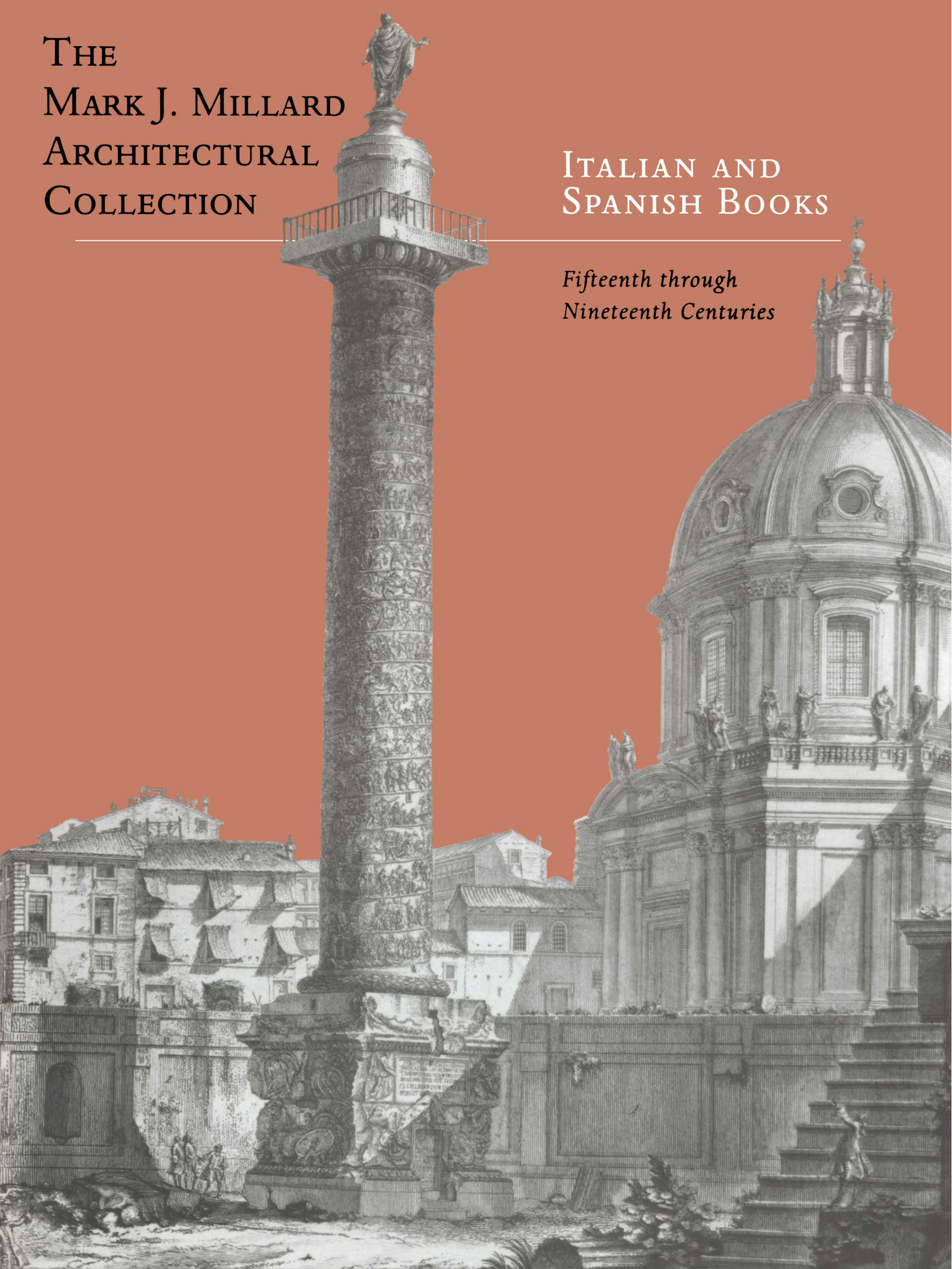


THE
MARK J. MILLARD
ARCHITECTURAL
COLLECTION

ITALIAN AND
SPANISH BOOKS

*Fifteenth through
Nineteenth Centuries*







THE MARK J. MILLARD
ARCHITECTURAL COLLECTION

Volume IV
Italian and Spanish Books, Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries

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*Italian and Spanish Books
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Essays and Introduction

MARTHA POLLAK

Bibliographic Descriptions

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Contents

Foreword	vii	Fra Francisco de los Santos	155
Introduction	viii	Teofilo Gallaccini	161
Notes to the Reader	xxi	Ferdinando Galli Bibiena	163
Abbreviations	xxii	Giovanni Giardini	171
		Alosio Giovannoli	172
CATALOGUE		José Gómez de Navia	176
Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia	2	Guarino Guarini	178
Giuseppe Francesco Antonio Alberti	13	Gavin Hamilton	184
Leon Battista Alberti	15	Carlo Labruzzi	185
Bernardino Amico	27	Giuseppe Antonio Landi	191
Bernardino Baldi	34	Giacomo Lauro	197
Daniele Barbaro	38	Domenico Magnan	205
Jean Barbault	41	Giacomo Marcucci	209
Antonio Basoli	47	Michele Marieschi	213
Ottavio Antonio Bayardi	50	Ludovico Martinelli	219
Francesco Beltrami	51	Francis Xavier de Maximis	220
Giovanni Battista Bertano	57	Agostino Mitelli	226
Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi	60	Famiano Nardini	230
Francesco Bianchini	61	Giambattista Nolli	234
Filippo Bonanni	67	Andrea Palladio	240
Francesco Borromini	73	Onofrio Panvinio	262
Benigno Bossi	77	Francesco Piranesi	268
Giovanni Gaetano Bottari	81	Giovanni Battista Piranesi	272
Giambattista Brustolon	87	Tommaso Piroli	317
Antonio Campo	93	Giovanni Poleni	318
Alessandro Capra	99	Giovanni Pomodoro and Giovanni Scala	321
Luca Carlevaris	103	Alessandro Pompei	325
Giovanni Maria Cassini	108	Andrea Pozzo	329
Pietro Cataneo	111	Giacomo Quarenghi	336
Giovanni Battista Costaguti	115	<i>Ragguaglio delle nozze</i>	340
Marc'Antonio Dal Re	121	Domenico de' Rossi	345
Giovanni Antonio Dosio	126	Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi	352
Etienne Dupérac	130	Luigi Rossini	360
Giovanni Battista Falda and Giovanni Francesco Venturini	131	Pietro Rossini	367
Pietro Ferrerio and Giovanni Battista Falda	135	Ferdinando Ruggieri	371
Carlo Fontana	141	Giovanni Antonio Rusconi	377
Domenico Fontana	149	Pietro Sardi	381
		Vincenzo Scamozzi	384

Christoph Scheiner	391	Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola	455
Sebastiano Serlio	392	Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo Prado	469
Lorenzo Sirigatti	405	Antonio Visentini	475
Franciszek Smugliewicz and Vincenzo Brenna	408	Marcus Vitruvius Pollio	481
<i>Sontuosa illuminazione</i>	412	Joseph Wagner	504
Giovanni Stern	417	Johann Joachim Winckelmann	505
Tommaso Temanza	420	Nicola Zabaglia	508
Girolamo Teti	421	Gioseffe Viola Zanini	512
Fernando de la Torre Farfán	425	Giampietro Zanotti	514
Lodovico Ughi	429	Giuseppe Zocchi	516
Giuseppe Valadier	430		
Francesco Valesio	436	Appendix	526
Luigi Vanvitelli	438	Index	527
Giuseppe Vasi	444		

Foreword

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART is delighted to publish this fourth and concluding volume in the catalogue of the Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection. Mr. Millard (1908–1985) gathered and generously made possible the acquisition by the Gallery of more than 700 illustrated books and suites of prints on the theme of architecture, including ornamental design and urban views, all published in Europe between the late fifteenth and mid-nineteenth century. Our catalogue of the books and suites in the Millard collection reflects the concentration of works from France (volume 1), Britain (volume 2), Northern Europe (volume 3), and Italy and Spain (volume 4).

The present volume focuses on works published in Italy, which produced illustrated architectural books that surpass those from any other publishing center in the originality of their content and in the elegance of their illustrations. Here are some of the earliest editions of the famous treatises by Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio that are the foundation of the discipline of architecture. Numerous works by other distinguished thinkers expand the range of subjects to include military architecture, perspective, festivals, and views. From the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century are the influential treatises by Pozzo, Bibiena, and Guarini, and great complexes of views and surveys by Carlevaris, Marieschi, Zocchi, Vasi, and Rossini, culminating in Piranesi's brilliant interpretations of the architecture of antiquity. With Piranesi the important early editions in the Millard Collection connect most directly to the Gallery's other collections, adding great distinction to our holdings.

We are grateful to our author, Martha Pollak, for bringing focus to this rich cornucopia of Italian books and prints through an insightful introductory essay and sectional essays on the major author-architects. Her scholarship befits the grand publishing tradition that is the subject of this series. The bibliographical descriptions, begun by Claire Baines and revised and completed by Gerald Beasley and Sandra Richards, complete the

picture, adding essential information to the narrative interpretation. All deserve our warm gratitude for their careful research and presentation.

Many individuals on the Gallery staff contributed time and expertise to the Millard catalogue. We are especially grateful to Andrew Robison, Andrew Mellon senior curator of prints and drawings, who enjoyed a long friendship with Mr. Millard and was largely responsible for bringing this superb collection to the Gallery, and to Virginia Clayton and Gregory Jecmen, both in the graphics department. Mary Yakush, senior editor and manager of catalogues on the collection, graciously orchestrated the writing and production of the series, with the invaluable aid of editor Katherine Whann in recent years. Neal Turtell, chief librarian, gave essential advice from the beginning of the project. The Italian volume also benefits from the contributions of our late editor-in-chief Frances Smyth, photographer Lee Ewing and his assistants Jennifer Pangraze and James Locke, production manager Chris Vogel, editors Frances Kianka and Hillery Hugg, typesetters Duke & Co., and designers Tom Suzuki and Hea-Ran Cho.

Above all, the Gallery is indebted to Mrs. Mark Millard for her unwavering dedication and generosity over a period of many years. She has continued to help build the Gallery's Millard collection, making possible several recent acquisitions (some even too recent to be included here): Giovanni Giardini's series of baroque *Disegni Diversi* (1714); Luigi Rossini's extremely rare first publication *Delle Antichità di Roma* (1817); a complete, beautifully bound two-volume set of Giacomo Quarenghi's *Fabbriche e Disegni* (1821 and 1844); and Antonio Basoli's neoclassical masterpiece *Compartimenti di Camere* (1827). This scholarly catalogue bears eloquent witness to her own and her late husband's support for the Gallery, and will inspire all who enjoy rare works of art.

Earl A. Powell III
Director



Introduction

THE ITALIAN BOOKS in the Millard collection constitute a significant segment of the architectural, archaeological, and topographical imprints published between 1486 and 1848 in various cities in the Italian peninsula; also included is a small sampling of Spanish books, published between 1671 and 1800. As is abundantly clear from the previous volumes in this series, Italy was the epicenter of the architectural Renaissance and, if we include the ancient Roman Vitruvius, the source of virtually all the translated treatises found in the French, British, and northern European volumes. The 1792 Spanish translation of Vignola should be added to this list. The Italian-speaking territories, and Rome in particular, were not only the wellspring of printed books and images but also the indispensable site to view the ruins of the ancient world and the triumphs of modern architecture. From the late sixteenth century onward, too, Italian researchers and publishers founded what would be the new discipline of archaeology, which in turn influenced every aspect of architecture and design—especially after the excavations at Herculaneum. The vitality of Italian architectural publication in the early modern period was promoted by a broad range of committed patrons in many culturally important cities.

In this volume we encounter the buildings that dominated western architecture (the Pantheon, Saint Peter's) and the urban forms that would later be developed throughout Europe and America: the triumphal arch, the porticoed street, the ceremonial square, and the military pentagon. The Millard collection illustrates the principal architectural book types at the time they are first created, and it includes the earliest editions of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Palladio, Sebastiano Serlio, and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. These influential treatises not only record the work of individual architects, most notably Palladio, but define the theory and practice of architecture for future generations—constituting it as a liberal art or intellectual discipline rather than an artisanal craft. This treatise-tradition or *trattatistica* is no longer regarded as normatively pedagogical, and these books are now

studied by historians or collected (and often dismembered) for their outstanding woodcuts and engravings. Although the attitude of contemporary practitioners of architecture has relegated *trattatistica* to the level of pure erudition, and has divorced it from contemporary practical and theoretical trends, its didactic force could still be felt in the early twentieth century.¹

The diversity of this material reflects well the astonishingly broad range and variety of approaches manifest in Italian architectural and archaeological publications. The earliest Millard imprint is Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (Florence, 1485), and the collection extends well into the nineteenth century. The books range widely in intention, presentation, and subject, including publications on the classical language of architecture, Christian and pagan archaeology, pageantry, perspective, urban topography, guidebooks, and compendia of the architectural and artistic treasures of many Italian localities. The geographical breadth extends from Rome to Seville, Jerusalem, and St. Petersburg, the latter reflecting the international hegemony of Italy in cultural matters (ironically at a time when it was politically fragmented and insignificant). The world traveled to Italy to view buildings and acquire illustrated texts of the highest quality—most notably the etchings of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, dedicated to patrons from as far afield as Scotland and Russia—and Italian architects exported their expertise to the new city of St. Petersburg, seen here in publications by Giacomo Quarenghi and Vincenzo Brenna.

The stylistic range is largely limited to the "classical," but there are traces of the alternative traditions that would come to dominate nineteenth-century eclecticism, especially in antiquarian studies and pageantry books. Early Christian and Byzantine appear in Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and in Francesco Beltrami's guide to Ravenna, Gothic in Cesare Cesariano's edition of Vitruvius and in the backgrounds of Giambattista Brustolon's engravings of Venetian ceremonials. The Moorish tower of Seville's cathedral and Gothic interior of Parma's are likewise featured as the setting of an official ceremony, and Iberian "unadorned" classicism is represented in José Gómez de Navia's illustrations of the Escorial. Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot's masquerade costumes prefigure Egyptomania, Piranesi's last works illustrate Greek temples at Paestum, and

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Regola delli Cinque Ordini*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1983.49.119

the most recent book in Millard collection, by Francis Xavier de Maximis, records the Vatican-Etruscan Museum in 1848.

How then can we make sense of this cornucopia? This catalogue (like its predecessors) is arranged alphabetically by author, but it could have been organized chronologically, to show the unfolding story of Italian architecture and book production, or thematically by region or building type, or art historically by illustrator, or generically to map out the variety of book types. A presentation by order of publication of the images disseminated through these books would bear palpable witness to the strength of influence, repetition, borrowing, and misreadings among architectural theorists and illustrators. Since the Italian imprints in the Millard collection exhibit such a bewildering range of interests, approaches, and appearances, one could separate the core “high” theoretical treatises from the “lesser” works such as guidebooks and collections of *vedute* (city views) except that those minor genres include the most important engravers of *vedutismo*, such as Giovanni Battista Falda and Piranesi. It would be more fruitful to classify these books according to the fundamental questions they ask: “how is it built?” or “how does it look?” Within the architectural treatise, moreover, we can recognize two self-reflective but parallel trends, one concerned with the making of architecture (which asks “what is the right way to build?”) and the other which ponders how the ancients stated and solved this problem.

A presentation by publication type would further clarify the richness of the Millard collection and its faithful representation of the wealth of Italian architectural books published from the beginning of printing to the middle of the nineteenth century. They can be categorized by their intended readership, implied in their dedicatees and the format and lavishness of their typographic production, or by their subject matter. Dora Wiebenson organized the treatises (including French, German, and English books) in her influential *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux* (1983) according to three categories: “Vitruvius discovered,” “architects and amateurs,” and “the elements of architecture” (further subdivided into four sections—the orders, geometry and perspective, technology, and public and private architecture). The Millard collection includes twenty-one Vitruvian studies and editions (Vitruvius discovered) and about fifteen monographs on the work of individuals (architects and amateurs), sometimes written by the architect himself. The elements of architecture are represented by works on the orders (two), perspective (seven), geometry (one), and books on individual building types (four), in addition to books of particular architectural exempla (eight). In categories outside Wiebenson’s are the

studies of antiquities and archaeology (approximately twenty), books on cities and guides with extensive topographical illustrations (twenty-six), and pedagogical texts on architecture (four). The most distinctive contributions of baroque Italy are also represented: the book recording the elaborate *feste* (parties) that celebrated state events and religious ceremonies; the military treatise illustrating the spectacular new geometric fortifications designed to resist artillery; and (between the last two categories) the book of fireworks.

The literary publications and manuscript remains of Italian architects, especially those active during the Renaissance, have been extensively examined, as will be clear from the bibliographies at the end of each individual entry. But no definitive study of these works has been undertaken from the point of view of the history of publication within a single linguistic group. Hanno-Walter Kruft’s ambitious survey of the entire history of architectural theory from Vitruvius to the present (1985) offers this complex material in the guise of an art survey, that is, arranged chronologically in order of publication, rather than as a true history of ideas, in which those ideas would likely be presented in the order of conceptualization. His chapters are organized according to art historical periodization and country: he presents Vitruvius and Alberti as the twin giants of classical architectural theory, ancient and modern, followed by the exegesis of Alberti and Vitruvius in the Italian Renaissance, a glancing look toward neglected seventeenth-century theories, and a coda on Italian contributions to the eighteenth century. Julius von Schlosser examines and evaluates the major architectural texts (many of them represented in this catalogue) as part of his larger study of the artistic literature of early modern Italy, side by side with the writings on painting, sculpture, and the decorative arts. Georg Germann (1987) proceeds in a manner similar to Kruft’s in offering a chronological survey of “Vitruvianism” from antiquity through the Renaissance, its diffusion, defense, and decline in Italian and French polemical writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to its conclusion in the German architectural theory of Gottfried Semper. Vitruvianism as an alternative term for ornament in architecture has been explored by George Hersey, and most recently by Alina Payne. Their interpretive strategies have been facilitated by the fading of modernism’s indictment of architectural ornament.²

It has been my challenge to incorporate these multiple affiliations into the individual essays that constitute this catalogue, to consider the history of architectural representation type, the author, the audience, and the publishing and the dissemination of these extraordinary books. I have adjusted my approach accordingly for each author or volume, and my intent has been to draw out the particular story and innovation of each book.

Throughout I have endeavored to make connections, linking authors, illustrators, and patrons through time and from city to city.

The Inheritance of Ancient Rome: Stones and Texts

The range, number, and copiousness of architectural publication in the Italian peninsula are extraordinary, prompting the question: What caused this enduring interest in architecture among Italian writers and publishers? It is difficult now to revive the rapture of the antique, but the most obvious answer is that the remnants of ancient Rome, which lay everywhere in profusion at a time when humanists began to research and reconstruct an accurate textual basis for understanding classical culture, fired the imagination of classicists. “Living in a wilderness of timber, brick and Gothic churches,”³ they looked upon antiquity with reverence. The illustrated treatises fulfilled a strong demand for books on Roman columns, which came to signify ancient architecture. The establishment of theoretical studies of architecture from the mid-fifteenth century proceeded in tandem with the reconstruction of Roman antiquities. The textual analysis of architecture offered in the *Ten Books* of the Roman architect Vitruvius was the only extant ancient work on the subject. This survival placed architecture in the company of poetry, philosophy, and history as a discipline whose study was sanctioned by classical authority. Fifteenth-century editors laboriously reconstructed the text itself, shepherding the study into print from faulty manuscripts, with occasional opportunities for verification from the architectural ruins.

The books in the Millard collection that concern the study of Roman classicism are driven by two different impulses, the fundamental engines of this entire publishing enterprise: the Vitruvian and the cartographic, or archaeological. These two groups reflect the binary sources for architecture as an intellectual discipline. One focuses on representation, reconstructing and illustrating the ancient Roman ruins visible on the ground, applying newly invented techniques like perspective, orthogonal projection, and engraving. The other is based on the literary sources that explicate the incomprehensible jumble of ruins and architectural fragments through discussion of the theoretical and pragmatic approaches of ancient Roman architects. (Vitruvius could be supplemented with the descriptions of buildings by other classical writers, such as Pliny.) Each of the two categories has at its core a highly regarded and formative early effort to produce the best possible documents for the theoretical study of architecture based on Vitruvius, and the archaeological retrieval

of the largest sample of ancient Roman architectural achievements. The formative impulse for the cartographic image of Rome is Raphael’s idea for a plan, described in a letter of c. 1520 to Pope Leo x, which would have offered a unified vision of Rome’s ancient buildings, infrastructure, and monuments; the authority of this exceptional artist encouraged others to realize his project.⁴ Elaborate and definitive standards were first posited by the idealistic Vitruvian academy founded by Claudio Tolomei and his associates in Rome, whose declared intention (never carried out in practice) was to reconstruct a philologically irreproachable version of Vitruvius from the numerous extant and faulty manuscripts.⁵ The nearly century-long gestation period of Vitruvian studies—between 1436 and 1520—is significantly framed by the completion of Alberti’s perspective study at one end and by Raphael’s antiquarian literary projects at the other.

Vitruvius offered his Italian descendants both confusion and clarification. The ten books of his *De Architectura* covered a range of topics that would later split off from the main subject of architecture, including water-clocks and sundials, fountains, stage and interior design, and military technology. On the other hand, he established with complete authority the central issues of the discipline. Vitruvius’ treatment of the origins of architecture can be further subdivided into two main categories: purpose and form. The purpose of architecture he defines as shelter, commemoration, and the public expression of justice, worship, and entertainment. Vitruvius’ discussion of form includes extensive treatment of the trabeated method of construction based on the use of columns, the ornamental system associated with both wall and columnar architecture, and anthropomorphic proportions: his cryptic remarks about building corresponding to the spread-out limbs of a man inspired some of the most famous images of the Italian Renaissance, most notably Leonardo da Vinci’s *Vitruvian Man*. Most important, Vitruvius identified a small number of essential aesthetic principles, including his concepts of eurhythmy, symmetry, and decorum.⁶

As considered in the Italian Renaissance, the theory of architecture—developed from the translations and interpretations of Vitruvius—engages in a continuous exchange with the practice of architecture as influenced by archaeological research, each affecting the perceptions of the other. Thus eventual archaeological findings correct obscure passages in Vitruvius, and literary descriptions throw light on complex architectural ruins. This relationship was complicated, however, by the realization of the gap between building and theory and, as Payne has shown, Renaissance architects were alerted by Vitruvius’ own lament that buildings cannot stand in for theory, that “the two exist in a reflexive relation-

ship.”⁷ Only seldom did the proportions and form of architectural remains confirm Vitruvius’ measurements, resulting in much confusion, discussion, and debate among interested architects. As they gained familiarity with the characteristics of classical style and the Imperial architecture that Vitruvius could not have known, architects became more confident in suggesting their own proportions and measurements, finding fault with both the Vitruvian text and extant examples.

Roman archaeology began as a treasure hunt for antiquities, which initially focused on sculpture, then on architectural fragments, and finally on ornaments; its trajectory ranges from the discovery of the *Laocoön* to the appropriation of ornamental details from house decoration at Herculaneum. The earliest visual documents illustrating Roman antiquities, architectural and sculptural, can be found among artists’ sketchbooks.⁸ Measured and drawn to scale, the pioneering drawings of Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Giuliano da Sangallo were not only studied by other artists as reliable factual information but appreciated for their authors’ interpretive abilities. In order to be rhetorically and visually persuasive these sketches reflected and even incorporated the authority of Vitruvius, or Pliny, as well as the descriptions of visually less reliable Greek and Latin historians, like Plutarch and Tacitus. The fragmentary state of ancient buildings and statues required extensive interpretation from the illustrating artist, whose task was greatly complicated by the lack of any template for an accurate and persuasive visual model.

The archaeological work proceeded at several levels simultaneously. Guidebooks such as those by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Giacomo Marcucci, and Domenico Magnan described the wilderness of ruinous objects on the ground, and the reconstructed sculptural fragments in private collections, as they grew over time through excavations and unexpected finds. More sophisticated humanist researchers such as Onofrio Panvinio and Famiano Nardini attempted to reconstruct the ancient city of Rome from the extant literary descriptions as well. By the mid-sixteenth century the riches of the city’s architectural and urbanistic past were persuasively illustrated in the imaginatively reconstructed plan of ancient Rome by Pirro Ligorio, and followed soon after by Panvinio and Etienne Dupérac. Their ancient sources included not only literary and architectural fragments, but also medals, coins, inscriptions, and surveys.

These artistic and humanistic reconstructions injected personal interpretations into the representation of Rome, adding to the repertory of images available to artists. This archaeological approach echoed the cartographic method in which even a little-known area would be filled with some information, however poor

and unreliable. In this manner, it was believed, when a closer examination of the site could be made, the traveler would have something to react against, considered an improvement over a blank. Similarly, Ligorio and Dupérac “filled in” open sites in the fabric of the city, creating a powerful image of the ancient capital which could be corrected as new information became available. This approach then, had the advantage of providing a finished, if conjectural image, and spurred further research.

The High Renaissance Treatise

Vitruvius was met with a rich and varied response in Italy. Not only were numerous illustrated editions published, but the ancient Roman writer inspired architects to compose their own treatises, to explicate their own theories, and to offer their own interpretations of architecture. Responses ranged from Serlio’s encyclopedism, Vignola’s formalism and interiority, and Palladio’s theory of the house. Italian writers clarified early their direct descent from Roman and Etruscan antiquity and used it to build the authority of Italian architectural theory. Prominent individuals competed to sponsor theoretical and topographical publications, just as they vied with one another in the patronage of the other fine arts. Sometimes the patron could be a critical factor, as in the posthumous publication of Alberti’s treatise sponsored by Lorenzo de’ Medici and his appropriation as the “Florentine Vitruvius.”

As Vitruvian studies developed, so too did a parallel illustrative and representative tradition explicit in the drawings of Giuliano da Sangallo and Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Scholars in the second half of the twentieth century made a concerted effort to examine and explain the transition into print from this distinguished manuscript and graphic tradition. The first editions of Vitruvius and Alberti had been published in the manner of the classical Roman texts, that is, unillustrated, since they had come down to their publishers in that way. The advent of illustrated books in the sixteenth century substantially altered these treatises. This transformation is the principal contribution of Renaissance architects; through their interest the early modern printed architectural text became first an illustrated book and then a book of pictures. The printed book transformed the decorated manuscript and fixed the loose sheets of drawings into mechanically reproduced, copious illustrations. While the image provided at first a diversion for the reader’s eye, merely

Vincenzo Scamozzi. *L’idea della architettura universale*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1983.49.100



surrounding the text that occupied the center of the page, in the sixteenth century it gradually moved toward the center, forcing the text into slim columns that drape around the illustrations of astonishing beauty and execution.⁹ The role of these books in feeding the architectural imagination may well explain some of the compelling interest and great value attached to them until the nineteenth century.

The Renaissance treatises are structurally and rhetorically modeled on Vitruvius. The rhetorical themes of these “high” theoretical treatises include the main subjects of the *Ten Books*: the education of the architect, the origins of architecture, war constructs, the materials of architecture, the instruments of design, the history of architecture, and antiquity. Like Vitruvius, other authors engage with their erudite predecessors, pointing to continuity of interests and the originality of the work. Sixteenth-century treatise writers (like their fifteenth-century manuscript predecessors) discuss significant ancient and contemporary buildings and offer historical anecdotes. Successive generations of writers took up Vitruvius’ themes in varying degrees, in what soon became an extensive dialogue and debate. Like Vitruvius’, their own treatises are organized into sections focused systematically on the columns, on religious architecture, on secular buildings, on the city, and on construction methods and materials. Thus Alberti’s treatise, with ten chapters, follows almost literally the structure of Vitruvius’ *Ten Books*. Serlio organized his treatise into eight sections, which, although published individually, were eventually collected into one coherent study that covered every aspect of building examined by Vitruvius. Vignola’s study of columns marks a departure in its succinct isolation of the principal subject of classical architecture, and thoroughly reverses the proportions of word and image in its visually eloquent set of thirty-two plates nearly bereft of text. Palladio published four books (although his extant manuscript materials suggest that he imagined a larger publication), while Scamozzi, who published a treatise divided into six parts, had originally planned ten chapters.

Vitruvius and his progeny offered a variety of aesthetic ideals as guidelines for the architect. Alberti’s ideal architecture is defined by the concept of *concinitas*, and by the application of musical harmonies and ratios to architectural composition. Cesariano introduces into Vitruvian studies—through the illustration of the cathedral of Milan—the aesthetic of vernacular and medieval architecture, thus ratifying the appeal and interest of post-classical architecture. Palladio’s aesthetic theory of architecture allowed practice to prevail. His treatise is a compendium of exempla drawn from his built or projected designs, which he offered



Onofrio Panvinio. *De ludis circensibus*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1985.61.2600

for the use of others, much as detailed photographs of masterly buildings are today used as sources of inspiration by designers. The work of Palladio is marked by an autobiographical quality, since he illustrates his theory through his own architectural designs. Palladio is able to offer, through his deep and direct experience of ancient architecture, the most thorough discussion of the anthropomorphic implications of classical architecture. Daniele Barbaro’s crucial aesthetic concept, following Raphael’s lead, is to have separated perspective, used in the design of stage sets, from the graphic representation of buildings.

Baroque Complications: Topographical and Archaeological *Vedutismo*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Italian tradition of illustrated books on architecture reflected many of the same developments that influenced the other arts: the continued passion for antiquity, the representational and rhetorical dimension of baroque architecture (which used perspective in a vital new manner), and the archaeology of medievalism put to the service of the Counter Reformation program of the Roman church. By the eighteenth century Italian architects—committed to registering competing claims for regional and local superiority—neglected the principles of the new architecture, as developed by French and British writers, and replaced Vitruvianism with the extensive graphic documentation of individual cities and the work of the principal architects. The result—the scenographic, pictorial *veduta*—answers the question, “how does it look?” rather than “how is it constructed?”

Although the seventeenth century is customarily seen as a transitional period between the innovative Vitruvianism of the Renaissance and the vibrant *vedutismo* of the eighteenth century, substantial contributions to architectural theory continued to be made. The writings of the architect Guarino Guarini, whose theories undermined the Vitruvian structure, might have been more effective than those of any other contemporary thinker had his ideas been published earlier. Both Guarini and Francesco Borromini—perhaps because their writings were published posthumously—were influential into the eighteenth century. Teofilo Gallacini, yet another posthumously published theorist, attempted to combat deviations from classicism among contemporary practitioners, and his polemic against mannerist architecture was appropriated by eighteenth-century theorists to combat rococo tendencies. Treatises on military architecture—represented in the Millard collection by Pietro Sardi and Alessandro Capra—were hugely successful. These works isolated one of Vitruvius’ main topics, which, with the notable exception of Pietro Cataneo’s treatise, had been neglected in most printed Renaissance works.¹⁰ Further, the seemingly exhausted subject of architectural theory was revitalized in the seventeenth century as the result of a boom in the production of buildings of the type that invited documentation, publicity, and interpretation.

In the Millard collection numerous books devoted to the architecture and topography of specific cities mark the interest in *vedutismo*. In spite of select examples earlier (urban prospects in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* or in some of the plates in the *Speculum*), the urban

view as the focus of an entire volume of plates or plates with text is the new genre of graphic illustration in the seventeenth century.¹¹ Exceptional suites of prints extol the beauties of a particular place through views of its principal buildings and urban sites, encapsulating the baroque conception of the city and the new civilization of urban space. Whether eloquent guidebooks or lavish collections of prints unaccompanied by text, these works also carry a sizable freight of ideological and political messages. Thus the work on Jerusalem by Bernardino Amico, copiously illustrated by Jacques Callot, offers extensive discussion and details about the main Christian pilgrimage sites and the reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Sponsored by the duke of Tuscany, it was part of the Medicean program to associate the dynasty with the precious biblical sites. The guidebooks to Ravenna and Vicenza produced by pious native sons Francesco Beltrami and Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi (respectively) focus singularly on praising the architectural production of their local contemporaries and predecessors. Pope Clement XI sponsored Bernardino Baldi’s study to highlight his

Pietro Sardi. *Corona imperiale dell’architettura militare*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1985.61.2673





birthplace, Urbino; the architect Antonio Campo emphasized the imperial connections of his native city Cremona.

The eighteenth-century passion for opulence in collecting, and the corresponding taste for abundance or *copia* in evaluating the Italian architectural patrimony, stimulated a virtual stream of books on Roman, Venetian, Florentine, Neapolitan, and Lombard buildings and art collections. Expanding on the generous *vedutismo* of the seventeenth century, these publications presented Italian cities as collections of the products of architecture and archaeological enterprise. The copious illustrations of Rome—in early suites of prints by Giacomo Lauro and Giovanni Battista Falda, followed in the eighteenth century by Giuseppe Vasi, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Jean Barbault—concern both modern and ancient buildings, often shown side by side. The history of images of Rome can be organized along an axis formed by the graphic work of Falda, Vasi, and Piranesi, growing out of the sixteenth-century contributions of Hieronymous Cock, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, and Etienne Dupérac.¹² Although connected to archaeological research, illustrated publications on Rome were also made in response to the intense touristic interest in the city, which lived off the ancient Roman authority, imperial status, and imagery that the papal government had appropriated for itself. Less varied architecturally, Venice appealed to visitors as a great independent republic famous for its art and its festivities. Its unique setting was prodigiously enhanced by Luca Carlevaris', Michele Marieschi's, and Antonio Visentini's graphic depictions. Local sponsors eager to reassert the viability and prosperity of regions that had lost their political independence commissioned illustrations of Florence and of Tuscan villas by Giuseppe Zocchi, and of Lombard villas by Marc'Antonio Dal Re.

A sizable number of books in the Millard collection focus on building types or individual buildings, or form compendia of buildings. The buildings studied individually—the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem (Juan Bautista Villalpando), the Escorial (Francisco de los Santos and José Gómez de Navia), Saint Peter's in Rome (Filippo Bonanni, Giovanni Battista Costaguti, and Carlo Fontana), the royal palace at Caserta (Luigi Vanvitelli), the Barberini palace in Rome (Girolamo Teti), and Vignola's Farnese palace and Villa Giulia (by Vasi and Giovanni Stern, respectively)—are presented as outstanding examples of religious and/or secular structures. Readers are offered extensive typological studies, including the collections of Lombard and Tuscan villas; palaces in Rome (Pietro Ferrerio), Florence (Zocchi), and Bologna (Giuseppe Antonio

Landi); Roman churches (Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi); and fountains (Falda). These lavishly illustrated texts, tightly integrated with discourses on the practice and concerns of architecture as an intellectual discipline, implicitly categorize buildings, and establish groups later defined as typologies through their adoption in pedagogical texts. The pedagogical texts, including the contributions of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, Domenico de' Rossi, and Ferdinando Ruggieri, emerge at the turn of the eighteenth century and offer students at architectural academies measured and scaled illustrations of contemporary as well as classical buildings. Although highly subjective in their selection of materials, these were useful educational tools in the studio, providing comparative and abstracted studies that would eventually constitute the core of architectural history.

The books on urban festivals constitute a distinguished subset among the books on cities, linking topographical illustration with the commemoration of a significant historical event, and representing a generalized interest in turning all events into spectacles. Thus Venice is illustrated by Brustolon during its principal festivities, the ducal parties sponsored by the republic either to commemorate the association of Venice with the sea or to celebrate the events of the Christian calendar. Two books, on Turin (*Suntuosa illuminazione*) and Parma (*Ragguaglio delle nozze*), illustrate eighteenth-century state occasions as dynastic festivities for which the city and its principal buildings become the elaborate backdrop. Similarly, Torre Farfán commemorates the celebration that accompanied the seventeenth-century canonization of King Ferdinand III in Seville.

The Millard collection books on perspective, geometry, and construction technology focus on the scientific aspects of building and its representation. The remarkable works by Barbaro, Andrea Pozzo, Antonio Basoli, and Galli Bibiena are fundamental texts on the use of perspective in the design of stage sets, at which Italian architects excelled. The handful of books on construction technology include Domenico Fontana and Carlo Fontana on the moving of the Vatican obelisk and on hydraulics; the surveying manual by Giovanni Pomodoro; and Niccolò Zabaglia's exceptional work on the construction of wood scaffolding. The apparent uniformity and coherence of these treatises is no doubt the result of consistency in graphic style and extensive visual quotation (bordering occasionally on plagiarism), but also reflects the predominance of masonry construction that characterizes ancient and modern buildings in the Italian peninsula. These treatises are authoritative reminders that classical architecture is invariably an architecture of masonry.

Most seventeenth-century Italian architectural publications emphasize contemporary buildings, yet Italian graphic artists and architects continued the

Domenico Fontana. *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1985.61.576



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi da Cento*. Portrait of Niccolò Zabaglia. 1983.49.76

archaeological work of their predecessors. (Unlike contemporary British or French architects, who traveled extensively, the Italians conducted all their research within the peninsula.) A special subset of this part of the Millard collection comprises lavishly illustrated, mostly very large, folios of archaeological studies. The representation of buildings relies on the methods of both *vedutismo* and orthogonal architectural drawing, but transformed by atmospheric and pictorial effects, most obviously in the vast output of Piranesi. Arranged in chronological sequence, beginning with Dosio (1569) and concluding with Giuseppe Valadier (1810), these works form the local history of Italian archaeology, encompassing views of the ruins of ancient Roman buildings, reconstructions of ancient buildings, and precise records of excavations.

Thus Aloisio Giovannoli, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Francesco Piranesi, Carlo Labruzzi, Giovanni Cassini, and Luigi Rossini offer interpretive views of the ruins, each spurred to innovation by a predecessor's earlier framing of the same view. Giacomo Lauro, who based his work on antiquarian studies, provided imaginative reconstructions in his illustrations, usefully isolating the ancient Roman buildings from their actual context

(overgrown with vegetation and marred by later construction). Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi provided a similar service when he published Palladio's drawings of the ancient Roman baths. Labruzzi, Cassini, and Rossini draw upon the archaeological discoveries that continued uninterrupted throughout the eighteenth century. Francesco Bianchini and Valadier, at the two extremes of the eighteenth century, offered a broadened and seemingly scientific record of the excavations they personally supervised on the Palatine Hill and in the Roman forum. Like other antiquarian studies of the ancient city, Famiano Nardini's work is an implicit panegyric of the typological range, engineering achievement, and sheer number of Rome's buildings. The illustrations in the immense *Antichità di Ercolano* and in Vincenzo Brenna's *Vestigia delle terme di Tito* do not document buildings but make an important contribution by conjecturing how the ancient Roman house, whether Nero's or one of Herculaneum's ordinary citizens, might have been furnished. These books had a decisive influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century interior design.

The greatest archaeological range is Piranesi's, whose *vedutismo* included both wildly imaginative and brilliantly justified reconstructions of ancient Roman buildings. His works illustrate best the tradition of artists entranced by the majestic urban landscape of Rome and the picturesqueness of its topography. The eighteenth-century holdings of the Millard collection are undeniably dominated by the nearly complete set of Piranesi's graphic production, which, considered as a whole, constitutes an "art of passionate archaeology."¹³

The topography of ancient Roman monuments was intensely studied in the twentieth century. Many of the early systematic studies—by scholars such as Thomas Ashby, Christian Hülsen, and Hermann Egger—rely heavily upon manuscript codices and drawings, as well as printed views.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the archaeological *vedutismo* of Italy, where the earliest engravings based on ancient monuments were produced, has received comparatively less attention (with the exception of Piranesi) than its role in the genealogical tree of graphic sources would warrant. Indeed, prints of Roman antiquities were among the most sought-after graphic works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and were reproduced and collected extensively.¹⁵

These imprints must be recognized as occupying an exceptional position within the history of publishing. For some humanists, "an illustrated book was in itself an offence against classical taste,"¹⁶ but in these books the artist surfaces as the author of a series of coherent pictures considered as works of art. The Millard collection books demonstrate how, through the intervention of highly regarded artists who often supply their own scholarly commentary, the illustrated book acquires

authority. The late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century archaeological books and print albums in the collection are distinguished not only by their artistic innovations but also by their high graphic and typographical quality, as compared to that of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century books. In 1614, the Republic of Venice established the Soprintendenza alle stampe to address the problem of lowered standards in book production.¹⁷ Official recognition that times had changed and copperplate engraving had become an important, independent art form came in the eighteenth century: in 1732 Pope Clement XII Corsini established the Calcografia with the acquisition of the plates owned by the de' Rossi publishers, including the plates held by generations of dealers in topographic prints. (This Calcografia collection, which later included Piranesi's plates, passed into state ownership after 1870.)¹⁸

The seventeenth century also brought book ornamentation to a new height of complexity and elaboration, paralleling the achievement of baroque architecture. As Philip Hofer observed, seventeenth-century illustrated books exhibit "architectural character" throughout their prevailing ornaments.¹⁹ In addition to the engraved illustrations, their decorations include those used in the previous two centuries (initials, friezes, frames) and innovations like head- and tail-pieces. The arts of architecture and graphic design combine, in fact, in the seventeenth century's most significant contribution, the engraved frontispiece, examples of which can be found in the books by Amico, Teti, and Costaguti. The architectural model, as door- or window-case, or triumphal arch, prevails in these ornate title pages, which satisfy the seicento appreciation for display and give the book the counterpart of a building's facade. Through the Millard collection can be traced, in form and in content, the evolution of *trattatistica* into *vedutismo*. The treatise itself becomes the object to view and collect; the printed book aspires to the achievements of architecture, the most public of the arts.

Martha Pollak

Notes

1. De Fusco 1968, xi.
2. Kruff 1994; Schlosser-Magnino 1964; Germann 1987; Lausanne 1991; Hersey 1988; and Payne 1999.
3. Goldschmidt 1950, 73; for the orders, see Forssmann 1961 and Onians 1988.
4. For a summary of sources and for an analysis of Raphael's "antiquarian workshop," see Morolli 1984.
5. For a discussion of the academic recovery of the Vitruvian text, see Payne 1999, 25–33.
6. See the most recent edition of Vitruvius' *Ten Books* (1999), with its definitive introduction (pages 1–18).

7. Payne 1999, 23.
8. Elaborately examined by Arnold Nesselrath, "I libri di disegni di antichità: tentativo di una tipologia," in Settis 1986, 3: 89–147; and Gunther 1988. For the recovery of sculpture, see the indispensable Bober and Rubinstein 1986.
9. Boucher 1994, chapter 8.
10. For treatises on military architecture, see Schütte and Neumann 1984; and Pollak 1991.
11. Bellini 1992, chapter vii.
12. These artists constitute the backbone of Roman *vedutismo*, its "spinal cord" (see Garms 1995, 1: 9).
13. Millard, *British Books*, 1998, xii.
14. Ashby 1916; Hülsen 1921; and Egger 1931–1932.
15. For examples of collections, see Davis 1994; Arrigoni and Bertarelli 1939; and Bartoli 1914–1922.
16. Goldschmidt's important point (1950, 52), recently countered in Alexander 1994.
17. Boffito 1922, chapter 1. Barberi 1969, 65–74.
18. Pirani 1956.
19. Harvard 1951, 9.

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Giuseppe Zocchi. *Vedute delle Ville*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1983.49.149

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Settis, Salvatore, ed. *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*. Turin, 1986

Vitruvius Pollio, Marcus. *Ten Books on Architecture*. Trans. Ingrid D. Rowland. Ill. by Thomas N. Howe. New York, 1999

Notes to the Reader

Entries are arranged alphabetically according to the author, artist, or architect under whose name a book is generally found in scholarly catalogues and bibliographies. In one case, authorship has been assigned to an institution (cat. 1); where authorship is in doubt, entries are under title (cats. 109 and 131). Three bound collections of prints have been treated as single units (cats. 23, 78, and 114). Each entry is given a catalogue number.

Under each heading, editions of a single title are presented chronologically by date of publication, and titles are arranged according to the date of the earliest edition in the Millard collection. This rule has been modified in one case, to allow special treatment of works credited to Giovanni Battista Piranesi (cats. 79–102). These have been arranged according to the classification and order established by John Wilton-Ely in *Piranesi: the complete etchings* (see Abbreviations for Frequently Cited References); a copy of *Le magnificenze di Roma* containing issues of two Piranesi suites, *Antichità romana* and *Prima parte*, is classified according to the latter (cat. 80).

Extended essays follow the bibliographical descriptions appropriate to each heading. In a few cases the entry does not include an essay, either because the book is more appropriately discussed elsewhere (for example, cat. 16) or because it falls outside the main subject areas covered by the Millard collection (for example, cats. 47 and 139). Readers may also consult the index of names and titles at the end of this volume.

Within the bibliographical descriptions, the title of a work has been transcribed from its title page or title plate, retaining the original spelling and punctuation. The first letter of words appearing in upper case has been capitalized. Editorial interpolations are in square brackets. For multivolume works, minor variations are expressed in parentheses. Lengthy titles are abbreviated using ellipses. The title page or title plate imprint, concerning place of publication, publishers, printers, and date, has been standardized and abbreviated or expanded as appropriate.

The accession number (for example, 1983.49.14) indicates the date of acquisition (1983), the donor number of that year (49), and the object number (14). The

greater part of the Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection is held in the National Gallery's department of prints and drawings. A few titles are in the National Gallery library and are identified by call number (for example, NGA Lib. Rare Book: N5775D44).

The fold of the paper (for example, folio, quarto, octavo) is followed by the measurement of the page size in millimeters, height before width. Inch equivalents follow in parentheses.

Under *Pagination* or *Foliation*, the numbering of the pages or leaves is given. Brackets enclose aggregate numbers that are not printed in the text. The plate count refers to the number of illustrated leaves printed outside the text gatherings. All such plates have blank versos. A note in parentheses is sometimes added to explain differences between the Millard copy and other recorded copies.

Edition indicates whether the book is a first edition, a reissue, a translation, and so forth. The *Text* section provides a summary description of the letterpress contents. In the *Ornaments* section, the presence and medium of decorative printer's ornaments such as headpieces and tailpieces are briefly noted.

In the *Illustrations* section, all illustrative matter is described including intaglio or planographic text. In addition to the number and medium of the illustrations, this section lists the artists, engravers, etc., named in the credit line. Quotation marks are used to indicate names taken directly from the print or woodcut.

The *Binding* section gives copy-specific information regarding the arrangement, date, material, and decoration of the binding. Also recorded here is a description of any material bound with the Millard copy but not intended to form part of the contents of the book as originally issued.

Information on previous owners, bookplates, inscriptions, etc., is given under *Provenance*.

The *References* that follow are citations of other copies described in standard bibliographies and/or catalogues.

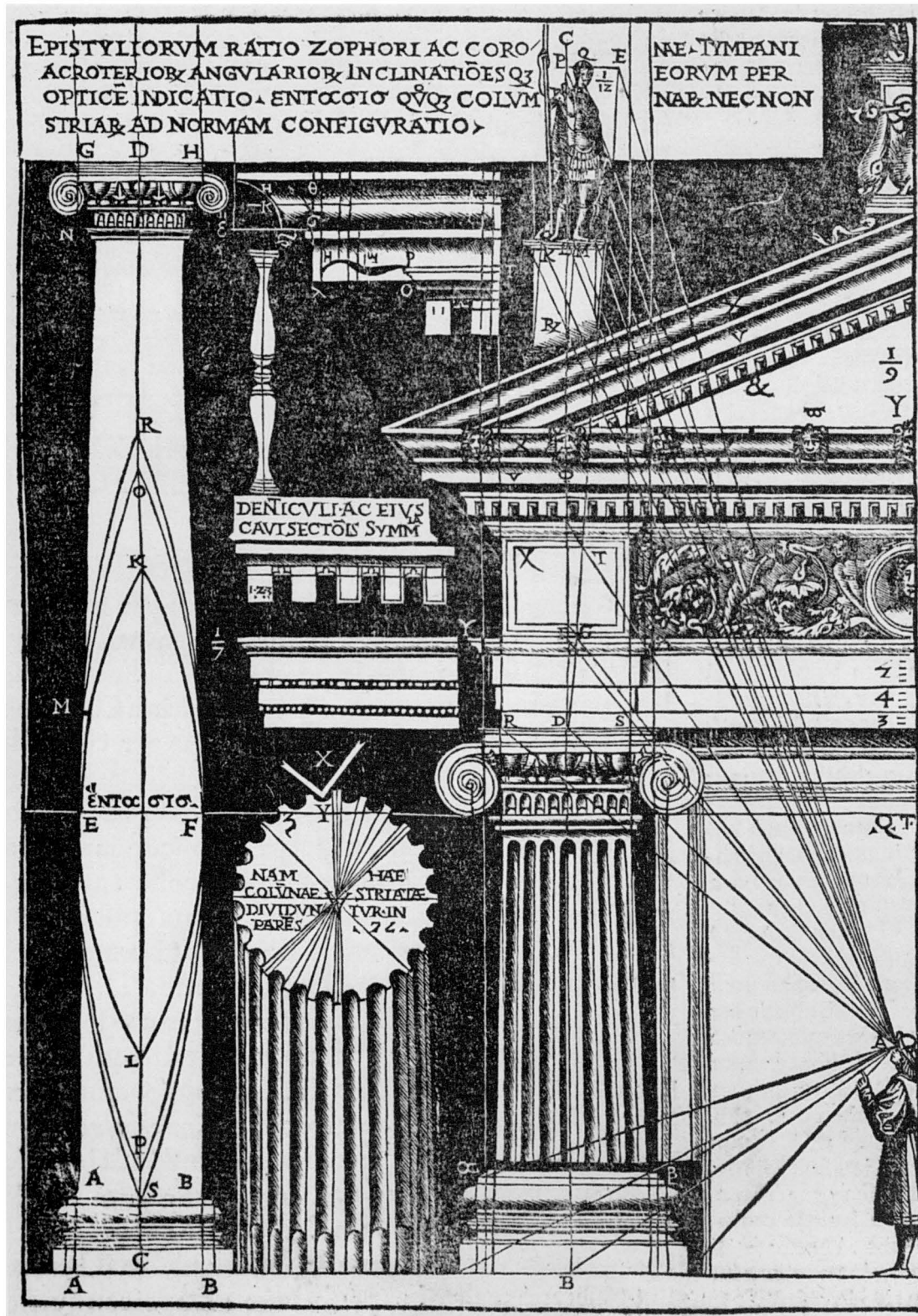
Gerald Beasley

Abbreviations for Frequently Cited References

<i>Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon</i>	<i>Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker.</i> Munich, 1992–	Guilmard	Guilmard, Désiré. <i>Les maîtres ornemanistes</i> 2 vols. Paris, 1800–1801
<i>Avery's Choice</i>	<i>Avery's Choice: Five Centuries of Great Architectural Books, One Hundred Years of an Architectural Library, 1890–1990.</i> Edited by Adolf K. Placzek and Angela Giral. New York, 1997	Hind, Piranesi	Hind, Arthur M. <i>Giovanni Battista Piranesi: A Critical Study with a List of his Published Works and Detailed Catalogues of the Prisons and the Views of Rome.</i> London, 1922. Reprint. London, 1978
Berlin cat.	Berlin, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek. <i>Katalog der ornamentstichsammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin.</i> Berlin and Leipzig, 1939. Reprint. Berlin and Utrecht, 1986	Hollstein (Dutch)	Hollstein, F. H. W. <i>Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700.</i> Vol. 1–. Amsterdam, [1949]–
Besterman, <i>Old Art Books</i>	Besterman, Theodore. <i>Old Art Books.</i> London, 1975	Lugt	Lugt, Frits. <i>Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes.</i> Amsterdam, 1921. Reprint. San Francisco, 1975
<i>Bibliografía española</i>	<i>Bibliografía española de arquitectura (1526–1850).</i> Edited by Florentino Zamora Lucas and Eduardo Ponce de León. Madrid, 1947	Millard, <i>British Books</i>	<i>The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection.</i> Vol. 2. <i>British Books, Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries.</i> Catalogue entries, Robin Middleton et al. Washington and New York, 1998
<i>Bibliografía de arquitectura</i>	<i>Bibliografía de arquitectura, ingeniería y urbanismo en España (1498–1880).</i> Edited by Antonio Bonet Correa. 2 vols. Madrid, 1980	Millard, <i>French Books</i>	<i>The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection.</i> Vol. 1. <i>French Books, Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries.</i> Introduction and catalogue, Dora Wiebenson. Bibliographic descriptions, Claire Baines. Washington and New York, 1993
Briquet	Briquet, Charles Moïse. <i>Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600.</i> 2d ed. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1923. Reprint. New York, 1965	Millard, <i>Northern European Books</i>	<i>The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection.</i> Vol. 3. <i>Northern European Books, Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Centuries.</i> Essay, Harry F. Mallgrave. Bibliographic descriptions, Gerald Beasley et al. Washington, 1998
Brunet	Brunet, Jacques-Charles. <i>Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres.</i> 6 vols. Paris, 1860–1865. Reprint. Berlin, 1922	Mortimer, <i>Italian</i>	Harvard College Library. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. <i>Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part II: Italian Sixteenth-Century Books.</i> 2 vols. Compiled by Ruth Mortimer. Cambridge, 1964
Cappelletti	"La raccolta palladiana e collaterale di Guglielmo Cappelletti al C.I.S.A. di Vicenza: catalogo analitico con studio descrittivo . . . a cura di Giorgio D. Ferrari." <i>Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio</i> 18 (1976), 333–551; 22 (1980), 231–416; 23 (1981), 249–390; 24 (1987), 243–409	Olschki	<i>Choix de livres anciens, rares et curieux en vente a la librairie ancienne de Leo S. Olschki.</i> Florence, 1936
Cicognara	Cicognara, Leopoldo, conte. <i>Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal conte Cicognara.</i> Pisa, 1821. Reprint. Leipzig, 1931	Palau	Palau y Dulcet, Antonio. <i>Manual del librero hispanoamericano.</i> 28 vols. Barcelona, 1948–1977
Comolli	Comolli, Angelo. <i>Bibliografia storico-critica dell'architettura civile ed arti subalterne</i> 4 vols. Rome, 1788–1792. Reprint. Milan, 1964–1965	Petrucchi	Petrucchi, Carlo Alberto. <i>Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Calcografia Nazionale.</i> Rome, 1953
Constable, <i>Canaletto</i>	Constable, W. G. <i>Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697–1768.</i> 2 vols. 2d ed. Revised by J. G. Links. Oxford, 1989	Piranesi: <i>complete etchings</i>	<i>Giovanni Battista Piranesi: The Complete Etchings.</i> Edited by John Wilson-Ely. 2 vols. San Francisco, 1994
Focillon	Focillon, Henri. <i>Giovanni-Battista Piranesi: essai de catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre.</i> Paris, 1918. Reprint. Paris, 1964	Pollak	Pollak, Martha. <i>Military Architecture, Cartography and the Representation of the Early Modern European City: A Checklist of Treatises on Fortification in The Newberry Library.</i> Chicago, 1991
Fowler	Fowler, Laurence Hall, and Elizabeth Baer. <i>The Fowler Architectural Collection of the Johns Hopkins University.</i> Baltimore, 1961		

RIBA, <i>Early Printed Books</i>	British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects. <i>Early Printed Books 1478–1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library Early Imprints Collection</i> . Vols. 1–3. London, 1994–1999	Vagnetti, <i>Prospettiva</i>	Vagnetti, Luigi. “De naturali et artificiali perspectiva: bibliografia ragionata delle fonti teoriche e delle ricerche di storia della prospettiva; contributo alla formazione della conoscenza di un’idea razionale, nei suoi sviluppi da Euclide a Gaspard Monge.” In <i>Prospettiva</i> (Studi e documenti di architettura, 9–10). Edited by Luigi Vagnetti. Florence, 1979
Riccardi	Riccardi, Pietro. <i>Biblioteca matematica italiana dalla origine della stampa ai primi anni del secolo XIX</i> . 2 vols. Milan, 1952		
Robison, <i>Piranesi</i>	Robison, Andrew. <i>Piranesi: Early Architectural Fantasies, a Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings</i> . Washington and Chicago, 1986	Vagnetti, <i>Vitruvio</i>	Vagnetti, Luigi, and Laura Marcucci. “Per una coscienza vitruviana. Regesto cronologico e critico delle edizioni, delle traduzioni e delle ricerche più importanti sul trattato latino <i>De architectura libri x</i> di Marco Vitruvio Pollione.” In <i>2000 anni di Vitruvio</i> (Studi e documenti di architettura, 8). Florence, 1978
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Schudt	<i>Le guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der Römischen Topographie. Unter Benützung des handschriftlichen Nachlasses von Oskar Pollak</i> . Edited by Ludwig Schudt. Vienna and Augsburg, 1930. Reprint. Farnborough, 1971	Weinreb cat. Wilton-Ely, <i>Catalogue</i>	Catalogues of the London bookseller Ben Weinreb Wilton-Ely, John. <i>Piranesi</i> . Exh. cat. London, 1978
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CATALOGUE





Gic. Merg. Rog. des.

das palmi Napolitani

Carlo Orati incise

das palmi Romani

Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia (founded 1755)

I

[Le Antichità Di Ercolano]

[Vols. 1–4, 7] *Le Pitture Antiche D'Ercolano E Contorni Incise Con Qualche Spiegazione Tomo Primo* [–Quarto, Settimo]

[Vols. 5–6] *De' Bronzi Di Ercolano E Contorni Incise Con Qualche Spiegazione Tomo Primo* [–Secondo]

[Vol. 8] *Le Lucerne Ed I Candelabri D'Ercolano E Contorni Incise Con Qualche Spiegazione Tomo Unico*

Naples: Royal press (“Nella Regia Stamparia”),
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Vol. 2 (1760): [xiv], 339 [i.e., 219], [11] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [60] etched and engraved plates

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Vol. 6 (1771): [iv], vii, [1], 423 [i.e., 225], [15] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [101] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 7 (1779): [iv], x, 407 [i.e., 239], [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [84] etched and engraved plates (1 folding)

Vol. 8 (1792): XLIII, [1], 316 [i.e., 176], 319–346 [i.e., 204] pp., engraved frontispiece, [98] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text vol. 1: pp. [i] half-title: “Le Pitture Antiche D'Ercolano Tomo Primo” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication to Charles III, king of Spain and Sicily, signed “Sudditi Gli Accademici”; [vii–viii] preface; 1–[264] text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–L; 265–279 text, “Alcune Osservazioni” (descriptions of the head- and tailpieces); [280] blank; [281–287] index; [288] blank; vol. 2: [i] half-title: “Le Pitture Antiche D'Ercolano Tomo Secondo” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [v–viii] dedication to Charles III, signed “Gli Accademici Ercolanesi”; [ix–xiii] preface; [xiv] blank; 1–321 text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–LX; [322] blank, verso of final plate; 323–339 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; [340] blank; [341–350] index; vol. 3: [i] half-title: “Le Pitture Antiche D'Ercolano Tomo Terzo” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [I–III] dedication to Charles III, signed as vol. 2; [IV] blank; v–xvii preface; [xviii] blank; 1–317 text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–LX; [318] blank, verso of final plate; 319–339 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; [340] blank; [341–352] index; vol. 4: [i] half-title: “Le Pitture Antiche D'Ercolano Tomo Quarto” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [I–II] dedication to Charles III, signed as vol. 2; III–x preface; 1–351 text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–LXX; [352] blank, verso of final plate; 353–368 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; [369–380] index; vol. 5 [i] half-title: “Della Antichità . . . Tomo Quinto O Sia Primo De' Bronzi (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [I–II] dedication to Charles III, dated Ercolano, 10 May 1766; III–xxxvi preface; 1–255 text (descriptions of plates), and plates 1–LXXVI; [256] blank, verso of final plate; 257–265 text, “Bassorilievi” (bas-reliefs); [266] blank; 267–[272] 4 plates on 3 leaves (see *Illustrations*); 273–280 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; [281–290] index; [291–292] blank; [I] divisional title page: “Modello Di Una Nave A Tre Ordini Di Remi.” (verso blank); 3–32 text, “Descrizione Del Modello Di Una Nave . . .”; [37–38] index (following two plates paginated 33 and 35; see *Illustrations*); vol. 6: [i] half-title: “Delle Antichità Di Ercolano Tomo Sesto O Sia Secondo De' Bronzi.” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [I–II] dedication to Charles III, signed as vol. 2; III–vii preface, beginning with a summary of

illustrations; [viii] blank; 1–407 text (descriptions of plates), and plates 1–xcix; [408] blank, verso of final plate; 409–423 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; [424] blank; [425–438] index; vol. 7: [i] half-title: “Delle Antichità Di Ercolano Tomo Settimo O Sia Quinto Delle Pitture.” (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [1–ii] dedication to Charles III, signed as vol. 2; iii–x preface, beginning with a summary of illustrations; 1–375 text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–lxxxiv; [376] blank, verso final plate; 377–394 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; 395–407 index; [408] blank; vol. 8: [i] half-title: “Delle Antichità Di Ercolano Tomo Ottavo O Sia Delle Lucerne, Delle Lanterne, E De’ Candelabri (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [v–vii] dedication to Ferdinand IV; [viii] blank; ix–xlvi preface; [xliv] blank; 1–328 text (descriptions of plates) and plates 1–xciii; 329–336 text, “Alcune Osservazioni”; 337–346 index

Ornaments Etched vignette on title pages, vols. 1–7, depicting two sides of a medal, including portrait of Charles III, signed by Giovanni Morghen as draftsman and Filippo Morghen as engraver; new design for title page vol. 8, again depicting two sides of a medal, but featuring portrait of Ferdinand IV, signed by Lorenzo Biondi. Etched headpiece on preface of vol. 1 showing view of Vesuvius, signed by Luigi Vanvitelli as draftsman and Filippo Morghen as etcher; etched tailpiece of preface signed by Vanvitelli as draftsman and Giuseppe Moya as engraver; etched vignette on pp. [xi] of vol. 2, repeated as tailpiece of preface, depicting two sides of a medal, with ornamental foliage, signed by Camillo Paderni as draftsman and Pietro Campana as engraver, and dated 1759 (“C. Paderni del. a. 1759”; “P. Campana inc.”); etched vignette on preface of vol. 3 signed by G. Morghen as draftsman and Ferdinando Campana as engraver; etched headpiece of preface of vol. 4, repeated as tailpiece of preface, signed by Niccolò Vanni as draftsman and Filippo de Grado as engraver. Small etched and engraved plates are used as head- and tailpieces throughout, many repeated; all are based on antique wall paintings. Draftsmen include: Giuseppe Alloja, Vincenzo Campana, Giovanni Casanova, Giovanni Elia Morghen, Niccolò Vanni, Francisco de la Vega. Engravers include: Giuseppe Alloja [= “R.A.”]; Thomas Alvarez, Secondo de Angelis, Giuseppe Azzerboni, “AB”, Lorenzo Biondi [= “L.B.”?], Ludovico Boilly, Ferdinando Campana, Pietro Campana, Vincenzo Campana, Aniello Cataneo, Francesco Cepparoli, Niccolò Cesarano, Nicola Fiorillo, Isidoro Frezza, Giuseppe Furlanetti, Marc’Antonio Giacomino, Filippo de Grado, Giuseppe Guerra, “M. L.” Luduasio, P. L. Mancini, Francesco Mancini, Filippo Morghen, Carlo Nolli, Bartolomeo Orazi, Carlo Orazi, Niccolò Orazi, Carmine Pignatari, Rocco Pozzi, Francesco

Sesone, Ferdinando Strina, Niccolò Vanni, Antonio Zaballi, Zezion. Etched pictorial initials throughout, all signed by Luigi Vanvitelli as draftsman and by Carlo Nolli or Francesco Giomignani as engraver

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

Vol. 1: title plate with title inscribed on furled scroll within architectural setting, with view of Herculaneum in oval cartouche at top and destruction of Herculaneum in similar cartouche at bottom, signed by Francesco de la Vega as artist and Rocco Pozzi as engraver (“Vega delin.”; “Puteus incidi curavit”); frontispiece with dedication portrait of Charles III in oval medallion inscribed “Carolvs. Hisp. Infans. Vtriusq. Sicil. Et Hier. Rex,” with emblems at foot including lion *couchant*, signed by Camillo Paderni as artist and Filippo Morghen as engraver (“Camillus Paderni Rom. Regius delin. Inu. delineauit”; “Philippus Morghen Florenti: Reg Incisor Sculp.”); double-page etched map *hors texte* of the Gulf of Naples and surrounding territories (“Cratere Maritimo, O Parte Del Golfo Di Napoli”), signed “Eseguito dal . . . Carlo Weber, ridotto, e rettificato da . . . Gios.^e Liberati, sotto la direzione del Colonn.^o . . . Roc.^o . . . de Alcubierre. Secondo le misure itinerarie, e le osservazioni di . . . Ottavio Ant.^o Bayardi” and “Incise da P. Gaultier 1754”; and 50 unnumbered plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination and referred to in text as plates 1–L (plates xxix–xxxvii and xlii with two images on each plate; plate L with three images; plates xxxiv, xlv folding, remainder full page). Draftsmen include: Francesco de la Vega (29 plates); Camillo Paderni (18 plates); Niccolò Vanni (12 plates). Etchers include: Filippo Morghen (22 plates), N. Vanni (14 plates, including 4 signed by him as etcher with Rocco Pozzi as engraver), Rocco Pozzi (16 plates, including 5 plates signed by Pozzi specifically as engraver, four of these are also signed by N. Vanni as etcher), Niccolò Billy (8 plates), P. Gaultier (5 plates), Giuseppe Alloja (1 plate), Pietro Campana (1 plate), 3 plates unsigned

Vol. 2: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III repeated from vol. 1, but with caption in frame of the medallion modified to read “Carolvs III. Hispania Atqve Indiarvm Rex.”; and 60 unnumbered full-page plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination and referred to in text as plates 1–LX (several plates with two or more subjects). Draftsmen include: N. Vanni (34 plates), Giovanni Elia Morghen (21 plates, one dated 1757), F. de la Vega (3 plates), C. Paderni (3 plates). Engravers include: F. Morghen (13 plates), Francesco Cepparoli (11 plates), N. Billy (9 plates), Carlo Nolli (9 plates), P. Campana (8 plates), Niccolò Orazi (4 plates), N. Vanni (2 plates, both signed also by R. Pozzi as engraver), R. Pozzi (5

plates, including 2 as engraver with N. Vanni, as above), G. Alloja (1 plate), Michele Sorelló (1 plate)

Vol. 3: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III as in vol. 2; and 60 unnumbered full-page plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination and referred to in text as plates I–LX (several plates with two or more subjects). Draftsmen include: G. Morghen (36 plates), N. Vanni (26 plates). Engravers include: F. Morghen (14 plates), C. Nolli (10 plates), P. Campana (9 plates), F. Cepparoli (6 plates), G. Alloja (5 plates), C. Orazi (5 plates), N. Billy (4 plates), Ferdinando Campana (4 plates), N. Orazi (3 plates), R. Pozzi (2 plates), Filippo de Grado (1 plate)

Vol. 4: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III as in vol. 2; and 70 unnumbered full-page plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination and referred to in text as plates I–LXX (several plates with two or more subjects). Draftsmen include: N. Vanni (42 plates), G. Morghen (27 plates), Giovanni Casanova (3 plates). Engravers include: C. Nolli (15 plates), F. Morghen (13 plates), G. Alloja (11 plates), Francesco Cepparoli (8 plates), P. Campana (6 plates); N. Billy (4 plates), F. Campana (4 plates), F. de Grado (3 plates), R. Pozzi (3 plates), C. Orazi (2 plates), Nicola Fiorillo (1 plate), P. Gaultier (1 plate)

Vol. 5: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III as in vol. 2; and 88 plates *hors texte*, but all, except for the last three, accounted for in pagination: 5 unnumbered full-page plates following preface, paginated pp. xxxvii, xxxix, xli, xliii, xlv; 76 unnumbered full-page plates referred to in text as plates I–LXXVI (several plates with two or more subjects); 4 unnumbered full-page plates on 3 leaves following section on bas-reliefs (“Bassorilievi”), paginated pp. 267, 269, 271 (see *Text* above); 1 unnumbered full-page plate *hors texte* bound between pp. 16–17 bis of description of nave (“Modello Di Una Nave A Tre Ordini Di Remi.”) in accordance with binder’s instructions in upper left; 2 folding plates numbered “Tav. [1]–II” following description of nave, paginated pp. 33 and 35 (see *Text* above). Draftsmen include: N. Vanni (35 plates), G. Morghen (28 plates), G. Casanova (18 plates), Vincenzo Campana (4 plates), P. de la Vega (2 plates). Engravers include: C. Nolli (13 plates), F. Cepparoli (12 plates), N. Fiorillo (10 plates), F. Campana (10 plates), P. Campana (8 plates), N. Billy (6 plates), F. Morghen (6 plates), F. de Grado (6 plates), G. Alloja (6 plates), C. Orazi (3 plates), R. Pozzi (2 plates), F. Sesone (2 plates), P. L. Mancini (1 plate), Ferdinando Strina (2 plates), Ludovico Boilly (1 plate)

Vol. 6: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III as in vol. 2; and 101 unnumbered full-page plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination as follows: 2 plates following preface paginated pp. ix, xi (see *Text* above); 99 plates referred to in text as plates I–XCIX (several plates with

two or more subjects). Draftsmen include: N. Vanni (37 plates), G. Casanova (32 plates), G. Morghen (24 plates), V. Campana (8 plates). Engravers include: C. Nolli (23 plates), F. Cepparoli (16 plates), F. Morghen (13 plates), P. Campana (11 plates), N. Fiorillo (9 plates), L. Boilly (8 plates), F. Campana (8 plates), G. Alloja (4 plates), N. Billy (4 plates), A. Cataneo (3 plates), Giuseppe Furlanetti (1 plate), F. Strina (1 plate)

Vol. 7: Frontispiece portrait of Charles III as in vol. 2; and 84 unnumbered plates *hors texte*, but accounted for in pagination and referred to in text as plates I–LXXXIV (many plates with two or more subjects; plate LCCIV folding, remainder full page). Draftsmen include: Giovanni Morghen (54 plates, one dated 1764), V. Campana (24 plates), G. Casanova (3 plates), N. Vanni (3 plates). Engravers include: F. Cepparoli (12 plates), N. Fiorillo (10 plates), F. Morghen (10 plates), P. Campana (9 plates), G. Alloja (8 plates), F. Campana (7 plates), C. Nolli (6 plates), Carmine Pignatori (5 plates), Marc’Antonio Giacomino (3 plates), N. Billy (2 plates), L. Boilly (2 plates, one dated 1772), Aniello Cataneo (2 plates), Francesco Giomignani (2 plates), G. Furlanetti (1 plate), R. Pozzi (1 plate)

Vol. 8: New frontispiece portrait of Ferdinand IV, signed by Francesco Liani as artist and Guglielmo Morghen as engraver (“Franciscus Liani pinx. Guilelmus Morgehn sc.”); 98 full-page plates *hors texte*: 3 plates numbered “Tav. I–III” bound following dedication; 1 unnumbered plate marked “pag. 1” bound following preface, but not included in pagination; 94 unnumbered plates referred to in text as plates I–XCIII, including an extra plate marked “pag. 6” following the description of plate 1 (most plates with two or more subjects). Draftsmen include: G. Casanova (54 plates), Niccolò Vanni (17 plates), G. Morghen (12 plates), V. Campana (3 plates), P. de la Vega (2 plates). Engravers include: N. Fiorillo (17 plates), A. Cataneo (14 plates), M. A. Giacomino (12 plates), G. Furlanetti (7 plates), C. Pignatari (7 plates), F. Campana (6 plates), G. Alloja (5 plates), F. Giomignani (5 plates), Giuseppe Guerra (5 plates), F. de Grado (3 plates), Domenico Casanova (3 plates), Carlo Geri (2 plates), Vincenzo Scarpati (2 plates), Bartolommeo Orazi (2 plates), Lorenzo Biondi (1 plate), A. Cataneo (1 plate), Niccolò Cesarano (1 plate), ? Orazi (1 plate), Vincenzo Segoni (1 plate), F. Strina (1 plate), L. Boilly (1 plate), “G.Z.” (1 plate)

Binding Bound in 8 vols. As often, Ottavio Antonio Bayardi’s *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti*, Naples, 1755 is bound as a ninth volume (cat. 16). The five volumes of *Le pitture antiche d’Ercolano* (vols. 1–4 and 7 in the chronological series) have spine labels I–V; the two volumes on bronzes, *De bronzi di Ercolano* (vols. 5–6), have spine labels VI and VII; and the final volume, *Le lucerne ed i*

candelabri (vol. 8), has spine label VIII. Contemporary mottled calf, spines gilt in compartments with red and black labels (red label with general title and volume number: "Antichità Di Ercolano Tom. I [-IX]"; black label with half-titles). Vol. 7 (i.e., Tom. v), only, with Italian woodblock-printed endpapers in green and white, repaired in places with a striped paper

Provenance Etched pictorial bookplate in each volume depicting an ancient temple and broken column with coat of arms and caption: "Ex Libris Vinc. M. Karca. St. Pr Amphiss.," signed "G." and "Cataneo inc."; bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 3947; Cicognara 2645; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 112



Le Antichità di Ercolano. Vol. 1, plate 1. Girls playing knucklebones. N5775D44

LE ANTICHITÀ DI ERCOLANO were published over a thirty-five-year period by the Accademia Ercolanese. This academy was founded in 1755 by the edict of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies, with the distinct mandate and exclusive right to publish the findings of the excavations at Herculaneum, near the royal residence at Portici. Lavishly illustrated and imperially sized, the *Antichità di Ercolano* were intended only for

private circulation. The individual volumes, published by the royal press, were issued separately and were not sold but only presented to deserving visitors and to courtiers. Volumes were also sent as diplomatic gifts to foreign courts.

It is only in 1969 that the name of Resina, a town below Mount Vesuvius near Portici south of Naples, was changed to Ercolano, thus recognizing it as the ancient site of Herculaneum. Herculaneum had been part of the Roman confederacy since c. 307 B.C., and from 89 B.C. a Roman *municipium* settled by veterans of the army. The earthquake of A.D. 62 destroyed a large part of the town, and reconstruction work—aided by Emperor Vespasian and a distinguished native inhabitant, Nonius Balbus—was not complete when Vesuvius' eruption overwhelmed the city in a flood of boiling mud, covering it to a height of between 12 and 20 meters. A commission was appointed by Emperor Titus to report on the ruined Vesuvian towns, but this resulted in the abandonment of plans to rebuild them. Later eruptions of the volcano in 1631 transformed the site, as the shoreline expanded several hundred meters, and Herculaneum disappeared from the region's topography. The towns south of Naples were in any case much less celebrated in antiquity than the Campi Phlegraei, Baiae, and Cumae, aristocratic settlements along the coast north of Naples (Vallet 1993). The catastrophe of the eruption in A.D. 79 was described by Pliny the Younger to Tacitus in terms of a personal loss, since his uncle Pliny the Elder had died during the eruption, rather than as an artistic disaster. Early excavations in the eighteenth century used tunneling, a mining technique best practiced by military engineers; since 1927, open excavations have revealed about one-third of the ancient town, which originally extended over 12 hectares. The principal public building discovered in the eighteenth century, the theater, remains buried to this day, about 26 meters below the modern town of Ercolano.

The years 1738 to 1765 marked the "heroic period of excavations at Herculaneum" (Grant 1984). In 1739 the basilica was discovered with some of the finest wall paintings, while the great haul of bronze statues and the papyrus rolls in the eponymous Villa dei Papyri was an unparalleled discovery. Herculaneum, where orchestrated excavation began in 1738, and Pompeii, whose site was finally recognized as such in 1763, are the "cradles of professional archaeology as we know it today" (Grant 1984). Nevertheless, throughout the eighteenth century the main, but mostly veiled, purpose of the excavations was to unearth as many museumworthy objects as possible for the royal collections. The excavations of the site, removal of the objects found, their storage in Portici, and their cataloguing were all inflected by the desire to obtain an unmatched art and antiquarian col-



Le Antichità di Ercolano. Vol. I. Map of the Gulf of Naples. N5775D44

lection, to protect it, and to control access to it. Despite the secrecy shrouding these operations, news of the findings at Herculaneum quickly spread through western Europe and aroused ardent interest within artistic and intellectual circles.

Charles III wanted to create a magnificent capital and consciously attempted to raise the cultural position of Naples. He brought from Parma the collection of paintings inherited from the Farnese, and eventually the family's collection of ancient statuary was also brought from Rome. These aspirations included vigorous promotion of the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. The objects found in these excavations were

jealously guarded and successfully kept in Naples at a time when the popes in Rome were fighting a losing battle against the exportation of antiquities by speculators and predatory collectors (including the Farnese descendants; see cat. 109). The antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeii shared the public's attention with the Greek vases whose importance was first promoted by Sir William Hamilton from 1764, and whose publication (Pierre d'Hancarville, *Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon.ble Wm. Hamilton*, Naples, 1766–1767) had a great impact on international design and taste. According to Harold Acton, the eight volumes of *Antichità di Ercolano* influenced “taste from St. Petersburg to Edinburgh for the next half century, so that hardly any craft or art was unaffected by their publication” (quoted in Grant 1984).

Under the influence of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the German antiquarian Johann Joachim Winckelmann promoted the new neoclassical fashions.

The first trace of Herculaneum was found by a farmer living in Resina—built on the land derived from subsequent volcanic activity—who descended to the buried city through a well and used it as a marble quarry. In 1710 Prince Elboeuf purchased the farm and immediately unearthed some of the finest sculpture to be found on the site; these were taken out of the country and brought to Vienna as gifts for Prince Eugene of Savoy (Gordon 1990). After Eugene's death in 1736 the statues were bought by Augustus III, king of Poland, who took them to Dresden. Augustus' daughter married Charles III in 1738 and, familiar with the statues from Resina, she encouraged the king to continue the archaeological search. Thus Charles III's large collection was culled from his own property, after he bought the villa at Portici.

The extraordinary nature of the findings was soon grasped by the antiquarian community and by the king himself, who saw a unique opportunity and decided to limit access to the site and the objects removed from it. Special access was granted only to antiquarians at court who had the exclusive publication rights to all the new discoveries, and jealous secrecy veiled the excavation. Visitors were closely supervised and hustled quickly through the excavation site. (Leisurely visits were in any case hazardous, since ventilation through the tunnels was poor, as were the torches used to light the excavated labyrinth.) The royal keeper Camillo Paderni closely monitored visitors to the museum. Ottavio Bayardi headed the planned scholarly publication, but he proceeded too slowly, incurring the contempt of European scholars eager to learn about Herculaneum. In 1755 he was replaced by the fifteen-member Accademia Ercolanese (Maylender 1975), appointed by the prime minister, Bernardo Tanucci, which debated about the archaeological findings with equivalent deliberation, starving antiquarians and artists alike.

The importance of the discoveries made between 1740 and 1760 is partly in their role as arguments in the so-called quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. The "ancients"—proponents of antiquity—attempted to use the paintings found to prove that ancient painters were superior to modern ones and that there had been no progress in painting. The debate over this was made more virulent and drawn out by the secrecy in which the excavation at Herculaneum was shrouded. Even so, between 1750 and 1760, after the publication of the first volume of the *Antichità di Ercolano* and other, stolen, images, the mediocrity of the ancient works was recognized by all interested in the debate. Although the engravings in the *Antichità* were correct, their accuracy was questioned given their

artistic quality and fragmentary state. The scientific publication of the frescoes became polemicized in the wake of negative assessments made by visitors who had not seen them well or who had poor judgment (Michel 1984).

The publications did not satisfy the large artistic and antiquarian public. Antiquarians such as Louis de Jaucourt, who contributed the entry on Herculaneum to the *Encyclopédie*, were disappointed that no new manuscripts had been found in the two Vesuvian cities. Painters were disappointed in the quality of the works found. Nonetheless, Charles-Nicholas Cochin, a French painter and draftsman, made a career out of his publications about the ancient paintings (Flamarion 1996). But persons closest to the excavations—such as the prime minister Tanucci, the architect Luigi Vanvitelli, who was building the royal residence at Caserta, or the Neapolitan antiquarian Berardo Galiani, who published an edition of Vitruvius during this period—did not write about the archaeological work at Herculaneum or the contents of the museum at Portici at all, since the copyright over materials found in the excavations had been assigned by the king to the Accademia Ercolanese.

One of the earliest illustrated descriptions of the archaeological finds at Herculaneum, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, "served as the basis for the publication that scooped the secrets of the discoveries made under Charles III" (Gordon 1990). The author of the drawings and the publication is Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, a Parisian architect and *pensionnaire* of the French Academy in Rome. With Cochin and the architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot, he accompanied Abel-François Poisson de Marigny, the most distinguished tourist of the eighteenth century and future intendant of French royal construction, on the trip to Naples. Although visitors were permitted in the underground tunnels on the excavation site and at the museum in Portici, they were closely monitored and hurried along, forbidden from taking notes or drawing. To fill the gap of news about Herculaneum, a group of courtiers who were enemies of Bayardi actively intrigued in the 1740s and early 1750s to obtain details. (Bayardi was appointed director over more qualified local candidates, like Giacomo Martorelli, because the prime minister then in office, Marchese Giovanni Fogliani, was his cousin.) At the heart of the conspiracy to steal the secrets of Herculaneum was Monsieur d'Arthenay, the secretary of the French ambassador to Naples. Through these circles Bellicard received the plan of the theater and the basilica and published them together with engravings of paintings drawn from memory. It immediately became clear that

Pag. 129.



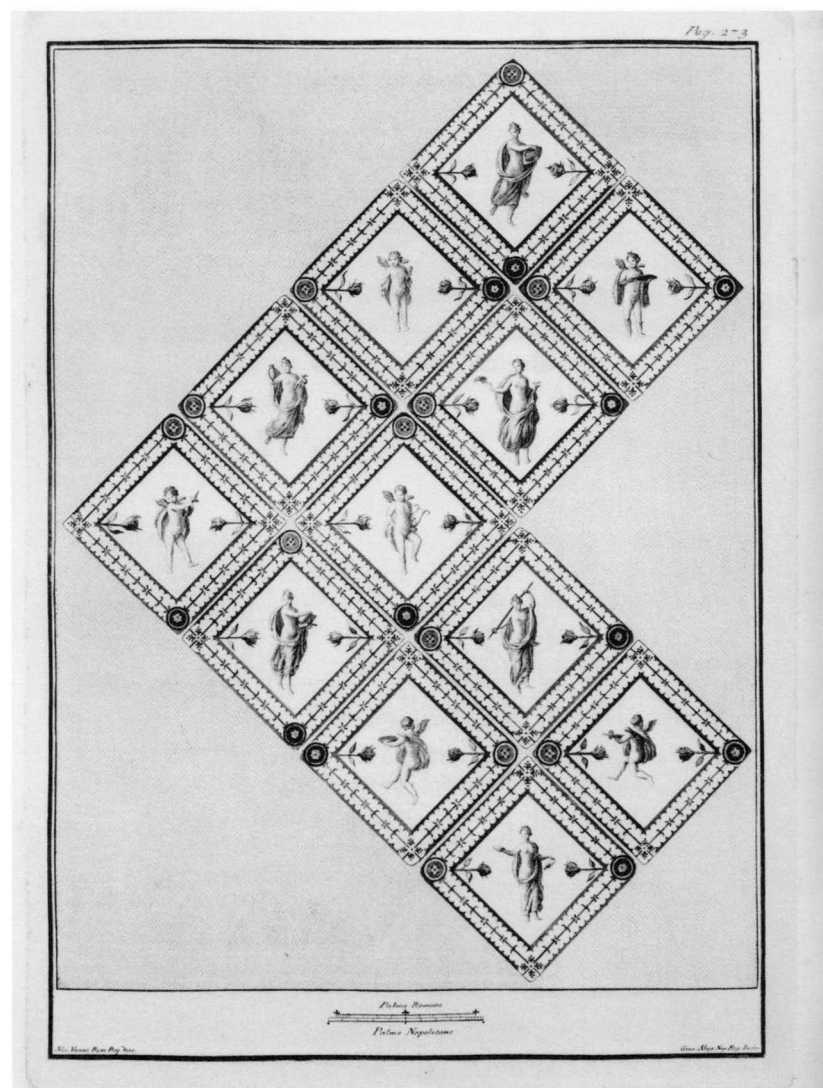
Camillo Paderni del.

Filippo Morghen sculpi.

the “process of excavation through tunneling was more like mining than archaeology, constituting a form of vandalism” (Gordon 1990). As in current mining practice, tunnels were filled in as new ones were opened (to maintain the structural viability of the houses of Resina above the archaeological site). Because of this approach to the excavation, successive visitors saw different parts of the site, making the descriptions of the earliest witnesses of significant documentary value.

The greatest scandal around the excavations at Herculaneum was sparked not by Bellicard, however, but by the publication of two letters by Winckelmann, which caused consternation and irritation in Naples. (One appeared in 1762 and another in 1764; they were issued simultaneously in French in 1764.) During his first trip to Naples, in 1758, Winckelmann did not receive the treatment he had hoped for, nor was he invited to join the Accademia Ercolanese as he secretly wished, and his recommendations to the queen, a Saxon compatriot, did not help to pierce the shroud of secrecy at the museum, where he was allowed neither to take notes nor to draw. Nonetheless, Winckelmann believed he had obtained a clear idea of the state of the excavations, restorations, and museums and wrote a scathing analysis in which he made public his belief that archaeologically Naples was a “wilderness.” His reproaches were oriented toward the military engineer in charge of the excavations, the Spaniard Roque de Alcubierre, and the director of the museum, Camillo Paderni, whom he accused of vandalism. His writings were based on the first published volume, which the queen had presented to him. In his letter he also expressed his low aesthetic opinion of the equestrian statues found at Herculaneum, but singled out the painting of *Chiron and Achilles* as more beautiful than its engravings (Strazzullo, in Winckelmann 1981).

During his second trip in 1762 he was treated with greater circumspection, but no one knew of the first letter, published in German. Tanucci sent him the second volume of the *Antichità*, and he was able to see the sights with greater leisure. During his third trip in 1764 he visited Pompeii and added two chapters to his earlier description, on houses and on theaters. Once the court got wind of the two letters issued in French, however, the ire was such that it seemed Winckelmann could never again set foot in Naples. Though a courtier—despite his vehement denials, Winckelmann was supported in his studies by a series of Roman cardinals who offered him employment, lodging, and the use of their libraries—he failed to mince his words in the appropriately rhetorical manner. In his second letter Winckelmann criticized the Accademia, accusing it of inertia. The French *Gazette littéraire* praised his letters as having taught more than the great volumes of the Accademia about Herculaneum. Although the Winckel-



Le Antichità di Ercolano. Vol. 4, plate 55. Wall painting decoration. N5775D44

mann case was an “affair of state” in Naples in 1765, he managed to make his peace with Tanucci during his last visit in 1767. Tanucci preferred to ignore the message of Winckelmann’s letters, though he explicitly discussed them with his Parisian-based protégé Ferdinando Galiani. Thus the great public interest in the antiquities at Herculaneum, which according to Galiani demanded guidebooks and visiting rights, remained unsatisfied: without the much-desired popular publications, without regular museum hours, and without a commercially available version of the *Antichità* (Strazzullo, in Winckelmann 1981).

The process of excavation was as difficult as the public relations caused by its findings. Even though he was accused of incompetence, Alcubierre remained the director of the archaeological excavations for about forty years; his military training in mining and tunneling was essential for the safety of the site. These mining techniques were fundamental for the boring of

"tunnels through the solidified pyroclastic flow that had covered Herculaneum, and the first decade of the excavation was spent on this work" (Parslow 1995). This was also the first systematic and unprecedented effort to excavate a whole town. The documentation of the excavations includes inventories of objects and plans, but neither was intended for publication. There was no attempt to document the location of the found artifacts, which were hurriedly removed to the museum and jealously guarded. Alcubierre showed little interest in the architectural remains, and at first no one did. "Ruins were viewed as mere repositories for art" (Parslow 1995).

Alcubierre's carelessness was countered by Karl Weber, his Swiss assistant and also a military engineer. Winckelmann praised Weber as the source of all sensible management at the excavation. Weber methodically dug along streets, looking for the entrances to buildings. He was also against reburying the ruins in order to unveil the entire site. Furthermore, he wanted to show works of art in their original context and, as Christopher Parslow notes, "anticipated later methodology by advocating description of the ancient sites in monographic format, in which all works of art from an individual site would appear together" (Parslow 1995). This was in stark contrast with the established order for the publication of the *Antichità* and the display of the objects in the museum, which were arranged—in the books and in the rooms of the museum—typologically. Weber's plans remain among the most accurate documents of these years in the middle of the century. He also provided the splendid double-page map of the gulf of Naples, dated 1754, which is bound into the first volume of the *Antichità*.

The *Antichità di Ercolano*, then, is the much maligned, closely examined, and greatly desired publication of the excavation. Its slowly emerging volumes—referred to as *materassi* (mattresses) by Tanucci (Strazzullo, in Winckelmann 1981)—were used as symbols of favor, social position, and social clout. They were produced with the collaboration of an extraordinary number of draftsmen and engravers, under the editorship of Pasquale Carcagni, the secretary of the Accademia, who continued his work on the project even after the other members of the academy ceased to have their regular meetings.

The team of graphic artists who engraved the plates for the eight volumes of the *Antichità di Ercolano* constituted a veritable army. Vanvitelli referred to them as the Portici school of engraving and complained that all the talented artists were taken hostage by the interminable publication project, thus preventing them from helping with his own illustrations for an equally sumptuous book on the royal palace and gardens he built at Caserta (see cat. 140). Nonetheless, Vanvitelli himself contrib-

uted several decorative designs for the *Antichità*, including the view of Vesuvius erupting, and many of the same artists contributed to both publications. Among them are the brothers Carlo and Niccolò Orazi, Rocco Pozzi, and Carlo Nolli, but the greatest number of plates were made by Filippo Morghen, whose father, Giovanni, was also part of the team. Although many of the illustrations were designed by Camillo Paderni, some of the engravers were their own draftsmen (such as Niccolò Vanni). Given the large number of people involved in preparing the plates, it is surprising that no more of the images were leaked to the clamoring public. For instance, among the illustrators of the fourth volume, released in 1765, was the Venetian painter Giovanni Casanova, who also drew many of the illustrations for Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi* (cat. 164).

The volumes are organized typologically, by wall paintings, bronze statues, and bronze objects. They are illustrated without specific statement of the site where they were found. This reflected the proceedings of the Accademia, whose members analyzed the works visually, supporting their attributions with the help of classical and Renaissance literary works. Although Bayardi wanted to include drawings of the excavation sites, when he lost charge of the publication Weber's reconstructions were not engraved. The *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti* by Bayardi (see cat. 16), normally included in the *Antichità* as volume 9, was actually published in 1754. It listed all the major objects from the Vesuvian cities and followed his criticized *Prodromo delle antichità d'Ercolano* of 1752. This first five-volume publication on Herculaneum dealt in approximately 2,700 pages with the life and labors of Hercules, whom Bayardi proposed as the founder of Herculaneum. Neither the *Catalogo* nor the *Prodromo* satisfied the public desire to know about the ancient Roman cities.

Bayardi was replaced by the well-situated Berardo Galiani, who had been educated by Giambattista Vico, Giambattista Capasso, and Alessio Mazzocchi. In 1758 Berardo Galiani (also a member of the Accademia) published a lavish edition of Vitruvius (see cat. 162) in which he hardly referred to the Vesuvian excavations, even though they were far along. He was hampered by the prohibition surrounding the antiquities supervised by the Accademia. Though he mentions Herculaneum, he meant to use Vitruvius to understand the ruins rather than using them to untangle the ancient Roman text. Thus he missed an important occasion to distinguish his work from that of other interpreters by elucidating difficult passages in Vitruvius. Winckelmann praised Galiani, who showed him around, and when Weber's reconstruction plans for the theater at Herculaneum ended up in the hands of Galiani, he showed them to Winckelmann (however, the academician turned against the German antiquarian after Winckel-



Le Antichità di Ercolano. Vol. 1, text of plate 24. N5775D44

mann's critical letters were published). Winckelmann's second letter includes an extensive description of the theater, while the plans and sections of this crucial building were published by Francesco Piranesi, probably using his father's drawings and with the advantage of free access to the site, in 1793 (cat. 76). The Accademia published the first plan of the ancient cities only in 1797.

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Giuseppe Francesco Antonio Alberti (1712–1768)

2

I Giochi Numerici Fatti Arcani Palesati
Da Giusepp-Antonio Alberti Bolognese

Bologna: printed by Bartolomeo Borghi, 1747

NGA Lib. Rare Book: QA35A4

Octavo: 180 × 122 (7 1/8 × 4 13/16)

Pagination viii, 313, [1] pp., 16 etched plates

Edition First edition

Giuseppe Francesco Antonio Alberti. *La Pirotechnia*.

Pages 112–113. TP300A42

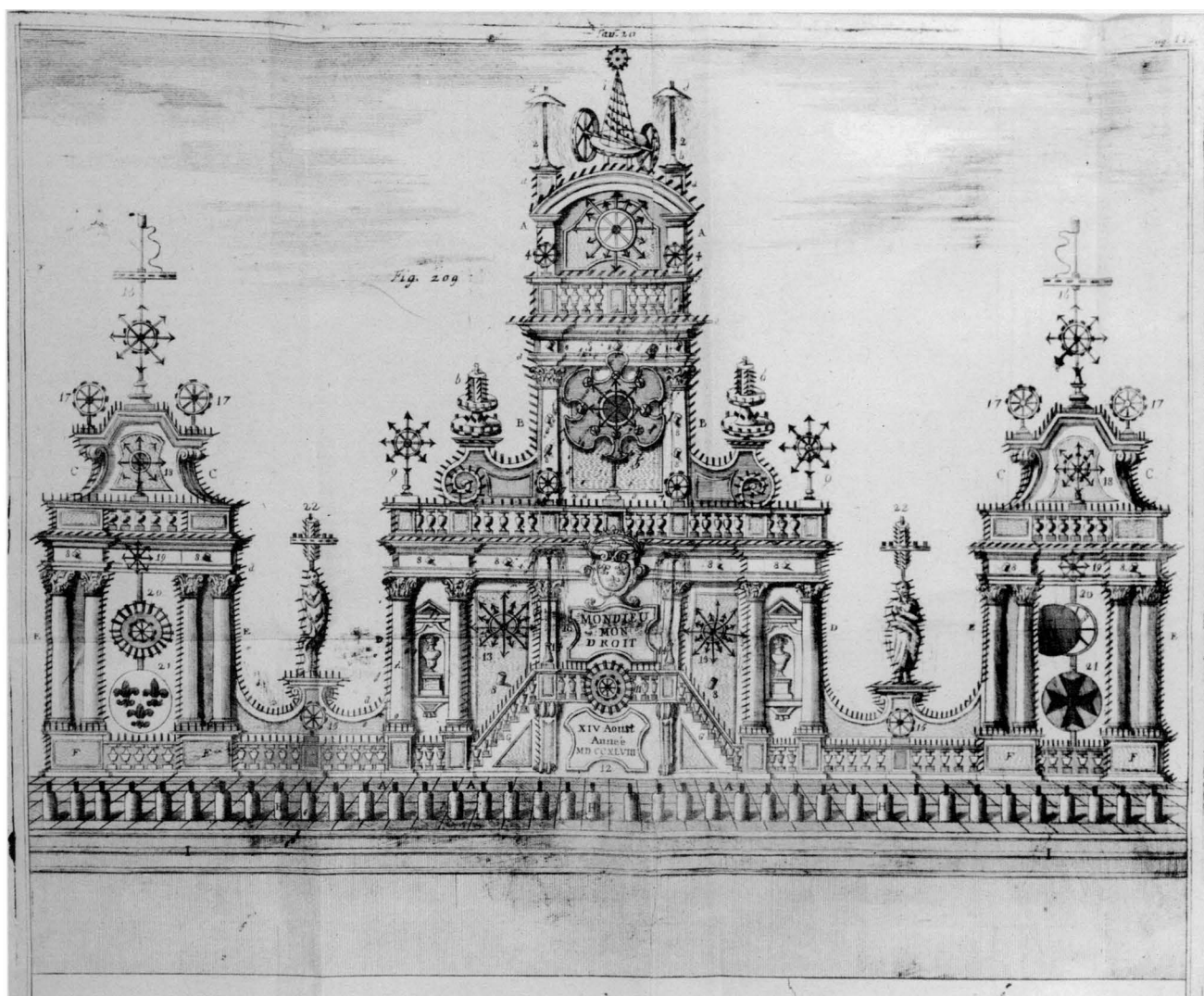
Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); iii–v dedication by Alberti to D. Domenico Casaglia; vi–viii preface; 1–300 text; 301–313 index; [314] privilege, dated 20 January 1747, and imprimatur

Ornaments Woodcut ornament on title page

Illustrations 16 full-page etched plates *hors texte* numbered 1–xvi and paginated according to location in text; all unsigned

Binding Nineteenth-century marbled paper-covered boards, cloth spine, black morocco label, blue mottled edges

References Riccardi 1: 15





Giuseppe Francesco Antonio Alberti. *I Giochi numerici*.
Page 152. QA35A4

3

La Pirotechnia O Sia Trattato Dei Fuochi D'Artificio Di Giuseppe Antonio Alberti Bolognese

Venice: Giambattista Recurti, 1749

NGA Lib. Rare Book: TP300A42

Quarto: 230 × 169 (9 1/16 × 6 5/8)

Pagination viii, 128, [2] pp., 21 etched plates (1 folding)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); iii-v preface; vi-vii table of contents; viii privilege; i-124 text; 125-128 index; [129-130] errata

Ornaments Woodcut vignette on title page, small woodcut tailpiece (p. v), woodcut pictorial initial (p. 1)

Illustrations 21 etched plates *hors texte* numbered 1-21 and paginated according to location in text (plate 20 folding, remainder full page). Plates 1-19, 21 each printed on extension leaves. Plate 1 signed by Giuseppe? Filosi as etcher ("Filosi sc.")

Binding Contemporary vellum, paper ticket with manuscript title on front cover: "Il.º / Giuseppe Antonio Alberti / La Pirotechnia / ossia / Trattato dei fuochi d'artificio," red morocco label on spine, red sprinkled edges

References Berlin Cat. 3304

Leon Battista Alberti

(1404–1472)

4

Leonis Baptiste Alberti De Re Aedificatoria
Incipit . . .

Florence: Niccolo di Lorenzo Alamani, 1485

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44A334A3

Folio: 275 × 193 (10¹³/₁₆ × 7⁵/₈)

Foliation [204] leaves

Edition First edition, third issue, in which two conjugate leaves (folios 145) and the whole of the final 8-leaf gathering have been reprinted, using a slightly different typeface, shortly after initial publication (for typographical details, see British Museum, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, London, 1908–1962, 6:630–31). By modern reckoning the colophon date is 29 December 1485

Text folios [1] recto, blank; [1] verso, dedication by Angelo Poliziano to Lorenzo de' Medici; [2]–[203] verso, *incipit*, preface, and text of books 1–10, ending with colophon “Leonis Baptistae Alberti Florentini Viri Clarissimi de re Aedificatoria opus elega[n]tissimu[m] et qna[m]maxime [sic] utile: Florentiae accuratissime impressum opera Magistri Nicolai Laurentii Alamani: Anno salutis Millesimo octuagesimo quinto [i.e., 1485]: quarto Kalendas Ianuarias.”; [204] recto, verse to the reader by “Baptista siculus,” i.e., Baptista the Sicilian; [204] verso, register

Binding Recently resewn and rebound in contemporary Italian blind-tooled quarter calf, each cover made up from two old wooden boards, beveled edges, the upper outer board probably later but the lower, with indentations for missing clasps, inscribed in early manuscript “LEONIS Baptistae / al[b]erti de re aedificatoria.” Spine with three raised bands, later paper label in manuscript “AL[BE]RTI / de re edificatoria / Florence / 1485.” Parchment endleaves. Folio 14 and first leaf of final gathering signed in manuscript

Provenance Early illegible inscription “Gomes [?] . . .” on lower outer board; partially erased library stamp on initial recto “Municipio / di / . . .”

References *Avery's Choice*, 1; Cicognara 370; Fowler 3; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 46

5

[De re aedificatoria. Italian. 1546]

I Dieci Libri De L'Architettvra Di Leon Battista De Gli Alberti Fiorentino, Huomo in ogni altra dottrina eccellente, ma in questa singolare; da la cui prefatione breuemente si comprende La commodità, l'utilità, la neceßità, e la dignità di tale opera, e parimente la cagione, de la quale è stato mosso à scriuerla: Nouamente de la Latina ne la Volgar Lingua con molta diligenza tradotti

Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44A334A3I6

Octavo: 158 × 101 (6¹/₄ × 4)

Foliation [xii], 248 leaves

Edition First edition of first printed Italian translation, by Pietro Lauro

Text folios [i] title page (verso blank); [ii]–[iv] dedication by the translator, Pietro Lauro, to Bonifazio Bevilacqua; [v]–[xi] table of contents; [xii] blank; 1–4 preface; 5–248 recto, text; 248 verso, printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page, repeated in larger format on final page; woodcut foliated initials

Binding Eighteenth-century vellum, red edges

Provenance Contemporary marginalia in Italian

References Cicognara 373; Fowler 5; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 51

6

[De re aedificatoria. Italian. 1550]

L'Architettvra di Leonbatista Alberti Tradotta in lingua Fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli Gentil'huomo & Accademico Fiorentino. Con la aggiunta de Disegni

Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550

1983.49.1

Folio: 342 × 224 (13¹/₂ × 8¹³/₁₆)

Pagination 404, [24] pp.

(*Note*: This copy lacks the double-page woodcut plate described in the Fowler, Harvard, and RIBA copies, which is intended as two foldout extensions to be pasted on pp. 284 and 285, although in many copies the two leaves are simply bound between these pages)

Edition First illustrated edition of *De re aedificatoria*; first edition of Cosimo Bartoli's translation

Text pp. [1] title page; [2] portrait of Alberti; 3–4 dedication by Bartoli to Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence; 5–8 preface; 9–404 text and illustrations; [405–425] index; [426] errata and register; [427–428] blank

Ornaments First appearance of elaborate allegorical woodcut architectural title border designed by Giorgio Vasari, with personifications of Fortune, Immortality, and Virtue atop Tuscan aedicule framing a landscape with river god representing the Arno in foreground and Roman ruins in background, flanked by figures of Minerva (Wisdom) and Flora (Florence), and featuring the arms and devices of the dedicatee, Cosimo de' Medici; the design was later repeated in several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian books. Woodcut historiated initials

Illustrations Approximately 80 unnumbered and unsigned woodcut illustrations throughout text, including one double-page woodcut of the Baths of Diocletian

Binding Eighteenth-century calf, gilt spine (repaired), gilt edges

Provenance Ownership inscription of T. Gale and stamp of Charles Frederic Mewes on title page; bookplate of Charles Frederic Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 2552; Fowler 6; Mortimer, *Italian*, 12; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 52

7

[De re aedificatoria. Italian. 1565]
L'Architettvra Di Leonbatista Alberti Tradotta
In Lingva Fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli,
Gentilhuomo, & Academico Fiorentino.
Con la aggiunta de' Disegni

Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1565

1983.49.3

Quarto: 222 × 165 (8¾ × 6½)

Pagination 4, [iv], 5–320, 325–404, [28] pp., [2] double-page woodcut plates

(*Note*: [iv] not included in the register and not recorded in the Fowler copy)

Edition First quarto edition of Cosimo Bartoli's translation, originally published Florence, 1550 (cat. 6)

Text pp. [1] title page; [2] portrait of Alberti; [3]–4 dedication by Bartoli to Cosimo de' Medici dated Venice, 21 April 1565; [i–ii] Latin verses in honor of Alberti: "In opus Leonis Baptistae Alberti Pagani Paganinii Licianensis endecasyllabi"; [iii–iv] Bartoli's original dedication to Cosimo de' Medici from the 1550 edition; 5–404 text and illustrations; [405–431] index, ending with register and colophon; [432] blank

Ornaments Title within woodcut architectural border (reduced, reversed copy of the title border to the 1550 folio edition); typographic fleurons; historiated and decorated woodcut initials of various sizes

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations, throughout text. The woodcuts are reduced and (with the exception of the woodcut portrait of Alberti) reversed free copies after the 1550 edition (the woodcuts of statues on pp. 176–178 are significantly altered). A double-page woodcut plate—paginated 284 and 285 and inserted between pp. [284–285]—with two woodcuts of towers is intended as foldout extensions for the buildings illustrated on those pages; in some copies the leaves may be found pasted onto their respective bases, although they need to be transposed to fit correctly. A second double-page woodcut plate, paginated 321 and 322, of the Baths of Diocletian is inserted as pp. [321–324]

Binding Modern half calf with paper boards

Provenance Contemporary ink inscription below portrait of Alberti: "Leon Battā Alberti Antico scrittor d'archit.^a / Vivea nel Anno 1457 fu primo di Bramante / la sua archit.^a e stata ristampata due volte"; dated in same hand at top of medallion roundel: "1450"

References Cicognara 376; Fowler 9; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 54

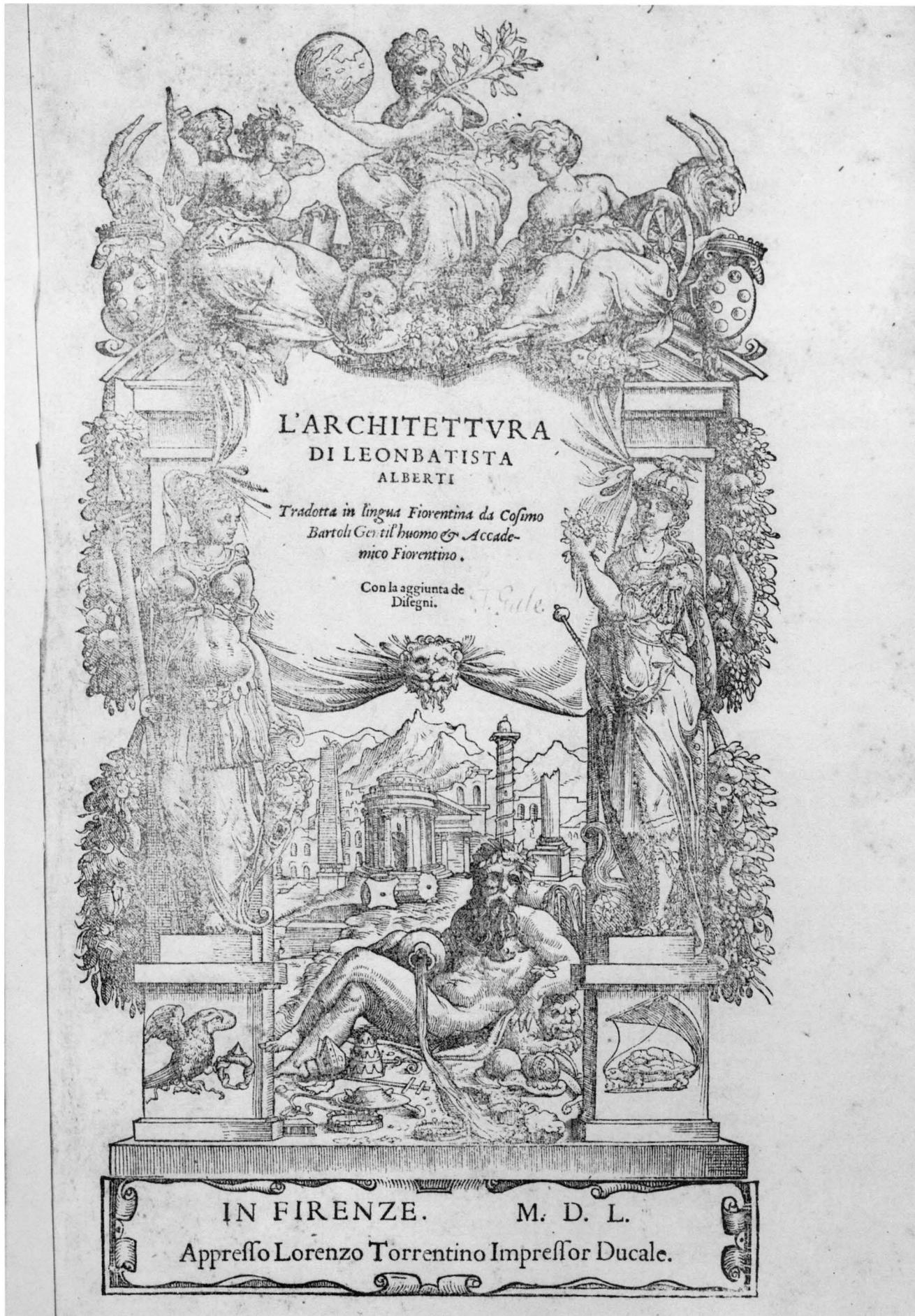
8

[De re aedificatoria. Italian. 1833]
Della Architettura Libri Dieci Di Leon Battista
Alberti Traduzione Di Cosimo Bartoli Con
Note Apologetiche Di Stefano Ticozzi E Trenta
Tavole In Rame Disegnate Ed Incise Da
Costantino Gianni

Milan: printed by Vincenzo Ferrario "at the expense of the publishers" ("A Spese Degli Editori"), 1833

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44A334A32I6

Leon Battista Alberti. *L'Architettura* [1550]. Title page. 1983.49.3



Octavo: 230 × 148 (9¹/₁₆ × 5¹³/₁₆)

Pagination xxvi, 401, [I] pp., engraved frontispiece, 30 engraved plates

Edition Late edition of Bartoli's translation, the first in a series intended to provide affordable, scholarly editions of notable Italian architectural treatises ("Raccolta dei Classici Italiani di Architettura Civile da Leon Battista Alberti fino al Secolo XIX, Vol. I")

Text pp. [I] series half-title; [II] imprint: "Coi Tipi Di Vincenzo Ferrario S. Pietro all'Orto N°. 893."; [III] title page (verso blank); [v]–vi editor's note; [vii]–viii Stefano Ticozzi's preface; [ix]–xix life of Alberti; [xx] blank; [xxi]–xxvi Alberti's preface; [I]–392 text, books 1–x; [393]–401 table of contents; [402] blank

Illustrations Frontispiece, a stipple portrait of Alberti signed "Lanti inc."; plus 30 double-page engraved plates all signed by Costantino Gianni as engraver ("C. Gianni inc.") and Zanaboni as printer ("Calcog. Zanaboni," with variants)

Binding Contemporary half calf, marbled boards

References Fowler 14; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 57

9

La Pittvra Di Leonbattista Alberti Tradotta Per M. Lodovico Domenichi

Venice: Gabriel Giolito, 1547

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44A334A2716

Octavo: 153 × 94 (6¹/₁₆ × 3¹¹/₁₆)

Foliation 44 leaves

Edition First edition of Lodovico Domenichi's Italian translation

Text folios [I] title page (verso blank); 2–3 dedication by Domenichi to Francesco Salviati; 4–44 recto, text, ending with register and colophon; 44 verso, printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page; another version of the device on final page (fol. 44 verso); historiated woodcut initials

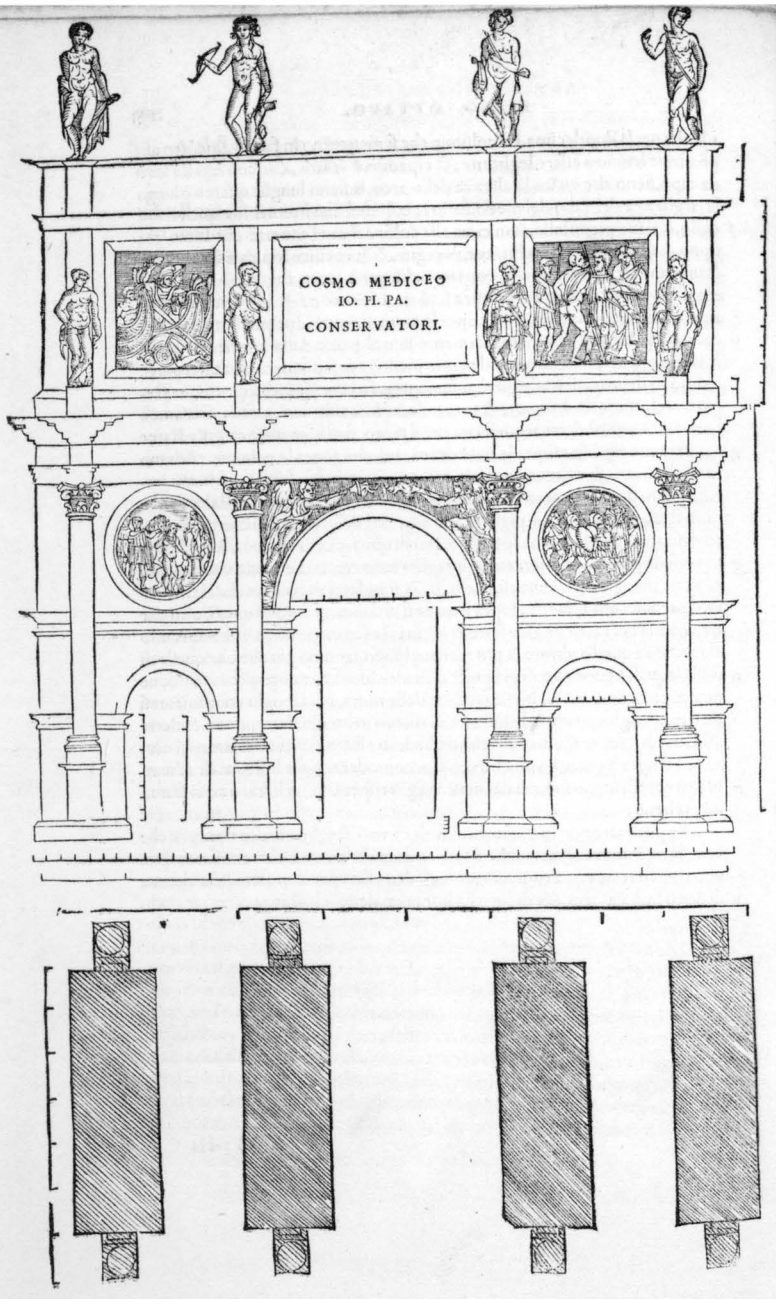
Binding Eighteenth-century vellum, manuscript title on spine and date on cover

References Cicognara 66, 388; Fowler 15

ONE OF THE MOST BRILLIANT DILETTANTES that has ever lived, Leon Battista Alberti had a great visual capacity, a strong sense of beauty, and passionately believed that human dignity resides entirely in work (Garin 1952, Schlosser 1929). Alberti is the first to have set out the governing principles of architecture, painting, and sculpture within an overall worldview. A prolific writer, he composed numerous literary works in prose and verse in great bursts of creative energy. He wrote on language, justice, family management, love and matrimony, agriculture, friendship, and moral life. The versatility of Alberti's literary interests was complemented by broad scientific concerns sparked by his studies of mathematics and physics at the University of Padua. His devotion to art was caused in large part by the great impression made on him by the Florentine artistic world, which he first encountered in the mid-1430s during an extensive sojourn there with the papal court. He distinguished himself by the broad range of his intellectual interests and the incisive translation of these into specific analytical works. The diversity of his cultural interventions, his intense rapport with antiquity, and the dialectic between his mental and artistic life mark Alberti as a major contributor to Italian humanism. But even though Alberti was eulogized by his contemporaries, his most important and fulfilling literary work, the *De re aedificatoria*, was effective only in the sixteenth century (Golzio 1953). Thus the Renaissance editions of Alberti's literary works on the fine arts belong as much to the history of publishing as they do to the intellectual history of architecture.

His books on painting and statuary, *De pictura* and *De statua*, are among the most important documents of the early Renaissance. Written in 1436, *De pictura* is the earliest theoretical expression of the fifteenth century, predating Lorenzo Ghiberti's work on the subject. The Italian version was dedicated to Brunelleschi, who is named at the beginning of the work. *Della pittura* is also an important historical document of artistic life. Like Ghiberti, Alberti wanted to offer contemporary artists the principles and system for the figurative arts. Writing as a painter, his exposition is nonetheless based largely on Euclid (Schlosser 1929).

In *De pictura* Alberti makes several fundamental contributions. He distinguishes between tangible and apparent, that is, optical or perceptible form. He offers a theory of visual rays, a discussion of color, and an account of experiments with the optical box. For the discussion of the visual pyramid, the modern definition of the pictorial representation of perspective, Alberti is entirely dependent on his Florentine background and especially the known experiments of Brunelleschi. The novelty of his idea is that he offers a mathematical demonstration of the construction of pictorial space.



Leon Battista Alberti. *L'Architettura* [1550]. Plan and elevation of a triumphal arch. 1983.49.1

His *De pictura* is the foundation for the extensive series of writings on artistic perspective that were produced in Italy until the eighteenth century (Schlosser 1929).

In the second and equally influential part of *De pictura*, Alberti deals with the organization of painting. The three sections of this part deal with linear outline, composition, and modeling of form in colored light. Alberti isolates the notion of reflectivity, the relativity and harmony of colors, the perspective of colors and of light, anticipating Leonardo's theories by three quarters of a century. Placing his discussion at the core of painting, he insists that the artifice of painting is not to reproduce objects but their image as transmitted by the

eye. He counsels against literal transcriptions of reality, inveighing, for example, against the use of gold to illustrate the metal or of white for representing the color white in clothes or human faces. He discusses the theory of proportions based on human anatomy and urges a thorough knowledge of the human bone structure, which is then "dressed" with muscles and clothes.

Alberti's concept in this work is based on the belief that knowledge comes from sensory perceptions, which when compared to each other can yield general conclusions. Alberti is preoccupied with visual appearance and concerned with the extreme limits of things, with *orlo* (edge) and *superficie* (surface), and the play of light and shade across the surface of the object. He has three main principles, which are the means and aims of humanist painting: understanding of visible reality, mathematics as a means of controlling that reality, and *istoria* (Spencer 1956). Alberti proposes a mathematically derived perspective construction, and is the first to do so. The most obvious contribution is his exposition of the one-point perspective system, which is the means to create apparent space in painting. He explains how visual rays connecting the eye to the object describe the form of a pyramid, rationally summarizing information captured by sight.

The concept of *istoria* helps the artist make an impact through monumentality and dramatic content rather than size. The content of *istoria* (narrative) includes antique themes and personal emotions, which are to be evoked in the viewer by overt gesture. That the emotions of the soul may be expressed by the body, now a commonplace, was first presented in an artistic context by Alberti in his treatise on painting. He further advocated the insertion of a "commentator" in the painting, whose function would be to act as emotional link between viewer and painting. The painter should familiarize himself, through reading, with the infinite movements of the human soul, and, like words, his paintings should imply more than they show. Desirable variety and copiousness—a way of avoiding monotony—should be obtained by the introduction of all the ages of man, both sexes, and numerous animals. In the Latin version of the treatise, he infers the limits of copiousness by offering Varro's suggestion that no more than nine guests should be invited to a banquet and applies it to painting (Spencer 1956). Further, Alberti wants the painting to harmonize with its architectural context, which extends the space of the painting. Thus, in turn, the painting generates an aesthetic space around itself.

Alberti made his own Italian translation, *Della pittura*, which became so popular that it "was read out of existence," according to John Spencer. Filarete, Piero della Francesca, and Leonardo drew from it. The translations and editions of *Della pittura* are more numerous

than of *De re aedificatoria*, and second only to the widely read *Della famiglia*. The subsequent academic interpretations of Alberti's frayed *Della pittura* and the extensive study suggested by Alberti were rigidly adopted in professional art education.

Alberti thought of art as public, addressed to a broad audience. The Latin manuscript of 1435 was nonetheless dedicated to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, while the 1436 version in Italian was dedicated to the large group of Florentine artists who are named in the work, including Brunelleschi, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, Ghiberti, and Masaccio. By offering his work to both patron and artists, Alberti advocates the demise of the guild system, since the novel art practices demanded the active participation of the patron, while the new artist is qualified by his intellect as well as by the materiality of his art. The separation of theory and practice is not admitted in *Della pittura*, and recent scholarship has emphasized the role of this treatise as a pedagogical manual (Wright 1984).

Lodovico Domenichi was the first to publish an Italian translation of Alberti's treatise on painting (which had been published first in Basel in a Latin edition of 1540). Domenichi was born in Piacenza in 1515 (died Pisa, 1564) of an impoverished aristocratic family. He obtained a law degree in Padua and practiced as a notary in Piacenza between 1539 and 1543, where he became a member of the unorthodox Accademia degli Ortolani, that was shut down in 1545. He had a close friendship with Anton Francesco Doni and an intense correspondence with Pietro Aretino. Obligated to leave Piacenza, Domenichi was drawn to Venice by the flourishing publishing industry and became linked to the publisher Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari. Domenichi's activity focused on editing; by 1545 he was famous as a proofreader. Domenichi had a specific profession as a translator of classical and modern texts, which required culture, taste, and literary talent. Aptly, Domenichi compared his work to that of sculptors restoring ancient marbles. Thus he filled in missing parts, corrected spelling and grammar, and deleted incomprehensible passages as he modernized texts, eventually earning Doni's vehement criticism.

After his move to Florence in 1546, Domenichi worked with the Giunti publishers and with Lorenzo Torrentino, the Flemish printer of the court and the Florentine Academy, who also published Cosimo Bartoli and Giulio Camillo. But Torrentino's publication of Jean Calvin's work compromised both of them, and Domenichi was condemned to prison for life in 1552. This sentence was commuted to a year's house arrest in the convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence—the facade of the church is attributed to Alberti—and he left prison with an improved position in the Medici court. In 1559 Domenichi was appointed official court

historian, with salary and lodging, and commissioned to write the history of Cosimo's wars with Siena. His edition of Alberti's *Della pittura* belongs to a transitional period in his life when he was working as a Florentine author and maintaining his contact with Giolito, who published Domenichi's last work, *Dialoghi . . . cioè d'amore*, in 1562.

Alberti's book on architecture, *De re aedificatoria*, interested a wide group of sponsors and supporters. Although it was initially intended for Lionello d'Este who had commissioned it, it was offered to Pope Nicholas v in 1452. Alberti may have wanted to dedicate the treatise to his great friend Federico da Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, or even to Lorenzo de' Medici, according to his cousin Bernardo Alberti, who collaborated with Poliziano in offering the *editio princeps* to Lorenzo. Lorenzo had been shown around Rome by Alberti (together with Bernardo Rucellai, another Alberti patron, and Donato Acciaiuoli), and he was competing with his father, Piero, to whom Filarete had offered his treatise.

Alberti composed his treatise on architecture in Latin, perhaps in two writing campaigns, the first five books between 1443 and 1445 and the second five between 1447 and 1452. When his good friend Tommaso Parentucelli was elected pope as Nicholas v in 1447, he appointed Alberti to supervise the restoration of distinguished ancient buildings in Rome and to plan the restoration of the entire city. The initial influence of the treatise was not extensive. Known more by hearsay than through actual reading, the treatise was not broadly disseminated, partly because Alberti neglected to have copies made of it (Golzio 1953). He may have continued to polish the treatise until his death in 1472. The posthumous Florentine *editio princeps* was published 1485, sponsored by Lorenzo, who also acted as a proofreader (Morolli 1992). The published treatise became one of the glories of Lorenzo's patronage in art. The first translation in Italian by Pietro Lauro was published in 1546; the first illustrated edition by Cosimo Bartoli is from 1550. The 1833 edition by Stefano Ticozzi, illustrated with thirty copperplate engravings by Costantino Gianni (an architectural protagonist of the Lombard "restoration"), modernized Bartoli's Italian translation.

The numerous potential dedicatees for his treatise and its eventual publication history accurately witness the diversity of Alberti's cultural and personal background and associations. He had been born illegitimately to a patrician Florentine father and an aristocratic Genoese mother while his father had been banned from Florence. His studies took him to Venice, Padua, and Bologna, while his papal appointments caused him to spend time in Mantua, Ferrara, Florence, and Rome. He admired Florentine art and dialect; he

was strongly drawn to Roman antiquity and classical studies; he felt great sympathy for the self-fashioning efforts of fifteenth-century Italian princes such as the Este, the Gonzaga, and the Montefeltro. Thus his social and geographical associations are as varied as the subjects of his studies, his treatises, and his built works; his lack of a precise, single association was the result of his marginality, as an illegitimate son, and the exilic stance he adopted after being orphaned as a teenager. Closely knit friendships in several aristocratic courts served him well later in life, when, after the death of Pius II in 1464, he lost his appointment at the papal court and could turn to the full-time practice of architecture (Portoghesi 1966).

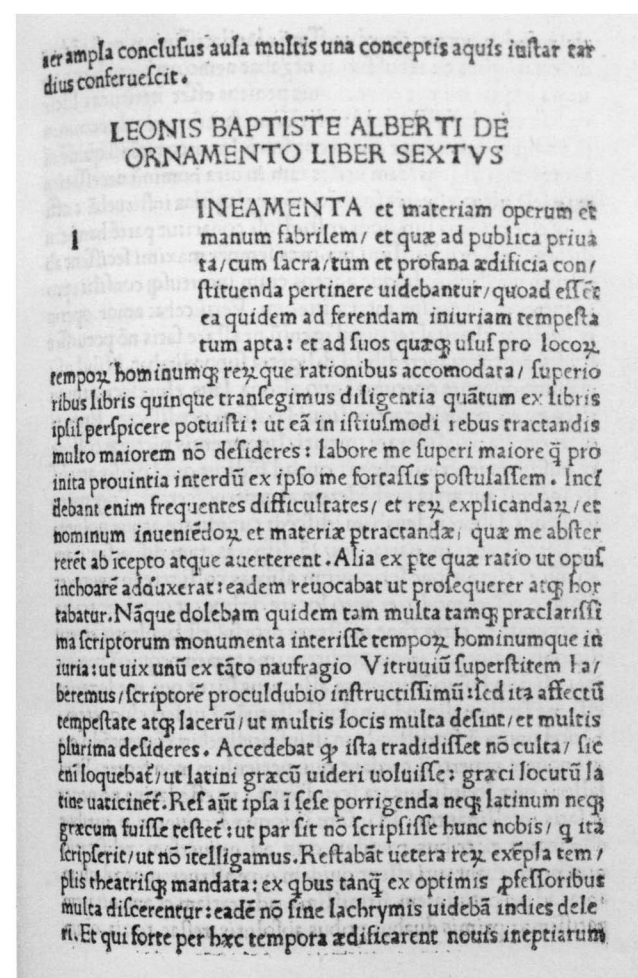
The most important extant manuscripts of *De re aedificatoria* are in Florence, Modena, the Vatican, and Chicago (Schlosser 1929, Grayson 1960, and Dinsmoor 1942). Giovanni Orlandi has reconstructed the process through which the large manuscript of about five hundred large folios, now in Chicago, was produced. This was copied from a manuscript in the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici, who had received it from Alberti. The manuscript was sent from Florence to Ferrara through the Este ambassador, copied in Ferrara by a team of twenty scribes, and then returned to Florence. The travel and the lightning-fast reproduction were achieved in twenty-seven days. *De pictura* exists in two Italian manuscripts in Florence and Paris and in six Latin manuscripts in Florence, the Vatican, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. None of these *De pictura* manuscripts are in Alberti's hand, and there is no mention of them until the nineteenth century. The best Italian version of the text was edited by Luigi Malle (Florence, 1950).

The first editor of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* was Angelo Ambrogini, known as Poliziano (born Montepulciano, 1454; died Rome, 1494). He was sent to study in Florence by his impoverished widowed mother in 1469 and by 1473 had entered Medici circles. Appointed the tutor of Piero de' Medici in 1475, he stayed in the Medici household until 1478, when he was dismissed by Lorenzo's wife Clarice, who did not approve of his educational methods. His early masterpiece, the vernacular *Stanze*, was composed while living with the Medici. In 1480, while he was pursuing philological research, he obtained a lectureship in Latin in Florence. His research covered a wide area of disciplines, however, sparked less by specialized interest in the subjects of his eventual publications, such as law, architecture, politics, and medicine, than by an ambition to display broad learning. The edition of Alberti's treatise on architecture, dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, is thus a part of Poliziano's display of erudition in this fashionable artistic discipline. This unillustrated and relatively small *editio princeps* offered Alberti's original Latin text;

linguistically and visually it could not have been attractive for practitioners of architecture. In intellectual circles, however, it established Alberti as the "Florentine Vitruvius" and added him to the pantheon of Medici-sponsored artists.

It was Cosimo Bartoli's translation of Alberti's treatise, published with illustrations, that made the text available to a larger group of readers among professional architects. Bartoli's edition quickly displaced the earlier Italian translation by Pietro Lauro (Venice, 1546; Girolamo Mancini [1967] mentions a 1541 edition), which was not illustrated. Like Poliziano's edition, Bartoli's was dedicated to a Medici, this time to Cosimo, soon to be duke of Tuscany. Born in Florence, Bartoli (c. 1503–c. 1572) was the son of a distinguished military man who served as *podestà* of Pistoia in 1513, a bronze-founder of firearms for the Medici, and an officer of the papal artillery. A friend of Michelangelo, Bartoli's father assisted on the construction site for the funeral monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. Since his pro-Medici family was suspect after the siege of Florence in 1529, Bartoli went to Rome in 1530, where he practiced architecture and became an ecclesiastic, but

Leon Battista Alberti. *De re aedificatoria* [1485]. First page of book 6. N44A334A3



without taking orders. He followed his father in Medici service, serving them for thirty years, but obtained an appointment only in 1560 when he became the secretary of the young cardinal Giovanni de' Medici and accompanied him to Rome. From 1562 he was the agent and diplomatic representative of Cosimo de' Medici in Venice, where he stayed for ten years.

Six filze of his correspondence survive in the Medici archive (Florence, Archivio di Stato). Among his news was the elopement in 1563 of the sixteen-year-old Bianca Cappello with the Florentine Piero Buonaventuri (she later became the legitimate spouse of Francesco de' Medici, Cosimo's heir) and the dramatic details of the battle of Lepanto in 1571. But Bartoli's literary activity is more significant than his diplomatic work, since he was interested in the use of the *volgare* to express scientific information. Through the introduction of new orthographic norms, Bartoli tried to approach the spoken and written forms of the Tuscan language. He was a founding member of the Accademia degli Umidi in Florence, where between 1541 and 1547 he gave seven lectures on Dante; this academy later became the Accademia Fiorentina sponsored by the Medici.

His translations and editions of Alberti's works offer specific examples of the range of the Tuscan language. But his discussion of Alberti's treatise on architecture is rather free in its interpretations, and he does not correct errors introduced by the Latin copyists. Ticozzi used Bartoli's translation for his edition of Alberti's *Della architettura* (Milan, 1833). Bartoli made arbitrary changes also in his collection of Alberti's works on sculpture and on painting, which he published in Venice in 1568. But his own *Modo di misurare le distantie* (Venice, 1564) is clearly written and became a popular treatise on surveying.

Bartoli's editions of Alberti's book on architecture were elaborately presented and well received. Issued by Lorenzo Torrentino in fifteen hundred copies in 1550, the first edition was sold out by 1565, prompting Bartoli to authorize the Venetian edition by Francesco de' Franceschi, which has a smaller, more convenient quarto, rather than folio, format (Rykwert and Engel 1994). The frontispiece for the Torrentino edition was designed by Giorgio Vasari, who published with Torrentino his great oeuvre, *Le vite*. Vasari's pen and brown ink study for the composition is at the Uffizi in Florence, but Bartoli himself may have provided the program for the design, which resembles the description of a painting in his *Ragionamenti accademici* (1567). Three figures are placed above a pediment that frames the title. The figures represent allegories of Fortune, Immortality, and Virtue. In the printed version, Immortality holds a globe, and her foot flanks the head of Time, who holds up an hourglass, while the drawing shows only an hourglass. The title text is flanked by armed female figures of



Leon Battista Alberti. *L'Architettura* [1565]. Title page. 1983.49.3

Flora (representing Florence) and Minerva. The old man at the center is a personification of the Arno, with papal, ducal, princely, and royal insignia. This constitutes an attempt to praise and flatter the Medici's good government and patronage of the arts. The four corners of the architectural opening are framed by a falcon, a tortoise, rams, and balls, all Medici *imprese*.

Torrentino reused this design in several other books, while Bartoli included it in his *Modo di misurare* (1564) and the *Discorsi storici* (1569; see Rykwert and Engel 1994). With slight alterations, and in reverse, the plate was also used as the frontispiece for the Franceschi Venetian edition of 1565. The river god is separated from the view of ruins, revealed in both versions by lifting the curtain of the title, and is endowed with

the instruments of surveying and drafting and with an armillary sphere. On the verso of the title page, Alberti's portrait is also after Vasari. Among the more unusual and amusing illustrations in the body of the text is the sizable putto that demonstrates the use of pulleys in lifting weights.

Bartoli's translations of Alberti's works are part of his declared interest in the visual arts. In addition to maintaining a working friendship with Vasari—he provided the programs for the decoration of several rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio—Bartoli cultivated close links with several talented artists in Florence and Venice. He was acquainted with Palladio, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Titian, and was particularly close to Giuseppe Salviati, Alessandro Vittoria, and Danese Cattaneo, disciples of the Florentine sculptor Jacopo Sansovino working in Venice. But Bartoli's translations were meant as much for the educated public as for an artistic readership, and he offered his editions of Alberti to the duke of Tuscany as aids to the study of Vitruvius (Bryce 1983). His editions of Alberti played an important part in keeping Alberti's reputation alive.

The treatise is divided into ten books in which Alberti imitates the structural organization of Vitruvius' treatise, on which his own is based. From Vitruvius Alberti also borrows the three principles of architecture—*firmitas*, *utilitas*, *venustas*—upon which his own theory is founded. In his first three books, Alberti discusses the concept of *firmitas*, dealing with such pragmatic concerns as the choice of building site, construction materials, and foundations. Books 4 and 5 are directed toward the concept of *utilitas*; the types of buildings are discussed according to their functions. Books 6, 7, and 8 are focused on *venustas* (beauty) as applied to churches, secular public buildings, and private buildings, respectively. The last book is devoted to hydraulic engineering and problems of restoration. Machines, extensively treated by Vitruvius in his books 9 and 10, are merely an addition to Alberti's book 6.

Although Alberti depends extensively on his ancient Roman predecessor Vitruvius, he complains bitterly about the poor quality of the Vitruvian text and its ugly Latin style (Schlosser 1929). Thus he alerts the reader to the principal problem of Vitruvian studies and the first order of business for quattrocento philologists. Alberti himself worked on the restoration of the Vitruvian text, but not in a reverential manner; he was intellectually superior to the Roman architect and a critical examiner of the inherited treatise, evaluating Vitruvius by comparison with the ruins of ancient Rome. Alberti's treatise is intended not for professional architects but for a humanistically educated, elite public. But even here he does not differ fundamentally from Vitruvius, who had dedicated his own treatise to Emperor Augustus and attempted to raise the social status of the architect by

outlining a distinguished liberal arts education for him. Alberti echoes the Vitruvian ideal of separating architecture from building and approaches the liberal arts by writing his book in Latin and turning architecture into an intellectual discipline. In book 2 of the treatise, for example, he displays a dazzling historical and linguistic erudition by listing his extensive sources, including quotations from Greek authors. Alberti makes a great effort to find Latin substitutes for Vitruvius' Greek terminology in architecture and representation.

Alberti's treatise can be seen as an interpretation of the principles that he found in Vitruvius, and in that sense Alberti's writing on architecture is a substantial contribution to the "reception history" of the ancient Roman predecessor. He accepts antiquity as second nature, but rather than establishing its canonical rule, Alberti uses the authority of antiquity to show how contemporary architecture can progress beyond it. For him, historical reference must be validated by formal solutions in architectural design that have demonstrable aesthetic prestige. Alberti's view of architecture as a maturing and growing discipline can be usefully contrasted with Vitruvius' antiquarian worship of Greek and Republican models.

In both his books on architecture and on painting, Alberti refers to practical experiences including his own. In the last book of *De re aedificatoria*, for instance, he writes about his work for the consolidation of the side aisles of Saint Peter's in Rome, while in the brief treatise on painting his practical knowledge is illustrated by the shortcuts he advises. Alberti's desire to influence contemporary developments comes through in his suggestions for humanitarian prisons and improved hospitals. Even though he is more concerned with documents and principles of architecture than with building technology, there are numerous references in his treatise to technical aspects of architecture. Gustina Scaglia (1988) shows that Alberti does not describe actual remains of Roman buildings but is more concerned with dimensions and construction details, and he may have been indebted to the work of Jacopo Mariano il Taccola, an engineer known as the "Archimedes" of Siena, for his discussion of hydraulic engineering.

As Françoise Choay (1988) has argued, Alberti's theoretical and practical principles can be further analyzed into conceptual clusters that derive from the axiomatic Vitruvian triad *firmitas-utilitas-venustas* (applying to necessity, commodity, and pleasure). All building is a body, a finite entity. Buildings are influenced by the diversity of human beings and their unlimited requirements. Buildings consist of siting, ventilation, layout, enclosure, cover, and openings. Architectural beauty consists in the interplay of measurement, proportion, and composition. The three practical principles that Choay finds in Alberti's architectural treatise are

frugality (economy of means), durability (of buildings over time), and communication (dialectic and critical relations among the architect, the patron, and the experts).

Alberti takes up a broad and substantial range of subjects that together constitute the discipline of architecture. The design and siting of buildings and details of building such as columns, windows, and staircases are taken up in book 1. In book 2, he deals with construction materials such as wood, stone, brick, sand, lime, and plaster. Book 3 examines the principles of construction, book 4 is focused on public buildings, book 5 is about private buildings and civic public buildings, book 6 about ancient buildings and their decoration, and book 7 about the construction of churches. In book 8, Alberti focuses on the decoration of streets, tombs, and public spaces, and in book 9 he is concerned with the decoration of houses and the erudition required of the architect to accomplish this task. Book 10 deals with hydraulic engineering and water management and with the restoration of buildings. Like Vitruvius, Alberti lards his discussion with myths, anecdotes, and stories related to architecture.

Alberti had a greater knowledge of buildings and ruins of Rome than his Florentine predecessors in the city, just as his knowledge of Latin and Greek was greater than that of any other Florentine artist. In book 6, Alberti reviews the history of the principal periods of architecture, showing its birth in Asia, development in Greece, and ultimate maturity in Rome. He finds the ancient Roman baths, amphitheaters, and triumphal arches more monumental than the colossal and sumptuous architecture of Asia. He deplores the “tower-building epidemic” of the Middle Ages, which extended into Florentine building practices of his own time. His true guide is not antiquity but a reasoned examination of the inheritance of ancient Rome, according to the principle that the unity of a building is essential for its beauty since its faults are often due to additions extraneous to its original conception. Richard Krautheimer (1961) and Arnaldo Bruschi (1992) concur that Alberti’s pursuit of *varietas* tends toward an enlargement and a reinvention of ancient types, rather than a slavish use of specific types illustrated by Vitruvius; they therefore label him “counsellor in antiquity.”

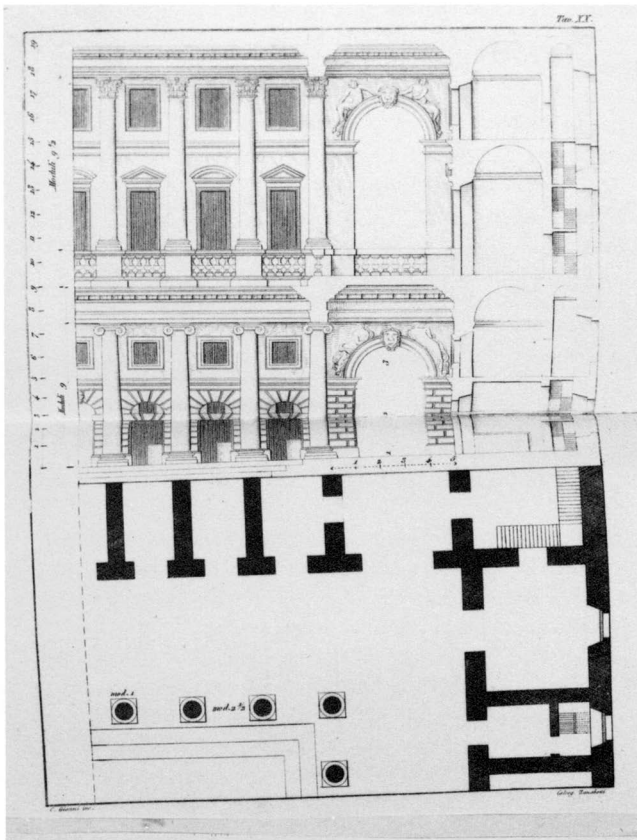
Discussing extensively the form and decoration of the sacred building in his eighth book, Alberti provides the first description in the Renaissance of the ideal church, which Rudolf Wittkower (1952) has persuasively referred to as the centrally planned church. Exalting architecture as the mirror of creation and symbol of universal harmony, superior to all the other arts, Alberti proposes the temple-church as its centerpiece. (Although Alberti refers to the gods in plural form, this is to be considered merely a formal expression of

classicizing Christianity [Golzio 1953].) He discusses the origin of the basilica in Roman tribunals, suggests the circular form as the most perfect, and urges that the ennobling portico with temple front be adopted for its facade. Alberti’s centrally planned church was best interpreted by Leonardo in his numerous sketches. Alberti prescribes interesting decorations for the interior of the church: the ornaments should be splendid though not sensuous, historical frescoes should be used for the portico, while the best decoration of the interior ought to be sculptures of marble rather than precious metals, which would draw the greed of onlookers. Inscriptions should exhort to justice, modesty, and virtue, while a geometrical pavement would enhance the educational content of the building. According to Alberti, the noblest ceiling decoration is coffering, borrowed from the Pantheon; alternatively the dome could be painted to resemble the heavens. Only the sky should be visible through the highly placed and small windows, helping the worshipers in focusing their prayers.

Alberti’s typological analysis of buildings seems permeated by considerations of social welfare. He wants schools to be centrally located, but introverted so as to promote tranquillity. His gardens are meant to have restful lawns and water “surprises.” For hospitals he suggests smaller rooms, rather than the long wards then in use, and separation of the poor from the sick, further separating the contagious from the noninfectious. In a society that humiliated its criminals, punishing them with execrable living conditions, he wants prisons not to offend humanity. He discusses other large structures required for public well-being, such as granaries, salt warehouses, arsenals, and markets.

Although Alberti’s focus is on buildings, he also considers the overall appearance of the city. This too ought to be circular, with a freestanding church at its center in an open public square, with the theater and the prince’s palace nearby. The rational premises for city planning include the placement of foreigners in their own neighborhoods, the decorous housing of the citizens, the centrality of the luxury trades, and the marginalization of the noxious crafts. He recognized both vertical and horizontal divisions, that is, separation by rank and division by neighborhoods, each of which would house the entire social range. Large cities should have wide, straight streets, while smaller towns should have curving, irregular streets to mask their diminutive size. (The latter provision, in Mancini’s view, has been all too detrimentally applied in many Italian towns.) Paved, flanked by porticoes and buildings of even height, and adorned by piazzas and loggias at their crossings, Alberti’s streets offered extraordinary urban amenities.

Alberti’s definition of beauty in architecture is mathematical and rational, based on the harmonious



Leon Battista Alberti. *Della Architettura* [1833]. Plate 20. Plan and elevation of a palace, with ground-floor shops. N44A334A3216

correspondence between all the parts. He is the first to isolate the architectural drawing as the abstract representation of a building and as a beautiful artifact in itself, since it contains the architectural idea or concept. His three categories of architectural beauty as interpreted by Wittkower (1952)—number, proportion, and location—are implicit in the architectural design. He wants these parts to be accommodated through compositional rules and intuitive aesthetic sense, so that nothing can be added or taken away except for the worse. This concept of *concinnitas*, extensively argued in recent studies of Alberti's theory, is the core of his aesthetic construct. Unlike painting, architecture does not have models in nature, and therefore architectural form is entirely the creation of the human intellect. This autonomy endows architecture with a superiority over the figurative visual arts. Analogous to music in its abstract character, architecture can exalt, responding to aesthetic needs without imitation of the real.

In addition to the inherent beauty brought about through the concept of *concinnitas*, buildings can be further enhanced by ornament, which Alberti conceptualizes as a "brightener" added to the essential beauty achieved through abstract composition. Alberti does not directly confront the contradiction between this supplemental definition and the principle that "nothing

can be added," but he insists that the ornamental scheme be decorous and compatible with the dignity of the building. Alberti admires large, carefully worked construction materials, but cautions against excessive sumptuousness, favoring grandeur achieved through proportions. The most distinguished ornaments are those achieved through human craft rather than mere precious materials; relatively sober materials like glass, stucco, mosaic, and paint are transformed by the work of the artist.

Since buildings cannot be modified during and after construction, Alberti urges prudence, careful planning, and foresight. He wants architects to reexamine a design many times, so that, before building, the project is allowed to "age and cool." This should be followed by equally deliberate execution, since every detail is equally important at the construction stage and mistakes cannot be rectified later; the faults of the finished building will be more visible than its beauties. This foresight and ability to plan require a certain architectural education based on the mastering of mathematics and painting, the two subjects essential for architectural practice. His requirements are thus less demanding than Vitruvius' stipulation that the architect have a thorough liberal education. Nonetheless, Alberti's literary approach leads to a reconceptualization of the work of the architect as a cultivated and creative designer practicing the art closest to man.

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Bernardino Amico
(fl. 1593–1619)

10

Trattato delle Piante & Immaginj de
Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa Disegnate in
Ierusalemme secondo le regole della
Prospettiuā, & uera misura della lor grandezza
Dal R.P.F. Bernardino Amico da Gallipoli
dell'Ord. di S. Francesco de Minori osseruanti
Stampate in Roma e di nuouo ristampate
dalli stesso Autore in piu piccola forma,
aggiuntoui la strada dolorosa, & altre figure

Florence: Pietro Cecconcelli, 1620

1985.61.329

Quarto: 267×192 ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{9}{16}$)

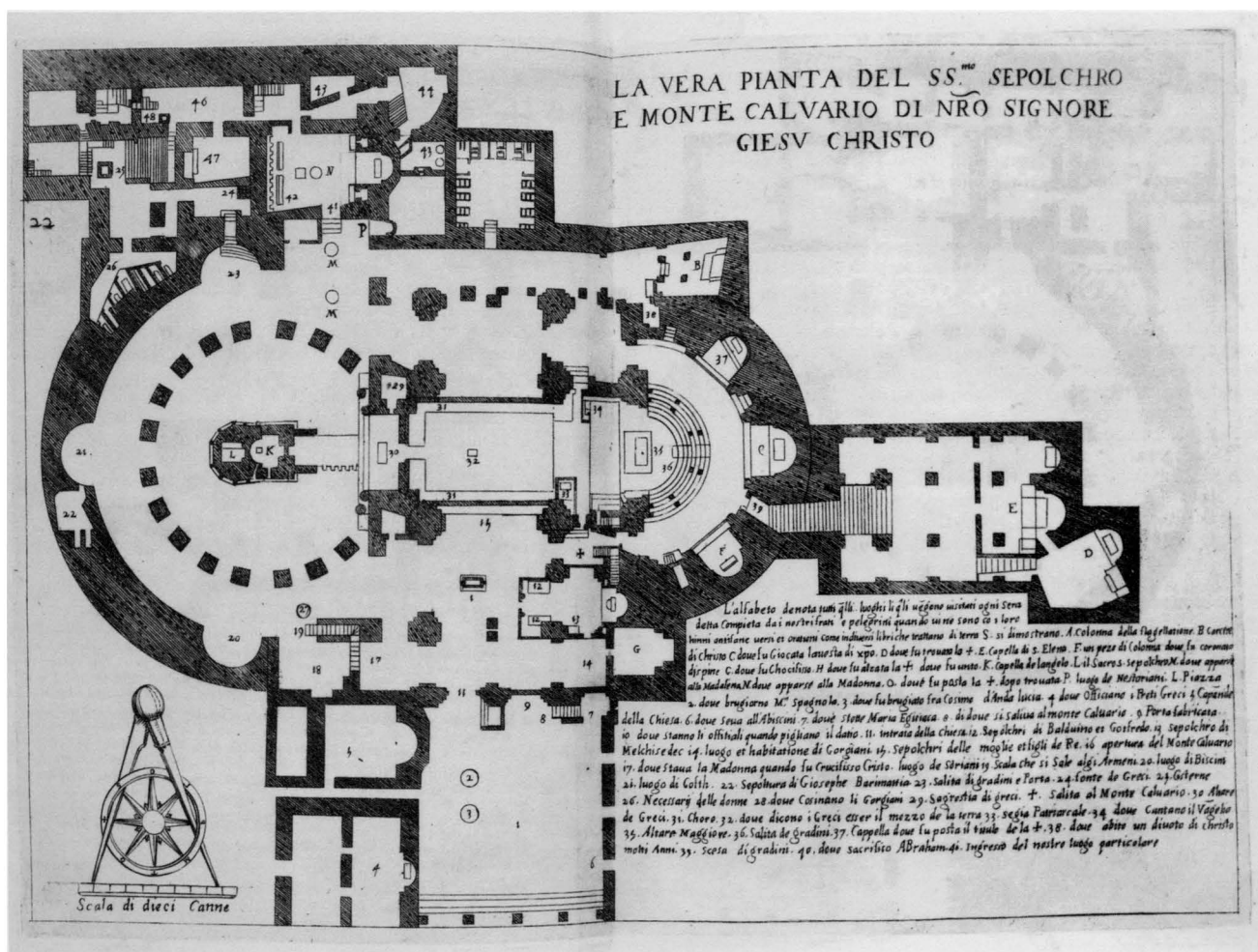
Pagination [viii], 65 [i.e., 161], [1] pp., etched and engraved title plate

(*Note:* 34 double page etched plates are printed on the letterpress leaves, but only plate [1] is included in the pagination (as pp. [2–3]). 15 plates, including pl. [1], have text on both versos; 19 plates have text on the first verso only with the second verso blank. There are also 6 leaves [pp. 5–6, 12–13, 33–34, 58–59, 63–64, and 65–(66)] with text printed on both sides, and 3 leaves [pp. 20, 29, and 42] with text printed on the recto only with the verso blank and unpaginated)

Edition Second edition (first edition: Rome, 1609), in smaller format with new engravings by Jacques Callot

Text pp. [i–iii] dedication by Amico to Cosimo II, grand duke of Tuscany, dated Florence, 20 November 1619;

Bernardino Amico. *Trattato delle piante & immaginj de sacri edifizj di Terra Santa*. Plate 22. The Church of Calvary. 1985.61.329



[iv–v] preface; [vi] publisher's note to reader; [vii] blank; [viii] privilege for first edition, dated 20 July 1609; 1–65 text; [66] colophon, dated Florence, 1619, and printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device; woodcut and composite typographic head- and tailpieces; ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations Engraved title plate with Medici arms and title inscribed on a fringed drape hanging from an aedicule, unsigned; 46 figures numbered [1]–41, 43–47 on 34 double-page etched and engraved plates (no. 42 omitted in numbering; no. 19 misnumbered "21"); 8 plates made up of between two and four figures, of which 6 are printed using more than one copperplate. The versos of many plates are printed with text, as described above. The plates were engraved by Jacques Callot after Amico

Binding Later vellum, manuscript title and shelf number on spine

Provenance Erased ownership stamp on title plate

References Berlin Cat. 2782; Cicognara 3932; Fowler 19; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 88

Bernardino Amico. *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa*. Title page. 1985.61.329



THIS BOOK CONTAINS A SERIES OF forty-seven engravings by Jacques Callot, including a title page and forty-six plans and views. Callot's authorship is proven by a payment order; his rewards included a cruise on the Mediterranean. These engravings, though appreciated by Pierre-Jean Mariette (Sadoul 1969), who found them "très ferme," are unlike anything else in the artist's oeuvre, as Jules Lieure points out (1969: 2.1: 4–11). They are based on drawings made by the Franciscan friar Bernardino Amico of Gallipoli, who lived in Jerusalem between 1593 and 1597, first as guardian of the cult sites at Bethlehem, then as "Presidente al Santissimo Sepolcro di N S Gesu," according to the dedicatory text. His publication was intended to remedy the difficulties in orientation that Christians encountered when visiting holy places in Jerusalem. The first edition, illustrated by engravings made by Antonio Tempesta, was published in Rome in 1609 and dedicated to Philip III. In the first edition the text preceded the illustrations, which were grouped in plates of various sizes, from one to four illustrations per page. The first edition is almost impossible to find today (I have consulted the copy at the Vatican Library). This second edition (or third, according to Geneviève Bresc-Bautier 1982) was published with the active sponsorship of Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, who paid for Callot's time and materials. It is dedicated to the Medici, and their coat of arms is incorporated into the title page, placed in the pedimented aedicule that frames the text. The second edition is more representative of Amico and more accessible, being easier to handle and reproduce.

Considered the creator of a microcosm of life by modern critics such as Georges Sadoul (1969), Callot was the most significant etcher of the seventeenth century, with the exception of Rembrandt, who owned a copy of this book of etchings of the Holy Land. In Rome between 1608 and 1612, Callot entered the workshop of Tempesta to study etching, then learned copperplate engraving from Philippe Thomassin. He studied with Giulio Parigi in Florence from 1612 to 1621, a period that coincided with the apogee of Galileo's triumphs in science and the flourishing of local taste for operatic spectacles.

Callot became a prolific graphic artist, with 975 sheets ascribed to him by Edouard Meaume (1860), and as many as 1,428 sheets catalogued by Lieure (1969). His drawings show him as a talented landscape artist and demonstrate that he did not always engrave his most expressive sketches. But Callot also acquired his technique by copying other topographic artists, as in the case of these views of buildings in Jerusalem.

The *Piante e immagini* is part of Callot's contribution as a book illustrator. He provided graphic material for about twenty publications, both during his Italian stay

and after his return to Lorraine. Since his engravings in Florence were published under the Medicean aegis, albeit by three or four publishers, there is a palpable similarity among them. The books commemorated dynastic parties and funerals (*Guerra d'amore*, *Guerra di bellezza*), tragedies presented at court such as Francesco Bracciolini's *L'Harpalice* and *Il Solimano* by Prospero Bonnardelli, and Domenico Peri's epic poem *Fiesole distrutta*.

The republication of this book on holy Christian sites was part of a chimerical Medici project promoted by Cosimo II, who had planned to bring the Holy Sepulcher from Jerusalem and install it at San Lorenzo in Florence. The title page clarifies that the Florentine publication is a later edition and that its illustrations (and format) are smaller than those—made by Tempesta—for the Roman edition of 1609; the map of contemporary Jerusalem appears first in this edition.

The text by Amico consists of the preface and the descriptions of the individual plates. In the preface he discusses the role of the Franciscans as missionaries and their position as caretakers of sites in the Holy Land. The descriptions accompany the plates, each of which is inscribed with a caption, sometimes placed within a *banderole*, a number (1–47, 42 being omitted), and a scale compass and wind rose (absent on a few sheets). Amico's captions are largely historical. For the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, for example, he recalls that it was built by Saint Helena, that its cladding of marble was pillaged by the Turks who reused the stones to decorate the mosque in Jerusalem, and that its lead roof dates from the year of the conquest of Granada. Further on Amico describes the *Via Dolorosa* (where Christ told the women who were weeping over him to fear rather their own fate), signaling the site where Veronica wiped Christ's face, and Calvary, which was unsightly and dirty, observing that to be crucified there was to be given the most infamous, cruel, and abominable form of execution.

Amico gives measurements for each space, as well as for many of the architectural and functional details. He felt it his duty, however, to translate his buildings into classical lines by changing the pointed arch to the round one. The effect of this "Europeanizing" and classicizing approach is visible in Callot's view of Jerusalem as well, where steeples and churches give the idea of the shrines but not an accurate illustration of them. The plan of the Holy Sepulcher church is "united" with Calvary hill. Though not planned as part of the book, because Amico could not survey the city, a bird's-eye view of contemporary Jerusalem is included. It was difficult to get a panoramic view of the city because the Turks were suspicious, believing that any view was a weapon in the enemy's hands, and artists had to resort to ruses in order to draw it. Amico himself used the

plan of ancient Jerusalem by Antonio degli Angeli, to which he made adjustments ("io non ho mancato di abbellirla, e di accomodarla d'alcuni mancamenti," p. 59).

