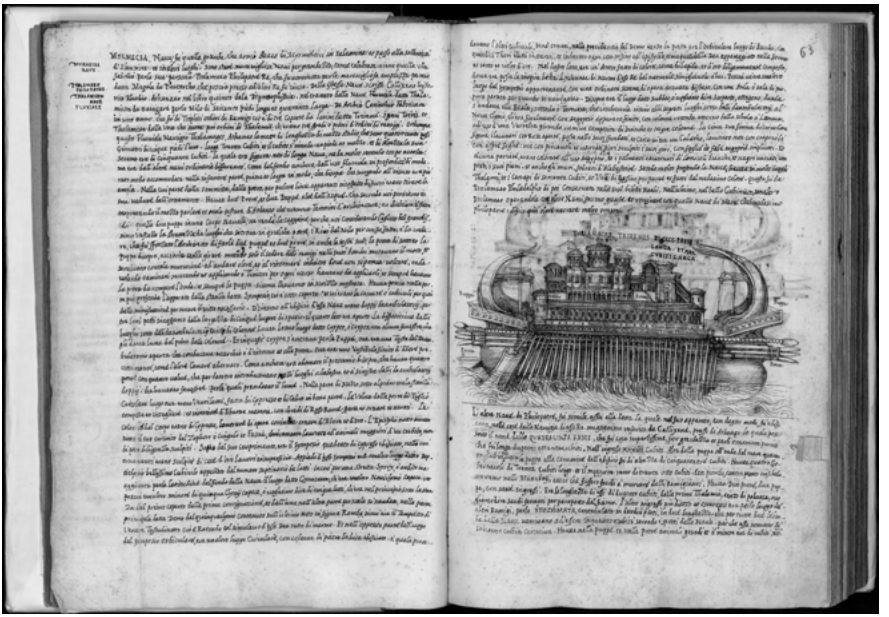

Fig. 8.1: Pirro Ligorio, drawing of the '*Thalamegos trireme*' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, ff. 62*v*-63*r*).

experienced carpenters would be able to use iron hooks suspended from especially thick ropes to attach them to the ship and draw it up.[12]

12 Vatican City, BAV, Ott.lat.2369, fol. 34*v*. Jeffrey A. White ed. and tr., *Biondo Flavio. Italy illuminated* (Cambridge MA, 2005), 191. Flavius Blondus, *Blondi Flavii forliviensis in Italiam illustratam* (Verona, 1482): 'nosterque Leo Baptista Albertus geometra nostri temporis egregius qui de re aedificatori elega(n)tissimos composuit libros. ad id operis e(st) vocatus. Qui vasa vinaria m[u]ltos colligata in ordines ea ratione i(n) lacu disposuit ut de ipsis tanq(uam) pontibus hinc inde penderent machinae quibus harpagones ferrei de(n)sioribus appensi rude(n)tibus captam mordicus navem fabri peritiores lignarii attraherent. Et a Genoa urbe maritima mercede conducti aderant piscibus q(uam) hominibus similiores no(n)nulli quorum partes fuerunt. In lacus profu(n)diora natando descendere. Et qua(n)ta esset navis q(uo)que integra sentire. Et de missos funibus harpagones in morsum captura(m)que applicare. Tandem capta ligataque ad proram navis quom integra no(n) sequeretur fracta e(st) et eius particula trahentes harpagones est secuta'. Flavius Blondus, *Roma ristaurata, et Italia illustrata di Biondo da Forlì tradotte in buona lingua volgare per Lucio fauno* (Rome, 1543), fols 110*v*–111*r*: 'fu à ciò chiamato Leon Battista Alberti [. . .] costui fe dunque ligare insieme in molti ordini alcune botti vote per pottervi tenere su quasi su ponti alcune machine, dove erano molti uncini de ferro attaccati co(n) lunge fune, e tirate poi su con ingegni da maestri legnai, che notavano come pesci, i quali sommozzando già nel fondo del lago sapevano dire la grandezza delle navi'. See also Concina, *Navis*, 4.

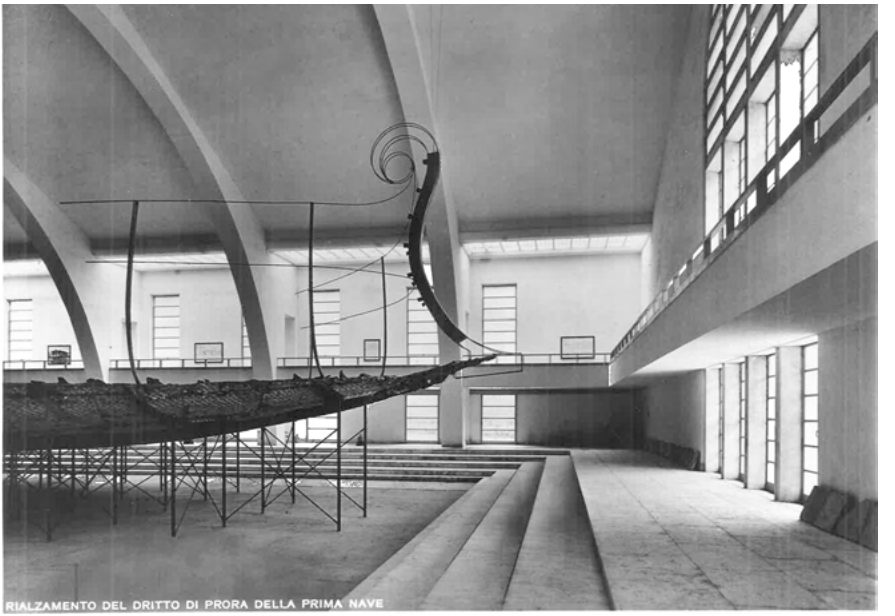

Fig. 8.2: Guido Ucelli, Caligula's ship (Guido Ucelli, *Per la ricostruzione del Museo delle navi romane del lago di Nemi* (Milan, 1948)).

Relatively recent research has suggested a dating for all manuscripts of the thirty 'Books on the antiquities' to after 1568, when Ligorio went to Ferrara in the service of duke Alfonso II d'Este (1533–97). Book XIII, along with the other twenty-nine volumes, was purchased in Rome in 1615 by Carlo Emanuele I (1562–1630), Duke of Savoy, for the considerable sum of 14.000 *ducati*, demonstrating the desirability at that time of Ligorio's studies of classical culture.[13]

Maria Cristina (1606–63), the 'madama' and Duchess of Savoy refused to cede these manuscripts despite requests from cardinals Richelieu (1585–1642) and Mazzarino (1602–61) as well as Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89), notwithstanding the favorable opinions of her ambassadors Carlo Moretta (d.1678) and Onorato

13 See Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti, *Villa Adriana in Pirro Ligorio e Francesco Contini* (Rome, 1973); Isabella Massabò Ricci, 'Note sulla conservazione nella capitale sabauda dei manoscritti di Pirro Ligorio e sulla loro alterna fortuna', in Caterina Volpi ed., *Il libro dei disegni di Pirro Ligorio all'Archivio di Stato di Torino* (Rome, 1994), 47; Andrea De Pasquale, 'Le biblioteche personali di Cristina di Francia e di Maria Giovanna Battista di Savoia Nemours', in Franca Varallo ed., *In assenza del re: le reggenti dal XIV al XVII secolo, Piemonte ed Europa* (Florence, 2008), 496.

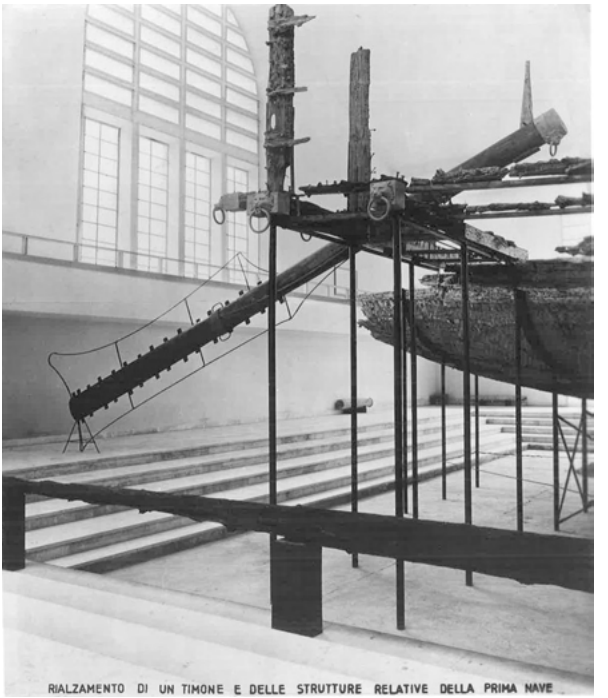

Fig. 8.3: Guido Ucelli, Caligula's ship (Guido Ucelli, *Per la ricostruzione del Museo delle navi romane del lago di Nemi* (Milan, 1948).

Gini. Consequently, except for a short time in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France during the 'First Empire', all the volumes have remained in Turin.

Among all the codices, 'Book XIII, On the antiquities by Pirro Ligorio, Neapolitan patrician and Roman citizen, in which he reflects on the most celebrated cities and the most distinguished places, and those noteworthy of being recorded such as mountains and rivers', was described by Ligorio himself as the '*picciolo libretto*' or '*picciolo volume*'.[14] It, together with the other twenty-nine codices, has been dated to between 1569 and 1583 but, because historical events within the text are not well defined, other scholars urge caution and there remain unre-

14 Author's translation. The original title is 'Dell'antichità di Pyrrho Ligorio Patritio Neapolitano et Cittadino Romano, nel quale si tratta dele città più famose, et dei luoghi più illustri, et degni di memoria come sono montagne et fiumi' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14).

solved questions about its precise historical context and dating.[15] It consists of several dictionary entries listed in alphabetic order from '*Narda*', '*città dela Syria*' (a Syrian city), to '*Ozóli*', the Locride people of Southern Italy. The entry for '*Nave*' (ship) brings together a long list of boats including the '*Megala*', as it was named by Plutarch (*c*.46–after 119) (according to Ligorio's text), or '*Thalamicon nave fluviale*', which was commissioned by '*Ptolomeo Philopatra Re*'.[16]

The principal ancient source of Book XIII is Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae* and Ligorio may have known this text from the first Latin translation (from the Greek) in *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum sive Coenae sapientum Libri XV* of 1556, printed in Venice by the typographer Andrea Arrivabene (*fl*. 1515).[17] On the contrary, it is unlikely Ligorio knew the translation by Angelo Poliziano (1454–94) based, perhaps, on the 'luxury' codex Plut. 60.1 (BMLF).[18]

Despite mentioning Poliziano, the tutor of Giuliano de Medici (1475–1521), Ligorio's interest in the *Deipnosophistae* was limited to those philological aspects connected to the word '*Thalamegos*'. But Poliziano's translation, like the studies of Philippo Beroaldo (1453–1505) and Marc Antonio Sabellicus (1436–1506), attests to the spread of Athenaeus's writings at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[19] By 1514 Aldo Manuzio (1450–1515) and Andrea Torresano (1451–1529) had published a Greek version in Venice, edited by the humanist Marco Musuru (1470–1517). This was followed by a second edition printed in 1535 in Basel by Johann Walder (1493–1541). In contrast to these publications, Ligorio's manuscript also contains drawings of ships.[20] Yet, up until now, Book XIII has not been analysed and Ligorio's translation has not been examined in comparison to the Greek and

15 Ginette Vagenheim, 'La collaboration de Benedetto Egio aux *Antichità romane* de Pirro Ligorio: à propos des inscriptions grecques', in Eliana Carrara e Silvia Ginzburg eds, *Testi, immagini e filologia nel XVI secolo* (Pisa, 2007), 205–24.

16 It is interesting to note that the same king Ptolemy IV also distinguished himself by commissioning four golden elephants to replace those sacrificed to win a battle against Antiochia, as claimed by Plutarch in the *De sollertia animalium* or *On the intelligence of animals*.

17 Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum sive Coenae sapientum Libri XV* (Venice, 1556), 84–5. Charles Burton Gulick tr. (Eng.), *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists* (London-Cambridge, 1957). Luciano Canfora tr. (It.), *I deipnosofisti. I dotti a banchetto* (Rome, 2001). Gabriele Burzacchini, *Ateneo di Naucrati. Deipnosofisti (Dotti a banchetto). Libro V* (Bologna, 2017).

18 Gardenal, *Il Poliziano*, 55.

19 Thomas W. Hillard, 'The Nile Cruise of Cleopatra and Caesar', in *The Classical Quarterly* 52/2 (2002), 553.

20 Concina, *Navis*, 49. On Ligorio's drawings see Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, 'La Casina di Pio IV come 'enciclopedia'', in Daria Borghese ed., *La casina di Pio IV in Vaticano* (Turin, 2010), 58–77. Other boats sketched by Ligorio are to be found in codex Barb.lat.5085 (Vatican City, BAV): see Clara Lombardi Cima, 'Le favolose navi di Pirro Ligorio in un codice della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in *L'esopo* 29 (2007), 25–40. On the manuscripts dating see Nico-

Latin sources. The same holds true for the representations of ships, which became well-known through inaccurate reproductions (perhaps derived from a copy of codex Barb.lat.5085) by Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717) prepared for his *Architectura navalis et regimen nauticum* of 1690, where the '*Thalamegos*' is called '*Oudt Koninklijk Aegiptisch Schip*' (Old Royal Egyptian Ship) (Fig. 8.4).[21] Witsen's captionless illustration of the ship altered the proportions, increased the height of buildings, regularized the porticoes, flattened the huge niche and replaced architectural elements.

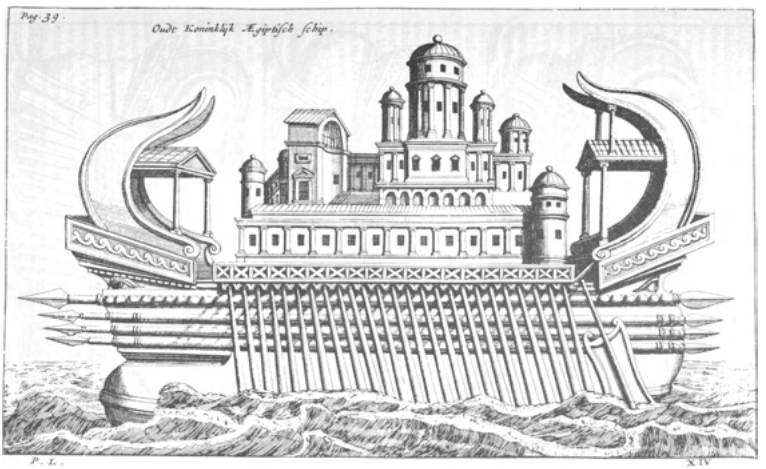

Fig. 8.4: Nicolaes Witsen, engraving of the '*Thalamegos trireme*' (*Architectura navalis*, pl. XIV).

The size and shape of this ship's description most likely impressed Witsen, and in this regard, Ligorio wrote:

> Athenaeus indicates a half a stadium long, that are 400 'geometer' steps of five feet each. 30 cubits broad, and a cubit is equal to a foot and a half, and its 'scene' was 50 cubits high.[22]

Considering the measure of an ancient Roman foot at 0,296 m, its description at 2.000 ft long, 45 ft wide and 75 ft tall would translate into 592 m long, 13 m wide and 22 m tall. Yet Poliziano's notes indicated 40 cubits high, so 60 ft or 18 m. In

letta Balistreri, 'Epigrafi ligoriane nel carteggio tra Theodor Mommsen e Carlo-Vincenzo Promis', in *Historiká. Studi di storia greca e romana* III (2013), 159–87.

21 Nicolaes Witsen, *Architectura navalis et regimen nauticum* (Amsterdam, 1690), 39; Ab Hoving, *Nicolaes Witsen and Shipbuilding in the Dutch Golden Age* (Texas TX, 2012), 240.

22 'Atheneo la mette di longhezza di mezzo stadio, che sono quattrocento passi giometri di cinque piedi l'uno. Larga trenta cubiti, et il cubito s'intende un piede et mezzo, et di altezza la sua scaena era di cinquanta cubiti' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 62*v*).

addition, 'half a stadium long' equals 300 ft and not 2.000 ft or 592 m. Therefore, Poliziano's measures were correct and correspond with contemporary English and Italian translations from the original Greek text. By comparison, Ligorio's version was confusing as the antiquarian wrote: 'in the treaty on the riverboat called *Thalamicon* to sail the Nile, of 600 feet long and 40 [feet] broad'.[23] Hence, here its length was 600 ft and not 2.000, its width was 40 ft and not 45. Therefore, the '*longitudo*', '*latitudo*' and '*altitudo*', length, width and height referred to by Ligorio, correspond to 178,9 and 18 m respectively: the '*Thalamegos*' was a very long, but also a very narrow boat.[24]

Philopator's 'houseboat' was a large, ancient ship, but it was not the earliest prototype of this kind of vessel. In the third century BC, Hieron or Hiero II (306–215 BC), tyrant of Syracuse, commissioned from the architect Archias of Corinth (third century BC) the vessel '*Syrakosía*', later renamed '*Alessandrina*', an enormous ship.[25] The '*Syrakosía*' was mainly a cargo ship used to transport wheat, but also could function as a warship filled with soldiers, knights, towers and a '*ballista*', a war machine similar to a crossbow designed by the physicist, mathematician and engineer ('*ho mechanikos*') Archimedes of Syracuse (287–212 BC).[26] To all this were added 'luxury' cabins with mosaic floors depicting episodes from the *Iliad*, a gymnasium, peripatetic schools, gardens, fountains, porticoes, a Venus *sacellum*, stables for horses and other rooms. Several years later, Hieron II gifted the '*Syrakosía*' to king Ptolemy III Euergetes (d. 221 BC). Upon a closer reading, this episode could represent a knowledge transfer with reference to shipbuilding.

While nothing remains of the '*Thalamegos*' nor of the '*Syrakosía*', between 1929 and 1944 two of Caligula's vessels, comparable to these 'floating luxury buildings', were put on display in a museum at Nemi. Guido Ucelli (1885–1964), engineer, humanist, and founder of the Museo della Scienza e della Tecnica in Milan recorded the boats' sizes: the larger was 71,30 m long and 20 m wide, less lengthy,

23 'Nel trattato della Nave Fluviale detta Thalamicon da navigare per lo Nilo di seicento piedi longa et quaranta larga' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 62*v*).

24 By comparison with contemporary vessels, the Danish shipping company Daewoo and Maersk had launched the Triple-E in 2013, the world's greatest container ship (400m long, 59m wide and 73m tall).

25 According to Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (I, 13), the Corinthians were the first to introduce the '*triere*' in Greece. On this topic, see Janni, *Il mare*, 140. Ligorio suggested a reconstruction of the *Syrakosía* in Book XIII, fol. 64*r*. See also, Giraldi, *Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi*, 42–3.

26 Italian Rai Radio 3, *Dalla terra alla storia*, 07.09.2019. Fausto Zevi, 'Il Porto per Traiano', in Fiorella Festa Farina et al. eds, *Tra Damasco e Roma. L'architettura di Apollodoro nella cultura classica* (Rome, 2001), 101–24; Fausto Zevi, 'Inquadramento storico relativo ai porti di Roma', in Anna Gallina Zevi and Rita Turchetti eds, *Le strutture dei porti e degli approdi antichi* (Soveria Manelli, 2004), 211–20.

but larger than the '*Thalamegos*'. It had a clay roof, a floor in *opus sectile* and walls covered in marble and mosaic. The smaller vessel was only 24 m long. Near these shipwrecks were four large columns and archeologists found a terracotta frieze in the hold as well as statues and silver vessels. Based on this evidence, Ucelli recognized a similar arrangement to sixteenth century *galere*, the galleys commissioned by the Granduke of Tuscany Cosimo I (1519–74), perhaps similar to those vessels illustrated by Baccio Del Bianco (1604–57).[27]

Previously, evoking ancient boats, Giuliano da Sangallo (*c.*1455–1516) had represented '*Qu(a)driremi*' and a '*liburno*' with rudders, eyes, and rostrum in the codex Escurialensis (El Escorial), fols 66*v* and 67*r*, as well as in Barb.lat.4424 (BAV) and in the same vein Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501) had illustrated ship-details on fol. 97*v* of the codex Saluzziano 148 (BRT). Nevertheless, his interest mainly concerned warships and freighters, sketched in the ms. Vat.urb.lat.1757 (BAV), fol. 17 and fols 18*v*-27*r*, as well as the codex Ashburnham 361 (BMLF) and the codex Saluzziano 148 (BRT). Examples of boats attributed to Martini include a warship with a central tower, similar to the later representations of Noah's Ark drawn by Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) and engraved by Philipp Galle (1537–1612), which are close to Ligorio's '*nave rostrata turrita*' (Fig. 8.5).[28] In this respect, Noah's Ark was the greatest ship described in the Bible, and its dimensions were also well-known in Italian literature during the Renaissance. In the translated *Biblia vulgarizata* of 1471 by Nicolò Malerbi (1422–82) the text reads: 'the length of the Ark will 300 cubits, the width will 50 cubits, and its height will be 300 cubits', that is to say 133 m long, 22 m wide and 133 m tall.[29] On the contrary, Leonardo demonstrated a greater attention

27 Guido Ucelli, *Per la ricostruzione del Museo delle navi romane del lago di Nemi* (Milan, 1948), 8. Actually, Ucelli did not specify the name of the Granduke of Tuscany, but Giuseppe Carlo Speziale, 'Navi Medicee', in *Dedalo. Rassegna d'arte diretta da Ugo Ojetti* 3 (1932), 854–81, had spoken about 'the solicitude of the Granduke [Cosimo I] for the Navy'.

28 See Concina, *Navis*. For tower-ships see the codex 5541, IT.IV, 3–4 (Venice, BNM). A ship with a central tower had been published in Roberto Valturio, *Ad magnanimum et illustrem heroa Sigismundum Pandulphum Malatestam splendissimum ariminensium regem ac imperatorem semper invictum Roberti Valturii rei militaris librum* (Verona, 1483). Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 64*v*.

29 The same book is perhaps mentioned in Leonardo's manuscripts (codex Madrid II, fol. 2*v*). Nicolò Malerbi, *Biblia italica, Nicolao de Malermi interprete* (Venice, 1487), fol. a6: 'la longheza de l'archa sarà treciento cubiti: la larghezza sarà cinqua(n)ta cubiti: & la sua alteza trece(n)to cubiti'. See also Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Chronica de tutto il mondo vulgare* (Venice, 1491), fol. 5*r*: 'disse Dio: fa per te una archa de legni composta: bene impesata dentro et de fuora: la quale sia de mesura de trece(n)to gomiti geometrici: seco(n)do Augustino d(e) longheza. El gomito geometrico. come lor vogliono. sono sei gomiti usuali. la qual misura noi diciamo perticha. Sia adunque de longheza de trecento pertiche, di cinquanta de largheza, et de trenta d'alteza, cioè dal fondo in-

to technical features and applications related principally to military purposes, especially in the ms. B (BIF), emphasized by controversy about Alberti's anemometer (a device that measures wind speed and direction) noted in the ms. F: 'against Battista Alberti, who gives a general rule to measure wind velocity per hour'.[30]

Fig. 8.5: Pirro Ligorio, drawing of Athenaeus's ships (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, ff. 63*v*-64*r*).

In view of the above, an examination of Ligorio's translation reveals a plausible correlation with the Vatican Belvedere by specifically considering the following sentence:

> In the upper part there was a place named 'open-air' ('*subdio*') which is uncovered and octagonal, whence you went to a staircase, circular or winding [that is a companionway] that led to secret places under the covered promenades ('*deambularorij*') [or] to the '*None*

sino a le (sic should read la) trave del palco, over del tetto de largheza d'uno gomit, sia la suoa sommità. Nella quale ci(n)que camere et portichi farai, et una fenestra, et ancora la porta da lato farai.'

30 'co(n)tra a Batista Alberti che dà regola generale qua(n)to il ve(n)to cacci un navilio p(er) ora' (Paris, BIF, ms. *F*, f. 82*r*).

> *Clynio*', which finally was decorated in Egyptian style, with round columns around the helical staircase, such as a vertebra turning, it is composed by white and black columns.[31]

By examining the first phrase, the '*subdio*' or '*subdivo*' identifies an uncovered area ('*sub coelo*' or '*sub aere*') with the same meaning being attested to in Vitruvius's treatise and Cicero's *In Verrem* oration, as well as in Giocondo's translation of *De Architectura* and by an ancient tombstone recorded by Carlo Promis (1808–73).[32] By comparison, Poliziano chose '*subdialis*', another analogous word derived from '*subdio*', also used by Francesco Mario Grapaldo (1464–1515) at the beginning of Book II of his *De partibus aedium*, which also distinguishes between ancient marble workers and carpenters.[33] So Ligorio's choice of terminology ('*subdio*' instead of '*subdialis*') does not indicate influence from Poliziano's translation, while a correlation is more likely with the *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum* cited above, where Arrivabene had previously employed the term '*subdio*'. In addition to the lexical choice, by recalling the passage from Book XIII, Ligorio interpreted the form and shape of this uncovered place.

In this regard, neither Athenaeus nor Poliziano described the plan, while Ligorio specified that it was octagonal. Perhaps, due to a misunderstanding of the word '*ostij*' with 'Ostia', the antiquarian imagined a regular plan like that of Rome's great port of Ostia.[34] This ancient harbor was hexagonal, however. As an alternative, as demonstrated by the following passages on the '*Thalamegos*' description, a correlation with the Statue Court plan seems more probable. The next

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31 'di sopra era il luogo detto subdio, o vogliamo dire scoperto, ottagono, donde s'andava alla Scala, rotonda o tortuosa, che conduceva insino alli segreti luoghi sotto delli deambulatorij al None Clynio, ch'era finalmente con Aegyptio apparato finito, con colonne rotonde attorno della schala à Lumaca ad uso d'una Vertebra girando veniva composita di bianche et negre colonne' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 63*r*).

32 Carlo Promis, *Vocaboli latini di architettura posteriori a Vitruvio oppure a lui sconosciuti raccolti da Carlo Promis a completamento del lessico vitruviano di Bernardino Baldi* (Turin, 1875), 190: 'Subaedanus, subaedianus. Gli operai di fabbriche (e qui dico specialmente di marmorari e legnaiuoli) tenevan loro officine quali allo scoperto, chiamandosi perciò Subdiales da Sub Dio; quali in luoghi coperti e chiusi, ed allora avevan nome di Subaediani, perché stanti Sub Aedibus'. Giovanni Giocondo, *Vitruvius iterum et Frontinus a Iocundo revisi repurgatique quantum ex collation licuit* (Florence, 1513), fol. 104*v*: 'in aegyptiis autem supra columnas epistylia, & ab epistyliis ad parietes qui sunt circa, imponenda est co(n)tignatio, supra eam coaxatio & pavimentum, sub dio ut sit circuitus'.

33 Francesco Maria Grapaldo, *De partibus aedium* ([Parma], 1494); Carlo Promis, *Vocaboli latini di architettura posteriori a Vitruvio oppure a lui sconosciuti raccolti da Carlo Promis a completamento del lessico vitruviano di Bernardino Baldi* (Turin, 1875).

34 Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum sive Coenae sapientum Libri XV* (Venice, 1556), 85: 'postea locus subdio suppositi ostij formam accipiebat'.

sentence, in particular, highlights a relationship with the Belvedere site. But the expression '*deambulatorij*' should also be considered, given that Ligorio previously used this term to illustrate the Vatican courtyard in Book II: 'another Belvedere is the Papal building and garden in Rome on the Vatican hill. This place was richly ornamented with porticoes, statues, water sources and woods as well as several ambulatories (*deambulatorij*)'.[35]

One of those '*deambulatorij*' was that corridor ('*Corridore*') commissioned by pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) and designed by Donato Bramante (1444–1514) at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was noted in a letter of 31 January 1506 written to the Marquess of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga (1466–1519), by Geronimo Arsago (d. 1542), the bishop of Nice: 'every day [Your Holiness] is pleased by seeing and designing those buildings that he is realizing from the Papal Palace to the Belvedere'.[36] In addition, and no less important, the '*Corridore*' consists of three orders thus evoking Ptolemy's vessel: the '*Thalamegos* has three order of rowers, that are three decks, named *trireme* by Latin people'.[37] Here, Ligorio confuses 'rowers' with 'decks', showing his limited familiarity with nautical terminology as well as his low, but well-documented, knowledge of Latin and Greek vocabulary, as has been noted. This condition clearly emerges in the next 'cryptic' sentence with reference to the '*None Clynio*' that is, according to Ligorio, an uncertain room 'decorated in Egyptian style'. Instead, '*None Clynio*' means 'nine couches', a kind of ancient 'unit of measure' used to indicate the size of a room, just as a '*triclinium*' identifies a room with three beds or couches as described by Isidore of Seville (*c*.560–636) in his *Etymologiae* or *Origines* (XV, III, 8).

Finally, the circular companionway is the last issue. Even here, Ligorio did not rely on Poliziano's Latin translation.[38] Poliziano had noted '*scalae tortiles*' and '*ambulatorium*' while Ligorio had chosen '*Scala, rotonda o tortuosa*' and '*deambulatorij*' recalling, perhaps not by chance, '*tortuosa scala*' and '*deambulatorium*' used

35 'un altro [Belvedere] è edificio et giardino ponteficale in Roma sul colle Vaticano. Luogo ornatissimo di portichi, di statue, di fonti et de boschi con diversi deambulatorij' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.6, fol. 36).

36 'S(ua) S(anti)tà [. . .] pigliassi ogni giorno per spasso in andar(e) vedando et designando li fabrigi el fa dal palazo fino a Belveder(e)', (Mantua, ASMn, *Archivio Gonzaga, E. Dipartimento affari esteri*, b. 857, f. 10).

37 'fu di triplici ordini di Remigi cioè di tre coperte da latini detta trireme' (Turin, ASTo, Biblioteca Antica, J.a.III.14, fol. 62*v*).

38 Gardenal, *Il Poliziano*, 64: 'ubi et scalae tortiles quae ad ambulatorium conducunt occultum'.

in Arrivabene's edition.[39] Therefore, this correlation suggests a reasonable transliteration from *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum* published in Venice in 1556, except for some significant variations not derived from Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*.

Consider Athenaeus: 'for the columns built at this point bulged as they ascended, and the drums differed, one being black and another white, placed alternately'.[40] In contrast to the original source, Ligorio associated the columns with the ship's staircase or companionway, called '*Scala, rotonda o tortuosa*' or '*schala à Lumaca*'. In addition, Ligorio specified column shapes, which was not such a self-evident thing to do in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, given that an intellectual architect like Francesco di Giorgio had remarked: 'many kinds of columns, which are triangular, and quadrangular or circular'.[41] It even seems that the antiquarian was referring to a real staircase such as Bramante's '*lumaca*', built against the east side of the villa or '*palatium*' of Innocent VIII (1484–92), as it was radically modified by Julius II.

After all, Ligorio was hardly foreign to the Papal Court: in the 1560s, he and Sallustio Peruzzi (1511/12–72)—the son of the celebrated Baldassarre (1481–1536)—were the Pope's architects, as is confirmed by several payments from the Apostolic Camera. They oversaw the construction of Pius IV's casino ('*Casina*'), the 'square garden' and the new '*Corridore*' (parallel to the one built by Bramante) as well as various restoration work. Thus Ligorio's '*Thalamegos trireme*' ought properly to be considered as having been composed in the light of these other Vatican buildings. Thus, two corridors, the paired ambulatories ('*doppij deambulatorij*'), extend from the double stern to the double bow of the ship, recalling the '*Corridoi*' on the S. Egidio hill. Near the covered promenades and the '*scaena*' there is a huge niche like Ligorio's '*Nicchione*', built in the 1560s. Lastly, a staircase named '*scala*' is sketched at the end of the '*Deambulatorio*' similar to that in the Belvedere Courtyard. In this view, those 'white and black columns' probably allude to the type granite shafts found in Bramante's '*lumaca*', characterized by 'little white pieces, and black [pieces] well-differentiated' as Faustino Corsi (1771–1846)

39 Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum sive Coenae sapientum Libri XV* (Venice, 1556), 85: 'ubi tortuosa scala aderat, quae ad secretum deambulatorium perducebat'.

40 Witsen's text does not derive from Ligorio's *Book* – neither from the ASTo nor the BAV – but perhaps he used the *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum* (Venice, 1556). Nicolaes Witsen, *Architectura navalis et regimen nauticum* (Amsterdam 1690), 40: '[. . .] hier op quam een wentel-trap uit, die na een andre wandel-plaatze leidde, en een eet-zaal, met negen legerplaatzen, al Egyptisch werk'.

41 'sono variate gienerationj chome se triangholari quadrangholarj e cci(r)chularj', (Torino, BRT, codex *Saluzziano 148*, f. 28*r*). Instead, Isidore of Seville (XV, 8, 14) had only named circular columns: 'columnae pro longitudine et rotunditate vocatae, in quibus totius fabricae pondus erigitur. [. . .] Genera rotundarum quattuor: Doricae, Ionicae, Tuscanicae, Corinthiae [. . .]'.

had defined granite in 1828.[42] But considering the size of the '*lumaca*', whose inner diameter is equal to 8,87 m, it would have been impossible to place Bramante's staircase on the '*Thalamegos*' (9 or 13 m wide) so this 'overlapping' is exclusively an idealization.

By examining the octagonal '*subdio*', a correlation emerges between this uncovered place and the Statue Court. Indeed, on folio 25 of the codex *Coner* (SJSM), attributed to Bernardo della Volpaia (1475–1521/22) and dated between 1514 and 1515, the '*giardino delle statue*' has an octagonal plan, something emphasised subsequently in 1774 by the architect Michelangelo Simonetti (1724–81) in a Neoclassical style for pope Clement XIV (1705–74). However, an identification remains to be established for the three buildings in the '*Thalamegos*' courtyard (Fig. 8.6). One of these is named 'Venus' ('*Venere*'), but it is unlikely that there was a relationship with the Venus statue in the villa.

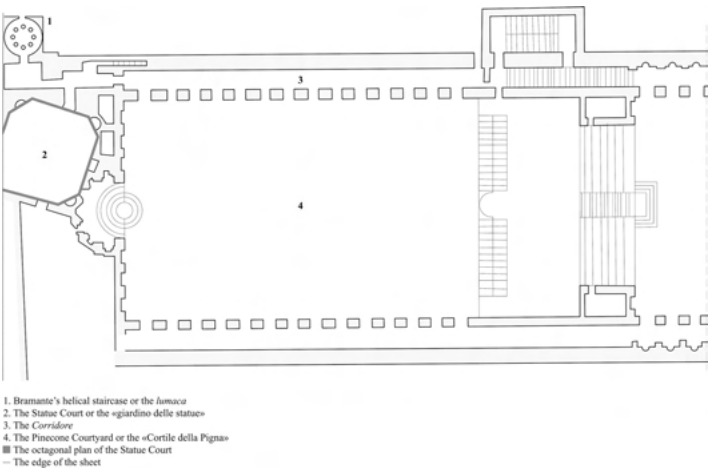

Fig. 8.6: Bernardo della Volpaia, plan of the Belvedere Courtyard (London, SJSM, Codex Coner, f. 25; redrawing by M. Di Salvo).