The explanatory text and the plates must be read together, since the text contains more information than the legends provided with the illustrations. The entry for the church of the Nativity includes a description of the site where Christ was circumcised, occupied by the contemporary altar, near where Christ had been born. There is a plan of the *presepio*, which is "guarded" by a monk whose figure is engraved into the marble floor; other underground spaces of the church are also illustrated. Among specific sacred cult sites, the tomb of Rachel near Bethlehem, the site of the Virgin's rest on the way to Egypt, the houses of Annas and Caiphas, the palace of Pilate, and the site of the Last Supper are also illustrated. Throughout, the accompanying text instructs the reader in the meaning of the site and its history, since the events of Christ's life provide numerous links between Jerusalem and Rome. For instance, the column against which Christ was whipped in Pilate's palace is allegedly in Rome in the church of Santa Prassede, and the palace staircase became associated with the *Scala Santa* adjacent to the Roman cathedral of San Giovanni in Laterano.

The title plate consists of a framed niche of the Doric order. Two fluted columns are raised on pedestals and support an entablature and segmental pediment above; neither entablature nor pediment is refined but rather mediocre in execution. The crowned Medici coat of arms is pinned to the center of the entablature; cornucopias hang from both ends of the projecting cornice. The text of the title plate is engraved on a fringed sheet, partly obscuring the semicircular niche behind it. The place and date of publication and the publisher's name are placed in a cartouche in the pedestal area below the niche. It is a rather trite composition, weakest in the rendering of the columns' capitals. It is, however, the only architectural frontispiece engraved by Callot for the books he illustrated in Florence, and it is significant because after his return to Nancy he refers to this architectural composition in the books he illustrated there.

Though this collection of engravings is very important for contemporary knowledge of the holy sites, it does not demonstrate great artistic enthusiasm from the engraver, especially if one recalls that he was creating simultaneously his *Fair at Impruneta* (1620) inhabited by a cast of thousands and the lively *Fan* (1619) inspired by Galileo's telescope. One can imagine that Callot found Amico's drawings rather elementary and was not

Bernardino Amico. *Trattato delle piante & immagin de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa*. Plate 44. View of Jerusalem. 1985.61.329



1. Arco di Pilato. 2. Bellem. 3. Bunicella. 4. doue fu angariato il Cirineo. 5. Casa del ricco Epulone.
 con sua Madre, 13. doue fu carcerato s. Pietro. 14. doue fu decolato. S. Giacomo minore. 15. doue morì M. V. 16. doue l'Ebri
 si nascosero l'Apostoli. 21. uilla del mal consiglio. 22. doue apar se la Stella a Magi. 23. doue nacque Elia proleta. 24.
 xpo. disse alle donne nolite flere supme. 31. doue si uedeno qñi Campanil seno Mosche. 32. doue abitaua s. Simone prete
 di Mori. 41. Notatoria Siloe. 42. Porta Area. 43. Portadi s. Stefano. 44. Piazza grande del Tempio. 45. Palazzo Patriarcale. 46. Porta spetiosa. 47.
 47. Spelonche Rege. 48. Tempio dela Madona. 49. torre Antonia. 50. bazzara. 51. Carcere di Turchi. 60. Emmaus. 63. Cersomanti. 64. Supoletra. 65.



1. Casa di Veronica. 7. Casa di Marco. 8. Casa de tette M^e. 9. Couento de frati Greci. 10. campo S^{to} di doue fu coccia M.V. 12. doue si cōtro X^{po}.
 14. doue arrobare il corpo di M.V. 17. doue pianse S. Pietro. 18. doue Salom^e teneua le done. 19. doue l'Ebrei nascosero il fuoco S. 20. doue
 doue nacque Abacue profeta. 25. doue nacque il figliolo di Dio. 26. mōse Sion. 27. il S. Sepolchro. 28. mōtana Giudea. 29. doue abitano li Ebrei. 30. doue
 31. doue si sepoliscono li Christiani. 34. doue nacque S. Tomaso. 35. fonte de la Madonna. 36. Spiale. 37. Tempio modernaz. luogo di frati M^e. 39. castello di Pirani. 40. Mosche
 41. casa di Pilato. 42. Palazzo di Erode. 43. Palazzo di donna. 44. Palazzo di Catifa. 45. Probata Piscina. 46. Porta di Mōse. 47. Porta de terra. 48. Porta Svegliana. 49. Ruine. 50. Sepol. di Rachel
 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. sepolchro de la Madonna doue si nascose S. Iacomo.

enthusiastic about illustrating places he had never seen himself, further hampered by the fact that his habitual working procedure was based on making his own preliminary drawings. Consequently, it took Callot two years to complete this commission. The result is a corpus of cold architectural surveys; according to one critic, "one yawns while leafing through this collection which bored its engraver even more" (Sadoul 1969, 132). Others have suggested that this austere architecture reflects a refined and personal poetic approach, and that the making of these images allowed Callot the opportunity to practice the lessons in geometry and perspective learned from Giulio Parigi. Furthermore, this commission provided Callot with usable material for later projects, such as the decorative architectural background of his *Grand Passion* suite.

Each plate is surrounded by an engraved framing line, labeled and accompanied by a legend. They represent the principal cult sites in plan, section, and elevation (*pianta, alzata, elevata*); there are two bird's-eye views of Jerusalem, ancient and modern, and partial views of specific areas of the city. The sections through the Holy Sepulcher convey the drama of the grandly scaled and unadorned spaces of the church. The bird's-eye views of the city seem to be accurately surveyed when compared to currently accepted archaeological reconstructions. Most successful is the view of contemporary Jerusalem, where Callot shows that his ability to render minute details in architecture and landscape matches closely his precise and minuscule renderings of large crowds of people.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jerusalem's population had declined to only ten thousand inhabitants; contemporary travelers' descriptions of the abandoned, unpoliced, and ruinous city would remind readers of Rome's condition before Pope Nicholas v's restoration program in the 1450s. Subject to Turkish occupation from 1517, Jerusalem had known a brief period of splendor under Süleyman the Magnificent, who rebuilt the city walls and repaired the aqueducts that brought water to the city. The Jaffa gate built under Süleyman, adjacent to the citadel, is prominent in Callot's view, as are the Turkish fortifications. Although the city that Jesus knew was the Herodian Jerusalem, with its rebuilt Temple compound and the two fortresses (Antonia next to the Temple Mount and today's "David's Tower" next to Herod's palace), the form of the city that has persisted through the ages was given to it by Hadrian, who transformed Jerusalem after his visit in 129. Hadrian's reorganization was made by applying typically Roman models (orthogonal grid of streets, location of Roman temples on previously sacred sites, in this case on the Temple Mount and on Golgotha, or Calvary). Herod's fortresses and Hadrian's orthogonal streets are clearly visible in Callot's view.

The plate of the Holy Sepulcher seems to draw on contemporary Roman sources. In a drawing attributed by Enrichetta Cecchi Gattolin (1978) to Giovanni Guerra, for example, an almost identical representation of the building shows the temporary structure customarily built during Holy Week in the church of the Gesù in Rome. It is apparent that Callot's illustration merely echoes the Jesuits' model for this venerated structure. Callot's plan of the Holy Sepulcher church served as a template for subsequent representations of the shrine; a 1688 engraving by Paolo da Miglionico for the grand duke of Tuscany that copied Amico's served as the model for an illustration in marble at the abbey of Saint Denis.

Plates 2 and 23 are perhaps the handsomest in the collection; the section of the Holy Sepulcher in plate 26 is also very dramatic. Plate 43 is a line axonometric drawing ("transparent") of the church of the Virgin endowed with a splendid cascadelike staircase, plate 44 is a *modello* of contemporary Jerusalem, and plate 45 is a reconstruction of Jerusalem's plan at the time of Christ. Plate 44, of contemporary Jerusalem, is the first aerial perspective in Callot's work. In making this illustration, Callot may have used the limited number of realistic plans of Jerusalem, principally that of c. 1582 by Christian van Adrichen (1533–1585), a friar from Delft, who was the most important topographer of Jerusalem in the sixteenth century and whose research was based on the Bible. Other sources may have been: the map engraved by Natale Bonifazio in Giovanni Zuallardo's travel journal published in 1587 (an important source for Amico's illustrations), which Zuallardo had copied in turn from Antonio degli Angeli's drawings (now in Genoa and Piacenza); Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's copperplate engraving of 1588; Antonio Tempesta's engraving of 1601; and anonymous manuscript plans, such as Barberinus Latinus 4396 in the Vatican Library. This form of urban representation acquired an important place in Callot's oeuvre, and he showed off his mastery of this graphic genre admirably in the siege views of Breda and La Rochelle that he made in the late 1620s.

Callot enjoyed considerable success in his own lifetime. His work was sponsored by, and in great demand at, the Florentine and Lorraine courts, as well as by the Spanish and French crowns. Abraham Bosse eulogized Callot's work in his treatise on engraving (1645), and it was lengthily praised in the imaginary museum of Georges de Scudéry (1646). John Evelyn admired the *Piante e immagini* publicly and specifically in *Sculptura* (1662), and Callot has received consistent and undiminished attention in dictionaries and critical literature ever since.

In the Millard collection, the *Piante e immagini* is one of two publications on Jerusalem (the other is Juan

Bautista Villalpando's reconstruction of the temple of Solomon; see cat. 152) and is part of the genre of publications on urban topography, of which the earliest emerge in the sixteenth century with representations of ancient Rome. More important, it represents a pre-archaeological movement supported by the Jesuits in Palestine, whose interest was the strengthening of Christian claims on Jerusalem. In this context the question of the topography of Jerusalem became a semi-religious one, since it determined the location of early Christian events.

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Bernardino Baldi

(1553–1617)

II

Memorie Concernenti La Città di Urbino
Dedicate alla Sagra Real Maestà di Giacomo III.
Re della Gran Brettagna &c

Rome: Giovanni Maria Salvioni, 1724

1985.61.379

Folio: 423 × 280 (16⁵/₈ × 11¹/₁₆)

Pagination [viii], 147, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, engraved dedication portrait, [147] etched plates (2 folding)

Edition First illustrated edition (Baldi's text originally published Venice, 1590), and first edition with Francesco Bianchini's extensive additions

Text pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [iii–vi] dedication to James III; [vii–viii] note to reader and privilege; 1–36 encomium by Baldi to Duke Francesco Maria II Feltrio della Rovere ("Encomio Della Patria"); 37 dedication by Baldi to the Cardinal of Aragon, dated Rome, 10 June 1587; 38 sonnet; 39–78 text by Baldi, "Descrizione Del Palazzo Ducale D'Urbino"; 79–132 text by Francesco Bianchini, "Spiegazione Delle Scolture"; 133–147 addenda by Bianchini "Notizie, E Pruove Della Corografia del Ducato di Urbino . . ."; [148] list of contents and errata

Ornaments Etched title vignette depicting view of Urbino; etched and engraved dedication headpiece with royal coat of arms; etched encomium headpiece with papal emblems and Chigi arms, etched by Francesco Aquila after Pier Leone Ghezzi (signed: "Eq. Petrus Leo Ghezzius Inu. et delin."); "Frañ. Aquila incid."); etched tailpiece signed by Ghezzi and Aquila, as above; etched initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved allegorical frontispiece with names of celebrated figures from Urbino, etched by Giovanni Pietro Massini after Ghezzi (signed: "Aeques Petrus Leo Ghezzius inu. et delin."; "Io. Petrus Masini Sculp."); dedication portrait of James III engraved by Marie Nicole Horthemels after Alexis-Simon Belle (signed: "Peint a Barleduc par A.S. Belle Peintre de S.M. Britannique et gravé par MN Horthemels"); 74 full-page plates numbered 1–74, 18 etched by Gaetano Piccino; 72 full-page etched plates numbered 1–LXXII, plate LIII with Piccino's initials; 1 unnumbered etched map of Urbino and its surroundings

Binding Contemporary vellum, gilt title, sprinkled edges

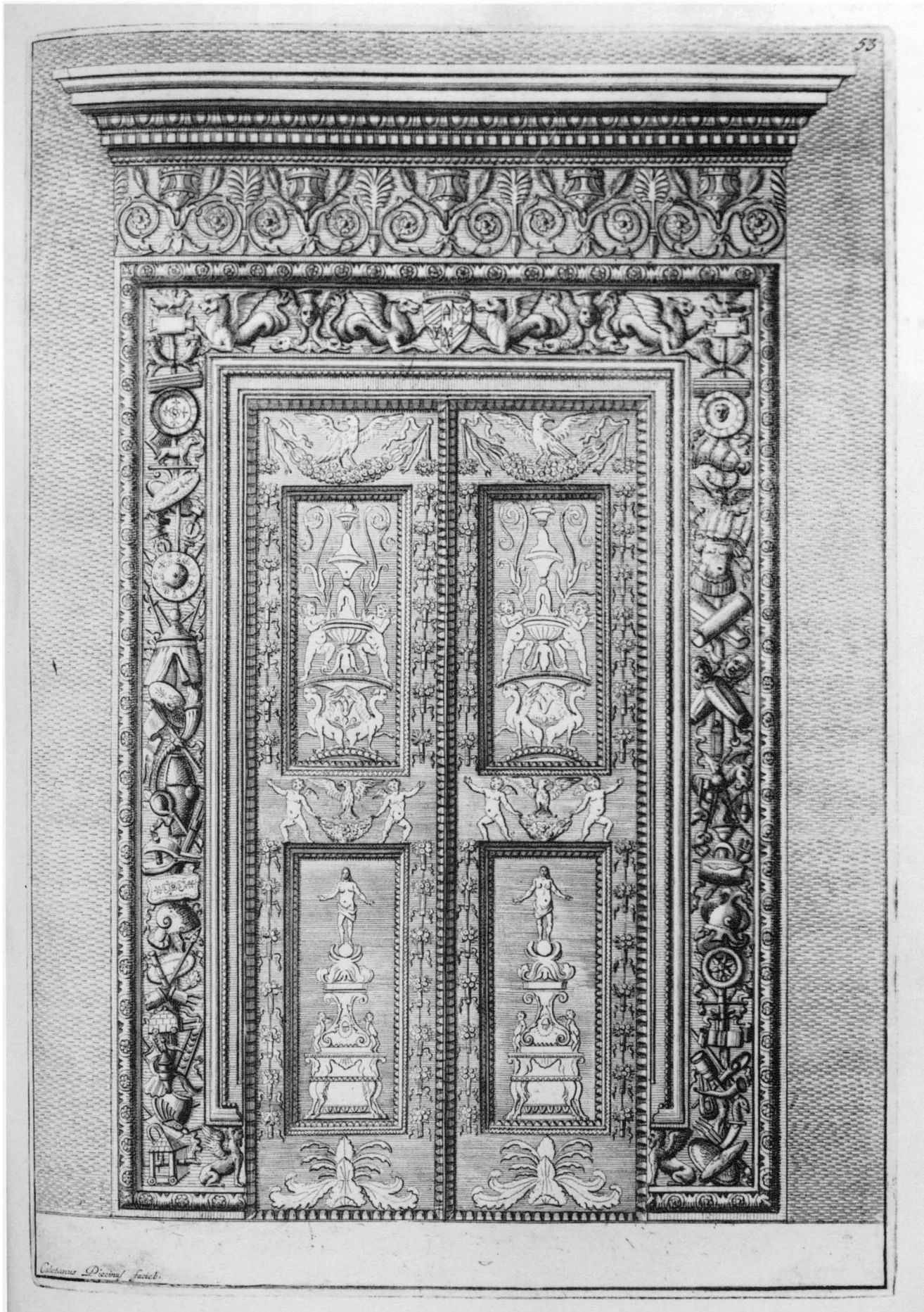
Provenance Ownership inscription on flyleaf: "1736. Di Giaco: Soranzo"; nineteenth-century royal library ticket at base of spine

References Berlin Cat. 2691; Cicognara 3947 (mistakenly dated 1734); Riccardi 1: 76–77

THE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC WORK of Bernardino Baldi, who was a mathematician, translator, architect, and poet, inspired an entire school of local writers and poets and represents well the multi-form culture at the court of Urbino in the second half of the sixteenth century. Baldi's numerous manuscript writings—the basis of this eighteenth-century publication—are preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (including a classicizing poem titled "L'artiglieria") and the Vatican Library and represent an intense life's work in prose and verse, on religious and secular subjects. A descendant of the aristocratic Cantagallina family of Perugia, he was born in Urbino in 1553, where his family was employed at the ducal court from the fifteenth century. He studied medicine from 1573 at the University of Padua and then with Guidobaldo del Monte in Urbino. He in turn became the tutor of Ferrante Gonzaga in Mantua in 1580 and served from 1585 as the abbot of Guastalla, a position he kept until 1601, when he returned to service in Urbino, appointed by Francesco Maria II Feltrio della Rovere as historiographer of the ducal family. He died in Urbino in 1617.

Baldi made contributions to a wide range of subjects in keeping with his broad interests (Zaccagnini 1902). He wrote extensively on mathematics, notably a volume entitled *Vite dei matematici*, which included a biography of Copernicus. His interest in languages ranged from studies on Etruscan to the composition of a Hungarian dictionary and a Persian grammar. He composed a treatise on geography and numerous poems directed to other poets, litterateurs, and courtiers (Guidobaldo del Monte, the military architect Francesco Pacciotti, Torquato Tasso, Giovanni Battista Marino, and Pierre de Ronsard were among his correspondents). His published works include 116 sonnets

Bernardino Baldi. *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*. Plate 53. Palace doorcase. 1985.61.379



in *La corona dell'anno* (Vicenza, 1589; Rome, 1594) celebrating the lives of saints, *Versi e prose* (Venice, 1590), and *Il Lauro* (Pavia, 1600). In 1612 he led a special legation to Venice to congratulate the new doge, Marcantonio Memmo (his oration to the doge was published in Venice the following year). From 1605 he belonged to the Accademia degli Affidati of Pavia and from 1606 to the Innominati of Parma. Among his friends in Urbino he counted the exceptionally talented painter Federico Barocci.

The "Descrizione del palazzo di Urbino," the second chapter in the *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*, is part of Baldi's interest in the fine arts and was composed at the urging of Cardinal Inigo d'Avalos d'Aragona in 1587. Since 1578 Baldi had been studying Vitruvius with an intensity that led to the composition of two architectural works, the *Scamilli Impares Vitruviani* (in which he may have plagiarized Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*) and *De verborum vitruvianorum significatione*, both of which were published by Marcus Velsar in Augsburg in 1612; the *Scamilli Impares*—in which Baldi had refuted prior interpreters such as Guillaume Philander, Daniele Barbaro, and Giovanni Battista Bertano—was republished by Giovanni Poleni in his own *Exercitationes Vitruvianae* (Padua, 1739; cat. 104). Poleni also published Baldi's life of Vitruvius, originally an appendix to the *Verborum*.

Baldi was so profoundly taken with the ruins of Rome—he first visited there in 1586, then again in 1597—that he devoted to them an entire suite of poems called *Sonnetti Romani* (Venice, 1590), to which he added an oration for the *conservatori* of Rome, urging them to repair and preserve the ruins of their city. The *Sonnetti*—perhaps inspired by Joachim du Bellay's *Le livre des Antiquités de Rome* (1558)—are organized according to the topographical placement of ancient monuments found between the Porta Flaminia (the northern gate of Rome, now known as Porta del Popolo) and the southern gate of Porta Ostiense, or di San Paolo. Among the sonnets are one devoted to the city, one to the walls built by Romulus and another to the walls of modern Rome, two sonnets dedicated to the Vatican obelisk, two sonnets to the statues in the Villa Medici, a sonnet on the tomb of Augustus, a sonnet to the Ponte Rotto, another to the Laocoön, to the Castel Sant' Angelo, the Pantheon, and the baths of Constantine, among others.

Baldi's "Encomio della patria," composed in 1603 and declaimed in the presence of Francesco Maria II Feltre della Rovere, the last duke of Urbino, is the first modern attempt to examine the urban history of Urbino (Benevolo 1986). It was first published in Urbino in 1706, before becoming the first chapter of the *Memorie* in 1724. It is an academic discourse whose style is influenced in its artifice and redundancy by incipient *seicentismo*, although, as a poet, Baldi tried to resist the



Bernardino Baldi. *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*. Plate 13. Palace tile decoration. 1985.61.379

"Marinist" rage by remaining a purist and a classicist (Zaccagnini 1902). The "Encomio" is a eulogy of Urbino; Baldi praises its climate, site, foundation, and development, the rule of the Montefeltro counts, and recounts the biographical history of Urbino's illustrious men.

The "Descrizione" of the ducal palace is preceded by a historical résumé of human habitation from grottoes to palaces. Baldi discusses the site and layout of Roman Urbino, which he assumes to have been located on the southern hill, then provides detailed description of the Urbino palace's main spaces and their decoration. This is a valuable document since so much of the original palace, such as the hanging gardens, has not survived. The building had been one of the most innovative and influential of early Renaissance secular structures, and some of the most important artists of the fifteenth century had contributed to its design and decoration. Baldassare Castiglione had also made it known to the world by declaring it the most beautiful palace (in *Il Cortigiano* [1528], book 1, chapter 2).

The *Memorie* is really the work of two distinct and seemingly unrelated authors. While parts 1 and 2 are by Baldi, parts 3 and 4 are by Francesco Bianchini and enhanced by illustrations commissioned by Pope Clement XI Albani. The interest of the pope, a native of Urbino, explains both the impetus for such a publication

and the involvement of the Veronese antiquarian Bianchini, who was the pope's chamberlain. The *Encomio della Patria* was published separately in Urbino in 1706 with the sponsorship of Clement XI, who had decided as early as 1703 to republish Baldi's description of the ducal palace, enriched with new illustrations and with an expanded text. According to Cecil Clough (1981), Baldi may have been related to the Albani family of Urbino, and in 1704 Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni had written a biography of Baldi, which he presented to Clement XI. Baldi's papers were in the Albani library in Urbino and were then moved to the Vatican, where they served as the source for various editions of Baldi's works as late as 1847. They remain there as part of the Albani miscellany. This 1724 edition of the enlarged book was dedicated to James III, the "Old Pretender" to the throne of England, who had stayed several months in the palace—formerly ducal but by then apostolic—and was returning to Urbino. The "Encomio" and "Descrizione del palazzo," by Baldi, are followed by the "Spiegazione delle sculture" and the "Corografia del ducato di Urbino," both by Bianchini. The "Descrizione del palazzo" was first published as part of Baldi's *Versi e prose* (Venice, 1590).

The *Memorie* was edited by Cardinal Annibale Albani di San Clemente, the nephew of Pope Clement XI. The first part, Baldi's "Encomio della patria," examines the topography and history of the city. The second part, "Descrizione del palazzo," is decorated with the seventy-four etched plates commissioned by Clement XI. These illustrate the bas-reliefs carved in marble, after drawings by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (inspired by Roberto Valturio and Mariano Taccola's war instruments and engines), that were placed at the base of the palace's facade in the 1470s and removed in 1756. Baldi comments on the relative lack of applied and sculptural decoration in the palace, recognizing that the patron Federico da Montefeltro's interest was in the architecture of the building and its essential beauty ("quel Principe . . . avuto l'occhio . . . all'eternità ed alla bellezza essenziale, cioè a quella che non cade con lo scrostarsi delle mura"). Baldi also notes the importance of natural light, the beautiful views from many windows, and the spatial relationships between the rooms, separated by intarsia doors. The two sections by Francesco Bianchini (Millon 1993), an important author in his own right who was simultaneously working on a publication about the Palatine imperial palace in Rome (see cat. 20), discuss the same bas-reliefs and then the chorography of the duchy.

The plates illustrating this lavish and handsome book were delineated and engraved by a team of respected artists in Rome, including Pier Leone Ghezzi, Giovanni Pietro Massini, Francesco Aquila, and Gaetano Piccino. Piccino's drawings for the seventy-

two plates of the bas-reliefs and his views of Urbino are preserved in ms Ottoboni Latini 2980 of the Vatican Library (though it is not possible to reconstruct the original position of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's reliefs from them). Piccino was a Roman engraver who had also contributed to the illustration of Cardinal Albani's *Antiqua numismata* before the medal collection entered the Vatican collection. Aquila, active in Rome between 1690 and 1740, was a nephew of the more talented Pietro. He engraved after Raphael, Cortona, Correggio, Poussin, and Carlo Maratta. His architectural illustrations included the catafalques of Popes Clement XI in 1721, Innocent XIII in 1724, and Clement XII in 1740, all after Alessandro Specchi's drawings. Aquila also engraved the illustrations for Francesco Bianchini's *Camere ed iscrizioni sepolcrali de' liberti, servi, ed uffiziali della casa d'Augusto scoperte nella via Appia ed illustrate con annotazioni l'anno 1726* (Rome, 1731). The artist Ghezzi was best known for his caricatures (about four hundred sheets survive in the Galleria Corsini in Rome and in the British Museum), his position as painter for the Camera Apostolica, which he held between 1708 and 1747, and his membership in the Accademia di San Luca from 1705. His illustrations for books included several in Bianchini's *Camere ed iscrizioni sepolcrali* and in Zabaglia's *Castelli e ponti* (1743; cat. 166).

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Daniele Barbaro

(1514–1570)

I2

La Pratica Della Perspettiva Di Monsignor Daniel Barbaro Eletto Patriarca D'Aquileia, Opera molto vtile a Pittori, a Scultori, & ad Architetti. Con due tauole, vna de' capitoli principali, l'altra delle cose piu notabili contenute nella presente opera

Venice: Camillo and Rutilio Borgominieri, 1568
[i.e., 1569]

1983.49.5

Folio: 300 × 200 (11¹³/₁₆ × 7⁷/₈)

Pagination 195, [13] pp.

Edition First edition, second issue (title page dated 1568, colophon dated 1569). There are several variants of this edition. The first issue was dated MDLXVIII on the title page and colophon. The date was changed to MDLXVIII on both the title page and colophon, but the sheets from both issues were mixed so that some copies have title pages and colophons bearing different dates. A third title page with a large, geometric woodcut border is undated, does not bear the imprint or printers' device, and reads "... Opera Molto Profittevole À Pittori, Scultori, Et Architetti."

Text pp. [1] title page; [2] dedication by Barbaro to Matteo Macigni; [3]–4 preface; 5–195 text and illustrations; [196] blank; [197–207] table of contents, index, errata, register, and colophon; [208] printer's device

Ornaments First two words of title set within woodcut cartouche with grotesque heads, trophies, and captives; woodcut printers' device on title and final page; woodcut headpieces include geometric figures drawn in perspective, grotesque heads; woodcut historiated initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page

Binding Eighteenth-century quarter red morocco with marbled boards, spine with gilt title, floral ornaments, and date

Provenance Eighteenth-century printed book label of "GB"; ownership inscription of "Prof. A Pritz(?)" dated March 1886; ownership inscription removed from title page

References Berlin Cat. 4694; Cicognara 809; Comolli 3: 144–151; Fowler 36; Mortimer, *Italian*, 39; Riccardi 1: 76–77; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 183; Vagnetti, *Prospettiva*, 334–335

THE TREATISE BY THE ERUDITE patriarch-elect of Aquileia Daniele Barbaro, the distinguished Venetian patron of Andrea Palladio, was prepared by him, as he writes in his preface, because Federico Commandino's book on the subject, published ten years earlier by Aldo Manuzio in Venice, was too scientific and abstruse to be useful to artists. The other texts available at the publication time of Barbaro's *Pratica* were those by Jean Pelerin Viator in French and Latin, by Albrecht Dürer in German and Latin, and in Italian the treatise by Sebastiano Serlio and a chapter in Pietro Cataneo's treatise. Of these only Serlio's and Cataneo's more modest work could be directly useful to architects. Barbaro was already known among artistic literary circles for his critical Latin edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, with illustrations commissioned from Palladio among others (see cat. 161). Having collected as much information as was available, Barbaro sought out the help of the Venetian mathematician Giovanni Zamberti, who was the brother of Bartolomeo Zamberti, the pioneer translator of Euclid (1505). Besides relying heavily on Serlio, Barbaro also used extensively the unpublished treatise of Piero della Francesca, compiled ninety years earlier, which circulated among scholars in a few manuscript copies. Inexplicably, Barbaro did not credit this source, an omission that was almost immediately recognized and earned the sharp criticism of Egnazio Danti, the editor and commentator of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's treatise on perspective (published in 1583; see cat. 149). The criticism was echoed long after the original publication; the stage designer Giulio Troili a century later mentions Barbaro's plagiarism in the introduction to his treatise on perspective. In addition, Barbaro appropriated and reproduced Serlio's plates for the design of stage sets.

Barbaro's treatise—the manuscript is preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice—is divided into three main parts. In the first part he examines the principles of perspective, their consequence and graphic representation. In part 2, Barbaro offers a discussion of the five

regular polyhedrons, continuing the tradition begun by Luca Pacioli and Leonardo. Part 3 is a study of scenography, optical illusions, planispheres, shadows, lights and colors, the dimensions of the human body, and instruments for drawing perspective. Barbaro's most significant contribution is in this third part, where he offers the first analytic and scientific description of the *camera oscura*.

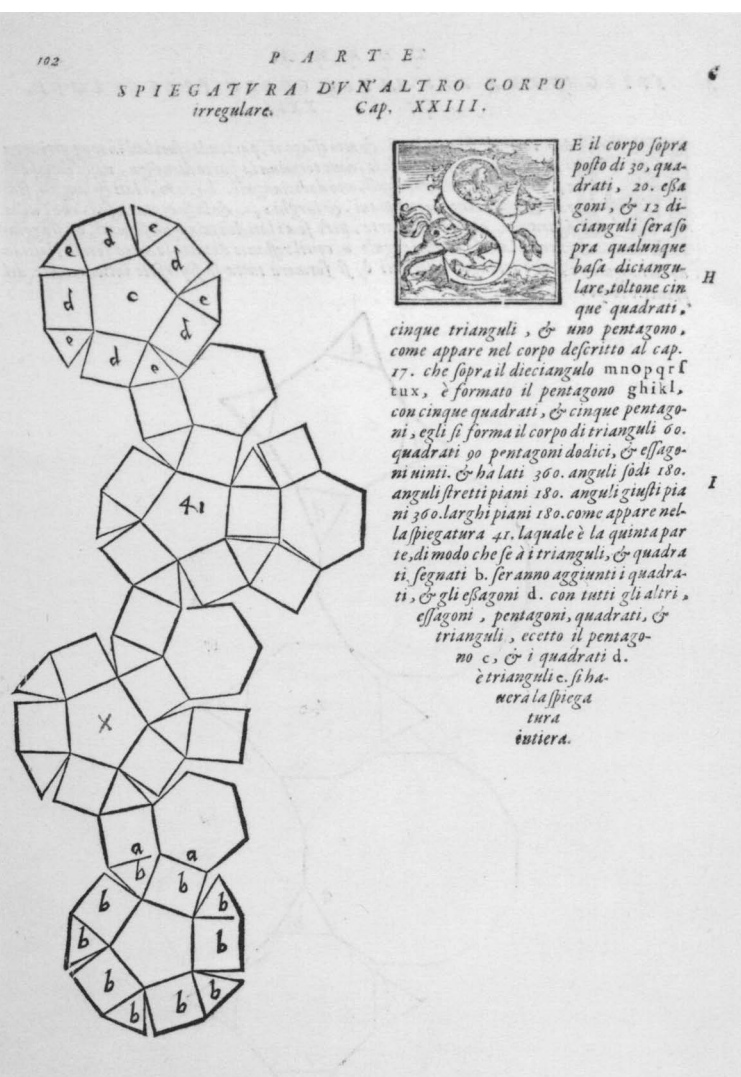
Barbaro, born in 1514 in a patrician Venetian family, became an illustrious figure in Italian literary circles of the sixteenth century. He studied mathematics in Padua with Federigo Delfino and was a close correspondent of Pietro Aretino, as well as of Bernardo Tasso, Benedetto Varchi, Sperone Speroni, and Cardinal Alvise Cornaro. The *Pratica* is dedicated to Matteo Macigni, a friend and colleague with whom Barbaro studied mathematics. In 1540 Barbaro was a founding member of the Paduan Accademia dei Infiammati, and in 1545 he was appointed by the Venetian Republic to direct the construction of the botanical garden in Padua (intended for medical

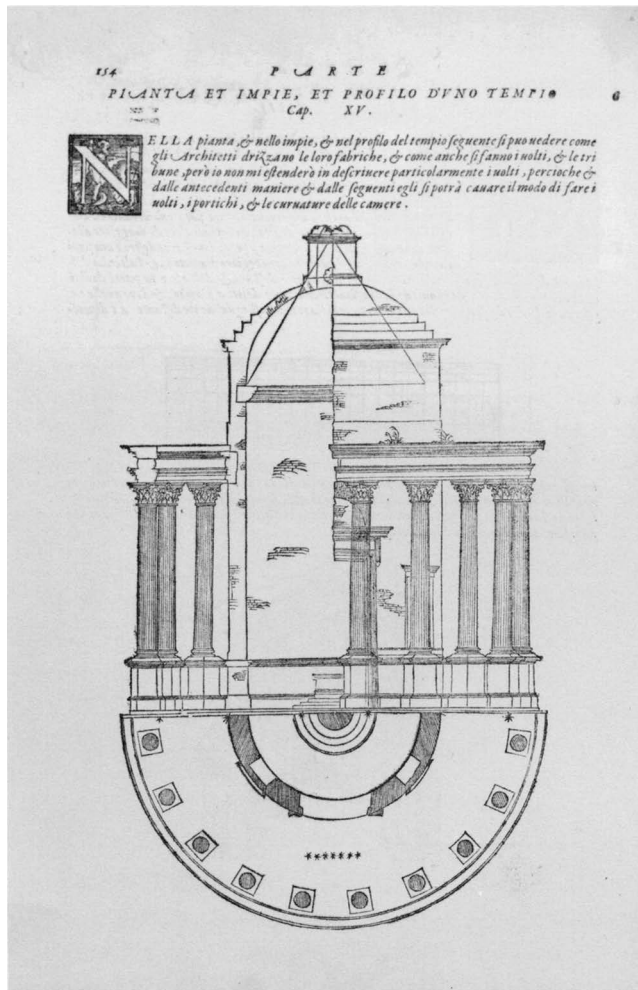
research). Appointed successively historian of Venice at the death of Pietro Bembo in 1547 and Provveditore del Comun in 1548, he was also ambassador to England (his manuscript *relazione* is preserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana) and visited Paris on his way to his diplomatic posting. In 1550 he became patriarch-elect of Aquileia (without ever being ordained, however), and his entire career was spent in the shadow of Giovanni Grimani, despite several attempts to raise him to high rank in the Catholic church. In 1562 Barbaro participated as the representative of Venice at the meetings of the Council of Trent, making suggestions about the Index of prohibited books. His portrait was painted twice by Titian (now in Ottawa and Madrid) and once by Paolo Veronese (Florence, Palazzo Pitti).

The principal merit of Barbaro's *Pratica* is the way in which the author mediates between the pressing demands of artistic and literary culture on one hand and the specialized scientific treatment of the subject on the other, which was soon to assume the lead in perspective studies. In this treatise Barbaro fulfills the promise to take up the subject of perspective, called *scenographia* by the Greeks, made in his commentary on the 1556 edition of Vitruvius. Barbaro's crucial contribution is to have separated perspective, used in the design of stage sets, from the graphic representation of buildings. His intention was to eliminate the equivocal position of perspective as a means of architectural representation; according to Barbaro, perspective can be used to falsify objective reality and is therefore not useful in representing buildings. He thus rejects perspective because it shows objects as they are perceived, rather than as a two-dimensional abstraction. Since perspective is an aspect of optics, it is not part of architecture. The immediate results of Barbaro's influential concept can be seen in Palladio's illustrations of his *Quattro libri* (see cat. 65), where he avoids perspective, eliminating it from the canonical means of representation of architecture. But Barbaro still wants to suggest distances in graphic illustration of buildings, and this he does with shading.

The *Pratica* is divided into nine chapters. In the first chapter Barbaro discusses the principles and fundamentals of perspective, considering how the eye sees. He posits the eye as the center of perspective, while the thing seen is the base of the pyramid whose sides converge. He establishes that the eye sees only in a straight line and that things are only seen in light. In the second chapter he considers the foundation of architectural representation, that is, the plan, claiming that all perspectives are born from the plan, like a tree from its roots. The third chapter, on elevations, concerns not only the built-up sides of buildings but also volumes, increasingly more faceted and complicated. Chapter 4 contains a description of stage sets illustrated with

Daniele Barbaro. *La pratica della prospettiva*. Irregular polyhedron. 1983.49.5





Daniele Barbaro. *La pratica della prospettiva*. Plan, section, and elevation of a temple. 1983.49.5

plates from Serlio's treatise on perspective. Barbaro also offers a long section on the perspectival construction of columns. Subsequent chapters examine the construction of the sphere and light and shadow. The illustrations for chapter 8, on the measurements of the human body and its foreshortening, are borrowed directly from Dürer (who is mentioned in the text). In chapter 9, the last one, Barbaro turns to examine instruments used in perspective, discussing his own and those of Baldassare Lanci, a well-known Florentine architect and stage designer. Barbaro also examines the making of sundials, where light is used for perspective shadow casts.

The treatise is prefaced by a splendidly dramatic title page composed of a great circle, woven from spiral strips, which encloses the text of the title. Two putti recline along the curves at the top of the circle, holding surveying instruments and flanking a huge mask, while in the lower quadrants of the circle two satyrs seem to pull apart the bony skull of a goat.

According to Martin Kemp (1985), Barbaro "attempted to create a comprehensive, balanced review of the geometrical, physical, and physiological aspects of perspective." Barbaro's pleasing compendium is considered less original and searching than Vignola's and less influential than Sirigatti's work in its proximity to the interests of seventeenth-century geometers (see cats. 149 and 129). Barbaro's emphasis is upon "perspective as an integral facet of the secret art of the world and of the cosmos," which justifies the claim for perspective as the fundamental basis of art. In its attempt to integrate perspective into the broader realm of mathematically directed pursuits, Barbaro's *Pratica* was nonetheless consistent with the treatise by Vignola, as well as that by Guidobaldo del Monte.

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Jean Barbault (1718–1762)

I3

Les Plus Beaux Monuments De Rome Ancienne. Ou Recueil Des Plus Beaux Morceaux De L'Antiquité Romaine Qui Existent Encore: Dessinés Par Monsieur Barbault Peintre Ancien Pensionnaire Du Roy A Rome, Et Gravés En 128 Planches Avec Leur Explication

Rome: printed by Komarek for Bouchard and Gravier, 1761

1985.61.381

Folio: 528 × 365 (20¹/₁₆ × 14³/₈)

Pagination VIII, 90 pp., 73 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [I] half-title: "Monuments De Rome Ancienne." (verso blank); [III] title page (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication by Bouchard and Gravier to Jean François de Rochechouart; vii–viii preface, ending with approbation and imprimaturs; 1–87 text; [88] blank; 89–90 list of plates

Ornaments Etched and engraved vignette on title page; engraved allegorical dedication headpiece; 9 engraved illustrations of ancient bas-reliefs and sculptures as tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations 73 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–73 (but numbered I–LXXIII in list of plates), comprising 88 half-page and 29 full-page engravings. These were designed by Barbault (83 engravings), Carlo Nolli (1), and L. Bufalino (1), and were engraved by Barbault (56 engravings), Domenico Montagu (52), Giuseppe Bouchard (6), and Freicenet (4)

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, gilt coat of arms (see below), spine gilt in compartments, red morocco label, sprinkled edges; contemporary block-printed endpapers

Provenance Gilt armorial device on cover of the Polish family of Rzewuski-Lubomirski; bookplates of Charles Edouard Mewes and of F.N.J. Edouard Ferry Schutzenberger (the latter dated 1887 and signed "C. Mewes del")

References Cicognara 3593; Fowler 37; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 184

ANOTHER COPY

1981.70.2

Folio: 545 × 393 (21⁷/₁₆ × 15⁷/₁₆)

Binding Early twentieth-century vellum, red and brown morocco labels from earlier binding. Uncut

I4

Les Plus Beaux Edifices De Rome Moderne, Ou Recueil Des Plus Belles Vues Des Principales Eglises, Places, Palais, Fontaines, &c. Qui Sont Dans Rome Dessinées Par Jean Barbault Peintre . . . Et Gravées en XLIV. Grandes Planches Et Plusieurs Vignettes; Par D'Habiles Maitres. Avec La Description Historique De Chaque Edifice

Rome: printed by Komarek for Bouchard and Gravier, 1763

1985.61.382

Folio: 523 × 364 (20⁹/₁₆ × 14⁵/₁₆)

Pagination [vi], 72 pp., [44] double-page etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Edifices De Rome Moderne." (verso blank); [iii] title page (verso blank); [v] preface; [vi] privilege; 1–69 text; [70] blank; 71–72 list of plates

Ornaments Etched and engraved vignette on title page; 21 small etched and engraved plates as tailpieces, engraved by Giraud (5 plates) and Domenico Montagu (1 plate)

Illustrations 44 unnumbered, double-page etched and engraved plates, numbered 1–XLIV in list of plates. Each plate with captions in Italian and French and bearing a different dedication by Bouchard and Gravier. All plates signed by Barbault as draftsman ("Barbault del."), and most signed by Montagu ("D. Montegu Sculp"), Freicenet ("Freicenet Sculp"), or Giraud as engraver ("Giraud Sculp")

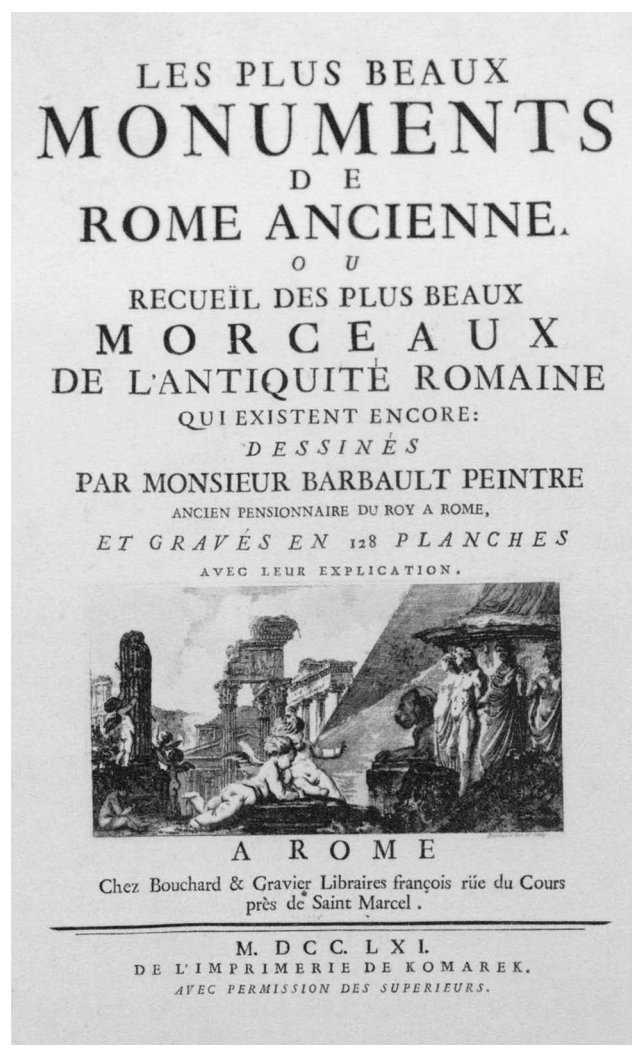
Binding Contemporary half red morocco with red glazed paper-covered boards, raised bands, gilt spine title, date at foot, sprinkled edges

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 2712

THE LIFE OF THE French artist Jean Barbault has been reconstituted in the past two decades through the assiduity of Pierre Rosenberg, who has enlarged considerably the works attributed to this “petit maître.” Even though in 1745 Barbault failed to win the first prize of the French Academy (he won the second place), he went to Rome in 1747 on his own steam. By the following year he was part of the circle of Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Jean-Laurent Legeay, Paolo Anesi, and Philothée-François Duflos, and, together with these artists, contributed engravings for *Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna*. He was encouraged by the director of the French Academy, Jean-François de Troy, who commissioned twenty small paintings from him. These paintings document the Turkish characters from the masquerade designed by the Academy’s fellows in 1748 (eleven survive in Beauvais, Narbonne, the Louvre, and Venice). In 1749, through de Troy’s special favor, Barbault became a *pensionnaire* of the Academy. His initial assignment was to copy Luca Penni’s *Baptism of Constantine* at the Vatican (now in Lille); he took a rather long time to complete the work. Between 1749 and 1751 he received the prestigious commission to paint twelve “Costumes Italiennes” for Abel-François Poisson de Marigny, the future superintendent of royal building, who was traveling in Italy with Charles-Nicholas Cochin and Jacques-Germain Soufflot. The slowness of his work, the debts he incurred, and his secret marriage infringed the strict rules governing life at the Academy, and he was expelled in 1753 by the painter Charles Natoire, de Troy’s successor as director.

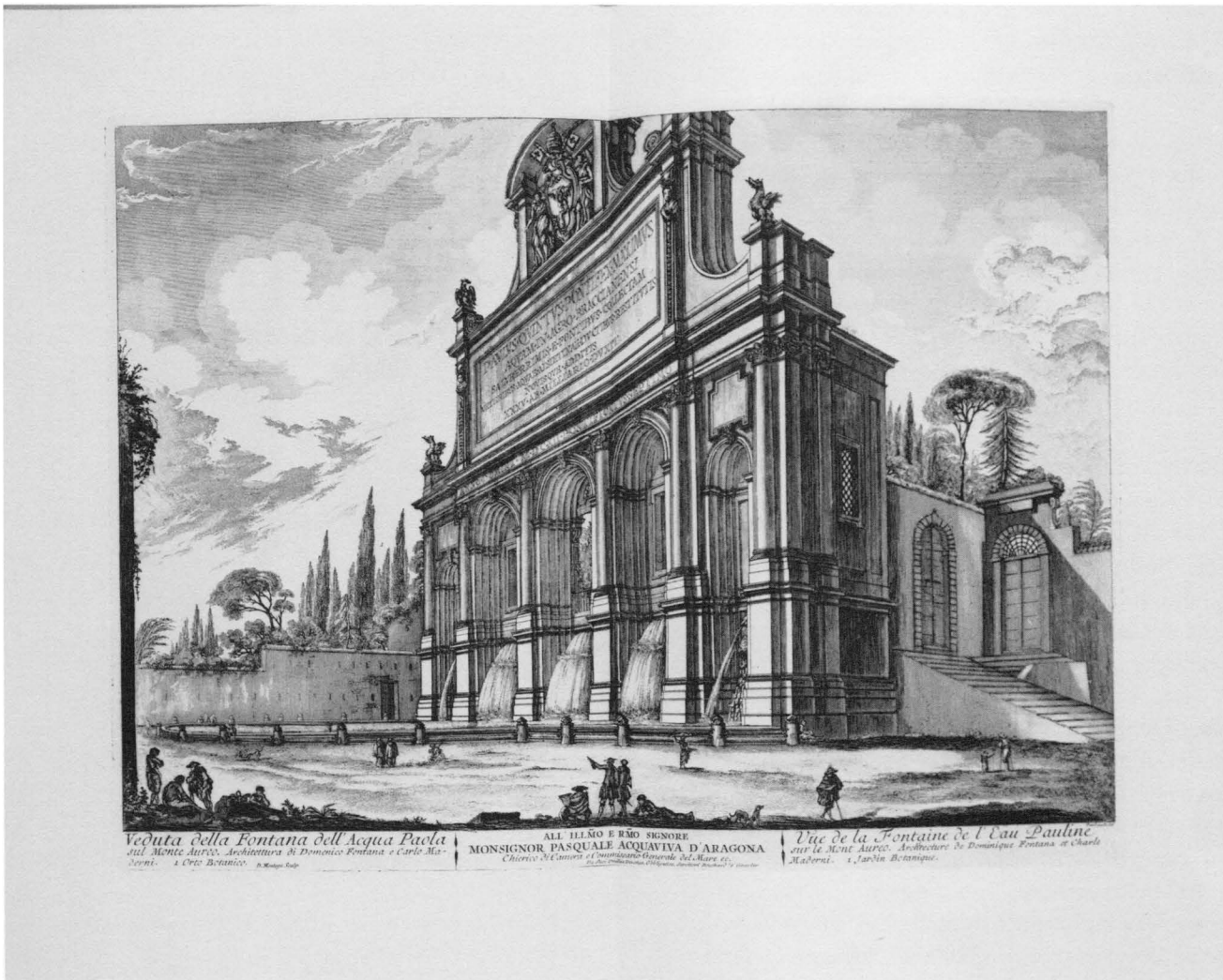
Barbault produced his most engaging painting before leaving the Academy. This friezelike work from 1751 (380 × 3,920 mm), known as the *Masquerade of the Four Corners of the World*, is now in Besançon. Its subject is again a carnival, but this time, rather than painting the individual figures, he illustrates the entire procession of the Academy’s *pensionnaires* with Roman buildings in the background. Rosenberg has found the work to have a strong sense of humor in its novel format and has praised its virtuosic execution, without noting that Barbault was here borrowing heavily from earlier works by Giovanni Paolo Panini, Paolo Posi, and Giuseppe Vasi, who had defined the representation of public festivities in Rome in both oil paint and print. In his figure paintings, influences of Jean Restout (his first teacher in France), Pierre Subleyras, and de Troy are clearly



Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*. Title page. 1985.61.381

discernible. But the evaluation of his work is not definitive, since a growing number of his drawings and paintings have appeared in auction sales, where they seem to hide under Venetian names. Among the drawings are two sheets pertaining to these publications in the Millard collection: a sketch for the title page of *Les plus beaux monuments* and a sheet with five studies for the same volume.

Barbault’s graphic production forms an important counterpart to his paintings. Rosenberg credits him with approximately five hundred prints, which he interprets as the largest homage by a French artist to Piranesi. Among his known works is an engraving after Subleyras, one after Francesco Solimena, and a print that illustrates the raising of the obelisk in the Campo Marzio in 1748. The raising of this broken obelisk, its scaffolding, and the machines used for the transportation were the work of Niccola Zabaglia, the celebrated engineer at Saint Peter’s (see cat. 166). In 1754 Barbault contributed the figures for fourteen plates by Piranesi in volumes 2 and 3 of the *Antichità romane* (1756; cat.



Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne*. Fountain of Acqua Paola. 1985.61.382

88), thus becoming one of the few official collaborators. Seven years after his collaboration with Piranesi, Barbault's own very large collection of prints (128 plates) illustrating ancient Rome was published. In this, and the posthumously published *Les plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne* (1763), Barbault copied several views from Piranesi's earlier work, formatted as vignettes.

Although as a landscapist Barbault was influenced more by Vasi, Panini, and Jean-Baptiste Lallemand than by Piranesi, the success of his publication was nonetheless largely due to the great fashion for large Roman views created by Piranesi's publications. The overlapping questions of influence and plagiarism are quite vivid, since not only were Barbault and Piranesi briefly both collaborators and rivals (Barbault died too young to present a real threat), but, more important, in Giovanni Bouchard they briefly shared a publisher as well. It has been persuasively suggested (Rosenberg 1976) that Bouchard promoted Barbault as a rival after Piranesi left to set up his own publishing enterprise and that Barbault became Piranesi's most feared *pasticheur*.

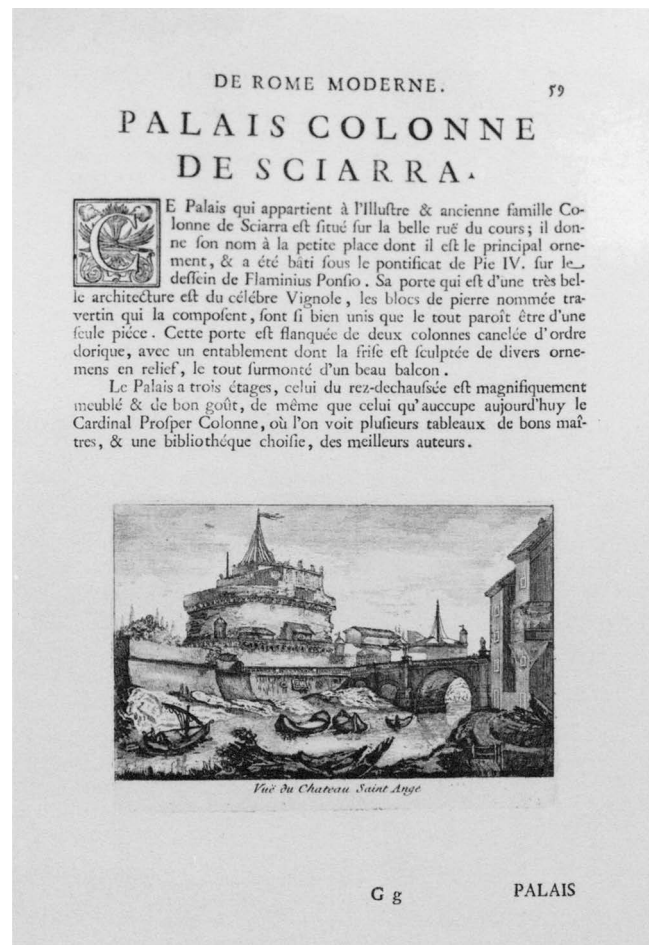
Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne was dedicated by the publishers to Jean-François de Rochecouart, bishop of Laon and ambassador to the Holy See. The text accompanying the plates is in French. Many of the plates were not only drawn by Barbault but also engraved by him. Among these the small vignettes, mostly of low-relief sculpture, are extremely effective. The larger topographic views, made mostly by the obscure Domenico Montagu (also Montaigne or Montegu), are etched in an airier manner that seems almost Venetian, suggesting that this may be a graphic polemic against Piranesi. The collection is divided into two parts; the first part is about architecture and the second about sculpture. The architectural section is organized according to building types, such as temples (pls. 1–15), triumphal arches (pls. 16–21), theaters (pls. 22–27), columns and obelisks (pls. 28–31), baths and aqueducts (pls. 34–44), and tombs and altars (pls. 45–51). The majority of plates in the second part illustrate low-relief sculpture.

Barbault's presentation and framing of views and fragments of ancient sculpture are extraordinarily tactile and appealing. Many of his sculptural remains are inscribed on larger, irregularly shaped "stone" fragments,

a method—also employed by Piranesi—that is supremely effective in suggesting loss and the melancholy passage of time that inevitably destroys human work. The plan of the Pantheon, inscribed on such an irregularly shaped stone block, is a conceit that aligns Barbault's own representation with the ruins of antiquity themselves; it was adopted by Piranesi in his plan of Santa Costanza, incidentally also a circular building. The text is peppered throughout with references to historians of Rome, such as Pliny the Elder, Alessandro Donati, Bernard de Montfaucon, and Famiano Nardini, as well as to Piranesi. The most common composition of a plate is a large view of architectural ruins in the upper part of the sheet and a much smaller vignette of sculptural fragments below. Barbault also engages with amateur archaeologists, such as the architect Andrea Palladio, whose reconstruction of the temple of Antonino and Faustina he challenges. Especially atmospheric and romantic is the moody full-page plate of the temple of Concord. The inscriptions on the arch of Septimius Severus are transcribed in the text, the carving on the arch of Titus praised, and the arch of Constantine execrated for the low quality of its sculpture. Barbault points out his own contributions, for instance, his discovery of the altar in the theater of Marcellus, while equitably saluting his rival Piranesi who had illustrated the foundations of the theater.

The persuasive images are enhanced throughout by the unassumingly helpful text. For the Colosseum, Barbault refers to Carlo Fontana, Antoine Desgodetz, and Scipione Maffei as his sources. Explaining that the name of the building was taken from the large statue of Nero placed nearby and that the arena was named after the sand that covered it in antiquity, Barbault pointedly lists the Roman palaces (Venezia, Farnese, among others) whose construction turned the Colosseum into a stone quarry. His views were commercially successful, and in many ways he can be said to have completed the views of Piranesi, the dominant topographer who established lasting standards.

The plates of *Les plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne* were made by Domenico Montagu and an entire team of engravers. Bouchard issued an expanded version of this collection (with fifty-one prints) in 1773. The later edition was made in the tradition of the *recueil factice*, with each sheet independently dedicated to an Italian or French patron, unaccompanied by explanatory text. The low quality of the prints in the 1773 edition, with traces of foul-biting and large recut areas, and the lack of context, make this a dry and fleshless skeleton rather than a body of work. Both editions are organized by building type: basilicas (starting with Saint Peter's, then San Giovanni in Laterano); churches of the large orders (Gesù, Sant'Andrea della Valle); the two circular religious buildings inherited from antiquity (Santa



Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne*. Castel Sant'Angelo. 1985.61.382

Costanza and the Pantheon); an even longer section on palaces, fountains, bridges; a miscellany of singular structures (the Colosseum, pyramid of Caius Cestius, forum of Nerva, and so on); and a long section on squares. In the views of "modern" Rome, Barbault is, inevitably, close to Piranesi's contemporary views. In the 1763 edition the plates are accompanied by extensive descriptive entries in French. These offer a brief history of each building, including discussion of the founder, the construction sequence, and the artists involved in making the decorations. The text, though separate from the plates, is ornamented with successful tail-pieces, which illustrate additional sites in Rome.

Barbault's compositions and framing of space are dependent on Piranesi, but also show differences from the greater designer's plates. Barbault's point of view is invariably hovering just above ground, at about first-floor level, and consequently buildings seem often to be "kneeling," but this effect might also be caused by the engravers' unstable perspectives. Barbault's views are

Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*. Above: Arch of Septimius Severus. Below: Bas-relief from the portico of the Palace of Justinian. 1985.61.381



Vue de l'Arc de Septime Severe .
 1. Eglise de S^t Martine
 2. Temple de Saturne ou l'ancien Arvarium des Romains aujourd'hui l'Eglise dediee S^t Adrien



Partie d'un Bas-relief antique
 Sous le Portique du Palais Justinien



Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*. Temple of Jupiter Tonans. 1985.61.381

widely open since he cants buildings sideways, causing Rome's squares to seem ill-defined and poorly articulated (as in the view of Piazza Sant'Ignazio). Often the side of a building forms a strong repoussoir at the edges of the composition, but generally buildings are too far from the foreground, too detailed, and too numerous. One exception, a new view of the Acqua Paola where the fountain occupies the entire center of the sheet with its top actually cut off, is reminiscent of the energy and strong-mindedness of Piranesi's compositions. In some cases Barbault borrows from Piranesi literally, as in the views of San Paolo fuori le Mura, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Sebastiano, and the forum of Nerva. However, his church interiors are thoroughly persuasive, offering a detailed rendering of the figurative wall decorations evidently dependent on Panini's work (especially for the interior of Saint Peter's).

Since the production of topographical engravings in Rome during the eighteenth century was mostly by foreign artists (Piranesi is a great exception), Barbault occupies an important place, together with his country-



Jean Barbault. *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*. Temple of Jupiter Stator. 1985.61.381

men Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, Legeay, and Duflos. Barbault follows the tradition of western European artists attracted to the urban landscape of Rome, and to Panini in particular. But he exaggerates the picturesqueness of Rome's topography, and he remains far from exhausting the majesty of the subject, which escapes him constantly.

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Antonio Basoli (1774–1848)

15

Raccolta Di Prospettive Serie, Rustiche,
E Di Paesaggio Dedicate Al Merito Di Alcuni
Mecenati, Professori, Amatori Di Belle Arti,
Ed Amici Incise a semplice contorno, e
Stampate in carta Velina ad uso di Francia per
poterle acquerellare, a vantaggio de' Studenti,
ed Amatori di Belle Arti. Inventate Da Antonio
Basoli Guelfese Pittore . . . Disegnate da
Francesco Cocchi Budriese Studente . . .
ed Incise Da Diversi Scuoari del Professore
Francesco Rosaspina, dall'Autore, e dal
Disegnatore

Bologna: Antonio Basoli ("Vendibili Presso L'Autore,
E Presso Diversi Negozianti Di Stampe, E Libri"), 1810

Antonio Basoli. *Raccolta di prospettive serie, rustiche, e di paesaggio*.
Plate 53. A public laundry. 1985.61.384

1985.61.384

Folio: 394 × 492 (15½ × 19¾)

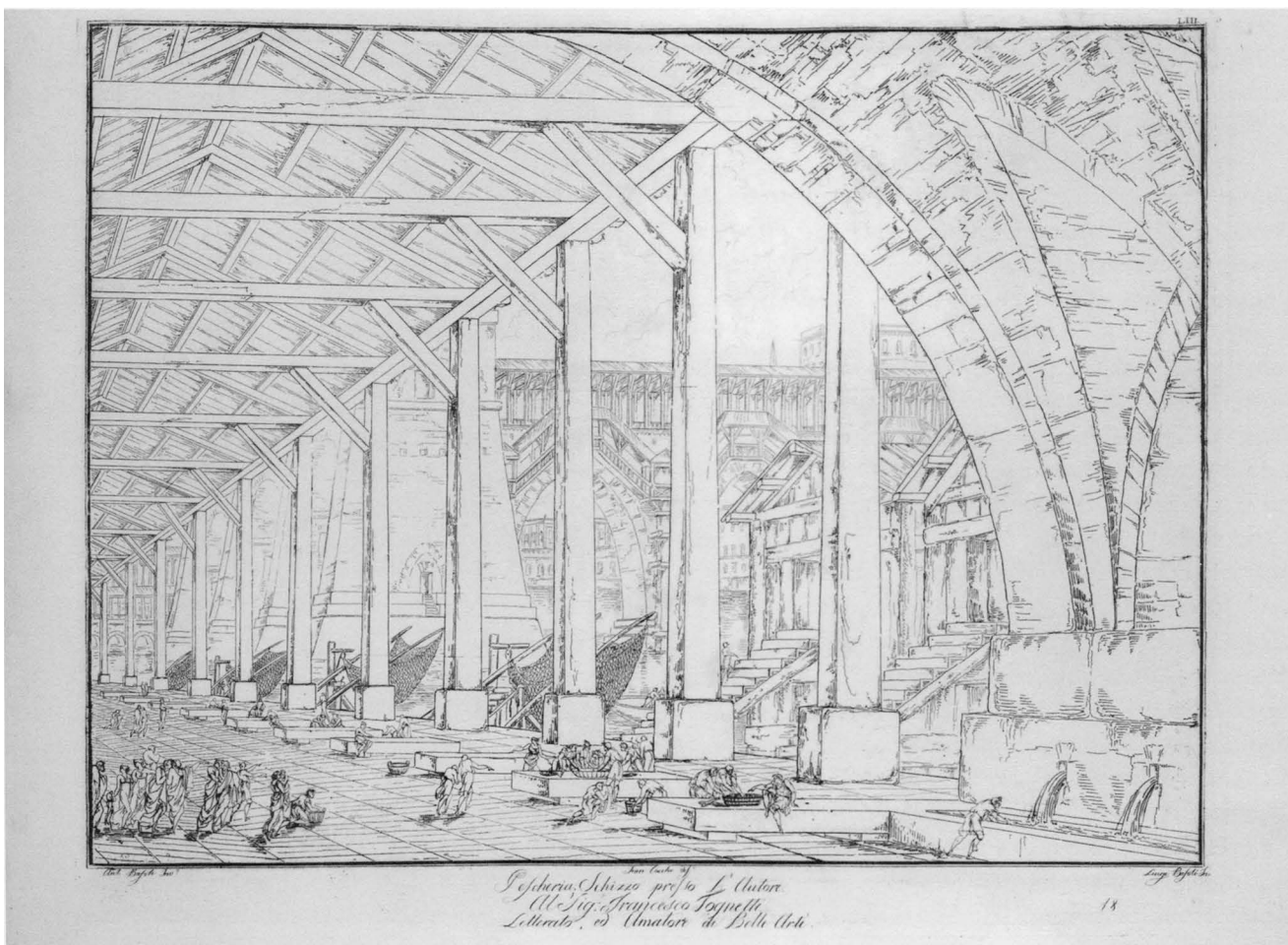
Foliation Printed title leaf, 102 etched plates

Edition First edition, second issue? An undated, apparently earlier, copy (Weinreb 40: 35; cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 218) has an engraved title plate which also bears an engraved portrait of Basoli

Text folio [1] title page (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette with scene of ancient Rome on title page designed by Basoli, drafted by Francesco Cocchi, and etched by A. Romagnoli (signed: "A.B. inv."; "F.C. dis."; "A.R. inc.")

Illustrations 102 full-page etched plates numbered I–CII, each bearing an engraved caption followed by an individual dedication; the plates are also numbered in the bottom right in 34 groups of 3 (i.e., 1–3, 1–3, . . .),



suggesting an original issue in parts. All plates are signed by the author as designer, and most are also signed by Francesco Cocchi as draftsman. The plates were etched by the author (29 plates), Luigi Basoli (39 plates), A. Romagnoli (19 plates), Ignazio Sarti (9 plates), Francesco Cocchi (3 plates), Francesco Basoli (1 plate), and Giulio Tomba (1 plate)

Binding Contemporary mottled paper boards, new calf spine, cloth corners; marbled endpapers

Provenance Ownership inscription of "A Bartly" on title page

References Berlin Cat. 4165; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 218; Weinreb 40: 35

ALTHOUGH GIULIO FERRARI ATTEMPTED in 1924 to stimulate interest in the contribution of Antonio Basoli by pointing to the substantial body of work produced by the artist (155 stage sets, decoration of 285 rooms, 636 canvases, 397 drawings, 633 engravings, and 74 students), the monograph on Basoli still remains to be written. Born in Castelguelfo in 1774 to Lelio Andrea, a competent painter of *quadratura*, Basoli is not known beyond a narrow circle of specialists in Bologna. He studied at the Accademia Clementina in Bologna with the painter Gaetano Gandolfi and is considered the last disciple of the Bibiena school (see cat. 46). While his career took place almost entirely in Bologna, Basoli traveled throughout Italy and was well connected among contemporary artists and patrons. Though invited to St. Petersburg, Vienna, and America, Basoli remained in Bologna since he staunchly believed that art could only be studied in Italy. His work and study trips included visits to Trieste, Florence, Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, though he evidently was more interested in the romantic north than in classical Rome. Basoli counted the painter Pelagio Palagi, the stage designer Alessandro Sanquirico, and the collector Count Ulisse Aldrovandi among his close friends, while his collaborators included the decorator Felice Giani. His principal artistic activities were teaching art in Bologna, where he was professor of decoration from 1803, and scenographic painting of various interiors. His production eventually included designs for stage sets, *quadratura*, interior decoration, topographic views, and applied arts. Basoli was an honorary member of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome (1822), the Accademia Albertina in Turin (1825), and the art academies of Florence (1816) and Venice (1836).

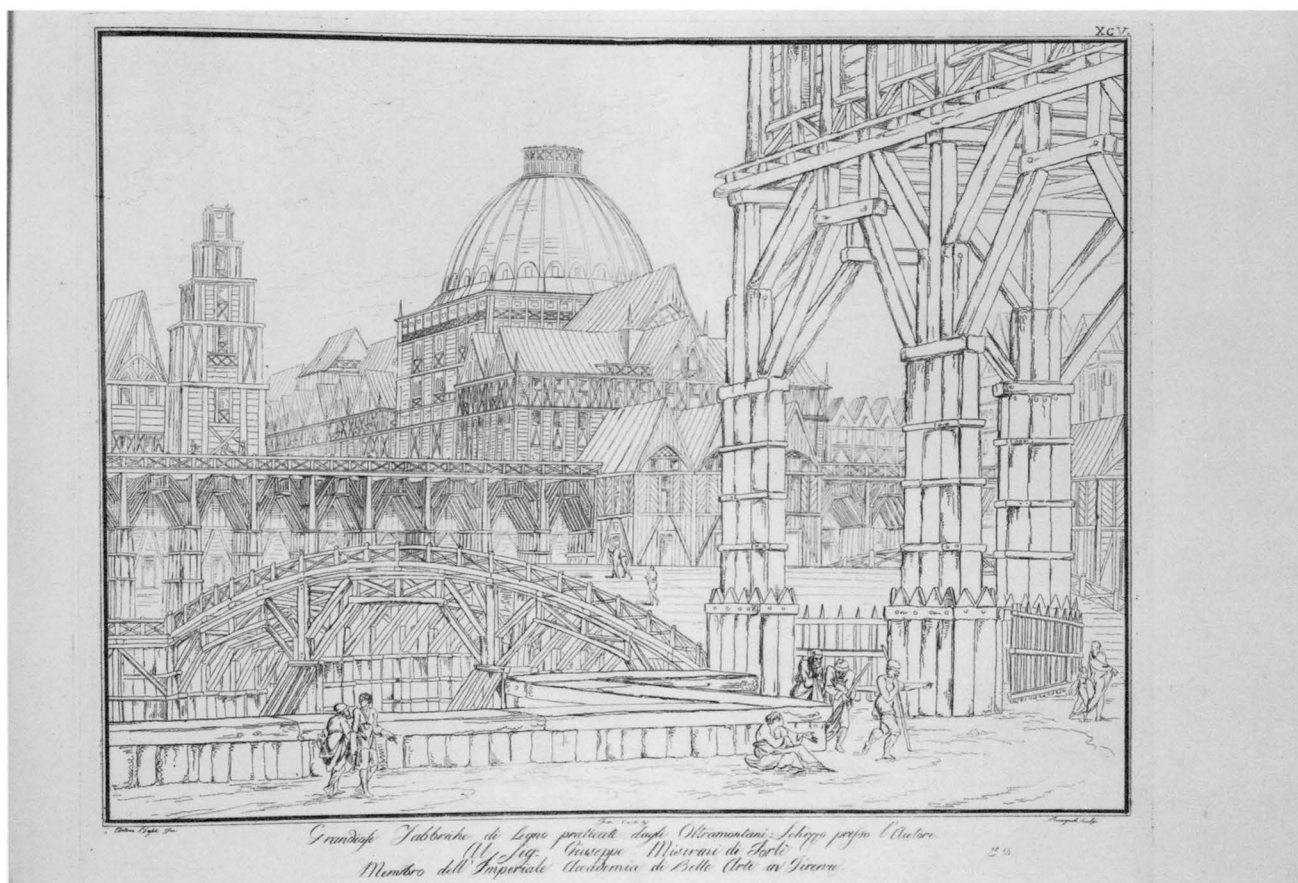
In addition to his numerous publications, intended as pedagogical manuals, there are remains of Basoli's work as interior designer and mural painter in several Bolognese palaces (Giustizia, Rosselli del Turco,

Sanguinetti), paintings on canvas (Bologna, Cassa di Risparmio), a collection of libretti of his stage productions (Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana), models of his later stage designs (Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala; Florence, Uffizi; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale), copious sketches (Bologna, Accademia di Belle Arti), and manuscript letters and autobiography (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale).

Basoli's publications are illustrated by him, although the engraving and etching are almost always carried out by his brothers Luigi and Francesco and his other students. The draftsman for the *Prospettive serie* is Francesco Cocchi (1788–1865), an artist from Bologna, who studied with Basoli at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna, carrying off the first prize in architecture in 1807. Cocchi left Bologna in 1811, embarking on an extraordinary traveling career that took him first to Rome, then to Portugal, Copenhagen, Hamburg, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, and London before returning to Bologna after 1842, when he was offered the chair in architecture and perspective at the art academy; in 1859 he became its director. Throughout his travels he painted interiors, such as the Teatro Argentina in Rome and the royal theater in Copenhagen. His 1851 *Lezioni di prospettiva pratica*, illustrated with twenty-five plates, was adopted as a textbook in Italian academies; his rich collection of drawings is now at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

Assaulted in 1837, Basoli lost an eye while defending himself but continued to work until his death in Bologna in 1843, composing a volume on ornaments and his celebrated *Alfabeto pittorico* during his convalescence. The *Alfabeto* is a collection of illustrations of fantastic architecture representing buildings whose names start with the letters with which they are associated, as do the small staffage figures, vegetation, and animals. Basoli mixes eclectic architecture and exoticism; for example, A is an *aranciera* (an orangery) in the style of Arab architecture (Busmanti, in Basoli 1987).

Recent scholarship is divided about the importance of Basoli's contribution. His views of Bologna follow the previous illustrators of the city, such as Pio Panfili and Felice Giani, but Basoli's Bologna is domesticated and familiar, and in his views there is no space given to magnificence. Anna Ottavi Cavina (1994) notes his lack of epic approach and finds it consonant with the contemporary European middle-class ethos, while Franca Varignana (1983) observes that by going outdoors, to the working-class parts of the city, recording laundry sites and the manufacturing of silk and cotton, Basoli introduces new subjects related to Bologna. Considering Basoli's stage sets and exotic-visionary canvases, Alessandra Borgogelli (1996) finds that the artist ransacks the remote past and loves "the inauthentic, the anti-natural and the improbable," defining his techniques as combi-



Antonio Basoli. *Raccolta di prospettive serie, rustiche, e di paesaggio*. Plate 95. Northern timber construction. 1985.61.384

natory and collage-based, through which he brings the most diverse sources seamlessly together.

Basoli's *Prospettive serie* include plates that seem worthy predecessors of the most blustery early Hollywood movies (such as those by D. W. Griffith). The extensive representation of wood and carpentry in many of the plates is also remarkably unlike contemporary Italian topographic views, still largely under the sway of classicizing Roman views, and show thorough knowledge of the scaffolding techniques necessary for stage construction. Equally recurrent is the Egyptian motif, which in the form of obelisks, sphinxes, pyramids, and sculptures invades the composition of exotic sites. This may well have been part of the irresistible Egyptomania that swept through western Europe, not sparing even Italy, after the Napoleonic publications on the consul's trip to northern Africa. Basoli alludes to his own studies of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's ornate Egyptian fireplaces while he was still a teenager. His fantastic views teem with sacrificial rites, Bacchic scenes in which oriental forms mingle with Greek, Roman, and medieval references, though without resorting to ruins. The eclectic reconstructions of Johann Fischer von Erlach, William Chambers, and Charles-Louis Clérissieu are echoed and further transformed in Basoli's compositions.

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Ottavio Antonio Bayardi (1694–1764)

I6

Catalogo Degli Antichi Monumenti
Dissotterrati Dalla Scoperta Città Di
Ercolano Per Ordine Della Maestà Di Carlo
Re Delle Due Sicilie, E Di Gerusalemme,
Infante Di Spagna . . . Composto E Steso
Da Monsignor Ottavio Antonio Bayardi . . .

Naples: Royal press ("Nella Regia Stamperia Di S.M."),
1755

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N5775D44

Folio: 479 × 369 (18⁷/₈ × 14⁹/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], xxii, 447, [1] pp.

Edition First edition, second issue (first issue, 1754); the
only installment of an intended series of nine volumes

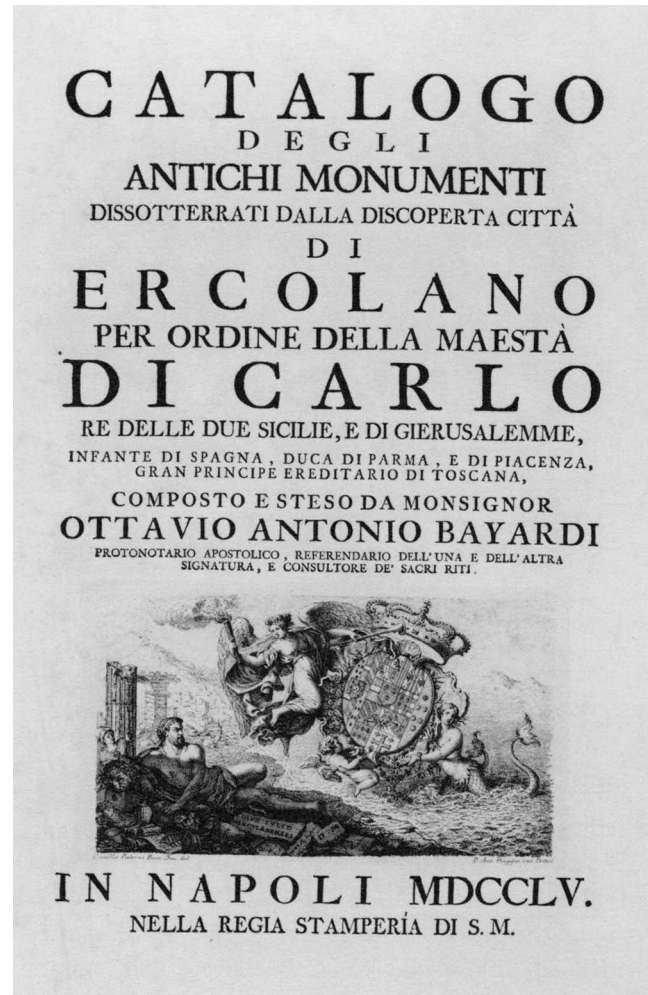
Text pp. [i] half-title: "Catalogo Degli Antichi Monu-
menti Di Ercolano Tomo I." (verso blank); 1–xxii pref-
ace, addressed to Charles, king of the Two Sicilies
(later Charles III, king of Spain); 1–447 text, catalogue
of the monuments of Herculaneum; [448] blank

Ornaments Etched allegorical vignette on title page
including royal coat of arms; large etched headpiece
and etched pictorial initial on dedication (p. 1); etched
tailpiece on p. 447. The title page vignette and headpiece
are signed by Camillo Paderni as draftsman and Pier-
antonio Piaggio as engraver ("Camillo Paderni Rom:
Inu: del."; "P. Ant. Piaggio inc. Portici.")

Binding Bound uniform with the Accademia Ercolanese
di Archeologia's *Le antichità di Ercolano*, Naples, 1757–
1792 (cat. 1)

Provenance Etched pictorial bookplate including ruined
temple and broken column with coat of arms on base:
"Ex Libris Vinc. M. Karca. St. Pr. Amphiss.," signed "G."
and "Cataneo inc."; bookplate of Charles Edouard
Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 3947; Cicognara 2645; RIBA, *Early
Printed Books*, 224



Ottavio Antonio Bayardi. *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti*. Title
page. ND5775D44

Francesco Beltrami (fl. 1783)

I7

Il Forestiere Instruito Delle Cose Notabili
Della Città Di Ravenna, E Suburbane Della
Medesima Operetta Di Francesco Beltrami
Prete Ravennate

Ravenna: Antonio Roveri, 1783

NGA Lib. Rare Book: DG975R25B44

Octavo: 199 × 126 (7⁷/₈ × 5)

Pagination xx, 252 pp., 2 folding etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [I] title page; [II–III] blank; [IV] frontispiece; [v]–xiv dedication by Beltrami to Marco Fantuzzi; xv–xviii preface; xix–xx privilege, dated 2 March 1783, and imprimaturs; [I]–244 text; 245–252 index

Ornament Etched vignette on title page depicting a distant view of Ravenna with ruins and river god in foreground; etched coat of arms as frontispiece signed by Silvio Pomarede as etcher ("S. pomarede fec."); woodcut head- and tailpieces

Illustrations Woodcut of the cross at the Baptistry on p. 32; 10 woodcut monograms throughout text; folding etched and engraved plate of Theodoric's mausoleum, paginated "193" according to location in text, unsigned; folding map of Ravenna, etched by Giulio Contarini after Giuseppe Carlo Morigi (i.e., Morigia?) and dated 1781 (signed: "Ios. Carolus Morigi Pub. Geom. & I.U.D. de."; "Iulius Contarini Sculp. Rav. 1781")

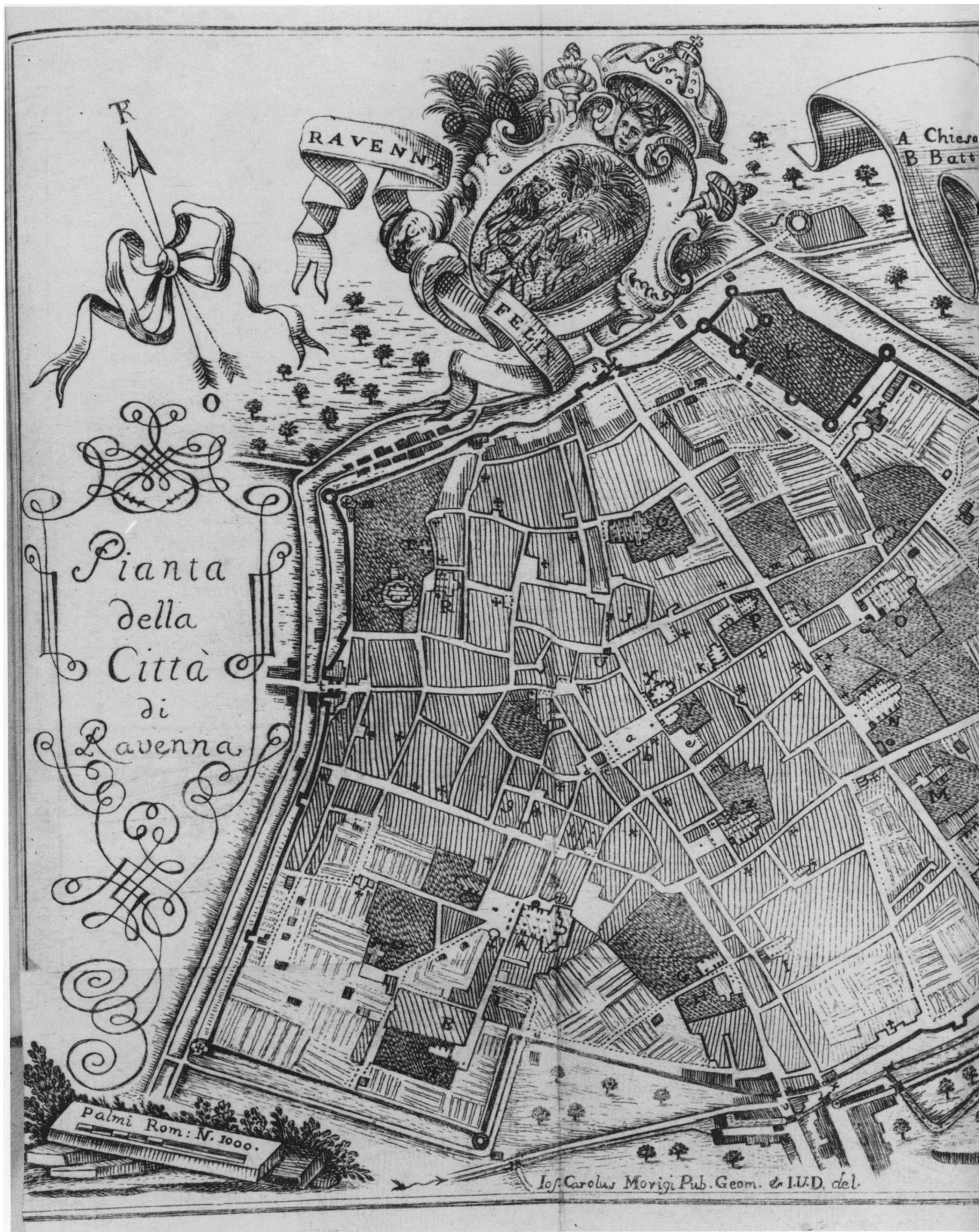
Binding Contemporary blonde polished calf, gilt outer borders, blind-tooled inner borders with corner ornaments, gilt spine, black morocco label, edge rolled, gilt turn-ins, marbled edges

ALREADY IN ANDREA SCOTTO'S 1649 guide to Italy, Ravenna is declared more interesting for its antiquity than for its buildings. Fortified by Claudius, who built nine gates, Ravenna was later enlarged by Galla Placidia and raised to the rank of capital by Theodoric, whose court resided in Ravenna from 493 to 526. The city's noteworthy relics include the empty tombs of Galla Placidia and Theodoric and



Francesco Beltrami. *Il forestiere instruito delle cose notabili della città di Ravenna*. Title page. DG975R25B44

the sarcophagus of Dante Alighieri, whose monument was raised by Bernardo Bembo while *podestà* of the city during the Venetian rule. By 402, Ravenna was the seat of the western Roman Empire. The expansions of the city in this period were not outgrown until the nineteenth century, while its works of art began to migrate from the ninth century, the most notable departure of cultural patrimony being Charlemagne's forced removal of treasures to Aachen. Like Rome, Ravenna then became a quarry for ready, worked marbles. There are no architectural traces of note from the lengthy medieval *signorie* of the Traversari (c. 1200–1240) and da Polenta (1302–1441). After 1441 Ravenna seesawed between papal and Venetian rule and was cruelly sacked in 1512; in the





eighteenth century it was firmly part of the papal states, governed by a cardinal with the title of legate. These included several distinguished patrons of art and architecture, such as Saint Charles Borromeo, Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Pope Clement VIII, Francesco Barberini, and Luigi Valenti Gonzaga.

The architectural and urbanistic fragmentation of Ravenna is the result of alternating high and low periods in the development of the city, then, after its late antique prime, between the tenth and twentieth centuries it was relegated to depression and isolation. According to the poet Giovanni Battista Marino, who stayed in Ravenna in 1605, the city was a desert, with unhealthy air, lack of provisions, poor wine, warm waters, and a savage population (Giovannini 1985). Static, small, and archaic, with only 14,550 inhabitants, in the eighteenth century the city turned toward agriculture. Although a new port linked it to the sea by a canal, by 1790 it was considered too poor, small, and ill-equipped to be useful for other than fishing boats. The lagoon of Ravenna was completely silted in the late eighteenth century, with the sea five miles away. Nevertheless, Francesco Beltrami does his best to portray the city in 1783 as in the midst of an architectural renaissance.

The cathedral of Ravenna, built in the fourth century and considered the most sumptuous church of the city by Scotto (1649), was in poor condition by the end of the seventeenth century. A rebuilding was commissioned in 1733 by Archbishop Farsetti, who appointed Gianfrancesco Buonamici, a painter from Rimini, for whom this was the first architectural commission. Buonamici also built the nearby church of Santa Giustina in 1747; his proposed design for the main square was opposed by the community leaders. He was accused of basing his design of details for the cathedral on Francesco Borromini's work. Buonamici's design for the cathedral is recorded in his illustrated book, published in 1748 and again in 1754, with plates engraved by Giuseppe Antonio Landi (see cat. 53), who modified them. The twelfth-century mosaic decorations of the interior are illustrated in Buonamici's publication. Corrado Ricci (1905) has especially decried the cutting up of the ancient columns and capitals of the cathedral, which were reused for the pavements of the new church.

The cathedral was "lightened" in 1774 by Cosimo Morelli, an architect from Imola, who raised columns, arches, and cornices, altering the design of the nave and transepts. Author of numerous realized theaters, in Faenza, Iesi, Fermo, and Imola, Morelli simplified the decoration of the cathedral interior (Matteucci 1977). In 1780 the hated octagonal dome by Buonamici was

demolished and a lighter elliptical dome was built by Giuseppe Pistocchi. Pistocchi's work is recorded in the manuscript diary "De' fatti di Ravenna" by Ippolito Gamba Ghiselli (Ravenna, Archivio Comunale). The new dome rose 54.7 meters above ground, but while still under construction it was damaged in the earthquake of July 1781. Though the dome was completed in 1782, a dispute between the architect and the archbishop regarding the structure's soundness continued well into the decade, while the archbishop pondered taking down the threatening structure; the construction scaffolding was removed only in 1788 (Godoli 1974).

The older buildings were worn by time and natural catastrophes. The earthquake of 1688 had caused great damage to the tower of San Vitale, the bishop's palace, and the apse of San Apollinare Nuovo. Extensive private construction after the earthquake lasted until the 1730s and resulted in several aristocratic palaces, despite the fact that 106 aristocratic families had disappeared or lost rank between 1600 and 1787. The use of ancient buildings as quarry continued unabated in Ravenna. For the theater built in 1722, building materials taken from the Venetian fortress of Brancalone were used. The urban landscape, constituted by modest buildings of naked brick with little decoration, absorbed without changing piecemeal interventions (Giovannini 1985).

The pace of building quickened after 1770, and Camillo Morigia benefited most from the new public commissions. His contributions are closely recorded in Beltrami's guide, as they are the most recent additions to Ravenna's architectural patrimony. Morigia designed the facade of Santa Maria in Porto (1775–1781), the *tempietto* of Dante's tomb (1780), the warehouses and customhouse in the port (1781), public schools, the orphanage, the hospital, and the clock tower in the main square (1785–1789). The papal legates made their architectural contribution to Ravenna through the work of Morigia.

This guide to Ravenna, authored by an abbot and prior of Sant'Alberto, was published in a second, smaller edition in 1791 by the Fratelli Fava in Ravenna. The publisher added the plan of Ravenna and illustrations of San Vitale and Theodoric's tomb. Earlier guides to Ravenna include the publications of Girolamo Fabbri (1678) and Vincenzo Coronelli (1706–1707), but Beltrami's is the first systematic guide. In it he establishes the city as a modern tourist destination by emphasizing contemporary buildings, especially by including Morigia's buildings still under construction.

The guide is arranged in four parts. The first part offers a brief history of the city and description of its site. The remaining three parts suggest an itinerary for a visit to Ravenna and its suburbs divided into three days. The first day's itinerary is organized around the cathedral and the archbishop's palace. The second day is

devoted largely to the Byzantine monuments. The third day is focused on neighboring Classe and the outskirts of the city. The meager illustrations for the guidebook include a plan of the city by Morigia, perhaps a relative of the architect, a reduced version based on the manuscript cartographic plan by Francesco Ginanni. Beltrami does not seem to be aware of the more famous representations of Ravenna, which illustrate the city under siege in 1512, in prints and tapestries made in the sixteenth century, though he does mention the siege.

Beltrami's guide provides a narrative description of the principal monuments of the city laced with elements of their history, artistic authorship, and patronage. His guide is also the story of the calamities that Ravenna has survived, and with which are associated so many of the city's early modern monuments. Thus the chapel of Madonna del Sudore, who is reputed to have sweated blood during the sack of the city in 1512, was rebuilt as an *ex-voto* after the plague of 1630; the cathedral's tower was damaged by earthquake in 1591 and by fire in 1658. The oldest parts of the compound seem to be the baptistry, whose crowning cross is dated 688, and the chapel in the archbishop's palace, built in the fifth century and decorated with coeval marble and mosaics, some taken from the cathedral. The Museo Lapidario set up in the archbishop's palace in 1734 contained pagan and Christian inscriptions taken down or unearthed in the reconstruction of the cathedral.

The cathedral square and archbishop's palace are closely surrounded by the principal early modern churches of the city and by the most distinguished private palaces. These include the church of the Jesuits dedicated to Saint Jerome (1564, enlarged 1688), the church of the Capuchins (1642), the church of the Benedictines (restored 1673), the church of Santa Giustina built by Buonamici, the seminary enlarged by Morigia (1779), and the Collegio dei Nobili (1696). The two largest private palaces nearby, Rasponi and Fantuzzi, were both restored by Morigia.

Secular buildings dominate the itinerary of the second day as ordered by Beltrami. The main public square of Ravenna, Piazza Maggiore, is closely modeled on Piazza San Marco in Venice, with two granite columns topped with statues of the patron saints of the city. Further, a tall column decorates the smaller piazzetta dell'Aquila. The position of Ravenna as also submitted to Rome is clarified by the two papal statues (of Alexander VII and Clement XII) that decorate the public piazza and by the apostolic palace (residence of the cardinal-legate) that dominates it. Trophies taken by the local army from Pavia decorate the arcade surrounding the piazza.

Several entries are devoted to the patronage of Galla Placidia, including the churches of San Giovanni della Sagra, San Stefano, San Giovanni delle Catene, Santa



Francesco Beltrami. *Il forestiere instruito delle cose notabili della città di Ravenna*. Page 193. Theodoric's mausoleum. DG975R25B44

Croce, and her own tomb. The churches were largely rebuilt, mostly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to make way for new streets, with decorations dispersed and reused in other buildings. San Vitale is singled out by Beltrami for special praise, as one of the most magnificent buildings of Ravenna, for its extraordinary form, rare marbles, copious columns, and luxurious mosaics, even though some of its later decorations, such as the altar of San Vitale's martyrdom in the sacristy, have since been dispersed (Milan, Brera). The infirmary of the monastery of Santa Giustina contains a museum of surgery; begun in 1746, it is one of the first such collections.

The last part of Beltrami's guide concerns the surroundings of Ravenna. Like San Vitale, the tomb of Theodoric is given special attention, with references to Francesco Colonna, who described the buildings in his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. The two remaining sixth-century basilicas in Classe, San Severo and San Apollinare, lost their original ornaments and marble cladding in 1450 when they were sold to Sigismundo Malatesta for the decoration of his church of San Francesco in

Rimini. Though sacked by the French army in 1512, San Apollinare still preserves its ancient mosaics. Another of Ravenna's principal treasures, the ancient *pineta*, already famous in the fifth century, stretched along 40 kilometers of the coast. It was described in detail in Francesco Ginanni's book published in Rome in 1774. Until the suppression of monasteries by Napoleonic decree, the *pineta* was owned by four abbeys associated with Ravenna.

The two recurrent and striking themes in Beltrami's guidebook are interrelated: on the one hand, the constant reuse and misappropriation of valuable building materials, especially the decorations of the Byzantine churches, and the concomitant problem of architectural preservation; and, on the other, the extraordinary quantity of work commissioned from the architect Camillo Morigia, a native aristocrat. Involved in the hydraulic engineering efforts for Ravenna, and with the mapping of the region, he was instrumental in the architectural transformation of the city. Single-handedly, through his reconstruction and restoration of churches, houses, and other public structures, he gave the definitive death blow to the historical patrimony of Ravenna's built environment, transforming the great provincial capital of forgotten imperial splendor into a laboratory of neo-classical architecture. His most famous work, the tomb

of Dante in Ravenna—cold, correct, sincere (Pirazzoli and Fabbri 1976)—shares these qualities as well as its formal composition with Giuseppe Valadier's later facade for the church of San Pantaleone in Rome (see cat. 138). Valadier had ample opportunities to study Morigia's compositions, since he completed the facade of the cathedral of Urbino designed by Morigia.

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Giovanni Battista Bertano (1516–1576)

I8

Gli Oscvri Et Dificili Passi Dell'Opera Ionica Di Vitruvvio. Di Latino In Volgare Et Alla Chiara Inteligentia Tradotti. Et Con Le Sve Figvre A Lvochi Svoi Per Giovan Battista Bertano Mantovano

Mantua: Venturino Ruffinello, 1558

1985.61.389

Folio: 385 × 252 (15 1/8 × 9 15/16)

Foliation [27] leaves

(Note: The Millard copy conforms to the register which calls for only 1 leaf in sig. A; fol. 25 has been misbound before fol. 24. Another issue of this work contains an additional bifolium, blank except for a full-page engraved frontispiece by Giorgio Ghisi depicting Hercules

defeating the Hydra: see S. Boorsch and M. and R. E. Lewis, *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi* [New York, 1985], 103–104)

Edition First edition

Text folios [1] title page (verso blank); [2] recto, dedication by Bertano to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga; [2] verso–[27] text (Latin in roman letter alternating with Italian in italic letter) and illustrations, ending with register and colophon (several leaves with blank versos)

Ornaments Woodcut title page with title inscribed in attic of an Ionic facade (the same woodcut is reused on fols. [5] recto and [27] recto); woodcut initials in several sizes and styles, including black, white, historiated, knotted, and foliated initials on black, white, or shaded background

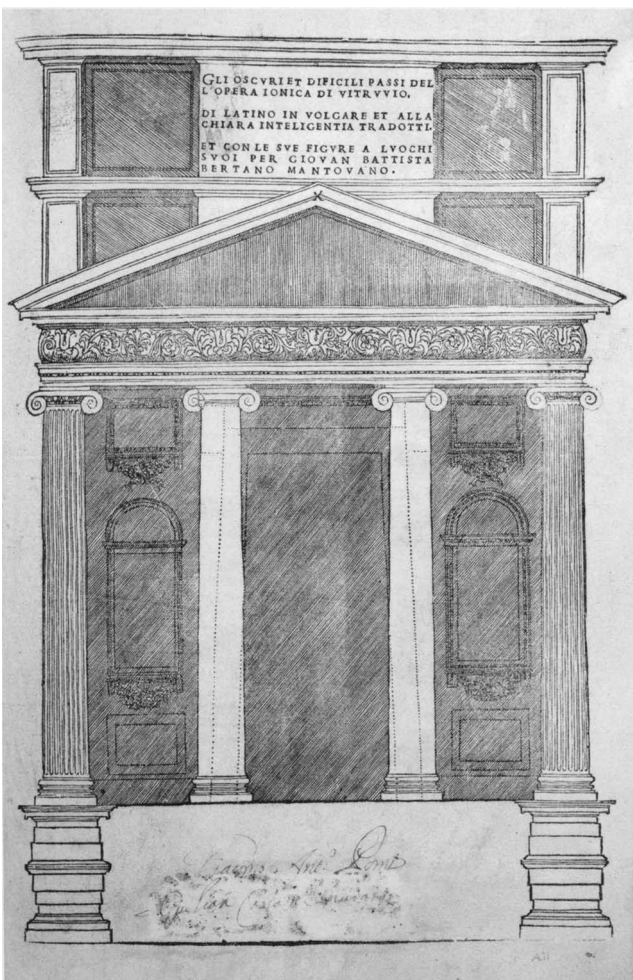
Illustrations 20 unnumbered and unsigned woodcut illustrations throughout the text, including several full page

Binding Encased in old vellum boards, endpapers renewed

Provenance Two early manuscript ownership inscriptions on title page, the first perhaps contemporary, the second later: "Giulian Cassani Murator" and "Giacomo Ant.° Pomi"; neat manuscript additions to a few plates, probably by the second inscriber

References Cicognara 428; Mortimer, *Italian*, 548 (under Vitruvius)

THE PAINTER AND ARCHITECT Giovanni Battista Bertano was born and worked in Mantua, first under Giulio Romano, then from 1549 as superintendent of public and private buildings in Mantua and the surrounding province and as principal architect of the Gonzaga, dukes of Mantua. Though he was the most important sixteenth-century architect in Mantua after Giulio Romano, his identity as an architect awaits to be fully defined. From 1549 he was also in charge of construction at the cathedral of Mantua, a position he maintained until 1563. In 1570, already a broken man



Giovanni Battista Bertano. *Gli oscvri et dificili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*. Title page. 1985.61.389

from the consequences of his run-in with the Inquisition in 1568 (he was imprisoned for five months before making a public confession), he was consulted by the architect Martino Bassi in regard to a controversy that involved Pellegrino Tibaldi's work at the cathedral of Milan. In his letter to Bassi, Bertano refers to various Roman sites—the Capitoline, the Colosseum, the Quirinal—and seems familiar with ancient Roman sculpture, showing that he was well versed in Roman antiquities and knowledgeable about perspective (Pellati 1963). In a clear indication of the high respect in which Bertano was held, his reply was published together with Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's, Giorgio Vasari's, and Andrea Palladio's in Bassi's *Dispareri* (1572).

Bertano completed Giulio Romano's buildings in Mantua. He oversaw the work at the Rustica between 1561 and 1573, transformed the loggia known as "dei Marmi" into a gallery in 1572, and made alterations to the ducal palace, including the theater (which was destroyed by fire in 1591). The palatine church of Santa Barbara, built between 1562 and 1564, was designed by Bertano.

Singular among the houses attributed to him is Bertano's own, which he adapted in 1554–1556, and which has given rise to architectural comment (for example, Giacomo Quarenghi's confession to Tommaso Temanza that he found the gate of the house "ridiculous" was echoed in this century by Adolfo Venturi [1904], who severely criticized most of Bertano's architectural efforts, while Jacob Burckhardt [quoted in Carpeggiani 1992] styled him a "fanatic of the Ionic"). Two Ionic columns decorate the facade, defining a three-bay centerpiece, one fully in the round, the other built as though in sectional representation surrounded by notations regarding the text of Vitruvius on the Ionic order. The facade of the house is thus a "scientific" representation of Bertano's interpretation of the Ionic order, conceived as a page from the treatise with explanatory figures, becoming the "book of stone" that illustrates Bertano's "pedantic Vitruvian rigorism," a dead-end street in his search for the Vitruvian rule and norm (Carpeggiani 1992).

Nonetheless, Bertano's merits as a treatise writer are more lasting than his achievement as architect or painter due to the importance of the relatively slender volume, *Gli oscuri et difficili passi*, which he published in 1558, and dedicated to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. His intellectual education in architecture was supplemented by two sources: two trips to Rome undertaken during the pontificate of Paul III, where he surveyed and drew many monuments using as a guidebook Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates Urbis Romae* (1527); and the teachings of Ercole Gonzaga, whom he thanks in his dedicatory letter of the *Passi*.

Bertano describes two separate moments of personal epiphany in relation to the Ionic order—while visiting the Massimi collection of antiquities and the church of San Bartolomeo on the Tiber island—that prompted him to reconsider previous interpretations of the Vitruvian text. His treatise clarifies and interprets the most difficult points in Vitruvius' third book. Bertano focuses on the Ionic volute and provides an ingenious method to describe it. His opinions on the so-called *Scamilli impares* were refuted by Bernardino Baldi in a commentary on Vitruvius published in Augsburg in 1612 (although composed much earlier) and reprinted in Giovanni Poleni's *Exercitationes Vitruvianae* (cat. 104). Bertano's interpretation of the Ionic volute, however, is still considered an important contribution by modern scholars.

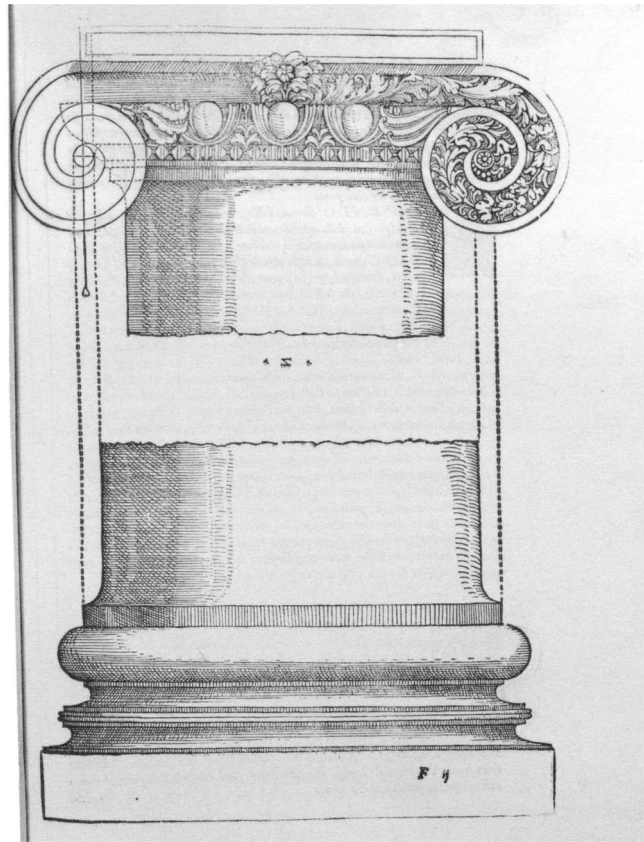
This book is illustrated with woodcuts that alternate with the text. The title page is a temple front consisting of four Ionic columns that support a pediment behind which rises an attic level; the text of the title is inserted in the center of this attic. In some copies, this title page is preceded by a frontispiece engraved by Bertano's Mantuan friend Giorgio Ghisi, showing Hercules victorious over the Hydra. Ghisi and Bertano had traveled to Rome together in the 1530s and had great regard for each other's talent. Ghisi made three engravings based on works by Bertano in quick succession around 1554, the only prints ever made of Bertano's compositions. *The Vision of Ezechiel* was the first of these (coincidentally also Ghisi's first successful engraving), echoing designs by Giulio Romano and the anatomical illustrations in Andrea Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* of 1543 (Boorsch 1985). Published by Antoine Lafrery in Rome, this print linked Bertano artistically to one of the most prolific and talented publishing circles of the time. *The Judgment of Paris*, engraved by Ghisi after Bertano's drawing, features an Ionic temple in a composition otherwise heavily indebted to Marcantonio Raimondi's treatment of the same subject; published by Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp, it further broadened Bertano's audience. It is the print of the victorious Hercules that sealed the collaboration between the two artists since it served as the frontispiece to Bertano's treatise. The copperplate engraving is unlike the woodcuts that decorate the rest of the book and was printed separately. Ghisi's engravings made contemporary works of art accessible to a wide public; in this context, Bertano's work was presented in the company of work by Giulio Campi, Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, Raphael, Bronzino, and Correggio.

The dedicatee of the treatise was Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563), bishop of Mantua from 1521 and cardinal in 1527; he presided over the closing sessions of the Council of Trent and over the duchy of Mantua between

1540 and 1556. The figure of Hercules is a clear homage to him and his many charges. It has been suggested (Boorsch 1985, Carpeggiani 1992) that the seven-headed Hydra illustrated here also symbolizes the seven previous commentators of Vitruvius (Leon Battista Alberti, Daniele Barbaro, Cesare Cesariano, Albrecht Dürer, Philander, Fra Giocondo, and Sebastiano Serlio) whom Bertano vanquished by his own interpretation, thus making the subject appropriate for the book's frontispiece. The stance of Hercules and the composition of the monster are based on models by Giulio Romano, while the head of Hercules was inspired by sculpture in the ducal collection in Mantua. The soft-muscled hero in his indecisive stance forms a strong contrast to the ornate and opulently shaded frame that surrounds him and defies any stylistic continuity with the austere and chaste architectural illustrations in Bertano's text.

This treatise is not a translation of Vitruvius nor a systematic commentary, but an interpretation of some difficult passages in the classical text. Bertano's greatest merit was the method he defined for describing the curve of the Ionic volute, which was accepted by many subsequent architects and theorists, including Claude Perrault and Giovanni Poleni. Bertano reproduces the Vitruvian *dificili passi* in Latin on fol. 7 recto and surrounds them with an Italian gloss. He makes the correct historical claim that the Ionic order had a parallel development with the Doric (fol. 9 recto), rather than a later one as most Renaissance architects had insisted. His meticulous discussion of the Ionic, in words and images, details the constituent parts of the order, from the base through the shaft to the eye of the volute of the capital. He recounts personal discoveries in his study of the Ionic, such as getting up on a ladder, with Ghisi, to study the capital of the Ionic columns in the church of San Bartolomeo on the Tiber island, where he momentarily stared into the "eye" of the volute and understood its design (fol. 18 recto). The analysis of the order includes discussion of the entablature and portals, exemplified through those of the Pantheon (fols. 26 verso–27 recto). In his interpretation of Vitruvius' *opera ionica*, Bertano was aided not only by his explorations with Ghisi but also by discussions with the mathematician Ludovico Ferrari (fol. 27 verso) and Cardinal Ercole, who had translated some Vitruvian passages to him (fol. 18 recto).

This small study—chronologically situated between the generous studies of Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro, illustrated with Palladio's sumptuous reconstructions (1556), and the authoritative publication of Vignola (c. 1563)—testifies to the passionate involvement of Bertano in classical studies and Vitruvian research.



Giovanni Battista Bertano. *Gli oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*. The Ionic order: capital and base in elevation. 1985.61.389

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Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi (1719–1790)

I9

Il Forestiere Istruito Delle Cose Più Rare Di Architettura, E di alcune Pitture Della Città Di Vicenza Dialogo Di Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi Dedicato Al Nob. Sig. Marchese Mario Capra

Vicenza: Giovambattista Vendramini Mosca, 1761

1985.61.390

Quarto: 247×179 ($9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$)

Pagination 119, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 36 etched and engraved plates (32 folding)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–6 dedication by Bertotti-Scamozzi to Marchese Mario Capra, signed and dated Vicenza, 18 May 1761; 7–10 preface; 11–119 text; [120] privilege, dated 23 July 1761

Ornaments Etched allegorical vignette on title page; ornamental and historiated woodcut head- and tail-pieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved portrait of dedicatee as frontispiece, unsigned; 36 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xxxvi (pls. III, x, xi, and xii full page, remainder folding); all plates engraved after Bertotti-Scamozzi's drawings, 21 plates signed by Cristoforo dall'Acqua as engraver ("Cristoforo Dall'Acqua Vicentino Scul.," with variants)

Binding Partially unopened copy in contemporary parchment wrappers

References Berlin Cat. 2709; Fowler 43; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 262

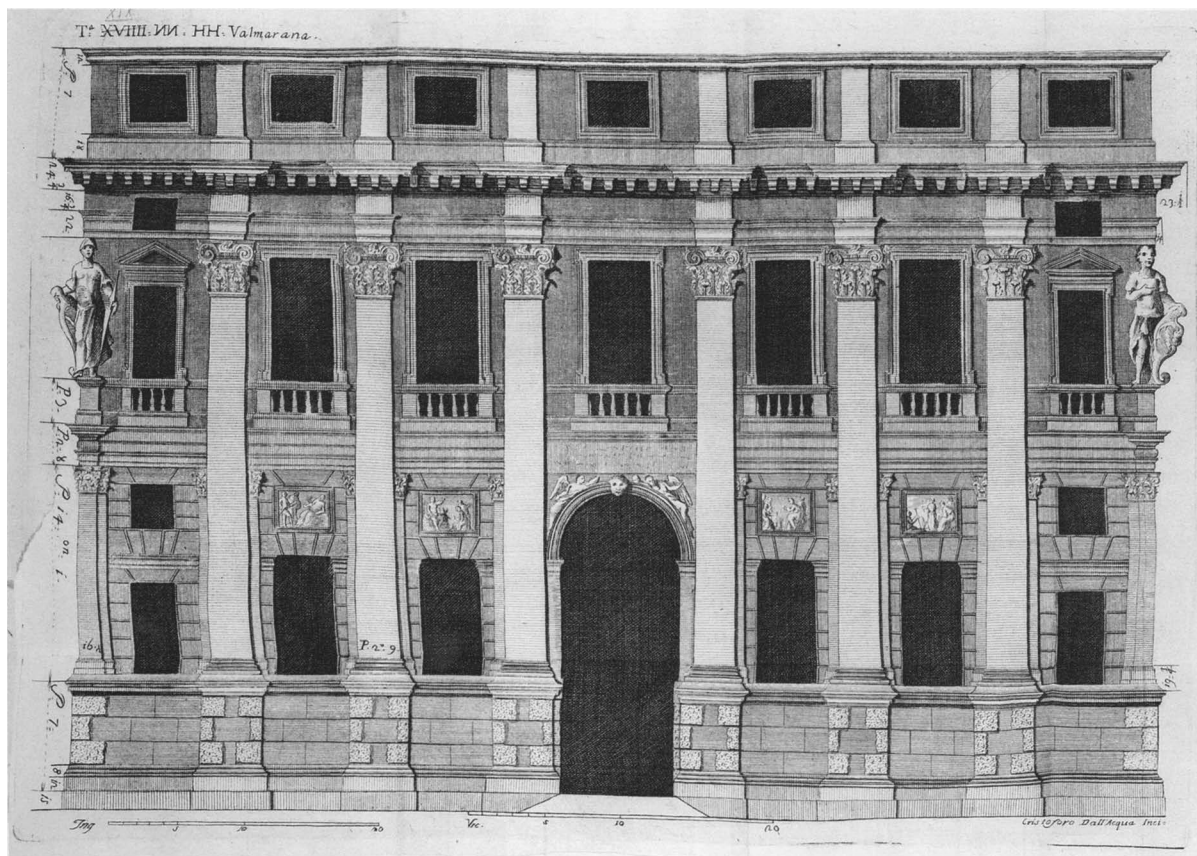
ANOTHER COPY

1981.70.4

Quarto: 244×175 ($9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$)

Binding Recent vellum, manuscript title on spine

Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi. *Il forestiere istruito*. Plate 19. Elevation of a palace by Andrea Palladio, Vicenza. 1981.70.4



Francesco Bianchini (1662–1729)

20

Del Palazzo De' Cesari

Verona: printed by Pierantonio Berno [for Giuseppe Bianchini], 1738

1983.49.6

Folio: 453 × 308 (17⁷/₈ × 12¹/₈)

Pagination [xii], 304 pp., [21] etched and engraved plates (8 double page, 7 folding)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page, printed in red and blank (verso blank); [iii–xii] dedication, Latin, by Bianchini's son, Giuseppe, to Louis xv, dated Rome, August 1737; 1 preface, Latin; 2–301 text, Latin and Italian, printed *face à face*, with Italian text on each verso and Latin text on each recto; 302–303 list of chapters, Latin and Italian; 304 errata

Ornaments Title page vignette with arms of Louis xv, engraved by Marco Pitteri after Antonio Balestra; engraved headpiece showing figure directing excavations on page 2; 4 engraved pictorial initials on pages [iii] (signed: "J.B.C. in. AP f"), 1 (engraved by Dionisio Valesi), 2 and 3 (both engraved by Giuseppe Filosi); woodcut tailpieces

Illustrations 20 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xx (5 full page, 8 double page, 7 folding); 1 unnumbered engraved slip with a note concerning plate ix and a plan following p. 20 (verso with a duplicate impression). Plate iii signed by Baldassare Gabbuggiani as draftsman and engraver ("Balthassar Gabbuggiani delin. et sculp."); plates vi and vii signed by Girolamo Rossi the younger as engraver ("Hieronymus Rossi incid"); plate xii–xiii signed by Dionisio Valesi as engraver; plate xvii signed by Francesco Nicoletti as draftsman and Giuseppe Scolari as engraver, and dated Rome 1729 ("Francesco Nicoletti da Trapani Architetto delino in Roma 1729."; "Giuseppe Scolari Veronese Scolpi"); plate xviii signed by Vincenzo Franceschini as engraver ("Vinc. Franceschini incid."); and plate xx signed by Rocco Pozzi as draftsman and engraver ("Roccus Pozzi delin. et incid.")

Binding Contemporary calf, paneled in blind, raised bands, red sprinkled edges

Provenance Bookplate of "Royal Society of Literature / Instituted November / 1820 / G. IV. Established by Charter. Dated 15th Sept.^r / 1825"

References Cigognara 3618; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 269

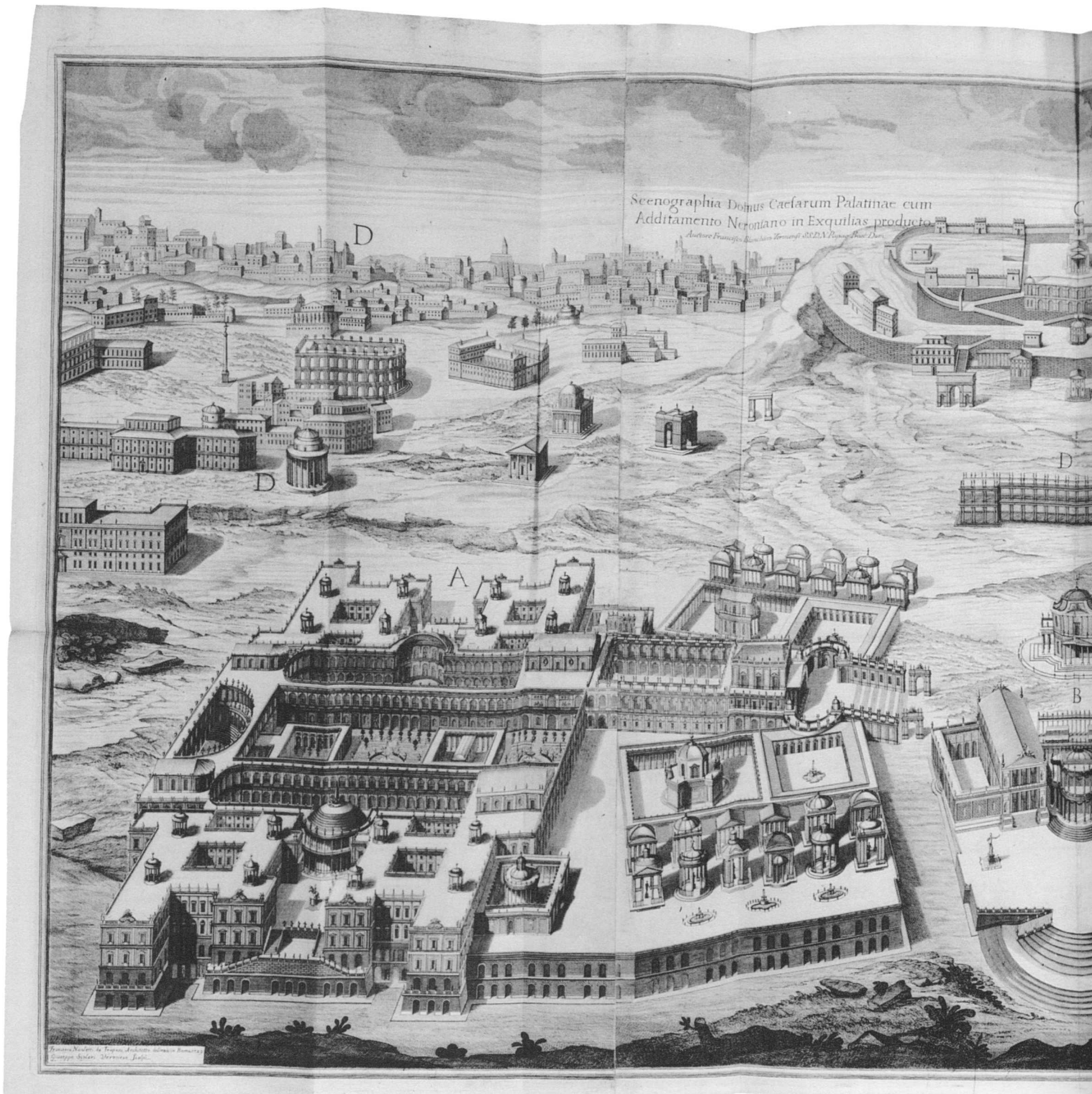


Francesco Bianchini. *Del palazzo de' Cesari*. Frontispiece. 1983.49.6

A WIDELY APPRECIATED ANTIQUARIAN, Francesco Bianchini was employed from 1695 as the librarian of Cardinal Ottoboni, the most valued collaborator of Pope Clement XI in the Sacred College and a powerful art patron in Rome. During Cardinal Ottoboni's residence, the Palazzo Cancellaria became the unofficial locus for art and culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as a recognized site of French interests. Originally a modest priest from Verona, Bianchini became a celebrated thinker of his

time, making an "important contribution to Clementine intellectualism and a deep imprint on Italian cultural history" through his interest in topographic archaeology (Johns 1993).

A well-known astronomer, Bianchini was secretary to the committee charged with the evaluation and correction of the Gregorian calendar. The construction of the meridian line in Santa Maria degli Angeli was the most immediate result of this committee's work, followed by Bianchini's *De calendario et cyclo Caesaris*,



published in Rome in 1703. Revealing his scholarly knowledge, in 1707 Bianchini performed Newton's experiment on prismatic light, thus documenting the interest in Newton's ideas in papal Rome. He was twice charged with the delivery of cardinals' hats, to Paris in 1712, and to Brescia in 1720; these trips provided oppor-

tunities for further scientific exchanges. In Paris he was received at the academy of science; during a side trip to England he was the guest of the university at Oxford. Member of the Arcadi and the Infecondi academies of Rome and the Concorde of Ravenna (Mazzucchelli 1758), he was canon, then archivist of Santa Maria Maggiore from 1707, and the same year he was named *presidente all'antichità*, a position that, like the *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca, was influential on papal artistic policies (Johns 1993).

Francesco Bianchini. *Del palazzo de' Cesari*. Plate 17.
Reconstruction of the imperial residence on Palatine Hill.
1983.49.6



As superintendent of antiquities, his principal mandate from Clement XI was the foundation of an ecclesiastical museum at the Vatican. Although Bianchini's project for a "Galleria Lapidaria" of Christian inscriptions was not realized, since the expense of a museum in the Belvedere would have equaled the simultaneous project for the sculptural program at San Giovanni in Laterano, it prompted the pontifical museums sponsored later by Benedict XIV, Pius VI, and Pius VIII. The pedagogical intentions of the museum in reinforcing papal positions was evident. An inventory by Bianchini of the dispersed objects is preserved among his papers in Verona. This project reflected the focus on sacred studies that formed the core of Roman research at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Johns 1993).

Bianchini's publication *L'istoria universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli de gli antichi* of 1697 established his scholarly position and revitalized historical studies. Bianchini wanted to examine the past through archaeological evidence in order to establish definitive records. This "scholarly materialism" became the basis for Bianchini's own endeavors. A practicing archaeologist, a collector of medals, and a guide for visiting luminaries to the ancient sites of Rome, Bianchini's list of publications includes forty-three items; an additional twenty-five works remained in manuscript. Among the former are the chapters on the bas-relief tablets that decorate the ground-floor walls of the ducal palace in Urbino and on the chorography of the duchy, published in Rome in 1724 as part of the sixteenth-century scholar Bernardino Baldi's *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino* (cat. 11), and a distinguished posthumous publication on Augustan funeral tombs, *Camera ed iscrizioni sepolcrali de' liberti, servi, ed uffiziali della casa d'Augusto scoperte nella via Appia ed illustrate con annotazioni l'anno 1726* (Rome, 1731; see Mazzucchelli 1758).

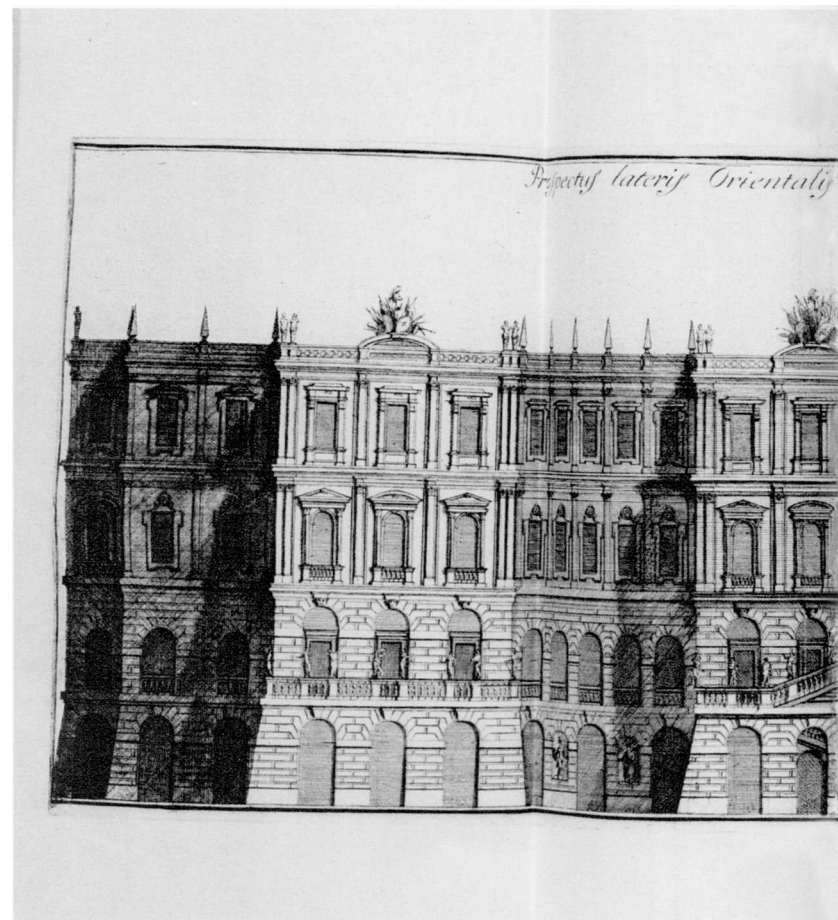
The study of the imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill was also published posthumously, but the excavations were carried out under Bianchini's sustained leadership, despite the injury he incurred on the site in 1725, when a vault gave way under his weight while he was taking measurements. A primordial site for Rome's foundation history, the Palatine was believed to be the location of *Roma quadrata* and later the site of the imperial palaces, but the Renaissance revival of the hill began only in the mid-sixteenth century, when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese acquired a garden there. The villa was built in competition with other similar projects, such as Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's villa at Tivoli, developed around 1560, and the botanical garden in Padua, established in 1545. The Orti Farnesiani were crucial in the reorientation of the Palatine toward the Forum, whose main passageway had been restructured as a processional street for the triumphal visit of Emperor Charles V in 1536 (Chastel 1990, 2). Although Bianchini's

name is associated with the excavations begun in 1720, the initiative came from Francesco Maria, duke of Parma, heir of the Farnese properties in Rome, whose taste and political ambitions required the foundation of a museum of antiquities in Parma at his ducal seat (Chastel 1990, 187). This had to be accomplished without the important collection of antiquities in the Palazzo Farnese which, according to the will of Cardinal Alessandro of 1589, could not be removed from Rome.

The duke's treasure-seeking enterprise was initially prevented by the apostolic chamber, which forbade the exportation of statues and large marble fragments to Parma. Then in 1720 Cardinal-Chamberlain Annibale Albani acquiesced in the intention of the excavations in the "don't ask—don't tell" manner, to the effect that marbles found in the Orti Farnesiani were taken to Parma without accompanying documents (Chastel 1990, 188). Later marble fragments found their way into Farnese building projects in Rome and then, when the Farnese properties devolved to the Spanish crown, to royal properties in Naples and its surroundings.

It is in this animated cultural context that Francesco Bianchini's contribution must be placed. He partici-

Francesco Bianchini. *Del palazzo de' Cesari*. Plate 12. Elevation of the imperial palace toward the Caelio. 1983.49.6

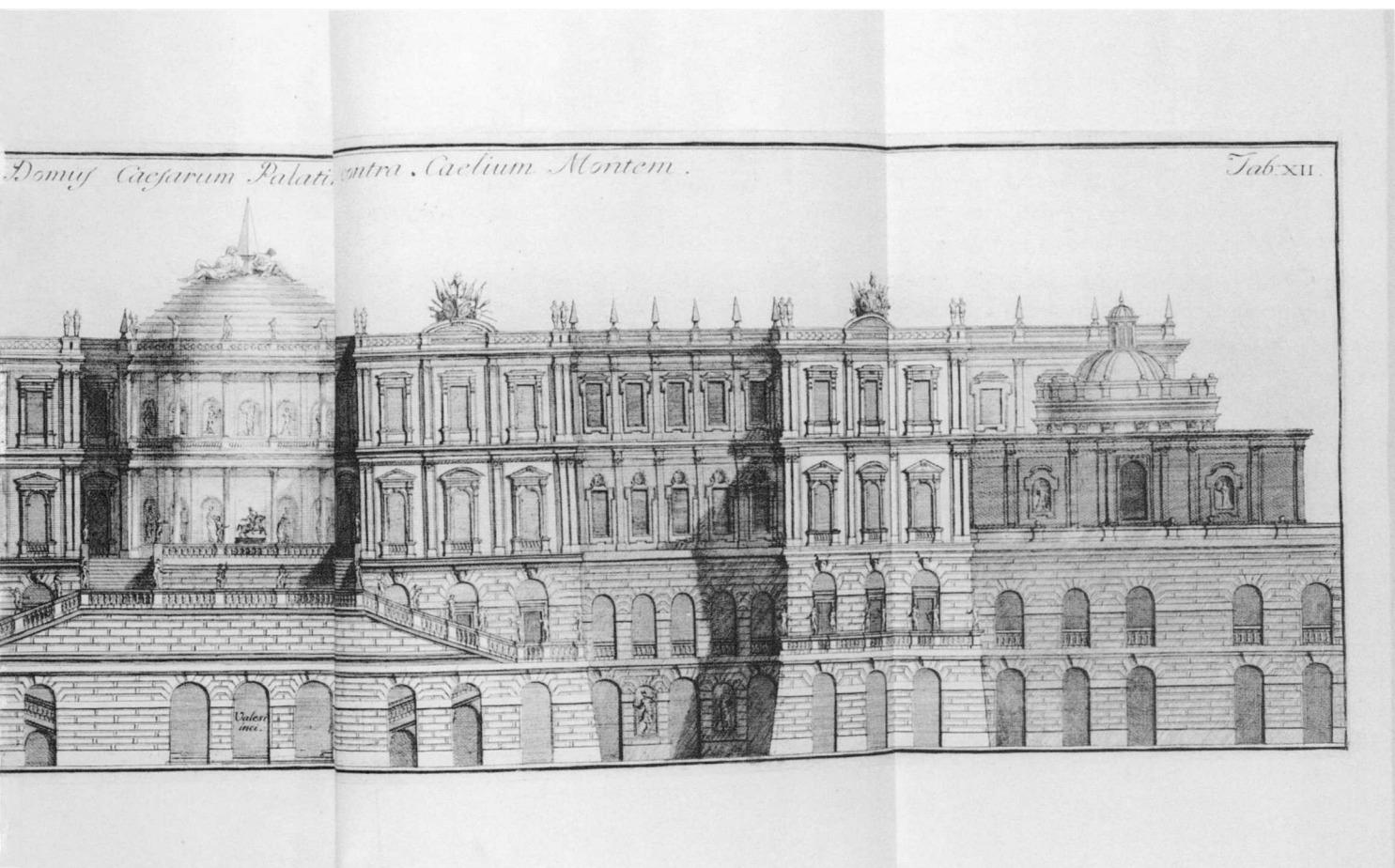


pated in the excavation as director of antiquities (a papal appointment) and endowed the enterprise with its high scientific standard. Bianchini measured and drew plans and details, which he intended to publish. His death in 1729 interrupted his project, which was completed only nine years later by his nephew Giuseppe Bianchini, with a subvention of 3,000 livres from Louis xv, to whom the publication is dedicated (Chastel 1990, 188).

Bianchini's contribution to the archaeology of the Palatine Hill, the result of the first scientific excavation and analysis according to Giuseppe Lugli (1946), was the discovery of the three great reception halls in the so-called Flavian palace. This great discovery was made at the edges of the Farnese gardens, since the sixteenth-century terracing of the gardens and the intense treasure-seeking on the site have rendered later searches of the presumed palaces of Tiberius and Caligula less fruitful. Bianchini was also the first to point to the site now believed to be the location of the temple of Apollo, refuting the attributions made separately by Pirro Ligorio and Onofrio Panvinio (see cat. 73) in the sixteenth century (Lugli 1946). The discovery of this temple, and his simultaneous discovery of the tombs of Augustus' retainers on the Via Appia, allowed Bianchini to make a more accurate supposition for the location of Augustus' house on the Palatine Hill.

The Flavian palace had been built by Domitian on the site of earlier imperial residences, destroyed in the fires of 64 and 80. Using the ruins as the foundations, the new palace rose above the now linked hills of the Palatine proper and the Germalus and faced toward the third hill, the Velia; the three hills comprised in antiquity what is today called the Palatine. The three great halls unearthed by Bianchini were the most richly ornamented interiors that had been found up to that time. These decorations were mostly marble cladding and plaster work, but there were also many precious columns (two in *giallo antico* and sixteen in *pavonazzo*), two colossal basalt statues (of Hercules and Bacchus), and a large basalt head (Bianchini, p. 48). The statues were taken to Parma and are still there today.

Bianchini discusses his findings through three hundred pages of bilingual text and illustrates them in twenty plates bound in at the end. He employed a large team of distinguished artists for the drafting and engraving of these plates, including Antonio Balestra (1666–1740), Marco Alvise Pitteri (1702–1786), Giambattista Cignaroli (1706–1770), and Dionisio Valesi (1715–after 1781). Except for Pitteri, who was a famed Venetian artist best known for his engravings after Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, these artists were all active in Verona. Balestra had a Roman connection, in that he had studied with the painter Carlo Maratta. The illustrations



that reconstruct the site and its buildings dominate the gallery of engravings. There are, however, five plates of the important sculptures found during the excavations. Plates 7 and 8 show two marbles carved in low-relief sculpture, engraved by Girolamo Rossi. Plates 18, 19, and 20 illustrate the larger sculptural finds. These are, respectively, the colossal statue of Hercules by Lysippus engraved by Vincenzo Franceschini, the statue of Bacchus probably engraved by the same artist, and a colossal basalt sculpture of the young Hercules engraved by Rocco Pozzi. Pozzi, son of a Roman ivory carver, a student of Girolamo Frezza, and engraver of Pietro Bracci's statues, was also part of the team of artists who engraved Luigi Vanvitelli's illustrations for the royal palace at Caserta (see cat. 140).

The first plate is a reproduction of Panvinio's reconstruction of the Palatine palace plan, which he had included as part of his research in the location and function of the Circus Maximus (see cat. 73). There follow six plates of the plan and architectural, sculptural, and decorative details of the *aula regia* of Domitian's palace discovered by Bianchini. Plate 8 is Bianchini's reconstruction for the Palatine residence's plan (two-thirds of which is missing in the Millard copy). Plate 9, scrambled by the binder in this copy, shows two temples at the left and right edges when Bianchini's intention was to illustrate one larger temple structure at the center of the plate. Plate 12, engraved by Dionisio Valesi after Pietro Rotari, illustrates the imperial palace's elevation toward the Caelio: it is a splendid two-story arcaded facade raised on a two-story rusticated base, with a great diagonal staircase at the center leading to a recessed semi-circular portico with a stepped domed roof. Henry Millon, in his detailed study of Bianchini's book on the Palatine (1993), persuasively compares this composition to Bernini's project of 1665 for the east facade of the Louvre. Other models may have been Pietro da Cortona's design for the same Parisian palace and his reconstruction of the sanctuary at Palestrina. In plate 13, also by Valesi, the elevation of the imperial palace toward the Circus Maximus further confirms the influence of baroque architectural design for royal palaces on Bianchini's reconstruction of the Palatine Hill, which far outstrips in monumentality and grandeur Panvinio's vision and closely resembles Bernini's design for the facade of Santa Maria Maggiore, a building with which Bianchini was thoroughly familiar as canon of the church. Werner Oechslin (1978) includes Pirro Ligorio's "Rometta" in the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the square of Saint Peter's, and fashionable contemporary palace designs produced at the French and Italian academies among Bianchini's sources of inspiration, insisting also on Bianchini's position as scientific archaeologist rather than mere antiquarian.

The most extraordinary plate in this sequence, plate 17, is an immense view of the entire site, stretching as far as the Capitoline Hill. This engraving, made after Bianchini's death, is by the Veronese artist Giuseppe Scolari based on a drawing of the architect Francesco Nicoletti, a talented graduate of the Accademia di San Luca's architecture program in 1728, whose "architectural vocabulary included elements that appear in the reconstructed elevations" of the Palatine palace, according to Millon (1993, 489). In this plate the distinct eighteenth-century desire for grandeur achieved through size, symmetry, and axuality is given free rein over mere scientific documentation. The result is a superbly conceived compound, closer (as Millon [1993] has shown) to Filippo Juvarra's redesigns of the Capitoline Hill—where he "corrected" Michelangelo—than to the archaeological ruins. By proffering the Palatine palace as a monumentally planned and elaborately detailed contemporary building, Bianchini and his interpretive artists made an important contribution to eighteenth-century architectural design and confirmed the triumph of the baroque. Bianchini's *Palazzo*, considered by Werner Oechslin (1978) one of the most spectacular books of the eighteenth century, influenced Piranesi's early publications and the architectural designers at the Roman academies.

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Filippo Bonanni

(1638–1725)

2I

Numismata Summorum Pontificum Templi
Vaticani Fabricam Indicantia, Chronologica
ejusdem Fabricæ narratione, ac multiplici
eruditione explicata, Atque uberiori
Numismatum omnium Pontificiorum
Lucubrationi veluti Prodrumus præmissa
A Patre Philippo Bonanni Societatis Jesu

Rome: printed by Domenico Antonio Ercole for Felicio
Cesaretti and Paribeni ("Sumptibus Felicis Cesaretti,
& Paribeni, sub signo Reginae. Typis Dominici Antonii
Herculis."), 1696

1985.61.437

Folio: 358 × 241 (14 1/16 × 9 1/2)

Pagination xv, [1], 240 pp., [88] etched and engraved
plates (12 folding)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Templi Vaticani Historia" (verso
blank); [iii] title page (verso blank); [v] privilege, dated
7 March 1696; [vi] imprimatus; [vii] verses addressed to
the reader; [viii] sonnet by Giacomo Badiale addressed
to Bonanni; ix–x table of contents; xi–xv list of plates;
[xvi] blank; 1–4 dedication to Saint Peter the Apostle;
5–231 text; [232] blank; 233–234 authors cited, ending
with errata; 235–240 index

Ornaments Large etched vignette on title page,
female trumpeter with a scroll and a banner depicting
Saint Peter's basilica, engraved by Giovanni Girolamo
Frezza after Giovanni Battista Lenardi (signed: "Io.
Bap. Lenardus del."; "Heirn. Frezza sculp."); woodcut
tailpieces, initials

Illustrations 88 etched and engraved plates numbered
1–36, [1], 39–86, including 4 plates numbered 57 (i.e.,
57, 57 nos. 2–4). Plates 36, 57 (nos. 2–4), 84, and the
unnumbered plate signed by Arnold van Westerhout
as engraver ("Arnoldus van Westerhout incid."); plates
52–55 signed by Carlo Pattachia as artist and Giovanni
Girolamo Frezza as engraver, and dated Rome, 1696
("Carolo Patacchia delineata"; "Hieronymo Frezza
incisa"); remaining plates unsigned. For the plates in
a later (?) state, with more signatures, see the copy
described below

Binding Contemporary French red morocco paneled in
gilt, spine gilt in compartments, edge rolled in gilt, gilt
turn-ins, gilt edges. Only plate 86 is bound within the
text according to the page number indicated in the top
right corner of most of the engravings; the remaining
plates are bound following the text

Provenance Arms of the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV
(1661–1711), at foot of spine; bookplate of Charles
Miguet on front free endpaper

References Cicognara 2780; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 498

ANOTHER COPY

1981.70.5

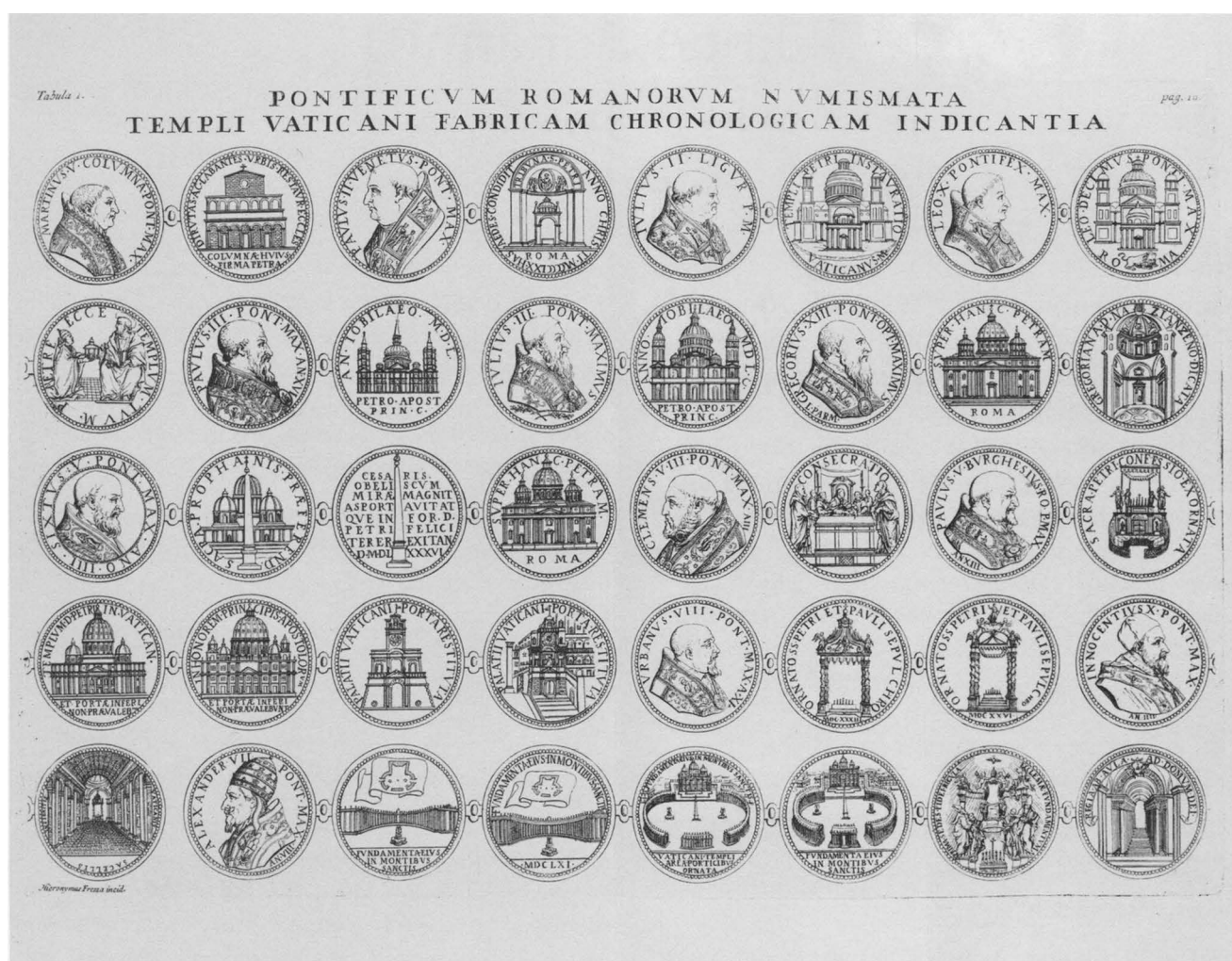
Folio: 358 × 243 (14 1/8 × 9 5/16)

Illustrations These engravings appear to be a later
issue than those described above; the designers' and
engravers' signatures added to many of the plates
correspond to the 1700 edition of *Numismata summorum
pontificum* described in the RIBA catalogue (no. 499). 32
plates signed by Bonanni as draftsman and engraver
("Auctor del. et sculp."); 31 plates signed by Frezza as
engraver ("Hieronymus Frezza incid."), including 4
plates signed by Pattachia as artist (as in the copy de-
scribed above); 13 plates signed by Alessandro Specchi as
draftsman and engraver; ("Alexander Specchi delin. et
sculp."); 9 plates signed by van Westerhout as engraver,
including 2 signed by Specchi as draftsman; 3 plates
signed by Pietro Santi Bartoli as engraver ("Petrus San
Bartolus incidit"); 1 plate signed by Jean Charles Allet as
engraver ("Ioannes Alet incid."); remainder unsigned

Binding Contemporary vellum, spine with raised bands,
manuscript title and shelf number on spine, sprinkled
edges. The plates are bound properly throughout the
text according to the page numbers indicated on the
engravings

Provenance Bookplate of Antonia Suardi Ponti

A ROMAN JESUIT, Filippo Bonanni (or Buonanni)
was a celebrated literary man. His studies at the
Collegio Romano included mathematics, optics
(he was renowned for his ability to make microscopes,
grinding his own lenses), and design as well as theology



and humanities. He first taught in Orvieto and then, after being ordained, taught philosophy in Ancona. In 1676 he was recalled to Rome and appointed archivist of the Society's Casa Professa. In 1698 he was appointed to classify the cabinet of curiosities that had been collected by Alfonso Donnini and enlarged by Athanasius Kircher. His conclusions are contained in the *Museum Kircherianum*, published in Rome in 1709 and beautifully illustrated.

Bonanni published thirteen works on a wide variety of subjects ranging from Chinese lacquer to musical instruments and the hierarchy within the Society of Jesus. Several of these are distinguished by the high quality and great number of the engraved plates that decorate them. In particular, his *Recreazione dell'occhio e della mente*, published in Rome in 1681, was endowed with 450 figures of shells and a splendid title page by Giovanni Francesco Venturini, which illustrates Neptune surrounded by a seascape. The text—engaged in the debate on the reproduction of invertebrates—was, however, marred by Bonanni's neglect of elementary scientific observation and thus filled with anachronisms. While involved in defending his old-fashioned ideas against the criticism of more knowledgeable natural scientists, Bonanni became interested in coins and

Filippo Bonanni. *Numismata summorum pontificum*. Plate 1. Papal foundation medals, in chronological order. 1981.70.5

medals. His *Numismata pontificum* of 1696 is the result of that study; highly appreciated, it went through three editions by 1715. Bonanni's subsequent works include large illustrated catalogues of religious and knightly orders, published in 1706 and 1711, and the *Gabinetto armonico* of 1722, illustrated by Arnold van Westerhout.

The *Numismata* is distinguished by its historical method and the inclusion of the first comprehensive gallery of illustrations of the interior as well as the exterior of Saint Peter's in Rome. Bonanni bases his history of the building on the authority of the papal foundation medals. These seem to have been struck for every construction and restructuring project undertaken at the basilica by their conscientious sponsors. The medals, handsomely illustrated in the first plate of the book, are the foundation of Bonanni's study and are explored as the documentary source for a chronological description of the site, the building development, the unrealized projects, and the interior decoration.

Dedicated to Saint Peter, the book is divided into thirty-seven chapters, followed by indices of the plates and the authors mentioned in the text, and a gallery of

eighty-eight illustrations. The first ten chapters are about the Constantinian basilica, with consideration of its site, its size and form, its interior decorations, and its exterior appearance. In chapters 11 through 20, Bonanni examines the reconstruction of the basilica, starting with Nicholas V's projects to the construction of the basilica in the sixteenth century under Popes Julius II through Sixtus V, and the expansion of the Renaissance basilica in the seventeenth century. Chapters 21 through 25 are focused on the most notable additions made to the interior in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (altars and chapels, *cathedra*, baptismal chapel, *confessio*). Chapters 26 through 34 are devoted to the exterior of the basilica—the portico, the bell tower, and the steps leading to the church—and the construction stages of the square in front of the church and its embellishments, including the placement of the fountain and obelisk. Finally, in chapters 35, 36, and 37, Bonanni turns to the Vatican palace, examining its connection to the square and its relation to the church through its portals, royal staircase, and overall layout.

The text is handsomely produced and includes primary documents, published for the first time, which are of great interest for the historians of this building. The typographically attractive text in roman typeface is composed in indented paragraphs, with wide margins. Smaller typeface is used for the marginal notes that key in the text to the illustrations or refer to other publications. A number of significant documents are reproduced in full. On page 61, for instance, is the *motu proprio* of Paul III ordering that Michelangelo's design for the basilica be followed through without alterations. On page 75, Bonanni reproduces the famous letter by Michelangelo in which he discussed the flaws in Antonio da Sangallo's design for Saint Peter's, notably the dark and overdetailed interior where bandits could easily hide out and twenty-five guards would be needed to clear the church. Carlo Maderno's letter of 1613 to Pope Paul V accompanies plate 28, which illustrates the plan of Saint Peter's by Michelangelo with its enlargement by Maderno. Maderno, in an attempt to exonerate himself, commissioned the copperplate engraving and lists the additional parts of Saint Peter's that still needed to be built. Their construction was to stretch over the next century, since these parts included the choir for the canons, the sacristy, the baptistry, the portico, the benediction loggia, and the facade of the church.

Throughout his text, Bonanni refers extensively to the manuscript or published research of other historians of Rome and the Vatican. Among his predecessors are Giovanni Severano, Pompei Ugonio, Maffeo Veggio, Giacomo Grimaldi, Carlo Ferrante Gianfattori, Famiano Nardini, Leon Battista Alberti, Pirro Ligorio, Giacomo Lauro, and Bartholomeo Platina. For biographical details about artists and architects, Bonanni refers often to

Giovanni Baglione and Giorgio Vasari, but his marginal notes most often invoke the earlier publications on the history of Saint Peter's by Giovanni Battista Costaguti (1684) and Carlo Fontana (1694), both in the Millard collection (cats. 32 and 38).

The most valuable part of the book is the gallery of illustrations representing the church. Although Bonanni—like Fontana and Costaguti before him—reuses the graphic conceptions of his predecessors, the illustrations are thoroughly consistent and uniformly formatted. The illustrative material consists of eighty-eight plates, finely executed etchings and engravings of plans, elevations, and perspective views, carried out with utmost confidence and authority by an excellent team of draftsmen and engravers that included not only Bonanni himself but also Giovanni Girolamo Frezza, Alessandro Specchi, Pietro Santi Bartoli, Arnold van Westerhout, and Jean-Charles Allet.

This distinguished team of artists was well established in Roman printmaking circles. Born in Antwerp in 1651, Westerhout was trained as a painter there and spent a few years in Florence. In Rome from 1681, he was closely linked to Cornelis Bloemaert (his teacher), Jacques Blondeau (his colleague), Allet, Frezza, and Pier Leone Ghezzi (his disciples). In 1687, when he bought most of the plates belonging to François Collignon, Westerhout became a print dealer. To his book illustrations he brought a technique inspired partly by Bloemaert and partly by Jacques Callot. The vaporous lines of the former and the use of the burin by the latter converged in his work, resulting in a softening of contours that increased further when he adopted the new technique of mezzotint. Among Westerhout's great body of work are the lavish plates, after Joseph Michael Wright, that illustrated Wright's book about the entry into Rome of Lord Castlemaine (Rome, 1687; London, 1688). His collaboration with Bonanni continued with the publication of *Numismata pontificorum romanorum* (1699), an extension of this study. His engravings in this publication concentrate almost entirely on representations of the sculptural decoration at Saint Peter's.

Specchi and Santi Bartoli were closer to the architectural aspects of Bonanni's publication. Specchi was the student of Carlo Fontana, whose book on Saint Peter's he illustrated in 1694. Eventually Specchi became an architect in his own right, with the design of the port of Ripetta in Rome as his most significant urban and architectural contribution. Santi Bartoli was more directly focused on the reproduction of sculpture and architecture in print, especially ancient Roman ruins and sculptural reliefs, and his principal intellectual link was to the art historian Giovanni Pietro Bellori. In addition to engraving compositions by Raphael, Correggio, Guido Reni, Peter Paul Rubens, Andrea Pozzo, and others, Frezza (1659–c. 1741) also engraved the archi-

tectural illustrations for Giuseppe Martini's *Theatrum Basilicae Pisanae*.

Bonanni and Frezza were responsible between them for almost three-quarters of the plates. Bonanni's share consists of the most abstract illustrations, the architectural plans, all of which are line drawings, whereas Frezza executes elevations, perspectival sections, and representations of sculpture. The illustrations by Santi Bartoli and Westerhout are also mostly of sculptural groups. Specchi's contribution consists of copies after Giovanni Battista Falda and reproductions of his own earlier work commissioned by Carlo Fontana for the *Templum Vaticanum* (1694). The lavishness of these varied and numerous illustrations is held in check by the uniformity of the presentation in scale and style.

The illustrations parallel the alternately chronological and topographical order of the text chapters. The first plate represents the papal foundation medals that form the novel source of Bonanni's book. Although he does not say so, here he is adopting a historical object—the foundation medal—sanctioned by historians of ancient Rome and used as documentary evidence for more than two centuries. The medal portraits range from Martin v to Alexander vii and illustrate both recto and verso of each medal. Further historical reinforcement is provided in plate 3, where the measurements of the Vatican basilica suggested by its earlier historians—such as Tiberio Alfarano, Giovanni Severano, Martino Ferrabosco, and Carlo Fontana—are presented comparatively.

Bonanni's most important contribution is the splendid and innovative plate 6, which is a "transparent" layered plan of the Vatican site, with the superimposed plans of the Neronian circus, the Constantinian basilica, the Renaissance centrally planned church, and the baroque extension of the modern basilica presented in one illustration. Carlo Fontana had shown earlier (1694) the location of Saint Peter's in relation to the circus of Nero. Bonanni's circus has its rounded end toward the east, whereas Fontana orients the rounded end toward the west. There is another distinction in their reconstruction of the ancient site. Bonanni's circus encompasses only the longest dimension historically occupied by the Christian basilica, from the new apse by Michelangelo to the facade of the Constantinian atrium. By contrast, Fontana's reconstruction of the circus as much longer, projecting beyond both the apse and facade of the new church, is doubtless part of his justification for the expansion of Saint Peter's square.

Bonanni's book is the first thorough survey of the architectural history and sculptural decoration of Saint Peter's. There are numerous plates with the successive projects by Donato Bramante, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo and the realized design by Michelangelo, many of which are recut from engravings pub-

lished earlier. Another fundamentally useful illustration, plate 30, is the plan of the new Saint Peter's with the location of altars, accompanied by a forty-six-item legend, where the altars are numbered from the right side of the entry around the piers of the crossing and back toward the entry on the left side, in a manner suggested first by Alfarano in his historical plan of the Constantinian basilica of 1580 and reiterated by Carlo Fontana. Plates 31 through 40 are an important enhancement to the architectural illustrations since they document the numerous papal and royal tombs that constitute an important chapter in the history of Roman sculpture. Among the funeral monuments, the seventeenth-century tombs of Urban viii, Alexander vii, and Leo xii illustrate the celebrated contributions made by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, but earlier monuments, such as Innocent viii's tomb by Antonio del Pollaiuolo, also receive attention. These plates, several of which were engraved by the talented Westerhout, provide a welcome figurative counterpart to the geometrical and abstract architectural illustration that dominate Bonanni's book.

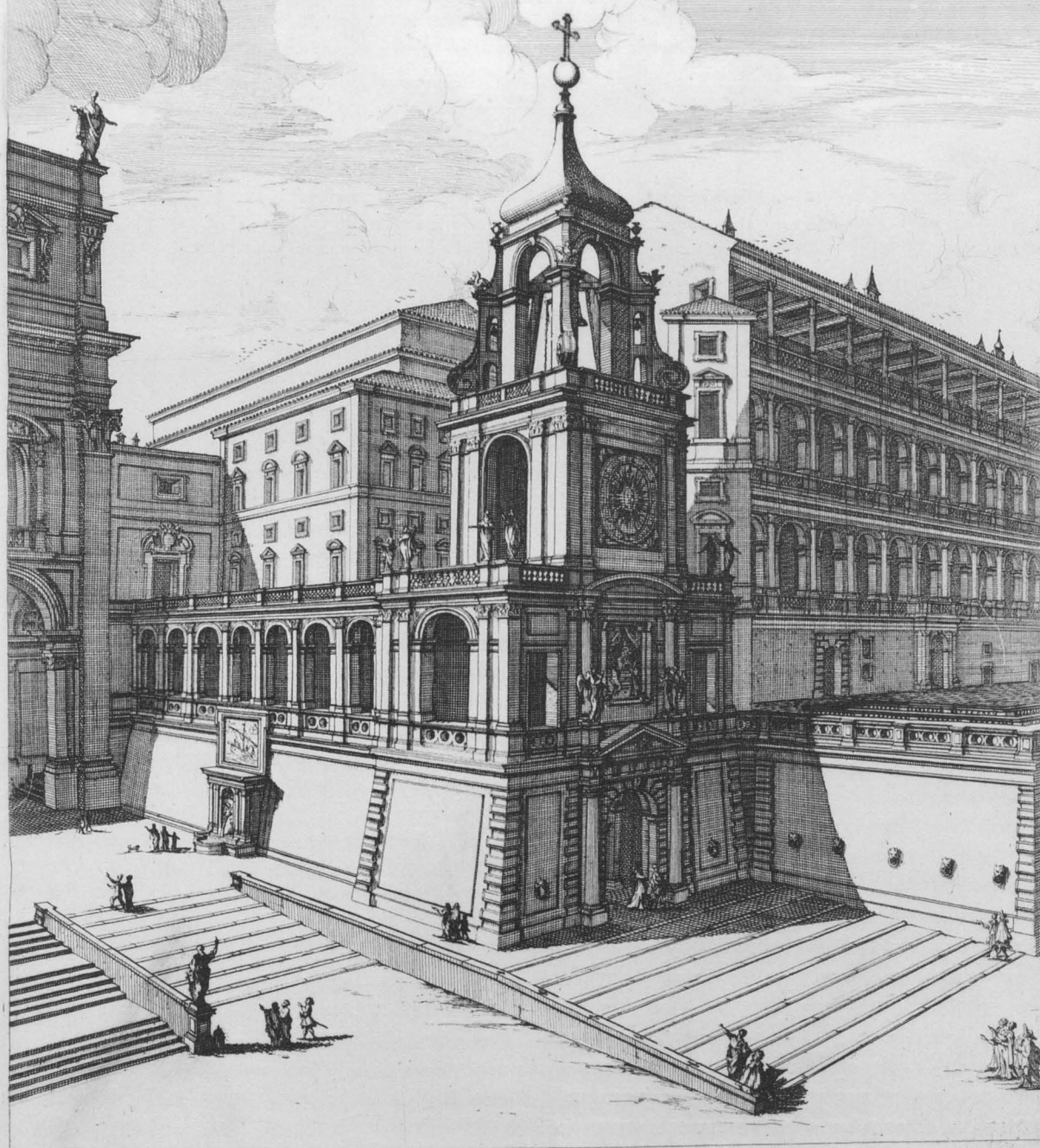
The illustrations of the interior cover every aspect of the function and decoration of Saint Peter's. These include the proposals for the baptismal font, finally built to Carlo Fontana's design, the *cathedra* of Saint Peter by Bernini, and the various proposals for the *confessio*, including the one by Ferrabosco (published also in Costaguti's history of the church) (cat. 32). Bernini's proposals for the baldachin and his realized design are illustrated (pls. 49–50), as are the four great statues (Saint Veronica by Francesco Mochi, Saint Longinus by Bernini, Saint Helena by Andrea Bolgi, and Saint Andrew by Francesco Duquesnoy) associated with the reliquary balconies placed in the piers of the crossing by Bernini.

Bonanni's history and description of the basilica and its surroundings are not merely chronological. Having described the history of the site and the interior of the church, in projects and realized versions, he moves toward the exterior and surroundings of Saint Peter's. Thus, although the facade was built after the relocation of the obelisk in the square, Bonanni proceeds with what could be called a topographical examination of the building, from the inside to the outside. Consequently, he illustrates first the decorations of the interior of the church's facade, sponsored by Pope Innocent x, followed by the plan of the portico built under Pope Paul v, then carries through with sections through the portico, the discussion of the old facade at the time of Sixtus v, the new facade by Maderno, the proposed bell towers by Maderno, Francesco Rainaldi, Cesare

Filippo Bonanni. *Numismata summorum pontificum*. Plate 81. The main gate of the Vatican palace. 1981.70.5

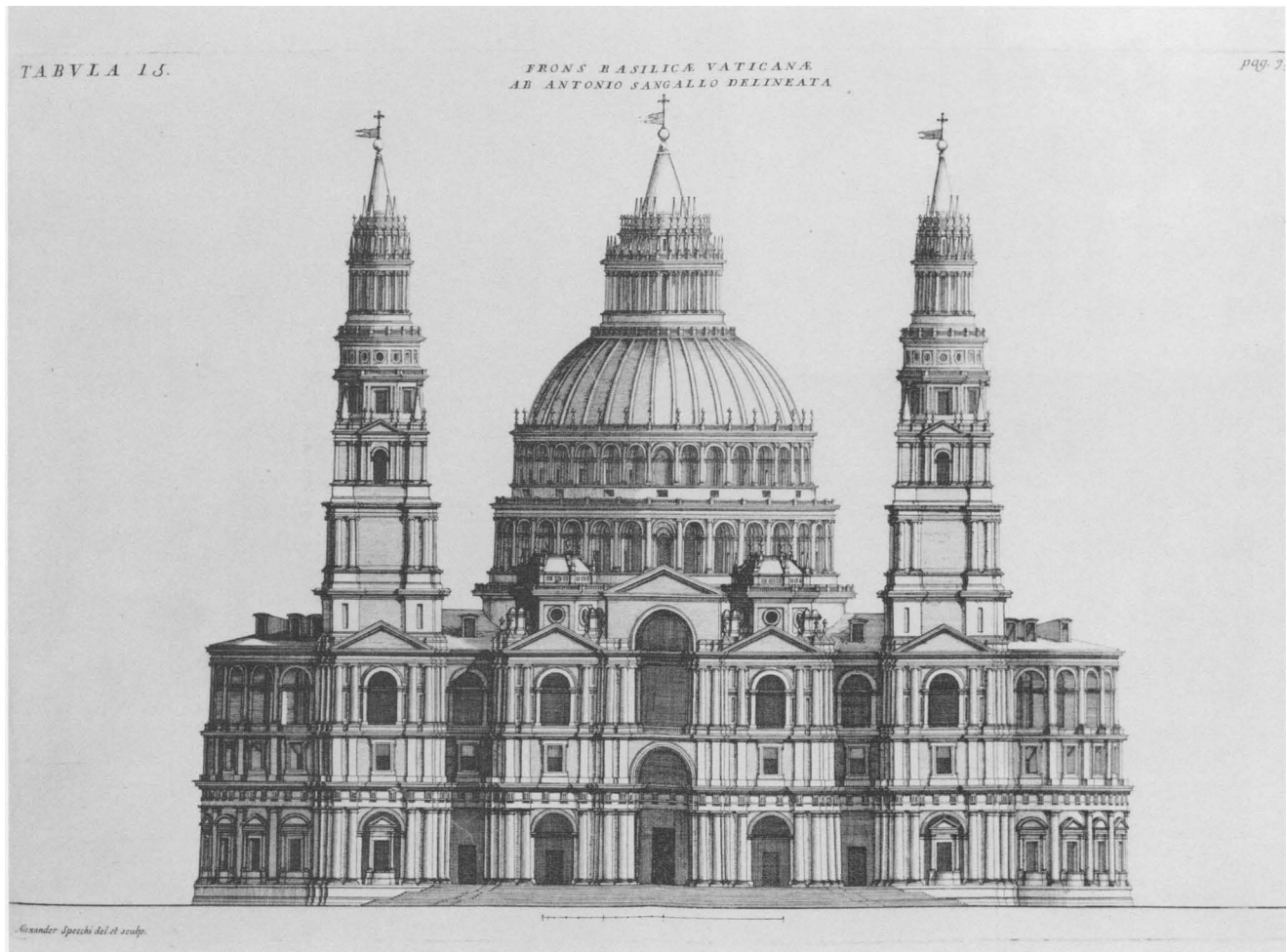
TABVLA 81.

pag. 212. 3



PORCIA PALATII VATICANI SVB PAVLO V EXTRVCTA

Alexander Specchi delin et Sculp.



Bracci, and Ferrabosco, as well as the realized bell tower by Bernini sponsored by Urban VIII and then torn down under Innocent X (pls. 57–66). Plates 67 to 78 document graphically the competition projects and the successful design for Saint Peter's square, as designed by Bernini, and the side elevations of the basilica after the completion of the facade. Unlike Carlo Fontana, Bonanni does not propose suggestions for "completing" Bernini's open-armed enclosure. Lastly, plates 79 to 86 concern the Vatican palace. These include the important documentation of the earlier entries into the residential complex drawn and designed by Ferrabosco, who had suggested that the entry to the compound be fortified to protect it during the vulnerable interregnum periods. The definitive entry sequence was provided by Bernini's Scala Regia, and the crossing of the residential entry path with the basilica's portico was marked with his equestrian statue of Emperor Constantine. The last two plates illustrate the entire Vatican complex, at the time of Sixtus V and at the end of the seventeenth century respectively. Bonanni thus swoops the reader from a visually close and detailed examination of the building to a distant bird's-eye view, having rendered this overall view keenly intelligible through his preceding analysis of the historical, structural, and decorative aspects.

Filippo Bonanni. *Numismata summorum pontificum*. Plate 15.

Antonio da Sangallo's design for Saint Peter's: elevation. 1981.70.5

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Francesco Borromini

(1599–1667)

22

Opera Del Caval. Francesco Borromino Cavata da Suoi Originali cioè La Chiesa, e Fabrica della Sapienza di Roma con le Vedute in Prospettiva e con lo Studio delle Proporzⁿⁱ. Geometriche, Piante, Alzate Profili, e Spaccati Dedicata Alla Santità di N.S. Papa Clemente XI

Rome: Sebastiano Giannini, 1720

1985.61.419

Folio: 533 × 393 (21 × 15⁷/₁₆)

Pagination [51] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

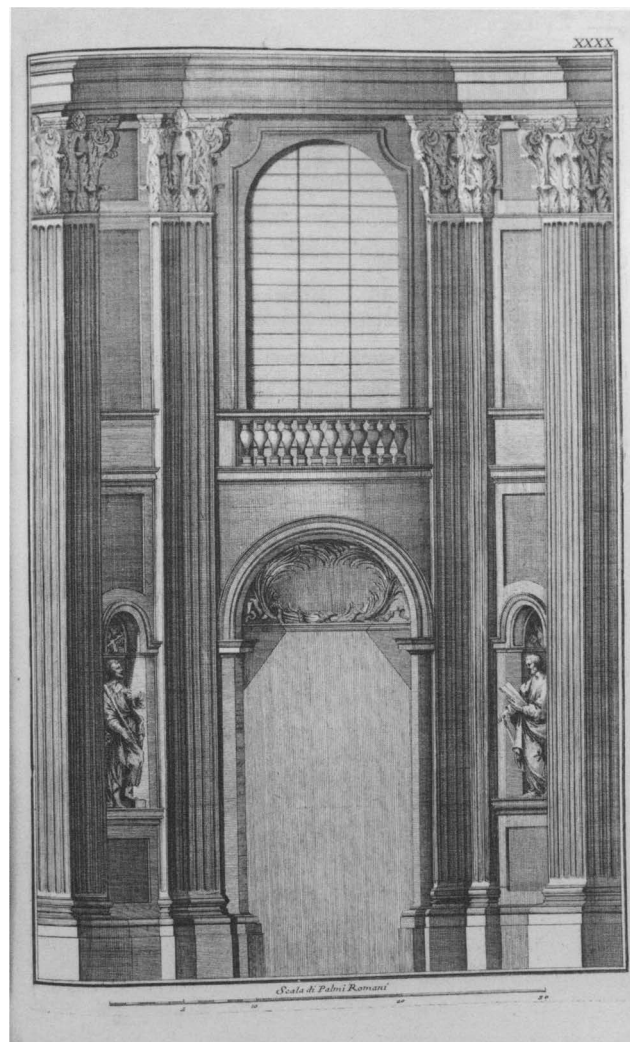
Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout, consisting of a title plate with title and imprint inscribed on a monument with Roman antiquities including Trajan's Columns, the Pantheon, and the Colosseum in the background; dedication from the publisher to Pope Clement XI, with headpiece of papal arms and Chigi emblems, and large historiated initial; preface, with headpiece of putto and banner reading "Al Lettore," and large historiated pictorial initial; list of plates, with headpiece of putto and banner reading "Indice Di Tvтта L'Opera"; and 47 plates numbered [1]–XLV, [2], beginning with a portrait of Borromini in an oval frame with measuring instruments and books below. Plates xv–xvi, xviii–xix, xxi–xxiii, xxiii–xxiv, xxx–xxxii, xxxv–xxxvi pasted together as double-page plates (in the Millard copy, pl. xxxi follows pl. xxxii). All plates are unsigned, though they were engraved after the architect's own drawings

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, gilt spine, red morocco label, red edges

Provenance Bookstamp of Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853, architect and colleague of Charles Percier), "P.F.L. Fontaine," on flyleaf

References Berlin Cat. 268; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 326

PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY, this collection of plates illustrates the chapel of the University of Rome dedicated to Sant'Ivo and is based on engravings commissioned earlier by Francesco Borromini, the architect of the chapel. Although Borromini, one of the most distinguished architects of the Roman baroque, was nominated the architect of the Sapienza, the University of Rome in 1632, it was only in 1642 that he began the design of a chapel to be sited at the eastern end of the court. The plan of the chapel is based on the hexagon, with each point either opening into a niche or chamfered, creating an animation typical of Borromini's work. The polygonal plan of Sant'Ivo was influenced perhaps by Borromini's studies of the ancient Roman temple of Minerva Medica and studies



Francesco Borromini. *Opera*. Plate 40. Sant'Ivo: elevation of chapel interior. 1985.61.419

of hexagonal centrally planned churches by Baldassare Peruzzi and Giuliano da Sangallo. The lobed dome raised over the hexagonal walls continues the complex outlines of the plan and may have been inspired by the star vault in the octagonal hall of Emperor Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. As at San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Borromini's earlier church for the Trinitarians, the drum has been suppressed. But while at San Carlo pendentives distance the springing of the vault from the sinuous curve of the walls, here the dome springs directly from the walls, whose complex geometry it follows, augmenting the sense of spatial unity within the chapel. Thus the complexity of the floor plan is directly communicated to the vault.

The concave elevation of the chapel toward the court of the university, built by the institution's previous architect, Giacomo della Porta, was surmounted in Borromini's composition with a lobed drum of great size that unified the new and preexisting buildings. The concave facade is dominated by the vast lobed walls that enclose the dome, topped by a series of steps derived from the Pantheon and a curious, towered spiral lantern. As at the Oratory, which he designed for the followers of San Filippo Neri and which he endowed with a church facade, Borromini inverts traditional values by giving the street side of Sant'Ivo a palace facade. But the chapel was designed from inside out; since Borromini was presented with an existing facade designed by Giacomo della Porta and a narrow site, his building had to reach upward to find light.

The chapel has been the subject of intense scholarly interest and interpretations, which attempt to clarify the iconographic meanings of the plan and the ornaments adopted by Borromini. Marcello Fagiolo (1980) makes a link between Borromini's ornamental system and the reconstructions suggested by Juan Bautista Villalpando in his book on the Temple of Solomon. Villalpando's temple with seven columns, illustrated in the frontispiece of the second volume of his book (see cat. 152), may have been a close iconographic precedent for Borromini, whose intention was to build the house of Wisdom, perhaps as described in the Old Testament. The earliest extant manuscript plan of the building by Borromini illustrates the seven columns behind the main altar.

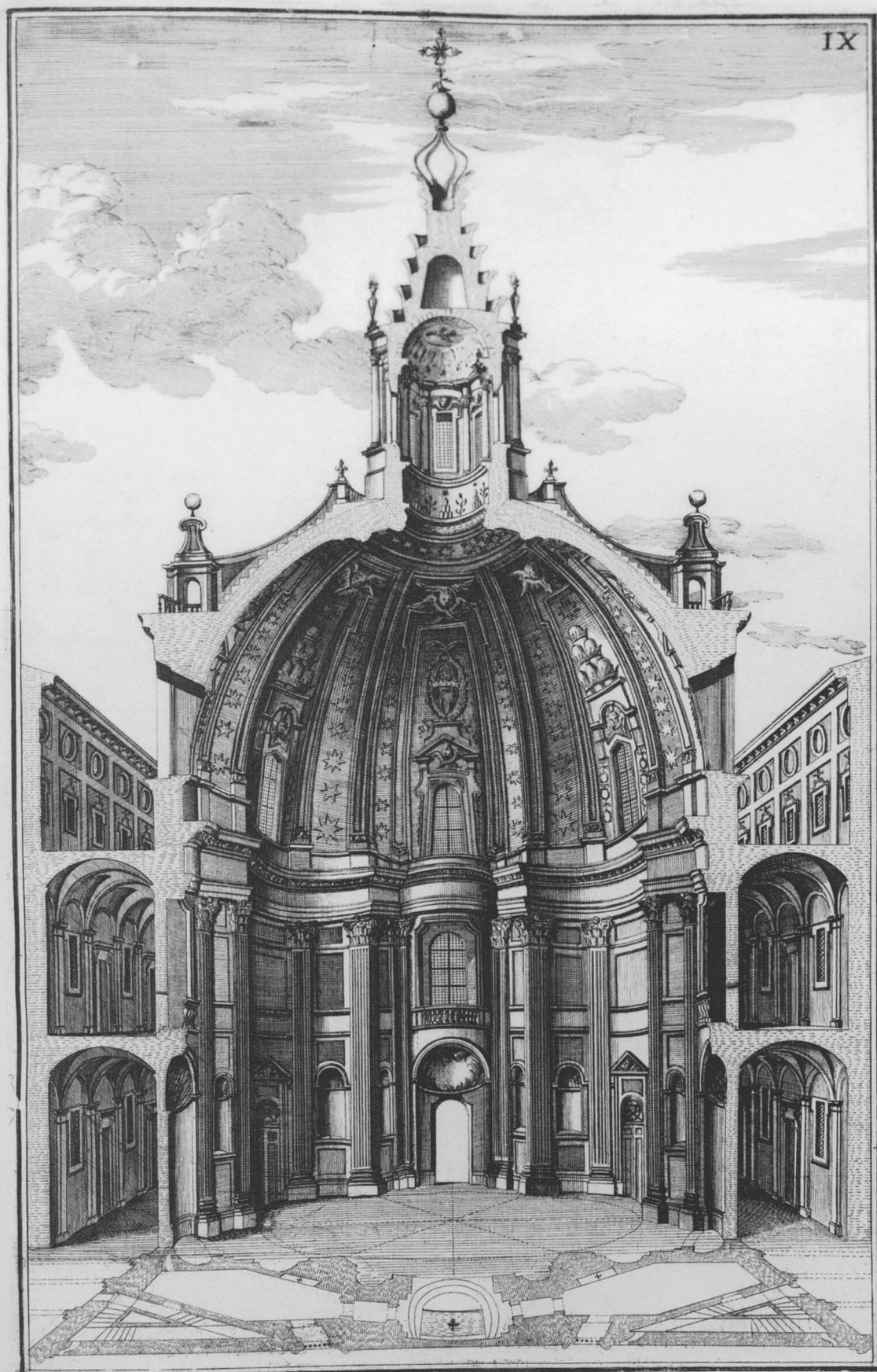
Sant'Ivo was first illustrated in print in the *Nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici in prospettiva di Roma moderna* (1665) and then in *Insignium Romae Templorum* (1684; see cat. 112); the inaccurate plate in the latter may have represented an earlier stage of Borromini's design. It was again illustrated in *Studio d'architettura civile* (1702; see cat. 110), but the determined initiative to issue the illustrations prepared under Borromini's supervision came from the publisher Sebastiano Giannini, who had bought Borromini's drawings from his heirs. Borromini

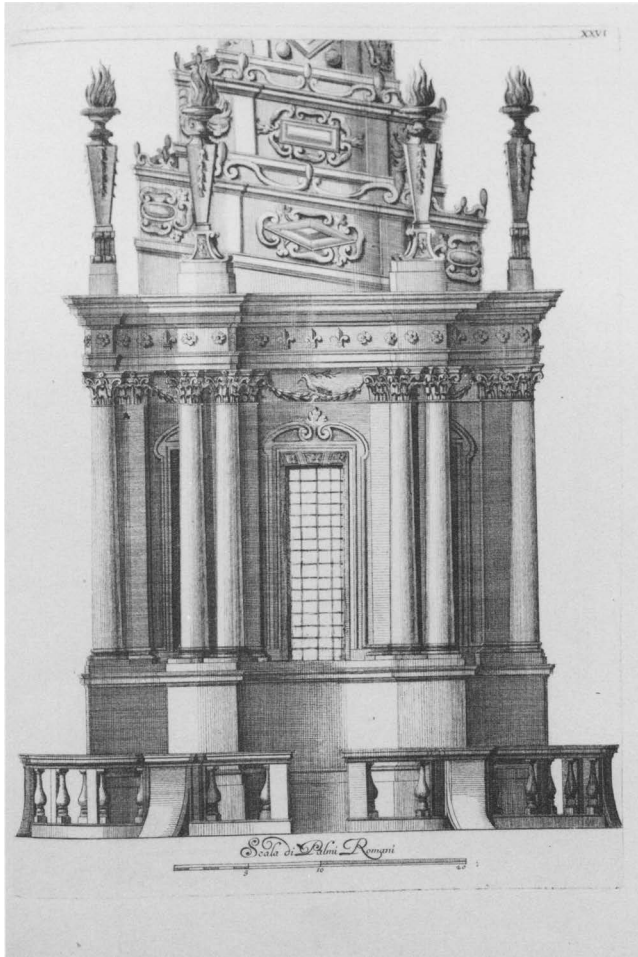
had made large presentation drawings of his buildings, some of which he commissioned Dominique Barrière to engrave, in the hopes of publishing them. These copperplates were among the illustrations acquired by Giannini. The plates published by Giannini in 1720 seem to have been engraved by Barrière and another artist. Plates II to IX are based directly on the prints of Sant'Ivo prepared by Borromini and Barrière in 1660. The rest of the plates derive from a variety of sources: from Giannini's enlargement and updating of the Barrière group, from drawings by Borromini or his assistant Francesco Righi, and to a limited extent from the building as it appeared in 1720.

The *Sapienza* is a true analytical study of Borromini's design method based on the abundant and relatively precise information given to the engraver. But in studies of Borromini it is considered unreliable and, in any case, of secondary importance in relation to the 1725 installment, *Opus architectonicum*, dealing with the Oratory, which was endowed with a text written by Borromini in collaboration with Virgilio Spada and with plates of the Oratorians' monastery. The title page of Giannini's publication on Sant'Ivo is focused on a great monument, with a rococo pediment, on which the title is inscribed. An allegorical figure with a flaming torch signifying wisdom hovers above the monument. In the background, ruins of ancient Rome, the Pantheon, the Colosseum, Trajan's column, and the arch of Titus are clearly recognizable. The index lists forty-seven plates, several joined to form one great illustration; each is described in a separate entry after the index. In the illustrations of the entire chapel, such as the section and the elevation, a perspective grid occupies the foreground of the plate.

The *Sapienza* contains the most successful interpretation of Borromini's plan for Sant'Ivo. Joseph Connors (1991) has persuasively demonstrated that the composition of the plan as two inverted equilateral triangles is an interpretation first suggested by Giannini. This conception of the church proved so apt that other aspects of the interior, like the hexagonal black and white marble pavement, were retroactively interpreted to conform to this interpretation. A lavish publication, the *Sapienza* is the earliest among the books that focused exclusively on one particular building within the architectural production of a single architect. In the case of Borromini, it marked the beginning of the revival of interest in his architecture, despite the invectives of eighteenth-century theorists and historians in Italy.

Francesco Borromini. *Opera*. Plate 9. Sant'Ivo: section and plan of the chapel. 1985.61.419





Francesco Borromini. *Opera*. Plate 26. Sant'Ivo: elevation of the lantern. 1985.61.419

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Benigno Bossi (1727–1792)

23

[Collected etchings]

Milan: Gioachimo Bettalli, [1789 or later]

An untitled collection of 180 etchings on 116 leaves, all apparently reprints by Gioachimo Bettalli of previously published suites and individual prints (the title plates of all the suites now bear the imprint "Milano. Da Gioachimo Bettalli e C. Cont^a. del Capello N^o. 4031," or similar). A less extensive collection, without Bettalli's imprint, is in the Cicognara collection now at the Vatican Library; both collections include one plate signed as etched by Giuseppe Patrini after Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot ("Prospetto della facciata di S. Pietro in Parma"). The present volume consists of 10 individual prints plus the following 6 suites:

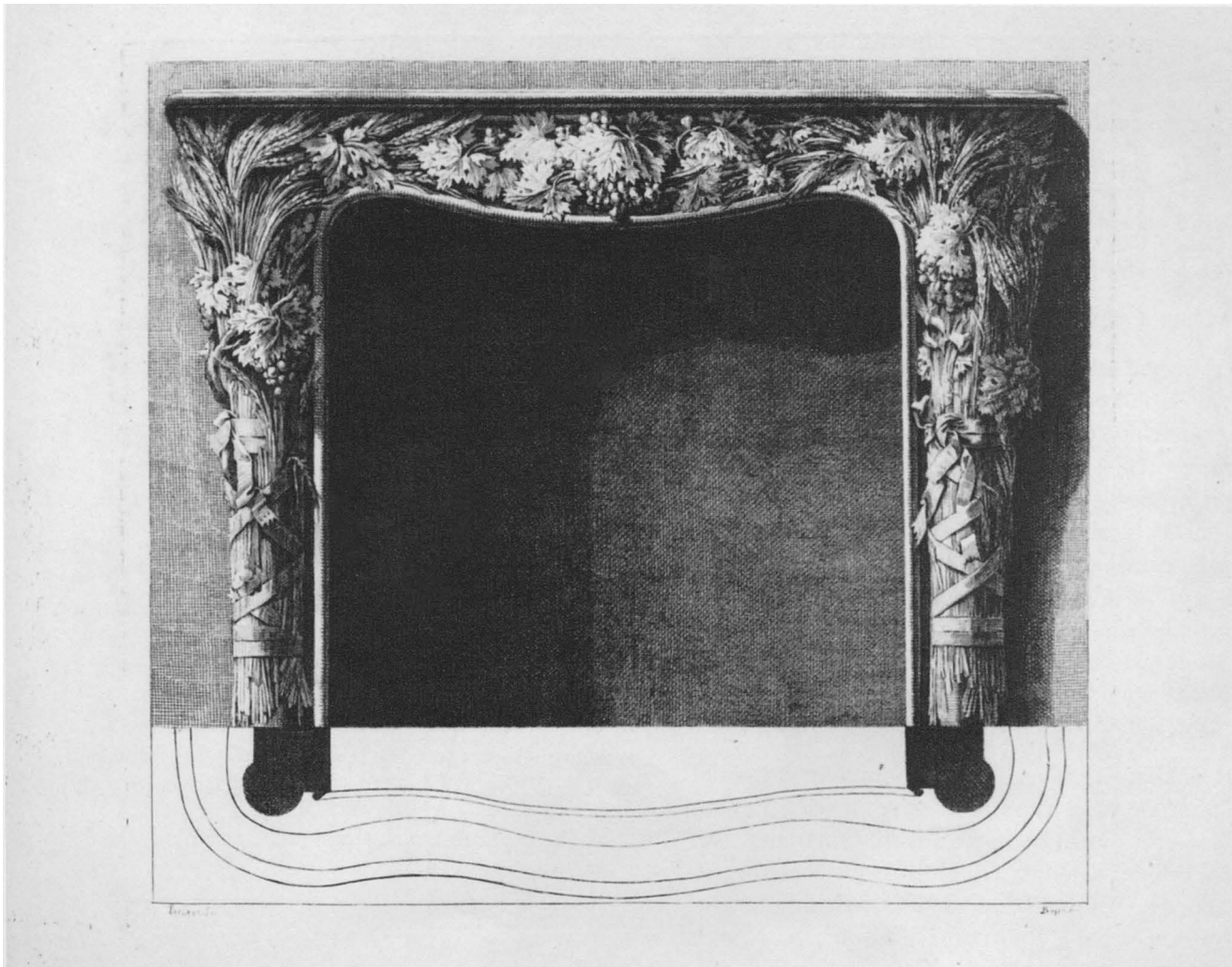
[1] Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, *called* Parmigianino (1503–1540)

Raccolta Di Disegni Originali Di Fra.^{co} Mazzola detto il Parmigianino Tolli dal Gabinetto Di Sua Eccellenza Il Sig.^{re} Conte Alessandro Sanvitale Incisi Da Benigno Bossi Milanese Stuccatore Regio, e Professore della Reale Accademia delle belle Arti

[2] Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801)

Suite des Vases Tirée du Cabinet De Monsieur Du Tillot . . . Et gravée a l'Eau forte d'après les Desseins originaux de Monsieur Le Chevalier Ennemond

Benigno Bossi. [Collected etchings]. Plate 2. Design for a chimney by E. A. Petitot. 1985.61.2601



Alexandre Petitot Premier Architecte De S.A.R. L'Infant Dom Ferdinand Duc de Parme . . . par Benigno Bossi Stucateur . . .

[3] Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801)

Mascarade à la Grecque D'après les desseins originaux tirés du Cabinet de Monsieur le Marquis de Felino Premier Ministre de S.A.R. &c."

[4] Benigno Bossi

Raccolta Di Teste inventate, disegnatte, ed incise da Benigno Bossi

[5] Benigno Bossi

Fisionomie Possibili Parte Prima 1776

[6] Benigno Bossi

Opere Varie Incise Da Benigno Bossi Dall'Anno M.DCC.LV Sino All'Anno M.DCC.LXXXIX

1985.61.2601

Folio: 492 × 332 (19 3/8 × 13 1/16)

Foliation

[1] etched title plate, etched privilege, [25] etched plates

[2] etched title plate, etched frontispiece, 31 etched plates

[3] etched title plate, 10 etched plates

[4] [2] etched title plates, [16] etched plates

[5] [4] etched plates

[6] etched title plate, [12] etched plates

Edition Late editions (see above)

[1] Etched title plate including small vignette with emblem of painting; etched privilege dated 21 June 1772 (bound after plate 29); plus 30 etched plates on 25 leaves numbered 1–5, [6], 7–29, [30]. Plate 1 is a dedication plate, a soft ground etching printed in sepia dated "Parmae MDCCCLXXII." The remaining plates are etchings, soft ground etchings, and aquatints, with plates 2, 3, [6], 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, and 19 printed in sepia. Plate [30] includes a dedication to Ferdinando I, duke of Parma. Plates measure from 105 × 75 mm to 232 × 175 mm. Plate 1 signed by Bossi as designer and etcher; other plates signed as etched by Bossi after Parmigianino

[2] Etched title plate; etched frontispiece with title: "Suite De Vases"; and 31 full-page etched plates numbered 1–31, including plate 1 dedication to the "Marquis De Felino," dated 1764. Frontispiece and plates 2–31 signed by Petitot as designer and draftsman and by Bossi as etcher ("Eques E.A. Petitot In. Del.," with variants; "Benignus Bossi scul. Parmae," with variants)

[3] Etched title plate and 10 full-page etched plates numbered 1–10 (nos. 2–10 with captions at foot). Etched title plate (without ornament), title followed by 9 lines of dedicatory text, enclosed within double-line border; plate 1, pictorial title plate "Mascarade A La Grecque Dediee A Monsievr Le Marquis De Felino Premier Ministre De S.A.R. Par Son Tres Hvmbble Servitevr Benigno Bossi Parme MDCCCLXXI." with undated imprint "Milano Da Gioachimo Bettalli . . .". Plates 1–10 signed by Petitot as designer and Bossi as etcher ("Chev.^r E.A. Petitot inv.,"; "Gravé par Benigno Bossi")

[4] Etched calligraphic title plate; etched allegorical title plate numbered 1 with unnumbered vignette on separate copper printed beneath; plus 48 etchings on a further 16 leaves, numbered 2–18, [18 bis], [18 ter], 19–24, 26–29, [30–35], 36–39, [40–47]. Plates measure from 38 × 28 mm to 170 × 125 mm. Plate 1 with two putti, art implements, and examples of sculpture and drawing and caption: "Raccolta. Di. Test Inv. dis. Et. In. Da B: Bossi"; remaining plates all studies of heads. Many plates signed by Bossi as etcher, with nos. [30] and [34]—both soft ground etchings—also signed by Guercino as designer ("Fra^{co} Barbieri dis^o") and nos. 36–37 also signed by Bossi as designer. Plates dated between 1754 and 1784, including a sub-series of 8 small heads entitled "Prove d'acqua forte MDCCCLV"

[5] Title and 13 etched coppers numbered 1–13, printed on 4 leaves (title and no. 1 on first leaf, remaining plates with four coppers each), all studies of grotesque heads measuring 126 × 90 mm. All but one signed by Bossi as designer and engraver ("Bossi In. f") and dated 1775–1776

[6] Etched title plate, plus 29 randomly numbered coppers printed on 12 leaves. Plate [2] with caption: "Miscelanea Al Ben: Bossio Inv. Scvl"; plate [4] signed "Benigno Bossi inv. inc. Parma 1771"; plate [5] signed "Bossi In. f. 1786"; plate [6] signed "Bossi In. f. 1774"; plates [9–10] signed "Bossi In.f. 1783 [–1784]." Copperplates measure from 27 × 32 mm to 257 × 192 mm

Binding Nineteenth-century black morocco paneled in gilt, with monogram of Charles Frederic Mewes in roundel on both covers, gilt spine, red morocco spine label, edges rolled in gilt, gilt turn-ins. Also includes the following etched plates:

1. Two unnumbered etched plates with designs for chimney-pieces, designed by Petitot and etched by Bossi, 210 × 231 mm. Both signed: "Petitot In.,"; "Bossi f."
2. Four unnumbered plates etched by Bossi after Parmigianino:

Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot. *Mascarade à la Grecque*. Title page. 1985.61.2601



Milano

Da Gioachino Bellotti e C. Cont.^a del Capello N.^o 4031.



Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot. *Mascarade à la Grecque*. The shepherdess. 1985.61.2601

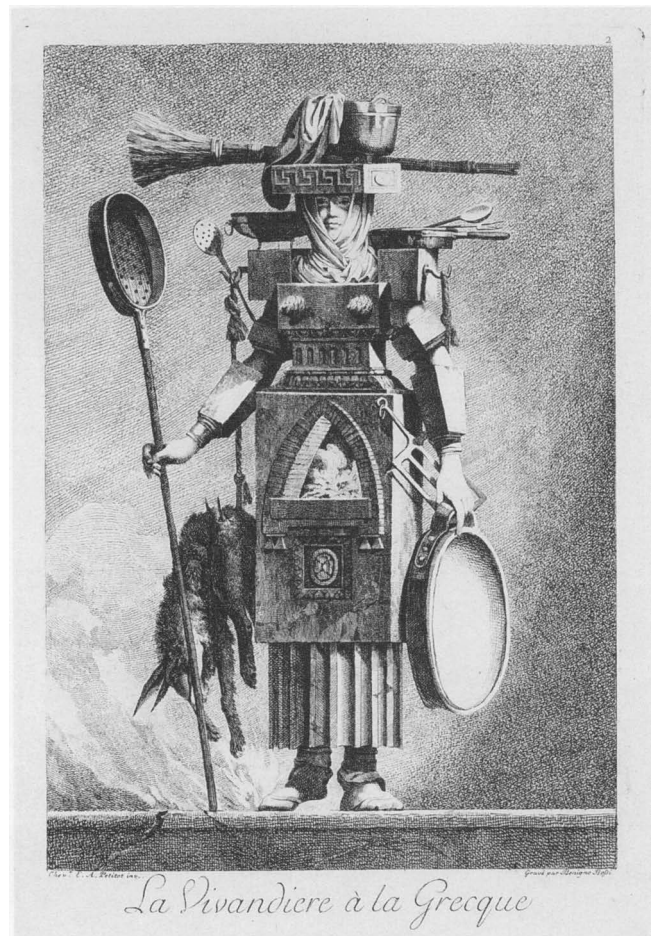
[Study of young man holding violin]: etching, soft ground etching, and aquatint, printed in sepia, 239 × 189 mm. Signed "Fran.^{co} Mazzola dis.°" and "B.° Bossi inc. 1773"

[Young woman holding infant: study for Virgin and Child?]: etching with roulette, printed in sepia, with caption: "Tolto dal disegno originale di Francesco Mazzola posseduto in Milano dal Sig^e Ob^{to} D. Antonio Mussi," 180 × 116 mm. Signed: "Ben. Bossi inc. Parma 1784"

[Coronation of the Virgin]: etching and soft ground etching, printed in sepia, with caption: "Extat Arche-typvs In Archiv. Comm. Parm.," 200 × 309 mm. Signed "Fran.^{co} Mazzola dis.°"; "B.° Bossi inc. 1773"

[Virgin and Child with Angels], with caption: "Dies Sanctificatvs Illvxit Nobis," 214 × 156 mm. Unsigned

3. Etched plate [La Vendange des Amours], etched by Bossi after L. F. la Rue, with caption: "D'apres L'Estude de M.^r La Rue Tirée du Portefeuille de M.^r Baldrighi Premier Peintre De S.A.R. L'Infant D. Ferdinand . . .," 410 × 253 mm. Signed "L. De Larue In.°"; "B. Bossi Scul. 1765"



Ennemond-Alexandre Petitot. *Mascarade à la Grecque*. The cook. 1985.61.2601

4. Etched plate with facade of San Pietro in Parma, etched by Giuseppe Patrini after Petitot, with caption: "Prospetto della facciata di S. Pietro in Parma d'invenzione, e disegno di E.A. Petitot . . . Architetto di S.A.R. L'Infante D: Filippo Dedicato Al Sig: D. Guglielmo Du Tillot . . .," 360 × 245 mm. Signed "Gius. Patrini incis:re"

5. Etched plate [Presentation in the Temple], etched by Bossi after Carpioni, 275 × 195 mm. Signed: "Carpioni In. dis°"; "Bossi f. Dresda 1755"

6. Etched plate [Annunciation to the Virgin], etched by Bossi after Antonio Allegri da Correggio, with dedication to Maria Amalia ("Dicavitq Avgvstae M Amaliae Imp Francisci Filiae Ferdinand i°"), 252 × 346 mm. Signed: "Qvam Cernis Deiparae Imaginem Vdo Colore Parieti Indvxerat Ant. Allegrivs Corregiensis . . . Aeri Incidit Benig. Bossivs . . .," and dated 1784

Provenance Bookplates of Charles Frederic Mewes and John Harris

References Guilnard, 225–226 (Petitot), 337 (Bossi)

Giovanni Gaetano Bottari

(1689–1775)

24

Sculture E Pitture Sagre Estratte Dai Cimiterj Di Roma Pubblicate Già Dagli Autori Della Roma Sotterranea Ed Ora Nuovamente Date in Luce Colle Spiegazioni Per Ordine Di N.S. Clemente XII. Felicemente Regnante. Tomo Primo [–Terzo]

[Vol. 1] Rome: Stamperia Vaticano Giovanni Maria Salvioni, 1737

[Vol. 2] Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1746

[Vol. 3] Rome: Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini, 1754

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N7840B752

Folio: 410 × 292 (16 1/8 × 11 1/2)

Pagination Vol. 1: [ii], viii, 223, [1] pp., added etched title plate, [49] etched plates (5 folding)

Vol. 2: xxiv, 189, [3] pp., [81] etched plates

Vol. 3: xxii, 236, etched frontispiece, [81] etched plates

Edition First edition by Bottari of the *Roma sotterranea*, first compiled by Antonio Bosio and edited by Giovanni Severani and published in Italian (Rome, 1634), and revised and translated into Latin by Paolo Aringhi (Rome, 1651)

Text vol. 1: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [1]–viii preface; 1–213 text, illustrations, and explanation of plates 1–xlvi; 214–223 index (“Indice Delle Cose Notabili”); [224] approbation, dated 24 September 1737, and two imprimaturs, ending with errata; vol. 2: pp. [1] half-title (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); v–xxiv introduction, addressed to the reader (“Pio, Ed Erudito Lettore”); 1–179 text, illustrations, and explanation of plates xlix–cxxx; [180] blank; 181–190 index; [191] errata and two imprimaturs; [192] blank; vol. 3: pp. [1] half-title (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [v]–xxii preface; 1–199 text, explanation of plates cxxxi–ccx; [200] blank; 201–217 index; [218] full-page etched illustration; 219–236 explanation of frontispiece

Ornaments

Vol. 1: Etched vignette on title page; 7 etched plates as head- and tailpieces; 2 etched pictorial initials

Vol. 2: Etched vignette on title page; 4 etched head- and tailpieces; woodcut pictorial head- and tailpieces; pictorial woodcut initials

Vol. 3: Etched vignette on title page; 8 etched head- and tailpieces; etched pictorial initial; ornamental woodcut head- and tailpieces; pictorial woodcut initial

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched title plate: “Roma Sotterranea,” signed “Baionius F. Romae”; 7 unnumbered, woodcut illustrations included in text; one unnumbered, etched plate *hors texte*; plus 48 etched plates numbered 1–xlvi (5 folding, remainder full page). Plates xii and xiii only signed “Seb. Ful. delineavit et Sculp.”; remainder unsigned

Vol. 2: 21 unnumbered, woodcut illustrations and 3 unnumbered, full-page etched plates (pp. 117, 118, and 126) accounted for in pagination; plus 81 full-page etched plates numbered xlix–cxxx. Woodcut on p. 63 signed “Ignatio Lucchesini Sculp.”; remainder unsigned

Vol. 3: Etched and engraved frontispiece, signed by Giovanni Morghen as draftsman and engraver (“Gio. Morghen dis e inc.”); one leaf *hors texte* with five small etched plates, four signed “AGS” (bound facing p. xix); one full-page plate accounted for in pagination (p. 218); and 80 etched plates numbered cxxxi–ccx, all unsigned

Binding Bound in 3 vols. Contemporary stiff blue vellum, gilt spine labels, red mottled edges

Provenance Small library stamps on title pages of: “Bibliotec: S E. M E Nouvelle” and “Ecole Sainte Geneviève B.D.J.”

References Olschki 16519

THIS THREE-VOLUME PUBLICATION by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari is a reworking of the seventeenth-century publications of Antonio Bosio, Giovanni Severani, and Paolo Aringhi on the catacombs of Rome. It is only one among the numerous and influential publications of Bottari, a Florentine member of the papal court known for his fight against the influence of the Society of Jesus. Born in 1689, by 1716 he was director of the grand-ducal printing press in Florence, a position



that he used to criticize the teaching methods of the Jesuits. Elected a member of the Accademia della Crusca, he obtained the appointment as editor of the academy's new dictionary of the Italian language (published in Florence between 1729 and 1737). His contribution to Tuscan literary history included editions of the works of Benedetto Varchi and Franco Sacchetti (1730 and 1725, respectively). His association with Clement XII Corsini's family in Florence assured him a position at the papal court; Clement XII also appointed Bottari to the chair in church history at the university of Rome in 1730. Among his varied appointments, which included charge of site surveys for hydraulic projects in Perugia and Ferrara and the positions of secret papal chaplain and archpriest of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Bottari was also asked by the Corsini pope to form a large private library, before being named second intendant of the Vatican Library.

In 1736 Clement XII asked Bottari to prepare a new edition of the *Roma sotterranea* by Antonio Bosio and of its Latin version by Paolo Aringhi. It was during the following pontificate, of Benedict XIV, that Bottari reached the highest celebrity for his learned activities in art-historical subjects, as well as literary ones. But erudition and culture were subordinated in Bottari's mind to a rigorously religious vision of life, and he remained impermeable to Enlightenment ideals, while eventually becoming the head of the Jansenist movement in Rome. His ecclesiastical position in the 1750s included membership in the Index committee and in the Inquisition. In his battle against the monopoly in education of the Jesuits, where he urged that seminars, schools, the pulpit, and the confessional be taken away from them, Bottari dedicated himself to confession and the teaching of catechism without, however, openly rebelling against the papacy. At his death in 1775 he was able to foresee the improvement brought about by the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

Bottari's writings can be divided according to his two main interests: Tuscan literature and art history, particularly medieval art, modern art, and Christian archaeology. While the first interest was based in his Florentine education, the second was linked to his daily contact with the collections of artworks owned in Rome by Cardinal Nero Corsini. His activity as art critic occurred in two periods. Until 1735 his interests were critical and aesthetic, while his Roman period is marked by antiquarian interests. Concerned with the authenticity of artworks and their value as documentary sources, Bottari's Florentine publications—an edition of Raffaello Borghini's *Riposo* and his essay on the art of design—show his preoccupation with the preser-

vation of works of art and, more specifically, with the techniques of preservation and restoration. It is this interest that transformed Bottari into an indefatigable editor of sources of the history of art, dictionaries, and collections of documents.

His contributions to art-historical studies demonstrate his belief that all the remains of the past constitute a valuable resource, especially when arranged typologically. Thus his edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* is enriched with an extensive bibliography and a valuable commentary on the transformations suffered by the works of art in the intervening two centuries. His *Museo capitolino* is a catalogue of the collection with a monumental series of plates illustrating the ancient statuary and portraits. His most celebrated work—a published collection of letters regarding the production of works of art—was intended to provide biographical materials for the history of artists' lives as well as the foundation for a history of art collecting.

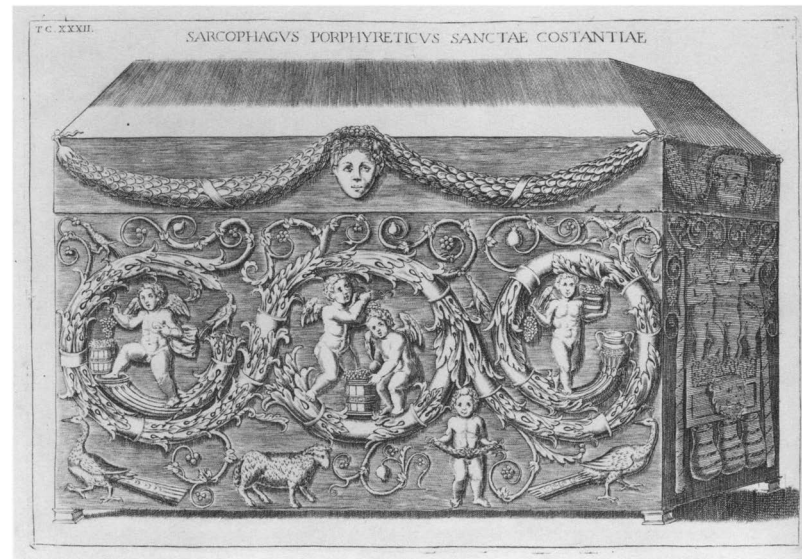
Bottari's edition of *Sculture e pitture sagre* reflects not only his response to Clement XII's official invitation, but also his own interest in early Christian history. This is essentially a republication of Bosio's plates, with a new commentary; Bottari does not, however, add any new archaeological material, although he visited the catacombs described and discussed by Bosio. His main contribution is in the introduction to the third volume, where he urges the preservation of Christian antiquities associated with the origins of Christianity and the activities of the apostles and early martyrs. He also urges the preservation of medieval Christian funeral monuments, whose survival was threatened by the renovation of churches in the eighteenth century.

The publication history of the first *Roma sotterranea* was in itself quite complex. The initiator of the project was Antonio Bosio (1575–1629), the illegitimate son of a vice-chancellor of the Knights of Malta, born on Malta. Bosio began to be interested in Christian antiquities as part of his studies in ecclesiastical history in Rome and through his friendship with Alfonso Chacon and Pompeo Ugonio, with whom he first explored, in 1593, the Christian cemetery of Domitilla on the via Ardeatina. Bosio then systematically explored the catacombs in via Tiburtina, also in 1593, followed by the cemeteries along most of the consular roads leading out of Rome (Appia, Labicana, Nomentana, Salaria, and Flaminia, in 1594; Ostiense in 1595; Latina in 1596; and Portuense in 1600). Simultaneously Bosio collected a vast body of documentation on the funeral practices of the early Christians. He was thus well prepared to publish with dispatch, upon the discovery in October 1599 of the body of Saint Cecilia, a history of the saint's martyrdom. Recognition of the interest in his research was offered by the actions of Clement VIII, who allowed Bosio to take orders in 1596 and in 1604 legitimized him.

Bosio's research was meant to be published as well as to form the foundation for a museum of Christian antiquities. In his subterranean explorations he was accompanied by painters, first by Angelo Santini and then by Santi Avanzino, who were supposed to portray the painted decorations of the catacombs. Francesco Fulcaro was engaged to transform these drawings into engravings from as early as 1615. By 1620 about two hundred plates of the *Roma sotterranea* had been completed, but the plans of the catacombs, constantly put off, had not been drawn. At Bosio's death in 1629 the great work was still unpublished—despite its announcement fifteen years earlier—to the disappointment of scholars like Claude Fabri de Peiresc and Paolo Gualdo, whose letters mention the awaited publication.

The study was finally brought to completion in 1632 (though published only in 1634) through the combined interest of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, of Bosio's executor Carlo Aldobrandini, and the editorial contribution of Giovanni Severani, whose *Memorie sagre delle sette chiese* was published in 1630. The alterations made by Severani to Bosio's text are documented in his manuscripts, preserved at the Vallicelliana library in Rome. (Bosio's manuscripts are in the same library.) Protected by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Severani's study of the seven churches of Rome had been strongly criticized by Bosio, who, in his response to the cardinal's request for a reader's opinion, suggested that it be withdrawn from publication. Bosio had completed an introduction on the funeral rites of early Christians and the description of the Roman catacombs, the only finished part of his projected study. The cemeteries described by Bosio were organized in topographical order, listing all the tombs, crypts, and paintings. The Vatican necropolis was handled separately. Severani added the last section of the book as published, on the symbolism of the illustrated images. Severani also took up the task of editing a Latin translation of Bosio's study, but this was completed only in 1651 by the Oratorian Paolo Aringhi. Aringhi's edition, in six parts, entirely restructured Bosio's study and was reprinted in Cologne and Paris in 1659, and in Arnhem and Amsterdam in 1671, while the Bosio-Severani edition was reprinted only once in 1650, with a smaller number of illustrations.

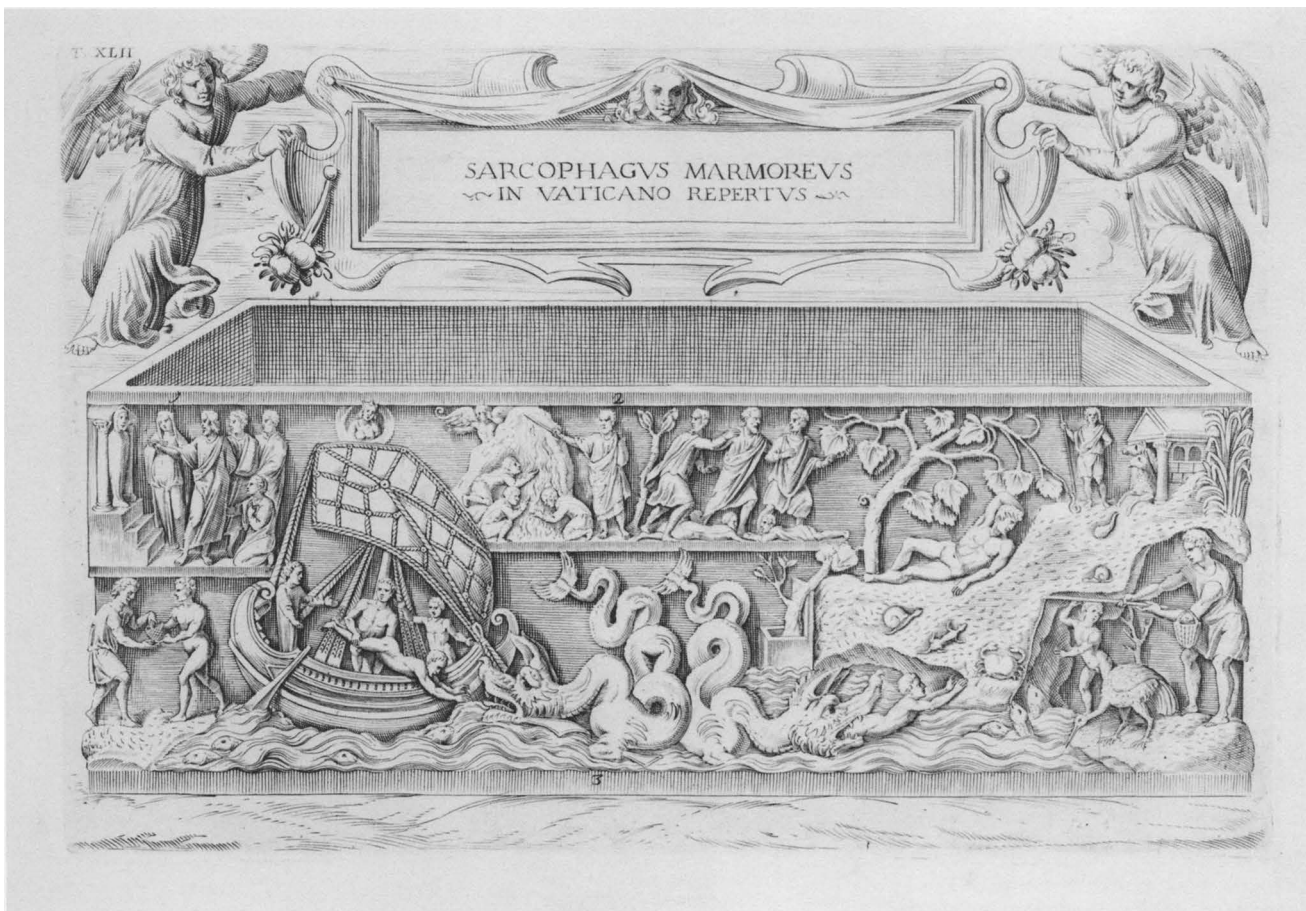
Bosio had planned a large number of illustrations, which were left incomplete at his death. The revision of the illustrations for the 1634 edition was made by Ottavio Pico da Borgo San Sepolcro, while the plans of the cemeteries were surveyed and drawn by the mathematician Gaspare Berti and the architect Francesco Contini. Born in 1599, Contini was a Roman architect whose earliest known works are drawings and reconstructions of ancient Roman sites. His drawing for the area of San Giovanni in Laterano was published in Severani's study of the principal seven churches of Rome



Giovanni Gaetano Bottari. *Sculture e pitture sagre*. Vol. III, plate xxxii. Sarcophagus of Santa Costanza. N7840B752

in 1630. He made plans of Rocca Priora and the valley of Comacchio in 1631 and 1633; in 1634 he produced his notable edition of the plan of Hadrian's Villa by Pirro Ligorio. His principal architectural patrons were the Barberini, for whom he worked at their main residence in via Giubbonari, the casino near Palestrina, and the monastery of Santa Susanna. Although he sent his own son to study architecture with Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and was part of the commission that helped fire the architect Francesco Borromini from the building of Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona, Contini is seen as "Borrominian" in his style of architectural design. His contribution to the illustration of *Roma sotterranea* is the first set of accurate topographical plans of the catacombs.

Bosio's study of Christian antiquities was not an entirely isolated research project. The interest of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in his research, and in that of Giovanni Severani, was motivated by the extensive restoration program of Rome's churches undertaken during the late 1620s and 1630s, which required detailed study of medieval and early Christian monuments that were difficult to date and authenticate. Cardinal Francesco's deputy in the publication of Bosio's book, the major early Christian archaeological study of the seventeenth century, was the distinguished collector Cassiano dal Pozzo. It was Pozzo who supplied Severani with the missing illustrations, and several of the original drawings have been preserved among the sheets of Pozzo's immense "Paper Museum." For example, Bosio's illustration of the sarcophagus of Saint Helena is evidently based on a drawing from the Pozzo collection. It has been noted, nonetheless, that where Bosio's reproductions are independent of the drawings in the Pozzo collection they reproduce the early Christian antiquities



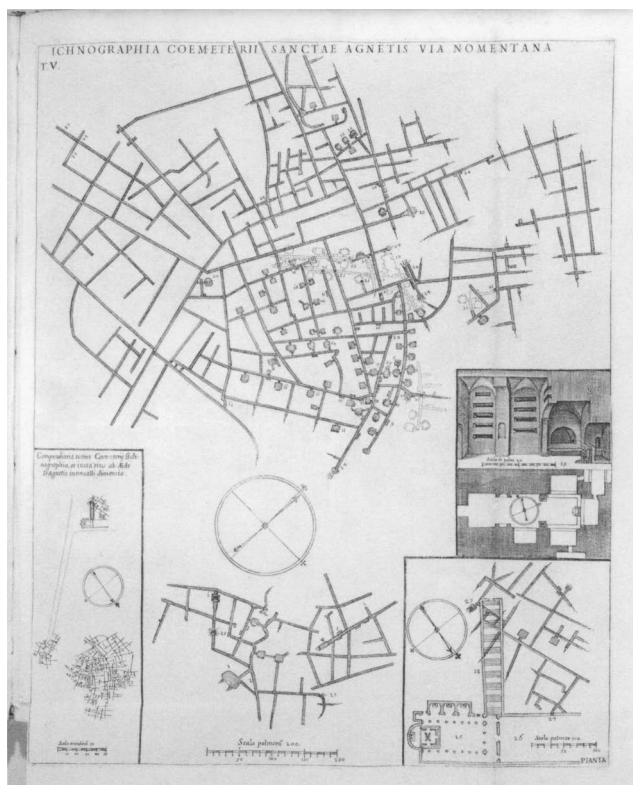
Giovanni Gaetano Bottari. *Sculture e pitture sagre*. Vol. 1, plate XLII. Sarcophagus with sea monsters. N7840B752

with more accuracy than the corresponding sheets in the Pozzo collection. Pozzo acted as liaison between the various collaborators in the definitive preparation of Bosio's study for publication and edited the numerous dedicatory letters that precede the text (Herklotz 1992).

Archeologia sacra was a development of the late sixteenth century and can be associated with the Counter-Reformation atmosphere following the meetings of the Council of Trent, as well as with interest in comparative religious practices. The first systematic exploration of Roman catacombs was conducted by Ugonio in the 1570s. Giacomo Grimaldi was examining early Christian mosaics and frescoes around the turn of the seventeenth century, while Claude Menestrier wrote a treatise on Roman churches in 1630. For Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the drawings he commissioned of frescoes and mosaics were an inventory of the renovation that he sponsored, but also of the materials needed to revive the memory of the rites of the ancient church. Others interested in Christian archaeology were Cesare Baronio, Jean l'Heureux, and Filippo van Winghe, followers of the Oratorian Cardinal Filippo Neri, and Cardinal Federico Borromeo, whose *De pictura sacra* (1624) is filled with references to paleo-Christian Roman antiquities, which he had studied with Alfonso Chacon.

Extending the chronological interest in the artistic heritage of Rome, Christian archaeology also became an important instrument of Counter-Reformation propaganda in its confirmation of Catholic hegemony centered on Rome (Wataghin Cantino 1980).

Bottari's edition of *Roma sotterranea* in three volumes consists of a sequence of descriptions of individual plates, of variable length, preceded by an introduction. The subjects of the numbered plates are the plans of the catacombs, the elevations of sarcophagi decorated with low-relief sculpture found in the catacombs, and the mural decorations of the catacombs. Also included are perspectives of the sepulchral chambers. These cemeteries are shown to have contained two very important kinds of commemorative relics, which were continuously appropriated for the operation of Christian churches. The cemeteries were the source for human remains—the valuable relics of saints and martyrs worshiped in new churches—and for a broad range of ornaments. The tombs in catacombs were looted for the holy bodies and the vases believed to contain blood, which testified to death by martyrdom. Epigraphs and sculptures were sent to museums, churches, and private collections. The sculptures, including inscriptions, instruments of martyrdom, glass and terra-cotta objects, and metal vases and utensils, would constitute, according to Bottari, the contents of his ideal Christian museum. One concrete result of



Giovanni Gaetano Bottari. *Sculpture e pitture sagre*. Vol. 1, plate v. Plan of cemetery at Sant'Agnese. N78408752

Bottari's interest in *Roma sotterranea* was the project to establish a Christian museum proposed to the reigning Pope Benedict xiv and eventually realized as the Museo Pio-Cristiano at the Vatican. Like Bosio's edition, Bottari's publication provides evidence of the iconographic richness of the decoration in the Roman necropolises.

In his third volume, Bottari devotes an extensive introduction to the problem of the preservation of other Christian funeral monuments, which were particularly endangered during the restoration of the pavements of early Christian churches. The reuse and breaking up of funeral stones, as stone carvers were often paid for making new pavements with the old stones they removed and broke up, rendered their inscriptions illegible. Bottari's examples are the 1742 repair at Santa Prassede, where the ancient marble tiles were replaced with a brick paving, and the similar renovation at Santa Cecilia. Lamenting the destruction of the Vatican cemetery, whose plan had been drawn by Tiberio Alfarano (see Carlo Fontana, cat. 38), Bottari indicts Christians for the destruction of ancient monuments in the first Christian centuries, in their attempt to abolish the vestiges of paganism. Praising Pope Boniface iv for transforming the Pantheon into a Christian place of worship without moving a stone, Bottari contrasts this approach with the construction of early Roman churches out of the broken fragments and leftovers of profane buildings. It is here that Bottari offers a short

history of Christian archaeology, discussing the contributions of Bosio, Severani, and Federico Borromeo, among others, recalling that the galleries of the catacombs had been visited at least one century before Bosio (Pomponio Leto's academy left signatures) and calling for a program of maintenance for the catacombs.

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Giambattista Brustolon

(1712–1796)

25

[Le Feste Ducali]

Venice: Teodoro Viero, [c. 1779]

1985.61.451–462

Oblong folio, not bound: 444 × 561—458 × 580
(17½ × 22—18 × 22⅞)

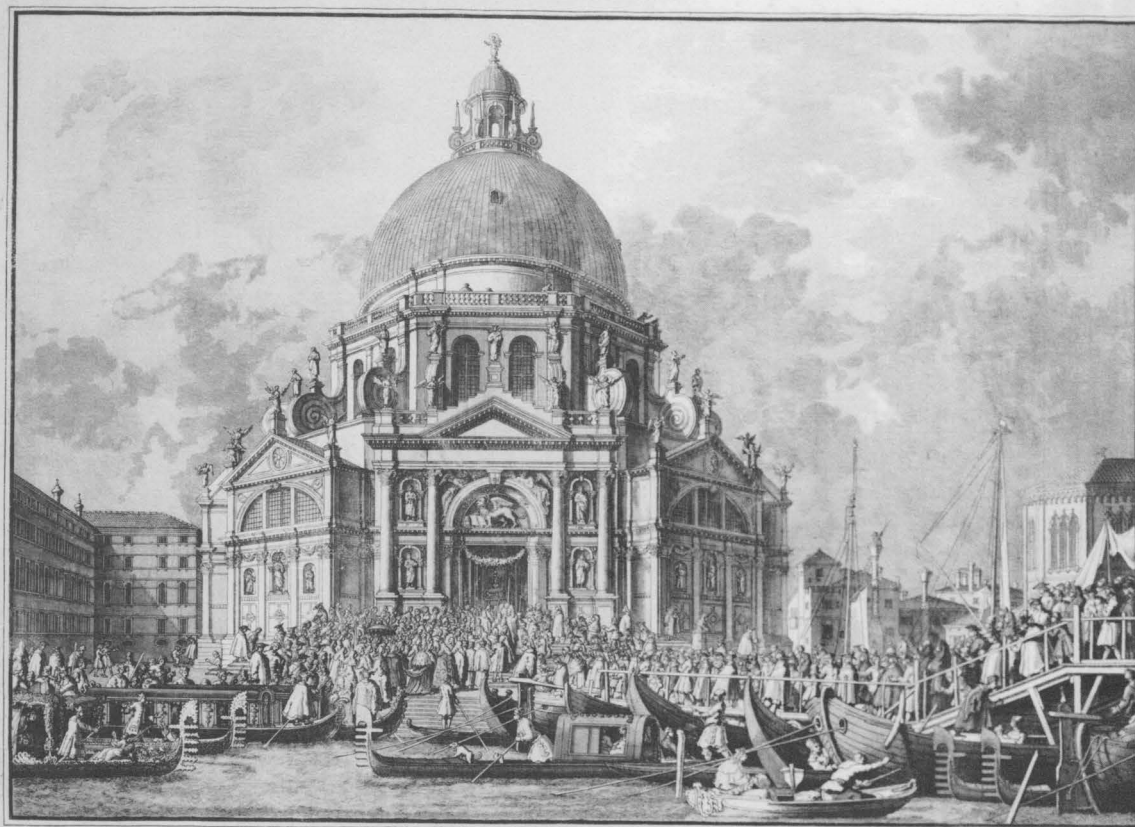
Edition First edition, third state (for dating of states, see Succi 1983)

Illustrations 12 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–12. All plates with captions in Latin, and signed by Antonio Canaletto as artist and by Brustolon as engraver (“Antonius Canal pinxit”; “Jo. Bap: Brustolon inc.”), with Viero’s imprint at bottom (“Apud Theodorum Viero in Via Mercatoria Vulgo dicta dall’Orologio”)

References Dario Succi, *Da Carlevarijs ai Tiepolo*. Venice, 1983, 87–93

GIAMBATTISTA BRUSTOLON WAS a long-lived and highly respected Venetian reproductive artist, whose extensive oeuvre includes numerous illustrations for publications and views of Venice. He provided six engravings for the illustration of the 1756 edition of Petrarch’s *Rime* by Antonio Zatta, who, with Giambattista Albrizzi and Giambattista Pasquali, was the most distinguished publisher in Venice. Brustolon engraved the full-page portrait of Andrea Palladio for Tommaso Temanza’s biography of the architect published by Pasquali in 1762. One hundred plates of cameos and gems in Antonio Francesco Gori’s *Dactyliotheca Smithiana*, published by Pasquali in 1767, were engraved by Brustolon. In 1763 Brustolon’s *Prospectuum Aedium* was issued by Lodovico Furlanetto, another

Giambattista Brustolon. *Le Feste Ducali*. Plate 8. Santa Maria della Salute: the doge’s visit. 1985.61.458



Annua votiva profectione Serenissimi Principis, comitante Senatu, ad eadem Deipare Virginis de Salute, ob civis a pestilentia servatos

Apud Theodorum Viero in via Mercatoria vulgo dicta dall'Orologio. Cum Privilegio Serenissimi Senatus.

N. 8.



important Venetian publisher. Initially containing twelve views after Canaletto and Antonio Visentini, the collection was enlarged to twenty-two views, with sheets after Michele Marieschi and others, and a frontispiece by Visentini. Among Brustolon's most successful sheets are the distinguished series of four nighttime views of Venice. He provided the historiated initials and head- and tailpieces for *Le pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi* by Giampietro Zanotti, published in 1756 by Pasquali (see cat. 168). His contribution includes four perspectives and sections of the rooms of the institution in Bologna where Tibaldi's paintings were preserved. The initials contain views of Bologna inspired by Visentini's earlier analogous composition of letters with views of Venice for a Venetian edition of Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*. Brustolon also etched twenty-two views of Rome around 1781 (the date of his copyright) after a collection of Canaletto's watercolors offered to him after Canaletto's death by his heirs (Succi 1983).

Brustolon's most famous work is this series of etched and engraved plates, made after drawings by Canaletto, that illustrate the principal and annual ducal festivities in Venice. His artistic contribution was to

Giambattista Brustolon. *Le Feste Ducali*. Plate 7. Piazzetta San Marco: Maundy Thursday celebration. 1985.61.457

provide the link between Canaletto, his own source, and Francesco Guardi, who copied Brustolon's etchings in a series of paintings. This series was the project of Furlanetto, who obtained a twenty-year copyright from the Republic (Pignatti 1975). Although this privilege to publish was obtained in August 1766, and eight etchings were offered for sale by subscription in March 1766, only four etchings were completed by August 1768. In order to communicate Canaletto's tonalities (Canaletto's preparatory watercolors were of the same dimensions as Brustolon's etchings), Brustolon employed multiple acid bitings, crosshatching, and variations of line. The results echoed the deeply shadowed effects of aquatint. More significantly, Brustolon was able to render the transparency of Canaletto's skies and his brilliantly lit architecture. The etching styles of Brustolon and Canaletto have, however, nothing in common. When comparing Visentini's views and Brustolon's copies, it is also clear that the older artist has a lighter and fresher touch,



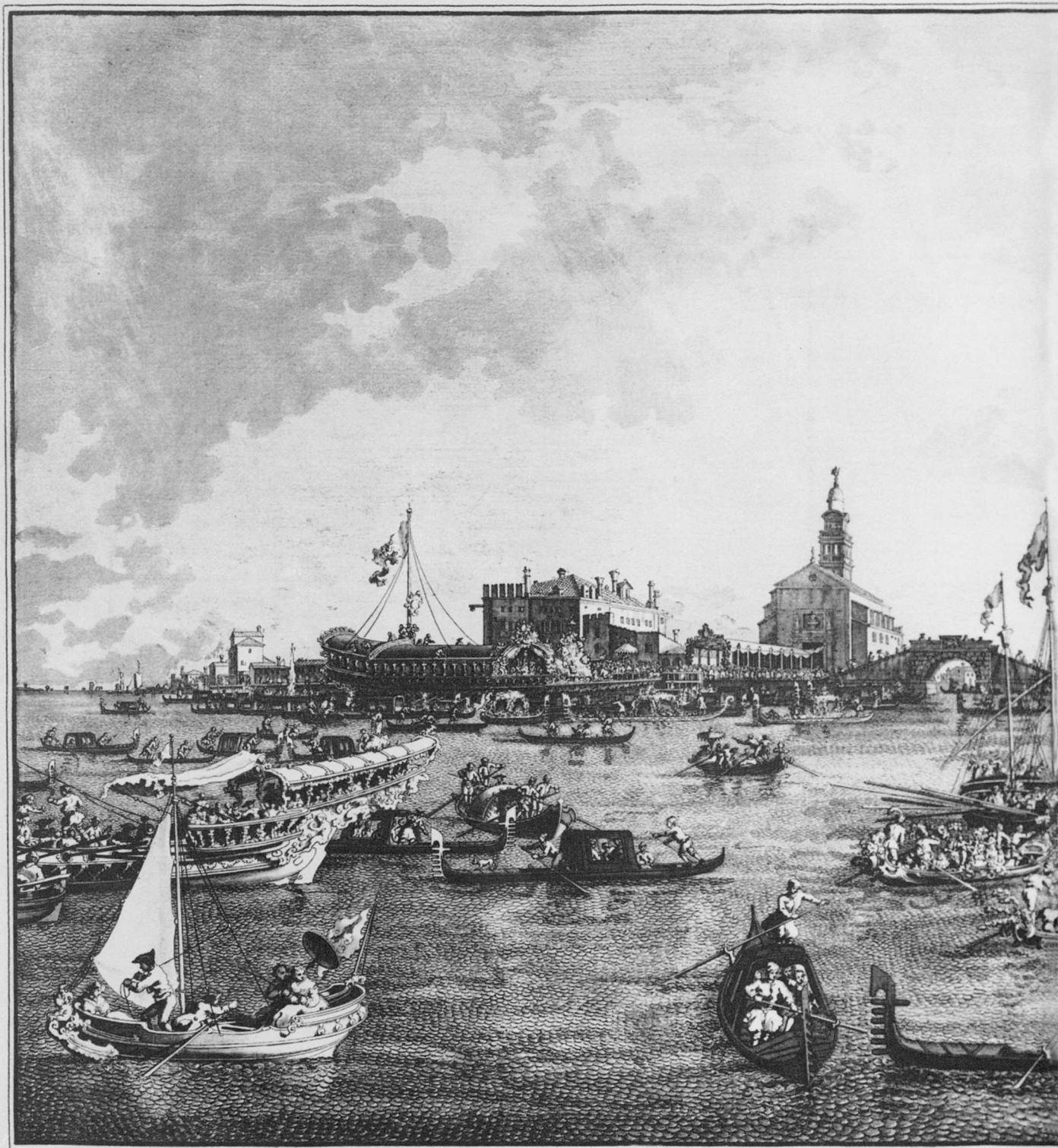
Giambattista Brustolon, after Canaletto. *Le Feste Ducali*. Plate 2. Piazza San Marco: the installation of the Doge. 1985.61.452

while the copies appear coarser, since Brustolon's line is heavier and denser, resulting in somewhat metallic reflections.

Brustolon's original copperplates are preserved at the Museo Correr in Venice; of Canaletto's twelve preparatory drawings only ten have been traced, acquired by Sir Richard Colt Hoare (cat. 52) a British art collector, in 1787 and now dispersed among various museums. Each plate is numbered, captioned in Latin, signed by Brustolon and credited to Canaletto, and includes the address of the publisher of the third printing, Teodoro Viero. The plates refer to Canaletto's participation as "pinxit" when it would have been more accurate to write "delineavit," since he provided drawings, possibly after his own earlier oil paintings. His drawings, made after his return to Venice from England, illustrate his conservative reaction to Francesco Guardi, whose improvised style of painting had usurped his own. Canaletto's designs for the *Feste* are

filled with figures that Terisio Pignatti (1975) considers superlatively inventive and almost at the limit of poetic credibility in their decorative rhetoric. The drawings are approximately 380 × 550 mm, drawn with pen and brown and gray ink on white paper. An inked frame surrounds the image, suggesting the copperplate edge. Their state of preservation indicates that they were not literally used in the engraving process; thus there must have been an intermediary set of drawings. The entire series is an overlay of narrative upon an architectural and urbanistic background. Brustolon continues along the lines set earlier by Marieschi and Canaletto himself, in celebrating the topographical setting of Venice and the rich social customs of the Republic. The images have a nearly photographic quality in their clarity, focus, and perfect exposure.

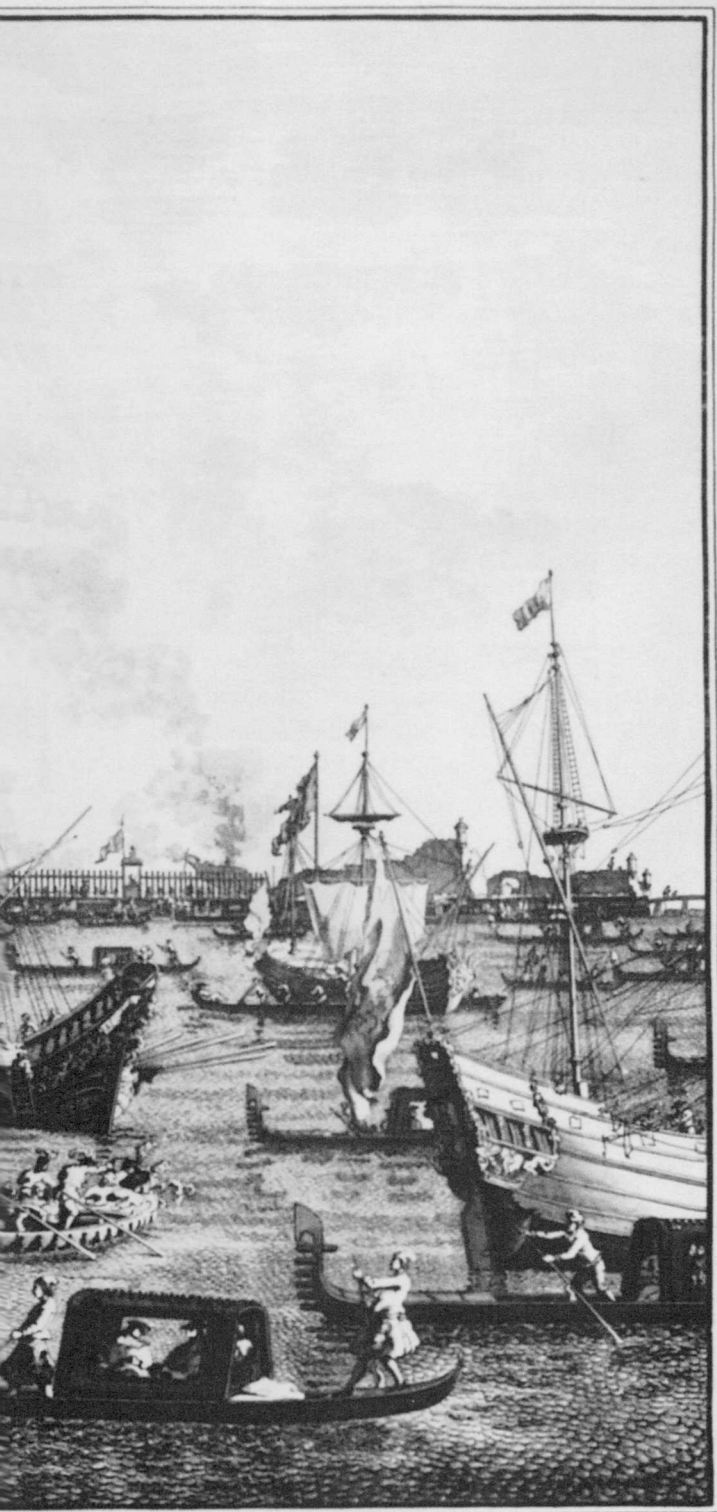
The ducal festivities are the events associated with the election of the new doge, the foundation myths of Venice, the festivals of the Christian calendar, and the diplomatic relations of the Republic. These events take place in the principal buildings and sites of the city, including Saint Mark's church and square, the piazzetta, the ducal palace, and two of the principal sanctuaries



Antonino Canal pinxit.

Sacris in D. Nicolai Templo rite peractis, apertoque sibi solemni ritu mari, Sereny

Apud Theodorum Fieri in via Menatoria vulgo dicta dell' Orologio Cum Privilegio



6. Princeps in aurea navi ad Urbem redit.

Excellentissimi Senatores.

N. 6.

(Santa Maria della Salute and San Zaccaria). Thus the plates portray the brilliance of Venice's public spaces and representative interiors. In addition, extending the range of previous views of Venice, this series includes two views of the port seen from the Arsenal, a site no longer visited in the eighteenth century, and one of the shores of the Lido.

The functions of the Venetian government are described throughout in their symbolic activities, all headed by the elected sovereign, the doge, and thus intended as archetypal. The installation of the new doge is illustrated in the first four sheets. The first plate shows his presentation to the people inside Saint Mark's church. The architecture of the interior is grand, and Brustolon succeeds in his attempt to represent the richly clad mosaic surfaces. The event occurs in strongly contrasted, dramatic light that allows us to perceive clearly the mysterious interiors of the sanctuary and the huge crowds, engaged in all kinds of extraneous activities, being restrained by guards with long poles. This restraining of the crowds is reiterated for the parade of the new doge, carried in a litter through the square of Saint Mark's, dispensing silver medals coined with his name. The square is covered with a carpet of humanity; the windows of the procurators' buildings along the long sides of the square are jammed with onlookers, who have also settled on roofs and in the bleachers constructed at the bases of the clock tower and bell tower. This densely inhabited view provides a contrast to Canaletto's own earlier views of the square focused on the buildings.

The crowning of the doge at the top of the staircase of the Giants in the court of the ducal palace and the meeting of the doge with the Consiglio Maggiore, the government of the Republic, in the hall of the council, provide two well-detailed illustrations of the richly ornamented ducal palace. The great outdoor staircase was a feature still unmatched in any other Italian governmental building; the painted walls of the large council hall were echoed in the ducal festivities depicted in this print series. The seating arrangement of the members of the Consiglio Maggiore, back to back in long parallel rows, had been established long before and illustrated in print as early as the sixteenth century.

Venice's foundation myth is illustrated through the views of the Bucentaur, offshore near the Arsenal, taking the doge to perform the wedding between the sea and himself as proxy for Venice on Ascension Day. The state barge is accompanied by numerous smaller and larger boats, and thousands of gondolas turn the bay of Venice into a vibrantly festive site. The urbanity of the bay is emphatically rendered by the great

crescent of buildings along its shores, from the Riva degli Schiavone through the piazzetta to the Salute and the Redentore, framed at the left by the flank of San Giorgio Maggiore. This successful panorama of the bay is the best view of the city, with its principal monuments profiled against the water and the sky. The return of the barge carrying the doge from the mass at San Niccolo on the Lido back to Venice provides a more legible inventory of boat types and a clear reading of the enormity of the barge profiled against the church. While the boats seem to be going in all different directions, offering distinct possibilities of crashes, our attention is monopolized by the rowers. Since Brustolon's waves have a tiled pavementlike texture, the rowers appear to be plying a shingled sea.

The festivals of the Christian calendar are preceded by an illustration of the feast of Maundy Thursday celebrated in the piazzetta. Dominated by a brightly lit doge's palace and a many-columned temporary pavilion, the square is surrounded by bleachers crammed with spectators. They are treated to the "flight of the Turk" (an event in which an acrobat slides down on a rope from the bell tower to the doge's box to offer flowers), fireworks from the pavilion, and prodigious gymnastic displays on the raised central platform. Important distortions of the relation between the surrounding buildings produce a dramatic angle on the events, including a sharply foreshortened elevation of the library building on the right.

The annual visit to Santa Maria della Salute by the doge and the members of the Senate, along a pontoon bridge built for the occasion, commemorates the salvation of the city from a seventeenth-century plague. Baldassare Longhena's design for this church dominates this view more thoroughly than does the facade of San Zaccaria in the view of the doge's yearly visit on Easter day. This is probably caused by the highly ornate and sculptural quality of the domed Salute and its freestanding, centrally planned pyramidal composition. Canaletto moves the pontoon bridge to the right side of the plate, keeping clear the axial view toward the sanctuary. The Corpus Christi feast in the square of Saint Mark's is perhaps most successful in reproducing a bystander's view: taken from close to the ground, it offers distant views of the surrounding buildings, which are not allowed to dominate, and only glimpses of the principal religious procession. This takes place under the canopied ceremonial walkway and consists of the canons of

Saint Mark's, who ceremonially display the basilica's relics. In a dazzling perspective construction, the three flagpoles in front of Saint Mark's recede toward the covered walkway parallel to the Procuratie Vecchie at right; both building and temporary construction then diminish precipitously in the other direction. The flagpoles "close" the framing device by linking clock tower to bell tower across the foreground of the view.

The last two sheets invoke the diplomatic functions of the doge, who is shown receiving foreign ambassadors in the Sala del Collegio and hosting a banquet for foreign ambassadors. As in the view of the Consiglio Maggiore, the doge is seated under a baldachin at the rear of the room, thus drawing the viewer into the space. The room has a great carved ceiling, like that of the Consiglio Maggiore, frescoed walls, and immense windows through which light pours in. The three plates that illustrate interiors of the ducal palace parallel effectively, in their sumptuous decoration and great dimensions, the eloquent magnificence of Venice's public squares.

By the time of their publication, the *feste ducali* had been reduced to mere ceremonial and ludic festivities. Ossified in its rituals and no longer a power to contend with, the Republic maintained its festivities for the continued amusement of the large numbers of tourists who visited Venice throughout the year, but especially during the carnival, which in the eighteenth century was stretched to last about half a year. Thus the masks that are worn by so many of the figures illustrated in the foreground of Brustolon's etchings can be interpreted as a sign of the promise of entertainment in Europe's most extraordinary city.

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Antonio Campo (c. 1525–1587)

26

Cremona Fedelissima Citta, Et Nobilissima Colonia De Romani Rappresentata In Disegno Col Svo Contado, Et Illvstrata D'Vna Breve Historia Delle Cose Piv Notabili Appartenenti Ad Essa, Et De I Ritratti Natvrali, De Dvchi, Et Dvchesse Di Milano, E Compendio Delle Lor Vite

Antonio Campo. *Cremona fedelissima citta*. Title page. 1985.61.449

Cremona: [printed by Ippolito Tromba and Ercoliano Bartoli for] Antonio Campo, 1585

1985.61.449

Folio: 386 × 249 (15¼ × 9⅓/16)

Pagination [iv], 88, lxxviii, [vi], 89–119, [27] pp., [3] folding engraved plates

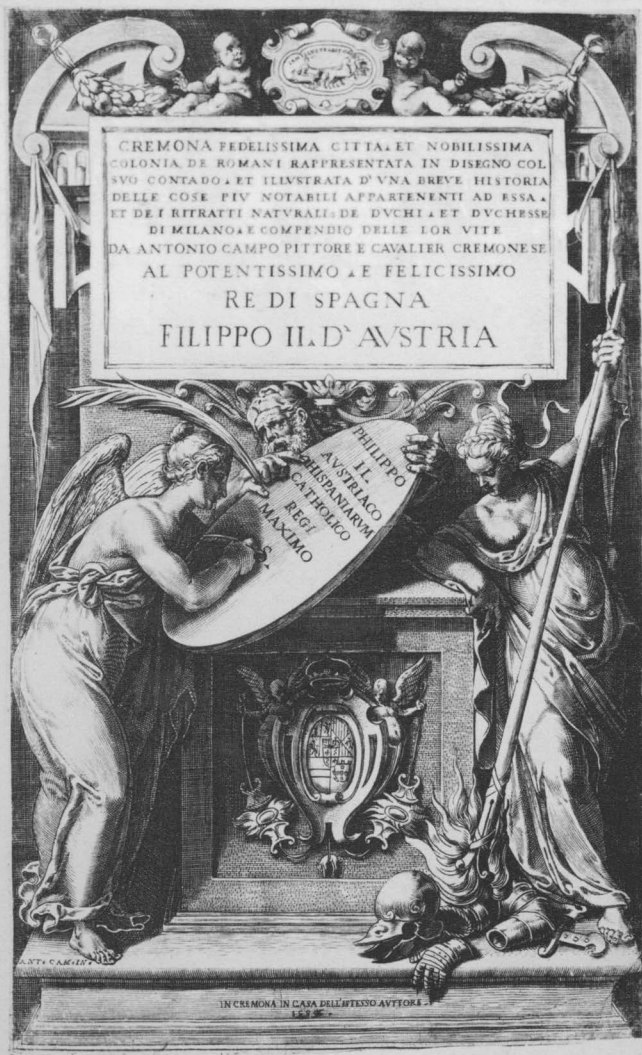
(Note: The Millard copy lacks a blank leaf following p. lxxviii that is present in one of the copies described in the Harvard catalogue. The collation reflects the fact that this copy has four plates cut to their platemark and mounted, recto and verso, on two leaves)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] engraved title plate; [ii] engraved medallion portrait of Philip II with arms; [iii] engraved medallion portrait of Campo and preface; [iv] sonnets; 1–19 text, book I; [20] blank; [21] (misnumbered “17”)–44 text, book II; 45–lxxviii text and illustrations, book III; [I–II] dedication by Campo to the counselors of the city of Cremona, dated 11 January 1585; [III–IV] table of fortresses, towns, and feudal territories of the surrounding area and diocese of Cremona; [v] dedication by Campo to Philip II, king of Spain, dated 11 January 1585; [vi] engraved frontispiece; 89 divisional title page, book IV; 90–[120] text and illustrations, book IV; [121–143] index; [144] approbation (dated Cremona, 2 January 1585), register, printers’ device, and colophon “In Cremona In Casa Dell’ Autore. Per Hippolito Tromba, & Hercoliano Bartoli. M.D. LXXXV. . . .”; [145] errata; [146] blank

Ornaments Large historiated woodcut initials, with biblical and mythological scenes and scenes from Cremonese history, several initials signed with monogram “GB”; ornamental woodcut initials; woodcut and typographic tailpieces; woodcut egg and dart border on text pages; woodcut printer’s device

Illustrations This work begins with an engraved title plate (p. [i]) with architectural setting and allegorical figures of Fame and Peace, with device of Philip II above and arms below, signed by Campo as engraver (“Ant. Cam. In.”); an engraved medallion portrait of Philip II on p. [ii], with the arms of his territories below, signed by Campo as designer; and an engraved medallion portrait of Campo on p. [iii]. The book contains



engravings on 3 folding sheets *hors texte*: [1] an elevation and plan of the tower, and an elevation and plan of the baptistry of the cathedral of Cremona (recto), and view of the cathedral of Cremona (verso); [2] a map of the city of Cremona, signed by Antonio Campo as designer and by David de Laude as engraver and dated 1582 ("Species Urbis Cremonae Manu Antonii Campi Pictoris Efficta Anno Corectionis MDLXXXII"; "David de laude Crem. hebreus incid."); [3] a map of the area around Cremona, signed by Campo as designer and de Laude as engraver and dated 1583. There is in addition a full-page engraved allegorical frontispiece on p. [IV], with a personification of the city of Cremona, signed by Campo as designer; plus 32 engraved medallion portraits and 1 woodcut portrait included in text of the men of Cremona in book III, and of the dukes and duchesses of Milan in book IV; and an engraving of a *carroccio* proceeding from the gates of Cremona. According to a statement in the errata (p. [145]), the portraits and *carroccio* were engraved by Agostino Carracci

Binding Eighteenth-century full dark green morocco, broad gilt outer border with Greek key design, fleurons at corners, narrow foliate and floral inner border, gilt spine title, spine gilt tooled with floral ornaments in compartments, gilt edges, gilt inner borders. Title, medallion portrait of Philip II, dedication (p. [v]), and frontispiece (p. [vi]) cut to platemark and mounted. There are several repairs to the text leaves, including new borders on four pages, plus reinforcements on the three folding plates. Loosely inserted into this copy are four leaves in a paper folder from another copy of the book. One of the leaves, however, is an entirely new setting of pp. xxij–xxiij (from a later edition?), with the addition of an advertisement for Campo's brother and his dealer following the text concerning the engraving of Marcus Hieronymus Vida: "cavata da una di mano di Giulio mio fratello, che si ritrova appresso il poco fa nominato Pietro Antonio Tolentino, il quale ha un bellissimo, e copiosissimo studio de disegni fatti à mano, & à stampe, & di rarissime pitture, & così di bellissime anticaglie." The six unnumbered pages following p. lxxviii are incorrectly bound. In both Harvard copies and Besterman, pp. [I–II, v–vi] are bound as prelims; pp. [III–IV] should be conjugate with the errata (bound in the Millard copy as pp. [145–146])

Provenance The Millard copy includes manuscript notes in Italian on front free endpaper and flyleaf, signed "Michelangelo Gualandi," giving detailed bibliographical notes about the *Cremona fedelissima*, for the most part pertaining to the book in general rather than to this particular copy. On the recto of the back free endpaper—in the same hand—is a list of emendations to the text, corrections of errors of spelling, orthography,

and fact. In addition, a leaf of manuscript notes in French, giving Brunet's description of the *Cremona fedelissima*, probably formerly pasted into the book, has been loosely inserted. Engraved bookplate with ink shelf location ("Armoire 3 Rayon du Haut"). Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 19–20; Cicognara 3977; Mortimer, *Italian*, 100

Painter, architect, and cosmographer, Antonio Campo was born in c. 1525 and studied with his father, Galeazzo, and his brother Giulio, both talented painters. He lived with Giulio until 1560 and worked with him on the painting cycle for the Palazzo della Loggia in Brescia (1549). Referred to extensively in Carlo Torre's guidebook to Milan, Campo's painted works survive there, but also in Cremona, Lodi, Piacenza, and Brescia. Mentioned by both Carlo Cesare Malvasia and Francesco Arisi (in his *Cremona letterata*), Campo was active as a designer of temporary structures, such as the catafalque and decorations for the 1581 funeral of Senator Picenardi in the Cremona cathedral, and of the Palazzi Vidoni and Torri Pallavicini in Cremona. The proud owner of a library of six thousand volumes, Campo referred to himself as a "local Vasari" (Gregori 1985). Campo's history of Cremona was in great demand because of its beautiful illustrations and historical analysis, and costly because of its rarity (Zaist 1774).

The structure of *Cremona fedelissima* is complicated by the vast ambitions of its author, which were only partially realized. Campo's intention was to document the appearance of the city, to write its history, and to provide a gallery of its most distinguished citizens and sovereigns. He succeeded in writing the history of the city and in commissioning the large gallery of portraits, engraved by Agostino Carracci, that distinguish his book. In his intention to provide a thorough graphic illustration of Cremona's principal buildings, Campo was only partly successful since only illustrations of the cathedral, the baptistry, and the plan of the city are included. One of Campo's stated motives for this publication—that buildings do not survive over time and are forgotten unless preserved in books—prompted his early work on the representation of Cremona. This began with the survey made between 1552 and 1554 of the baptistry and cathedral. His survey of Cremona can be dated c. 1571 and was engraved by David de Laude, who came from a numerous and influential family in the Jewish community of Cremona (Gregori 1985).

Cremona fedelissima is divided into four parts. The first and second parts cover the history of the city from the Roman Republic to the present and are separated by

the illustration of the *carroccio*, the ritual cart associated with the city's foundation myth. Parts 3 and 4 are modeled on the "gallery of the ancients" commemorative type developed during the early Renaissance and institutionalized by Paolo Giovio in his *Uomini illustri*. They consist of medallion portraits of the historical officials of Cremona and the portraits of the dukes and duchesses of Milan.

Campo's text is a chronological sequence of the military, political, and natural disasters visited upon Cremona, interspersed with the personal history of its most distinguished citizens, including painters and architects. The book begins with a discussion of the myth of Cremona's foundation. Said to be laid out on the site of the castle that Hercules built in honor of his mother, Alcmena, Cremona draws its name from this incinerated castle. In an attempt to codify this myth, Campo had earlier made a design for a colossal statue of Hercules to be placed in Cremona's main square.

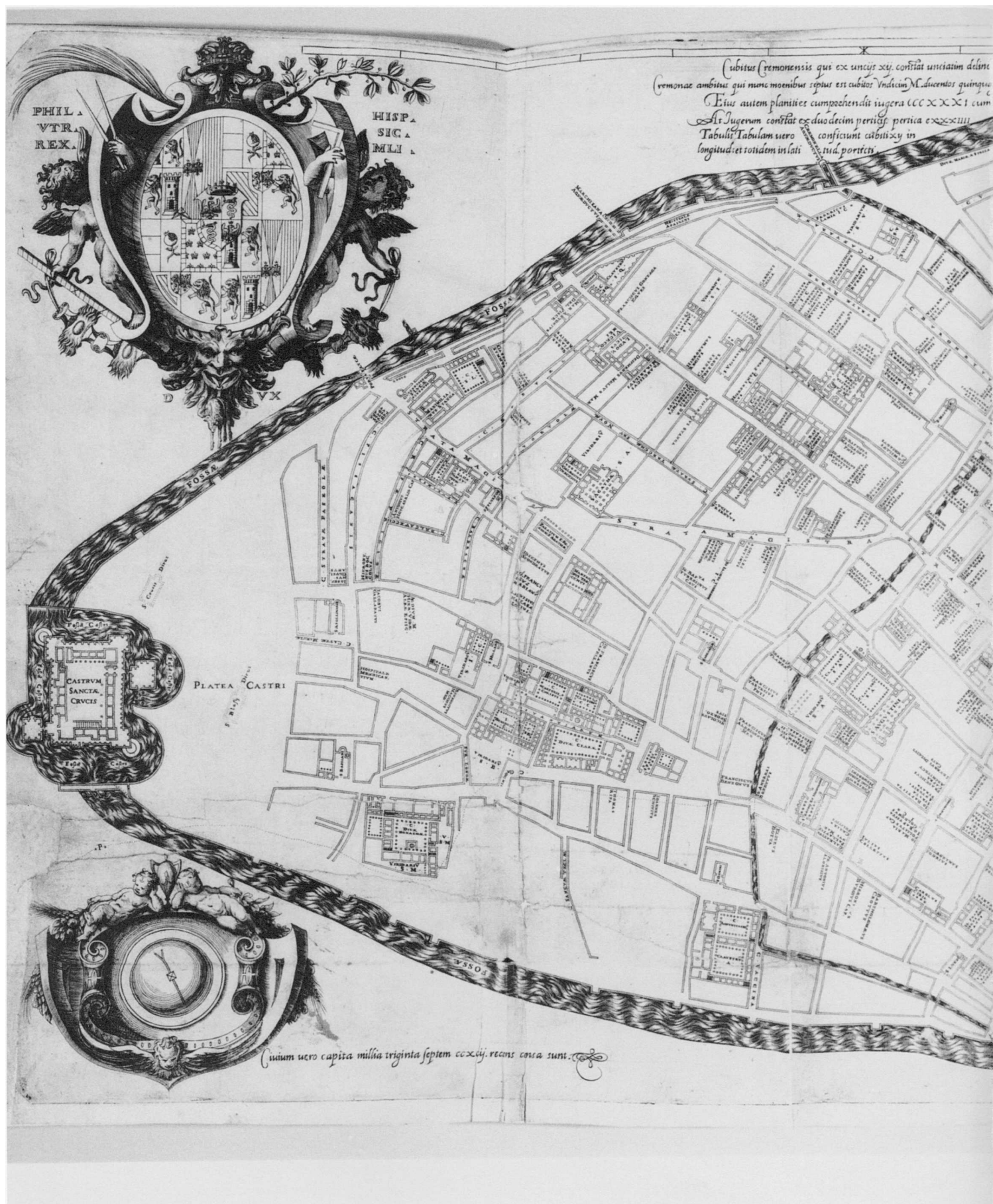
Cremona's history in the sixteenth century is a tightly woven sequence of war, flood, famine, plague, and tax riots, with some rare public festivities. For example, in the invasion of Cremona in 1515 by the French, its old citadel and gates were demolished, while in the siege of 1526 Cremona was as badly treated by its imperial defenders as by its Venetian besiegers and lost several suburban monasteries, which were torn down in preparation for the defense. Campo describes the elaborate receptions accorded to Charles v in 1541 and Philip II in 1549 and 1551. For their entries the city's fortifications were rebuilt, new gates were opened, and triumphal arches placed along the reception route. (Philip II was also given a model of the city of Piacenza by its ambassadors with the walls, moat, citadel, and main palaces of the city made in silver.) For the 1562 reception of imperial visitors Rudolf and his brother Cardinal Ernest, Campo designed the triumphal arches; in 1574 Henri II of France passed through Cremona on his triumphant return home from Poland. Campo concludes the story of Cremona in 1584, as the fortifications of the city were being rebuilt. Designed by Pellegrino Pellegrini and sponsored by the new Viceroy Don Carlo d'Aragona, the projected pentagonal fortress was to replace the earlier citadel, destroyed when its ammunition storage was hit by lightning (an explosion that broke all the windows in town).

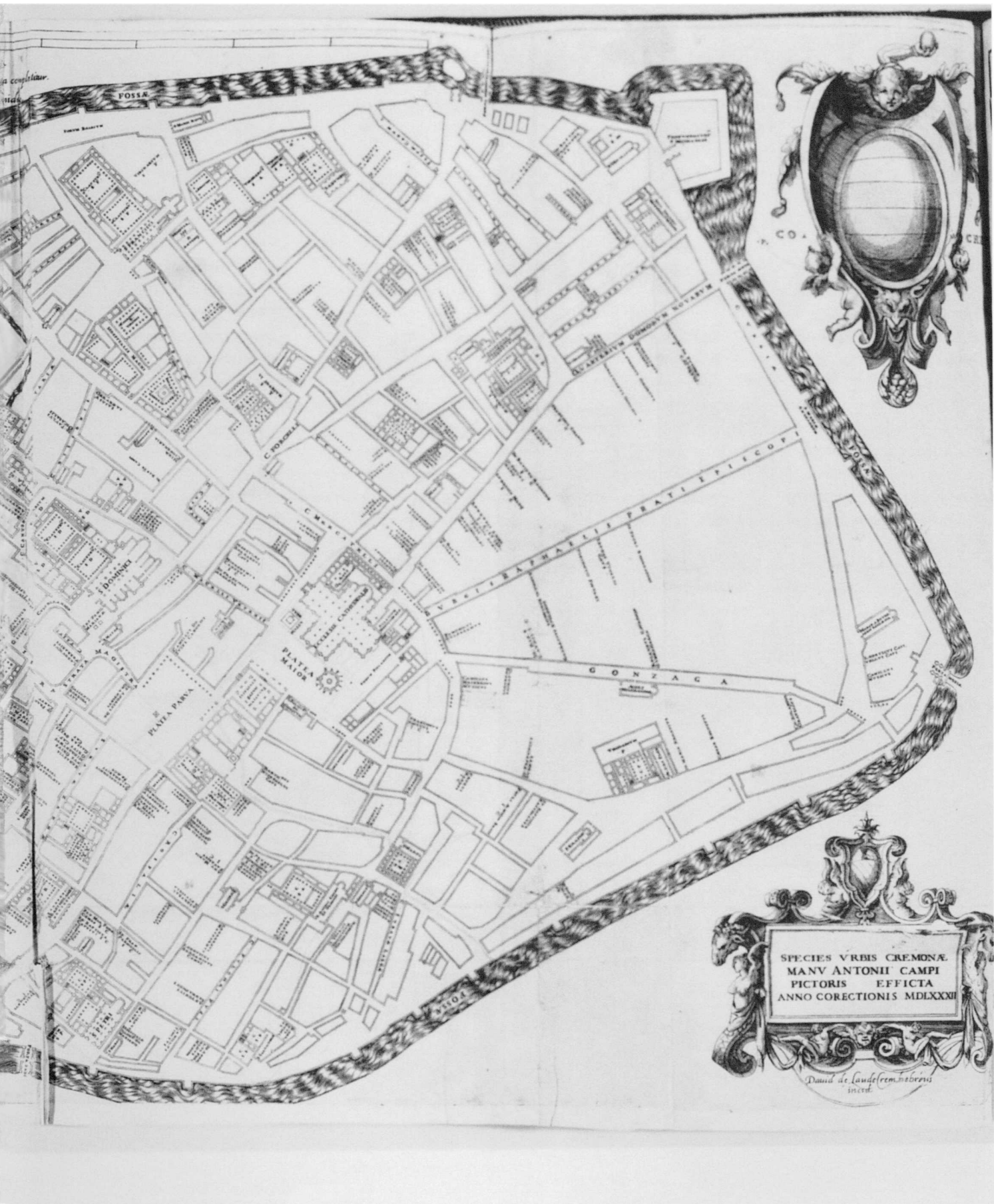
The design of Campo's book reflects its monumental and courtly aspirations. The book is distinguished by its size, the frames that surround each page, the large initials, and the paragraphed text in Roman typeface. The frontispiece contains the text of the title and is enlivened by two allegorical figures representing Fame and Peace. Although many of the stylistic details of these two figures seem to be derived from earlier illustrations by Agostino Carracci, the composition of the

title plate is by Antonio Campo. Here Campo invents a new type of frontispiece, which became widespread in seventeenth-century book illustration, where the allegorical figures are shown as living beings, engaged in the actions of recording history and destroying arms. Two portraits, of Philip II and of Campo, follow the frontispiece. The author's portrait was made after 1583, since it bears the title of knight conferred on him that year by Pope Gregory XIII. The elaborately framed portrait of the king was engraved by Agostino Carracci after Campo's drawing. The Latin and Spanish documents that lend credence to Campo's historical text are surrounded by the main text in roman typeface. The text is composed in paragraphs of greatly varying lengths, each one corresponding to one year in the history of the city. There are thirteen historiated initials repeated throughout the book; for example, letter F represents the entry of Philip II into Cremona, and letter C illustrates the entry of Charles v.

The numbered pages of the book are followed by a gallery of plates folded in at the end, engraved by de Laude. These represent the elevation and plan of Cremona's baptistry, the elevation of the cathedral, the elevation and plan of the bell tower, the topographical plan of the diocese of Cremona, and the plan of the city itself. Campo's original project to illustrate Cremona's churches and buildings was not realized. The plan of Cremona is illustrated in horizontal section, surrounded by a wet moat, its wavy waters looking like long tresses of hair. The plan is supplemented with a great deal of information: coats of arms of Philip II and Cremona, title at bottom right, size of city at top center, number of population at bottom left. The city has one polygonal bastion at top right. Its citadel is at the left, separated from the city by a great open space, but has old-fashioned rounded towers rather than modern bastions. The city is crossed by an aqueduct and entered through six gates, only two of which are linked directly to a major street. There are numerous churches illustrated in the plan, of which the cathedral is the largest, located on the main square with the city hall across from it. In fact, one-quarter of the enclosed area of the city, which had a perimeter of approximately 5.5 kilometers, was occupied by religious institutions. The streets, public buildings, and cloisters are clearly labeled.

This is an extraordinary city plan in that it combines the layout of streets with the plan of the major buildings. There is only one contemporary city plan, the 1551 map of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini, that could have served Campo as an example. An additional inspiration, of ancient origin, for the design of buildings in line drawing could have been the engraved plates of the marble plan of ancient Rome, recently discovered (1563) by the Florentine architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio, which were used by Etienne Dupérac and Pirro Ligorio





Antonio Campo. *Cremona fedelissima citta*. Plan of the city.
1985.61.449

in their cartographic reconstructions of ancient Rome.

But the most important illustrations are in the fourth part. Each page in part 4 contains a medallion bust portrait engraved by Agostino Carracci and a text with historiated initial and roman typeface; the source of each portrait is given in an italic typeface caption at the bottom of the page. There are longer entries for Charles v, Philip II, and their spouses. For the portraits of Beatrice d'Este, Christina of Denmark, Elisabetta [sic] of Valois, and Anne of Austria, there are preparatory drawings made by Campo (London, British Museum and Oxford, Christ Church), who used a wide array of iconographical sources for his portraits in the attempt to render identifiable individuals. These drawings are much larger, and not always reversed in the engravings, illustrating Agostino's imaginative use of preparatory studies, which he nonetheless homogenized by idealizing the features and jewelry of the queens. The profile portrait of Isabella of Aragon (illustrated here), granddaughter of Ferdinand I of Naples and wife of Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1489, was based on a medal, which probably explains the sitter's orientation. The portrait of Philip II in the gallery of

Milan's sovereigns was engraved by Agostino after Juan Pantoja's portrait (now in the Prado). Agostino's portraits published in books include the images of Cosimo and Francesco de' Medici, published by Aldo Manuzio in the Bologna edition of 1586. All of these portraits, derived from the official representations of their subjects, illustrate the public character of the sitters and their exercise of power through their clothing, attributes, and pose as well as their expression.

The publication of collections of engraved portraits arranged by origin and public role, such as galleries of popes, emperors, kings of France, distinguished women, or religious orders, became widespread in the Renaissance while the contest raged between idealizing tendencies and the desire to record accurately the individual personality. A slightly earlier publication, the *Sommario delle vite de' duchi di Milano* by Scipione Barbuò Soncino, published in 1574 in Venice with nine portraits of illustrious figures from the Sforza and Visconti families, and reprinted in 1584, illustrates the interest in this kind of collection.

The title plate and illustrations of the first two books, the portraits in the third and fourth books, and the architectural and cartographic illustrations bound in at the end comprise an artistically important and graphically lavish enhancement to the historical text.

Antonio Campo. *Cremona fedelissima città*. Isabella of Aragon. 1985.61.449



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Alessandro Capra (1633–1683)

27

La Nvova Architettvra Familiare Di
Alessandro Capra Architetto, e Cittadino
Cremonese Diuisa in cinque Libri
corrispondenti à cinque Ordini, cioè Toscano,
Dorico, Ionico, Corintio, E Composito.
All' Illvstrissimo Signor Co. Givseppe Filippo
Calderini

Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1678

1983.49.13

Quarto: 198 × 153 (7¹³/₁₆ × 6)



Pagination [viii], 366, [2] pp., 2 folding woodcut plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Giacomo Monti to Giuseppe Filippo Calderini, dated Bologna, 28 February 1678; [v] general title page with summary of contents; [vi] imprimatur, dated 22 May 1677; [vii] authors cited; [viii] portrait of Capra; 1–8 preface; [9]–354 text and illustrations, books 1–5, including divisional title pages for each book; 355–366 index; [367–368] blank

Ornaments First title page with woodcut ornament and typographic border; general and divisional title pages each with different woodcut architectural borders: the general title page has decorative aedicule with trees; book 1 has trellis with vines and grapes; book 2 depicts perspectival view of street surmounted by dividers; book 3 has Ionic aedicule; book 4 has Corinthian aedicule; book 5 has Composite aedicule. Woodcut tail-pieces, initials

Illustrations Woodcut medallion portrait of Alessandro Capra; unsigned woodcut illustrations throughout text (the woodcuts in book 5 are numbered 1–44); two folding woodcut plates bound between pp. 130–131 and 308–309

Binding Contemporary vellum, contemporary manuscript title on spine. Three small architectural drawings in sepia ink on recto of back free endpaper, relating to book 2, chapter XIII

References Berlin Cat. 2752; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 20; Comolli 4: 203; Fowler 79; Riccardi 1: 234

28

La Nvova Architettvra Militare D'Antica
Rinovata Da Alessandro Capra Architetto,
e Cittadino Cremonese: Divisa In Trè Parti,
Con l'Indice, e loro Argomenti . . .

Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1683

1983.49.14

Alessandro Capra. *La nuova architettura militare*. Title page.
1983.49.14

Quarto: 202 × 150 (7¹⁵/₁₆ × 5¹⁵/₁₆)

Pagination [xvi], 184 pp., [4] folding woodcut plates

(Note: The Millard copy lacks the two unnumbered folding plates described in the Fowler copy as being bound between pp. 66–67 and 104–105)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title (verso blank); [iii] title page (verso blank); [v–viii] dedication, dated Cremona, 30 November 1683; [ix–x] preface; [xi–xv] table of contents, ending with imprimatur; [xvi] portrait of Alessandro Capra; 1–184 text and illustrations, divided in three parts

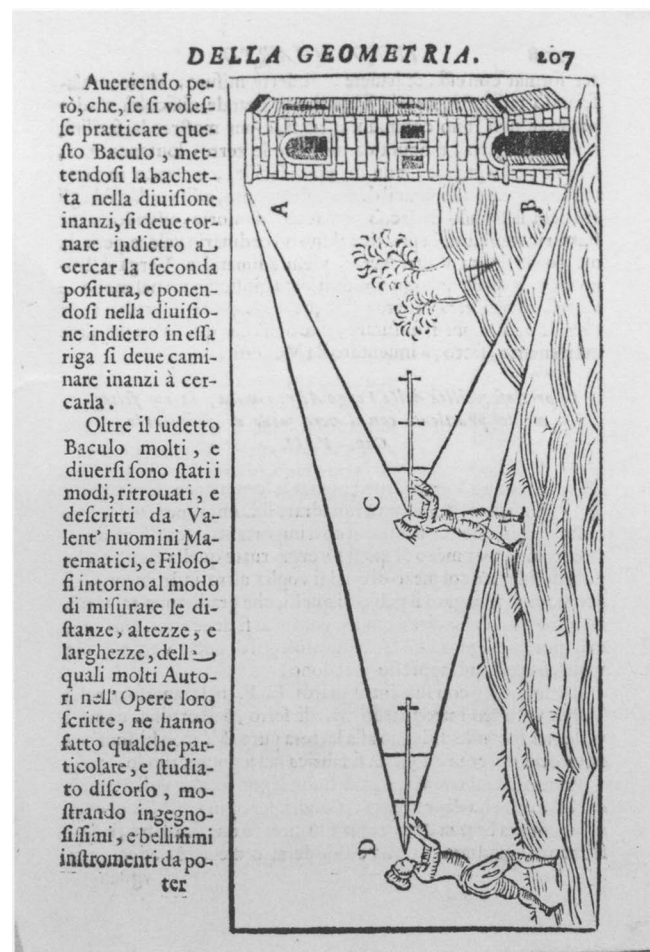
Ornaments Title page with woodcut architectural border; woodcut head- and tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut frontispiece medallion portrait of Capra; woodcut illustrations throughout text and four [ex 6] folding woodcut plates *hors texte*, all labeled with number of corresponding chapter—usually one woodcut per chapter—as follows: Part 1, 1–23 (i.e., 25: two woodcuts for chapter 5, two woodcuts for chapter 7); Part 2, 1–29 (i.e., 30: no. 18 repeated); Part 3, 1–39 (i.e., 40: one plate unnumbered)

Binding Modern vellum. One unnumbered plate is misbound between pp. 20–21 instead of 48–49

References Berlin Cat. 3534; Fowler 80; Pollak 6 (2d ed., Cremona, 1717); Riccardi 1: 234–235

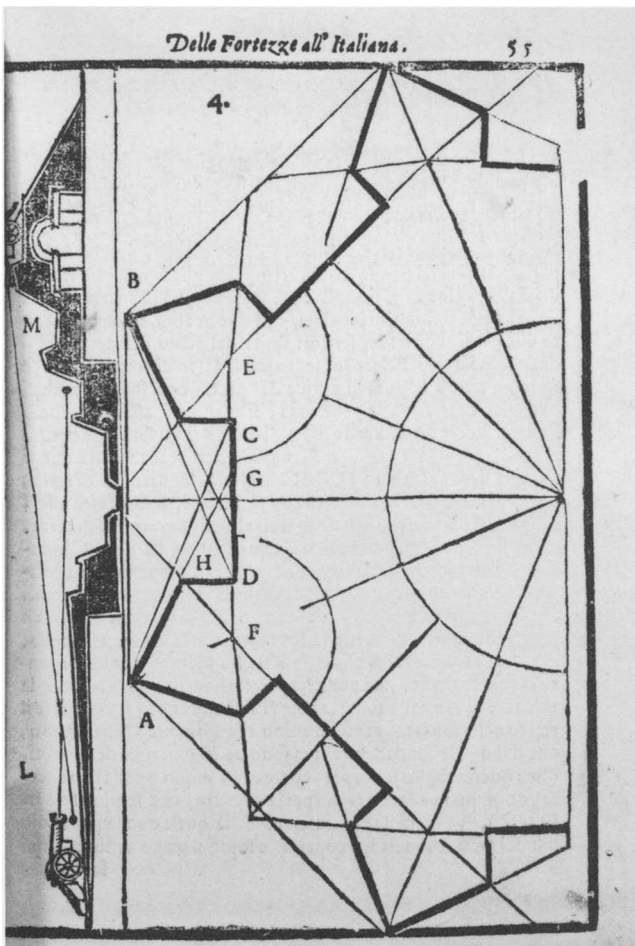
ALESSANDRO CAPRA'S BOOKS ON ARCHITECTURE are among the few Italian theoretical treatises published in the seventeenth century. In the Millard collection there are only two other seventeenth-century imprints, Gioseffe Viola Zanini's and Pietro Sardi's (cats. 167 and 121), but the latter is entirely about military architecture. Other seventeenth-century books in this collection are by authors who lived in the sixteenth century (Vincenzo Scamozzi), or topographical studies (Giovanni Battista Falda, Pietro Ferrerio), or later editions of sixteenth-century treatises. The great seventeenth-century architects did not publish, although Pietro da Cortona had prepared a treatise on painting and Gian Lorenzo Bernini had numerous theories that Paul Fréart de Chantelou recorded; Francesco Borromini and Guarino Guarini's treatises were published long after their death, in the eighteenth century, as part of the revival of their reputation. Lesser published architectural authors include Pietro Antonio Barca (1621), Giovanni Branca (1629), and Baldassare Osio (1641), whose works were composed and published in northern Italy. In this northern Italian tradition, dominated by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, questions of style were taken for granted. Working in a similar



Alessandro Capra. *La nuova architettura familiare*. Surveying a tower. 1983.49.13

artistic environment, Capra, typically, does not take on aesthetic philosophy, since the beautiful has already been linked to taste (*il bello e il gusto*) and thus relativized. Capra does not consider architecture as the art of building but as a science with a strong engineering aspect. In his work he provides the embryonic theoretical distinction between architecture and building (Dezzi-Bardeschi 1963). The singularity of Capra's works lies in the localized quality of his references and his focus on the technical aspects of architecture; all his precepts are technological.

Capra's work has received little critical attention, although Guarini (cat. 50), who quotes him on Cremonese measurements, read him just before his death. The earliest biographical sketch, in Francesco Arisi's *Cremona letterata*, is in the form of a testimonial written by Cesare Bonacina—friend and admirer of Capra—in 1693. (Arisi's methods disappointed the historian Lodovico Antonio Muratori, who had attempted unsuccessfully to persuade him to contribute to the *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores* and to reorganize the Cremona archives.) Bonacina's letter is reprinted in the 1717 Cremona edition of Capra's *Architettura civile e militare*, which was dedicated to Arisi by its publisher. In this



Alessandro Capra. *La nuova architettura militare*. Plan and section of an octagonal fortress. 1983.49.14

dedication, Capra is referred to as “matematico e Archimede” and Bonacina’s letter eulogizes him further. An engraver, Bonacina copied Capra’s drawings and designs and may have made some of the woodcuts for the treatises. He provides a compelling image of Capra (the portrait of Capra is probably by him) as an energetic and slightly mad scientist, whose house was an “arsenal of instruments and innovations.” These include numerous stage machines that perform wondrous baroque transfigurations, such as “il modo di far girare un cavallo sopra un arcobaleno” (a horse prancing on a rainbow) and “per tramutare il proprio pavimento dove i recitanti pongono il piede in un mare ondoso” (transforming the stage underneath the actors into a surging sea).

Capra thus seems to have worked as a stage designer as well as architect and engineer. He studied with the military architect Jacopo Erba, spending time with him in Milan between 1628 and 1630 (in Spanish service under Gonzalez da Cordoba), and then working on the cathedral of Pontremoli (1630). Between 1647 and 1648 Capra worked as military architect on the defense of Cremona during its siege. His earlier publications are *Geometria familiare ed istruzione pratica* (Cremona, 1671),

Nuova architettura dell’agrimensura di terre ed acque (Cremona, 1672), and *Le due prime parti della geometria familiare* (Cremona, 1673).

In *Architettura familiare*, Capra’s conceit is that architecture is not merely the art of building but rather that it is a science that proposes the true principles for doing anything well (“dovendosi piuttosto intendere per architettura una scienza che pone i veri principi, e documenti per fare una cosa ben’aggiustata e che s’accosti alla perfezione più che sia possibile”). This claim is rhetorically based on God as the greatest architect who, in his creation of the world, made everything perfect (“che così appunto Dio si chiama supremo, e divino architetto, perche nella creazione del mondo perfettissime fece tutte le sue opere”). In the preface, Capra explains that his project is to publish three additional volumes, on military architecture, on stage design, and on sundials, which he has already composed and illustrated (though the illustrations will have to be engraved in copperplate first). In the event, he published only the first two of the four volumes, reusing extensively parts of earlier treatises, incorporating a chapter on clocks in the treatise on civil architecture. Thus two of the five parts of *Architettura familiare* (“Delle Fabriche” and “Delle Misure”) are lifted directly out of the three-part *Geometria familiare* of 1671 (the third part of this work, “Delle stimationi,” referred specifically to real estate prices in Cremona). Parts 3 and 4 of *Architettura familiare* (“Geometria” and “Machine diverse”) are then in turn cannibalized and reemerge as parts 1 and 3 of *Architettura militare*. These borrowings include both text and illustrations.

The treatise on civil architecture is divided into five parts corresponding to the five orders of architecture, but this is a purely symbolic arrangement, since Capra is not interested in the traditional norms and precepts of architectural theory focused on columns. Rather, his five categories are as follows: books 1 and 2 concern estate management and construction costs and materials; book 3 deals with the principles of surveying; book 4 deals with geometry and the measurements of volumes (such as the running water of a stream); book 5 is composite in its array of machines intended for a variety of purposes.

In book 1, Capra provides advice for discerning the richness of the land. No matter how fertile the land, one’s farm should be far from fortresses, rivers, and streams, thus avoiding the two great calamities, war and flood. Book 2 deals with the making of bricks, the choice and felling of trees (with references to Vincenzo Scamozzi on trees, cat. 123), the siting of the house, foundations, and vaulting. Here Capra counsels that an architect be retained for the building of one’s house (since he would supervise the entire range of problems associated with building, from contracts with workers

to litigation with neighbors), continuing that well-worn tradition of boosting the profession in one's architectural publications. Book 3, borrowed from *Geometria familiare*, has only one addition: the measurement of hay carts. In book 4 we are taught how to design the regular pentagon (most military writers propose favorite and irreconcilable methods for this perennial problem), how to measure the distance between two bastions without approaching either, and how to build the perfect embankment for a river.

Book 5 is devoted to various inventions for machines for lifting weights and water, a mill, a kneading trough, and portable perpetual fountains. Interestingly, Capra designs ingenious air-conditioning systems, cooling rooms with fans placed in fireplaces or fanning air over water falling on stone. His most rewarding innovation is the perfection of the odometer. Claiming to complete an idea suggested by Vitruvius and wrongly interpreted by Cesare Cesariano (cat. 158), he regales the reader with the design for a carriage equipped to measure up to 19 kilometers of road traveled. Book 5, the longest and most fully illustrated book, is the culmination of Capra's work: closely modeled on Vitruvius' book 10, it demonstrates that Capra's scientific bent led him to emphasize one part of Vitruvius' three-pronged definition of the domain of architecture (building, sundials, machines).

Architettura militare is divided into three parts. Only part 2, where Capra compares Italian and Dutch fortifications, is original to this work. He specifically illustrates the geometrical construction of the hexago-

nal fortress, choosing this polygon because it is the fortification form most praised by ancient and modern writers. His illustration for it shows a scheme powerful in its simplicity (the hexagon of the enclosure is reinforced by the hexagonal piazza at the center of the fortress) and rendered formidable by the design of its bastioned trace.

Even though the woodcuts that illustrate these books are coarse and undetailed (Capra and Bonacina mention the exorbitant expense of copperplate engravings, which the former could not afford), their starkness is quite modern and very effective for the design of fortifications. The text, though paragraphed throughout, is often set into columns of varying width that quaintly surround the woodcuts. The illustrations are less effective for the machines. Although these were considered highly innovative and established an eminent local reputation for the author, they cannot compete with Cesariano's designs in beauty of conception and clarity of execution.

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Luca Carlevaris (1663–1730)

29

[Le Fabriche, E Vedute Di Venetia, Disegnate,
Poste In Prospettiva Et Intagliate da Luca
Carlevarijs . . .]

[Venice: after 1703]

1985.61.464

Oblong folio: 270 × 352 (10 ⁵/₈ × 13 ⁷/₈)

Foliation [97] etched plates

(Note: The Millard copy is imperfect; printed title leaf,
etched frontispiece with dedication to Doge Luigi
Mocenigo, and plates 46, 47, 70, 73, 86, and 103 lacking)

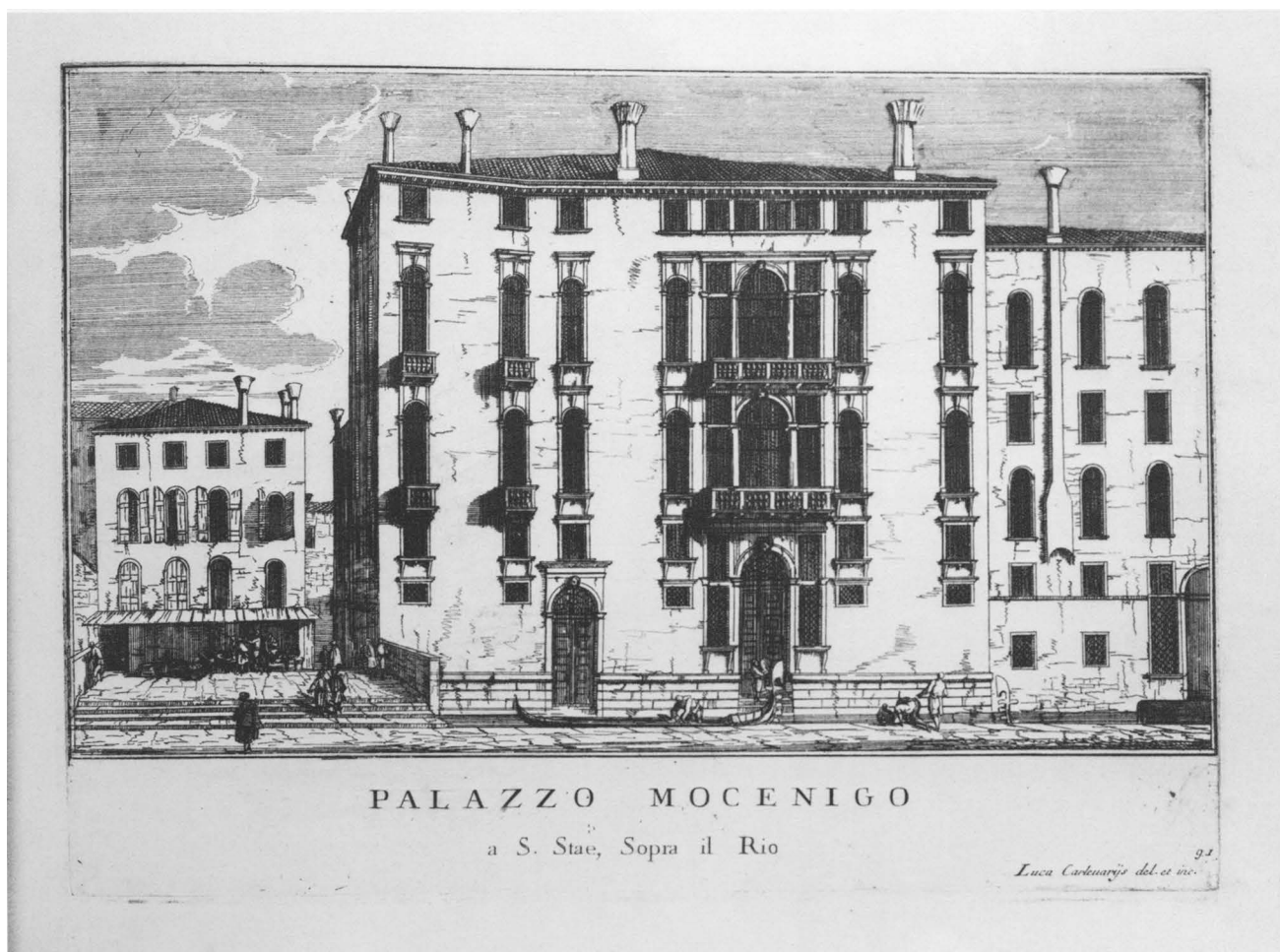
Edition Late issue of plates first published by G. B.
Finazzi in Venice, 1703, with the plates in later states that
correspond to the third or fourth "editions" described
by Succi 1983: 114–115

Illustrations 97 full-page etched plates, numbered 1–45,
48–69, 71–72, 74–85, 87–102, with captions in Italian.
All plates are signed by Carlevaris as draftsman and
engraver in the lower right corner ("Luca Carlevarijs
del. et inc.")

Binding Modern quarter calf, printed paper-covered
boards. The plates have been bound according to sub-
ject, rather than the numerical sequence. Two modern
drawings of Venice in pencil and pen and ink bound in

References Berlin Cat. 2682 (lacking plates 63, 102, 103);
Dario Succi, *Da Carlevarijs ai Tiepolo*. Venice, 1983

Luca Carlevaris. *Le fabbriche e vedute di Venetia*. Plate 91. Palazzo
Mocenigo. 1985.61.464



LUCA CARLEVARIS IS CONSIDERED the first distinguished *veduta* painter of Venice and one of the earliest practitioners of this painting type. His oeuvre consists of approximately 150 paintings, mostly views of Piazza San Marco, the main square of Venice, and dozens of *capricci*, a composition in which landscape and architectural ruins are mingled imaginatively rather than accurately. Born in Udine in 1663, he studied perspective and mathematics and moved to Venice at sixteen. *Le fabbriche e vedute*, consisting of 103 etchings, is his most distinguished contribution to the representation of Venice. It is the first series of Venetian *vedute* conceived as a whole and consists of mostly frontal views of the foremost buildings and urban spaces of Venice. Following the great success of his etched views, Carlevaris was commissioned several times by the Venetian government to paint the festivities organized for the official entries of foreign ambassadors (Britain, 1707; Denmark, 1709; Saxony, 1716; France, 1726). This Venetian tradition of recording state visits had been established from the late sixteenth century.

In making his 103 views of Venice, Carlevaris did not have many precedents or sources. Although the city had been beautifully portrayed in one of the earliest printed views of the Renaissance, a woodcut by Jacopo de' Barbari in 1500, there were few detailed illustrations that capitalized on its distinguished urban situation and great wealth of architecture. There was one important precedent in urban representation in the engraved work of Giovanni Battista Falda's *Teatro nuovo*, which illustrated the buildings and squares of Rome (Aikema 1990). The more immediate impetus for illustrating Venice at the beginning of the eighteenth century came from three distinct sources. A large number of buildings had been constructed in the last decades of the seventeenth century that enhanced the monumental beauty of Venice. This beauty had come to be recognized widely by European travelers who visited the city in growing numbers. Among the visitors was Gaspar van Wittel, a Flemish painter who eventually settled in Rome, but who painted the very first persuasive views of Venice. These paintings provided a sparkling and flattering view of the city, which closely paralleled the rave descriptions accorded Venice in travel guides and journals. Van Wittel's views opened an entire new area of artistic enterprise in which Carlevaris was the earliest Venetian practitioner.

Carlevaris made his etchings in this series from his own preparatory drawings in pen and ink. Eighty-five of these drawings are preserved at the British Museum. Like the finished etchings, as well as Carlevaris' paintings of Venice, they are remarkable for their precise and accurate perspective. Carlevaris' compositions are distinguished by the low point of view, usually quite close to the ground. His painted views are populated by

large crowds and a great display of boats, which easily matches the architectural eloquence of his urban framework. The naval theme is a constant reference to Venetian boat-building, even though this lay mostly in the past. The viewer is thus allowed an almost personal participation in the events that occur in the foreground and recede deeply into the composition, offering the perspective of a vast space. Almost half of the canvas is given over to the vaporously clouded blue skies, which enhance the brilliance of the painting. In his rendering of the peculiar topographic condition of Venice, Carlevaris used the camera obscura and devised *macchiette*, which are the daubs of color used to represent great numbers of people in his crowds.

The series *Fabbriche e vedute* was an immediate success upon publication. A further measure of its value can be seen in the fact that it was almost immediately plagiarized by the best-known cartographer of Venice, Vincenzo Coronelli, who published the series in his *Singolarità di Venezia* (Venice, c. 1708). The first edition contained one hundred etchings; two more etchings were added to the second edition, and an additional two sheets were included in the third edition. The first three editions were published in Venice by Giovanni Battista Finazzi. The fourth edition was published by Joseph Wagner in 1768; a poorly inked fifth edition came out c. 1780. Heavily recut, the plates were reissued at the end of the eighteenth century by Giovanni Maria Pedrali, who added his address to each plate.

In his dedication to Doge Luigi Mocenigo, Carlevaris clarifies the intended audience of his views of Venice. Referring to "Venete Magnificenze," he claims that the series was intended to provide an accurate description of Venice's beauties for foreigners. This has required not only hard work, he continues, but also intellect in the application of geometry, perspective, and architectural design. The dedicatory sheet, missing from this copy in the Millard collection, includes a stormy view of Venice profiled above an elaborate stone monument inscribed with the dedication and decorated with measuring and drafting instruments.

The views are organized in a sequence that unveils hierarchically the principal sites and buildings of the city. The facade of Saint Mark's opens the series: we are so close to the building that the perspective rendering of the portico seems more like a wide-angle view. The view of what was then the cathedral of San Pietro follows in an angled composition that includes a procession moving toward the church and thus leading our eyes along into the space of the composition. This sheet, associating site and religious practice, hints that Carlevaris may have been familiar with the work of Aloisio Giovannoli, another illustrator of Rome, who appropriated ancient Roman sites for Christian historical events, illustrating scenes of martyrdom among



Luca Carlevaris. *Le fabbriche e vedute di Venetia*. Plate 61. View of the customhouse. 1985.61.464

ruins, for example (see cat. 48). The sequence continues with the principal votive churches of the city, the Redentore and Santa Maria della Salute. Like Saint Mark's and the cathedral, these are associated with the official state cult, having been sponsored by the government of the Republic during times of plague. Carlevaris then dedicates three sheets to the illustration of San Giorgio Maggiore: the facade of the church, a side view, and the perspective of the cloister. The side view is effectively enhanced by the elaborate play of light and shadow provided by the puffed clouds above. But the elevation contains an important innovation in the addition of two figures in the center of the foreground with their backs to us, who act as *repoussoir* figures drawing us into the space of the composition.

The sequence continues with the inventory, plates 9–36, of the principal and lesser churches of the city. These are, with few exceptions, portrayed frontally and shown dominating the small squares on which they are located; often a canal or a bridge entering the square suggests the proximity of water. The illustration of religious institutions concludes with plates illustrating

the *scuole*, the charitable institutions that are so specifically Venetian in character and mandate.

Plates 42–55 illustrate the buildings that surround the Piazza San Marco and the piazzetta, the command center of the city with the doge's palace, the library, mint, prisons, and offices of the procurators. The three views of Piazza San Marco are thoroughly dominated by the bell tower, which dwarfs the palatine church and the adjacent Procuratie buildings. Of these, plate 50 is handicapped by the poor perspective in which the church and piazzetta seem to be drawn from an entirely different angle and distance. But these sheets establish the formal angles from which these spaces and buildings will be viewed by successive eighteenth-century illustrators, especially Canaletto. One of Carlevaris' innovations is to show the juxtaposition of buildings, with relatively slight alterations of reality. Thus his view of the piazzetta from the water side of the ducal palace (pl. 49) layers the two giant columns against the library and also frames the dome of Santa Maria della Salute. The foremost column, with Saint Mark's lion, effectively bisects the composition, separating buildings and square from boats and water. An equally compelling juxtaposition is offered in plate 51, a close-up of the loggetta at the base of the bell tower, with the facade



of the church of San Geminiano closely telescoped behind the tower.

Plates 56–63 survey the remaining secular Venetian institutions. The Rialto bridge in plate 56, flanked by buildings at each landing, curves across and into the picture, framing a view of the Grand Canal beyond. The result is a particularly striking and spatially complex image, surpassed nonetheless by the view of the same bridge in plate 57. Carlevaris adopts an oblique view of the bridge, dramatically carrying the viewer's gaze into the picture and across the canal to the Camerlenghi building. The two views of the customhouse at the entry to the Grand Canal are dramatized by the close framing, in plate 60, and the spectacular juxtaposition of the customs building and Salute church beyond. It would appear that the etcher is stimulated when drawing in a boat on water.

The largest group of plates (65–103) illustrates private residential architecture. In making an inventory of Venice's palaces, Carlevaris was continuing an existing typology of illustration. The first systematic recording of Italian palaces of one city (Genoa) had been produced by Peter Paul Rubens at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Millard, *Northern European Books*, 108). The Roman palace series by Pietro Ferrerio (cat. 37) continued by Falda in the second half of the seven-

Luca Carlevaris. *Le fabbriche e vedute di Venetia*. Palazzo Vendramin. 1985. 61.464

teenth century were also very well known images. Carlevaris' sequence is organized topographically, starting with palaces along the main thoroughfare of Venice, the Grand Canal, then a few examples from the second widest canal, the Cannaregio, a few houses on lesser canals, followed by houses on squares, and one house on the Giudecca, an almost suburban island in relation to Venice, even today.

These etchings of Venetian palaces are the most interesting in the series. Although many of the sheets contain excessive quantities of detail, Carlevaris often achieves extraordinary clarity and appeal by the almost modern economy of his line, especially when illustrating the more modest structures that often flank the patrician palaces on which the series is focused. The large blank wall areas soaked with light, the planarity of his architectural rendering, and his sky and water (especially pls. 91, 93, and 98) were to be influential not only on his immediate contemporaries, such as Canaletto and Antonio Visentini, but also on later printmakers like Charles Meryon. Strikingly, Venetian palaces do not have the slightly raised ground level that distinguishes Roman and Florentine palaces. Rather,



Luca Carlevaris. *Le fabbriche e vedute di Venetia*. Palazzo Balbi. 1985. 61.464

these palaces seem to be knee-deep in water, or grow from the square, suggesting a more organic relationship between the buildings and their location than was customary in monumental Italian architecture. Venetian palaces are also striking in their large areas of fenestration, unevenly distributed across the front of the building, reflecting practical room arrangements rather than preconceived notions of regularity and uniformity. Thus most palaces have a three-bay opening at the center of the elevation above the entry portal, which corresponds to the principal rooms on the upper floors, but which also echoes the design of triumphal arches. Its extensive use in Venetian palace elevations makes each one of these buildings the house of a victorious hero and endows the main thoroughfare, the Grand Canal, with a festive, “triumphalist” appearance, which, even if it was not planned, resulted in a clear urban message emphatically conveyed to visitors to the city.

In his rendering of the palaces’ facades, Carlevaris provides important information about their decoration. The surface treatments include rustication, relief sculpture, figurative painting, columns, awnings (for Palazzo Zenobio, the house of his protector), and balconies.

He undoubtedly exaggerates the verticality of the already very tall windows (especially pl. 98), as can be seen when comparing his house elevations to Visentini’s measured drawings of the facades of the same buildings. In the process, Carlevaris offers an architectural composition that was greatly influential on later *vedutisti* and on Venetian architectural design.

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Giovanni Maria Cassini

(fl. 1775–1797)

30

Nuova Raccolta Delle Megliori Vedute Antiche,
E Moderne Di Roma Disegnate Ed Incise Da
Giovanni Cassini

Rome: Venanzio Monaldini, 1779

1985.61.465

Oblong folio: 300 × 438 (11¹³/₁₆ × 17¹/₄)

Foliation Etched title plate, etched list of plates,
80 etched plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched throughout as follows: title plate with title inscribed on fallen masonry block alongside seated female allegorical figure and she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, with classical ruins and pyramid in background; list of plates within foliated border; 80 full-page etched plates numbered 1–80, all views of ancient and modern Rome. Plates measure from 152 × 188 mm to 270 × 277 mm. All plates signed by Giovanni Cassini as etcher (“Gio. Cassini inc.,” with variants)

Binding Recent half sprinkled morocco with contemporary green paper boards, edges restored. Uncut

References Cicognara 3657

GIOVANNI MARIA CASSINI, member of the Bergamo order of the Somaschi clerics and a productive graphic artist, authored the illustrations for Giovanni Battista Passeri’s study of ancient gems, the Roman *vedute* in the Millard *Nuova raccolta*, a collection of prints illustrating the wall paintings discovered near San Giovanni in Laterano, as well as a number of larger-scale regional maps in the Vatican collections (*La Calabria ulteriore* [Rome, 1790], *La campagna di Roma, il patrimonio di S. Pietro e la Sabina* [Rome, 1790], *Il circolo di Svevia delineata* [Rome, 1797]).

For the three-volume *Novus thesaurus* by Passeri, Cassini produced an immense and remarkable body of illustrations. The one hundred full-page illustrations in the first volume (1780) were engraved by Cassini after Vincenzo Brenna’s drawings (see cat. 130). Each illustrates a Roman deity, a Greek hero, or allegorical figures

in a small image at the center of the composition, framed by acanthus decorations and grotesque figures, surrounded by a standardized frame. Only the central part of each illustration changes, providing an inventory of the gems discussed by Passeri. The engraving is competent but repetitive and similar to wallpaper in the lack of relief. The title page, the dedication to Giovanni Rospigliosi, and the decorations for the prolegomena by Passeri are also engraved by Cassini after Brenna’s drawings. The format is only slightly altered for the one hundred illustrations of the second volume (1783), where the cameos illustrated at the center of each plate are surrounded by pedimented frames set within an arch and filled in with *grotteschi*. This format is repeated for the one hundred plates of the third volume (1788). Cassini signs himself as “Gio. M.a Cassini Som.co.” It is evident from these three hundred plates that Brenna has an extensive repertory of images (birds, animals, flowers, trees, figures, candelabra, wreaths, and fantastic creatures such as griffons and sea monsters), but the use he makes of them is entirely decorative.

The seven plates of *Pitture antiche* are dedicated by Cassini to Cardinal Guglielmo Pallotta. The engraved title and dedicatory pages are followed by a view of the excavation site, the room where the wall paintings were found, with the transept and elevation of San Giovanni in Laterano visible in the background. The plates illustrate androgynous male figures carrying platters of food. Each of the first six figures is clothed in flowing robes, sandals, and headband; the seventh figure wears a more elaborately ornamented gown and offers a libation. A textual analysis of the paintings had been promised by Ludovico Bianconi, who died, however, before completing it. A description was instead published by the abbot Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi in the *Antologia Romana*. His notes—expanded and annotated, and reproduced in the *Pitture antiche*—discuss these ancient paintings, discovered at San Giovanni in Laterano in 1780 in an excavation led by Gianpietro Campana for Pope Pius VI. The robed figures are considered to be representations of servants. They carry the courses of an elaborate meal—a *pasticcio*, a roasted suckling pig, bread and biscuits, a roasted chicken, radishes (used to stimulate the appetite), fruit (eaten by the Romans at the beginning of the meal)—while the seventh figure is the cupbearer. As in Passeri’s book on cameos,



Giovanni Maria Cassini. *Nuova raccolta delle migliori vedute antiche e moderne di Roma*. Title page. 1985.61.465

Cassini's illustrations are pleasant and competent if undramatically presented.

Cassini's collection of Roman views, published by Venanzio Monaldini (also the publisher of Passeri's book and the *Pitture antiche*), must be seen in the context of other graphic illustrations of Rome available at the time. These included the works of Jean Barbault, Carlo Labruzzi, Domenico Magnan, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Franciszek Smugliewicz and Vincenzo Brenna, and Giuseppe Vasi (cats. 13 and 14, 52, 56, 99, 130, and 141). Magnan's "profile" as a graphic artist was closest to Cassini's; they were both members of religious orders and lesser players in the high-stakes game of the representation of Roman topography and the sale of printed materials. Like Barbault's work, the *Nuova raccolta* may have been promoted by its publishers as an alternative to the vaster and more dramatic production of Piranesi.

Cassini's etching style is consistent throughout his known work, with great similarities between the plates in the *Nuova raccolta*, *Pitture antiche*, and *Novus thesaurus*. Reserving longer, parallel lines only for large, open areas such as the sky, Cassini uses a short, fuzzy line that results in expressive textures, without adding depth or shadow to the composition. Thus, although the "bones" of his images are not particularly strong, they gain effectiveness through a kind of furriness of surface that probably offered a pleasantly calm alternative to the powerful compositions of the recently deceased Piranesi.

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I QVATTRO PRIMI LIBRI DI ARCHITETTURA

DI PIETRO CATANEO SENESE:

NEL PRIMO DE' QVALI SI DIMOSTRANO
le buone qualità de' siti, per l'edificazioni delle città
& castella, sotto diuersi disegni:

NEL SECONDO, QVANTO SI ASPETTA
alla materia per la fabrica:

NEL TERZO SI VEGGONO VARIE MANIERE
di tempj, & di che forma si conuenga fare il principale
della città: & dalle loro piante, come ancora
dalle piante delle città & castella, ne
sono tirati gli alzati per or-
dine di Prospettua:

NEL QVARTO SI DIMOSTRANO PER
diuerse piante l'ordine di piu palazzi & casamenti,
uenendo dal palazzo regale & signorile,
come di honorato gentiluomo,
fino alle case di persone
priuate.



Con priuilegio del sommo Pontefice per anni X.
& dell'Illustrissima Signoria di Vinegia
per anni XV.



Pietro Cataneo

(c. 1505–1569)

31

I Qvattro Primi Libri Di Architettvra Di Pietro Cataneo Senese: Nel Primo De' Qvali Si Dimostrano le buone qualità de' siti, per l'edificationi delle città & castella, sotto diuersi disegni: Nel Secondo, Qvanto Si Aspetta alla materia per la fabrica: Nel Terzo Si Veggono Varie Maniere di tempj, & di che forma si conuenga fare il principale della città: & dalle loro piante, come ancora dalle piante delle città & castella, ne sono tirati gli alzati per ordine di Prospettua: Nel Qvarto Si Dimostrano Per diuerse piante l'ordine di piu palazzi & casamenti, uenendo dal palazzo regale & signorile, come di honorato gentilhuomo, sino alle case di persone priuate

[Venice: sons of Aldo Manuzio, 1554]

1983.49.15

Folio: 337 × 236 (13¼ × 9½)

Foliation [ii], 54, [2] leaves

Edition First edition

Text folios [i] title page (verso blank); [ii] dedication by Cataneo to Enea Piccolomini (verso blank); 1–54 recto, text and illustrations, books 1–4; 54 verso, blank; [55]–[56] recto, table of contents, ending with register and colophon “In Vinegia, in casa de' figliuoli di Aldo. M.D.LIII.”; [56] verso, printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page and repeated on final page (fol. 56 verso); historiated woodcut initials

Illustrations Unnumbered and unsigned woodcut illustrations throughout text, including seven full page

Binding Eighteenth-century Italian marbled paper boards, vellum spine

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Frederic Mewes, with his stamp on title page

References Berlin Cat. 2576; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 23; Brunet 1: 1654; Cicognara 468; Fowler 82; Mortimer, *Italian*, 113; Pollak 8; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 582; Riccardi 1: 319

THE SIENESE PIETRO CATANEO, author, military architect, mathematician, and administrator, was the quintessential Renaissance polymath. He is best known for his two principal publications, the *Quattro libri* and the *Pratiche delle due prime matematiche* (Venice 1546), but his professional life is poorly documented. This scarcity of documents has prevented a precise placement of Cataneo's contribution within the artistic environment of his time. He seems to have known the manuscript *Trattati* of Francesco di Giorgio Martini and may have studied design with the painter Domenico Beccafumi, to whom he was related by marriage. Trained also in the circle of Baldassare Peruzzi, with whom he was in contact, Cataneo possibly supervised construction projects left unfinished after Peruzzi's death in 1536. He is critical of both Sebastiano Serlio (cats. 125–128), whom he accused of plagiarizing Peruzzi's inheritance, and Bernardo Rossellino, whose work in Pienza he qualifies as “unintelligent.” Beginning in 1542 Cataneo was employed as fortification architect by the Sienese government formed by the Imperialists, and in that capacity he visited many outlying towns of the republic, such as Talamone, Capalbio, Campagnatico, and Sinalunga. For the next decade he was responsible for fortifications around Monte Argentario, which included Porto Ercole, Santo Stefano, and Orbetello. By 1552, however, Cataneo had changed sides, abandoning the Imperialists in favor of Enea Piccolomini's party, which revolted against the Spanish. About ninety drawings attributed to Cataneo survive (Uffizi, nos. 3275–3381).

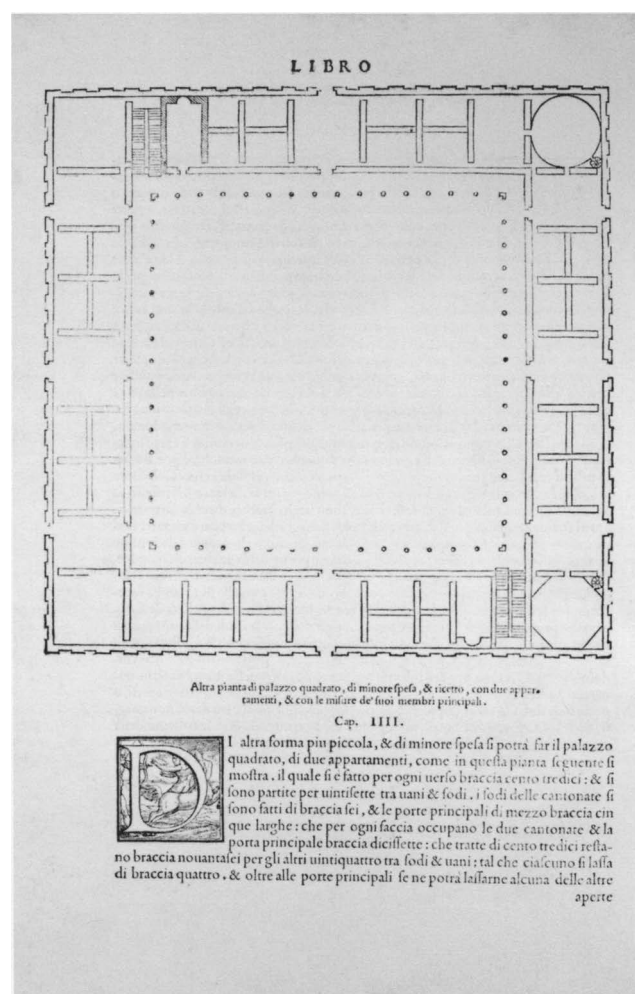
The *Quattro primi libri* is dedicated to Piccolomini, descendant of Pienza's founder, Pius II Piccolomini, whose courage Cataneo praised. This treatise was probably produced in 1553, under Cataneo's supervision, during a lull in the Sienese wars. His publishers were Aldo Manuzio's heirs, expert editors but also political opponents of Emperor Charles V. The treatise is deeply rooted in the political circumstances of its time, as is the second edition of 1567 dedicated to Francesco de' Medici, heir of Cosimo I, grand duke of Tuscany.

While in the dedication to the first edition there is special emphasis on the importance of modern fortification, in the Medici dedication, fortifications are mentioned together with palaces, temples, and porticoes. All political references have been replaced by praises of the Medici.

Cataneo's *Quattro libri* has been labeled the "last of the comprehensive" treatises that dealt with both civil and military architecture. In the intellectual spectrum of architectural theory based on Vitruvius, he occupies a place between the humanist generalists of the fifteenth century and the professional specialists of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cataneo is one of the only eight Italian authors compared in Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* (Millard, *French Books*, 76). Although he did not enjoy the publishing successes of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (cats. 144–151) and Andrea Palladio (cats. 65–72), Cataneo's urban designs were influential in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the precepts of planning the ideal city were appropriated for the design of the ideal fortress. Among the widely flung new towns with a military mandate modeled closely on his designs are Valetta (Malta), Győr (Hungary), Zamosc (Poland), and Savannah, Georgia (U.S.).

The four parts of the *Quattro primi libri* address, respectively, fortification and city planning, construction materials, churches, and palaces and private houses. The longest and most original of these is the first book, on military architecture. Illustrating his ideal city, with orthogonal street layout, bastioned fortification, and regular polygonal outline, Cataneo drew upon his experience in actual fortifications for the Sienese wars. He was indeed the last of the Renaissance architectural treatise writers to regard both military and civil architecture as inextricably linked together. Thus his work marks an important moment before the specialization of architects deepened.

"Surely the most beautiful aspect of architecture deals with the city," wrote Cataneo in his dedication to Piccolomini. "Since modern cities are now threatened by artillery it would not be presumptuous for me to show how to build them in a new way." Since this association between architecture and the city had been made earlier in published and manuscript treatises by such fifteenth-century writers as Leon Battista Alberti (cats. 4–9), Antonio Averlino, known as Filarete, and Francesco di Giorgio Martini, the novelty of Cataneo's idea consisted in making urban design the central assignment of the architect and, more significantly, in linking city planning with military architecture. In appropriating the defense of the city and its design for architecture, he formalized a practice suggested two generations earlier by Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Leonardo da Vinci. Thus Cataneo's program posits

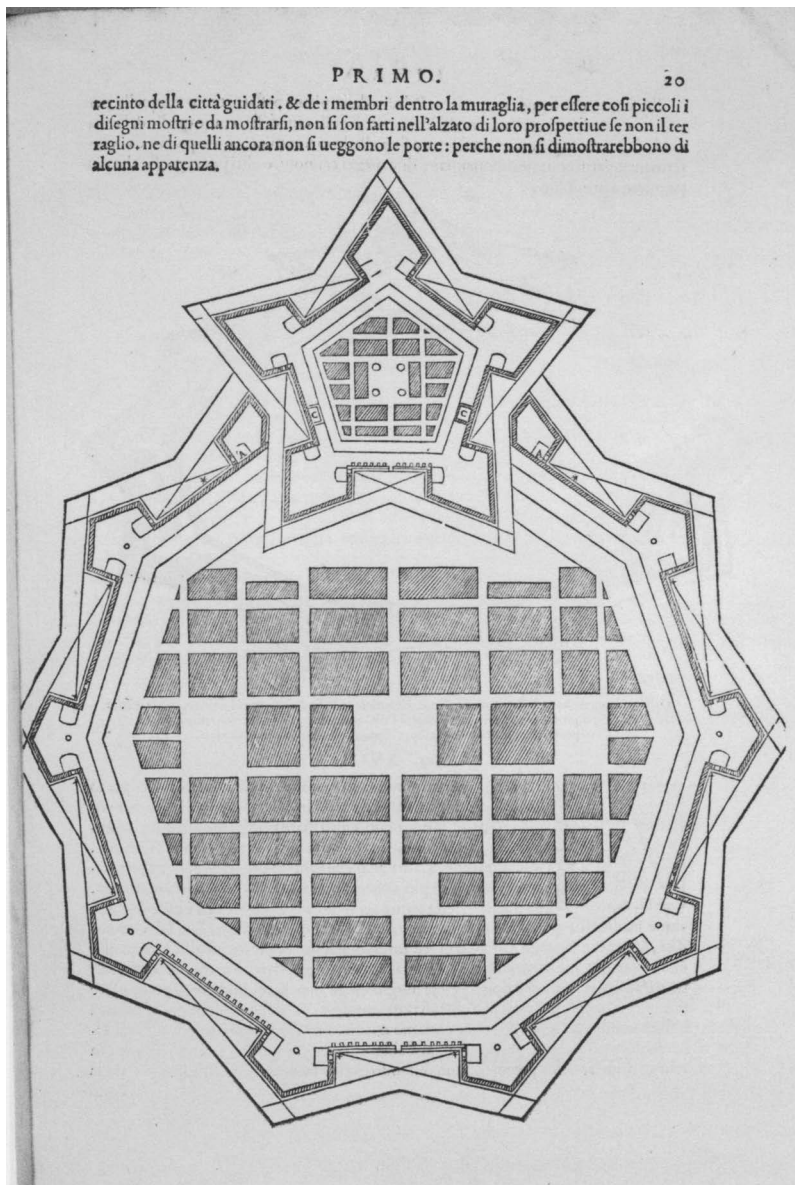


Pietro Cataneo. *I quattro primi libri di architettura*. Plan of a palace. 1983.49.15

urban design as the best part of architecture and military defense as the principal problem of urban design (Kruft 1986).

The first book takes up half the length of the entire treatise and is divided into twenty chapters. In addressing the skills required of an architect, and in sharp contrast to Vitruvius, Cataneo pronounces philosophy, astrology, music, and law unnecessary for the practice of architecture. But he insists on an understanding of basic medicine, which will help determine whether the site of a city is a healthy one; considers good draftsmanship fundamental since drawings will save the greater cost of making a model; demands the mathematical skills that are needed to estimate the cost of building; and finally suggests that knowledge of history will enable the architect to direct the decorative work of the painter and the sculptor and thus control the eventual appearance of the building.

A good site is as important for a city as sound foundations are for a building. This site ought to be healthy, fertile, defensible, convenient, and attractive. Health is determined through air and climate, water and vege-



Pietro Cataneo. *I quattro primi libri di architettura*. Plan of a bastioned city with a pentagonal citadel. 1983.49.15

tation; as a Siennese, Cataneo clearly prefers hill sites, finding that even the water is better there since it flows faster. In his discussion of hill or plain, sea or river sites, Cataneo opts for a port as the one most strategically situated and aesthetically most pleasing, even during siege (he writes that war in port cities is more elating than inland because it is more moving to see the approach of boats than to see a large number of running horses), giving Lisbon, Rome, and Alexandria as examples of great maritime cities. (Consulted in 1547 in the planning for the expansion of Orbetello, Cataneo provided a design and a *ragionamento* that would have turned it into a mighty sea-fort, with an arsenal more important than that of Venice.) He suggests further that the capital of a kingdom be placed at the geographical center of its territory, giving Carthage, Corinth, and

Capua as examples of such great towns—destroyed by the Romans who feared their ascendance—and that the dedicatory rituals of towns and buildings should include foundation medals commemorative of their builders.

Cataneo develops regular square and polygonal cities and proposes the gridiron plan for the layout of their streets. The form of the walls is not followed in the arrangement of the interior of the city—where it meets the fortified edge, the checkerboard is simply cut off. The *pomoerium* or open area that Cataneo requires between the houses and the city walls separates their differing geometries. Within the city, he insists on the importance of well-designed squares and streets. The center should be occupied by the main square, entirely or partly porticoed with magnificent colonnades. Each side of this square should be connected by a straight street to a main gate; along each of these streets there should be one or more squares (according to the size of the city) smaller than the main square. The width of the streets should be determined by the climate (wider streets for colder climates) rather than questions of defense (in Alberti's prescriptions, the streets are part of the defense), but there should be at least one wide and straight street, which allows for greater pleasure in its buildings. Wide streets also impress strangers by analogy to the Roman Campo Marzio and by displaying the wealth of the city. Cataneo's chapter on streets (I.iv) as well as the title of his treatise were closely adapted, almost plagiarized, by Palladio, who acknowledges their acquaintance and their discussions about the Doric order (*Quattro libri* III.ii, cat. 65).

Cataneo describes in detail the design and function of each kind of square. If the city is a port, the main square should be next to it. All secular public buildings should have a place on the main square (city hall, treasury, archive, arsenal, police, prison), while the religious structures of the city should not be far from the main square. The food markets and parish churches should be on the smaller squares, while the animal markets should take place in the *pomoerium*. Among public structures related to entertainment, Cataneo prescribes the porticoed water-theater for the *naumachie* (the fabled water battles of the ancients that fascinated sixteenth-century antiquarians), and mentions the desirability of a university, but he is persuaded that—given the invention of print—public libraries are no longer necessary.

Cataneo discusses and illustrates in detail four regular polygonal city plans—square, pentagonal, hexagonal, and heptagonal—providing precise dimensions, numbers of bastions and gates, and exact placement of squares. This geometrical and measured layout is determined by the length of cannon fire, which is used in calculating the curtain wall between two bastions. In describing the citadel and its fraught relationship to the town it simultaneously protects and menaces, Cataneo

offers two examples (Piacenza and Milan) where the citadel turned against the rulers of the city. Here he touches upon a delicate political subject investigated earlier by Machiavelli. His most elaborate town plan, for a princely city, solves these problems by making both elements as powerful as possible, juxtaposing a decagonal city with a pentagonal citadel, and thus establishing an association between military strength and the geometry of the pentagon that survived through the next two centuries. He recognizes, however, that a hereditary sovereign like the king of France need only fortify the frontiers of his state, whereas less confident rulers must fortify every part of their domain.

The illustrations in this first book, especially the larger ones, are dramatic and confident; they mostly share the page with the text. (Even though there is some attempt to form the text into paragraphs, each of the numbered and titled chapters constitutes, in effect, a paragraph.) While Cataneo adopts the plan as his principal mode of representation, many designs are presented in an influential "oblique" perspective—unusual at the time—which was to become widespread in seventeenth-century fortification treatises. The author's confidence is also expressed by another form of illustration, the use of classical references in pointed moderation. His anecdotes are supplied by Pliny the Elder on Nero boiling water for drinking, Vitruvius on the story of Alexander and Dinocrates, and Tacitus' conclusion that Rome became less healthy after Nero widened its streets.