In the end, the '*Thalamegos*' description is something more than a simple transliteration from Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*. Actually, Ligorio modelled Ptolemy's ship on papal palaces by unknowingly applying a kind of 'Antique-ing process' in which the Vatican buildings came to compose an imaginary reconstruction of the

42 Fausto Corsi, *Delle pietre antiche libri quattro di Faustino Corsi romano* (Rome, 1828), 131: '*picciole parti bianche, e nere fra loro distinte*'.

lost '*Thalamegos*'.[43] Given the Belvedere underwent a dramatic reclassification as ancient in many texts of the sixteenth century, in Ligorio's *Book XIII* Ptolemy's vessel evokes almost systematically the architecture of the Belvedere. Lastly, it should be noted that a relationship between the Vatican palaces and vessels was consolidated, and in this respect, Biondo established a close correlation when he wrote about '*naumachiae ubi fuerit*' when describing the Vatican Belvedere in his *Roma Instaurata*; Perin del Vaga (1501–47) also represented a '*naumachia*' in the Vatican Courtyard in a fresco housed in Castel Sant'Angelo (Fig. 8.7).[44]

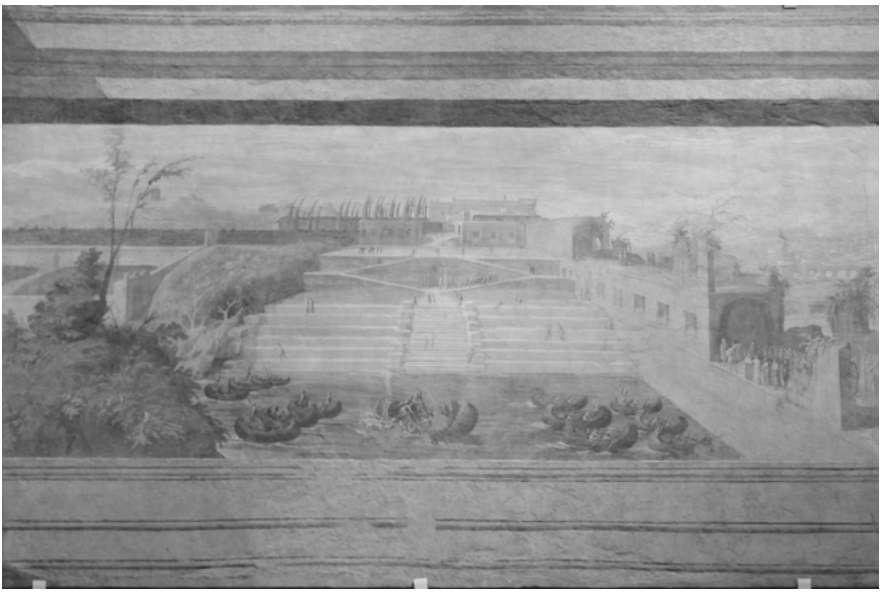

Fig. 8.7: Perin del Vaga, *Naumachia* (Rome, Castel Sant'Angelo; photo M. Di Salvo).

43 This condition recalls the *Adoration of the Magi* engraved by Philips Galle, but originally drawn by van Heemskerck, where Bramante's '*lumaca*' becames a temporary shelter for the Holy Family.

44 Flavius Blondus, *Blondi forlivensis viri praeclari Romae Instauratae* (Verona, 1481), I, 44: 'navale autem stagnum sive ut graeco vocabulo appellant Naumachiam fuit secus ipsum montem sub aurei montis radicibus qua ad portam Pertusam itur, et ubi nuper hortos exicato limo vidimus inchoatos, unde in multis quae legimus apocrifis magna Vaticani pars naumachia appellatur, et in vita beati Petri de qua diximus etiam habetur ecclesiam sancti Petri extructam fuisse apud naumachiam pariterque hospitale quod Leo papa tertius aedificavit e regione ecclesiae sancti Andree a Simacho primo papa dedicata. et sancta Petronile qua templu(m) Apollinis in Obeliscum vergit ad naumachiam appellatum est'.

Abbreviations

ASMn	Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASTo	Archivio di Stato di Torino
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BIF	Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
BMLF	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
DRA	Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura: De re aedificatoria*, ed. and tr. (Italian) Giovanni Orlandi and Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1966)
SJSM	Sir John Soane's Museum

David Hemsoll

Chapter Nine
Invention, Imitation and Reiteration: The Case of Bramante's So-Called Palazzo Caprini and its Progeny

Buildings are regarded, with good reason, as having been 'influential' when their designs were repeatedly copied or drawn upon, and this is unquestionably the case with several of those from the Renaissance period. A particularly notable example would be the Old Sacristy in Florence (*c.*1418) by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446), which provided a model first for his Pazzi Chapel there (*c.*1430), and then for schemes elsewhere in Italy with similar domed and double-space interiors.[1] Other influential fifteenth-century schemes would include the Palazzo Medici in Florence (*c.*1444) by Michelozzo (1396–1472), the façade of Santa Maria Novella again in Florence (*c.*1455) by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), and Alberti's Sant'Andrea in Mantua (1472). From rather later and dating from the early sixteenth century, however, another especially influential building was the one in Rome now known as Palazzo Caprini, the façade of which—our subject here—was devised by Donato Bramante (1444–1514). Its legacy was all the more remarkable considering not just that Bramante's design was essentially a Renaissance invention, but also that the façade had completely disappeared not so very long after it was originally constructed, and that, even despite its early demise, its influence would reverberate over several centuries.

The Palazzo Caprini façade, today known mainly from an engraving published in 1549 by Antonio Lafreri (1512–77), established what would become an enduring format for palace schemes (Fig. 9.1).[2] As depicted there, it had a bottom storey, or basement, decked in rustication or textured stonework but otherwise left predominantly plain, which was surmounted by a *piano nobile* of contrastingly refined character, graced with an architectural order and other antique-derived features and embellishments. The format, which had no immediately obvious ancestry and no direct equivalent among buildings then known from antiquity,

1 See Marvin Trachtenberg, 'On Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy as model for early Renaissance church architecture', in Jean Guillaume ed., *L'Église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1995), 9–39.

2 The print is signed and dated (see n. 8 below), and would eventually be included in the compilation titled *Speculum romanae magnificentiae* (see n. 99 below).

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111477909-010

would become, for reasons examined here, a foundational one adopted in numerous schemes from the sixteenth century onwards, before eventually gaining an even greater authority in later times.[3] After being taken up for the garden façade (begun in 1668) of the Royal Chateau of Versailles by Louis Le Vau (1612–70) and Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708),[4] it subsequently became a staple for royal palaces elsewhere,[5] as well as for other palatial schemes particularly in eighteenth-century England, such as the south front of Lime Park in Cheshire (1727) by Giacomo Leoni (1686–1746), which was eventually to serve as a prime model for the early twentieth-century refacing of Buckingham Palace (begun in 1911) by Aston Webb (1849–1930). All these works, together with countless others employing the same façade formula, are thus indebted ultimately to Bramante's compositional invention.[6]

What follows here falls into three parts. The first includes a reassessment of the Palazzo Caprini scheme, exploring in some detail how it was seemingly conceived and designed, and just how novel it was; also considered is the problematic matter of its dating, how it fitted in with the architectural and cultural leanings of its era, and how it was probably regarded in its day as some sort of re-creation or modern-day equivalent of ancient architecture, a matter that has hitherto been insufficiently emphasized. The second part will examine how the format was imitated and reiterated soon afterwards by younger architects working principally in Rome, before eventually being taken up with renewed vigour by Andrea Palladio (1508–80) and then employed subsequently by other architects. The final section will briefly offer some further reflections on how these successive schemes would have been perceived and understood, emphasizing just

3 The scheme is often presented, explicitly or implicitly, as a Renaissance prototype; see e.g. Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1963), 128–9; Ludwig H. Heydenreich and Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy: 1400 to 1600* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 163; Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, 3 vols (Tübingen, 1973), I, 30–51; 93–96; Arnaldo Bruschi, 'L'architettura a Roma negli ultimi anni del pontificato di Alessandro VI Borgia (1492–1503) e l'edilizia del primo Cinquecento', in Arnaldo Bruschi ed., *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Il primo Cinquecento* (Milan, 2002), 34–75 (65–67); Christoph Luitpold Frommel, 'La città come opera d'arte: Bramante e Raffaello (1500–20)', in Arnaldo Bruschi ed., *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Il primo Cinquecento* (Milan, 2002), 76–131 (79–80); Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 2007), 100. See also Charles Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Facade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense* (Cambridge, 2002), 133–75.

4 For Versailles, see Christopher Tadgell, *The Louvre and Versailles: The Evolution of the Proto-Typical Palace in the Age of Absolutism* (London, 2020), which touches briefly on precedents including Palazzo Caprini (172–3).

5 Tadgell, *The Louvre and Versailles*, 318–55.

6 The Palazzo Caprini façade's extended influence is emphasised by John Summerson: *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London, 1980), 42–3.

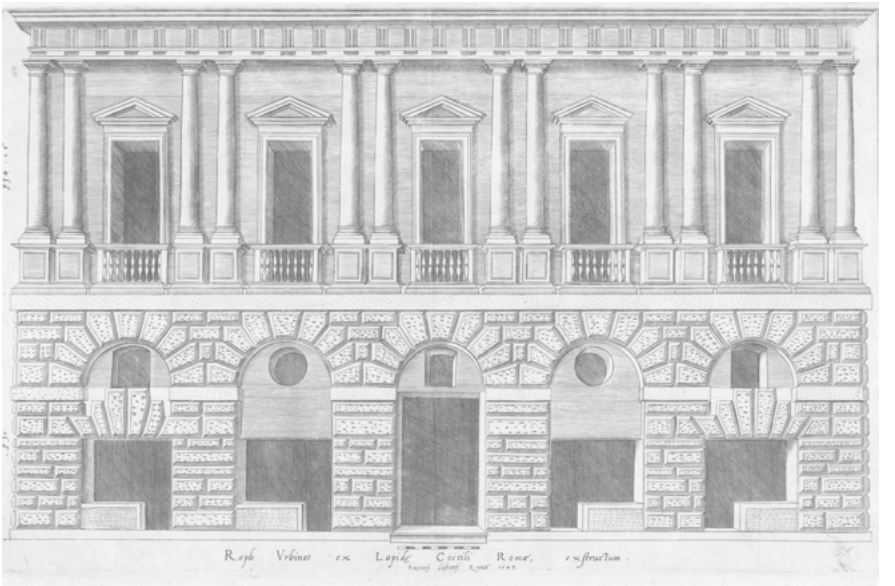

Fig. 9.1: Palazzo Caprini in an engraving of 1549 by Antonio Lafreri, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/403115).

how different their 'meanings' were, and considering how these meanings were propagated, before finally exploring how the original meaning of Bramante's design was supplanted by the meanings it acquired later on, relating to its perceived position within broader conceptual frameworks such as the 'classical' tradition, and even to its very characterization as a work of exceptional influence.

Palazzo Caprini

The Palazzo Caprini façade may seem today to be a routinely classical design, but it would have been regarded when first built as being highly unusual and distinctive. It was, to judge from the Lafreri engraving (Fig. 9.1), five bays in width and two similarly sized storeys in height,[7] and, according to the print's caption,[8] and

7 The basement height is given as 30 *palmi* (6.7m) and the upper storey height as 34 *palmi* 6 *once* (7.7m).

8 *Raph Vrbinat ex Lapide Coctili Romae, exstructum. | Antonij lafrerij Romae 1549.*

the more detailed testimony of 1550 by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74),[9] it was built in brick with adornments cast as moulds. The depicted basement, swathed in rough and pitted rustication, encompassed five large arches, one for the entrance and the four others for shops, all incorporating mezzanines, but with the two at the ends subdivided by rusticated lintels. The *piano nobile* is arranged, unusually, with twinned Doric half-columns, standing upon pedestals and carrying a full Doric entablature, which are spaced to align with the lower-level piers, and these frame large rectangular windows positioned above balustraded parapets and capped with pediments. The design was exceptional, but only partly on account of its rigour and coherence. Its distinctiveness was far more a function of its remarkable formal novelty, which, as will be seen, was closely matched with an unprecedented affinity with ancient architecture, setting it apart from previous architectural traditions in Italy, and particularly from preceding palaces in Rome, where novel allusions to the ancient past had the potential of carrying a resonance that was especially powerful.

Very little, exasperatingly, is known about the genesis and initial history of Bramante's design. It has, nonetheless, been possible to conclude from archival records that the palace as eventually built was situated on the western side of the one-time Piazza Scossacavalli,[10] which opened off the recently-laid-out (but today superseded) Via Alessandrina, the road later known as the Borgo Nuovo leading from the Ponte Sant'Angelo to the Vatican palace and St Peter's (Fig. 9.2). Doubts, however, have arisen over the documentary reliability of the Lafreri print, and over what it actually records. It could be, as surmised in a recent study, that only the part of the building corresponding to the two bays on the print's right was ever constructed;[11] and it would be this completed portion that was then delin-

9 In Vasari's 'Life' of Bramante and repeated in the second edition of the *Lives* of 1568: Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Gaetano Milanesi ed., 9 vols (Florence, 1878–85), IV, 160: 'Fece fare in Borgo il palazzo che fu di Raffaello da Urbino, lavorato di mattoni e di getto con casse, le colonne e le bozze di opera dorica e rustica, cosa molto bella ed invenzion nuova del fare le cose gettate'. A second passage referring to Raphael's house in the 'Life' of Raphael has proven to be much more difficult to interpret: *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 353: 'Laonde di grandezza fu la gloria di Raffaello accresciutale del premi parimente; perchè per lasciare memoria di se fece murare un palazzo a Roma in Borgo nuovo, il quale Bramante fece condurre di getto'. See, however, n. 49 below.

10 For the site and its early ownership, see Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante architetto* (Bari, 1969), 1040–46; Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, II, 80–87; Arnaldo Bruschi, 'Edifici privati di Bramante a Roma: Palazzo Castellesi e palazzo Caprini', in *Palladio* 4 (1989), 5–44; Laura Gigli, *Guide rionali di Roma: XIV Borgo*, part 2 (Rome, 1992), 44–60.

11 Gianfranco Spagnesi, 'Roma: Dalla Casa di Raffaello al Palazzo della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 53 (2010), 25–46 (28–36). The hy-

eated in the widely-known drawing long associated (incorrectly) with Palladio (Fig. 9.3),[12] which was probably based on direct observation, and also depicts the building's corner and part of a secondary façade to the right overlooking the Via Alessandrina.

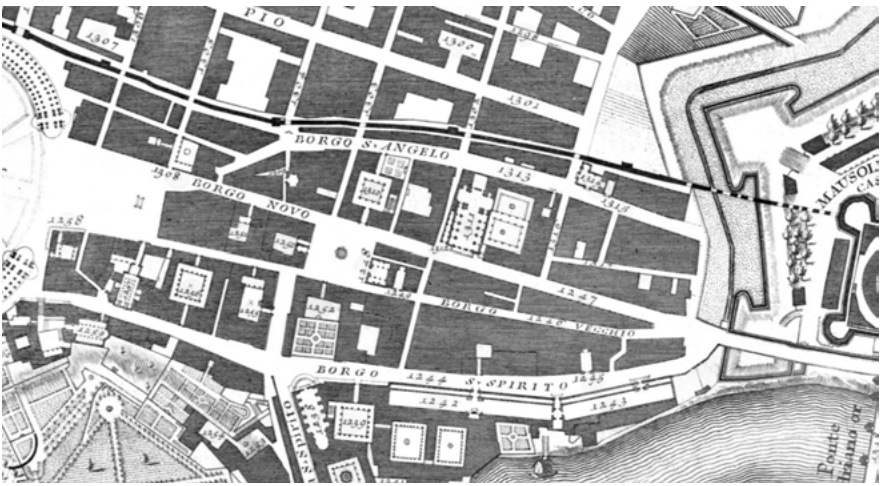

Fig. 9.2: Rome's Borgo district: detail from Giambattista Nolli's map of Rome (1748). To the right is the Castel Sant'Angelo and to the left is the forecourt to St Peter's, with Piazza Scossacavalli opening off the Borgo Nuovo in between.

As regards the overall size of the façade shown in the print, it is certainly the case that its five-bay and two-storey configuration does not match the greater width and height of the building, the Palazzo dei Convertendi, occupying the same site overlooking the piazza subsequently.[13] This, however, does not mean that the depicted

pothesis is based on a detailed analysis of the reconstructed layout of the subsequent Palazzo dei Convertendi, utilizing information gathered before its demolition in the late 1930s: see Roberta Dal Mas, 'Il Palazzo dei Convertendi, 1937: Criteri per la restituzione grafica e analisi descrittiva dell'organismo architettonico', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, 53 (2010), 5–24. As Gigli noted (*Guide rionali*, 46), the building purchased by Raphael in 1517 is described as 'in the form in which it now is' (*in ea forma que nunc est*), and this could imply that it had not been completed.

12 London, R.I.B.A., Palladio 14, fol. 13r. It now appears that the drawing was never owned by Palladio as previously supposed; see Guido Beltramini, in Guido Beltramini et al. eds, *Raffaello, nato achitetto* (Rome, 2023), 221–2.

13 For the plan of this building see Dal Mas, 'Il Palazzo dei Convertendi'. The plan is also known from a late sixteenth-century drawing by Ottaviano Mascherino; see Bruschi, 'Edifici privati di Bramante a Roma', 34–6; Bruschi, 'L'architettura a Roma negli ultimi anni', 65–7.

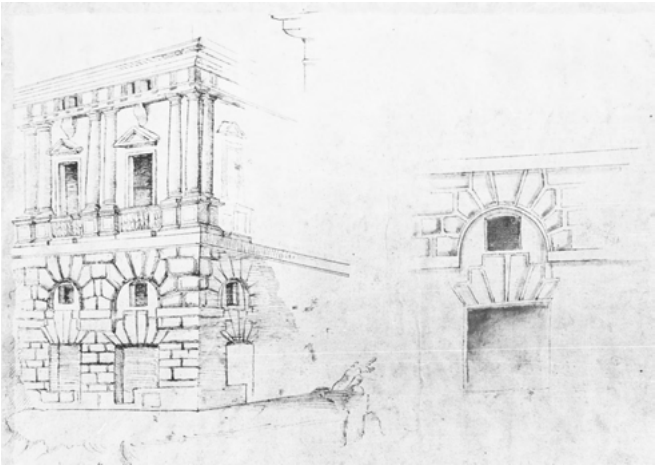

Fig. 9.3: Palazzo Caprini: sixteenth-century drawing, London, R.I.B.A. (photo: Courtauld Institute).

format is fictitious, and there is certainly no compelling reason for supposing that the intended façade was ever going to be, as has been proposed, seven rather than five bays in width (with the portal in the fourth bay) so as to extend across the entire western side of the piazza, or that, like its successor, it was going to have additional storey above the *piano nobile*.[14] The print, in addition to these difficulties, then differs from the drawing in its depiction of certain of the façade's particulars, the latter showing the penultimate bay of the basement as being identical to the end bay, with a subdividing lintel and a square aperture rather than an oculus above it.[15] It is at odds in its detailing, too, with another early drawing, one much less well-known that was executed by Girolamo da Carpi (1501–56) perhaps in the early 1550s (Fig. 9.4), which represents a single bay and shows the mezzanine window of the basement as having a frame that is supported by paired central voussoirs of the lintel underneath, and the frieze of the crowning Doric entablature as having three rather than four metopes between the twinned columns, and all of them embellished with *paterae* (plate-like decorations).[16] These various inconsisten-

14 As proposed by Frommel: 'La città come opera d'arte', 79–80. This presumed seven-bay extent does not match with the subsequent Palazzo dei Convertendi, which had a façade of eight bays in width.

15 The drawing also shows pairs of high-level openings in the Doric frieze of the *piano nobile* in the places of metopes.

16 Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, R108; Norman W. Canedy, *The Roman Sketchbook of Girolamo da Carpi* (London, 1976), 61–2. The drawing is labelled *casa di rafaello in borgo*, and it depicts, moreover, a bay with a lintel that is not at the façade's end. The same number of me-

cies are not easily explained, but it seems at least possible that the Lafreri print and the two drawings provide records of the scheme at three different stages of its development. The print would record a preliminary scheme by Bramante that differed in certain minor respects and probably postdated another early proposal, the one recorded in the drawing by Girolamo da Carpi, and it would itself have then been modified in the run up to the scheme's eventual execution, the final design depicted in the other drawing.

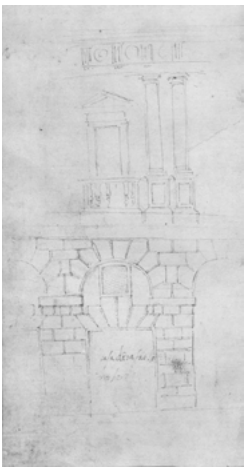

Fig. 9.4: Palazzo Caprini: sixteenth-century drawing by Girolamo da Carpi (photo: Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation; with permission).

Conclusions have also been reached about the property's early ownership.[17] In this connexion, it has been established that, in 1500, the site of the future palace was purchased by a certain Adriano Caprini, a functionary in the court of Pope Alexander VI (*r.*1492–1503), who a year later declared he was intending to build himself a residence there; and it has been further established that, in 1510, a dwelling on this site and owned by the Caprini family was being rented out. Later, in 1517, the same dwelling on this site which still belonged to the Caprini family was purchased by Raphael (1483–1520), Bramante's successor as papal architect,[18] as his own personal residence, his ownership subsequently recorded in

topes and the same *patera* decoration are also seen in an earlier drawing of an upper-storey bay by Amico Aspertini: London, British Museum, Aspertini 1, fol. 48; Phyllis Pray Bober, *Drawings After the Antique by Amico Aspertini: Sketchbooks in the British Museum* (London, 1957), 76.

17 As n. 10.

18 For surviving documentation of Raphael's purchase of the property, see also John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources 1483–1602*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 2003), I, 301–3.

the Lafreri print and remembered by Vasari and others.[19] However, this documented chronology raises the considerable issues of, first, why a family should have resolved early on to build itself a residence only to decide not to live in it and eventually dispose of it, and, secondly, how all this would then relate to the date of Bramante's scheme whatever that date may have been, a matter that will be addressed again later. For the moment, however, it can be noted that, with no further information supplied in early archival sources, there is no clear indication—from such documentation alone—of just when it was that the Bramante façade was designed and constructed (or partially constructed), let alone of the circumstances that led to this taking place. Even its eventual disappearance passed unnoticed, although it was described in 1576, before its ultimate replacement, as already falling into ruin and requiring urgent attention.[20]

Much can be surmised about how the Palazzo Caprini façade was conceived, however, by comparing it with other schemes, such as the once-close-at-hand and still-surviving Palazzo Castellesi, which Vasari states was built to a design that was also devised by Bramante (Fig. 9.5).[21] With a frontage comparable in some respects to Palazzo Caprini's, this building was commissioned around 1500 by Cardinal Adriano Castellesi da Corneto (*c.*1461–*c.*1521), and was situated likewise in Piazza Scossacavalli although on its northern side and facing onto the Via Alessandrina (see Fig. 9.2). Questions still remain over how faithfully the executed three-storey façade with its applied pilasters and arched windows followed an original Bramante design, but supposed deviations from it are perhaps rather overstated at least as far as one of its chief characteristics is concerned.[22] The very bottom portion of it, together with the sub-basement windows, which is reckoned to date from an initial building campaign carried out before the cardinal fled from Rome in 1507, presumes a facing in the form of a thin stone veneer, and so is like the rest of the existing façade, which was executed after the cardinal's return to Rome in 1513. It is undeniable that the Palazzo Castellesi façade in its final realization, which is affiliated stylistically to that of the earlier Palazzo della Cancelleria, accords with the Palazzo Caprini design insofar as it has an unadorned basement and a *piano nobile* graced with an architectural order, this being one of pilasters, which, although not doubled, are also arranged in pairs;

19 As n. 8, 9 and 16.

20 Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, II, 82 (*ruinam minans*); Gigli, *Guide rionali*, 48.

21 Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 155: 'Fu suo disegno ancora il palazzo del cardinale Adriano da Corneto in Borgo nuovo, che si fabricò adagio, e poi finalmente rimase imperfetto per la fuga di detto cardinale'.

22 For the problematic history of this building, see e.g. Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, 849–57; and Bruschi, 'Edifici privati di Bramante a Roma'.

but the differences between them are still substantial. All three of Palazzo Castellesi's storeys have a thin and flat facing that is seemingly of channelled ashlar, so that there is relatively little differentiation between the basement and the levels above it, just as there would have been little differentiation in the equally flat façade that was intended originally, this limited contrast being very unlike the much greater distinction between the storeys of the Palazzo Caprini façade. The two designs are unlike in other respects as well. Whereas the Palazzo Castellesi façade, as finally completed, would make use of a formal repertory that was far more limited and perhaps deliberately backward-looking, the Palazzo Caprini façade was much freer and bolder in conception and much less tied to recent local precedent. With its much greater robustness, it most probably differed significantly too, or so one can assume, from what was intended originally for Palazzo Castellesi—which would imply that it dates from a later time.

Fig. 9.5: Palazzo Castellesi, now Giraud-Torlonia. (photo: Alvesgaspar, Wikimedia Commons, Attribution-Share Alike 4.0, File: Palazzo Castellesi September 2015-1.jpg).

Although the Palazzo Caprini façade marked an abrupt departure from earlier palace designs in Rome, it was anticipated in certain particulars by palace schemes from elsewhere in Italy, and in ways that could well have had some specific bearing on its final formulation. The roughness of its lower storey, for example, is presaged in a good many palaces in Florence, and a comparable contrast between a rugged lower storey and smoothly-faced accommodation above is to be seen in, say, the

considerably earlier Palazzo Pazzi (1460s/70s) by Giuliano da Maiano (1432–90).[23] Other notable features have equivalents in schemes from rather more recent times (Fig. 9.6). The novel combination of windows with balustraded parapets had already found application on the façade of the late fifteenth-century Palazzo Corner-Spinelli in Venice (*c.*1485),[24] a design likewise with a basement, albeit surfaced in channelled ashlar, that is made to contrast with the smoother and more elegant reaches up above;[25] and the use of half-columns, again most uncommon, had already been a prominent feature of the notably innovative façade of Venice's Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi (*c.*1500).[26] The highly unusual idea, in addition, of the doubled order is again to be seen intermittently on the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi façade, but its adoption to articulate the entire composition had already been taken up for the two-storey and five-bay façade of Palazzo Raimondi in Cremona (*c.*1495),[27] a building not far from Milan that Bramante could easily have known before his arrival in Rome in 1499; and this façade, like Palazzo Caprini's, is also exceptional in having large rectangular windows, although Bramante's were to be crowned with pediments like those very occasionally found in earlier churches.[28]

Even the basic format of a rusticated basement and a contrasting upper level graced with an architectural order appears to have been toyed with previously. This is clear from alternative designs developed for Palazzo Strozzi in Florence (1489), which happen to be documented in a pair of panels relating to the surviving wooden model for the building produced in the circle of Giuliano da Sangallo (*c.*1445–1516).[29] One of these panels records a series of different arrangements for

23 For Palazzo Pazzi, see Francesco Quinterio, *Giuliano da Maiano "grandissimo domestico"* (Rome, 1996), 311–22.

24 For the Renaissance invention of the baluster, see Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, 'Renaissance balusters and the antique', in *Architectural History* 26 (1983), 1–23.

25 For this building, see Roberta Martinis, 'Palazzo Lando-Corner-Spinelli a Sant'Angelo: Nuovi documenti sulla datazione e la committenza', in *Arte veneta* 55 (1999), 153–9.

26 This building is discussed by Roberta Martinis: 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: Mauro Codussi e il palazzo di Andrea Loredan', in *Annali di architettura* 10/11 (1998/1999), 43–61. The attribution to Mauro Codussi, however, has no evidential basis.

27 For this building, see Jessica Gritti, 'Una vita in cantiere: Materiali per Bernardino de Lera architetto', in *Arte lombarda*, 146/148 (2006), 94–110; Roberta Martinis, 'Il palazzo di Eliseo Raimondi a Cremona: Abitare all'antica tra Milano e Venezia alla fine del Quattrocento', in Pier Nicola Pagliara and Serena Romano eds, *Modernamente antichi* (Rome, 2014), 257–85.

28 E.g. Francesco di Giorgio's S. Bernardino in Urbino (1482) and Giuliano da Sangallo's sacristy of S. Spirito in Florence (1489). Smaller pedimented windows were previously used for Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence.

29 Amanda Lillie, 'The Palazzo Strozzi and private patronage in fifteenth-century Florence', in Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magagno Lampugnani eds, *The Renaissance From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*' (London, 1994), 518–21; Amanda Lillie and

Fig. 9.6: Left: Venice, Palazzo Corner-Spinelli; centre, Venice, Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi; right: Cremona, Palazzo Raimondi (photos: author).

the *piano nobile* (Fig. 9.7), which, unlike the storey below and the *piano nobile* as finally built, is shown as smooth rather than rusticated, and, therefore, like the Palazzo Caprini façade, while the various alternatives include having the storey adorned with a sequence of pilasters, and windows that are rectangular rather than arched and sometimes crowned with pediments. In the end, however, this scheme and the other recorded alternatives were rejected, for the possible reason that they were insufficiently Florentine in their character; but such locally-conditioned constraints were much less pressing elsewhere. It could well be, for example, that the Palazzo Strozzi proposals would eventually give rise to the design of Palazzo Orsini di Gravina in Naples, which was finalized perhaps in 1513, and has a rusticated basement and a smooth upper storey with pilasters and rectangular windows.[30] A comparably progressive trend had, of course, been already seen in Rome, as is demonstrated by the Palazzo della Cancelleria, which was begun at almost exactly the same time as Palazzo Strozzi, and which, although without any distinction made between the storeys in their roughness, has an unadorned bottom storey and upper levels set out with pilasters, this being the format later repeated for the façade of Palazzo Castellesi. Similar ideas would also be explored in Rome's early sixteenth-century Palazzetto Turci, although in this instance only the basement's lower level was faced in ashlar, the upper level and

Mauro Mussolin, 'The wooden models of Palazzo Strozzi as flexible instruments in the design process', in Amedeo Belluzzi et al. eds, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Milan, 2017), 210–28.

30 For this building, see Benedetto Gravagnuolo, 'Palazzo Orsini di Gravina', in Arturo Fratta ed., *Il patrimonio architettonico di Ateneo Fridericiano* 2 vols (Naples, 2004), I, 141–72, which emphasizes the design's Florentine affinities.

the storeys above with their applied architectural orders being largely realized in just brick.[31] Bramante, therefore, must have been well aware of such earlier compositional ideas—but it is still the case that his Palazzo Caprini scheme departed radically from all previous palace designs both in Rome and elsewhere, in respect to its compositional coherence and its two highly differentiated storeys, and, above all, as regards its highly calculated and evocative formal vocabulary.

Fig. 9.7: Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, project recorded on a wooden panel, Florence, Bargello (photo: Mauro Mussolin).

In fact, Bramante's scheme differed profoundly from all those hitherto discussed in being so singularly, consistently and innovatively antique in its conception—even despite the lack of any precise ancient precedents for the design as a whole. This is not to say, however, that there are absolutely no ancient equivalents for the idea of a rusticated or unadorned basement being used to support a level above with an architectural order, although the most obvious example, the façade of the ancient Tabularium overlooking the Roman Forum, which has a rusticated lower level beneath a Doric arcade (once serving as a platform for a level above it) was yet to be revealed.[32] A then-known example, however, would be the tower tomb known as the Torre Sacello in Spoleto, a monument recorded in a copy drawing by Palladio (Fig. 9.8),[33] and a structure of square plan with a rusticated basement and a continuous plinth supporting four pilasters on each of its sides. Other such examples could have included ancient villas with arcaded podia and

31 Palazzetto Turchi is discussed by Bruschi: 'L'architettura a Roma negli ultimi anni', 42–6.

32 See Filippo Coarelli, 'Substructio et tabularium', in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78 (2010), 107–32.

33 London, R.I.B.A., Palladio 9, fol. 18*r*; Giangiorgio Zorzi, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio* (Venice, 1958), 102.

colonnaded structures above, such as the one perhaps belonging to Lucius Verus depicted in sixteenth-century drawings (Fig. 9.9).[34] Others, more generically, would be ancient temples that are raised up on tall podia, such as the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina or the Temple of Saturn (Fig. 9.10), the latter being of particular relevance because the front of the podium, although originally hidden from view by steps, is actually rusticated. Such a comparison is also particularly revealing as it shows that Bramante gave due deliberation in his own scheme to the *all'antica* positioning of the colonnaded upper level, the frontal plane of which was set back some considerable distance behind the surface of the basement, as would have been especially apparent at the corners (see Fig. 9.3).[35]

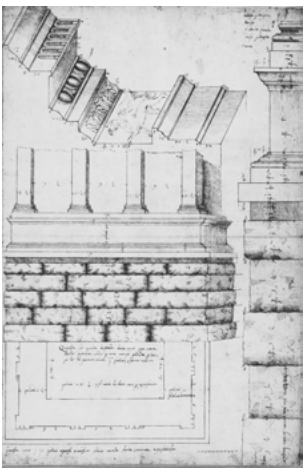

Fig. 9.8: Spoleto, Torre Sacello: sixteenth-century drawing by Andrea Palladio, London, R.I.B.A. (photo: Courtauld Institute). The sheet shows the plan, elevation and a detail of the elevation; the entablature drawn at the top is unrelated.

The Palazzo Caprini façade also relied much less on a repertory of broadly-circulating *all'antica* motifs than it did on a new and highly imaginative assimilation of a genuinely antique formal vocabulary—this involving quotations or parallels that would have been expected to be recognised. As regards the basement, Bramante probably took note of the designs of certain aqueducts, such as the Aqua Claudia with its rusticated arches and its stringcourses, and he undoubtedly gave attention, for the format of his shopfronts, to antique structures of compara-

34 St Petersburg, Hermitage, Codex Destailleur B, fols 116*v*–117*r*; Orietta Lanzarini and Roberta Martinis, *Questo libro fu di Andrea Palladio: Il codice Destailleur B dell'Hermitage* (Rome, 2015), 166–7.

35 Based on the dimensions given by the engraving (see n. 7 above), the surface of the basement was over two *palmi* in front of that of the upper storey with its attached half-columns. Such setting back is not nearly as great, for example, in the earlier Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi in Venice.

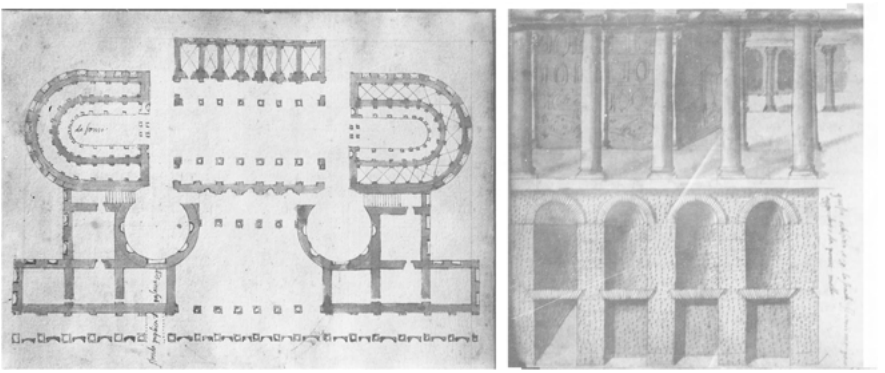

Fig. 9.9: Villa near Rome possibly belonging to Lucius Verus: plan and partial elevation, St Petersburg, Hermitage, Codex Destailleur B (photos: Warburg Institute).