The second book, on building materials, is an excellent summary of this appealing subject. The materials include brick and stones of various kinds, their origin, properties, weaknesses, and best use in construction. Of the twelve chapters, four are dedicated to a passionate discussion of trees. Cataneo effectively recalls Italian landscapes, provides an inventory of trees held in great esteem by the ancients (who dedicated them to various deities), and defines their uses and properties; perhaps influenced by its name, he devotes a small treatise to the chestnut—the most perfect tree since it serves both as food and as building material.

Book 3, on churches, displays Cataneo's erudition: his examples of great churches are the Pantheon, of course, but also the temple of Diana at Ephesus and Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Summarizing Solomon's experience in building the temple, Cataneo concludes that in building for God one cannot build too magnificently. His own designs include plans based on the Latin cross, the Greek cross, the octagon, and

the circle and are based variously on a proportioning system proposed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, on Peruzzi's suggestions for elaborate polygons, and on Bramante's design for the Tempietto in Rome.

Book 4, on houses and palaces, is equally conservative. Here his precedents include Pienza, which he considers magnificent though designed by an unintelligent architect, and Giuliano da Sangallo's design for Poggio Reale. The legal ranking of the palace as the residence of the ruler (*palatium*) has been abandoned; the palace has emerged as an important residence, dominant in size and decoration, but within reach of the private aristocrat. Indeed, the house is established again (following Alberti and Serlio) as the important retreat of men, especially princes who receive and those dedicated to study. It is fundamental for women of high rank, for whom the home is the only appropriate place ("convenirsi molto più alle donne onorate che a gli huomini stare in casa"). Cataneo's compositions seem determined by geometry rather than function. This is especially clear in the case of the octagonal palace, where he reuses the plan of the cross house, joining the four projecting wings with diagonal walls. Thus the outline of the building and its interior subdivisions operate at separate levels, provoking a discontinuity similar to that of his towns, where a checkerboard plan is rigidly placed within a pentagonal or heptagonal wall enclosure.

This conservatism of the architectural design and the rigidity of the city plans may be part of the reason why Cataneo's treatise aged within a few decades and went out of fashion together with the works of Cesare Cesariano, Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, and Gioseffe Viola Zanini (cats. 158, 119, and 167). Nevertheless, it took its place on the shelves of all important libraries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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Giovanni Battista Costaguti (1636–1704)

32

Architettvra Della Basilica Di S. Pietro
In Vaticano Opera di Bramante Lazzari,
Michel'Angelo Bonarota, Carlo Maderni,
e altri famosi Architetti Da Monsignore
Gio. Battista Costagvti Seniore Maggiordomo
Di Paolo V. Fatta esprimere, e intagliare in
più tauole da Martino Ferrabosco, e posta in
luce l'Anno M. DC XX. Di nuouo data alle
Stampe Da Monsignore Gio. Battista Costagvti
Ivniore Decano Della Camera Nell'Anno
M.DC. LXXXIV

Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1684

1985.61.479

Folio: 472 × 360 (18 ⁵/₈ × 14 ³/₁₆)

Pagination [viii], xxxv, [1] pp., engraved title plate,
[32] engraved plates (26 folding or double page)

(Note: The engraved title plate of the Millard copy is dated 1620 and dedicated to Paul v, whereas the title plate of the RIBA copy of the 1684 edition is dated 1684 and dedicated to Innocent xi. No title plate, however, is present in the RIBA copy of the presumed 1620 edition, in actuality a collection of 30 unnumbered engravings)

Edition First edition. The plates were first published in 1620; however, this is the first edition with the letter-press text

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–v] dedication by Costaguti *junior* to Innocent xi; [vi] imprimatur; [vii–viii] note to the reader (concerning the present edition); i–xxv text; xxvi–xxxv description of plates; [xxxvi] blank

Giovanni Battista Costaguti. *Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*. Saint Peter's: facade. 1985.61.479





Ornaments Woodcut ornament on title page, also used as tailpieces; woodcut headpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Additional engraved title plate with dedication “Alla S.^{ta} Di N. S. P P Pavlo Qvinto” and title, “Libro De L’architettura Di San Pietro nel Vaticano Finito Col disegno di Michel Angelo Bonaroto Et d’Altri Architetti Espressa in piu Tauole Da Martino Ferrabosco,,” dated “In Roma L’anno 1620 Nel Vaticano Con licenza, e Privilegio,” with architectural setting, allegorical figures, and putti. The base of the monument is inscribed “Dedicato Da Monsignore Gio. Battista Costagvti [senior] Maggiordomo Di Sva Santità.” 30 engraved plates numbered I–XIII, [XIV], XV–XXX, plate III being made up of two coppers (4 full page, remainder folding or double page); plus 2 unnumbered full-page engraved plates. Both the title page and title plate describe the plates as being designed by Martino Ferrabosco

Binding Contemporary quarter vellum, paper-covered boards, blue sprinkled edges. Plate xxx, here a full-page plate, should be a double-page plate made up of two separate coppers; the unnumbered half is misbound separately as one of the unnumbered plates (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1053)

References Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 26–27; Cicognara 3690; Millard, *Northern European Books*, 106 (note); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1053 (imperfect)

THIS BOOK IS ONE OF A SERIES OF illustrated historical and polemical studies of Saint Peter’s in Rome that were part of a sustained papal effort to justify the costly reconstruction of the building and allay the painful suspicion that the ancient basilica had been profaned by the excavations made for the foundations of the new building. It is the definitive edition of the collection of engravings, among the best graphic illustrations of the basilica, first intended for publication in Rome in 1620 as *Libro de l’architettura di San Pietro nel Vaticano finito col disegno di Michelangelo Bonaroto et d’altri architetti espressa in piu tavole da Martino Ferrabosco*, and dedicated to Pope Paul V Borghese by his majordomo, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti. This edition in the Millard collection was published by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti junior, nephew of the previous edition’s sponsor and *decano* of the papal chamber. The principal difference between the planned first edition and this realized edition is that in the second one the suite of plates is accompanied by a twenty-five-page *Dichiarazione*. The plates were reissued, in an edition

published in 1812, with an altered text by Filippo Grilli.

The two Costaguti prelates, both members of a Genoese clan, distinguished themselves in papal service together with other members of their family. In the ledger of papal expenses for the year 1620–1621 (Vatican Library, Introiti ed Esiti, number 50, fol. 11 verso), the original sponsor of this collection of prints, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti, is listed as “Maestro di Casa” with a salary of 60 scudi. The only person to receive as large a cash payment was Carlo Borghese, the pope’s nephew. Martino Ferrabosco is mentioned in the same ledger as “fontanaro” with a payment order for 12 scudi (fol. 13 recto) (additional payment orders in Muñoz 1911). Another Costaguti is listed as “comp[utis]ta della Cam[er]a” and paid 5 scudi (fol. 13 recto). Giovanni Battista Costaguti junior, born in Rome in 1636, was preceded in papal service by his brother Vincenzo, born in Rome in 1611. Both became cardinals and were appointed to significant positions in the church hierarchy. Giovanni Battista was named governor of several papal cities by Pope Alexander VIII, then *chierico di camera* under Pope Clement IX, later president of the mint and the *annona*, and finally deacon of the *chierici di camera*. He was created cardinal in 1690, titular of the church of San Bernardo alle Terme and then at Santa Anastasia, which he restored. He put together an important museum, distinguished for its collection of medals, which he offered to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, the nephew of Pope Alexander VIII. Rendered delusional (“sofri non poco nella testa,” according to Gaetano Moroni) by the desire for the papal tiara—he talked of papal outfits, drew up lists of cardinals, and seemed to believe that he had become pope with the name of Urban IX—the second Cardinal Costaguti died in Rome in 1704 and was buried in the family chapel at San Carlo ai Catinari.

The original edition of this book was intended to illustrate the marvels of Saint Peter’s and to make them available to distant readers. A preface commissioned from Carlo Ferrante Gianfattori to accompany the plates remained in manuscript and was referred to by later historians such as Filippo Bonanni. The plates were issued sometime after the death of Ferrabosco with a title page dated 1620; the only copy traced—at the Hertziana library in Rome—is bound with later seventeenth-century engraved illustrations of Saint Peter’s published by the print dealer Giovanni Giacomo de’ Rossi. The edition of 1684 was connected to the building of the second fountain in front of Saint Peter’s, and the added *Dichiarazione* was intended to clarify the plates, which continue to be the principal part of the publication. In fact, except for small details such as coats of arms, the plates are identical with those of the original collection. Indeed, the editor claims that new construction since 1620 has not been included, in order

Giovanni Battista Costaguti. *Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*. Title page. 1985. 61.479

to preserve the character of the original publication.

The 1684 edition is distinguished, then, by the *Dichiarazione* composed by the editor. It is twenty-five pages long, paragraphed, and set in large roman typeface, while the marginal notes are in smaller italic typeface. It is a brief history of the church's construction and the significance of its site from imperial Roman origins through its transformation in the early seventeenth century. Both church and site emerge as powerful Christian symbols. The site had been imbued with meaning through the suffering and martyrdom of Christian victims, while the building, in its Constantinian and modern forms, seemed to contain the wealth of the world. Thus the earlier basilica was endowed with ninety-two marble columns and gilded beams, and one hundred additional columns—of which twelve had been brought from the temple of Solomon—decorated various ciboria in the church. The walls were enriched with paintings that narrated stories from the Old and New Testaments and with effigies of popes from Peter to Nicholas III. Peter's tomb was further ornamented with twelve columns and twelve silver statues of the apostles; twenty-four hundred lamps burned in the interior.

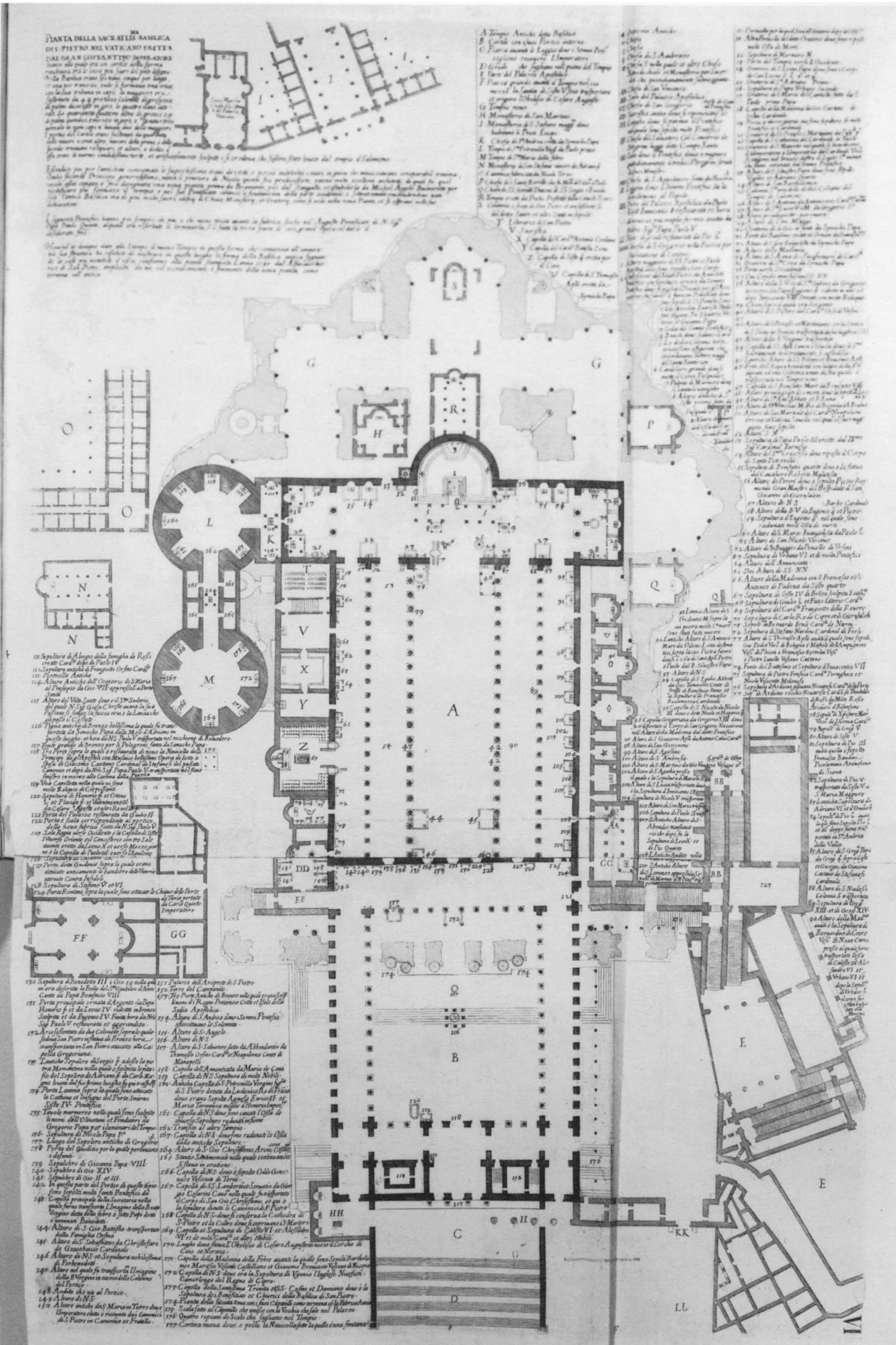
The meaning of the church is seen to be derived from and further enhanced by its contents. The church is a great cemetery, as documented by the long list of distinguished men and women buried there. It is decorated with the trophies bequeathed to it by a succession of emperors and with works of art commissioned by cardinals. The value of the rich adornments, such as the great bronze pineapple in the atrium brought from Hadrian's tomb or the white marble steps leading to the basilica taken from the (mythical) tomb of Romulus, was enhanced by their previous association with ancient Roman monuments.

Costaguti's sources for the history of the contents of the church include the literary and graphic remains of Tiberio Alfarano (c. 1582), Giacomo Grimaldi (1605–1620), and Carlo Ferrante Gianfattori (c. 1620). Alfarano's work is especially significant since it had been the first attempt to formulate the history of the early Christian basilica at the time when it became clear that all of it would have to be demolished so that Michelangelo's design could be realized. Alfarano's work was prompted by deep veneration for the antiquity of a building that, through its association with the earliest saints of Christianity, was considered among the most sanctified relics and expresses the ambiguity that followed the decision taken earlier in the century to replace the old building with a new one. Another, and more immediate, reason for writing the history of the church was to establish the greater importance of Saint Peter's over that of the other Constantinian basilica in Rome, the church of San Giovanni in Laterano.

Alfarano's study, influenced by earlier writers such as Maffeo Veggio ("De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae Sancti Petri," c. 1443), Pietro Mallio, and Onofrio Panvinio ("De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae Sancti Petri apostolum principis Vaticanae," c. 1560), was a deeply layered historical reconstruction of the interior of Saint Peter's. The plan of the church that he produced included every altar and tomb, every chapel and significant object that the church accumulated in its twelve-hundred-year history. The result of Alfarano's endeavor was a richly detailed plan of Saint Peter's (1590) engraved on copperplate by Natale Bonifazio, the artist who contemporaneously made the engravings for Domenico Fontana's book on the moving of the obelisk (1589). The copperplate was in Alfarano's possession at his death; the chapter of Saint Peter's purchased it in 1600 from his estate for 10 scudi. Grimaldi's work was commissioned in 1605 by Paul V. It was intended to document the daily translation of relics and bodies of saints from the naves of the church, soon to be demolished, to the Vatican grottoes and to other churches in Rome. The first part of Grimaldi's work, completed in 1619, contains daily notices about the demolitions at Saint Peter's and descriptions of the new construction. In the second part, completed in 1620, Grimaldi discusses the Vatican palace and the Borgo Leonino, the settlement that had grown around the Vatican. Grimaldi's work, which remained in manuscript form, is a great collection of materials rather than a book.

Martino Ferrabosco, who drew and engraved these plates, has a place among the minor architects and sculptors who contributed to the development of early baroque architecture in Rome. With the notable exception of his design for the ciborium over the tomb of Saint Peter, which he made before Gian Lorenzo Bernini was awarded the commission for the baldachin, his architectural work has received little attention. Originally from the Ticino, he worked in Rome from c. 1611 and died there in 1623 during the conclave that elected Urban VIII. He was paid for his stucco work at the Pauline chapel in the Quirinal palace in 1616; in 1617 he was working on the main portal of the Vatican palace (the realized design is illustrated in Bonanni's book on Saint Peter's, cat. 21); in 1620 and 1621 he was working in the choir and sacrament chapels inside Saint Peter's, as well as at the maintenance of the Vatican fountains (as documented in Costaguti senior's account book). Ferrabosco was associated with Grimaldi, whose manuscript history contains the former's engravings of Saint Peter's, and with Gianfattori, whose incomplete history of the church of Saint Peter's also remained in

Giovanni Battista Costaguti. *Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*. Plans of the Constantinian basilica and new Saint Peter's superimposed. 1985. 61.479



manuscript. Gianfattori's historical work, commissioned by Pope Paul v, was meant to accompany the plates engraved by Ferrabosco in a lavish publication celebrating the church as enlarged by Carlo Maderno.

The 1684 edition contains two title pages: the 1620 frontispiece by Ferrabosco and a second title page dated 1684. The descriptions of the thirty illustrations by Ferrabosco follow the *Dichiarazione*. The first plate is the plan of the Vatican, with its fortifications, church, square, and palace, and the corresponding text includes description of the *teatro* of the apostolic palace with its great riches such as the painting gallery, the library, and the archive. The sumptuousness of the palace is conveyed through the baroque rhetoric of *copia*. Thus its fourteen *cortili*, twelve main halls, twelve public staircases, and two public chapels are lovingly listed; the gardens enlarged by Paul v and decorated with numerous fountains and statues receive elaborate praise. In the second plate the plan of the Constantinian basilica is accompanied by a lengthy legend, evidently derived from Alfarano's history. Plate 4 illustrates the facade of the old basilica, just before the definitive enlargement, while plate 5 is a section through the ancient church. Plate 6 illustrates the plans of the ancient and the new basilicas superimposed one over the other. This is one of the most inventive designs in the collection, completing the idea suggested by Alfarano, whose plan of the Constantinian basilica included a trace of the incompletely realized project by Michelangelo. It is Alfarano's research and his surveyed plan of the older building that allowed the precise relationships between the two buildings to be clearly identified. Alfarano is credited as a source in the 1684 edition, which includes in its entirety the lengthy legend of the original. There follows the plan of the new basilica, which in the original edition of 1620 would have been a largely novel contribution, preceded only by the copperplate plan of the church commissioned by Carlo Maderno in 1613 from the engraver Mattheus Greuter. The following eighteen plates (8–26), illustrating details of the new church's interior and exterior, constitute an updated and comprehensive graphic portrait of Saint Peter's.

The last four plates, which document projects designed and proposed by Ferrabosco for Saint Peter's, indicate graphically that this publication is not merely a history of the building as it actually developed, but also an architectural treatise, inasmuch as it is a vehicle for the proposal of new design projects. Plate 27, for instance, is his design for the area under the main dome of the church, now occupied by Bernini's baldachin. Plates 28 and 29 are Ferrabosco's design for the location of the cardinals' conclave, shown in plan and elevation, which he proposed to place adjacent to the crossing of the church. The last plate is the portal of the Vatican palace, designed by Ferrabosco and built under Paul v,

surmounted with bell tower and clock. The entire structure was later demolished when the *anfiteatro* designed by Bernini was built during the reign of Alexander vii.

Ferrabosco made additional suggestions for the definitive arrangement of Saint Peter's and its immediate surroundings. Significantly, he proposed to enhance the fortification for the Vatican palace and the church, in order to ensure the security of the cardinals during the interregnum conclaves, and proposed to lodge them more comfortably and permanently in the upper level of the new portico designed by Carlo Maderno (replacing the ad hoc arrangements made at "ogni morte di papa"). His designs for the area in front of and adjacent to the new church facade, like his design for the portal of the Vatican palace, were in response to a problem that became evident after the demolition of the old basilica and its atrium. The demolition exposed a side of the apostolic palace that previously faced into its own court. Ferrabosco's design attempted to mask the irregularity of the older building with his bastionlike additions, which survived until the definitive configuration of Saint Peter's square built to Bernini's project in the reign of Pope Alexander vii. Costaguti's book, then, is a step in the official formulation of Saint Peter's building history.

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Marc'Antonio Dal Re (1697–1766)

33

[Title in Italian] *Ville Di Delizia o Siano Palaggi Camparecci Nello Stato di Milano Divise in Sei Tomi Con espressevi le Piante, e diverse Vedute delle medesime Incise e Stampate da Marc-Antonio Dal Re Bolognese. Tomo Primo*

[Title in French] *Maisons De Plaisance ou Palais De Campagne De L'Etat De Milan Divisez en Six Tomes Ou l'on Voit leurs Plans et leurs diverses perspectives Gravés et Imprimés par Marc-Antoine DalRe Boulognois Tome Premier*

Milan: printed for Dal Re "Nella Contrada S.^{ta} Margherita, all'insegna dell'Aquila imperiale," 1726

1985.61.516

Oblong folio: 412 × 539 (16³/₁₆ × 21³/₁₆)

Foliation [64] etched and engraved plates (20 folding)

(Note: The Millard copy lacks three plates as described in the bibliography included in the facsimile edition of the *Ville di delizia*; see Bagatti Valsecchi 1963: 67–68. These missing plates are two plates illustrating the villa at Merate and one plate illustrating the villa at Robecco)

Edition First edition. Vol. 1 only (all published of this edition)

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. 64 etched and engraved plates numbered in manuscript 1–64: plate [1] frontispiece, with river gods, nymphs, and the Fall of Phaeton, and view of Milan in background; plate [2] title plate; plate [3] portrait of dedicatee; plates [4–5] dedication to Prince Eugene of Savoy, Italian and French in parallel columns (text throughout appears in this format); plate [6] preface; plate [7] text, description of the Villa at Brignano; plates [8–18] illustrations, Villa at Brignano (pls. [8], [17], [18] folding); plate [19] text, Villa at Belgioioso; plates [20–23] illustrations, Villa at Belgioioso (pls. [22], [23] folding); plate [24] text, Villa at Cinisella; plates [25–30] illustrations, Villa at Cinisella (pls. [25], [30] folding); plate [31] text, the Isola Borromea called "Bella"; plates [32–34] illustrations, Isola Borromea (all folding); plate [35] text, Villa at Merate; plates [36–43], illustrations, Villa at Merate

(pl. [36] folding); plate [44] text, Villa at Oreno; plates [45–52] illustrations, Villa at Oreno (pls. [45], [49–52] folding); plate [53] text, Villa at Robecco; plates [54–59] illustrations, Villa at Robecco (pls. [54], [58], [59] folding); plate [60] text, Villa called "la Simonetta"; plates [61–64], illustrations, "la Simonetta" (pl. [64] folding). Engraved text pages as described above, all with etched coats of arms between headings of French and Italian texts. The frontispiece is signed "Aurelianus Milanus Bononiensis In. Rome" and "Marcus Ant. DalRe Bononiensis Incidit Med^{mi}"; the dedication portrait is signed by Dal Re as etcher ("Marc'Ant.^o DalRe Sculpi in Milano"); most plates of the villa plans, elevations, and views are signed by Giovanni Battista Ricaldi as draftsman ("Joanes B^{na} Ricaldus del.", with variants) and by Dal Re as etcher ("Marcus Ant.^s DalRe Sculp.", with variants); plate [34] is signed by Dal Re as draftsman and etcher ("Marcus Antonius DalRe delieauit et Indicit"); plate [52] is signed by Carlo Federico Caccianiga as etcher ("Carolus Federicus Caccianiga delineavit"); several plates are not signed

Binding Contemporary sprinkled sheep, rebacked, hinges repaired, old morocco label on spine, traces of gilt on binding edges

Provenance Bookseller's ticket of Lucien Goldschmidt, New York

References Brunet 2: 474 (cites a later state of this edition dated 1727); *Ville di delizia*. Ed. Pier Fausto Bagatti Valsecchi. Milan, 1963

BORN IN BOLOGNA IN 1697, Marc'Antonio Dal Re worked from 1723 in Milan, where he died in 1766. Like his better-known contemporary Giuseppe Vasi in Rome, Dal Re gave his name to a publishing house. Dal Re, who was also a book dealer and an engraver, taught engraving in a school he founded himself. Preoccupied with keeping his business solvent, his work shows haste. He is not always faithful to his originals, the marks he makes are often schematic, summary, or excessively contracted, and he applies the rules of perspective without rigor. In the making of the plates for this first edition of the *Ville*, Dal Re engraved views drawn by Giovanni Battista Ricaldi, whose perspectives show a confident architectural

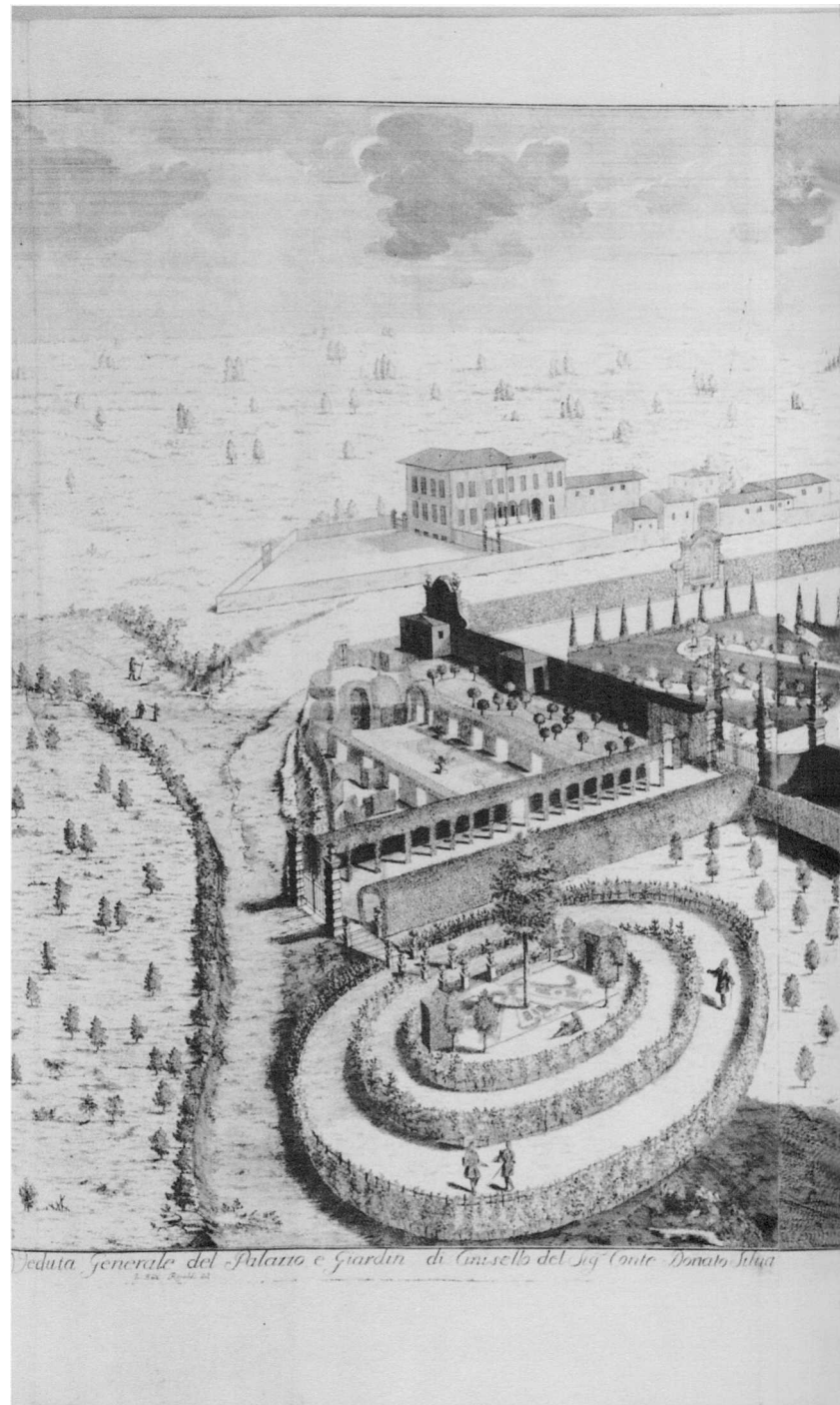
designer. The technical and artistic quality of the plates in the first edition is higher than those in the second—enlarged—edition of 1743, leading to the consideration that Ricaldi was a significant partner. Nonetheless, the illustrations in this album make a fundamental historical and documentary contribution to the understanding of Lombard late baroque architecture and landscape design.

The book is the most sumptuous publication on villas and an invaluable homogeneous study of a building type that has not fared well in Lombardy. Although some of the buildings illustrated here have survived and continue to be celebrated, others are now marooned in a context that does not remotely resemble the original site. Some have kept their architectural character even when their gardens have been reduced to uncertain traces, while others are entirely unrecognizable amid later additions and transformations. The Lombard villas have a variety of locations, but Lombardy cannot be said to have a “villa civilization” like the one developed in the Veneto, or around Naples, despite the aristocratic tradition of *villeggiatura* (Giansiro Ferrata, in *Ville di delizia* 1963). The harmony evoked by Dal Re represents the forms of a society near its end—in retreat, idyllic, evasive, and escapist. The memory of Spanish domination is still recent, and the French influence in garden design is all too evident (Harris 1996). The architectural design is excessive. In Giansiro Ferrata’s evaluation, “these country palaces had more windows than the year days,” and the gardens are very large. “Boredom penetrates these mastodonic settlements” (Ferrata, in *Ville di delizia* 1963) that are not connected to particularly beautiful sites nor with any practical daily purpose. In fact the countryside was depopulated and agriculture in decay. Ferrata refers to the “Versailles-like country-houses,” neglected because of their association with a humiliated Lombardy. Even the Isola Borromeo was not influential, which may explain the relatively low number of plates of the villa by Dal Re (but perhaps he was also not on good terms with the owners).

Unlike Italian villas elsewhere, little has been written about these Lombard country houses, and there is little archival documentation on the buildings. Two aspects of Dal Re’s work point to distinguishing characteristics of this building type: the importance of the garden architecture and the unity of the period being considered, 1690–1740. Villas were clearly more important than townhouses; greater emphasis was being placed on imaginative and decorated surroundings. The composition of the gardens was influenced by stage design and the axuality of French compositions, but also retained many Italian characteristics, especially that of terracing (Valsecchi, in *Ville di delizia* 1963).

The architect whose name recurs most often is Giovanni Ruggeri (died 1743), a Roman student of Carlo

Fontana. He was responsible for the Villas Omate, Orio, and Cernusco and for the restructuring of Brignano and Castellazzo (which was also published separately). Together with other villa architects, such as Giacomo Muttone (1662–1742), Carlo Federico Pietrasanta (died 1733), and Francesco Croce (1696–1773), Ruggeri built in a style called *barocchetto fiorito* or *teresiano*, a seemingly imperial watered-down late baroque (Valsecchi, in *Ville di delizia* 1963). Among the features of this style were the horizontal development of the villa (even though many were formed around the nucleus of a castle), the U-shaped plan, and an interior arrangement that mimicked Versailles in its ample provision of reception

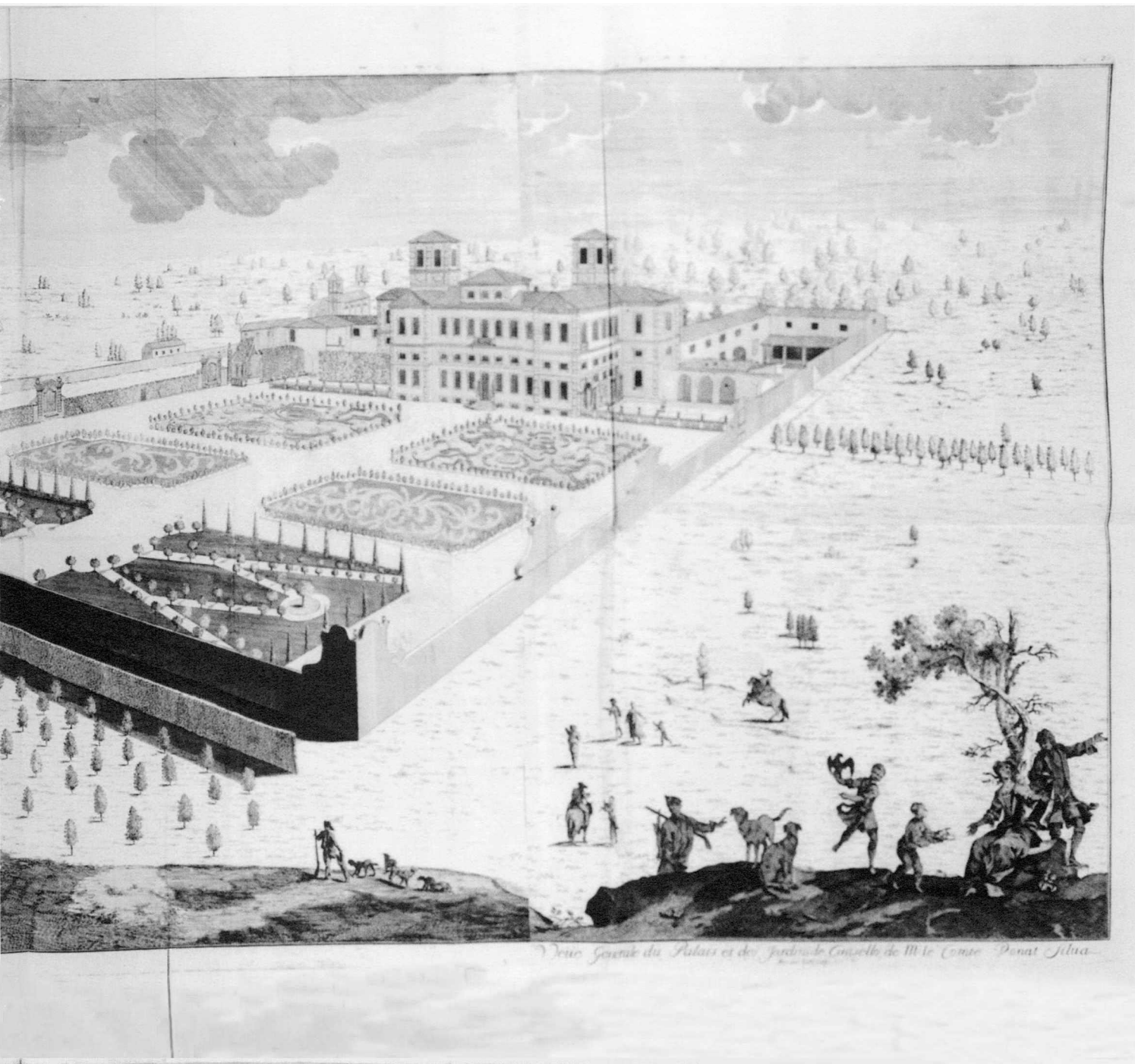


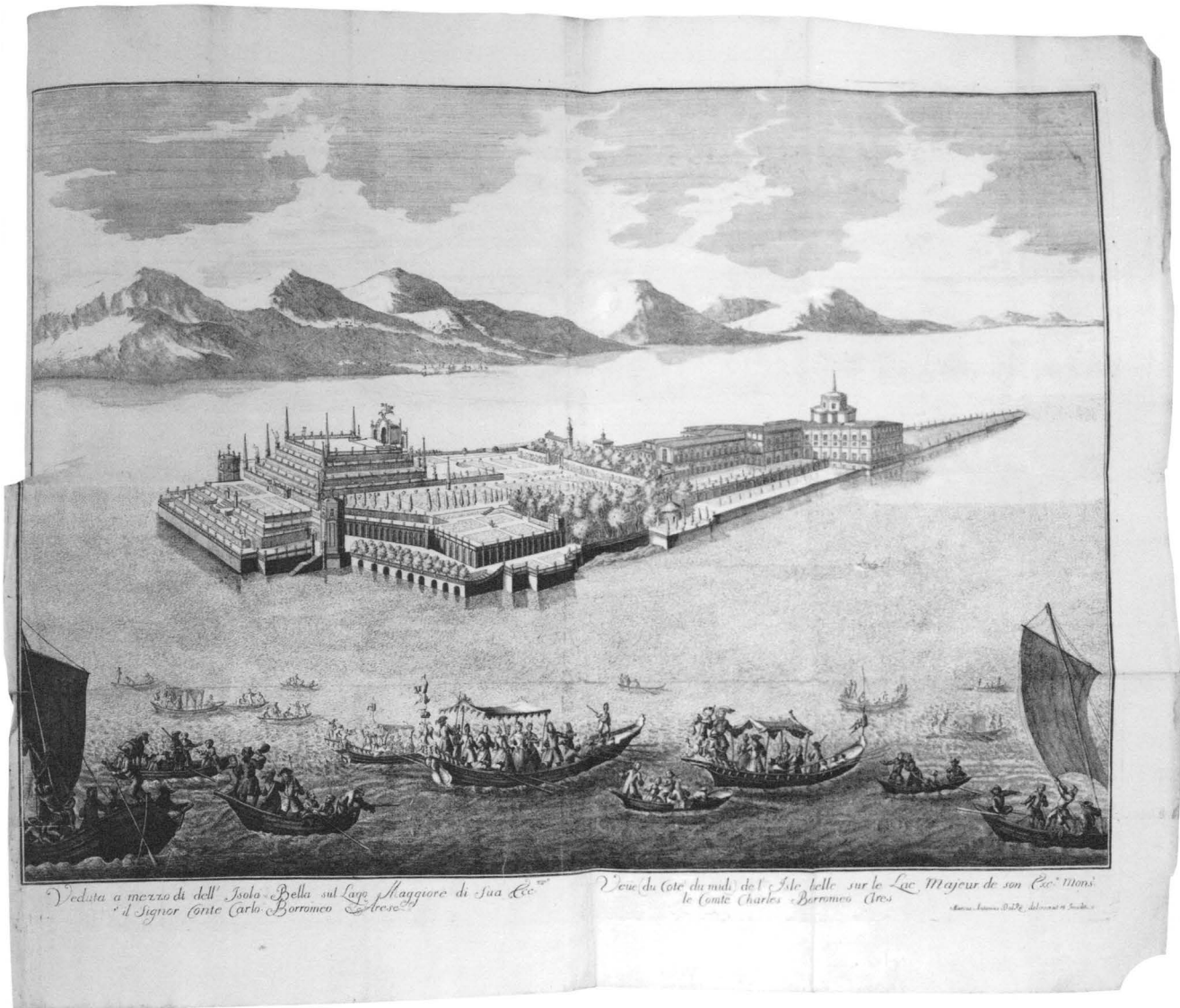
spaces at the ground level, with apartments relegated to the upper level, in a manner not common in other Italian villas. But Dal Re ignores interiors, with the exception of Castellazzo, even though many were highly decorated with frescoes.

Dal Re's project may have been able to do for Lombardy what artists such as Giuseppe Vasi and Luca Carlevaris were doing for Rome and Venice, respectively, while his closest contemporary who produced villa views is Giuseppe Zocchi (cat. 169). In the text accompanying the plates of Villa Castellazzo, Dal Re announces the imminent publication of a volume dedicated to *Sacre delizie*, where he wanted to illustrate

among other country shrines the Sacro Monte at Varese. He succeeded in publishing an important compendium of Milan's buildings, and the list of single-sheet engravings by his hand or published by him in the Bertarelli collection in Milan shows an engaged and active professional. Many of these sheets have strong journalistic qualities, dealing with such topical interests as war, funerals, and public festivities. Though not endowed with a personal political message, Dal Re's work closely resembles, in its topographic and military focus,

Marc'Antonio Dal Re. *Ville di Delizia*. Cinisella. 1985.61.516





the interests of the Flemish artist Romeyn de Hooghe (active in the last two decades of the seventeenth century), who also illustrated—with great speed and verve—many sieges and country houses north of the Alps.

Ville di delizia was published in two editions, in 1726 and in 1743, although the editions vary so much that they could be seen as different works. Of the eight villas in the first edition, only three can be found in the second, which has nine additional villas. The three villas that repeat are not illustrated with the same engravings in the two editions. Dal Re had planned to publish six volumes of villa illustrations; although he failed to complete his project, there are many loose sheets from the unpublished volumes. One hundred seventy-four sheets are known in all, fifty-three in the first edition, seventy in the second, and fifty-one loose sheets (of which forty-eight are available at the Civica Raccolta Bertarelli in Milan). The 1726 date is corrected in some copies as 1727. In the first edition the most-illustrated villas are Brignano with eleven plates, Merate with ten (only eight in the Millard copy), and Oreno with eight. In the

Marc'Antonio Dal Re. *Ville di Delizia*. Isola Bella, Lago Maggiore. 1985. 61.516

second edition, Castellazzo dominates with twenty-five plates, while among the unbound sheets Belgioioso is illustrated with twenty-four plates and Comazzo with twelve. The 1963 publication of *Ville di delizia*, edited by Bagetti Valsecchi, contains the plates from the first and second editions and four additional villas; the editor provides extensive notes regarding each villa.

The plates, all engraved by Dal Re after Giovanni Battista Riccardi, are very large, and twenty illustrations are made of several sheets joined together and folded several times. Their great size impresses one with the engraver's and printer's technical abilities, despite the variations in graphic styles, but as a book the plates constitute a curious presentation since they are folded without consistency and order.

The work is dedicated to Prince Eugene of Savoy, the political architect of Lombardy's post-Spanish Austrian government and a well-known patron of the visual

arts and architecture, since his triumphs brought about the peace that made possible the enjoyment of country villas. The illustrations of each villa are preceded by a bilingual descriptive text that provides the name of the villa's owner, the name of the architect, and the special features. Thus Brignano, the first and most lavishly illustrated villa, is the property of the Visconti, whose Roman architect, Giovanni Ruggeri, designed a theater that connects two earlier structures in order to form one large building. Brignano is illustrated with a site plan, an elevation of the two-story chancellor's court, a side elevation of the court, the garden facade, the street facade, the facade of the marshal's court, the fountain in the garden with the Visconti *impresa*, an octagonal pavilion in the garden, the terraced garden, the *anfiteatro* which provides a controlled view from the palace toward the town, masking the latter's irregularities, and a bird's-eye view of the palace with its gardens. The main building is U-shaped, the *anfiteatro* provides a composed entry space, and the gardens are enclosed by service buildings.

In the bird's-eye views of Cinisella, Isola Bella, and Robecco, Dal Re adopts his favorite diagonal composition, using the entire spread of the sheet from bottom left to top right—a clear indication of his familiarity with the concept of the *scena per angolo* pioneered by Ferdinando Galli Bibiena for stage design. This graphic concept based on the use of two-point perspective has the advantage of expanding the space illustrated. In Cinisella this places the garden and the circular mound outside its walls in the foreground of the image, while at Robecco the villa building is similarly foregrounded in the reverse composition. The gardens are divided into large parterres with French-style *broderie* patterns of planting; large graveled areas separate these elaborate designs. They are scarcely inhabited, though horse riders and languid locals enliven the featureless and airless territory outside the villa grounds, while the view of Isola Bella, derived from the view by Johann Fischer von Erlach (1725), is enlivened by a boating party that is being rowed to the Villa Borromeo. The view of the villa at Oreno, vertically composed on the sheet, with entry to the villa at bottom center and its belvedere at top center, is similar to Romeyn de Hooghe's view of the princely Villa Salzdahlum (c. 1715) outside

Wolfenbüttel. The view of Robecco, with the canal crossing the sheet diagonally from lower left to top right, illustrates a design with features shared by many of these buildings. In addition to the U-shaped court, these include wings that enclose the courts (often ending in towers), which have an accretive quality, even though each side of the building is symmetrical and surrounded by its walled garden. At Robecco the central hall towers above the entire composition, crossing the building from water entry (the Naviglio) to land court. Pilastered and stretched out with tall fenestration, this central composition recalls the country houses of German architects such as Johann Dientzenhofer's at Pommersfelden; here, too, great emphasis is placed on the monumental staircase despite the country location.

These dramatically angled "panoramic perspectives" (Harris 1996) offer a complete view of the charms of the villa and its gardens while urgently drawing the viewer into the picture. The impression of weightlessness that the pictures convey may be due to Dal Re's use of perspective mixed with another graphic convention, that of the axonometric projection, so that his perspectives do not diminish enough and his views take on an oddly abstracted quality.

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Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609)

34

Cosmo Medici Dvci Florentinor Et Senens
Vrbis Romæ Aedificiorvm Illvstrivmqvæ
Svpersvnt Reliqviæ Svmmæ Cvm Diligentia
A Ioanne Antonio Dosio Stilo Ferreo Vt Hodie
Cernvntvr Descriptæ Et A Io. Baptista De
Cavaleriis Aeneis Tabvlis Incisis Repræsentatæ
M D LXIX Kal. Mai

[Rome: Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri], 1569

1983.49.19

Oblong quarto: 266 × 203 (10 ½ × 8)

Foliation 50 etched plates

Edition First edition

Giovanni Antonio Dosio. *Urbis Romæ*. Title page. 1983.49.19

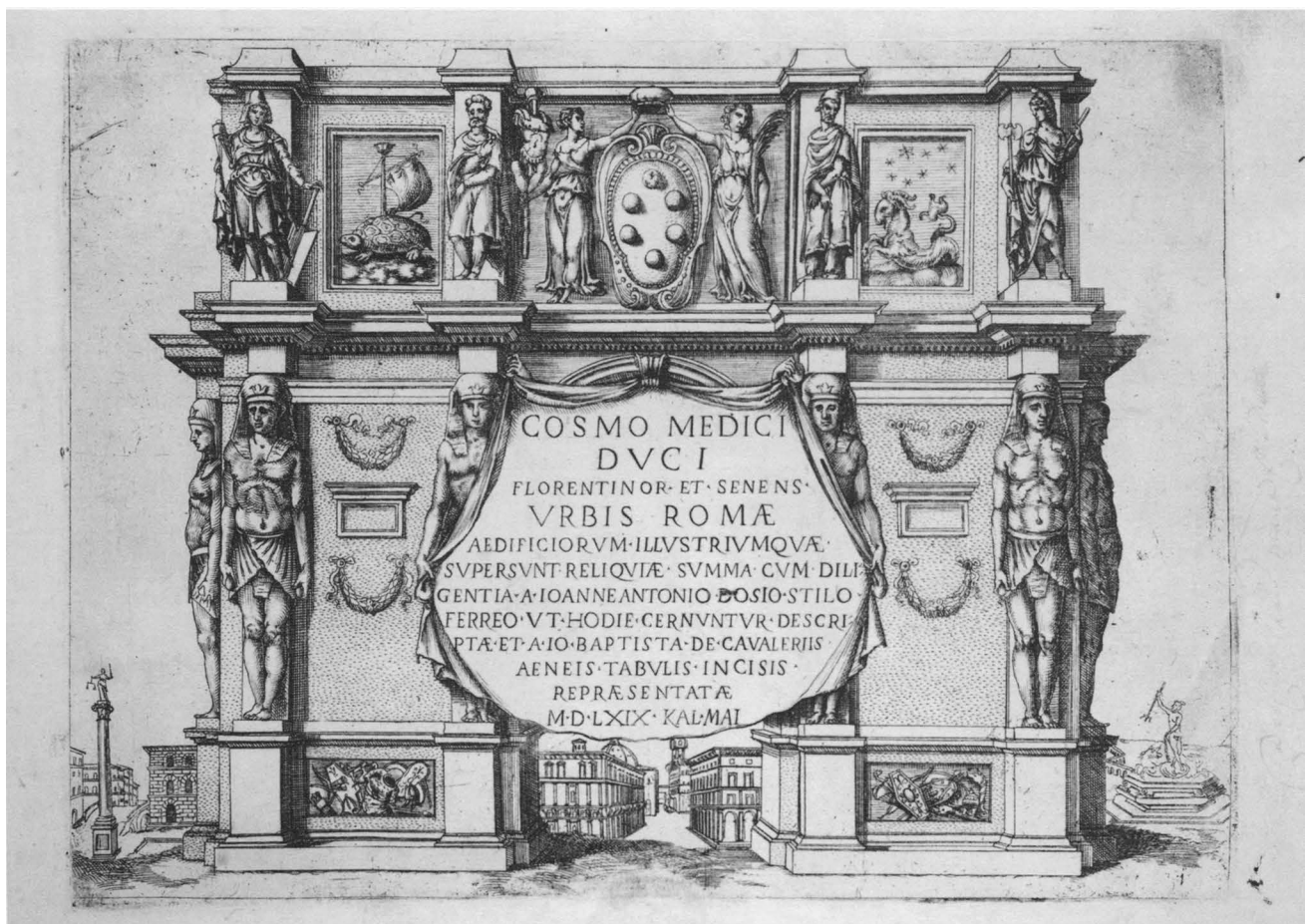
Illustrations 50 full-page etched plates, including title plate, numbered [1], 2–50; all unsigned. Title plate depicts fanciful triumphal arch with ancient Egyptian atlantes; plates 2–50 are views of ancient Roman monuments, with captions in Latin. The plates were etched by Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri after drawings by Dosio, as indicated by the title (but see below)

Binding Modern vellum

Provenance Bookplate of Rinaldo Cenni

References *Avery's Choice*, 18; *Berlin Cat.* 1846; *Besterman, Old Art Books*, 31–32; *Cicognara* 3704; *Fowler* 107

THIS IS ONE OF THE EARLIEST topographical collections of engraved views of Rome. The engraved title page represents a triumphal arch with Egyptian caryatids and a Medici coat of arms in the



attic. A dedication to Cosimo de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, is incorporated into the title. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, an artist of Tuscan origin who spent most of his working life in Rome and Naples, made the drawings for these engravings, whose publication marked an important point in his career. Before 1569 he was employed by various Roman patricians, notably Torquato de' Conti, and courtiers like Antonio Caro, whose tomb in San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome he designed. After this date, while his patronage by the aristocracy continued (he worked for the Gaddi and the Altoviti of Florence, for example), Dosio became involved in the two largest church designs of the late Renaissance, making his mark in the competitions for the completion of the facade of Santa Maria del Fiore, the cathedral of Florence, and the facade of Saint Peter's in Rome. In between, he worked for the aristocratic order of Carthusians in Naples and the Farnese papal family in Caprarola, and then accepted the appointment as "ingegnere della regia corte" in Naples in 1593; he died in Naples in 1609.

Born in Florence (or perhaps San Gimignano) in 1533, Dosio arrived in Rome from Florence sometime in 1548, working first as an assistant of the sculptor

Rafaello da Montelupo, who was closely linked to Michelangelo, then as architect and recorder of ancient and Renaissance sculpture and architecture. He is known to have worked on the sculptural decorations in the Vatican gardens between 1559 and 1565, where he probably met Pirro Ligorio. His large perspective plan of Rome, drawn by him in 1555, was published in 1561 (Hülsen 1912). After his return to Florence he was asked in 1585 to provide a design for the facade of the Florentine cathedral—his wood model made for the competition is extant (Millon 1995, 670). In 1591 he worked on the restoration of the Carthusian monastery of San Martino in Naples; his last significant contribution was as participant in the competition for the facade of Saint Peter's in 1605. From 1575 Dosio also worked as a dealer in antiquities and in art, especially drawings. His double activity as artist and dealer led to the preparation of several works that are among the most valuable documents for the archaeology and art history of the cinquecento (Hülsen 1933).

Several hundred of his sheets of drawings survive in collections in Florence, Modena, and Berlin. He prepared about one hundred illustrations of antiquities for a guidebook by Bernardo Gamucci (*Dell'antichità della città di Roma*) published in 1565, a map of ancient Rome published in 1561 by Bartolomeo Faletti (though finished five years earlier), and this publication by

Giovanni Antonio Dosio. *Urbis Romae*. The Arch of Septimius Severus, Capitol side. 1983.49.19



Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri. Dosio's map, engraved by Sebastiano del Re of Chioggia, was dedicated to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto, a significant figure for post-Tridentine Christian art. This map shows the bridge of Santa Maria whole, whereas since the flood of 1557, which broke the bridge and carried parts away, it has been known as the Ponte Rotto. The same flood washed away the fortifications of Castel Sant' Angelo built in 1556; these too are illustrated in Dosio's map, which is oriented toward the south. This orientation was common for fifteenth-century maps, but the other sixteenth-century illustrators—following Leonardo Bufalini's map of 1551—oriented maps north or east. Dosio's drawings of Rome can be divided into seven groups (Borsi, in *Giovanni Antonio Dosio* 1976): designs for a book on ancient sculpture and inscriptions, designs used by Gamucci in his *Antichità* of 1565, designs used by Cavalieri in his 1569 publication, designs of antiquity intended for an architectural treatise, designs for Renaissance Roman buildings for an architectural treatise, designs related to Saint Peter's and Michelangelo's designs, and a group of miscellaneous drawings.

In 1562 Dosio seems to have discovered the profoundly influential *Forma Urbis Romae*. These 151 marble tiles, engraved with the map of Rome and made between A.D. 203 and 211, were unearthed while he was excavating on the ancient Via Sacra behind the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano. Etienne Dupérac took advantage of this great archaeological find when he drew up a reconstructed map of ancient Rome in 1574 (reprinted in 1649 by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, cat. 111). Dosio's archaeological approach to architecture was distinct from that of Sebastiano Serlio (1537 and 1540, cats. 125–129), Antonio Labacco (1552 and 1557), and his contemporary Andrea Palladio (1570, cat. 65), who did not document their reconstructions (Valone 1976). But Dosio was not treasure-hunting like Filippo Brunelleschi, or sketching like Giuliano da Sangallo; rather, he was interested in landscape (Borsi, in *Dosio* 1976).

The publication of this collection of *vedute* is part of a larger wave of topographical projects to illustrate Roman antiquities from the mid-sixteenth century. Collections of Roman views were first published by Flemish artists, with Hieronymus Cock opening in 1561 what became the long series of *vedute*. Contemporary Italian artists preferred reconstruction, especially visible in the illustrations of Antoine Lafrery's *Speculum* and in the illustrations of Bartolomeo Marliani's *Urbis Romae Topographia* (1544). For Dosio, as the dedication suggests, it was an attempt to win Medici favor at a time when he hoped to return to Florence. But Duke Cosimo seems not to have been interested in Dosio's proto-neoclassical interpretation, nor in antiquarian collections or bookish doctrinairism (as can be seen from his few books), and Dosio's conviction about the importance of Rome did

not fit well with Florentine ideology (Borsi, in *Dosio* 1976). Nonetheless, Dosio enjoyed a great reputation in Rome. His preparatory drawings for the *Urbis Romae* were circulated among artists, and Dupérac was clearly influenced by them, even copying the plate with the theater of Marcellus (Wittkower 1963). In Gamucci's book of antiquities, published in Venice in 1565, twenty-four of the thirty-six woodcuts were after Dosio's drawings (Hülssen 1933).

The original drawings for Cavalieri's publication are almost entirely extant and are preserved in the Uffizi in Florence. They are of two kinds: original sketches in pen and ink; and prepared drawings that are the same size as the engravings, drawn with ruler and with their paper often cut. A few of the prepared drawings (for pls. 20, 38, 42, and 45) are not after Dosio's own sketches but after those of a French artist, possibly Dupérac. For the views of the Portico of Octavia, Dosio used Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings.

Dosio's *vedute* were republished, possibly because Dupérac's 1575 publication provided strong competition for buyers. In the end it was Dupérac's views that were imitated, not Dosio's. The publisher Giacomo Marcucci used a large selection from Dosio's views, though greatly diminished in size, in his *Grandezze* of 1628 (cat. 58). Dosio himself turned away from *vedute*—none are known by him after 1570—to the study of archaeology.

The Latin-labeled plates in this publication are numbered 2 to 50. They were engraved by Cavalieri, a publisher active in Rome but born c. 1525 near Trent. Protected by Archduke Ferdinand and Cardinal Andreas of Austria, Cavalieri achieved an outstanding position in Rome, where, before his death in 1601, he produced an ample body of work. In the 1560s he was engraving, and in some cases publishing, prints after Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Raphael, and Polidoro da Caravaggio; Giorgio Vasari mentioned him in the second edition of the *Vite*. His collection of engravings after Roman sculpture consists of 133 copperplates still extant at the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome; they were copied by Girolamo Porro, the publisher of Vincenzo Scamozzi's *Discorsi sopra l'antichità di Roma* (1582, cat. 122), and published in 1570 and 1576. He collaborated with Onofrio Panvinio on a collection of portraits of Roman popes, the *Pontificum Romanorum Effigies* (cat. 73), of which there were editions in 1580, 1585, and 1595, probably directed toward the Jubilee Years' trade. His work is inflected by a documentary approach, but his execution is accurate and talented, and his contribution in revealing the antiquarian taste of the period is significant. Further, he seems to have taken an active part in the visual program adopted to restore the power of the church in the Counter-Reformation.

The forty-nine plates in this collection illustrate the architectural ruins of ancient Rome, temples,



Giovanni Antonio Dosio. *Urbis Romae*. The Arch of Constantine, south side. 1983.49.19

arches, and funeral monuments. The triumphal arch on the title page, oddly decorated with Egyptian caryatids signifying incipient eclecticism, adumbrates the contents of the book by framing an urban view (seen through the arched opening at the center). The first eight plates illustrate as many temples, then follow baths, porticoes, fora, and the Tiber island. The collection concludes with several triumphal arches. Occasionally the author will explain the origin and current condition of a building. Thus we are told that the temple of Fortuna Virilis is now the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca, the temple of Antonino and Faustina has become the church of San Lorenzo, and the former Curia Hostiliae on the Coelio is now the sanctuary of Saints John and Paul.

The illustrations are in light, perhaps faded, ink in the Millard copy. In the copy at the Art Institute of Chicago, the printing is rather slapdash, with images not squared on the page. The images are oriented in two ways, vertically and horizontally across the page, obliging the reader to turn the book as well as turn the pages. But some of the plates are successfully composed; the arches of Titus and of Domitian, for example, effectively span their sheet and frame the

view of the street beyond them. Together with Vincenzo Scamozzi's *Discorsi*, this is the earliest topographical publication among the Millard Italian books.

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Etienne Dupérac (c. 1525–1604)

35

Ì Vestigi Dell' Antichità Di Roma Raccolti
Et Ritratti In Perspettiva Con Ogni Diligentia
Da Stefano Dv Perac Parisino . . .

Rome: Lorenzo della Vaccheria, 1575

1985.61.572

Oblong folio: 285 × 405 (11 1/4 × 15 15/16)

Foliation [1], 40 etched and engraved plates

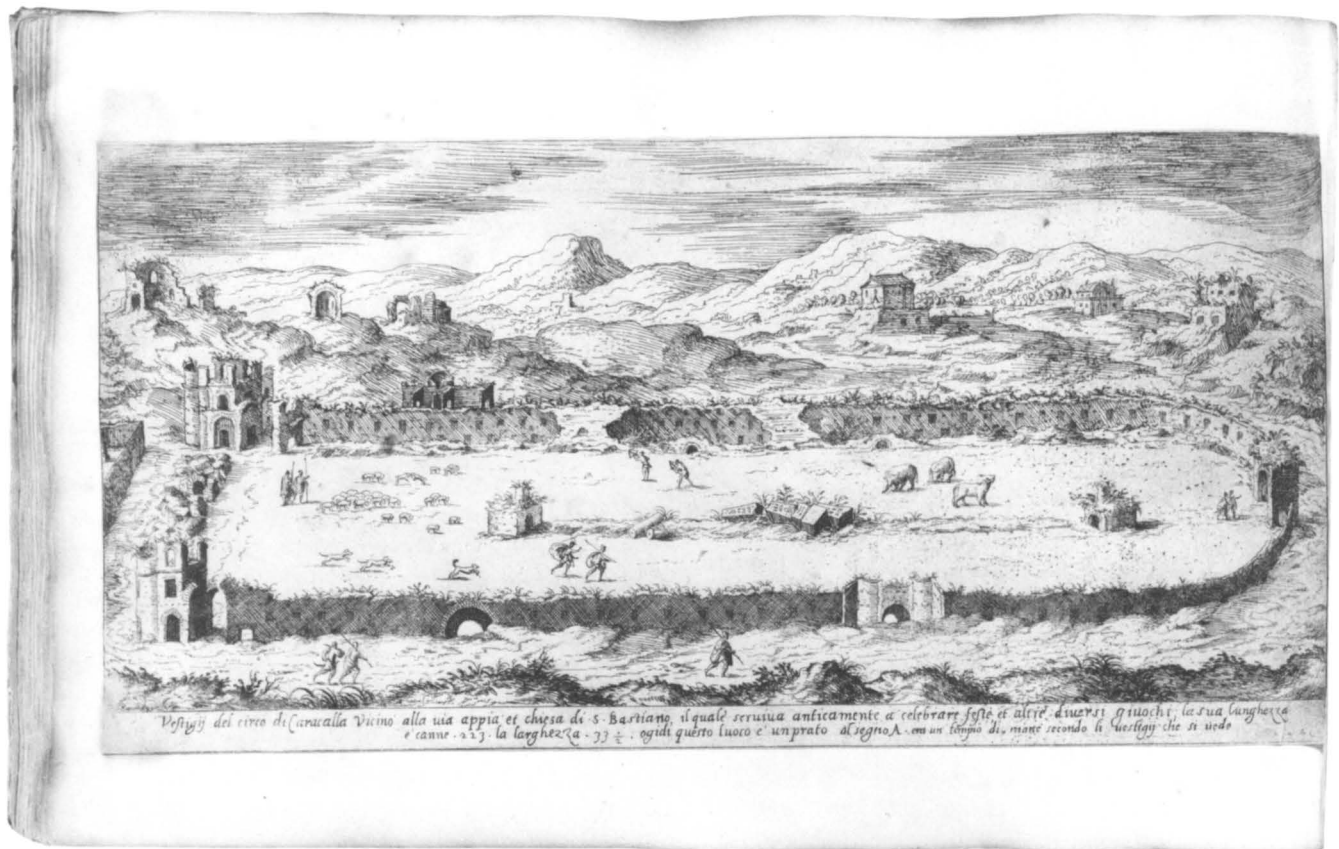
Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: unnumbered full-page title plate, plus 40 full-page plates. The title is inscribed within an architectural border, with reclining allegorical figures of Fame and

Time; plate 1 is the dedication plate with Dupérac's dedication to Giacomo Buoncompagni framed by a richly ornamented border featuring allegorical figures and emblems of war; plates 2–40 depict Roman ruins. The plates measure 212 × 309–378 mm; all unsigned

Binding Cut to platemark and mounted to face the corresponding plates of Sadeler's *Vestigi delle antichità di Roma*, both bound with Giovanni Giacomo and Domenico de' Rossi's collection of views of Rome (cat. 114)

References Thomas Ashby, "Le diverse edizioni dei 'Vestigi dell'Antichità' di Stefano Du Pérac," *La bibliofilia* 16 (1915): 401–421; Berlin Cat. 1847; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 34; Fowler III



Etienne Dupérac. *I Vestigi dell'antichità di Roma*. Plate 40. Circus of Maxentius. 1985.61.572

Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–1678) and Giovanni Francesco Venturini (1650–1710)

36

[Part 1] *Le Fontane Di Roma Nelle Piazze, E Lvoghi Pvblici Della Città, Con Li Loro Prospetti, Come Sono Al Presente. Disegnate, Et Intagliate Da Gio: Battista Falda . . . Libro Primo*

[Part 2] *Le Fontane Delle Ville Di Frascati, Nel Tvscvlano, Con Li Loro Prospetti, Parte Seconda, Disegnate, Et Intagliate Da Gio: Battista Falda*

[Part 3] *Le Fontane Ne' Palazzi E Ne' Giardini Di Roma Con Li Loro Prospetti Et Ornamenti Disegnate Ed Intagliate Da Gio: Francesco Ventvrini. Parte Terza*

[Part 4] *Le Fontane Del Giardino Estense In Tivoli Con Li Loro Prospetti, E Vedvte della Cascata Del Fivme Aniene Disegnate, Et Intagliate Da Gio: Francesco Ventvrini Parte Qvarta*

Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, [but after 1691?]

1985.61.556

Oblong folio: 275 × 413 (10¹³/₁₆ × 16¹/₄)

Foliation Part 1: 33 etched and engraved plates

Part 2: [18] etched and engraved plates

Part 3: 28 etched and engraved plates (1 folding)

Part 4: 28 etched and engraved plates (1 folding)

Edition First edition, late issue (originally published [1675–c. 1685])

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

Part 1: 33 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–33, including title plate and dedication. The publisher's dedication to Agostino Chigi is inscribed on a pedestal supporting the dedicatee's emblems with River God and nymphs in the foreground and view of Rome in the background, and is signed by Cesar Fantetti as draftsman and engraver. Plates 3–33 are views of Roman fountains, all signed by Falda as draftsman and engraver ("G.B. Falda del. et inc.," with variants)

Part 2: 18 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–5, [6–7], 8–17, [18], including title plate and dedication (see binding note). The publisher's dedication to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Negroni is inscribed on a tablet set on an island with the dedicatee's arms. Plates 3–18 are views of fountains at villas, all signed by Falda as draftsman and engraver ("Gio. Baffa Falda delin. sculp.," with variants)

Part 3: 28 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–28, including title plate and dedication (pl. 26 folding, remainder full page). The publisher's dedication to Livio Odescalchi is inscribed in a cartouche with eagles and the dedicatee's arms and is set against a rural background (signed "Gio. Franc.° Venturini inuen. et sculp. "). Plates 3–28 are views of garden fountains in Rome; plates 3–6, 8–22, and 27–28 are signed by Giovanni Francesco Venturini as draftsman and engraver ("Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et inc. "); plate 7 is signed "Ludouicus Rouhier Sculp. Romae . . . "; and plates 23–26 are signed by Falda as draftsman and engraver ("Io. Bapt. Falda delin. et sculp. ")

Part 4: 28 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–28, including title plate and dedication (pl. 3 folding, remainder full page). The publisher's dedication to Francesco II, duke of Modena, is inscribed on a tablet with the dedicatee's arms and is set in a garden exedra (unsigned). Plates 3–28 are views of the fountains of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, all signed by Venturini as draftsman and engraver ("Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et inc.," with variants)

Binding Nineteenth-century quarter roan. An additional full-page plate marked "12" and captioned "Veduta in Prospettiva della Gran Fontana dell' Acqua Vergine detta di Trevi Architettura di Nicola Salvi In Roma nella Calcografia della Rev. Cam. Aplica al Pie' di Marmo," is bound in part 1 following plate 12. Plates [6], [7], and [18] of part 2, plate 19 of part 3, and plates 15–17, 20–28 of part 4 have been supplied from a later reprint

References Berlin Cat. 3603; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 37; Cicognara 3863 (parts 1–3); Fowler 117 (early issue); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1014



Giovanni Battista Falda. *Le Fontane di Roma*. Dedicatory page. 1985. 61.556

THIS COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS represents a survey of Roman fountains built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Giovanni Battista Falda's contribution here, as in his numerous other plates representing Roman architecture and urbanism, is part of an important tradition begun in the sixteenth century, the celebration of Rome's urban topography. Although Giovanni Maggi issued a collection of forty-seven plates of fountains in his *Fontane diverse che si vedano nell'alma città di Roma* in 1618, this is the most sophisticated and elaborate collection of plates ever engraved on this subject. All copies examined vary in numbering and arrangement of plates. Forty-two plates were issued in Nuremberg in 1685; between 1798 and 1815 many sets of earlier plates were reprinted under the direction of Giuseppe Valadier (Fowler, p. 101).

The urban structure of Rome allows for multiple and varied views, all magnificent and proud. The ideal and archaeological views attempt to document past glory and achievement, while realistic views were sponsored in the seventeenth century by popes and the patriciate to commemorate their present status for

future generations. Optical deformations were allowed in order to represent more completely the structural details of the places shown. Influenced by Jacques Callot and Niccolo Codazzi, as well as by theater design, Falda attempted to link views of buildings with urban spectacle.

Roman *vedutismo* reproduced ancient art and sculpture by multiplication through printed representation. This *vedutismo* was part of the wider interest in printed reproductions of Rome in the seventeenth century. While making prints of ancient Rome was good business, the reproduction of papal Rome on portable sheets bound in albums was a political enterprise (Bellini 1983). This representation of the city, encompassing the entire range from its ancient form to modern condition, included statues, buildings, as well as the cartography of the entire city. The representation of fountains is further associated with two aspects of seventeenth-century Roman history: the redevelopment of the city in the early modern period through the efforts of successive popes, who restored the ancient aqueducts bringing water to Rome, and the great fashion for gardens.

Falda, born in 1643 in Valduggia (a small village in Valsesia), produced his oeuvre of about three hundred plates between the age of fourteen—when he first went



Giovanni Battista Falda. *Le Fontane di Roma*. Triton fountain in Piazza Barberini, by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. 1985.61.556

to Rome—and 1678, when he died. In Rome, where he may have been apprenticed to Bernini, Falda studied architecture, perspective, and techniques of engraving. His work was published by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, one of two Lombard cousins and printers who competed for artists and customers near Piazza Navona, in a fruitful rivalry, after first having worked together (d'Amico 1976). Before Falda there had been no systematic nor extensive attempt to record contemporary building efforts, despite the established topographic tradition practiced in Rome mostly by northern artists. Falda's realistic approach to architectural representation, though occasionally marred by faulty perspective, trite conventions, and monotonous technique, resulted nonetheless in works of historic value. It was the first time that an artist had been groomed for a specific project, as Falda was trained by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, whose publishing ventures to promote Rome in the second half of the seventeenth century were supported by privileges, virtual monopolies, granted by Pope Alexander VII. De' Rossi had discovered Falda, and he trained the young artist in perspective and archi-

tectural drawing, offering him tutors such as Pietro da Cortona and Francesco Borromini. De' Rossi further provided Falda with models of printmaking from his stock, which included numerous works by Jacques Callot and Stefano della Bella. Falda may also have studied Antonio Tempesta's etchings. But unlike Callot's and della Bella's, Falda's views are drawn with a straight edge, he eschews casual details, and his artistic license consists in sanitizing further the brilliantly and cleanly presented streets, squares, and buildings of Rome (Consagra 1995).

Though Falda's work was critically acclaimed for its good taste and thorough reliability, he had an important and talented rival in Lieven Cruyl, the Flemish artist whose engraved representations of Rome were published by another de' Rossi, Giovanni Battista. Cruyl's fame is based on twenty-one views of Rome made between February 1664 and April 1665; these provided a visual interpretation of the principal squares of Rome when they were published in 1666. Cruyl's pioneering vision consisted of a wide-angle view and a raised horizon line, and he often removed buildings in the foreground in order to give better visibility to those he was illustrating. By contrast, Falda's work is a summary of the efforts undertaken by other seventeenth-century illustrators; he is the epitome of a conservative tradition

in visual and conceptual representation, and his low horizon line promotes a documentary, rather than theatrical, composition (Jatta 1992).

Among Falda's influential and popular works, all published by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, are the *Nuovo teatro delle fabriche et edifici di Roma* (1665), *I giardini di Roma* (n.d., but c. 1688), and *I palazzi di Roma* with Pietro Ferrerio (see cat. 37). In addition to Ferrerio, Falda worked with Alessandro Specchi (1668–1729), the architect-engraver in whose work theatricality and precision merge, on the *Nuovo teatro* publication of 1665, and later with Venturini, who completed the second and third parts of the *Fontane* series. But Falda's most celebrated work is an axonometric map of Rome made in 1676. Composed on twelve large folio sheets and illustrating a bird's-eye view of Rome, it was reprinted six times, the last edition being in 1757. This great map of Rome can be seen as a synthesis of Falda's analytic work in producing the views of Rome (d'Amico 1976); the map is in effect a collection of views.

Le fontane di Roma is divided into four parts, of which Falda engraved the first and second parts and four sheets in the third part (previously used to illustrate a publication on Villa Pamphili). The rest of the third part and the fourth part are by Venturini. Falda's sheets were published before 1677, since the de' Rossi inventory of the same year lists them. The copperplates of the fountain series engraved by Falda are labeled "fontane e castello," the structure considered as the scaffolding for the emerging water.

The fountain series includes the ones in front of the major churches of Rome (Saint Peter's, San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Santa Maria al Monte, Santa Maria Rotonda [the Pantheon]); in or near the principal squares of the city (Capitoline, Navona, del Popolo, di Spagna, Montecitorio, Giudea, and Scossacavallo); in front of the principal family palaces (Barberini, Muti, Mattei, Colonna, Farnese, Bracciano) and papal palaces (Quirinal, Belvedere, Vatican); those fountains that defined their own sites (Moses, Acqua Paola, Gianicolo, Ponte Sisto, and Acqua Acetosa); and the fountain of Palestrina (connected to the Barberini palace there).

Together with the *Nuovo teatro*, which describes the buildings of Rome, and the volume of *Giardini di Roma* that describes the city's gardens, the album on the fountains comprises a stupendous representational collection that gains from its consistent style and format. The illustrations of the fountains are enhanced by the attempt to describe their surrounding landscape, most successfully achieved in the illustrations of Tivoli.



Giovanni Francesco Venturini. *Le Fontane di Roma*. Organ fountain, Villa d'Este, Tivoli. 1985.61.556

Unlike his buildings, many of which seem to have been "captured under a bell jar, devoid of atmosphere and movement" (Consagra 1995), Falda's fountains sparkle with light reflected from the water and from the dappled gardens planted with splendid old trees.

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Pietro Ferrerio (c. 1600–1654) and Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–1678)

37

[Book 1] Palazzi Di Roma De Piv. Celebri
Architetti Disegnati Da Pietro Ferrerio Pittore
Et Architett.^o

[Book 2] Nvovi Disegni Dell'Architettvre,
E Piante De' Palazzi Di Rome De' Più Celebri
Architetti, Disegnati, e intagliati da Gio:
Battista Falda . . . Libro Secondo

Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, [late? seventeenth
century]

1985.61.571

Oblong folio: 313 × 415 (12⁵/₁₆ × 16³/₈)

Foliation Book 1: [43] etched and engraved plates

Book 2: [60] etched and engraved plates

Pietro Ferrerio. *Palazzi di Roma*. Title page. 1985.61.571

(Note: The Millard copy of this work appears to consist of a late seventeenth-century reprint of plates from the 2 books, which may have been altered to imitate a first edition by (1) replacement of reprinted title plate to book 1 with an early title plate, cut to platemark and mounted; (2) excision of pl. 44 in book 1 and pl. 27 in book 2, i.e., the 2 plates added by Domenico de' Rossi after 1691)

Edition Late? seventeenth-century edition of Falda's expansion of Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma* (first ed: Rome, between 1670 and 1678?)

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

Book 1: Title plate (with dedication to Cardinal Antonio Barberini) plus 42 unnumbered full-page etched and engraved plates, with captions in Italian. Most plates are signed by Ferrerio as draftsman ("Disegnato da Pietro



Ferrerio," with variants); one plate is signed by Falda as engraver ("Gio. Batt. falda incis.")

Book 2: Unsigned title plate with title on face of a Corinthian monument and dedication to Cardinal Camillo Massimi inscribed within the attic and crowned by Massimi arms, set against an open-air arcade. 59 unnumbered, full-page etched and engraved plates, with captions in Italian. Most plates are signed by Falda as engraver ("Gio. Baffa Falda fec.," with variants); one plate is signed by Carlo Quadri as draftsman and Antonio Barbey as engraver ("Diseg.^{ta} da Carlo Quadri Architetto"; Intagl.^{ta} da Antonio Barbey"); one plate is signed by Simone Felice as draftsman and engraver ("Simon Felice delin sculp . . ."); 18 plates unsigned

Binding Late eighteenth-/early nineteenth-century three-quarters red morocco with marbled boards, spine, and corners replaced, gilt title on spine

References Berlin Cat. 2665; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 40; Cicognara 3719; Fowler 120; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1057

THIS IS THE FIRST PUBLICATION to provide systematic, measured, and uniformly scaled illustrations of Roman palaces built in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. By focusing exclusively on the palace, this book becomes a compendium of exempla, not only illustrating the great houses of a very special city, but also establishing the typology of the residential palace. Thus the book is of great documentary value, even though the illustrations do not aspire to high aesthetic achievement.

The only Italian precedent for this kind of book, about a secular building type in a single town, was the album on the palaces of Genoa published in 1622, but by a foreign artist, the painter and diplomat Peter Paul Rubens (Millard, *Northern European Books*, 108). In his book Rubens provided plans and elevations of the palaces along Genoa's patrician street, the Strada Nuova, as a labor of love, praising the taste and magnificence of the patrons. Previously, Sebastiano Serlio had planned to publish a book on housing arranged by social order, but his work remained in manuscript (cats. 125–128). The French architect Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (Millard, *French Books*, 8) had published a collection of perspective views of French houses in 1576. Although these were neither systematically nor topographically selected, they succeeded in implicitly praising the owners' taste and wealth by showing the complexity and richness of their residences. Sixteenth-century architects such as Andrea Palladio had included chapters on houses in their treatises, but, while these were linked by their authorship, they differed in size,

location, and purpose. In Rome the publisher Antoine Lafrery issued—from the mid-sixteenth century in loose sheets, and then from 1575 in his album of Roman sights titled *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*—a few sheets illustrating the Farnese, Maccarani, and Caprini palaces; these did not constitute a series, however. The closest similar publication project had been the initiative of Giovanni Battista de' Rossi (a relative of Pietro Ferrerio's publisher), who published a series of twenty-two plates titled *Palazzi diversi nel'alma città di Roma* in 1638, enlarged to fifty-one plates and reissued in 1655. Thus Ferrerio's collection of palace facades and plans is among the earliest such efforts and provided an important model for what eventually became a distinct type of publication. Multiplying greatly in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the type culminated with the great houses of a nation (of England, for example, in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* [Millard, *British Books*, 10]) or of an important city (such as Johann Fischer von Erlach's collection of Viennese palaces [Millard, *Northern European Books*, 32]), where these substantial buildings sit for their portraits, triumphantly collected in albums.

This trendsetting book on Roman palaces is divided into two parts. Ferrerio was the author of most of the illustrations in the first part, except for one sheet engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda, who was also responsible for forty of the sixty sheets of the second part. While Falda's work and successful career as an engraver associated with the Roman publisher Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi have been amply documented (see cat. 36), much less is known about Ferrerio, who seems to have practiced as an architect and engraver, and whose principal claim to recognition is this album of palace illustrations. He was a member of the Accademia di San Luca, where he was a registered member in 1634. He may have provided a *parere* ("consultation") in the controversial demolition of the bell tower built in 1641 by Gian Lorenzo Bernini at Saint Peter's. Ferrerio allotted blame to Carlo Maderno for his poor foundations and for having brought the facade of the church too far forward, thus exonerating Bernini for the cracks in the tower.

The illustrations in this collection demonstrate that Ferrerio was closely focused upon his work. He uses an unadorned style of representation, showing the chosen palaces in line drawings in plan, section, and elevation. Cross-hatching in the elevations is reserved for window and door openings, while in the sections cross-hatching is used to represent depth of space. An engraved line tightly frames the engraved illustrations, and the regularity and consistency of the representational style is as remarkable as the uniformity with which it presents the palace facades, which are especially striking in the austerity of their disciplined composition. The symme-

try and regularity of the facades is not matched by the plans, however; these show mostly the *piani nobili*, which illustrate less ideal conditions. The irregularities that emerge in the plans show that in many cases the palace had originated as a collection of multiple buildings, rather than newly planned and consistently realized construction. Ferrerio's plans are not always accurate, although the individual cases are difficult to prove with certainty given the constant work and alterations that these buildings were subject to over time.

Each of the two parts is dedicated to a high-ranking prelate: part I to Cardinal Antonio Barberini and part 2 to Cardinal Camillo Massimi. The dedication to Cardinal Antonio contains significant references to festival settings and theatrical events. The dedication claims that Roman buildings form a theater of glory that resounds with applause at the happy return of the cardinal. The cardinal had gone into voluntary exile in France after the death of his uncle and protector, Pope Urban VIII Barberini, in 1644 and returned to Rome in 1655, the year of publication of the first part of *Palazzi di Roma*.

The laudatory text of this dedication is set on a cloth held by the allegorical figures of painting and architec-

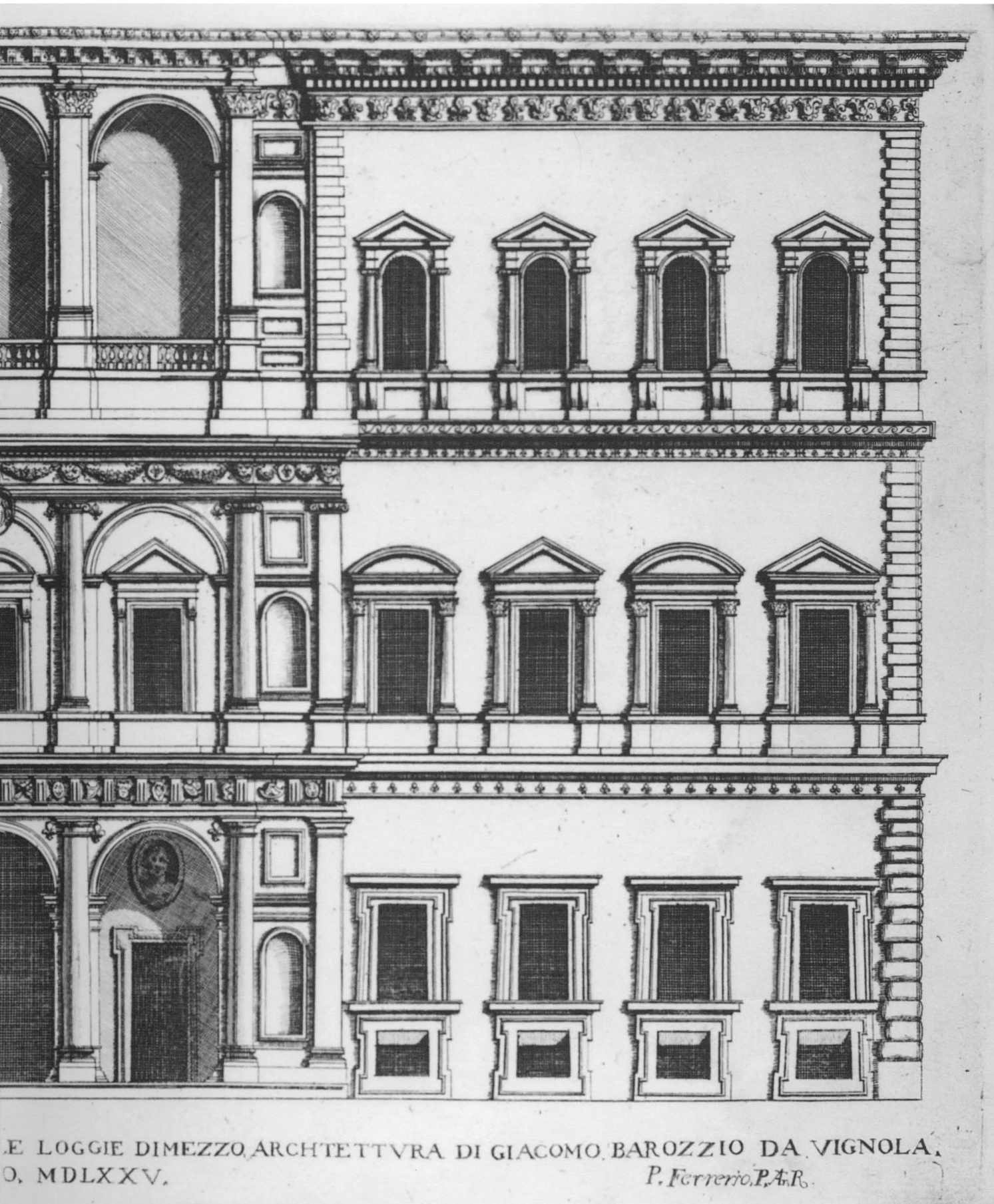
ture, as if about to unveil a monument. They stand on a pedestal at the center of a stage whose edges are formed by fluted piers and whose sides are defined by two receding rows of palaces enclosing a street between them, resembling contemporary stage design rather than any actual street in Rome. The title page forms a strong contrast with the austere contents of the album. The stagey backdrops together with the dedicatory text rely on the notion of urban theater—widespread in seventeenth-century Europe—as the best means through which to convey a large welcome and to signify the glory of a public figure. Thus the cardinal's "teatro di gloria" is constituted by the great Roman palaces whose representations provide him with a public stage.

Though all the chosen palaces are represented in elevation, full treatment in section and plan is provided only for a select few. In the first part, Palazzi Farnese, Madama, Medici, Cesi, Alessandrino, Spada, Colonna, and the Collegio Romano are shown in plan. Many of the sheets are endowed with a scale, but the buildings are shown isolated, without any urbanistic context. In the second part, while all palaces are shown in elevation, Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, the extension of Palazzo Quirinale, Palazzi Nerli, Crescenzi, d'Este, Borghese, d'Aste, Falconieri, Silvestri, Giustiniani, Sacchetti, Lancellotti, Mellini, and Santo Spirito are also illustrated with a plan. In addition, Palazzi Farnese,

Giovanni Battista Falda. *Palazzi di Roma*. Part II: Title page.
1985.61.571







Pietro Ferrerio. *Palazzi di Roma*. Garden elevation of Palazzo Farnese. 1985.61.571

Quirinale, and Santo Spirito are shown in section, thus illustrated in the three academically correct representational modes.

This album is the result of the unprecedentedly ambitious publication policy of the print dealer Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. The engravings in the second part of the book, by Falda, are part of the younger artist's apprenticeship work for de' Rossi. Among the additional views of Rome bound in with another Millard copy of the *Palazzi di Roma* (cat. 114) are several by Giovanni Maggi, employed by an earlier generation of de' Rossi publishers. Maggi's efforts contain, *in nuce*, the projects eventually carried out extensively by Giovanni Giacomo and his heir, Domenico de' Rossi. Among Maggi's earlier contributions were sheets on the fountains of Rome, on villas, and on churches. The de' Rossi not only inherited the copperplates owned by their publishing firm, but actively pursued the acquisition of extant plates from the estates of artists, eventually building up the largest inventory of topographic images of Rome.

As in the albums published by de' Rossi that illustrate the other great building type of Rome, the Christian church, there seems to be an effort to present not only contemporary structures, but also the restoration and construction achievements of Renaissance predecessors. A celebratory historical approach, Ferrerio's book effortlessly shows off the copiousness of Roman residential architecture. The work of Renaissance architects receives slightly more attention than that of contemporary designers: there are eleven architects in the first part and seven in the second part with a total of twenty-five buildings; there are eleven mannerist and

proto-baroque masters with twenty buildings, and nine baroque masters with thirteen buildings. Nine masters are represented in both parts of the work: Michelangelo, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Domenico Fontana, Giacomo della Porta, Francesco Borromini, Baldassare Peruzzi, Carlo Maderno, and Girolamo Rainaldi.

The illustration of these palaces would seem to fulfill several interests of architects and patrons of architecture. With its accurate elevations and plans, the book documents the individual palace and suggests models for palace construction. By providing a compendium of Roman palaces, the book illustrates the wealth of the city's patrician families, implicitly lauding the investment practiced by their predecessors.

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Carlo Fontana (1638–1714)

38

[Title in Latin] *Templum Vaticanum Et Ipsius Origo Cum Ædificiis maximè conspicuis antiquitùs, & recèns ibidem constitutis; Editum Ab Equite Carolo Fontana . . . Opus In Septem Libros Distributum, Latinisque literis consignatum A Joanne Jos: Bonnervè De S. Romain . . .*

[Title in Italian] *Il Tempio Vaticano E Sua Origine Con gl'Edifitii più cospicui antichi, e moderni fatti dentro, e fuori di Esso; Descritto Dal Cav. Carlo Fontana . . . Opera Divisa In Sette Libri, Tradotta in lingua Latina Da Gio: Gius: Bonnervè De S. Romain . . .*

Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1694

1983.49.21

Folio: 449 × 325 (17¹¹/₁₆ × 12¹³/₁₆)

Pagination [32], 489, [29] pp.

(Note: Irregular pagination. Hiatuses were left in the page numbers of the text in order to include the engraved plates in the pagination sequence; however, these allowances do not always correspond with the engravings. For details, see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1096)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page, Latin (verso blank); [iii] title page, Italian (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication, Italian; [vii–viii] dedication, Latin; [ix] imprimaturs and privilege, dated 11 October 1692; [x–xi] dedicatory verses, Latin; [xii] sonnet in Italian by Giacomo Badiale, dedicated to Carlo Fontana; [xiii–xxiv] table of contents, Latin and Italian in parallel columns; [xxv–xxvii] authors cited, Latin and Italian in parallel columns; [xxviii] blank; [xxix] title page, book 1, Italian (verso blank); [xxx] preface, Latin; [xxxii] preface, Italian; 1–489 text and illustrations, books 1–vii, Latin and Italian in parallel columns, including six fly-titles in Latin and Italian for each of books ii–vii; [490] blank; [491–517] index, Latin followed by Italian; [518] register

Ornaments Woodcut vignettes with papal tiara on title pages; woodcut ornament on sonnet to Fontana; woodcut tailpieces; ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations 79 etched and engraved plates included in the pagination (1 double page, 9 folding, remainder full page); all signed by Carlo Fontana as draftsman and Alessandro Specchi as engraver

Binding Contemporary Italian woodblock printed paper boards, calf spine and corners (repaired)

References *Avery's Choice*, 59; *Berlin Cat.* 2678; *Besterman, Old Art Books*, 40–41; *Cicognara* 3731; *Fowler* 122; *RIBA, Early Printed Books*, 1096

39

Utilissimo Trattato Dell'Acque Correnti Diviso In Tre Libri, Nel Qvale Si notificano le Misure, ed Esperienze di Esse. I Giuochi, e Scherzi, li quali per mezzo dell'Aria, e del Fuoco, vengono operati dall'Acqua, Con diversi necessari ammaestramenti intorno al modo di far Condotti, Fistole, Bottini, ed altro, per condurre l'Acque ne' luoghi destinati. Con una esatta notizia di tutto quello, ch'è stato operato intorno alla condotta dell'Acqua di Bracciano . . .

Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1696

1985.61.575

Folio: 375 × 257 (14³/₄ × 10¹/₈)

Pagination [xvi], 176, [4], 177–196, [12] pp., [2] double-page engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication to Joseph I; [v–xiii] table of contents, ending with “Protesta Dell'Avtore” (i.e., Fontana's complaint about the execution of the illustrations); [xiv] privilege; [xv–xvi] preface; 1–85 text and illustrations, book 1; [86] blank; 87–176 text and illustrations, book 2; [1–4] “Capitoli aggiunti,” chapters appended to Book 2; 177–196 text and illustrations, book 3; [197–206] index; [207] register; [208] blank

Ornaments Woodcut headpiece on title page; ornamental woodcut headpieces with grotesques and arabesques; woodcut tailpieces; ornamental woodcut initials

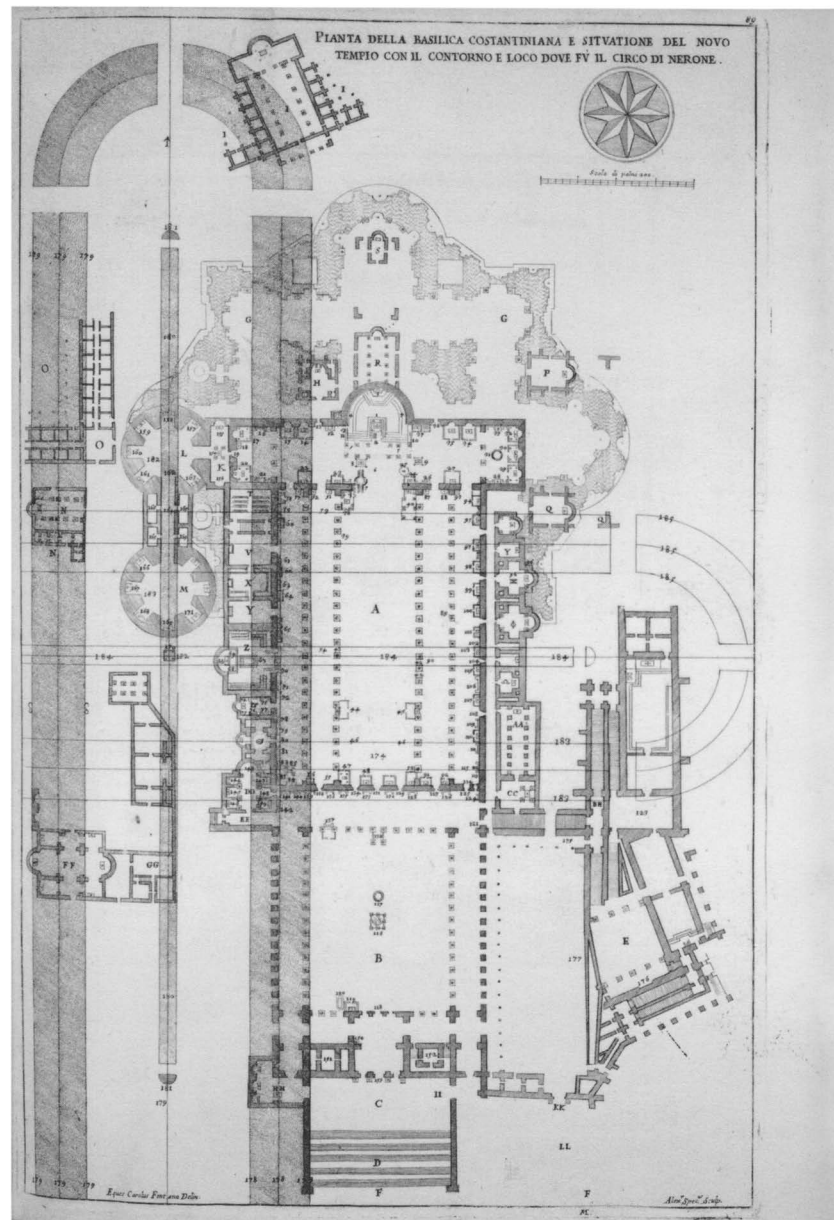
Illustrations 80 unnumbered etched and engraved plates throughout text (i.e., book 1: 36 plates; book 2: 44 plates), ranging in size from vignette to half page; 2 double-page engraved plates *hors texte* designed by Carlo Fontana and engraved by Alessandro Specchi (signed: “Eques Carol’ Fontana Delin.”; “Alex: Speculus Sculpsit”). The plates on pp. 83, 95, and 149 signed by Fontana as draftsman and Specchi as engraver; the plate on p. 47 signed by Fontana only as draftsman

Binding Modern vellum, manuscript spine title, binder’s stamp “Michel Kieffer.” Uncut

References Berlin Cat. 3613; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 41; Cicognara 915, 3735; Fowler 123 (imperfect); Riccardi 1: 465–466

THESE TWO BOOKS BY THE HIGHLY respected architect and educator Carlo Fontana are part of his extensive literary contributions, whose publication was concentrated during the pontificate of Innocent XII. In less than a decade, he also published *Discorso . . . sopra la facile riuscita di restaurare il ponte Senatori* (1692), *Discorso sopra il monte Citatorio* (1694), *Discorso sopra le inondazione del Tevere* (1696), and *Descrizione della nobile Cappella del Fonte Battesimale* (1697). His *Anfiteatro Flavio*, though published posthumously in 1725, was also conceived and prepared during the 1690s. It has been noted that his literary activity concentrated on the period immediately preceding his appointment as chief architect at Saint Peter’s and, having achieved his goal, he stopped writing (Coudenhove-Erthal 1930). But Fontana’s publications did more than gain him the most desirable architectural post in papal Rome. It is through them that Fontana’s most important architectural and urbanistic ideas are known to us, because, although their inclination is more historical and technical than artistic, he used his books to publicize and seek acceptance for several of his favorite projects.

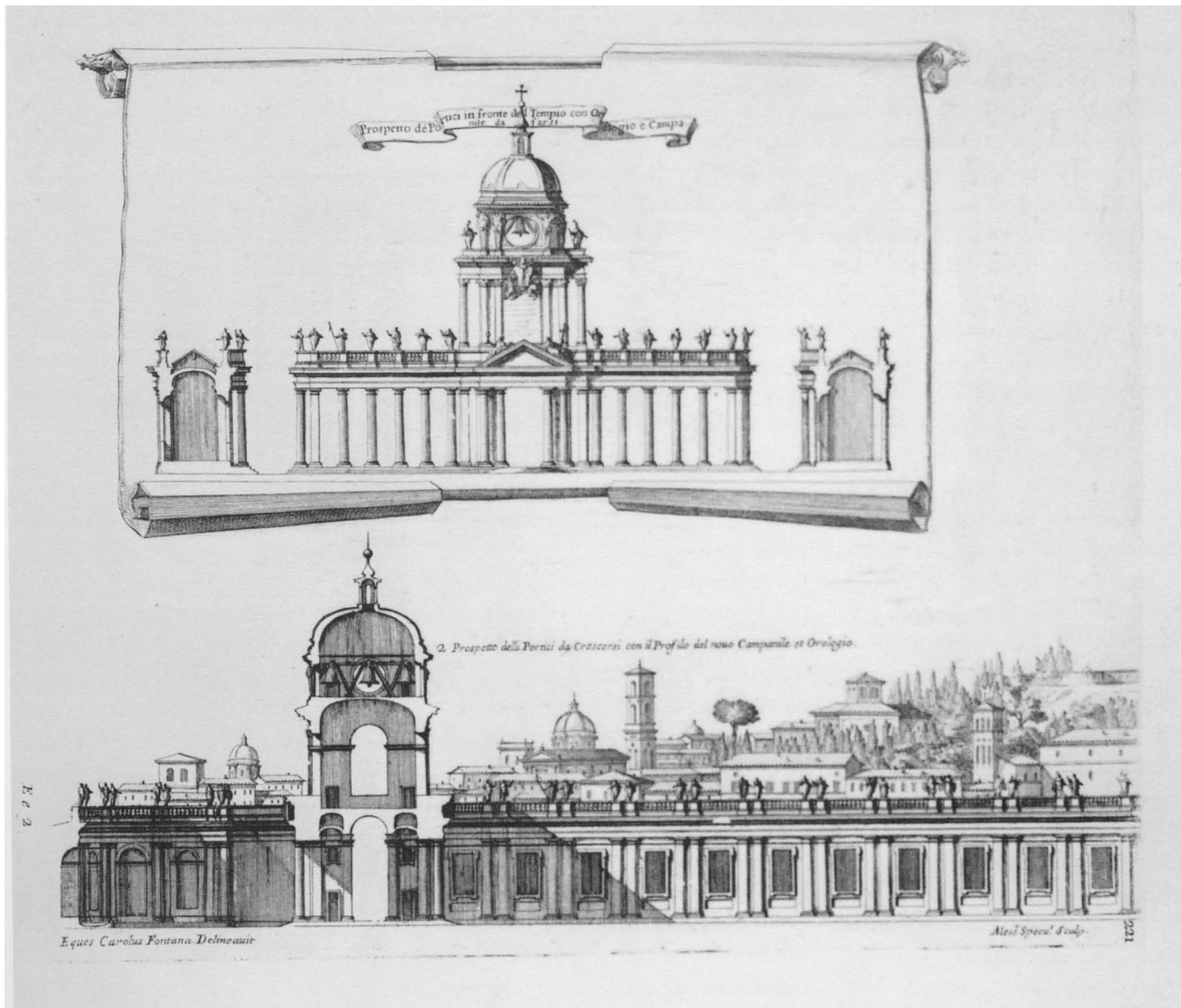
The lavish illustrations, bilingual text, and aristocratic dimensions and pagination of the book on Saint Peter’s were made possible by the sponsorship of the Congregazione della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. This committee of cardinals, prelates, and administrators of the basilica, responsible for the conservation, ornament, and restorations of the church, concerned itself with publications that propagated the fame of Saint Peter’s throughout the world. In the case of the *Templum Vaticanum*, the committee sponsored research by Fontana, who had been commissioned by Pope Innocent XI to demonstrate that, contrary to irritating gossip that first surfaced in 1680, the stability of the great dome designed by Michelangelo had not been undermined by recent work on the reliquary chapels in the four piers of the crossing. Fontana was given three



Carlo Fontana. *Templum Vaticanum*. Superimposed plans of new Saint Peter’s, the Constantinian basilica, and the Circus of Nero. 1983.49.21

subventions of 300 scudi each, in 1687, 1690, and 1691, for the cost of engraving the copperplates with the proviso, however, that the plates would become the property of the Reverenda Fabbrica. Upon acceptance by Innocent XII of the completed text in 1692, the committee ordered that Fontana’s printing expenses be reimbursed until the completion of the edition. The records show that the total accountable production costs for the book eventually amounted to 2,913 scudi. This immense sum did not include Fontana’s yearly royalty, also paid by the Reverenda Fabbrica, which in a typical year, like 1712, amounted to 300 scudi (Beltrami 1925–1926).

An additional fringe benefit of this institutional sponsorship is that the records identify clearly all the



Carlo Fontana. *Templum Vaticanum*. Saint Peter's Square: elevation and section of Fontana's proposed clocktower. 1983.49.21

participants in the making of this extraordinary book. The architect Antonio Valeri, later himself architect-in-chief at Saint Peter's, surveyed the basilica for the plan. The copperplates were engraved by the architect Alessandro Specchi, a student of Fontana, who later achieved recognition for his design of the port of Ripetta in Rome and for his competition project for the Spanish steps. The name of the craftsman who made the plates is known to us as well—Giovanni Tognato; Francesco Donia was the calligrapher who engraved the text on the copperplates (a very important and very early specialization); but we also know the binder, Giovanni Waltier, and the furnishers of the paper, Angelo Napolini and Domenico de' Rossi (the latter better known as a print dealer and as a publisher of illustrated books, such as cat. 110).

Fontana interpreted his brief to quell fears about the structural stability of the dome and to provide pane-

gyric praise for the basilica with a remarkable degree of freedom. At the beginning of the book, as was customary, poems praise the subjects and the author of the publication. Individual poems refer to the Vatican site, the obelisk, Saint Peter's, the *cathedra Petri*, and the two fountains in the square and include a sonnet to Fontana himself, who not only commissioned this panegyric in his own honor but also paid for it (presumably from the Reverenda Fabbrica account). The book's publication was almost halted at the last moment by Innocent XII, who feared the public's reaction to the published global cost of the basilica. But Fontana's numbers showed that, far from misappropriating funds earmarked for the basilica, as Martin Luther had alleged, the Reverenda Fabbrica had spent everything on the construction of Christianity's principal place of worship. The *Templum Vaticanum* caused a sensation in the contemporary art world; it was ardently discussed, for instance, in the correspondence of the director of the French Academy in Rome for the next two years. Fontana himself further justified the spiritual import of his book by pointing out that it had brought about the conversion to Catholicism

of Friedrich of Saxony, who awarded Fontana a knighthood upon being elected king of Poland as Augustus II (Braham and Hager 1977).

The publication was an ambitious visual, intellectual, and typographic enterprise. The bilingual Latin and Italian text, in italic and roman type, respectively, is nearly five hundred pages long, a great length even for the rather prolix times. The book is divided into seven unequal parts that examine the history of the Vatican site and the history of the Constantinian basilica, reiterate the movement of the obelisk by Domenico Fontana, provide extensive graphic documentation for the history of the square of Saint Peter's, describe the modern basilica, compare the cost of the modern basilica with that of the Temple of Solomon, and finally compare the form of Saint Peter's with that of other Christian and ancient Roman temples. The seventy-nine etched and engraved plates are numbered continuously with the text, signed with both Fontana's and Specchi's names, and labeled in Italian. There are notes alongside the text in smaller typeface; an index of cited authors follows at the end of the text. Among modern authors, Fontana refers extensively to Leon Battista Alberti, Famiano Nardini, Bartolomeo Marliani, Andrea Fulvio, Andrea Alciati, Alessandro Donato, Antonio Bosio, and Pirro Ligorio; among the writers and recent contributors at the Vatican, he mentions not only the great artists and architects, but also the church historians Tiberio Alfarano, Onofrio Panvinio, and Michele Mercati and the lesser artists and illustrators Martino Ferrabosco and Pietro Ferrerio.

In the first part, Fontana intends to demonstrate the superiority of Saint Peter's over all previous temples, and he situates his book within the tradition of those Greek writers, mentioned by Vitruvius, who described individual sanctuaries. Fontana presents simultaneously, in an overlapping plan, the effigies of the Constantinian and the modern basilica in a graphic invention that Martino Ferrabosco had illustrated in his engraving of the plan in 1620. Published by Giovanni Battista Costaguti in 1684 (cat. 32), this plan was no doubt familiar to Fontana, who added a new detail to his version of it. Reverting to the even earlier illustration by Alfarano (1590), Fontana illustrates only Michelangelo's restructuring of the area around the dome, while Ferrabosco's plan showed the expansion by Carlo Maderno. More important, Fontana adds to the layered illustration the plan of Nero's circus, which thus documents the original site of the Vatican obelisk, known to have been placed at the center of that stadium. This archaeological find allows him to provide a detailed description of the circus and to display his knowledge of Roman antiquity. While Ferrabosco and Costaguti are clearly the graphic sources for this "transparent" layered interpretation of history, Fontana probably drew on Alfarano

and Giacomo Grimaldi (another historian of Saint Peter's, writing in the 1610s) for his reconstruction of the site of the Roman circus.

For the history of the Constantinian basilica in part 2, Fontana and Specchi turned to Alfarano's seminal plan (1590, reissued in 1605). This extraordinary plan contained the extensive and detailed inventory of the tombs, altars, decorations, and monuments found in the church before the disturbances brought about by the demolition of the old building and its reconstruction. Alfarano's 250-item legend, which added meaning to the layout of the church, is carefully reused by Fontana. The last two chapters in part 2 are focused on roof structures and thus provide Fontana an opportunity to explore what is essentially a form of scaffolding. His illustrations were reused as late as 1743 by Niccolò Zabaglia in his treatise on scaffolding, *Castelli e ponti* (cat. 166).

Part 3 is based on the treatise by Fontana's relative and predecessor, Domenico Fontana (cat. 40). There is no substantial difference between the content of these illustrations for the moving of the obelisk and those engraved earlier by Natale Bonifazio (now recut by Alessandro Specchi), but a significant stylistic one. Specchi and Carlo Fontana eliminate the earlier illustrations of lifting and moving equipment, as well as representations of allegories. Altogether Specchi produces drier, more remote images, lessening the immediacy of the earlier engravings but also making them lighter and more luminous. The most important departure by the team of Fontana and Specchi—the illustration of the residential surroundings of Saint Peter's and Castel Sant' Angelo—strengthens Carlo Fontana's claim as "urban strategist" (Hager 1992).

The history of the square of Saint Peter's, like the history of the modern building, is lavishly illustrated but only rudimentarily discussed in the brief text. The illustrations in part 4 are partly based on Gian Lorenzo Bernini's designs for the square of Saint Peter's and are the vehicle for publicizing Fontana's criticism and proposed alteration of the realized project. Fontana was in Bernini's workshop and assisted the older architect in supervising the construction of the colonnade. His views of the church facade, enlivened by staffage, show a distinct French influence (Israel Silvestre's view of the facade with a half-built bell tower seems a likely model, although Giovanni Battista Falda (cat. 36) was doubtless a model for Specchi's disciplined views of buildings). Despite the cursory treatment of the building stages of the contemporary church, Fontana elaborately rehearses the story of the unfortunate bell tower built by Bernini. Echoing Martino Longhi and Pietro Ferrerio (cat. 37), on whose written reports his own opinion depends, Fontana exonerates Bernini for the structural problems of the facade, finding that the tower could

have been saved. While Ferrerio and Longhi had suggested that the tower be repaired rather than demolished, more influential enemies of Bernini, such as Francesco Borromini and Virgilio Spada, had prevailed (Hager 1992).

Fontana's principal goal in this part of the book is to promote his view that the orientation of Bernini's square is mistaken and to offer a design for its enlargement, remedying problems of visibility in Bernini's design and providing an urbanistic, spatial, and commercial link between the basilica and the Vatican's fortress of Castel Sant' Angelo. Carlo Maderno's enlargement of the church had lengthened the nave, hiding Michelangelo's great dome behind it, and Bernini's square did not allow enough distance to correct the cone of vision. Fontana's project, obtained at the cost of demolishing a large swath of buildings in the middle of the Borgo Leonino, would have provided a greater perspective on the church by allowing the entire facade and domes to be taken in together, thus redressing Maderno's mistake and Bernini's oversight. The completion of the square suggested by Fontana, replicating the polygonal space immediately in front of the church on the outer side of the oval piazza, included a new bell tower. In his persuasive rhetoric, weaving together architectural and institutional history, he reminds the reader that the original bell tower of the basilica was separated from the facade by the length of the old porticoed atrium and that his suggestion of a third arm followed Bernini's final project.

Fontana also proposed a square behind the apse of Saint Peter's that would have enhanced the enjoyment of the "noblest" part of the building. The contrast established in front of the church by the succession of commercial and spiritual spaces, framed with shops and colonnades respectively, would have been equally enjoyable and would enhance the "nobile maestà" of the sanctuary. The enlarged square in front of the church and the added one behind it would have, furthermore, come very close to encompassing the entire area of the Neronian circus. Pursuing (and turning on its head) the concept of Alfarano, Grimaldi, Ferrabosco, and Costaguti that the modern church must shelter the entire Constantinian basilica with its hallowed ground, Fontana appears to have promoted the ancient Roman site as the true sacred site.

In part 5, Fontana fulfills the requirements of his commission in publishing this huge volume. He exonerates the dome of Saint Peter's, finding it stable and solid, proving that the cracks have been there since the sixteenth century and that the great chain surrounding the drum had been placed there in 1591 by Domenico Fontana and Giacomo della Porta, the architect who completed Michelangelo's structure. He also provides the most complete gallery of architectural illustrations,

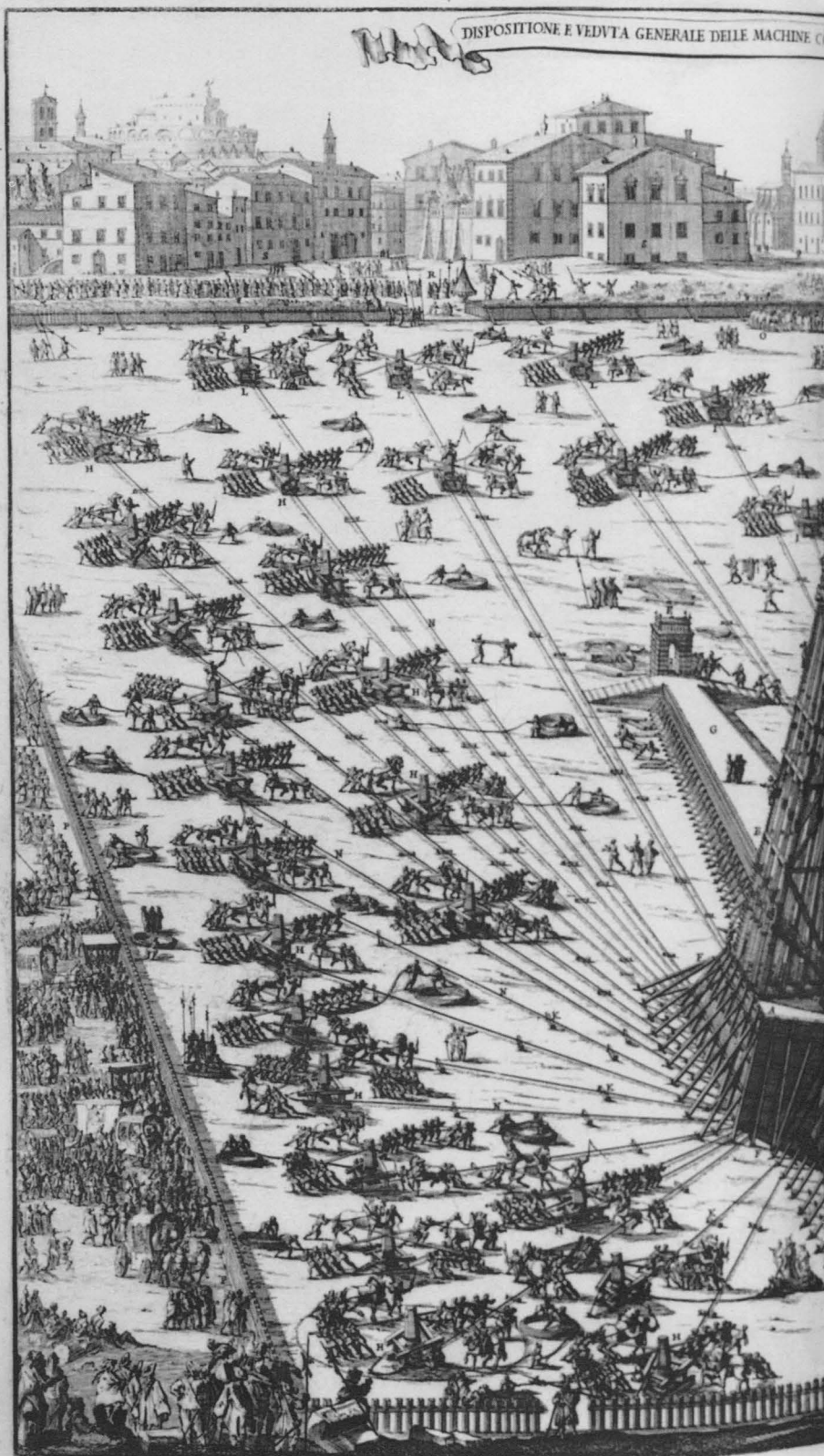
thoroughly documenting the appearance of Saint Peter's in 1690.

Part 6, not illustrated, constitutes the bombshell of the book. Here Fontana compares the cost of building Saint Peter's with the construction costs of the Temple of Solomon. The cost of the Christian basilica may have been derived from the archives of the Reverenda Fabbrica, whereas the costs of the Hebrew temple were taken from Juan Bautista Villalpando's calculations based on his reading of the Old Testament (1596; cat. 152). But Fontana proposes to calculate the cost of Saint Peter's from the measurements of the building rather than from payment orders and accounts, many of which are missing. He then provides the overall volume of the building and a list of building materials, dominated by travertine, and decorations. He derives an enormous total cost, 46,800,498 scudi, which does not include the models, demolished walls, or the bell tower (which had cost 100,000 scudi to build and 12,000 scudi to demolish). Saint Peter's was completed by six hundred workers in 188 years, while the Temple of Solomon took much longer to build, despite the eight thousand construction workers and greater resources. There is something fantastical in the comparison of the two sanctuaries, further expanded with an erudite disquisition on the relative values of gold (Coudenhove-Erthal 1930). Since the value of gold had increased over time, due to diminishing supplies, Saint Peter's emerges as both costlier and fifteen times larger than the Temple of Solomon. Saint Peter's emerges definitively as the largest *machina* that the earth has ever held. The gigantism of Saint Peter's had been adumbrated also in part 4 through tangible comparisons: its site was found to be larger than that of the Colosseum, and each of the fountains in its square consumed as much water as was needed to operate a large grain mill.

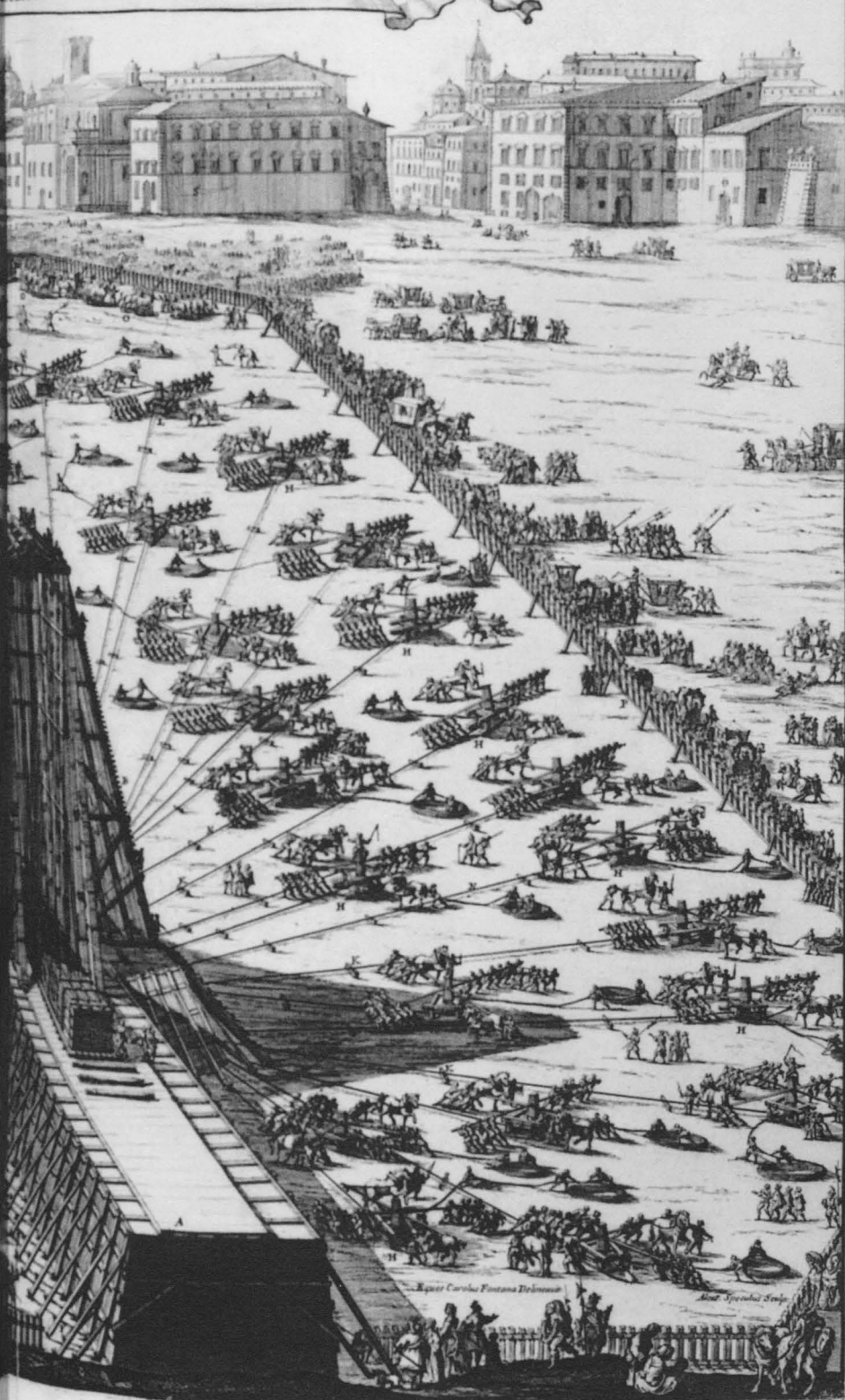
Part 7, the last part, is more modest than Fontana's preparatory drawings indicate. In his concern to establish the heights of the largest European churches, he collected plans and information about several cathedrals, including those of Florence, Milan, London, and Padua. In the event, he compared the dimensions of Saint Peter's only with the cathedral of Florence, since the connection between the dome in Florence and the dome of Saint Peter's was undeniable and since he particularly recommended the use of the double-shell structure for the construction of cupolas.

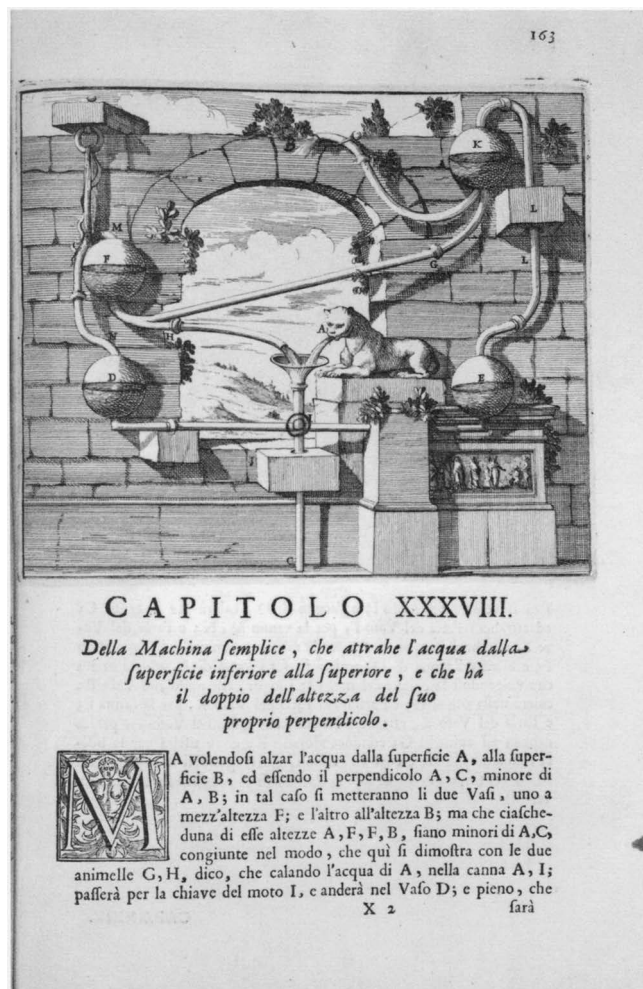
Fontana's extensive publications include a treatise on flowing waters that demonstrates his expert knowledge of hydraulics. According to Hellmut Hager (1992), his *Utilissimo trattato delle acque correnti* (the manuscript is now at the Soane Museum in London) indicates better

Carlo Fontana. *Templum Vaticanum*. Raising the Vatican obelisk: bird's-eye view. 1983.49.21



169
SERVIRONO PER ALZARE L'OBELISCO VATICANO.





Carlo Fontana. *Utilissimo trattato dell'acque correnti*. Hydraulics. 1985.61.575

than any of Fontana's other books the ability to theorize his own professional experiences. As in the *Templum Vaticanum*, Fontana's publication emerges from an actual design problem. The practical source for this theoretical work was the project for the raising of the water level of Lake Bracciano, necessary since the second fountain in Saint Peter's square, built by Bernini under Pope Clement x, was to be fed with water brought from this lake (Hager 1992).

In the three parts of *Acque correnti*, Fontana takes up a wide range of empirical and theoretical issues. In his discussion of the behavior of water, Fontana challenges Galileo's theory of flotation, positing water as heavier than earth. The technique of moving water through

lead pipes is discussed, as is the theory of the speed of the movement of water, followed by an analysis of compression and the functioning of pumps. In the third part, Fontana deals specifically with the project of bringing water from Bracciano to Rome. The water brought from Bracciano was drawn from the property of the Orsini, and Fontana was able to draw from a rich range of documents in the family archives.

The *Acque correnti* is exquisitely illustrated with engravings of a high artistic and decorative standard, and thus appreciated not only by hydraulic engineers but also by collectors of fine books and wealthy patrons of garden fountains. Despite this aesthetic quality, however, the book is modest in length and compact in format, suitable for practical use. It stands in strong contrast with the lavishness of the *Templum Vaticanum*, whose monumental size would exclude casual ownership and make it unsuitable for use by students of architecture. The text of the *Acque correnti* aims at scientific clarity and addresses the hydraulic engineer and fountain specialist; the *Templum Vaticanum* is a historical study whose intention is not only to place the principal church of Christianity on its site in Rome but also to locate it firmly in western thought. In this respect it also differs from other contemporary monuments of church illustration, such as the typological collections published by generations of the de' Rossi family in Rome.

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Domenico Fontana
(1543–1607)

40

Della Trasportatione Dell'Obelisco Vaticano
Et Delle Fabriche Di Nostro Signore Papa
Sisto v Fatte Dal Cavallier Domenico Fontana
Architetto Di Sva Santita Libro Primo Con
Licentia De Ssuperiori

Rome: Domenico Basa, 1590

1985.61.576

Folio: 421×247 ($16\frac{9}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$)

Foliation 108 (i.e., 110), [4] leaves, etched and engraved frontispiece

(Note: Two leaves numbered 66; two leaves numbered 75; two leaves numbered 76; fols. 97 and 98 together on one folding leaf. Copies in the Fowler and Harvard collections include two additional engraved plates dated 1591 depicting the catafalque of Sixtus v designed by Fontana; these engravings also appeared in Baldo Catani's *La pompa funerale*, printed in 1591 at the Typographia Apostolica Vaticana)

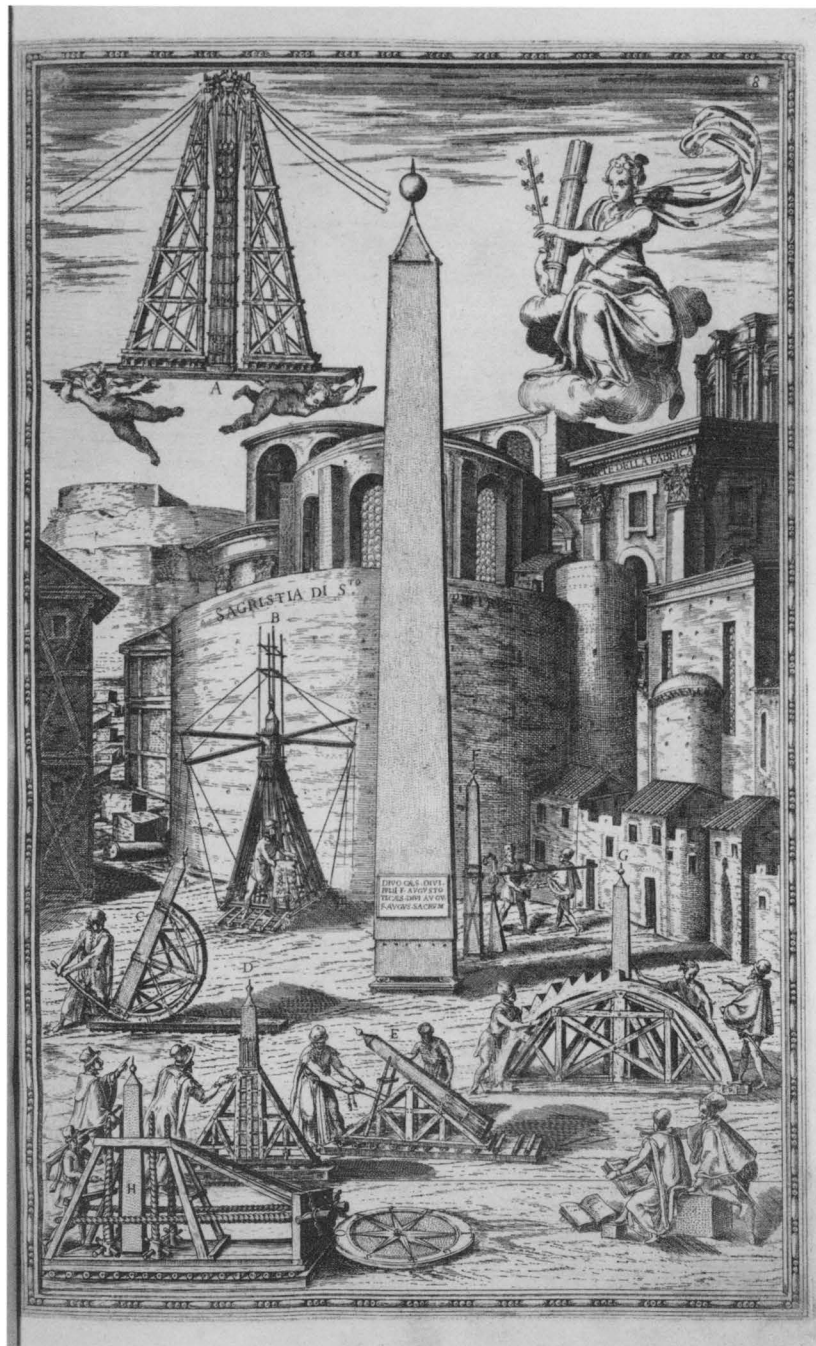
Edition First edition

Contents folios [I] title page (verso blank); [2] dedication to Sixtus v, dated 1590 (verso blank); 3–108 text and illustrations; [109]–[III] recto, index; [III] verso, errata; [II2] register and colophon (verso blank)

Ornaments Title page with engraved egg and dart, bead and reel border engraved by Natale Bonifazio (signed: "Intagliato da Natal Bonifatio da Sibenicco."); typographic arabesque ornament above imprint; several styles of typographic fleurons as head- and tailpieces; woodcut tailpieces; woodcut initials in several sizes and styles

Illustrations Frontispiece portrait of Domenico Fontana within an architectural border with papal arms and measuring implements; 38 etched and engraved plates included in the foliation (fols. 65, 75, and 97–98 folding, remainder full page). The frontispiece is signed by Natale Bonifazio as engraver and dated 1589 (“Natalis Bonifacius Sibenicen Dalmatinus Incidebat. Romæ. 1589 . . .”); the plate on fol. 75 is also signed by Bonifazio (“Natales Bonifacius Sibenicensis Incidebat. Romæ MDLXXXIX”; “Domenico Fontana”)

Binding Seventeenth-century calf, rebacked and restored



Domenico Fontana. *Della transportatione dell'obelisco vaticano*.
Proposals for moving the Vatican obelisk. 1985.61.576

Provenance Ownership inscription at top of title page “L.E. Galouzeau Sculpteur”; two earlier inscriptions at bottom of title page, faded and almost illegible: “Grasuriens [?]” and “Grabatus . . . [?]”

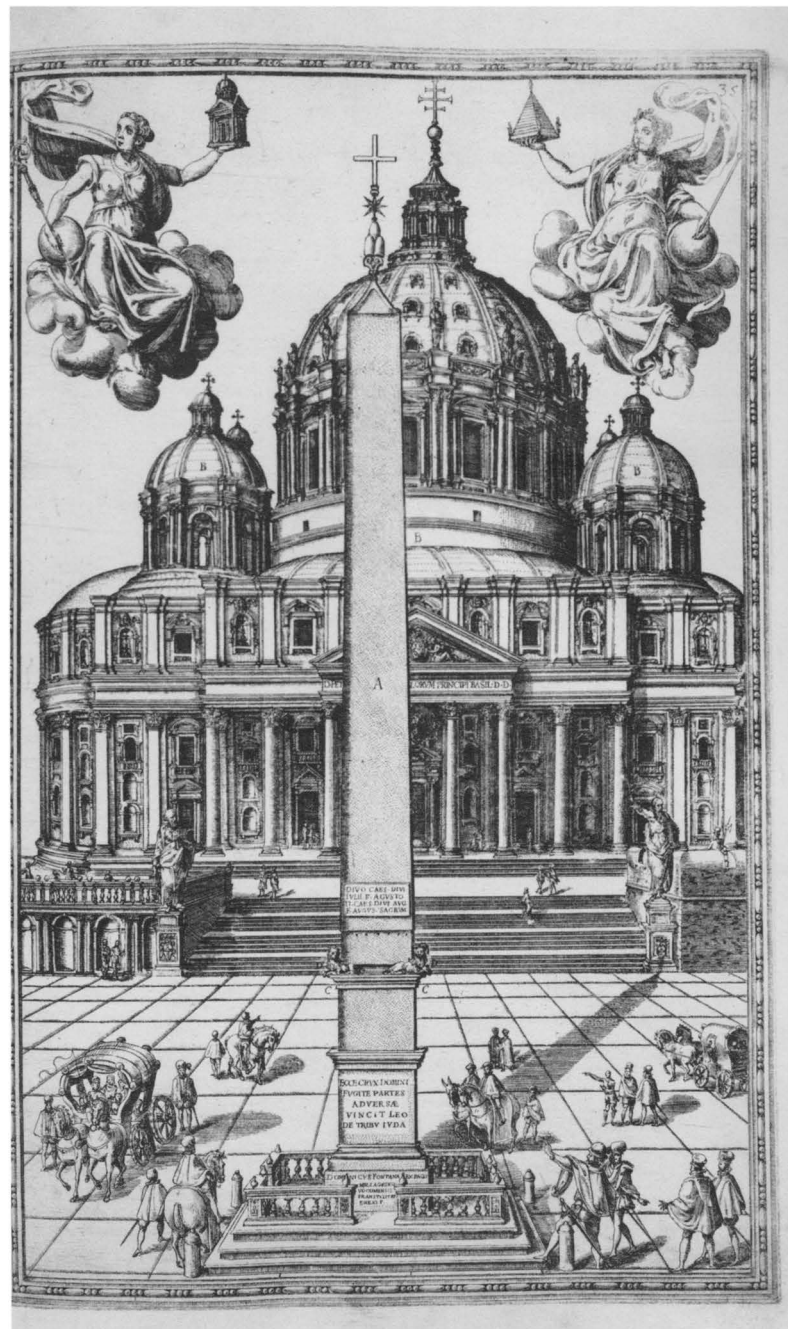
References Berlin Cat. 2652; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 41; Cicognara 3736; Fowler 124; Mortimer, *Italian*, 193, Riccardi 1: 466–467

CRITICS OF THIS INFLUENTIAL BOOK focus almost exclusively on the movement and placement of the Egyptian obelisk from the side to the front of the church of Saint Peter’s in Rome, but it also documents the thirty-five architectural and urbanistic projects, all designed by the Lombard architect Domenico Fontana, begun and realized during the short and extremely energetic reign of Pope Sixtus v (1585–1590). The ambitious scale and successful realization of Fontana’s interventions, which then definitively altered the appearance of the city, have received a great deal of attention from historians of the papacy and of Roman architecture. Since it concerns the movement of huge, invaluable, and monolithic objects that had fascinated the ancient Romans, the obelisk project has also been exhaustively considered by archaeologists and historians of science. Thus the secondary literature about the subjects and author of this book is remarkably extensive and ranges from polemical and panegyric writings contemporary with the pope’s and his architect’s lifetime, through scientific studies made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the historical interpretations and engineering evaluations of the twentieth century.

Fontana authored not only the architectural and urbanistic projects of Pope Sixtus v, but also this book, which commemorates them. Fontana’s twenty-five-year career in Rome took him from a position as stone carver (c. 1563), stuccoist (1576), and surveyor, to the architect of Cardinal Peretti in 1574, to papal architect from 1585. His work in Rome, buttressed by a team of relatives (two brothers and his nephew Carlo Maderno, who became an important architect by completing the interior and facade of Saint Peter’s), brought him honors and renown as well as remarkable wealth. He reached the apogee of his career at forty-two, when, despite his “youthful” age, Sixtus v appointed him to direct the moving of the Vatican obelisk, the principal feat celebrated in *Della trasportatione*. After the successful completion of this project, which cost two and a half times more than he had budgeted, Fontana was named count palatine and knight of the Speron d’oro—though

he was better known as “cavaliere della guglia,” or knight of the obelisk—and awarded various income-producing securities. This generous papal recognition earned him the envy of the Romans, and, after the death of Sixtus v in 1590, he left for Naples where he stayed until his death.

His book, published before the pope’s death in 1590 and republished in Naples in 1607, has become one of the most important texts on architecture and building technology. One of the most original sixteenth-century books on architecture, its visual attraction is due to the successful balance between the descriptive detail of its copperplate engravings and beautifully laid-out typographic composition. Most of the engravings are surrounded by an ornate frame composed of two fillets



Domenico Fontana. *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano*. The obelisk in front of Michelangelo's (unbuilt) facade for Saint Peter's. 1985.61.576

and one column of astragals, which may be a result of Fontana's work as stuccoist and is consistent with his taste in architectural design, correctly balanced between elegance and obviousness (Portoghesi 1978). One of the sheets stands out for the difference in the taste exhibited; this is the plate that illustrates the four elevations of the obelisk raised in Piazza del Popolo, which is attributed by Paolo Portoghesi (1978) to Carlo Maderno. Furthermore, Portoghesi sees the influence of Fontana on the decorative strategies of his later descendant Francesco Borromini, whose career in Rome began as the assistant to Carlo Maderno. Besides its great graphic virtues, then, this book by Fontana is an important source for the history of architecture. It is differentiated from contemporary theoretical publications by its dominant technical and pragmatic approach to architectural problems, and specifically by its interest in the organization of the construction site, its vast vision, and its research in architectural typology.

The movement of the Vatican obelisk, the most visible of the "spoils of idolatry" (Mercati 1589) in Rome, had been considered earlier. Pope Nicholas v had wanted to raise the obelisk in front of Saint Peter's onto four colossal statues of the evangelists, planning to crown it with a statue of Christ. Paul II had discussed the possibility of moving it with the engineer Aristotele Fioravanti (famed for moving towers in Bologna and Milan and for building bridges in Hungary), but he died soon after broaching the subject. Julius II's interest was sparked by the discovery in 1509 of an obelisk in the Campo Marzio. Paul III had considered moving the obelisk as well, but his architect, Michelangelo, was unwilling to undertake the heroic project; Gregory XIII was offered an ingenious model by Camillo Agrippa, based on ancient Roman sources and on discussions he had heard by Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo, but the pope did not trust his ability (Mercati 1589). The Vatican obelisk had attracted the attention of architects like Giuliano da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi, who measured and drew its pedestal in 1510, and an engraving of the obelisk was published by Antoine Lafrery in 1550.

The commission to study the new site of the obelisk, appointed by Sixtus v on 24 August 1585, was headed by Ferdinando, previously cardinal, then grand duke of Tuscany, and included three conservators of the city council, the *caporioni* and the *maestri di strada*, respectively responsible for Rome's neighborhoods and the public streets of the city. The commission invited the opinions of writers, mathematicians, architects, and engineers and was rewarded with the participation of about five hundred experts who turned up for the September meeting, each bringing designs, models, and descriptions. Only seven projects were, however, seriously considered by the commission. Most proposals

suggested the movement of the obelisk in standing position, *in piedi*, while Fontana presented his model for lowering it, transporting it on its side, and raising the obelisk. The project was initially awarded to the Florentine Bartolomeo Ammannati, who demanded, however, a year to consider his solution. But the pope was already set on Fontana's technical solution, which was entirely original and consisted of the great scaffold that he designed for the transportation of the obelisk. This unprecedented scaffolding would protect the monolithic object, or "gran sasso," as Fontana familiarly refers to it. A more detailed and less partisan discussion of the competition and its outcome (than those by Fontana, Agrippa, and Michele Mercati) is provided by Vincenzo Scamozzi in his *Idea dell'architettura universale* (see cat. 123).

According to Fontana, the commission chose his project but appointed the sixty-five-year-old Ammannati and Giacomo della Porta to direct the works, alleging that Fontana himself was too young at forty-two to carry out the work alone. Soon, after Fontana expressed his concern to the pope that he would be held responsible for his invention though not allowed to carry it out, Sixtus v permitted him to proceed on his own. Fontana's version of the competition skillfully glosses over the disagreements between the commission and the pope. Ground was broken for the foundation of the obelisk in Saint Peter's square on 25 September, the anniversary of the day on which Sixtus had become in turn bishop, cardinal, and pope. Twelve medals were buried in a box in the foundations. Among the privileges granted to Fontana were the right to carry arms, to tear down houses near the obelisk's site (Orbaan 1911) (though damages were to be negotiated in advance), to employ as many workers as necessary, and to scour Rome and the surrounding countryside for materials such as ropes, pulleys, and wood for scaffolding.

The preparations for lowering the obelisk were completed by 30 April 1586, all the workers involved were confessed, and a draconian set of rules decreed for the attending population, who participated in record numbers, turning this into a spectator event (Cipriani 1993). It took two separate working days to raise the obelisk off its pedestal and then to lower it for transportation, an operation that was carried out with total success. The following four days were spent in disarming the pulleys and capstans and dismantling the scaffolding. A sort of dike of battered earth reinforced with wood was then built, and the obelisk was brought over to its new site along it. Meanwhile the foundations for the scaffolding in the square used for raising the obelisk were constructed. The raising of the obelisk took place on 10 September 1586, followed by seven more days used to position the obelisk after it was raised, including the placement of the four bronze, two-bodied lions

and the removal of the wood-plank platform on which the obelisk had been moved (D'Onofrio 1965). On 27 September, one year and two days after the commencement of the transportation, the obelisk stood clear of all scaffolding. Sixtus v ordered a procession and the benediction of the obelisk.

This great engineering and logistical enterprise is illustrated in Fontana's book with twelve plates. The first plate (fol. 8 recto) illustrates the obelisk in its original location near the sacristy of Saint Peter's, which is shown with its incomplete dome. The ground around the obelisk is occupied by a selection of the competing projects for its transportation, while Fontana's winning project is airborne at top left by two putti. The last plate (fol. 35 recto) in this sequence illustrates the obelisk standing in front of Saint Peter's "as it will be when finished," that is, with a completed dome and facade closely modeled on Michelangelo's design. The square is shown paved with a perspectival grid, and the flight of steps leading up to the church is flanked by the colossal statues of Peter and Paul; the corner of the bastion guarding the entry to the papal palace is visible at right next to Paul's pedestal.

The intervening plates concern the scaffolding of the obelisk, the placements of capstans and pulleys, the forms of these instruments and their operation, and the platform (*strascino*) on which the obelisk was slid from its original location to the new one. In his rigorously detailed study of the actual operation, and of Fontana's description of it in his book, Adriano Carugo (1978), who has examined Fontana's sources in the preceding architectural treatises, finds that Fontana probably took advantage not only of Leon Battista Alberti's and Vitruvius' writings on the lifting of great weights, but also the ideas of Guidobaldo del Monte published by Filippo Pigafetta in 1586. Fontana's descriptions of the scaffolding built to raise the obelisk, among the most analytic in his book, depend closely on Pigafetta's slightly earlier writings. But the central problem in raising the obelisk—that of coordinating the pulleys and the capstans—was given a brilliant solution by Fontana, whose practical experience won the day despite the misgivings of the theorists, and received attention in the allegorical presence of Concordia in the plate that illustrates the location of the capstans (fol. 15 recto).

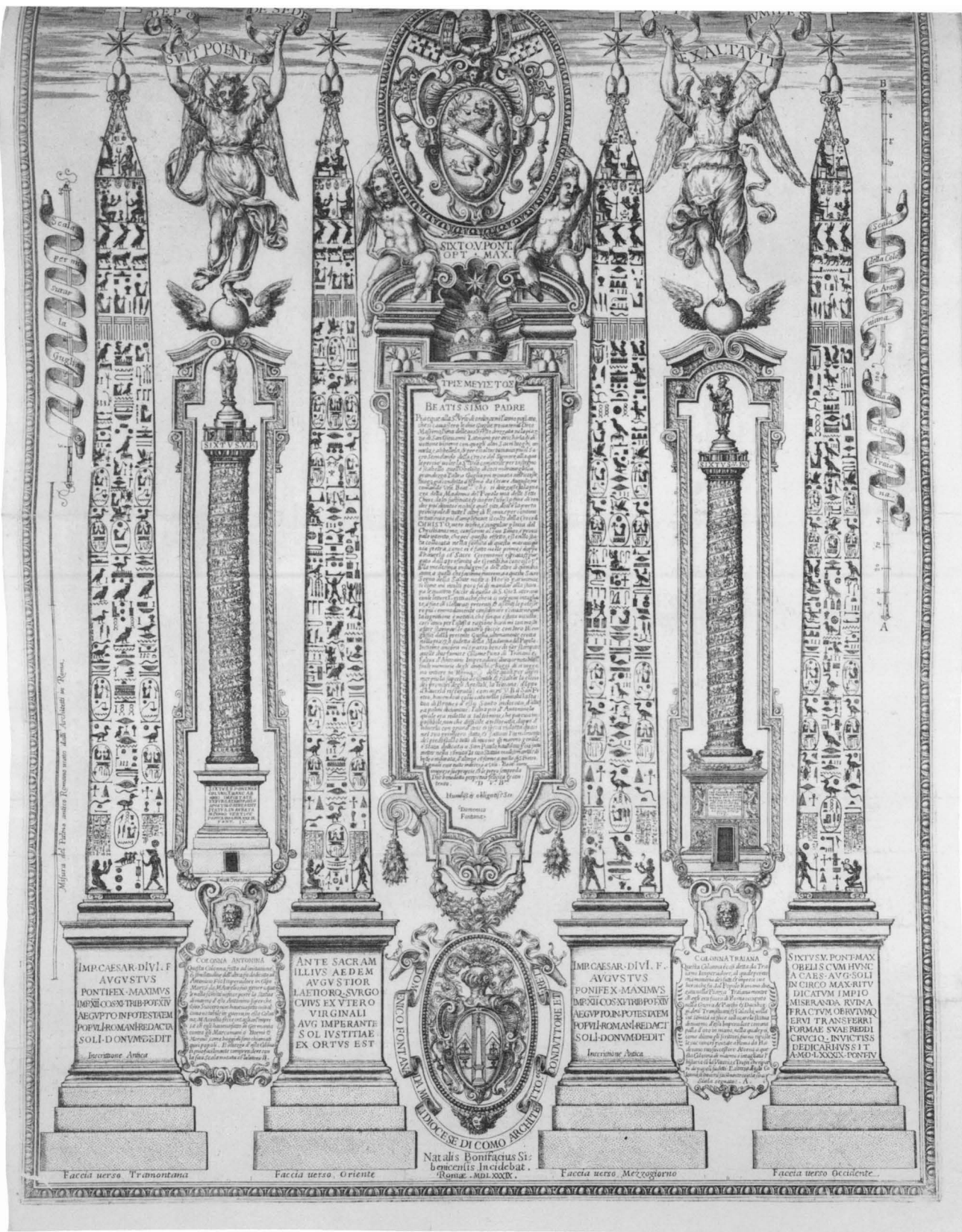
Many illustrations of the transportation of the obelisk were published before Fontana's book. Engraved by Natale Bonifazio after drawings by Giovanni Guerra, these prints were issued as single sheets in 1586 and 1587 and only later as part of the larger gallery of illustrations in Fontana's book. Guerra, an artist from Modena, toiled extensively on Sixtus' projects and "in that service was for painting what Domenico Fontana was for architecture," both being employed not only to produce new art objects but to do so at the

expense of older monuments that Sixtus was eagerly destroying. But although the same engraver made the single sheets and the plates for Fontana's book, the ones for the book were made after Fontana's own drawings. Little is known about Bonifazio, whose activity in Rome in the 1580s is documented largely by his engravings and whose Dalmatian origins in Sebenico are part of his signature. The title page, also engraved by Bonifazio and dated 1589, is a portrait of Domenico Fontana holding a model of the obelisk, surrounded by an octagonal frame, which is in turn inserted in an architectural frame of composite-order columns supporting an entablature and a broken triangular pediment. His posture may be a reference to the allegorical figure of Strength often shown holding a column; his adopted coat of arms (with fountains and obelisks) forms the pedestals of the columns, while the pope's arms mark the center and sides of the pediment. This is only the second example of an architect being portrayed on the cover of his book in such a ceremonial and elevated representation, preceded only by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's portrait in his treatise of c. 1563 (see cat. 144).

Many other literary and journalistic publications celebrated the transportation of the obelisk immediately after the event. The publications by Giovanni Francesco Bordini and Michele Mercati were the most distinguished and were also illustrated. Thus Fontana's book, coming after the descriptions and the evaluations were made public, is a lavish synthesis of these earlier publications, an official version of the events, as well as a direct statement by the great engineer eager to commemorate his works. It also allowed Fontana the opportunity to illustrate and discuss the numerous architectural projects that he realized during Sixtus' short papacy, which, however, have not been as eulogized as his engineering contributions.

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Fra Francisco de los Santos (1617–1692)

41

Descripcion Del Real Monasterio De S. Lorenzo Del Escorial. . . . Dedicada A Sv Magestad Catholica: Por El Padre Fr. Francisco De Los Santos . . .

Madrid: Bernardo de Villa Diego, 1681

1985.61.2671

Folio: 292 × 195 (11½ × 7⅞)

Foliation [vi], 163, [5] leaves, 11 etched and engraved plates (9 folding)

Edition Third edition (1st ed.: Madrid, 1657)

Text folios [i] title page (verso blank); [ii] dedication by Fra Francisco de los Santos to Charles II, king of Spain; [iii] recto, approbation, dated Madrid, 12 August 1680; [iii] verso, imprimaturs, dated Madrid, 27 May 1680, 7 February 1681, and 11 February 1681; [iv] table of contents; [v–vi] preface; 1–163 recto, text; 163 verso, blank; [164]–[168] recto, index; [168] verso, blank

Ornaments Woodcut initials, tailpieces

Illustrations 11 etched plates *hors texte* as follows:

[1] folding bird's-eye view of San Lorenzo, captioned "Iconographia Monasterii Divi Lavrentii A Philipo II Hispaniarvm Rege Prope Escvriale extrvcti," signed by Pedro de Villafranca as etcher ("Petrus de Villafranca sculptor Regius ft."); [2] full-page portrait of Philip IV, signed by Villafranca as draftsman and etcher and dated 1657 ("Petrus de Villafranca Sculptor Regius delineavit et Sculpsit, Matriti, 1657."); [3] full-page elevation of door to Pantheon of San Lorenzo, etched by Villafranca; [4] folding section of principal staircase of Pantheon, unsigned; [5] folding plan of Pantheon, unsigned; [6] folding section of Pantheon, etched by Villafranca and dated 1654 "P. de Villafranca sculptor Regius ft. Matriti 1654"; [7] folding section of altar of Pantheon, etched by Villafranca and dated 1654; [8] folding plate showing richly ornamented sconce, unsigned; [9] folding plate with tombs and sarcophagi, unsigned; [10] folding plate with two candelabra, unsigned; and [11] folding plate with two lecterns, unsigned. All plates reprinted from first edition, some re-worked

Binding Quarter calf with marbled paper boards, spine blind-tooled in compartments, red morocco spine label

References Bibliografía de arquitectura 1494; Bibliografía española 70; Millard, *British Books*, 18 (English ed.); E. Santiago Paez and J. Manuel Magariños, "El Escorial: historia de una imagen." In *El Escorial en La Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid [1985]: 269–276 (1st ed.); Palau 20: 59

42

Descripcion Del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo De El Escorial. . . . Dedicada A Su Magestad Catolica, Por El Padre Fray Francisco De Los Santos. . . .

Madrid: printed by Juan Garcia Infançon, 1698

1985.61.2672

Folio: 290 × 197 (11⅞ × 7¾)

Foliation [vi], 178, [4] leaves, 11 etched and engraved plates (9 folding)

Edition Fourth edition

Text folios [i] title page (verso blank); [ii] dedication by Fra Francisco de los Santos to Charles II, king of Spain; [iii] recto, approbation, dated Madrid, 12 August 1698; [iii] verso, imprimaturs, dated Madrid, 27 May 1698, 7 February 1698, and 11 February 1698; [iv] table of contents; [v–vi] preface; 1–178 text; [179–182] index

Ornaments Woodcut headpiece (fol. 1), tailpieces, initials

Illustrations 11 unnumbered, etched plates *hors texte* (9 folding). All plates from first edition, as described for 1681 edition (cat. 41)

Binding Contemporary limp vellum, ties lacking, manuscript title on spine "Descripción dl [sic] Escorial"

References Bibliografía de arquitectura 1495; Bibliografía española 74; Millard, *British Books*, 18 (English ed.); E. Santiago Paez and J. Manuel Magariños, "El Escorial: historia de una imagen." In *El Escorial en La Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid [1985]: 269–276 (1st ed.); Palau 20: 59



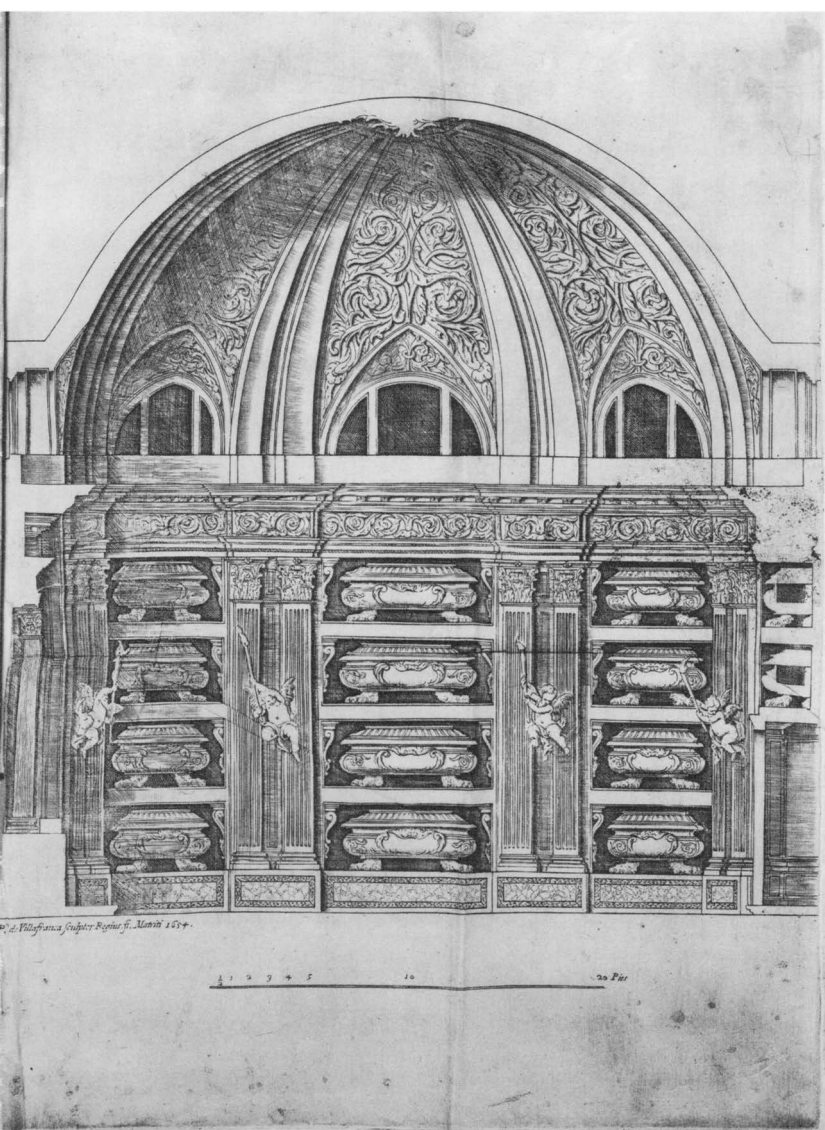
THIS BOOK DESCRIBES the palace and monastery complex as the “unique marvel of the world” (Kubler 1982, 3–5), thus founding the “commemorative panegyric tradition” for the Escorial. It was first published in 1657 to commemorate the completion within the compound of the Pantheon, the official mausoleum of the royal house, finished under Philip IV. The Millard edition was published after the fire of 1671, which consumed most of the Escorial, with the exception of the basilica, parts of the royal palace, and two towers of the monastery. This third edition appears to celebrate the completion of the postfire restorations, which took eight years to accomplish. The book is divided into three parts: a description of the principal parts of the Escorial, the construction history of the Pantheon, and the process of the entombment of the royal remains in the Pantheon. The emphasis in this book on the Pantheon, the most recent addition to the Escorial, reflects its original publication purpose. The book has been valued as a direct source of information since its author was a contemporary witness of the building operations.

The illustrations reflect Santos’ emphasis on the Pantheon’s decorations realized between 1617 and 1654. Seven of the eleven plates focus on the royal sepulcher. These are the elevation of the elaborate entry portal, the section and plan of the staircase that leads down to

Francisco de los Santos. *Descripcion del Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial* [1698]. Plate 1. View of the Escorial. 1985.61.2672

it from the basilica, the plan, the elevation of a four-bay segment of the interior, the elevation of the altar and its flanking bays, the chandelier, and the layout of the tombs of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II and their wives. The engravings are by Pedro de Villafraña.

The design of the Pantheon was altered from the circular composition of Juan de Herrera to the built octagonal form by the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, a brother of Cardinal Crescenzi, who supervised the works between 1617 and 1635. Crescenzi placed the royal mortuary directly under the high altar of the basilica. His bronze decorations were made in Genoa, where he commissioned them in 1618–1619, following the custom, fashionable from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, of Spanish aristocrats and high ecclesiastics to place the commission for their tombs in Italy and particularly in Genoa. According to Francisco de los Santos, much of the work was carried out by Pedro Lizargarte, whose most serious decision was to lower the floor of Herrera’s crypt by 5½ feet. Thus the height of the Pantheon (36 feet) became nearly equal to its diameter (38 feet). Work languished again—and serious



Francisco de los Santos. *Descripcion del Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial* [1698]. Plate 138. View of the burial vault by Pedro Villafranca. 1985.61.2672

damage to the jasper cladding was caused by water leaks—until 1645, when Nicolas de Madrid took over, completing the project in 1654 to Crescenzi's design. The luxurious jasper is mentioned by Richard Fanshawe in a Latin poem he wrote on the Escorial (c. 1633–1634) when he was Charles I's ambassador to Portugal.

The four remaining illustrations are a view of the Escorial, a portrait of Philip IV, the elaborately decorated Paschal candle, and the choir lecterns. The view was engraved by Villafranca after the original published by Juan de Herrera in 1587. This perspective view of the Escorial had been reproduced by Abraham Ortelius in 1591, in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1617, and in Joannes Blaeu's *Atlas Major* of 1662. The portrait of Philip IV after Velázquez was also engraved by Villafranca and is dated 1657. The view is one of the two most celebrated illustrations of

the Escorial (Philip II 1990). The other celebrated representation is a drawing at Hatfield House, most recently attributed to an unnamed Flemish architect, which illustrates the animated and spectacularly performative construction site of the Escorial in 1576, after Philip II demanded that construction proceed "a toda furia" (according to Sigüenza, in Kubler 1982, 26). This representation of a construction site is rather rare among sixteenth-century views before the publication of Domenico Fontana's illustrations of the raising of the Vatican obelisk at Saint Peter's in Rome (see cat. 40). The Hatfield House view illustrates the construction of the basilica with the sixteen cranes designed by Herrera operating in full swing. The drawing conveys clearly the immense collective force involved in building and the curious staging of the construction sequence, obliging the builders of the basilica to shoehorn the most important part of the complex compound—the church of Saint Lawrence—between the already built wings of the palace and the monastery (*IV Centenario* 1986, 55–67).

The illustrations of the portal, lecterns, candelabra, and wall elevations demonstrate the richly detailed and ornate style of the Pantheon interiors and furnishings. The octagonal mausoleum has six walls occupied by four sarcophagi each. These funeral bays are separated by piers ornamented with coupled Corinthian pilasters of jasper and by torch-bearing putti. The axially correspondent entry bay and altar separate the mausoleum into two parts; there is room for twenty-six sarcophagi. The Pantheon's cupola is decorated with lavish floral ornament. Two landings subdivide the thirty-three steps of the sumptuous staircase, built of jasper from Tortosa and marble from Toledo, descending into the mausoleum.

The Pantheon is presented by Santos as the crown of the Escorial, the eighth wonder of the world. The palace-monastery is incomparable to any other man-made structure and unites the seven wonders of the world into one construct. The original intention of Philip II for the construction of the Escorial had been as a burial place for his father, Charles V. The remains of the emperor, his wife, and Philip II's two wives were moved to the Escorial in 1574. They were kept in a provisional vault until their formal entombment in the Pantheon in 1654. But the Escorial was intended to fulfill a broad range of functions, as royal residence and as religious, educational, and charitable center. It was simultaneously a monastery, commemorative basilica, palace, library, college, and hospital. Though the complex architectural program was designed by Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Philip II was strongly involved in every stage of the design.

The Escorial is the greatest architectural achievement of Philip II and a symbol of his rule, marked by the encyclopedic character of his undertakings. His

requirements to his architect had been “simplicity of form, severity in the whole, nobility without arrogance, majesty without ostentation.” Intended to appear as though carved from a mountain, the Escorial is a “seamless whole” (*Philip II* 1990, 11) built of granite in the austere *estilo desornamentado*, the Spanish style of late sixteenth-century architectural design. But this style also continues Iberian building tradition in that it is part of the golden rule in Spanish architecture that a medium easily worked will become surcharged with ornament and that, conversely, a medium difficult to carve should receive little ornament. Constructed in just over twenty years, between 1561 and 1584, the Escorial is the largest single sixteenth-century architectural enterprise, second in scale only to the church of Saint Peter’s in Rome, which was not completed until the seventeenth century. The masterful composition of the Escorial turns this vast rectangle, 670 feet long and 530 feet wide and organized around seventeen main courts, into a subsidiary of the church within.

The Escorial was first illustrated in a series of eleven plates, issued between 1583 and 1589, engraved by Pedro Perret after drawings by Juan de Herrera, which endowed the palace-monastery with an air of visionary grandeur. The plates were accompanied by a prose *Summario*, also composed by Herrera (*Philip II* 1990). They described and illustrated a colossal and complex building. The immense rectangular structure is divided into six large parts. The two central parts are taken up by the basilica and its forecourt, with the monastery at right and the palace and college at left. The southwest quadrant is the Hieronymite monastery, the college is in the northwest quadrant, and the royal palace in the northeast quadrant, while the king’s own residence surrounds and embraces the projecting apse of the basilica. The “whole machine,” as Herrera referred to the building, pivots around the basilica (*Philip II* 1990, 17). Two sides of the Escorial were surrounded by terraced gardens, while the other sides faced into broad terraces, but with remarkably few entries into the compound. The main entry is oriented toward the mountains that form a natural theatrical backdrop and framing device, while the king’s palace, opposite the main entry, is oriented toward Madrid. The individual parts were organized around courts, ranging in size from light shafts to spacious cloisters and gardens. An ordinary visitor’s vision included the magnificent entry court in front of the church, the small *sotocoro* parish church in the narthex, and occasional entry into the grandiose square basilica whose center is crowned by a dome. But the main church, though vast, was meant to serve the king’s needs as a palatine chapel. Similarly, the extraordinary library, linking college and convent at the main level, would be experienced by the ordinary visitor as the roof of the passage through

which one arrived into the court of the basilica. Library and *sotocoro* frame the spaces accessible to ordinary visitors, and both introduce the visitor to significant spatial experiences.

The sections through the compound illustrate the magisterial confidence of the architectural composition, as various functions are contained within a consistent roof level. Towers mark the four corners of the palace-monastery, with church spires and a dome projecting above them. Seminary and college cloisters contain three levels, whereas the principal monastic cloister, the church forecourt, and the court of the royal palace are composed on two levels. These varying numbers of levels are dovetailed, so that the great double-story spaces of the library, refectory, dormitory, and galleries are surrounded by the lower-ceilinged cells, offices, and apartments. The sections clarify the immensity of the basilica in both volume and area. The surrounding compound is successful, however, in providing a commensurately scaled enclosure for the basilica. This is achieved in part through great size and regularity of fenestration. While the windows along the uninterrupted garden side of the monastery are relentlessly uniform, their monotonousness is relieved on the main entry facade by their symmetrical grouping about each wing. Not only are the facades not ornamented with the classical orders, but the windows are merely openings in the wall bereft of the habitual pedimented surrounds. Juan de Arfe (*De varia commensuracion*, Seville, 1585) wrote about the Escorial that “it follows the laws and orders of Vitruvius, abandoning as vanities the petty projections, reversed pyramids, brackets and other foolish things usually seen in Flemish and French plans.” Except for the basilica, the entire structure is a collection of shallow wings arranged around courts, with projections in the roofline marking the crossing of the wings. Thus the Escorial relies on its effect as a small town, comprised of repetitive units with a spare number of details, for its architectural impact.

Santos’ description of the Escorial is based on the writings of Juan de San Jerónimo, Antonio de Villacastin, and José de Sigüenza, three Hieronymite friars who witnessed the construction of the compound in the sixteenth century, although only Sigüenza’s work was published. He clarifies some of the associations and meanings of the Escorial. The basilica was dedicated to Saint Lawrence, an early Spanish martyr, on whose feast day in 1557 the Spanish army led by Emanuel Filiberto of Savoy had won a decisive victory against the French, resulting in Spanish hegemony in Europe for the next century. According to Kubler (1982), this dedication to a Spanish martyr is to be linked to Philip II’s pro-Hispanic policy, “corresponding to his lifelong desire to be king in Spain rather than emperor in Europe.” The monastery was offered to the Hieronymites since Emperor



Francisco de los Santos. *Descripcion del Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial* [1681]. Portrait of Philip IV by Pedro Villafranca. 1985.61.2671

Charles V, Philip's father, had found solace among them when he retreated to their monastery at Yuste in 1554. Philip II exempted the friars from taxation, and in his testament made provision for the maintenance of the buildings, the friars, and the school for nearly three centuries.

The site of the Escorial was chosen, despite the harsh climate, for its proximity to Madrid, where the royal court had resettled in 1561 after its move from Toledo. The architects of the Escorial—Juan Bautista de Toledo, who was brought back from Italy where he had been the assistant of Michelangelo at Saint Peter's,

and Juan de Herrera, who was Philip's chamberlain—were chosen by the king. They both worked closely with the king, who was interested in every aspect of construction.

Much has been written about the sources for the design of the Escorial, influenced in part by the king's interest in divinely inspired architecture. This interest was manifested through his sponsorship in the last quarter of the sixteenth century of two studies concerned with the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. The research of Benito Arias Montano, the librarian of the Escorial, was part of the monumental polyglot Bible published by the Plantin press in Antwerp with the king's subsidy, while the other work was a reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon by the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando (see cat. 152), a student of the architect Juan de Herrera. Although Kubler declines to see any correspondence between Villalpando's apocalyptic drawings and the composition of the Escorial, the association has been persuasively shown (*IV Centenario* 1986, 55–73). The attempt to reconcile the architecture of antiquity and the teachings of the Bible, promoted by Villalpando, may well have been an attractive idea to the architecturally inclined and pious Philip II.

The built form and function of the Escorial developed over time. A large range of institutions had to be included in a single complex: mausoleum, royal residence and court, public library, college and seminary, hospital and pharmacy, and factory of worship manned by a large monastic community. Traditional models were only partly useful. The palace-monasteries of medieval Spain provided a general precedent for the Escorial, and the layout around a sequence of courts was derived from Spanish and Italian hospitals of the fifteenth century. Contrary to more traditional monastic arrangements, a separate compound was provided for workshops, stables, mills, bakery and other industrial support services, as well as guest houses. To help him articulate the details and the arrangements of parts of the Escorial, Philip II consulted several Italian architects, receiving lengthy evaluations of the plan by Herrera from the military architect Francesco Pacciotto and from the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, among others. When Philip died, his palace was largely built except for its main element, the burial chamber of the dynasty.

The Escorial suffered a series of damaging fires while under construction and after its completion. The most damaging fire, in 1671, raged for three days, sparing only the basilica, the library (where a fire wall had been rapidly built), the palace tower, the infirmary tower, and the king's house (Kubler 1982, 120). The vaulted spaces of the sacristy, refectory, vestry, and lecture halls also escaped damage. (An oil painting of the conflagration of 1671 attributed to Francisco de los

Santos is in the collection of the architecture school in Madrid.) The rebuilt roofs were covered with lead rather than the original slate, which had been chosen by Philip II after seeing and admiring Flemish building style and materials. The damage inflicted by successive fires in 1731, 1744, 1763, and 1825 and their concomitant reconstructions were thoroughly restored in 1963, and changes were made—altering the original functions of numerous spaces—to accommodate the growing numbers of visitors to the Escorial. The restoration turned the palace-monastery into a museum and transformed the building into an archaeological site, fully documented with measured plans and sections that provide the fullest understanding of the compound since Herrera's series of prints. In this parallel enterprise of building and describing the Escorial, Santos' *Descripción* is an important contribution, marking the definitive completion of the extravagant royal building as well as commemorating one of the numerous catastrophes that the palace-monastery has survived.

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Teofilo Gallaccini (1564–1641)

43

Trattato Di Teofilo Gallaccini Sopra Gli Errori Degli Architetti Ora Per La Prima Volta Pubblicato

Venice: Giambattista Pasquali, 1767

1983.49.23

Folio: 345 × 247 (13⁵/₈ × 9³/₄)

Pagination xii, 81, [1] pp.

Edition First edition

Contents pp. [i] title plate (verso blank); iii–x life of Gallaccini by Giovanni Antonio Pecci; xi–xii table of contents; 1 dedication to Giulio Mancini (verso blank); 3–72 text and illustrations, divided in 3 parts; 73–81 index; [82] blank

Illustrations Etched title plate with title in ornamental cartouche surrounded by drawing instruments; 25 unsigned and unnumbered etched illustrations (by Antonio Visentini) throughout text

Binding Contemporary full vellum, gilt title on spine, edges mottled rose and ocher. Bound (1) with Antonio Visentini's *Osservazioni . . . che servono di continuazione al trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini*, Venice, 1771 (cat. 154)

Provenance Bookplate of John Jay Ide

References Berlin Cat. 2636; Cicognara 513; Comolli 4: 252–258; Fowler 133; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1159

THE MANUSCRIPT ON WHICH this work is based—dated 1625 and entitled “Degli errori degli architetti”—was dedicated by its author, the polymath Teofilo Gallaccini, to Giulio Mancini, physician to Pope Urban VIII. This work on architecture was only one of Gallaccini's many writings, which included treatises on philosophy, medicine, astronomy, mechanics, and military architecture, all unpublished. Born in Siena in 1564, Gallaccini studied at the local university and graduated in 1583. He then practiced as a physician at the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala and pursued anatomical studies. In 1590 he went to Rome, returning to Siena in 1602 and frequenting the Accademia degli Intronati and the Filomati, where he lectured on historical and literary subjects. In 1621 he was appointed reader in mathematics at the university of Siena by Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany; after 1623 he also taught logic and philosophy. The biography of Gallaccini published in the *Trattato* was composed in 1759 by Giovanni Antonio Pecci, a compatriot who probably owned several of Gallaccini's manuscript studies.

By 1761 Gallaccini's manuscript (now at the British Library, K. 281) had found its way into the collection of



Teofilo Gallaccini. *Trattato sopra gli errori*. Title page. 1983.49.23

Consul Joseph Smith in Venice, who sponsored its publication by Giambattista Pasquali in 1767. This Venetian edition was illustrated by Antonio Visentini, best known for his etchings after Canaletto, whose images exemplified the architectural licenses deplored in the text. Visentini was encouraged by Smith and Giovanni Poleni to publish a continuation of Gallaccini's treatise, which he did in 1771, probably assisted by his students, as he was eighty-three at the time. The vividness of Visentini's illustrations in the *Osservazioni* (cat. 154) is such that it exalts the architecture that in the text is severely criticized.

Smith, Pasquali, and Visentini had worked jointly on publishing projects for the previous fifty years. Although Visentini taught architecture and restored Smith's villa at Mogliano and his palazzetto in Venice, he was better known as a painter and engraver than as an architect. He was a founding member of the Venetian Accademia (1755), where he taught architectural perspective and figure drawing. While an unquestioned adherence to Palladio's teachings was required at Smith's meetings and those of the Accademia, a parallel architectural current in the local baroque also survived.

The plates for the Venetian edition of the *Errori* are elaborately rococo, as Eugenio Battisti (1959) has observed, intentionally updating Gallaccini's sketches of mannerist architecture. Thus mannerist herms become rococo pilasters. The title page consists of an "architectural" trophy made of drafting instruments surrounded by an overwrought and richly molded frame. The style of the etched plates seemingly adapts to the individual architectural subjects. But this publication is quite extraordinary in that all the illustrations are meant as representations of errors; complications arise since Visentini graphically interprets and transforms Gallaccini's comments and sketches in a vastly altered aesthetic environment.

Organized in three parts, Gallaccini's "errors" deal exclusively with architectural mistakes. In part I, which is comprised of eight chapters, he examines issues that precede construction, such as poor selection of site, poor choice of materials, poor choice of builders, time, and design. Part II, in ten chapters, takes up errors of construction, while part III, divided into nine chapters, pertains to post-construction problems. Contrary to the positive advice offered in previously published treatises, Gallaccini considers the negative results of misguided choices regarding site location and materials of construction, including a long discourse on poor bricks and sand. His chapter on builders, described as greedy,

dishonorable, uneducated, and undisciplined, reads like the nightmare of a would-be homeowner.

A large part of the text is concerned with errors of architectural composition and decoration, which are considered the most deplorable since they misrepresent the load-bearing functions of buildings. Like his friend Mancini, Gallaccini is critical of mannerist architecture and capricious design. He examines closely ill-proportioned columns and broken pediments, which he compares to broken roofs, seemingly anticipating Marc-Antoine Laugier's comparable argument, and his evaluation of the Porta Pia in Rome marks a downturn in Michelangelo's critical afterlife as architect (as sculptor he was already disliked by seventeenth-century critics). Among Gallaccini's positive pronouncements are his belief that architecture imitates nature, again anticipating avant-garde eighteenth-century ideals, and that the study of ancient architecture is the most important source for sound architectural procedure. His examination of ancient practice shows how the Romans avoided errors in construction through edicts and legal provisions. Alina Payne (1999) has suggested that Gallaccini's *Errori*, far from being marginal, ought to be seen as an innovative chapter in the "obligatory" examinations of contemporary architectural abuses, initiated by Leon Battista Alberti (and continued subsequently by other architectural theorists). Through a "diagnostic method of criticism" aimed at discovering those inconsistencies between the form and the structure of architecture, Gallaccini makes a novel and scientific contribution to the evaluation of buildings.

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Ferdinando Galli Bibiena

(1657–1743)

44

[Varie opere di Prospettiva...]

Disegni delle Scene, che Seruano alle due opere che si rappresentano l'anno corente nel Reggio Teatro di Torino inuenzioni di Ferdinando Bibiena, Architetto e Pitore del Ser:^{mo} Sig.^r [sic] Dvca di Parma poste in opra [sic] dipinte dedicate da me Pietro Giovanni Abbati all'Altezza Reale di Carlo Emanuelle Dvca di Savoia Principe di Piemonte Re di Cipro &c [and other series]

[Turin: 1703]

1985.61.393

Folio: 580 × 386 (22¹³/₁₆ × 15³/₁₆)

Foliation Etched title plate, [67] etched plates (4 double page)

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched throughout with title plate and 67 plates (various sizes, 4 double page, remainder full page). Title plate signed by Carlo Antonio Buffagnotti as engraver ("Carlo Antonio Buffagnotti Intaglio"); 21 plates signed by Ferdinando Bibiena as designer and Buffagnotti as engraver ("Ferdinando Bibiena Inv.:"; "Carlo Bvffagnotti Int.:" with variants); 8 plates signed by Bibiena as designer and Pietro Giovanni Abbati as engraver; 2 plates signed by Bibiena as designer, Abbati as draftsman, and Buffagnotti as engraver; 1 plate signed by Abbati (second signature missing, edges trimmed); 1 plate signed by Domenico Scotti as designer ("Domenico Scotti Inv.:" with Buffagnotti as engraver; 1 plate signed "Michele Co[fonci?] Pinx.:"; 1 plate with illegible signature; remainder unsigned

Binding Nineteenth-century red half morocco with black and red marbled boards, red edges. Plates cut around edges and mounted on 64 leaves (4 leaves with 2 plates each)

Provenance Nineteenth-century etched bookplate of A. Berard; bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 4143 (with 10 plates only)

45

L'Architettura Civile Preparata Sú La Geometria, E Ridotta Alle Prospettive. Considerazioni Pratiche Di Ferdinando Galli Bibiena . . . Disegnate, E Descritte In Cinque Parti . . .

Parma: printed by Paolo Monti, 1711

1985.61.394

Folio: 420 × 280 (16⁹/₁₆ × 11)

Pagination [xx], 156, [2] pp., [71] etched plates

(Note: Fowler records the title page with Galli Bibiena named as publisher in Bologna: "In Parma, Per Paolo Monti MCDCCXI [sic]. Con Licenza De' Superiori. In Bologna Appresso L'Avtore.:"; Fowler also cites variant title pages in the copies at the Library of Congress and Peabody Library with imprint reading: "In Bologna Appresso I Longhi." Millard copy has title page imprint "In Parma, Per Paolo Monti MCDCCXI [sic]. Con Licenza De' Superiori.")

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–viii] dedication to King Charles III, dated 2 May 1711; [ix–x] preface; [xi] list of authors cited; [xii] portrait of Galli Bibiena; [xiii–xx] table of contents; 1–156 text, ending with privilege dated 20 May 1711; [157] errata; [158] blank

Ornaments Woodcut headpiece on preface; woodcut tailpieces in various styles and sizes; large and small historiated and ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved portrait of the author, p. [xii]; 71 etched plates *hors texte* numbered as follows: 6 plates numbered "Primo Rame"–"Rame Sesto" (i.e., pls. 1–6); 39 unnumbered plates; 24 plates numbered "Rame 1"–"Rame 24" (i.e., pls. 1–24); and 2 plates numbered "Rame 1"–"Rame 2." All plates unsigned, some plates with page or location number at top of plate

Binding Modern three-quarter calf with marbled boards. Plates 19–21 bound out of sequence. Extra illustrated with an unnumbered etched plate from Galli Bibiena's *Disegni delle scene*, [Turin, 1703] (cat. 44) bound between plates 14 and 15

Provenance Manuscript shelf mark on first blank leaf: "Scanzia B Ordine Quarto Num.º 6"; royal library

stamp on title page (letters "C O G" in cartouche beneath crown, stamped in red)

References Avery's *Choice*, 60; Berlin Cat. 2628; Brunet 1: 848; Cicognara 43; Comolli 3: 36–40; Fowler 134; Riccardi 1: 134–135

46

[Vol. 1] *Direzioni A' Giovani Studenti nel Disegno dell'Architettura Civile, Nell'Accademia Clementina Dell'Instituto delle Scienze . . .*

Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1731

[Vol. 2] *Direzioni Della Prospettiva Teorica Corrispondenti a quelle dell'Architettura Istruzione A' Giovani Studenti di Pittura, e Architettura Nell'Accademia Clementina Dell'Instituto delle Scienze . . .*

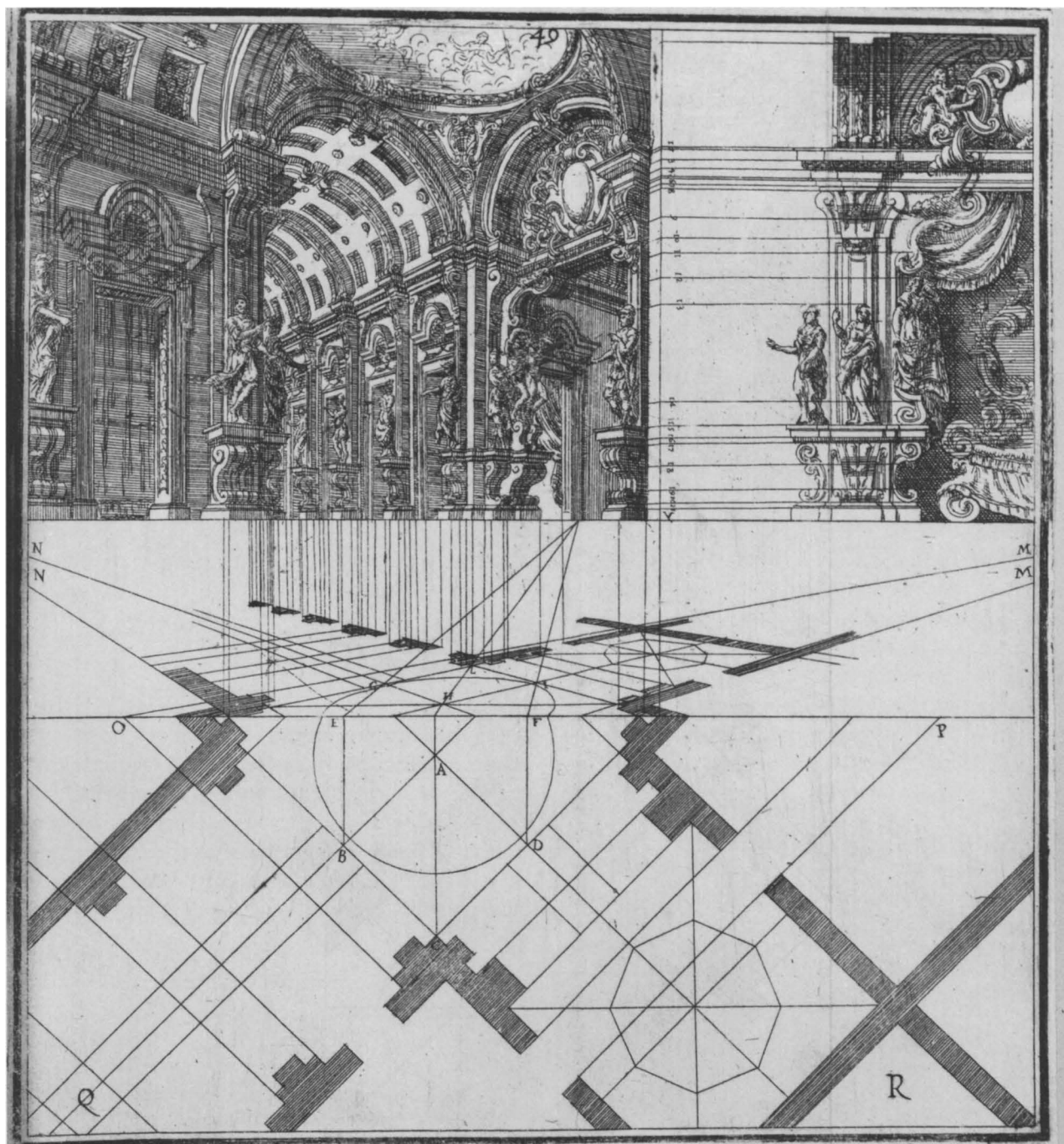
Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1732

1985.61.395–396

Duodecimo: 170 × 96 (6¹¹/₁₆ × 3¹³/₁₆)

Pagination Vol. 1: [xii], 168, [2] pp., 75 etched plates

Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. *Direzioni della prospettiva*. Plate 49. Perspective and plan of a stage set. 1985.61.396



Vol. 2: 159, [1] pp., 56 etched plates (18 folding)

Edition Second edition of vol. 1; first edition of vol. 2

Text vol. 1: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [iii–vi] dedication by Bibiena to Saint Catherine of Bologna; [vii–xi] preface; [xii] list of contents; 1–168 text, in five parts, ending with instructions for binder on placement of plates; [169] reimprimatur; [170] blank; vol. 2: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3–7] dedication by Bibiena to Saint Petronius; [8] list of contents; [9–12] preface; 13–157 text, in five parts; 158 authors cited; 159 instructions for binder on placement of plates; [160] imprimatur

Ornaments Woodcut ornament title page, vol. 1; typographic fleuron title page, vol. 2; woodcut tailpieces, initials

Illustrations

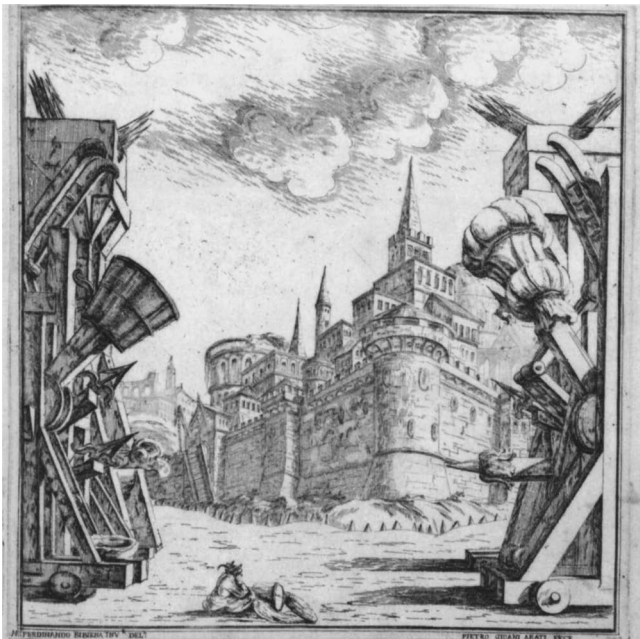
vol. 1: 75 full-page etched plates numbered 1–75

vol. 2: 56 etched plates numbered 1–56 (plates 12, 25–28, 33, 36, 42–43, 45–51, 55–56 folding). All plates in both volumes are printed on extension leaves

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Modern quarter morocco with marbled paper boards, gilt spine title. All plates bound following their respective texts, ignoring the placement prescribed in the binder's instructions. Plate 46 of vol. 2 has been supplied in facsimile

Provenance Contemporary ownership inscription of "Joannes Matthius Rota Mon. Aufrensij(?)" on title pages of both volumes; annotations in Italian throughout in contemporary (same?) hand

References Cicognara 432 (with 69 plates in vol. 1); Fowler 135 (1st ed., vol. 1 only); Riccardi 1: 135 (1st ed., vol. 1)



ONE OF BAROQUE THEATER'S MAJOR creative forces, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena was part of the Bibiena family, whose eight members together produced some of the most noteworthy stage designs in the century between the 1680s and the 1780s and who designed numerous theaters throughout the Italian peninsula. Their work was produced largely in the service of the Farnese family and the house of Austria. Combining a passion for the Florentine inventions of perspective and the grand manner in architecture, Ferdinando's scenography was also rooted in the Emilian tradition of *quadratura*, which he practiced in his own numerous fresco paintings. Among his specific local sources was the work of Agostino Mitelli, whose openwork motif in domed enclosures Ferdinando borrowed (see cat. 62).

Ferdinando originated the family's style, after a thorough training in painting, draftsmanship, and architecture. He first designed stage sets, decorations, buildings, and gardens for the Farnese family in Parma and Piacenza. The Farnese had built a large theater there in 1618, designed by Giovanni Battista Aleotti, which was the first one equipped with sliding wings for shifting scenery. While in Farnese employ, Ferdinando had also worked in Bologna, Venice, Turin, Rome, Naples, Milan, and Florence. This extensive traveling was continued by his sons, who made themselves available throughout Europe. The Bibiena were "itinerant culture-mongers carrying the achievements of Italian art to the major courts of Europe" (Kelder 1971, 5). In 1708 Ferdinando was made court architect and painter of festivities by the pretender Charles III of Spain; when Charles went to Vienna to become emperor as Charles VI of Austria, he called Ferdinando to him. Ferdinando arrived there in 1712 with his two sons Giuseppe and Alessandro, and they were joined by Ferdinando's younger brother Francesco. Together they created temporary settings for the most elaborate celebrations of life and death.

The Bibiena worked closely together and drew alike as well as collaborating on the same drawing. Thus their extant drawings have been difficult to attribute with certainty. More than two hundred of their drawings were reproduced by contemporary etchings and engravings. A. Hyatt Mayor (1945) has attempted to sort out the graphic style of the family members, using drawings identified by old prints and the few drawings with genuine signatures. He finds that Ferdinando drew with the precision to be expected from "the pioneer coordinator of scattered skills and teacher of countless pupils" (Mayor 1945, 10). Of the sons, Antonio was the only Bibiena to draw figures correctly, while Giuseppe

Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. *Disegni delle scene*. Plate 23. A stage set. 1985.61.393

“drew with the happy inevitability of a master who perfects an inherited formula” (Mayor 1945, 10). Ferdinando sketched his designs in ink, then drew the floor plan to scale, and projected it out in perspective with pencil, pen, and brush, making the renderings from which the actual sets were constructed. These canvas wings and drops were painted as they lay flat on the floor.

The technical aspects of the Bibienas’ work were based on the *teatri sacri*, promoted during the seventeenth century by the increasingly dramatized rituals of the Catholic church, and the teaching of perspective (especially by the Jesuits, who also published most of the seventeenth-century treatises on the subject). Vast sums were expended by secular princes on temporary celebrations, among which the *castra doloris* of memorial services were the most distinguished. The Bibienas made important contributions to the design of outdoor spectacles, acoustics, stage machinery, and the representation of large spaces on the stage. Their lavish stage sets and their decorations for theater interiors are an important measure of the public interest in operatic and dramatic performances. But the interest of this demanding public and its often short attention span could be captured and held only by increasingly more marvelous and splendid designs, suggestive lighting, and improved sound. Thus much of the lavish decoration of theaters was intended by the Bibienas to be also functional. The reverse curve, for example, not only formed the basis of baroque design but also enhanced the acoustic properties of the interior; the restless details were intended to work as a sounding instrument; the coffers in the ceiling, the orchestra pit, and the boxes flared like trumpets for better hearing.

The stage machinery for changing scenery quickly had been developed and refined in the middle of the seventeenth century by Giacomo Torelli, who set up elaborate devices for theatrical transformations. He took his ideas to France where huge machines pleased the royal audience; in Italy, theatrical machines were employed to puzzle and frighten the audience. The Italian theater entertained audiences with danger from the start. In this context the contribution of the Bibienas has been seen by Mayor (1945, 21) as “the oddest mixture of conservatism and progressiveness.” Their architectural detailing remains consistent despite their century-long dynastic career. Their most considerable innovations made them the “theater’s first magicians of immensity” (Mayor 1945, 21). These were based on their lucid adoption of the concept of infinity, which satisfied the age’s wish for space. Thus the Bibienas developed a mastery in drawing rows of identical objects that repeated themselves indefinitely. This motif became a family trademark and has been compared in its relentlessness to a Bach fugue. And, as in the case

of the Bach family, these skills were developed by constant family collaboration.

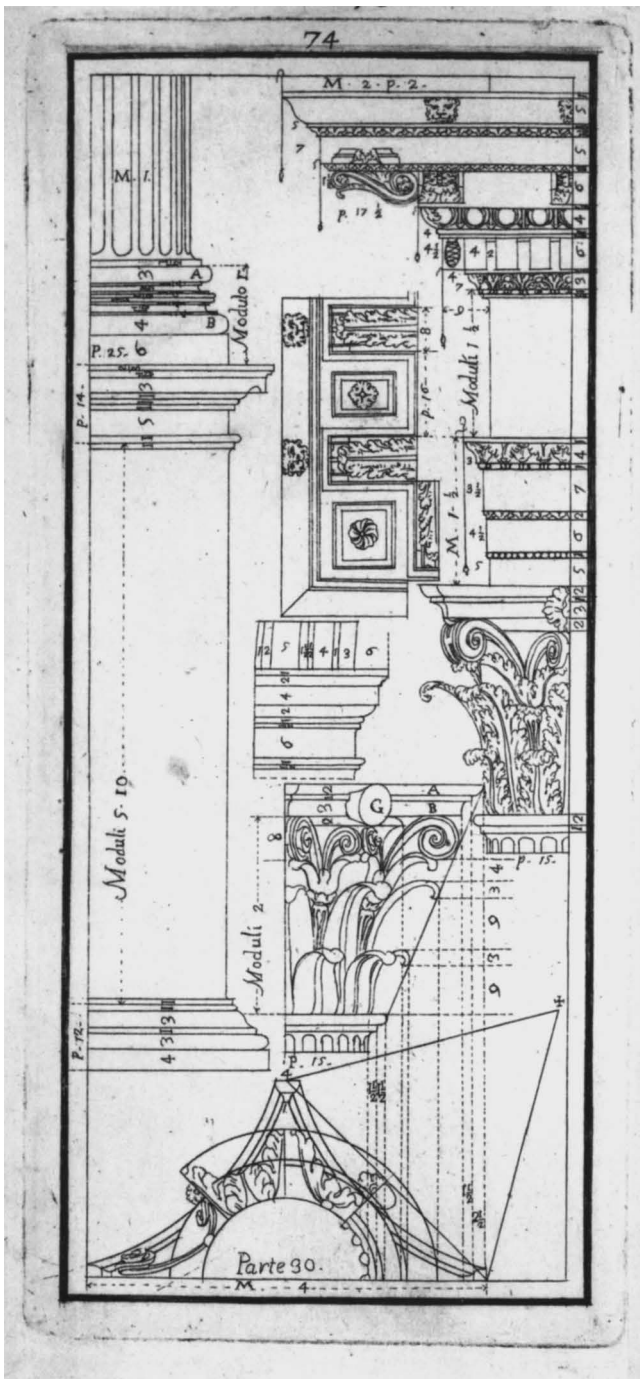
The most radical innovation of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena was to break the traditional stage picture. He replaced the set axial formula of Renaissance perspective with a more flexible scheme that provided greater imaginative illusion of depth. Although in the *Architettura civile* he claims this as his own invention, Ferdinando intends to show that he perfected a method and that he could open the smallest stage to huge spaces. Jettisoning the established symmetry of one-point perspective, Ferdinando invented the *scena* or *veduta per angolo*. This he achieved by turning the painted architecture at a 45-degree angle to the edge of the stage. The break with traditional methods was immediately evident.

Seventeenth-century taste in theater was based on the spatial relationship between stage and auditorium. Court theater attempted to create a continuum that reflected the conceptual connection between the action represented on the stage and the political agenda of the spectators. The triumph of the opera over other kinds of theatrical representations brought important changes, however. These included the appearance of public theaters removed from the orbit of the princely courts and the professionalization of the performers, scenographers, and technicians. Heroic metaphors and political allegories were neglected and replaced by fables, romances, and pastorals. Thus the perspectival continuity between the hall and stage was no longer conceptually necessary.

Ferdinando’s response to these changes, the *scena per angolo*, discontinued the visual axis and perspectives, producing several vistas in an attempt to obtain multiple optical effects (Viale Ferrero 1970). Greatly admired for revealing the stage to a broader segment of the audience (unlike the Renaissance stage, which was aimed at pleasing mainly the centrally seated prince), Ferdinando’s diagonal architecture revolutionized and democratized scenic design in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Unhampered by the need for permanence, Ferdinando’s stage designs constitute a summary of the most emotional baroque architecture, and he continued to be appreciated long after the baroque style itself had fallen from fashion. His talents were specifically extolled by Count Francesco Algarotti in 1755, more than a decade after his death. As late as 1785, Ferdinando was commemorated for transforming shallow stages into seemingly vast spaces, for changing sets in a twinkling of an eye, for the ability to dim and brighten lights at will, and for the discovery of buildings seen at an angle, which brought the science of illusion to its highest pitch.

Ferdinando’s manuscript *memorie* of c. 1717, preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale of Bologna, was



Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. *Direzioni à giovani studenti*. Plate 74. Details of column and coffering. 1985.61.395

composed by him probably after his return to Bologna from Vienna. In it he provides a record of his education, associations, and trips connected with designs of theaters and stage scenery. His early training included studies in perspective with Giulio Troili (better known as Paradossi after the title of his widely used perspective treatise), lessons in *quadratura* with Mauro Aldrovandini, and a brief apprenticeship with Stefano Torelli. In 1676, when he was twenty-one years old, Ferdinando was working in Mirandola and Modena; he went to Parma in 1680, where until 1708 he worked on the deco-

rations of the Collegio dei Nobili. Employed by the duke of Parma from 1681, he was involved in the design of the lavish Farnese wedding in 1690; he was named first architect at court in 1697. In 1698 he painted the summer apartment of the duchess of Parma with Ilario Spolverini (see cat. 109), and between 1699 and 1706 he worked on the modernization of the palace at Colorno. In 1712 he provided the design for the church of Sant'Antonio Abbate in Parma.

While in Farnese employ he seems to have maintained an extraordinarily busy work schedule out of town. As a stage designer he worked during this period in Carpi (1688), Modena (1686–1691), Lodi (1692), Genoa (1694–1695, 1700), Turin (1694, 1698–1699), Reggio (1688, 1696), Rome (1696–1697), Bologna (1699–1700, 1708), Milan (1692–1708), Mantua (1696, 1701–1706), Naples (1699–1700), and Barcelona (1708) (Beaumont, in *Meravigliose* 1992, 105). After his return to Bologna from imperial service in 1717, when his son Giuseppe (as second court architect) took over his duties in Vienna, Ferdinando devoted himself to the Accademia Clementina, where he served as director of architecture from 1719 to 1731. This activity was crowned by his election as *principe* in 1741. While in Bologna in this relative retirement, he designed, among other interiors, the staircase of Palazzo Malvezzi (1723) and the ballroom of Palazzo Ranuzzi (1720). But the known list of his works is probably incomplete, as Deanna Lenzi (*Meravigliose* 1992) has suggested, and there is no monograph devoted to his contributions and career. Nonetheless, his *memorie* provide evidence that Ferdinando and his team of relatives and students monopolized the architecture and scenography of theaters in numerous cities of Europe.

But even while he was at the height of his professional career, Ferdinando's solutions were questioned by other scenographers, such as Filippo Juvarra. Although Juvarra accepted Ferdinando's principles, he did not follow the laborious methods suggested in the *Architettura civile*. Rather than drawing the design of the stage first in plan, then projecting in perspectival elevation, following a rational composition urged by Ferdinando, Juvarra instead started with a sketch. Furthermore, Juvarra's stages were made of fragments of buildings, whereas Ferdinando illustrated whole buildings in his publications. They were competitors in Vienna, where Juvarra attempted to obtain employment from Joseph I (after whose death Ferdinando was preferred by the successor, Charles III) (Viale Ferrero 1970). Ferdinando's influence in Turin, where Juvarra became royal architect in 1714, extended through 1716 and was sustained by his follower Pietro Abbati, the engraver of the *Disegni delle scene*.

Ferdinando's renown helped the careers of his heirs—his sons, grandsons, and students. Ferdinando was successful in obtaining employment for his imme-

diate relatives. In addition to Giuseppe's imperial position, his son Alessandro had lifetime employment at the Palatine court. There seems to have been some competition among family members, as Ferdinando displaced his own brother Francesco in Vienna in 1712. But they continued to work together, and together they helped to found the Bolognese school of architecture. Ferdinando's portrait in *Architettura civile* shows him with a compass in hand, inside an oval frame, described as citizen of Bologna. His self-portrait at the Uffizi, made at the age of thirty, is stylistically consistent with Spolverini's painting style and shows him in the wig and elaborate clothes of a distinguished courtier.

The five-part text of *Architettura civile* contains references to the principal canonical writers on architecture (Vitruvius, Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Palladio, Sebastiano Serlio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola) and on painting (Leonardo and Albrecht Dürer), but is more circumspect in its references to experts on perspective; neither Nicola Sabbatini nor Andrea Pozzo is mentioned, the latter an especially glaring omission (see cat. 107). The section on geometry includes a comparative table of scaled measurements, and although this was not a new idea (Serlio had provided scaled comparative measurements in his treatise), it added to the documentation of the widely diverse measurements used in European cities. In the section on architecture, Ferdinando follows Palladian principles of architecture, discussing types of buildings and appropriate kinds of ornament. The first two parts of the treatise establish several methods for the mastery of spatial illusionism in architecture and offer a repertory of architectural forms.

Ferdinando's *Architettura civile* is written in a very pithy style, with brief notes that make it resemble a recipe book. (His intention was to help average readers of "mediocre ingegno" find what they want rapidly.) The first part, ostensibly on geometry, also provides a list of architectural principles regarding composition, preconstruction deliberations, typology of architecture, and construction materials. In part 2, Ferdinando turns to the architectural orders, admittedly following "the most followed," that is, Vignola and Palladio. His illustrations for the orders of columns are densely composed, rich plates. His innovations for the composite order are quite extraordinary and include several figurative suggestions, such as trophies and serpents. Many of the details echo Francesco Borromini's architecture.

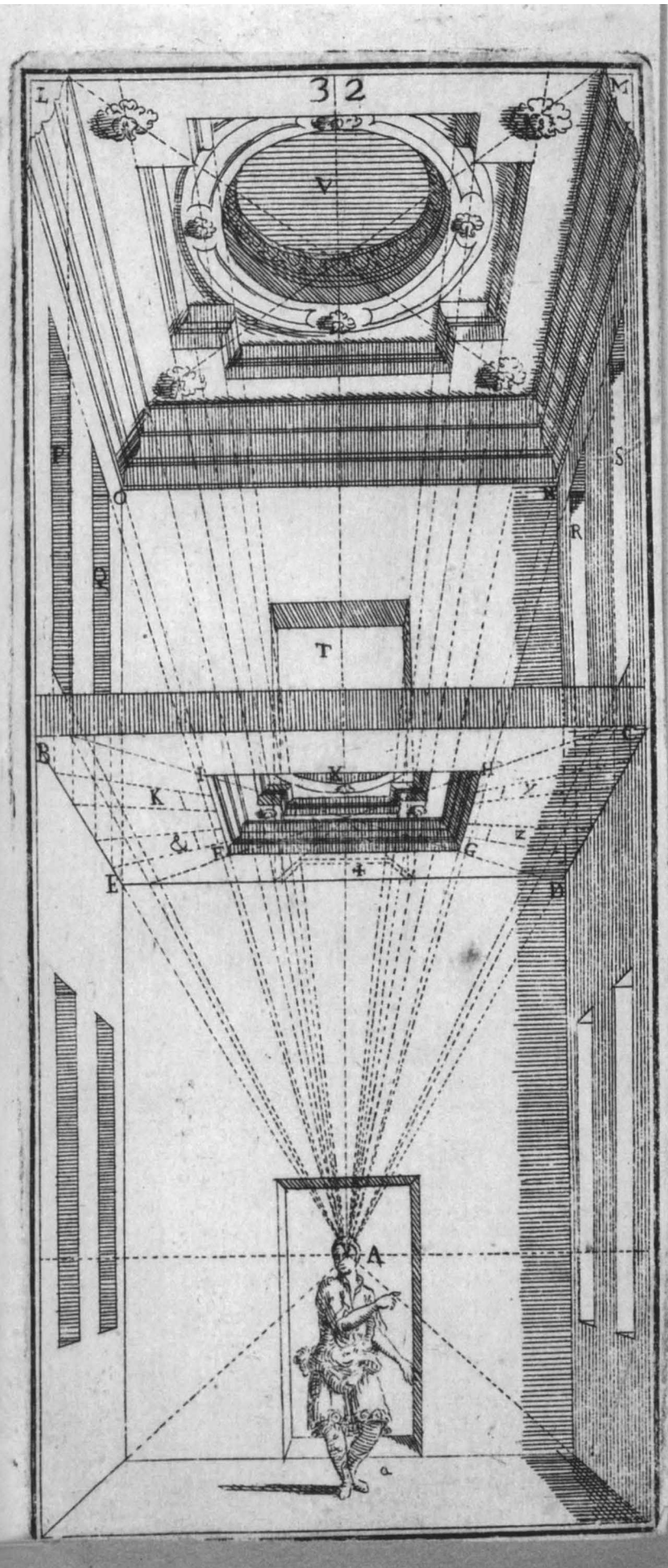
The third part on perspective is the core of the book. There Ferdinando deals with the theoretical aspects of optical perception, including the visual pyramid, and historical predecessors among whom he prefers Vignola's second manner of constructing perspective (see cats. 149–150). He divides perspective into common, horizontal, and *sotto in su* (worm's-eye view).

It is in the fourth part that he introduces the reader to his innovation of the *scena per angolo*, preceded by a short discussion of painting. In the conclusion, part 5, Ferdinando discusses the art of moving weights, which corresponds to the engineering and mechanical aspect of stage design hidden from the view of the public. Thus, although the treatise provides the basics of geometry, mechanics, and principles of architecture, it is principally intended to instruct theater and stage designers.

The fourth part of the treatise provides detailed instruction on stage design. To an even greater extent than Andrea Pozzo, Ferdinando did not allow the physical form of the stage to constrain his artistic principles, abandoning the axial continuity between auditorium and stage and placing his sets at 45 degrees to the proscenium opening. His scenery was composed of as many as fifteen pairs of flat wings mounted on carriages and maneuvered below the stage floor. These wings converge toward the stage's backdrop. Each pair of wings has a border above it, which is lowered from above and is needed in order to mask the top of the scenes. Their perspective is complicated by the incline of the stage floor, which rises toward a horizon pitched at the elevation of the main floor in the theater; in Ferdinando's eighteenth-century theaters, this would be the first row of boxes occupied by the prince and his immediate court (since the privileged hierarchies of the court audience were not entirely abandoned in princely theaters). Ferdinando's scenes, architectural in conception, are the first to deal with the implications of two-point perspective, as he claims at the beginning of this part. His two examples of the *scene per angolo* illustrate parts of a court and of a great room. By offering fragmented and partial views, Ferdinando stimulates the imagination of the spectator to supplement a visual space beyond the offered one.

But the treatise is not a mere work of perspective. An entire section is dedicated to the theory of painting, since the scenographers had to know how to paint the sets. In this area Ferdinando's work is continuous with the painted architectures of Baldassare Peruzzi and Vignola, as well as Pozzo, but goes beyond his predecessors in providing a much more specific and detailed series of instructions and operations. According to Werner Oechslin (1975), this is due to the much greater specialization of Ferdinando's enterprise: while going beyond the normative scheme of painting/*quadratura*/architecture, Ferdinando can be seen as translating back into practical architecture his feigned spatial compositions.

Ferdinando takes pains to demonstrate the superiority of his methods in comparison to older, more conservative techniques. His *Architettura civile*, organized like a scientific publication, is subdivided into *operazioni*. Thus *operazioni* 39–45 illustrate his subtle variant of the *sotto*



in *su* composition, which was also favored by Andrea Pozzo. But Ferdinando does not refer to Pozzo, who not only published his own influential treatise on perspective in the last decade of the seventeenth century (see cat. 107), but also worked in Vienna between 1702 and 1709, just before Ferdinando's own arrival. *Operazioni* 60–69 provide a glimpse of the step-by-step planning of sets and directions about the machinery needed to change the scenery. Of these *operazioni*, 67, 68, and 69 are the most technical. It becomes clear that Ferdinando used a very deep stage (twice as deep as it was wide) and that only the front of the three-part stage could be used by the actors. Nonetheless, “clearly articulated fore-, middle, and back stage” transformed the “static and artificial confrontation of figures and architecture” of earlier performances (Kelder 1971, 9).

The illustrations of the *Architettura civile* have always been considered mediocre. Ferdinando attempted to excuse himself in the preface to the readers, recognizing the errors of interpretation committed by the etchers. Furthermore, it has been suggested, by Werner Oechslin among others, that although there are a great number of extant manuscript drawings by Ferdinando and his followers, these include few excellent sheets. These collections of drawings were used by the entire team and constituted a significant educational tool in the workshop, independent of their individual graphic quality. These drawings provided instruction for the realization of scenographic effects, rather than offering idealized views of stage sets.

Although the theory of the *scena per angolo* could be deduced from Andrea Pozzo's treatise of 1693, the practical application of Pozzo's principles were first systematically illustrated by Ferdinando in *Architettura civile*. The debut of the *scena per angolo* invention occurred in the staging of the opera *Didio Giuliano*. It was performed in Piacenza in 1687 at the ducal theater and illustrated in a published libretto (Oechslin 1975). Ferdinando's idea was disseminated to the Neapolitan theatergoing public by his student Giuseppe Cappeli, who worked there from 1699. This idea was also discernible in the *Disegni delle scene*, published c. 1703, illustrating several scenes *per angolo*. The *Disegni* was dedicated by Pietro Giovanni Abbati to Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy. Nine plates—of theatrical scenes presented at the Turin opera—were engraved by Abbati (Viale Ferrero 1970). Others were illustrations of ornamental architectural details engraved by Carlo Buffagnotti. The *Disegni* were then issued as part of *Varie opere di prospettiva*, published in Bologna perhaps as early as 1703, but certainly before 1708.

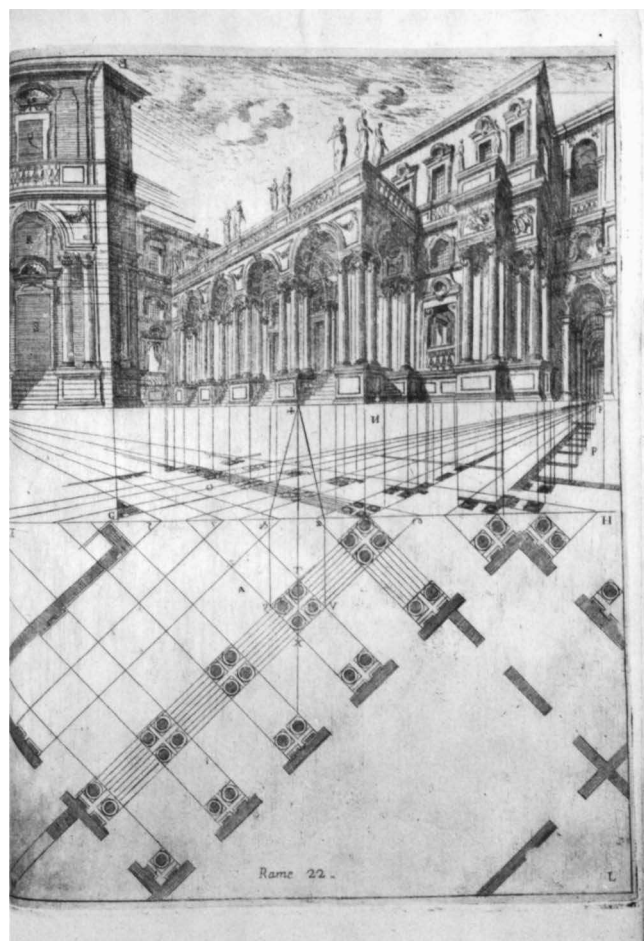
The pocketbook edition of *Architettura civile, Direzioni ai giovani studenti*, is dedicated to Saint Catherine, the patron saint of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna. In his dedication, Ferdinando seeks to present architecture as a charitable activity of the wealthy, who can thus employ large numbers of craftsmen in virtuous work. His motives for this smaller-format publication are to remedy two shoals upon which students founder: lack of knowledge of geometry and lack of books. The chapters on geometry are almost identical to those in the *Architettura civile*. In the *Direzioni* there are more elementary explanations; for instance, rather than explaining the pentagon as the first polygon, Ferdinando also discusses the triangle and the square. In this edition there are eighty *istruzioni* as against the sixty *operazioni* of the *Architettura civile*.

The second edition of the *Architettura civile* was prompted by the success of the first edition and marked Ferdinando's admission into the Accademia Clementina. By the 1730s Ferdinando was largely employed in teaching architecture in Bologna to future stage designers. The chapters on the orders were rewritten for the *Direzioni*, describing first the order according to Vitruvius and Serlio, with a separate section on Palladio's columns. The second volume, on the theory of perspective, is dedicated to the patron saint of Bologna, Petronio. The illustrations correspond to those in the *Architettura civile*, but they are reduced in size and reversed. Both the *Direzioni* and the *Architettura civile* seem sober in comparison with the orgiastically elaborate architecture illustrated in the plates of the earlier *Disegni delle scene*.

Ferdinando constructed stage sets with monumental architectural compositions. His "triumphal palaces" were "amplified to breathtaking proportions" (Kelder 1971, 9), synthesizing traditional spatial types with his own sense of grandeur. His stage designs offered "emotional flights of space; giving the impression of architecture extending into infinity" (Kelder 1971, 9), they effected a magical synthesis of the real and the imaginary, the ephemeral and the eternal. The "psychological and social implications of the new, endless vistas, rupturing the false continuity between audience and spectacle" (Kelder 1971, 10), loosened the hierarchical rapport between stage and spectators and assured the status of the *Architettura civile* as the most influential document of theater history in the eighteenth century.

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Giovanni Giardini (1646–1722)

47

Disegni Diversi Inventati E Delineati
Da Giovanni Giardini Da Forlì . . . Parte
Prima [–Seconda] . . . Intagliata in Roma
da Massimiliano Giuseppe Limpach da Praga

Rome, 1714

1997.108.1

Folio: 399 × 252 (15⁹/₁₆ × 9¹⁵/₁₆)

Foliation [104] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: [i] title plate, part 1, with title lettered on cloth hanging in architectural surround; [ii] frontispiece with allegorical figures, papal tiara and keys, and Chigi emblems atop pedestal; [1] dedication by Giardini to Clement xi; 2–51 illustrations, part 1; [i] divisional title plate, part 2, with title inscribed within oval frame; [ii] dedication by Giardini to the Accademia del Disegno, with putti atop pedestal with drawing and painting implements and putto drawing on tablet in foreground; 52–100, illustrations, part 2. All plates, except title, dedication plates, and plates 16 and 56, are signed by Giuseppe Giardini as designer and draftsman and by Maximilian Joseph Limpach as engraver (“Gio. Giardini Inuen. et delin.,” with variants; “M. Ioseph Limpach sculp. Romae,” with variants)

Binding Nineteenth-century vellum, gilt spine title

References Berlin Cat. 1141; Cicognara 516



Giovanni Giardini. *Disegni Diversi*. Plate 63. Design for a censer.
1997.108.1

Aloisio Giovannoli (c. 1550–1618)

48

Vedute Degli Antichi Vestigj Di Roma
Di Alò Giovannoli Divise In Due Parti
La prima contiene Mausolei, Archi, Colonne,
e Fabbriche pubbliche, La seconda rappresenta
Terme, Anfiteatri, Teatri, e Tempj Compresse
in Rami 106. Parte Prima [–Seconda]

Rome, [early 18th century?]

1985.61.593

Oblong folio: 272 × 410 (10¹¹/₁₆ × 16¹/₈)

Foliation [2] leaves, 106 etched and engraved plates,
folding etched and engraved map

Edition Late edition (see below)

Text folios [1] title page, part 1 (verso blank); [2] title
page, part 2 (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette repeated on both title pages
with Minerva seated, Romulus and Remus with the she-
wolf, and view of Rome in background

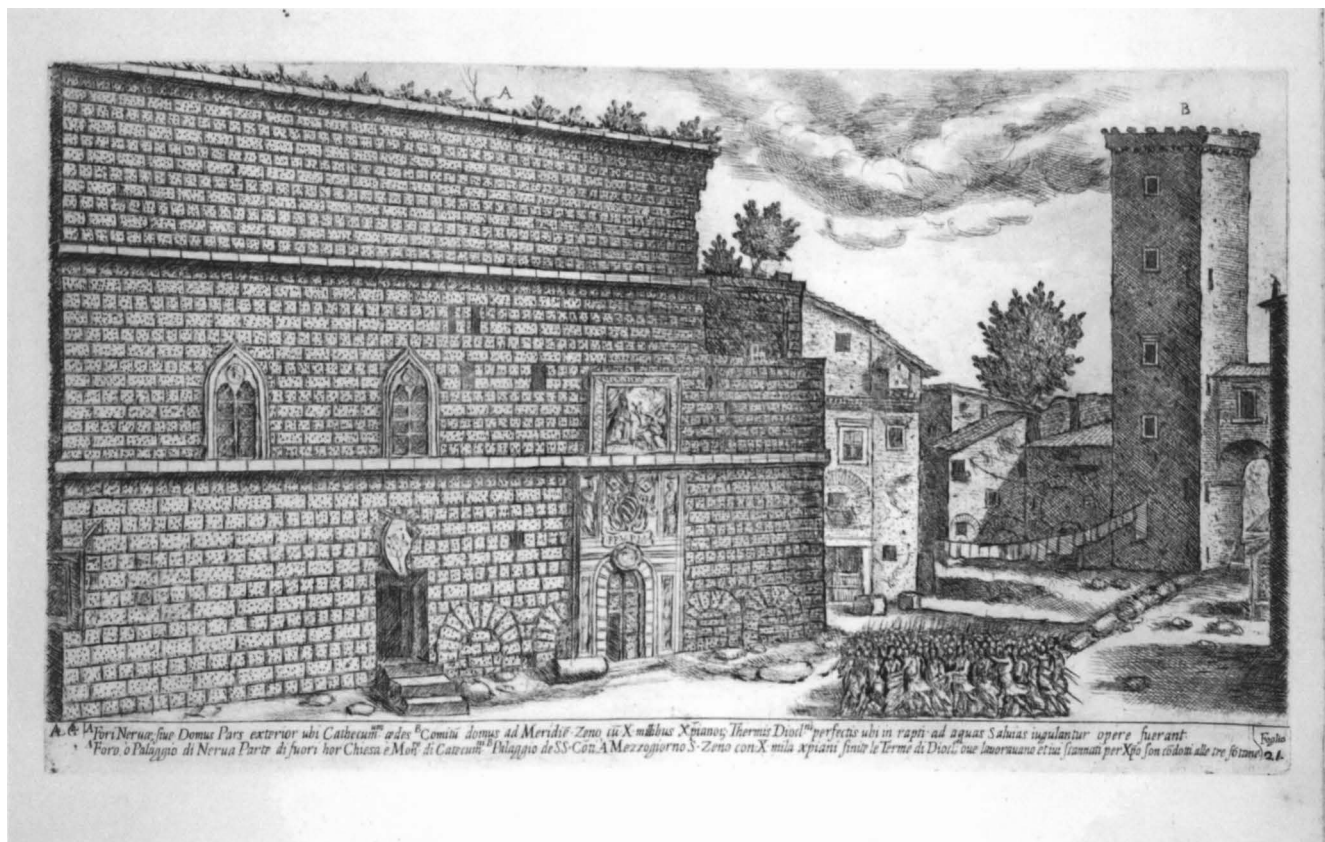
Illustrations 106 full-page etched and engraved plates
numbered 1–106, all views of Roman monuments,
all signed bottom left with Giovannoli's monogram;
etched and engraved folding map of Rome with au-
thor's note to the reader ("Alò Giovannoli Alli Lettori"),
ending with privilege dated 1616, at top of plate, and
legend at bottom of plate

Binding Contemporary half vellum with brown
speckled paper boards

Provenance Numbering of some plates altered or
strengthened in sepia ink; two oblong leaves of thin
blue paper with manuscript list of monuments included
on the plates in sepia ink bound in at end

References Thomas Ashby, "La 'Roma antica' di Alò
Giovannoli," *La bibliofilia* 24 (July–August 1922): 101–113

Aloisio Giovannoli. *Vedute degli antichi vestigi di Roma*. Plate 21.
Forum of Nerva. 1985.61.593



THIS COLLECTION IS THE LARGEST SERIES of views of Rome of the early seventeenth century. Because of its mediocre aesthetic quality it has received relatively little attention, which has, nevertheless, focused on the evaluation of the views of Rome. But this collection makes a novel and significant contribution in its fusion of early Christian martyrology with ancient Roman sites. Thus in addition to attempting to illustrate the ruins of Rome for the interested visitor, Aloisio Giovannoli appropriates these sites for the Christian faith, endowing them with martyrological meaning.

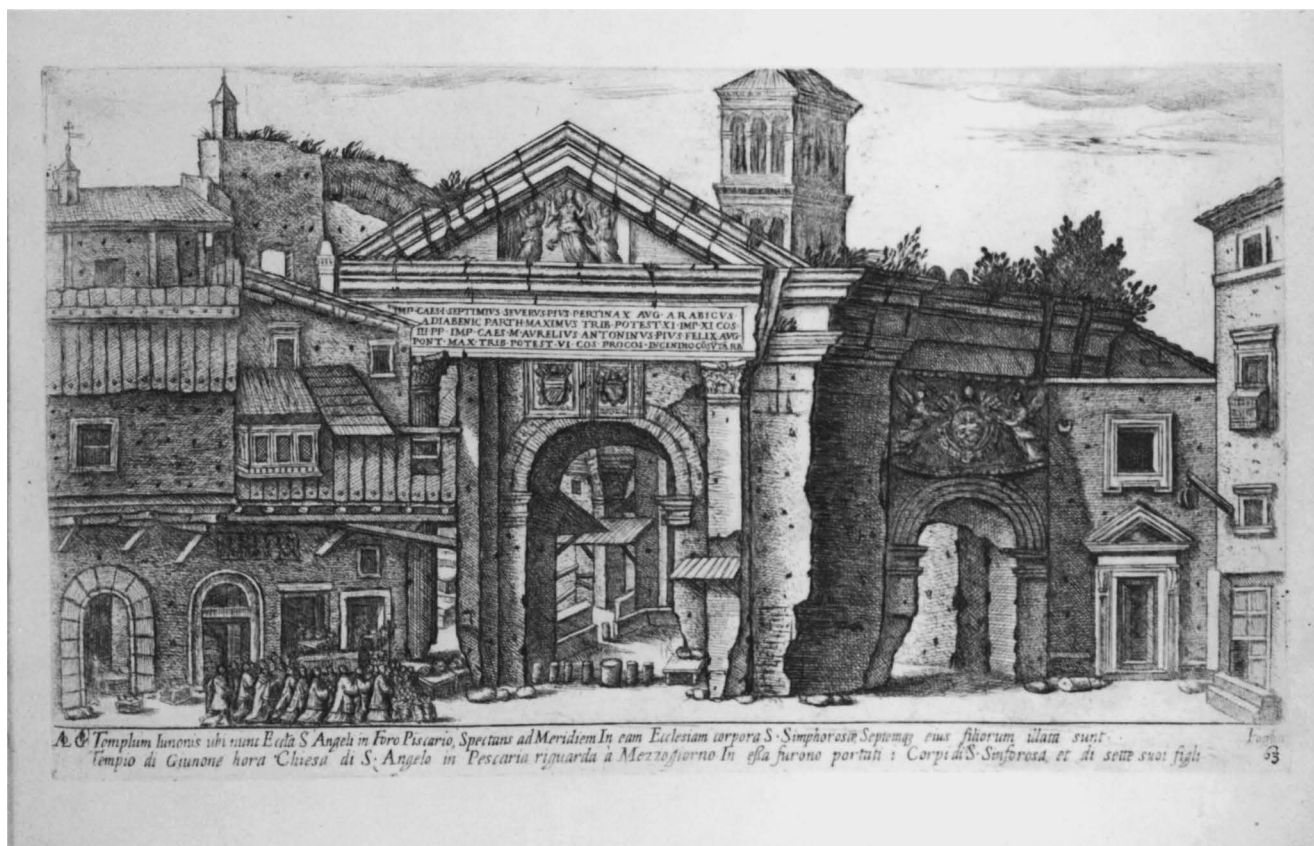
The first edition of this publication was divided into three books, of which the first was published in 1616, the second and the third in 1619. Despite the low technical accomplishment of the engraver, there were two reprints, one in six books and one in two books, probably thanks to the power and great number of these images that faithfully represent ancient ruins. This collection is an exact contemporary of Giovanni Maggi's *Aedificiorum et ruinarum Romae*, a series of ninety views of Rome, published in 1618 by Giuseppe de' Rossi. (A second edition of Maggi's views was released in 1649 by Giuseppe's heir, Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, who merely replaced Giuseppe's name with his own.) Another competing contemporary collection of views

was published in 1612 by Giacomo Lauro in his *Antiquae urbis splendor* (cat. 54), followed by an enlarged edition in 1629 and a reprint in 1699. Giovannoli's book was also overshadowed by the views of Rome by Etienne Dupérac, first published in 1575 and reprinted many times.

What distinguishes Giovannoli's approach from Maggi's and Lauro's, as well as from Dupérac's, is that each one of his plates, while illustrating a specific site much like the other topographic artists, also contains a narrative related to Christian events and mythology or to ancient Roman history. Despite the coarseness of the images, which he made using the mixed procedure of etching and engraving, Giovannoli's illustrations contain many details that cannot be found elsewhere (Ashby 1922), and his publication was reprinted.

Giovannoli's original book was organized as a topographic tour of the city, perhaps intended for a seven-day visit. The Biblioteca Angelica (Rome) copy described by Thomas Ashby (1922) contains a dedication to Pope Paul v and is divided into seven parts, each with a title (Ashby reproduces the seven part-title pages). This resembles the copy at the Vatican Library, where the title page is dated 1619 and labeled "Libro primo," and both copies have 143 plates. The subsequent division into three parts has harmed this organization, since the logical order of the first edition was not maintained. None of the three copies examined by Ashby (at the Angelica and Casanatense libraries and in the Cicognara collection) contains the map of Rome

Aloisio Giovannoli. *Vedute degli antichi vestigi di Roma*. Plate 63. Portico of Octavia. 1985.61.593



ALLO GIOVANNOLI ALLE LETTORI

[illegible]

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|----|---|----|---------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 46 | <i>Impio di Fiumi Caprioglio</i> | 60 | <i>Palazzo di Carlo il Re</i> | 74 | <i>Impio del Sole</i> | 88 | <i>Terme di Plauso Domiano</i> | 102 | <i>Crocchio di Glorie Angiolini</i> | 116 | <i>Via detta Strada Guiana</i> | 130 | <i>Nazza Nuova</i> | 144 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio</i> |
| 47 | <i>Can di Fiumi Caprioglio</i> | 61 | <i>Calciata di S. Agostino</i> | 75 | <i>Terme di Offianina</i> | 89 | <i>Colonna Antonina</i> | 103 | <i>Mole di Adriano</i> | 117 | <i>Via del Ponte Palumbo di Meri</i> | 131 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> | 145 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 48 | <i>Can di S. Gregorio Maggiore</i> | 62 | <i>Arco di Gaiusio</i> | 76 | <i>Terme di Palatino di Dazio</i> | 90 | <i>Principio della Basilica di Antonio</i> | 104 | <i>Tempio di Marte</i> | 118 | <i>Via detta Borgo S. Spirito</i> | 132 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 146 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 49 | <i>Can di S. Gregorio e S. Paolo</i> | 63 | <i>Colonna Palatina</i> | 77 | <i>Centuria di Augusto di Ducliti</i> | 91 | <i>Tempio di Socrate</i> | 105 | <i>Obelisco di Carlo</i> | 119 | <i>Via della Borgo Vecchio</i> | 133 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 147 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 50 | <i>Can di S. Felizia</i> | 64 | <i>Obelisco di S. Maria Maggiore</i> | 78 | <i>Palazzo di Domiziano detto</i> | 92 | <i>Basilica di Alessandro Severo</i> | 106 | <i>Via di Perola a capo la Cala</i> | 120 | <i>Via detto Borgo Nuovo</i> | 134 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 148 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 51 | <i>Impio di S. Felizia</i> | 65 | <i>Termo di S. Maria Maggiore</i> | 79 | <i>Verucio</i> | 93 | <i>Via di Perola di S. Maria</i> | 107 | <i>Via di Perola di S. Maria</i> | 121 | <i>Via di Perola di S. Maria</i> | 135 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 149 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 52 | <i>Can di Aversa di Nerva</i> | 66 | <i>Impio di S. Maria Maggiore</i> | 80 | <i>Impio di Apollo</i> | 94 | <i>Tempio di Pantheon</i> | 108 | <i>Via del Popolo di Luigi</i> | 122 | <i>Ponte Horatio</i> | 136 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 150 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 53 | <i>Can di Perugini</i> | 67 | <i>Can di Giordano</i> | 81 | <i>Tempio di Diana</i> | 95 | <i>Tempio di Minerva</i> | 109 | <i>Via della Trinità al sesto</i> | 123 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 137 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 151 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 54 | <i>Obelisco di Caprioglio</i> | 68 | <i>Licorne di Augusto detto il sesto Sale</i> | 82 | <i>Supercilio di Nerva</i> | 96 | <i>Arco di Furio Camillo</i> | 110 | <i>Via del capo la Cala</i> | 124 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 138 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 152 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 55 | <i>Palazzo di Caprioglio</i> | 69 | <i>Terme di S. Felizia</i> | 83 | <i>Tempio della Mente</i> | 97 | <i>Tempio di S. Maria</i> | 111 | <i>Via della Trinità al sesto</i> | 125 | <i>Via della Trinità al sesto</i> | 139 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 153 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 56 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 70 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 84 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 98 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 112 | <i>Via del Popolo di Luigi</i> | 126 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 140 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 154 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 57 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 71 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 85 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 99 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 113 | <i>Via del Popolo di Luigi</i> | 127 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 141 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 155 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 58 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 72 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 86 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 100 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 114 | <i>Via del Popolo di Luigi</i> | 128 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 142 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 156 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |
| 59 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 73 | <i>Arco di S. Maria</i> | 87 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 101 | <i>Obelisco di Augusto</i> | 115 | <i>Via del Popolo di Luigi</i> | 129 | <i>Ponte Calisto</i> | 143 | <i>Nazza piano la Cala</i> | 157 | <i>Parco di Caprioglio al sesto</i> |

referred to by Giovannoli in his dedication. However, the copy at the Vatican Library of 1619 does include a coarsely etched map of Rome, scratchy and poorly inked. In the second edition the title pages for books 3, 4, and 6 were suppressed, perhaps because they dealt with pagan subjects. Copies of the eighteenth-century edition, like the one in the Millard collection, contain only 106 plates, divided into two parts. The original metal plates, no longer extant, were reused for the eighteenth-century edition. Interestingly, the technical problems of the illustrations—thickened lines, badly bitten plates, and fuzzy areas—occur identically in both editions and are thus not merely the result of the reuse of plates nor of their being recut.

The two parts of the eighteenth-century edition concern mausolea, arches, columns, and public buildings in the first part and baths, amphitheaters, theaters, and temples in the second part. Heavily dependent on Dupérac's *Vestigi dell'antichità di Roma* (1575) as noted by Gustina Scaglia (1992) and Ashby (1916), Giovannoli adds a "human interest" story to each topographic illustration. All the poorly produced illustrations, considered by Ashby to be "scrupulous" representations of Rome, include a scene of martyrdom or ecclesiastical ceremony that Giovannoli associated with the particular building or site illustrated. The text below the view not only describes in detail the ruins of buildings illustrated, but also identifies the Christian event in the foreground of the composition. These range from scenes of mauling to stoning (of Crisantus and Daria in front of the temple of the Sun) to decapitation (of Saints John and Paul in front of the Curia Hostilia). There are also scenes of Christian triumphs, such as the procession of Pope Pius II carrying the head of Saint Andrew to Saint Peter's, passing by the mausoleum of Augustus, or Saint Gregory seeing an angel while feeding the poor, with a view of the baths of Caracalla in the background. Giovannoli adheres fairly closely to the division of building types suggested in his subtitle. There are

a few theaters in his first book, such as the theater of Marcellus (pls. 31 and 35), and churches such as the Quattro Coronati and Santa Croce (pls. 11 and 15). In book 2 there are numerous representations of the baths of Caracalla and of Diocletian but the repetitions are justified by the changing Christian event.

Giovannoli's plan of Rome is the single most important illustration in the Millard copy of this album. Oriented east, it is decorated at the top left corner with the coat of arms of Pope Paul V Borghese. The plan identifies clearly the ancient Roman walls of the city, the seven hills, and the Borgo Leonino. A total of 152 buildings and sites can be located through the legend below the plan. The most visible building is the new Saint Peter's; closely surrounded by the Vatican hill, it faces into the still amorphous square in front of it. On the other side of the square, regular, straight streets connect the basilica to Castel Sant' Angelo, which guards the Tiber bridge crossing to Rome. Other sites stand out through their geometrical regularity: the orthogonal gardens of the Villa Medici on the Pincio hill, the disciplined gardens of the Villa Montalto below the Quirinal hill, and the surprising circular plan of the Colosseum. Although the execution of the engraving is not of the highest quality, this relatively small plan of the city, integrated within the album format of the publication, conveniently provides a great deal of information about the topography and street layout of Rome.

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José Gómez de Navia (1758–c. 1815)

49

Collección De Diferentes Vistas Del Magnífico Templo Y Real Monasterio De San Lorenzo Del Escorial, Fabrica Del Catolico Y Prudentis.º Rey Felipe II, Construida Por Los Insignes Arquitectos Juan Bautista De Toledo Y Juan De Herrera Su Discipulo

[Madrid]: Royal press ("Se halla en la Real Calcografía), 1800–[1807]

1985.61.595

Broadsheet: 690 × 505 (27³/₁₆ × 19⁷/₈)

Foliation [13] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations 13 unnumbered, full-page etched and engraved plates, including title plate. The title plate depicts a view of San Lorenzo through a Doric arch with title inscribed along pedestal, and putti and royal coat of arms in foreground. The remaining plates, exterior and interior views of San Lorenzo, all have captions in Spanish and printer's device beneath illustration. The title plate is signed by Gómez de Navia as designer and engraver ("Josef Gomez de Navia del et sculpt año 1800"); the remaining plates are signed by Gómez de Navia as designer ("Josef Gomez de Navia lo delineó," with variants), with 7 plates also signed by Tomás López Enguñados as engraver ("Tomas Lopez Enguidanos lo grabó," with variants) and 5 plates also signed by Manuel Alegre as engraver ("Manuel Allegre lo grabó," with variants)

Binding Three-quarter morocco with ribbed brown cloth, calf label on front cover with gilt title

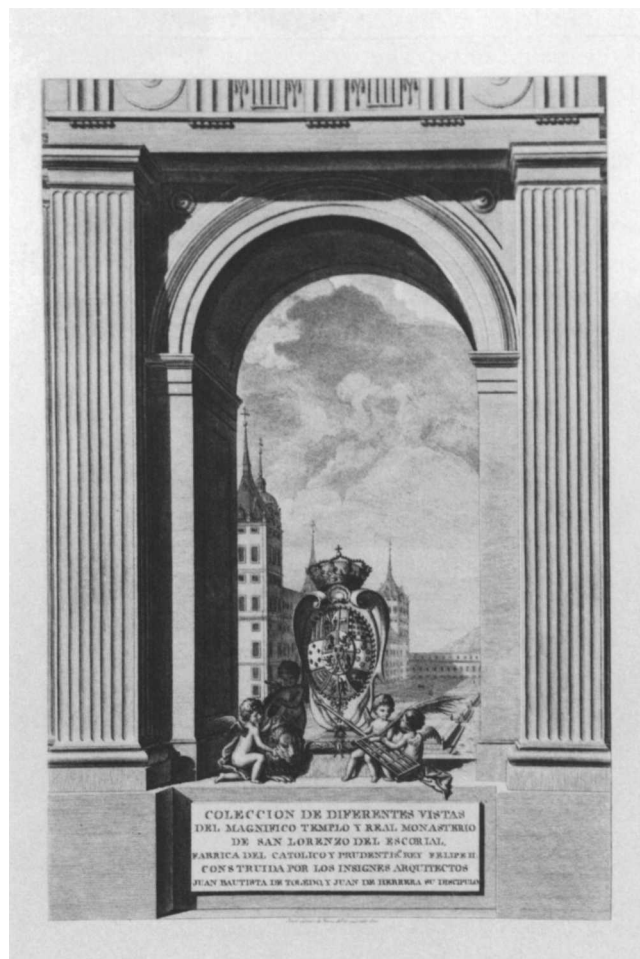
References E. Santiago Paez and J. Manuel Magariños, "El Escorial: historia de una imagen." In *El Escorial en La Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid [1985]

THIS COLLECTION OF PRINTS illustrates the palace-monastery at the Escorial. A student of Manuel Salvadore Carmona at the Madrid Academy of Art, José Gómez de Navia (born in 1758 in San Ildefonso near Madrid) is known for an equestrian portrait of Charles IV and a series of prints on the festivities of holy week made after paintings by Ribera, Murillo, and

Velázquez. Working in the style of his teacher, Gómez de Navia provided book illustrations, views of Madrid, and this series on the Escorial, engraved by Tomás López Enguñados and Manuel Alegre. The twelve plates offer deliberately framed perspective views of the exterior and interior of the Escorial compound. Authoritative and serene, these views combine a Romantic melancholy with a rational depiction of the distinct building blocks that constitute the colossal structure.

The perspective view of the Escorial's west and north sides shows the pyramidal composition rising toward the twin-towered, domed church. Centered on the sheet between landscape and sky, the building is

José Gómez de Navia. *Collección de diferentes vistas del magnífico Templo*. Frontispiece. 1985.61.595





*Vista del Real Monasterio
desde el alto del Pomerul*



*de San Lorenzo del Escorial
entre Poniente y Verde*

José Gómez de Navia. *Collecion de diferentes vistas del magnifico Templo*. View of the Escorial. 1985.61.595

surrounded by its immense paved esplanade and entered through the portal composed as a church facade. The elevation of the west side is a genre scene, adopting the deeply diagonal composition to draw the viewer into the picture. The elevation of the garden on the south side depicts the immense substructure of the compound. The eastern elevation, with a walled road rising to the palace entry between meadows, completes the sequence of external views. There follow several detailed views of internal and interior spaces, including the patio of the kings, the patio of the evangelists, the main cloister, a corridor of the infirmary, the principal monastic staircase, the choir and nave of the basilica, and the holy week monument.

Gómez de Navia's engravings continue the long history of illustration of this incomparable palace-monastery and royal mausoleum. The visionary grandeur of the project had been captured in eleven plates engraved between 1583 and 1589 by Pedro Perret, after drawings by the Escorial's architect, Juan de Herrera (*Philip II* 1990). Another set of eleven plates appeared in Fra Francisco de los Santos' *Descripcion del Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial* (1657; later editions 1681, 1698), with special attention to the Pantheon or royal

burial vault, only completed in 1654. (See cats. 41 and 42 for Santos' *Descripcion* and for a fuller account of the Escorial itself, which Santos praised for having united the seven wonders of the world into one construct.)

These twelve illustrations of the Escorial by Gómez de Navia were perhaps part of a larger project to praise and illustrate the palaces of the Spanish royal patrimony at the turn of the nineteenth century. It may have seemed particularly appropriate to emphasize the historical grandeur and architectonic strength of the Escorial since it had been repeatedly damaged by fire, and rebuilt, during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kubler 1982).

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Guarino Guarini

(1624–1683)

50

Architettura Civile Del Padre D. Guarino
Guarini Cherico Regolare Opera Postuma
Dedicata A Sua Sacra Reale Maestà

Turin: Gianfrancesco Mairesse, 1737

1983.49.26

Folio: 387 × 239 (15¼ × 9⅜)

Pagination [viii], 307, [1] pp., engraved frontispiece,
[79] engraved plates

Edition First complete edition, edited by Bernardo
Vittone

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication
to Carlo Emanuele III, duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia;
[v] preface; [vi] privilege, dated 22 October 1735; [vii–
viii] table of contents; 1–307 text, divided in five parts
(i.e., “Trattato” 1–v), ending with privilege; [308] errata

Ornaments Large woodcut device on title page with
Savoy coat of arms; woodcut head- and tailpieces; orna-
mental and historiated woodcut initials in several sizes

Illustrations Engraved frontispiece portrait of Guarini;
79 full-page engraved plates divided into three se-
quences. The first sequence of 45 plates is subdivided
in accordance with the five “trattati” (treatises) of the
text: Trattato I, 1–3; Trattato II, 1–5; Trattato III, 1–20;
Trattato IV, 1–14; Trattato V, 1–3. The second sequence
consists of 7 unnumbered plates. The final sequence
of 27 plans of buildings and plans is numbered 1–27, but
in the Millard copy the plates are bound in reverse order
(i.e., 27–1). In Trattato III of the first sequence, plates 12,
14, and 16 are signed by Guarini as designer (“D. Guar-
ino Guarini inu.,” with variants), and plate 13 is signed
by Francesco Guenotto (François Guyenot) as engraver
(“Fran.^{cus} Guienottus Delinavit Mutine.”). In the second
sequence, four plates are signed by Guarini. In the final
sequence, eight plates are signed by Guarini as designer
(pl. 21 is dated 1679); plate 23 is signed by Guarini as
designer and Giovanni Fayneau as engraver (“PD
Guarinus Guarinus CR fecit et Dicauit”; “Ioan. Fayneau
sculp.”), and plates 7, 8 (dated 1680), and 21 are signed
by Giovanni Abbiati as engraver (“Gio. Abbiati Fece”)

Binding Contemporary vellum, leather label with gilt
title on spine

Provenance Early ownership inscription on flyleaf:
“Ex libris Caroli Francisci Ferrari prop. . . .”; manuscript
page references in margins

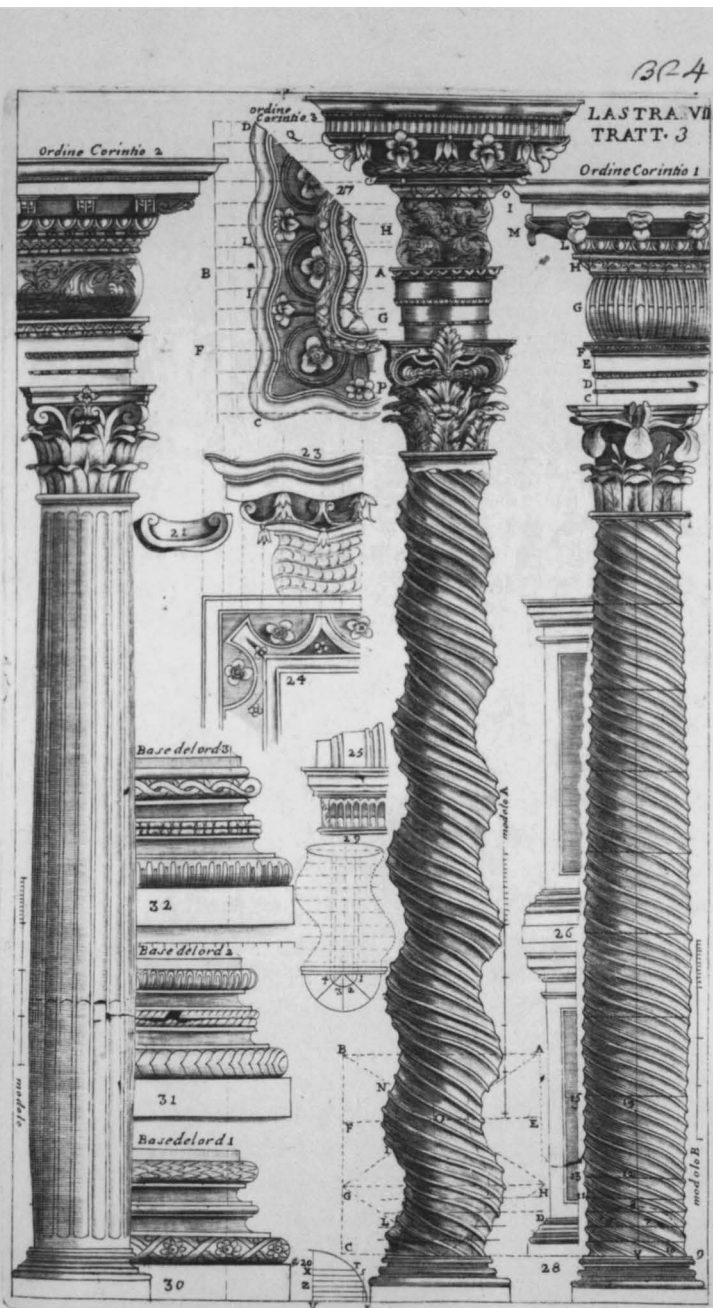
References Berlin Cat. 2620; Cicognara 526; Fowler 150;
RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1391; Riccardi 1: 637

THIS 1737 PUBLICATION IS THE complete version of
the architectural treatise by the priest, scholar,
and architect Guarino Guarini, edited by the
architect Bernardo Vittone from the manuscripts and
plates owned by the Theatine order in Turin. The first
edition (*Disegni d'architettura civile ed ecclesiastica*) was
published in 1686, three years after Guarini's death,
and contained most of the illustrations of the definitive
version of 1737. Published without a text, the first edi-
tion was divided in two parts, one on the orders and
one illustrating Guarini's buildings. The design of all
the plates of the first edition is attributed to Guarini,
and the plates are also signed by their respective en-
gravers: Antonio Verga, Francesco Guenotto, Giovanni
Fayneau, Giovanni Abbiati, and Antonio de Piene.
Verga, who was also known for his views of Turin,
engraved two plates. Guenotto engraved only one
plate, while Abbiati—the weakest of the contributors,
whose mediocrity is confirmed by his other extant
sheets—engraved eight plates. Piene (who also en-
graved after the painters Charles Claude Dauphin and
Giovanni Paolo Recchi, and contributed five plates)
and Fayneau, author of twenty-one plates, were both
of French origin and both contributed to the illustrated
Généologie de la Royale Maison de Savoye, designed by
Tommaso Borgonio (Bertini, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970).
Most of the engravers' names are omitted on the plates
of the second edition.

The plates of Guarini's buildings were dedicated
to personalities and institutions associated with them,
who contributed to the expense of engraving the plates.
Thus the plate of the Sindone chapel is dedicated to
Vittorio Emanuele, the prince of Piedmont, the plate
of San Lorenzo is dedicated to the reigning dowager
duchess, Giovanna Battista, the plan of Saint Anne in
Paris is dedicated to the abbé d'Estrades, ambassador
of Louis XIV in Turin, while the Corinthian capital
with the French lily, which Guarini called the Gallic
capital, is dedicated to Louis XIV himself (Ferrero 1966).

While the edition of 1686 is quite rare, some of its contents appeared in other publications. Guarini had contributed to the composition of the text of the *Theatrum Statuum Sabaudiae*, a luxurious compendium of the chorography and cartography of the duchy, which was being prepared during the youth and maturity of Duke Carlo Emanuele II but was not published until 1682. Guarini's design for the Po gate appears in the *Theatrum*, and another version of it was illustrated in the *Suntuosa illuminazione* (cat. 131), which disseminated the festivities for the royal wedding of 1737 (but were

Guarino Guarini. *Architettura civile*. The Corinthian order. 1983.49.26



copied from prints illustrating an earlier wedding, in 1721). Another plate that is in both the *Disegni* and the *Theatrum* is the section of the Sindone chapel, although neither corresponds to the executed building, with divergences evident in the crowning portions, probably based on earlier variants in Guarini's design. The ornate plate in the *Theatrum* is better than the more focused and arid plate in the *Architettura civile*. The question of how far the engravings diverge from Guarini's design can be solved by comparing the engraving and securely attributed drawings by Guarini, such as the section for the church of Saint Anne in Paris, which corresponds precisely to the plate in the treatise.

The definitive edition of 1737 is more widely available than the first edition. It contains a few additional plates, on geometry and columns, and an extensive text. The text, providing a measure of Guarini's personality, is divided into five "treatises": on architecture ("Dell' architettura"), ichnography ("Icnografia"), elevations ("Ortografia elevata"), three-dimensional representation ("ortografia gettata"), and geodesy ("Geodesia"). These five parts are variously subdivided and articulated. Parts 1, 4, and 5 have a clear internal structure, while parts 2 and 3 are a collection of notes (Paolo 1972). The first part is accompanied by three plates, the second part by five plates, the third part by twenty plates, the fourth part by fourteen plates, and the fifth part by three plates. Thirty-four additional plates follow the illustrated text. Although the text is not particularly useful for information about Guarini's buildings, the plates are essential for an understanding of his unbuilt projects and destroyed buildings. Since Guarini's works are dispersed between several different cities and Turin, which did not receive large numbers of visitors, Guarini was known to a relatively small public and generally through these illustrations. But even the two editions of the *Architettura civile* did not have a wide dissemination, and Guarini received more attention for his publications on mathematics, geocentric astronomy, and philosophy (Ferrero 1966).

There are four significant aspects to Guarini's treatise. The structure of the work is entirely transparent, largely unrelated to any other treatise, revealing on every page good sense and extraordinary critical faculties. Guarini was open to rational arguments typical of the seventeenth century, and he was neither eccentric nor fanatical. Second, although he accepts no definitive authority, Guarini's erudition is impressive, and his criticism of others remains reserved and moderate throughout. Often polemical, Guarini is an expert writer, agile, vivacious, and witty. Third, acquainted and appreciative of numerous buildings, Guarini applied the same careful and detailed research to the artistic and architectural tradition that he applied to the literary tradition. Finally, he was the only one among

Italian architects to learn the great lesson from French mathematicians, introducing it in his chapter on the “Ortografia gettata,” where he explains the significance of the new geometry. The new geometry was the basis for Guarini’s audacious buildings (Wittkower, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970).

The *Architettura civile* was the source for the earliest of the series of negative criticisms leveled at Guarini’s architectural contribution. In his 1768 *Memorie dei più celebri architetti*, Francesco Milizia listed in a three-page entry on Guarini the buildings still extant in Turin. Without ever having seen them, Milizia found the Porta di Po “poisonous to the eye,” the Sindone chapel “badly built and decorated,” the facade of San Filippo Neri “shamelessly ambushed by its columns and pilasters,” the facade of the Palazzo Carignano “incorrect in its use of the order,” while the plan of San Lorenzo was evaluated as “an illustration of Guarini’s distaste for the straight line.” The rest of Guarini’s works—outside Turin—were qualified as “irregular,” “forced,” and “crabbed in every aspect of their composition.” Milizia went on to evaluate these buildings as unreasonable, costly, and comical and their admirers as unfortunate, weak minds. As late as 1819 the local critic Modeste Paroletti found that Guarini’s taste had not been refined by the study of antiquity, and, like Milizia, he found the curved lines of Guarini’s buildings faulty (Ferrero 1966).

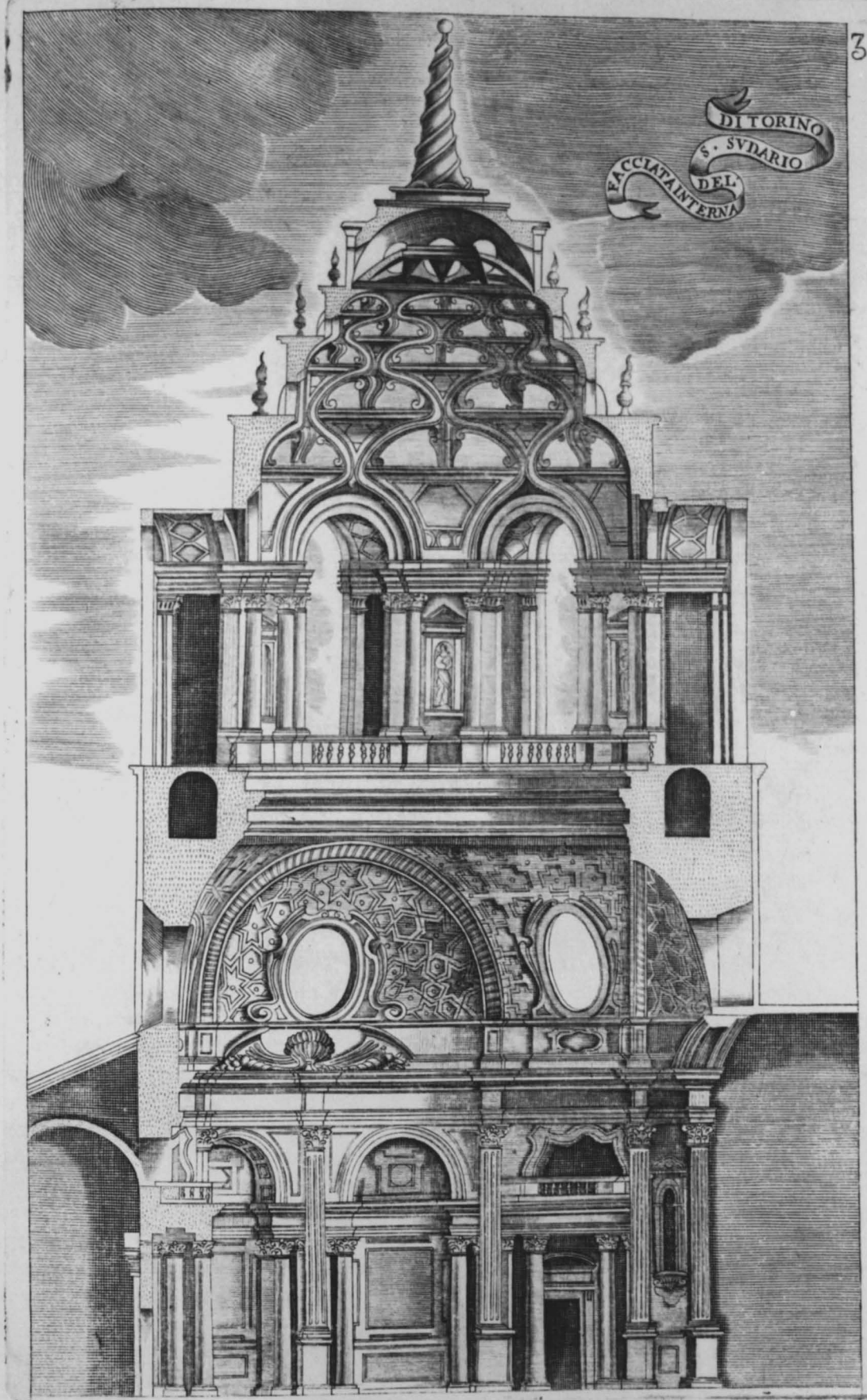
Guarini’s architectural career proceeded slowly and with numerous setbacks and qualifications. The earliest critical evaluation of his work was Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s reaction to the church of Saint Anne in Paris, which Paul Fréart de Chantelou recorded as a cautious “I believe it will be beautiful.” Vittone remarked in his own treatise (1766) that Guarini’s domes are obscure and difficult and unlikely to be understood by a simple builder. Vittone considered Guarini and Francesco Borromini licentious and unfriendly to nature—meaning by “nature” solidity, function, and pleasure (Bordini, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970). Although the nineteenth-century historian Luigi Cibrario found Guarini’s Sindone chapel a true “creation,” rather than a pale copy of ancient Roman and Greek buildings, it was only in 1887 that Guarini found a true champion in the historian Cornelius Gurlitt, who recognized the architect’s ambition to create something entirely new and praised his achievements. Guarini has been linked to Borromini, since they both rejected transparent simplicity and considered the incomprehensible worthy of attention exactly because of its obscure qualities; however, Rudolf Wittkower (in *Guarino Guarini* 1970) has successfully shown that an entire universe separated Guarini from Borromini, including the latter’s lack of theoretical contribution and the former’s lack of pathological suffering. According to Giulio Carlo Argan’s evaluation in 1933, Guarini’s work was the result of pure imagina-

tion and the “crystallization of frigid formulas,” though his geometry was vastly more sophisticated than that of the Renaissance. While the most lucid formal analysis of Guarini’s buildings was offered by Wittkower (1958), who found deliberate incongruities and dissonances and saw the diaphanous domes as suggestions of infinity, Guarini’s work was further seen as based on spatial counterpoint, reciprocal spatial penetration, and spatial dilation—three compositional principles proposed by Maria Andereg-Tille (Ferrero 1966). Finally, the transcendent and mystical values in Guarini’s work were recalled firmly in Mario Passanti’s analysis (1963). But the more Guarini is studied, the less conveniently he seems to exemplify baroque parameters, and he does not fit into a school, since the architectural language he created is so fantastic, original, and strange, escaping classification.

In addition to providing numerous architectural commissions, Guarini’s stay in Turin seems to have stimulated his theoretical research; he published a new book almost every year. Guarini’s passionate fantasy fused his religious zeal, his vivid visual memory, great perception, new mathematical intuition, and methodical study and work. Guarini writes that architecture is *adulatrice* (Argan, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970) thus it can serve to celebrate, ceremonialize, and render homage. The significance of Guarini’s method is located in his treatise rather than his buildings, since he believed that the work of the architect is to design. Thus he discusses the instruments the architect needs in the design process, and his drawings are precise, a long way from the furor of Borromini’s compositions. Guarini does not assume classical architecture as the universal model and deals with the columns in an encyclopedic manner, providing the graphic construction of each and adding the “gothic” and “atlantic” orders (Argan, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970). His waving, *ondeggianti*, Corinthian order is a great departure from previous compositions. Like Claude Perrault, Guarini believed that architecture can correct the rules of antiquity and invent new ones.

The plates of Guarini’s realized buildings do not flatter his designs, and there are even some errors of interpretation on the part of the engravers. This is due partly to the relative mediocrity of his graphic interpreters and partly because Guarini’s buildings are spatially very demanding. Thus the plate of the section of the Sindone chapel is faulty in the most innovative aspect of Guarini’s design. The stepped vaulting of the dome, variously interpreted as a stairway to heaven, as a reliquary, and as a pagoda, is fudged even though the corkscrew spiral and flame-carrying stone vases

Guarino Guarini. *Architettura civile*. Section of the Sindone chapel. 1983.49.26

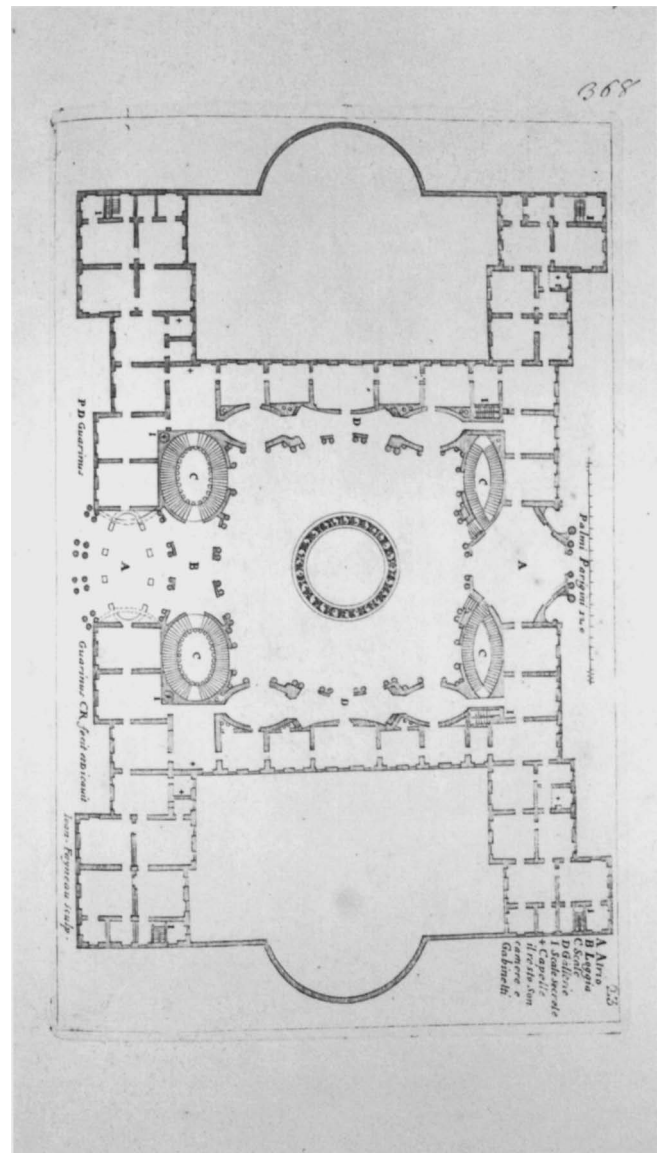


(which were not realized) show that the engraver had access to Guarini's complete design. He clearly did not understand this elaborately inventive structure.

The text, as well as the drawings for the plates, was composed by Guarini in his later years. Divided into five parts, parts 2, 4, and 5 are taken from his *Euclides Adauctus*, which was published in 1671, thus forming a *terminus post quem* date for the architectural treatise (Werner Müller, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970). Each part or *tratatto* is divided into numerous short chapters. Each chapter is further subdivided into numbered initialed paragraphs, which Guarini labels *Osservazione* and subtitles with its subject, for example, *modo di trovare il centro* (how to find the center). Some of these observations are then followed by one or more "Deduzione." The text is keyed to the separately arranged illustrations. The full-page copperplate engravings follow the text in a gallery apart. Some of these plates have erased signatures at the lower right corner. In his text, Guarini refers to numerous older and more recent architectural theorists, and a French influence can be detected in his scientific approach to architecture and its history.

Guarini's architecture is entirely about building, eliminating Vitruvius' definition of architecture that includes clock making and machine building. The task of the architect is to design, which according to Guarini—who aligns himself with Vitruvius in this instance—can be carried out through plan, section, and elevation (though he neglects to discuss the Vitruvian *scaenographia*). Guarini's tendency toward mathematical abstraction is offset by his utilitarian understanding of architecture; he brings the Vitruvian triad of *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* under the rubric of *commodità*. Convenience also implies not exceeding the cost of the building and thus being able to complete construction. Guarini criticizes Andrea Palladio for having induced the Vicentine nobility to build too sumptuously, which led to incomplete buildings, and refers to Pope Urban viii's quip that to state honestly the cost of a building is to behave more like a good Christian than a good architect.

While Vitruvius posited architecture as the leading discipline in command of all the other arts and sciences, Guarini's architecture dominates only those arts and crafts that serve it: stonecutting, sculpture, brick making, lime making, plaster making, ironwork, carpentry, foundry, plumbing, and painting. In Guarini's hierarchy, architecture is subordinate to mathematics, especially to the disciplines of measurement and solid geometry. Long sections of the *Architettura civile* are in fact taken from Guarini's own treatise on Euclid. Nevertheless, neither science nor antiquity should dominate architecture absolutely. Guarini rejects the association of architecture with illusionistic perspective and resists the idea of determining the objectively correct form of the or-



Guarino Guarini. *Architettura civile*. Plan of a palace. 1983.49.26

ders. This subjectivity has led to an interpretation of Guarini's treatise as proposing eclecticism and as the beginning of the destruction of Vitruvianism. Although Guarini admits that the proportions of the column delight the eye, he underlines the changeability of this pleasure, linking architectural delight to changes in fashion and relativizing the correct form of the orders. Consequently the architect is unshackled from the old rules and free to invent new ones in reaction to the ways in which men have also developed (Müller, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970). Guarini here adduces the example of military architecture as one aspect of building entirely altered since the time of the ancients. Architecture should be consonant with the habits of its country, and furthermore it should be contextual.

Guarini's eclecticism is most evident in his appreciation of Gothic architecture. He posits the purpose of Roman architecture as strength and that of Gothic

architecture as miraculous structure, concluding that both purposes seem worthwhile and that ranking them would be quite difficult. He recognizes a Gothic order and praises the great Gothic houses of worship in Seville, Salamanca, Reims, Paris, Milan, and Bologna, asserting that it was the example of these Gothic structures that stimulated the temerity of the Renaissance in the construction of its two major buildings, the cupolas raised on four piers at the cathedral of Florence and at Saint Peter's in Rome.

As treatise writer, Guarini aspires prodigiously toward the invention of new images and, drawing from a professional knowledge of architectural tradition, transforms it radically. Guarini's sources are easy to reconstruct since he cites and quotes generously. These references can be divided into three distinct areas: writers on art and science from Greek and Latin antiquity, Renaissance writers on architecture, and contemporary thinkers in every discipline. (Guarini's breadth of knowledge was linked to his travels as a Theatine and as a teacher in the order.) He reforms the Vitruvian tradition, and he would have undermined the entire Vitruvian structure more than any other thinker of his time if the posthumous publication of his 1686 writings had not been delayed so long (Cavallari-Murat, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970).

Guarini's innovative forms can thus be related to the historical and geometrical concerns of his treatise. One distinct contribution is his multiplication of the Vitruvian orders, leading to unlimited proliferation. His most celebrated capitals are illustrated in plates III and VIII of the treatise. The atlantic order, the Gallic order, and the Solomonian order are among Guarini's witty inventions, some ornamented with lilies, palm fronds, and peacock feathers. Since Guarini recognizes the need to analyze beauty empirically, according to changes in fashion and taste, he could supply those changes himself. Guarini's is one of only two architectural treatises, the other being Philibert de l'Orme's *Premier tome de l'architecture* (1567) (Millard, *French Books*, 105), in which stereotomy, the art of describing volumes, is treated with the same importance as the orders of columns (Müller, in *Guarino Guarini* 1970). Guarini's *Ortografia gettata*, clarified in part 32 of his *Euclides Adauctus*, was influenced by François Derand's study of stereotomy published in

1643 (Millard, *French Books*, 50), rather than by the more demanding method of Girard Desargues. Guarini's cutout domes made of a system of crisscrossed arches raised on polygonal plans may have derived from his familiarity with the stereotomic tradition. These three-dimensional arches, where the keystone becomes superfluous, should be called Guarinian since they are so important to his architectural conception.

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Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798)

51

Schola Italica Pictvrae Sive Selectae Qvaedam
Svmmorvm E Schola Italica Pictorvm Tabvlae
Aere Incisae Cvra Et Impensis Gavini Hamilton
Pictoris

Rome: [Francesco Piranesi], 1773 [i.e., later]

1985.61.2615

Broadsheet: 705 × 505 (27³/₄ × 19⁷/₈)

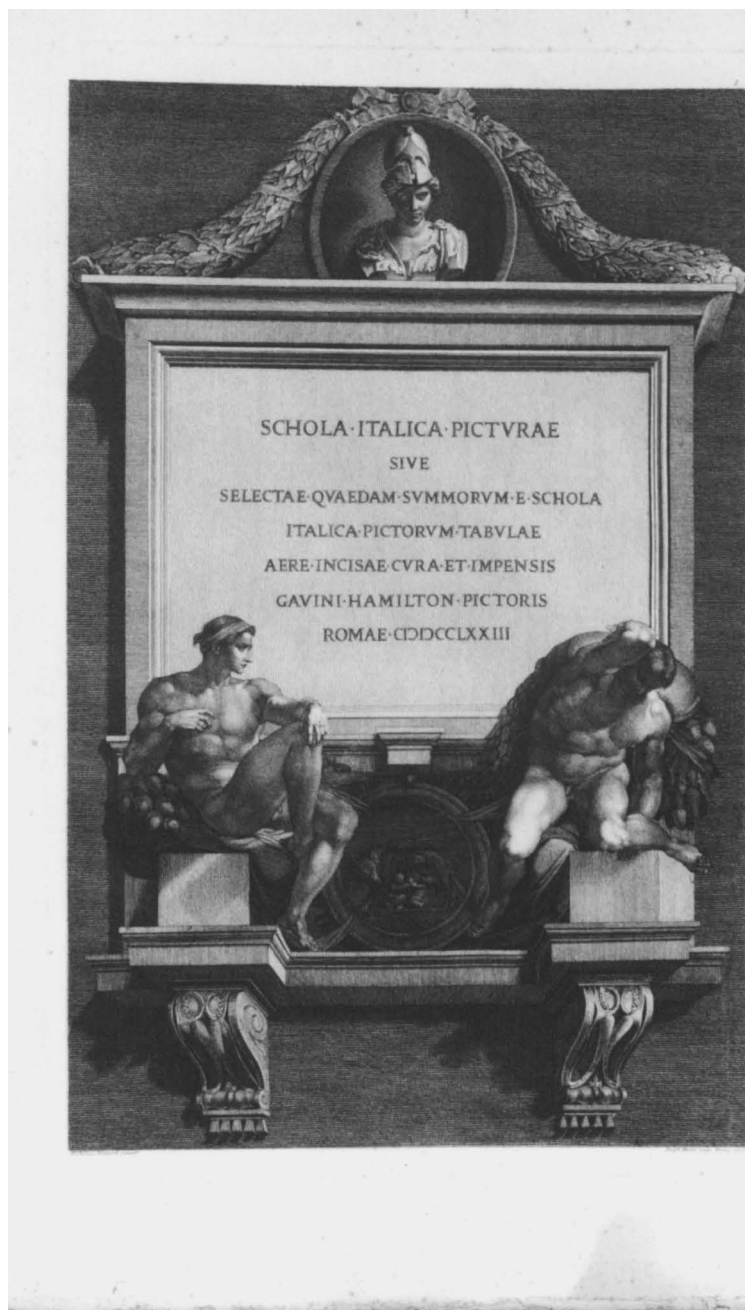
Foliation 40 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition, this copy a late issue by Francesco Piranesi after he came into ownership of the plates

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout, consisting of 40 full-page plates numbered 1–40, including title plate. The plates, all with captions in Latin, illustrate works by the following painters: Francesco Albani, Barocci, Fra Bartolommeo, Jacopo Bassano, Caravaggio, Agostino Carracci, Annibale Carracci, Lodovico Carracci, Correggio, Domenichino, Giorgione, Guercino, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Giovanni Palma, Parmigianino, Raphael, Guido Reni, Giulio Romano, Andrea del Sarto, Tintoretto, Titian, and Veronese. The plates are signed only by the engravers, but according to the title plate, all were delineated by Gavin Hamilton. Engravers include: Domenico Cunego (21 plates, including three dated 1769, four dated 1770, four dated 1771, seven dated 1772, and two dated 1773), Giovanni Volpato (8 plates, including one dated 1770, six dated 1772, and one dated 1773), Antonio Capellani (4 plates, all dated 1772), Camillo Tinti (3 plates, including two dated 1771 and one dated 1772), Giuseppe Perini (title plate, and one plate dated 1770), Angelo Campanella (one plate dated 1771), and François Lonsing (one plate dated 1772)

Binding Bound (2) with the first copy of Francesco Piranesi's *Choix des meilleures statues antiques* (cat. 77)

References Petrucci 972–1011



Gavin Hamilton. *Schola italica picturae*. Title plate. 1985.61.2615

Carlo Labruzzi (1748–1817)

52

Via Appia Illustrata Ab Vrbe Roma Ad Capuam

[Rome, c. 1795]

1983.49.34

Broadsheet: 492 × 665 (19³/₈ × 26¹/₄)

Pagination 24 etched plates

Edition First edition. The first twelve plates were published previously in London in 1794

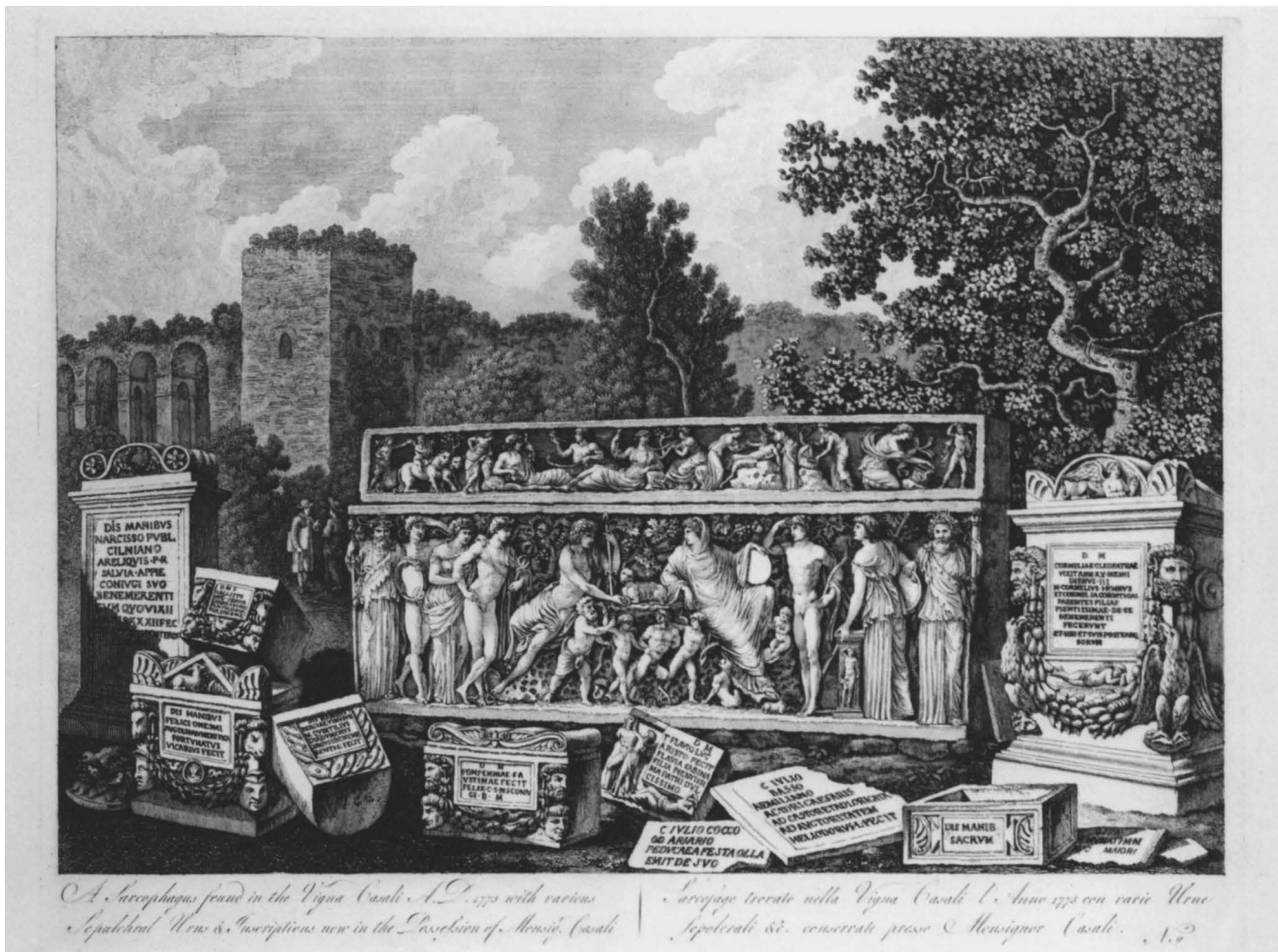
Illustrations 24 etched plates numbered 1–24, including title plate. The title plate depicts a large pedestal bearing the title, a tablet listing the ancient stations of the Via Appia from Rome to Capua, a tablet with an inscription in honor of Appius Claudius, and the first milestone along the road, with Roman antiquities in the back-

ground, and beneath, a dedication to Sir Richard Colt Hoare with his coat of arms. Plates 2–24 depict views along the Via Appia and interior views of excavated tombs, with captions in English and Italian. Labruzzi's monogram appears on stones in the foreground in plates 14 and 15

Binding Contemporary half cat's paw calf with marbled boards, red morocco spine label

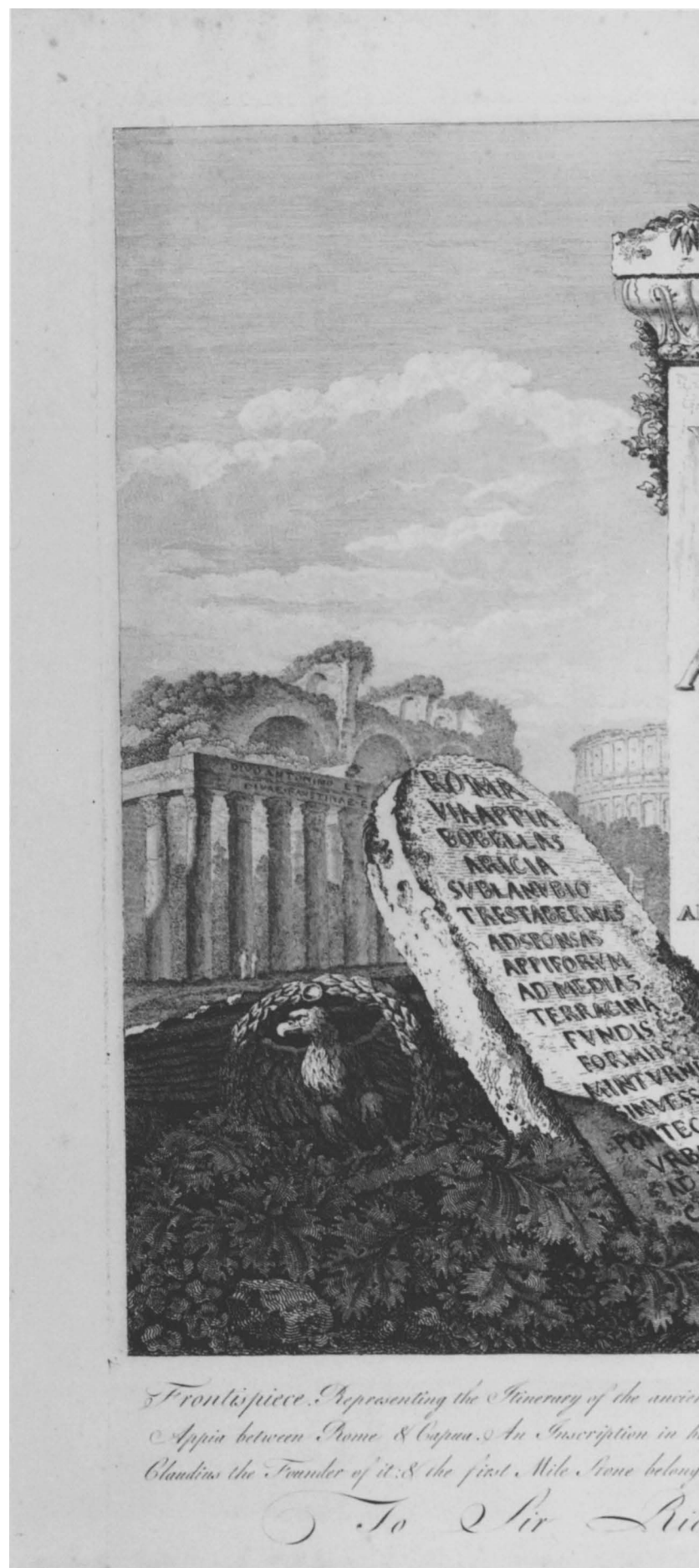
References Maria Grazia Massafra, "Via Appia illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuam': disegni di Carlo Labruzzi nel Gabinetto comunale delle stampe," *Bollettino dei Musei comunali di Roma*, 7 (1993): 43–56; Thieme-Becker 22: 173 (with 12 pls.)

Carlo Labruzzi. *Via Appia illustrata*. Sarcophagus found at Vigna Casali. 1983.49.34



IN 1788 THE LANDSCAPE PAINTER Carlo Labruzzi accompanied Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838), a wealthy British banker on his Grand Tour of Europe, on a trip along the Via Appia in order to illustrate the ancient ruins and landscape along the Roman road. Their project was to record systematically the landscapes along the Via Appia, following the path that the poet Horace describes in his first book (*Satire* 1.5), which tells of the trip in 38 B.C. when he went to Brindisi with Maecenas and Lucius Cocceius Nerva on their way to Greece in their attempt to reconcile Octavian and Mark Antony. Colt Hoare and Labruzzi intended to cover the entire length of the road from Rome to Brindisi, but bad weather and illness interrupted their trip at Benevento (Keaveney 1988). Colt Hoare was a distinguished classicist and antiquarian, who had trained as a painter and went to the continent, on his first of many trips, in 1785. His major published work is a nine-volume history of Wiltshire issued between 1812 and 1821, but he also published *Recollections Abroad in the Years 1785–91* (1815–1818), where he discusses the Via Appia. Although primarily a painter, Labruzzi supported himself as a draftsman, responding to “the topographical requirements of foreign visitors to eighteenth-century Rome” (Watson 1960). The son of a velvet weaver, he had studied at the Accademia di San Luca, becoming a member in c. 1795; in 1781 he was a member of the *Virtuosi al Pantheon*. Lord Herbert, the future ninth earl of Pembroke, refers to contact with Labruzzi in September 1779, when he visited the artist’s house near Santa Trinità de’ Monti. Lady Caroline Stuart-Wortley and her spouse, Lord Wharnccliffe, purchased three large volumes of sketches by Labruzzi in 1818. But Labruzzi is now quite forgotten and even confused with his brother Pietro, a painter of some repute, whose portrait of the slightly younger Giuseppe Valadier (cats. 137 and 138), a more lastingly famous contemporary Roman architect and preservationist, is at the Art Institute in Chicago. His association with Colt Hoare and their extensive documentation of the landscape and ruins along the Via Appia constitute a substantial contribution to modern archaeology and a significant chapter in the cultural history of the Grand Tour.

Despite the interrupted survey of the Via Appia, Labruzzi eventually sketched about four hundred views. He worked about five years on the Appia project, producing at least four versions. It is not entirely clear what he actually saw and what he added later for artistic reasons. His drawings, precious for their picturesqueness and realism, are nonetheless useful for modern archaeologists in reconstructing ruins that have since



Carlo Labruzzi. *Via Appia illustrata*. Title page. 1983.49.34



Stations on the Via
nor of Appian
ing to the above Road.
haro

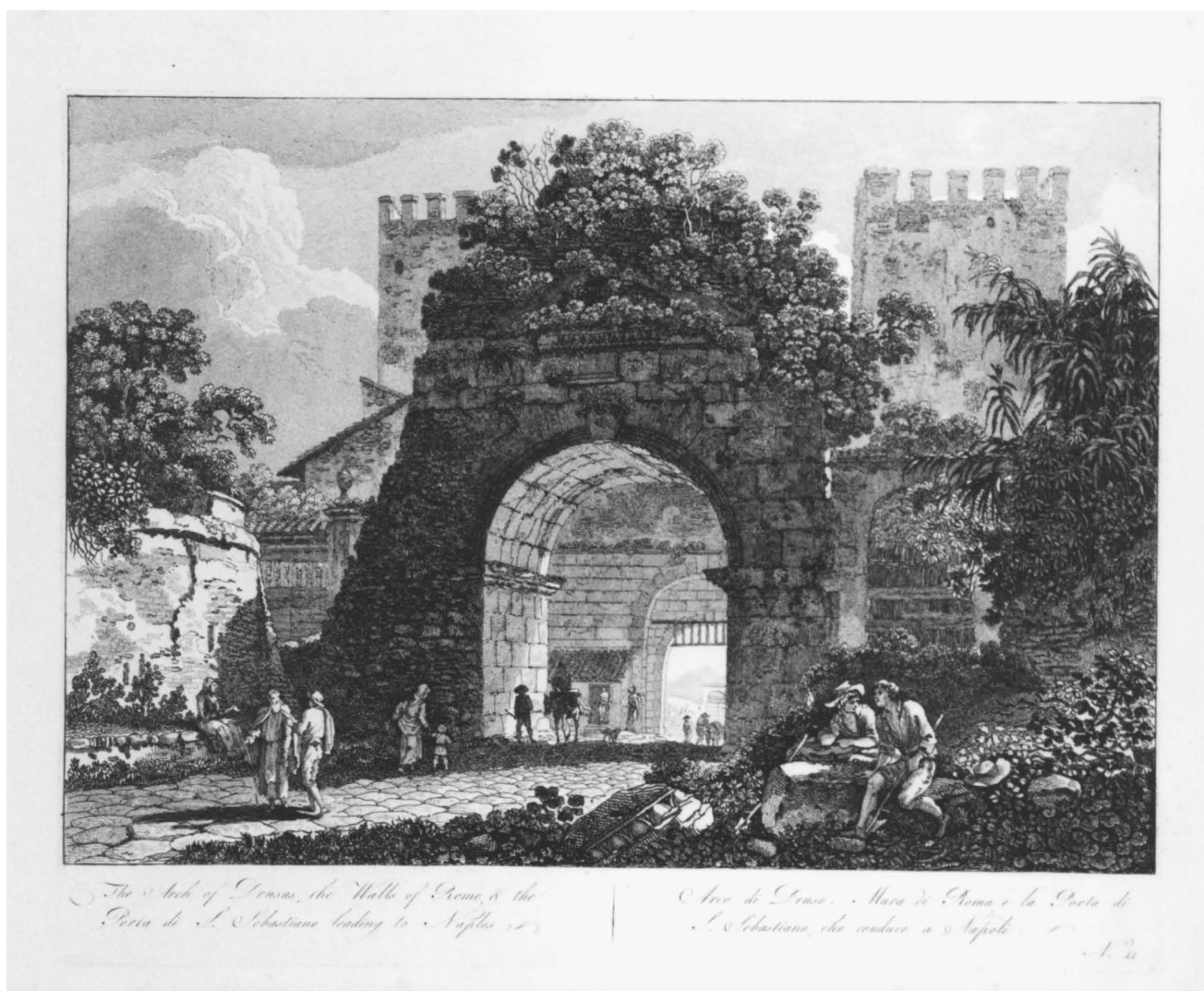


Carlo Labruzzi D.D.

Frontispizio coll' antico Itinerario della Via Appia da Roma a
Capua. Un' Iscrizione in onore d' Appio Claudio suo Fondatore
e la prima Colonna Militaria della detta Via

Cott Moore Bar.

A. P.



disappeared. Various versions of Labruzzi's manuscript sketches of sites along the Via Appia are held at the Biblioteca Sarti of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the Vatican Library, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe in Rome, and in private collections. Labruzzi seems to have spun his trip and sketches into numerous sheets, offered to various patrons as single sheets or smaller collections. Of this huge recording work, only twenty-four sheets were engraved at the expense of Colt Hoare; the first twelve were published in London in February 1794.

The 226 sheets now at the Vatican are the finished sepia (*acqua tinta*) drawings retained by Colt Hoare; these were acquired by the archaeologist Thomas Ashby and bequeathed by him to the Vatican. Ashby had acquired six albums of unpublished sketches by Labruzzi between 1899 and 1901, then published his assessment of them in 1903. One hundred drawings were available on the London market in 1960. Presented as lively examples of watercolors made when the medium was just developing, it was suggested that these were the drawings from which the twenty-four plates

Carlo Labruzzi. *Via Appia illustrata*. The Arch of Drusus. 1983.49.34

of *Via Appia* were made by the printer William Palmer in 1794.

Other collections were engraved later after Labruzzi's drawings. These include the twenty-four plates in *Vedute ed avanzi dell'antica città di Albalonga ora Albano* (Rome, 1810) published by Pietro Parboni and Antonio Poggioli, *Monumenti e ruderi che veggonsi lungo i lati delle prime due miglia della via Appia* (1844), published by Agostino Rem-Picci, who spoiled the plates by introducing staffage in contemporary costume, and Luigi Rossini's *Viaggio da Roma a Napoli* (Rome, 1839; cat. 116). Thus Labruzzi's drawings played a fundamental role in the transformation of the ideal arcadian landscape into a new historical landscape, with documentary and archaeological characteristics.

Labruzzi moved to Perugia in 1809 and became director of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1814. He painted landscapes with mythological staffage, participating in the campaign to decorate the Casino Borghese

in 1782 with a painting of Diana hunting. His *Via Appia* is one of several suites of engravings made by him illustrating Roman antiquities. His work based on other artists includes engravings of the wall paintings by Masaccio at San Clemente in Rome, published in forty-four plates in 1809, and nine plates of mythological subjects after Michelangelo's work in Florence.

Labruzzi is considered one of the foremost visual poets of the Roman scene. The project for the documentation of the Via Appia had been stimulated by discoveries made along the road earlier in the eighteenth century. Giovanni Battista Piranesi had illustrated the tomb of Livia's retainers (discovered in 1725–1726, published by Francesco Bianchini in 1731; cat. 20), similarly to Labruzzi, with wine barrels occupying the interior space. But Piranesi normally offered large spaces that dwarfed visitors, as in the interior of the columbarium (shared tomb of several persons) at Vigna Casali. Labruzzi's view of the same site is more personal, showing the visitors closely surrounded by the walls and vault of the funeral chamber.

The title page of *Via Appia* illustrates the Roman forum, where the road starts, with the milestone at right. The stone marker at the left lists towns between Rome and Capua, while the stone at the right commemorates the builder of the Via Appia. The foreground of Labruzzi's views is often occupied by trees and staffage, shown in shade, a compositional technique that increases the depth of the picture's space. His drawing technique of *acqua tinta* (pen and ink and ink wash) is a wistful monochrome in strong contrast with the polychromy of the watercolors used by Colt Hoare. Occasionally it is clear that for the engraving he enhanced his initial sketches, adding picturesque staffage and classicizing vegetation.

The Via Appia was the longest and most important of the great Roman consular roads, referred to as the queen of highways, *longarum regina viarum*, by Statius (Richardson 1992). The 132-mile stretch between Rome and Capua was laid out in 312 B.C. by Appius Claudius Caecus. In 291 it was extended to Venusia, in 281 to Tarentum (Taranto), and in 264 B.C. to Brundisium (Brindisi). The road was originally graveled, but in 296 the first mile was cobbled; in 293 this pavement was extended to the site known as Boville, in 191 to Capua, and finally in 190 to Taranto and Brindisi. Vespasian restored the road in A.D. 70, and Nero did the same in 97. The road was crossed near its Roman end in the mid-second century with the construction of the arch of Drusus, built probably by Lucius Verus; in 217 the aqueduct for Caracalla's baths was built on top of this arch. In 272 the Via Appia was further cut by the construction of the Aurelian walls intended to secure Rome against attack (Bruni 1997). From that date the Via Appia is divided between the old road inside the walls and

the road outside the city. In its course near the city, the road was thickly lined with funeral tombs and markers, as well as villas.

The eighteenth-century excavations along the Via Appia were intended to recover statuary and building materials, with little interest shown for topography and architectural remains. After the recovery of the statues and marble fragments, building remains were often destroyed without documentation, showing little interest in the actual structures along the road. Francesco Ficoroni describes the fervidness of research by eighteenth-century antiquarians, who dug through the various privately owned *vigne*. Funeral chambers were found in all the excavations made in 1725 (Vigna Casali, Morini), 1732 (Vigna San Cesareo), 1780 (Vigna Sassi), and 1800 (Villa Quintilli). But the first scientific excavations carried out in the interest of topography were directed by Carlo Fea and Antonio Nibby, who made the correct attribution of the large complex of Maxentius' villa in 1825. The systematization of the excavations and archaeology of the Via Appia is due to Luigi Canina, who, between 1850 and 1853, excavated the stretch between the fourth and the ninth miles, although his reconstruction of the road still perplexes modern archaeologists (Bruni 1997).

The last two plates of the *Via Appia* show the most recent excavations illustrated by Labruzzi: the tomb and epigraphs of Claudia Semne, excavated in November 1792 and April 1793 by Robert Fagan, an artist of Irish origins. Like the other funeral chambers found during the eighteenth century, this was a columbarium. Invented during the second century in response to growing pressures on land values, the columbarium was a large vaulted space with numerous niches in its walls for ossuary urns.

Labruzzi's illustrations with textual transcriptions are "helpful for modern archaeologists in reconstructing remains that have since disappeared" (Wilton 1996). Labruzzi offers a welcome alternative to Piranesi's more fantastic illustrations of the antiquities along the Via Appia: his images are more personal, precious for their picturesqueness and realism. Where Piranesi offers gigantic and menacing spaces, as in the columbarium at Vigna Casali or his reconstruction of the Via Appia nightmarishly shaded by tombs, Labruzzi provides spaces that closely surround and invite the visitor, offering a good pictorial record of the road (Castagnoli et al. 1972). Labruzzi carefully copied many of the inscriptions found among the tombs, which gives his work an important place in the excavation history of the Via Appia. Since Labruzzi's drawings were not labeled with the names of the sites illustrated, Ashby attempted to identify them by examining the entire Appian road (except the stretch between Minturno and Capua, which was not traveled by Colt Hoare and Labruzzi).

Ashby's study (1903) offers a concordance between the drawings in his own collection (226, now at the Vatican Library) and the collection at the Accademia di San Luca (188), the engravings made by Labruzzi, those published by Parboni and Poggioli, and the engravings published by Luigi Rossini, copied from Labruzzi, in relation to what he was able to see along Via Appia. Ashby confirms Labruzzi's accuracy in the care with which he reproduces inscriptions. Significantly, Labruzzi's drawings inform us of the state of picturesque abandon that reigned over the Via Appia.

The twenty-four engravings finally published by Labruzzi utilized only a small part of the drawings he had made and were restricted to the sites closest to Rome. Although most of the plates show views along the road, there are also several interior views of the excavated tombs. Labruzzi often foregrounds the marble fragments with relief sculptural decoration and textual inscriptions dominating the lower half of the picture. His views show the adaptation of the ruins to contemporary farming functions; farmhouses built on the foundations of towers, farmhouse courts shaded by crumbling ruins, the wash hanging out to dry, and idle natives punctuate this sunlit and curiously calm afternoon landscape. Labruzzi endows the landscape and the ruins with a broad range of plantings; elaborately branched deciduous trees frame the views, bushes grow out of cracked walls and ruined arches, ivy, acanthus, and other classical weeds strangle marble fragments and inscriptions under their abundant growth.

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Giuseppe Antonio Landi (fl. 1739–1770)

53

Racolta di alcune Facciate di Palazzi e Cortili
de più riguardevoli di Bologna

Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, [c. 1745]

1985.61.645

Oblong folio: 420 × 560 (16½ × 22)

Pagination [ii] pp., engraved title plate, [29] engraved
plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] dedication by Landi to Guido Ascanio Orsi;
[ii] note to reader

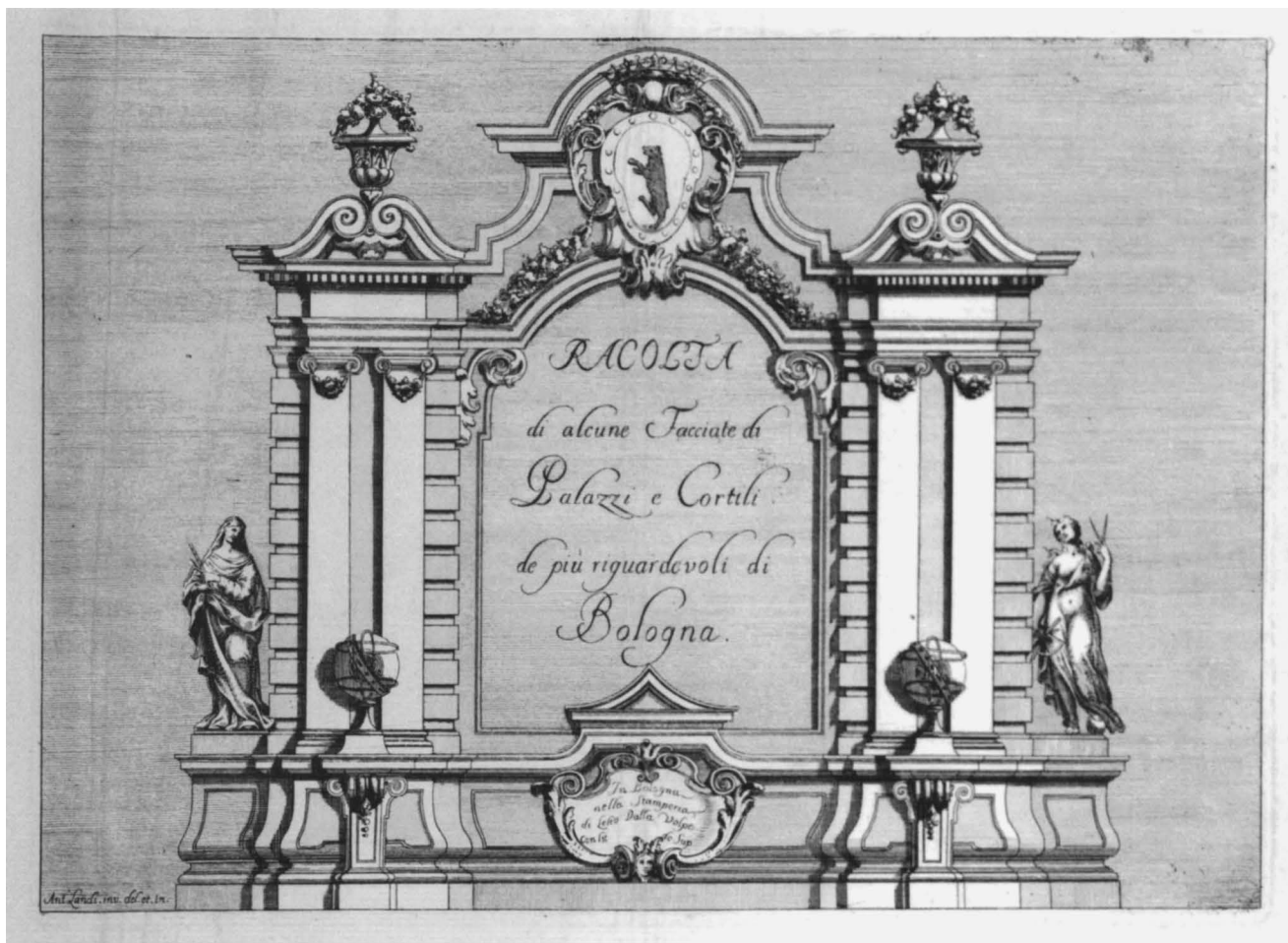
Ornaments Etched floriated initial on dedication

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate, signed by
Landi as designer, draftsman, and engraver ("Ant. Landi

inv. del. et in."). 30 full-page engravings numbered
1–30 on 29 leaves (pls. 26 and 27 printed on one leaf);
all unsigned

Binding Contemporary half vellum with blue paper
boards. This copy has an additional, unnumbered
plate bound in at the end depicting the staircase of the
Palazzo Ranuzzi, "Pianta e Spaccato dello Scalone del
Palazzo in Bologna del Sig' Senatore Ranuzzi Conte
della Poretta," which is also found in the RIBA copy as
well as a copy described by Weinreb. The plate likely
derives from a second book in preparation concerning
churches, palazzi, rooms, and stairs; it appears the
planned book was never published as a complete
volume)

Giuseppe Antonio Landi. *Racolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e
cortili*. Title page. 1985.61.645



Provenance Etched bookplate with monogram "GK"? and motto "Avisé la Fine." Small library stamp ("City Library Lowell, Mass.") on verso of some plates

References RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1725; Weinreb 40: 203

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.644

Folio: 425 × 312 (16¾ × 12¼)

Binding Contemporary green vellum, gilt borders, floral ornaments at corners, gilt spine, red morocco label, gilt turn-ins, red edges; marbled endpapers. In the present copy, the plates have been folded in the middle and mounted on guards to lie flat when opened. Extra illustrated with two engravings: following the dedication is an engraved map of Bologna (250 × 302 mm) with printed key, signed "Gaet^o. Ferratini delin." and "Carlo Pisarri incise"; bound in following plate 30 is an engraved plate depicting the Neptune Fountain in Bologna, which is numbered "31" in manuscript. This plate is signed by Giuseppe Benedetti and dated 1747 ("Giuseppe Benedetti incise l'anno 1747") and bears a dedication to D. Egano Lambertini in the upper right, which is signed "Pietro Ignazio Longhi D.D.D." A manuscript list of plates follows, including the added plate of the Neptune Fountain (i.e., pls. 1–31)

Provenance Manuscript half-title in contemporary hand on preliminary blank: "Palais/ de Bologne / Palazzi/ di Bologna"; manuscript list of plates in the same hand

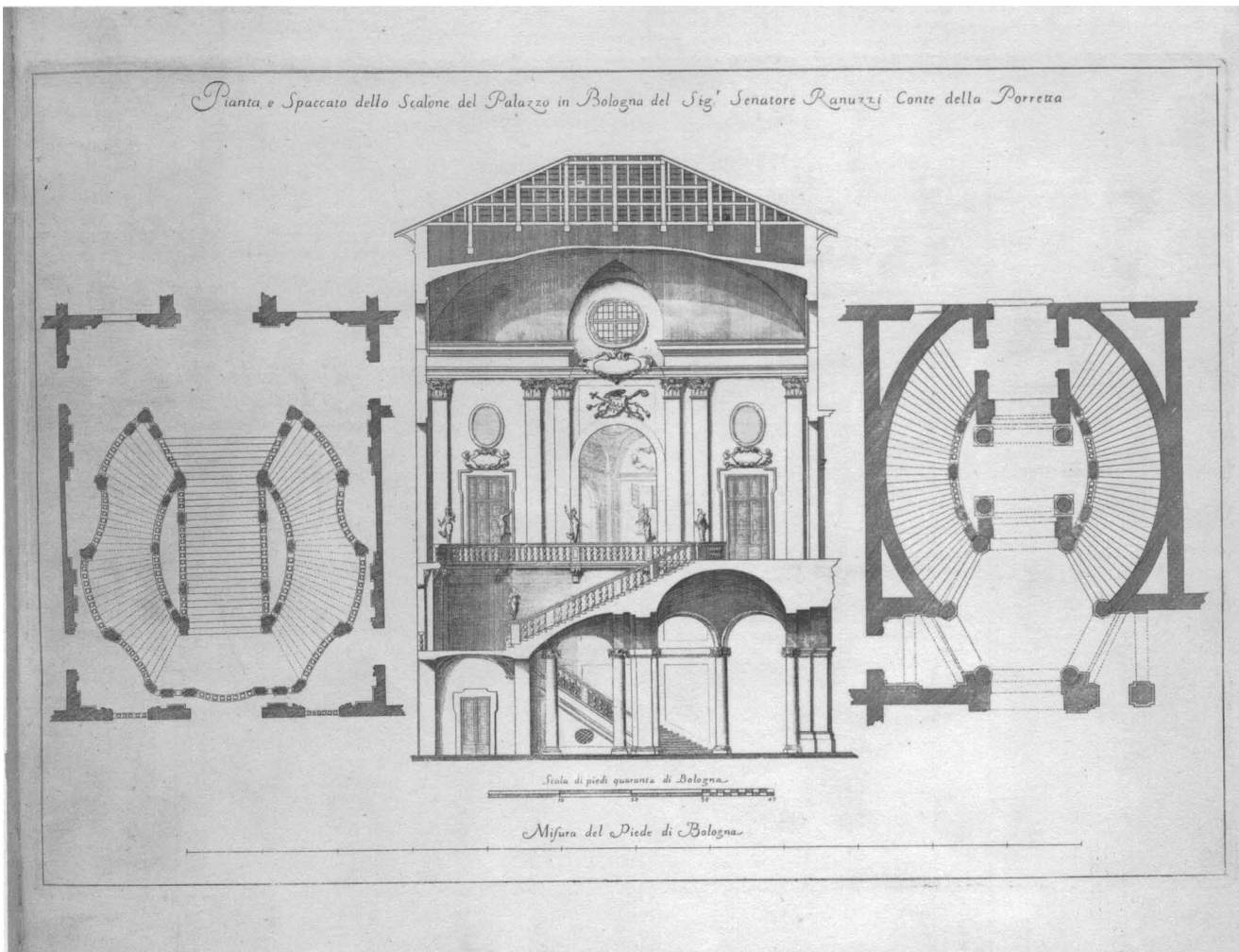
B OLOGNA REACHED ITS DEMOGRAPHIC HEIGHT at the end of the sixteenth century, an apex of population development that was not surpassed until the late nineteenth century. In Bologna one does not find the urbanism of representation motivated by the technical, aesthetic, and military requirements that occurred throughout western Europe in the period between 1550 and 1750. The lowering of the status of Bologna was gradual after it became part of the papal states, and some cultural aspects of the city, such as its school of painting, developed despite the subjection of the city to Rome. Bologna's specificity is based on its particular political system. Although the papal legate did not behave like a viceroy, the oligarchy that controlled local government did not express a unified desire for urban interventions, and no one person could act in a determined individual manner. After 1589, fifty senatorial families exercised reciprocal control on one another. Their prominence rested on a constitutional form based on compromise and the fragmentation of rule. This fragmentation and compromise may have been the origin of the lack of visionary patronage and hindered innovation for centuries (Ricci 1985).

Although urbanistically stagnant, Bologna saw intense architectural activity. Great palaces and churches were built, especially after the fall of the Bentivoglio in the sixteenth century, around 1680, and again after 1750. But even when palaces occupied an entire block, they did not become the center of a reconstructed area. This condition is similar to that of Venice, whose oligarchic government was somewhat analogous, though independent of outside control. The senatorial palaces continued to be surrounded by other residences of the urban population. The privatization of public functions eventually worked to the advantage of the fifty senatorial families and gave their houses a role that transcended private life.

The senatorial palaces had unassuming exteriors, characterized by parsimonious decoration and the use of modest plaster and masonry rather than costly materials. They were rarely freestanding houses. These unambitious exteriors were countered by grand entrances, huge staircases, and lavish furnishings, which were renovated with each successive addition of aristocratic titles. Many of the palaces were allowed to omit the ever-present portico that unified Bolognese buildings and homogenized them socially. Most of them were located along the great radial streets emanating from the city center, but not in the old nucleus of the city. Thus the area of the medieval patrician towers and those of the senatorial palaces do not coincide. In most cases, senatorial families owned palaces in the quarters of Bologna turned toward the rural places of their origin (Ricci 1985).

The author of this album of Bologna's palaces, Giuseppe Antonio Landi, was a student of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena and in 1739 became a member of the academy of Bologna. He was sent to Brazil by King João V of Portugal; an album of drawings by Landi of Brazilian plants and animals is preserved in the Porto library, and a collection of dated designs for the governor's palace in Belem, preserved at the Lisbon National Library, shows the continued patronage of the king. In his dedication of this publication of Bolognese palaces to Count Guido Ascanio Orsi, Landi mentions that he is preparing a sequel that will illustrate the churches and interiors of Bolognese buildings.

The thirty plates in this album depict the facades of sixteen private palaces, the Portico dei Banchi, the mint, the pilgrim's hospice, the archbishop's palace, four gates of the city, the Benedictine cloister, the court of the Palazzo delle Scienze, the cloister of San Giovanni in Monte, and the wall fountain adjacent to the Palazzo Pubblico. In the second Millard copy, this fountain is replaced by the freestanding Neptune fountain engraved by Giuseppe Benedetti in 1747. In addition, the two copies differ in one single illustration added to each. The first copy contains the plan and section



Giuseppe Antonio Landi. *Racolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e cortili*. Plan and section of stairhall, Palazzo Ranuzzi, Bologna. 1985. 61.645

of the staircase of the Palazzo Ranuzzi by Domenico Bonavera bound in at the end, while in the second copy there is a plan of Bologna by Carlo Pisarri, with a thirty-nine-item legend, made in 1743, bound in at the beginning of the album.

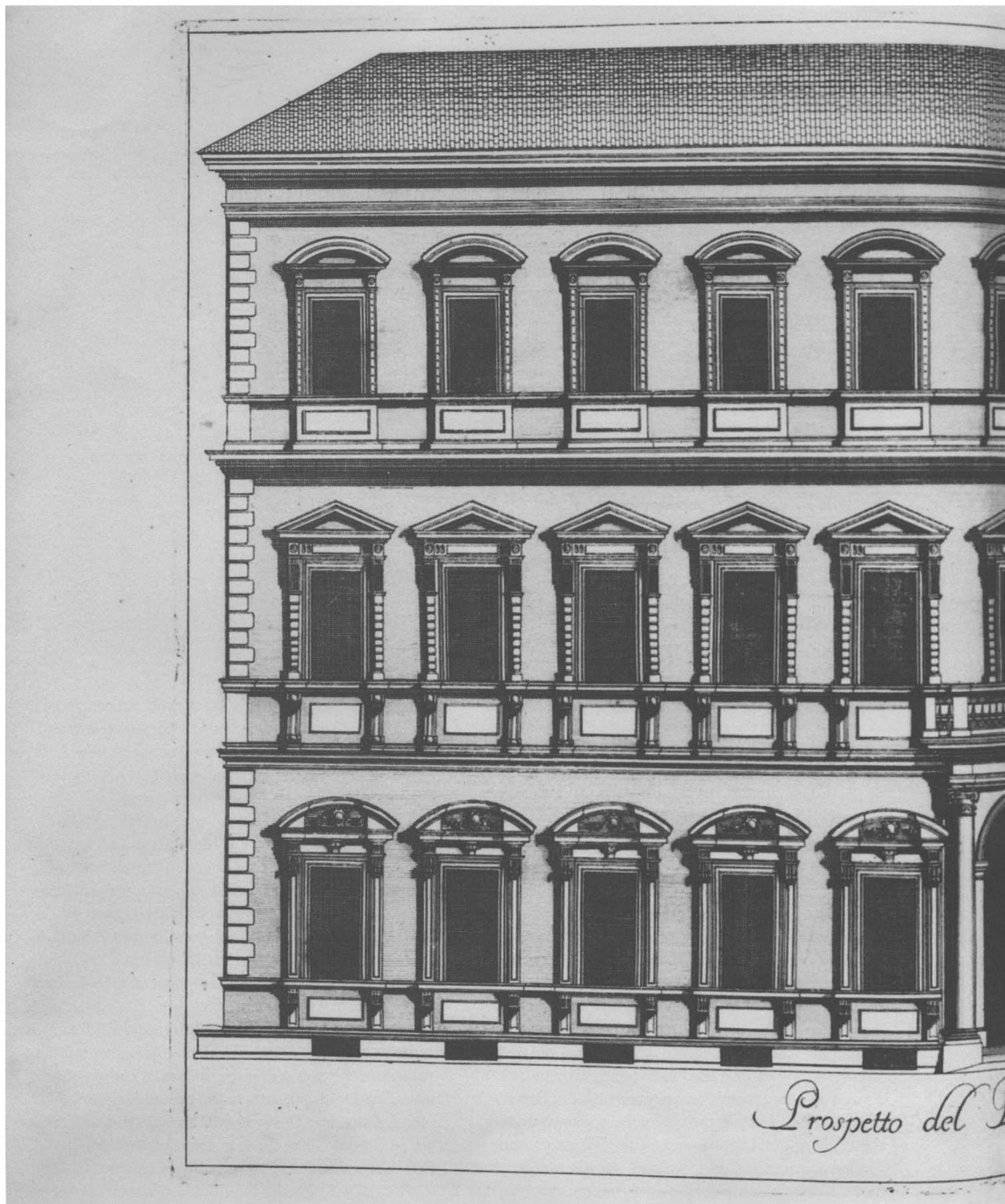
The title page, drawn and engraved by Landi, illustrates a wall fountain composed as an arch framed by coupled Ionic pilasters and flanked by the allegorical figures of practice and theory, with variously held geometrical instruments. It is an elegantly light architecture, whose curvilinear cornice surrounding the Orsi coat of arms is knowledgeably post-Borrominian.

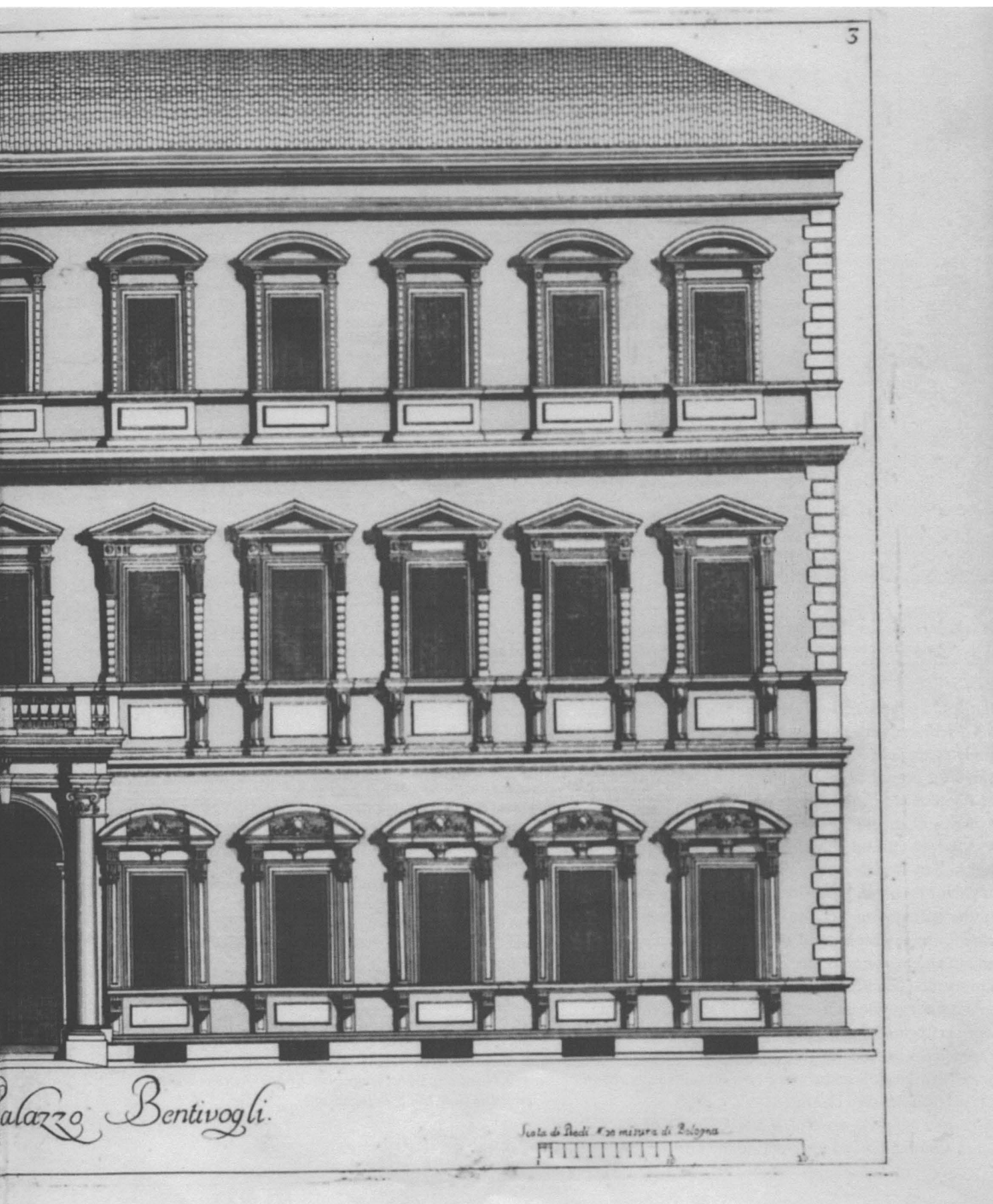
In the case of Palazzo Bentivoglio, which was altered by a nineteenth-century restoration, Landi's picture of the street facade is the only way to understand the original appearance of the palace. Despite its unified composition and "Roman" facade, unobscured by a portico, this imposing palace, built in 1551 most likely to Domenico Tibaldi's design, was in fact a condominium inhabited by three different but closely related Bentivoglio families. The facade is among the

most solemn in Bologna, with densely spaced, large, and uniform windows endowed with segmental and triangular pediments on alternating floors, which constitute a clear reference to the more famous Palazzo Farnese in Rome, then under construction.