Fig. 9.10: Temple of Saturn (photo: Carole Raddato, Wikimedia Commons, Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic, File: Temple of Saturn, Roman Forum, Rome, 31659978216.jpg).

ble kind. These would include the ancient shopfronts once lining the Forum of Caesar, recorded in an early sixteenth-century drawing, which are topped with lintels beneath semi-circular restraining arches;[36] and also the ancient and still-surviving portal on the eastern flank of Rome's church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, again depicted early on (Fig. 9.11),[37] which is of similar lintel-and-arch design but executed this time in stonework that is rusticated, and closely followed in Bramante's scheme—although with certain modifications such as the pairing of the voussoirs at the centres of the arches.[38] As for the upper storey, the window design with its balustraded parapet was very much a modern invention, but the Doric order was a highly conspicuous statement of antique revivalism. In fact, the Doric order, which Bramante also employed for the Cortile del Belvedere, the Tempietto and other works, was very much a hallmark of the new *all'antica* approach he was pioneering, its reintroduction preceding the publication in 1511 of the illustrated edition of Vitruvius by Fra' Giocondo (*c*.1433–1515).[39] In addition to all this, even the way in which the composition was realized, which was out of brickwork, sometimes exposed, along with various adornments cast as Vasari said in moulds, was itself inspired by the antique. Ancient precedents constructed in brick and faced in stucco would have included, perhaps most notably, the ruin once known widely as the Crypta Balbi which had been drawn previously by Giuliano da Sangallo (*c*.1445–1516) (Fig. 9.12).[40]

36 Florence, GDSU, 1537Ar; Alfonso Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, 6 vols (Rome, 1914–22), VI, 13. The sheet, attributed to 'Pseudo Giocondo', also features a modern design with lower-storey shopfronts.

37 Florence, GDSU, 1534Ar; Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi*, VI, 13, a sheet again attributed to 'Pseudo Giocondo'. Another early drawing is by Baldassare Peruzzi: Florence, GDSU, 382Ar; Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi*, VI, 42. An illustration based on the ancient portal was later published by Serlio (see below n. 83). It has been proposed (not very convincingly) that the supposed original use of the ancient building as a treasury made it well suited to Renaissance buildings associated with banking, the suggestion being made that Palazzo Caprini was one such building; see Lola Kantor-Kazovsky, '"La zecca vecchia": Myth, archeology and architectural design in the high Renaissance concept of rustication', in *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011), 248–75.

38 The similarity was first noted by Bruschi: *Bramante architetto*, 602–3 and 605.

39 *M. Vitruvius per Jocundum solito castigatior factus* (Venice, 1511), IV, fols 37–40.

40 Codex Barberini, fol. 4*v*; Christian Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo* (Leipzig, 1910), 9–10; Stafano Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo: I disegni di architettura e dell'antico* (Rome, 1985), 55–59. The surviving remains, located near Rome's Via Arenula, are the subject of several early images; for recent discussion, see Pier Luigi Tucci, 'Considerazioni sull'edificio di via di Santa Maria de'Calderari', in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 96 (1994–95), 95–124.

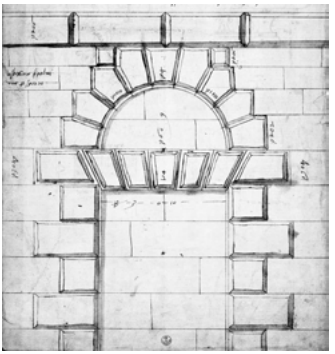

Fig. 9.11: Ancient portal on the eastern flank of SS. Cosma e Damiano recorded in an early sixteenth-century drawing, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi (photo: Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi).

Fig. 9.12: Ancient structure in Rome's Via S. Maria di Calderari, formerly thought to be the Crypta Balbi, as recorded by Giuliano da Sangallo, Vatican Library, Codex Barberini (from Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*).

It is thus the façade's profoundly antiquarian spirit, together with its sheer novelty, that sets it apart from other palace schemes from around its time; and this must have a bearing on the scheme's dating. One line of thought in this connexion, which is guided by the documentary record, has been to conclude that the scheme was devised in 1500 or very soon afterwards, and at around the time Palazzo Castellesi was being initially designed, and therefore not so very long after Bramante had arrived in Rome in 1499;[41] and this presumes that it was a manifestation of the immediate impact on him of the ancient city, which straightaway brought about a wholesale revision to his architectural way of thinking. Other writers, however, have held that it was designed later,[42] and perhaps not so very long before Bramante's death in 1514,[43] and this seems much more likely for three reasons. In the first place, the scheme was conceived very differently from works by Bramante that are securely dated to his earlier Roman period, such as his cloister attached to the church of Santa Maria della Pace (1501), which displays no new engagement with the architecture of antiquity. Secondly, it is listed by Vasari among what would appear to be Bramante's final works,[44] and considerably after his mentions of the early Pace cloister and Palazzo Castellesi,[45] as well as after that of the Palazzo dei Tribunali,[46] a scheme (initially planned in 1508) which, in its final iteration (little realized and mostly destroyed), was to have a façade with a ruggedly rusticated basement.[47] Thirdly, it is very well suited stylistically to the political and cultural ethos in Rome that was starting to develop in the final years of Julius II's pontificate, which was when the pope began to present himself as a modern-day equivalent to an ancient Roman emperor, and as such it tallies stylistically with other antique-inspired works, including the Tempietto, again dating probably from Bramante's final years.[48]

41 Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, I, 30–51 and 93–96; 2, 80–87; idem, 'La città come opera d'arte', 79–80; idem, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, 100.

42 Costantino Baroni, *Bramante* (Bergamo, 1944), 42; Otto H. Förster, *Bramante* (Vienna, 1956), 204–05; Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, 1040–46.

43 Bruschi originally dated the scheme to around 1510, but he later swayed from this position and implied it was an early work: Bruschi, 'L'architettura a Roma negli ultimi anni', 65–7.

44 Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 160.

45 Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 154–55.

46 Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 159–60.

47 For the Palazzo dei Tribunali, see e.g. Suzanne B. Butters and Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Il palazzo dei Tribunali, via Giulia e la Giustizia: Strategie politiche e urbane di Giulio II', in Gábor Hajnóczi and László Csorba eds, *Il Palazzo Falconieri e il palazzo barocco a Roma* (Soveria Mannelli, 2009), 29–279.

48 As argued in David Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity: Renaissance Buildings from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo* (New Haven and London, 2019), especially 126–7 and, for the Tempietto, 149–52.

In fact, the façade's conspicuously Roman-inspired composition, tantamount to an antique-orientated invention, would correlate with certain telling clues about precisely when it was that the scheme was devised, as well as how it was meant to be understood. As for the dating, as it is impossible that the façade was designed around 1500, then it must have been formulated later, and most probably after the property was recorded as being rented out in 1510, and this would mean that it cannot have been conceived, as has been assumed, as an expression of the Caprini family's position and status. It must, therefore, have been concocted as a result of some undocumented initiative, very possibly bypassing the Caprini family and perhaps being sanctioned by the pope, and, if so, this would help account for a puzzling (albeit muddled) comment Vasari made about the building actually being commissioned by Raphael himself, which would presumably have been at the very end of Bramante's life (1512/14).[49] What is certainly clear, however, is that the building was never linked by the early sources with the Caprini family, its designation as 'Palazzo Caprini' being of only very recent currency,[50] and that it was universally referred to by them as Raphael's residence, or simply as the 'House of Raphael' (*Casa di Raffaello*).[51]

As regards the expected perception of the façade, this would have been calculated to accord with the 'Roman-ness' of the current papal regime, and its supposed break from preceding administrations; and such a connotation would have been understood all the more clearly from the building's location. Being positioned in a piazza right next to Palazzo Castellesi, the contrast between their two façades, especially once Palazzo Castellesi's had been completed, would have been abundantly clear, with Palazzo Castellesi's evoking the recent past, and Palazzo Caprini's being unequivocally modern, and well as being fittingly redolent of antiquity. Being situated, moreover, on a corner site so that it would have faced travellers and visitors on their way to the Vatican palace or the church of St Peter's which was in the process of being rebuilt, the façade, as well as signalling and emphasizing the then-current ideology of papal rule being conducted from the palace, would have provided a prelude to the Roman-ness of Bramante's final design for the St Peter's dome, which, when completed, would have been glimpsed looming up above in the distance.[52]

49 For the comment, see above n. 9. Vasari's dating of this event to towards the end of Raphael's life is impossible, but Raphael could have been involved if the commission dated from 1512/14.

50 Still termed 'Palazzo di Raffaello' by Bruschi in 1969 (*Bramante architetto*, 1040–46) but renamed 'Palazzo Caprini by Frommel in 1973 (*Der römische Palastbau*, II, 80–87) and all subsequent writers.

51 As n. 8, 9 and 16.

52 Bramante's final design for the St Peter's dome was recorded by Serlio: Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* (Venice, 1619), III, fols 66*r*–*v*.

Reinvention, Imitation and Reiteration

As an invention—the contrivance of an antique-reliant format suited to modern-day circumstances—Bramante's façade spawned numerous imitations in the years after his death in 1514. The first steps in this imitative repackaging of the design were taken by Raphael very soon after he had succeeded Bramante as papal architect—which may in itself indicate that the Bramante scheme was devised not so very long before the end of his life—and they were immediately indicative of intentions that were changed and would soon shift even further. Bramante's design, in essence, had been a pioneering assemblage of elements deriving from diverse sources, particularly ancient ones, all brought together in a composition that was well-considered formally and well-matched to its expected associations. The subsequent schemes by Raphael, and then later architects, were either, as shall be discussed, creative adaptations of Bramante's original, maintaining the same basic composition but altering the details in accordance with an expanded and ancient-inspired, or antique-equivalent, vocabulary; or else, and especially for buildings in locations outside of Rome, they were conceived as modified reiterations of previous schemes of this same format. There was also a similar shift in how such schemes were intended to be understood. Bramante's design had been calculated to evoke, through its Roman-ness, the new political and cultural mood of Rome. The subsequent schemes became ever less geared to pressing associations with Rome, and they were ever more attuned to ideas of laudable ancestry and good style, and often, it can be concluded, to a concept not of Roman-ness but of a collective Italian-ness. This then remained the case until the mid-sixteenth century, after which time the format's origins, and its early connotations, became increasingly forgotten.

It was Raphael who initially led the way in this, in seizing on the Palazzo Caprini scheme presumably because of its modernity, and because it was so eminently well-suited to other modern palaces, and the first results were brought to fruition almost immediately. They are straightaway evident, in his painting of the *Fire in the Borgo* of 1514, in the depiction of the prominent building occupied by the pope at its centre, and are seen too in his Palazzo Alberini, a scheme dating from perhaps 1514/15 (Fig. 9.13).[53] This has a façade that is seven bays in width and two main storeys in height, although, unlike Bramante's original, it then has an extra storey above. It also differs from the original in its greater flatness and

53 For Palazzo Alberini, see in particular Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Palazzo Alberini', in Christoph Luitpold Frommel et al. eds, *Raffaello architetto* (Milan, 1984), 171–88; idem, 'Ancora su palazzo Alberini', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 15/20 (1990/92), 519–26.

in the complication of its detailing. The basement (accommodating six shop fronts with lintels beneath arches and exposed brick infills) is treated as channelled ashlar, which is laid in courses of alternating height, in probable imitation of what Vitruvius had described as *opus pseudisodomum*;[54] and the *piano nobile* is set out with capital-less pilaster strips framing windows that are now recessed into brick panels, while the storey above has an alternation just of panels, narrower ones above the *piano noble* pilaster strips and wider ones in between containing windows. Certain of these features have their origins in other schemes by Bramante, the capital-less pilaster strips being found in the choir he added to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo (mainly after 1509), and the panelled top storey finding a close parallel in the attic storey of the Tegurio, the housing he designed in 1514 for the altar of St Peter's;[55] and this recent currency was perhaps to be perceived as signalling a deliberate modernity. The panels of the *piano nobile*, however, hark back to similar recesses seen occasionally in ancient buildings, especially tombs (Fig. 9.14),[56] which for Palazzo Alberini were ingeniously adapted to a new purpose of containing windows, to constitute a modern innovation informed by the example of antiquity.

It was also Raphael who, with his immediate associates, then established the Palazzo Caprini format, over the next decade, as the norm for modern palace façades. It was consolidated in works beginning with his Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia, designed very probably in 1515 (Fig. 9.15),[57] the façade of which is very closely dependent on the Bramante prototype except for the addition of an attic, making it like an ancient triumphal arch (a feature too of the palace in the *Fire in the Borgo*),[58] and apart from a series of variations of detail. The basement is of bulging

54 As illustrated by Fra' Giocondo: *M. Vitruvius*, II, fol. 17*v*. Stonework laid in alternating courses had previously been used for the tower of Nicholas V in the Vatican.

55 For the Tegurio, see Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, 908, which mentions it only very briefly; and, subsequently, John Shearman, 'Il "Tiburio" di Bramante', in *Studi bramanteschi* (Rome, 1974), 567–73. The attic was, admittedly, built after Bramante's death, but it most likely followed his design.

56 The interior of a tomb on the Via Nomentana, with niches set into interior panels, is depicted in the Codex Destailleur B in St Petersburg (fol. 111*r*; Lanzarini and Martinis, *Questo libro*, 160). The mausoleum of the Plautii outside Tivoli, drawn among others by Giuliano da Sangallo (Codex Barberini, fol. 41*v*; Hülsen, *Il libro*, 58; Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, 209–11), has a façade of half-columns and panelled inscriptions.

57 For this building, see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, 'Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia', in *Raffaello architetto*, 157–64. For its moving and reconstruction in 1940, see Flavia Cantatore, 'Un'architettura di Raffaello per il medico di Leone X: Il palazzo di Jacopo da Brescia sulla via Alessandrina', in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 75–6 (2022), 63–82.

58 Bramante's Tegurio had previously been designed with an attic.

Fig. 9.13: Palazzo Alberini (photo: author).

rustication but laid in horizontal bands (perhaps prompted by Palazzo Castellesi) and in courses again of alternating height, and it now features rectangular shop-fronts, with their lintels again having doubled voussoirs, and then mezzanine openings above them. The *piano nobile* is subdivided by clusters of pilasters, with projections in the entablature over those at their centres, just like on the second floor of Bramante's Cortile del Belvedere but with the projecting parts of the frieze accommodating metopes decorated with *paterae*, like the frieze in Girolamo da Carpi's drawing of Palazzo Caprini (see Fig. 9.4);[59] and the pilaster-clusters frame windows crowned by pediments of alternating shape, which are supported on prominent brackets, similar to those supporting cornices on the Mausoleum of Annia Regilla,[60] while the one-bay side elevation is overlaid with a large-scale tab-

59 Triglyphs would be more theoretically 'correct', but the decorative metopes could have been regarded as an ingenious adaptation of the Vitruvian rule.

60 The mausoleum was becoming much studied at this time; see Arnold Nesselrath, *Das Fossombroner Skizzenbuch* (London, 1993), 139–44.

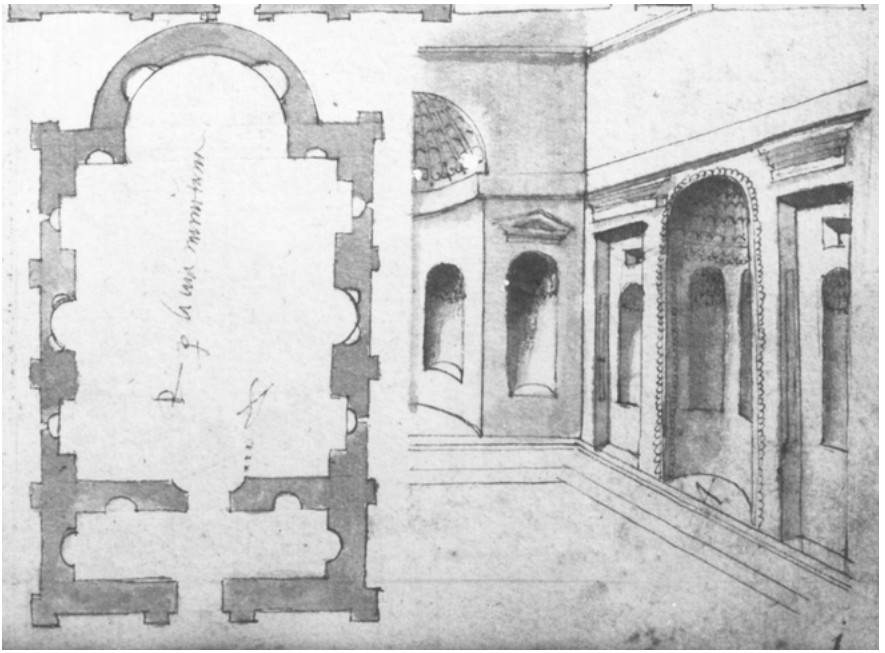

Fig. 9.14: Tomb on the Via Nomentana: plan and interior, St Petersburg, Hermitage, Codex Destailleur B (photo: Warburg Institute).

ernacle.[61] Several closely related schemes were then also devised at this time or shortly afterwards. They include the façade of Palazzo Del Monte in Monte San Savino in Tuscany, designed (*c.*1515) by Antonio da Sangallo the Elder (*c.*1543–1534),[62] where the rugged basement has rectangular windows with bracket-supported sills and cornices,[63] and the *piano nobile* has pilaster clusters (this time Ionic) and tabernacle-framed windows with pediments of alternating shape. Palazzo Maccarani, designed later on (1522) by Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano (1499–1546), is essentially a variation on Raphael's Alberini and Jacopo da Brescia designs, having a rusticated basement with rectangular apertures and upper storeys

61 A similarly large-scale feature is to be seen on the side of the building depicted in Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*.

62 This building is discussed by Mauro Cozzi: *Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio e l'architettura del Cinquecento in Valdichiana* (Genoa, 1992), 38–50; and by Paola Zampa: 'Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio: Da Firenze e Roma alla provincia toscana', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana*, 240–53 (243–45).

63 For this kind of window, invented by Giuliano da Sangallo who used it for the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, see e.g. Giuseppe Marchini, 'Le finestre "inginocchiate"', in *Antichità viva* 15 (1976), 24–31.

with pilaster strips and panels.[64] Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli, built (from *c.*1524) by Giulio's brother-in-law Lorenzetto (1490–1541),[65] which seemingly relates to a scheme devised probably by Raphael and known from an early drawing,[66] has a rusticated basement with openings of alternating shape, and upper-storey Doric half-columns framing windows this time with balustraded parapets and recessed panels up above them (see Fig. 9.22).

Fig. 9.15: Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia (photo: author). The original palace, on a site on the Borgo Nuovo close to St Peter's, was demolished in 1936 but then rebuilt nearby on the Via Rusticucci.

Not long afterwards, following the return in 1526 of Michele Sanmicheli (1489–1559) to his native Verona and the transferal in 1527 of Jacopo Sansovino (1486–

64 For this building, see e.g. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, 'Palazzo Stati-Maccarani, in Ernst H. Gombrich et al. eds, *Giulio Romano* (Milan, 1989), 294–5.

65 For documentation of this building, see Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, II, 53–61.

66 New York, Morgan Library, Codex Mellon, fol. 8*r*. The scheme has been associated with Palazzo Alberini: see Pagliara, 'Palazzo Alberini', 177. The very different plans recorded there (fols 8*r*–*v*), however, make the identification most unlikely.

1570) to Venice, two figures who were intimately associated with the leading architects working in Rome previously, schemes of comparable format began being designed in northern Italy. Such a format, admittedly, was not the only one inaugurated there for modern palace façades, but it established itself as the predominant type. The first of these schemes was Sanmicheli's Palazzo Canossa in Verona (*c.*1526),[67] which has a two-storey façade with a basement faced in imitation ashlar and featuring three central arches with stacked apertures to either side and mezzanine openings up above, and then a *piano nobile* with paired pilasters framing a lattice of bands incorporating arched main windows and then mezzanine windows at the top (Fig. 9.16). The same architect's subsequent Palazzo Pompei in Verona (mid-1530s) has a rusticated stone-faced basement with arched windows beneath a *piano nobile* with fluted Doric half-columns framing tall arched windows with balustraded parapets.[68] Sansovino's Zecca in Venice (begun 1536) is given a rusticated basement arranged with a row of arched openings, and a *piano nobile* set out with Doric half-columns that have banded shafts and frame rectangular windows capped by simple entablature blocks (Fig. 9.17).[69] His later Palazzo

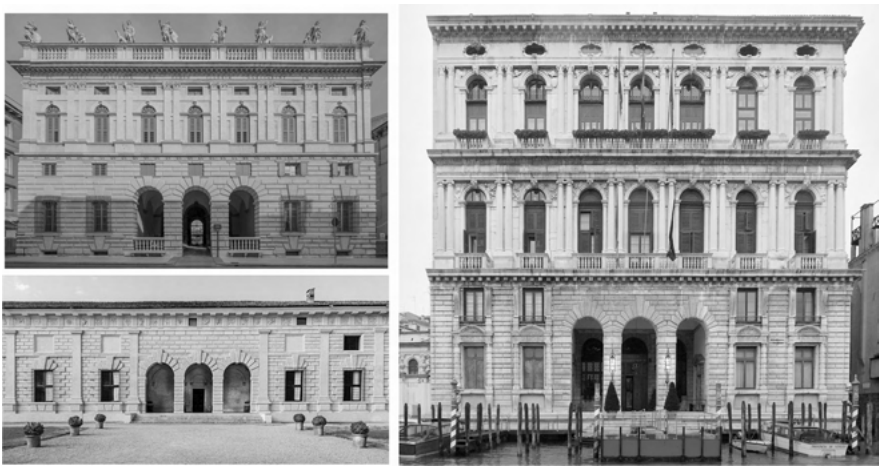

Fig. 9.16: Top left: Verona, Palazzo Canossa; bottom left: Mantua, Palazzo Te; right: Venice, Palazzo Cornaro (photos: author).

67 For this building, see Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli* (Milan, 2004), 170–82.

68 Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 192–8.

69 For this building, see Manuela Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino* (Milan, 2000), 182–91.

Cornaro (finally begun in 1545) has a rusticated basement with three central arches and two levels of windows on either side, and then two upper storeys both with paired half-columns and tall arched windows rising from balustraded parapets (Fig. 9.16).[70]

Fig. 9.17: Venice, Zecca (photo: author), with, far right, a detail from Baldassare Peruzzi's *Presentation of the Virgin*, *c.*1520; Rome, S. Maria della Pace (photo: Sailko, Wikimedia Commons, Attribution 3.0 Unported, File Baldassare peruzzi, presentazione al tempio, 1524, 00.jpg).

It seems reasonable to regard these designs not as independent variations on the Palazzo Caprini type but as representing some sort of common endeavour, and as being increasingly reliant on an extended process—or genealogy—of repeated imitation. As regards Sanmicheli's Palazzo Canossa, for example, the upper-storey arched windows are suggestive, because they are flanked by lower and narrower panels, of a 'serliana' arrangement, this having previously been a feature of the palace depicted in Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*; and, in respect to the basement (Fig. 9.16), the composition of three large arches flanked by two levels of rectangu-

70 Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 118–29. The building may have been designed much earlier than when it was begun in 1545, and perhaps soon after the destruction by fire in 1532 of the previous Cornaro palace on the site.

lar openings closely follows the example set previously of the rusticated northern frontage of Giulio Romano's Palazzo Te in Mantua (1524). In the case of Sansovino's Palazzo Cornaro, the façade as a whole would appear to have taken its cue from Palazzo Canossa (Fig. 9.16),[71] although the basement lacks the mezzanine recesses above the central arches and in that respect is more akin to the Palazzo Te composition, while the tall arched windows of the upper storeys, with their balustraded parapets, rather recall those of Sanmicheli's Palazzo Pompei. As for Sansovino's Zecca, it is perhaps even more telling that the façade design is presaged by a building included in the much earlier painting in Rome by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) of the *Presentation of the Virgin* (1520).[72] The depicted building has a similar rusticated and arcaded basement, an upper storey likewise with half-columns that have banded shafts, and then a further storey up above (Fig. 9.17), which may suggest that the Zecca's top storey was not necessarily an afterthought, as is generally supposed,[73] but may have been envisaged as a possibility from the start. This aside, the correspondences between the two certainly demonstrate that Sansovino's scheme was not devised completely afresh, and that it was heavily reliant on a template produced a considerable while previously, not the Peruzzi painting itself but rather a design developed in Raphael's lifetime on which the Peruzzi building was based;[74] and so it may even be that a practice of basing schemes on compositional ideas formulated before Raphael's death in 1520 had become a widely established and accepted procedure.

It appears clear, moreover, that the compositional methods being followed were accompanied by a raft of theoretical considerations, these having themselves been formulated and given architectural expression again in Raphael's time.[75] The idea that Bramante's schemes were of a standard of excellence approaching the 'good style' of antiquity, for example, is accorded particular emphasis in the so-called 'Letter to Leo X' that Raphael drafted with the collaboration of his close acquaintance Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), and it thus implies that they were worthy, like antique works, of imitation.[76] This notion of 'good style' would itself have been indebted to conceptions of literary style that were being

71 Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 336–8.

72 On the similarity with the painting, see Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 190.

73 Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 184.

74 Half-columns with banded rustication were used for the low-level entrance of Raphael's Villa Madama (1518).

75 David Hemsoll, 'Raphael's new architectural agenda', in Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger eds, *Imitation, Representation and Printing in the Italian Renaissance* (Pisa, 2009), 209–31; idem, *Emulating Antiquity*, 161 and 175–80.

76 For the letter, initially composed 1516, see Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, I, 247 and 500–45; and, for discussion of Bramante, 520.

addressed both by Castiglione and by Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), who was similarly on close personal terms with Raphael. Bembo held the view, later set out in a published treatise (*Prose della volgar lingua*, issued in 1525), that literary works composed in the Italian language needed to be based on the most distinguished models available, while Castiglione took the line, later elucidated in his *Book of the Courtier* (eventually published in 1528), that the Italian language needed to be 'universal, rich and varied', and made up of words of widespread currency, and both these general principles have obvious equivalences in architectural design.[77]

Such a linkage would have been especially apt for Sanmicheli's Palazzo Canossa (Fig. 9.16), not just because the façade was so very modern in conception, as well as being cast in a style that was potentially applicable to a building in any part of Italy, but also because Sanmicheli's patron was none other than Ludovico Canossa (1475–1532), the figure who actually voiced Castiglione's views about the Italian language in his *Book of the Courtier*. It could even explain why the architectural order of the upper-storey pilasters is Composite, the order known to some from this period as the 'Italic'.[78] An implied equivalence between architecture and language also helps explain the acceptance of this kind of new architecture in Venice, insofar as Sansovino's various buildings were all conceived in the wake of Bembo being appointed in 1530 as the city's official librarian. In accordance likewise with Bembo's conception of literary style, moreover, are the differing stylistic characters, or registers, of Sansovino's Zecca (Fig. 9.17), and his nearby Library and Loggetta, these offering comparison with the different 'styles', and formal orderings (*ordini*), that Bembo had recommended for literary composition. Thus, the Zecca is conceived in a manner befitting its usage as a manufactory for coinage, and it is differentiated from the neighbouring Library through its roughness, and through its use of a Doric order that is exceptionally rugged and plain.[79]

Such theoretical concerns likewise underpinned the architectural treatise written by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–*c.*1554), the first two instalments of which, Books Four and Three, were published in Venice in 1537 and 1540. Book Three, on antiquities, is largely concerned with ancient buildings, but also covers certain modern buildings, especially those designed by Bramante, albeit not including Palazzo Caprini; and it illustrates not only entire schemes, which could serve as

77 As n. 75.

78 Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, IV, fol. 183; see Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity*, 197–8.

79 John B. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), 287–99; Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity*, 203.

models for new designs, but a good many details as well. Book Four is instead on the subject of the five different architectural styles, or 'orders' (*ordini*), a term previously used in this architectural connexion actually by Raphael,[80] which had potential application to buildings of any type; but it mainly takes the form of a series of possible façade schemes for modern buildings, together with an array of well-chosen details of widespread possible usage, which are all classified according to their style or order in a hierarchical sequence. The book is very much, therefore, a demonstration of architectural possibilities that are dependent upon the particular characteristics of the different architectural orders; and some of these schemes, which are rather less constrained by established precedent than prominent buildings of the recent past, have three-storey formats that are particularly well-suited to Venetian palaces, with two of them including rusticated basements.[81] Rustication itself, however, is covered separately and more extensively in the book's first section, where it is conflated theoretically, if not logically, with the Tuscan order as if it were a substitute for it,[82] and where several designs are presented that could be utilized for basements. One of these, in fact, is identified as deriving specifically from the ancient stonework of Rome's church of Santi Cosma e Damiano (see Fig. 9.19), which had been a prime model previously for the basement of Bramante's Palazzo Caprini,[83] except that in Serlio's illustration the ancient arched opening is adjusted and adapted to constitute, like for the basement of the unmentioned Palazzo Caprini, one element in an extended sequence.

Such a theoretical overview, coupled with the recent examples in the Venetian territories of Rome-inspired palace designs, would help lay a foundation for the approach adopted by Palladio in his early career towards palace design, and for his initial predilection for façades of the Palazzo Caprini type. Despite not visiting Rome until 1541, he must have arrived at this position through his likely contact with Sanmicheli and Serlio, and especially as a result of the extremely close attachment he had undoubtedly formed with Gian Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550), the preeminent cultural figure in Vicenza, where Palladio resided, who was an

80 In the 'Letter to Leo X': Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, I, 527.

81 Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, IV, fols 155*r* and 156*r*.

82 Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, IV, fols 129*v*–137*v*. This matter is covered in James S. Ackerman, 'The Tuscan/rustic order: A study in the metaphorical language of architecture', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983), 15–34.

83 Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, IV, fols 131*r*–*v*.

architectural devotee as well as a major proponent of literary theory and linguistic reform. Thus, Palladio's early Casa Civena (designed by 1540), which is one of his very first works and is especially indebted to Trissino's outlook,[84] has a façade with an arcaded basement and a *piano nobile* with paired pilasters, and as such it very much recalls Sanmicheli's Palazzo Canossa in nearby Verona, although the panelled piers have an equivalent in the frontispiece design of Serlio's third book. The rectangular windows of the upper storey, however, with their simple frames crowned with pediments, hark back to such Roman palaces as Palazzo Caprini—especially in being deployed in conjunction with a paired order—suggesting that Palladio was also taking note of well-regarded prototypes that he knew second-hand.

A much greater awareness of recent architectural developments is then seen in Palladio's enormous Palazzo Thiene which, begun in 1542 after his first stay in Rome, has a part-built exterior with a basement of especially rugged rustication and a *piano nobile* set out with pilasters (Fig. 9.18), its character being strongly reminiscent of the work of Giulio Romano, who could well have devised a preliminary scheme.[85] Yet, in its rigour, and in the range of its allusions, the final design is redolent of Palladio's authorship. The basement windows, for example, are ingenious adaptations of the scheme published by Serlio based on the ancient portal on the flank of Rome's church of Santi Cosma e Damiano (Fig. 9.19), but with lintels made up of voussoirs of graduated size like those of Palazzo Caprini; and they are narrower than the restraining arches above them, which match with the neighbouring arch of the palace's side entrance, so as to be equal in width with the windows on the *piano nobile* level. These upper windows are then set within tabernacles that have their columns encased in blocks, and, as such, they are closely modelled on the tabernacle that featured on Giulio's long-demolished house in Rome (1523/24), which Palladio would have seen on his visit there; but the Palazzo Thiene tabernacles are also combined with balustraded parapets, and are then conflated in design with the tabernacles inside the Pantheon in that their entablatures are extended in a flattened form to the framing pilasters at either side (Fig. 9.20).

84 For Casa Civena, see Lionello Puppi, *Andrea Palladio* (with updated and revised catalogue by Donata Battilotti: Milan, 1999), 242–5 and 447–8.

85 For Palazzo Thiene, see Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, 251–4 and 450–1. See also Howard Burns, 'Giulio Romano and the Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza', in Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns eds, *Palladio* (London, 2009), 40–3; and Howard Burns, '"Una casa cum stupendo, superbo et hornato modo fabrichata": Il "progetto" dei Thiene, il progetto di Giulio Romano, il palazzo di Andrea Palladio', in Guido Beltramini et al. eds, *Palazzo Thiene a Vicenza* (Milan, 2007), 37–102.

Fig. 9.18: Vicenza, Palazzo Thiene (photo: author).

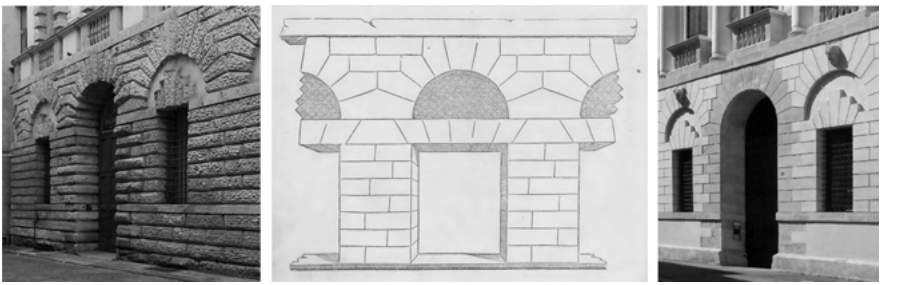

Fig. 9.19: Left to right: basement of Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza (photo: author); rustication design (Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura* = *Libro quarto*, fol. 10v); basement of Palazzo Porto in Vicenza (photo: author).

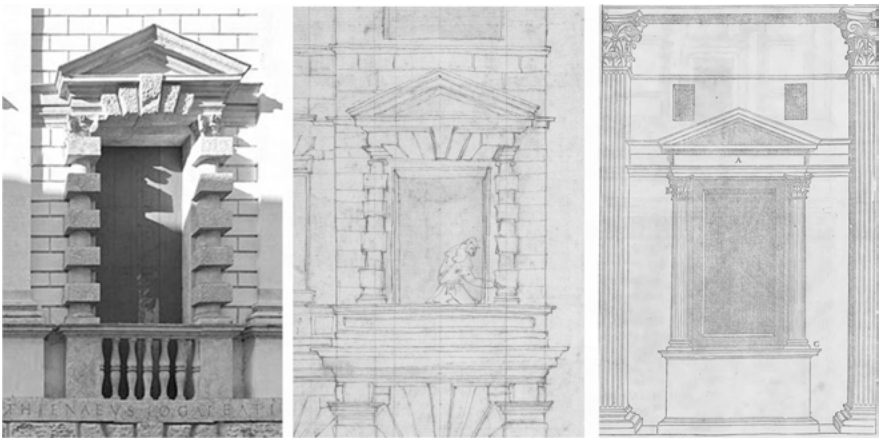

Fig. 9.20: Left to right: window tabernacle of Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza (photo: author); window tabernacle of Giulio Romano's house in Rome, from a sixteenth-century drawing by Giovanni Battista Naldini, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/363938); tabernacle inside the Pantheon (Serlio, *Terzo libro,* p. 16).