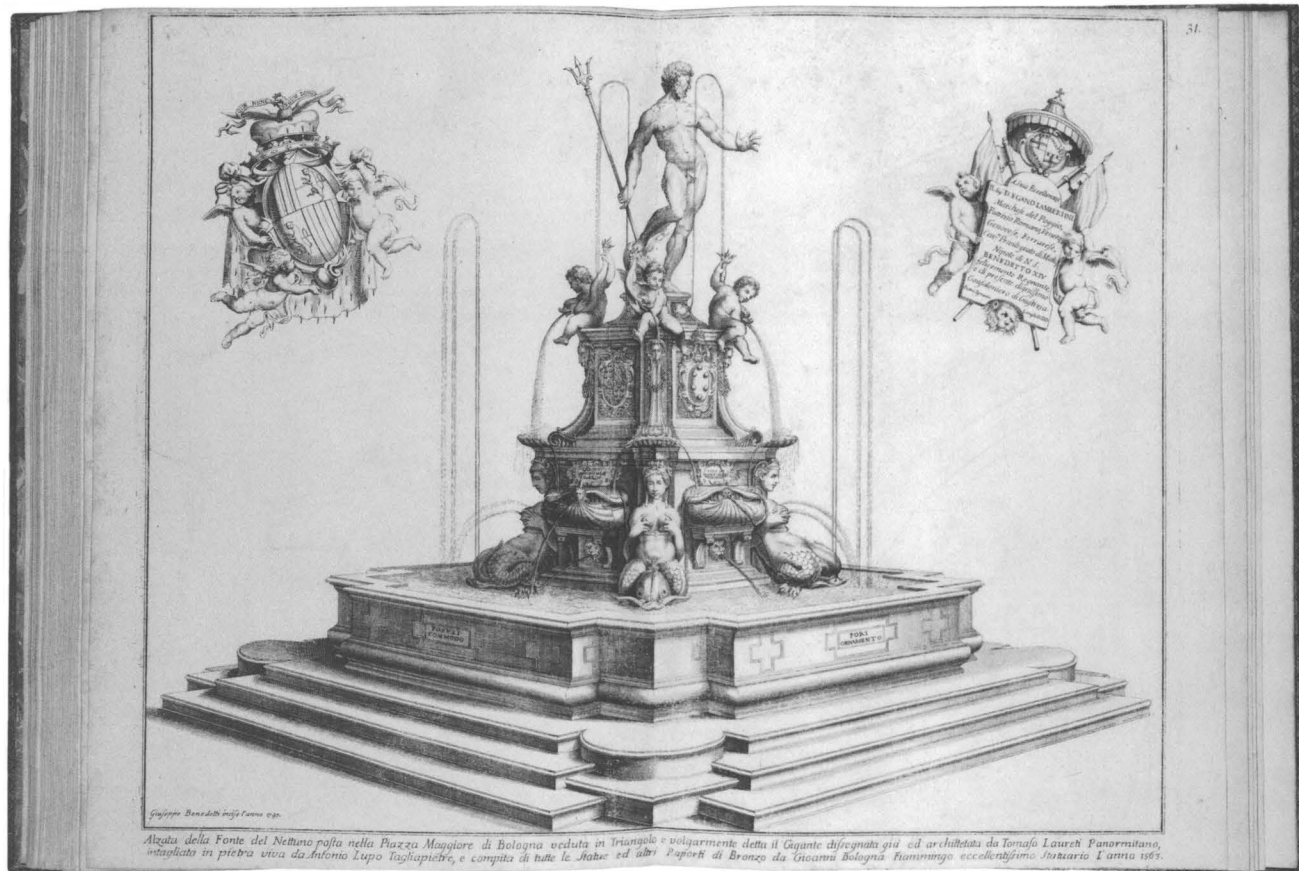
The rebuilding of Palazzo Malvezzi in 1559 was aided by the cooperation of the friars of San Giacomo, who ceded the family part of the square in front of their church. Although Landi attributes the palace to Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, who indeed had worked in Bologna between 1543 and 1550, this palace built later in the decade was designed by Bartolomeo Triacini. Because of its broad and densely spaced piers in the portico and the narrow street on which it is built, the palace is known as "the dark portico palace." Composed of three stories, like Palazzo Bentivoglio, this building subsumes the public passage within its composition, articulated with pilasters in the canonic sequence of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Although the windows are pedimented like those of Palazzo Bentivoglio, these are neither assertive nor vigorously molded.

The added plate by Domenico Bonavera of the staircase of Palazzo [Ruini-]Ranuzzi illustrates the piquant contrast between the solemn, ponderous palace facade and the delightful spatial surprises that awaited those





Giuseppe Antonio Landi. *Racolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e cortili*. Elevation of Palazzo Bentivoglio, Bologna. 1985.61.644



Giuseppe Antonio Landi. *Racolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e cortili*. Neptune fountain, Piazza Maggiore, Bologna. 1985.61.644

who could penetrate the palace portals. Descendants of a celebrated university lecturer in law, the Ruini family ascended to senatorial rank in 1584 and celebrated the event by building a new palace. Acquired by the Ranuzzi family in 1679, its staircase was remodeled in 1695 by Giovanni Battista Piacentini and completed by Giuseppe Antonio Torri. In the plan and section engraved by Bonavera, which was probably Landi's model for his plate, he omits the name of the architect, but the staircase marked the beginning of a veritable craze for scenographic and grand staircases in Bologna. Built in an environment pervaded by the influence of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's theatrical compositions, this curved staircase floats from the entry level to the main floor occupying its great hall, which provides a scenographic background. Its grandeur is made possible by the reliance of Bolognese architects on sail vaults suspended from trussed ceilings.

Landi's album is a useful, if late, example of the palace album intended to celebrate the aristocratic

residences of a single city (see Ferrerio, cat. 37), whose initial and widely emulated model was Peter Paul Rubens' *Palazzi di Genoa* (Antwerp, 1606; Millard, *Northern European Books*, 108).

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Giacomo Lauro (fl. 1583–1638)

54

Antiquae Urbis Splendor Hoc Est Præcipua
Eiusdem Templa Amphitheatra Theatra Circi
Navmachiæ Arcvs Trivmphales Mavsolea
Aliaqve Svmptuosiora Ædificia Pompæ Item
Trivmphalis Et Colossæarvm Imaginvm
Descriptio Opera & industria Iacobi Lauri
Romani in æs incisa atque in lucem edita.
Addita est brevis quædam et succin^cta
imaginum explicatio in qua Regum Consulvm
Imperatoru[m]q[ue] res gestæ et rei Romanæ
origo progressus incrementum, ac finis cu[m]
Almæ Urbis antiquor[um] ac modernor[um]
uestigior[um] additione utcunq[ue] hoc
insequenti anno 1630 reperiuntur, et ex
ueteru[m] ac recentior[um] historia[rum]
monumentis clare ostenditur

[Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1637]

1985.61.647

Oblong quarto: 224 × 326 (8¹³/₁₆ × 12¹³/₁₆)

Foliation [1] leaf, [167] etched and engraved plates

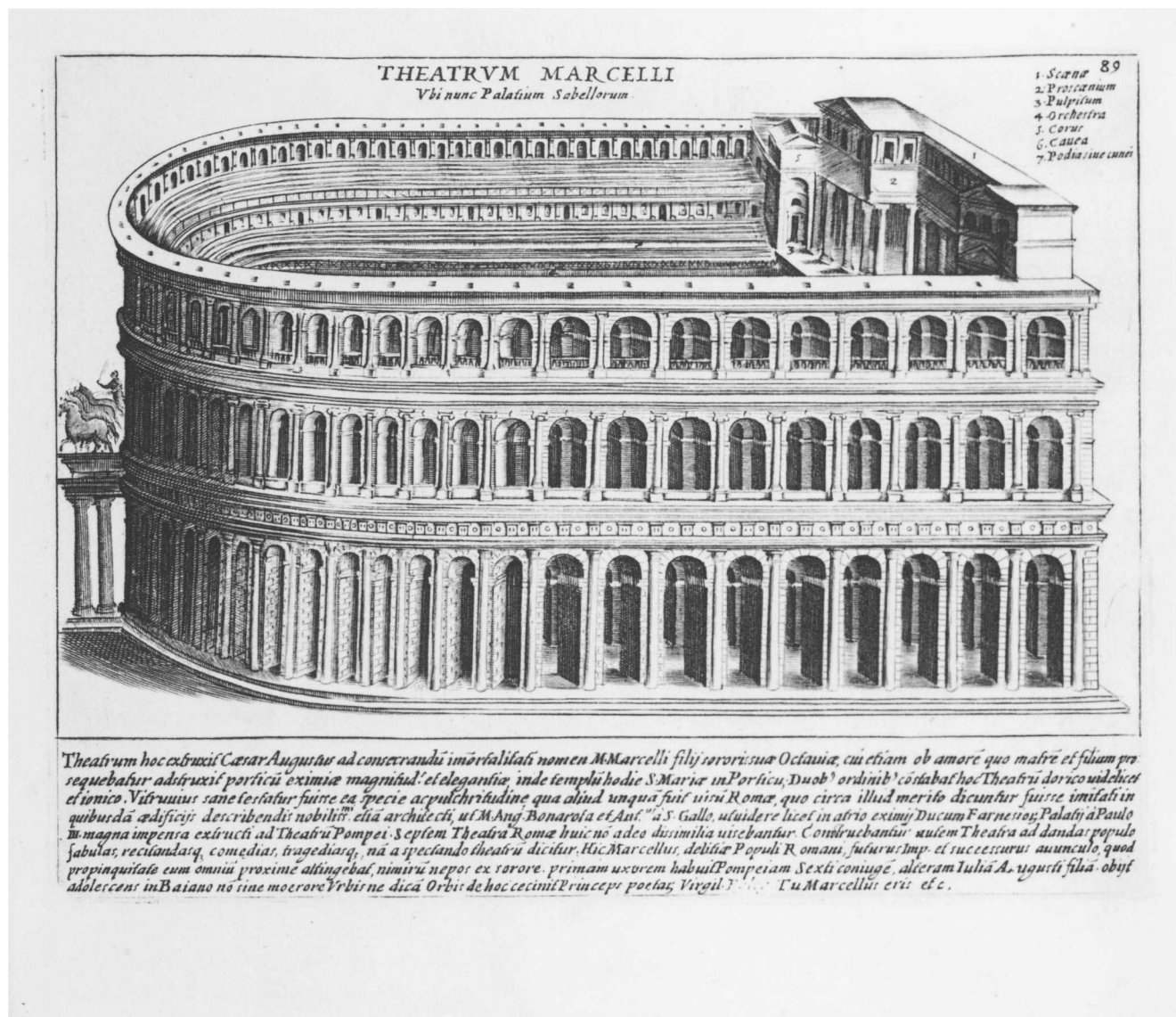
Edition Second edition, third issue (1st ed. in three books, Rome, 1612–1615; 2d ed. in four books, Rome 1628, 1630). The Millard copy corresponds to Ashby's edition F

Text folio [1] note to the reader in Italian by Giovanni Alto (i.e., Johann Gross), ending with imprint dated 1637 (verso blank)

Ornaments Woodcut initial on note to reader

Giacomo Lauro. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Plate 4. 1985.61.647





Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

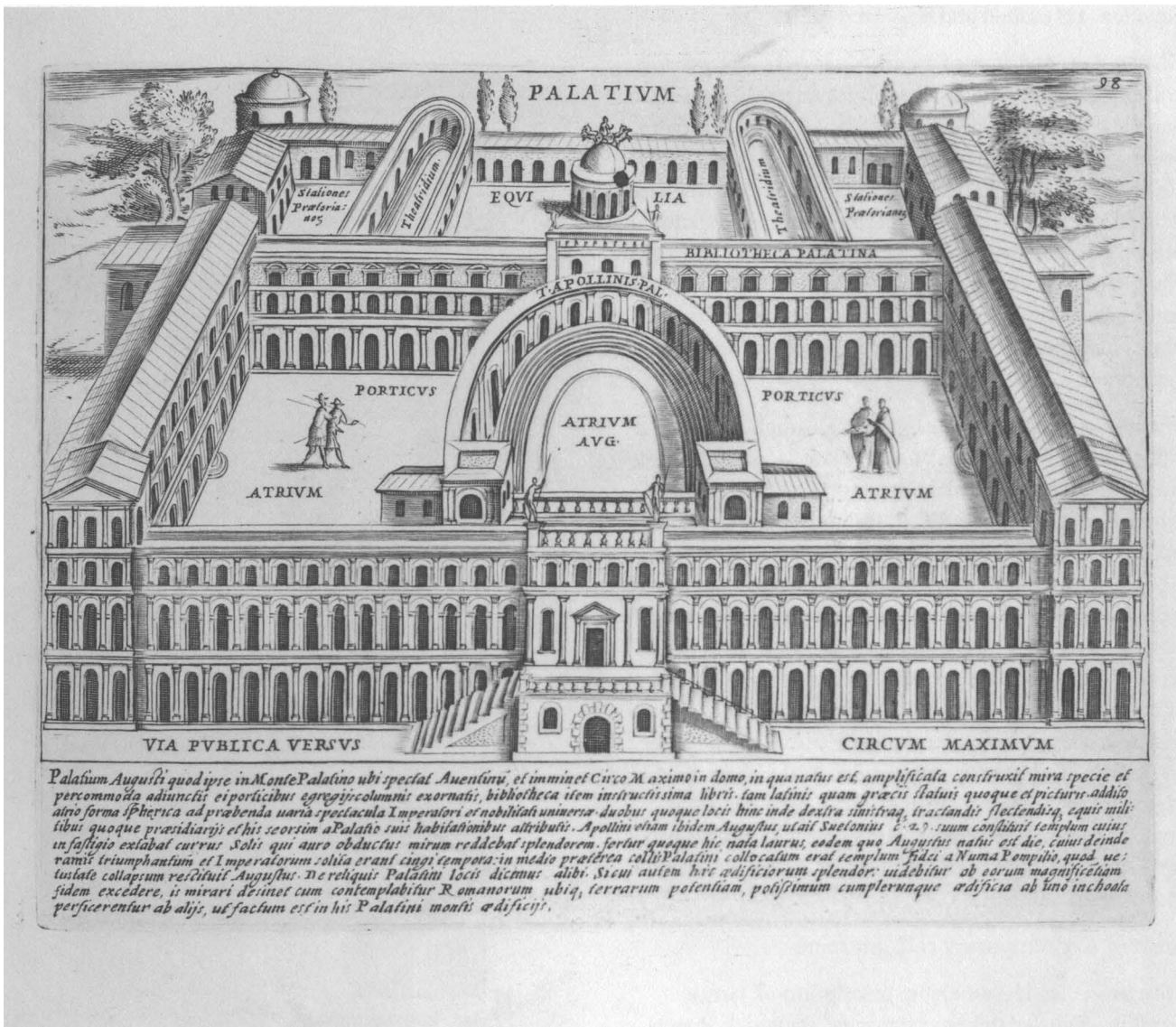
Book 1: plate 1 general title plate with decorative border, as above; unnumbered portrait of Urban VIII; plate 2 dedication by Lauro to Sigismund III, king of Poland; plate 3 dedication portrait of Sigismund III, signed by Lauro and dated 1609; plate 4 original title page of *Roma vetus*; plates 5–48 maps, plans, and scenes of ancient Rome, and reconstructions of temples

Book 2: plate 49 title plate to book II: “Antiquitatum Urbis Liber Secundus Eodem Auctore et Sculptore Iacobo Lavro. . . Romae Anno D[omi]ni MDCXIII,” with 8 Latin distichs in honor of Lauro signed by “Andreas Baianus Lustianus” and 8 Latin distichs on glories of Rome; plate 50 dedication by Lauro to Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, dated Rome 1613; plate 51 dedication portrait of Carlo Emanuele, signed by Lauro and dated 1613; plates 52–84 reconstructions of curiae, basilicas, triumphal arches, thermae, naumachia, palaces, and public buildings

Giacomo Lauro. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Plate 89. Reconstruction of the Theater of Marcellus. 1985.61.647

Book 3: plate 85 title plate with dedication to Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma: “Serenissimi Principis Ranviti Farnesii Parmae Et Placentiae Invictissimi Ducis Avspicio Antiquae Urbis Splendoris Co[m]plementu[m] . . . Iacobo Lavro Romano Auctore Et Sculptore Anno D[omi]ni MDCXV . . .,” with Ranuccio’s arms and personifications of Parma and Rome; plates 86–126 reconstructions of public buildings, mausolea, gardens, villas, barracks, and Varro’s aviary

Book 4: Plate 127 title plate with dedication to Maurizio, cardinal of Savoy: “Antiquae Urbis Vestigia Quae Nunc Extant Serenissimo Principi Mauricio a Sabaudia S.R.E. Cardinali. Iacobus Laurus Romanus DD. Romae cum Privilegio Su[m]mi Pontificis Superior[um] permissu 1628.” with Savoy arms and statuary; plates 128–166 views of extant ruins, pilgrim churches, and contemporary monuments; plate [167] list of plates in Italian.



Giacomo Lauro. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Plate 98. Reconstruction of the Palace of Augustus on Palatine Hill. 1985.61.647

With the exception of plate 166, all plates have lengthy captions in Latin; some plates also have labels and keys. In addition to the dedication portraits, the following plates are signed by Lauro: plate 130, dated 1624; plate 148, map of Rome, dated 1618; plate 149, elevation of Saint Peter's, dated 1626; plate 156, elevation of Santa Maria Maggiore, dated 1618; plate 160, dated 1622; plates 163 and 164, dated 1616

Binding Contemporary limp vellum, ties largely lacking, elaborate gilt borders and center panels, gilt edges. Extra illustrated with a duplicate pl. 58 plus three unnumbered plates bound between plates 156 and 157. They depict the facade of the church of the Madonna of Loreto (with caption in Italian), the Laocöon (with Latin text and etched border similar to that of the title plate of book 1), and a mythological scene (with Latin text)

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Thomas Ashby, "Un incisore antiquario del Seicento," *La bibliofilia* 28 (March 1927): 453–460; 29 (Dec. 1927): 356–369; Brunet 3: 881; Berlin Cat. 1858 (1612–1615 edition); Cicognara 3761; Fowler 169 (1612–1615 edition); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1780

55

Romanæ Magnitudinis Monvmenta Qvæ
Vrbem Illam Orbis Dominam Velut Redivivam
Exhibent Posteritati Vetervm Recentiorvmque
Qvotqvot Hac De Re Scripserunt Avthoritate
Probata Qvibvs Suffragantur Numismata . . .
Restitvta Et Avcta Cura . . .

Rome: Domenico de' Rossi, 1699

1985.61.648

Oblong folio: 273 × 418 (10¾ × 16½)

Foliation 138 etched and engraved plates

Edition Later edition of Lauro's *Antiquae urbis splendor*, and first edition with 16 new plates engraved by Pietro Santi Bartoli. This edition contains all the plates from books 1–3 and one plate from book 4 of Lauro's complete edition, first published in 1628, plus new title and dedication plates (the original title plates, dedication plates, portraits, and list of plates have been omitted). The plates have been renumbered accordingly, but with some plates appearing in a different sequence; many plates have been further retouched, several with altered captions

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. Plate 1 title plate in double-line border; plate 2 dedication by the publisher to Cardinal Girolamo Casanati ("Hieronymo Card. Casanatae S.R.E. Bibliothecario"); plate 3 preface, surrounded by 14 scenes from the history of Rome; plates 4–138 plates reprinted from *Antiquae urbis splendor* (cat. 54), along with the 16 new plates by Bartoli. These are: plates 48–55 (Roman temples), 64 (triumphal arches), 76–79 (triumphal arches), 92, 128, and 129. Captions to Bartoli's plates include de' Rossi's imprint. The title plate and 16 new plates are all signed by Bartoli as engraver ("Petrus Sancti Bartolus incidit"); plates 53–55 are based on Pietro da Cortona's reconstruction of the Temple of Fortuna at Praeneste and credit him as draftsman ("Ab Eqvite Petro Berrettino Cortonensi delineata")

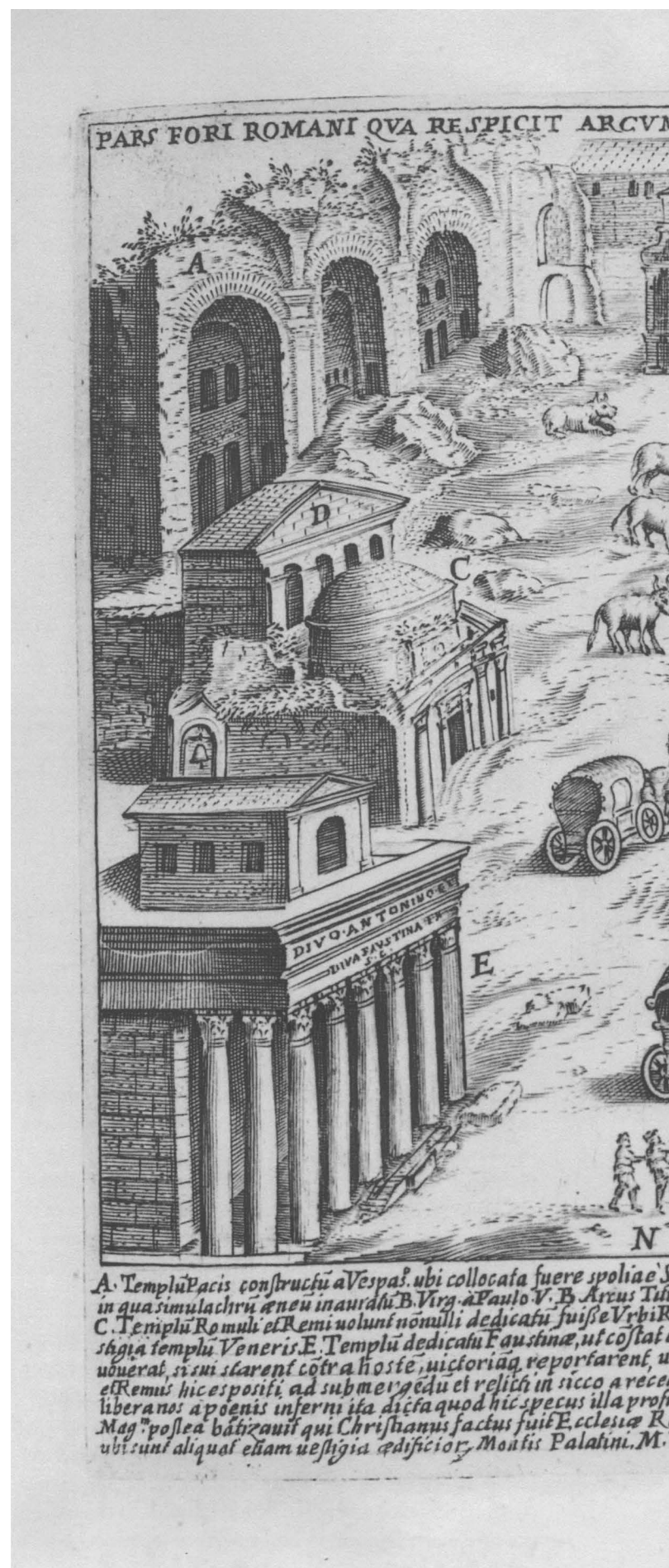
Binding Contemporary calf, gilt spine

Provenance Early ownership inscription of James Goding; slightly later inscription of Frederick Roach, Arreton, Isle of Wight

References Cicognara 3857; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1781

THESE TWO COLLECTIONS OF VIEWS OF Rome have a complicated publication history, and their author has a significant, but incompletely defined, position in the history of seventeenth-century Roman topographic illustration. The album published by Domenico de' Rossi as *Romanae magnitudinis monumenta* in 1699 is a later edition of Vitale Mascardi's 1637 *Antiquae urbis splendor*, parts of which were first issued in 1612. Like the better-known topographers Etienne Dupérac and Cornelis Cort, Giacomo Lauro was an engraver, printer, and antiquarian, and, like them, he worked mostly on his own. The first official reference to Lauro—as an engraver—is in 1583, and he wrote that he had started working on the *Antiquae urbis splendor*

Giacomo Lauro. *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Plate 136. View of the Roman Forum. 1985.61.647



TITI VESPASIANI VNACVM VESTIGIIS SEV MONVMENTIS TEMPLORVM HODIE
cernuntur nunc vocantur campus Vaccinus. 136



monis T. allata in triumphu a Tito Vesp. ex victoria a Iudaeis reportata. Vna ex huius templi colunis translata fuit ad S. Mariae maiore
ubi ab una parte excelsus cornitur ipse Titus in Curru triumphali, ab altera candelabru, et alia spolia e templo Salomonis
quod reperta ibi fuerit eade Vrbis insculpta in marmore asservatur apud Card. Farnesium. Iuxta templu Romuli videbitur ue-
ius inscriptione. F. Templu Iouis statoris a stando dictu quod Romania Sabinis in fuga uersi ibi resisterint: id enim Romulus Ioui
factu extat tres ex eo coluna. G. Templu Romuli sub Palat. ex C. Tacito ubi Ficus Ruminalis sub quo reperti fuere Romulus
se Tiberi qui hac tunc praeter fluebat seu potius stagnabat. nunc est templu S. Theodor sacru. H. Ecclesia S. Mariae
ubi S. Silvester rehgauit Dracone qui Vrbem pestifero suo flatu inficiebat, a quo libera idem Silvester Constantinum
primae libertati utilitati sumae et splendori. I. Ecclesia S. Mariae nouae et S. Francisci. L. Hortus Palatinus Farnesius
ligia Domus Ciceronis. N. Cloaca ubi erat lacus Curtius in que eques obarmatus ipse met Curtius se inissa pro salute patriae

dor in 1586. His first known engraving was published by Claude Duchet, nephew and heir of the publisher Antoine Lafrery (died 1575). Among Lauro's earlier works is a widely disseminated map of Christian Rome (1599) with the seven principal basilicas engraved after Antonio Tempesta. He also worked outside Rome, producing views of Assisi (1599), Tivoli (1607), and Malta (1638) (Ashby 1927).

In the 1630s Lauro published descriptions of several cities, all in oblong small folios. Many of these sheets are not original but taken from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg or from Lafrery. Lauro was also in contact with Matteo Florimi of Siena, who seems to have copied extensively, never actually originating a plan. Thirty-seven of Lauro's sheets were collected and published in 1639 with the title *Heroico splendore delle città del mondo di Iacomo Lauro Romano* (copy at Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome). This is clearly an omnibus title for the series of smaller publications and individual sheets that Lauro had published separately (Ashby 1929). Another contemporary bound copy of collected works by Lauro, dedicated by him to Cardinal Antonio Barberini in 1638, was passed on by the cardinal as a gift to Ridolfo Veccherlin in 1646 (now in London, British Library). This album contains Lauro's 1638 illustrations of Malta, followed by four views of Venice, fourteen sheets of Roman palace facades, twelve sheets of Roman churches, eighteen sheets of Roman statues, the Certosa at Pavia, the Escorial, the palace at Caprarola, and the plan of Orvieto.

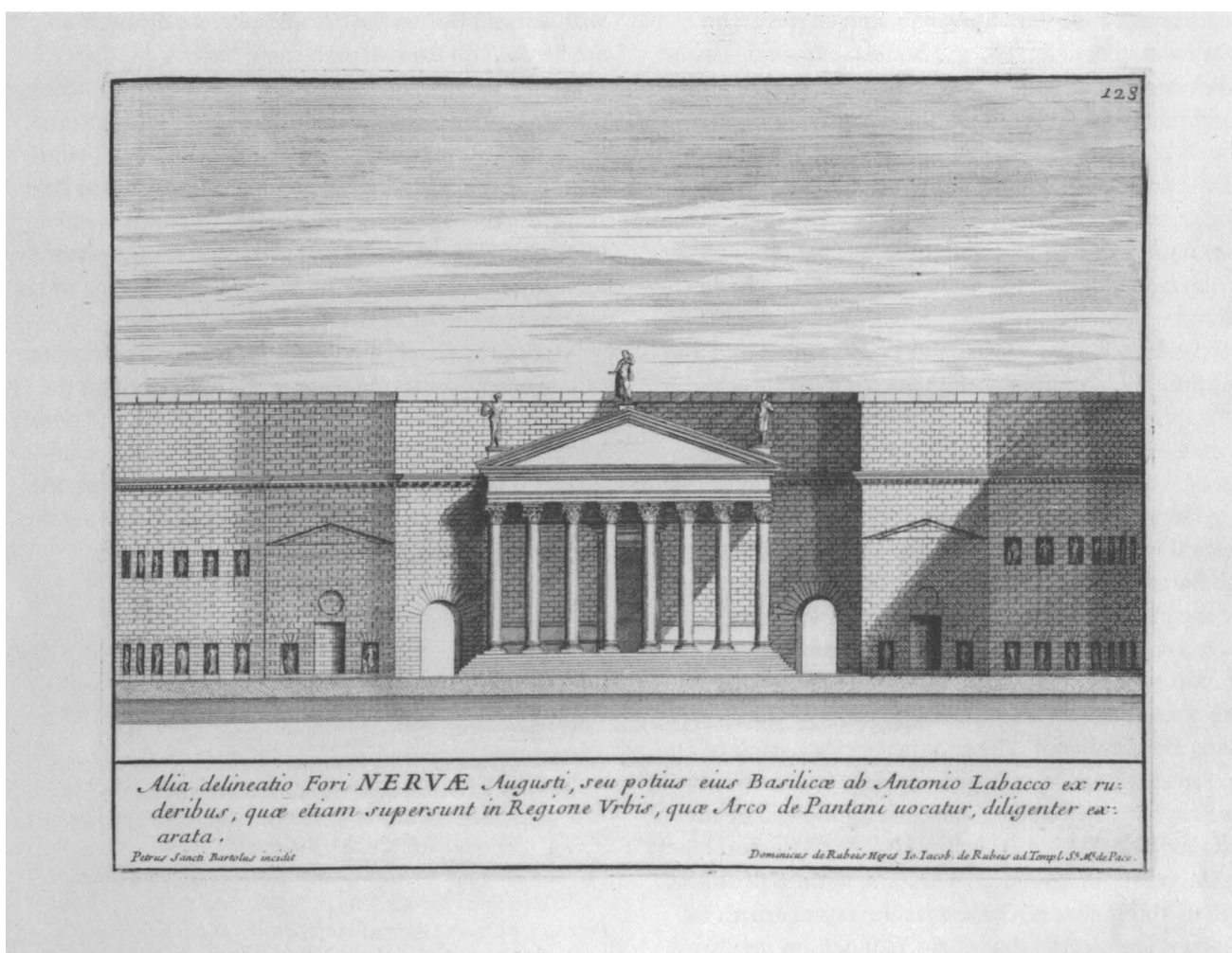
Lauro's contemporaries included prolific topographic artists such as Aloisio Giovannoli and Giovanni Maggi. Giovannoli's *Vedute degli antichi vestigij di Roma* (cat. 48) would have been in direct competition with Lauro's *Antiquae urbis splendor*, if the former were not more concerned with establishing a Christian claim on ancient Roman monuments, an interest that promoted the tenets of the Counter-Reformation. Giovanni Maggi's *Aedificorum et ruinarum Romae* (1618), an album of both modern and ancient Roman monuments, was in even more direct competition with Lauro's efforts. Maggi had earlier engraved the title page to Bartolomeo Rossi's *Ornamenti di fabbriche antichi e moderni dell'alma città di Roma* (1600) and a plan of Rome after Giovanni Paolo Ferrari (1608), and Maggi had published a collection of prints on Roman fountains (*Fontane di Roma*) in 1618. Thus Lauro's collection is consistent with contemporary publication practices, whose aim is to provide broad coverage of all aspects of Roman art and history.

The *Antiquae urbis splendor* was issued in three books, respectively published in 1612, 1613, and 1615. There were several other editions, in 1625, 1628 (enlarged with a fourth part), 1630, 1637, 1641, and 1699. An Italian title page was added in 1625 (Del Pesco 1984). The 1628 edition being the first complete one, Mas-

cardi's publication of 1637 can be considered the second edition, or the third if one takes into account the first issue of each of the first three parts. Lauro actively sought the patronage of people who could help him, and he received two grants for this publication, from Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, and from his son Maurizio, cardinal of Savoy, in 1614 and 1621–1625, respectively. The edition of 1641 was edited by Giovanni Alto, a Swiss papal guard closely connected with antiquarians and book dealers who eventually became a publisher. Alto claims to have expanded Lauro's no longer available book and to have rearranged it to suit northern readers. It is in Alto's edition that the Latin captions are translated into French, German, and Italian and printed on the verso of each plate, and an Italian title page (*Splendore dell'antica e moderna Roma*) is added. (Thomas Ashby considers only the 1699 edition by Domenico de' Rossi posthumous, unaware of the 1641 edition, or indeed of the fourth part of the *Antiquae urbis splendor*, considering the British Library copy with its 133 plates as the most complete.)

In the edition published by Mascardi, the plates that are signed all carry Lauro's signature. Lauro's engravings, organized typologically, illustrated the most prestigious buildings of ancient and modern Rome. Among the numerous plates are illustrations of ancient Roman rituals, ancient Roman buildings erected during the empire, sixteenth-century buildings, and views of surrounding towns such as Frascati. The subdivision of the volume is linked to the dedication of each part to individual sovereigns and princes. Thus part 1 is dedicated to Sigismund III, king of Poland, part 2 to Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, part 3 to Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma, and part 4 to Maurizio, cardinal of Savoy. Each of the dedicatory part-title pages is followed by the portrait of the dedicatee. The plates are preceded by the Latin title page, *Roma vetus et nova*.

The *Antiquae urbis splendor* is distinguished from previous publications fashionable in sixteenth-century Rome—which turned the city into a series of melancholy *vedute* of ruins—by Lauro's decision to illustrate reconstructions of the ruins of Rome (in the first three parts). In part 1, Lauro illustrates Roman monuments as well as Roman history and institutions. Thus the plan of Rome and the map of the Roman Empire are offered, as well as illustrations of Roman triumphs (documented earlier in a book by Onofrio Panvinio, cat. 73), military insignia, orders of the imperial army, the honorific wreaths of the empire, a description of Roman matrimony and its ceremonials, accompanied by illustrations of fifteen temples. In part 2, Lauro focuses on secular Roman buildings such as the curia, the basilicas, baths, and circuses, but also triumphal arches. In part 3, Lauro returns to Roman customs, such as funerals and games, burial sites, and gardens.



Giacomo Lauro. *Romanae Magnitudinis Monumenta*. Plate 128. Reconstruction of the Forum Nerva. 1985.61.648

The fourth part provides a gallery of pictures that show contemporary Rome dominated by ruins, such as the Antonine baths, or rehabilitated ruins, such as the mausoleum of Hadrian transformed into the fortress of the Vatican and the theater of Marcellus turned into a palace. In this part, Lauro also includes prints of recent and contemporary buildings, such as the new Saint Peter's, the Belvedere court, the Quirinal palace, and the most recently built fountain, the Acqua Paola.

Lauro's sources were Vitruvius and other ancient Roman writers, Renaissance humanists, including Flavio Biondo, Carlo Sigonio, and Guillaume du Choul, topographers such as Guido Panciroli, Panvinio, and Bartolomeo Marliani, and numismatists such as Andrea Fulvio and Andrea Alciati, but his own list of cited authors is much longer. His use of antiquity was similar to that proposed by intellectuals around Urban VIII at the beginning of his papacy, promoting a relationship to the city of Rome that was both complex and focused. Historical research went hand in hand with pure fantasy in the reconstruction of ancient Rome, complicated

further by a freedom in the interpretive restoration of ancient monuments that often changed the structural and spatial sense of the original (Del Pesco 1984). But Lauro's images insert themselves into a continuum of architectural design. His reconstruction of the Aviarum, for example, an oval space surrounded by porticoes modeled on Pirro Ligorio's reconstruction, influenced Gian Lorenzo Bernini's design for Saint Peter's; Francesco Borromini used Lauro's descriptions of the house of Nero, together with Vincenzo Scamozzi's and Andrea Fulvio's, for his design for the Villa Pamphili. Lauro's design for Nero's palace may have been a source for Pietro da Cortona's project for the Louvre's east facade (they had collaborated in 1634 on a plan of the architect's hometown; Del Pesco 1984), and an inspiration for the ducal Villa Valentino in Turin.

For the 1699 edition the illustrations were recut by Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635–1700), an artist from Perugia, who was the antiquary of the pope, of Queen Christina of Sweden, and of the Roman senate and who had a long career as a graphic artist. He made a valuable contribution to the illustration of Rome's monuments by his large output and by preserving the elegance and purity of ancient character in his work. A disciple of the French painter Nicolas Poussin, Santi Bartoli

practiced as a painter, draftsman, and engraver; his work was effortless, fast, and honest. His single largest work consists of the 128 sheets he made of the sculptural reliefs on Trajan's column; he also engraved 110 sheets of ancient Roman and Etruscan tombs, 78 sheets of the column of Marcus Aurelius, and illustrated books, such as Bonanni's *Numismata pontificorum* (1696; cat. 21) and Domenico de' Rossi's *Studio d'architettura civile* (1702; cat. 110). His work after modern painters includes numerous engravings of Giulio Romano's decorations for the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua and for the Sala di Costantino at the Vatican, forty-three sheets of Raphael's decorations for the Vatican *loggie*, and eight sheets of Polidoro da Caravaggio's facade paintings for Roman houses.

The 1699 edition differs from the 1641 edition in several ways. The name of Lauro does not appear at all. Bartoli's is the only signature that appears on some of the plates. The illustrations of contemporary Rome have also been deleted. Each plate consists of an illustration and the text placed below it, both engraved in the plate. The text is in Latin, and most of the illustrations are numbered. The frontispiece by Bartoli of an architectural space and Fame holding a coat of arms is dedicated to Cardinal Casanate. It is followed by the original title page of *Roma vetus*, with a large text block at the center surrounded by representations of Roman rituals and practices. Otherwise the arrangement of plates is identical to that of the 1641 edition published by Giovanni Alto. The 138 plates are entirely concerned

with ancient Rome. Specifically, plates 4 through 20 are focused on Roman prehistory, history, military practices, and ceremonies. Plate 20 is a map of Rome; plates 21 to 138 illustrate the buildings of pagan Rome arranged typologically. Thus plates 27 through 55 illustrate temples, including the temple of Fortune in Palestrina as reconstructed by Pietro da Cortona; plates 70 to 79 illustrate the triumphal arches of Rome; plates 81 to 90 are illustrations of the baths; and plates 108 to 121 are illustrations of houses, palaces, and villas.

Reprinted numerous times, Lauro's reconstruction of ancient Rome found a broad public. Although the prints in the earlier edition are rather coarse and poorly inked on cheap paper, what the collection lacked in quality it made up amply in its lavish copiousness. Its persuasiveness was based in rhetorically conveying the richness of Rome and its architectural heritage.

Bibliography

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Domenico Magnan (1731–1796)

56

La Ville De Rome ou Description Abregée De Cette Superbe Ville, Divisée En Quatre Volumes Et ornée de 425 planches en taille douce. Tome I [–IV]

Rome: printed by Arcangelo Casaletti for Venanzio Monaldini, Bouchard and Gravier, and Gregorio Settari, 1778

1985.61.2514–2515

Folio: 440 × 285 (17³/₈ × 11¹/₄)

Foliation Vol. 1: [ii], [16] leaves, [45] etched and engraved plates (2 folding)

Vol. 2: [i], [5] leaves, [78] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 3: [ii], [16] leaves, [35] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 4: [ii], [24] leaves, [43] etched and engraved plates (1 folding)

Edition First edition

Text vol. 1: folios [i] title page (verso blank); [ii] dedication by Magnan to Cardinal Giovanni Battista Rezzonico; [1–15] text, printed in two columns, numbered 1–64; [16] recto, list of plates, printed in two columns, numbered 65–66; [16] verso, contents, printed in two columns, numbered 67–68, ending with imprimaturs; vol. 2: folios [i] title page (verso blank); [1–4] text, printed in two columns, numbered 1–16; [5] list of plates, ending with contents; vol. 3: folios [i] blank, original leaf; [ii] title page (verso blank); [1–15] text, printed in two columns, numbered 1–60; [16] recto, list of plates; [16] verso, contents, ending with imprimaturs; vol. 4: folios [i] blank, original leaf; [ii] title page (verso blank); [1–21] text, printed in two columns, numbered 1–84; [22–24] list of plates, contents, and general index to vols. 1–4, printed in two columns numbered 85–96, ending with imprimaturs and approbation, dated Rome, 20 April 1778

Ornaments Title for each volume printed within etched ornamental border with etched vignette; etched armorial headpiece on dedication, signed “G. Perini”; wood engraved tailpieces, initials; typographic foliated initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. With the exception of the second series of plates in vol. 2, most

plates are numbered in manuscript over the original etched number. On several plates, the etched number is partially visible

Vol. 1: 92 unnumbered plates on 45 leaves (1 leaf with 4 images; 7 leaves with 3 images each; 30 leaves with 2 etchings each; 5 full-page plates; 2 folding plates); captions in Latin. Plate [65] signed by Angelo Campanella as engraver (“Ang. Campanella inc.”), remainder unsigned

Vol. 2: 156 plates on 78 leaves, comprising 10 unnumbered plates and 146 plates numbered 1–146 (all leaves with 2 etchings each); captions in Latin

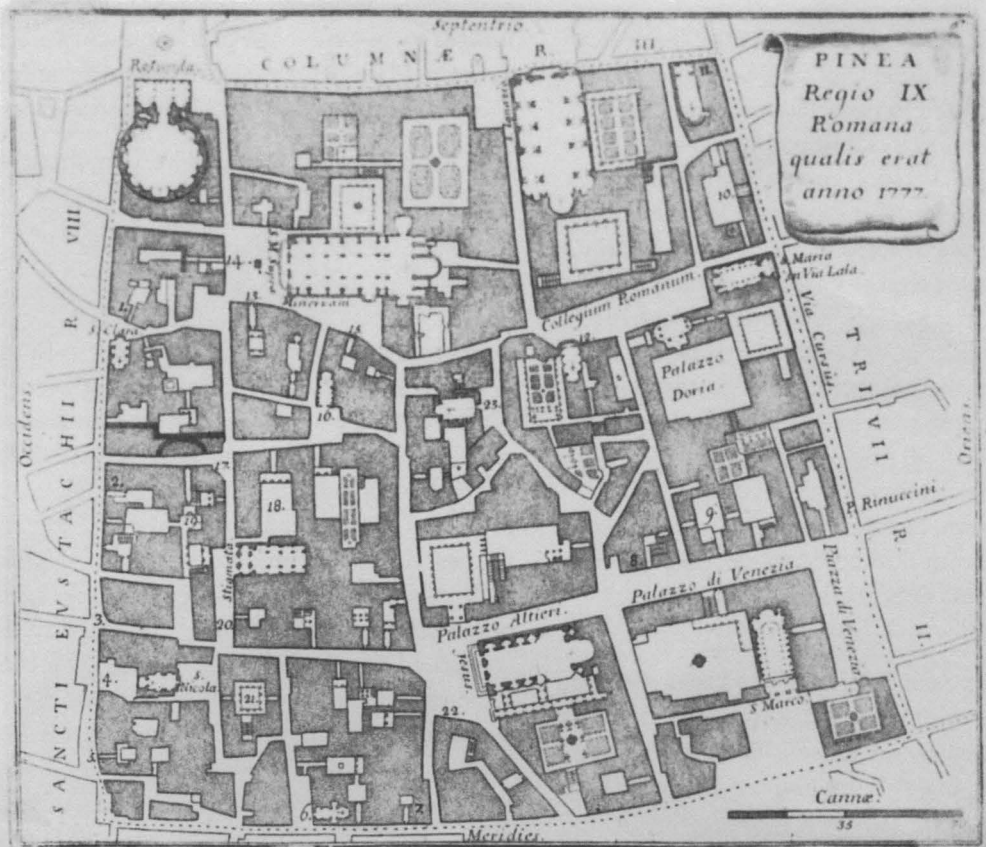
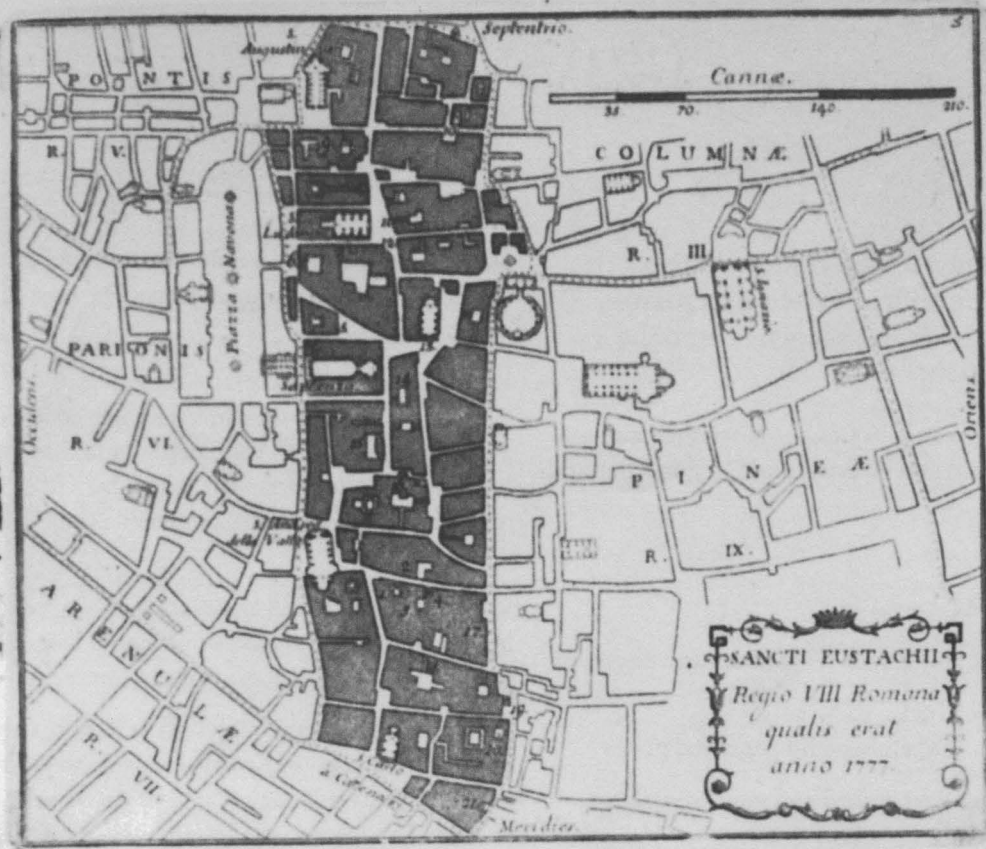
Vol. 3: 74 unnumbered plates on 35 leaves (1 leaf with 4 images; 3 leaves with 3 images each; 30 leaves with 2 images each; 1 full-page plate); captions in Latin. Plate 67 signed by Domenico Pronti as engraver (“Dom. Pronti Fec.”), remainder unsigned

Vol. 4: 99 unnumbered plates on 43 leaves (1 leaf with 4 images; 14 leaves with 3 images each; 25 leaves with 2 images each; 2 full-page plates; 1 folding plate); captions in Latin. Plate 15 signed by Giovanni Serafino as engraver (“Serafino Giovanni fece”), remainder unsigned

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Modern brown pebbled cloth, green labels. Uncut

References Berlin Cat. 1900; Schudt 362

THIS FOUR-VOLUME, FOLIO GUIDE TO Rome is illustrated with 421 figures varying widely in quality, origin, and subject matter. Grouped by typology, many of the objects are also provided with a source, normally from another antiquarian. The plates illustrate low-relief sculpture, fragments of sculptural detail, statues, coins, instruments for rites of sacrifice, and buildings. The accompanying text is arranged in numbered columns, two per page. Although stylistically composed as a guidebook, the book is far too bulky to be carried along on sightseeing tours. Thus the result is a monumental collection of images, intended to be studied in a private library. In the later edition of 1783, this large format was reduced to pocketbook size, implying that greater practical use for Magnan’s publication was envisioned. The publication is dedicated



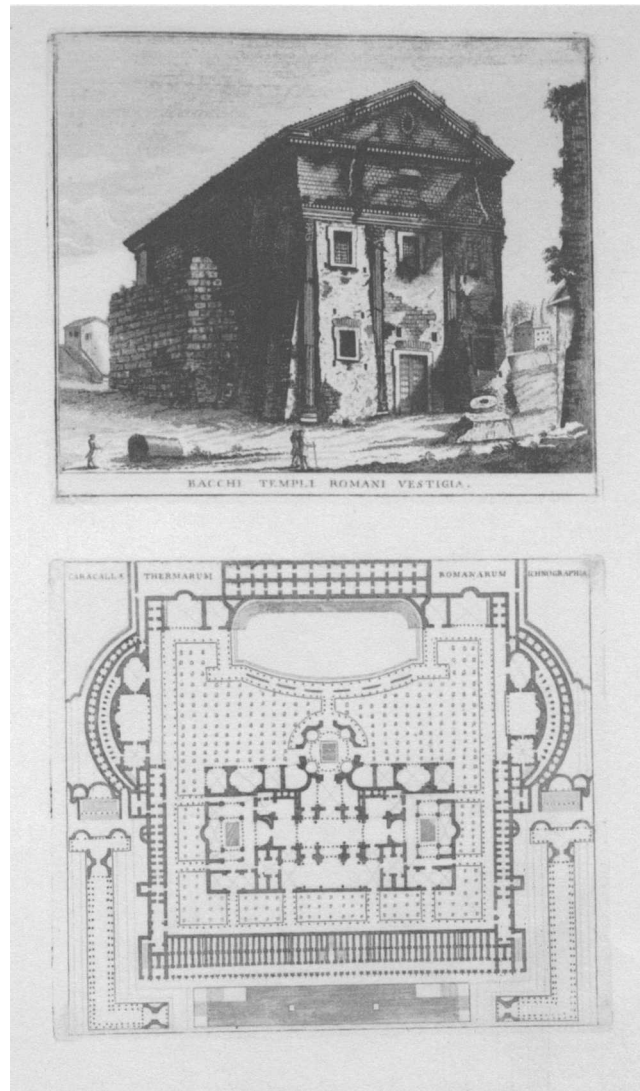
by the author, a member of the Minims order, to Cardinal Giovanni Battista Rezzonico.

The overarching organization of the guidebook is by *rioni*, illustrating the most distinguished buildings and statuary in the fourteen areas of Rome. Each part is preceded by a plan of the *rione* described; the overall plan of Rome (dated 1777) is the first plate in the book. The fourteen *rioni* are referred to as they were renamed and traced by order of Pope Benedict xiv in 1744. Expecting a cultured readership, the author's stated intention is to instruct visitors in the consideration of Rome's public appearance and her substantive beauty, rather than to offer a survey of the history and customs of the ancient and modern city already familiar to them.

The organization of the book by *rioni* allows for a detailed listing and focused evaluation of the principal buildings and ruins and of their carved contents. The *rioni* plans of Rome, as well as the overall city plan, are derived from Giambattista Nolli's figure-ground plan of the city published in 1748 (see cat. 64). Like most of the illustrations of buildings and sculpture, these are shown two per sheet, centered and framed on the page, with sizable margins. Numbered, scaled, and captioned, the illustrations are not signed by an engraver nor credited to a draftsman. Most of the buildings are illustrated in view, with some also shown in plan. This structural approach to the city, which obliges Magnan to consider the relationship of buildings of various age to one another, has recently been taken up systematically by a team of historians. Their modern *rioni* guide constitutes an invaluable resource for understanding Rome's complex topography and confirms the validity of Magnan's work.

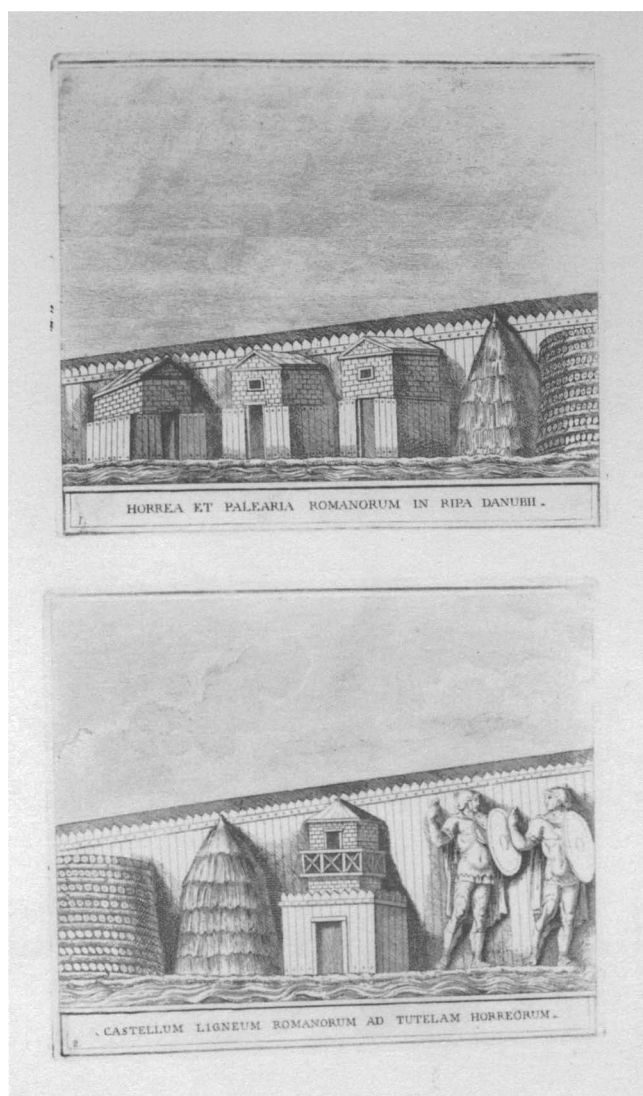
The arrangement of the guidebook by *rioni* offers a view of Rome through its traditional neighborhoods. In the first volume, the Monti and Trevi areas are described and illustrated. They encompass the vast area in the southeastern part of Rome stretching from the Palazzo Barberini to San Giovanni in Laterano. Other monuments include the baths of Diocletian and the basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and San Lorenzo. The illustrations of the churches are followed by private residential buildings, with inordinate emphasis given to Villa Albani, which is extensively illustrated together with an exhaustive inventory of its celebrated collection of ancient sculpture. The second volume is ostensibly devoted to the *rione* Colonna but, with the exception of the first six plates (*rione* plan, the Montecitorio palace, and the square of the Antonine column), the entire volume is given over to the Antonine reliefs that decorate the colossal column.

Domenico Magnan. *La ville de Rome*. Plates 5 and 6. Plans of the Sant' Eustachio and Pigna districts. 1985.61.2515



Domenico Magnan. *La ville de Rome*. Plates 17 and 18. View of the Temple of Bacchus and plan of the baths of Caracalla. 1985.61.2515

In sharp contrast, the third volume describes six *rioni* (Campo Marzio, Ponte, Parione, Regola, Sant' Eustachio, and Pigna), which contain numerous distinguished buildings. The mausoleum of Augustus, the theater of Pompei, the Pantheon, and Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona are illustrated with a plan as well as a view. Ancient Roman buildings are followed by Christian churches, private palaces, and villas. This volume concludes with a description of the collections of ancient and modern sculpture at the Farnese palace and at the Borghese villa. In the fourth volume, Magnan covers *rioni* 10–14 (Campitelli, Sant'Angelo, Ripa, Trastevere, and Borgo). This territory encompasses the southwestern part of Rome, from the Colosseum and the baths of Caracalla to Hadrian's tomb and Saint Peter's church. With the exception of the Palazzo Corsini there are no secular private buildings illustrated in this volume, which is dominated by churches and



Domenico Magnan. *La ville de Rome*. Details from the bas-relief decoration of the column of Marcus Aurelius ("Antonine" column). 1985. 61.2514

by the papal sculpture collection at the Vatican and elsewhere.

Slightly more than half of all the plates in *Ville de Rome* illustrate carved marbles, statues, low reliefs, and other sculptural artifacts. The Albani sculpture collection is elaborately illustrated in thirty-six plates of the first volume. An even greater emphasis on sculpture is evident in the second volume, where the low reliefs of the Antonine column occupy 144 plates. Of the plates in the third volume, twenty-six are dedicated to illustrations of sculpture in the Farnese and Borghese collections. In the fourth volume, similarly to the previous three, the main interest of the author is in collections of sculpture. Thus thirty-seven plates are devoted to statues in the papal collection at the Vatican, reliefs from the arch of Constantine, and reliefs preserved in buildings on the Capitoline Hill.

Like Jean Barbault's views of Rome published by Giovanni Bouchard and Jean Gravier, this book may have been sponsored by them to compete with the vast production of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. A member of the French order of the Minims, Magnan appears to have taken advantage of his publishers' willingness to issue illustrated books of Rome. His titles repackaged essentially the same collections of images, in a series of self-plagiarisms that include separate publications on the Antonine column reliefs and sculpture collections held in various Roman palaces, both initially or eventually contained within *Ville de Rome*.

Besides his interest in ancient sculpture, Magnan is especially partial to Roman architecture. For instance, he considers the facade of San Giovanni in Laterano one of the most beautiful in Rome and the Corsini chapel within the church as one of the most beautiful family chapels. Both were designed by Alessandro Galilei (1732–1735), who won the competition for the construction of the facade sponsored by Clement XII. The pope also transferred the famed porphyry sarcophagus from the Pantheon to the family chapel for his own mausoleum.

Magnan provides interesting and witty commentary about works of art, though not necessarily new information. About Michelangelo's *Moses*, prepared for the tomb of Julius II, Magnan opines that the prophet's beard is too large, giving him, inappropriately, the air of a river god. His disparate entries on the various obelisks would be useful in establishing the historical origin and peregrinations of these immense granite monoliths. He refers appreciatively to the scientific work of Francesco Bianchini (see cat. 20) carried out earlier in the eighteenth century at Santa Maria degli Angeli.

The small engravings and stamp-size illustrations of the buildings, ruins, and treasures of Rome belong in the tradition of images established earlier in the eighteenth century through the guidebooks of Pietro Rossini (see cat. 117), for example, whose success showed the continued popularity and commercial viability of modest visual material linked with an accurate and erudite text.

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Giacomo Marcucci (fl. 1625)

57

Le Cose Maravigliose Dell'Alma Citta Di Roma dove si tratta delle Chiese, Stationi Relique et Corpi Santi Con la Guida Romana. I Nomi de Sommi Pontefici, Imperatori, et altri Principi Christiani, con le Prencipal Poste d'Italia. Di nouo corrette ampliate et ornate di bellissime Figure di Rame

Rome: printed by Lodovico "Grgniani" (i.e., Grignani) for Giacomo Marcucci, 1625

1985.61.2520

Octavo: 153 × 104 (6 × 4¹/₁₆)

Pagination 143, [1] pp., etched title plate

Edition First edition of Marcucci's *Le cose maravigliose*, including a late edition of Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma*

Text pp. 1–75 text and illustrations, *Le cose maravigliose*; [76]–92 chronological list of popes; 93–95 chronological list of Roman emperors; [96] chronological list of kings of France; [97] divisional title page, "L'Antichità Di Roma, Di M. Andrea Paladio [sic]. Raccolta brevemente da gli Autori antichi, & moderni. Aggiuntoui un Discorso sopra li fuochi de gli Antichi. In Roma, Appresso Lodovico Grignani. MDCXXV. Con licenza de' Superiori"; 98–143 text and illustrations, *L'antichità*; [144] list of principal Italian cities with antiquities

Ornaments Typographic border and ornament on divisional title page; typographic head- and tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched title plate for *Le cose maravigliose* with title and dedication to Francesco Guasco inscribed in architectural setting with figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul headed "Anno Givbileo MDCXXV," with "Iacomo Crulli de Marchucci Vmilissimo Seruo Dedicat" at foot; 16 unnumbered half-page engraved plates within text of *Le cose maravigliose*; 12 unnumbered half-page engraved plates within text of *L'antichità di Roma*

Binding Contemporary vellum; early manuscript title on spine. Bound (1) with the author's *Grandezze della Città di Roma*, Rome, 1628 (cat. 58)

Provenance Etched armorial bookplate of "Ioannes Paulus L.B. de Boul Dñus / in Wischenau S.C.R.A.M. Coms: aul: / Insig: Ord: S. Stephani Rig: Apost: Eques"

58

Grandezze Della Citta Di Roma Antiche & Moderne come al presente si ritrou[ano] Di Nvovo Ristampato in quattro linguaggi Latino Volgare Francese Tedesco . . .

Rome: printed by Giacomo Mascardi for Giacomo Marcucci, 1628

1985.61.2520

Octavo: 153 × 104 (6 × 4¹/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], 169, [1] pp., etched title plate

Edition Second edition

Text pp. [i–ii] dedication by Marcucci to Tomasso Rossi, dated Rome, 1 April 1628; [iii–iv], 1–169 text (principal text in French and Italian, with brief captions in Latin and German) and illustrations; [170] blank

Ornaments Typographic tailpieces, fleurons; woodcut initials

Illustrations Title plate with architectural border bearing images of Roman monuments, Minerva seated at top, and view of Saint Peter's and Hadrian's mausoleum in background; 55 unnumbered half-page engraved plates throughout text. The illustrations include all twelve engraved plates from Marcucci's edition of Andrea Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma*, and the engraving of Saint Peter's from Marcucci's *Le cose maravigliose di Roma*, published together, Rome, 1625 (cat. 57)

Binding Bound (2) after the author's *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, Rome, 1625 (cat. 57)

References Schudt 406

GIACOMO MARCUCCI'S BOOK is among the smaller Jubilee Year guides to Rome, a large and complex group of publications extensively examined and classified by Ludwig Schudt (1930), who merely lists Marcucci's without commentary. Bordering on plagiarism, Marcucci's work follows Girolamo Franzini's *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, which was published in numerous editions in the last third of the sixteenth century, in Rome and in Venice. *Le cose maravigliose*, first published in 1541 in Venice, was the



Giacomo Marcucci. *Grandezze della Città di Roma*. Title page. 1985.61.2520

Italian translation of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, the popular medieval pilgrims' guides, which had, however, concentrated on Roman rather than Christian antiquities. Thus the new Christian guides to the churches of the city seem to have appropriated the popular Latin title. The *Mirabilia urbis* format of the guide was enlarged and expanded throughout the sixteenth century with additional texts. Andrea Palladio's *Descrittione de le chiese* first appeared in 1554 (though his *Antichità di Roma* of the same date was even more popular), and his novel evaluation of the architecture of churches offered a new model followed in the next twenty years. A Latin and Italian guide to the seven basilicas of Rome was published by Onofrio Panvinio in 1570, who also revised the index of popes inserted at the end of the pilgrims' guide (see cat. 73). Other agglutinations to the *Cose maravigliose* included Pirro Ligorio's *Delle antichità di Roma* of 1553, and Oratio Toscanelli's *I nomi antichi e moderni*, first published in 1567.

Marcucci's guide, composed of his own two titles and Palladio's *Antichità di Roma*, offers a thoroughly reliable vade mecum for the Jubilee Year of 1625. The



Giacomo Marcucci. *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*. Title page. 1985.61.2520

Cose maravigliose is in effect an inventory of Roman churches, listing about 156 institutions, with a range of detail from one line to several pages of text closely focused on the treasury of reliquaries in each church. The description of the churches is followed by the Christian calendar, listing the stations to be visited by month, day, and church. The description of churches is organized hierarchically and topographically. First come the seven principal basilicas, then churches in Trastevere and the Vatican *borgo*, and finally additional churches in the city proper.

Le cose maravigliose includes a section devoted to a three-day visit of the antiquities of Rome. The first day is the most demanding since it ranges from Castel Sant' Angelo and the sculpture court in the Belvedere villa at the Vatican to the baths of Caracalla. The second day takes the visitor from the baths of Diocletian to the Colosseum and through the Roman and imperial fora to the theater of Pompei. On the third day the visitor savors Trajan's column, the Pantheon, and other ruins nearby. Woven into the discussion of antiquities are brief references to modern buildings, such as Casa

Millesi with its famous painted facade by Polidoro da Caravaggio. The guide concludes with a chronological index of popes, Roman kings and emperors, and kings of France (from 420 to Louis XIII). The typographical appearance of the guide is unambitious, though graced somewhat by small and hasty illustrations of church facades.

Marcucci's title page is flanked by Saints Peter and Paul set into a pedimented frame. Behind them is a view of the pope ceremonially opening the Porta Santa of Saint Peter's basilica, an event that signaled the beginning of the Jubilee Year. The guide is dedicated to Francesco Guasco, a canon of Saint Peter's. Marcucci offers extensive architectural details of the churches he describes in a manner that distinguishes his publication from the standard pilgrim's guide and points the way toward the artistic guides published after 1630, Giovanni Baglione's *Nove chiese di Roma* of 1639 being the first guide intent on recognizing and describing the artistic contents of Roman churches.

Marcucci illustrates his image of Rome as comprised of separate parts which can also be read as a series of individual interventions that offer aesthetic content. Thus at the fountain in front of San Giovanni in Laterano he notices that the falling water forms an eagle and a dragon, the coat of arms of Pope Paul V, while the fountain placed by the same pope in Saint Peter's square forms a constant rain. Indeed, Paul V's interest in fountains is documented throughout, with mention of his Acqua Paola and the fountain in front of San Pietro in Montorio.

Like many guides, Marcucci loves to count. Thus he tells us that there are twenty popes buried at the Lateran, that Santa Prassede is the burial site of 2,300 martyrs, and that Santa Pudenziana contains the blood of 3,000 martyrs. In addition to the long lists of relics, told individually rather than as numbers, important objects include the 114 columns of San Paolo fuori le Mura and the 128 steps of the Aracoeli, built of marble taken from the temple of Quirinus. There is, however, no attempt by Marcucci to analyze his large statistical sample in order to offer a coherent statement about the churches of Rome.

The *Grandezze di Roma* (a second edition in the Millard copy) has captions in Latin, Italian, French, and German and claims to be an expansion of the bilingual Italian-Latin edition published by Marcucci in the preceding holy year (1625). Each opening contains a half-page plate (many derived from Giovanni Antonio Dosio; see cat. 34) with descriptive text below it and a page of text beside it. The French and Italian descriptions—fitted on the facing page and printed in smaller typeface—are ample, while the Latin and German versions, placed directly under the illustration, contain only a few lines. This guidebook is devoted largely to Roman



Giacomo Marcucci. *Grandezze della Citta di Roma*. Piazza Navona. 1985.61.2520

antiquities, arranged roughly by building types, such as fora, baths, arches, theaters, temples and basilicas, tombs, columns and obelisks. Reversing the proportions of the *Cose maravigliose*, *Grandezze di Roma* concludes with buildings associated with the papacy, such as the palaces at the Vatican and Quirinal, the Cancelleria, the university and the Collegio Romano, as well as a sprinkling of papal family palaces and villas (Farnese, Borghese, and Medici) and public fountains. This guide is a close contemporary and competitor of the larger guide published by Giacomo Lauro in its definitive version for the Jubilee Year of 1625 (see cat. 55).

In the Millard copy, as we have seen, Marcucci's guides are bound with Palladio's *Antichità di Roma* (see cat. 68 for Palladio's later use of this antiquarian research). *Antichità di Roma* is paginated continuously with *Cose maravigliose*, while its twelve illustrations, though not as numerous, are identical to those in *Grandezze di Roma*. Palladio's guide is a succinct history of Rome's foundation, an analytic description of Rome's topography (hills, island, gates, streets, and bridges), its imperial infrastructure (aqueducts, sewers, storehouses), sites for public entertainment (*naumachie*, circuses, theaters), public meeting places (fora, porti-



Giacomo Marcucci. *Grandezze della Citta di Roma*. Saint Peter's.
1985. 61.2520

coes), and commemorative structures (arches, trophies, colossal statues, pyramids, markers, obelisks). Palladio offers a potted history of Roman tribes and their government while describing the meeting places of the various magistracies and buildings of public utility and security (tribunals, treasury, granaries, prisons). This is followed by a discussion of the religious and military practices of the Romans, including ceremonies such as orations, gladiatorial games, and vigils associated with social events such as triumphs, weddings, and funerals. His descriptions are enlivened by gripping details that weave together public and private life—for example, the three ways of ending a Roman marriage (repudiation, divorce, and separation by order of the prince) and the stages of burial ceremonies (ovation, gladiatorial games, wake meal, and charitable offerings)—and offer miscellaneous facts, such as the conquests of Rome and the prohibition against entering the public fora before the age of ten. Palladio's *Antichità* is as vividly immediate on the subject of ancient Roman practices as Marcucci's *Cose marauigliose* is about the Christian relics of the city.

The itinerary of the pilgrims visiting Rome developed and grew over time. In 1475 the churches to be

visited were seven: the four major basilicas (Saint Peter's, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Santa Maria Maggiore) and the three lesser ones (San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and Santo Sebastiano in Via Appia). By 1575 pilgrims who wished to acquire the full indulgences of the Jubilee Year were advised to visit nine churches: to the seven original ones were added the Annunziata and the abbey of the Tre Fontane (Schudt 1930). Sixtus v then added a tenth church, Santa Maria del Popolo, to the list, but this could be substituted for Santo Sebastiano. Urban viii, concerned with the health of the pilgrims during the Jubilee of 1625, substituted the visit to San Paolo fuori le Mura—surrounded by contagious plague—with the more salubrious jaunt to Santa Maria in Trastevere (Bargellini 1974). In a move similar to contemporary fund-raising and participation drives, Urban also offered full plenary indulgence to anyone attending the evening mass at the Gesù on 30 October of the Jubilee Year. Marcucci's guide privileges the relics preserved in each church, thus clarifying its devotional quality, in contrast to the rational approach of Palladio's guide to antiquities where the tone of the art appreciator prevails.

Huge numbers of pilgrims visited Rome during the Jubilee years. Among the post-Tridentine Counter-Reformation jubilees, 1625 marked a particularly high number of arrivals. The pilgrims were offered lodging and food for three days and three nights through the hospices administered by various confraternities and funded by the papal administration. They were expected to stay in Rome exactly five days. Thus the layout of the guide was tailored to the expected length of a pilgrim's subsidized visit.

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Michele Marieschi

(1696–1743)

59

Magnificentiores Selectioresque Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus, quos olim Michael Marieschi Venetus Pictor, Et Architectus In Plerisque Tabulis Depinxit. nunc uero ab ipsomet acurate delineante, incidente, tijspisque mandante, iterum in sexdeum æris tabulis in lucem æduntur

Venice: the author ("Venduntur . . . apud eumdem Auctorem . . ."), 1741

1985.61.2521

Oblong folio: 460 × 590 (18 1/8 × 23 1/4)

Michele Marieschi. *Magnificentiores selectioresque urbis venetiarum prospectus*. Plate 4. Annual painting exhibition in Campo San Rocco. 1985.61.2521

Foliation [22] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched title plate with rococo cartouche and portrait of the author designed by Angelo Trevisano and etched by Carlo Orsolini (signed: "Anzolo Triuisan Deliniaui." and "Carlo Orsolini scupis"); plate [2] with etched dedication to Marc de Beauvau and dedicatee's coat of arms; plates [3–22] views of Venice, with captions in Latin and signed "Mich.^l Marieschi del.^t et inci.^t" Captions for plates [8], [15] printed from separate coppers

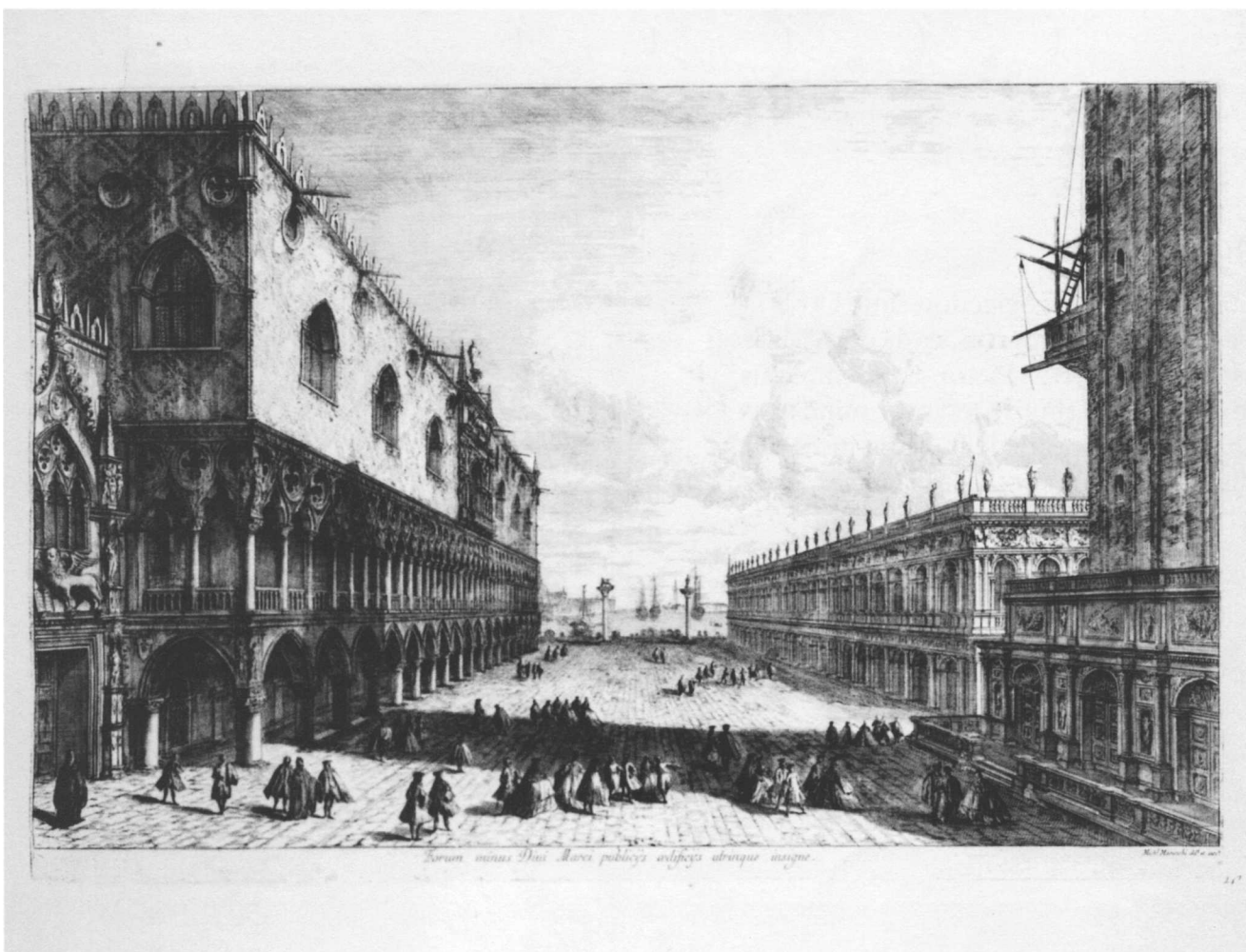
Binding Contemporary vellum, with large etched view of the Piazza San Marco in Venice laid down on cover

Provenance Recent bookplate of Irwin Laughlin

References Berlin Cat. 2697



Edis Vni Roschi facies rudis adhuc ex cocto latere, nec sectis marmoribus obducta ad leniam, magnum sodalium eodem Sancto dicatum, et studio Sebastiani Seely constructum



A SHORT-LIVED VENETIAN PAINTER and engraver, Michele Marieschi worked as a scene painter and designer of pageantry sets, such as the funeral catafalque of Maria Clementina Sobieski Stuart at Fano in 1735. He became a view painter only in the 1730s, when Field Marshal Schulenberg commissioned twelve views from him between 1736 and 1738. The series of etchings published in the *Prospectus* records Marieschi's best paintings of his brief career. The success of this series is attested by numerous reprints through the eighteenth century; in 1770 the plates were acquired by Joseph Wagner, who also had Luca Carlevaris' plates, and then by Giovanni Maria Pedrali at the end of the century. Marieschi's technical abilities were recognized in his own lifetime by important collectors and more recently in art-historical literature.

Although the personality and hand of the artist have been difficult to sort out—his best paintings have been appropriated for Canaletto by art historians, or awarded to his student and imitator, Francesco Albotto—John Harris (in Martineau and Robison 1994, 259) finds Marieschi's paintings "authentic, natural, and accurately atmospheric" in strong contrast to Canaletto's "stylised manufactured look" and "hard-edged quality." Harris considers Marieschi a powerful and compelling com-

Michele Marieschi. *Magnificentiores selectioresque urbis venetiarum prospectus*. Plate 16. Piazzetta San Marco. 1985.61.2521

petitor to Canaletto, though he unfortunately died young and lacked the support that the latter had in the Consul Joseph Smith. Marieschi's paintings and engravings were an important source for Francesco Guardi; Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Carceri* series (cat. 82) is probably indebted to Marieschi's paintings of palace courtyards with elaborate scaffolding and staircases.

The series of twenty-one views of Venice constitutes Marieschi's last work and the part of his oeuvre least subject to misattributions. Thoroughly different from Carlevaris' series of 1703 (cat. 29) and Antonio Visentini's work after Canaletto published in 1742 (cat. 153), Marieschi's series offers a more personal and somewhat less architectonic view of Venice. His interpretation of the city's urban appeal is more attractive than either Carlevaris' or Visentini's, since he endows his views with a vaporousness and dramatic angle unusual in graphic representation. While in Carlevaris' views the faithful illustration of the city's architecture is provided with its natural framework of canals, bridges, and squares, Marieschi produces a more poetical and per-

sonal interpretation of Venice's charms. In comparison to Visentini, whose intellectual aim was toward a new kind of architecture for Venice based on a purified Palladianism, Marieschi celebrates the sumptuous and grandiose city, opening widely its squares and canals. Unaware of the Palladianism practiced in the artistic circles around Consul Smith, Marieschi worked instead in the directions opened through the works of Marco Ricci. Less interested in the rational interpretation of architectural space based on Enlightenment principles, Marieschi provided a rococo interpretation of Venice's urbanism. His intense representation of textures, his broad variety of superfluous decorative details, such as pots of flowers, *altane*, scaffolds, boats, and detailed human activity, are intended to surprise and delight, and his settings came to signify later operetta backdrops, where nothing tragic could happen. The feelings evoked by Marieschi's views are the serene and tranquil immobility of a late summer afternoon. Illustrating Venice as a great theater, Marieschi offers an image that goes beyond precise reproductive accuracy toward a more experimental and slightly hallucinatory exploration of urban space.

Marieschi's suite of views was as welcomed by the public as Carlevaris' and Visentini's offerings. His first edition consisted of sixteen unnumbered sheets, to which another five were added in 1742. Dario Succi (1989, 32) believes, on the evidence of the publication copyright obtained by Marieschi from the ducal government, that, despite the title page date, these were completed only in 1742. Reprints of the first state were made by Marieschi's heir, Francesco Albotto, through 1760 without change of address, since Albotto, who married his teacher's widow, styled himself as the second Marieschi. The plates were retouched in the 1760s—Marieschi's design for the facade of San Rocco was retouched to show the facade as actually built—when they became the property of the publisher Joseph Wagner. The sheets were numbered in the second state, possibly published by Albotto's widow, between Albotto's death in 1757 and the sale of the plates to Wagner by the mid-1760s. According to Succi (1989), these numbers were added to the bottom left of each sheet (as no. 13, for example). They do not correspond to a coherent topographical sequence, nor does the sequence suggested by Succi (1989) in his catalogue, which is organized in an unverifiable order of production. In the Millard collection the sheets are numbered in manuscript at bottom right; the numbers do not correspond to the second state sequence nor to the chronological one suggested by Succi (thus pl. 4 of the Millard copy, the school of San Rocco, is pl. 10 in Succi [1989], and pl. 14 in the second edition).

In the sequence of plates of the Millard copy, the aim seems to be the desire to illustrate the variety and

multiplicity of sites in Venice rather than a step-by-step urban analysis (like Visentini's) or a catalogue of the city's architecture organized by building type (like Carlevaris'). In illustrating several typical festive events, Marieschi foreshadows the later series by Giambattista Brustolon, which is entirely focused on ducal pageants (see cat. 25). Thus the first two views, of Campo Santa Maria Formosa and Campo San Rocco, offer two views of popular festivities. The one in Campo San Rocco is the yearly painting exhibition on 16 August; Marieschi took advantage of the fact that the church was under construction to propose his own design for the facade. It is an exuberantly rococo composition, stretched out vertically in an attempt to close the view of the rectangular space and to withstand the powerfully articulated facade of the *scuola*. Marieschi introduces two of his favorite frivolously decorative details: the *altana* on top of the building alongside the *scuola* and the great awning projecting from the same building, at the left of the plate. It cleverly balances the huge raked canvases at right attached to the wall of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. The Frari facade is the subject of the very last plate in the series. Seen from across the canal, the church dominates its *campo* and the aftermath of a small fight between three men on the bridge, two of whom have been left lying on the ground. In both plates the silence of the architecture and square forms an eerie contrast with the frozen activity of the human figures.

The next event is illustrated in sheet 8, where a regatta is taking place on the Grand Canal. This has been interpreted as an imaginary event, especially since the festival float anchored between the Foscari and Balbi palaces reproduces Marieschi's design for the funeral catafalque of Maria Clementina (of 1731). A religious procession is depicted in sheet 12, which shows Saint Mark's square from the clock tower. The composition is bisected by the bell tower of Saint Mark's, and the perspective of the Procuratie Nuove across the square is "cranked" open, widening the space considerably. The basilica is both mysterious and festively rococo with its shadowed entry and lively roofline. The kitelike flags raised at half-mast in front of the church offer further rococo touches. But Marieschi's painterly approach to depiction of space is not merely a spectacular scenographic composition, but rather an exaltation of the wide angle and other perspectival distortions that create an entire environment.

Marieschi's view of the Grand Canal between San Simeon and the Carmelites' church (also inserted into the series by Visentini in cat. 153) is a good example of the way in which he handles "street" views. Seen from

Michele Marieschi. *Magnificentiores selectioresque urbis venetiarum prospectus*. Plate 8. Regatta on the Grand Canal with temporary decorations. 1985.61.2521



*Foscarorum aedes ad leuam, et e conspectu altera Balhorum ambo præter canalem magnum; ubi etiam s-
rum, fictasque formas exhibentium cernuntur, nec non lintres nauiculariorum pro bratio certantium*



solemne nauticum certamen, et maxima frequentia cymbarum uel auro uel argento uel alio ornatu obducta
inter easdem ardes exornata ad maiorem spectaculi dignitatem metis Super aquas erigitur.

Michele Marieschi del. et inc.

mid-canal, this is a lively composition of boats and gondolas shown only in part, as though they are entering or leaving the picture. He also uses shadows effectively, especially in his view of the dogal palace's court, where the left-side wing projects a sweeping penumbra that contrasts with the brightly lit right side of the court, and in his view of the piazzetta, where the bell tower's shadow bisects the space of the square. The latter is an especially effective view achieved through the highly textured porticoes and walls of the dogal palace, the boats hovering on the waters of the port in the background, and the scaffolded balcony on the bell tower that balances the machicolations of the roofline at left. Similarly powerful one-point perspective compositions are offered by Marieschi in his views of the small public space to the side of Saint Mark's, known after the church facing it as the Campo San Basso (with a third church, San Gemignano, placed in the background), and the entry to the Arsenal, one of Venice's former glories. In both views, lines have been replaced almost entirely by texture; awnings, shutters, ladders, and scaffolding, the paraphernalia of operetta settings, all irreverently balance monumental architecture. The rigging and the masts of the galleon entering between battered towers, in the Arsenal view, are a sly quote from distinguished seventeenth-century stage sets published in Paris and Rome.

Finally, Marieschi also offers views of buildings directly across the Grand Canal, such as the Salute or the Palazzo Pisani (his corresponding paintings of these sites were earlier attributed to Canaletto). In the view of the Palazzo Pisani, an entire procession is being ferried away from us toward the palace, while the illustrator lavishes attention on the large Piazzetta-like figures in the foreground. The Salute view is also rife with activity and antiquity, in the form of large architectural fragments in the left foreground, while the flowered ruined wall on the left and the cheeky awning at upper right attempt to lighten up the portentous monument at the center.

Several of Marieschi's sheets were copied by Giambattista Brustolon for his print series *Prospectum aedium viarumque*. These include the view of Saint

Mark's facade, where the awnings of the Procuratie Vecchie provide a wave of fabric that relieves the monotony of the architecture, the view of San Giorgio Maggiore, where a tall-masted boat serves as contraposto to the mass of the church and the height of its bell tower, and the view of the Arsenal's entry. Francesco Guardi borrowed directly from Marieschi as well, for instance in adopting the view of the Cannaregio at the Grand Canal—where Marieschi's emphasis on human activity, moving gondolas, smoking chimneys, fluttering flags, and awnings surpasses the attention paid to architecture and site—and the view of the Grand Canal at Ca' Pesaro.

Many of the compositions in this series were adopted by Marieschi from his own paintings. Since the authorship of the print views is securely attributed to him, this has helped in the arduous enterprise of distinguishing his paintings from Canaletto's, since Marieschi's best canvases have been traditionally appropriated for the better-known painter's vast oeuvre. It is perhaps in the title page and dedicatory sheet that Marieschi's composition is most distinctly rococo, especially in the flower wreaths and rocaille embellishments of his title page and the framing of his portrait. The dedicatory sheet, with a view of the piazzetta of Saint Mark's from offshore, offers another beautifully composed view of the main entry to the city and a correspondingly agitated inventory of seagoing and canalfaring boats crossing our gaze at various angles.

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Ludovico Martinelli (fl. 1762)

60

Theoremata Ex Universa Philosophia Selecta
Atque Elementa Architecturae Civilis Et
Militaris . . .

Rome: printed by Johann Zempel, 1762

1985.61.2770

Quarto: 206 × 146 (8 1/8 × 5 3/4)

Pagination 51, [1] pp., [14] folding etched and engraved
plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3]–6 dedication
by Martinelli to Giovanni Francesco Stoppani; 7–14
text in Latin: “Ex Elementis Philosophiae Selectae Pro-
positiones Ex Logica, Et Critica.”; 15–28 text in Italian:
“Elementi Di Architettura Civile.”; 29–51 text in Italian:
“Elementi Di Architettura Militari.” [52] imprimaturs

Ornaments Woodcut vignette on title page; woodcut
headpieces, initial

Illustrations Fourteen folding etched and engraved
plates numbered “Arch. Ciu. T.” 1–ix; “Arch. Milit. T.”
1–v

Binding Bound (2) with Gioseffe Viola Zanini’s *Della
architettura*, Padua, 1678 (cat. 167)



Ludovico Martinelli. *Theoremata*. Title page. 1985.61.2770

Francis Xavier de Maximis (1806–1842)

6I

Mvsei Etrvsci Qvod Gregorivs XVI Pon. Max.
In Aedibvs Vaticanis Constitvit Monimenta
Linearis Pictvrae Exemplis Expressa Et In
Vtilitatem Stvdiosorvm Antiquitatvm Et
Bonarvm Artivm Pvblici Ivris Facta Pars
Prima [–Alterā]

Rome: the Vatican ("Ex Aedibvs Vaticanis"), 1842

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N575IM873

Folio: 616 × 440 (24 1/4 × 17 5/16)

Pagination Vol. 1: [ii], 16 pp., etched title plate, etched dedication, 107 engraved plates

Vol. 2: [ii], 18 pp., engraved title plate, 107 engraved plates

Edition First edition. With text by Francis Xavier de Maximis

Text vol. 1: pp. [i] half-title: "Mvsevm Etrvscvm Gregorianvm" (verso blank); 1–16 descriptions in Italian of the plates; vol. 2: pp. [i] half-title (verso blank); 1–18 descriptions in Italian of the plates

Ornaments Text printed within ornamental typographic border

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched title plate; etched dedication in Latin to Gregory XVI; plus 107 full-page etched plates numbered 1–CVII. The plates are signed by the following as designers: G. Bianchi (17 plates); G. Montiroli (15 plates); C. Piccoli (10 plates); V. Marchi (9 plates); F. Fontana (8 plates); A. de Vico (6 plates); E. M. Enrici, A. Penna, M. Volpato (5 plates each); F. Bombelli, N. Moraldi, C. Squanquerillo (4 plates each); G. A. Bonassi, S. Bossi (3 plates each); R. Capo, F. Pezzini, L. Zeloni (2 plates each); A. Bonassi, C. Venier, G. Vitta (1 plate each). Etchers include: A. Manelli (9 plates); G. Bianchi (7 plates); G. Montiroli (6 plates); G. Appolloni, A. Costa, G. Fontana, C. Liberali, C. Piccoli, C. Venier (5 plates each); S. Bossi, A. Moschetti, C. Nalli, S. Pistolesi, A. Puccinelli, S. Santalmassi (3 plates each); R. Bullica, P. Cacchiattelli, L. Ceroni, G. Cleter, L. Cremonesi, A. de Vico, P. Gatti, N. Moneta, A. Penna, E. Salandri, N. Sangiorgi, C. B. Simelli (2 plates each); N. Aureli, G. Balestra, G. Bonanni, B. Consorti, G. Ferretti,

L. Ferretti, G. Lepri, S. Morelli, E. Pernié, G. Perugini, F. Sirletti, F. Valenti (1 plate each)

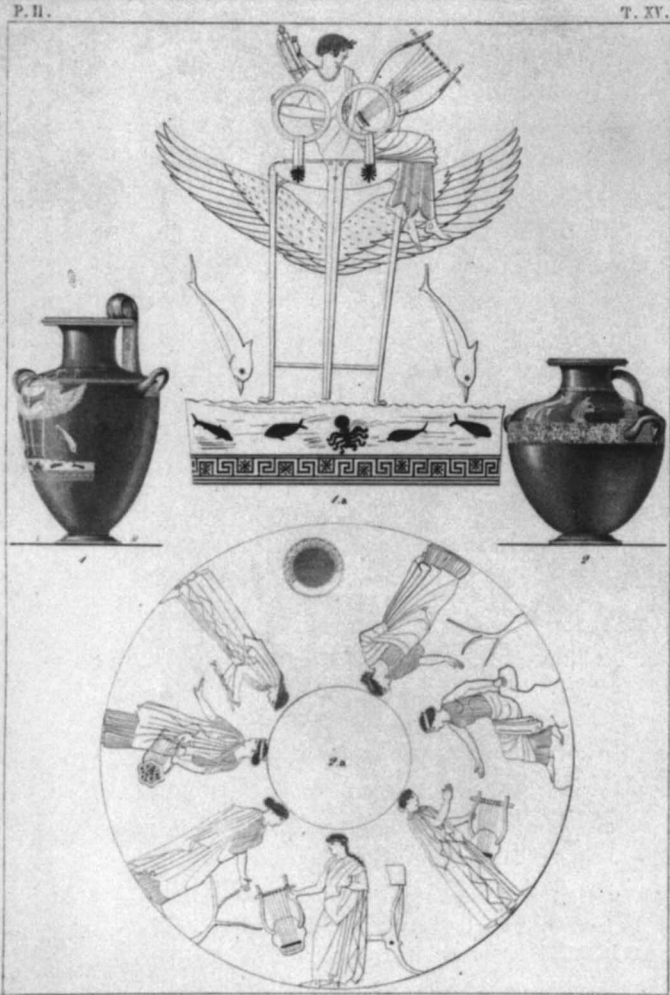
Vol. 2: Etched title plate; plus 107 full-page etched plates numbered 1–CVII. The plates are signed by the following as designers: C. Piccoli (12 plates); A. Morelli, F. Pezzini (10 plates each); G. Bianchi (8 plates); S. Bossi (7 plates); F. Bombelli, E. M. Enrici, G. Vitta (6 plates each); A. Angelini, A. de Vico, V. Marchi, A. Penna (5 plates each); C. Squanquerillo (4 plates); G. Appolloni, G. Montiroli (3 plates each); R. Capo, G. A. Bonassi, F. Fontana, N. Moraldi, S. Morelli (2 plates each); G. Bossi, G. Cammilli, N. Niccoli (1 plate each). Etchers include: N. Moneta (9 plates); N. Aureli (6 plates); G. Fontana, G. Vitta (5 plates each); S. Bossi, A. de Vico (4 plates each); G. Appolloni, G. Balestra, G. Bianchi, A. Moschetti, S. Pistolesi, E. Salandri, N. Sangiorgi, G. Santalmassi, F. Sirletti, F. Valenti (3 plates each); P. Cacchiattelli, G. Cammilli, L. Ceroni, B. Consorti, G. Ferretti, P. Folo, A. Mannelli, A. Marchetti, S. Marroni, N. Moraldi, C. Nalli, E. Pernié, G. Pergugini, C. Segui (2 plates each); L. Aureli, P. Bertoni, R. Bullica, G. Cleter, C. Consorti, C. Denel, L. Ferretti, C. Liberali, P. Gatti, G. Montiroli, A. Penna, L. Piroli, F. Sangeni, C. Sella, C. Venier (1 plate each)

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Contemporary full red morocco binding, richly gilded with papal coat of arms at center of covers incorporating shield in blue, white and gilt; gilt spine title, spine gilt in compartments; green embossed paper endpapers (imitating watered silk); Moschetti's binder's ticket inside front covers

Provenance Bookplate with imperial coat of arms (double-headed eagle); later bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Brunet 3: 1551

IN 1834 THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT OF Gregory XVI (1831–1846) became involved in the excavation of Etruscan antiquities at Camposcala (Vulci) in association with Vincenzo Campanari, who, between 1830 and 1837, held a permit to excavate there. By 1835 the plan to establish an Etruscan museum was made public by the pope. This idea was developed in competition with the Campanari family's project to stage in London



Francis Xavier de Maximis. *Musei Etrusci*. Vol. II, plate xv. Pottery profile and detail of painted decorations. N575IM873

the first public exhibition of Etruscan art. Thus, while the Campanari rushed to set up the exhibition in London with objects from the excavation that belonged to them, the papal government strove to collect and restore archaeological materials for its own museum (Buranelli 1991). There had been earlier papal interest in Etruscan antiquities, and the Pacca edict of 1820 (7 April) offered legal aid to the government, including first option on newly unearthed finds within the papal state. This edict prohibited the exportation of artworks and set aside funding for the purchase of objects from art dealers and from impoverished aristocrats. The objects acquired in this manner were to be placed in public art collections. The Pacca edict also provided for state representatives to supervise excavations (Emiliani 1996).

According to the terms of their association, the Campanari and the papal government were to divide equitably the objects found in the excavation. The Vati-

can decided the arrangement of the Etruscan museum in only three months and inaugurated it on 2 February 1837, marking the sixth anniversary of Gregory XVI's election to the papal throne. A native of Belluno, Gregory XVI left an important mark on papal museology. In addition to the Etruscan museum, he also founded an Egyptian museum at the Vatican (1839) and reestablished and renamed the papal collection at the Lateran as Museo Profano Lateranense (1844). Two medals, both designed by Pietro Girometti, commemorated the opening of the museum. Illustrated on the title page of *Musei Etrusci*, they show, respectively, the Tiber with the wolf and twins and the mausoleum of Porsenna, while on the verso is the seated figure of Rome observing an important sculptural find from these excavations, the Todi Mars (Magi 1963). The single largest and most valuable object found at the Vulci excavation, the bronze statue of a Minerva, was not purchased by the papal government from its Campanari partners, who sold it abroad (now in London, British Museum).

The quantity and quality of the objects found at Vulci were beyond all expectations, and the museum had to be expanded almost immediately after its opening. The pope himself chose the rooms intended for the new museum, taking the Zelada apartment, named after the cardinal who, as librarian of the Vatican, occupied it since 1780. The rooms were the best-lit spaces of the Palazzetto Pio IV, which opened toward the Cortile della Pigna, the largest of the courts within the Vatican palaces. The two groups of rooms chosen for the museum in the Nicchione behind the Belvedere villa were elegant, austere, large, and airy, though the room for bronzes—small and dark—was congruous with the perplexity of the exhibitors over these little-understood objects. Although fireplaces and doors were removed, the apartment remained unaltered in its subdivision into relatively small rooms as a private residence, with the exception of the *tazze* gallery, which was enlarged by the removal of a wall separating two small rooms. Two of the museum rooms had been frescoed at the time of their initial construction in the late sixteenth century by Federico Barocci and Federico Zuccari (Buranelli 1991).

The exhibition layout was typological, arranged by material, form, and dimensions of the objects. The Minerva Erganea, a headless bronze statue of a female, was the only monument from the joint excavation to be exhibited in the museum before the end of the excavations at Vulci. It was displayed with the other large bronze statue, the so-called Mars, from Todi. The exhibition design for this room was probably suggested by Giuseppe Valadier (see cat. 138). The Sala della Tomba, the tomb hall, was an attempt to reconstruct an Etruscan funeral compound, already successfully accomplished at the Campanari's Pall Mall exhibition

in London in January 1837. Thus there was some connection between the archaeological site and the museum exhibition in the attempt to reconstruct the original context of the excavated objects.

The Millard *Musei Etrusci*, with its lapidary Latin title plate, represents the first edition of the catalogue of the archaeological materials in the museum, published in 1842 following the wish of Gregory xvi. Documents related to this catalogue, including the contracts with the draftsmen and the engravers supervised by the attorney Achille Gennarelli, are in the Archivio Segreto at the Vatican. A veritable army of artists was involved. An earlier description of the museum, by Pietro Ercole Visconti in the Roman newspaper *L'Album* in 1838, was illustrated with two plates of the interior, which in 1839 were included in Alvise Maria Ungarelli's *Descrizione* of the museum. *Musei Etrusci* is one of the several distinguished publications on Etruscan art issued between 1828 and 1847 that included Luigi Canina's *L'antica Etruria* (1847).

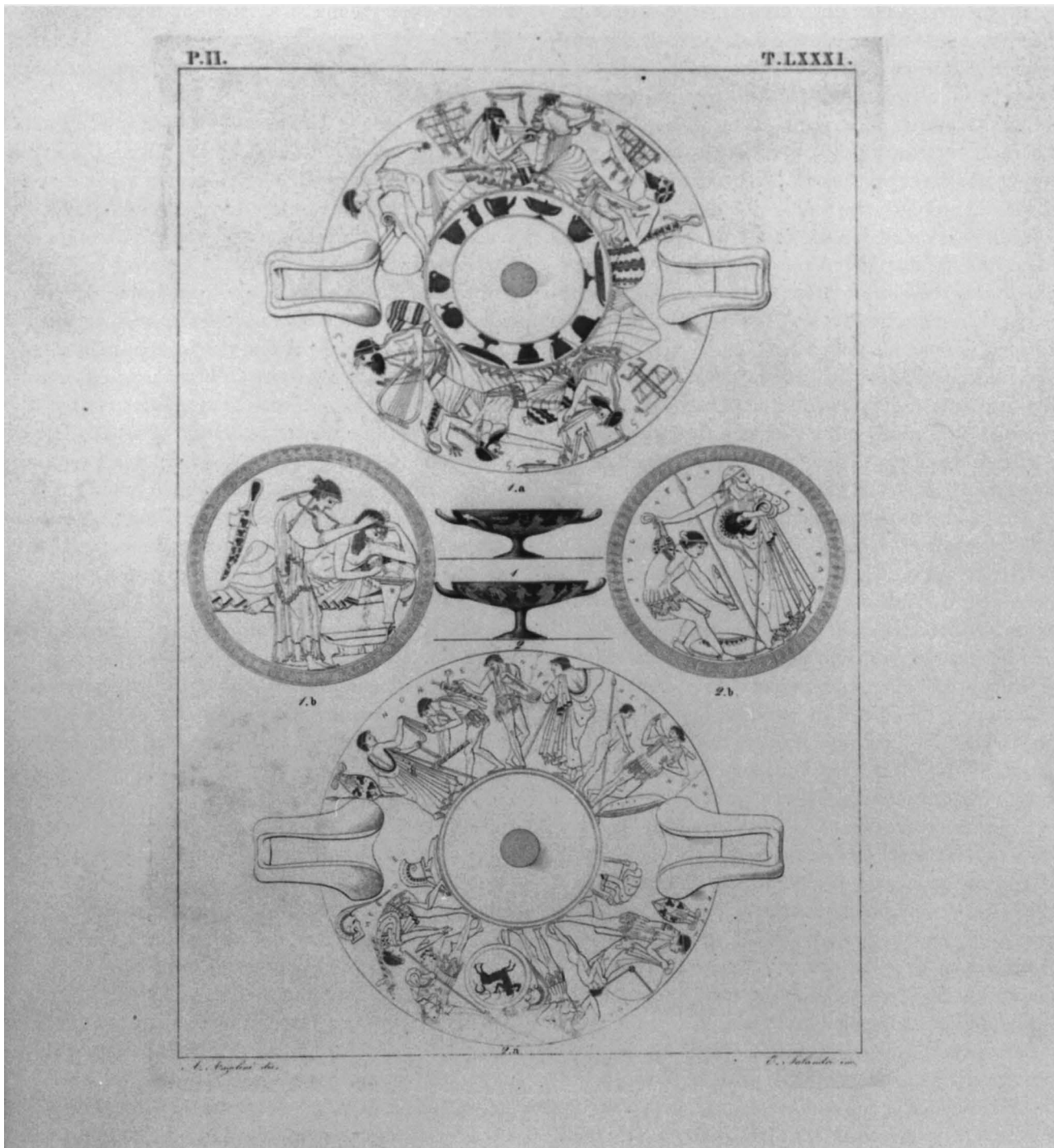
The publication of the catalogue was immediately followed by lively confrontation, based on two fundamental criticisms. One regarded the objects found by the Regolini-Galassi team, which are presented together at the beginning of the first volume as though from a single tomb. These findings had entered the museum shortly after its opening, in 1838 and 1839. The other criticism was that, although the catalogue promised the inclusion of only Etruscan objects, in fact Roman bronzes and pottery were also included. This diminished the value of the catalogue at a moment when the Campana were privately publishing their own extensive Etruscan collection. Thus a second edition of the catalogue was immediately ordered, to correct these perceived errors. The second edition has the same date as the first and is distinguished merely by its Italian title; there are notes by Giuseppe Marchi. The organization is entirely typological. Twenty-six plates of Roman objects in the first volume were eliminated, while twelve plates illustrating the archaizing statues from Vulci were added. In the process, about ninety-six plates were corrected. Eventually, it became clear that some of the objects had been erroneously considered Roman (Buranelli 1991).

Vincenzo Campanari (1772–1840) not only supervised the excavation at Vulci, which provided the core of the Etruscan museum at the Vatican, but created a Europe-wide interest in the antiquities of his native region. Campanari, from Etruscan Tuscanella, had six sons, three of whom were involved in their father's archaeological investigations. These men became pioneers in the market for antiquities through which the major European museums were enriched. Through their auctions, the Campanari stimulated in particular the market for Etruscan objects. In 1838 they exhibited

120 vases in London, found between 1829 and 1838 in Vulci and elsewhere in Etruscan necropolises. Most of these were purchased by the king of Bavaria, though four vases went to Berlin and four to the Louvre in Paris. In 1839 about two hundred objects were offered by the Campanari at another London auction, while in 1840 they auctioned off a further seventy-two vases and three bronzes. These auctions were accompanied by catalogues, which constitute an important source for Etruscology. All the major archaeological collections formed in this period are connected to the Campanari's dispersal of their share of the findings (Buranelli 1991). Vincenzo Campanari had even encouraged, in the early 1820s, the founding of an Etruscan museum in Rome, as Visconti pointed out in the funeral eulogy of the archaeologist. His excavations, in partnership with the papacy, effectively constituted the future museum. But the pope moved to sponsor such an institution only after the Campanari left for London. Thus the foundation of the Etruscan museum at the Vatican has been seen as stimulated by the competition with Campanari's mercantile show in London.

Between 1828 and 1845, the Campanari conducted several extraordinarily successful excavations. The brothers Carlo, Secondiano (1805–1855), and Domenico worked on numerous sites, from Vulci to Bomarzo, Tuscania to Poggio Buco, and Ischia di Castro to Falerii Nuovi. Carlo and Domenico were the first among Italian art dealers to establish lasting contacts with London and English collectors. Vincenzo and Secondiano also played an important cultural role through the artistic flair of their exhibitions and the accuracy of their catalogues. The exhibition in London, which opened a few days before the inauguration of the Vatican museum, was the best example of what they could do. Open for a long time, it introduced Etruscan tombs to a wide English public. The exhibition reconstructed the excavated tombs at full scale, the objects were arranged inside the sarcophagi as the excavators had found them, and the visit was made by torchlight. The Campanari attempted to keep and evoke the astonishment they had felt when they first came across the tombs; they reconstructed a tomb in their own garden in Tuscanella, illustrated by George Dennis in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (c. 1842). The theatrical quality of the display in London and in Tuscanella—similar to the sets of Italian opera—made a great impression on visitors, and the stir caused by the triumphant public reception of Etruscan art practically forced the British Museum to acquire it *in toto* (Colonna 1978). The rest of the Campanari collection was liquidated after 1890 by Secondiano's son; about one hundred pieces are in the museum at Tarquinia.

The exhibition of Etruscan art at the Vatican, its place virtually unchanged between 1837 and 1920,



Francis Xavier de Maximis. *Musei Etrusci*. Vol. II, plate LXXXI. Pottery profile and detail of painted decorations. N575IM873

did not reveal a flair similar to the Campanari's. The objects were lined up against the wall, in an unhierarchical arrangement, evocative of both eighteenth-century antiquarian collections and Neoclassical taste. The insertion of the Regolini-Galassi collection two years after the opening of the museum did not lead to a new solution for the exhibition (Colonna 1978). Instead, the objects from this collection were dispersed by kind among the exhibits.

The speedy formation of the collection and the layout of the rooms were remarked upon in the first description of the museum (Ungarelli 1839). When Gregory XVI announced his decision to found the Etruscan museum, only three months before its opening, he gave very little time for its organization. His commission on antiquities and the fine arts (*Commissione generale consultiva di antichità e belle arti*) included the distinguished antiquarians and artists P. E. Visconti, Antonio Nibby, Bertel Thorvaldsen, and Giuseppe Valadier (Nogara 1915). At the opening of the museum the members of the commission were decorated with the order of San Gregorio Magno, instituted

by Gregory xvi in 1831. The museum was described in the Roman newspaper *Diario di Roma* in early 1837 and in the 1838 *L'Album*. This description and the unpublished Griffi catalogue show that the original layout was not thorough, concerned neither with the origin of the objects nor the kind of object displayed. Rather, the display was based on the wish to "decorate" the rooms of the museum. (By the time of the 1839 *Descrizione*, the museum was ordered in the way that it preserved until about 1915.) The arrangement was in place when the great publication *Musei Etrusci* was begun. An intermediary publication, by Erasmo Pistolesi (1838), illustrated the great bronze warrior and the display of vases, describing three main rooms and the gallery of the new museum. Remarkably, Pistolesi's extensive illustrations of the art collections at the Vatican were made by engravers and designers many of whom also made the plates for *Musei Etrusci*.

Despite its display methods, the foundation of the Etruscan museum at the Vatican is linked with the modern principles of archaeology that governed the intensive excavations in the first half of the nineteenth century and the shift away from the theorizing of eighteenth-century authors on Etruscan myths and origins. The first Etruscan antiquities had entered the Vatican collections in the mid-eighteenth century, when about 130 vases from Chiusi were brought to the Vatican Library. Two earlier exceptional Etruscan museums, at the Etruscan academy in Cortona (founded 1726) and the Guarnacci museum of Volterra (founded 1732), were the result of excavations carried out in the grand duchy of Tuscany (Roncalli 1983). In the papal states, archaeology had concentrated on Roman antiquities, with Italic antiquities devolving to private collectors. Thus in the first few decades of the nineteenth century these antiquarians swept up materials from Vulci, Tarquinia, and Cerveteri that eventually became the core of the great collections of Etruscan artifacts at Rome, but also Berlin, Paris, London, Munich, and St. Petersburg.

Only isolated acquisitions were made after 1840, and after 1870 the papal authority over archaeological finds in southern Etruria ended altogether. With consignments passing to the Italian state, in 1899 the National Museum of Villa Giulia became the obvious successor of the Gregorian museum, which had fallen into oblivion. Nonetheless, when the first true Etruscologist, Bartolomeo Nogara, became the special director of the papal Etruscan museum at the beginning of the twentieth century, the exhibition rooms were first renovated. The collection was enlarged by the Guglielmi and Astarita donations, which entered the collection in 1934 and 1967, respectively (Roncalli 1983).

The *Musei Etrusci* was published in two lavishly illustrated volumes. The Latin title page is decorated with a portrait medal of Gregory xvi. The dedicatory plate

contains the only indication of the authorship of the catalogue, ascribed to Francis Xavier de Maximis. The prefatory matter includes a list of plates in Italian, followed by the plates themselves. The first thirty plates illustrate the findings in the large tomb at Caere (Cerveteri), opened in 1836, with the plan by the archaeologist Luigi Canina. (The characteristic *bucchero*, the ceramic of black impasto made in imitation of metal receptacles, was first produced in Caere and southern Etruria in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C. [Buranelli 1983].) The list and corresponding plates are then arranged by the materials of the artifacts: pink and black ceramics, ivory and alabaster, bronze, silver, and gold. Plates 34 through 132 illustrate objects found in various other excavations in papal Etruria and Latium, with little specific indication of actual sites. The main categories for the second group are ceramics, bronzes, and gold objects. The dominant number of objects, especially of gold, were from Vulci, excavated between 1835 and 1837. Other sites mentioned in the skeletal notes on the illustrations are Tarquinia, Orte, Toscanella, Bomarzo, Tivoli, Cossa, and Chiusi.

The objects cover the entire range of Etruscan artifacts. The terra-cottas, including a vast variety of pottery forms, constitute an inventory of Etruscan ceramic art. Among them are patera, amphora, urns, votive terra-cottas, low-relief ornaments, lamps, and human body parts. The bronzes include utensils for sacrifice ceremonies, kitchen utensils (colanders, saucepans, mixing pans), utensils for cleaning the body (strigils and other scrapers), handles for vases and buckets, candelabra, mirrors, coins and medals, and large vessels for mixing wine. Among the gold objects are rings, fibulae, buttons, earrings, bullae, chains, and head-wreaths (of oak, olive, laurel, and myrtle).

In the second volume are illustrated the painted and plain terra-cotta vessels found mostly at Vulci and Caere, the painted tombs of Tarquinia, glass and alabaster objects, and objects of marble and volcanic stone. The illustrations are consistent throughout. Each terra-cotta vessel is shown in miniature, shaded and with a clear profile, followed and surrounded by larger line drawings of the figures and scenes painted on it. These illustrations constitute the main "narrative" of the catalogue, offering a clear visual record of the stories that needed to be sorted out. The vessels (pls. 1–90) are in a multitude of forms, such as rhyton, kyathos, skyphos, kylix, olpe, krater, and amphora. The first two illustrations in this sequence provide an inventory of the great variety of vase forms, from shallow bowl to deep crater, similar to the order list of a pottery factory. The documentation of the sepulchral chambers (pls. 91–96) is after full-size copies of the wall paintings in the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Tarquinia. The illustrations are rigorously signed; the team of



Francis Xavier de Maximis. *Musei Etrusci*. Vol. II, plate xcv.
Vase inventory. N5751M873

graphic artists included Giuseppe Feretti, Lodovico Feretti, Giuseppe Bianchi, Giuseppe Vitta, L. Pirolì, Luigi Ceroni, Nicolo Aureli, Gioacchino Lepri, Nicola Moneta, S. Pistolesi, and Agostino Penna.

The *Musei Etrusci* is remarkable for its lack of an introduction and prefatory analysis. An amply illustrated checklist, the catalogue offers little guidance to the uninitiated and thus witnesses contemporary museological practices. However, even though the catalogue does not include a synthetic analysis of the collection, through this timely publication the Vatican government avoided the great mistake of the Accademia Ercolanese, which prevented scholars from studying the finds unearthed at Herculaneum by delaying the publication of the catalogue and prohibiting the public display of the archaeological materials (see cat. 1).

While a detailed scientific catalogue of the museum was still referred to as "in preparation" in the Baedeker guide of 1896, it is in fact only since after the Second World War, following Luigi Pareti's (1947) and Massimo Pallottino's (1942) major studies, that the collections have begun to be studied and exhibited systematically.

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Agostino Mitelli (1609–1660)

62

Freggi Dell'Architettvra Dedicati All'Illustriß.
Sig. Il Sig Co. Hettore Ghisilieri Da Agostino
Mitelli Pittore

Bologna, 1645

1985.61.2566

Folio: 386 × 283 (15³/₁₆ × 11¹/₈)

Foliation Etched title plate, etched dedication,
48 [i.e., 24] etched plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched throughout as follows: title plate with title and dedication inscribed on curtain hung from an archway; etched and engraved dedication plate, by Mitelli to Ettore Ghisilieri, dated Bologna, 30 May 1645; and 48 plates numbered 1–48 on 24 leaves (two plates per leaf). Plates 2 and 18 with inscription “Io: Gozadinvs Archid Bon. Et Hvivs Monast Comen.”; plate 47 signed “Agost. Mitelli Pittore”

Binding Contemporary paper boards, rebacked

Provenance Neat ownership inscription on verso of flyleaf: “A.º 1822 Girolamo Caratti. Udine”; another inscription on title plate: “. . . Giorgio Maganini”

References Berlin Cat. 564 (imperfect)

THE FREGGI OR “FRIEZES” were engraved after the pilasters of the built portico of the palace for the prior Giovanni Gozzadini, now part of the church of San Bartolomeo di Porta Ravennana in Bologna. The sandstone pilasters carved with Renaissance ornament chiefly composed of trophies and classical motifs were begun in 1513 by Andrea Marchesi da Formigine, a woodcarver and architect (Supino 1938).

Called the “Annibale” or “Guido” of *quadratura*, Agostino Mitelli occupies an important position as a wall decorator in the seventeenth century, between the brothers Carracci at the beginning of the century and Andrea Pozzo and Ferdinando Galli Bibiena at its end (Feinblatt 1965). Between 1632 and 1660 Mitelli

Painted walls and ceilings in Bologna, Florence, and Madrid with his partner, Angelo Michele Colonna. Their works stylistically dominated the field for more than a quarter of a century (Feinblatt 1992). The team taught Spanish artists to decorate in fresco, and after Mitelli’s death his designs were executed by Colonna in Paris, contributing to the official style of Louis XIV. Although most of the walls have been destroyed, a set of rooms at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, a room in the Palazzo Spada in Rome, and numerous drawings by Mitelli that survive (at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York; the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin; and the Fondazione Cini in Venice) show how they affected the transformation of rooms. Mitelli’s drawings offer decorative compositions of the most complex kind and confirm his standing as *quadraturista* virtuoso. In these drawings he provides effortless solutions and “breathtakingly molds intricate and sundry architectural elements into solid make-believe splendor.” Mitelli’s excellence as decorator, considered unprecedented by Janos Scholz (1966), was reached in the following era only by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and a few others.

The earliest document about Mitelli is an incomplete biography composed between 1665 and 1667 by his fifth son, Giovanni Mitelli (ms B3355 at the Biblioteca Comunale in Bologna; Arfelli 1958). Born near Bologna in 1609, Mitelli studied grammar, literature, perspective, fortification, and civil architecture with Giovanni Battista Falcetti, a leading Bolognese architect of the time, and then worked with the painter Girolamo Curti (or Dentone), considered the initiator of Emilian *quadratura*, in Ferrara in 1626–1627 for the design of Marchese Ezio Bentivoglio’s celebrated *festa* (Feinblatt 1965). His marriage into the Penna family promoted connections to Girolamo Penna, a surveyor and military architect who worked for the Pamphili family. The stage designer Giovanni Battista Aleotti wished to have Mitelli as his assistant. The art critic Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–1693) credits him with being the inventor of those perspectives without a single regulating point that are called *vedute*.

Knowledgeable about Vitruvius, Sebastiano Serlio, and Euclid, Mitelli was consulted often and appreciated for his precocious virtuosity in perspective. *Quadratura* was regarded as a science concerned with the accurate

rendering of the laws of vision. Concentrated on perspective, the intent was to increase the appearance of internal space by illusionistic means whose sources extend back to second-century Roman wall painting. Publications on architecture and perspective pointed up the significance of space for a world poised on the threshold of scientific discoveries in the seventeenth century. Mitelli elaborated a complicated system based on strict symmetrical patterns, and his work on stage designs in Parma in 1628 and Bologna in 1637 honed his perspectival skills, and eventually influenced Giulio Troili (or Paradossi, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's first architecture instructor and author of a treatise on perspective), who was the first author to deal with theater wings set at an angle.

In 1635 Mitelli went to Rome with Colonna, where they decorated the great hall of the Palazzo Spada, commissioned by Cardinal Spada, who, as legate in Bologna between 1627 and 1630, had asked Curti and Colonna to paint the Sala Urbana in the Palazzo Comunale. The loggia or arcade screen had no actual prototype in Rome, although the Sala Clementina in the Vatican palace by the Alberti brothers showed some similarities. The Spada commission was followed by the painting of three rooms at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence between 1637 and 1641, which showed even greater emphasis on ornamentalization and stronger scenographic effects. In contrast with Pietro da Cortona's simultaneous wall paintings at the Pitti palace (where he continued the tradition of uniting stuccowork with fresco practiced in the preceding century), the Colonna-Mitelli team "produced totally simulated architecturalization of interiors and consistent illusionism" (Feinblatt 1992). Their mature work is represented in the decoration of the Palazzo d'Este in Sassuolo in 1646. There they effected the transformation of rooms by the intrusion of massive architectural settings, with a variety of simulated material resulting in a splendid spatiality and incomparable natural freshness. Their inventions, reinforced by the work of architects such as the late-baroque Emilian Guarino Guarini, were praised by Malvasia (1841) for their innovation and "fastità" but were "almost oppressive in their overornamentation" (Feinblatt 1965). Motivated by local pride, Malvasia might have exaggerated Mitelli's originality in creating the "traveling vanishing point"; this method may have been employed earlier by the Brescian *quadraturisti* Cristoforo and Stefano Rosa, and theorized earlier in the seventeenth century by the Paduan Gioseffe Viola Zanini in his treatise on architecture (see cat. 167) (Feinblatt 1965). But Mitelli should be credited with the distinct verve of his compositions for interiors,



Agostino Mitelli. *Freggi dell'Architettura*. A frieze. 1985. 61.2566

greatly appreciated in his own lifetime, which brought him many commissions.

The climax of Mitelli's career was an invitation to the Spanish court, arranged by Velázquez on his Italian trip in 1650. Philip IV was fascinated with their work at the Alcazar, which is no longer extant. But a model of the Colonna-Mitelli ceiling for a loggia at Buen Retiro survives and affords a rare instance of the artists' brilliant color scheme. Mitelli's drawings show that he designed his ceilings with the help of contemporary architectural and perspective treatises, anticipating Andrea Pozzo's idea that in preparing a painted architecture one should plan it as though it were to be constructed (see cat. 107).

Mitelli's graphic output consists of three sets of cartouches and the *Freggi*. His first set of twenty-four etched cartouches appeared in Bologna in 1636, the year of his return from Rome, and were probably influenced by Agostino Tassi's prominent cartouches in the Sala de' Corazieri in the Quirinal palace. They were published again in Perugia in 1653. Twelve smaller cartouches were issued by three different publishers and re-etched in 1642 for the publisher Ciartres in Paris; finally, eleven cartouches dedicated to Count Caprara were published in Rome by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. Although Mitelli has been credited with originating the asymmetrical cartouche (Feinblatt 1992), and his cartouches may well have been a point of departure for Stefano della Bella's *Capricci* (1646), his influence remains to be studied.

The *Freggi* represent a widespread decorative motif in Italian Renaissance low-relief sculpture and wall painting, the most significant example being the decorative program produced by Raphael and his assistants at the Vatican *loggie*. However, with the exception of a set of carved pilasters illustrated by Daniel Hopfer in 1520, no other engraved version seems to have preceded Mitelli's published set of *Freggi* (Berliner 1981). The *Freggi* were published in a reversed copy by the artist Domenico Bonavera, who credited his source. The same Bonavera had engraved the section of the hall and the plan of the staircase of the Ranuzzi palace in

Bologna, later added to the album of Bolognese palaces and monuments by Giuseppe Antonio Landi (see cat. 53). More than his *Freggi*, it is Mitelli's numerous drawings for cartouches that have been praised by art historians, since they seem to abandon Renaissance models and point in the direction of later rococo developments.

The title page of the *Freggi*, an architectural composition of a bay with a curtain drawn across, is a device that Colonna and Mitelli adopted often in their wall decorations (in Florence and Sassuolo) and was already a well-known device for scenographic suggestions of space. The illustrated pilasters are a veritable and profuse compendium of decorative forms. These include vases, acanthus leaves, harpies, monstrous birds, urns, military trophies, helmets, griffins, hunting trophies, torches, cornucopias, and tripods. The trophies are strung out along a central rope, bundled and tied together in clearly continuous strips. The presence of some pedestals suggests that each strip is only a part of the illustrated pilaster.

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Famiano Nardini (d. 1661)

63

Roma Antica Di Famiano Nardini Alla Santità
Di N.S. Clemente XI. Edizione Seconda

Rome: printed by Gaetano Zenobio for Giovanni
Andreoli, 1704

1985.61.2583

Quarto: 248 × 181 (9¾ × 7⅞)

Pagination [xviii], 583, [1], 24 pp., [9] etched plates
(8 folding)

Edition Second edition (first edition, edited by Ottavio
Falconieri, 1666). This appears to be the first edition
to include Flaminio Vacca's 24-page "Memorie." There
is no evidence that Andreoli ever published Vacca's text
independently

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–v] dedication by
Francesco Andreoli to Clement XI; [vi] blank; [vii–viii]
Andreoli's note to the reader; [ix–xi] Ottavio Falco-
nieri's note to the reader; [xii–xiii] verses addressed by
Falconieri to Alexander VII; [xiv] privilege and errata;
[xv–xviii] table of contents; 1–522 text and illustrations,
Nardini's *Roma antica*; 523–538 authors cited; 539–556
index; [557] divisional title page: "Discorso D'Ottavio
Falconieri Intorno Alla Piramide Di C. Cestio Et alle
Pitture, che sono in essa con alcune Annotazioni sopra
un'Iscrizione antica appartenente alla medesima. Let-
tera del medesimo. Al Signor Carlo Dati Sopra l'Iscri-
zione d'un Mattone cavato dalle ruine d'un muro antico
gettato a terra con occasione di ristaurare il Portico
della Rotondo l'anno 1661." (verso blank); 559–574 text,
Falconieri's "Discorso"; 575–583 text, Falconieri's
"Lettera"; [584] blank; [1] divisional title page: "Memorie
Di Varie Antichità Trovate in Diversi Luoghi Della Città
Di Roma. Scritte Da Flaminio Vacca Nell'Anno 1594."
(verso blank); 3–21 text, Vacca's "Memorie," beginning
with dedication by Vacca to Simonetto Anastasio,
dated Rome, 1 November 1594; 22–24 index, ending
with publisher's and printer's imprints, dated Rome,
1704

Ornaments Etched vignette on principal title page
with female personification of Rome with Romulus and
Remus and the she-wolf, engraved by Giovanni Giro-
lamo Frezza (signed: "Can. Victoria delin."; "Gio. Girol.
Frezza Sculp."); woodcut headpiece, tailpieces, initials;
typographic ornaments used for tailpieces and rules

Illustrations 36 small woodcut illustrations, mostly of
coins and medals, and 7 etched and engraved illustra-
tions, mostly maps, throughout text of *Roma antica*.
Four unnumbered, etched plates *hors texte* belonging to
Roma antica, all unsigned; 5 etched plates corresponding
to Falconieri's "Discorso," one unnumbered, the re-
maining plates numbered 1–4. Plate 1 is signed by Gio-
vanni Battista Falda as engraver ("Gio. Batt. Falda f")

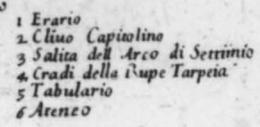
Binding Contemporary vellum, spine with raised bands,
lettered in sepia ink, red and green mottled edges

Provenance Inscription on flyleaf of "William Savier
[Xavier] 1840"; bookplate of Frank H. Platt dated 1898

References Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 75 (1st ed., 2d issue,
Rome, 1666); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2231; Schudt 750

IN COMPARISON WITH the most important publication
of the seventeenth century on Rome, Alessandro
Donato's *Roma vetus ac recens* (1638), Famiano Nar-
dini's well-known publication deals only with antiquity.
Nardini's widely appreciated study was also issued in
Rome in 1666, 1771, and, in an edition overseen by
Antonio Nibby, 1818. Latin translations were published
in 1696 and 1732 as part of the *Thesaurus antiquitatem
romanorum*, compiled by Joannes Graevius, which also
included the works of Bartolomeo Marliani, Onofrio
Panvinio, Alessandro Donati, and others. In the eigh-
teenth century, Nardini is often referred to as an author-
itative source for anonymous guides to Rome. The first,
posthumous, edition of his work was edited by Ottavio
Falconieri, who added a *Discorso* on the pyramid of
Cestius and his *Lettera* to Carlo Dati about an inscribed
brick found in the foundations of the Pantheon's por-
tico. The 1704 edition is customarily accompanied, in
addition to Falconieri's writings, by Flaminio Vacca's
Memorie della città di Roma, first published in 1594.

Falconieri dedicated the 1666 edition to Pope
Alexander VII, who two years earlier had expressed
the wish to see Nardini's writings, abandoned since
the writer's death in 1661. Falconieri compares Nardini's
work to Alessandro Donati's similar publication,
claiming that Nardini presented his material in a more
orderly and consistent, as well as a more complete,
manner. The voluminous study, divided into eight parts,
is accompanied by Falconieri's brief discourses, two

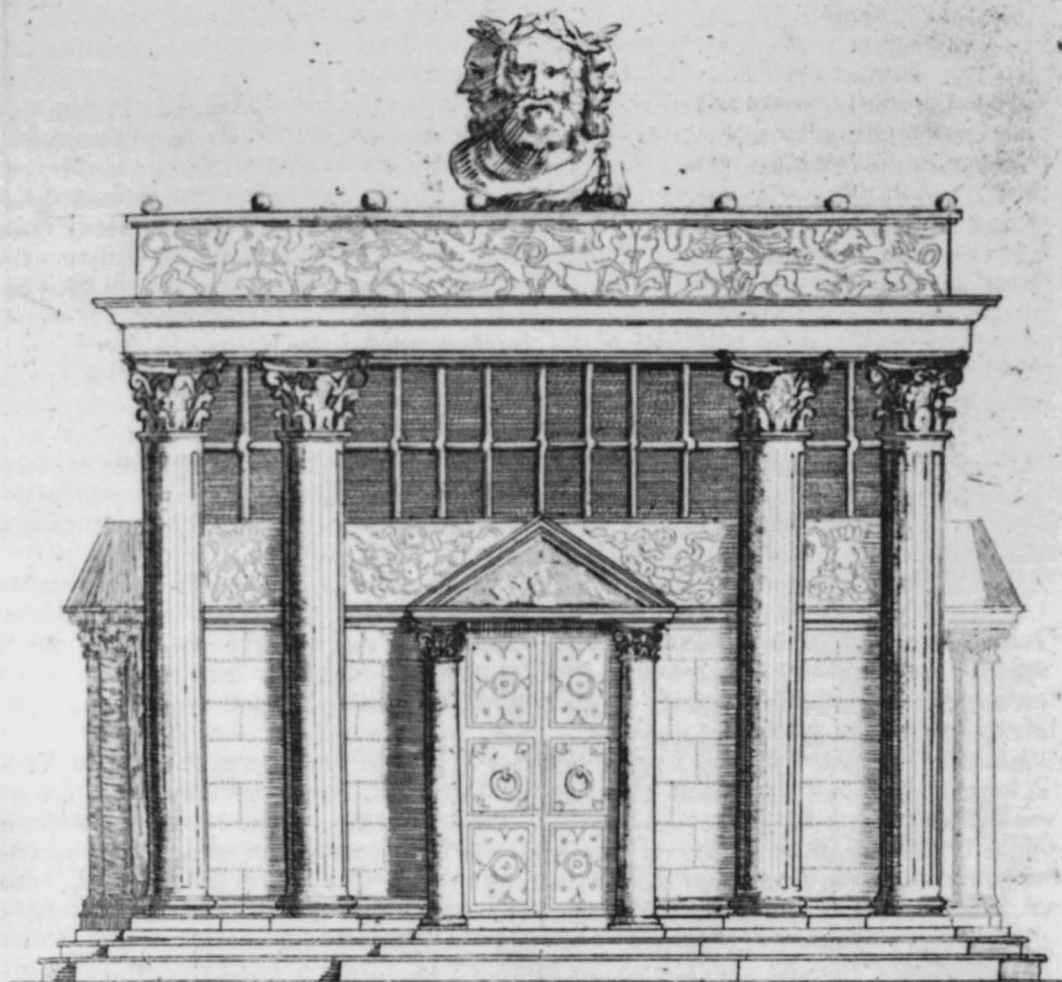


Nardini offers an antiquarian and historical study of Rome. He poses questions of beginnings and origins, believing that at the arrival of Aeneas, Rome already existed and that Romulus may have appropriated the title of Rome's founder after winning the city from the Albani, taking his name from the existing city rather than endowing the new foundation with his own name.

231

Regione Quarta.

147



E da Martiale nell'Epigramma 8. del libro decimo si dichiara Tempio chiudibile :

At tu Sancte Pater tanto pro munere gratus

Ferrea perpetua claustra tenere sera.

Il Foro Palladio , che da gli Antiquarii fù creduto il Romano , ò un'altro immaginato sul Palatino per il nome di S. Andrea in Pallara , che vi sentivano, il Panvinio dice non esser' altri , chè questo : e benché le ragioni addotte non stringano , con tutto ciò non può negarglisi . Che Domiziano fabricator del Foro vivesse sotto la devotione di Pallade già è certo ; e che il Foro havesse Tempio di Pallade n' è segno espressissimo in quel pezzo d'anticaglia, ch'è nella via diritta frà Tor de' Conti, e i Pantani , e ch' esser stata nel Foro di Nerva apparisce . E' fatto di belli intagli con colonne corinthie scannellate , e fù forse un pezzo di quel Tempio di Pallade , di cui Sesto Aurelio scrive in Nerva : *Dedicato Foro, quod appellatur pervium, quod ades Minerva eminentior confurgit, & magnificentior* . Ha in cima una scultura di mezzo rilievo ; & è una Pallade dritta in gonna senza usbergo, ma con l'elmo in testa con lo scudo nella sinistra ; e nella destra, che hora è rotta, si può dir francamente v'havesse la spada, ò l' hasta . Martiale nel secondo Epigramma del primo libro inse-

Foro Pa'lla-
dio fù lo ite-
so , che di
Nerva .

Templu
Palladis .

K 2

gnan-

administrations imposed by successive royal and imperial governments.

In book III, Nardini discusses the fourteen districts of Rome. For each district he provides a list of constituent parts (*vicus, arcus, campus, aedicula, templum, castra, insulae, domus*, etc.) that is a veritable Latin dictionary, then a discussion of each significant building, followed by the sites whose function and location are still disputed. His discussion of the Roman and imperial fora occupies the fifth book, where he relies heavily on Panvinio—extravagantly praised on page 69 as “gran mostro d’eruditione”—and Donati, who had described their extensive findings on the forum of Trajan and its decorations. This eighth district of the city is considered the most distinguished since it contains its most celebrated buildings. Here, and in book VI on the Campo Marzio and the Palatine Hill, Nardini adds more buildings to Panvinio’s already expanded lists. Book VIII includes an attempt to quantify the treasury of ancient Roman buildings, where Nardini enlarges on Vittore’s earlier list, offering twenty-eight libraries, eight bridges, six obelisks, eight *campi*, seventeen fora, sixteen baths, twenty aqueducts, forty-five lupanaria, and 144 public latrines, among the other numerous amenities of the city. The chapter on the Tiber not only deals with the uses of the river and its bridges, but also embraces other hydraulic subjects, such as the aqueducts and sewers of Rome. Like other antiquarian studies of the ancient city, Nardini’s is an implicit panegyric of the typological range, engineering achievement, and sheer number of Rome’s buildings.

Nardini’s study is part of the critical research begun by fifteenth-century humanists, which attempted to recapture the significance and meaning of the ancient Roman ruins, initiated with the publication of *Roma instaurata* by Flavio Biondo. Others included Poggio Bracciolini, Bernardo Rucellai, and Pomponio Leto, linked by their love of antiquity, the interest in discovery for its own sake, and belief in the ephemeral nature of manmade things. By the seventeenth century the study of Roman ruins had become the subject of erudition and incipient scientific archaeology.

Vacca’s *Memorie* is exactly what the title promises. In 121 paragraphs he offers the stories of the numerous

invaluable archaeological finds (undated) made in Rome in the sixteenth century, which he had either witnessed himself or had “heard told about,” and their current location. He saw the excavations behind the church of Santi Cosimo e Damiano where the marble plan of Rome, in the Cardinal Farnese collections, was found. He tells the story of a treasure of coins and jewelry found in the Muti garden by the gardener, who ran off with it. Muti’s request that all people in Rome who wanted to sell old coins be questioned netted Michelangelo himself, who was arrested and interrogated. The real thief had gone off to Venice and gave the treasure to the Republic in exchange for citizenship. Vacca mentions remains no longer extant, such as the triumphal arch and its decorations found near Trajan’s column. The bronze figure of a horse and rider (now known as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius) on the Capitoline Hill was found in a garden near the Scala Sancta at the Lateran in the time of Sixtus IV; placed in front of the church, it remained there until Paul III moved it to its present location, while the pedestal that Michelangelo carved for it was made from an architrave from Trajan’s forum. Other Capitoline ornaments, such as the horse-tamers, were found in the time of Pius IV near the site of today’s synagogue along the Tiber. Occasionally, as when he explains that the name of Piazza di Pietra reflects its use as a quarry rather than its original function, Vacca offers contemporary sources for the etymology of Rome’s streets and squares.

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Giambattista Nolli

(1701–1756)

64

Nuova Pianta Di Roma Data In Luce Da
Giambattista Nolli L'Anno M DCC XLVIII

[Rome: Giambattista Nolli, c. 1750]

1984.8.10

Folio: 479 × 388 (18⁷/₈ × 15¹/₄)

Foliation [20] etched and engraved plates (18 double page)

(*Note:* In the Millard copy, pls. 1–4 are conjugate with pp. 29–32 and appear as four double-page plates numbered 1–4 in the upper left corner and 29–32 in the upper right corner [i.e., 1 and 29, 2 and 30, 3 and 31, 4 and 32]. The plates are also sometimes separated and bound in the correct numerical sequence)

Edition First edition, second state. The first edition of 1748 lacks the “Avvertimento” concerning the orientation of the maps and numbering of plates 33–36 (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2311)

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: full-page title plate; full-page preface (“Avviso Al Lettore”) and list of Roman districts (“Rioni di Roma”); 18 double-page plates numbered 1–36. Plates 1–4 and 29–32 are conjugate, as described above, and plates 5–36 are numbered in the top left and top right corners (i.e., 5 and 6, 7 and 8, . . . 35 and 36). Plates 1–4 are the etched numerical key to the 1320 numbered features on plates 5–28; plates 5–28 fit together to form a large plan of Rome; plates 29–32 are an etched alphabetical index according to building type of the buildings on plates 5–28; plate 33–34 shows the entire plan of Rome at one-twelfth of the scale; plate 35–36 is Nolli’s reinterpretation of Leonardo Bufalini’s plan of Rome of 1551. Plate 5–6 includes a dedication to Pope Benedict XIV (“Alla Santità Di Nostro Signore Papa Benedetto XIV La Nuova Topografia Di Roma Ossequiosamente Offerisce E Dedica L’Umilissimo Servo Giambattista Nolli Comasco”) and imprint (“Misurata, delin: ed a proprie Spese data in luce da Giambatta: Nolli Geoma; ed Archo. L’Anno 1748”); plates 15–16 and 33–34 bear the Papal privilege (“Si stampa in Roma con Privil. del Soma. Pontefice e Licenza de’ Superiori”); plate 33–34 also features a dedication to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, dated Rome, 1748; plate 35–36 contains a dedication to Silvio Valenti, and privilege (“Romæ cum priuil. sum. Pontificis, et Super.

Permissu anno 1748”). Plates 4, 5–6, and 32–36 are signed by Carlo Nolli as engraver; plate 5–6 is signed by Rocco Pozzi and Pietro Campana as engravers; plate 9–10 is signed by Stefano Pozzi as artist and engraver; plate 33–34 is signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi as draftsman and engraver; plate 35–36 is signed by Francesco Monaco as engraver

Binding Modern half calf with marbled boards, red morocco label on cover, gilt spine title. Plates mounted on blue paper guards

References Berlin Cat. 2703 (imperfect): Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (Rome, 1962), I: 231–237; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2311

Giovanni Battista Nolli. *Nuova pianta di Roma*. Personification of ancient Rome. 1984.8.10



AUTHOR OF THE MOST ACCURATE and complete plan of early modern Rome, Giambattista Nolli was born near Como in 1701 and died in Rome in 1756. He had trained as a surveyor in Milan and received a diploma in 1722; from 1729 until 1731 he was in Savoy royal service working on one of the most sophisticated *catasti* of the time. When he went to Rome in 1736 he was already a celebrated surveyor. His work in surveying Rome was supported by well-placed sponsors from the very beginning; Nolli's papal permit to survey interiors of buildings was dated 13 August 1736 (*In urbe* 1991).

In this immense undertaking to make an accurate ichnographic map of Rome, Nolli seems to have had several close collaborators, including Michelangelo Specchi. The attempt to collect money for the publication through subscriptions had failed by 1742, and this may explain why the accompanying text to the map was not published. In 1741 Nolli was commissioned by the marchese Capponi, the keeper of the Capitoline museum, to supervise the mounting of the fragments of the marble *Forma Urbis* plan of ancient Roman origin. Giovanni Battista Piranesi also worked with Nolli in the placement of these fragments and then published his engravings of the fragments together with a reconstruction plan of ancient Rome in 1756 (see cat. 90). The

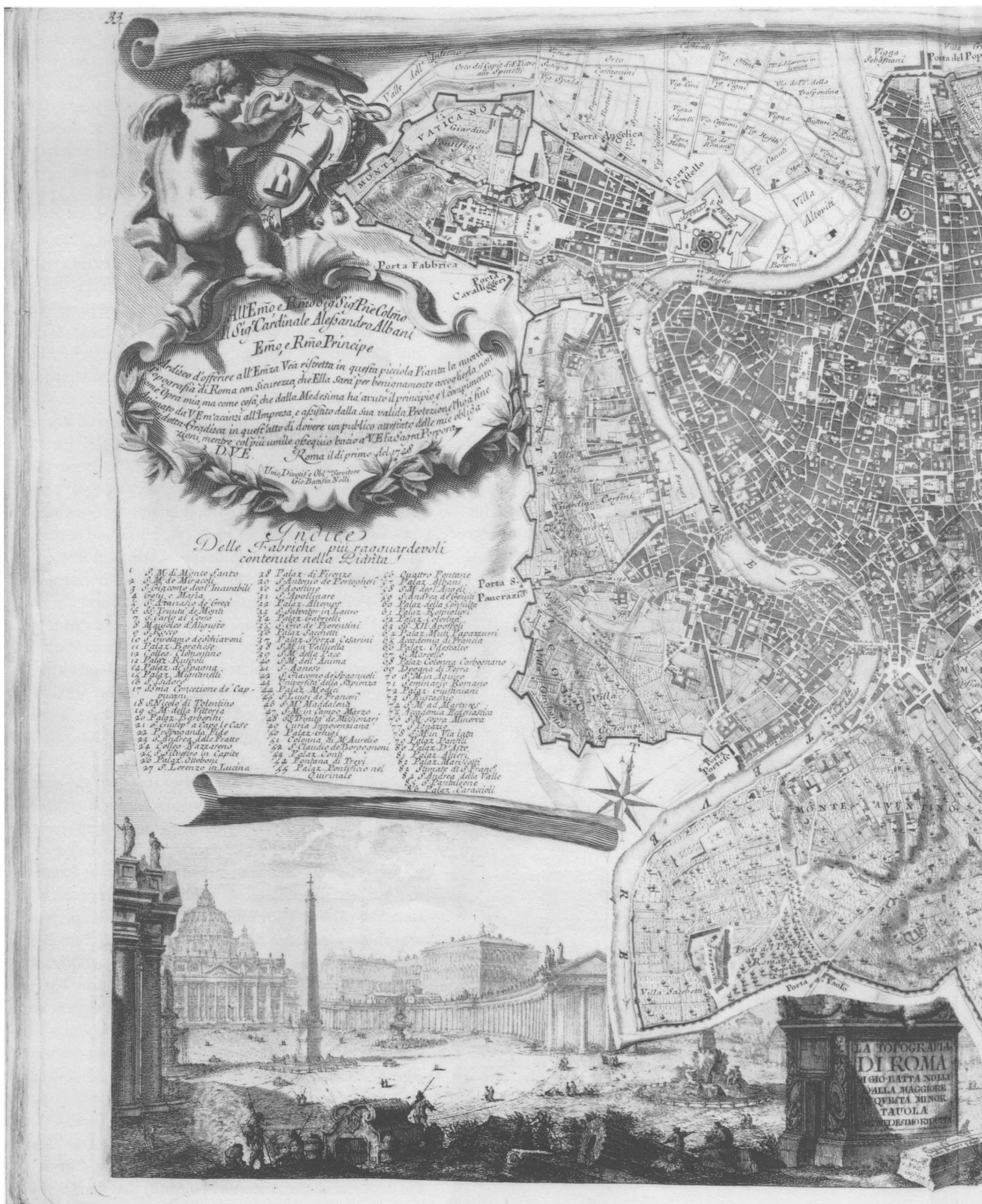
fragments, given to the pope in that year by Charles III of Bourbon, heir of the Farnese collections, were then located by the architect Ferdinando Fuga in the stairhall of the Palazzo Nuovo on the Capitoline Hill. These fragments probably affected Nolli's choice of graphic representation for public buildings, which he emphasized and separated from the surrounding urban fabric (Ceon, in *Rome* 1984). Nolli's debt to the only other earlier ichnographic plan, the 1551 plan published by Leonardo Bufalini, is more direct.

While working on his map of Rome, Nolli also accepted other commissions. Between 1742 and 1744 he made the cadastral plans of three estates in the Velletri area, and he was the surveyor of the Albani properties in the via Salaria (later the Villa Albani) from 1744. His one independent work in architecture is the rebuilding of the church and convent of Santa Dorothea in the Trastevere neighborhood of Rome.

In preparation for making his large map of Rome, eventually published in 1748, Nolli spent eight years surveying the city. The other stages for the preparation of the plan included drawing and the making of plates. There is an extant pen and ink preparatory drawing for this map by Nolli, 165 × 187 cm, preserved at the Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome. The large map was engraved in twelve folio sheets by Rocco Pozzi, Pietro Campana da Soriano, and Carlo Nolli, Giambattista's son. The framing vignettes at the bottom of the plan were engraved by Stefano Pozzi. The engraved copperplates are now preserved at the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome. The smaller version of the map was engraved by Carlo Nolli alone; it was republished in 1773 by Ignazio Benedetti and in 1781 by Giuseppe Vasi (Frutaz 1962).

Nolli was the first cartographer to orient the map of Rome to the north (between geographical and magnetic north). His main objective was to present the fabric of the modern city. His plan is precisely scaled at 1:2,750. The 1748 map is in fact the first plan of Rome to represent the architectural developments in the city since the plan by Giovanni Battista Falda of 1676. Nolli was able to render in detail the combined architectural and urbanistic results of Renaissance and baroque interventions in Rome. Projects under construction, like the Trevi fountain and the Palazzo Corsini, appear completed in Nolli's plan. The lower part of the plan is decorated with the personifications of ancient and modern Rome. Ancient Rome is helmeted, enthroned, and surrounded by broken pagan statuary and ruins of ancient buildings. She is separated from the personification of contemporary Rome, shown as Ecclesia crowned with the papal tiara, by an altarlike form (borrowed from the pedestal of the Antonine column) that carries the dedication to Benedict XIV. The presence of ruins shows the eighteenth-century delight in the *capriccio*, in which







9



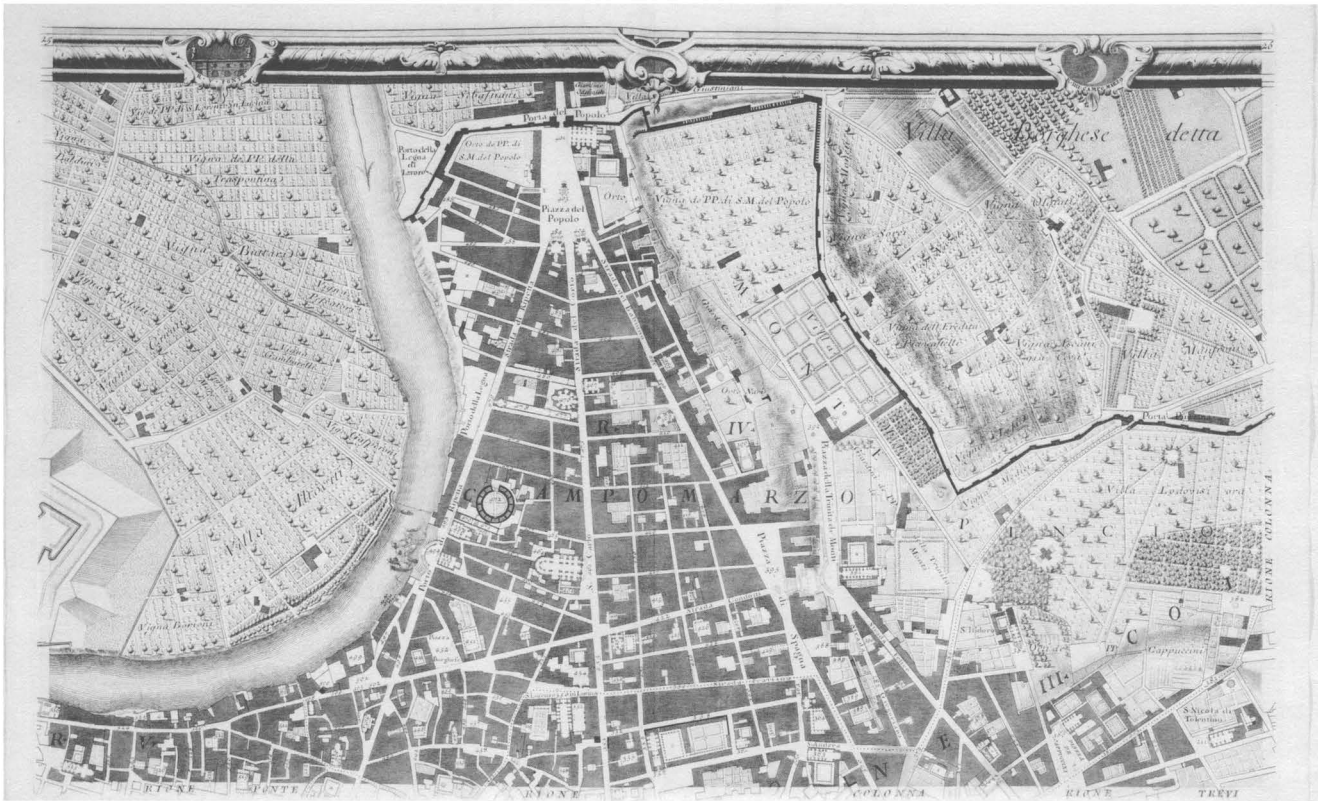
architecturally truthful buildings are placed in imagined or fantastic arrangements; the modern backdrop to Roma-Ecclesia likewise combines Saint Peter's, the Campidoglio, and the Lateran (Ceen, in *Rome* 1984).

In his engraved representation of Rome, Nolli invented what became a fundamental graphic convention: the figure-ground plan in which buildings are illustrated as a black mass surrounded by white open ground. The plan illustrates precisely not only streets, squares, and alleys as they are framed by buildings but also the ground-floor plans of public buildings, large private palaces, and interior plans of all churches—in a further refinement of the figure-ground plan. In this way he reframes our understanding of the public domain by showing the public square and street extended into the penetrable spaces of all accessible buildings. In addition to buildings, shown in plan or as a solid black figure, Nolli also illustrates fountains, columns, and obelisks. Nolli's map was used in the rearrangement of the districts, or *rioni*, of Rome ordered by Pope Benedict XIV in 1743 and carried out by Cardinal Annibale Albani and Count Bernardino Bernardini, and the coats of arms of the fourteen *rioni* decorate the top of the plan (Frutaz 1962). Nolli reconstructs, in dotted line, the trace of ancient Roman buildings. The 1,320-item legend enriches the plan; the numbered sites are also alphabetically listed. The plan is a compendium of the city's topography and is easily legible despite numerous details. In its size it resembles a mural painting, but in its portability it is a thoroughly modern project. The

Giovanni Battista Nolli. *Nuova pianta di Roma*. Personification of papal Rome. 1984.8.10

design of the views that ornament the plan, based on *vedutismo*, is similar to a stage backdrop (Zänker 1973).

While ancient Rome is represented as a statue, modern Rome is a living female figure representing Christian papal Rome. The demise of ancient Rome is represented by the sarcophagus behind the helmeted figure, which, together with the ruins that surround her and the broken statue of the wolf, signifies the passing of time. The dedicatory pedestal, which links ancient and modern, imperial and papal, was inspired by the socle of the Antonine column, discovered in 1703 and placed in Piazza Montecitorio in 1748. The figure of Rome is based on the statue of the Roma-Cesi statue in the Capitoline loggia, known from many prints (Zänker 1973). The sarcophagus behind Roma is based on the one that stood in front of the Pantheon, which had been drawn and imitated by many artists. Antonio Rossellino had copied it for both the tomb of the cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato al Monte in Florence and in Sant'Ana dei Lombardi in Naples; Philibert de l'Orme modeled the tomb of Francis I in Saint Denis on it, and Francesco Algarotti's tomb in Pisa is also a copy. It had been raised on a pedestal by Pope Leo X, then moved in 1666 to the left niche of the Pantheon's vestibule. In 1734 the sarcophagus was moved by Pope Clement XII Corsini to his family chapel in San Giovanni



in Laterano (Zänker 1973). The plan of Rome is thus framed by the illustrations of the sarcophagus at left and the Lateran at right, symbolic representations of pagan and Christian, old and new Rome, now also together. The plan clarifies the image of Rome as a historically developing city; its objective presentation is widened with the subjective presentation of the papal program that forms the frame of the plan.

The contrast between the baroque Rome of Nolli's *vedute* and his scientifically precise plan heightens the appeal of the image, though it found few buyers in Nolli's lifetime. It inspired such works as Giovanni Battista Piranesi's plan of ancient Rome (1756), the plan of Naples by Giovanni Caraffa, duke of Noia (1750–1775), and the plan of Paris by Edmé Verniquet (1774). But Nolli's plan did not interest contemporary buyers, who preferred views. Of the 1,874 copies of the plan that were originally printed, only 340 copies sold in the first two years. One hundred and four copies were damaged on their way to England, and fifty plans were offered to colleagues by Nolli; even so, the price dropped from 6 scudi to 1.5 scudi (Faccioli 1966). Nolli could not recover his cost of 7,116 scudi, which did not include his own salary for twelve years' work. Unable to repay his creditors—he had been supported by various sponsors in this privately initiated enterprise—he died a bankrupt man. But Nolli's independence is significant in artistic terms, since he was operating relatively independently, without a patron in a postabsolutist marketplace.

Giovanni Battista Nolli. *Nuova pianta di Roma*. Detail of the area near the northern gate (Porta del Popolo). 1984.8.10

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Andrea Palladio

(1508–1580)

65

I Quattro Libri Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Ne' quali, dopo un breue trattato de' cinque ordini, & di quelli auertimenti, che sono piu necessarij nel fabricare; Si Tratta Delle Case Private, delle Vie, de i Ponti, delle Piazze, de i Xisti, et de' Tempij

[Book 2] Il Secondo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qvale Si Contengono I disegni di molte case ordinate da lui dentro, e fuori della Città, Et I Disegni Delle case antiche de' Greci, & de' Latini

[Book 3] Il Terzo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qvale Si Tratta delle Vie, de' Ponti, delle Piazze, delle Basiliche, e de' Xisti

[Book 4] Il Qvarto Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qval Si Descrivono, e si figurano i Tempij Antichi, che sono in Roma, Et Alcuni Altri, Che Sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia

Venice: Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570

1983.49.42

Folio: 289 × 198 (11 ³/₈ × 7 ¹³/₁₆)

Pagination Book 1: 67, [1] pp.

Book 2: 78, [2] pp.

Book 3: 46, [2] pp.

Book 4: [3]–128, [8] pp.

(Note: The title leaf [i.e., pp. (1–2)] for Book 4 is lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition First edition

Text book 1: pp. [1] general title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Palladio to Giacomo Angaran, dated Venice, 1 November 1570; [4] blank; 5–67 text and illustrations; [68] blank; book 2: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–[78] text and illustrations (p. 78 misnumbered 66); book 3: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Palladio to Emanuele Filiberto, duke of Savoy, dated Venice, 1570; [4] blank; 5–[47] text and illustrations; [48] blank; book 4: pp. 3–[133] text and illustrations; [134] printer's device and colophon; [135–136] blank

Ornaments Woodcut architectural border repeated on each title page, with personifications of Geometry and

Architecture and Franceschi's "Regina Virtus" atop pediment and in center medallion; woodcut printer's device; typographic ornaments; historiated woodcut initials

Illustrations Unsigned and unnumbered woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page

Binding Seventeenth-century mottled calf, sprinkled edges

Provenance Neat pencil annotations throughout in French

References Avery's Choice, 19; Berlin Cat. 2592; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 78; Cicognara 594; Cappelletti 57; Fowler 212; Mortimer, *Italian*, 352; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2383

66

I Quattro Libri Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Ne' quali, dopo vn breue trattato de' cinque ordini, & di quelli auertimenti, che sono piu necessarij nel fabricare; Si Tratta Delle Case Private, delle Vie, de i Ponti, delle Piazze, de i Xisti, et de' Tempij

[Book 2] Il Secondo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qval Si Contengono i disegni di molte case ordinate da lui dentro, e fuori della Città, Et I Disegni Delle case antiche de' Greci, & de' Latini

[Book 3] Il Terzo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qvale Si Tratta delle Vie, de' Ponti, delle Piazze, delle Basiliche, e de' Xisti

[Book 4] Il Qvarto Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qval Si Descrivono, e si figurano i Tempij Antichi, che sono in Roma, Et Alcuni Altri, Che Sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia

Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1581

1983.49.43

Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1570]. Title page. 1983.49.42



Folio: 301 × 200 (11¹³/₁₆ × 7⁷/₈)

Pagination Book 1: 67, [1] pp.

Book 2: 78, [2] pp.

Book 3: 46, [2] pp.

Book 4: 3–133, [1] pp.

(Note: Pagination does not include the title page and final blank leaf of book 4, lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition Second edition

Text book 1: pp. [1] general title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Palladio to Giacomo Angaranno, dated Venice, 1 November 1570; [4] blank; 5–67 text and illustrations; [68] blank; book 2: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–78 text and illustrations; [79–80] blank; book 3: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3] dedication to Emanuele Filiberto, duke of Savoy, dated Venice, 1570 (verso blank); 5–[47] text and illustrations; [48] blank; book 4: pp. 3–133 text and illustrations; [134] printer's device and colophon

Ornaments Woodcut architectural border repeated on each title page printed using original woodblock from the 1570 edition (cat. 65); woodcut printer's device; typographic and woodcut ornaments; historiated and floriated woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. All woodcuts printed using original woodblocks from the 1570 edition (cat. 65)

Binding Recased in modern vellum, lettered with ornamental paneling in red and sepia on spine; new endpapers

Provenance Eighteenth-century engraved armorial bookplate of Lord Sinclair (transferred from an earlier flyleaf); neat annotations in Italian together with underlinings in sepia ink; small stamp of Michel Kieffer inside front cover

References Berlin Cat. 2594; Cappelletti 58; Cicognara 595; Fowler 213; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2384

67

I Qvattro Libri Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Ne' quali, dopò un breue Trattato de' cinque ordini, & di quelli auertimenti, che sono più necessarij nel fabricare; Si Tratta Delle Case Private, delle Vie, de i Ponti, delle Piazze, de i Xisti, et de' Tempij

[Book 2] Il Secondo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qval Si Contengono i disegni di molte case ordinate da lui dentro, e fuori della Città. Et I Disegni Delle Case Antiche de' Greci, & de' Latini

[Book 3] Il Terzo Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qvale Si Tratta delle Vie, de' Ponti, delle Piazze, delle Basiliche, e de' Xisti

[Book 4] Il Qvarto Libro Dell'Architettvra Di Andrea Palladio. Nel Qval Si Descrivono, e si figurano i Tempij Antichi, che sono in Roma; Et Alcuni Altri, Che Sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia

Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1616

1983.49.64

Folio: 321 × 213 (12⁵/₈ × 8³/₈)

Pagination Book 1: 67, [1] pp.