A still higher level of sophistication was then reached in Palazzo Porto, a scheme Palladio finalized in 1547 after having spent most of the two previous years in Rome (Fig. 9.21).[86] In fact, it even appears that the façade design was consciously formulated in accordance with a creative method that was now deliberately aimed at rivalling and surpassing the practices followed by Raphael and his earliest followers; and it seems it was particularly informed by studying modern works in Rome at first hand, these including Bramante's Palazzo Caprini and the various dependant schemes by Raphael and others. Thus the façade, with its now-time-honoured format of a rusticated basement with arches and an upper storey with half-columns and pedimented windows, follows the unmistakable example of the Bramante prototype, although the inclusion of an attic likens it particularly to Raphael's Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia (see Fig. 9.15), and this formula was then matched to a highly discerning composition of carefully-selected architectural elements of established pedigree but novel juxtaposition. The basement follows the design previously employed for Palazzo Thiene—deriving ultimately from the ancient portal attached to Rome's Santi Cosma e Damiano but as reinterpreted in Serlio's treatise—which is now treated as if constructed from smoother chan-

86 For Palazzo Porto, see Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, 277–81 and 455–6; and Guido Beltramini, 'Palazzo Porto, Vicenza', in Beltramini and Burns eds, *Palladio*, 72–5.

nelled ashlar, and the side arches are capped with boss-like masks (Fig. 9.19) similar to those recorded as once embellishing the upper storey of Rome's Theatre of Marcellus.[87] The façade's upper level is conceptually even more elaborate, displaying an especially discriminating awareness of a remarkably wide range of sources and prototypes, and an ability to allude to many all at once. The half-columns are this time Ionic, with capitals modelled on those of Rome's Temple of Portunus, and elaborate bases of a type with their twin scotias but no lower torus, similar to certain ancient examples considered appropriate to this order;[88] and the entablature breaks forward above the half-columns like that of a triumphal arch. The windows have pediments, alternatively triangular and segmental, that are carried on prominent volutes, like those of Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia, although their frames now have 'ears' as well; and they have balustraded parapets beneath them that project forwards, like those of Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli (Fig. 9.22). The design is then enriched further with the addition of recumbent figures, similar to those in the spandrels of triumphal arches, placed on the tops of the pediments at the centre and ends, which resemble those seen in façade designs for Palazzo Doria in Genoa produced by Raphael's assistant Perino del Vaga (1501–47), and those on the *piano nobile* of the very recent Palazzo Spada in Rome façade (Fig. 9.22); and it is afforded the further embellishment of fronting the pilaster strips of the attic storey, at the centre and the ends, with statues in a manner reminiscent of Rome's Arch of Constantine (Fig. 9.23), so that the façade's upper reaches recall both this monument and modern-day palace schemes simultaneously. It was presumably Palladio's intention that many of these similarities and allusions, which contribute so much to the design's illustrious pedigree and conceptual potency, would indeed be recognized and understood by discerning viewers, including his patron, and that his erudition and ingenuity would be especially valued, and even measured against the achievements of his predecessors. It might seem surprising, therefore, that, not long after finalizing his Palazzo Porto scheme, Palladio abandoned this approach to architectural design completely.

87 E.g. in the Codex Escurialensis (fol. 54*r*); see Hermann Egger, *Codex Escurialensis: Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios* (Vienna, 1905–6), 132.

88 The bases are identical in design to those of the Ionic order in the courtyard of Antonio da Sangollo's Palazzo Farnese in Rome, for which see Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane e gli ordini', in Jean Guillaume ed., *L'Emploi des ordres dans l'architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992), 137–56 (145). A similar base seen in Frascati, but with a third pair of double astagals positioned beneath the upper torus was drawn by Palladio on the basis of earlier representations by Sangallo and Peruzzi: see Guido Beltramini, 'Palazzo Porto, Vicenza', in Beltramini and Burns eds, *Palladio*, 72–5 (74–5).

Fig. 9.21: Vicenza, Palazzo Porto (photo: Marcok, Wikimedia Commons, CC-BY 2.5, File: Palazzo Porto sett07.jpg).

Fig. 9.22: Left to right: *piano nobile* of Palazzo Porto in Vicenza; *piano nobile* of Palazzo Jacopo da Brescia; *piano nobile* of Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli; *piano nobile* of Palazzo Spada, with recumbent figures (and festoons) above the niches (photos: author).

Fig. 9.23: Arch of Constantine (photo: author).

There could have been many reasons for Palladio's decision. One would be that the chosen design formula was simply coming to be regarded as old fashioned, and another that its associations with past buildings especially in Rome were now becoming thought of as inconsequential. A further explanation would be that the intricacies and subtleties of schemes such as the Palazzo Porto façade were being regarded by Palladio as creating insufficient impact, and that they simply did not merit the effort and time involved in their design and constructional oversight, especially for an architect intent on expanding his output. A final reason would be that Palladio was already beginning to formulate a new approach to architecture, one based primarily on a much more prominent usage of freestanding columns, and on Vitruvian rules for their spacing. For him, this re-enhanced connexion with the antique would have offered the crucial advantage of being especially well-suited to the outlooks and mindsets of the Venetian patrons he was hoping to attract, and the schemes for villas he was hoping to design, and it had the additional benefits of requiring a much lesser conceptual effort and of making it much easier to exercise supervisory control over construction from afar.

Following its rejection by Palladio, the Palazzo Caprini format for palace façades rather lost its momentum, and it became just one of several possible options. It was still employed, however, for certain buildings that were especially prominent and grandiloquent. It was followed, for example, by Michelangelo (1475–1564) for the façade of his Palazzo Senatorio in Rome, which has an ostensibly ashlar-faced basement and an upper storey with pilasters and two levels of windows, this, in the version of the design recorded by Étienne Dupérac (*c.*1525–1604) in a print of 1569, being very much a giant order and two tiers of full-sized windows with balustraded parapets and pediments.[89] It was utilized, too, by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616) for his highly imposing Villa Verlato, at Villaverla outside Vicenza (1574),[90] which, with a thirteen-bay frontage, and a tall rusticated basement and an equally tall *piano nobile* with half-columns and a central pediment, borrowed from various earlier schemes by Palladio.[91] It was seen, as well, in other schemes of great size, such as the imposing commercial building in Brescia now known as Palazzo Beretta (1558), designed by local architect Ludovico Beretta (1543–74), which, as constructed, has a ten-bay arcaded basement and a tall upper storey with pilasters;[92] and, later on, the magisterial Loggia della Gran Guardia in Verona (1610), which was built by Domenico Curtoni (1556–1629), a relative of Sanmicheli (Fig. 9.24).[93] Its monumental fifteen-bay façade comprising an especially rugged arcaded basement and an upper storey that has paired half-columns that frame arches at the centre, with a five-bay attic above, and then window bays at the sides that are contracted at either end. It was on the example of these later buildings, it seems, that the principal developments of the future would partly rest. Scamozzi's Villa Verlato, with its great width as well as its imposing height and its focal half-columns and crowning pediment, would come to provide an important prototype for many subsequent villas not only in Italy but also in Britain and elsewhere. Curtoni's Loggia della Gran Guardia, in respect to its sheer massiveness and enormous scale, as well as its superimposed arcades

89 For this building, see particularly Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio: Storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale* (Milan, 2008), especially 285–98. An immediate model would be Bramante's Palazzo dei Tribunali (Bedon, *Il Campidoglio*, 111–15).

90 See Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, 'Villa per Leonardo Verlato a Villaverla (1574)', in Franco Barbieri and Guido Beltramini eds, *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548–1616* (Venice, 2003), 155–61.

91 Such as Palazzo Porto; but see also Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Le opera pubbliche e I palazzi privati di Andrea Palladio* (Venice, 1965), pl. 34 and 350.

92 Formerly known as the Case dei Gambero; see Adriano Peroni, 'L'architettura e la scultura nei seccoli XV e XVI', in *Storia di Brescia*, 5 vols (Milan, 1963), II, 619–887 (854–6).

93 On which, see Pierpaolo Brugnoli and Alberto Totolo, *Il palazzo della Gran Guardia di Verona* (Caselle di Sommacampagna, 2008).

Fig. 9.24: Verona, Loggia della Gran Guardia (photo: author).

and compositional coherence, constitutes—more than any earlier French building—an especially notable precedent for the garden front of Versailles.

Meaning and Its Transience

Although it may now be clear that Bramante's Palazzo Caprini came to provide a standard compositional format for palace façades over the course of the sixteenth century and beyond, there were still profound differences, as we have already begun to see, in the ways successive designs were not only conceived but also understood. In other words, Bramante's prototypical façade would have originally been construed very differently from those that depended on it, and the associations—or 'meanings'—they elicited would similarly have differed.[94] All these buildings, moreover, would have inevitably taken on initial meanings that were a far cry from those they acquired subsequently, and from the typically reductive and simplistic meanings conferred on them at even later moments. Yet it is still possible to recognize, as has been seen in the buildings discussed, what their originally envisioned connotations and meanings were, since these were inherent in

94 The following discussion of meaning elaborates on ideas explored previously in Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity* (21–5).

the devising of their designs, and are bound up with the ways in which they borrow and quote from other buildings, and the ways in which these relate to certain persuasive ideas of their respective times. It is thus on such a basis that initial meanings can to an extent be reconstituted, if this is so desired, and a building's original eloquence can in good part be reinstated.

The initial meaning of a building, or a scheme, such as Bramante's Palazzo Caprini façade, will relate to how it was conceived, and was expected to be perceived, especially in the context of where and when it was designed and built, and of its relationships with other already-existing buildings. Thus, the Palazzo Caprini façade, like Bramante's late output more generally, would have gained such a meaning, at the moment it was built, in good part from its discernible resemblances to certain other works, especially those of antiquity, coupled with its obvious dissimilarities with almost all other works of its day and from the recent past, and it would, as a result, have been perceived as being startlingly novel. This novelty, however, was not one of straightforward antique revival, which was how Serlio would later characterize it when describing Bramante as having discovered 'good and true architecture' and as having 'revived' the kind of architecture which from the ancients to his time had 'lain buried'.[95] It was, instead, of a kind that Vasari would still allude to when recognizing that Bramante was concerned not just with 'imitating' the Greeks and Romans, since he was also preoccupied with 'new inventions' as well as with increasing architecture's 'beauty and difficulty'.[96] As for Bramante himself, he would certainly have understood his own works as 'new inventions', but he would also have recognized that their novelty was becoming increasingly connected with their new alignment with the antique; and he would have reckoned, too, that his innovative but suggestively *all'antica* combination, for the Palazzo Caprini façade, of a rusticated pseudo-podium with a columnar level above it, together with his vaunting of the antique-inspired shopfronts and his pioneering employment of the Doric order, would strike chords with broader societal currents in Rome at this particular point in time. He would, therefore, have conceived his design with all these various understandings and relationships very much at the forefront of his mind, and predicted, very reasonably, that it would be regarded, and its meanings understood, in very much the same way.

The dependant façade schemes of subsequent architects would have had expected meanings that were very different. Those by Raphael, who would charac-

95 Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, especially IV, fol. 139, and III, fol. 64*v*.

96 Vasari, *Le vite*, Milanesi ed., IV, 146: 'Perchè, se pure i Greci furono inventori della architettura, e i Romani imitatori, Bramante non solo imitandogli con invenzion nuova ci insegnò, ma ancora bellezza e difficultà accrebbe grandissima all'arte, la quale per lui imbellita oggi veggiamo'.

terize Bramante's works as 'approaching very nearly to the antique style',[97] and those devised by Raphael's immediate followers, would have been intended to be valued again for their novelty, although this novelty was now closely linked to Bramante's recent innovations, as well as for their studious engagement with ancient precedent, plus, for later schemes, their conspicuous group identity. Such connexions were presumably meant to be acknowledged by cognoscenti, who could then explain such matters to others, as would the notion, increasingly, of 'good style' and its ties with equivalent literary considerations, and these various associations in concert would have been what largely gave the designs of Raphael and his followers their initial meanings. The façade schemes devised by Sanmicheli and Sansovino, and then Palladio subsequently, would have been likewise expected to be understood as radical departures, in their respective cities, from the architectural status quo; but their kinship with earlier buildings in Rome or elsewhere, and its accompanying significance, although recognized by some, would probably have required advocacy and explanation to ensure that the schemes' intended meanings were widely propagated. It would be unsurprising, therefore, that Palladio's exacting and multifarious references in his designs to other buildings, even if grasped by his cultured patrons and their immediate circles, were still lost on many—with or without plentiful explanation—and so the extent of the understanding of the envisioned meanings of his designs could well, as was earlier intimated, have fallen well below possible expectations. As time went by these intended meanings would, in any case, have dimmed as the efficacy of such references gradually waned, in the same way that the original meanings of comparable earlier schemes likewise diminished as the concerns implicit in their original associations became ever-less pressing.

The situation, later, changed in that façade formats would simply be chosen from a range of now-acceptable possibilities, and design choices would also become more predictable. Individual schemes were no longer exceptional, since they often bore similarities with other—perhaps several other—works from the not-so-distant past, and so the mere resemblance to another design became much less noteworthy, while considerations relating to a composition's ancestry or the derivations of particular forms and motifs, let alone to a building's notional relationship with the antique, became ever less important. The meanings of these buildings, therefore, were no longer so reliant on such concerns; and this would be made abundantly clear, for example, by the justification of the design of Ver-

97 Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, I, 520: 'a' di nostri l'architectura sia molto svegliata, e ridutta assai proxima alla maniera delli antichi, come si vede per molte belle opera di Bramante'.

sailles as was set out by Charles Perrault (1628–1703) in 1688.[98] Perrault maintained that the Le Vau and Hardouin-Mansart scheme for the garden frontage had no ancient equivalent, and he simply ignored the modern precedents that it undoubtedly had, taking the view that a building's merits were not dependent on any imitation of the past. For him, the achievement and significance of Versailles, and thus its meanings, were the products—by implicit comparison with innumerable other buildings—of its orderliness, size and quality of construction, which he considered to be outward displays of the French king's power and magnificence. Questions of precise formal derivation, therefore, were similarly of little consequence for the architects, who, apart from deciding on the long-established two-storey-plus-attic format and the employment of arches only below with columns and pilasters above, saw no need to endow the design with very many additional embellishments.

Equipping an architectural work, such as the Palazzo Caprini façade, with renewed significance could be achieved in many ways, but this invariably involved discounting or forgetting the historical circumstances of its original creation. One possibility was to accord it a new importance by calling attention to it in a new way, which in the case of Palazzo Caprini was effected very early on by publishing the façade design as a print that was later included with images of other modern palaces in a compendium of miscellaneous Roman subjects,[99] thereby bringing it to much wider attention, allowing it to be understood in a new context, and conferring it with new meanings in respect, for example, to Rome's ongoing resurgence or the advancement of architecture more generally.

A more considered strategy, however, which is well suited to much more recent ways of thinking, has been to cast a scheme in a new context simply by writing about it and presenting it as a premier example of a particular historical phase or a more general cultural outlook. Thus a work such as the Palazzo Caprini façade can be exemplified and characterized, for example, as a manifestation

98 Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes; en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences* (Paris, 1688); discussed in Maarten Delbecke, 'The modern mindset: The brothers Perrault on architecture', in Andrew Hopkins ed., *Early Modern Architecture: Mindset*, forthcoming.

99 The print was sold, along with many others of Roman subjects, to collectors either separately or in the compilation *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*. On the compilation, see Christian Hülsen, 'Das *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* des Antonio Lafreri', in *Collectanea varìae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki bibliopolae Florentino* (Munich, 1921), 121–70; and Peter W. Parshall, 'Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*', in *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006), 3–28. For wider perspectives, see Rebecca Zorach ed., *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the* Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae (Chicago, 2008).

of the 'Renaissance',[100] but such a categorization will bring with it a tendency to accentuate the supposedly 'Renaissance' inclinations of the scheme's architect, and confer on it an *a priori* meaning dependent on such a view.[101] In this manner, the Palazzo Caprini façade can come to be understood as a 'Renaissance' scheme, and as exemplifying all those characteristics—of order, rationality and revivalist vocabulary—that we are told 'Renaissance' schemes should possess; but this takes little account of any very closely attuned historical perspectives relating to Bramante's specific intentions, or to the actual design decisions that he took.

An analogous strategy is to confer on a particular scheme the accolade of it belonging to the 'classical' tradition, but such a notion can be especially problematic. Having initially gained wide acceptance in the eighteenth century,[102] when it referred to the most commendable forms of writing,[103] the term was applied to architecture only in the nineteenth century, so that classic or classical architecture could be contrasted with other traditions of ostensibly lesser merit or of a different kind.[104] In today's parlance, the classical tradition will usually refer to the various successive stylistic phases in architecture, from the Renaissance onwards, that can be thought to have a foundation in antiquity;[105] but the trouble is that it can also be used non-historically to denote or imply a fictitious constancy of underlying intention, such as a presumed reliance on the supposedly unchanging rules of the architectural orders, or even as the imagined manifestation of pre-ordained and pre-programmed ideal.[106] Thus, in respect to the Palazzo Caprini façade, it may not be incorrect to understand it, and thereby conceive of its meaning, as a work belonging to the classical tradition, and even as constituting a prominent landmark within this tradition, except that this is not well-grounded historically or particularly illuminating; and to describe it as a 'new classic'—which it has been—in acknowledgment of

100 As above n. 3.

101 As implied when dating the scheme too early in Bramante's career (see above n. 41).

102 See e.g. Jean Hytier, 'The classicism of the classics', in *Yale French Studies* 38 (1967), 5–17 (5–6).

103 The term *classicus* was used in antiquity to distinguish cultivated from proletarian writers (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, Book 19, 8, 15), and was revived in the sixteenth century by French literary theorists; see Salvatore Settis, 'Classical', in Anthony Grafton et al. eds, *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Ma., and London, 2010), 205–06.

104 E.g. Francis E. Scott, *Shall the New Foreign Office be Gothic or Classic?* (London, 1860).

105 Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*. See also e.g. David Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture* (London, 1986), which emphasises 'the continuous validity and vitality of the classical tradition' (8), and includes some brief discussion of Palazzo Caprini (190).

106 Arthur Stratton, *Elements of Form and Design in Classic Architecture* (London, 1925); and, more recently, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (Cambridge, Ma., and London, 1986); Robert Adam, *Classical Architecture: A Complete Handbook* (London, 1990).

the inconvenient fact of its lack of any obvious prototype,[107] has the rather unfortunate effect of making the scheme's compositional character seem predictable and implicitly normal—or even predestined and elect—and thus of being a denial of its modernity and of the architect's creative agency and intentions.

It is the ways in which buildings are perceived and understood that determine their meanings, but, conversely, it is their eventually accepted meanings that condition the manner in which buildings may come to be perceived and understood. The meanings bestowed on them originally will, it should be stressed, invariably differ from those they come to acquire, and those they ultimately acquire will include some which may come to predominate, but which may be distortions or negations of meanings accepted previously. This will be especially true, as it happens, when a building is singled out as having been 'influential', as this will often result in it becoming equipped with meanings that are based, retrospectively, on its similarities with later buildings rather than on the design itself and its formative associations. To characterize the Palazzo Caprini façade as having been influential, for both the Renaissance—when it was already beginning to be perceived in such a way—and beyond, is obviously a conclusion—and a meaning—that is well-justified historically, and one that is frequently promulgated.[108] For it is incontrovertibly true that Bramante's pioneering scheme provided a pattern for the future, being much imitated and establishing a format that would be much reiterated. Yet, to repeat, this is a teleological conferment of meaning, rather than an acknowledgement of Bramante's own creative motivations and the meanings he was intent himself on eliciting, and it does little to distinguish Bramante's design and achievements from those that come later. Nor, for that matter, does it address how Bramante was himself conditioned by the environment in which he was operating and with which he was engaging. It serves, therefore, to interpret Bramante's scheme in the context of future norms, and to obscure just how extraordinary it was when it was created, even implying that its formulation was somehow foreseeable and inevitable. For Bramante himself, having perhaps been prodded by an exceptional set of circumstances that happen not to have been disclosed, the invention of his design allowed him to unbridle his imagination: for it prompted him to dream up a kind of architecture that was at once immensely exciting and previously inconceivable in both form and meaning, regarding it as being perfectly right for this particular moment in an ever-changing architectural world.

107 Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, 42–3.

108 As above n. 3. Paradoxically, it often then becomes difficult to assess a scheme without reference to its future impact.

Gianmario Guidarelli

Chapter Ten
'Citing from Memory': Centralized Models and Basilica Plans in Venice of the Early Counter-Reformation

Venetian religious architecture has always had a very strong memorial component, associated with local spatial models, lighting systems and certain building materials that have been used intermittently for centuries with some significant variations. In two different historical moments, this tradition was renewed and interpreted with a strategy of conscious 'quotation' of elements that were strongly identity-based. The first moment is the transition between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the 'myth of Venice' was by then a consolidated narrative, rich in meaning.[1] The other moment of intense reworking of the Venetian tradition occurs in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Counter-Reformation imposed a profound transformation of church spaces that had remained essentially unchanged for centuries. Venice's response was a creative use of citation, recovering traditional spatial models and identity from its lagoon culture.

The transformation of Venetian churches in the period following the Council of Trent revealed a process of adaptation to the new Tridentine Mass and, more in general, to the architectural principles outlined in 1577, first, by Carlo Borromeo (1538–84). All this while carrying on old traditions of the Venetian lagoon, in particular reusing some spatial models from medieval architecture.[2] In Venice, the adaptation of ecclesiastic architecture occurred with the introduction of more and

1 Giuseppe Valletta ed., *Venezia, 25 marzo 421, Dies Natalis* (Venice, 2022); Hubertus Günther, 'Byzantine Cupolas and the Myth of the "Ancient Origins" of Venice', in Konrad Ottenheym ed., *Romanesque renaissance: Carolingian, Byzantine and Romanesque buildings (800–1200) as a source for new all'antica architecture in early modern Europe (1400–1700)* (Leiden-Boston, 2021), 263–305; Deborah Howard, *The Old, the Antique, and the Venerable in Venetian Renaissance Architecture,* in Georg Christ and Franz-Julius Morche eds, *Cultures of Empire: Rethinking Venetian Rule, 1400–1700. Essays in Honour of Benjamin Arbel* (Leiden-Boston, 2020) 63–89. Some important texts concerning the founding myth of Venice are Nicolò Zen, *Dell'origine di Venetia et antiquissime memorie dei barbari, che distrussero Per tutto'l mondo l'imperio di Roma, onde hebbe principio la città di Venetia* (Venice, 1557); Bernardo Giustiniani, *De Origine urbis Venetorum eorumque gestis libris*, in J. G. Graevius and O.P. Burman eds, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1722), VI, 1.

2 Deborah Howard, *The architectural history of Venice* (New Haven-London, 2017), 209–34.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111477909-011

better diffused interior lighting (with the opening of numerous large, semicircular windows) and especially because of the simplification of ecclesiastical spaces.

It was not just a matter of drastically reducing altars, removing tombs and funerary monuments, and demolishing the partitions that separated the presbytery from the rest of the church. The reorganization of sacred space concerned mainly, and naturally, the evolution of the presbytery. The choir was moved to a position that would no longer block the view of the priest officiating. This brought a desired transformation of the central chapel into a sort of 'sacred theater' in which the Mass becomes a celebration, and representation, of the Eucharist. The architectural conversions were sometimes also much more dramatic, with radical reconstructions of sacred spaces.

This often lead to a real 'emptying' of the building, with the demolition of all the walls (except for those of the perimeter), and the substitution of one spatial model with another, simply preserving some fragments from the previous church. This chapter focuses on the specific replacement of the earlier basilica floor plan with one that included an inscribed Latin Cross. This particular change was an example of a Roman Counter–Reformation formal request that also clearly was still inspired by traditional systems, especially in the Venetian lagoon.

A similar operation had already been proposed in the first half of the sixteenth century by Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) in the reconstruction from 1553 of the church of San Zulian.[3] In this case, the original basilica layout was replaced by a different formal solution, a single big hall. The need to simplify and reorganize the space was what drove the architect's choices. These same principles also came to bear on the transformation of many churches during the third decade of the seventeenth century, promoted by the patriarch, Giovanni Tiepolo (1570–1631). The main strategy that Tiepolo seems to have pursued in the reconstruction of churches was, first of all—and following a long Venetian engineering tradition—that of reusing the perimeter wall of the church or, much more simply, reusing the foundations. These were in fact conditioned by the presence of adjacent buildings that prevented any possible alteration of the external ground plan. This led, therefore, to a radical reorganization of the interior spaces in terms of greater simplicity, transparency and brightness, criteria used to justify the demolition of altars and choir walls in Venetian churches based on the regulations issued by the Apostolic Visitors during their inspections in Venice in 1581.

In this process of readapting liturgical space, the need to open it up, increase the lighting, and improve the acoustic experience was intertwined with another phenom-

3 Valentina Sapienza, *La chiesa di San Zulian a Venezia nel Cinquecento: dalla ricostruzione sansoviniana alle grandi imprese decorative di fine secolo* (Rome, 2018).

enon that was typical of Venetian Renaissance architecture. That is to say, the adoption of spaces of Byzantine origin that were reworked and reinterpreted in a modern sense. The construction of a considerable number of cult buildings developing the spatial model of the quincunx between the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the first three decades of the sixteenth century has been read from time to time as a spatial translation of Neo-Greek humanist models, or as the permanence of traditional local elements linked to the Marcian spatial model.[4]

As is well known, it is a centralized space formed by a Greek cross plan inscribed in a square, with a central dome and four vaulted spaces (with minor domes or cross vaults) on the diagonals, placed in hierarchical relation to each other.

The historiographical debate from time to time reads this phenomenon in terms of 'revival' or 'survival', but to ask to what extent this diffusion of centralized spaces in the early Venetian Renaissance can be linked to a form of conservatism rather than innovation is to adopt categories that risk making one lose the real terms of the question, which is instead, as stated, readable in the light of a web of expectations that the contemporary elaboration of the 'myth of Venice' as a 'new Byzantium' rendered in all its dizzying complexity.

In late sixteenth century Venice, half a century after the end of this phenomenon, the adoption of the quincunx model two generations earlier seems

4 James S. Ackerman, *Observations on Renaissance church planning in Venice and Florence: 1470–1570*, in Sergio Bertelli ed., *Florence and Venice. Comparisons and relations*, 2 vols (Florence, 1980), II, 287–307; Carole E. Burns, 'San Salvatore and Venetian Church architecture: 1490–1530' (PhD thesis, New York University, 1986); Ennio Concina, 'San Marco, Costantinopoli e il primo Rinascimento veneziano: "traditio magnificentiae"', in Renato Polacco ed., *Storia dell'arte marciana. L'architettura* (Venice, 1997), 15–38; Wolfgang Wolters, 'San Marco e l'architettura del Rinascimento veneziano', in Polacco ed., *Storia dell'arte marciana*, 248–54; Ennio Concina, 'Giorgio Vasari, Francesco Sansovino e la "maniera greca"', in Ennio Concina et al eds, *Hadriatica, attorno a Venezia e al medioevo tra arti, storia e storiogafia; scritti in onore di Wladimiro Dorigo* (Venice, 2002), 89–96; Hubertus Günther, 'Geschichteeiner Gründungsgeschichte: San Giacomo di Rialto, San Marco und die venezianische Renaissance', in Annelies Amberger ed., *Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam: Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen zum 65. Geburtstag* (St. Ottilien, 1997), 231–60; Ralph Lieberman, 'Venetian church architecture around 1500', in *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 19 (1977), 35–48; Manfredo Tafuri, '"Pietas" repubblicana, neobizantinismo e umanesimo: Giorgio Spavento e Tullio Lombardo nella chiesa di San Salvador', in *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 19 (1983), 5–36; Wladimir Timofiewitsch, 'Genesi e struttura della Chiesa del Rinascimento Veneziano', in *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 6 (1964), 271–82; Bertrand Jestaz, *Monuments vénitiens de la première Renaissance, à la lumière des documents* (Paris, 2017) Gianmario Guidarelli, *Evocazioni bizantine nella architettura veneziana del Rinascimento*, in Sabine Frommel, Pierre Gonneau eds., *Les chrétientés orthodoxes post-byzantines face à l'Europe de la Réforme et des Temps Modernes 1450–1700* (Rome, 2022), 81–93.

to be strongly linked to the ducal chapel of San Marco (Fig. 10.1) Indeed, Francesco Sansovino (1521–83) pointed to the basilica's 'middle *cuba*' as a model for the Romanesque building of Santa Maria Formosa, and for the modern ones of San Salvador (Fig. 10.2) and Santa Maria Mater Domini. For Sansovino, therefore, the 'Greek manner' of San Marco's architecture is not only a characteristic of its origins, but continued to resonate throughout the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, without interruption. On the other hand, in the Middle Ages, nine churches had been built adopting a centralized plan (at least a Latin cross with a dome, perhaps integrated into a quincunx system), and of these at

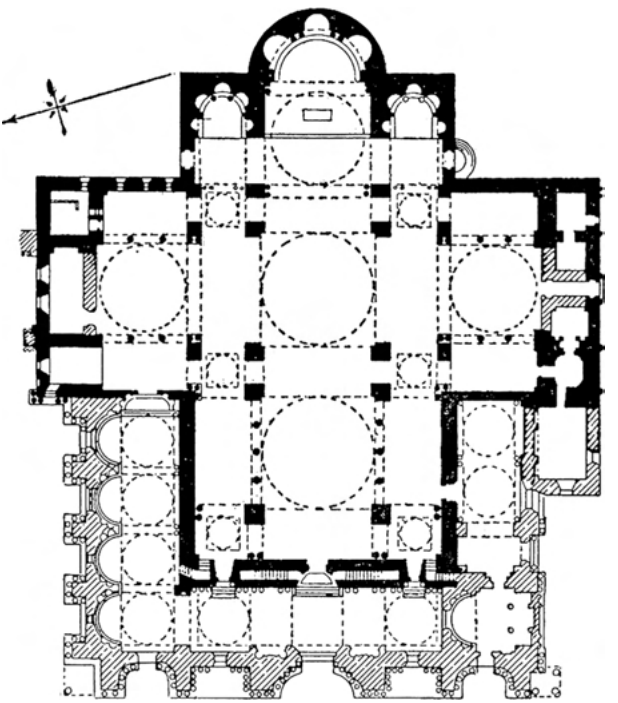

Fig. 10.1: Venice, church of San Marco (photo: Otto Demus, The church of San Marco in Venice: history, architecture, sculpture, Washington D.C. 1960, plate?).

least five retained this model during reconstruction in Early Modern times: San Felice (1123), San Geminiano (1172–78), San Giovanni Confessore or Elemosinario (ante 1051), San Giovanni Crisostomo, Santa Maria Mater Domini (1149), San Giovanni in Oleo (ante 1152).

Yet, there is no single prototype because Venetian Renaissance architects were also inspired by San Giacomo di Rialto (Fig. 10.3). The history of San Giacomo,

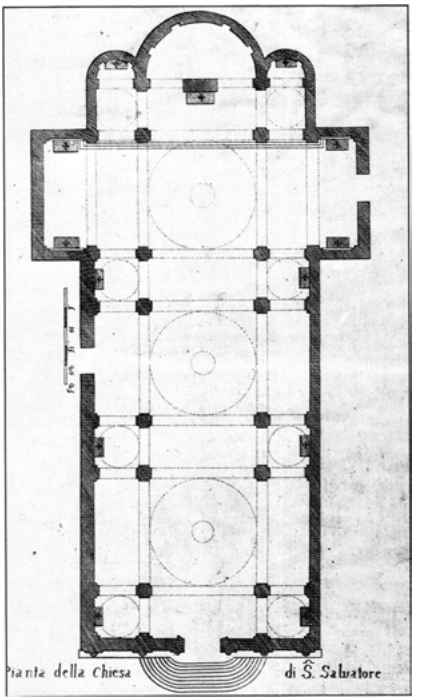

Fig. 10.2: Venice, church of San Salvador (photo: https://www.pellizzarimichele.it/blog/chiesa-di-san-salvador-venezia [accessed 2.7.2024]).

according to legend, is linked to the origins of Venice. The church was undoubtedly rebuilt in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century but has retained its general features virtually intact. The central domed space is located at the junction of the nave and transept (both covered with a barrel vault), but also generates four square-shaped, covered peripheral bays on the diagonals. This system developed to the east with three straight-ended chapels and towards the entrance with a further bay, thus determining the overall shape of a three-aisled basilica with a slightly protruding transept, cross-vaulted aisles at the sides and external portico. The central core of the church can thus be read as a centralized space with a basilical appendage.[5]

It is possible to identify an undoubted continuity through the Middle Ages of similar solutions, but without necessarily stressing whether the model for the projects of the early Venetian Renaissance was the Marciana or Realtine one. It is in

5 Dante Luigi Gardani, *La chiesa di S. Giacomo di Rialto: storia e arte* (Venice, 1966); Michela Agazzi et al eds, *Layers of Venice, architecture, arts and antiquities at Rialto* (Venice, 2023), with essays by Isabella Cecchini, Dorothy Collins, Luca Siracusano, Lorenzo Lazzarini, Nicolas Moucheront.

Fig. 10.3: Venice, church of San Giacomo di Rialto (photo: Francesco Turio Böhm).

fact a clearly memorial spatial cell linked to a tradition understood in its perennial renewal, which developed without the need for a single (i.e. unanimously and perennially shared) starting point. This approach, which would have the advantage of taking into account the plurality and complexity of the Venetian mentality, is confirmed by cases in which, with reasonable certainty, the reconstruction of churches in quincunx took up the plan of the pre-existing building. In this way, San Giacometto and San Marco constitute the matrix for a typological line of succession that would be delineated in subsequent centuries, with the construction of numerous churches (especially parish churches) on a central plan. The replication of the two models (San Giacometto and San Marco) does not exclude the adoption of numerous variants for planimetric solutions, in the supporting structures and, finally, in the roofing system with the use of a vast set of possible vaults or flat ceiling shapes, adapted from time to time in specific cases.

The architect who best interprets this creative way of quoting spatial models from the lagoon tradition is certainly Mauro Codussi (*c.*1444–1504) in the churches of San Giovanni Crisostomo and Santa Maria Formosa (Figs 10.4 and 10.5).[6] In both of

6 Loredana Olivato Puppi and Lionello Puppi, *Mauro Codussi* (Milan, 1977), 110–22, 206–8.

these cases, the reconstruction of the church probably took up a pre-existing plan, renewed, however, by adapting a very 'reduced' and abstract form of the architectural orders. Codussi hinges the space of the quincunx (the subject of cloning from

Fig. 10.4: Venice, church of San Giovanni Crisostomo (photo: Francesco Turio Böhm).

Fig. 10.5: Venice, church of Santa Maria Formosa (photo: Wikimedia commons / Didier Descouens, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Santa_Maria_Formosa_Altare.jpg [accessed 2.7.2024]).

time to time) in a frame of vertical elements (pillars, columns, semi-columns) and horizontal elements (entablatures and cornices), marking—with an iconic two-colour scheme—the coexistence of linear and spatial elements (bays, walls, domes, vaults).