Book 2: 78, [2] pp.

Book 3: 46, [2] pp.

Book 4: 133, [3] pp.

Edition Fourth edition

Text book 1: pp. [1] general title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Palladio to Giacomo Angaranno, dated Venice, 1 November 1570; [4] blank; 5–67 text and illustrations; [68] blank; book 2: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–78 text and illustrations; [79–80] blank; book 3: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Palladio to Emanuele Filiberto, duke of Savoy, dated Venice, 1570; [4] blank; 5–[47] text and illustrations; [48] blank; book 4: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–133 text and illustrations; [134] printer's device, colophon, and statement by the editor, Umberto Fabri: "Corrigeua il D. Vberto Fabri Vbio Lettor Pvblico, & Correttore Approbato."; [135–136] blank

Ornaments Woodcut architectural border repeated on each title page using original woodblock (cat. 65), except the central medallion, which was cut from the block and replaced with a new woodcut scene for the 1601 edition; woodcut printer's device; woodcut ornaments; historiated and floriated woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. All woodcuts printed using original woodblocks from the 1570 edition (cat. 65), except for the figure on p. 69 of book 4, which has been replaced by another impression of the figure on p. 72 of book 4

Binding Contemporary vellum, lettered ink on spine; manuscript date at foot of front cover

Provenance Ownership inscription of Stephen Trapas in seventeenth-century hand on general title page; two-line ownership inscription in French on front free endpaper (undecipherable); nineteenth-century inscription of Arthur Fischer on front free endpaper

References Cappelletti 60; Fowler 215; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2386

68

L'Architettura D'Andrea Palladio Divisa in Quattro Libri Di nuovo ristampata, ed abbellita coll'impressione delle figure in rame non più usata Con l'Aggiunta del Quinto Libro Che tratta delle Antichità di Roma dell'Autore medesimo non più veduto. Consecrata Al Merito sempre grande di S. Eccellenza il N.H. Kaulier Antonio Francesco Farsetti

Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1711

1983.49.46

Folio: 383×265 ($15\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$)

Pagination [iv], 336 pp., etched title plate

Edition Sixth Italian edition of *I quattro libri*, with a new edition of Palladio's *Antichità di Roma*

Text pp. [i–iv] dedication by Domenico Lovisa to Antonio Francesco Farsetti; 1–63 text and illustrations, book 1; [64] blank; 65–140 text and illustrations, book 2; 141–182 text and illustrations, book 3; 183–[314] text and illustrations, book 4; 315–335 text, "Dell'Antichità di Roma" (i.e., book 5); 336 table of contents, "Dell'Antichità"

Ornaments Woodcut and typographic initials; woodcut ornaments

Illustrations Etched architectural title plate with dedicatee's arms on pediment and title inscribed on hanging cloth; 213 unnumbered etched plates (156 full page), all included in the pagination. The plates are reversed, and often inaccurate, copies of the original woodcuts. Most plates are signed by Filippo Vasconi ("Philip: Vasconus Architectus Del: Sculps: Venetiis," with variants), and several are dated 1709. The plate on p. 134 is pasted over a canceled plate

Binding Contemporary blonde sprinkled calf, spine with gilt compartments, raised bands, red morocco label, red and tan sprinkled edges

References Cappelletti 63; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2388

69

[Vols. 1–2, Title in Italian] Architettura Di Andrea Palladio Vicentino Di Nuovo Ristampata, E di Figure in Rame diligentemente intagliate arricchita, corretta, e accresciuta di moltissime Fabbriche inedite; Con Le Osservazioni Dell'Architetto N.N. E Con La Traduzione Francese. Tomo Primo [–Secondo]

[Vols. 1–2, Title in French] Architecture De André Palladio De Vicence Nouvellement Mise Au Jour Corrigée, enrichie, de Planches en taille douce exactement Dessinées, & Augmentée de quantité de Bâtimens qui n'ont point paru jus qu'ici Avec Les Remarques De L'Architecte N.N. Le Tout Traduit De L'Italien. Tome Premier [–Second]

[Vol. 3, Title in Italian] Architettura Di Andrea Palladio Vicentino Di Nuovo Ristampata, Nelle quale sono ridotte in compendio le Misure, e le Proporzioni delli Cinque Ordini di Architettura dal medesimo insegnate, ed anche da molti altri Autori, e tratte da Fabbriche Antiche; Raccolte, E Date In Luce Dall'Architetto N.N. E con La Traduzione Francese. Tomo Terzo

[Vol. 3, Title in French] Architecture De André Palladio De Vicence Nouvellement Mise Au Jour, Dans la quelle sont données en abrégé les Mésures & les Proportions des Cinq Ordres d'Architecture démontrées par lui même, par plusieurs autres Auteurs & tirées des Anciens Bâtimens, Recueillies Et Publiées Par L'Architecte N.N. Le Tout Traduit De L'Italien. Tome Troisième

[Vols. 4–8, Title in Italian] Architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino . . . [continues as vols. 1–2]. Tomo Quarto [–Ottavo]

[Vols. 4–8, Title in French] Architecture De André Palladio Vicence . . . [continues as vols. 1–2]. Tomo Quatrième [–Huitième]

Venice: Angiolo Pasinelli, 1740–1748

1983.49.51–54

Folio: 475×323 ($18\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$)

Pagination Vol. 1 (1740): [iv], xxii, [ii], 45, [3] pp., 5 double-page letterpress tables, engraved frontispiece, [24] etched and engraved plates (1 folding, 1 double page)

(Note: the 5 letterpress tables belong to vol. 3)

Vol. 2 (1740): [viii], 87, [1] pp., [32] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 3 (1741): [vi], 16, 21–94 pp., 93 etched and engraved plates

Vol. 4 (1743): [viii], viii, 38 pp., [33] etched and engraved plates (2 folding, 3 double page)

Vol. 5 (1744): [vi], 47, [1], pp., 59 etched and engraved plates

Vol. 6 (1745): [vi], 47, [1], pp., 21 etched and engraved plates (1 double page)

Vol. 7 (1747): [iv], 43, [1] pp., [48] etched and engraved plates (7 double page)

Vol. 8 (1748): [vi], 23, [1] pp., [44] etched and engraved plates (7 double page)

Edition Seventh Italian edition of *I quattro libri*. This is the first edition annotated and edited by Francesco Muttoni (the “Architetto N.N.”) and Giorgio Fossati, with French text by Nicholas Dubois

Text vol. 1: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian, printed in red and black (all 16 title pages are printed in red and black); 5 double-page letterpress tables numbered 1–v, *hors texte*; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); 1–ii dedication, Italian, by Francesco Muttoni to the curators of the public library of Vicenza, dated 6 October 1740; iii–iv dedication, French; v–xvii preface, Italian and French in parallel columns (the text is printed in Italian and French in parallel columns throughout all 8 vols. unless otherwise indicated); xviii privilege, dated 17 September 1740; xix explanation of plate 1; xx approbation, dated 11 September 1740, and registered 27 September 1740; xxi–xxii explanation of plate 2; [i] fly-title “Delle Osservazioni Sopra L’Architettura De Andrea Palladio Parte Prima. Des Remarques Sur L’architecture De André Palladio Première Partie.” (verso blank); 1–19 text, “Osservazioni”/“Remarques,” part 1; [20] blank; 21–45 text, “Osservazioni”/“Remarques,” part 2; [46] blank; [47] errata; [48] blank; vol. 2: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication, Italian, by Muttoni to Giacomo Sorano; [vii–viii] dedication, French; [1]–78 text, book 1 of Palladio’s *I quattro libri dell’architettura*, including seven small engraved plates numbered 1–vii within text; [79] fly-title, “Osservazioni Dell’Architetto N.N. Sopra Diverse Tavole De’ Capitoli Di Questo Secondo Volume. Remarques De L’Architecte N.N. Sur Quelques Planches Des Chapitres De Ce Deuxième Volume.” (verso blank); 81–87 text, “Osservazioni”/“Remarques”; [88] blank; vol. 3: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication, Italian, by Mut-

toni to Giulio Porto, dated Vicenza, 18 September 1741; 1–4 preface; 5–94 text, in 5 parts, ending in errata; vol. 4: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [v–vii] dedication, Italian, by Giorgio Fossati to Martino Innico Caraccioli, dated Venice, 30 April 1746; [viii] blank; [1]–viii preface by Muttoni; [1]–33 text, “Delle Fabbriche Inedite Di Andrea palladio Nella Città Di Venezia.”/“Des Batimens Fait Par Andre Palladio Dans La Ville De Venise.”; [34] blank; 35–38 description of the “Palazzo del Nobile Cammillo Abbate Trivisano Patrizio Veneto nell’Isola, e Città di Murano”; vol. 5: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication, Italian, by Fossati to Ferdinando Maria de’ Rossi, dated Venice, 17 August 1747; [1]–47 text, book 2 of Palladio’s *Quattro libri*; [48] blank; vol. 6: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication, Italian, by Fossati to Antonio Cappello, dated Venice, 7 October 1747; [1]–47 text, book 3 of Palladio’s *Quattro libri*; [48] blank; vol. 7: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [1]–44 text, book 4 of Palladio’s *Quattro libri*, part 1; [44] blank; vol. 8: pp. [i] blank; [ii] title page, Italian; [iii] title page, French (verso blank); [1]–23 text, book 4 of Palladio’s *Quattro libri*, part 1; [24] blank

Ornaments Two different etched title page vignettes with putti and olive branches (i.e., one design on each Italian title page, the other on each French title page), both etched by Federico Zucchi after Francesco Fontebasso. Headpieces: allegorical scene with three female figures attended by putti at foot of Doric column, etched by Zucchi after Gasparo Ticiani, on first page of text in vols. 1, 2, 5–8; the doge of Venice depicted as Neptune with mermaids and mermen on first page of text in vol. 4, etched by Zucchi after Fontebasso; the arms of the Caraccioli family on dedication of vol. 4, unsigned. Tailpieces: drawing instruments tied with ribbon captioned “Misura Del Mezzo Piede Vicentino,” in vols. 1 and 2, signed by Giorgio Fossati; two putti carving a statue of a female figure at end of preface in vol. 4, etched by Zucchi after Fontebasso; a console supported by fauns and dragons, unsigned, in vols. 1 and 2; a group of fragments, unsigned, in vols. 1, 2, 4, and 7; a female personification of art, unsigned, in vols. 4 and 5; a female figure before a column with putto in foreground holding a plumb line, and a scale-bar at the foot, unsigned, in vol. 4. Woodcut initials on dedications of vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6, and preface of vol. 4; etched historiated initials on first page of text in vols. 1, 2, 4–8

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Engraved frontispiece with personification of Architecture seated at foot of Doric column with allegorical figures of Time and Eternity and putti, etched

by Francesco Zucchi after Gasparo Ticiani. 24 etched and engraved plates numbered [I–II], III–XLIV (18 plates each bearing two figures numbered individually, 1 plate bearing three figures numbered individually); one folding, one double page, remainder full page. Plate [I] is a double-page map, titled “Carta Corografica Del Lago Di Lugano . . .,” unsigned. Plate [II] is a folding map, titled “Parte del Territorio Vicentino Delineata da N.N. Architetto . . . 26 Agosto 1749,” and is signed by Francesco [i.e., Felice] Polanzani as engraver. Of the remaining plates, 16 are signed by Giorgio Fossati as engraver, and 5 are signed by Federico Zucchi as engraver

Vol. 2: 32 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered VIII–XXXIX (pls. I–VII included in text; see above). Plates IX–XXXIX are copied from the original woodcuts from book 1 of *I quattro libri dell’architettura*. Plates VIII–XX, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXI–XXXIX signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Vol. 3: 93 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered I–XCIII. Plate I with portraits labeled Vitruvius, Serlio, Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Muttoni, signed by Zucchi as engraver. Plates III–XV, relating to the Tuscan order, printed within the same etched border of a Tuscan aedicule dated 1740; plates XVI–XXXIII, relating to the Doric order, printed within Doric border dated 1740; plates XXXIV–LIII, relating to the Ionic order, printed within Ionic border, undated, but signed by Fossati as engraver; plates LIV–LXX, relating to the Corinthian order, printed within Corinthian border, unsigned and undated; plates LXXI–XCIII, relating to the Composite order, printed within Composite border, signed by Fossati and dated 1741. Plates XIII–XVI signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Vol. 4: 33 etched and engraved plates numbered I–XLVI (11 plates each bearing two figures numbered individually, 1 plate bearing three figures numbered individually); 2 folding, 3 double page, remainder full page. Plates I, II, and XII signed by Fossati as draftsman and engraver; plates I–V, VIII, X, XXIX, and XLIV–XLVI signed by Fossati as engraver only; remainder unsigned

Vol. 5: 59 full-page, etched and engraved plates numbered I–LIX. The plates are copied from the original woodcuts from book 2 of *I quattro libri*. Plates I and VI signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Vol. 6: 21 etched and engraved plates numbered I–XXI; one double page, remainder full page. The plates are copied from the original woodcuts from book 3 of *I quattro libri*. Plates I and X signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Vol. 7: 48 etched and engraved plates numbered [I]–LIII (5 plates each bearing two figures numbered individually); 7 double page, remainder full page. The plates are

copied from the original woodcuts from chapters I–XIX of book 4 of *I quattro libri*. Plates [I], XXI–XXII, XXXV–XXXVI, LI, and LIII signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Vol. 8: 44 etched and engraved plates numbered I–LI (7 plates each bearing two figures numbered individually); 7 double page, remainder full page. The plates are copied from the original woodcuts from chapters XX–XXXI of book 4 of *I quattro libri*. Plates II–III (1 plate), XXX–XXXI (1 plate), XXXIV–XXXV signed by Fossati as engraver; remainder unsigned

Binding Bound in 4 vols. Half calf with contemporary marbled paper boards, raised bands, blue morocco label, gilt volume number on spine. Uncut. The 5 folding tables in vol. 1 should be bound in vol. 3

Provenance Lowther bookplate in each volume (i.e., Lord Lonsdale’s library at Lowther Castle)

References Fowler 230; Brunet 4: 321; Cappelletti 68

70

[Title in Italian] Le Fabbriche E I Disegni Di Andrea Palladio Raccolti Ed Illustrati Da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi Opera divisa in quattro Tomi con Tavole in rame rappresentanti le Piante, i Prospetti, e gli Spaccati. Con La Traduzione Francese. Tomo Primo [–Quarto]

[Title in French] Les Batimens Et Les Desseins De André Palladio Recueillis Et Illustrés Par Octave Bertotti Scamozzi Ouvrage divisé en quatre volumes, avec des Planches, qui representent les Plans, les Prospects, & les Sections. Tome Premier [–Quatrième]

Vicenza: Francesco Modena, 1776–1783

1983.49.56–59

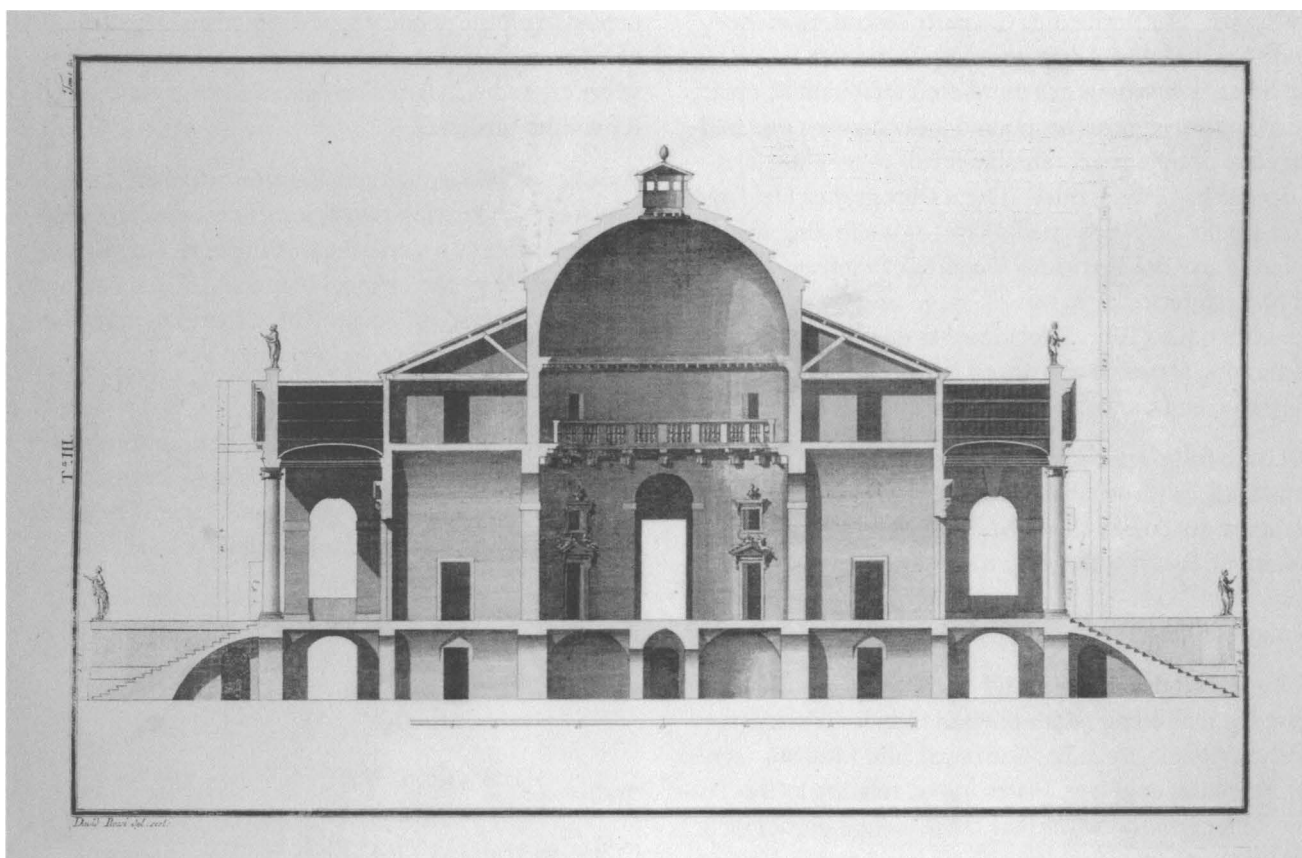
Folio: 484 × 347 (19 1/16 × 13 5/8)

Pagination Vol. 1 (1776): 84, 86, [2] pp., 52, [1] etched and engraved plates (11 double page)

(Note: Pagination does not include the etched and engraved frontispiece with portrait bust of Palladio, engraved by Simon François Ravenet after Davide Rossi, lacking in the Millard copy)

Vol. 2 (1778): 59, [1], 59, [1] pp., 51 etched and engraved plates (8 double page)

Vol. 3 (1781): 54, [2], 55, [1] pp., [50] etched and engraved plates (7 double page)



Vol. 4 (1783): 71, [1], 70, [2] pp., 54 etched and engraved plates (8 double page)

Edition First edition

Text vol. 1: (Italian text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–20 preface; 21–83 text; 84 table of contents; (French text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–20 preface; 21–86 text, ending with table of contents; [87–88] blank; vol. 2: (Italian text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–7 preface; [8] blank; 9–57 text; 58 privilege, dated 12 October 1778; 59 table of contents; [60] blank; (French text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–7 preface; [8] blank; 9–58 text; 59 table of contents; [60] blank; vol. 3: (Italian text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–7 preface; [8] blank; 9–52 text; 53 privilege, dated 4 February 1780; 54 table of contents; [55–56] blank; (French text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–7 preface; [8] blank; 9–54 text; 55 table of contents; [56] blank; vol. 4: (Italian text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–5 dedication by Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi to Baldassare Odescalchi; [6] blank; 7–13 preface; [14] blank; 15–69 text; 70 table of contents; 71 privilege, dated 8 February 1783; [72] errata for vols. 1–4; (French text) pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–5 dedication; [6] blank; 7–13 preface; [14] blank; 15–69 text; 70 table of contents; [71–72] blank

Ornaments Small woodcut vignette on each of the four title pages; etched armorial headpiece for dedication to vol. 4; typographic ornaments; woodcut tailpieces; woodcut initials

Andrea Palladio. *Les bâtimens et les desseins*. Book 2, plate 3. Section of the Villa Rotonda, Vicenza. 1983.49.61

Illustrations Etched and engraved plates, as follows:

Vol. 1: 52 plates numbered I–LII (11 double page, remainder full page), and an additional unnumbered engraving labeled “Pag. 25.” 47 plates are signed by Gaetano Vichi as draftsman (“Vichi del.,” with variants), including 10 also signed by Vichi as engraver; 4 plates are signed by Davide Rossi as draftsman and engraver, including one dated 1776; 1 plate is signed by Gaetano Testolini as draftsman and engraver. The plates were engraved by Cristoforo dall’Acqua (17 plates), Davide Rossi (4 plates), Paolo? Santini (2 plates), Gaetano Testolini (2 plates), and Sebastiano Giampiccoli (1 plate). Several plates lack the engraver’s signature

Vol. 2: 51 plates numbered I–LI (8 double page, remainder full page). 31 plates are signed by Gaetano Vichi as draftsman and engraver; 13 plates are signed by Davide Rossi as draftsman and engraver, including one dated 1778; 7 plates are signed by Vichi as draftsman and Testolini as engraver

Vol. 3: 50 plates numbered I–LII (7 double page, 43 full page), including 4 half-page illustrations on 2 leaves. None of the plates bears a draftsman’s signature. The plates were engraved by Vichi (29 plates), Testolini (16 plates), and Rossi (3 plates)

Vol. 4: 54 etched and engraved plates numbered I–LIV (8 double page, remainder full page). None of the plates bears a draftsman's signature. The plates were engraved by Vichi (26 plates), Testolini (18 plates, including one dated 1782), and Rossi (4 plates)

Binding Bound in 4 vols. as follows: [vol. I] Italian text, vols. 1–4; [vol. II] French text, vols. 1–4; [vol. III] plates, Vols. 1–2; [vol. IV] plates, vols. 3–4. As customary, Bertotti-Scamozzi's edition of Palladio's *Le terme dei romani*, Vicenza, 1785 is bound uniform as a fifth volume (cat. 72). Contemporary half blue-marbled vellum with blue paste-paper boards, spine paneled in gilt with raised bands, blue and tan morocco labels, blue sprinkled edges. Some plates in vol. I have been partially colored with a pale monochrome wash

Provenance Engraved bookplates of John Jay Ide and John Safford Fiske, together with two library bequest labels: "Hobart College Library Bequest from John Safford Fiske L.H.D. Deceased Alassio Italy June 11, 1907," and canceled label of Avery Library, J. J. Ide Bequest

References Berlin Cat. 2722; Cappelletti 127–128; Cicognara 598; Fowler 231; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 259

71

Les Bâtimens Et Les Desseins De André Palladio Recueillis Et Illustrés Par Octave Bertotti Scamozzi Ouvrage Divisé En Quatre Volumes, Avec Des Planches, Qui Réprésentent Les Plans, Les Façades, Et Les Coupes. Tome Premier [–Quatrième]. Seconde Edition

Vicenza: Giovanni Rossi, 1786

1983.49.61–63

Folio: 462 × 341 (18³/₁₆ × 13⁷/₁₆)

Pagination Vol. 1: 63, [I] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 52, [I] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 2: 40 pp., 51 etched and engraved plates

Vol. 3: 35, [I] pp., [50] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 4: 46 pp., 54 etched and engraved plates

Edition Second edition, with text in French only

Text vol. 1: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–15 preface; 16–63 text, ending with table of contents; [64] blank; vol. 2: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–5 preface; 6–39 text; 40 table of contents; vol. 3: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–6 preface; 7–34 text; 35 table of contents; [36] blank; vol. 4: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–7 preface; 8–46 text, ending with table of contents

Ornaments Etched and engraved pictorial vignette on title page of each volume, with two figures in landscape, one of which is gesturing toward a Palladian villa in background

Illustrations The plates are unaltered from the first edition of 1776–1783 (cat. 70), except for the unnumbered plate in vol. I, which is now labeled "Pag. 23" instead of "Pag. 25"

Binding Bound in 2 vols. As customary, Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi's edition of Palladio's *Le terme dei romani*, Vicenza, 1785 is bound uniform as a fifth volume (cat. 72). Early nineteenth-century half red morocco with marbled boards, gilt title, and volume number on spine

References Cappelletti 131; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 261

72

[Title in Italian] Le Terme Dei Romani Disegnate Da Andrea Palladio E Ripubblicate Con La Giunta Di Alcune Osservazioni Da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi Giusta L'Esemplare Del Lord Co. Di Burlingthon Impresso In Londra L'Anno 1732

[Title in French] Les Thermes Des Romains Dessinées Par André Palladio Et Publiées De Nouveau Avec Quelques Observations Par Octave Bertotti Scamozzi D'Après L'Exemplaire Du Lord Comte De Burlingthon Imprimé À Londres En 1732

Vicenza: Francesco Modena, 1785

1983.49.60

Folio: 484 × 347 (19 × 13⁵/₈)

Pagination 32, 35, [I] pp, etched and engraved frontispiece, 25 etched and engraved plates (17 double page)

Edition First edition of Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi's *Le terme dei romani* based on Lord Burlington's *Fabbriche antiche* of between 1736 and 1740

Text (Italian text) pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–4 dedication by Bertotti-Scamozzi to Cavaliere Girolamo Ascanio Giustiniani; 5–9 preface; 10 Lord Burlington's note to the reader, from his own edition; 11–32 text; (French text): pp. [I] title page (verso blank); 3–4 dedication; 5–10 preface; 11 Lord Burlington's note to the reader; [12] blank; 13–35 text; [36] blank

Ornaments Woodcut ornament on both title pages; etched armorial headpiece on both dedications; woodcut initials beginning preface and first page of text

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece with bust of Palladio within aedicule, pedestal inscribed: “Fabbriche Antiche Disegnate Da Andrea Palladio Vicentino E Date in Luce Da Ricardo Conte Di Burlington”; 25 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xxv (8 full page, 17 double page). Although the plates, with the exception of plate 1, are unreversed copies of those in Burlington’s edition, all but the frontispiece are signed by Carlo Barrera as draftsman; the frontispiece, plates 1–vii, xix–xxv are signed by Gaetano Testolini as engraver

Binding Bound uniform with the Millard set of Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi’s *Le fabbriche e disegni di Andrea Palladio*, Vicenza, 1776–1783 (cat. 70)

Provenance Engraved bookplates of John Jay Ide and John Safford Fiske, together with two library bequest labels: “Hobart College Library Bequest from John Safford Fiske L.H.D. Deceased Alassio Italy June 11, 1907,” and canceled label of Avery Library, J. J. Ide Bequest (donated 1962 according to penciled note on verso of title page)

References Berlin Cat. 1877; Cappelletti 184–185; Cicognara 599; Fowler 234; Millard, *British Books*, 52 (English ed.); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2380 (French text only)

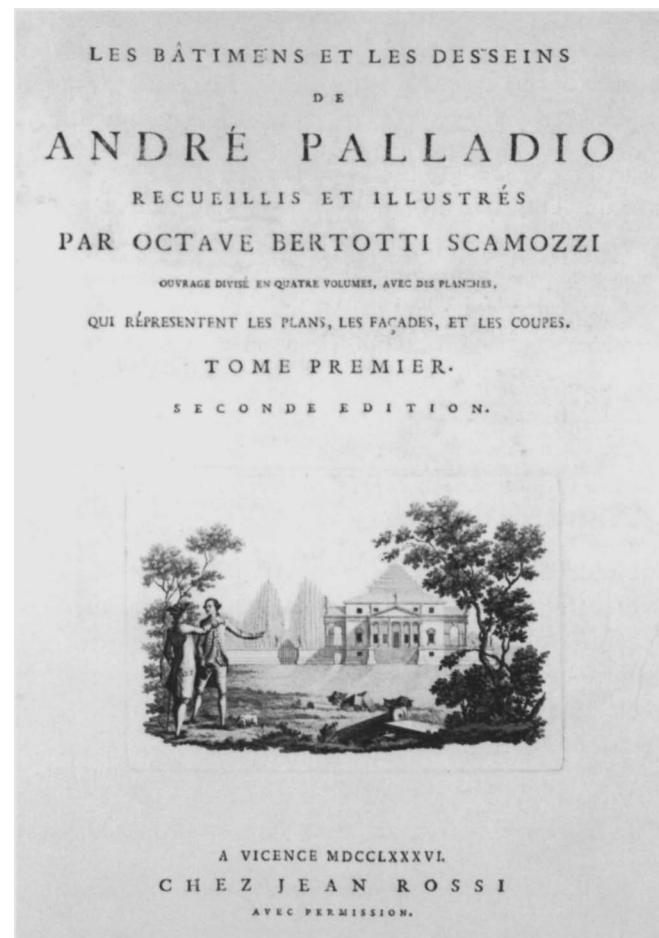
ANOTHER COPY

1983.49.64

Folio: 467 × 341 (18³/₈ × 13⁷/₁₆)

Binding In this copy, the French text is bound before the Italian text. Bound uniform with the Millard set of Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi’s *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, Vicenza, 1786 (cat. 70)

ANDREA (DI PIETRO DELLA GONDOLA) PALLADIO, the author of the most studied of the architectural treatises of the Renaissance, the third great work of the sixteenth century (after Sebastiano Serlio and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola), was the most distinguished practicing architect of the second half of the sixteenth century who “created the artistic physiognomy of Vicenza and Venice” (Schlosser). The most effective representative of the new principles of architecture in northern Italy, his architectural practice and his architectural theory are equally balanced in his work, offering a coherent expression in its corpus of ideas and buildings. Superior to Vignola’s in richness and importance, Palladio’s treatise was the most popular publication by any architect. The Venetian edition was first issued in 1570, then in 1581, 1601, 1616, 1642, 1711, 1740, 1741, 1769, and 1784. There were numerous translations of the treatise, as Palladio’s ideas aroused a



Andrea Palladio. *Les bâtimens et les desseins*. Title page. 1983.49.61

great deal of interest, especially in France and England. Palladio’s book made an enormous contribution to the affirmation of classicism and the authority of Vitruvius and was especially influential in the Anglo-Saxon world. Eventually the illustrated work of Palladio proved to be as efficacious as the “catechism” of Vignola’s study of columns. None of the earlier Renaissance treatises on architecture showed such a thorough symbiosis between the intellectual conception and the material realization of buildings.

For Palladio, the long and detailed preparation of the treatise involved coming to terms with contemporary architectural theories and extant Roman ruins. Palladio probably began to work on his treatise in 1550, when he was collaborating with Daniele Barbaro on the illustration of the latter’s edition of Vitruvius, issued in 1556 (see cat. 160). Palladio’s cultivated literary approach, so different from Vignola’s terse writing, had been developed under the guidance of Giangiorgio Trissino (1478–1550), a Vicentine aristocrat and humanist, who in many ways “made” Palladio, including giving him his name. Although by Palladio’s time the Vitruvian treatise had achieved absolute status as the principal source of the theory of architecture, he had strong reservations about the discrepancy between

Vitruvius' theory and the measurable reality of ancient Roman ruins, which he came to know so well. Palladio's treatise is conceptually clearer than that of Leon Battista Alberti (cats. 4–6), his details are more precise, his body analogy is more deeply argued than that of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, and his experience of ancient architecture is deeper and more direct than Serlio's (cats. 125–128). Like Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Palladio emphasized two major problems less developed by Vitruvius—domestic and military architecture. Palladio's "concern with normative architecture" (Boucher 1994) was noted by Daniele Barbaro, who defers to him in the 1556 edition of Vitruvius. Despite misgivings, antiquity remained the undisputed standard for Palladio, with Vitruvius as source and model. Eventually, Palladio's faith in the value of observed reality and his pragmatism toward experimental truth—as manifested in his treatise—endeared him to a broad audience (Italian, French, and British), so much so that his name was given to an aspect of classicism distinct from the Vitruvian stream of influence.

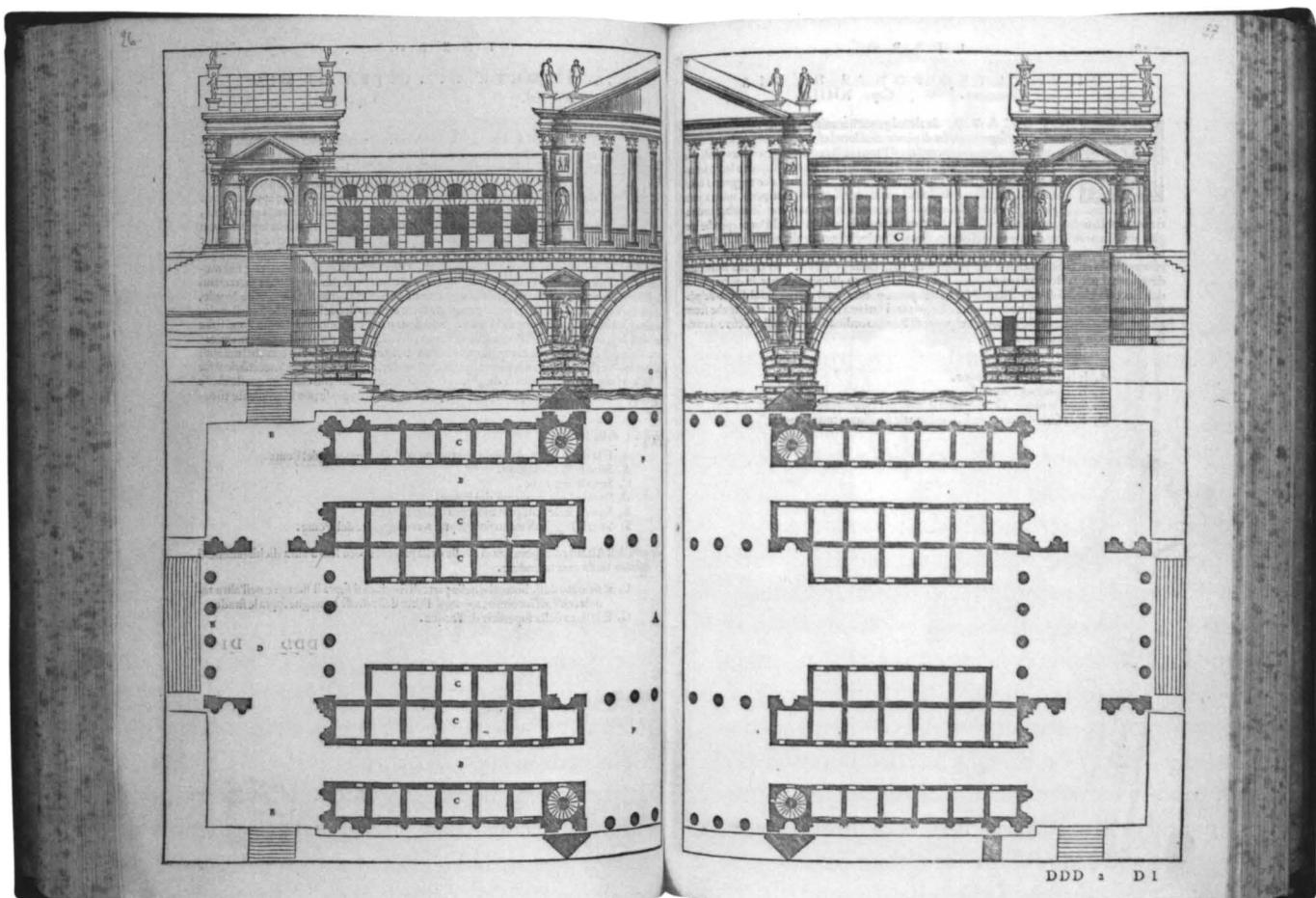
Palladio's remarkable published literary output consists of five works of varying dimensions and influence. In 1554 he published *L'antichità di Roma* and the *Descrit-*

tione de le sette chiese di Roma, guides to the ruins of ancient Rome and to the principal pilgrimage sites of contemporary Rome. These slender volumes became wildly successful guides, appropriated by the Roman and Venetian publishers who printed materials for the pilgrim trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and were reprinted numerous times, most often together with other similar small guides (see cats. 57–58). Over the next two hundred years, more than thirty editions of these guidebooks were published (Tavernor, in Palladio 1997).

Palladio also gave a brief opinion on problems related to the construction of the cathedral of Milan, which is part of the anthology published by Martino Bassi in his *Dispareri* of 1572 (see cat. 18). With his sons, Palladio edited and illustrated a version of Julius Caesar's *Commentarii*, published in Venice in 1574 (2d ed., Venice, 1619), for which he wrote the introduction and an essay on the operations of the ancient Roman army. His most distinguished publication, however, is his treatise on architecture, *Quattro libri*, issued in Venice in 1570.

Palladio's *Quattro libri* is divided into four distinct parts. In the first book he deals with the fundamental principles of architecture and with building materials. The core of the first book is a description of the five orders of architecture, followed by a discussion of the main parts of buildings, and an account of different

Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1570]. Plan and elevation of Palladio's Rialto bridge. 1983.49.42

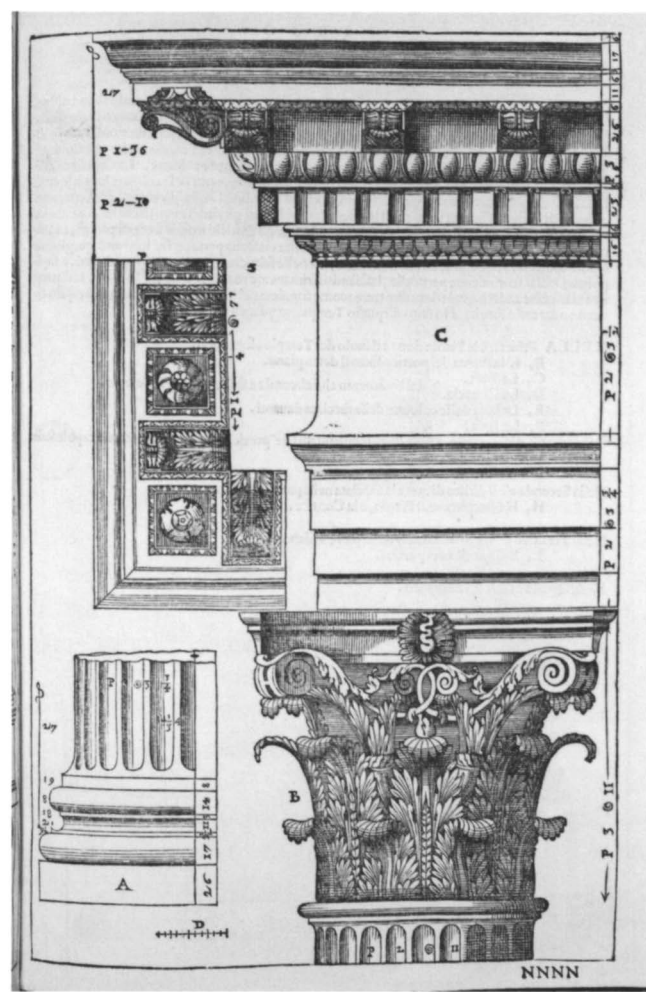


room types. Like Vignola, who became an important source, Palladio draws upon extant Roman columns as much as upon the precepts of Vitruvius. Presenting the orders in a neat package, and thus demonstrating his bias toward an idealized version of Roman architecture more systematic than it may actually have been, Palladio posited the Composite as the most distinguished of the orders. He suggested a solution for entasis, a problem not explained by Vitruvius, and showed “awareness of the difference between types of columns and their spacing” (Boucher 1994). Palladio thus generally contributed to the establishment of the canon of five orders as the core of architectural thought, first initiated by Raphael and published by Serlio.

In its devotion to the private dwelling, particularly the villa, the second book of Palladio’s treatise is a singular and novel contribution. Palladio illustrates numerous examples of his own built or projected domestic designs, which are related to his research to reconstruct the houses of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Palladio’s system of architecture is implicit in his presentation of his own projects. While earlier writers such as Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Serlio had offered designs for houses, these, unlike Palladio’s, were not based upon specific commissions. Still, going against his own stated intention to publish only buildings actually constructed, Palladio includes unexecuted projects at the end of the book (Boucher 1994). These late changes were probably an attempt to update the treatise with his most recent thinking on domestic architecture.

An additional problem of interpretation has been prompted by the research of Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi, who found remarkable differences between the actual buildings, which he measured, and the dimensioned plates in the *Quattro libri*. This started the intense discussion about the illustrations of Palladio’s treatise, which are considered totally unreliable by some, while others see in them the architect’s real intentions “however brutally compromised in execution” (as Bruce Boucher [1994] has summarized the dilemma). Boucher further suggests that another reason for this incongruity may have been that Palladio’s readers would not be expected to be familiar with the actual buildings in Vicenza and its surroundings. Rather than documenting the accidental conditions of the buildings on which he worked, Palladio preferred to record the “essential qualities” of the design he proposed.

In book 3, Palladio is concerned with the construction of the city, devoting special attention to bridges, streets, gates, and constituent public buildings such as basilicas. His chapter on bridges has been praised as the “most comprehensive treatment of the subject before the eighteenth century” (Boucher 1994). In this book, the analysis of the classical fora and their buildings is the rational development of the discussion of roads



Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1570]. Composite order. 1983.49.42

and bridges. Palladio examines basilicas, leaving theaters and baths to be explored in a subsequent part of the treatise. Although he illustrates his own principal public building in Vicenza, the city hall which he called the basilica, Palladio does not illustrate the difficult irregular site, again “avoiding accidental difficulties in favor of presenting an ideal version of his creation.”

In the fourth book of the treatise, Palladio turns to ancient architecture, specifically the architecture of ancient temples, which he considers the most important buildings of a city, echoing Alberti’s earlier assertion. The drawings upon which the illustrations of this part are based were revised by Palladio in the 1560s, when the method of representation was uniformly changed from perspectival to orthogonal. Palladio’s reconstructions reveal two curious aspects of his interpretation of Roman architecture: one is the narrow range of Roman architectural style as he imagines it, while the other is “the conflict between his love of system and his eye for the unusual motif” (Boucher 1994). Scholars have shown that Palladio altered the proportions of buildings by changing dimensions, as in his reconstruction of

the temple of Minerva in Assisi and the forum of Nerva in Rome. Following Raphael, he alters the dimensions of the two levels of Bramante's Tempietto so that in his drawing the building is slimmer than in actuality, and his reconstruction of the Lateran baptistry is imaginary rather than as it still was. Relying on his visual intuitions, Palladio did not hesitate to correct ancient works and recent iconic buildings, including his own.

Palladio's treatise, written over a long period, is referred to by Barbaro in his Vitruvius of 1556 as a work in progress; ten years later, in 1566, Giorgio Vasari saw a revised version of the treatise. Palladio may have intended a longer work, perhaps modeled on Vitruvius' ten books, as his numerous extant drawings of Roman antiquities might suggest. The format of the book as published in four parts was a late decision, as the earliest copies of the book, issued in two volumes, testify. As late as 1570, Palladio applied for a copyright for only three books (Tavernor, in Palladio 1997). It is apparent from these changes and from the great collection of extant preparatory drawings that Palladio had intended a multivolume publication, possibly modeled on Serlio's treatise.

Although the four books form a coherent entity, the first two parts are largely devoted to private architecture in contrast to the second two parts, which are focused on public architecture. The dedicatees of the parts accurately mirror this distinction. The parts on domestic building are dedicated to Giacomo Angaran, a Vicentine friend and patron, while the section on public structures was offered to Emanuele Filiberto, the duke of Savoy, who may have meant to employ Palladio in the construction in Turin of a chapel for the Holy Shroud.

The distinguished humanists Barbaro, Trissino, and Alvise Cornaro not only played formative roles in Palladio's development as an architect with intellectual interests, but also helped conceive the treatise. Trissino, a Vicentine poet and amateur architect, first took Palladio to Rome to study the antiquities of the city. His second trip to Rome was with Daniele Barbaro, a Venetian diplomat and the patriarch-designate of Aquileia, the Venetian Republic's highest church office (see cat. 12). Alvise Cornaro, a distinguished author who commissioned works from the architect Gian Maria Falconetto in Padua, influenced Palladio's studies with his own writings on architecture.

Palladio and Barbaro collaborated on two occasions: one was the construction of the Villa Barbaro at Maser and the other the illustrations for the editions of Vitruvius published in Venice in 1556 and 1567. Palladio provided many important illustrations in the early edition, as Barbaro recognizes, and Erik Forssmann (1966) has identified two of the architect's extant drawings as preparatory drawings for the 1556 edition. The second edition, reduced and somewhat coarsened, contained

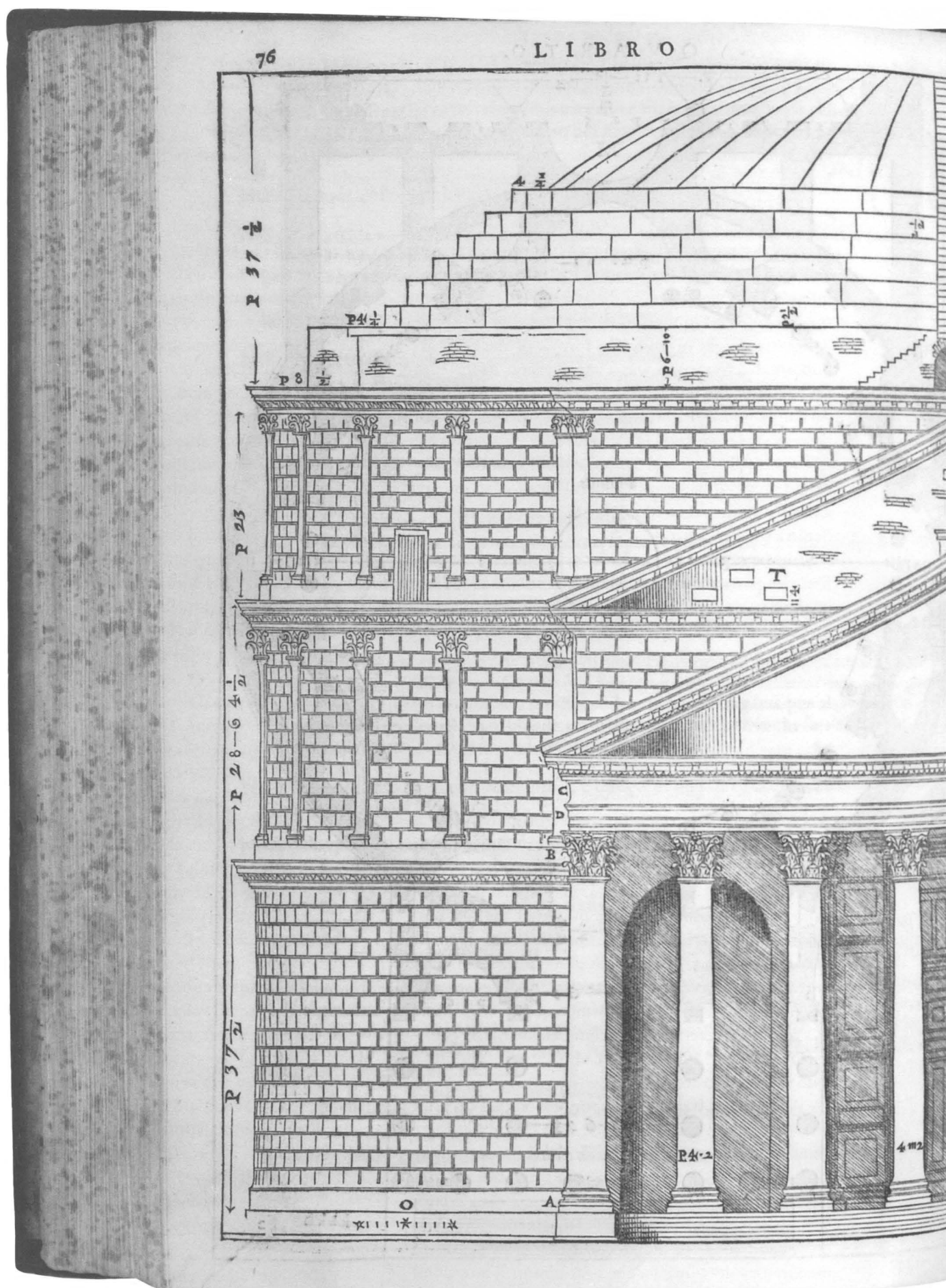
several new illustrations by Palladio, which, as Forssmann (1966) has shown, were used by him again three years later in the *Quattro libri*. Barbaro's Latin edition of Vitruvius of 1567 contains one additional illustration, the plan of the Greek house, which Palladio later inserted in the second book of the *Quattro libri*.

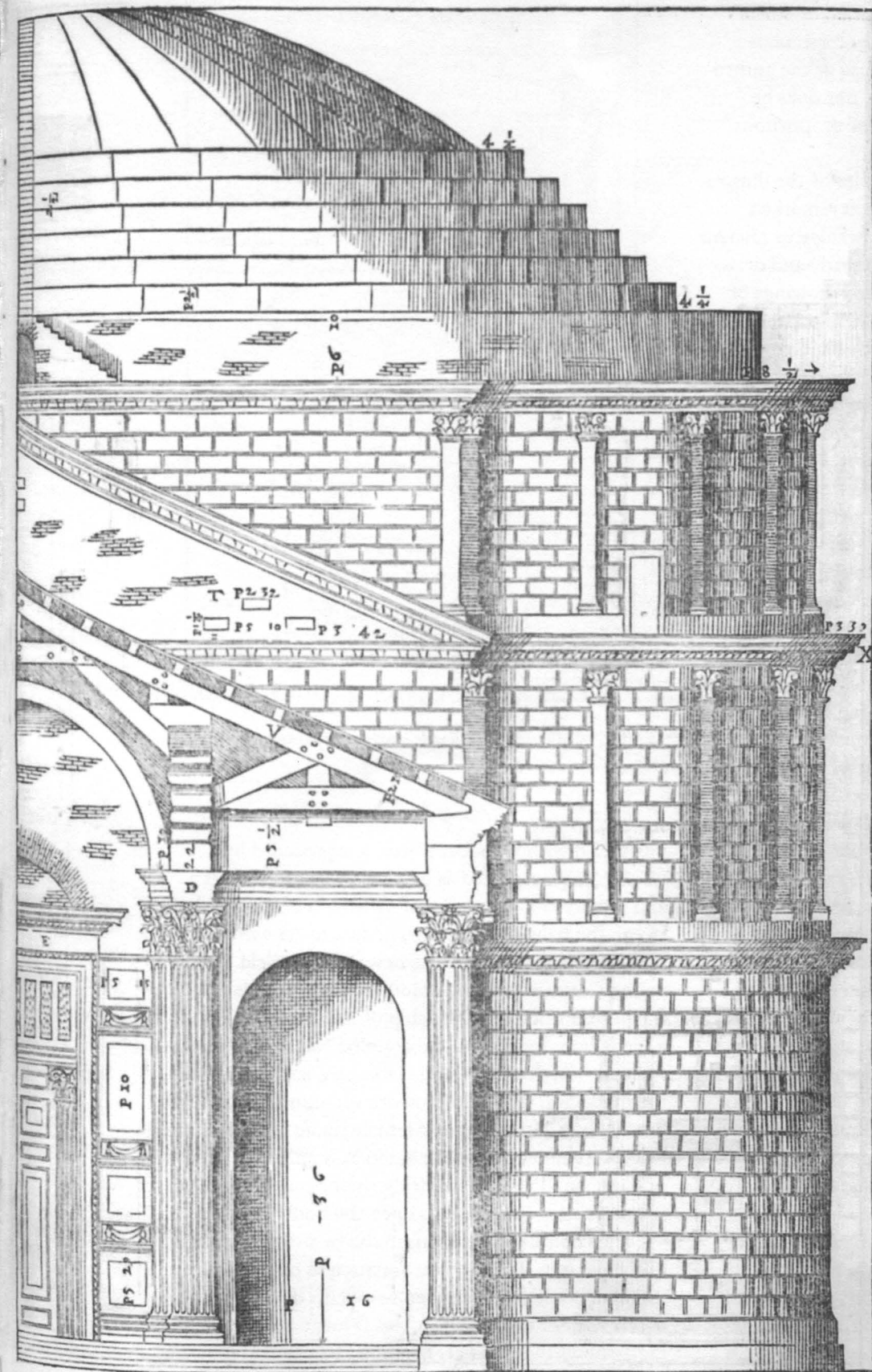
Equally significant for the development of Palladio's architectural theory were the exchanges between him and Barbaro, whose commentary on Vitruvius constitutes a philosophy of architecture that goes beyond the teachings of the ancient Roman writer. Barbaro's ideas about art were historical and evolutionary, based on the Aristotelian influence on the teaching that he received at the University of Padua. Thus he believed that art depends on an experience of reality and on the experiences of others, that is, of history. Concerned with the creative sources of art, Barbaro's vision of art approximated that of his mannerist successors, positing art independent of nature and equally creative. Therefore, in Barbaro's evaluation, architecture as an art depends on the formulation and adoption of certain precepts by the architect. Palladio came to share this empirical and historical vision of architecture, although he expressed these precepts in a simpler and more concise manner than Barbaro (Forssmann 1966).

When Palladio traveled to Rome with Barbaro in 1554, his classical as well as social horizons were expanded. Forssmann suggests that they may have seen together the gardens of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, owned by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este to whom Barbaro dedicated his edition of Vitruvius. The design of the gardens with its elaborate waterworks was a significant source for Barbaro's villa at Maser and its celebrated nymphaeum. The design of the villa at Maser provided opportunity for both Palladio and Barbaro to effect a form of habitation derived from their analysis of Vitruvius and Pliny and that responded to the specific conditions of the terra firma. The villa at Maser is in every sense a retreat—private, ecological, artistic—whose qualities can be generalized for this building type.

In his definition of beauty, Palladio returned, however, to the Platonic concept implicit in Vitruvius and taken up by Alberti. Palladio's treatise is squarely placed in the theoretical literature of the Renaissance on the side inspired by Vitruvius and his numerous commentators in the sixteenth century. The other theoretical current, led by Serlio and Vignola, proposed to extract from Vitruvius instruction for builders and masons, isolating specific aspects of Vitruvius' oeuvre. Instead, like Alberti, Palladio wishes to deal with every aspect of architecture, combining theory and practice, while Serlio and Vignola devote themselves to questions of

Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1570]. Pantheon, reconstruction. 1983.49.42



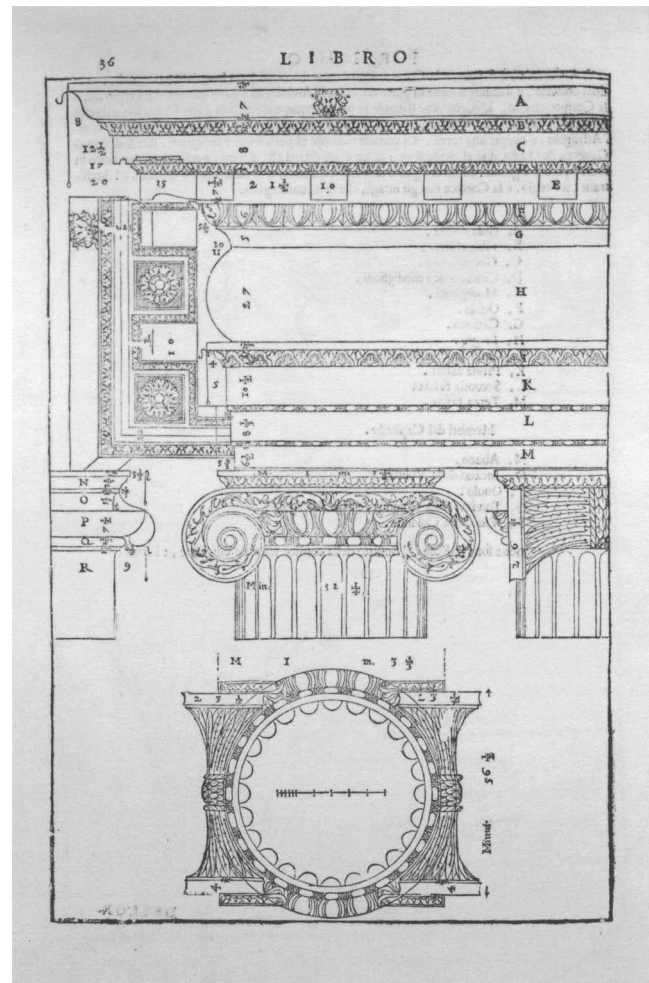


decorum. Palladio's text—as opposed to Alberti's, for example—shows a direct approach, and his familiarity with the writings of earlier authors endows him with great confidence. Unlike his predecessors, he steers clear of abstract theorizing and does not speculate, for instance, on the origins of the house or the anthropomorphic derivation of the column, nor does he offer an “elaborate harmonic theory of proportions” (Boucher 1994).

The rigorous and coherent principles of the illustrations in the *Quattro libri* have often been remarked upon. Palladio acquired firsthand knowledge of ancient Roman buildings through the intense study and drawing of ruins in Rome. He made detailed drawings of the ancient monuments and in his drawings attempted to reconstruct the ancient buildings. Unlike Serlio, Palladio drew to scale in orthogonal projection, using shaded sections rather than perspective drawings, and his drawing style matured with successive trips to Rome. Showing himself to be a scientist, Palladio draws transparent illustrations, effectively offering an anatomy of architecture. Making scarce use of perspective, which had been rejected by both Raphael and Barbaro as epistemologically divergent from an accurately abstract representation of architecture, Palladio relies on what Bernhard Rupprecht (1979) calls linear projections, that is, sections, whether they are in plan, elevation, or cross-section. The linear projection is characterized by transparency and precision, clarifying architectural compositions. The illustration of his most famous villa, the Rotonda, provides a good example of this form of representation. Showing his architectural concept rather than a completed building, Palladio combines plan, section, and elevation; furthermore, where symmetry can be assumed, he proposes a new visual economy by illustrating only part of the building.

Considering the problem solved implicitly by his chosen means of representation, he confidently illustrates buildings in a manner later adopted by most architects. Though Palladio avoids perspective among the illustrations of the *Quattro libri*, he still has to suggest distances, which he succeeds in doing with shading. His ideal of representation can be seen in two designs. One is a temple with a peripteral colonnade in Barbaro's 1567 edition of Vitruvius, shown in *analytique*, as the technique would later be called at the Parisian Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The other is the illustration of the Ionic order in the first part of the *Quattro libri*, whose diaphanousness makes it thoroughly legible (Rupprecht 1979). Palladio's harmonious and peerless vision of antiquity persuades through the perfection of his drawing.

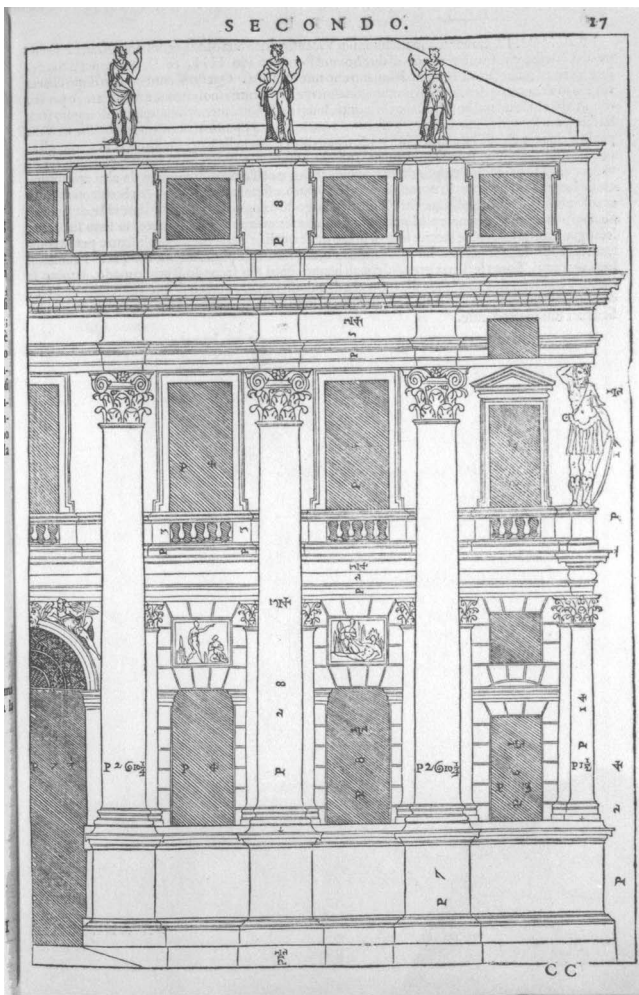
The *Quattro libri* is the most handsome of the principal Renaissance treatises on architecture, with the most successful integration of word and image. Richly



Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1616]. Ionic order. 1983.49.64

illustrated with woodcut plates, it is preceded by a lavish title page, repeated as part-title pages for books 2 and 4. Minerva, the queen of virtues, is enthroned between the halves of a broken pediment on which two figures of fame trumpet the news to the world. The paired Corinthian fluted columns flank the title and the printer's device of the ship of fortune placed in a medallion. In front of the coupled columns stand the figures of Architecture and Geometry, turning toward the medallion with its strapwork surrounds and wreath held by two Titian-inspired female nudes. The pedestals below Architecture and Geometry are filled with reliefs of Time and Diana. This richly rhetorical composition is a persuasive invitation to open the book.

The copious illustrations in the treatise are generously laid out. Palladio's reconstruction of the Pantheon in book 4—one of ten woodcuts devoted to the description of this structure, his favorite ancient building—shows two separately printed blocks that register perfectly across the gutter, though each is a separately framed illustration (the elevation on the left and a section through the portico on the right). Materials, dimen-



Andrea Palladio. *I quattro libri dell'architettura* [1570]. Partial elevation of Villa Valmarana ai Nani, Vicenza. 1983.49.42

sions, sculptural decoration, and relations in space are deftly suggested without taking away from the overall impact of the entire building. Palladio illustrates in book 3 his competition entry for the design of the Rialto bridge in Venice, using both sides of the opening, in plan, section, and elevation. He thus shows not only the side of the bridge as seen from the Grand Canal, but also the elevation of the shops along the interior of this massive structure modeled on the Roman forum, raised on three arches across the main waterway of the city. In his illustration of the Villa Valmarana, in book 2, Palladio relies on implied symmetry and shows only one half of the facade. (Bertotti-Scamozzi's illustration of the same building in his guide to Vicenza shows the entire facade, with each layer sharply articulated.) Like Serlio before him, Palladio shows windows economically as mere openings, omitting the internal frame moldings and mullions, thus endowing the elevation with greater gravity and monumentality. Similarly, though his representation of the orders draws upon the principal earlier model, that offered by Vignola, his plate of the Corinthian column, for example,

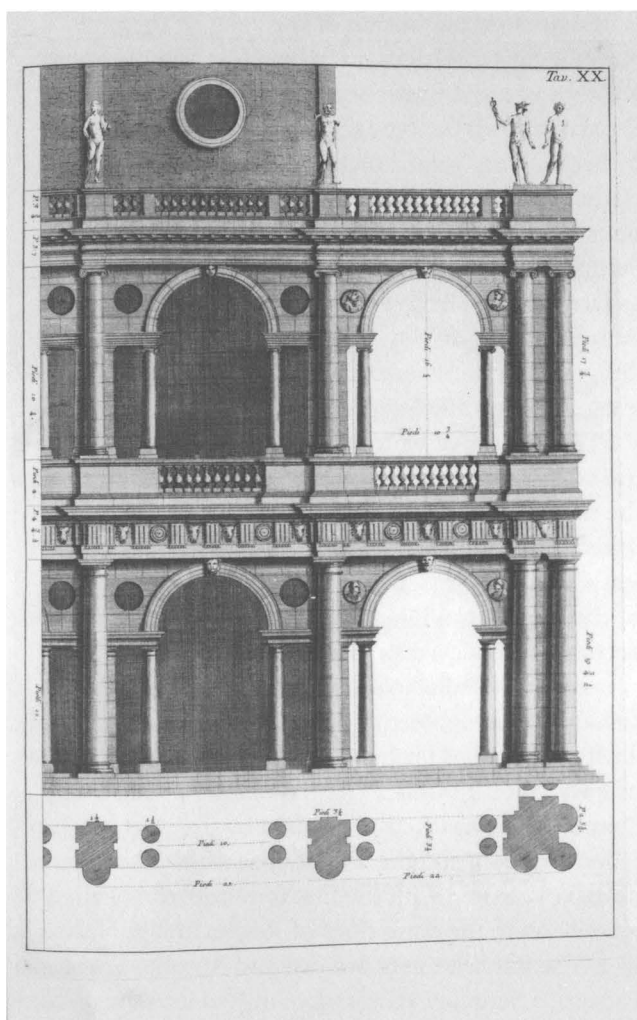
is fresh in its juxtaposition of the parts of the order.

Palladio's careful pages, where text and illustrations are coherent and neatly separated, are a thorough departure from the typographical layout adopted by Serlio, who "mixed orthogonal and perspectival elements" and "fitted commentary around the illustrations" (Boucher 1994). Boucher has suggested that Serlio's draping of words around images represents a "transposition from architectural notebooks." Palladio's book displays by contrast a thoroughly designed layout, where the commentary and the image are logically integrated.

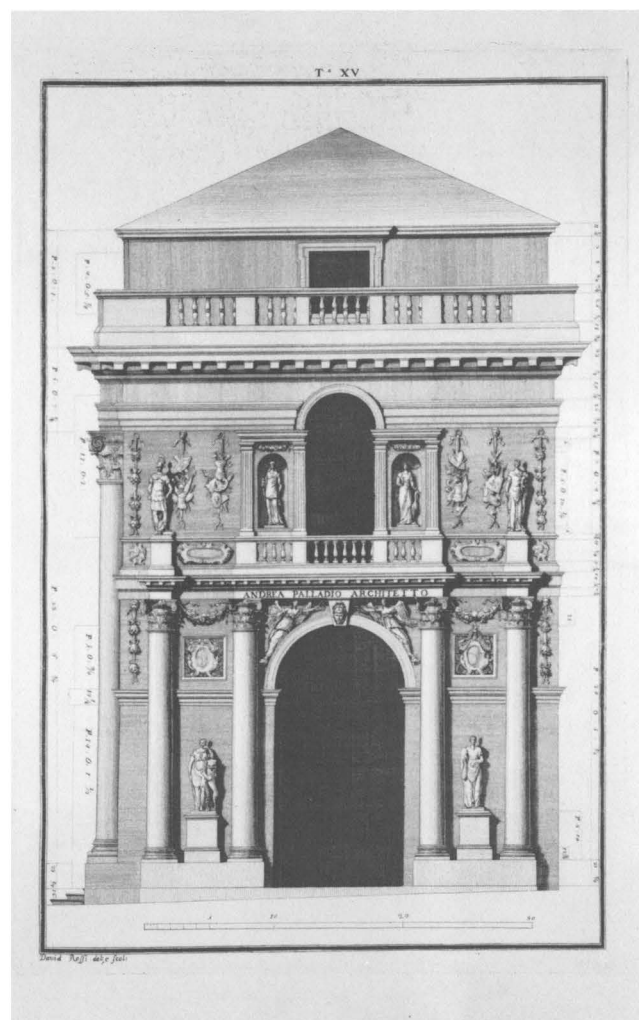
The successive Venetian editions of Palladio's treatise continued his high visual standards. However, since the same blocks were reused for the 1616 edition published by Bartolomeo Carampello, the illustrations are less sharp and crisp. This does not diminish the clarity of the diaphanous illustration of the Ionic order, whose decorative details come across effectively.

Interest in Palladio's work surged into a veritable fashion in the eighteenth century, when several lavishly illustrated studies brought his buildings to the attention of a welcoming public. The 1711 edition published by Domenico Lovisa is distinguished by the engravings of Filippo Vasconi and the addition, as a fifth book continuously paginated with the first four books, of Palladio's guidebook to the antiquities of Rome, first published in 1554. The publication is dedicated to Antonio Francesco Farsetti, a Venetian aristocrat admitted into the nobility in 1664. The Farsetti were celebrated for their villa, started by Antonio Francesco and completed by Filippo Vincenzo, and their museum, established by the latter, who also amassed a distinguished collection of *modelli* and plaster sculpture, now divided between the State Hermitage Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Vasconi's linear and feathery etched illustrations endow Palladio's architecture with a sketchy lightness; they look pale on the page in contrast to the heavily inked typeface of the text. On the title page, the figures flanking the columned tabernacle have changed from the original allegories of architecture into representations of Christianity. The broken pediment is decorated with wreaths, ribbons, and putti, and the text of the title is emblazoned on a cloth prettily hung from the architectural frame with ribbons. Palladio's architecture is presented here updated for contemporary rococo tastes.

Francesco Muttoni (1669–1747), though architect of the city of Vicenza, based the illustrations for his edition of Palladio on the plates of the London and The Hague editions by Giacomo Leoni, engraved by Giorgio Fossati (1706–1778), an architect and publisher from a large artistic Ticino family from Morco. Fossati added shadows to enhance the relief of the copperplate engravings. The accompanying bilingual text is in parallel columns of French (italics) and Italian (roman type).



Andrea Palladio. *Architettura di Andrea Palladio*. Plate 20. Basilica in Vicenza, detail of elevation (2 bays). 1983.49.54



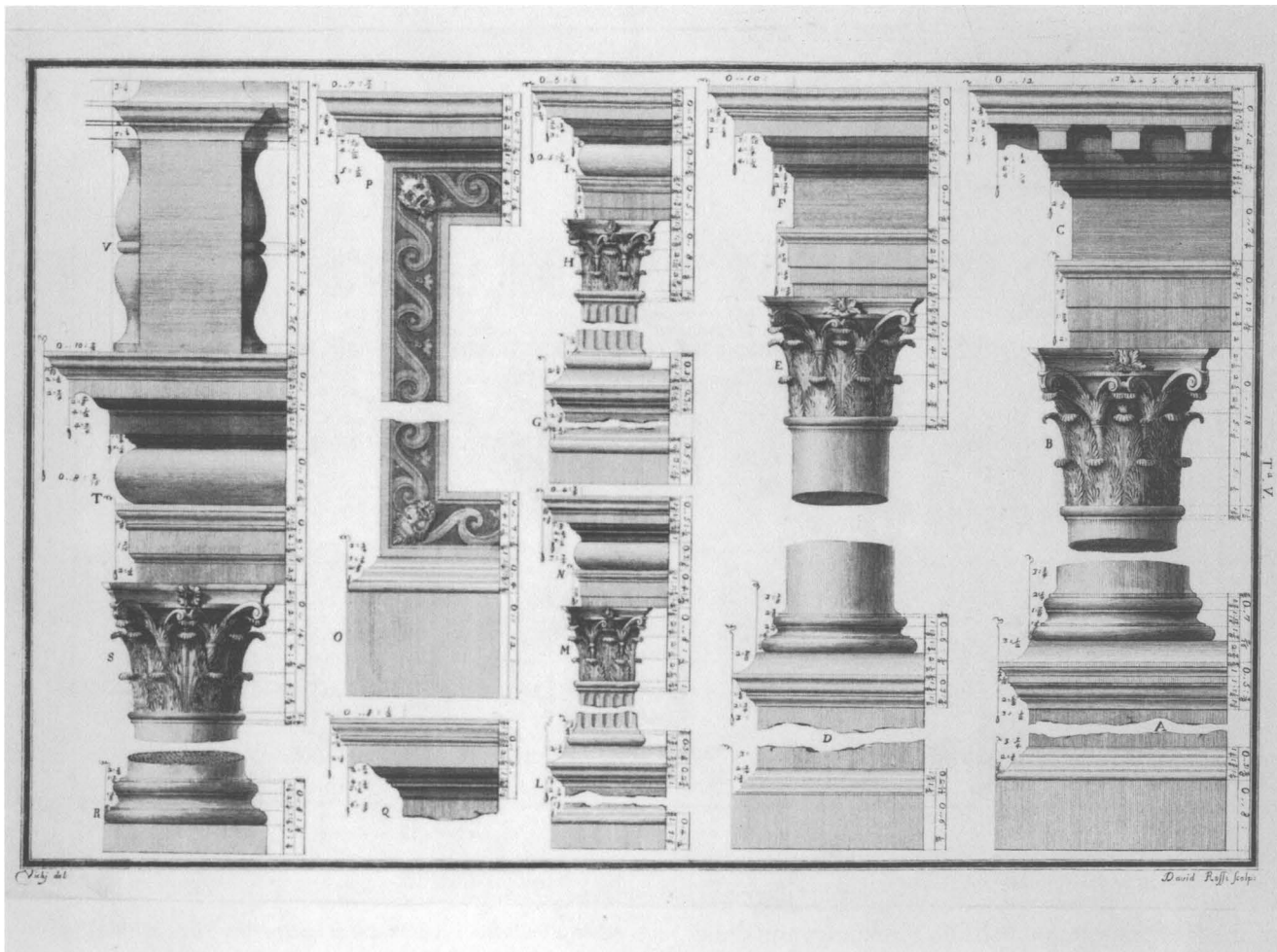
Andrea Palladio. *Les bâtimens et les desseins*. Plate 15. Side elevation, Loggia del Capitaniato, Vicenza. 1983.49.58

Deeply steeped in baroque stylistic traditions, as their ornamentation of the plates with putti and architectural frames shows, Fossati and Muttoni provided excellent illustrations in plan, section, and elevation of previously unpublished buildings by Palladio, such as the church of the Redentore in Venice. They illustrate accurately for the first time the plans of a number of Palladian buildings as actually realized, including the Villa Godi and the dome of the Villa Rotonda. Muttoni's is not only a faithful reproduction of the *Quattro libri* but also actually a study of Palladio's design, including a comparative analysis of the orders as designed by several other authors, Vignola and Serlio among them, in a manner similar to Roland Fréart de Chambray's comparative presentation published in Paris in 1650 (Howard 1980).

Muttoni, whose name appears in volume 4 of the publication but not on the title page, was the most important Vicentine architect of the transition period from the baroque to the Palladian neoclassicism he helped to form. The son of a builder, he was born on Lake Lugano and was a member of the stonemasons' guild in Vicenza by 1696; he later worked as a consultant

on large engineering projects and as a cartographer as well as an architect, eventually amassing a large body of work including palaces, villas, and churches. In 1701 he presented a plan of Vicenza's fortifications to the city council. Between 1701 and 1712 Muttoni built the handsome Palazzo Repeta in Vicenza, simultaneously conducting excavations at the Colosseum in Rome, making drawings for his British patron Sir Thomas Twisden. His archaeological research in Rome gave him the means to correct certain aspects of Palladio's reconstruction drawings of Roman antiquities. His best-known architectural contribution is the porticoed staircase that rises to the Monte Berico sanctuary above Vicenza. Begun in 1746, this was an important and controversial structure for which Muttoni received the valuable approval of Giovanni Poleni, who had been asked to mediate the local controversy (see cat. 104).

The edition of Palladio's treatise published by Muttoni and Fossati is thoroughly researched and beautifully illustrated. The first eight volumes were issued in Muttoni's lifetime. Fossati published the ninth volume in 1760. The manuscript of a planned tenth volume



is extant, divided between the Library of Congress in Washington and the city archive of Vicenza. Fossati's other contributions include a translation of André Félibien (see Millard, *French Books*, 69–72), published as *Storia dell'architettura* (Venice, 1747) and as *Vita degli architetti del signor Félibien* (Venice, 1755), as well as plans of Venice, Bergamo, Geneva, and Lake Lugano. He was aided in the engraving of the illustrations by several artists, such as Federico Zucchi, perhaps a member of the extensive Zucchi family of engravers active in Venice in the eighteenth century, which included Antonio Zucchi, the spouse of the painter Angelica Kauffmann.

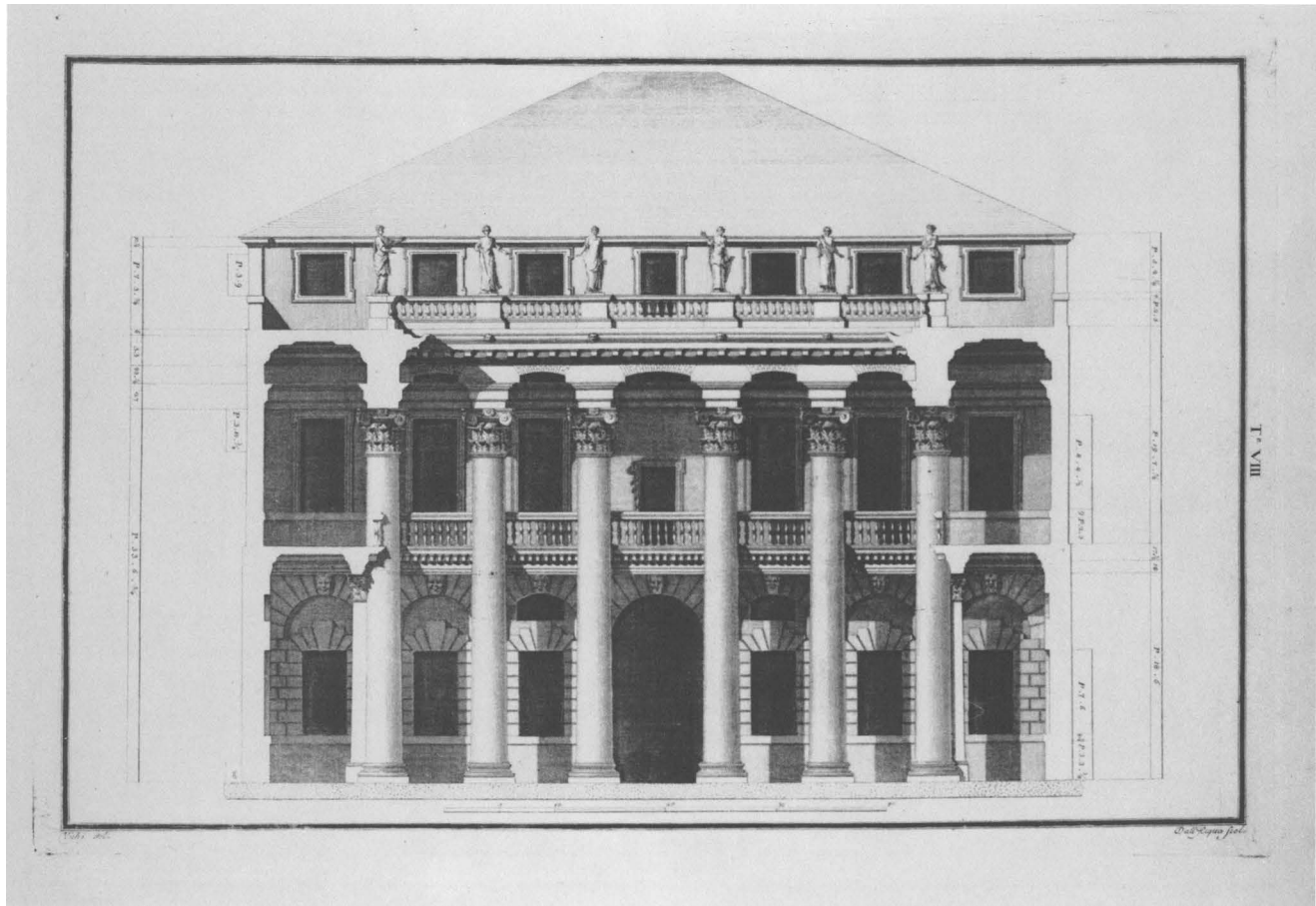
The four parts of Palladio's treatise are sequentially placed in volumes 2, 5, and 6–8, respectively, of the Muttoni-Fossati edition (book 4 is divided between volumes 7 and 8). Muttoni's first volume is devoted to a discussion of Palladio's buildings in general (*Osservazioni*), while the third volume deals comparatively with the orders of architecture according to Vitruvius, Serlio, Vignola, Palladio, and Scamozzi. In the fourth volume, Muttoni discusses the buildings in Venice that he attributes to Palladio on stylistic grounds.

The Millard copy of the Muttoni-Fossati edition is beautifully produced. The unplowed four volumes have the handmade appearance of a collection of prints be-

Andrea Palladio. *Les bâtimens et les desseins*. Plate 5. Detail of columns. 1983.49.58

tween hard covers. The register of the double plates is perfectly matched, especially in such an unexpectedly novel page layout as in volume 8 (pls. 37–38), where the mantelpiece is asymmetrically laid across the gutter. The various shading techniques employed by Fossati soften the sharpness of his engraved line, especially in the illustration of details. The sophisticated layered cross-section of the Redentore offers remarkable depth of information. Occasionally, as in plates 24 and 74, the contrast between the Renaissance columns and the rococo frames surrounding them is jarring and even hilarious. The overall effect, nonetheless, of this edition of Palladio conveys the unmistakable talent of the editor and illustrators. The edition was not uniformly appreciated, however. Bertotti-Scamozzi, for example, considered it an intolerable hash ("un intollerabile pasticcio") for its disorganized massing of illustrations of buildings bound between covers for the mere profit of the editors.

Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi (1719–1790), the first true exegete of Palladio and, according to Wittkower (1954), his most thorough analyst, contributed substantially to the dissemination of Palladianism. His bilingual edition



of the four volumes on Palladio's buildings and drawings, and his publication on the baths of the Romans, were reissued several times, anthologized, and published in paperback. The publication between 1776 and 1783 of the *Fabbriche e disegni* was partially sponsored by members of the British circles in Venice and by the earl of Bute, the patron of Charles Cameron (see Millard, *British Books*, 9). Focusing on the second book by Palladio on private houses, Bertotti-Scamozzi organizes his analytical presentation of Palladio's buildings in a novel manner, that is, geographically and stylistically. Bertotti-Scamozzi examined Palladio's buildings anew, together with his assistants, with whom he surveyed the extant structures. Bertotti-Scamozzi's inventory of Palladio's buildings included thorough archival research and a critical reading of the Palladian literature. Thus he sought to combine the authority of Palladio with the rational beliefs of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. But his publication has some close similarities to the edition published by Muttoni in their shared desire to clarify the relationship between Palladio's buildings and their representation in the *Quattro libri*.

Seeking funds, Bertotti-Scamozzi advertised his publication in the 9 July 1774 issue of the *Giornale d'Italia*; the subsequent volumes were advertised in the *Nuovo Giornale Enciclopedico* (Kamm-Kyburz 1983). The engravings were made by a team of artists includ-

Andrea Palladio. *Les bâtimens et les desseins*. Plate 8. Elevation, court of Palazzo da Porto, Vicenza. 1983.49.61

ing Davide Rossi, an architect and professor of perspective in Venice, Gaetano Bertolini, Gaetano Vichi, and Cristoforo Dall'Acqua (1734–1787), the most distinguished engraver and publisher in Vicenza. Their illustrations brought Palladio's architecture up to date and kept it in the public eye at a time when illustrated studies of new archaeological discoveries—at Pompeii, Herculaneum, the house of Nero (cats. I, 130), and Greek sites—were offering alternative models of architecture to an interested public (Barbieri 1970).

Bertotti-Scamozzi's own story is one of social mobility and devotion to architectural studies. He was initially sponsored by Mario Capra, a Vicentine aristocrat who helped him obtain the inheritance of Vincenzo Scamozzi (cats. 122–123). This inheritance allowed Bertotti-Scamozzi to pursue architectural studies, resulted in his double-barreled name, and must have been in place by 1761, since Bertotti-Scamozzi refers to it in the preface of his guide to Vicenza. Bertotti-Scamozzi's initial instructor in architecture was Domenico Cerato (1715–1792), who became the first occupant of the chair in architecture instituted at the University of Padua in 1771. Cerato's best-known contributions are proposals for the design of Prato della Valle—Padua's celebrated

urban park—conceived together with Andrea Memmo in 1775, and his *Nuovo metodo per disegnare li cinque ordini di architettura civile conforme le regole di Andrea Palladio e Vincenzo Scamozzi* (Padua, 1784; Barbieri 1970). But it was his relationships with Tommaso Temanza and Francesco Algarotti that introduced Bertotti-Scamozzi to Enlightenment and scientific circles. He may have been acquainted with the distinguished neoclassical architects Giacomo Quarenghi (see cat. 108) and Antonio Selva. Bertotti-Scamozzi served as the curator and librarian of the Accademia Olimpica; he was also a ready guide to distinguished visitors to Vicenza, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who styled him a valiant and passionate artist.

Bertotti-Scamozzi was the studious designer of about thirty buildings and architectural projects. The inventory of his property taken at his death included a 205-item library, with numerous books and prints on architectural subjects (Olivato 1976). In 1758 he had published a brief pamphlet, *Descrizione dell'arco trionfale*, which described and illustrated, with four plates engraved by Cristoforo Dall'Acqua, the triumphal arch designed by Bertotti-Scamozzi for an event in the main square of the city in honor of Marino Priuli upon his being raised to the cardinalate in 1758. Bertotti-Scamozzi's first significant publication, issued in 1761, was a guide to Vicenza dedicated to his benefactor Capra.

Bertotti-Scamozzi's earliest publication, *Il forestiere istruito* (see cat. 19), is a guide to the buildings and paintings of Vicenza. A highly regarded *cicerone*, it was among the guides used by Goethe on his trip through Italy. In the *Forestiere istruito*, the thirty-six copperplate engravings of buildings by Palladio and Scamozzi are labeled with precise measurements in Vicentine and English feet, suggesting Bertotti-Scamozzi's wish to gratify Anglo-Saxon interests. The structure of the first edition, composed as a dialogue, was abandoned in favor of a direct description in the second edition. The numerous etched, folded-in illustrations were made by Cristoforo Dall'Acqua, who specialized in topographic views of Vicenza. Scaled and numbered, the plates of buildings are also labeled with the name of the owner, in the plate or directly in the building. They are crisp, despite the exhaustive detail with which the materials are handled, while offering a good rendering of the sculptured depth of the palace facades. Dall'Acqua, a patrician Vicentine of modest means, received his initial training as engraver working for the Remondini publishers in Bassano, followed by an apprenticeship in the engraving school founded by Joseph Wagner, who brought a French-influenced method of etching to Venice. His copious production includes not only topographical prints but also reproductions of paintings, portraiture, landscapes, and views. Although his city

views include those of Verona, Padua, and Mantua, Dall'Acqua's most successful *vedute* are of Vicenza (completed between 1770 and 1780), possibly because he engraved his own drawings. In these views, what critics have seen as the "scenographic vocation" of Vicenza is fully realized by the artist. Omitting all nonclassical buildings, Bertotti-Scamozzi presents Vicenza as the city of Palladio and Scamozzi, exalting their works.

Though recognizably illustrating the same buildings, Bertotti-Scamozzi's plates differ substantially from Palladio's originals in their graphic and printing technique. In *Fabbriche e disegni* his transformations range broadly, from the illustration of the orders, where he offers such opulent renderings as that of the Corinthian order with numerous details—entirely unlike Palladio's transparent woodcuts—to the elevation of the Villa Barbaro at Maser, which he transforms into a neoclassical structure through the starkly articulated construction details. Although Bertotti-Scamozzi contracted with Dall'Acqua for the illustrations of *Fabbriche e disegni*, after a falling-out between them, the engraver completed only some of the plates of the first volume.

Bertotti-Scamozzi was among the very first to notice the evident lack of correspondence between some of Palladio's buildings and their illustrations in his treatise. He assumed that Palladio may have changed his mind as the buildings were under construction and believed that this did not make the buildings less successful or interesting. Often Palladio's numbers on the plates did not correspond to the actual dimensions of either the building as constructed or the woodcut illustration, but this may have been a result of the haste in cutting the plates by his sons and others employed by the publisher.

Initially, the ambitious project to publish a book on Palladio's buildings—as Loredana Olivato (1976) has shown—was a joint enterprise among Bertotti-Scamozzi, Peter Edwards (a professor at the Accademia del Disegno in Venice), and Antonio Locatelli. The publication would have been trilingual (French, Italian, and English) and in three volumes (one volume for buildings certainly by Palladio, another volume for incomplete or not fully documented buildings, and a third for buildings by Scamozzi and other Palladians). The three volumes were to be accompanied by one hundred illustrations each. Elaborate plans were made for a lavish publication; detailed arrangements included the procurement of English paper and special printing inks and various schemes to raise publication funds. This joint enterprise was abandoned in 1772.

Bertotti-Scamozzi's investment in the *Fabbriche e disegni* (on which he spent his inheritance from Scamozzi) brought him instant success—even the tough critic Francesco Milizia thought it "enhanced the honor of Italy"—but his real achievement was not recognized at the time. While the elegance of the publication

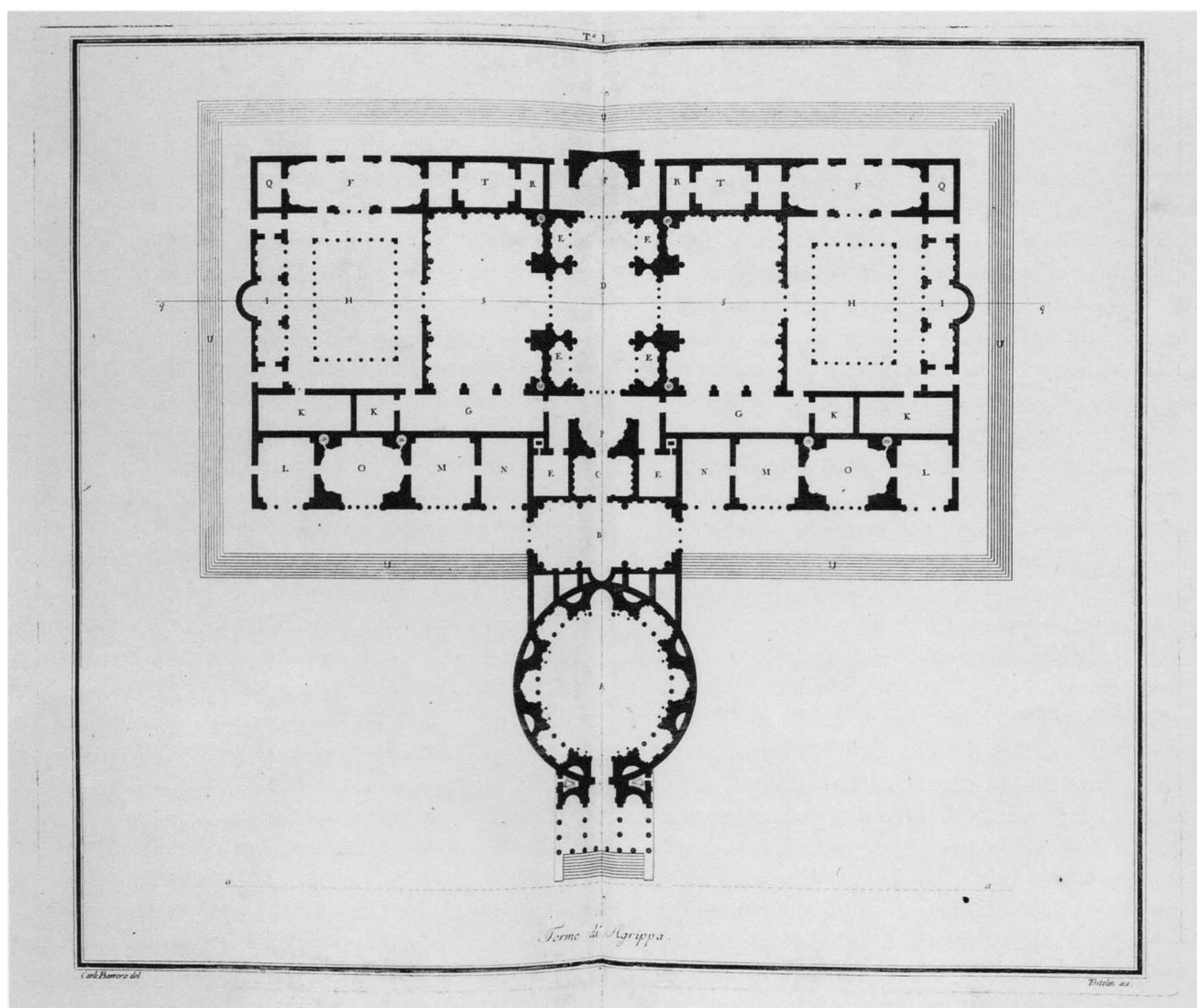
was widely praised, there was no critical evaluation of Bertotti-Scamozzi's research method or of his intentions, which included the willingness to examine the wilderness that had grown around attributions to Palladio so as to sort out the real from the false Palladio, as Muttoni had unsuccessfully attempted to do earlier. Bertotti-Scamozzi's point of departure—that the measurements on the plates of the 1570 edition do not correspond to the drawings and that the buildings as realized diverge from their designs in the treatise—leads him to a disciplined program of measurements, of comparison between the built structures and their related designs, and of critical evaluation. Thus he is able to decide which alterations in Palladio's buildings are "acceptable," and which can be repudiated as arbitrary modifications brought about by others. Thus Bertotti-Scamozzi's Palladio is disciplined within powerful laws of proportions, and his work becomes a mirror of harmony. In this way, Bertotti-Scamozzi monumentalizes Palladio and prepares the definitive Palladian "text" through the illustrations of the buildings now securely attributed. In Bertotti-Scamozzi's conception the

discourse on Palladio becomes internalized and claustrophobic. Eventually Palladio is allowed only masterpieces (Olivato 1976).

The success of the first volume, published in 1776 and focused on Palladio's buildings in Vicenza, ensured the publication of the remaining volumes. Bertotti-Scamozzi's project to reveal the true originality of Palladio's works, using the illustrations of the *Quattro libri* as a point of departure, offered readers keenly interested in antiquity abstract and generalizable models in a purified classicizing style.

The illustrations of the *Terme dei Romani* are based on those in Lord Burlington's 1736–1740 edition, of which this book is a translation (see Millard, *British Books*, 52). Burlington's publication, a foundation stone of English Palladianism, was based on the collection of drawings by Palladio that he had acquired during his Italian trips. In his publication about Roman baths, Burlington offered to a broad readership the reconstruc-

Andrea Palladio. *Le terme dei Romani*. Plate 1. Plan of the Baths of Agrippa and the Pantheon. 1983.49.60



tion of ancient Roman buildings that Palladio had been working on at the time of his death. He also pointed the way to a specific typological study of an ancient public building, which stimulated the imagination of other writers in the later eighteenth century, such as the above-mentioned Cameron, Giacomo Quarenghi, and Vincenzo Brenna, and their imperial Russian patrons (see cats. 108 and 130). The Vicentine editions in French and Italian made this valuable book available to an even broader public, whose interest in Palladio was piqued by the enthusiasm with which the English had adopted his precepts and used them to revitalize and authenticate their version of the classical language of architecture.

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Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568)

73

Onvphrii Panvinii Veronensis, De Lvdis Circensibvs, Libri II. De Trivmphis, Liber Vnvs. Quibus vniuersa ferè Romanorvm Vetervm Sacra Ritvsq. Declarantvr, ac Figuris Aeneis Illustrantur. cum notis Ioannis Argoli I.V.D. et Additamento Nicolai Pinelli. I.C. Ad Illustrissimum D.D. Iacobvm Lindenov

Padua: Paolo Frambotti, 1642

1985.61.2600

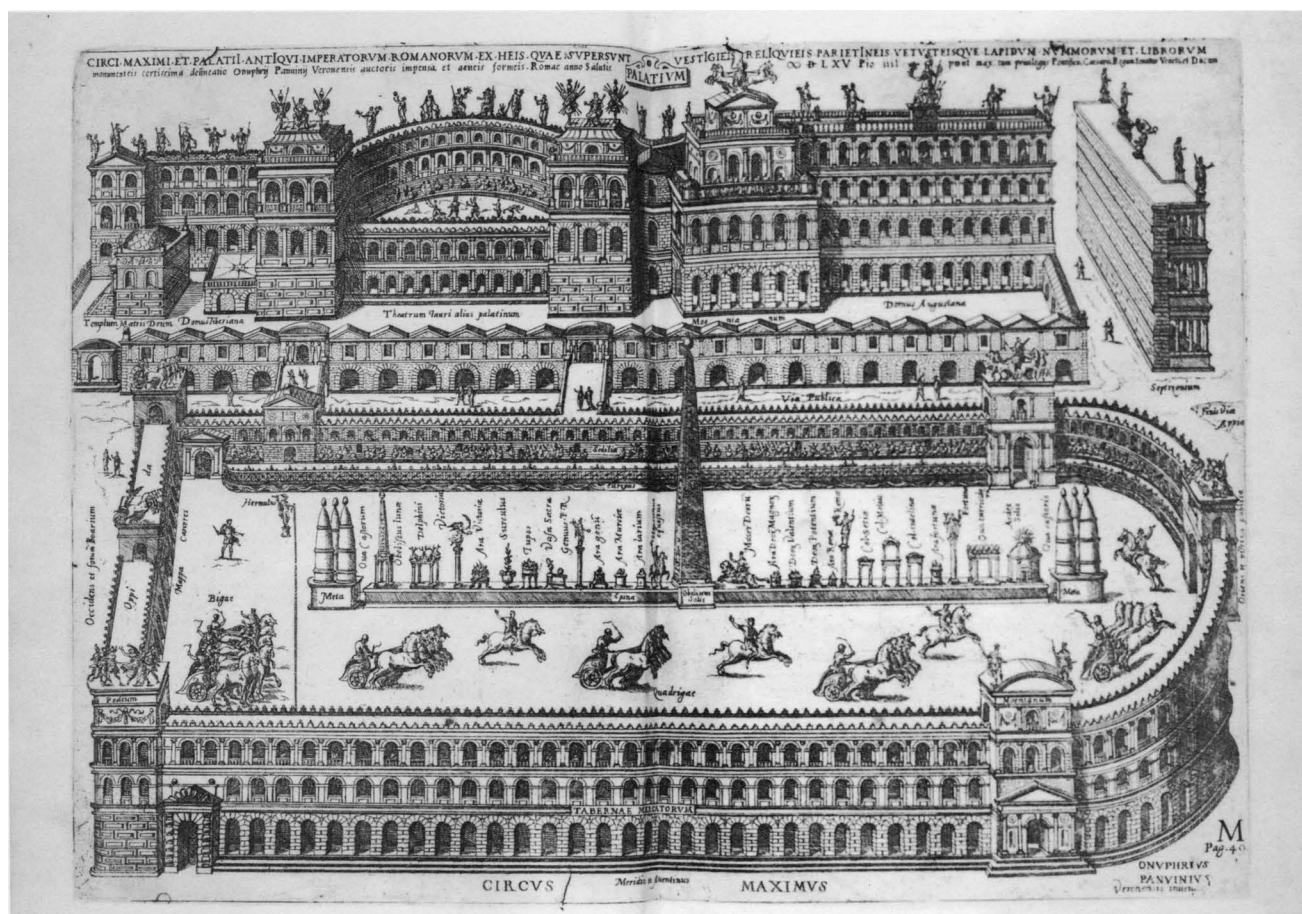
Folio: 361 × 252 (14³/₁₆ × 9¹⁵/₁₆)

Pagination [xviii], 148, [xviii], 129, [3] pp., engraved title plate, [35] engraved plates

Edition Third edition

Onofrio Panvinio. *De ludis circensibus*. Reconstruction of the imperial residence and the Circus Maximus: view. 1985.61.2600

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Onvphrius Panvinius Veronensis De Lvdis Circensibvs, & Trivmphis" (verso blank); [iii–v] dedication by publisher to Jacob Lindenov, dated Padua, 13 June 1642; [vi] medallion portrait of Onofrio Panvinio, with eulogistic lines; [vii–xi] eulogies of Onofrio Panvinio, including a bibliography of his works (concluding eulogy signed "B. Bruscius"); [xii–xiii] preface; [xiv] table of contents; [xv–xvii] index; [xviii] list of plates; [1]–136 text, "De Ludis Circensibvs" (i.e., book 1); 137–148 text, "De Trivmpho Commentarijs" (i.e., book 2); [1] title page, Giovanni Argoli's notes to Panvinio's text ("Ioannis Argoli . . . Notae"); [ii] portrait of Giovanni Argoli, with eulogistic lines; [iii] Argoli's address to the reader; [iv–v] index of authors cited, preceded by paragraph addressed to the reader; [vi–xvii] general index; [xviii] blank; 1–88 text, Argoli's "Notae"; [89] title page, Niccolo Pinelli's additions to Panvinio's text ("Additamentvm . . . Auxit Nicolavs Pinellvs . . ."); [90] blank; 91–92 Pinelli's address to the



reader; 93–129 text, Pinelli's "Additamentvm"; [130–132] index of authors cited in Pinelli's text

Ornaments Etched pictorial headpiece, p. 1; woodcut head- and tailpieces; typographic fleurons; woodcut initials in several styles and sizes

Illustrations Engraved medallion portrait of Panvinio set in rectangular frame (p. [vi] of Panvinio's *De ludis circensibus*), small engraved portrait of Giovanni Argoli (p. [ii] of Argoli's "Notae"); engraved title plate with elaborate architectural border featuring scenes from ancient Rome; 35 engraved plates. The plates are labeled irregularly with letters and according to their location in the text, and often do not correspond to the list of plates. Plates [1] and [15] are small, double-page plates bound as folded strips; plates [7] and [8] are full-page plates; plate [10] is a small plate bound as a folded strip; plate [13] is a double-page plate with 3 small engravings; plates [24–25] are double-page plates pasted together to form a long, folding plate; plates [32–34] are double-page plates pasted together to form a long, folding plate; the remaining plates are double page. Most of the plates are signed by Panvinio as designer; plate [1]–A is signed by Etienne Duperac ("S. Duperac Opus"). Plate 16 is called for in the list of plates but not present in the Millard copy nor in the two copies of the 1600 edition described in the Harvard catalogue

Binding Contemporary vellum, red sprinkled edges

Provenance Old ownership inscription of R. Bertholin on title plate; bookplate of Johannes Seiersted Bødtker; small wax seal below

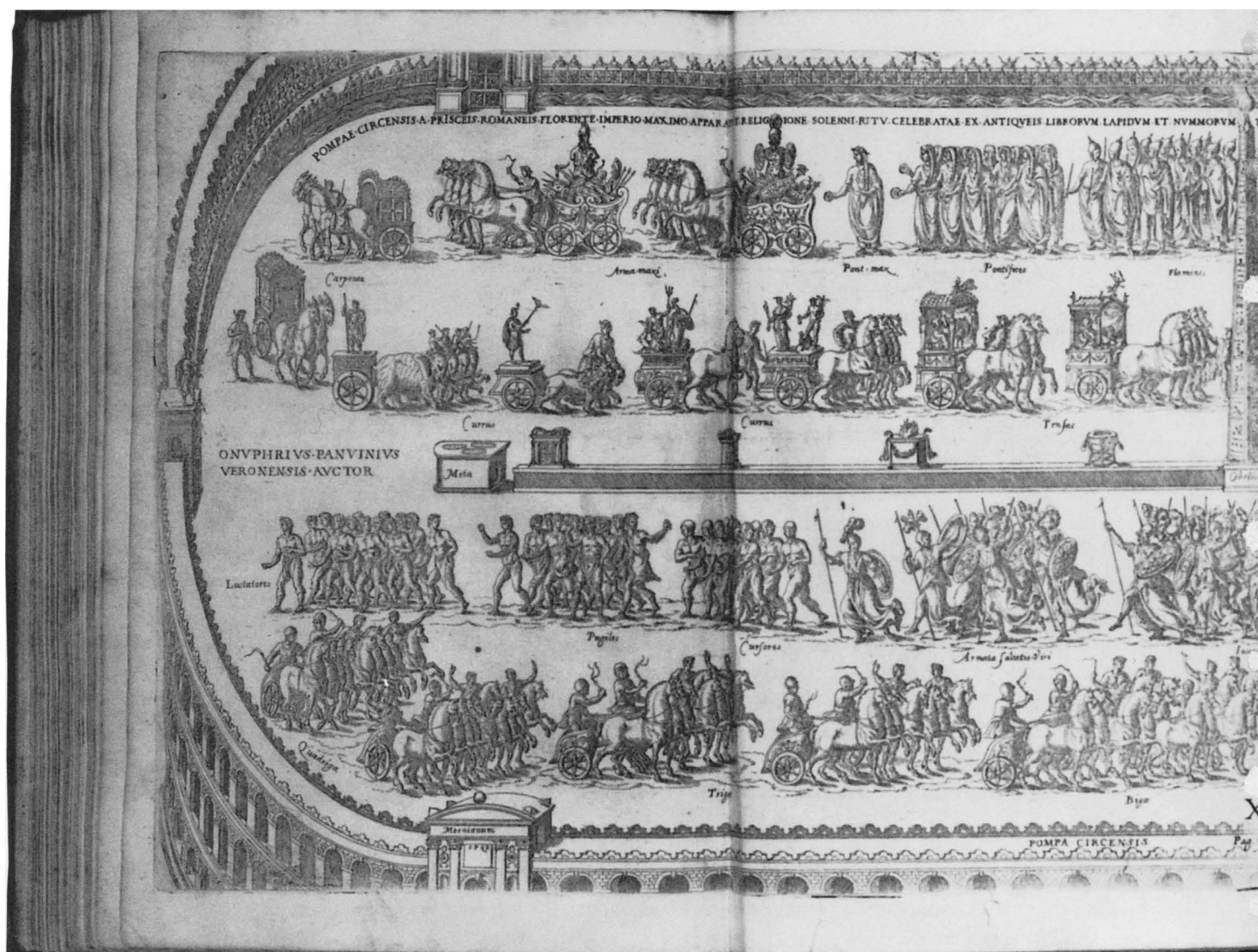
References Mortimer, *Italian*, 357 (2d ed.: Venice, 1600)

RECORDED FOR POSTERITY in a portrait painted by Jacopo Tintoretto in c. 1555, the Augustinian monk Onofrio Panvinio from Verona was a distinguished ecclesiastical historian and influential antiquarian. Descendant of a wealthy and powerful family exiled to Verona from Cremona in the thirteenth century, Panvinio claimed to have been born on the day of Emperor Charles v's coronation in Bologna (23 February 1530). He joined the Augustinian order at the age of eleven, having shown great aptitude for Latin, studied at the University of Padua in 1545, and then in Naples between 1547 and 1549. He rose rapidly in the teaching ranks of the order, but tried to free himself from his duties by 1552. In 1554 he was allowed to work full time on his research, outside the Augustinian cloister.

After the publication of his *Fasti Consulares*, in 1558, Panvinio was introduced to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who provided him with employment and a steady

subsidy for the next decade. Panvinio made contributions as iconographer to the decorative programs of wall-painting cycles at the Farnese family palace in Caprarola. Offered a bishopric by Pope Pius iv—Panvinio had participated as Farnese theologian in the forty-four-day conclave that elected him in 1559—Panvinio preferred to become the librarian of the Vatican. There were additional great social events in Panvinio's life: at the beginning of Pius iv's reign he was asked to guide the duke of Tuscany on his visit to the seven churches and the principal antiquities of Rome; he later performed the same service for the ambassadors of the duke of Savoy, and as Cardinal Farnese's guest he participated in a dinner party that included twenty-eight cardinals (Perini 1899). It was while accompanying Farnese on a trip to Sicily in 1568 that Panvinio fell ill and died. Although introduced to Giorgio Vasari by Vincenzo Borghini, Panvinio does not appear to have cultivated relationships with many artists (unlike most of the cardinal's advisers), and he does not seem to have had the enthusiasm for the visual arts felt by other members of the cardinal's entourage such as Antonio Caro and Fulvio Orsini (Robertson 1992).

Since he saw a "fundamental continuity between ancient Rome and the two contemporary superpowers of the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire" (Ferrary 1996), Panvinio's research interests in ancient imperial Rome extended to Christian and contemporary secular Rome. In the early 1550s Panvinio seems to have supported himself with the composition of genealogical studies, eulogizing the patrician Savelli, Frangipani, Cenci, and Mattei families in Rome (Perini 1899). His most ambitious writing project was a five-volume history of Roman antiquities. In this immense work planned in one hundred chapters and based on his research in Roman inscriptions—he collected nearly three thousand—Panvinio intended to deal with the appearance of the city ("Antiquae urbis imago") in volume 1; with civic and religious institutions ("Civitatis romanae privata, publica, profana et sacra") in volume 2; with the institutions of the empire ("imperii romanum extra urbem declaratio") in volume 3; with inscriptions ("veteres inscriptiones clauduntur") in volume 4; and to present a universal history from the foundation of Rome to the papacy of Pius v ("universa romana historia . . . ad Pium v") in volume 5. This and many other of his manuscript projects form a body of sixty-seven works in various stages of completion. Encouraged by his friends and superiors to concentrate on ecclesiastical history, Panvinio was also an active researcher of this subject and Christian theology (Ferrary 1996). He added fourteen biographies to Bartolomeo Platina's history of papal lives, from Sixtus iv to Pius v (*xxvii Pontificum Maximorum imagines*, Rome, 1567). He composed a book on the seven principal churches of Rome, *De praecipuis*



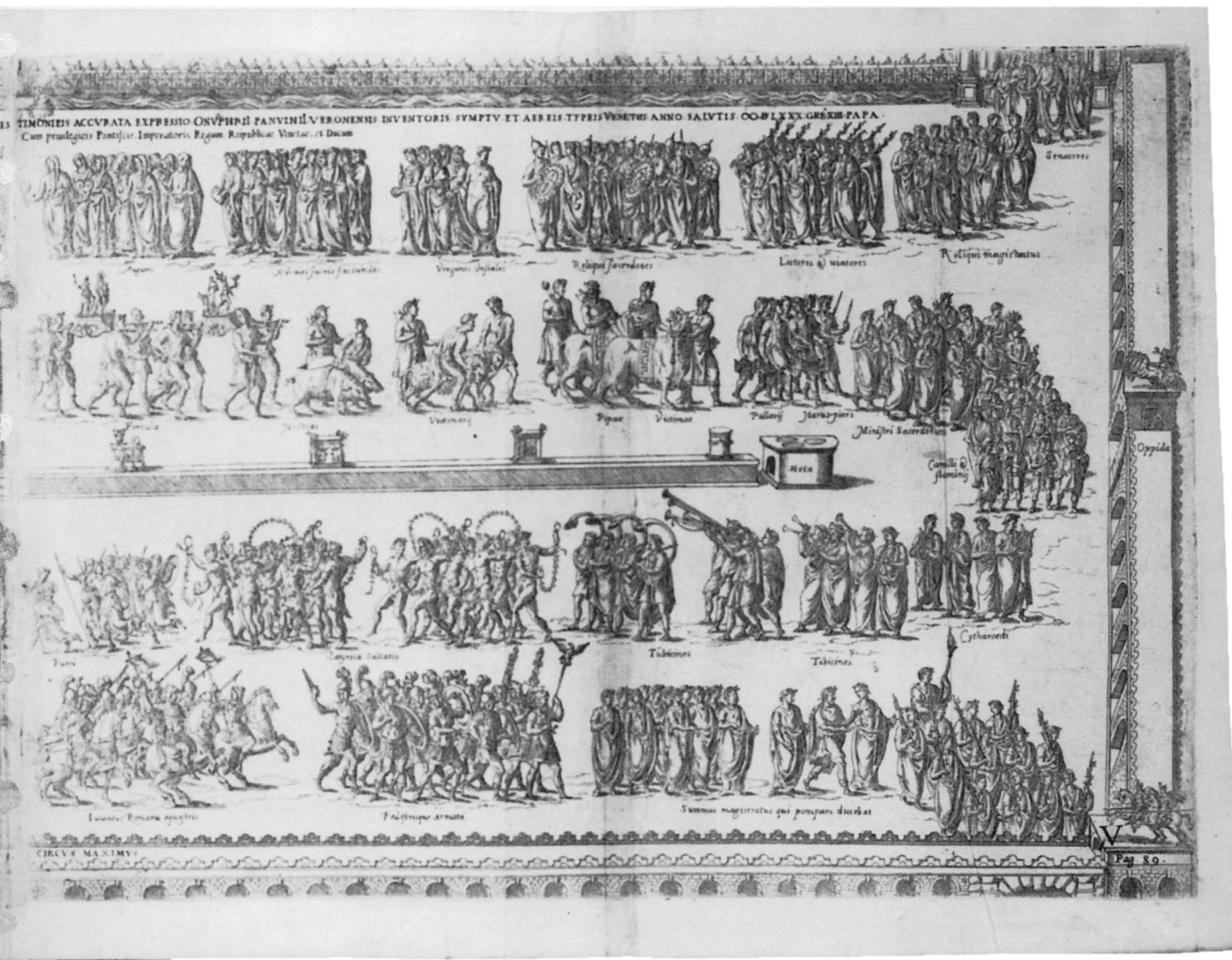
urbis Romae santioribusque basilicis, quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant (published 1570), the truncated part of a complete work that would have described all the Christian buildings and sites in Rome. He started an extensive history of the church of Saint Peter's in Rome, covering in seven chapters the life of Saint Peter, the life of Constantine, the topography of the Constantinian basilica, and the description of the Vatican suburb, palace, and library (Perini 1899). Though not published, his manuscripts formed a significant source for later Christian archaeology and historical studies of Saint Peter's, such as those by Tiberio Alfarano (1590), Filippo Bonanni (1699; see cat. 21), and Francesco Cancellieri (1815).

The two parts of this book were intended as separate studies by their author. Panvinio had planned a book on the ancient religion of the Romans, first in twelve and then in fifteen chapters, under the title *De antiqua romanorum religione sive superstitione*. Of these, *De ludis*—first published in Antwerp in 1596, then in Venice in 1600 in two books—was part 4. *De triumpho romano antiquo* was first published in 1571. Inherited by Cardinal Savelli, then passed on in 1587 to Cardinal

Onofrio Panvinio. *De ludis circensibus*. Procession in the Circus Maximus. 1985.61.2600

Rusticucci, Panvinio's extensive manuscript literary remains became part of the Vatican Library and archive in 1592. The humanist Fulvio Orsini, Panvinio's executor, acquired several manuscripts. Of these, *Vaticanus Latinus* 3439 contains the preparatory drawings for the engraver for the illustrations of *De ludis*. Although all the plates of the 1600 edition of *De ludis* are dated 1580 (except plate M), the copperplates date in reality from 1565–1566, a date visible on plate M (Ferrary 1996). Panvinio's artist in Rome was Mercurio Baiardi of Parma, who returned to his hometown in 1566. But Panvinio's death delayed the publication of both of these books.

The two books of *De Ludis*, divided into fifty-six chapters, focus on the description of eight different circus games: equestrian combat, athletic competitions, rituals of religious worship, Trojan games, animal hunts, wrestling, water battles, and scenic games. Panvinio considers the historiography of these games,



taking into account their etymology, origins, and typology. He then goes on to discuss the history of the circus, analyzing its parts, accessories, and ornaments, detailing especially the magnificence with which the games were played, their meanings and mysteries, the actors, and the various kinds of spectators (Perini 1899). Panvinio concludes with a description of other circuses inside and outside Rome. In his consideration of the games, he indicates their occasion and functions, the reason and the times in which they were celebrated, the prizes given out, the crimes, gossip, and arguments associated with the games, when they started to decline, and what their remains might be.

Even though the identification of the Roman circus as a monumental building type had been made from the middle of the fifteenth century, *De ludis* contributed to the “opening of the field of archaeology to popular audiences more than any other publication up to that time” (Jacks 1994, 257). Numerous plates had already been available in Rome, while the large plan of the Circus Maximus was published in Venice by 1580. Drawn and engraved by Niccolo Pinelli and Giovanni

Argoli, with possible advice from Fulvio Orsini, this plan explicated the parts of the circus and, more important, became the foundation on which later archaeological studies of the Palatine Hill were based.

Panvinio’s work on ancient and Christian Rome occupies an important position in its context of intense and competitive research in artistic and antiquarian circles in Rome, straddling the polarized studies and methods of visual artists and classicists. Among Panvinio’s sources, the most important were the writings and illustrations of Pirro Ligorio, the only other contemporary antiquarian whose studies were as broad as Panvinio’s (Gaston 1988, 13). “Panvinio knew Ligorio’s manuscripts better than any contemporary,” and the “methodological novelty of Ligorio’s graphic demonstrations was not lost on the learned Augustinian” (Gaston 1988, 14), who borrowed a great deal of visual material, especially from Ligorio’s study of ancient coins (Tomasi Velli 1990). His acquaintance with Ligorio’s transcription of the regional catalogues of Rome was so close that he has been accused of plagiarizing and publishing the latter’s work. Panvinio did not

recognize enough the richness of antiquarian research of the years 1513 to 1527 (Ferrary 1996), especially the contemporary works of Andrea Fulvio (*Antiquitates*, 1527) and Fabio Calvo (*Simulachrum*, 1527), both of whom died during the sack of Rome. While critical of the antiquarian topographer Bartolomeo Marliani (*Urbis Romae Topographia*, 1534 and expanded 1544), who carried on an open conflict with Ligorio, Panvinio mentions favorably the work of Andrea Palladio on the antiquities of Rome (1554; cat. 65) and that of Bernardo Gamucci (1556). He was also aware of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's activities in Rome on behalf of the Vitruvian Academy through their joint patron, Cardinal Cervini.

Following in Ligorio's footsteps and also those of Marliani, Panvinio published a plan of ancient Rome (*Antequae urbis imago*, 1565). In contrast to Ligorio and Marliani, his plan incorporated elements from the fragments of the *Forma Urbis* marble plan of Rome, placed in Panvinio's custody by Cardinal Farnese. Among the possible collaborators suggested (Ferrary 1996) for this plan of Rome have been Sebastiano Paciotto, a military architect in the service of the Farnese family, and Etienne Dupérac, whose signature appears on the first plate of the plan. The latter had arrived in Rome in 1559 and became an important rival of Ligorio and Giovanni Antonio Dosio (cat. 34), the Florentine architect who had unearthed the *Forma Urbis*. Dupérac distinguished himself with his plans of ancient and modern Rome, published in 1574 and 1577, respectively. It has been suggested that all the engravings made for Panvinio's publications were made by Dupérac, and correspondences have been identified in Dupérac's own *Vestigi dell' antichità di Roma* (cats. 35 and III), thus pointing to Panvinio as an important influence (Tomasi Velli 1990).

The engravings commissioned by Panvinio at his own expense for the triumphs, the "pompa circensis," and the sacrifices constitute a new genre of illustration. The scenes were re-created by Panvinio by laboriously combining texts, archaeological finds, and numismatic documents (Ferrary 1996). Panvinio's decision to show the plates as his scientific property must be seen in the context of this Roman competition, in which designers posed as antiquarians even though, as Antonio Agustín alleged (Jacks 1994, 216), they knew neither Latin nor Greek. It is on this competition of methods and definition of disciplinary boundaries that Panvinio and Ligorio's friendship eventually foundered.

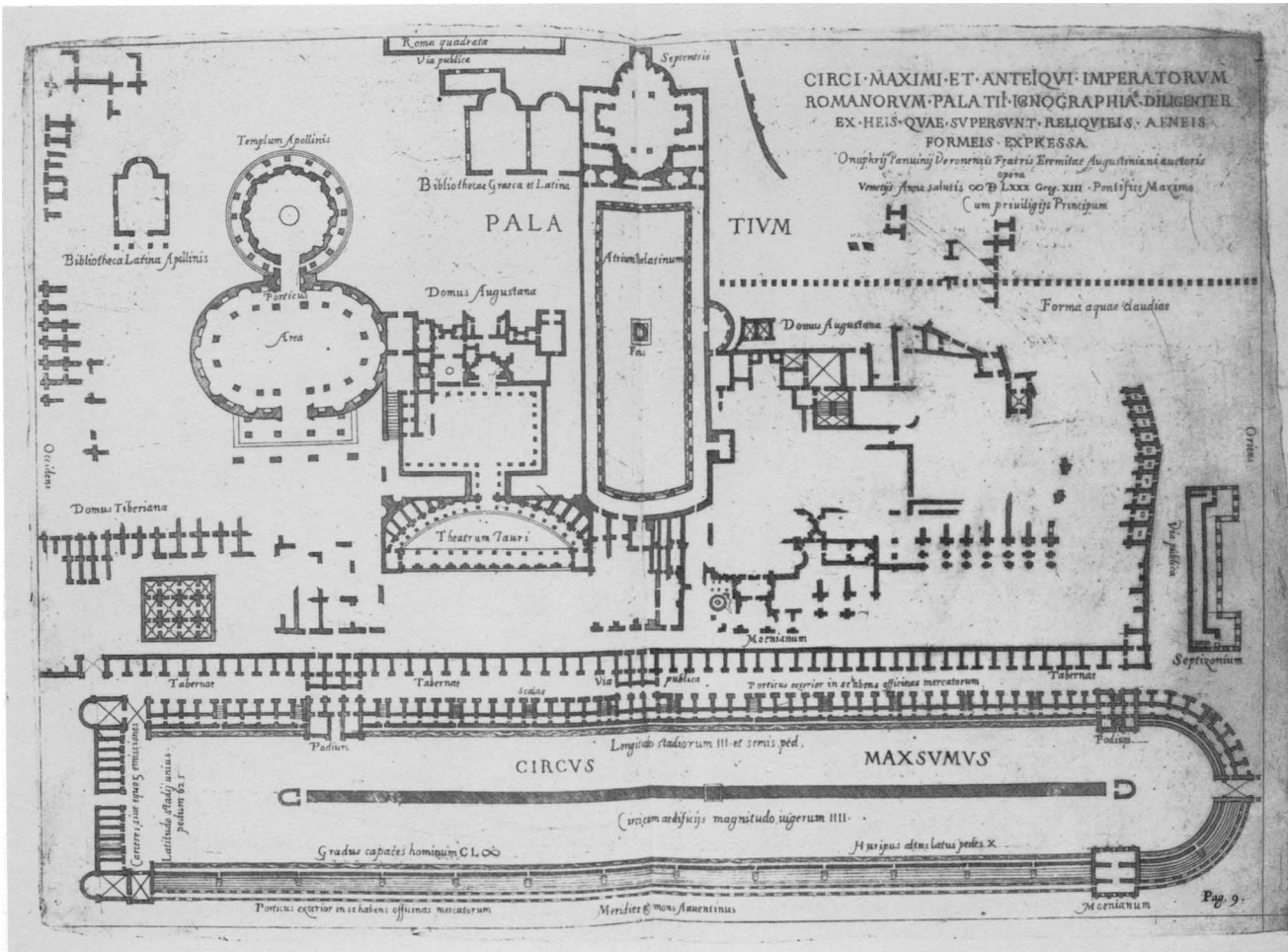
In this edition of *De ludis*, Panvinio's portrait appears on the title page held by allegorical figures representing Faith and Peace. The title is flanked by Corinthian columns, and small vignettes illustrate wrestling, boxing, *naumachia*, and racing scenes. The publication is dedicated to Jacob Lindenow of Hundslund by the publisher. In a brief preface, B. Bruscius describes

Panvinio's life, lists his published and manuscript works, and discusses the critical acclaim his works received, quoting Joseph Scaliger's suggestion that Panvinio is the father of history, and the true father of "Fastorum" according to Justus Lipsius.

De ludis is richly illustrated with reconstructions of Rome's ancient topography. Plate 2 shows the site of the Circus Maximus and the Palatine Hill. Plate 3 is a plan of ancient Rome enhanced with a ninety-item legend. Plate 4 is a distinguished plan of the circus and the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill. Long streets parallel the stadium on its palace side and are flanked by shops. The palace is defined by a long atrium at right angle to the length of the stadium; many other parts of the imperial residence are lucidly identified and delineated. Plates 5–9 illustrate the various circus activities; plates 10 and 11 show the decorative parts that define the racecourse of the circus, such as *spinae*, the obelisk, the *meta*, and various figurative sculptures. Plate 15 is a view of the racecourse with the palace in the background. Dated 1565, it carries a publication privilege from Pope Pius IV in contrast to the previous plates, which are all dated 1580 and with the privilege granted by Pope Gregory XIII. The controversial *spina* decorations, marking the central spine of the racecourse, are individually labeled. This is a very impressive illustration, translating into a view the plan in plate 4. Plates 17–20 illustrate other circuses in Rome and Constantinople.

One of the most important plates is number 25, which illustrates the "pompa circensis," a triumphal imperial procession within the circus. The column of participants is shown entering the stadium at top right, crossing the stadium four times, twice above and twice below the *spina*, before exiting at bottom right. The participants are clearly identified and include representatives of the law, the military, and the official religion, who accompany the emperor and the triumphal chariots. This plate represents an important moment in the history of the reconstruction of a specific Roman ritual that fascinated Renaissance humanists and artists: the imperial triumph. Panvinio's plate 30, seemingly identical to an engraving published by Antoine Lafrery and Claude Duchet, illustrates a lively water battle between twenty-four boats of different forms and sizes, with elaborately carved prows and decorated pavilions. Reprinted many times, the water battle, or *naumachia*, was one of the most successful visual innovations in the attempt to reconstruct Roman ludic activities (Tomasi Velli 1990).

In plates 32–35 (pasted together to form a long fold-out plate), Panvinio returns to his main theme, the imperial triumph, illustrating the procession from a city gate to its conclusion at the temple of Jove on the Capitoline. The procession is watched all along its route by people standing in front of buildings. The illustration of



buildings is carried through the top of the entire illustrated strip, on plates 31–35. The procession itself is in two parts, inside and outside the walls of the city; the participants' occupations and the objects carried in procession are painstakingly identified with labels that constitute an invaluable tool for the understanding of this Roman ritual. (Among the Millard Books, these plates ornament the plan of ancient Rome by Etienne Dupérac reissued by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi [cat. III].)

The large fold-out plate of the triumph introduces *De triumphis* in this copy. The book is decorated throughout with historiated initials for each chapter, paragraphed text, italicized quotes, and marginal notes. A large number of inscriptions are transcribed in the text in uppercase roman typeface. Panvinio had taken up the subject of the Roman triumph before in his *Fasti et triumphi*, which was clearly linked to the fascination that Emperor Charles V had inspired in Italians during his visits to the peninsula in the 1530s.

The great success of Panvinio's sumptuous and persuasive studies marked the demise of interest in Ligorio's contributions (Tomasi Velli 1990). The history of the antiquarian rediscovery of the Roman circus was completed with this prestigious publication, and it remained the definitive work for the next two centuries.

Onofrio Panvinio. *De ludis circensibus*. Reconstruction of the imperial residence and the Circus Maximus: plan. 1985.61.2600

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Francesco Piranesi

(1758–1810)

74

Raccolta De' Tempj Antichi Opera Di
Francesco Piranesi Architetto Romano Prima
Parte Che Comprende I Tempj Di Vesta Madre,
Ossia Della Terra, E Della Sibilla, Ambedue
In Tivoli, E Dell' Onore, E Della Virtù Fuori
Di Porta Capena

Rome: [printed by Generoso Salomoni] for Francesco
Piranesi, [1780]

[Part II] Seconda Parte De' Tempj Antichi Che Contiene
Il Celebre Panteon. . .

Rome: [Francesco Piranesi], 1790

1983.49.69

Folio: 537 × 400 (21 1/8 × 15 3/4)

Pagination Part 1: [iv], 24, [ii], 10 pp., double-page etched
title plate, [21] etched plates (12 double page)

Part 2: [iv] pp., 27 etched and engraved plates (1 folding,
20 double page)

(Note: Pagination in Part 2 does not include plates I and
IX, lacking in Millard copy)

Edition First edition

Text *part 1*: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedi-
cation by Francesco Piranesi to Pius VI; 1–2 preface
("Prefazione Agli Amatori Delle Belle Arti, E Delle
Antichità"); 3–20 text "Dichiarazione Sopra Il Tempio
Antico Di Vesta Madre Ovvero Della Terra Che Esiste
In Tivoli Città Del Lazio"; 21–24 text, "Dichiarazione
Del Vero Tempio Della Sibilla E Della Sua Formazione,
E Struttura"; [i] divisional title page: "Tempio Dell'
Onore E Della Virtù" (verso blank); 1–10 text, ending
with notice about forthcoming second part, privilege
dated 14 March 1780 with two imprimaturs, and colo-
phon; *part 2*: [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedica-
tion by Francesco Piranesi to Pius VI

Ornaments

Part 1: Etched vignette on printed title page with two
faces of a Greek medallion, decorated with wreaths
and cornucopia; etched initial "A" on dedication, letter
crowned with papal miter, with crossed keys and eagle
perched on crossbar

Part 2: Etched vignette on title page, with caption:
"Labrum aegyptiacum porphyriticum . . . nunc urna
Sepulchralis Cinerum S.M. Clementis XII. in Basilica S.
Ioannis Lateranensis," signed "Piranesi F"; etched initial
"S" on dedication, signed "Piranesi F," also used in Gio-
vanni Battista Piranesi's *Antichità Romane* (cat. 88)

Illustrations

Part 1: Double-page etched and engraved title / dedica-
tion plate; and 21 etched and engraved plates numbered
I–XIII, [I–VIII] (plates I–IX, [I], [II], and [VII] double page,
remainder full page). Title plate with title incised on
stone tablet: "Sciographia Qvatvor Tempiorvm Vet-
ervm Pio VI Pont Max Bono Christianae Reip Nato
Et Artivm Ingenvarvm Felicitati A Francisco Piranesio
Romano Dicata," with medallion portrait of Pius VI
below, Pantheon and other temples in background, and
fragments and trophies in foreground; plates I–XIII with
views, plans, elevations, and ornaments of the "Tempio
di Vesta in Tivoli" and "Tempio della Sibilla in Tivoli";
plates [I–VII] with plan, elevations and ornament of
the "Tempio dell'Onore, e della Virtù"; plate [VIII] with
"Ara, o Mensa di Bacco." All plates signed by Francesco
Piranesi as draftsman and etcher, including title plate,
which is also dated 1780 ("Franc. Piranesi disegno ed
incise," with variants)

Part 2: 27 (*ex 29*) etched and engraved plates numbered
II–VIII, X–XII, [XIII], XIV–XXVIII, 29 (1 folding, 20 double
page, remainder full page) with plans, elevations, and
ornaments of the Pantheon. All plates signed by Fran-
cesco Piranesi as above, except for plates VII, VIII, and 29,
which in this copy are printed on large untrimmed
sheets of paper, finer than the other leaves and inserted
loosely. Plate III dated 1790; plates V and X dated 1786;
plates VI and XII dated 1787

Binding Contemporary half calf, marbled boards
(same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and
gray—as that used for other Piranesi volumes formerly
in the collection of C. E. Mewes)

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Cicognara 3837; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2546
(part I only)

75

[Raccolta de' tempi antichi. Paris edition]
 Sciographia Qvatvor Templorum Veterum
 Pio VI Pont Max Bono Christianae Reip Nato
 Et Artium Ingeniarum Felicitati A Francisco
 Piranesio Romano Dicata

[Paris: Francesco Piranesi, between 1800 and 1809]

1983.49.66

Broadsheet: 554 × 410 (21¾ × 16⅛)

Pagination [45] etched and engraved plates

(Note: Pagination does not include plates I, VII–IX, XII, and 29 from the third sequence of plates, lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition Late impression of plates from the author's *Raccolta de' tempi antichi* (cat. 74), reprinted here (without the text) as vol. 6 of the first Parisian edition of the Piranesi's collected works

Francesco Piranesi. *Il teatro d'Ercolano*. Title page. 1983.49.67

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate and 44 etched and engraved plates numbered I–XIII, I–VIII, II–VI, X–XI, [XIII], XIV–XXVIII. The plates are reprinted from Francesco Piranesi's *Raccolta de' tempi antichi* (cat. 74), with numbering added to the second sequence of plates

Binding Nineteenth-century straight-grain red half morocco, spine label: "Supplément Aux Antiquités Romaines"

References Berlin Cat. 1878; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2546 (note)

76

Il Teatro D'Ercolano Alla Maestà Di Gvstavo III
 Re: Di Svezia . . .

[Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni for Francesco Piranesi, 1783]

1983.49.67

Folio: 542 × 400 (21⅝ × 15¾)



Pagination [10] pp., double-page etched and engraved title plate, 9 double-page etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title (verso blank); [iii–v] dedication by Francesco Piranesi to Gustaf III, king of Sweden, dated Rome, 1 January 1783; [vi] blank; [vii–x] text (“Introduzione All’Indice Delle Tavole Iconografiche Del Teatro Di Ercolano”), ending with two imprimaturs, dated Rome, 8 December 1782, and colophon: “In Roma Nella Stamperia Salomoni”

Illustration Double-page etched and engraved title plate with title inscribed on stone tablet above small medalion portrait of Gustaf III, with his coat of arms, military paraphernalia, and emblems of the arts; plus 9 double-page etched and engraved plates numbered I–IX, all plans and elevations. All plates signed by Francesco Piranesi as designer and etcher (“Francesco Piranesi dis, e inc.,” with variants), including title plate, which is also dated 1783

Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled paper boards (similar paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and green—as that used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes), spine gilt with floral ornaments, black morocco spine label

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 1878, pt. 19 (as part of Francesco Piranesi’s collected works); Petrucci 864–873

77

Choix Des Meilleures Statues Antiques

[Rome: Francesco Piranesi, 1792 or later]

1985.61.2615

Broadsheet: 705 × 505 (27¾ × 19⅞)

Foliation [41] etched and engraved plates (4 folding)

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout consisting of a title plate, plus 40 unnumbered plates each with captions and dedication in Italian (4 folding, remainder full page). All plates illustrate antique sculpture except plate [35], which depicts a statue of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. All plates signed by Francesco Piranesi as etcher (“Francesco Piranesi inc.”), and all but two dated between 1780 and 1792. Draftsmen include: Tommaso Piroli (19 plates), Ludovico Carazzari (14 plates), Bernardino Nocchi (3 plates), Lorenzo Rocchegiani (2 plates), and Bénigne Gagnereau (1 plate)

Binding Bound (I) with Gavin Hamilton’s *Schola italica picturae*, Rome, 1793 (cat. 51). Nineteenth-century quarter calf with paper-covered boards mottled in pink, red, and black, black morocco spine label, red sprinkled edges; uncut. Bound uniform with the *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi da Cento detto Il Guercino*, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and others (cat. 102). An additional plate with a similar subject is loosely inserted; it is signed by Pietro Angeletti as draftsman and Andrea Rossi as engraver

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Olschki 17817; Petrucci 823–863

ANOTHER COPY

1983.49.70

Broadsheet: 674 × 482 (26½ × 18½⅙)

Foliation As above, except lacking title plate

Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled paper boards (same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and gray—used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes). The folding plates of the first copy are bound here as double page

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

78

[A collection of plates, including etchings of Pompeii after Desprez, views of the Vatican, and a large plan of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli]

[Rome: Francesco Piranesi, 1793 or later]

1983.49.68

Broadsheet: 664 × 479 (26⅙ × 18⅞)

Foliation [23] etched and engraved plates (2 folding, 19 double page)

(Note: Foliation does not include 3 plates etched by Francesco Piranesi noted by Petrucci, but lacking in Millard copy: “La Girandola a Castel S. Angelo” (Petrucci 1017), “Veduta della Villa Medici” (Petrucci 1022), and “Plan du Palais de Sans-Souci” (Petrucci 1035). Plate [12] is not among the etchings catalogued by Petrucci)

Edition First? edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

[I] Double-page plate “Topografia delle Fabbriche scoperte nella Città di Pompei,” with dedication by Francesco Piranesi to Gustaf Adolf, king of Sweden,

and note at bottom left: "Questa Pianta indica quanto fù scoperto sino all'anno 1780, e pubblicata l'anno 1785"

[2] Double-page plate "Veduta del Tempio d'Iside . . . dell'antica Città di Pompei." Signed by Louis Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1788 ("Luigi Desprez delin."; "Cav. Francesco Piranesi incise 1788")

[3] Double-page plate "Veduta del Sepolcro di Mamia negl' avanzi dell'antica Città di Pompei." Signed by Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1789

[4] Double-page plate "Veduta della Porta dell'antica Città di Pompei." Signed by Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1789

[5] Full-page plate "Una delle danzatrici o ministre di feste Bacchiche dipinte . . . nelle ruine di Pompej." Signed by Tommaso Piroli as draftsman and Girolamo Carattoni as etcher and dated 1787 ("Tomasso Piroli delin."; "Girolamo Carattoni sculp. 1787"), published by Francesco Piranesi ("Presso il Cav: Francesco Piranesi")

[6] Full-page plate "Danzatrice seminuda. . . ." Signed by Piroli as draftsman and Carattoni as etcher, published by F. Piranesi

[7] Double-page plate "La Grotta di Posilipo" Signed by Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1791

[8] Double-page plate etched by Nicolas Dorigny after Raphael's *Transfiguration* and dated 1705 (signed: "Eq. Nicolaus Dorigny gallus delin. et Sculp. Romæ Anno 1705")

[9] Double-page plate etched by Nicolas Dorigny after Daniele da Volterra's *Deposition* and dated 1710

[10] Double-page plate "Prospetto interiore del Tempio Vaticano veduto nelle sere di Giovedì, e del Venerdì Santi al chiarore della gran Croce. . . ." Signed by Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1787

[11] Double-page plate "Il Santo Padre in atto d'adorazione innanzi al Sacramento esposto" with caption printed on separate plate. Signed by Desprez as draftsman and Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1787

[12] Double-page plate "Veduta Del Chiostro Della Certosa Nelle Terme Diocleziane," with caption and dedication printed on separate plate. Signed by François Sablet as designer ("Francesco Sablet Svizzero dipinse") and by Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1793

[13–15] Three double-page plates (the first numbered "T. I."), intended to be pasted together, titled "Prospettiva Della Nuova Piazza in Padova Dietro La Generale Idea Già Concepita. . . ." Signed by Giuseppe Subleyras as designer ("Giuseppe Subleyras disegno") and by Francesco Piranesi as etcher and dated 1786

[16–21] Six double-page plates intended to form an immense plan of Hadrian's villa and its surroundings titled "Pianta Delle Fabriche Esistenti Nella Villa Adriana," with key printed separately on six plates (i.e., one at foot of each principal plate). Plate [16] includes dedication by Francesco Piranesi to King Stanislaus Augustus of Poland, within large rectangular cartouche including imperial eagle, crown, and medal-lion portrait of Stanislaus. Unsigned

[22] Folding plate (made from two double-page coppers) "Iconografia del circo di Caracalla fuori della Porta Capena in oggi S. Sebastiano." Signed by Francesco Piranesi as etcher

[23] Folding plate (made from two double-page coppers) "Dimostrazioni Dell'Emissario Del Lago Fucino," with caption, key, and dedication by Francesco Piranesi to Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, printed on separate plate. The plan is surrounded by 13 vignettes; it is signed bottom left "Cav. Gio. Batta. Piranesi delineo, e incise a l'acquaforte." A mostly erased signature bottom right appears to have read "Cav. Francesco Piranesi. . . ." This plate not in *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*

Binding Contemporary half calf with paper-covered boards (similar paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and green—as that used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes); nail holes through front cover and first eight plates

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Petrucci 1016, 1018–1021, 1023–1034, 1036–1037

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778)

A. Etched catalogue of works

79

Catalogo Delle Opere Date Finora Alla Luce Da Gio Battista Piranesi

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi ("Si vendono presso il medesimo Autore nel palazzo del Conte Tomati a Strada Felice, vicino alla Trinità de' Monti"), [c. 1764]

1983.49.77

Broadsheet: 534 × 424 (21 × 16^{11/16})

Foliation [1] etched and engraved plate

Edition First edition, mid-early state. The *Catalogo* was first issued around 1761 and continued to be revised throughout Piranesi's lifetime; more than 25 distinct states of the *Catalogo* have been identified

Illustration A full-page, unsigned etched, engraved, and drypoint plate (399 × 296 mm) with title engraved on stone cartouche and Piranesi's published works to date inscribed on four *trompe l'oeil* paper cartouches set against a largely hidden brick wall and various antiquities and *vedute*. The following works are listed:

Antichità Romane

Fasti Consulares Triumphalesque Romanorum

Del Castello Dell'Acqua Givlia

Dell'Emissario Del Lago Albano

Campvs Martivs Antiquae Urbis

Archi Trionfali Antichi

Trofei D'Ottaviano Avgvsto

Ritratto della Santità di N[ost]ro Sig[no]re Papa
Clemente XIII

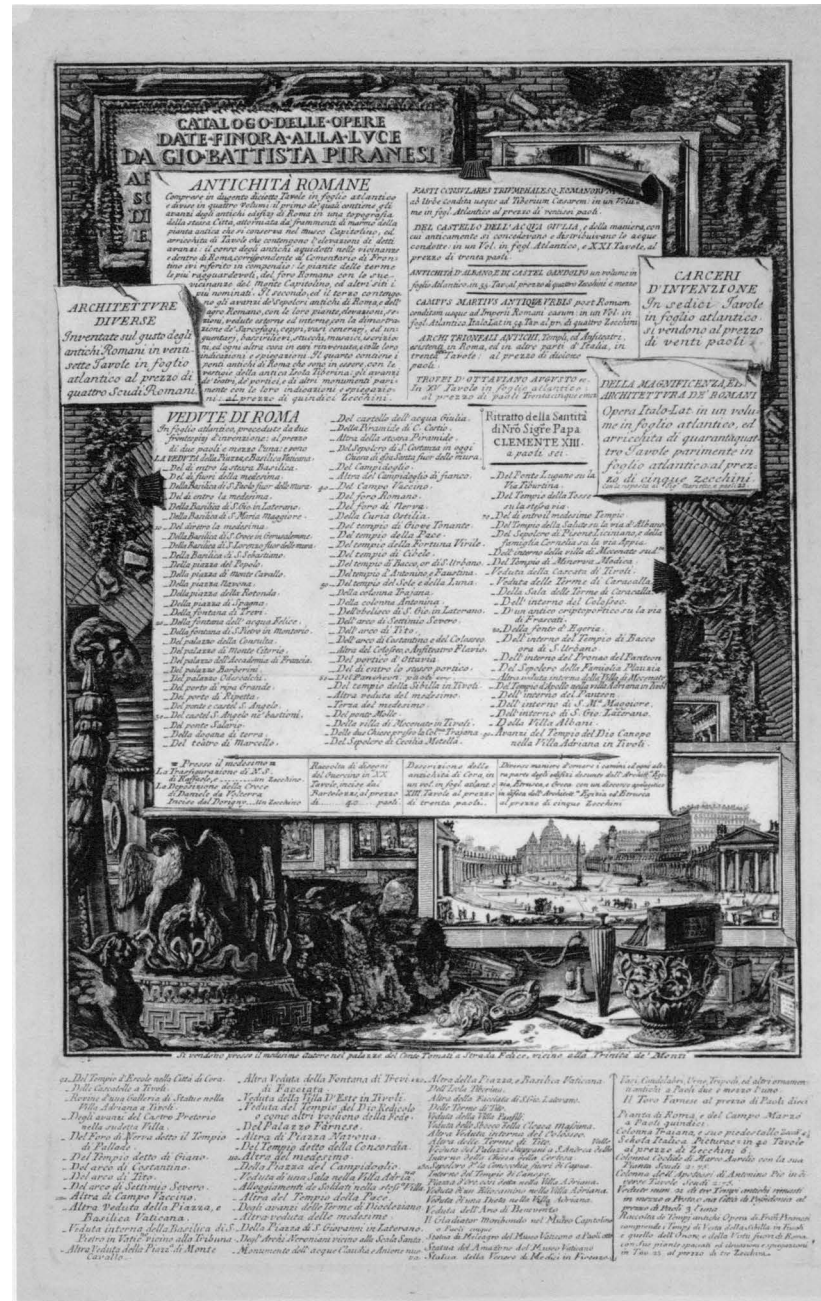
Vedute Di Roma (listing 2 frontispieces and 60 plates)

Carceri D'Invenzione

Della Magnificenza, Ed Architettura De' Romani

Architettura Diverse Inventate sul gusto degli antichi
Romani

272



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Catalogo delle opere*. 1983.49.77

References Focillon 1; Hind, *Piranesi*, 5–6; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 1; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 181; Andrew Robison, "Dating Piranesi's Early 'Vedute di Roma,'" in *Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa*, ed. Alessandro Bettagno (Florence, 1983), 12; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 45–46

ANOTHER COPY

1983.49.78

Rome: [Francesco Piranesi, c. 1780]

Broadsheet: 507 × 331 (20 × 13)

Edition First edition, final state*Illustrations* As above, with the following works added:

Vedute Di Roma (listing 2 frontispieces and 90 plates)

La Trasfigurazione di N.S. di Raffaele . . .

La Deposizione della Croce di Daniele da Volterra

Incise dal Dorigny . . .

Raccolta di disegni del Guercino in xx Tavole, incise dal Bartolozzi

Descrizione delle antichità di Cora, in un vol. in fogl. atlant. e XIII Tavole

Diverse maniere d'ornare i cammini

A separate copper (77 × 300 mm) with four columns of text is added at the foot of the plate and bears the following additions:

Vedute di Roma (listing plates 91–130 and 9 additional etchings)

Vasi, Candelabri, Urne, Tripodi ed altri ornamenti antichi a Paoli

Il Toro Farnese

Pianta di Roma, e del Campo Marzo

Colonna Traiana, e suo piedestallo

Schola Italica Picturae

Colonna Coclide di Marco Aurelio, con la sua Pianta

Colonna dell' Apoteosi di Antonino Pio

Vedute num. 21 di tre Tempi antichi rimasti in mezzo a Pesto

Raccolta de Tempj antichi Opera di Fran:^{co} Piranesi*B. Early Architectural and Decorative Fantasies*

80

Le Magnificenze Di Roma Le Più Remarcabili Consistenti In Gran Numero Di Stampe Nelle quali vengano rappresentate le più cospicue Fabbriche Di Roma Moderna, E Le Rimaste Dell'Antica, Anche Quelle, Che Sparse Sono Per L'Italia Con L'Aggiunta Ancora Di Molte

Invenzioni Di Prospettiva Sulla Maniera Degl'Antichi Romani, Come Anche Di Molti Capricci Di Carceri Sotterranee. Il Tutto Con Singolar Gusto, E Studio Diligentemente Delineate, Inventate, Ed Incise Da Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano . . .

Rome: [Giovanni Bouchard], 1751

[Part 2] Opere Varie Di Architettura, Prospettiva, Grotteschi, Antichità Inventate, ed Incise Da Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano, Raccolte Da Giovanni Bouchard Mercante Librajo al Corso

Rome: [Giovanni Bouchard], 1750

1983.49.71

Folio: 469 × 341 (18⁷/₁₆ × 13⁷/₁₆)

Foliation Part 1: [1] leaf, etched and engraved frontispiece, [32] etched and engraved plates

Part 2: [1] leaf, added etched and engraved title plate, [16] etched and engraved plates

Edition Early, but incomplete. *Le Magnificenze di Roma* (pt. 1) and *Opere Varie* (pt. 2) were both letterpress titles used as vehicles for selling various combinations of Piranesi's suites, which were also issued separately. The Millard copy (manifestly incomplete when compared to the titles' list of contents) contains in part 1 an early, imperfect edition of his *Antichità romane de' tempi della repubblica* (enhanced by six plates from the same series added from another copy); and in part 2 a coherent edition of his *Prima parte di architetture, e prospettive*. The set, as originally bound, probably dates from the early 1750s; the *Opere varie* title leaf is dated 1750 but was used until at least 1761, when a second version (also dated 1750) was printed (see Millard copy under this title [cat. 83] and Robison, *Piranesi*, 135–137)

Text part 1: folio [1] general title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); part 2: folio [1] divisional title page, printed in red and black (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette on general title page with Roman ruins and view of sea, signed "Piranesi fecit," later used in second version of *Opere varie* title page (cat. 83); etched vignette on divisional title page with view of obelisk and colonnade through ruins, signed "Le Lorrain [Louis-Joseph le Lorrain] invenit"

Illustrations

Part 1: Etched and engraved portrait of Piranesi, signed by Felice Polanzani ("F. Polanzani faciebat 1750"), and 32 full-page etched, engraved, and drypoint plates irregularly numbered as follows (* indicates later insertion from another copy):

1 Title plate with decorative border printed from a separate copper: “Antichità Romane De’ Tempi Della Repubblica, E De’ Primi Imperatori, Disegnate, Ed Incise Da Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano . . . Parte Prima,” with imprint “Roma si vende dall’Autore dirimpetto l’Academia di Francia”

2 Dedication plate with dedication by Giovanni Battista Piranesi to Giovanni Bottari, dated Rome, 20 July 1748, printed within same decorative border as plate 1 (Focillon 42)

3 Transcriptions of “Iscrizioni che sono nella presente Racolta . . .” printed within same decorative border as plate 1 (Focillon 43)

4 Further transcriptions of “Iscrizioni . . .,” ending with list of plates (“Indice delle Tavole contenute in quest’Opera”), printed within same decorative border as plate 1 (Focillon 44)

*[I] “Veduta dell’Arco fabbricato in onore d’Augusto vicino alla Città di Aosta.” Numbered “5,” but not included in index. Signed “Disegnato dal Cav. Rug.^{ro} Newdigate Inglese. Cav. Piranesi inc.” (Focillon 45)

[II] “Arco di Galieno.” Unnumbered and not included in index. Signed “Piranesi fecit” (Focillon 71)

*5 “Parte Del Foro Di Nerva.” Numbered “1,” but listed in index as “Tav. 5.” Signed “Piranesi F” (Focillon 46)

*6 “Arco di Tito in Roma . . .” Unsigned (Focillon 47)

7 “Tempio di Giove Tonan[te] . . .” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 48)

*8 “Arco di Drvso.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 49)

9 “Arco di Costantino in Roma.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 50)

10 “Vestigj del Tempio di Giove Statore.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 51)

11 “Tempio di Giano.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 52)

12 “Anfiteatro Flavio detto il Colosseo.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 53)

13 “Arco di Settimio Severo.” Signed “Israel Silvestre del.” and “Piranesi S.” (Focillon 54)

14 “Ponte Senatorio oggi detto Ponte Rotto.” Signed “Israel Silvestre del.” and “Piranesi S.” (Focillon 55)

15 “Foro di Avgvsto.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 56)

16 “Ponte di Rimino fabbricato da Augusto e da Tiberio Imperatori.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 58)

*17 “Arco di Rimino fabbricato da Avgvsto.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 59)

[i] Divisional title plate with title incised on stone tablet: “Antichi[t]à Roma[n]e Fvori Di Roma Disegnato ed Incise Da Giambatt[ist]a Piranesi Architetto Veneziano. Parte Seconda.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 57)

18 “Sepolcro Della Familia [sic] De Sipioni [sic].” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 60)

19 “Parte dell’antica Via Appia fuori di Porta S. Sebastiano circa tre miglia.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 61)

20 “Sepolcro di Metella detto Capo di Bove.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 62)

21 “Tempio di Pola in Istria”; signature at lower left (Focillon 63)

22 “Rovescio del Tempio di Pola in Istria.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 64)

23 “Anfiteatro di Pola in Istria vicino al mare.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 65)

24 “Arco di Pola in Istria vicino alla Porta.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 66)

25 “Anfiteatro di Verona.” Unsigned (Focillon 67)

26 “Tempio Di Clitvrno [sic] Tra Fvligno E Spoletti [sic].” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 68)

27 “Sepolcro Delle Trè Fratelli Cvriati In Albano.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 69)

28 “Arco Di Traiano In Ancona.” Signed by Piranesi (Focillon 70)

*[29] “Tempio di Minerva Medica.” Numbered “32,” but not included in index. Signed by Francesco Piranesi (Focillon 71)

Part 2: Etched title plate: “Prima Parte Di Architetture, E Prospettive Inventate, Ed Incise Da Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano Fra Gli Arcadi Salcindio Tiseio.” (Focillon 2; Robison, *Piranesi*, 1, state IV), and 16 full-page etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered 1–14, [15–16] (plates 15–16 numbered in manuscript) as follows:

1 “Galleria grande di Statue” (Focillon 3; Robison 2)

2 “Carcere oscura” (Focillon 4; Robison 3)

3 “Mausoleo antico” (Focillon 14; Robison 5)

4 “Gruppo di Colonne,” dated 1743 (Focillon 15; Robison 15)

5 “Vestiggi d’antichi Edificj” (Focillon 5; Robison 16)

6 “Ruine di Sepolcro antico” (Focillon 6; Robison 17)

7 “Ara antica” (Focillon 16; Robison 18)

8 “Ponte magnifico” (Focillon 7; Robison 6)

9 "Sala all'uso degli antichi Romani" (Focillon 8; Robison 7)

10 "Campidoglio antico" (Focillon 9; Robison 8)

11 "Gruppo di Scale" (Focillon 10; Robison 9)

12 "Prospetto d'un regio Cortile" (Focillon 11; Robison 10)

13 "Vestibolo d'antico Tempio" (Focillon 12; Robison 11)

14 "Foro antico Romano" (Focillon 13; Robison 12)

[15] "Camera sepolcrale" (Focillon 18; Robison 20)

[16] "Tempio antico," dated 1743 (Focillon 17; Robison 19, state II)

Plates 1–3, 6, 8–14 with caption printed from separate coppers. Caption plates in the present copy have corrections as described by Robison, but lack the numbers added in their latest states. All plates signed by Piranesi

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, gilt spine. The plates throughout have three stitch holes from a previous sewing

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 2–18 (*Opere varie*), 41–71 (*Antichità romane*); Hind, *Piranesi*, 75–76 (*Antichità romane*), 79–80 (*Opere varie*), 82 (*Le magnificenze di Roma*); *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 103–133 (*Antichità romane*, 2d ed.), 212–213 (*Le magnificenze di Roma*); Robison, *Piranesi*, 65, nos. 1–4, 6–12, 15–20; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2549 (*Antichità romane*), 2562 (*Opere varie*); Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 72–75 (*Antichità romane*, 2d ed.)