In addition to these two specific cases, Codussi was significantly the figure responsible for an overall rethinking of the Venetian architectural tradition, especially (but not exclusively) in cult buildings, also renewing the lagoon version of basilica layouts as well as intervening on one of the façade models most linked to the city's memories. This is especially the case in three churches: San Michele in Isola, San Giovanni Crisostomo and San Zaccaria.[7] San Michele in Isola was the first test case for this experiment in synthesis between planimetric models belonging to the local tradition and the use of a language of orders that for the first time appears consistently to be perceived and conceived in its tectonic consistency as a space-generating frame.[8] At San Michele, in particular, Codussi resolved the need to preserve a large part of the perimeter of the pre-existing church, combining a three-nave layout (marked by wide arches on columns) with a presbytery formed by two barrel-vaulted side chapels, and a central one covered by a dome on pendentives. Although the direct model of a presbytery covered with a dome on pendentives was evidently the Lombard model of the Cappella Moro at San Giobbe (erected as early as 1470), the derivation from the central dome of San Marco would be confirmed by the ribbed windows still visible in its original state portrayed in the 1500 view of Jacopo de' Barbari (1460–1516) (Fig. 10.6).[9]

The façade is divided vertically by four prominent members, and divided horizontally into two portions by two superimposed architectural orders. The surface of the lower one is entirely covered with rusticated Istrian stone. This rustication also covers the shafts of the four pilasters that frame two lateral, centred windows and the portal, respectively. The upper part of the façade consists of a trilobate structure, formed by a central canopy with a semi-circular pediment and two lateral semi-circular arched pediments, the cornice of which overlaps the shafts of the central pilasters, compromising the continuity of the pilasters. In contrast to the lower part, the surface here is entirely covered in marble, inter-

7 Richard V. Schofield, 'A deconstruction of San Michele in Isola in Venice', in *Romanesque renaissance*, 217–40; Pietro Paoletti, *L' architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia: ricerche storico-artistiche*, 2 vols (Venice, 1893–97), I, 164–73; Vittorio Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1962); Marcello Brusegan et al eds, *San Michele in Isola. Isola della conoscenza: ottocento anni di storia e cultura camaldolesi nella laguna di Venezia* (Turin, 2012); Jestaz, *Monuments vénitiens*, 57–112 for the fullest discussion.

8 Margaret Plant, 'Mauro Codussi: the presence of the past in Venetian Renaissance architecture', in *Arte veneta* 38 (1984), 9–22, at 9.

9 Jestaz, *Monuments vénitiens*, 31, 39–40.

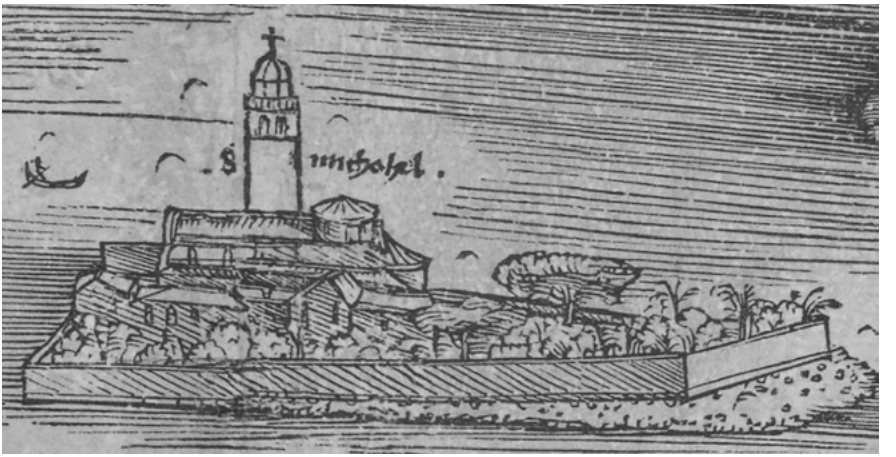

Fig. 10.6: Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, 1500, detail with church of San Michele in Isola (photo: La pianta prospettica di Venezia del 1500 disegnata da Jacopo de' Barbari (facsimile Venice 1962) detail).

rupted only by a few elements in Istrian stone (two shells in the lateral half-gables and a rosette in the centre). The composition of the façade may be influenced by the precedent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) of the 1450s, but it is less likely to be Tempio Malatestiano influenced by the unrealized project for the mixtilinear crowning of the façade of the Tempio Malatestiano which Codussi would only have known about thanks to the medal of Matteo de' Pasti (*c.*1412–68).[10] Yet, most recent studies have identified models that are not foreign but local: the Venetian churches take part of a scenario in which Alberti's design for the church in Rimini and the façades of Sant'Andrea della Zirada, Sant'Aponal and San Giovanni in Bragora, are linked to Adriatic examples such as that at Muggia.[11] The prototype of this typological line is, once again, Venetian. The fourteenth-century crowning of the façade of San Marco, which was taken up in monumental forms in the cathedral of Šibenik (designed by Giorgio da Sebenico (*c.*1410–75) in 1441 or, more probably, by Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino (1418–1506?), from 1475.[12]

10 Puppi and Puppi, *Codussi*, cit., 19, 28, 31.

11 Lieberman, *Renaissance architecture*, cit., 15 and plate 10. Gianmario Guidarelli, 'The Church of San Giacomo di Rialto in the Sixteenth Century: Architecture and Founding Myth of the City', in *Layers of Venice*, 47–56.

12 Puppi and Puppi, *Codussi*, cit., 20–30; Howard, 'San Michele in Isola', in *L'invention de la Renaissance*, 27–42; Paola Modesti, '"El tempio di sovra": note sulla storia e sul significato del coro-

Returning to the spatial model of the *quincunx*, the first decade of the sixteenth century was a moment when the reinterpretation of this planimetric scheme seems to have taken place with great design creativity and explicit ideological intent. At San Geminiano (whose reconstruction by Bartolomeo dal Legname was began in 1505), the adoption of the Byzantine spatial model probably followed the pre-existing layout.

In the case of San Giovanni Elemosinario (Fig. 10.7), rebuilt after a fire in 1514, the strong perimeter constraints certainly forced Antonio Abbondi (1475?–1549), known as lo Scarpagnino to re-use the pre-existing foundations. Within the perimeter, however, the *proto* drew up a spatial system that echoed the solution of San Nicolò di Castello, by associating a quincunx main space where the principal dome was cloned to cover the presbytery.[13]

Fig. 10.7: Venice, church of San Giovanni Elemosinario (photo: Wikimedia commons / Orlando Paride, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_Giovanni_Elemosinario_(Venice)_-_Interior.jpg [accessed 2.7.2024]).

namento mistilineo nell'architettura veneziana', in *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 42 (2006), 47–76. Jestaz, *Monuments vénitiens*, 31 for Muggia.

13 Donatella Calabi and Paolo Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il ponte (1514–1591)* (Turin, 1987); Roberto Cessi and Annibale Alberti, *Rialto. L'isola, il ponte, il mercato* (Bologna, 1934).

The Venetians' ability to fuse typological innovations and continuity of traditional models is most evident when new types of centralized spaces are invented in the early seventeeth century, echoing and quoting the quincunx solution. This happened with the construction of a great number of single hall churches and environments with single central naves with side chapels, and a significant case is the church of San Beneto (Fig. 10.8).[14] The church, founded in the tenth century, was rebuilt in 1167 with an arrangement that, according to Benjamin Paul, consisted of a three nave structure, with three chapels, the central one of which was preceded by a wooden choir.

Fig. 10.8: Venice, church of San Beneto (photo: Francesco Turio Böhm).

In 1619 a reconstruction of the church was begun by Patriarch Tiepolo, and it included the demolition of the rows of columns supporting the clerestory wall and of the wooden choir, the reorganization of the interior altars and the conversion of part of the area of the medieval church for other functions. The unknown ar-

14 Benjamin Paul, 'Jacopo Tintoretto and the church of San Benedetto in Venice', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 49 (2005), 377–412.

chitect of the San Beneto reconstruction transformed a previously longitudinal structure into a centric one, with the addition of a new façade. In this space, three of the four walls are articulated to form a protruding chapel that is framed, in turn, by two wall portions each of which houses an altar.

The model for this space is sansovinian—the sacristy of San Francesco della Vigna, San Martino—but in the hierarchy of the chapels that follow the articulated walls, it also alludes to the quincunx scheme of San Marco, virtually projected on the walls by means of the lesene. This was a revival of a traditional Venetian model, adapted here to the new liturgical requirements of uniformity of space, but also to be able to place altars more neatly on the walls. A similar operation was undertaken at the church of San Bartolomeo (Fig. 10.9). In fact, the vicarial church—directly dependent on the Patriarch of Venice—was rebuilt in 1620 by Giovanni Tiepolo, returning to a sixteenth-century project that had been interrupted.

Fig. 10.9: Venice, church of San Bartolomeo (photo: Francesco Turio Böhm).

The unknown architect of San Bartolomeo 'emptied' the pre-existing basilica structure, with its three squarish presbyterial chapels, but kept the perimeter

walls.[15] This architect thus implemented a plan that presented an inscribed Latin cross, with a raised but non-protruding transept. Even in this case, the new space seems to recall a model from the Venetian Middle Ages, translated into the language of the architectural orders: the inscribed Latin cross structure of the churches of SS Maria e Donato at Murano, and of that of San Salvador at Rialto. The reorganization of the space of the church of San Bartolomeo was prompted by the decision of the Apostolic Visitation of 1581, which insisted on the demolition of the partition, and a reduction in the number of altars.

The reconstruction began, as was usual, with the presbytery, which, given the different dimensions of the chapels, already represented the spatial hierarchy of the church in its final reconstruction. Starting from this constraint, by 1595 even the transept was built. The inclusion of the transept, in the context of the general reconstruction of the church, is the most innovative element. The documents show that it had been necessary to obtain a dedicated space for the many brotherhoods, which, cohabiting within the church, rendered it less messy and indecent looking. The architect was to build the end chapels and the transept, raised above the body of the nave, where members of the various confraternities housed in the church could sit.

This new architectural element, therefore, was located where it was in order to respond to at least two of the requirements imposed by the new Tridentine Mass. First, the visibility of the altar, which thanks to the new space is housed in front of the transept and became the visual focus of the church; second, the simplification of the interior space of church, with the definition of areas for specialized functions.

Carlo Borromeo in *Istructiones Fabricae* did not write explicitly about the transept, not giving this space its own functional autonomy; but in San Bartolomeo, the adoption of a transept for this church that previously had none solved many functional and liturgical problems. For this reason, similar operations found immediate success in the Venetian lagoon area. In fact, this plan was adopted in the reconstruction first of the parish church of San Martino in Burano, and of two cathedrals: Santa Maria Assunta at Chioggia from the mid-1620s and San Pietro di Castello in Venice.

In these cases, recalling planimetric models from the lagoon tradition in the form of revival is a practice that seems to have established itself in an increasingly conscious and meaningful manner during the seventeenth the century.

The Venetian cathedral of San Pietro di Castello, in its Romanesque reconstruction was a big basilica divided in three aisles by pillars of brick alternating

15 Gianmario Guidarelli, 'La ricostruzione seicentesca della chiesa di San Bortolomio', in Martina Frank ed., *Da Longhena a Selva: un'idea di Venezia a dieci anni dalla scomparsa di Elena Bassi* (Bologna, 2011), 29–49.

with columns, and with a tri-apsidal end.[16] The main chapel was raised on nine steps to leave space for a wide crypt below, while the two side chapels, which terminated in extrados apses, must have been aligned with the aisles. The chancel was closed by a '*coro aperto*' (open choir) with a screen supporting a large trabeation with a crucifix and the apostles above.

In the reconstruction the church, promoted by Giovanni Tiepolo, Giovanni Girolamo Grappiglia (*c.*1572–1621) reused the perimeter foundations of the medieval building, extracting a Latin cross plan from the original basilical one, with three naves divided by a series of pillars (Fig. 10.10). The transformation of the medieval space into a structure regulated by architectural orders involved the use of Corinthian lesene set up against the pillars that frame the lateral nave access arches, themselves set up against lesene of a minor order.

Fig. 10.10: Venice, church of San Pietro di Castello (photo: Gianmario Guidarelli).

16 Michel Hochmann et al eds, *La chiesa di San Pietro di Castello e la nascita del patriarcato di Venezia* (Venice, 2018); Gianmario Guidarelli, *I patriarchi di Venezia e l'architettura: la cattedrale di San Pietro di Castello nel Rinascimento* (Padua, 2015).

A series of cross vaults along the main nave becomes, at the crossing, simplified into the form of a barrel vault that proceeds on axis into the main chapel and perpendicularly into the two transept arms. A great dome atop a tholobate is set over the junction of the main nave and the transepts. This roofing system, which required a thickening of the perimeter walls, allowed the opening of large thermal windows in the main nave, in the side walls of the main chapel, and in the end walls of the transepts and side chapels. The spatial solutions adopted by Grappiglia were clearly inspired by the Palladian model of San Giorgio Maggiore. In the absence of major structural problems or damage caused by any traumatic events, the reason that seems to have inspired reconstructions of this sort was that of wanting a complete renewal of the sacred space. This included better lighting and more modern architectural solutions, beginning with a raised presbytery over the crypt, later demolished along with the columned *transenna* that blocked the view of the main altar. However, the arrangement of choir stalls behind the high altar remained, according to a model which became part of Counter-Reformation architectural practice. Thus, memory of the previous disposition coexists with the new requirements of visibility and simplification, as desired by the Council of Trent.

Also in this case, the adoption of the transept can be explained, first of all, with the needs of a functional reorganization of the church. As can be seen from Arzenti's view of Venice—confirmed by a GPR survey in the area below the dome—the presbytery of the new church was added to the body of the medieval one. Here, in fact, are the walls of the new presbytery, with thermal windows. The dimensions of the building coincide with those of the pre-existing one as determined by the surviving facade. In fact, Grappiglia's design, was heavily influenced by the presence of pre-existing walls on the south side (the patriarchal palace) and the west side (the façade built by Francesco Smeraldi (*c*.1592–1631) directly onto the medieval wall). On the northern front, however, the perimeter of the new church was constrained by the presence of the Lando chapel next to a yard, and by the chapel of Francesco Vendramin (1555–1619), already erected in 1620. The original plan of the chapel was an important restriction on Grappiglia's design, because the width of the chapel and the position of the longitudinal axis form two restrictions essential to the size of the new transept in relation to the plan of the church as a whole. On this alignment, however, there were other elements that Grappiglia could not move, such as the doors on the south wall of the cloister and the door of the sacristy, in line with the door of the cemetery on the northern wall. The shape and size of the transept is conditioned by all these restrictions in the design for the reorganization of the sacred space. The transept, other than opening up a space in front of the high altar—as it does in S. Bartolomeo—also created a monumental access to the presbytery under the dome. At this time the main altar was dedicated to the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, but the visual function of the transept

would become even more apparent once, from the 1670s, the whole chapel was converted to the cult of San Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381–1456), becoming a kind of state sanctuary.

The reuse of the inscribed Latin cross model, like an operation of architectural revival, is in line with Patriarch Tiepolo's extensive literary and hierological production, focused on the Counter-Reformative renewal of devotional, religious and historical traditions of Venice. Deborah Walberg's research demonstrates that this attitude influenced also his activity as patron of the arts.[17] It is, in fact, in this sense that a remarkable congruence between Tiepolo's creation of a series of eleven altars in Venetian churches and his theoretic reflections on the altar as a holy center because of the miraculous virtue of its relics can be found. In this sense, the adoption of an architectural model of the Venetian tradition for church reconstructions not only solves functional problems, but also adheres to the new liturgical and spatial standards of the Counter-Reformation. It therefore became a crucial aspect of his personality, in all of its complex mix of artistic patronage, theological culture, pastoral activity and political interest and involvement. For his role as a patron of architecture, Tiepolo reached, using an expression of the late Gaetano Cozzi (1922–2001) the 'ideal unity of the Venetian church', with programmatic adherence to the city's century-old traditions.

17 Deborah Walberg, 'Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo and the search for venetian religious identity in the waning of Renaissance', in Benjamin Paul ed., *Celebrazione e autocritica, la Serenissima e la ricerca dell'identità veneziana nel tardo Cinquecento* (Venice, 2014), 233–52.

Hubertus Günther

Chapter Eleven
Old Forms with New Functions: Villa Emo and the Amtshaus Wörlitz

Culture at the Court of Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau in Wörlitz

The subject of this chapter involves one of the courts of the central German *duodec* (twelve) princes, which had minimal importance in terms of political power, but which acted as an important cultural centre. The court of Duke Carl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1757–1828) in Weimar, where Goethe (1749–1832), Schiller (1759–1805), Herder (1744–1803), Wieland (1733–1813) and others worked is well known. The court of Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817), which was close to it, acted as a kind of counterpart. The official residence was in Dessau. The prince established a country residence for himself in the village of Wörlitz. The courts of Weimar and Anhalt-Dessau were closely connected. The two rulers often visited each other with their entourages. So, Goethe was often in Wörlitz and Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736–1800), the renowned architect of Franz of Anhalt-Dessau, in Weimar. Duke Carl August even erected a monument to Franz of Anhalt-Dessau in his palace park on the river Ilm. But the mindsets of the two rulers were different.

Dessau-Wörlitz was distinguished among Central European autocracies as a stronghold of enlightenment and liberalism.[1] England and Switzerland were role models. A contemporary, Friedrich Reil (1772–1849), reported on Franz of Anhalt-Dessau: 'The prince's plan on the whole and on a large scale was this: first the necessary and useful, the material and physical; then the spiritual, moral and religious; finally all that by which the beautiful arts [. . .] proceed and win people over'.[2] The prince emphasized that his government should serve the welfare of the people, and he was actively engaged in an efficient economy and the education of the citizens; he organized a progressive agricultural system and, together with the important educationalist Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–90), he carried out an equally progressive school reform. He was also particularly interested in architecture. He destined Wör-

1 Erhard Hirsch, *Die Dessau-Wörlitzer Reformbewegung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Personen, Strukturen, Wirkungen* (Tübingen, 2003). Idem, *Kleine Schriften zu Dessau-Wörlitz* (Wettin, 2011).
2 Friedrich Reil, *Leopold Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau nach seinem Wesen und Wirken* (Dessau, 1845), 28.

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litz as a showpiece of architecture, avant-garde culture and education. It was there that he created a centre of Neo-Palladianism with Erdmannsdorff. The celebrated art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68) also was connected to Franz of Anhalt-Dessau.[3] The exuberant enthusiasm for Andrea Palladio (1508–80) that drove Goethe to Vicenza in 1786 was certainly influenced by Wörlitz.[4] Goethe described the principality as a 'well-administered and at the same time externally decorated country' and praised the 'taste in architecture' that prevailed there.[5]

The prince's manor house in Wörlitz (1769–73) and its park (from 1769) are renowned as examples of English Neo-Palladian style (Fig. 11.1).[6] Franz of Anhalt-Dessau and Erdmannsdorff knew England from several long journeys, during which they had visited many representatives of the English landed gentry.[7] The exterior appearance of the manor house they built is indebted to the latest English country houses in the Neo-Palladian style. The front is ostentatiously similar to Claremont House (begun 1768). While the Wörlitz manor house is significantly more modest than these splendid English aristocratic residences, the park has the same quality as the best English gardens of its time. It has the advantage of being instructive and educational. It includes several small museums of ancient and medieval art and ethnography.[8]

The Wörlitz manor house is only reminiscent of the English model on the outside, while the interior was designed in a hybrid style. Italy constituted an important second focal point. A contemporary reported that Erdmannsdorff 'intended to marry ancient Roman taste with the modern Italian and English' taste in the manor house.[9] Franz of Anhalt-Dessau had also visited Italy with Erdmannsdorf on his Grand Tour

3 Sascha Kansteiner ed., *Revolution des Geschmacks: Winckelmann, Fürst Franz von Anhalt-Dessau und das Schloss zu Wörlitz* (exh. cat. Wörlitz-Halle, 2017).

4 Hubertus Günther, 'Goethe begegnet Palladio', in *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts* (2020) 76–120.

5 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* II 8. (Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt. I, vol. 27, Weimar 1887), 183.

6 Ulla Jablonowski and Lutz Reichhoff, *Dessau-Wörlitzer Kulturlandschaft* (Leipzig, 1992). Frank-Andreas Bechtoldt and Thomas Weiss eds, *Weltbild Wörlitz. Entwurf einer Kulturlandschaft* (Ostfildern-Ruit, 1996). Ina Mittelstädt, *Wörlitz. Weimar. Mauskau. Der Landschaftsgarten als Medium des Hochadels (1760–1840)* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2015). Ingo Pfeifer ed., *Schloss Wörlitz. Architektur, Interieur, Sammlungen, Bewohner. Das Landhaus des Fürsten Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817)* (Halle, 2017). Elisabeth Rüber-Schütte and Heike Tenzer eds, *Leopold III. Friedrich Franz—sein Gesamtkunstwerk nach 250 Jahren* (Halle, 2021). Elisabeth Rüber-Schütte ed., *Schloss Wörlitz. 20 Jahre Restaurierung des Gründungsbauwerks des deutschen Klassizismus* (Halle, 2022).

7 1763 first tour to England, 1765–68 Grand Tour to England, France and Italy, tour to England 1775 together with his wife Louise.

8 Pantheon for antiquity, *Gotisches Haus* (Gothic House) for the Middle Ages, Pavillon at Eisenhart for the ethnographic collection of Georg Forster acquired in 1775.

9 August Rode, *Leben des Herrn Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff* (Dessau, 1801), 19.

Fig. 11.1: Princely country house of Franz of Anhalt-Dessau at Wörlitz (photo: Günther).

in 1765–6. The large banqueting hall in the manor was painted following the model of the Galleria Farnese; the atrium, which leads to it from the main entrance, is designed on the model of Palladio's Convento della Carità, which Goethe praised due to its direct inspiration from the ancient house, as described by Vitruvius, stating that it would have been the most beautiful building in the Occident if it had been completed.[10] The façade of the 'Summer Hall' next to the manor house is similar to the garden façade of the Villa Madama, as represented by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) in his book on ancient buildings.[11] The front of the 'Gothic Home' in the English Garden is similar to the church of St Maria dell'Orto in Venice. The theatre in Dessau palace was modelled on the Teatro Olimpico, which was considered to be Palladio's main work in Vicenza, after the Basilica.[12]

The manor house and the English Garden are only one part of Wörlitz's architecture, which was primarily aimed at the refined elite. The other part was destined, first of all, to the needs of the population and the administration of the country, which according to Friedrich Reil and others, stood at the centre of Franz of Anhalt-Dessau's interests. The prince instructed Erdmannsdorff to build several large

10 Günther, 'Goethe begegnet Palladio', 100–04.
11 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice, 1540), 149.
12 Helmut Müller, *Die Frühzeit des Dessauer Hoftheaters* (Halle, 1939), 30–47.

churches in Wörlitz and other places, all in the German neo-Gothic style (Fig. 11.17), and other buildings in the Palladian style, i.e. directly derived from Palladio's work, such as a small but perfectly designed primary school close to Wörlitz (in Griesen) and the Amtshaus (bailiff's office) at the entrance to Wörlitz (Fig. 11.18).[13]

The Amtshaus, built by Erdmannsdorff in 1783–7, was the most important administrative building in Wörlitz. It constituted the highlight of architecture derived directly from Palladio. In contrast to the manor house, it is of little renown today because it has been heavily altered since the middle of the nineteenth century: The main building was enlarged with the addition of annexes on both sides (around 1864) and the two separate side wings were demolished (1947) (Fig. 11.2). But the original appearance of the Amtshaus can still be imagined, because Heinrich Friedrich von Bruiningk (1773–1850), a courtier of Anhalt-Dessau, described

Fig. 11.2: Amtshaus (guildhall) of Wörlitz, front view, present state (photo: Günther).

13 Marie-Luise Harksen, *Landkreis Dessau-Köthen, Stadt, Schloss und Park Wörlitz. Die Kunstdenkmale des Landes Anhalt*, vol. 2, part 2 (Burg am Main, 1939). Harald Kleinschmidt and Thomas Bufe, *Dessau-Wörlitzer Gartenreich. Denkmalverzeichnis Sachsen-Anhalt* (Halle, 1997), 184–239. Horst Dauer, *Kirchen im Dessauer-Wörlitzer Gartenreich* (Dessau, 2000). Thomas Weiss, *Kirchen im Dessau-Wörlitzer Gartenreich* (Munich, 2001).

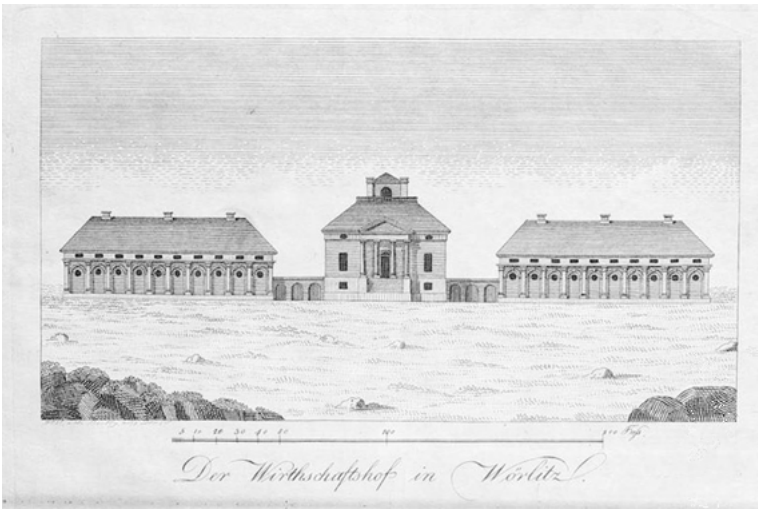


Fig. 11.3a: Heinrich Friedrich von Bruiningk Amtshaus of Wörlitz, elevation, 1808 (photo: Günther).

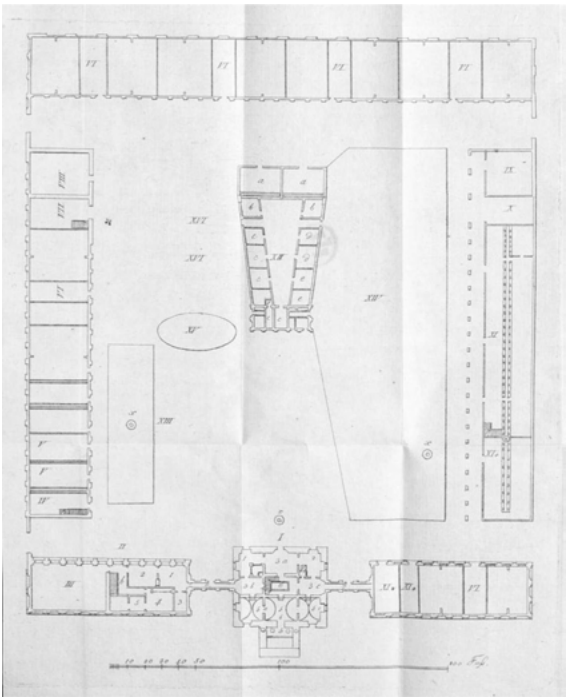


Fig. 11.3b: Heinrich Friedrich von Bruiningk Amtshaus of Wörlitz, ground plan, 1808 (photo: Günther).

Fig. 11.4: Amtshaus of Wörlitz, side wing, photo before 1947 (source: H. Kleinschmidt, A. Stahl, *Das Amt Wörlitz. Geschichte und Baugeschichte* [Halle, 2021]).

Fig. 11.5: Amtshaus of Wörlitz, rear farmyard, wings at the country road (photo: Günther).

it in 1808 and illustrated the ground plan and elevation of the front façade (Figs. 11.3).[14] The appearance of the side wings has been preserved in surviving remains and in old photographs (Figs. 11.4–11.5). The Amtshaus is currently being accurately restored with the aim of recovering its original appearance.

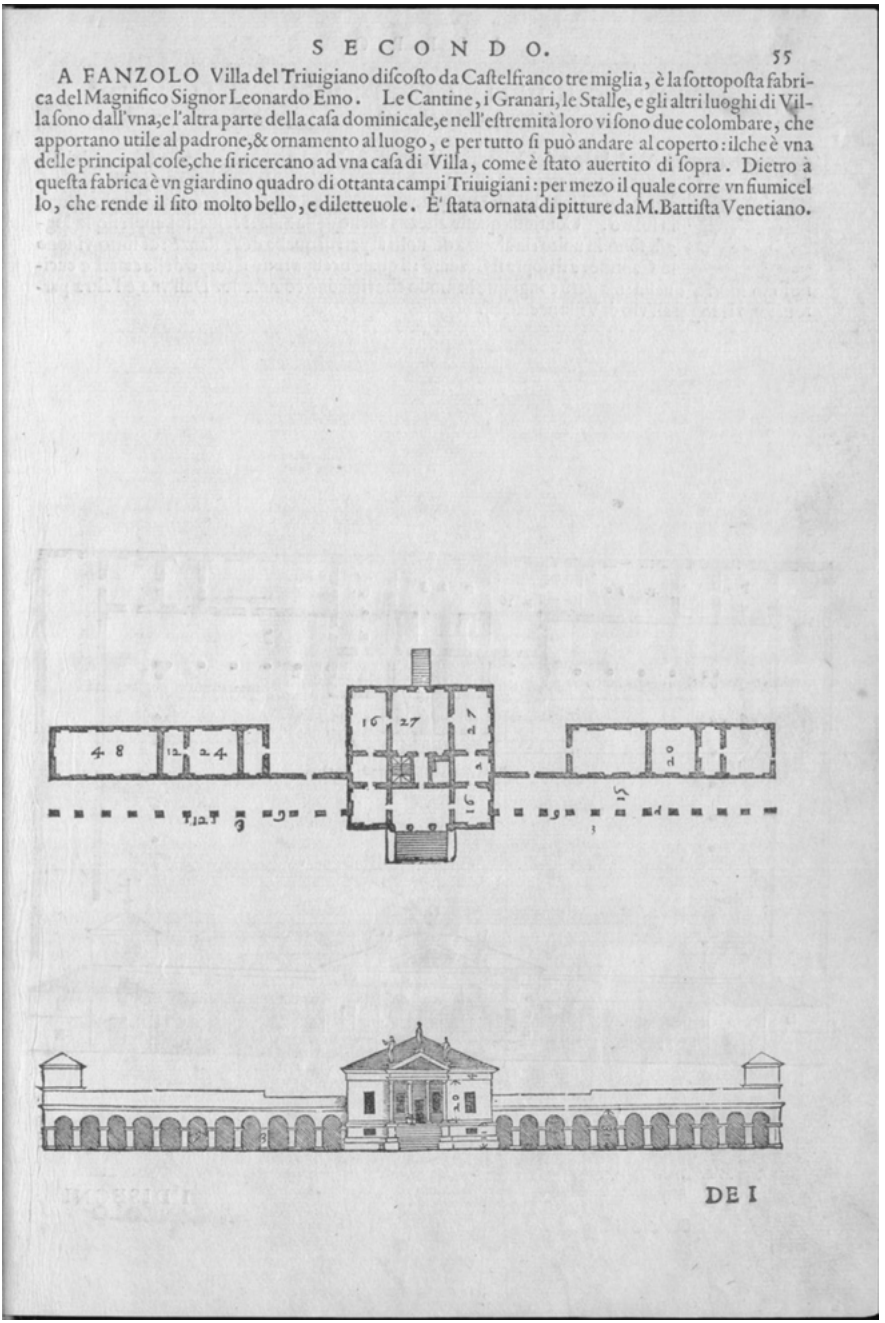
The Amtshaus was to serve as the administrative centre of the Amt of Wörlitz and also as a farmyard.[15] Its most important function was as a place of jurisdiction. It constituted a counterpart to the prince's manor house. The effect it had on visitors was in keeping with this importance. No other building next to the manor house with its English Garden resonated so much as it. A number of comments by impressed visitors appear in the course of this chapter. The manor house and Amtshaus are both distinguished by a columned portico before the entrance as a mark of dignity, and the presence of a belvedere on the roof as a place to look out over the countryside. The first feature of interest here is that the Amtshaus, like the manor house, largely imitates the external appearance of a building built in concrete.

Erdmannsdorff modelled the Amtshaus after the villa that Andrea Palladio had built for the Venetian patrician Leonardo Emo near Fanzolo (in the province of Treviso) around 1555/58 (Fig. 11.6). The villa has always been considered to be particularly characteristic of Palladio's design principles. The reports from their Grand Tour reveal that Franz of Anhalt-Dessau and Erdmannsdorff did not visit any of Palladio's villas other than the Rotonda during their stay in Vicenza, as was customary

Fig. 11.6: Villa Emo at Fanzolo (Province Treviso), front view (photo: Günther).

14 Heinrich Friedrich von Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen über das landwirthschaftliche System der Herzoglichen Oekonomie zu Wörlitz* (Dessau-Leipzig, 1808), 81–100.

15 Harald Kleinschmidt and Andreas Stahl, *Das Amt Wörlitz. Geschichte und Baugeschichte. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt* (Halle, 2018), 149–77.



SECONDO. 55

A FANZOLO Villa del Triuigiano diſcoſto da Caſtelfranco tre miglia, è la ſottopoſta fabrica del Magnifico Signor Leonardo Emo. Le Cantine, i Granari, le Stalle, e gli altri luoghi di Villa ſono dall'vna, e l'altra parte della caſa dominicale, e nell'eſtremità loro vi ſono due colombare, che apportano utile al padrone, & ornamento al luogo, e per tutto ſi può andare al coperto: ilche è vna delle principal coſe, che ſi ricercano ad vna caſa di Villa, come è ſtato auertito di ſopra. Dietro à queſta fabrica è vn giardino quadro di ottanta campi Triuigiani: per mezo il quale corre vn fiumicello, che rende il ſito molto bello, e dilettеuole. E' ſtata ornata di pitture da M. Battiſta Venetiano.

DE I

Fig. 11.7: Andrea Palladio, Villa Emo, I Quattro *libri* (Venice, 1570) (photo: Günther).

at the time.[16] Thus they knew the Villa Emo only from the relevant books that were available in Wörlitz and Weimar: Palladio's *Quattro libri* (Fig. 11.7), the biography of Palladio published by Tommaso Temanza (1705–89) in 1762, and the extensively illustrated corpus of Palladio's works by Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi (1719–90), which appeared shortly before the construction of the Amtshaus (1776–83) (Fig. 11.8).[17] Temanza and Bertotti Scamozzi were particularly fond of Villa Emo. Bertotti Scamozzi praised its elegance and balance. It constituted a paradigm of the '*nobile semplicità*', ('noble simplicity') and '*mediocre grandezza*', ('modest grandness') that he and many others generally admired in Palladio's villas.[18]

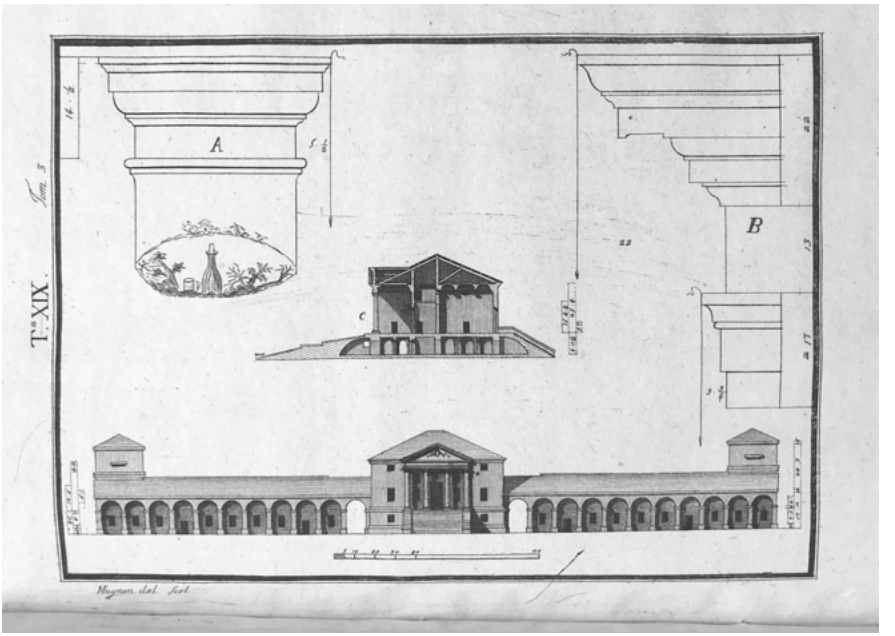


Fig. 11.8: Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, Villa Emo, *Le fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio* (Vicenza, 1776–83) (photo: Günther).

16 Ralf-Torsten Speler ed., *Die Beschreibungen der Reise von Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, Kunsthistorisches Journal einer fürstlichen Bildungsreise nach Italien 1765/66* (Munich-Berlin 2001), 96s. Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst, *Die Grand Tour des Fürsten Franz von Anhalt-Dessau und des Prinzen Johann Georg durch Europa,* Antje Losfeld et al eds (Halle, 2012), vol. 2, 28s.

17 Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri di architettura* (Venice, 1570), Book II, 55. Tommaso Temanza, *Vita di Andrea Palladio vicentino* (Venice, 1762), 56. Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi *Le fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio, raccolti ed illustrati* (Vicenza, 1776–83), vol. 3, 24–8, fig. 18s.

18 Bertotti Scamozzi, *Le fabbriche*, vol. 2, 2, 4.

Formal Comparisons of the Wörlitz Amtshaus with Villa Emo

Villa Emo stands at the end of a forecourt that is situated on a thoroughfare about fifty kilometres from Venice.[19] Long alleys lead through the estate from the front and back of the forecourt and from there are perpetuated as lanes to the entrances of the villa. They correspond to the recommendation of Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616) in his *Idea della architettura universale* (1615) that streets leading to villas and noble buildings should be particularly wide and beautiful and established as alleys, 'because they bear witness to magnificence and add comfort and ornament'.[20] The Amtshaus is situated before the village of Wörlitz on a thoroughfare from which two lanes branch off and lead along the front and back of the house to its entrances. There was no forecourt, and no lane led straight to the entrance, as was customary in noble buildings such as Palladio's villas. But the house could be seen from afar above a cornfield. Heinrich Friedrich von Bruiningk (1773–1850) was struck by the sight of it like a temple to Ceres in a fertile landscape.[21] Another visitor, Franz Bösching, reported in 1801 how deeply impressed he was, 'surprised by the great marvellous sight of the Amtshaus' as he walked along the country road, where it appeared to him as a 'throne of truth and law', 'its simple construction, its size, the dignity of its purpose finally made an impression on me that was long contemplated in speechless contemplation'.[22]

The similarity of the Amtshaus in its original appearance to the Villa Emo is immediately apparent in a comparison of Bruiningk's elevation with those of the Villa Emo by Palladio and Bertotti Scamozzi. Both consist of a noble house and, on either side, elongated lower wings with arcades at the front. In each case, the house rises over a fairly high basement. The main storey, including the inconspicuous mezzanine, has a Doric-Tuscan columned portico with a pediment, as the central entrance. A staircase leads up to it at the Amtshaus and equally so at the

19 Giampaolo Bordignon Favero, *La villa Emo di Fanzolo* (*Corpus Palladianum*) (Vicenza, 1970). Danilo Gasparini and Lionello Puppi eds, *Villa Emo* (Vicenza, 2009). Sandro Baldan ed., *Contesti paesaggistici delle ville di Andrea Palladio* (Padua, 2017), 126–35.

20 'perche danno indicio di magnificenza, e apportono comodità e ornamento', Scamozzi, *L'idea*, part 1, Book III, 322–4.

21 Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen*, 81.

22 'Thron der Wahrheit und des Gesetzes [. . .] seine einfache Bauart, seine Größe, die Würde seiner Bestimmung endlich machten einen Eindruck auf mich, der sich lange in sprachloser Betrachtung äußerte', Franz Bösching, *Der Genius veredelter Naturszenen in Anhalt Dessau* (Leipzig, 1801). Erhard Hirsch, *Von deutscher Frühklassik. Ein Dessau-Wörlitz Lese- und Quellenbuch* (Wettin, 2016), 743.

Villa Emo as represented by Palladio in place of the long ramp that actually was built and that Bertotti Scamozzi has reproduced. The Amtshaus has similar dimensions and proportions to the Villa Emo, but it is about 20% smaller.

The differences between the Wörlitz Amtshaus in its original form and the Villa Emo are hardly apparent when comparing the illustrations. The most important is that the side wings of the Villa Emo have open arcades at the front, whereas at the Amtshaus they were closed and the arcades were only superimposed on the wall. Those of Villa Emo are quite sober, while those of the Amtshaus were aimed more at '*rappresentanza*': A Doric-Tuscan pilaster articulation has been inserted between them. The portico of the Amtshaus is more elegant than that of Villa Emo, in so far as the intercolumniations are as slender as they should be according to the rules of the classical Greek orders, while those of Villa Emo are as wide as the more primitive Tuscan order. The overall result is that although the Amtshaus reflects the '*nobile semplicità*' and '*mediocre grandezza*' of the Villa Emo, the single elements on its fronts are more refined than those of the Villa Emo. Of the other differences, it is worth mentioning the belvedere on the roof of the Amtshaus, which has no counterpart at the Villa Emo or in Palladio's villas in general, and the pigeon-coop towers at the Villa Emo, which have no counterpart at the Amtshaus.

Both the Amtshaus and also Villa Emo are of simple design at the rear (Figs 11.9–11.10). A garden was established behind Villa Emo. It is accessible by way of a staircase from the main storey and is not accessible from the side wings (*barchesse*). No private garden was envisaged for the Amtmann. Instead, a farmyard was established behind it, enclosed on three sides by simple farm buildings and open towards the house (Figs 11.3, 11.5, 11.11). Doors on the ground floor and in the side wings led into the farmyard. Originally, there was no direct access from the main storey of the Amtshaus to the farmyard—the staircase that today leads down from the rear of the main storey was added later. Similar farmyards were found in other estates and administrative seats in the principality and was considered the centre of a farm by a Saxon architect in his treatise on agricultural architecture in 1779.[23]

23 Johann Gottfried Lange, *Zufällige Gedanken über die nothwenige und bequeme Wirthschaftliche Bauart auf dem Lande* (Breslau, 1779), fig. 6. Kleinschmidt and Stahl, *Das Amt Wörlitz*, 120–8, 151, 155.

Fig. 11.9: Villa Emo at Fanzolo, rear side (photo: https://www.verliebt-in-italien.at/villa-emo-von-andrea-palladio [accessed 2.7.2024]).

Fig. 11.10: Amtshaus of Wörlitz, rear side, present state, the staircase added later (photo: Günther).

Fig. 11.11: Amtshaus of Wörlitz with rear farm yard (photo: GoogleEarth).

A Comparison of the Functions of the Amtshaus and Villa Emo: Mansion House

The functions of Villa Emo are recorded with brief comments by Palladio in the *Quattro libri* (Book II, 55). However, the text only refers to the side wings. Palladio presumes that the reader recognizes that the rooms of the main storey were destined for the patron, as in his other villas. They are painted with frescoes of outstanding artistic quality and intellectually sophisticated iconography. Palladio makes explicit mention of them. He does not mention that the patron's residence was not entirely reserved for private life. The public and private spheres were linked there, as the owners of Palladio's villas also governed their estates from their living quarters, thus setting the guidelines for their management together with their administrators; moreover, they perhaps also took care of exercising the lower jurisdiction, which was sometimes required for large estates. The frescoes in Villa Emo point to these functions: at the entrance to the house Ceres rep-

resents agriculture, bearing the yield of the patron's lands, in the main hall the magnanimity of Scipio and the death of Virginia appear as paradigms of good and bad regimes; allegories of virtues and peace and trophies are signs of the victorious Republic of Venice. The magnanimity of Scipio was often represented in Venetian villas at the time because it was humane and politically efficient.

The basement of Villa Emo housed the kitchen, wine cellar and storerooms, or rooms for the servants. The mezzanine was not used for living but, like the roof storey, was considered to be a granary, storage room and the like. The three storeys are connected by small staircases in enclosed rooms that were destined only for the servants. Palladio states with regard to another villa—Villa Pisani at Bagnolo di Lonigo—that he did not pay particular attention to the small staircase, because it only led to utility rooms or granaries above and below.[24] Scamozzi calls such staircases '*scale segrete*'. The entrances to the basement of Villa Emo from the outside are situated hidden under the front ramp and under the garden staircase. They were used by the house staff, garden workers and for transporting grain to the granaries.

Bruiningk recorded the functions of the Amtshaus of Wörlitz in detail. The Amtmann (baliff) inhabited the main storey and exercised his function there. The rooms were decorated as sparsely as was appropriate for offices.[25] As in Palladio's villas, the basement housed the kitchen, pantry, servants and the like. Unlike Palladio's villas, it was connected to the side wings by covered corridors and was accessible from the door at the back of the house. The mezzanine was used as housing for the administrators of the single estates (*Vorwerke*) that belonged to the Amt of Wörlitz. Bruiningk mentions that it was in the Amtshaus that they had 'their table and their flat', thus eating and sleeping, and that they met in the Amtshaus at noon and in the evening.[26] It is most likely that they also worked there, keeping records about the sale of grain, which was part of their duties next to the supervision of their estates.

While the stately rooms in Palladio's villas were all contiguous, the main storey of the Amtshaus was divided into a public and a private sphere (Fig. 11.12). Visitors entering it through the portico pass into a narrow vestibule with three doors: The one opposite the entrance leads into a large staircase, the one on the right into a courtroom, and the one on the left into the living room of the Amtsmann and his family. From the parlour the visitor comes to the bedroom and family dining room. From the dining room, he has access to a room that was suitable for private

24 Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 47.

25 Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie* (Berlin, 1773–1858), vol. 176, key words 'Stube (Amt)', 'Stube(Expeditions)'.

26 'ihren Tisch und ihre Wohnung', Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen*, 48.

receptions, because it is also accessible from the staircase. Bruiningk calls it the 'anteroom of the dining room'. This was the private sphere. On the right-hand side of the house were three public rooms, the courtroom at the front and the 'Amtmann's expedition room' (*Expeditionsraum*) at the back, where the Amtmann conducted his business and negotiations with people. There is a small passage-like room between the two rooms, which is accessible from the staircase. A door leads from it into the 'expedition room'. Bruiningk therefore called it the 'antechamber to the expedition room'. But another door also leads from it into the courtroom. Apparently, the Amtmann entered the courtroom by this door to conduct hearings about legal cases (Fig. 11.13). The elegant portico at the front appeared to constitute the entrance to the courtroom for the parties for whom justice was being addressed and was reserved for the Amtmann and visitors of higher rank.

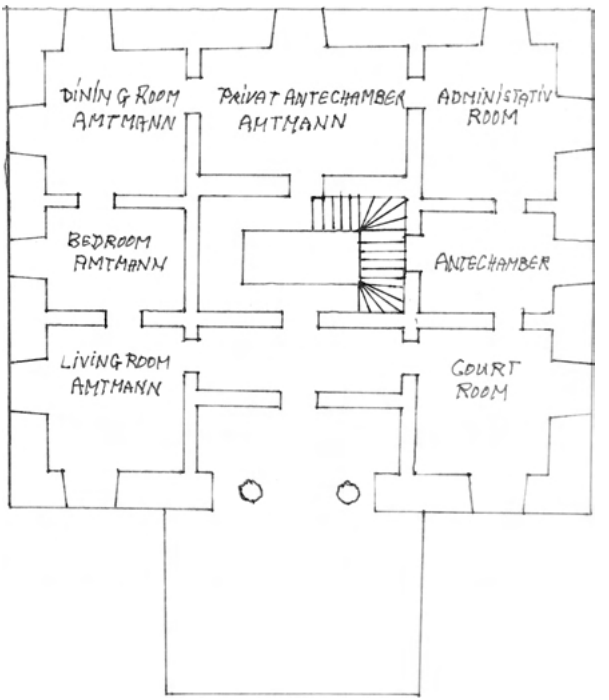


Fig. 11.12: Amtshaus of Wörlitz, ground plan with indications of the functions of the rooms (drawing: Günther).

Fig. 11.13: Honoré Daumier, *Justice of the peace in the courtroom,* lithography from the series 'Les Gens de Justice' (photo: https://www.daumier-register.org/werkview.php?key=10508 [accessed 2.7.2024]).

By way of comparison, it should be noted that in various countries, the administrative seats of sovereign domains and the manors of large estates, which had the privilege of exerting lower jurisdiction, thus aristocratic seats, generally had a room in which jurisdiction was exercised and economic matters were dealt with. A business room such as this was visited by many people. In a manor house, as in the Amtshaus, it was usually situated at the entrance to the house.[27] Those who did not live in the house most likely entered it from there.

In the centre of the Amtshaus is the staircase (Fig. 11.14). It is spacious, receives good light from large windows in the roof and is remarkably opulent, though not as splendid as staircases in castles normally are. It is made of expensive mahogany and is partly decorated with inlays. It was apparently also intended to reflect the dignity of the Amtshaus. The staircase extends from the

27 Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie*, 'Stube(Amt-)'.

basement to the roof. Both the public and private spheres on the main storey can be accessed from it and, moreover, it connects these two spheres with the lower service rooms and the flats of the administrators in the mezzanine. At the top, it leads to the belvedere with an external gallery.[28] From there, visitors have a wide view of the landscape and the prince's park. The Belvedere belonged to the noble sphere. It particularly distinguishes the Amtshaus. Many buildings in the Principality of Anhalt-Dessau were marked as public at the time with turrets on the roof, but only the princely manor house was given such a prestigious belvedere, albeit as a closed and artistically designed space.

The staircase has two entrances from the outside: in addition to the elegant one through the vestibule behind the portico at the front of the house, there is a modest one at the rear of the basement, where the farmyard was situated. The administrators or all those who came to the Amtmann's expedition room for meetings most likely entered through the rear door in the basement and climbed the stairs.

Fig. 11.14: Amtshaus of Wörlitz, stairwell, during restoration (photo: Günther).

A great staircase in the centre of the house directly adjacent to the vestibule is alien to Palladio's villas with their concealed staircases, but it was common in English manor houses. Examples with similar layouts, though significantly more elaborate,

28 Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen*, 95.

can be found at Claremont or Stourhead. However, the apparently ostentatious combination of noble and simple spheres that the staircase in the Amtshaus created was not found in English manor houses and other noble residential buildings. Generally speaking, where there was a grand staircase, which did not usually lead to service rooms. Even in the small townhall in Wörlitz, the basement staircase is separated from the central staircase. However, in the prince's manor house at Wörlitz and in the Luisium, the small park mansion of his wife Luise of Brandenburg-Schwedt (1750–1811), the stairs also lead from the basement with its service rooms to the mezzanine, where the princely children, important courtiers, and guests lived in the prince's manor house. These staircases were quite sober and were so unattractive, plain and dark, that they attracted criticism for having 'too much the appearance of coarse stairs and not corresponding to the rest' (Fig. 11.15).[29] In this case, such an unusual staircase may have been chosen because the warm bath for the use of the nobility was situated in the basement. But this does not alter the fact that the gentlemen on the stairs had to expect to run into the arms of the servants.

Fig. 11.15: Princely country house at Wörlitz, staircase (photo: Günther).

29 Rode, *Leben*, 19.

A Comparison of the Functions of the Amtshaus and Villa Emo: Forecourt, Farmyard and Side Wings

While the rear, private area of the Villa Emo with the garden was rather inconspicuous, the public sphere at the front was an impressive architectural demonstration of the combination of stately residence and agriculture. The forecourt and the side wings adjoining the house (*barchesse*) were used for economic activities. Farm labourers worked in the forecourt, even grain was threshed there. The side wings have no connection to the garden. They open onto the front because, as Palladio commented, the covered corridors behind the arcades were important for the agricultural activities that took place there. They provided protection from the rain when grain was threshed in the forecourt and they led to rooms which, as Palladio states, were used as granaries, animal stables and for '*gli altri luoghi di villa*' (the other places in a villa). Palladio's commentaries on his other villas reveal that these '*altri luoghi di villa*' were tool sheds and storehouses for other agricultural produce, as well as flats for the labourers and the administrator of the estate.

The side wings of the Wörlitz Amtshaus had largely similar functions to those of Palladio's villas, but these did not appear at the front because they were closed. The left wing housed flats for the court master, who supervised the staff and field labourers in their work, together with his family, and for the servants. The right wing housed stables for cattle and calves and a threshing floor for the grain.

The farmyard constituted the greatest possible contrast to the gardens behind Palladio's villas. It included stables for all kinds of farm animals, a horse pond, a manure shed for the horse stables, a large area for cow manure, etc. Anyone entering the Amtshaus from the rear, via the lane branching off the country road, would pass this scene. The reason why there were no stairs leading from the main storey of the Amtshaus to the farmyard was most likely that it was not appropriate for a dignified person such as the Amtmann to enter such a dirty sphere. Thus, while the agricultural activities at Villa Emo were carried out in front of the manorial front, at the Amtshaus they were relegated to the rear, and were not visible on the uniformly representative front. The country road next to the Amtshaus, did however, lead past the farmyard (Figs 11.5, 11.11).

Functions of the Palladian Villa: The Ideal Combination of Stately Residence and Agricultural Enterprise

The combination of agriculture and a nobleman's residence, as in the Villa Emo, is generally typical of Palladio's villas.[30] On several occasions, Palladio embellished the side wings of the villas with columned porticoes to create a more prestigious appearance, but they remained unchanged and always belonged to farming operations, and not to the noble sphere like the manor house. Despite their noble appearance, Palladio's villas were not distanced from the world of work like the magnificent palazzi of city patrons, but were visibly closely connected to the operation of the farm. The presentation of these villas in the *Quattro libri* emphasized this connexion: Palladio often explains the farm rooms in more detail than those of the patron's house. Some villas situated on rivers have a representative façade on the bank side without barchesse and a façade with barchesse that overlooks the countryside. Palladio then illustrates the façade with barchesse, even when it is less prestigious than the one facing the river bank.[31]

The connexion between the patron's house and agricultural activity had a long tradition.[32] Large farms often constituted the patron's house and a number of agricultural buildings grouped together around the farmyard, and the patron's house was accessible from it. There were also covered walkways to provide shelter from the rain. The architectural theorist Sebastiano Serlio represented such a farmstead, and even a few examples have survived.[33] Ancient noble residences

30 Lionello Puppi, *Andrea Palladio* (rev. ed. Milan, 1999). Vittorio Sgarbi, *Andrea Palladio. La luce della ragione, esempi di vita in villa dal XIV al XVII secolo* (Milan, 2004). Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns eds, *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa* (Venice, 2005). Gianni Moriani, *Palladio architetto della villa fattoria* (Verona, 2008). Luca Trevisan, *Le ville di Andrea Palladio* (Schio, 2012). Volker Plagemann, *Die Villen des Andrea Palladio* (Hamburg, 2021).

31 Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 47, 49, Villa Pisani at Bagnolo, Villa Zeno at Cesalto.

32 Bernhard Rupprecht, 'Villa: zur Geschichte eines Ideals', in *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1966), 210–50. Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller, *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1970). Martin Kubelik, *Die Villa im Veneto. Zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento* (Munich, 1977). Lionello Puppi ed., *Alvise Cornaro e il suo tempo* (Padua, 1980). Denis Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape* (Leicester, 1998). Peter Lauritzen and Harold Acton, *Die Villen von Venetien* (Munich, 2001). Gianni Moriani, *Palladio architetto della villa fattoria: territorio, agricoltura, ville, barchesse, cantine e cucine nella terraferma veneziana del XVI secolo* (Verona, 2008).

33 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon 189, 1*r*–3*r*. Avery architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, AA520 Se619F, 1r. Myra Nan Rosenfeld ed., *Sebastiano Serlio on do-*

also required the manorial residence to be connected to economic activities.[34] In the Middle Ages, territories were so insecure that landholding centres had to be fortified, and for practical reasons these fortifications encompassed all spheres of life. Renowned examples of precocious noble country residences in this tradition in the Veneto are the Villa Porto Colleoni in Thiene (province of Vicenza) (completed 1476) and, province of Treviso, the Barco of Catarina Cornaro in Altevole (1489–1510). Some of Palladio's villas replaced noble residences, and some have elements reminiscent of fortifications, such as the corner risalites of Villa Pisani at Bagnolo di Lonigo or the crenellated enclosure of the Villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine. The pigeon coops of Villa Emo are similar to the corner towers of older enclosed residences.

However, with increasing security in the countryside, the separation of manorial residence and agriculture became possible if the patron was powerful enough. As early as about 1300, Pietro de' Crescenzi (*c.*1235–*c.*1320) addressed this separation in his treatise on agriculture:

> But if the nobility and power of the lords are so great that they refuse to live in the same courtyard with their workers, they can comfortably order a guard, said Castaldo, to live in the place so arranged (the courtyard), and in another site they can make their place adorned with palaces and towers and gardens, according to what suits their nobility and power.[35]

The villa that Alvise Garzoni (fl. 1540) commissioned ca. 1540 from Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) for his vast estates near Pontecasale constitutes an impressive example of such separation. Without the requirement for security, the position of the farm wings could now be in the alignment with the manor house at Villa Emo and other Palladian villas, instead of set around a courtyard. These new layouts spread around 1500, the most representative example of which constitutes the Villa Agostini in Cusignana di Giàvera del Montello (province of Treviso). The forecourts of Palladio's villas were surrounded by walls or hedges, but were no longer actually fortified.

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mestic architecture. The sixteenth-century manuscript of book VI in the Avery Library of Columbia University (Cambridge Mass-London, 1978) fig. 1.

34 Christoph Ulmer, *Die Villa im Friaul. Geschichte ihrer Funktionen und Formen* (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, 2009). Gustav Pfeifer, *Ansitz–Freihaus–corte franca. Bauliche Aspekte adligens Wohnens in der Vormoderne* (Innsbruck, 2013).

35 'Ma se la nobiltà de' Signori e la potenza è tanta, che schifino d'abitare co' suoi lavoratori in una medesima corte, potranno agiatamente nel predetto luogo così disposto, far dimorare un guardiano, il quale si chiama Castaldo, e in altra parte fare il lor luogo ornato di palagi e di torri e di giardini, secondo che a loro nobiltà e possanza si converrà'. Piero de' Crescenzi, *Trattato della agricoltura* (Milan, 1805), 37.

Through reference to Petrarch (1304–74) and his country estate in Arquà, humanists of the Renaissance were fond of glorifying a stay in the countryside as an 'earthly paradise', as a place of retreat from the hectic hustle and bustle of urban life, for a beautiful pastime among the rural population close to nature, for contemplation and scholarly study. They praised socializing with the common people as a beautiful aspect of country life that freed them from the constraints of etiquette. The Florentine author Antonio Francesco Doni (1513–74) perpetuated this kind of idealization in his writing 'Attavanta villa' (before 1557), but from de' Crescenzi onwards, there emerged literature about country life in Italy that also dealt with farming and the administration of the estates belonging to villas.[36] Several fundamental treatises on the subject reflect the progress of agriculture in the second half of the sixteenth century: Agostino Gallo (1499–1570) in 1564; Camillo Tarello (1513–73) in 1567, Clemente Africo in 1572. They sometimes praise the beauty of villa life, but only as an introduction to realistic discourses about agriculture. On the whole, these writings bring home the fact that the cultivation of large estates was far more than just a beautiful pastime and required a high level of expertise and intense commitment.

Functions of the Venetian Villa: The Real Conditions

Writings about country life reveal that the presentation of the villas in Palladio's *Quattro libri* does not quite realistically reflect country life at the time. The wealthy patrons who commissioned these villas had no financial need to link their domicile so closely to farm labour. They had enough money to separate the agricultural business, as at the Villa Garzoni, and surround their house with gardens, use the elegant porticos in the forecourt following the model of antiquity for upscale entertainment or provide rooms for visitors in the mezzanine of the house. The connexion was not actually practical either. Separate stables, granaries or other work areas were undoubtedly more efficient, better accessible, more spacious and more secure. Just think, for example, how cumbersome it was to carry all the threshed grain from the large estate up several flights of narrow service stairs to the attic under the roof. Moreover, the small stables and granaries in the side wings of the villas offered far too little space for contemporary agricultural operations. The harvested grain was

36 Jean-Louis Gaulin, 'Trattati di agronomia e innovazione agricola' in Philippe Braunstein and Luca Molà eds, *Il rinascimento italiano e l'Europa* (Treviso, 2007), vol. 3, 145–63.

to be threshed in an area close to the porticoes to protect it from the rain, and agricultural tracts state that it was to be done within sight of the manor house, but not too close to it due to the dust created during threshing. The workshops that were necessary for the hydraulic engineering and the building of mills etc. described in detail in agricultural tracts and by Scamozzi are completely absent in Palladio's work. For the most part, Palladio does not envisage any space at all for the many farm labourers. He also takes no account of those responsible for private security, although the villa literature reveals that it was necessary at that time to protect the villa. Sometimes, even Palladio mentions that there were in fact separate buildings for the agricultural labour. In the introduction to his book on villas, he states that the stables for the '*animali da lavoro*' ('working animals') such as cows and workhorses should be located far from the patron's home and animals, such as pigs, sheep and chickens, which serve for food, should be housed in the customary places in the country.[37] In the case of the Villa Thiene at Cicogna, he adds that, in addition to the service wings to the side of the villa's forecourt, 'next to this building there are two old courtyards with porticos, one for threshing grain, the other for the more simple servants'.[38] Some of Palladio's villas had a farmyard at the rear.[39] Scamozzi lists many types of layout for the agricultural buildings: as wings on either side of the manor house or behind it or opposite it, or as a whole isolated farmstead with a courtyard in the centre surrounded on three or all four sides by porticos, thus similar to the farmstead represented by Serlio.[40]

In summary, the layout typical of Palladio's villas was not, or at least not solely, dictated by practical conditions in the *terraferma*, but was intended to demonstrate the connection between the villas and their agricultural activities. The simple, noble style of Palladio's villas was also in keeping with this demonstration. Venetian patricians favoured Palladio for building prestigious manor houses, but it did not seem appropriate for Venice and they did not commission him to build their palazzi in Venice.

The demonstration of the connection between the noble sphere and agriculture can be explained by the particular conditions of the *terraferma*. The Republic of Venice systematically pursued the goal of improving the land there in order to supplement maritime trade, which was declining due to the conquest of the Levant by the Turks. The Serenissima promoted the reclamation of the land fore-

37 Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 46.

38 'appresso questa fabrica due cortili di fabrica vecchia con portici, l'uno per lo trebbiar de' grani, l'altro per la famiglia più minuta', Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 62.

39 Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 53, 54, 64, Villa Cornaro at Piombino, Villa Mocenigo near Treviso, Villa Thiene at Quinto. Scamozzi, *L'Idea*, part 1, Book III, 287, 293.

40 Scamozzi, *L'Idea*, part 1, Book III, 285.

most by establishing canals to drain the extensive marshy terrain, the building of mills for various trades, an improvement in the cultivation of grain, and the introduction of new crops such as maize and silkworms.[41] The increase in agricultural yields was intended to secure supplies for the citizens and improve the state's finances.

The Republic did not simply subjugate its dominions, but initially left them largely with their old rights.[42] However, she gradually disempowered them through centralization of the forces of order and the jurisdiction in the Consiglio dei Dieci. Moreover, she eroded the power of the old landed gentry by commercial means. The landed gentry relied on levies from the peasants dependent on them for their sustenance; they were less accustomed to worry about agricultural improvement. As a result, their land had no chance of competing with the efficiency of modern agriculture, which the Republic systematically promoted. They only had an alternative: adapting to the Venetian model of land improvement or abandoning their estates. The Venetians bought up the old noble estates when they went bankrupt.

Leonardo Emo took part in the land improvement on the *terraferma*. It was considered proper for a Venetian patrician to undertake the political intentions of the Republic, because the class of patricians to whom Emo belonged was in charge of the government. Having inherited land from his grandfather, who had bought it some twenty years earlier, Leonardo immediately began to reclaim marshy land by means of hydraulic engineering, to build mills, to improve the cultivation of cereals, and to establish spinning mills.

In his general introduction about villas, Palladio addresses the gentlemen who take care of the 'administration of the Republic and the management of their private affairs' in the city.[43] This seems to concern Venetian patricians more than Vicentine aristocracy. With the ostentatious connection between their noble villas and agricultural activities, these gentlemen apparently intended above all to demonstrate how closely their estates were connected with land improvement of the *terraferma*. These villas represented their work to provide equally for the Republic in the countryside as in the city.

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41 Deborah Howard ed., *Proto-industrial architecture of the Veneto in the age of Palladio* (Rome, 2021).

42 Claudio Povolo, 'Aspetti e problemi dell'amministrazione della giustizia penale nella repubblica di Venezia. secoli XVI–XVII', in Gaetano Cozzi ed., *Stato società e giustizia nella repubblica veneta (sec. XV–XVIII)* (Rome, 1985), vol. 1, 153–258. Sergio Zamperetti, 'Immagini di Venezia in Terraferma nel '500 e primo '600 ', in Gaetano Cozzi and Paolo Prodi eds., *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 6 (*Dal Rinascimento al Barocco*) (Rome, 1994), 925–42.

43 'amministratione della Republica e governo delle cose proprie', Palladio, *Quattro libri*, Book II, 45f.

In his general introduction to the villas, Palladio omits mention of the *terraferma* nobility, despite his first patron, Giangiorgo Trissino (1478–1550), belonging to it. But the Serenissima was skeptical of the landed gentry, considering them a hindrance to their political aims and she was intent on curtailing their privileges. Palladio ignored the connection between the landed gentry, security forces, and the judiciary because the Republic was endeavouring to abolish the *terraferma* nobility's jurisdiction and because the security forces often proved to be brigands.

Functions of the Venetian villa: Changes in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, the connection between the two spheres of villa life had loosened. Manor houses had become larger and more splendid. Farming had largely disappeared from these splendid places of residential life. Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* lists the manor house and the economic centre with buildings for storage of harvested crops and houses for the servants as two separate spheres of the villa (1746).[44] This development also had an impact at Villa Emo.[45] Bertotti Scamozzi explains that its side wings had been extended and the layout of its rooms changed. He reports that the *barchesse* now served a 'more noble use' ('*a più nobile uso*') than was originally envisaged. The mezzanines had been converted into rooms that 'make the building more comfortable and suitable for accommodating not only the patrons of the house but also the guests who gather there'.[46] Each room even had its own fireplace (Fig. 11.9). All the economic and agricultural activities were moved to the neighbourhood of Fanzolo.

The Administrator of Venetian Estates

The administrator—*castaldo*, *fattore*, *massaio*—is discussed here in more detail because his function was to a certain extent similar to that of the Amtmann at Wörlitz. In the illustrations of the *Quattro libri*, Palladio envisaged housing the

44 Johann Heinrich Zedler ed., *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexikon Aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (Halle-Leipzig, 1731–54), vol. 48, 1303s.

45 Alberto Torsello, *La fattoria di Villa Emo* (Venice, 2007). Moriani, *Palladio architetto*, 139–42.

46 'Stanze e Stanzini, che rendono la Fabbrica più comoda, e capace d'alloggiare, oltre a' Padroni di Casa, gli Ospiti che vi concorrono', Bertotti Scamozzi *Le fabbriche*, loc. cit.

administrator in one or, exceptionally, two rooms in the side wings of the villa, under one roof with stables and tool sheds. In the text, he barely mentions administrators, but they were not so unimportant that they appear briefly in his treatise. Renaissance literature about villa life strongly recommends that the patron should always, or at least mainly, live on his estate because the business would suffer badly from his absence. This recommendation carried even more weight on the *terraferma* than in other regions due to the determined land improvements encouraged by the Serenissima. On the other hand, Palladio personally points out that the gentlemen who commissioned these villas to be built lived mainly in the city in order to govern the state and to conduct their private business. Therefore, they could not usually have stayed long on one of their estates and only gave general instructions and ideas for running the business.

Contemporary villa literature reveals that, in reality, it was mostly the administrators who managed the farm and supervised land reclamation. Moreover, it was they who supervised the peasants whose farmsteads the patron had acquired. It was also their duty to take care of the finances required for these tasks. Foremost, they had to pay their employees regularly; money was entrusted to them to pay for some purchases. They occasionally had to deploy security forces and administer justice on behalf of their patrons, for example to settle disputes between their many subordinates and to ward off crime, as it is known that the central authorities of the cities of the Republic could not always manage these concerns and often were reliant on privately funded support. An inventory from 1578 preserved in the archives of the Villa Godi attests how abundant the administrative documents were.[47] Like Palladio's *Quattro libri*, the treatises on agriculture address the owners of estates because it was they who financed the agricultural measures and acted as builders. But Camillo Tarello (1567) recommends that owners, if they could not take care of their estates themselves, should inform their administrator of what his text instructed.[48] Thus, the content of this treatise reflects what the administrators needed to know, and the same applies to the other agricultural treatises.

Accordingly, the villa literature strongly recommends that patrons should place the administration of their estates in the hands of intellectually trained people, and remunerate them generously. Agostino Gallo (1575), who deals with the

47 Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape*, 133.

48 Camillo Tarello, *Ricordo d'agricoltura* (Venice, 1567), 74*v*.

many tasks of administrators in particular detail, explains how difficult it was to find and employ good administrators and therefore strongly advises treating them well so that they do not leave.[49] It would not have been wise to relegate such a person in high demand, and with so much expertise and responsibility, to a mere chamber set between animal stables. Moreover, administrators must have been housed prestigiously enough to earn them the respect of their subordinate workers, spacious enough to keep the accounts and administrative records there, and sufficiently safe to protect the money entrusted to them. Catarina Cornaro's Barco had its own prestigious building, which served as the 'Ufficio'. Scamozzi introduces a separate house for the administrator ('*castaldia*'). It is situated next to the manor house and is only accessible from it, without any other connection.[50] Scamozzi well understood how power emanated architecturally from an administrator who exited the villa complex from his employer's portico. He cared so much about the administrator that he criticized Vitruvius for not taking him into account.[51] He reserves three to four rooms for the administrator in the agricultural wings connected to the manor house.[52] In the case of Villa Emo, the administrator might have initially lived in the old house of the former owners of the estates, which was situated close to the village of Fanzolo. In any case, by the eighteenth century there were housing for farm labourers and a stately house for the administrator (Fig. 11.16). I consider it possible that the Emo already had housed the real centre of the farm and the administration of their estates there earlier and only remodelled the buildings later. A room in the side wing of a villa was not sufficient as the administrator's main residence, but only served to fulfill his position and work duties while at the villa.

49 Agostino Gallo, *Le vinti giornate dell'agricoltura* (Venice, 1575), 12–15.
50 Scamozzi, *L'Idea*, part 1, Book III, 276s. compare 292s.
51 Scamozzi, *L'Idea*, part 1, Book III, 285. 288s., 290s.
52 Scamozzi, *L'Idea*, part 1, Book III, 285.

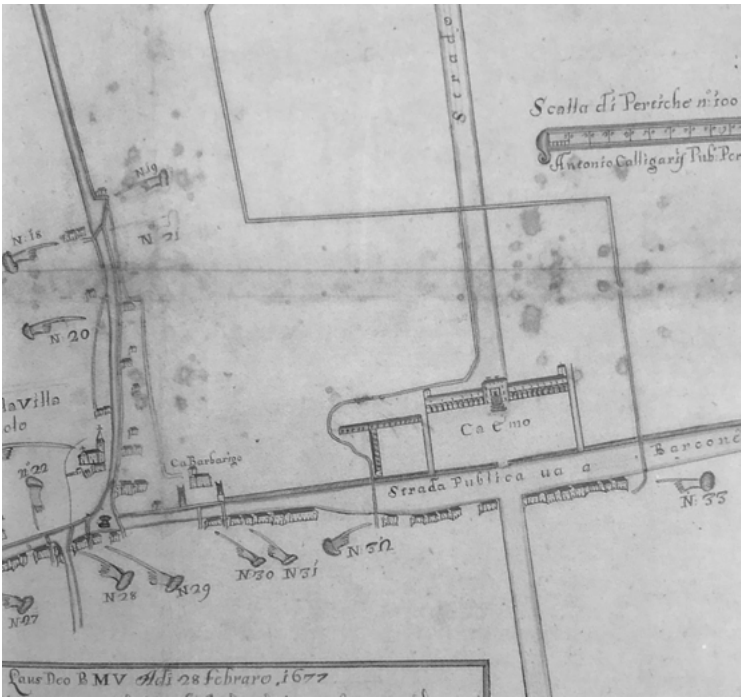

Fig. 11.16: Plan of the region of Fanzolo from 1677, section with Villa Emo and the house of the previous owner of the estate (Ca Barbarigo), Archivio di Stato Treviso, Mappe antiche, b. 34 bis, fg. 422 (photo: S. Baldan ed., *Contesti paesaggistici delle ville di Andrea Palladio* [Padua, 2017]).

The History of Agriculture in the Principality of Anhalt-Dessau

Franz of Anhalt-Dessau was particularly interested in agriculture.[53] Similar to the economic history of the Serenissima, he needed the income it brought in for the supply and finances of his principality. Similar to the Republic, he and his prede-

53 Lebrecht Ludwig Bäntsch, *Handbuch der Geographie und Geschichte des gesammten Fürstenthums Anhalt* (Leipzig, 1801). Wilhelm Klinsmann, 'Anhalt-Dessaus Stellung zur anhaltischen Gesamtung und seine Behördenorganisation unter Fürst Leopold (1698–1747)' (Diss. Greifswald, 1912.) Ulla Machlitt (Jablonowski), 'Die anhalt-dessauischen Domänen in der Periode des Übergangs von der feudalen zur kapitalistischen Produktionsweise (etwa 1700 bis 1800)' (Diss. Halle, 1971). Ulla Jablonowski, 'Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der Dessau-Wörlitzer Aufklärung (etwa 1760 bis 1800)', in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Anhaltische Landeskunde* 1 (1992), 39–75.

cessors aimed to curtail the privileges of the nobility and sever the link between their estates and local jurisdiction. He perpetuated his grandfather's initiative to systematically buy up the lands of the feudal nobility until he owned them outright and, unhindered by the old privileges of the nobility, to efficiently modernize agriculture following the Prussian model. Similar to the Republic's handling of the *terraferma*, land improvement at Anhalt-Dessau required a centralized government. Now the politics followed Enlightenment trends, which was characteristic of Central Europe.

The Amtmann of Wörlitz

The Principality of Anhalt-Dessau was divided into around a dozen '*Ämter*'. Wörlitz was one of them. The number fluctuated over time. An 'Amt' was an administrative district that included estates, villages and several state-owned agricultural enterprises (*Vorwerke*). The administration of the Amt was housed in an Amtshaus. It was headed by an Amtmann (bailiff). His duties were basically similar to those of the administrator of the estates in the Venetian *terraferma*, but he was completely freed from practical activities. He ensured and checked that the directives issued by the prince and his government were carried out. He was in charge of agriculture and trade in his district, the building of mills and hydraulic engineering, which also played a major role in the Principality of Anhalt-Dessau. He regulated expenditure from state funds and levies to the prince. He supervised the staff and the farms. Obviously, he had to be an intellectually trained person, too. Naturally, the Amtmann could not manage the many tasks alone, but delegated them to various subordinates, particularly stewards (*Verwalter*) for the agricultural activities.

The Amt Wörlitz was particularly important. It was the only Amt to be headed by an Amtmann, whom the Prince employed in person. The other Ämter were rented out. The Amtmann of Wörlitz had more competences than the tenants. Foremost, he was responsible for security in his district, he was in charge of the police and had lower legal jurisdiction, thus he had the power to pass judgement on minor criminal cases.[54] Being a judge was particularly prestigious, as the

Paul Beckus, *Hof und Verwaltung des Fürsten Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1758–1817)* (Halle, 2015). Kleinschmidt and Stahl, *Das Amt Wörlitz*.

54 Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen*, 5. Klinsmann, 'Anhalt-Dessaus Stellung', 56f. Beckus, *Hof und Verwaltung*, 208s. Dieter Dolgner, *Gerichtsgebäude in Sachsen-Anhalt* (Halle, 2017). In 1819 the connexion between administration and jurisdiction in Anhalt-Dessau was generally dissolved. Cf. Machlitt (Jablonowski), 'Die anhalt-dessauischen', 122s. Jablonowski, 'Wirtschaftliche', 55s.

law constituted the foundation of the state at that time, as it does today. Franz of Anhalt-Dessau appointed a gentleman of the nobility with whom he was close friends as Amtmann of Wörlitz: Georg Friedrich von Raumer (1755–1822), a son of the princely Chancellery Director. The Prince supported him from a young age, ensured that he received practical training in agricultural administration, he took him along on his third trip to England (1775) and finally promoted him to Director of the Chamberlain's Office, thus to the rank of his highest administrative official. Raumer had made himself familiar with agriculture while travelling with the princely couple to England in 1775.[55]

In keeping with its particular importance, the Wörlitz Amtshaus was distinguished above the other Anhalt-Dessau Amtshäuser by its fine artistic design. In contrast, the other Amtshäuser were artistically insignificant, even when they were similar in size. The Amtshaus of Rehsen, which also consists of a great central house and originally had side wings attached on both sides was never discussed in any significant contemporary commentary.

Conclusion

It is not known what Franz of Anhalt-Dessau and Erdmannsdorff knew about life in the Villa Emo and Venetian villas in general. Beyond the commentaries of Palladio, Scamozzi and Bertotti Scamozzi, they had at hand general information about the Venetian villas in agricultural treatises. Goethe's thorough preparation for his planned second journey to Italy in 1795–6 included aspects of the economic conditions of Palladio's villas. The so-called Italian Collectanea listed the important literature on agriculture that was well-known to him, first and foremost, '*Le vinti giornate dell'agricoltura*' by Agostino Gallo (1499–1570) quoted above. The list of important vocabulary (including '*massajo*' or '*massaro*') noted in the Collectanea demonstrates that Goethe actually read the relevant literature and realized how important the administrator was.[56] He needed this knowledge for his work as a Minister in the government of the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. Franz of Anhalt-Dessau did not leave behind any such Collectanea, but he or Raumer equally needed this knowledge, even more so than Goethe. It is quite conceivable that the regents of Weimar and Wörlitz discussed the subject.

55 Friedrich Matthisson ed., *Der Alltag der Fürstin Louise von Anhalt-Dessau. Ihre Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1756–1805* (Berlin-Munich, 2010), 37 (5.7.1775), 40 (26.9.1775).

56 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Vorbereitung zur zweiten Reise nach Italien 1795–1796* (Weimarer Ausgabe, Abt. I, vol. 34, part 2, Weimar, 1904), 158, 167, 213.

Perhaps word had spread in the circles of the high nobility about life in the countryside of the *terraferma*, which is not revealed by the books. The reports of Franz of Anhalt-Dessau's Grand Tour mention that the prince and his companions spoke to several nobles during their stay in Verona.[57] Perhaps the way in which the Republic of Venice had introduced modern forms of agriculture to the *terraferma* was still remembered. Perhaps the separation of the manorial residence and agricultural enterprises, which had become established in the eighteenth century, suggested that the close connection between these two spheres in Palladio's treatise was meant more as a demonstration of political intent than responding to a practical necessity. Administrators were not only important to Venetian large landowners in Palladio's time, but beyond time and place, as is revealed later on for example in the novel *Resurrection* (1899) by Tolstoy (1828–1910).

In any case, the design of the Amtshaus in Wörlitz following the model of the Villa Emo certainly was not only motivated by admiration for Palladio's style. It was apparently intended to demonstrate that Franz of Anhalt-Dessau attached a similar function to the Amtshaus as to the Venetian villas in that the dignity of the country estate's administration and simple agricultural activities came together there. However, the connection was staged differently from Palladio's villas. While these were only private estates, the front of the Amtshaus, with its uniformly prestigious design, expressed the fact that it was 'a throne of truth and law', to quote Franz Bösching's comment from 1801. It represented the administration of the state. This is why the front was set apart from the agricultural activities, and why the architectural articulation became more noble than that of the Villa Emo. With the farmyard, Franz of Anhalt-Dessau intended to demonstrate a model of progressive agriculture. It is recorded that he 'used all the models of economic buildings that he encountered on his travels in England, France, the Netherlands, Germany and perhaps also in Upper Italy here, where all the new was to be created [. . .] in the most practical and attractive way at the same time'.[58]

In general, the choice of architectural style at Wörlitz was not only determined by formal admiration, it was also and perhaps even primarily an expression of spiritual or political attitudes. The design of the churches in the neo-Gothic style corresponded to the idea that the Middle Ages stood closest to religion (Fig. 11.17). The perfect imitation of Palladio's style at the primary school in Griesen was very

57 Berenhorst, *Die Grand Tour*, Bd. 2, 24. Erdmannsdorff, *Kunsthistorisches Journal einer fürstlichen Bildungsreise*, 91–95, records many visits in palaces of the high nobility.

58 'alle die Muster ökonomischer Gebäude, welche ihm auf seinen Reisen in England, Frankreich, den Niederlanden, Deutschland und vielleicht auch im oberen Italien begegneten, hier, wo ganz etwas neues erschaffen werden sollte . . . aufs zweckmäßigste und anmuthigste zugleich werde benutzt haben', Bruiningk, *Bemerkungen*, 87f.

likely intended to point out that education and culture were taught at school (Fig. 11.18). The imitation of the most modern neo-Palladian country residences in England at the prince's manor house in Wörlitz reflects the admiration Franz of Anhalt-Dessau had for the English state due to its liberalism and efficient economy (Fig. 11.1). Sympathy for the great Swiss freethinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) is manifested at the entrance to Wörlitz Park, where Rousseau's tomb in Ermenonville Park is imitated with a clarity equal to the models for the manor house and the Amtshaus (Fig. 11.19). An inscription declares what Franz of Anhalt-Dessau appreciated about Rousseau: 'To the memory of J. J. Rousseau citizen of Geneva, who with manly eloquence brought back the wags to a sane mind, the voluptuous to true pleasure, the erring art to the simplicity of nature, the doubters to the consolation of revelation, he died on 2 July 1778'.[59] The respect for liberalism in the Swiss Confederation is manifested in a monument to the Swiss reformer Johann Caspar Lavater (1784) in the English Garden.

This demonstration also became reality. The prince's manor house and English Garden were open to the public for tours, even when the prince or princess themselves were present.[60] The Castellan and sometimes the prince himself guided the visitors. In 1770, a visitor wrote down what had been shown to him.[61] In 1788, a courtier from Wörlitz, August Rode, published a description of the manor house and park.[62] The manor house manifested how modest the prince was, that he slept in a simple bed in his study, or used the same simple stairs as the servants: 'How remote at this court is the proud and ridiculous etiquette which is usually supposed to enhance the highness of the prince', which was the commentary on a public festival organized for Franz of Anhalt-Dessau in 1779.[63]

59 'Dem Andenken/ J. J. Rousseau/ Buergers zu Genf/ der/ die Witzlinge zum gesunden Verstand/ die Wollüstigen zum wahren Genuss/ die irrende Kunst zur Einfalt der Natur/ die Zweifler zum Trost der Offenbarung / mit maennlicher Beredsamkeit zurueckwies/ Er starb/ den IIten Jul MDCCLXXVIII'.

60 'Beschreibung der ländlichen Wohnsitze des regierenden Fürsten von Anhalt-Dessau, wie auch des Schlosses zu Dessau, 1779', in *Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*, 3/1 (1780), 706. Friedrich Matthisson ed., *Der Alltag der Fürstin Louise von Anhalt-Dessau. Ihre Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1756–1805* (Berlin-Munich, 2010), 71: (3. 3. 1790): 'Ich that den Vorschlag, in Wörlitz ein anderes, weniger feuchtes Haus bewohnen zu dürfen und wo ich vor Fremden sicher wäre', 79 (4. 7. 1792): Resolution des Fürsten: 'Den Fremden stehe nach wie vor das Besehen des Hauses frei'.

61 Beschreibung der ländlichen Wohnsitze des regierenden Fürsten von Anhalt-Dessau 1780, 705–20.

62 August Rode, *Beschreibung des Fürstlichen Anhalt-Dessauischen Landhauses und Englischen Gartens zu Wörlitz* (Dessau, 1788, 1798, 1814).

63 'Wie ferne ist bei diesem Hof die stolze und lächerliche Etikette, welche gewöhnlich die Hoheit des Fürsten erhöhen soll'. Beschreibung der ländlichen Wohnsitze des regierenden Fürsten von Anhalt-Dessau 1780, 713–15.

Fig. 11.17: Protestant parish church St. Petri of Wörlitz, rebuilt 1804–08 (photo: Günther).

The princes and courtiers lived equally modestly in Wörlitz. They only had two simple rooms each on the upper floor of the manor house, one for sleeping and the other for living. The manor house was rather uncomfortable for longer stays. Erdmannsdorff, for example, who also had a small suite upstairs, lived with his family in Dessau in an opulent *palais*. On the other hand, it showed that the prince educated himself incessantly. He had constructed his bed so that it could be transformed into a couch with a bureau for reading and writing; instead of a reception room, as was customary for regents, a library adjoined the bedroom and study.

The Amtshaus was apparently also destined for public viewing. Rode's guide to the manor house invites the public to visit it: 'The princely Amt, newly built from the ground up, deserves to be visited by every lover of architecture and agriculture'.[64] The platform on the roof for the wide view over the countryside and

64 'Das fürstliche Amt, von Grunde auf neuerbauet, verdient von jedem Liebhaber der Baukunst und Landwirtschaft besucht zu werden', Rode 1788, 8.

Fig. 11.18: School house Griesen, built by Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff 1788 (photo: Günther).

Fig. 11.19: Isle of Rousseau, English Garden of Wörlitz (photo: Günther).

the English Garden was more suitable for visitors than for the Amtmann and his staff. A courtier from Wörlitz also wrote a description of the Amtshaus, that is Bruiningk's book published in 1808, which has been referred to several times. While the guide to the manor house particularly emphasized cultural matters and the original practical ideas for the furnishings, Bruiningk concentrated on agriculture at Wörlitz. Raumer had lived in the Amtshaus from the time he was elevated to the office of Amtmann, but his dwelling there was also uncomfortable for a longer stay.[65] Like Erdmannsdorff, his family with their seven children had their spacious main residence in Dessau. This corresponded to the accommodation of the administrators of the Venetian villas, as proposed here, in an official and a private residence separated from each other.

65 Der Alltag der Fürstin Louise von Anhalt-Dessau 2010, 46 (10 febr. 1779).

Richard Bösel

Chapter Twelve
Found and Reshaped in Translation: Architectural Models from the Centre to the Periphery

The issue of the reception of reference models (and their diffusion) constitutes one of the central pivots of any research in the field of anthropology and the history of ideas, and therefore, obviously, also in that of art and architecture.[1] First of all, the consequences and repercussions of the spatial or temporal transfer of forms and ideas constitute an object of interest: from one socio-cultural context to another, from one era to another. A paradigmatic relevance in this context is assumed by the relationship between centre and periphery: the active role that the privileged pioneering place plays and, conversely, the predominantly passive or reactive attitude of a provincial and often culturally backward environment. It is, above all, what happens within this process in phenomenological, aesthetic and semantic terms that needs to be analyzed: not only the effects linked to geographical-cultural displacement and therefore to adaptation and (almost inevitably) contamination, but also those of an intentional reinterpretation.[2]

1 This chapter is focused on two essential analyses. The first is a generic approach to the theme of reception, transfer and transformation of architectural prototypes. It can be considered as a florilegium of eloquent, characteristic and sometimes curious cases: the programmatic imitation of buildings endowed with a strong iconic and emblematic ancestry. The second part is devoted to morphological aspects, focusing not so much on the reasons and mechanisms of copying, but rather on the interpretative developments of the individual compositional motif through the successive stages of its process of derivation. Within the scope of this contribution, the subject cannot be approached in a theoretical manner. Obviously, there is a plethora of related studies—mostly focusing on single topics and rarely on an analytical overview. For a concise discussion of the basic issues, one could recommend the useful introductory chapter in Jacobus Bracker and Ann-Kathrin Hubrich eds, *The Art of Reception* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2020).

2 A theoretical investigation of the relationship between centre and periphery has so far been provided mainly by socio-cultural anthropology and predominantly with the criteria of post-colonial studies. Among the numerous publications on the subject, the following texts seem to us to be particularly representative: Ulf Hannerz, 'Culture between center and periphery: Towards a macroanthropology', in *Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology* 54 (1989), 100–26; Lukas Becht et al eds, *Mythos Mitte: Wirkmächtigkeit, Potenzial und Grenzen der Unterscheidung 'Zentrum/Peripherie'* (Wiesbaden, 2011). In the field of art history, criticism tends to privilege the direct analysis of individual circumstances, expending little energy on the construction of a specific methodological framework. This also applies to studies that claim to sketch out universally applicable crite-

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The innocent dream of bringing a little touch of glamour to the most remote corners of the Old World (in gloomy Transylvania or in the equally dark woods of Maremma Laziale) and even in New Zealand, mimicking, after 100 years and for no apparent reason, the celebrated (albeit futile and already insignificant in itself) Hollywood Sign of 1923.[3] This should probably be interpreted as a warning not only of mental backwardness, but above all of the cultural disorientation in force in today's reality (or, at best, self-irony born from being knowingly provincial). But that doesn't mean that—where perhaps ironically recontextualized and transformed into a mock-up or parody—such a sign cannot acquire unexpectedly fitting meanings.[4]

In fact, the act of imitation will certainly be more plausible where the iconic imprint of a model is used to convey its main representative and symbolic value. This can certainly be asserted, in this regard, with reference to the emblematic type of municipal building predominant in late medieval Flanders, destined to rise to a new life in the monumental public building of Vienna's Ringstraße. In the neo-Gothic building of the town hall—the Rathaus, built by Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–91)—the historical model is raised to imposing and idealized dimensions, to celebrate, precisely with a reference to history, the virtues of an industrious, well-off and politically emancipated bourgeoisie, which wanted to define itself as a social pillar of the prosperous nineteenth-century metropolis.[5] It is certainly not by chance that the emblematic arrangement of the Viennese town hall found a more than evident following in the town hall of Reichenberg (today's Liberec, CZ) in northern Bohemia, which arose because of the entrepreneurial spirit of a new bourgeoisie, to become the major centre of the textile industry in Austria-Hungary (Fig. 12.1).[6] In

ria in the discussion of the subject, such as for Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, 'Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana', in Giovanni Previtali ed., *Storia dell'arte italiana. Parte prima: Materiali e problemi, I: Questioni e metodi* (Turin, 1979), 285–352. The best work is Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod eds, *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art (Histories of Vision)* (Burlington VT, 2005).

3 For instance, the inscription of the relevant toponym on the hill above the city in Braşov/Kronstadt and Râşnov/Rosenau (both in Romania) or the one at the entrance to the village of Arlena di Castro (province of Viterbo), as well as on Mount Wellington near the city of Hobart (NZ).

4 The temporary 'hollyweed' of 2017; also see Leo Braudy, *The Hollywood Sign. Fantasy and Reality of an American Icon* (New Haven, 2011).

5 Susanne Claudine Pils ed., *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiungen und des Geheimnisses* (Innsbruck, 2012). Ulrike Planner-Steiner, *Friedrich von Schmidt* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

6 It was built 1888–93 to the design of the Viennese architect Franz von Neumann Jr (a pupil of Friedrich von Schmidt); Věra Laštovičková, *Cizí Dům? Architektura českých Němců 1848–1891 / Ein fremdes Haus, Die Architektur der Deutschböhmen 1848–1891* (Prague, 2015), 249–59.

doing so, the city was in effect celebrated as the 'Manchester of the monarchy' and earned a second nickname as '*Klein-Wien*' ('small Vienna').[7]

Fig. 12.1: Liberec/Reichenberg, the old and new town hall building, 1893 (photo: Severočeské Muzeum v Liberci).

Goa, the flourishing Portuguese stronghold on the Indian Ocean coast, was rightly defined in its time as '*Roma do Oriente*' ('Rome of the East'), because of its decisive role in the spread of Christianity through Asia. This identification reverberated distinctively also in the typological choices of religious buildings for the city, as demonstrated by the church of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência (São Caetano) in Velha

7 The relationship between Vienna and Liberec and the latter's 'projective identification' with the metropolis of the empire is discussed in Miloslava Melanová, 'Vídeň–Liberec: od obchodu k umění a politice – proměna vztahu k hlavnímu městu monarchie', in Lukáš Fasora et al eds, *Brno Vídni, Vídeň Brnu* (Brno, 2008), 337–46.

Goa (Fig. 12.2),[8] built by the Theatine fathers in the mid-seventeenth century taking St Peter's in Rome as the model, imitating its dome and above all the façade by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629), including those two bell towers which, a decade earlier—after the modification of the project by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680)—had had to be demolished for reasons of statics. In the copy at Goa the width of the facade was reduced from the original nine to only seven bays; but this detracts very little from the clear recognition of the celebrated Roman prototype. Unlike the other convents of the city, the Theatine settlement of Goa was not subject to the *Padroado Real do Oriente* (that is, to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Lusitanian crown), but to the authority of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. Therefore, the typological choice can perhaps be interpreted as a programmatic demonstration of the direct link with the centre of Christianity.

São Caetano in Velha Goa was the very first domed church to be built in the East Indies and this caused great amazement among the local population. The appearance of a dome flanked by two towers would soon become an emblem of architectural innovation, a model that was even imitated in some small villages in Goan territory—in the churches of Santo Estêvão on the island of Jua (Figs 12.3 and 12.4), of São Caetano in Assagao and Santo Aleixo in Calangute—where, of course, neither the financial means nor the technical skills were sufficient to physically build a dome. However, not wanting to renounce the prestigious and iconic formula of the prototype, the builders resorted to the use of a form similar to a theatrical backdrop, distorting the dome into a narrow, semi-cylindrical wall body deprived of the rear half, reducing it, that is, to a mere element crowning the facade.[9] In this way the symbolic message inherent in the imitation is conveyed not by the actual struc-

8 The church was built from 1661 onwards to the designs of two Italian architects: The Theatine Carlo Ferrarini (active 1644–83), and Francesco Maria Milazzo (active 1644–69), the façade, however, dates from 1673–5. See Carlos de Azevedo, 'The churches of Goa', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 15/3 (1956) 3–6; Mário Tavares Chicó, *Igrejas de Goa* (Lisbon, 1956), 331–6; José Pereira, *Baroque Goa* (New Delhi, 1995); David Martin Kowal, 'The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa', in José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pereira eds, *India & Portugal: Cultural Interactions* (New Delhi, 1995), 70–87; Paulo Varela Gomes, *Arquitectura, religião e política em Portugal no século XVII: a planta centralizada* (Porto, 2001); Maria do Céu Simões Tereno, *Arquitetura religiosa em Goa–contributos para a sua investigação* (Évora, 2014); Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos, 'From Rome to Goa: Domes in Goan Catholic Architecture', in Christophe Charle ed., *Identidades y Redes Culturales, V Congreso Internacional de Barroco Iberoamericano* (Granada, 2021), 1035–43. Preparations are underway for the publication of a lecture by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos, 'An Icon of the "Eternal Rome" at the "Rome of the East": The Theatine Church of the Divine Providence and Convent of Saint Cajetan in Goa', from the conference 'Circa vestimenta: i Teatini e l'architettura (XVI-XVIII secolo)', Rome, 22–3 March 2022.

9 See especially Pereira and Pratapaditya Pereira, *India & Portugal*, and Rodrigues dos Santos, 'An Icon', 1039–42.

Fig. 12.2: Velha Goa (India), church of São Caetano (photo: Wikimedia Commons / Sailko, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goa_vecchia,_san_gaetano,_esterno_03.jpg [accessed 01.07.2024]).

ture of the building itself but only by the extrinsic image of its external appearance. This was an extreme, and absolutely surprising, case of an intrinsic deviation from the cultural gap between the centre and the periphery.

An episode full of equally symbolic incisiveness, but above all on an undeniably paradoxical note, comes 130 years later in another extreme periphery of the Catholic world: on the border with Russian Orthodoxy. Stanisław Bohusz Siestrzencewicz (1731–1826),[10] a high Lithuanian prelate of Polish origins, after being appointed archbishop of Belarus (and at the same time Metropolitan of all Catholics in the Russian empire), wanted to demonstrate the *romanitas* of his pastoral ministry with an imposing architectural sign and had in Malatycze (today's Maldzyechna, BY), a small lo-

10 This biographical information can be retrieved from Léonard Chodźko, *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale et illustrée* (Paris, 1839–41), 402.

Fig. 12.3: Jua (Goa, India), church of Santo Estêvão, façade (photo: after Rodrigues dos Santos 2021, p. 1040, fig. 3).

cality of the archbishop's feudal dependency, a copy built in the ratio of 1 to 8 of the Vatican basilica: the basilica of St. Stanislaus (Fig. 12.5).[11] The project even included—at least as far as a nineteenth-century engraving would lead one to believe[12]—the

11 The church was built from 1787 onwards to the design of architect Laurynas Gučevicius; see, Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Il ruolo di Roma nell'architettura polacca del tardo barocco* (Warsaw-Rome, 1996), 111–12. The building was demolished in 1960.

12 It is reproduced in Chodźko, *La Pologne*, 401, which also contains some more detailed historical information: '. . . Malatycze devint la proprieté de Siestrzencewicz, qui y éleva à ses frais une belle église sur le modèle de Saint-Pierre de Rome. L'église de Saint-Stanislas est huite fois moins grande que la célèbre basilique romaine, mais ses proportions ne font rien perdre à la parfaite exactitude de la reproduction. L'église de Saint-Stanislas s'élève sur une place isolée et nôtre gravure la représente avec la plus grande fidelité. Ce beau monument d'architecture, qui est du, comme nous l'avons dit, au métropolitain polonais, fut consacreée par lui le 29 juin 1794 [not by chance on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul] et rendu au culte catholique . . . '.

Fig. 12.4: Jua (Goa, India), church of Santo Estêvão, back side of the façade (photo: after Rodrigues dos Santos 2021 p. 1041, fig. 4).

construction of a colonnade in the square in front, identical to St Peter's Square in Rome.[13]

Although in this case the dimension of megalomania was borderline, the fact remains undeniable that resorting to the emblematic force of Roman architectural models would have found a rather valid and effective means of affirming Catholic identity in distant and culturally hostile lands.

13 The series of imitations of the St Peter's obviously does not end here. The following examples could be added: the church of Saint Agatha and Barbara in the city of Oudenbosch in the Netherlands (1865 and 1892, designed by Pierre Cuypers and Gerardus Jacobus van Swaaij), which combines an imitation of the Petrine dome with a reduced version of the façade of St. John Lateran; the basilica a of Sainte-Marie-Reine-du-Monde in Montréal, Canada (1875–1894, designed by Victor Bourgeau); the basilica of the Crowned Mother of Good Counsel and Queen (1920–1960, designed by Vincenzo Veccia) built over the catacombs of S. Gennaro in Naples; and finally, the gigantic basilica of Notre Dame de la Paix (1985–89), in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, commissioned by the country's first president and built in the capital of the African country to a design by Pierre Fakhoury.

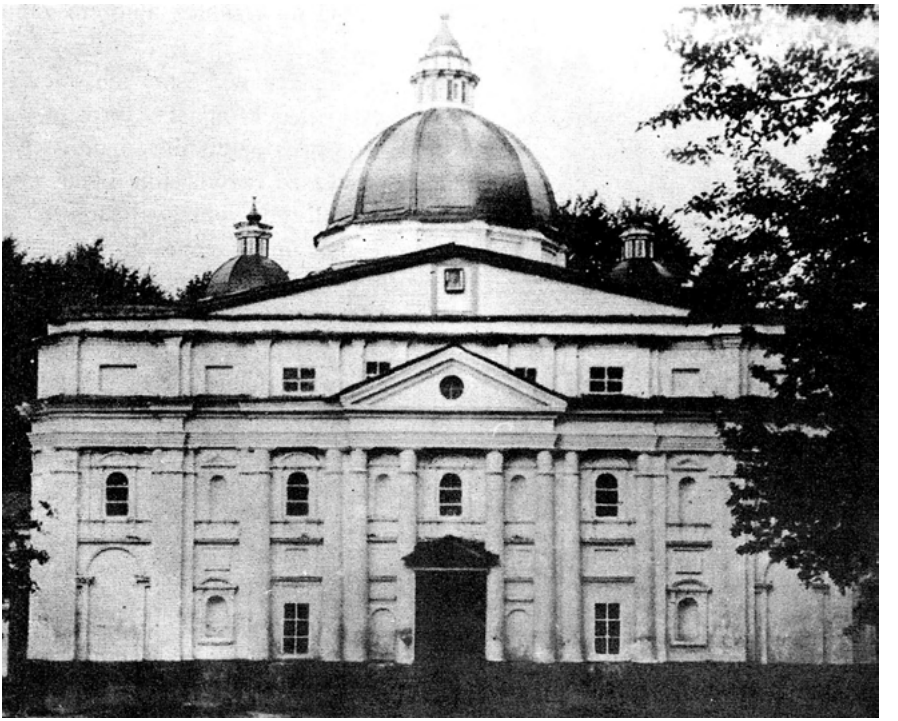

Fig. 12.5: Malatycze (Maladzyechna, Belarus), church of St. Stanislaus, before 1960 (photo: after Kowalczyk 1996 p. 111, fig. 80).

At this point another case that comes from the Indian subcontinent must be mentioned. Although little known, it is particularly fascinating and curious from the point of view of the historical circumstances in which it originated: the Basilica of Our Lady of Graces in Sardhana (Fig. 12.6).[14] From the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, this small town on the Gangetic plain northeast of Delhi was the capital of a tiny autonomous state, where Catholicism was established as the state religion. The story began with the career of an adventurer of German origin, Walter Reinhardt (1723–88), called Sombre (or Samru, in Urdu). He had come to India as a soldier in the pay of the *Compagnie Royale Des Indes Orientales* and, after repeatedly enlisting in the troops of the East India Company, and related desertions, he set up

14 See Severin Noti, *Das Fürstentum Sardhana: Geschichte eines deutschen Abenteurers und einer indischen Herrscherin* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906); Jyoti Pandey Sharma, 'Architectural Adventurism in Nineteenth-Century Colonial India: Begum Samru and Her Sardhana Church', in *International Journal of Islamic architecture* 9/1 (2020), 61–89.

on his own by forming a small army of mercenaries, which fought for various maharajahs of Bengal as well as for Shāh Ālam II (1728–1806), the third last Mughal emperor.[15] From the latter, Reinhardt received in feudal possession the territory of Sardhana, where he settled—together with his very young wife, a *nautch*, or dancer and girl of pleasure at court. After her husband's death, Begum Samru (1751–1836) converted to Christianity and not only consolidated her own power as sovereign but also forged more intense ties with Rome, even obtaining from the pope the assignment of a bishopric.[16] Relying on the building expertise of Antonio Reghellini (1784–1853), a military engineer originally from Schio, near Vicenza, he had a large church built in the second decade of the nineteenth century, inspired—despite the undeniable stylistic differences—by the five-nave typological scheme of the great Roman basilicas, and above all the model of S. Maria Maggiore, from which one of the most recognizable and iconic elements was visibly derived, namely the characteristic pair of flanking domes.[17] The cultural reference to Rome-*caput mundi* would also be affirmed in the grandiose and somewhat pompous sepulchral monument of the sovereign (Fig. 12.7), which the son of the *begum* would erect with statues shipped at enormous expense directly from the studio of Adamo Tadolini (1788–1863), a pupil of Antonio Canova (1757–1822) and a renowned sculptor in Rome at the time.[18]

It is obvious that the subordination of an overseas architectural culture to that of the European homeland was a symptomatic phenomenon, implicit in the very nature of colonialism. At times, the impetus to refer to a specific European paradigm could prove to be more decisive than design coherence itself. A truly singular and curious case in this sense occurred, however, when in 1540 in Cholula, a city in the Viceroyalty of New Spain (today's Mexico), a large *capilla real*

15 Kurt Reinhardt, *Wegweiser zu den Quellen der Geschichte des deutschen Nabobs von Sardhana in Indien Walter Reinhardt genannt Sombre* (Völklingen, 1993). His adventurous life has been the subject of various (somewhat fictional) monographs since the nineteenth century, all written in German, e.g. Stanislaus Grabowski, *Herr Indiens* (Berlin, 1864); Peter Weber, *Maharadscha Reinhardt. Der Feldherr des Großmoguls* (Berlin, 1942).

16 Preeti Sharma, *Begum Samru, her life and legacy* (Delhi, 2009), and *Sardhana*, in Hugh Chisholm ed., *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11ed. (Cambridge, 1911), XXIV, 210.

17 Ezio Maria Simini, *Antonio Reghellini governatore di Sardhana: un oriundo scledense alla corte della Begum Samru* (Schio, 2015).

18 Giulio Tadolini ed., *Ricordi autobiografici di Adamo Tadolini: scultore (vissuto dal 1788 al 1868) pubblicati dal nepote Giulio* (Rome, 1900), 209–13; Giorgio Galeazzi, *Notizie sullo scultore Adamo Tadolini (1788–1868), allievo di Giacomo De Maria e di Antonio Canova*, in 'Strenna storica bolognese' 67 (2017), 181–218; Tamara Hufschmidt, *Tadolini: Adamo, Scipione, Giulio, Enrico; quattro generazioni di scultori a Roma nei secoli XIX e XX*, Collana dei Romanisti 3 (Rome 1996). My thanks to Naman Mukesh Chaudhary, Delhi-London, for generously providing me with advice and photographs.

Fig. 12.6: Sardhana (Uttar Pradesh, India), basilica of Our Lady of Graces, exterior (photo: Naman Mukesh Chaudhary, London/Delhi).

(the royal chapel, dedicated to indigenous peoples) was built above the vast foundations of a Mixtec temple that had been previously demolished (Fig. 12.8).[19] The patrons and architect—Spanish born Luis de Arciniega (1537–99) who died in Puebla de los Ángeles Mexico—were evidently mindful of their distant motherland, and in building over the pre-Columbian sanctuary they created nothing less than a Renaissance re-edition of the cathedral of Córdoba—of the celebrated mosque, that is, which the Spaniards had transformed into a Christian temple after the reconquering Arab Andalusia. Thus, paradoxically, in violating a pre-Columbian place of worship, the disposition scheme of a building which in turn had been

19 Rafael Manzano Martos, *La capilla Real de Cholula y su Mudejarismo*, in *al-Andalus* 26 (1961), 219–24.

Fig. 12.7: Cholula (Mexico), Capilla Real de Naturales (photo: Mexicoenfotos https://www.mexicoenfotos.com/store/places/vintage/puebla/ [accessed 26.09.2024]) (Clave: MX16554393010073).

converted would have imposed itself on the new world: a gigantic hall with columns which, in truth, already in the cordovan role model itself had been the result of a compromise, born of a very problematic adaptation from a liturgical-functional point of view.

Up to this point analysis has focused on episodes of reception, in which certain emblematic 'metropolitan' buildings were recreated for their symbolic value or as an identifying tool of civilization. The reference to what the model represents (i.e. the political or religious cultural centre) was in itself the programmatic message of the imitative act. However, by focusing exclusively on cases of univocal paradigmatic significance, one would risk concealing the role of the model as an indicator of quality, as an example of a superior aesthetic culture radiating from the centre.

Fig. 12.8: Cholula (Mexico), Capilla Real de Naturales (http://www.mexicoenfotos.com/store/places/vintage/puebla). (Clave: Mx16554393010073).

The hegemonic relationship between centre and periphery manifests itself, in fact, also and above all on the basis of an intellectual and artistic leadership.[20]

The more intensely a 'peripheral' civilization is connected with the cultural experience of avant-garde centres, the more it is based on the exemplary nature of their heritage and on the circulation of ideas coming from them, then the greater will be the push to orientate themselves on their universally approved models. The architectural culture of the late Baroque demonstrates this with particular evidence, focusing—as is well-known—first on Rome, and later mostly on Paris.[21]

In the context of a learned and eclectic attitude, the eighteenth century brought to its apex a cultural process which, for at least two centuries, had produced a

20 See the bibliography in note 2. Architectural historians have been working for decades with various national and international initiatives to systematically outline a historical topography of 'glocal' realities, recording provincial peculiarities and at the same time the spread of stylistic and typological phenomena from the centres towards the peripheries. Great efforts have been made in this direction with the various volumes of the *Atlante del Barocco in Italia* (directed by Marcello Fagiolo) and—on a global level—with the volume by Antonio Bonet Correa ed., *Atlas mundial de arquitectura barroca* (Madrid, 2001).

21 Gil R. Smith, *Architectural diplomacy: Rome and Paris in the late Baroque* (Cambridge MA, 1993).

large number of emulations and paraphrases of Italian, and specifically Roman, models.[22] The distinctly cosmopolitan culture of the Age of Enlightenment, embodied by an elite proud of its knowledge, acquired not least through the Grand Tour, had given birth to a veritable cult of *romanitas* (ancient and modern) in every sphere of the arts.[23] And this facilitated a true 'quotationist' fashion.

A truly impressive series of examples demonstrating such erudition is found in the complex of buildings that Frederick the Great (1712–86), king of Prussia, had erected in his residential city of Potsdam, transforming it, at the suggestion of his friend Francesco Algarotti (1712–64), from a grey garrison town into a refined compendium of veritable trophies from the history of architecture.[24] Among the most eloquent examples was the façade of the Nikolaikirche, built in 1752–55, based on a design by Georg von Knobelsdorff (1699–1753), which was similar to the elevations for the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome by Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1782) (Fig. 12.9).[25] In this case, in addition to the designer's study trip to Italy (1736/7), one of the prime vehicles for diffusion of such models was the wide dissemination of prints and books illustrated with measured drawings of buildings and architectural views.[26]

22 In this context, reference could be made to perhaps one of the most emblematic cases of all: The countless citations of Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale, a phenomenon that alone would be worth dealing with in a special monographic study (on which the author of these lines is in fact working). A particularly relevant episode concerns a seventeenth-century replica of the celebrated Venetian church of S. Maria della Salute: in the sanctuary of the Oratorians in the small town of Gostyń in Poland (1677–1728, by Giorgio and Giovanni Catenazzi and Pompeo Ferrari). See Elena Bassi, 'Longhena in Polonia: la chiesa dei filippini di Gostyn', in *Arte veneta*, 26 (1972), 250–62; Andrew Hopkins, '"Translatio Longhena Salute": drawings and patrons in pilgrimage between Venice, Rome and Gostyń', in Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Emma Jones eds, *Architecture, art and identity in Venice and its territories* (Farnham, 2013), 87–101. Another curious replica of the Salute on the island of Gozo in the Maltese archipelago should also be mentioned: the so-called Xewkija Rotunda, i.e. the Church of St John the Baptist (1952–78, designed by Giuseppe Damato).

23 Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini eds, *Grand Tour, adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005); and specifically in architectural-historical terms, see, Gabrielle Brainard et al eds, *Grand Tour*, *Perspecta, The Yale Architectural Journal* 41 (2008).

24 Franziska Windt, *Inspiration Rom. Friedrich der Große inszeniert sein Italien in Potsdam*, in Ortrud Weistheider and Michael Philipp eds, *Wege des Barock* (Munich-London-New York, 2019), 56–69.

25 In 1795, the building was destroyed by fire and only rebuilt in neoclassical form from 1830 onwards.

26 For the role of books and engravings in the education of architects (as well as patrons) see, among others, the various essays in Giovanni Curcio et al eds, *I libri e l'ingegno. Studi sulla biblioteca dell'architetto (XV–XX secolo)* (Palermo, 2010).

Fig. 12.9: Potsdam, Nikolaikirche, view by Johann Friedrich Meyer, 1771, Potsdam, Sanssouci Castle (photo: Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten, public domain, http://www.zeno.org/nid/20004188357 [accessed 01.07.2024]).

It is no coincidence that in Rome, precisely in this period (and even from the second half of the seventeenth century), one witnesses an intensification of the teaching of architecture. Students from all over Italy, but also and above all from northern Europe, flocked there to acculturate, attending the Accademia di San Luca or that of the French, as well as the courses of less institutional and less stable schools such as the Medici Academy, and the one held by Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) at the Roman Jesuit College.[27] And later these young architects would spread their Roman knowledge across the continent.

The processes of reception and derivation that will now be investigated—in contrast to actual imitative cases—is based no longer simply on well-recognized iconic prototypes, and not only on the overall appearance of a building, but also from their less striking features, these too being an essential element in the origi-

27 See especially, Smith, *Architectural diplomacy*; for the Medicean Academy see, Carlo Cresti, 'L'Accademia Medicea a Roma, 1673–1686', in Gianfranco Spagnesi and Maurizio Fagiolo eds, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini architetto e l'architettura europea del Sei-Settecento*, 2 vols (Rome, 1984), II, 443–57; for Pozzo's academy, Richard Bösel and Lydia Salviucci eds, *Mirabili disinganni. Andrea Pozzo (Trento 1642–Vienna 1709): pittore e architetto gesuita* (Rome, 2010), 201–15.

nality of the work. In fact, in the 'lost and found in translation' repertoire, alongside intact packages of cultural baggage, also can be found scattered objects of lesser significance, yet equally attributable to a precise origin. Sometimes, the citation of an apparently marginal architectural detail can even trigger a significant chain reaction.

The chapel of St. Elizabeth in Breslau Cathedral (today Wrocław, PL), the chapel flanking the choir on the right side was built between 1681 and 1700 by Cardinal Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt (1616–82).[28] He was a significant figure who, before settling in his Silesian diocese, had been highly influential at the papal court in Rome (Figs 12.10–12.14).[29] Born into a powerful German Protestant dynasty, he was the protagonist of one of the most sensational conversions to the Catholic faith of the time (comparable to that of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89)). The cardinal, attentive to everything concerning self-representation as an ecclesiastical prince, had dedicated himself to an extremely generous and costly patronage of the arts. Proof of this was the fact that the numerous statues that decorate the chapel were commissioned from Domenico Guidi (1625–1701) and Ercole Ferrata (1610–86), two Roman sculptors of great renown, both pupils of Bernini: the former is the author of the sepulchral monument of the cardinal, the latter executed the group of the titular saint and the angels who flank him.[30] A highly self-celebratory significance is supported by the fact that the cardinal chose Saint Elizabeth as the patroness of his own sepulchral chapel. Frederick of Hesse could in fact boast of descending directly from the Saint, and patronage in this sense served to exalt his act of conversion on a hagiographic level.

28 See especially, Bernhard Patzak, *Die Elisabethkapelle des Breslauer Domes* (Breslau 1922); Konstanty Kalinowski, 'Kaplica Św. Elżbiety przy katedrze we Wrocławiu', in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanystiki* 15 (1969), 273–95; Jerzy T. Petrus, 'Kilka uwag o wrocławskiej kaplicy św. Elzbiety: (w zwiazku z praca Konstantego Kalinowskiego: Kaplica sw. Elzbiety przy katedrze we Wrocławiu)', in *Roczniki sztuki śląskiej* 9 (1973), 77–88; Konstanty Kalinowski, *Barock in Schlesien, Geschichte, Eigenart und heutige Erscheinung* (Munich, 1990), 93–6; Frank Martin, 'Grabkapelle, Familienkapelle, Heiligengrab. Die Elisabethkapelle des Landgrafen Friedrich von Hessen im Dom von Breslau/Wrocław', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 50/3 (2006) 3, 315–66;

29 The laying of the foundation stone took place, at the hands of the same cardinal, on 18 July 1680, the consecration on 5 September 1700. See Johann Christian Kundmann, *Silesii in Nummis. Oder berühmte Schlesier in Müntzen, so durch grosse Helden-Thaten, hohe und wichtige Amts-Würden oder durch Gelehrsamkeit und Schriften ihren Namen unvergeßlich gemacht* (Breslau-Leipzig, 1738), 467–70; Patzak *Die Elisabethkapelle*.

30 Konstanty Kalinowski, 'Roman Artistic Import to Wrocław. Sculptures of St. Elisabeth Chapel', in *Artium Quaestiones* 6 (1993), 5–17.

Fig. 12.10: Wrocław, Cathedral, St. Elizabeth's Chapel, the interior towards the burial monument of the commissioner (photo: https://polska-org.pl/3515289,foto.html [accessed 18.02.2024]).

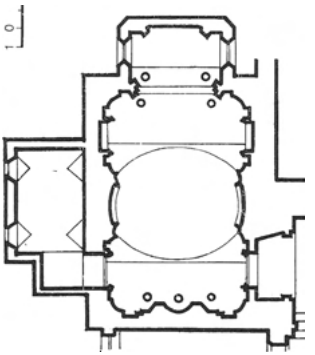

Fig. 12.11: Wroclaw, Cathedral St. Elizabeth's Chapel, ground plan (photo: from Kalinowski 1990).

The chapel ranks among the earliest and therefore most striking late Baroque architectural creations in Central Europe.[31] Its spatial layout consists of three rhythmic bays that form a rectangular hall, to which, on one side, is added a small retro-choir that opens behind the colonnade of the altar aedicule. In the large middle bay there is a transversely oriented oval dome. The centric tendency of the chapel is further affirmed and accentuated by the bevels of the four corners of the space. The tectonic relationship between the wall articulation and the vault structure is resolved in a somewhat extravagant way. Despite the presence of a Corinthian order, the pilasters and columns do not assume any load-bearing func-

31 Hellmut Lorenz, 'Italien und die Anfänge des Hochbarock in Mitteleuropa', in Max Seidel ed., *L'Europa e l'arte italiana – Europa und die Kunst Italiens* (Venice, 2000), 418–33, esp. 420–3.

Fig. 12.12: Wroclaw, Cathedral St. Elizabeth's Chapel, vaulted ceiling (photo: Andreas Nierhaus, Vienna).

tion: In fact, they merely frame the altar, the sepulchral monument and the two large painted panels in the centre of the longitudinal walls. The role of support is instead entrusted to thin wall projections, the narrower ones of which, within the overall structure of the walls, correspond to the perimeter arches that rise from the rounded corners, while the wider ones correspond to the ribs that separate the dome from the secondary spans. The plasticity of the wall is further enlivened by concave projections that protrude into the central backgrounds of the four sides. This motif arises from the concave curvature of the columned aedicules on the smaller sides of the chapel. Transferred to the long sides, the trilithic structure (two uprights surmounted by a lintel) of the aedicules undergoes a modification: No longer supported by full round columns but equipped only with pilasters leaning against the slightly curved sides of the prominence, it is now completely integrated in the relief of the wall mass. In this way, a refined hierarchical differentiation between the transverse and longitudinal axis is manifested. And that is the crucial point of this architecture, because the differentiation does not only concern the plastic value of the two axes, but also and above all the degree of curvature itself. Although there is no vertical material continuation above the

Fig. 12.13: Wroclaw, Cathedral St. Elizabeth's Chapel, concave prominence of side walls (photo: Andreas Nierhaus, Vienna).

ridges, the connexion between them and the vault appears absolutely stringent, because their concavities anticipate the oval shape of the dome, outlining exactly the relative segments of its polycentric curve: of smaller radius on the longitudinal walls and with a wider radius on the transverse walls. In this way, the four inflected elements of the wall virtually introduce an antithetical idea, that of an oval rotunda, which enters into a dialectic with the real rectangular volume of the space. This dialectic imposes itself as the real core of the artistic concept of this architectural work (and it is no coincidence that the same principle is repeated even in the small room located behind the altar).

The element examined appears to have developed coherently, starting from the compositional logic of the spatial project. Nonetheless, the question of the origin of such an invention arises, in particular for that of the inflected projections of the walls.[32] For this reason, the history of construction and, above all, the personality of the client must be analyzed. Secondary sources and the most recent

32 At this point, I would like to thank my colleagues and friends Andreas Nierhaus (Vienna) and Augusto Roca de Amicis (Rome), for the stimulating exchange of ideas.

Fig. 12.14: Wrocław, Cathedral of, St. Elizabeth's Chapel, altar (photo: Andreas Nierhaus, Vienna).

historiography mention a certain Giacomo Scianzi as the author of the chapel. An otherwise almost unknown artist, in addition to executing the frescoes in the chapel, Scianzi would also have provided the architectural design.[33] Faced with the undeniable quality and originality of the work, however, such a modest, almost anonymous author is not very convincing; unless Scianzi himself had been—so to speak—imported directly from the Eternal City.[34] In fact, taking into account the aspirations of grandeur of the cardinal and the ostentatious *romanitas* expressed in his

33 Already Kundmann, Silesii in nummis, 470, seems to support (at least indirectly) his authorship also with regard to the architectural design, when he writes that the frescoes in the chapel, definitely authored by Scianzi, were painted 'von dem berühmten architecto'. Patzak 1922, 12, 15, affirms this attribution on the basis of account books he found in the diocesan archive in Wroclaw and cites an entry in the baptismal registers of the cathedral dated 15 August 1680 with the specification 'Jacobus Schanz [=Giacomo Scianzi] Architector principis'. However, it seems more likely to me that Scianzi's function was, in truth, not that of the designer but of the executive architect executor of the building site.

34 Sedlmayr gives the information, but without indicating the source, that Scianzi had been a pupil of Algardi.

chapel (the classic elegance of the marble coverings and, above all, the sculptural apparata prepared by Bernini's best pupils), the suspicion that the cardinal had obtained the project directly from Rome seems almost certain. Not only was design by 'correspondence' highly fashionable in those years, but in this case it must also be taken into account the fact that the cardinal had only left Rome in 1676 to live personally in his diocese.[35] A certain affinity in the choice of linguistic means can be found in the works of Giovanni Antonio De Rossi (1616–95) who, during the last years that the Cardinal of Hesse spent in Rome was one of the most successful architects.[36] But it is, above all, his ability to wittily stage an ambiguous relationship between the planimetry and the system of vaults—between quadrangular figures and round structures—which could corroborate such a hypothesis; this attempt at attribution becomes even more plausible if one considers the fact that Domenico Guidi (1625–1701) was collaborating with De Rossi precisely at the very moment of the cardinal's departure from Rome (in 1676 for the chapel of Monte di Pietà).[37] On the other hand, the fact that one of the formal elements of the interior of the Wrocław chapel—the broken tympanum of the portals—seems to indicate instead a link with the Florentine environment, and precisely with the stylistic heritage of Bernardo Buontalenti (1531–1608), should not be ignored. For this, the other sculptor active in the chapel, Ferrata, who had played an important role in the Medici Academy that existed in Rome between 1673 and 1686, yet again precisely in the years of interest, would provide the source in this case.[38] In any case, Bernini himself used this motif in the Pietà chapel in the Vatican Basilica (a detail that no longer exists today).

35 Hellmut Lorenz, 'Zur Internationalität der Wiener Barockarchitektur', in Hermann Fillitz et al ed, *Wien und der europäische Barock* (Graz-Vienna, 1986), 21–30; Pavel Kalina, 'Carlo Fontana, Domenico Martinelli, and Georg Adam II of Martinitz: architectural design, architectural collaboration and aristocratic representation around 1700', in *Umění* 1–2/63 (2015) 34–54; Idem, 'Carlo Fontana and Bohemia: architect's vision and builder's reality around 1700', in Giuseppe Bonaccorso and Francesco Moschini eds, *Carlo Fontana 1638–1714* (Rome, 2017), 233–9.

36 I am referring, among other things, to some particular conformations such as the low arched tympanums (also present, for example, in St. Mary Magdalene), the wall slabs used as structural elements interspersed in the order of the pilasters (cf. the façade of the Ospedale delle Donne in the Lateran) or the laterally curved 'postamenti' from which the ribs of the vault rise (cf. the Lancellotti Chapel in the Lateran Basilica); c.f. Gianfranco Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi architetto romano* (Rome, 1964), 77, 111, 220. See Martin, 'Grabkapelle, Familienkapelle' passim; Arkadiusz Wojtyła, 'Podróż kardynała von Hessen-Darmstadt z Rzymu do Wrocławia i jej artystyczna oprawa / The journey of Cardinal von Hessen-Darmstadt from Rome to Wrocław and its artistic milieu', in *Italica Wratislaviensia* 1/5 (2014), 107–21.

37 Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi*, 165.

38 Cresti, L'Accademia Medicea, and Kira d'Alburquerque, 'De l'académie de Cosme III à Rome à l'Accademia del Disegno à Florence: le dessin dans la formation des sculpteurs florentins à l'époque des derniers Médicis', in *ArtItalies* 19 (2013), 92–9.

Concentrating here on the analysis of what exactly in De Rossi's work appears to prefigure the most characteristic creative aspects of the Wrocław chapel, the most fitting comparison is undoubtedly that with the Cappella delle Grazie in the church of S. Rocco, an early work by De Rossi, built in the 1650s (Figs 12.15 and 12.16).[39] Here too, as in the Lancellotti chapel, there is a complex intersection of two antithetical schemes: an oval outline is skilfully merged with the structure of a rectangular sail resting on four pillars, on which a smaller oval shell vault rises in turn.[40] And here, in the circumferential wall of the space is precisely that same inflected prominence which in Wrocław was supposed to visually connect the rectangular perimeter with the overlying dome, with the difference, however, that here the tracing of the curvature is not congruent with the figure of the oval inscribed in the vault; however, the lesser compositional coherence is not only due to this. The inflected cornice underlines—yes, here too—the relationship between wall and vault, but its task is much less demanding, as it connects two identical figurations: After all, it is a question of nothing more than to deceive, with a small, allusive sign, the problem represented by the quadrilateral interspersed between the oval cylinder of the walls and the oval shell in the centre of the vault. Therefore, the same motif, used in Wrocław with clear logic to suggest the conformation of the vault, does not have the same *raison d'être* here.

The analysis of this detail has been dwelt on because this very motif resulted in one of the most complex and intense masterpieces created by one of the greatest masters of European architecture: Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723). Returning again to Wrocław, the third link in the chain of derivation is in fact located on the other side of the choir of the same cathedral of the Silesian capital. The chapel of the SS. Sacramento, called *Kurfürstenkapelle* [*Kaplica Elektorska*] (Figs 12.17–12.20), was built between 1716 and 1724, on the orders of Cardinal Bishop Franz Ludwig von Pfalz-Neuburg (1664–1732), a member of the family of the prince electors of the Palatinate.[41] The institutional analogy here with the enterprise of

39 Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi*, 37–9. The similarity to the Chapel of Graces has already been revealed by Lorenz, 'Italien und die Anfänge des Hochbarock', 432 n.10.

40 Spagnesi, *Giovanni Antonio De Rossi*, 101–4; Corina Dovids, 'Die Cappella Lancellotti in San Giovanni in Laterano', in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 39 (2009/10), 267–80.

41 Karl Borowski, 'Die kurfürstliche Kapelle am Dom in Breslau', in *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 68 (1930), 159–61; Stanisław Mossakowski, 'Die Kurfürstenkapelle Fischers von Erlach im Breslauer Dom', in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19/23 (1962), 64–87; Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach* (2ed. Vienna, 1976), 164 s., 184–6, 286; Kalinowski, *Barock in Schlesien*, 96; Hellmut Lorenz, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach* (Zurich-Munich-London, 1992), 158s.; Ryszard Hołownia, 'Fischers Werke in Schlesien', in Friedrich Polleroß ed., *Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Barocktradition* (Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, 1995), 177–209; Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach architetto*, Giovanna Curcio ed. (Milan, 1996), 271s., 300s., 387s.; Arka-

Fig. 12.15: Rome, S. Rocco, chapel of Graces, vault (photo: Sante Simone, Rome).

Frederick of Hesse with which his chapel was commissioned (and the almost symbolic 'parallelism' of the location of the chapel to be built) prompted von Erlach to conceive of the new structure as a real counterpart to that of Pfalz-Neuburg's antecessor, demonstratively paraphrasing the structural concept of the chapel built thirty years earlier. In this work of his, which Hans Sedlmayr (1896–1984) defined as 'the most refined creation and the most intimate sacred space' in Fischer's production, the architect decided to orient the oval dome along the main axis of the

diusz Wojtyła, 'Związki Johanna Bernharda Fischera von Erlach ze Śląskiem w świetle źródeł', in: *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 1–2/71 (2009) 1/2, 57–75; Andreas Kreul, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach – Regie der Relation* (Salzburg-Munich, 2006), 32s., 274s; Ulrich Fürst, 'Innovation, Concetto und Monumentalisierung—Innenräume des kirchlichen Zentralbaus bei Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Ein erneuter Ansatz zur beschreibenden Analyse', in Herbert Karner et al eds, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723) und die Baukunst des europäischen Barock* (Munich, 2022), 75–89; finally, Richard Bösel, 'Geometrische Konfiguration und Festkörpergefüge—Kompositionsprinzipien Johann Bernhard Fischers von Erlach', in Andreas Nierhaus and Peter Husty eds, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach* (Salzburg-Vienna, 2023), 51–64.

Fig. 12.16: Rome, S. Rocco, chapel of Graces, side wall (photo: Sante Simone, Rome).

chapel.[42] By inscribing it lengthwise within the rectangular outline, he obtained a more spacious and above all more united and structurally homogeneous volume: 'On this plan, the structure is made up of four vertical zones: the wall, the crooked and intricately modelled connecting spandrels, the drum and the dome with its lantern'.[43] Along the main axis of the oval, two large arches set on columns open the space on one side towards a shallow recess containing a marble aedicule with the painted portrait of the founder and the epigraph of his burial, and on the other towards the main altar located in a domed rotunda: A kind of frontally open monopteros. Its columns clearly aim at recalling those of the altar of the chapel of St. Elizabeth, but here they appear elevated to the dimension of the monumental order of the building. Not only that, because of their protruding and diagonal position they produce a highly scenographic, almost perspective, staggered effect.

However, the most explicit reference to the pendant building is the concavity of the central backgrounds on the long sides. The flexion is slighter than in the

42 Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach architetto,* 272.
43 Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach architetto,* 300.

Fig. 12.17: Wrocław, Cathedral, Cardinal Elector's chapel, interior towards the altar (photo: https://polska-org.pl/965313,foto.html [accessed 18.06.2024]).

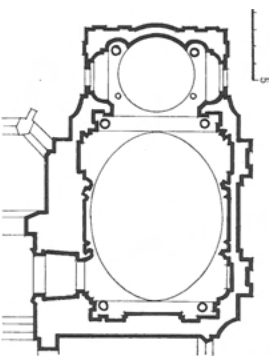

Fig. 12.18: Wrocław, Cathedral, Cardinal Elector's Chapel, ground plan (photo: from Kalinowski 1990 p. 96, fig. 47).

Fig. 12.19: Wrocław, Cathedral, Cardinal Elector's Chapel, interior towards the commissioner's tomb (photo: https://polska-org.pl/965313,foto.html [accessed 18.06.2024]).

Fig. 12.20: Wrocław, Cathedral, Cardinal Elector's Chapel, vault (photo: Werner Feiersinger, Vienna).

chapel of St. Elizabeth because, the oval being oriented longwise, it must correspond to its wider segment. Fischer von Erlach definitively clarified the structural function of the motif: the pilasters of the order are now included in the curved projections, which find their tectonic continuation upwards, by way of extravagant connecting elements (half pilasters, half volutes), which guarantee an effective connexion with the cornice of the oval form of the drum. Thus, the uneven movement of the walls tends to resolve itself organically in the clearer plasticity of the overall oval volume.

Fischer von Erlach's spatial concept certainly constitutes the qualitative apex of the derivative evolution examined but, as a series it did not end here. It seems that, in view of the construction of the Kurfürstenkapelle, a kind of design competition had been announced. In addition to Fischer von Erlach, the name of another of the participants is known: that of Pompeo Ferrari, an architect born and trained in Rome, but by then already in the service of Stanisław Leszczyński (1677–1766) in neighboring kingdom of Poland for over twenty years.[44] Of his design drawings, which up until the Second World War were kept in the Wrocław University Library, today only poor reproductions of two sections have survived because of their publication in the 1930s (Figs 12.21 and 12.22).[45] The graphic rendering of the internal structures of the chapel is not very clear, however one can guess that the planned layout was that of a square-shaped space with rounded corners, surmounted by a circular shell vault. It seems that Ferrari also wanted to address the theme of the relationship between wall and vault in some way; however, the game appears to be translated into a register of a lower scale: In the minor order of the columns that correspond to the shrine of the altar. In the centre of the side walls it forms an arch which encloses a portal, while alongside it bends into a kind of exedra protruding from the wall; its curvature seems to anticipate the circular shape of the vault. With this it is clear that not even Ferrari escaped the charm of the pre-existing twin building, borrowing from it—albeit in a less consistent way than Fischer—the essence of his structural concept.

44 Witold Dalbor, *Pompeo Ferrari 1660–1736. Działalnośćc architektoniczna w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1938); Smith, 'Pompeo Ferrari: A disciple of Carlo Fontana in Poland', in Henry A. Millon and Susan C. Scott eds, *An architectural progress in the Renaissance and Baroque sojourns in and out of Italy (essays in architectural history presented to Helmut Hager on his sixty-sixth birthday)*, 2 vols (University Park PA, 1992), II, 764–99; Smith, *Architectural diplomacy*, 164–9, 237 s., 244 s.; Kowalczyk, *Il ruolo di Roma*, passim; Zbigniew Bania et al eds, *Sztuka polska. Późny barok, rokoko, klasycyzm (XVIII wiek)* (Warsaw, 2016), 31–3, 204–07.

45 Dalbor, *Pompeo Ferrari*, 41–3; Jan Wrabec, 'Wrocławskie projekty Pompea Ferrariego', in *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 37 (1975), 295–8.

Fig. 12.21: Pompeo Ferrari, plan for the Cardinal Elector's Chapel in Wrocław, longitudinal section (formerly Wrocław, University Library) (photo: after Dalbor 1938 p. 41, fig. 13).

Fig. 12.22: Pompeo Ferrari, project for the Cardinal Elector's Chapel in Wrocław, cross-section (formerly Wroclaw, University Library) (photo: from Dalbor 1938, p. 42, fig. 14).

But that is not why the figure of Ferrari has been called into question. In the context of the preceding observations, in fact, two other works by him appear to be much more interesting: The first is a drawing for an unrealized church building, probably commissioned by Augustus the Strong of Saxony (1670–1733), king of Poland (Fig. 12.23).[46] The drawing is held by the state archive in Dresden.[47] The plan shows an elongated octagon in the main room, which is interpreted as a virtually elliptical figure due to the presence of an oval pattern in the centre of the vault. At the centre of the long sides of the octagon, in conjunction with small oval vestibules and choirs above, are precisely the same concave projections, which this time seem to have been borrowed from the chapel of St. Elizabeth (or from the project by Fischer von Erlach then currently under construction). And as in the latter, the curvature in this case corresponds exactly to the radius of the larger sectors of the oval figuration of the vault's centre. The other example—and here one reaches the

46 Dalbor, *Pompeo Ferrari,* 67ss.

47 Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Schrank VII, Fach 91, Nr. 18 K.

last link in the derivative chain—is the splendid church of the Cistercian abbey of Ląd on the banks of the Warta river in Poland, built between 1728 and 1733 (Figs 12.24–12.26).[48] The genesis of this building is quite original: The part characterized by the two towers, which today serves as the choir and chevet, already existed when Pompeo Ferrari was commissioned to expand the space. The architect decided to reverse the orientation of the building, placing the new entrance on the opposite side. In this way, he had the opportunity to build from scratch a large nave on a centric matrix, covered by a grandiose pavilion vault. The plan of this space is made up of a rectangle, in which an elongated octagon is inscribed, a typology of distant Bramantesque origins. From the corners of this polygon ribs in the vault proceed towards the lantern. In contrast to the longitudinal tendency of the space, the horizontal cross section of the lantern is neither octagonal nor oval, but circular, as if it wanted to manifest the virtual centricity of the system in the ideal shape of the circle. In order to emphasize this idea, the architect also introduced the motif of the inflected wall-projection in his work: Its tight concavity which, instead of mimicking the elongated shape of the entire vault, relates precisely to the small circle of the lantern. The architect did not hesitate to shape the profile of the vault with prominence, together with the wall. In this way, a structure in some ways comparable to Borromini's S. Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome was created. The animated structure of the spatial envelope could bring into play a possible source of inspiration that has not been taken into account up until now. In fact, one must think of the characteristic Guarinesque solutions introduced into Central Europe by Christoph Dientzenhofer (1655–1722) around 1700 and further developed by his son Kilian Ignaz (1689–1751).[49] The most fitting examples are the church of St. Francis Xavier in Opařany (Fig. 12.26) and the church of St. Joseph in Obořiště, where such a veritable concave flexion in the centre of the wall structure is to be found (Fig. 12.27).[50] However, it should

48 Dalbor, *Pompeo Ferrari*, 140–58, Smith, 'Pompeo Ferrari', 469; Kowalczyk, *Il ruolo di Roma*, 61; Bania, *Sztuka polska,* 208–10.

49 Christian Norberg-Schulz, 'Lo spazio nell'architettura post-guariniana', in Accademia delle Scienze di Torino ed., *Guarino Guarini e l'internazionalità del barocco*, 2 vols (Turin, 1970), II, 411–22; Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Dientzenhofer und „Hausstätter". Kirchenbaumeister in Bayern und Böhmen* (Munich-Zurich, 1985), 56–61; Idem, 'Christoph und Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer als Kirchenbaumeister in Prag und Böhmen', in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1989), 169–89; Wolf Hartmut Roidl, *Die kurvierten Sakralräume des Christoph Dientzenhofer* (Munich, 1995); Robert Stalla, 'Die Dientzenhofer und die kurvierte Architektur in Bayern und Böhmen', in Robert Luft and Ludwig Eiber eds, *Bayern und Böhmen. Kontakt, Konflikt, Kultur* (Munich, 2007), 123–76.

50 Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer e il barocco boemo* (Rome, 1968), 33; Franz, *Dientzenhofer und „Hausstätter"*, 57–61; Mojmír Horyna ed, *Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer a umělci jeho okruhu (výstava je uspořádána u příležitosti 300. výročí narození Kiliána Ignáce Dientzenhofera, Praha, Valdštejnská jízdárna, 1989/90)* (Prague, 1989), plates 2–3.

be emphasized that the Guarinesque vein of the motif is generated as a 'passive form', caused by the mutual intersection of several superimposed oval-shaped spatial cells. The inflection arises from the logic of a scheme which is in itself longitudinal: from that serial system which appears so clearly expressed in the nave of the celebrated church in Prague of St. Nicholas in Malá Strana.[51] It is true that even in Obořiště there seems to be a hint of an implied centricity, but this is limited only to the illusionistic decoration of the vault. In Ląd (as also in Wrocław) this is not a 'secondary' product of waste but, on the contrary, an element intentionally introduced to affirm—in the typological ambiguity of the space—the inherent roundness of a tendentially centric layout.

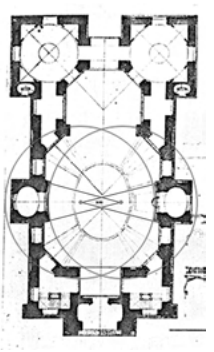

Fig. 12.23: Pompeo Ferrari, plan for a church (Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv), with geometric scheme (photo: from Dalbor 1938, p. 69, plate XIII graphic explanations by the author).

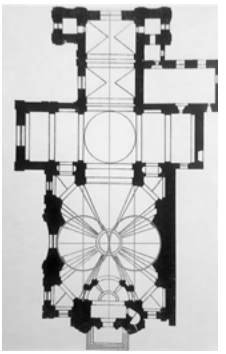

Fig. 12.24: Ląd, Cistercian abbey church, plan with geometric scheme (photo: from Dalbor 1938, p. 146, fig. 73 graphic explanations by the author).

51 Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Bauten und Baumeister der Barockzeit in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1962), plate 98; Franz, *Dientzenhofer und „Hausstätter"*, 61–5; Norberg-Schulz, *Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer*, 133–8; Mojmír Horyna, 'Die St.-Niklas-Kirche auf der Prager Kleinseite und ihre Bedeutung für die mitteleuropäische Kirchenarchitektur des ersten Drittels des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Petronilla Cemus ed., *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006* (Prague, 2010), 1279–1310.

Fig. 12.25: Ląd, Cistercian abbey church, interior of the central space (photo: Renata Gontarz; https://turystycznepropozycje.pl/opactwo-cystersow-w-ladzie/#bwg643/7685 [accessed 18.06.2024]).

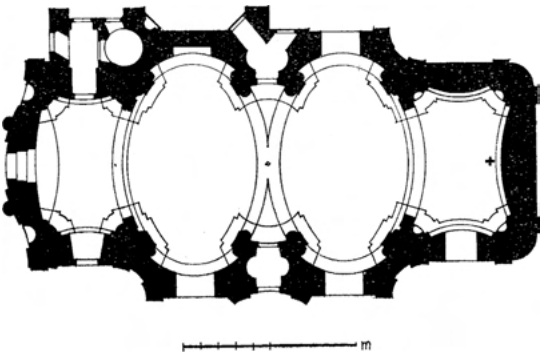

Fig. 12.26: Opařany, St. Francis Xavier, Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer 1732-35, ground plan (from Norberg Schulz 1968, p.109).

Fig. 12.27: Oboříště, St. Joseph's church, side wall and vault (photo: from Norberg Schulz 1968, fig. 28).

The morphological analysis therefore seems to indicate a line of development that leads not to Prague, but—through Wrocław—to Rome, still the undisputed centre at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the touchstone for the architectural culture of the continent. Once extrapolated from its place of origin, one small lexical element invented almost on a whim in the project for a modest Roman chapel, acquired the ability to establish itself in the periphery as a fundamental factor in the genesis of spatial solutions on a monumental scale. And instead of losing—far from the centre, through repeated mutations—its original virulence, it has, on the contrary, considerably sharpened it.

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