81

[Grotteschi]

[Paris: Francesco Piranesi, 1800–1809]

1985.61.2617

Broadsheet: 572 × 820 (22 1/2 × 32 1/4)

Foliation [4] etched plates

Edition First edition, late issue (first published Rome, c. 1747)

Illustrations [1] [The Skeletons]: etching, engraving, drypoint, burnishing; numbered "24," 391 × 541 mm. Signed "Piranesi F." Robison, *Piranesi*, 21, state IV/V

[2] [The Triumphal Arch]: etching, engraving, drypoint, burnishing; numbered "25," 393 × 540 mm. Signed "Piranesi inv: incise, e vende in Roma in faccia all'Accademia di Francia." Robison, *Piranesi*, 22, state IV/V

[3] [The Tomb of Nero]: etching, engraving, drypoint, scratching; numbered "26," 391 × 546 mm. Signed "Piranesi invento; ed incise" with imprint "Ap.º Piranesi dirimpetto l'Accademia di Francia in Roma." Robison, *Piranesi*, 23, state V/VI

[4] [The Monumental Tablet]: etching, engraving, drypoint, scratching; numbered "27," 391 × 535 mm. Signed "Piranesi inv: incise, e vende dirimpetto all'Accademia di Francia in Roma." Robison, *Piranesi*, 24, state III/IV

Binding Plates mounted on guards and bound with 8 leaves of later laid paper. Early twentieth-century quarter vellum with marbled paper boards, white leather corners, dark red leather label on cover: "G.B. Piranesi / Caprices"; uncut

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 20–23; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 21–24; Robison, *Piranesi*, 21–24; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2557; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 13–16

82

Carceri D'Invenzione Di G. Battista Piranesi
Archit[etto] Vene[ziano]

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, [1761]

1983.118.2–17

Acquired with assistance from The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation

Broadsheet, not bound: 408–570 × 403–560
(16 1/16–22 7/16 × 15 7/8–22)

Foliation [16] etched and engraved plates

Edition Second edition, first issue, printed in a very dark brown ink. Although 14 of the coppers were first published c. 1750, the plates were substantially reworked in 1761, with the addition of two new plates (plates [II] and [V]); this new form is generally considered to constitute a distinct edition. The Millard copy conforms to the first issue of this second edition, with only plate XVI numbered and lacking the imprint line on plate [II]

Illustrations 16 full-page plates numbered [I–XV], XVI, as follows:

[I] Title plate: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite; 553 × 419 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 29, state V/IX

[II] [The Man on the Rack]: etching, engraving; 571 × 420 mm. Imprint at foot: "Presso l'Autore a Strada Felice vicino alla Trinità de' Monti, Fogli Sedici, al prezzo di paoli venti." Robison, *Piranesi*, 43, state II/VI

[III] [The Round Tower]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 556 × 418 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 30, state II/VI

[IV] [The Grand Piazza]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 553 × 417 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 31, state II/VI

[V] [The Lion Bas-Reliefs]: etching, engraving; 570 × 416 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 44, state I/III

[VI] [The Smoking Fire]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 549 × 403 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 32, state III/VII

[VII] [The Drawbridge]: etching, engraving, scratching; 561 × 415 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 33, state II/VI

[VIII] [The Staircase with Trophies]: etching, engraving; 557 × 406 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 34, state II/VI

[IX] [The Giant Wheel]: etching, engraving; 561 × 411 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 35, state IV/VIII

[X] [Prisoners on a Projecting Platform]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 417 × 553 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 36, state II/VI

[XI] [The Arch with a Shell Ornament]: etching, engraving, scratching, sulphur tint or open bite, drypoint; 408 × 557 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 37, state III/VII

[XII] [The Sawhorse]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, scratching; 417 × 564 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 38, state III/VI

[XIII] [The Well]: etching, engraving, scratching, burnishing, lavis; 411 × 560 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 39, state II/VI

[XIV] [The Gothic Arch]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 417 × 556 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 40, state III/VI

[XV] [The Pier with a Lamp]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 415 × 558 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 41, state II/VII

XVI [The Pier with Chains]: etching, engraving, sulphur tint or open bite, burnishing; 410 × 557 mm. Robison, *Piranesi*, 42, state II/VI

All plates signed by Piranesi, except [XIII], which is the only known unsigned impression of this plate

Binding Plates removed from original binding and individually matted. Eighteenth-century diced russet, gilt roll-tool borders

Provenance Gilt arms of John Ker, 3d duke of Roxburghe (1740–1804) on both covers; later nineteenth-century ownership inscription of Rev. H. H. Bishop, a writer on architecture, on flyleaf; Philip Hofer's copy

References Focillon 24–39; Hind, *Piranesi*, [24]–29; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 26–41; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2558; Robison, *Piranesi*, 29–44, also 139; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 178–191

83

Opere Varie Di Architettura Prospettive Grotteschi Antichità Sul Gusto Degli Antichi Romani Inventate, ed Incise Da Gio. Batista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi ("Con Licenza De' Superiori Si vendono presso l'Autore nel palazzo del Signor Conte Tomati su la strada Felice all Trinità de' Monti."), 1750 [i.e., 1761 or later]

1983.49.72

Folio: 526 × 400 (20¹¹/₁₆ × 15³/₄)

Foliation [1] leaf, [7] etched and engraved plates (2 double page)

Edition This copy has the second version of the *Opere varie* title page, which is found in issues from 1761 to the late 1790s; two double-page plates, neither of which appeared in any of Piranesi's other works; and ten half-page plates from the *Lettere di giustificazione* (cat. 98)

Text folio [1] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page with Roman ruins and view of sea, signed "Piranesi fecit" (Robison, *Piranesi*, 28; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 43)

Illustrations 12 etched, engraved, and drypoint coppers printed on 7 plates (2 double page, 5 full-page plates with two coppers each) as follows:

[1] Double-page "Pianta di ampio magnifico Collegio." Numbered "22" and signed "Giambattista Piranesi inventore Scolpi." (Focillon 121)

[2] Double-page "Parte di ampio magnifico Porto," with caption printed on separate plate. Unsigned (Focillon 122)

[3] "Idea delle antiche vie Appia e Ardeatina," a reworking of plate II from the *Lettere di giustificazione*; and "Ingresso d'un antico ginnasio." Both signed "Piranesi F." (Focillon 124 and 123)

[4] "Appartenenze d'antiche terme con scale che conducono alla palestra, e al teatro."; and "Veduta d'uno de' circhi antichi con altri monumenti al dintorno," a reworking of plate III from the *Lettere di giustificazione*. Second copper only signed "Piranesi F." (Focillon 126 and 125)

[5] "Scvola Anticha Architettata All'Egiziana, E Alla Greca"; signed "Piranesi F."; and "Portici tirati dintorno ad un Foro con palazzo regio." Both signed "Piranesi F." (Focillon 128 and 127)

[6] "Ponte Trionfale," a reworking of plate I from the *Lettere di giustificazione*; and "Braccio di città pensile, e navigata al di sotto," a reworking of plate IV from the *Lettere di giustificazione*. Both signed "Piranesi F." (Focillon 130 and 129)

[7] "Rovine d'archit.^a Egiziana e Greca," a reworking of the title plate from the *Lettere di giustificazione*; and "Idea d'un atrio reale." Both signed "Piranesi F." (Focillon 132 and 131)

Binding Early twentieth-century quarter vellum with marbled paper boards, white leather corners. Bound with fourteen blank leaves of laid paper

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 17–18; Hind, *Piranesi*, 78–81; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 79; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2562; Robison, *Piranesi*, 212–214; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 26–31, nos. 51–52

C. Views of Rome and environs

84

Varie Vedute Di Roma Antica, e Moderna
Disegnate e Intagliate da Celebri Autori

Rome: Fausto Amidei, 1748 [i.e., 1750 or later]

1984.8.5

Oblong quarto: 223 × 339 (8^{13/16} × 13^{5/16})

Foliation [149] etched plates

Edition Third? edition. Amidei first published the *Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna* in 1745 and later added additional plates over the course of several editions. The Millard copy contains the second state of the title plate, which is dated 1748, and the seven plates by Jérôme Charles Bellicard added in 1750

Illustrations 149 full-page etched and engraved plates, unnumbered except for the title plate, which is numbered "1." The plates are signed by the following: Giovanni Battista Piranesi (48 plates); Niccolò Mogalli (23 plates); Philothée-François Duflos (8 plates); Jean-Laurent Legeay (8 plates); Jérôme Charles Bellicard (7 plates, all dated 1750); Paolo Anesi (2 plates); Jean Barbault (2 plates); P. L. Magini (1 plate); remainder unsigned

The plates signed by Piranesi, in the order in which they appear, are as follows:

[3] Arco di Settimo Severo, e Caracalla, nel Foro Boario appresso S. Giorgio in Velabro (Focillon 102)

[6] Veduta del Circo massimo, e del Palazzo de Cesari nel Palatino (Focillon 103)

[7] S. Stefano Rotondo (Focillon 77)

[10] Vestigie della vecchia Curia Ostilia a S. Gio., e Paolo (Focillon 79)

[12] Spelonco della Ninfa Egeria, detta volgarmente la Cafarella (Focillon 108)

[14] Circo di Caracalla (Focillon 107)

[15] Veduta della Chiesa di S. Sebastiano fuori delle Mura (Focillon 106)

[16] Arco di Nerone Druso con gli Aquedotti di Caracalla (Focillon 105)

[23] Vestigie delle Terme d'Antonino Caracalla (Focillon 104)

[26] Piramide di Caio Cestio . . . (Focillon 110)

[27] Chiesa di S. Paolo fuori della Mura (Focillon 109)

[32] Tempio della Fortuna Virile . . . (Focillon 111)

[35] Veduta del Teatro di Marcello (Focillon 101)

[36] Palazzo degl'Ambasciatori di Venezia in Roma (Focillon 75)

[37] Chiesa del Gesù (Focillon 76)

[38] Veduta del Palazzo Panfilio . . . (Focillon 73)

[39] Palazzo dell'Accademia di Francia al Corso (Focillon 74)

[40] Palazzo del Duca di Bracciano Odeschalchi (Focillon 96)

[41] Fontana di Trevi (Focillon 94)

[42] Collegio di Propaganda Fide (Focillon 93)

[45] Veduta della Villa Medici . . . (Focillon 92)

[58] Chiesa di S. Ignazio del Collegio Romano (Focillon 72)

[61] Archyginnasio Romano (Focillon 114)

[66] Chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle (Focillon 98)

[67] Santa Maria in Vallicella . . . (Focillon 97)

[68] Palazzo della Cancelleria (Focillon 115)

[69] Palazzo Farnese (Focillon 116)

[70] Palazzo de i Duchi Mattei (Focillon 99)

- [74] Tempio di Giunone Regina, ora S. Angelo in Pescheria (Focillon 100)
- [78] Fontana dell'acqua Paola . . . (Focillon 112)
- [79] Veduta della Villa Panfilì . . . (Focillon 113)
- [81] Veduta della Chiesa, ed Ospedale di Santo Spirito (Focillon 117)
- [84] Veduta di Belvedere in Vaticano (Focillon 119)
- [87] Veduta di Castel S. Angelo (Focillon 118)
- [113] 1. Palazzo Pontificio 2. Chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena 3. Palazzo della Consulta . . . (Focillon 95)
- [114] Chiesa di S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane (Focillon 86)
- [115] Palazzo Barberini (Focillon 91)
- [116] Veduta di Villa Ludovisi (Focillon 90)
- [118] Tempio di Venere appresso il Circo Apollinare . . . (Focillon 89)
- [122] Veduta della Fontana d'Acqua Felice a Termini (Focillon 87)
- [123] Vestigie delle Terme Diocletiane (Focillon 88)
- [128] Veduta delle Terme di Tito Vespasiano . . . (Focillon 85)
- [130] Veduta dell'Arco di Gallieno (Focillon 84)
- [134] Tempio di Minerva Medica . . . (Focillon 83)
- [142] Anfiteatro Castrense à S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Focillon 81)
- [144] Tempio di Venere, e Cupido (Focillon 82)
- [147] Veduta di S. Giovanni in Laterano (Focillon 80)
- [149] Aquedotti dell'Acqua Claudia di contro S. Stefano Rotondo (Focillon 78)

This set also includes the 3 unsigned plates attributed by Wilton-Ely to Piranesi as plates [53], [54], and [60] (see *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 99–101)

Binding Contemporary marbled boards, rebacked

Provenance Nineteenth-century engraved armorial bookplate of Lord Grantham

References Focillon 15–17, nos. 72–119; Hind, *Piranesi*, 76–77; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 51–101; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 178–179; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 34–35

85

Raccolte Di Varie Vedute Di Roma Si Antica Che Moderna Intagliate La Maggior Parte Dal

Celebre Gianbatista Piranesi E Da Altri Incisori.
Le sudette sono in numero di novanta tre,
e si vendono in Roma Da Giovanni Bouchard
Librajo Al Corso Vicino A San Marcello

Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni for Giovanni Bouchard, 1752

1985.61.2616

Folio: 512 × 351 (20 1/8 × 13 7/8)

Foliation [i] leaf, [46] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition under this title. First published as the *Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1748 (cat. 84)

Text folio [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page showing the “Tempio di Bacco,” signed by Philothée-François Duflos as draftsman and etcher

Illustrations 92 etched and engraved coppers on 46 unnumbered full-page plates (i.e., two coppers per plate). 48 plates signed by Piranesi as draftsman and engraver (“Piranesi F.,” with variants); 8 plates signed by Philothée-François Duflos as draftsman and engraver (“F.P. Duflos delin. e sculp.,” with variants); 8 plates signed by Jean-Laurent Legeay as draftsman and etcher (“Des. et Gravé par J.L. LeGeay,” with variants); 7 plates signed by Jérôme Charles Bellicard and dated 1750 (“Bellicard fec. Roma 1750,” with variants); and 2 plates signed by Paolo Anesi (“P. Anesi del., e sc.”)

Binding Contemporary vellum, spine gilt in compartments, lettered in gilt

References Focillon 72–119; Hind, *Piranesi*, 77–78; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 799–814; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2564; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 178–179; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 166–172

86

Vedvte Di Roma Disegnate Ed Incise Da
Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Ve[ne]ziano

[Rome: Francesco Piranesi, c. 1786]

1985.61.1–140

Acquired with assistance from The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation

Broadsheet, disbound: 538 × 778 (21 1/8 × 30 5/8)

Foliation Etched title plate, [135] etched and engraved plates



Edition First edition, penultimate state, lacking only the final plate added by Francesco Piranesi around 1788. Plates from this open-ended series were first issued by Giovanni Battista Piranesi around 1747, with new plates added until his death. The final state of the *Vedute di Roma* consists of 137 plates, all by Giovanni Battista Piranesi except for the last two plates issued by Francesco Piranesi around 1786 and 1788 (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2569)

Illustrations Etched, engraved, and drypoint throughout, consisting of a title plate, and 135 unnumbered plates, all views of Rome. All of the plates in the Millard copy that bear an imprint have Piranesi's (rather than, as in earlier states, Bouchard and Gravier's) and only one plate has its etched price erased (see Hind)

Binding Originally bound in 2 vols. Recent quarter vellum with marbled boards, now housed separately. Plates removed from binding and individually matted. The original bindings appear to have contained four additional plates, i.e.

1. A second impression of the frontispiece (Hind 2; 1985.61.66)
2. A second impression of the Ripa grande and asylum of San Michele, in its later, significantly altered, state (Hind 27; 1985.61.28)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Vedute di Roma*. Ripa grande and asylum of San Michele. 1985.61.28

3. Piranesi's large "Pianta Di Roma E Del Campo Marzio," etched c. 1774, consisting of 3 (or 4?) coppers printed together to form a map with a dedication by Piranesi to Clement XIII; an "Avvertimento dell' Autore"; and a numbered key to map locations (nos. 1–402) including extensive references to Piranesi's *Antichità Romane* (1985.61.65; see *Piranesi: Complete Etchings* 1008, reproduced without the lower plate referring to map numbers 200–402)

4. A map of Rome by Giovanni Battista Nolli: "La Topografia Di Roma Di Gio. Batta Nolli Dalla Maggiore In Qvesta Minor Tauola Dal Medesimo Ridotta," 1748, signed by Nolli and Piranesi as engravers ("Piranesi e Nolli incisero") and numbered "33" (1985.61.140; see *Piranesi: Complete Etchings* 1007)

Provenance Stamp of Charles Edouard Mewes on title plate

References Focillon 719–853; Hind, *Piranesi*, 1–136; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 134–268; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2569; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 76–106

D. *Archaeological Works*

87

Trofei Di Ottaviano Avgvsto Innalzati Per La Vittoria Ad Activm E Conqvista Dell'Egitto Con Vari Altri Ornamenti Antichi Disegnati Ed Incisi Dal Cavalier Gio. Batta. Piranesi

[Paris?]: Francesco Piranesi, c. 1800?

1985.61.2622

Folio: 590 × 434 (23 ³/₁₆ × 17 ¹/₈)

Foliation [15] etched plates (10 double page)

Edition Second edition, late impression. The work was originally published in 1753 with a letterpress title page and 9 plates. An etched title plate eventually replaced the letterpress title page, and sometime in or after 1778 five new plates were added by Francesco Piranesi

Illustrations Etched, engraved, and drypoint throughout as follows:

[1] Full-page title plate, with a second copper titled “Frammento di uno Scudo caduto da Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto . . .” and numbered “Tav. xviii.” The latter was originally used on the letterpress title page of the *Trofei* and was numbered when it was later used in the *Rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia* of 1761. Second copper only signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

[2] “Veduta dell'avanzo del Castello, che prendendo una porzione dell'Acqua Giulia dal Condotto principale . . .”: double page, numbered “viii.” Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

[3] “Trofeo di Ottaviano Augusto inalzato per la Vittoria ad Actium . . . Siccome sotto la Tavola preced.^{te} si è spiegato non potersi ascrivere a Trajano i presente Trophei . . .”: double page, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

4 “Parti in grande restaurate de Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto . . .”: double page, with title and explanation in scroll cartouche at lower right. Signed and dated by Francesco Piranesi (“Francesco Piranesi disegno ed incise 1778”)

5 “Parti in grande restaurate dei Trofei . . .”: double page, with title and explanation in cartouche at lower left. Signed by Francesco Piranesi

[6] “Trofeo di Ottaviano Augusto inalzato per la Vittoria ad Actium . . . Questo Trofeo, come pure l'altro . . . di marmo, di gran mole, di nobilissimo lavoro, furono volarm.^{te} chiamati di Mario . . .”: double page, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (“Piranesi Architetto dis. ed inc.”)

[7] “Parti in grande restaurate . . .”: double page, vertical; title and explanation in cartouche at lower right. Signed by Francesco Piranesi

8 “Parti in grande restaurate . . .”: double page, with title and explanation in cartouche at lower left. Signed by Francesco Piranesi

9 “Parti in grande restaurate . . .”: double page, with title and explanation in cartouche at lower right. Signed by Francesco Piranesi

10 “Frammenti di marmo di un Architrave e Fregio . . . del Palazzo de' Cesari . . .”: five figures on a double-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

11 “Pezzo di colonna di marmo negli Orti Farnesiani . . .”: ten figures on a double-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

[12] “Capitello di marmo . . .”: four figures on a full-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

13 “Parte di una Cornice di marmo . . .”: four figures on a full-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

[14] “Capitello di Marmo nel Palazzo Mattei . . .”: four figures on a full-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

[15] “Facciata di un Gocciolatojo . . .”: eight figures on a full-page plate, with caption printed from separate copper. Signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

Binding Early twentieth-century quarter vellum with marbled paper boards (same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and gray—used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes); uncut at top and bottom. Bound with twelve blank leaves of laid paper, and extra illustrated with a full-page plate from Piranesi's *Rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia* bearing two coppers: “Trofei d'Augusto esistenti su la piazza del Campidoglio,” numbered “Tav. xvii”; and “Frammento di uno scudo caduto da Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto . . .,” numbered “Tav. xviii.” The latter plate also appears along with the title plate on plate [1] of the present work (see *Illustrations* above)

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 133–143; Hind, *Piranesi*, 82–83; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 269–278; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2566; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 114

88

Le Antichità Romane Opera Di Giambattista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano Divisa In Quattro Tomi Nel Primo De' Quali Si Contengono Gli Avanzi Degli Antichi Edifizj Di Roma Disposti in Tavola Topografica Secondo L'Odierna Loro Esistenza Ed Illustrati Co' Frammenti Dell'Antica Icnografia Marmorea, E Con Un Indice Critico Della Loro Denominazione Arrichito Di Tavole Suppletorie Fralle Quali Si Dimostrano L'elevazione degli stessi avanzi: l'andamento degli antichi Aquedotti nelle vicinanze e nel dentro di Roma, correlativo al Commentario Frontiniano ivi esposto in compendio: la Pianta delle Terme le più cospicue: del Foro Romano colle Contrade circonvicine: del Monte Capitolino: ed altre le più riguardevoli. Nel Secondo, E Nel Terzo Gli Avanzi de' Monumenti Sepolcrali esistenti in Roma, e nell'Agro Romano colle loro rispettive piante, elevazioni, sezioni, vedute esterne ed interne: colla dimostrazioni de' sarcofagi, ceppi, vasi cenerarj e unguentarij, bassirilievi, stucchi, mosaici, iscrizioni, e tutt'altro ch'è stato in essi ritrovato: e colle loro indicazioni e spiegazioni. Nel Quarto I Ponti antichi di Roma che in oggi sono in essere, colle Vestigia dell'antica Isola Tiberina, gli Avanzi de' Teatri, de' Portici, e di altri Monumenti, eziandio colle loro indicazioni e spiegazioni. Tomo Primo [–Quarto]

Rome: Printed by Angelo Rotili for Bouchard and Gravier ("Nella Stamperia Di Angelo Rotilj . . . Si Vendono In Roma Dai Signori Bouchard, E Gravier Mercanti Libraj Al Corso Presso San Marcello."), 1756 [i.e., 1757]

1984.8.1–4

Folio: 565 × 400 (22 1/4 × 15 3/4)

Pagination Vol. 1: [x], 40, xi, [1], iii, [1], iv, iii, [3] pp., [44] etched and engraved plates (3 folding, 5 double page)

(*Note:* Pagination does not include two-page preface and plate xli, lacking in Millard copy 1)

Vol. 2: 63 etched and engraved plates (1 folding, 45 double page)

Vol. 3: 54 etched and engraved plates (1 folding)

Vol. 4: 57 etched and engraved plates (5 folding, 22 double page)

Edition First edition, later issue, with the first two of Piranesi's letters to Lord Charlemont added to the prelims of vol. 1; probably issued between 1757 and 1761

Text vol. 1: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii] two imprimaturs, the first dated 25 January 1756; [iv] list of works by Piranesi published to date available from Bouchard and Gravier; [v–viii] text of first letter to Lord Charlemont, prefaced by a note to the public on Piranesi's reasons for publishing the letters here, dated 25 August 1756 and ending with the original dedicatory inscription to Charlemont, now erased from the frontispiece; [ix] text of second letter to Lord Charlemont, dated February 1757; [x] blank; 1–40 text, explanation, and key to plate II ("Indice O Sia Spiegazione Delle Vestigia di Roma Antica, Delineata Nell'Anteposta Tavola Topografica . . ."); 1–vii explanation of plate xxxviii ("Spiegazione Della Preposta Tavola Degli Aquedotti."); viii–xi further explanation of plate xxxviii ("Osservazioni Sulle determinazione de' limiti del Campo Marzio compreso nella stessa Tavola degli Aquedotti."); [xii] blank; [i]–iii explanation and numbered key to plate xl ("Indice Dell'Anteposta Tavola Delle Terme Di Caracalla."); [iv] blank; i–iv key to plate xliii ("Indice Dell'Anteposta Tavola Del Foro Romano, E Delle Contrade Comprese Nella Medesima."); i–iii key to plate xliii ("Indice Dell'Anteposta Tavola Del Monte Capitolino."); [iv] blank; [v–vi] index of ancient Roman monuments discussed in vol. 1 ("Repertorio Degli Avanzi delle Antichi Fabbriche di Roma denominati in questo primo Tomo.")

Ornaments Vol. 1: Etched headpiece showing the "Iscrizione de' Soldati . . ." (p. 1); etched inscription (p. 2); five etched pictorial initials (preface with etched initial "S" lacking in this copy) as follows: "P" with view of ruins of the Campo Vaccino (p. 1); "N" formed from Roman brickwork (p. 1, "Spiegazione . . . Degli Aquedotti"); "L" with background of columns, obelisks, and tempietti (p. viii, "Osservazioni"); "P" with ancient fragments of reliefs (p. i, "Indice . . . Delle Terme Di Caracalla"); "I" within medallion containing a reconstruction of the Capitoline Hill (p. i, "Indice . . . Del Monte Capitolino"). All ornaments signed by Piranesi, except for inscription, first initial "P," and initial "I." An unsigned woodcut initial begins the "Avviso Al Pubblico"

Illustrations

Vol. 1: 1 unnumbered etched and engraved full-page portrait of Piranesi, signed "F. Polanzani faciebat 1750"; and 43 (ex 44) etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered 1–xliii, as follows: plate 1 double-page frontispiece with ancient fragments and monuments and dedicatory inscription: "Vrbis Aeternae Vestigia E Rvderibvs Temporumqve Inivriis Vindicata Aeneis Tabvlis Incisa I.B. Piranesivs Venet Romae Degens"

Aevo Svo Posteris Et Vtilitati Pvblicae C.V.D.”; plate II double-page map of Rome: “Pianta di Roma . . .”; plates III–V double-page reproductions of the *Forma Urbis*, each showing fragments of the antique marble map of Rome; plates VI–VII folding explanations of plates III–V, printed on extension leaves: “Indice de Framm.^{ti} di marmo della Pianta di Roma antica”; plates VIII–XXXVII views of Roman monuments, each with two coppers numbered “Fig. 1” and “Fig. 2”; XXXVIII folding plan of Rome showing known aqueducts: “Tavola Topografica Di Roma In Cui Si Dimostrano Gli Andamenti Degli Antichi Aqvadotti Riferiti Nel Commentario Frontiniano . . .”; plates XXXIX–XL, XLII–XLIII plans of Roman monuments (plate XLIII double page, remainder full page). Plate XLI, a full-page plan of the “Nifeo di Nerone,” is lacking in this copy. All plates signed by Piranesi as draftsman and etcher (“Piranesi Archit. dis. et inc.,” with variants), except plates V–VII and plate XVIII, fig. II, which are unsigned. An unsigned etched illustration is printed on p. 2

Vol. 2: 63 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered I–LXIII (occasionally in ink), as follows: plate I full-page title plate with title inscribed on broken funerary urn: “Le Antichità Romane Di Giambatista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano Tomo Secondo Contenente Gli Avanzi De’ Monvmenti Sepocrali Di Roma E Dell’Agro Romano”; plate II double-page frontispiece depicting intersection of the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina with Roman ruins and fragments, captioned “Antiqvvs Bivii Viarvm Appiae Et Ardeatinae Prospectvs Ad Ii Lapidem Extra Portam Capenam”; plate III full-page index of plates in vols. 2 and 3; plates IV–LXIII views, plans, elevations, sections, and details of Roman tombs (plate V folding, made from two double-page plates; 46 double page; 16 full page). 20 plates with captions printed from a separate copper. All plates signed by Piranesi except plates III and XXXIV, which are unsigned; 9 plates also signed by Jean Barbault as etcher of the figures (“Barbault scolpi le Figure,” with variants)

Vol. 3: 54 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered I–LIV, as follows: plate I full-page title plate with title inscribed on a broken funerary urn: “Le Antichità Romane Di Giamb. Piranesi Archit. Venez Tomo Terzo Contenente Gli Avanzi De’ Monvmenti Sepolcrali Di Roma E Dell’Agro Romano”; plate II double-page frontispiece with elaborate reconstruction of the Circus Maximus, captioned “Antiqvvs Circi Martial Cvm Monvm Adiacentib Prospectvs Ad Viam Appiam”; plates III–LIV views, plans, elevations, sections, and details of Roman tombs (plate XLI folding, made from two plates; 43 double page; 10 full page). 17 plates with captions printed from separate copper. Most plates signed by Piranesi, with 5 plates also signed by Barbault as

etcher of the figures; plates XXIV and XXVI are signed by Antonio Buonamici as draftsman and by Girolamo Rossi as etcher (“Antonio Buonamici delin.”; “Girolamo Rossi scolp.”) and plate XXV signed by Rossi only; plates XXI, XXIII, and XXXI–XXXVIII unsigned

Vol. 4: 57 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered I–LVII, as follows: plate I full-page title plate with title incised on a column: “Le Antichità Romane Di Giambatista Piranesi Architetto Veneziano Tomo Quarto Contenente I Ponti Antichi Gli Avanzi De’ Teatri De’ Portici E Di Altri Monvmenti Di Roma”; plate II double-page frontispiece depicting a Corinthian monument facing a river (the Tiber?) with a bridge and other monuments in the background and inscribed: “Vindicibus Et Protectoribvs Bonarvm Artivm I B Piranesivs”; plate III full-page index of plates; plates IV–LVII views, plans, elevations, sections, and details of Roman bridges (plates VI, VII, XXVIII–XXX folding, each made from two double-page plates; 22 double page; 40 full page). Plates XXVIII and XLIV with caption printed from a separate copper. All plates signed by Piranesi, except plates III, XLIV, and LVI, which are unsigned

Binding Contemporary Italian printed paper with red and green diaper pattern; uncut. Plate x of vol. 3, “Sepolcro de’ tre fratelli Curazj in Albano,” bears the following annotation in manuscript: “Eſſo è erroneamente così detto, mentre abbiamo degli antichi Scrittori, eſſere stato preſſo la Foſſa Clelia, cinque miglia lontan da Roma, dove i Curazj furono uccisi dagli Orazj.”

References Cicognara 3828; Focillon 144–395; Hind, *Piranesi*, 83–84; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 279–528; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2550; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 115–137

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2618–2621

Folio: 523 × 380 (20⁵/₈ × 15)

Pagination Vol. 1: As in first Millard copy, but including preface and plate XLI

Vol. 2: As in first Millard copy

Vol. 3: As in first Millard copy

Vol. 4: As in first Millard copy, but with two new, unsigned full-page plates—the first numbered “XLIV,” the second unnumbered—bound between plates LXIV and LXV. There are also second impressions of plates XXXIX, XLIV, and XLV

Edition First edition, later issue. The two new plates in vol. 4 were added sometime after 1761 (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2550)

Binding Bound in 4 vols. Modern half calf with marbled paper, spine with gilt fillets and ornaments. Plates bound on guards throughout. Plates II, IV, and V from vol. 4 are bound at the end of vol. 3

89

Le Rovine Del Castello Dell'Acqua Givlia
Situato In Roma Presso S Evsebio E
Falsament[e] Detto Dell'Acqua Marcia Colla
Dichiarazione Di Vno De' Celebri Passi
Del Comentario Frontiniano E Sposizione
Della Maniera Con Cui Gli Antichi Romani
Distribvivan Le Acque Per Vso Della' Città
Di Gio. Batista Piranesi

Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni for Giovanni
Battista Piranesi, 1761 [i.e., later]

1983.49.74

Broadsheet: 544 × 412 (21³/₈ × 16¹/₄)

Pagination [ii], 26 pp., etched title plate, 19 [i.e., 18]
etched plates

Edition First edition, late issue. Although the letterpress is dated 1761, the plates would have been issued as needed

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Del Castello Dell'Acqua Givlia" (verso blank); 1–12 text; 13–20 explanation of plates; 21–26 text: "Delle Cautele Usate Dagli Antichi Nella Concessione E Distribuzione Delle Acque," ending with colophon: "In Roma MDCCLXI. Nella Stamperia di Generoso Salomoni . . ."

Ornaments Etched initial "T," decorated with wreath, trophies, and medallion portraits (p. 1); etched initial "V" consisting of two water pipes (p. 21); etched tailpiece with sphinx and symbols of learning (p. 12); etched tailpiece with papal emblems and archaeological and astronomical symbols (p. 20). All ornaments signed by Piranesi ("Piranesi F."), except for initial "V"

Illustrations Etched title plate with title incised on a series of stone tablets beside a fountain, with fragments and inscriptions in foreground, and tablet bearing imprint at bottom right; and 20 etched, engraved, and drypoint coppers numbered 1–xix on 18 plates (plate v with a second unnumbered copper; xvii and xviii printed together on one leaf; remainder full page). All plates signed by Piranesi ("Piranesi F."), except for second copper on plate v and plate xix

Binding Bound (3) with the author's *Lapides Capitolini* (cat. 90)

References Focillon 396–420; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 529–552; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2565; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 147

90

I B Piranesii Lapides Capitolini Sive Fasti
Consulares Trivmphalesq[ue] Romanorum Ab
Urbe Condita Vsque Ad Tiberium Caesarem

Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni for Giovanni
Battista Piranesi, 1762 [i.e., later]

1983.49.74

Broadsheet: 544 × 412 (21³/₈ × 16¹/₄)

Pagination [vi], 61, [1] pp., etched title plate, etched
dedication plate, [1] folding etched plate

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Lapides capitolini*. Title page.
1983.49.74

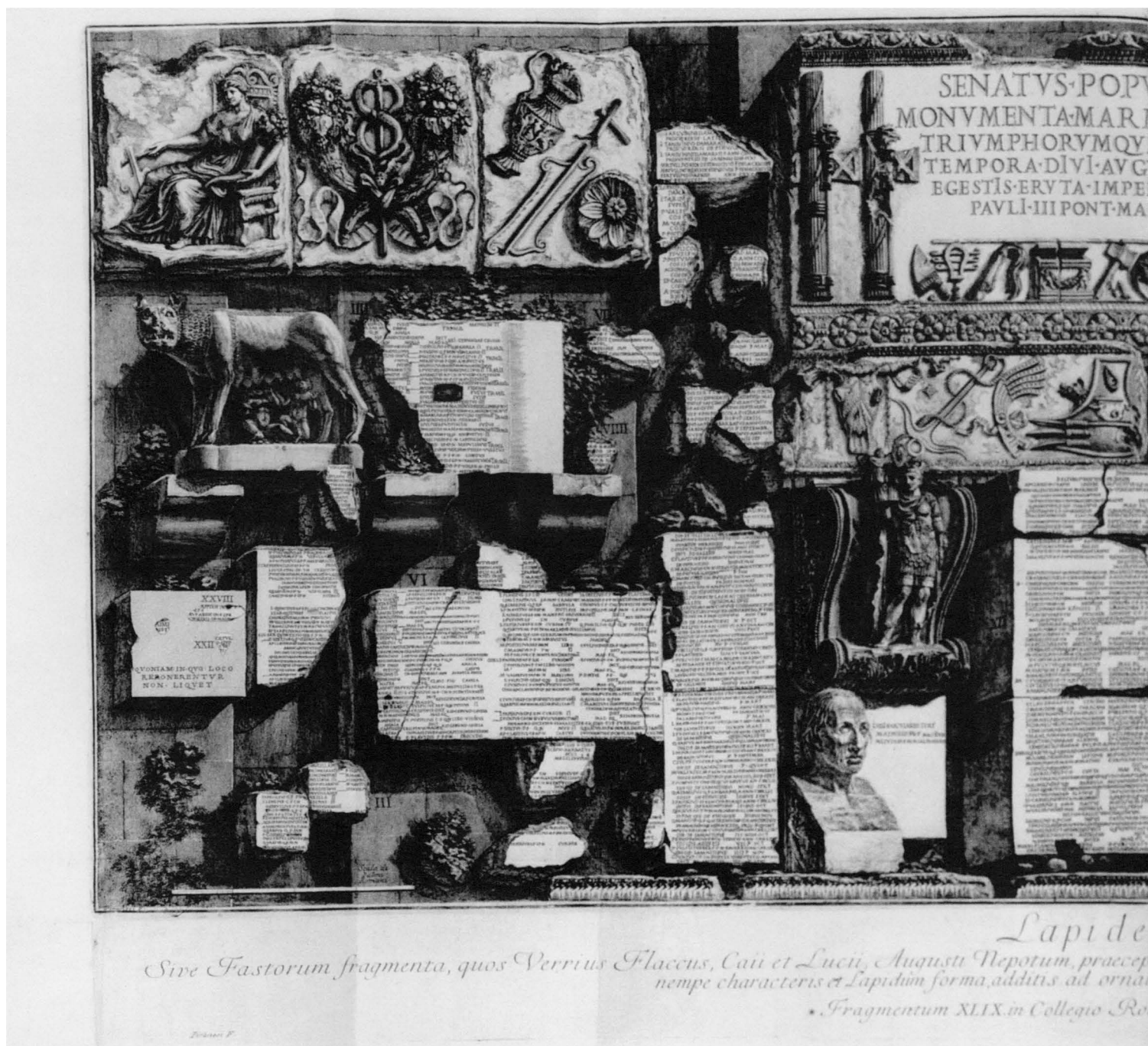


Edition First edition, late issue. Although the letterpress is dated 1762, impressions of the coppers would have been issued as needed

Text pp. [i] half-title: “Lapides Capitolini Sive Fasti Consulares Triumphalesque Romanorum” (verso blank); [iii–vi] preface, ending with approbation dated Rome, 16 June 1761, and two imprimaturs; 1–37 text, “Fasti Consulares Romanorum . . .,” printed within triple-line border; 38 text, “Notae Quae Occurrunt In Fastis Compendii Cavssa Antiquitvs Vsitatae”; 39–46 text, “Triumph Romanorum Vsque Ad Tiberium Caesarem”; 47–61 index, ending with colophon: “Romae MDCCLXII. Typis Generosi Salomoni. Superiorum permissu”; [62] blank

Ornaments Etched headpiece on preface (p. [iii]), and 3 etched tailpieces (pp. 37, 46, and 61). All head- and tailpieces signed by Piranesi (“Piranesi F.”)

Illustrations Etched title plate with title lettered within panel decorated with garlands, cornucopia, medallions, and signs of the Zodiac, with imprint at foot; etched dedication plate with dedication to Clement XIII inscribed within similar panel including papal motifs: “Clementi XIII. Pon. O. M.,” signed “Jo. B. Piranesius”; and 1 etched, unnumbered folding plate, showing the “Lapides Capitolini,” together with stone fragments with bas-reliefs. All plates signed by Piranesi (“Piranesi F.”)



Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled paper boards (same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and grey—used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of C. E. Mewes), spines gilt with lozenge-shaped ornaments in compartments, original dark green label with gilt title and ornamental borders. Bound (1) with the author's *Antichità di Cora* (cat. 95) and *Le Rovine del Castello dell'Acqua Giulia* (cat. 89). Several extant copies of these three works bound together in contemporary bindings suggest that they were issued thus (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2559)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Lapides capitolini*. The Capitoline fragments. 1983.49.74

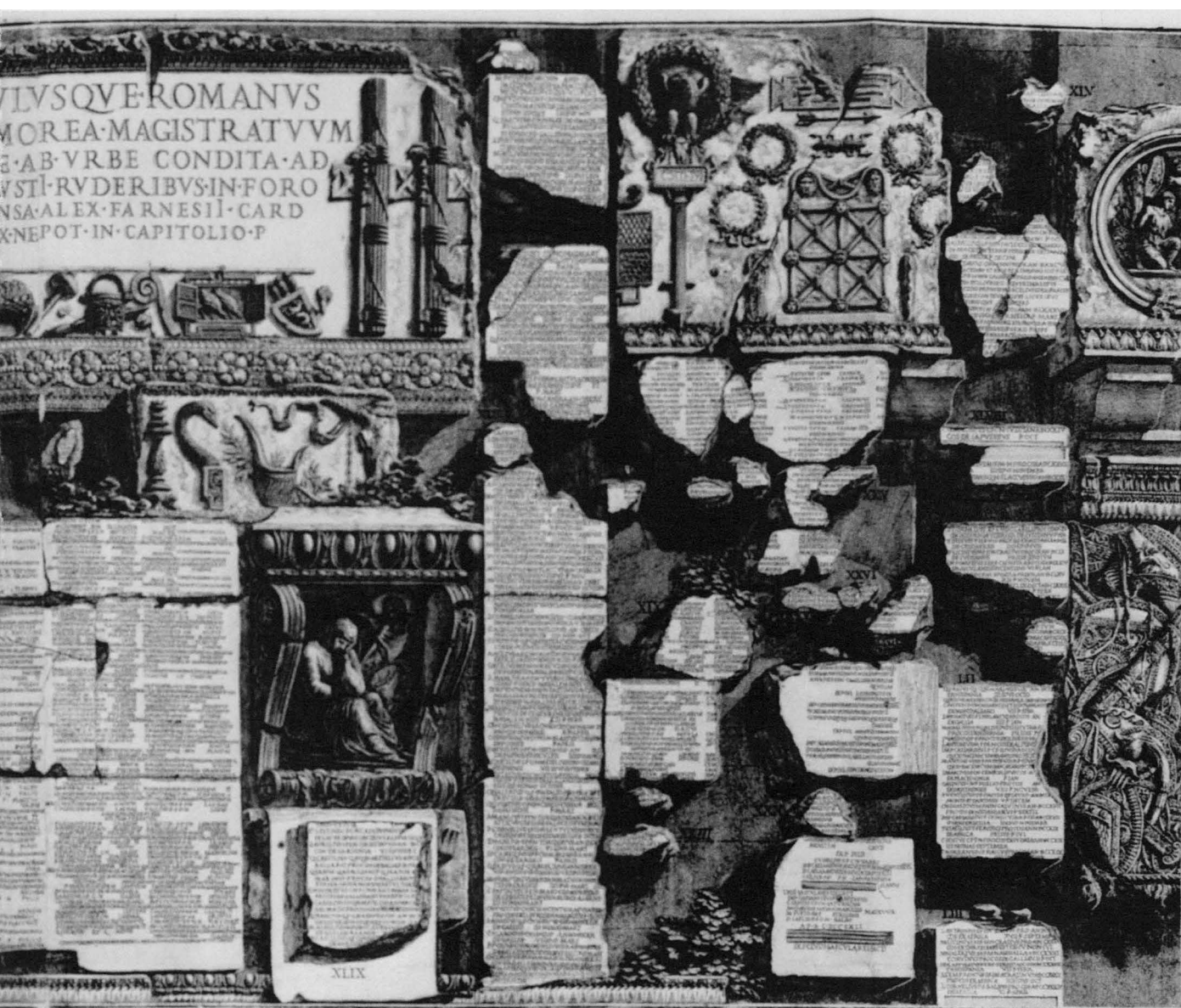
Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Cicognara 3834; Focillon 421–427; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 553–558; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2559

91

Ioannis Baptistae Piranesii Antiquariorvm
Regiae Societatis Londinensis Socii Campvs
Martivs Antiquae Vrbis Romae MDCCLXII

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi ["Veneunt apud Auctorem in aedibus Comitum Thomati via Felici prope templum ss. Trinitatis in Monte Pincio"], 1762



s Capitolini
or ase dispositos in inferiore fori parte conlocaverat, nunc primum edita prout cernuntur in Capitolio servata
um elegantiorebus aliquot veteribus sigillis, et anaglyphis
nanno Patrum Societatis Jesu adservatum.



1984.8.7

Folio: 587 × 425 (23¹/₈ × 16¹¹/₁₆)

Pagination [viii], 69, [I], xii, xvii, [I] pp., [2] etched title plates, 48 etched plates (2 folding, 1 double page)

Edition First edition; early issue, with plates printed in sepia ink

Text pp. [i] blank; [ii–vii] dedication by Piranesi to Robert Adam, in Latin (on versos) and Italian (on rectos); [viii] blank; [I] approbation, dated Rome, 16 June

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Campus Martius Antiquae*. Reconstruction plan of Campo Marzio. 1984.8.7

1761, with two imprimaturs; 2–69 text, in Latin (on versos) and Italian (on rectos), printed within a triple-line border; [70] blank; I–xii key to plans of the Campus Martius on plates iii–iv, Latin and Italian in parallel columns; i–xvii index of monuments on the large map of the Campo Marzio on plates v–x, Latin and Italian in parallel columns; [xviii] blank

Ornaments Etched headpiece on Latin dedication with view of "Sepulchrum Mariae Honorij Imp. Uxoris . . ."; etched headpiece on Italian dedication with view of "Labrum aegyptiacum porphyriticum . . .," signed "Piranesi F"; etched tailpiece with group of monuments captioned "Nonnulla monumenta sepulcralia . . ." (p. 68), signed "Piranesi F"; etched tailpiece showing a "Stylobata columnae" (p. 69), signed "Piranesi F"; etched initial "A" incorporating quiver, arrows set against a relief of trophies (p. 2); etched initial "D" with decorated belt and trophies (p. 3)

Illustrations Etched, engraved, and drypoint title plate with title incised on cracked stone tablet, surrounded by fragments including broken column bearing dedication to Robert Adam: "Roberto Adam Britanno Architecto Celeberrimo"; added etched title plate with bird's-eye view of reconstructed Campo Marzio with title in Italian: "Il Campo Marzio Dell'Antica Roma Opera Di G.B. Piranesi Socio Della Real Società Degli Antiquari Di Londra"; and 52 etched, engraved, and drypoint coppers on 48 plates numbered I–XLVIII (plates XII and XLVI each with a separate unnumbered plate; plate XLVII with two additional unnumbered plates; plates II and XXXI folding, both printed from two coppers; plate XXXII double page; remainder full page). Plates XV–XIX, XXI, XXVI–XXIX, XXXV, XLII, XLIII with captions printed on separate plates. Most plates with Piranesi's signature ("Piranesi F."). Plate XXXI, "Scenographia Machinae . . .," is signed by Francesco Fontana as designer and draftsman and by Arnold van Westerhout as engraver ("Æques Fran.^{cus} Fontana Inuen; et delin."; "Arnoldus Van Westerhout Antuerp.^s . . . Sculpsit"), and must have been prepared before 1725, the year of van Westerhout's death

Binding Contemporary half vellum with paste-paper covered boards, gilt filleted spine, spine title stamped in red ink; uncut. Plates v–x pasted together to form large folding plate

Provenance Etched armorial bookplate on verso of title plate, with motto "Festina lente"; bookplate and stamp of Charles Frederic Mewes

References Focillon 428–479; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 559–612; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2551

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2623

Folio: 539 × 414 (21³/₁₆ × 16¹/₄)

Edition First edition, later issue from the 1770s or 1780s, plates printed in black ink

Binding Contemporary calf, mottled in two shades of brown, triple gilt filleted borders, gilt spine, red

morocco label, edge rolled in gilt, red edges, marbled endpapers

Provenance Small stamp with unidentified coat of arms on verso of flyleaf, cancelled in pencil

92

Descrizione E Disegno Dell'Emissario Del Lago Albano Di Gio Batista Piranesi

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, [c. 1766]

1983.49.75

Broadsheet: 590 × 450 (23³/₁₆ × 17¹¹/₁₆)

Pagination 19, [1] pp., etched title plate, 9 etched plates (1 folding, 7 double page)

Edition First edition, later issue (first published 1762)

Text pp. 1–13 text; [14] blank; 15–19 explanations of plates; [20] approbation, dated Rome, 1 April 1762, with two imprimaturs

Ornaments Etched initial "L" incorporating a putto playing a lyre (p. 1); etched tailpiece with lyre and caduceus (p. 13)

Illustrations Etched title plate; and 9 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered 1–IX (plates 1–II, IV–VII, IX double page; plate III folding). All plates signed as etched by Piranesi ("Piranesi F.")

Binding Bound (2) with copy 1 of the author's *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo* (cat. 94)

References Focillon, 480–491; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85–86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 613–624; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2553; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 159–160

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2624

Broadsheet: 542 × 400 (21⁵/₁₆ × 15³/₄)

Edition First edition, late issue

Binding Bound (2) with copy 2 of the author's *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo* (cat. 94)

93

Di Due Spelonche Ornate Dagli Antichi Alla Riva Del Lago Albano

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, [c. 1766]

1983.49.75

Broadsheet: 590 × 450 (23³/₁₆ × 17¹¹/₁₆)

Pagination 9, [1] pp., 12 etched plates (1 folding, 5 double page)

Edition First edition, early complete issue. The first copies of *Di due spelonche* were probably printed with plates I–VIII only since plates IX–XII are not discussed in the text; plates IX–XII are likely related to the 1764 publication of the *Antichità d'Albano* (cat. 94), which briefly discusses these plates on page 25 (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2554, note)

Text pp. [1]–5 text; [6]–9 explanation of plates; [10] approbation, dated Rome, 30 August 1762, with two imprimaturs

Ornaments Etched headpiece with decorative features of the grottoes (p. [1])

Illustrations 12 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered I–XII (plates I, III, IX–XII full page; plates II, IV–VII double page; plate VIII folding, printed from two coppers)

Binding Bound (3) with copy 1 of the author's *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo* (cat. 94)

References Focillon 492–504; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85–86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 625–637; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2554; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 189–191; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 161

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2624

Broadsheet: 542 × 400 (21⁵/₁₆ × 15³/₄)

Edition First edition, late issue

Binding Bound (3) with copy 2 of the author's *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo* (cat. 94)

94

Antichità D'Albano E Di Castel Gandolfo
Descritte Ed Incise Da Giovambatista Piranesi

Rome: [G. B. Piranesi], 1764

1983.49.75

Broadsheet: 590 × 450 (23³/₁₆ × 17¹¹/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], 26 pp., etched title plate, double-page etched dedication plate, [27] etched plates (1 folding, 12 double page)

Edition First edition, early issue, but with plate [xvii], which is signed “Cavalier Piranesi F.,” and could not have been added before 1766 when the title of “Cavaliere” was conferred (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2547, note)

Text pp. [i] half-title: “Antichità D'Albano E Di Castel Gandolfo” (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Piranesi to Clement XIII; [1]–26 text, explanations of plates

Ornaments Etched initial “S” on dedication depicting an eagle within a wreath (p. [iii]); small etched plate as headpiece captioned: “Pinna, o sia merlo angolare . . .” (p. [1])

Illustrations Etched title plate with title inscribed on tablet and surrounded by fragments, dated Rome, 1764; double-page etched dedication plate with roundel decorated with signs of the Zodiac, surrounded by fragments of antique bas-reliefs, papal arms, and dedication to Clement XIII: “Clementi XIII P M Mvnnificentissimo Principi Promotori Bonarvm Artivm Io Bapt Piranesivs Architectvs”; and 29 etched, engraved, and drypoint coppers on 27 leaves numbered I–XXVI, [XXVII] (plates VI and XXVI each with additional unnumbered diagram; plates I, IV–V, VII, IX–XI, XVIII, XXI–XXII, XXIV, [XXVII] double page; plate III folding, printed from two coppers; remainder full page). Plate XVII with caption on separate plate. All plates signed as etched by Piranesi (plate [XXVII] signed “Cavalier Piranesi F.”), except for the two unnumbered diagrams on plates VI and XXVI. Plates throughout printed in a brownish-black ink on unpressed, uncut sheets

Binding Quarter vellum with original gray paper boards, paper spine label; uncut. All plates mounted on guards. Bound (1) as issued with copy 1 of the author's *Descrizione e disegno dell'emissario del Lago Albano*, Rome, 1762 (cat. 92) and copy 1 of *Di due spelonche ornate dagli antichi alla riva del Lago Albano*, Rome, 1762 (cat. 93)

Provenance Bookseller's ticket of Lucien Goldschmidt, New York

References Focillon 505–536; Hind, *Piranesi*, 86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 638–670; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2547; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 189–191; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 162–163

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2624

Broadsheet: 542 × 400 (21⁵/₁₆ × 15³/₄)

Edition First edition, late issue

Pagination As above, except lacking half-title (pp. [i–ii])

Illustrations As above, except for final plate numbered “XXVII”; plates printed in black ink

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*. Title page. 1985.61.2624



Binding Nineteenth-century diced russia, inlaid center panels of marbled paper, gilt spine title, edge rolled in gilt, gilt turn-ins, blue sprinkled edges, marbled endpapers. All plates mounted on guards. Bound (1) as issued with copy 2 of the author's *Descrizione e disegno dell'emissario del Lago Albano*, Rome, 1762 (cat. 92) and copy 2 of *Di due spelonche ornate dagli antichi alla riva del Lago Albano*, Rome, 1762 (cat. 93)

Provenance Bookplates of High Legh Library, and Charles Eduoard Mewes

95

Antichità Di Cora Descritte Ed Incise Da Giovambat Piranesi

[Rome: G. B. Piranesi, 1764 or later]

1983.49.74

Broadsheet: 544 × 412 (21³/₈ × 16¹/₄)

Pagination [ii], 15, [1] pp., etched title plate, 10 etched plates (1 folding, 2 double page)

Edition First edition, late issue? (first published 1764)

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Delle Antichità Di Cora" (verso blank); [1]–15 text; [16] unnumbered etched plate: "Dimostrazione dell'Economia usata dagli Antichi nella copertura del Tempio d'Ercole di Cora"

Ornaments Etched headpiece with console decorated with reliefs from Cora (p. [1]); unsigned

Illustrations Etched title plate with title engraved on jagged tablet surrounded by fragments with bas-reliefs and other tablets bearing inscriptions; 1 unnumbered full-page plate included with text (p. [16]); and 11 etched, engraved, and drypoint coppers on 10 leaves numbered 1–x (plate iii with a second unnumbered copper; plate i folding, printed from two coppers; plates ii and vi double page; remainder full page). All plates signed as etched by Piranesi ("Piranesi f"), except for title plate and lower copper on plate iii

Binding Bound (2) with the author's *Lapides Capitolini* (cat. 90) and *Le Rovine del Castello dell' Acqua Giulia* (cat. 89)

References Cicognara 3834; Focillon 537–550; Hind, *Piranesi*, 85; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 671–684; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2548; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 164

96

Trofeo O Sia Magnifica Colonna Coclide Di Marmo Composta Di Grossi Macigni Ove Si Veggono Scolpite Le Dve Gverre Daciche Fatte

Da Traiano Inalzata Nel Mezzo Del Gran Foro
Eretto Al Medesimo Imperadore Per Ordine
Del Senato E Popolo Romano Doppo I Svoi
Trionfi. Il Tvtto Architetato Da Apollodoro.
L'Iscrizione Che Nel Piedestallo Di Essa
Colonna Leggesi Addita Il Taglio Dei Monti
Qvirinale E Capitolino Fatto Per Introdvrvi
Molte Fabbriche Che Circondavano Ed
Ornavano Qvel Gran Foro

[Rome, c. 1785]

1984.8.8

Broadsheet: 750 × 540 (29¹/₂ × 21¹/₄)

Foliation [28] etched plates (5 folding, 6 double page)

Edition First edition, late issue, combining the *Colonna Traiana*, first published c. 1774, with the *Colonna di Antonino Pio*, added c. 1776, and the *Colonna Antonina*, added c. 1779. Includes plates xx and xxi, appended to the *Colonna Traiana* by Francesco Piranesi, probably between 1783 and 1785 (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2567)

Illustrations Etched, engraved, and drypoint throughout as follows:

Colonna Traiana: 25 illustrations printed on 21 plates numbered [I–II], III–XIV, [XV–XVII], XVIII–XXI. Plate [I] full-page title plate with title engraved on stone tablet with eagle, medallions, and statues; plate [II] full-page dedication to Clement XIV inscribed within medallion with statues, and descriptive caption in Italian below; plate III large folding plate; plate IV folding plate; plates V–VIII full page each with two separate coppers on leaf; plates IX–XIV double page; plates [XV]–XXI full page. Plates [I], IV, XIV–XVI, XVIII, and XIX signed as etched by Giovanni Battista Piranesi ("Cavalier Piranesi F.," except plate XIV signed "Piranesi F."); plates XX and XXI signed by Francesco Piranesi ("Cav. Francesco Piranesi inc."); remaining plates unsigned

Colonna di Antonino Pio: 6 unnumbered coppers printed on 5 plates, numbered in manuscript "I–V." Plates [I] and [II] printed on one full-page leaf; plates [III] and [IV] full page; plates [V] and [VI] folding (each printed from two coppers). All plates signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

Colonna Antonina: 3 unnumbered coppers printed on 2 plates, numbered in manuscript "VI–VII." Plate [I] folding (printed from two coppers); plates [II–III] printed on one full-page leaf. All plates signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi

Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled paper boards (same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and gray—used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in

the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes). All plates mounted on guards. Extra illustrated with an equestrian portrait of Clement XIV with dedication, signed "I.D. Porta . . . delin et pinx." and "Domin. Cunego Sculp. Romae . . . 1770"

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 551–582; Hind, *Piranesi*, 86–87; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 685–707; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2567; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 317

ANOTHER COPY

1985.61.2627

Folio: 520 × 392 (20⁷/₁₆ × 15³/₈)

Foliation [27] etched plates

Edition First edition, early issue combining the *Colonna Traiana*, *Colonna di Antonino Pio*, and *Colonna Antonina* but without plates xx–xxi

Illustrations In this issue, plates IV–VIII, x–xii, and xiv of the *Colonna Traiana* only are numbered; and plates [I–II] of the *Colonna Antonina* are printed as two full-page plates

Binding Contemporary calf, gilt borders, gilt spine, repaired, gilt edges; binder's ticket at foot of plate [II]: "Relié par Derome le jeune rue St Jaque audessus de St Benoist." In this copy, full-page plates are bound as double page, and double-page plates are bound folding

97

Differentes Vues De Qvelques Restes De Trois Grands Édifices Qvi Svbsistent Encore Dans Le Miliev De L'Ancienne Ville De Pesto Avtrement Possidonia Qvi Est Sitvée Dans La Lvganie

[Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1778]

1983.118.1

Broadsheet: 552 × 780 (21³/₄ × 30³/₄)

Foliation Etched title plate, 20 etched plates

Edition First edition, an issue from the 1780s, printed in a rich brownish-black ink

Illustrations Title plate with title on cracked stone tablet block, set within Temple of Neptune at Paestum and surrounded by five rustic figures and an ox; and 20 full-page etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered I–xx, with captions in French. Plates measure 477–525 × 672–710 mm. Title plate and plates xix and xx signed as etched by Francesco Piranesi ("Franciscus Piranesi fecit"); remaining plates signed as etched by Giovanni Battista Piranesi ("Cav. Piranesi F.")

Binding Contemporary half vellum with gray paper boards, early manuscript label on spine, edges mottled in light red and gray

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Cicognara 2701; Focillon 583–599; Hind, *Piranesi*, 87; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 717–737; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2555; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 321–326

E. Theoretical and Polemical Works

98

Lettere Di Givstificazione Scritta A Milord Charlemont E À Di Lvi Agenti Di Roma Dal Signor Piranesi Socio Della Real Società Degli Antiqvairi Di Londra Intorno La Dedicà Della Sva Opera Delle Antichità Rom[ane] Fatta Allo Stesso Signor Ed Vltimamente Soppressa In Roma MDCCLVII

Rome: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, [1758]

1983.49.72

Quarto: 247 × 178 (9³/₄ × 7)

Pagination xxviii pp., etched title plate, 8 etched plates (I folding)

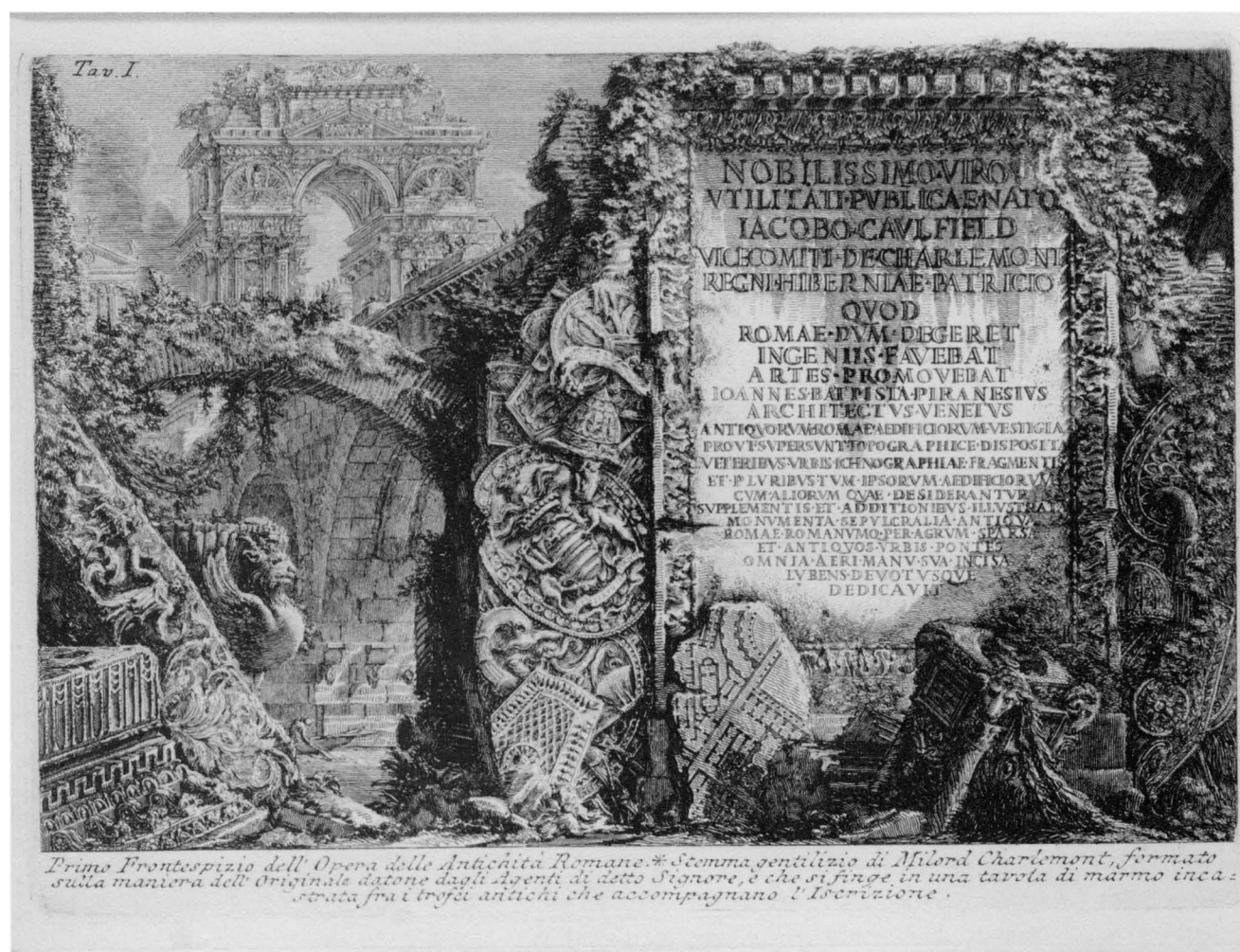
(Note: Pagination does not include an unnumbered etched plate intended as a frame for handwritten dedications, lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition First edition

Text pp. I preface and note to the public; II–xiv text, first letter to Lord Charlemont, dated Rome, 25 August 1756; xv–xvii text, second letter to Charlemont, dated Rome, February 1757; [xviii] blank; xix–xxviii text, third letter to Abbé Peter Grant, dated 31 May 1757

Ornaments 4 etched and engraved headpieces (pp. I, II, xv, xix) and I tailpiece (p. xxviii), all with references to Piranesi's condemnation of Lord Charlemont, John Parker, Abbé Peter Grant, and E. Murphy. None signed, although all are by Piranesi

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate, with title inscribed on broken Egyptian column flanked by lions, with Roman ruins in background, one of which bears quotation from Ennius: "Nec Mi Avrvm Posco Nec Mi Pretivm Dederitis"; and 8 etched and engraved plates numbered I–viii (plate v folding, remainder full page). Plates I–IV are reduced versions of the original frontispieces from the four volumes of the *Antichità Romane* (cat. 88), including dedications and symbolic references



to Lord Charlemont; plates v–vi are reproductions of the drafts for the first and second frontispieces, respectively; plates vii–viii record the erasure and defacement of the dedication and references to Lord Charlemont, and the substitution of a new dedication to the public. Captions in Italian. Title plate only signed by Piranesi (“Piranesi fec.”), although all plates are by Piranesi

Binding Modern red half-morocco with glazed paper boards marbled in red, blue, green, and white (same paper used for endpapers); a washed copy. Etched initial “P” from vol. I of the *Antichità Romane* cut round outside plate mark and mounted on blank leaf preceding text

References Berlin Cat. 1879; Focillon [63]; Hind, *Piranesi*, 84; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 2561; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2561; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 139

99

Della Magnificenza Ed Architettura De’ Romani Opera Di Gio Battista Piranesi Socio Della Reale Accademia Degli Antiquari Di Londra

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Lettere di giustificazione scritta a Milord Charlemont*. Dedicatory plate to Viscount Charlemont. 1983.49.72

[Supplement] Osservazioni Di Gio. Battista Piranesi sopra la Lettre de M. Mariette aux Auteurs de la Gazette Littéraire de l’Europe, Inserita nel Supplemento dell’istessa Gazette stampata Dimanche 4. Novembre MDCCLIV. E Parere su l’Architettura, con una Prefazione ad un nuovo Trattato della introduzione e del progresso delle belle arti in Europa ne’ tempi antichi

Rome: [G. B. Piranesi], [1761]–1765 [i.e., later]

1983.49.73

Broadsheet: 537 × 395 (21 1/8 × 15 1/2)

Pagination lxxxx pp., [2] etched title plates; etched dedication portrait, 38 etched plates (4 folding, 8 double page)

[Supplement]: 23, [1] pp., etched title plate, 9 etched plates (6 double page)

Edition Second edition. *Della magnificenza* and the *Osservazioni* were first published in 1761 and 1765, respectively, although plates iv–ix of the *Osservazioni* were added sometime after 1766. The *Osservazioni* was intended as a supplement to *Della magnificenza*, and the two works were subsequently issued together. This second edition features a resetting of both texts, with the Latin text omitted from the *Della magnificenza*

Text pp. [i–ii] dedication, Latin; iii–lxxxvi text, Italian; lxxxvii–lxxxix index. [Supplement] pp. [1]–8 text, “Osservazioni . . . Sopra La Lettre de Monsieur Mariette . . .,” printed in two columns, with Piranesi’s comments, in Italian, at left and Mariette’s letter, in French, at right; [9]–16 text, “Parere Su L’Architettura” (dialogue between Protopiro and Didascalo), printed in two columns; [17]–23 text, “Della Introduzione E Del Progresso Delle Belle Arti In Europa Ne’ Tempi Antichi,” printed in two columns; text in Italian, ending with two imprimaturs above etched tailpiece, with colophon below: “In Roma MDCCLXV. Per Generoso Salomoni. Con licenza de’ Superiori”; [24] small etched plate

Ornaments Etched initial “V” on dedication incorporating papal keys and tiara; etched initial “D” beginning text, with a portrait bust (p. iii); etched tailpiece ending text with view of the “Veterum Aqua Marciae ductuum . . .” (p. lxxxvi)

[Supplement]: Etched headpiece, “Osservazioni,” showing a “Capitello ornato di Sirene . . .” (p. [1]); etched headpiece, “Parere su L’Architettura,” with fantastic Doric monument with dedication: “Rei Antiquariae Londinensi SAC” (p. [9]); etched headpiece, “Della Introduzione,” decorated with two rams’ heads and caption: “Pinna, o merlo etrusco . . .” (p. [17]); etched tailpiece with facade of a temple (p. 16); etched tailpiece with Greek coins, including one with inscription “Minervae S.” (p. 23); small etched plate on final page with Etruscan temple incorporating caryatids (p. [24]). All plates signed by Piranesi (“Piranesi F.”; “Piranesi inv ed inc.”)

Illustrations Etched, engraved, and drypoint title plate with Italian title incised on stone tablet surrounded by various trophies, armor, and fragments; etched, engraved, and drypoint Latin title plate with personification of Art inscribing papal emblems on an oval medallion beneath title engraved on stone tablet: “Ioannis Baptistae Piranesii Antiquariorvm Regiae Societatis Londinensis Socii De Romanorvm Magnificentia Et Architectura [imprint] Romae MDCCLXI”; etched, engraved, and drypoint frontispiece portrait of Clement XIII with architectural setting; and 40 etched, engraved, and drypoint illustrations on 38 plates numbered i–xxxviii (plate xxix with two additional unnumbered coppers; plates xvii–xix, xxx folding, each printed from two coppers; plates vi, viii, xi, xiv, xx, xxxv, xxxvii, and



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Della magnificenza*. Italian title page. 1983.49.73

xxxviii double page; remainder full page). Plate vi with caption printed from separate copper. Frontispiece signed by Piranesi as draftsman and engraver and also by Domenico Cunego as engraver (“Ioannes Baptista Piranesii inuenit”; “Dominicus Cunego, et Piranesius Sculpservit”); most of remaining plates signed by Piranesi (“Piranesi F.”)

[Supplement] Etched, engraved, and drypoint title plate, with title lettered on *trompe l’oeil* sheet of paper behind Tuscan columns, with satirical vignette at upper left with Mariette’s hand writing with a quill, captioned “Avt Cvm Hoc,” above a Tuscan column with implements of art, architecture, captioned “Avt In Hoc”; and 9 etched, engraved, and drypoint plates numbered i–ix (plates iv–ix double page; remainder full page). All plates signed by Piranesi as designer/draftsman and etcher (“Cavaliere Piranesi del. ed inc.”; “Cavaliere Piranesi inv. ed inc.”)

Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled boards (same paper—marbled in yellow, rose, white, and gray—used for other Piranesi volumes formerly in the collection of Charles Edouard Mewes)

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Cicognara 3833; Focillon 927–966; Hind, *Piranesi*, 84–95; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 753–797; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2552; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 142–145. [Supplement] Cicognara 3836; Focillon 967–982; Hind, *Piranesi*, 86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 799–814; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2563; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 166–172

F. Works of Decorative Design

IOO

[Title in Italian] *Diverse Maniere D'Adornare I Camini Ed Ogni Altra Parte Degli Edifizj Desunte Dall'Architettura Egizia, Etrusca, E Greca Con Un Ragionamento Apologetico In Difesa Dell'Architettura Egizia, E Toscana Opera Del Cavaliere Giambattista Piranesi Architetto*

[Title in English] *Divers Manners Of Ornamenting Chimneys And All Other Parts Of Houses Taken From The Egyptian, Tuscan, And Grecian Architecture With An Apologetical Essay In Defence Of The Egyptian And Tuscan Architecture By John Baptist Piranesi Knight And Architect*

[Title in French] *Differentes Manieres D'Orner Les Cheminées Et Toute Autre Partie Des Edifices Tirées De L'Architecture Egyptienne, Etrusque, Et Greque Avec Un Discours Apologetique En Faveur De L'Architettura Egyptienne, Et Toscane Par Le Chevalier Jean Baptist Piranesi Architect*

Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni [for Giovanni Battista Piranesi], 1769

1985.61.2628

Broadsheet: 548 × 409 (21⁹/₁₆ × 16¹/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], 35, [5] pp., double-page etched dedication plate, [70] etched plates

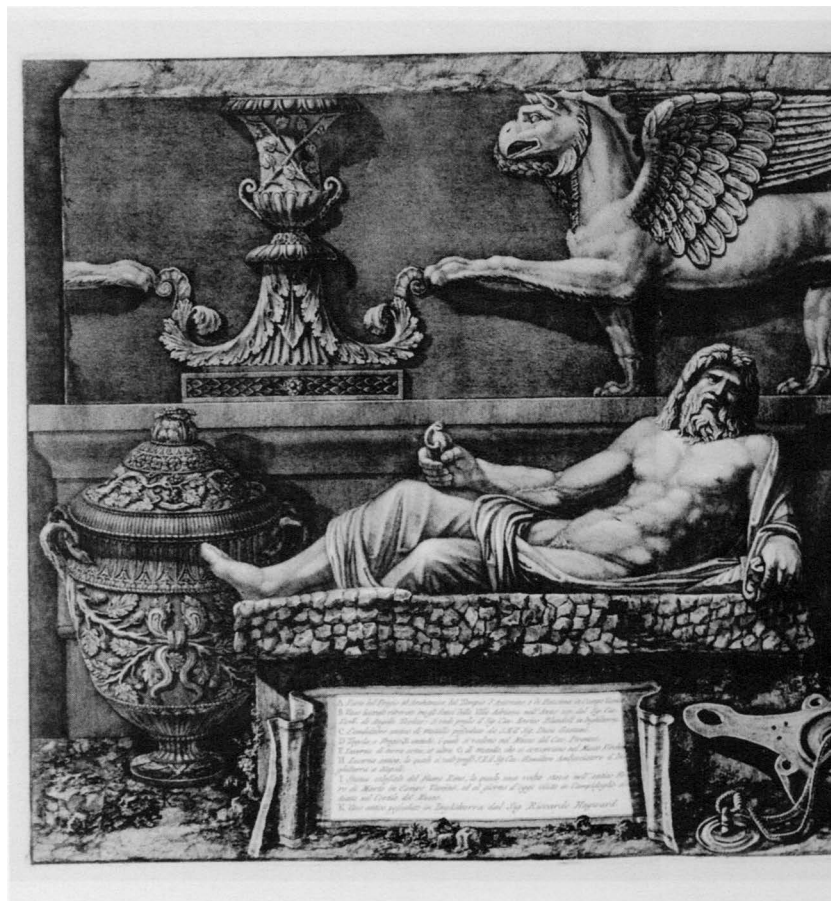
Edition First edition; the Millard copy is from an issue dating from the late 1770s or 1780s, with consistent plate numbering (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2556, note)

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication, dated Rome, 7 January 1769; 1–35 text, printed in two columns with Italian on left, English on right, and French beneath a rule at foot; [36] two imprimaturs; [37–38] list of Etruscan monuments, numbered 1–114

illustrated on “Tavola 1 pag. 31”; [39] small unnumbered plate; [40] note to reader (“Avviso Al Pubblico”; “Avvertisment [sic]”; “Avis Au Public”)

Ornaments Etched headpiece with Etruscan capital (p. 1); tailpiece with satirical depiction of Bertrand Capmartin de Chaupy’s *Découverte de la maison de campagne d’Horace* with three volumes and map including such sites as “Luogo dove non s’intendono gli Autori” and “Accademia de’ Fanatici,” and caption: “Una fonte secca, e pochi muri infranti hanno prodotto tre grossi tomi: Che ne dici o mio Baretti? Dov’è la frusta!” and warning at foot: “Vi avverto a prender consiglio prima di stampare” (p. 35)

Illustrations The double-page etched and engraved dedication frontispiece gives the title and dedication on a stone tablet at center of a wall richly ornamented in eclectic antique style at either side, including four caryatid figures of Diana of Ephesus: “Diverse Maniere D’Adornare I Camini Presentate A A [sic] Sva Eccellenza Monsig D Giovambattista Rezzonico Dal Giovambattista Piranesi.” There is a small unnumbered etched plate on p. [39], with furniture designs; and 3 paginated full-page etched and engraved plates *hors texte*: 2 plates numbered “Tavola 1 [–11]” and marked to face “Pag. 21,” with shells, urns, and vases; and 1 plate also numbered “Tavola 1” and marked to face “Pag. 31,” with 114 figures



of Etruscan details. The main sequence of plates consists of 67 etched and engraved coppers on 66 full-page plates numbered 1–66 (plate 59 with an additional unnumbered plate; plates [57] and [64] numbered in manuscript). Plates 1–54 with designs for chimney-pieces; 55–66 with designs for consoles, clocks, candelabra, sedan chairs, and other objects. Plates 2, 18, and 63 have captions printed from separate coppers; plates 1, 13, 45, 46, and 64 have captions included on plate. All plates, except plate 1 and first copper on plate 59, are signed by Piranesi as draftsman and engraver (“Cavaliere Piranesi inv ed inc.,” with variants)

Binding Contemporary Italian mottled calf binding (by the “Papal binder”), richly paneled and ornamented in gilt, combining rococo and neoclassical motifs: roll-tool borders with arabesques and palmettes, egg-and-dart and greek-key borders, center panels with rococo arabesques, fan ornaments and latticework, gilt edges; repaired, rebacked

References Berlin Cat. 3820; Focillon 854–926; Hind, *Piranesi*, 86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 815–887; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2556; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 244–269, 276–279

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Vasi, Candelabri, Cippi, Sarcophagi*. Title page. 1985.61.2625

IOI

Vasi Candelabri Cippi Sarcophagi Tripodi
Lycone Ed Ornamenti Antichi Disegn Ed Inc
Dal Cav Gio Batta Piranesi Pvbblicati L'Anno
MDCCLXXIIX [sic]

[Rome: Francesco Piranesi, 1791 or later]

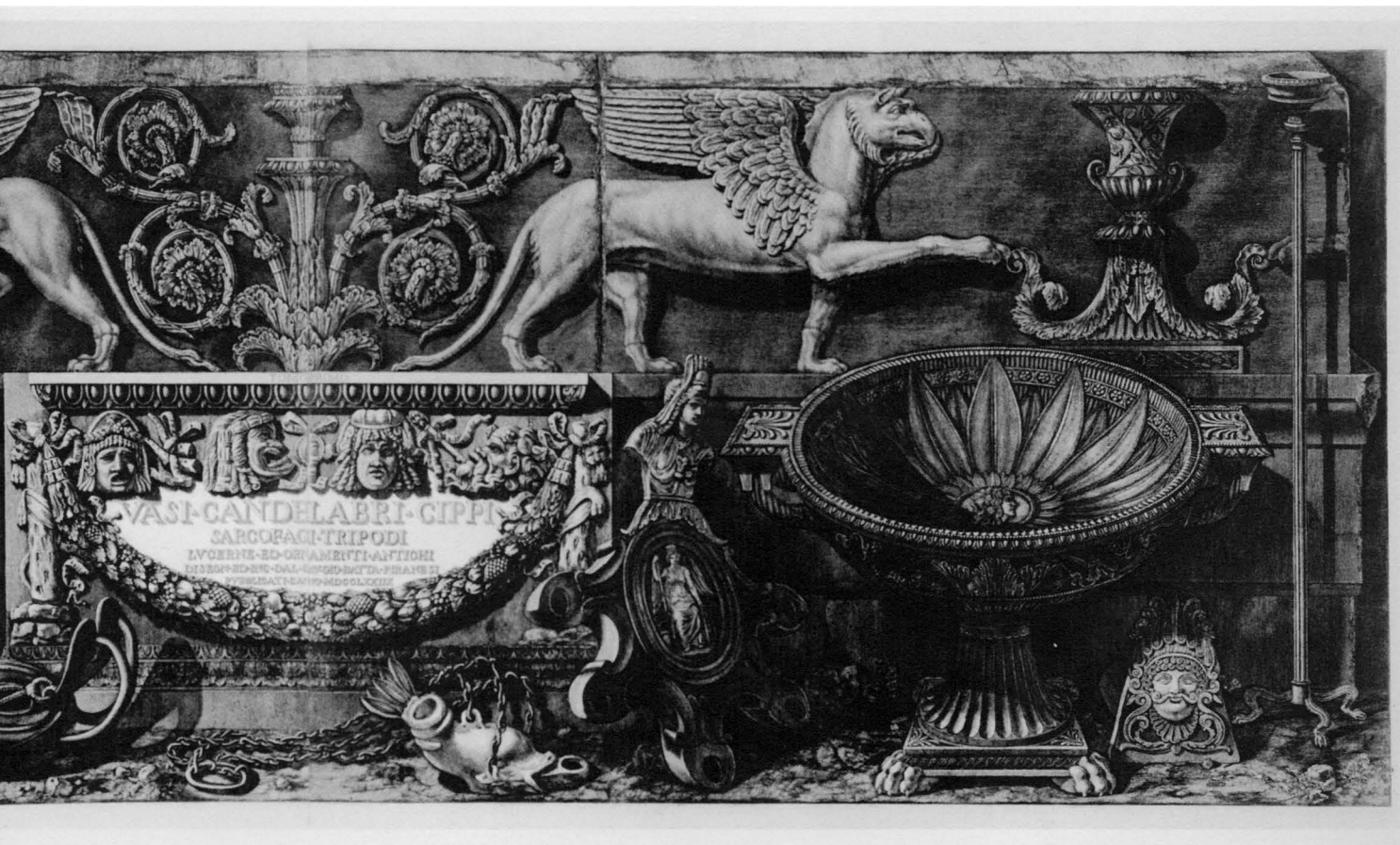
1985.61.2625–2626

Broadsheet: 544 × 755 (21³/₈ × 29¹¹/₁₆)

Foliation Vol. 1: 55 etched and engraved plates
(2 folding)

Vol. 2: [57] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition, penultimate state, with the final tally of 112 plates. Giovanni Battista Piranesi began issuing individual plates from the *Vasi, candelabri* . . . around 1767, although initially he did not envision them as forming a coherent series. It is not certain when the title plate for the series was finally added; however, no copies have yet been found that can be dated before 1778, suggesting the plates were first compiled by Francesco Piranesi following his father's death (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2568)



Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched, engraved, and drypoint throughout consisting of 56 coppers printed on 55 plates numbered [1]–55, including title plate (plate 7 with a second unnumbered plate; title plate and plate 22 folding, printed from two coppers; several plates unnumbered or numbered in manuscript). All plates signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi as designer and etcher (“Cavalier Piranesi del. ed inc.,” with variants), except plates [13] and 14, signed by Francesco Piranesi, and plate 44, signed by Vincenzo Brenna as draftsman (“Vincenzo Brenna disegnò”) and Giovanni Battista Piranesi as etcher; title plate (i.e., plate [1]) and plate 20 unsigned

Vol. 2: Etched, engraved, and drypoint throughout consisting of 71 coppers printed on 57 full-page leaves numbered [56]–112, including frontispiece (14 plates with a second unnumbered copper); several plates unnumbered or numbered in manuscript. Frontispiece includes dedication by Giovanni Battista Piranesi to “General Shovvaloff.” All plates signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, except plates 72, [87], 111, and [112] signed by Francesco Piranesi with the final three dated 1786, 1790, and 1791, respectively

Binding Contemporary half calf with marbled paper-covered boards

Provenance Bookplates of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Focillon 601–718; Hind, *Piranesi*, 87; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 888–1005; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2568; Robison, *Prolegomena*, 197; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 292–316

G. Miscellaneous Works

IO2

Raccolta Di Alcuni Disegni Del Barberi Da Cento Detto Il Guercino Incisi in rame, e presentati al singular merito del Sig. Tommaso Jenkins Pittore, ed Accademico di S. Luca, in atto di rispetto, e d'amicizia dall'Architetto, e suo Coaccademico Gio. Battista Piranesi

[“Si vendono presso il medesimo Piranesi nel Palazzo del Sig.^r Conte Tomati, a Strada Felice vicino alla Trinità de' Monti,” but Paris: Francesco Piranesi, probably between 1800 and 1809]

1983.49.76

Broadsheet: 595 × 445 (23 3/8 × 17 1/2)

Foliation [44] etched and engraved plates (6 double page)

Edition First edition, late issue (first published with 28 plates Rome, 1764)

Illustrations Etched and/or engraved throughout consisting of an etched title plate numbered “2” top left with seated figure of Saint John, with palette and brushes beneath (signed “Piranesi in.”); plus 47 coppers printed on 43 full-page plates numbered 3–24, [25], 26, [27–31], xxxii–xlIII, [44–45] (plate 11 with a second unnumbered copper; plate 24 with three additional unnumbered coppers; remainder full page). Title plate and plates 3–24 etched after drawings by Guercino by the following: Francesco Bartolozzi (11 plates), Giovanni Ottaviani (5 plates), Giovanni Battista Piranesi (4 plates, including title plate), Giacomo Nevay (3 plates). Each plate printed using 1 or more shades of sepia and umber with black ink. The remaining plates, also printed in various inks, are as follows:

[25] Full-page plate numbered “xiii,” etched and engraved by Tommaso Piroli after Caravaggio's *Deposition*

[26] Double-page plate, numbered “xii,” etched by Francesco Bartolozzi after Sebastiano Ricci's *Brenno and Camillo* (signed: “Sebastian. Ricci inv: pincs in Casa del Conte Ant: M: Zanetti”; “Fran: Bartolozzi Scolp: alla Pittoresca”)

[27] Double-page plate titled “Venus Desolée Pour la Mort D'Adonis,” with dedication by Abbé Guattani to “Princesse Santa-Croce,” etched by Tommaso Piroli after Guercino (signed: “Dessiné par Guerchin”; “Gravé par Piroli”)

[28] Double-page plate numbered “xiii,” etched by Giovanni Battista Buratto after Antonio Balestra (signed: “Ant: Balestra Pin”; “I.B. Buratto Sc.”)

[29–31] Three double-page plates, numbered xv, xiv, iv, intended to be pasted together to form a single image with two-line caption at foot running continuously across the plates: “Deipare Virgini eius Filium Jèsu ad Golgotha . . . Milanus Pictor Bononiensis . . . quam delineavit et aere incidit, Anno Jubiloiei 1725.,” designed and etched by Aureliano Milano

xxxii–xlIII Twelve full-page plates, etching, etching with aquatint, and soft ground etching, all printed in sepia or umber (plate xli with white highlights). The first eleven plates reproduce works by the following artists: Agostino Carracci, Lodovico Carracci, La Fage, G. Gionino, Parmigianino, Raphael, Guido Reni, and Pellegrino Tibaldi; all signed by Francesco Rosaspina as etcher (“F. Rosaspina, Sculp”). The final unsigned etching from a drawing by Pietro Santi Bartoli is based on an antique painting in the collection of L. Dufourny

[44] Full-page plate with portrait bust of Raphael, caption, and dedication, etched by Giovanni Brunetti after Gaetano Saverelli (signed: "Gaetano Saverelli Romano dis:."; "Gio: Brunetti da Ravenna incis: in Roma")

[45] Full-page plate, Felice Polanzani's portrait bust of Piranesi, dated 1750

Binding Bound (2) with the *Calografia Piranesi's* collection of etchings by Tommaso Piroli (cat. 103)

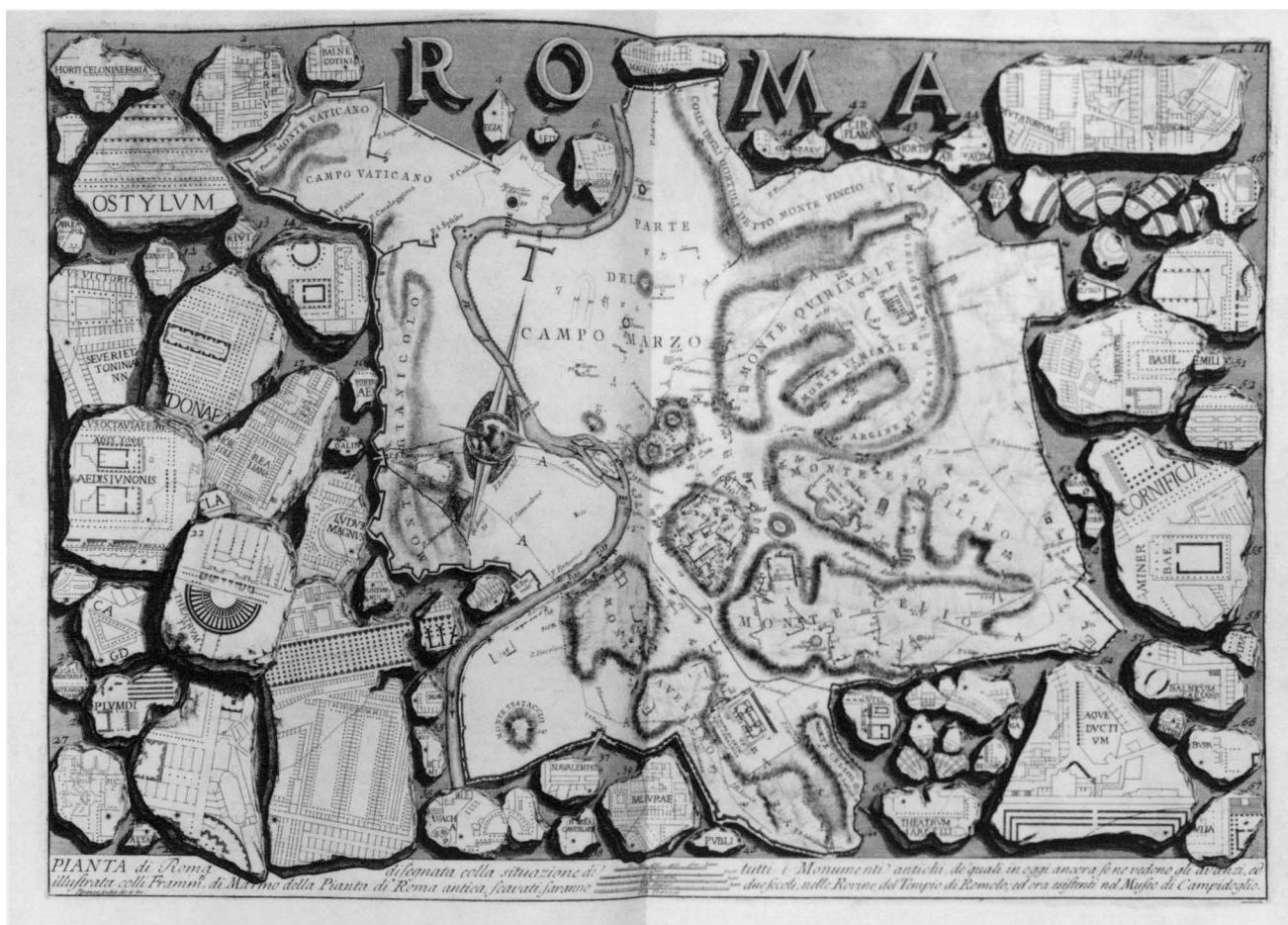
References Focillon 983–986 (plates by Piranesi only); Hind, *Piranesi*, 86; *Piranesi: Complete Etchings*, 1015; Petrucci 917–948; Wilton-Ely, *Catalogue*, 286 (plate 16 only)

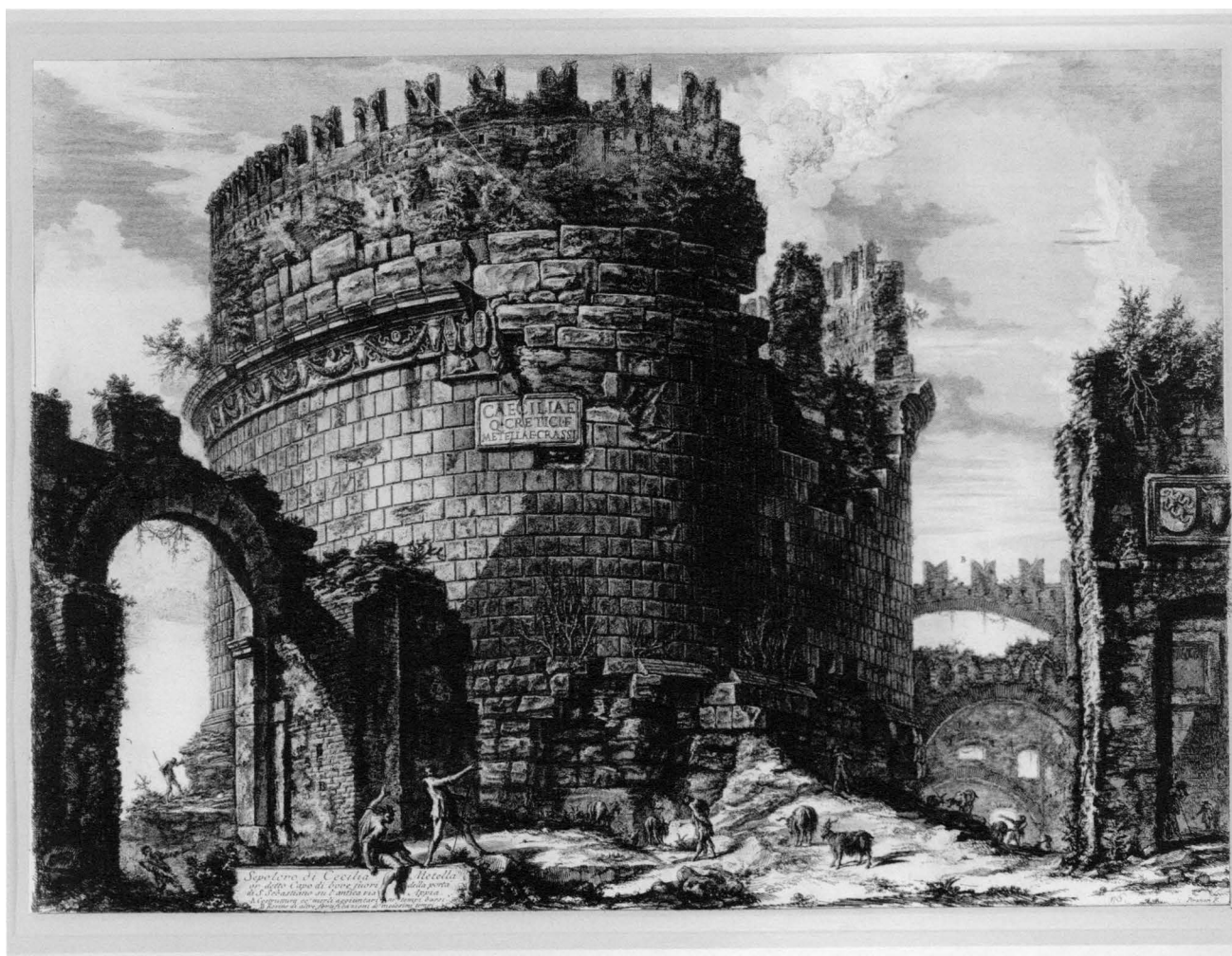
Piranesi: Poet Laureate of the Ruins

ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED and prolific graphic artists of the eighteenth century, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) has had a lasting influence upon the representation of Rome, the commercial practices of artists, and the uses of antiq-

uity. An exceptional personality, Piranesi transfigured his personal failure as an architect by re-creating ancient Roman architecture and urbanism through a richly complex representation. His creative approach is encapsulated in an anecdote about his manner of working: while engraving he talked to his copperplates, saying that "you will be brick, and you will be marble." His intensely fruitful active career spanned thirty-five years, from 1743 to 1778, with the most important works produced in the 1750s. The works of the 1750s are not only the most original segment of his oeuvre but also contain his most innovative graphic and compositional effects, employing a jostling juxtaposition of forms, diagonal compositional thrusts, tonal contrasts, and affectively invasive proximities. Part of his publications took a controversial tone in the 1760s, a decade during which he also made his mark as a practicing architect. In the last decade of his life Piranesi continued his devoted study of antiquity as a source of inspiration, which generated an energetic sideline activity in the commercial dealing of antiquities. His graphic style went through numerous changes, but it can be said that it developed from its roots in rococo fantasy to the monumental tonality of romantic classicism which Piranesi defined. Fundamentally a baroque designer—as an architect he had strong affinities to Francesco Borromini's work—Piranesi transformed the

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Le Antichità Romane Opera*. Plate II. Plan of Rome from ancient marble fragments. 1985.61.2618





representation of ancient Roman architecture and reevaluated Roman engineering achievements.

The gigantism of his illustrations coupled with the clinical abstraction of his details offered an awesome view of antiquity which thrilled the pleasure-seeking visitors to the city and heightened the expectations of first-time visitors. Sets of his engraved works eventually became the regular purchases of traveling aristocrats and connoisseurs in the Eternal City and the frequent gift of the pope to distinguished visitors. His visions of Rome's fallen grandeur attracted northern visitors whose imagination was startled by the etchings. His imperial Roman theme pleased the English, who already felt the longing that led them to establish an empire even vaster than Rome's. Eventually, pragmatic visitors, such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and John Flaxman, expressed their disappointment when the grandeur of the ancient Roman baths did not live up to Piranesi's views of them.

Piranesi's work is solidly anchored in earlier eighteenth-century forms and professional practices in Venice and Rome, though he frequently rebelled against them. Diligent, impetuous, and quarrelsome, Piranesi was supported in his early professional life by the Venetian publisher Joseph Wagner (see cat. 163), who encour-

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Vedute di Roma*. Tomb of Cecilia Metella. 1985.61.70

aged him to set up shop in Rome. The early views of Piranesi are spacious, open, and luminous; influenced by Canaletto, the views have some of the older artist's sunbathed, open-air character. The buildings are framed from a distance in serene and silent scenes. In Piranesi's later views, the single monuments loom into the foreground, hiding the background and the sky, and impose their anxious presence. Like the architect he claimed to be, Piranesi used ancient ruins creatively, as a point of departure for his imaginative and theatrical reconstructions. He may have studied set design with the stage designer Giuseppe Valeriani. The eighteenth-century *veduta* as practiced by the painters Giovanni Paolo Panini (1695–1768) and Canaletto had a scenographic character, adopting the wide angle of the two-point perspective. Stage design in turn was positioned in the eighteenth century between architecture and painting, specifically between the painting of party decorations, *quadratura*, and the architectural *capriccio*.

In the *capriccio* the artist creatively mixed ancient ruins of various origin, modern buildings, and even

unbuilt projects, setting them in new urban and landscape compositions and thus creating new places. The dreams of grandeur and gratuitous monumentality of architecture that circulated through scenographic designs threatened the very foundation of architecture, in Jörg Garms' suggestive interpretation of the liberating effect of these compositions (Garms 1982). Thus Piranesi appears to have acquired an intolerance for the limitations of practical architecture, which turned into the conviction voiced in an early publication, the preface of the *Prima parte* (in the Millard collection bound with *Opere varie*). These views simultaneously expressed Piranesi's bitterness at not having been born a Roman, his ambitions as an architect thwarted by poverty, and his dreams as a stage designer too vehement for the elaborate ornamentation of his day.

Piranesi's etched and engraved views mark a definitive step beyond the range of the earlier illustrations of Rome. Apart from the etcher Giuseppe Vasi, with whom he briefly studied and collaborated, his nearest forerunners in Rome were Giovanni Battista Falda and Alessandro Specchi. Falda's view of Saint Peter's, with frontal illustration of the square and church, may have suggested Piranesi's similar plate. Other influential precursors included Jacques Callot and Salvator Rosa, and Arthur Hind (1922) sees Piranesi as their natural successor. But Piranesi's immersion into illustrations of antiquity is incomparable to earlier views of Rome's ruins. Central to the wealth of beauty in his archaeological and topographical interpretations of Rome were several personalities connected to the French Academy in Rome. They included Panini, who headed a picturesque school of painting that took Rome as its subject matter and taught perspective at the French Academy; Charles Louis Clérissieu (1722–1820), a distinguished student of the French Academy associated with the Scottish architect Robert Adam; and the French painter Hubert Robert (1733–1808), whose inspired Romantic *capricci* were based on Roman architecture and landscape.

Like these painters, Piranesi manipulated the details of ancient architecture, putting them to novel uses. Embracing Michelangelo's and Borromini's earlier unorthodox approaches, Piranesi repudiated the classicizing lessons of his countryman Andrea Palladio. His theatrically designed plates reversed classical moldings, abolished architraves, broke columns and pediments, and upended obelisks, caryatids, and pyramids in order to achieve dramatic shadows, active silhouettes, and overall restlessness. His *Carceri*, for example, invent delirious and unsettling spaces, which in the revisions of c. 1760 become architecturally "impossible." Finally, Piranesi was the first artist since antiquity to revive Egyptian art for the purpose of decoration, developing Egyptian ornament with startling brutality. To com-

memorate this fundamental contribution, Hyatt Mayor (1952) has suggested that the Empire style might be renamed the Piranesi style.

Piranesi's developing theoretical principles can be said to have divided his oeuvre into two large (and somewhat overlapping) periods separated by the publication in 1761 of *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' romani*. Until 1761 the emphasis of Piranesi's work was primarily archaeological and illustrative. His publications continued a tradition of antiquarian publications that had been widely practiced in Rome since the sixteenth century. His *Prima parte* of 1743 had reconstructed fantastically, but upon Palladian principles, the main types of ancient buildings. The *Trofei di Ottaviano* of 1753 were the first indication of ideologically inclined pedagogic intentions, while in the *Antichità romane*, in 1756, Piranesi asserted his intention to disseminate images of the relics of Rome in order to determine the taste of amateurs and to instruct architects.

The Millard version of *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' romani*, an enormous treatise (two hundred pages of text) illustrated with thirty-eight plates, is bound together with the *Osservazioni*, the *Parere su l'architettura*, and *Della introduzione e del progresso delle belle arti*. This arrangement groups together Piranesi's major theoretical works. He had been working on *Della magnificenza* for some time when the 1758 publication of Julien David Le Roy's *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (Millard, *French Books*, 101) prompted its expansion, which included a rebuttal of Le Roy's findings. The text of *Della magnificenza* contained Piranesi's views on the development of classical architecture presented in a polemical form and directed against two publications, Le Roy's, but also an essay by Allan Ramsay, published in 1755 in a London newspaper, which disparaged Roman art. Le Roy's purported discovery, that the Romans had merely copied the Greeks, led to his reconsideration of Roman architecture as decadent in comparison with that of the Greeks. Piranesi countered this revolutionary claim in his extensive text, originally published in Latin and Italian, with three arguments. He elevated the Etruscans to a position superior to that of the Greeks, claiming for them greater antiquity and greater originality as a cultural group who had developed the arts earlier and to a higher degree, and posited the Etruscans as the sole teachers of the Romans. Then Piranesi claimed that the Etruscans were more talented than the Greeks, and finally he attempted to demonstrate that the grandeur of Etruscan architecture, derived from the monumental style of the Egyptians, was expressed through engineering achievements that were in turn emulated by the Romans.

Le Roy and Piranesi were the exponents of two much-discussed general tendencies of the eighteenth century. Le Roy stood for the philo-Greek theory

developed in France by the comte de Caylus between 1752 and 1767, which adapted to the development of the arts a formula long familiar to historians. Piranesi upheld the great age of Etruscan civilization as an axiom of Italian superiority, as established earlier by the Tuscan Giorgio Vasari. Le Roy had been influenced by the writings of the abbé Laugier and Jean Louis de Cordemoy, while Piranesi was in thrall to Venetian theorist Pietro Lodoli. Certain pages in *Della magnificenza* follow Lodoli's ideas in showing the developmental process of Greek architecture from wood to stone construction—an evolutionary thesis proposed by Laugier—as illogical and unreasonably opposed to nature. Piranesi incorporated some of Le Roy's illustrations within the plates in his own publication, while directing almost two-thirds of his own designs against Le Roy. Imitating Le Roy's graphic linear style for the illustration of the Greek architectural details, Piranesi conveys effectively the immense variety of Roman ornament by offering numerous examples in vigorously shaded and shaped images.

This polemical exchange on the origins of western architecture expanded in the mid-1760s when an additional personality entered the fray. After the French connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette proposed to Piranesi that his Etruscans were Greek colonists, Piranesi replied in print in 1765 with his *Osservazioni*. In the illustrations of the *Osservazioni* and the added *Parere*, he abandons the traditional forms that he had previously inventoried, aggressively mixing details borrowed from Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and Egyptian architecture. The five plates of the *Parere* contain complex and difficult images so overwrought that Piranesi may well have been trying to astonish Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who also spurned Piranesi's theories of Tuscan origins. Etched in a casually disheveled style, the illustrations include outrageous details, such as the two gigantic feet in plate 9, which also includes his famous quote from Sallust, offered evidently as a provocation to his critics ("They condemn my novelty, I their timidity"). Piranesi promoted the Tuscan order as an Etruscan invention, while Le Roy and Jacques-François Blondel considered it a degenerate Doric order.

In the *Magnificenza*, Piranesi had praised Vitruvius, acknowledging his unchallenged authority, but in the *Parere* the ancient author is vigorously criticized. Ridiculing the principles of law, reason, and simplicity, Piranesi promotes as indispensable ornaments that he had condemned before. The anti-Vitruvian, anticlassical theory expressed in the *Parere* is in keeping with the character of the imaginary architecture engraved by Piranesi; his compositions trample the rules of the Vitruvian-Palladian rigorists. Thus there are no proper orders, no entablature, and no cornice; sculptures are employed as architectural features and spaces combined



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Della magnificenza*. Plate VIII. *Parere*: study for the temple facade. 1983.49.73

vertiginously. The *Parere* represents the transition from archaeology to imaginative art, in which archaeological material becomes a weapon in the construction of a new architectural expression. In this battle, originality and individuality are allowed to replace objective doctrine. Piranesi is obliged to admire ornate architecture and to condemn simplicity, since it is connected with the Greeks. The dispute was soon settled with the publication of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (Millard, *British Books*, 81).

The principles laid down in the *Parere* fundamentally altered Piranesi's approach and position in architecture and guided his subsequent activity. His 1769 *Diverse maniere* can be seen as a clarification of the ideas expressed earlier in the *Parere* and an abandonment of the doctrine that eventually allowed him to take up Greek architecture. In his last year he visited Paestum and drew the temples built by the Greeks on Italian soil.

In defending unsuccessful historical theories and establishing modern standards of archaeology, Piranesi's work spanned two different worlds. The later



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Della magnificenza*. Latin title page. 1983.49.73

critical reception of his achievement has consequently been uneven and controversial, divided over questions of taste and accuracy: was he modern or antiquated? Should he be understood as a precise illustrator or an imaginative artist? His eulogist Giovanni Lodovico Bianconi claimed in 1779 that Piranesi was the “Rembrandt of antique ruins” (Hyatt Mayor 1952, 27), implying atmospheric distortion and poetic license, but in fact Piranesi’s archaeological renderings are often reliably accurate. Roman archaeologists such as Rodolfo Lanciani and Thomas Ashby later confirmed the documentary value of Piranesi’s topographical views. But in 1787

Piranesi’s graphic and realized architectures, closely associated with the Roman baroque, were dismissed by Francesco Milizia as nefarious. By then Piranesi’s prints had come to decorate the houses and libraries of every educated traveler who had been to Rome. Thus Piranesi’s etchings, which had “first startled by their rawness, settled down as house furnishings” (Hyatt Mayor 1952, 30). In 1839 the Firmin-Didot printing company—which owned the approximately one thousand plates brought to Paris in 1801 by Francesco Piranesi and acquired after his death in 1810—sold the copperplates back to the papal government of Gregory XVI, who brought them back to Rome.

Public awareness of Piranesi in the nineteenth century might have been strengthened if his French biographer Hippolyte-Hyacinthe Legrand had succeeded in publishing his “Notice” (the manuscript is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), intended as an introduction to the Paris edition of Piranesi’s works. Legrand offers both a vivid character-portrait of the artist and a critical framework to organize the oeuvre. Although the two earliest biographies of Piranesi have disappeared, there have been subsequent published and manuscript versions. Piranesi composed an autobiography, apparently illustrating a life as tumultuous as Benvenuto Cellini’s, which was the basis for the story written by his sons, and it is this account that Legrand incorporated in his “Notice.” On the critical side he concluded that the quality of Piranesi’s graphic works was not uniformly high, that logic had to be added in order to make sense of it. Monique Mosser and Gilbert Erouart (who published Legrand’s “Notice” in the publication edited by Georges Brunel [1978], as has Roberto Pane [1980] in an Italian translation included in his study of Paestum) have shown how the French public, through Legrand’s effort to order, clarify, and compare, would have been offered a didactic ensemble in which the prints were organized as a course on architecture and a précis of ancient decorative art.

In the twentieth century, Piranesi has received a great deal of attention, with the relative neglect by his countrymen compensated for by the keen interest of his French, German, and English critics. He has been the subject of three major biographical studies that mark the beginning and end of the century, by Henri Focillon (1918), Jonathan Scott (1975), and John Wilton-Ely (1978). The *Carceri* have inspired intense interest and feverish psychological speculation, even among scholars who pay little attention to his architectural work. Re-evaluated and brought to the public’s attention through numerous exhibitions and assiduous catalogues that clarify their production sequence, most notably by Arthur Hind and Andrew Robison (1986), Piranesi’s work continues to sell briskly in auction houses and in print galleries. The catalogue of the exhibition in Venice

by Alessandro Bettagno (1978) and Wilton-Ely's catalogue of the complete etchings (1994) were used extensively in preparing this essay.

Piranesi's drawings continue to puzzle historians since he appears to have had various drawing styles. As proofs of plates in an unfinished state are rare, we have only his drawings to help explain his method of work. (Though the differences between the early and late states of the *Carceri* give some important clues as to his working methods.) Fewer than might be expected, the drawings are in pen and sepia, sometimes over red chalk, with sepia or India ink wash. Piranesi's unorthodox preparatory work apparently included sketching in midair, hanging from a rope sling. Nonetheless, his drawings are brilliant and rapid in manner, while some contain precise penmanship. Hind, who echoing Bianconi has referred to Piranesi as the Rembrandt of architecture, has detected a similarity between his style and Domenico Fossati's (1743–1784) and Mauro Tesi's (1730–1766), and has also suggested that his drawing style may have deteriorated in his last years. But his drawings have also been confused with those of Giuseppe Valadier and of the architect Filippo Juvarra, and also drawings by Robert Adam and Thomas Chippendale.

Another critical problem widely observed in Piranesi's work is his handling of figures. He often hired other artists to copy nudes on antique reliefs, notably the French artist Jean Barbault, who collaborated extensively with Piranesi. Piranesi studied and appears to have adopted the sixty-two models of soldiers by Salvatore Rosa. His sickly brigands and convulsive amateurs also recall the work of the Genoese painter Alessandro Magnasco. Piranesi's figures suggest a lack of gradation in Roman society, since only rabble and princes without a buffer class appear in his pictures. There is no apparent industry to absorb the widespread unemployment except construction. Thus his figures eventually take on the appearance of "hectic detritus in ruins infested with tubercular wrecks," in Hyatt Mayor's words (1952, 16). Piranesi's bizarre and stylized human figures, becoming more cadaverous and grotesque, convey rhetorically the precariousness of civilization. According to Scott (1975), Piranesi preferred to draw cripples and hunchbacks rather than to study the nude from the best Greek statues.

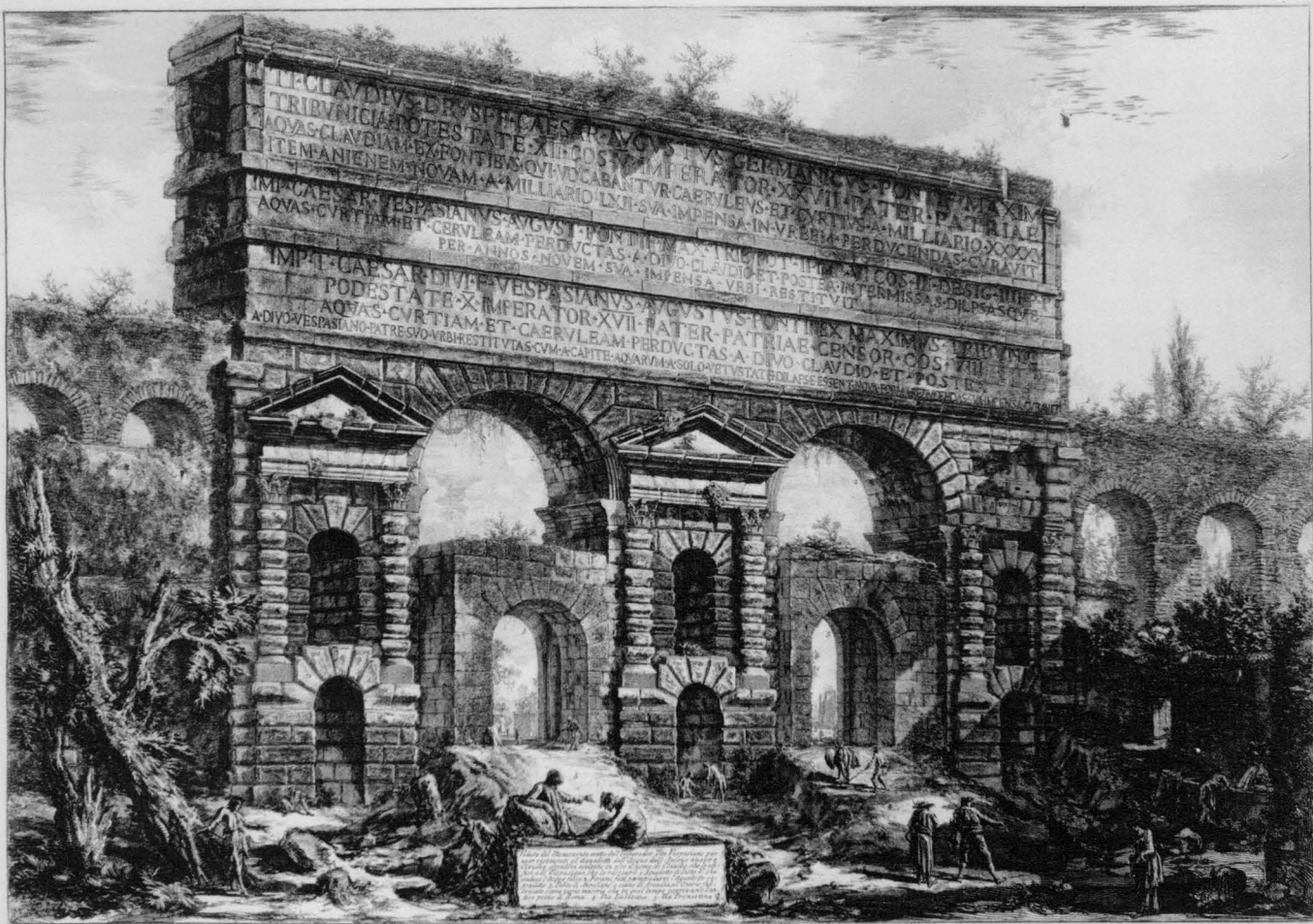
Piranesi's genius as a book illustrator has been explored by Philip Hofer in the exhibition catalogue edited by Robert Parks (1961). He excludes the large folios from the category of books, despite Piranesi's engraved title pages, dedications, and tables of contents. But Piranesi's publications outshine nearly all contemporary works, many produced in the great outpouring of Venetian editions. Piranesi's elaborate exaggeration of Roman grandeur is persuasive, though his texts may

have been ghostwritten, an allegation denied by Wilton-Ely. Hofer has compared Piranesi to William Hogarth, seeing both as successful publishers. Hofer locates his most original activity as book illustrator in the years from 1761 to 1765, a period during which Piranesi issued publications on the antiquities of Cora and Albano, on Lake Albano and the two *spelonche*, as well as the *Lapides*, the *Rovine del castello* (1761), and *Della magnificenza*, which he considers of the utmost significance and splendor. The decline seen by Hofer sets in with the publication in 1765 of the polemical *Osservazioni* against Mariette. Finally, the *Diverse maniere* (1769) shows Piranesi's innovative rediscovery of Egyptian style, thirty years before Napoleon's campaign brought Egypt fully into European consciousness, and his close relation to Robert Adam.

Karl Lehmann has asserted, in the exhibition catalogue edited by Parks (1961), that Piranesi's visionary artistic interpretation of Roman architecture has determined widely held ideas on the subject. He sees Piranesi as emphasizing an unshakable solidity as well as a melancholy effect of the decay of ruins, and shows how the artist stresses enormous size and mass, the density of the accumulation of buildings, the concept of the infinity of space, and the sweeping richness of Roman architectural vocabulary. The foundations of Hadrian's tomb, achieved through exaggerated caution in building huge substructures, are seen to have telluric origins. Piranesi pursued his project of laying bare the gigantic ancient skeleton of Rome. Nonetheless, the reality of the Campo Marzio did not correspond to Piranesi's sweeping baroque concept of immense and coordinated planning. Lehmann believes that Piranesi's "fantastic restoration of S. Costanza is a document of a dream of a Late Baroque follower of Borromini rather than of the appearance of Roman architecture." Tending toward a "violent centralization," Piranesi contrasted sharply the aesthetic qualities of the plan with the reality that he knew. Inheriting baroque concepts, he infused the ruins with a new stream of spatial experience. Opposed violently to the doctrine of the orders, Piranesi's antiacademic tendencies were directed against the threatening flood of Hellenic academicism. He instead stressed inventive creation and infinite variety.

Piranesi's Graphic Works

The concerns associated with the task of evaluating Piranesi's contribution as a graphic artist have been recently summarized by Wilton-Ely (1994). These include the precise dating of his composite publications, the inconsistencies in the sequence and numeration of single plates, and the increasing degree of studio assis-



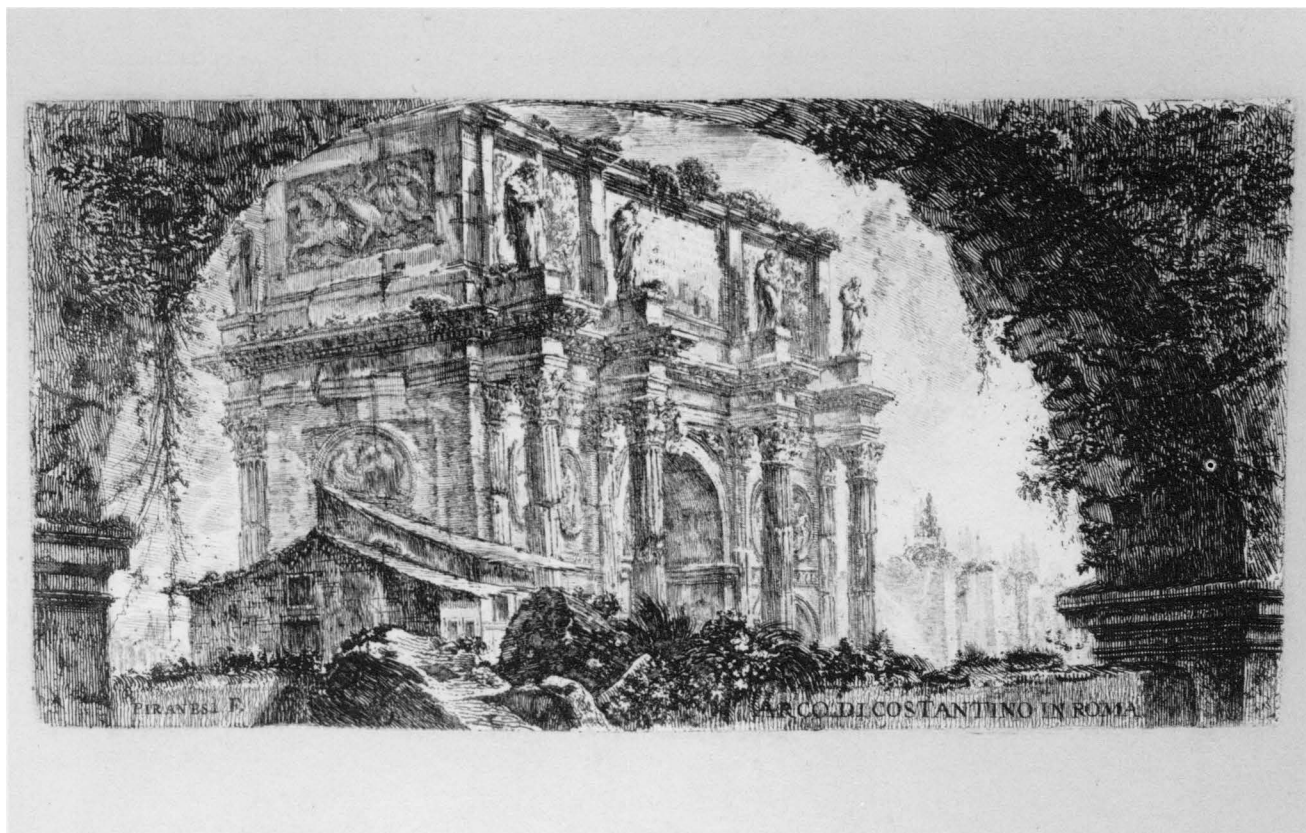
Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Vedute di Roma*. Porta Maggiore.
1985. 61.122

tance after the late 1760s, with Francesco Piranesi playing a prominent part from the mid-1770s. The printed works of Piranesi have been closely studied in order to establish their sometimes elusive state. The main divisions initially established by Hind (1922) include proofs before titles, contemporary Roman editions before 1778, posthumous Roman editions after 1778, the first Paris edition, 1801–1807, Paris editions issued between 1807 and 1835, and the *Calcografia* editions after 1839.

This work of retrieval and categorization had been aided by the detailed list of the surviving copperplates published in the 1891 *Catalogo generale . . . Regia Calcografia di Roma*. Another important source for a complete list of Piranesi's work is the printed catalogue of 1792, published by Francesco Chracas in Rome, divided into thirty-two sections. Piranesi himself set the pattern for the cataloguing of his prints by publishing a list of his available prints, updated regularly by making additions to the same plate. The catalogue was often inserted among the large collections of his works. He issued

catalogues regularly in the 1760s and 1770s, listing the works in the order of their production. Piranesi's son Francesco eventually classed the prints by subject when he made the 1792 catalogue.

The *Catalogo delle opere* was first published in 1761, perhaps at the time of Piranesi's election to the Accademia di San Luca. According to Wilton-Ely (1978), there are now twenty-five known separate states of the *Catalogo*, an etched inventory of prints available from Piranesi's shop, which was enlarged as additional plates became available. The *Catalogo* is a single-plate publication that clearly served as an advertisement for Piranesi's work. Its ephemeral role has allowed few copies to survive. The offerings listed on the plate are dominated by two series, the *Antichità romane* and the *Vedute di Roma*. The former occupies the top left corner of the plate, while the latter takes up an increasingly growing area of the lower half of the plate. It is clear from the layout of the *Catalogo* that these two series were considered most important by their author. The two titles are remarkably well supported by the illustrations of this plate, which contains precisely a view of Rome (Saint Peter's square) and fragments of ancient Roman



architecture. There are two copies of the *Catalogo* in the Millard collection. One Millard copy of the *Catalogo* lists sixty plates in the *Vedute di Roma* series and a list of publications most of which date from the first half of the 1760s. The second Millard version of the *Catalogo* lists all the works completed by Piranesi and some made or commissioned by his son Francesco. It lists 130 plates available from the *Vedute di Roma* series, the *Diverse maniere d'ornare i cammini* first published in 1769, Piranesi's last completed work—on the temples of Paestum—and includes Francesco Piranesi's *Raccolta de' tempj antichi*, first issued in 1780.

The commercial aspect of Piranesi's enterprise is revealed by him in *Lettere di giustificazione* to Lord Charlemont, which records the proposed and canceled dedication to the potential Irish benefactor. There Piranesi explained that he spent 300 scudi in the making of each plate and he expected to make 1,000 scudi from the sale of four thousand impressions pulled from the plate (Hind 1922, 10). Since the supply of graphic material was copious, it was necessary to stimulate demand by charging only a modest price for each sheet. Thus Piranesi's very industry was a disadvantage to him. These gigantic editions required rugged copperplates. Piranesi fortified his plates by etching in parallel lines, spaced far apart and rarely crossed by hatching; he reworked his plates constantly.

The necessity of pulling a huge number of prints from each plate, then, led to reworkings. Thus Piranesi's later *Vedute* contain deepened contrasts, obtained

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Le magnificenze di Roma*. Triumphal arch of Constantine. 1983.49.71

through rebiting or the use of the graver. The “rebiten states” are considered “more architectural and sculpturesque” by Hind (1922), though distracting dark patches of clouds mar the composition. According to Hind, the finest etching and composition are in the plates of the Forum of Augustus (or Nerva) with its powerful rendering of a foregrounded mass of masonry. He also appreciates the lighter tone of the interior of the Portico of Octavia, the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, and the Baths of Diocletian, among others, for the complete mastery of the subtle play of light and shadow.

The most recent studies of Piranesi have suggested an arrangement of his oeuvre by type, rather than strict chronological order, which is in any case problematic given the artist's frequent reuse and reworking of plates. Thus Wilton-Ely, in his two-volume catalogue (1994) in which every single plate designed and etched by Piranesi is reproduced, proposes a seven-part grouping of the works: the etched catalogue (*Catalogo delle opere*); early architectural and decorative fantasies (*Prima parte, Grotteschi, Fantastic port, Carceri, and Opere varie*); views of Rome and environs (*Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna, Vedute delle ville . . . della Toscana, Alcune vedute di archi trionfali, Vedute di Roma*); archaeological works (*Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto, Antichità romane, Castello*

dell'Acqua Giulia, *Lapides capitolini*, *Campo Marzio*, *Emisario del Lago Albano*, *Due spelonche*, *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*, *Antichità di Cora*, *Magnifica colonna coclide*, *Differentes vues . . . de Pesto*); theoretical and polemical works (*Lettere di giustificazione . . . a milord Charlemont*, *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' romani*, *Osservazioni . . . sopra la lettre de M. Mariette*, *Parere su l'architettura*); works of decorative design (*Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini*, *Vasi*, *candelabri*, *cippi*, *sarcofagi*); and miscellaneous works (*Pianta del corso del Tevere*, *Nuova pianta di Roma*, *Pianta di Roma e di Campo Marzio*, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella villa Adriana*, *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, *View of Blackfriars Bridge*, *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del . . . Guercino*). I will discuss Piranesi's publications as represented in the Millard collection following these categories, without the theoretical works and catalogue, which were presented above, and adding a brief discussion of Francesco Piranesi's contributions and independent publications.

The *Prima parte* collection of prints was first issued by Piranesi in 1743 with twelve plates. These architectural compositions are clearly the work of an ambitious designer seeking employment and commissions. It was "a thin collection and not a great success," according to Scott (1975), as indicated by its rarity. A modified version, in which Piranesi added five plates and dropped one, was republished as part of the collection *Opere varie* in 1750 (as in the Millard collection). The architectural fantasies illustrated in these plates were offered by Piranesi as challenges to the contemporary stagnant architectural scene. The compositions contain some of the main ingredients of Piranesi's art, such as the unorthodox combination of classical motifs, the manipulation of scale, the powerfully receding perspectives, and an obsessive escalation of architectural elements culled from his immense architectural repertory. For instance, the plate "Vestibolo d'antico tempio" reinterprets in a late baroque mode the lessons of the great gallery in the Louvre.

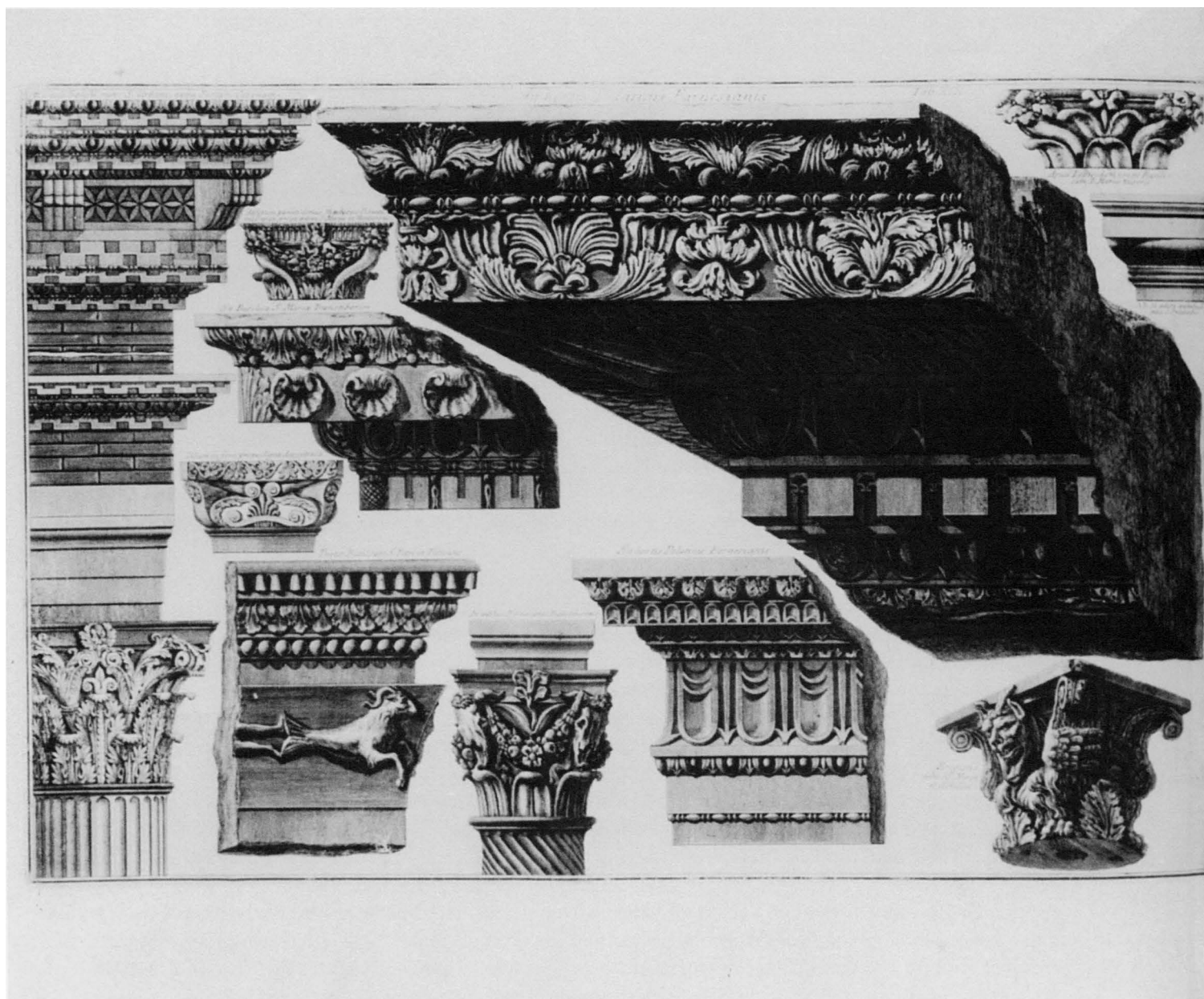
It is difficult to imagine possible patrons for Piranesi's grandiose and rich architectural compositions. But these palace designs in the early architectural fantasies prepared Piranesi for the design of the *Carceri*. The interpenetration between interior and exterior is common to both, as is Piranesi's ability to conceptualize complex spatial relations. Perhaps even more important was the lasting influence of the graphic style with which Piranesi experimented in the architectural fantasies of the *Prima parte* on his own later work. The hard, clear line of the architectural fantasies was only seldom used by him again to illustrate entire architectural compositions, except in the interiors of modern buildings in the *Vedute di Roma*. Instead, this hard line was used extensively in the illustrations of details, archi-

tectural and sculptural fragments in *Della magnificenza* and in *Antichità romane*, lifting and building tools, and bronze and marble utensils in the print series on fireplaces and ancient vases.

The four plates of the *Grotteschi* form a thorough contrast to the architectural fantasies of the *Prima parte*. This series achieves a fluency of expression and built-in luminescence that Piranesi acquired during his 1745–1747 residence in Venice, when he thought that he had returned home to stay after his Roman sojourn, as Robison (1986) has suggested. The flickering line that replaces his more somber earlier straight ones was inspired no doubt by the graphic artists working in Venice in the mid-1740s. They are meditations on death, with deliberate ambiguities of space and time illustrated by the billowing clouds of smoke used to create instability. The graphic style explored by Piranesi in the *Grotteschi* was to follow him throughout his later works. In subsequent publications, this flickering, billowy luminescence is employed for frontispieces, such as those of the antiquities of Cora and Albano, for the illustration of crumbling marble and stone in views of antiquities, and for the softening of the silhouette of modern unimpaired buildings.

The *Carceri d'invenzione* series is Piranesi's most lastingly successful group of etchings, which first promoted then satisfied Romantic tastes. (In literary history, the "fantasy prisons" are celebrated for inducing opium-assisted visions in Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas De Quincey.) It was first issued in 1749–1750 with fourteen plates, then as part of the *Opere varie* in 1750. Expanded with two plates and massively reworked, it was republished by Piranesi separately in 1761, with sixteen plates. Although the compositions contain many elements from his earlier architectural fantasies in the *Prima parte*, the *Carceri* have been considered Piranesi's most mysterious and provocative series of prints. They constitute an important contrast with the rest of his oeuvre, which claims documentary and illustrative status.

The *Carceri* are Piranesi's most abstract and consequently his freest compositions. Sketchier than the *Grotteschi*, the *Carceri* allowed Piranesi to develop new tonal techniques. The initial idea for this series, according to Hyatt Mayor (1952, 6), may have developed out of a small project for opera scenery etched by Daniel Marot in 1702, conjured up by a stagestruck engineer. Piranesi's staircases rising to unimagined heights were also prefigured in Filippo Juvarra and Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's drawings. Large arched vaults dominate his compositions, looming above the lowered point of view. Although there are preparatory drawings, these images seem to have been constructed directly on the copperplate in a "painterly creation of forms, light, tone and mass," as Robison (1986, 40–41) has commented.



The *Carceri* could be fortresses or warehouses, but they do not focus on the tortures of the body or the spirit as has been romantically claimed. Their scale is inappropriate for prisons; the grand staircases, sculpted trophies, and banners would be out of place in an actual prison. Contrary to Giuseppe Vasi, who warned Piranesi that he would never be a good etcher since he was too much of a painter, Robison finds that Piranesi was “so much a painter that he was truly an exciting print-maker,” most evidently in the case of the *Carceri*.

The lighter, early sets of the *Carceri* are not rare, since forty-one copies of the set have been catalogued, showing that the series was a reasonable success. Within the first year, Piranesi made two changes to the *Carceri* series: he corrected his publisher’s name on the title plate and introduced lettering. In about 1758 Piranesi profoundly deepened the forms of the *Carceri* with tonal scratching and ink dabbing, then in 1761 added

two more plates. The Millard version of the *Carceri* is from this second, enlarged edition. The uniqueness of the *Carceri* notwithstanding, some transformations were due to the increased attention of the artist to Roman antiquities, and specifically to his publication of the *Trofei* in 1753 and the *Antichità romane* in 1756. Thus the addition of hoisting and building equipment without specific function reflects Piranesi’s study of Roman construction methods and materials, used in the *Carceri* to create a sense of weight and oppression. The punishment illustrated in the “Man on the rack” is commensurate with the seriousness of ancient construction. The spatial ambiguities of the first edition were replaced by the spatial impossibilities in the second edition, as has been demonstrated by Robison (1986, 51). Piranesi’s *Carceri* of 1750 were imaginative creations without traditional architectural forms. In the *Carceri*, Piranesi reconciled the flickering graphic style of the *Grotteschi* with



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Della magnificenza*. Plate 19. Details of column capitals and architraves. 1983.49.73

the monumental architectural compositions of the *Prima parte*. It was an imaginative peak from which he was obliged to retreat in order to compose his views of ancient and modern Rome, decaying and sinister, and his scientific reconstruction of the ornamental systems of Roman architecture and sculpture, inventoried and ready to be copied.

Together with the *Prima parte*, the *Opere varie* has one of the most complex production histories of Piranesi's works. Most common versions contain sixteen plates from the *Prima parte*, four plates of the *Grotteschi*, two plates of architectural fantasies, fourteen plates of the *Carceri*, and Felice Polanzani's portrait of Piranesi,

remarkable for its truculent, unwigged features and heroic Roman nudity. To this varied compendium, Piranesi added in the 1760s ten smaller architectural fantasies. The architectural fantasies contain numerous clear references to existing buildings and to the works of architectural designers. The copiousness of detail and ornament illustrates Piranesi's as yet untheorized preference for richness and variety in architectural composition. This copiousness can also be interpreted as a young designer's early compositions in which he cannot discard any of his imaginative constructs. The Millard version of the *Opere varie* is unusual in that it contains only the architectural fantasies and plates added from his *Lettere di giustificazione* of 1757.

The most important segment of Piranesi's work and his most influential prints are the views of Rome and the archaeological works. The views of Rome were made in two distinct stages, resulting first in a series of

small views, followed by a vastly ampler collection of large prints. The small views had a complicated publication history, recently sorted out (by Silla Zamboni and Henry Millon in Georges Brunel's volume [1978], and by Robison [1970]). Piranesi initially etched several views of Rome during his first stay there, to which he may have added after his return from Venice. He sold these small illustrations—perhaps as many as forty-eight—outright, so that the publishers of these small views, first Giovan Lorenzo Barbiellini, then Fausto Amidei, Generoso Salomoni, and Giovanni Bouchard (who acquired his copperplates), were able to publish them, almost like postcards, in various editions and combinations, including as illustrations for the 1750 edition of the *Mercurio errante* guidebook initially published by Pietro Rossini (see cat. 117). Although one-third of the forty-eight plates etched by Piranesi for the *Varie vedute* are illustrations of ancient Roman buildings, the collection is dominated by views of contemporary Roman architecture. These plates were published in a second edition in 1752 as *Raccolte di varie vedute*.

In the second edition it is Piranesi's growing renown that drives the commercial premise of the publication, as the title indicates. Stylistically the small views in the *Varie vedute* of 1748 are closer to those of contemporary Roman illustrators active in the 1730s and 1740s, such as Vasi, than to Piranesi's own work made just a few years later. Nonetheless, in these views Piranesi adopts a broad range of compositional devices, some of which he later developed further, such as his view of San Giovanni in Laterano, where he moves the facade close to the foreground and angles it away from the picture plane. Scott (1975) finds that Piranesi's style altered as soon as he switched to ancient ruins and that his plates "came to life" through the use of a livelier graphic technique marked by furry lines with horizontal dashes, while the somewhat perfunctory treatment of the earliest views may have reflected Piranesi's limited interest in Renaissance buildings.

Already in *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali*, published first in 1748 with the title *Antichità romane de' tempi della repubblica*, Piranesi offers strikingly original compositions, in Scott's (1975) evaluation, and what Wilton-Ely (1994) considers the "artist's graphic masterpieces." (The Millard version of the *Archi trionfali* forms part of *Le magnificenze di Roma*, in the 1751 edition published by Bouchard for Piranesi.) The unity and range of experiment are unparalleled in other contemporary views of Rome. In these views of half-buried triumphal arches, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's influence on Piranesi is clearly evident, in the composition as well as execution of the views, simultaneously lush and feathery in line and assertive in contrasting light effects. (These qualities are less evident in the drier etchings made after draw-

ings by others, such as Israel Silvestre and Sir Roger Newdigate.) The original 1748 edition, with a dedication to Giovanni Bottari (prefect of the Vatican Library; see cat. 24), contains thirteen plates of arches in Rome, followed by fourteen plates of arches and other monuments outside Rome, though this ordering device is not rigorously adhered to (the first section contains the arch of Aosta, and the second section a view of the temple of Minerva Medica, added by Piranesi's son Francesco).

The *Archi trionfali* are Piranesi's first substantial achievements in the use of the view as "an interpretive instrument of archaeological inquiry" (Wilton-Ely 1994, 12). It is in this series that Piranesi's topographical experiments in perspective and lighting reach their highest expression. Most remarkable are the large areas of untouched plate surface and the introduction of the repoussoir compositional device. The subject of triumphal arches is extensively revisited in the *Vedute di Roma* series and in similar format in the *Antichità romane* series (see the Colosseum, as well as individual triumphal arches). The Millard copy of *Le magnificenze di Roma* includes thirty-two plates belonging to the *Archi trionfali* series and an additional sixteen drawn from the *Prima parte* series, bound together in one volume. Piranesi altered the title after he published his *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' romani* in 1761, referring to the earlier series as *Archi trionfali*. For the triumphal arches series, Piranesi used sketches made during travels from Venice to Pola, Ancona, Verona, Spoleto, and Rimini.

The *Vedute di Roma* are Piranesi's best-known work, dominating his production, as seen in the *Catalogo*, together with the *Antichità romane*. The 138 views document every aspect of ancient and contemporary Rome. Piranesi began making these views from the late 1740s and continued to produce them throughout his entire life. Thus the plates are an invaluable history of every stage in Piranesi's artistic development. Through these images Piranesi revolutionized the inherited vision of classical antiquity and offered a new kind of topographical *veduta*. The large dimensions of the plates, 400 × 535 mm as compared to Vasi's 215 × 338 mm average plate, were Piranesi's most evident innovation. In these plates Piranesi uses the view as a way of interpreting the urban and architectural spaces of the city. By dramatically increasing the scale of the illustrations, he entirely alters the image of Rome. The large plates evidently also offered him increased opportunities for the display of his growing knowledge of the city. This anthology of Rome's principal public spaces and monuments shows them brushed with decay, whether centuries-long or recently acquired. It is the plates from this series that became the most widely sought acquisition made by travelers to Rome in the second half of the eigh-

teenth century. The abundant supply of views of Rome available at print dealers in Paris and London today testifies to the huge numbers of sheets brought to western Europe by travelers from Rome.

The pioneering work in cataloguing the chronology of the series was done by Hind in 1922 (manuscript papers related to this publication are at the Ryerson and Burnham Library, Art Institute of Chicago), and recently revised by Robison (1986). The exact sequence of the production of the first thirty-nine prints is problematic. Fourteen plates, twelve views, frontispiece, and title page were produced between 1746 and 1748, in Robison's dating; Wilton-Ely (1994) has proposed that nineteen were available in 1748. This was already a prodigious undertaking since consistently large-scale views had been seen only rarely before. In 1751 Bouchard published thirty-four *Vedute* plates in *Le magnificenze*. In 1756 Piranesi listed thirty-nine plates available in the series. The series contains numerous plates of the same site, forming coherent subsets that could have been issued as separate collections. Thus the ten plates of the Villa Hadriana and the ten plates of the ancient ruins at Tivoli may have been conceived as separate series, though Piranesi published the plates as they emerged over time.

The *Vedute di Roma* constitute Piranesi's magisterial achievement, though they are also the least varied plates in terms of representation, depending on two-point perspective and diagonal compositions. Nevertheless, since the approximately 135 individual prints were produced throughout Piranesi's entire career, from 1746 until 1778, they offer a special opportunity to study every phase of his stylistic development, as Malcolm Campbell (*Rome Recorded* 1989) has done. In many instances it is clear that Piranesi relies on his earlier, archaeological reconstructions for source material. Mastering the details of the individual sites, through scale drawings that reconstruct the plan, section, and elevation, freed Piranesi to imagine his later, large views creatively. With this synthesis of archaeology and *vedutismo*, on an unprecedentedly large scale, the artist fundamentally transformed the contemporary European vision of classical antiquity.

Piranesi's images apparently offered a thorough documentation of Rome, but in actuality they were composite views. The artist brilliantly and wittily assembled into a single image what he had observed from several different points of view. He also exaggerated perspective depth, manipulated the proportions between the human figure and the adjacent architecture to aggrandize the latter, shifted scales from foreground to background suppressing the middle ground, and reshaped piazzas for dramatic effect. Though these were not new conventions, Piranesi significantly manip-

ulated them. Thus his fearless reconstruction of ancient monuments consisted of subtracting later accretions and revealing their "true" ruined state. The result is not a photographic view—he apparently did not use the camera obscura—but what Campbell brilliantly refers to as an "evocative memory image," that is, the memory of the experience of crossing a site (*Rome Recorded* 1989, 11). Piranesi's seamless views are in reality a collage of spatially separated points of observation.

Over time, Piranesi's views emphatically foregrounded the principal monument illustrated, increasing its size and proximity to the foreground; monuments are pushed so close to the front of the picture plane that their tops appear cut off by the upper frame. These hulking structures cast their shadows over the printed legend, increasing the palpable drama of the view (Campbell, *Rome Recorded* 1989, 11). The great expressiveness of the fully developed *veduta* style was developed by Piranesi in contrast to the abstracted scientific line engravings of Le Roy, and Stuart and Revett's illustrations of Greek monuments. The agitated genre figures also increased in number, with the poor crowding out the gentry.

The seemingly overdetailed illustrations in the *Vedute* series might reflect the fact that Piranesi, even though he manipulates the angle of vision and occasionally creates new juxtapositions by moving buildings, does not actually idealize. Some views have a surfeit of decorative details that he may have easily edited, such as in the view of Piazza Farnese where the fences around the two fountains might distract from the overall understanding of the monumental square, in order to provide an ideal view of the urban environment. In the view of the Palazzo della Consulta in the Piazza Quirinale, the sharp side view of the facade filled by windows is comparable to Canaletto's slanted views of Venetian houses, but since Piranesi does not have color there are fewer means by which he can introduce degrees of visual strength and hierarchy of detail. In the views focused on ancient Roman ruins, Piranesi often adopts his *grotteschi* style of etching. For the modern buildings of Rome, in contrast, he is more likely to use the harder line associated with his *Prima parte* architectural fantasies and the more traditional *vedute* being made in Rome. Thus his Porto di Ripetta of 1751 creates an exciting view by introducing numerous figures, various kinds of boats, and an expansive angle along the river shore that includes many different buildings. Comparing this image with that of the temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, made in 1761, in which the entire plate is devoted to a loving depiction of the stones of the ruin in varying degrees of decay, it is evident that Piranesi employed different graphic means to achieve almost opposing textures, light effects, and depth of space. While the

view of the Porto di Ripetta reiterates a well-established mode of representation, the romantic ruin of the temple in Tivoli provided the basis for the kind of imagery that was practiced by Piranesi's successors, such as Luigi Rossini, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The four-volume *Antichità romane* and the *Vedute di Roma* constitute the two main segments of Piranesi's output (approximately 378 plates). The *Antichità romane* is the most important series among the archaeological works and became a European sensation; Piranesi himself claimed that two thousand copies of this series were sold in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, while two hundred copies alone were ordered from Paris. Produced over eight years and published in four volumes, the series contained about 250 plates in 1756 (218 in the earlier of the two sets in the Millard collection). The first volume deals with the urban structure of ancient Rome, its walls, defenses, aqueducts, as well as civic and religious monuments. The second and third volumes, which appropriate several plates from Francesco Bianchini's *Camere sepolcrali* and contain the staffage and relief figures drawn by Jean Barbault, illustrate the tombs and funeral monuments around Rome. The fourth volume focuses on the engineering achievements of the Romans, illustrating bridges and large monumental buildings. Recording the ruins of Rome's magnificence and proposing models to inspire and challenge contemporary architects, Piranesi established himself with this series as one of the principal artists active in Roman archaeology. This publication was fraught with difficulties and polemics for Piranesi, since the initial offer of support by the Irish aristocrat Lord Charlemont was not fulfilled, even though Piranesi had prepared an important dedicatory plate. Eventually Piranesi erased the would-be sponsor's name from his dedicatory plate and issued a commentary (*Lettera di giustificazione*) explaining extensively and publicly why he had done so. Piranesi's main contribution with this series of prints, as Wilton-Ely (1994) had noted, is that he "consciously sets out to apply a completely new system of architectural inquiry to the study of the remains of antiquity."

Piranesi's *Antichità romane* promoted the concrete methods of archaeology over the erudition of antiquarian study, while still incorporating scholarship and theory into his visual images. According to Focillon, Piranesi was the first artist-archaeologist who managed to reconcile archaeology with the arts. Piranesi's method is interpreted as a form of autopsy by Hyatt Mayor (1952, 13), who ranks Piranesi's *Antichità romane* with the great books of anatomy, styling him "the most dramatic dissector of ruins" because of the way he lays open the ruined body of the ancient city. Piranesi's textual explications below the lower edge of the plates

contribute a scholarly monograph of the building illustrated. His imaginary truth is visually more stimulating than the documentary truth, heightening the emotional impact of discovery, while the epic splendor of his "unfaithful reproduction" of ancient Rome, achieved through a passionate "disruption of topography," captivates the viewer (Bertelli 1985). In keeping with his excavational approach, Piranesi claimed that Rome's architectural magnificence could be observed in sewers, walls, aqueducts, paved roads, and other civil engineering projects as much as in its official monuments.

The extraordinary plan of ancient Rome in the first volume of *Antichità romane* consists of the sites of ancient monuments, surrounded by the fragments of the *Forma Urbis* illusionistically pinned to the modern plan and dramatically jumbled together. In this first volume there are two small views per plate: each has a longer horizontal dimension, and although the angles are quite dramatic—they will be reused by Piranesi in his larger-format views—they are not as consistently powerful as the later large views. An immense foldout plan of the aqueducts of Rome establishes Piranesi's credentials as archaeological topographer. The reconstruction plan of ancient Rome looks rather delirious (with occasional inaccuracies such as the missing libraries and the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's forum) and likely to have been made in competition with the grandiose ideal designs carried out at the French Academy.

The second volume of *Antichità romane* begins with a view of the crossing of the Appian and Ardentine roads, rendered by Piranesi in an ahistorically rich and dense reconstruction of ancient Roman tombs and monuments. In the third volume he experiments brilliantly with illustrating the same details at different scale within the same plate, as in the illustrations of the tomb of Cecilia Metella. Thus his reiteration of decorative detail shown in place, then in a larger drawing as though through a zoom lens, is extraordinarily effective. He penetrates further into the detail by graphically reconstructing the building techniques and materials, down to the stone clamps and the tools used in raising travertine pieces. Although these instruments had been dwelled upon earlier, in such engineering studies as Domenico Fontana's illustrations of the transportation of the Vatican obelisk (see cat. 40), none had offered the confident close-ups of Piranesi's accomplished details. Equally innovative is the juxtaposition of architectural plans, sections, and elevations within the same sheet, creating dramatic compositions and economically conveying vast quantities of information. This experimentation with the conventions of architectural representation links Piranesi to the similar interests of the French architects in Rome, who developed what eventually became the graphic representational system taught at the Beaux-Arts school of architecture

in Paris. His constantly growing knowledge of ancient building techniques contributes to a tension in his plates that has a powerful effect on the viewer.

The fourth volume of the *Antichità romane* contains several magnificent compositions, including Piranesi's study of the construction of Roman building foundations. This is illustrated in his views of the substructure of the tomb of Hadrian and of the theater of Marcellus, which show immense battered walls built of gigantic stone slabs magnified by the antlike human creatures that pose here and there on the monstrously dimensioned details. The engravings of the substructure of Hadrian's bridge are the most elaborate archaeological demonstrations by Piranesi, simultaneously offering vertigo and melodrama. Hyatt Mayor (1952, 10) interprets Piranesi's pictures of Roman foundations as though they had been built using the modern construction methods developed by the hydraulic engineers of Venice; Karl Lehmann (in Parks 1961, 88–98) considers

Piranesi's substructure for Hadrian's tomb telluric. It is known that Piranesi was related by family ties to Matteo Lucchesi, a highly respected engineer in the Venetian Magistrato delle Acque, from whom he learned about Venetian projects for the protection of the lagoon. Thus Piranesi draws again on Venetian sources to achieve his own aim of combining engineering and archaeology to illustrate an epic amplification of Rome's splendor.

The *Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto*, together with the *Antichità romane* of 1756, reflects Piranesi's growing scholarship, as well as his revolutionary system of illustration and reconstruction of the Roman past. Originally published in 1753, the plates illustrate the so-called trophies of Marius, which had been removed from the fountainhead of the Acqua Giulia and placed on the parapet of the Capitoline square in 1590. The two double-folio frontal views of the trophies offer a ravishingly attractive picture of these carved stones, which had never been so lovingly depicted before. (The view by Etienne Dupérac shows the trophies in their original place in 1575 and illustrates the interest of topographers in these eloquent objects.) They display Piranesi's en-

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Vasi, Candelabri, Cippi, Sarkofagi*. Vol. 2. Dedicatory plate to General Schouvaloff. 1985.61.2626



hanced understanding of ancient Roman military artifacts, which allowed him to reconstruct details in the worn-away stonework. The architectural fragments that he included with the views of the trophies were to become lasting interests in his subsequent works. As in several other publications of his father's, Francesco Piranesi added extra plates to later editions of the *Trofei* (pls. 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 in the Millard copy). The original location of the trophies on top of the Acqua Giulia aqueduct is illustrated in a plate that Piranesi also incorporated into the *Vedute di Roma* series, though the view of the Capitoline square from the same *Vedute di Roma*, with the trophies prominently displayed, is not part of the *Trofei* set.

In the *Lapides Capitolini* of 1762, Piranesi reproduces the inscriptions from the Forum Romanum as they were set into a frame designed by Michelangelo in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill, and fills in the gaps with representations of sculpture and other objects in the Capitoline collections. Dedicated to Clement XIII, the publication consists of three plates, of which one is made of four folios, and four vignettes. There is a monumental index of all the consuls of Rome from the founding of the city to the reign of Tiberius. The ornamental details surrounding the dedicatory text to the pope contain elements that Piranesi repeated in the design of the main altar at Santa Maria del Priorato, his only architectural commission (juxtaposing sarcophagus and dovetailed coat of arms with the half-circle of ornamental band below it), and include a "medal" of the Trevi fountain, which was completed in that year. The Millard copy of the *Lapides* is bound with the *Antichità di Cora* and with *Le rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia*.

In the *Antichità di Cora* of 1764, Piranesi posits the major building on the site, the temple of Hercules, as uninfluenced by Greek architecture and offers it as an example of the indigenous evolution of the Tuscan order in Italy. The collection of ten plates and title page illustrates the cyclopean construction of the temple's surroundings and Piranesi's "unearthed" foundation of the column shafts, which turn out to be massive piers rather than a continuous wall. Piranesi's elevation and profile details of the portal and moldings recall Domenico de' Rossi's academic illustrations from the beginning of the eighteenth century (see cat. 110). The figures occupying this site are humpbacked, weary, and winded. Sprawled on the ground, gesticulating with overly long arms and exaggerated fingers, they engage in activities that include a stabbing scene in the clefts of the cyclopean walls.

The *Rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia*, published in 1761 but prepared in the 1750s as part of Piranesi's study of the Roman water system in his *Antichità romane*, includes a discussion of Frontinus' treatise *De Aqualae*.

Concentrating on the fountainhead of the Giulia aqueduct, which was originally embellished with the sculptures moved to the Capitoline Hill and which Piranesi had depicted in his *Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto*, the nineteen plates and title page depict a range of details and views of the sites along which the viaduct of the Acqua Giulia enters Rome. Plate VIII, for example, shows the gate of San Lorenzo, which carried the aqueduct, with the street level raised high beneath the arch of the portal and a remarkable agglutination of shacks built against the ancient stone structure. With superlative graphic description, Piranesi illustrates the varied texture of decay of the several kinds of building materials.

The *Campo Marzio* was published by Piranesi in 1762 with two frontispieces (in Latin and Italian) and forty-eight plates. The publication borrows from the two main interests of the author, the archaeological research and the polemical battles of the early 1760s. His historical inquiry is here committed to supporting his view of the primacy and genius of Roman builders. This work originated in the 1750s and is dedicated to Robert Adam (Millard, *British Books*, 1), who befriended Piranesi during his Grand Tour visit of Rome. Adam witnessed Piranesi's engraving of the imperial plan of Rome in 1755, eventually stretching over six copperplates. This plan is one of Piranesi's most feverish fantasies, marshaling a huge range of imaginary constructs for the celebration of ancient Rome. Within this plan he proposes an urban and architectural landscape of the utmost complexity. Piranesi achieves this tour de force through a great variety of illustrations and employs every means of representation at his disposal. This project allows him to display his knowledge of cartography in the making of the ichnographic plan of the reconstructed ancient city. He had earlier worked with the cartographer Giovanni Battista Nolli, the author of the plan of contemporary Rome published in 1748 (cat. 64). Nolli's plan was not only accurately surveyed but also pioneered a mode of representation technically known as figure-ground, which allowed the clarity and accuracy of the plan to be appreciated visually. Piranesi also relied on archaeological reconstruction and landscape illustration in the making of the plates in the *Campo Marzio* series. The plates illustrate the buildings in this part of Rome, stretching into both bends of the Tiber, since Piranesi interprets the Campo Marzio as the valley between the Roman hills, including the area north of the Porta del Popolo, richly endowed with public and military structures.

In this publication, Piranesi refined his method of graphic juxtaposition. The *Campo Marzio* opens with a great plan of Rome with stone fragments illusionistically "placed" on it; subsequently sheets of details are "pinned" onto larger plans and views. Thus Piranesi uses trompe l'oeil to juxtapose differently scaled draw-

ings. He reconstructs the foundation of the Tiber island as a ship, and he uses parts of the *Forma Urbis* to aid his own reconstruction of the area around the contemporary Palazzo Pio built onto the remains of the theater of Pompeii. He practices, throughout, an X-ray vision that enables him to locate the extant fragments of ancient ruins within existing modern buildings, such as the church of Santa Maria in Via Lata. He is no longer merely illustrating but re-creating a lost world, which perhaps helps to explain the disorientation of his figures. His innovation then, as Wilton-Ely (1994) has summarized, is to show the ruins as a view rather than merely offering a dry archaeological reconstruction. The reconstruction of the buildings in the *Campo Marzio* is based on accurate sources and also on the architectural fantasies of Piranesi's earlier production. He illustrates, for instance, the splendid arch of Marcus Aurelius known as the Arco di Portogallo, which had been demolished under Alexander VII in the mid-seventeenth century, as an extant monument, while his theater of Marcellus is shown as a ruin rather than the proud family palace it had become since the High Renaissance.

The Millard copy of *Antichità d'Albano e di Castelgandolfo*, consisting of title page, dedicatory plate, and twenty-seven plates, is bound as customary with the sheets on the *Emissario del Lago Albano* and the *Due spelonche*. Piranesi produced a particularly handsome treatise on these sites near Albano since his studies were encouraged by Clement XIII, who defrayed his considerable costs. The dedication to the pope is inscribed on a large decorated stone and surrounded by a zodiac designed as a wreath. Piranesi very effectively combines emotionally powerful large *vedute* with thoroughly technical and often conjectural reconstructions. The *Emissario* is even harder to sort out than other views of engineering works by Piranesi, since the purpose of this spectacular intervention is not clear, nor is the effect of this drain on the level of the lake evident. But the work is similar to the treatise on the Acqua Giulia in that it celebrates a work of Roman infrastructure related to water management. The tunnel, dug in c. 398 B.C. to lower the level of the lake—1,378 m long, with a section of 150 × 90 cm—was illustrated by Piranesi in plans, sections, and elevations. He also found and illustrated the extant remains of this extraordinary engineering feat. The *Emissario* plates are earlier, however, published in *Della magnificenza* of 1761, where this epic engineering feat featured among the claims made by Piranesi for the Romans' architectural genius and originality. This publication is usually accompanied by an appendix titled *Due spelonche*, which illustrates two caverns that were supposed to have been used for the orgies of Clodius as denounced by Cicero. The twelve plates were first published in 1762, and they are also remarkable for their

widely varying dimensions. The variety in the size of plates within the same publication seems to have been one of Piranesi's ways to enliven the experience of contemplating these extremely forceful pictures.

A late work by Piranesi, the *Colonna coclide* (1774–1779), is a treatise on Trajan's column. It was illustrated with much studio assistance and reveals the extensive and frigid influence of the growing fashion of neoclassicism. The title page is in Italian, and the dedication to Pope Clement XIV is in Latin. The series includes magnificent foldout plates, such as plate 3 made up of six copperplates pasted together, and several other images formed of two or more copperplates pasted together. Thus Piranesi persuasively conveys the immensity of the column, while also offering complete details of its pedestal, base, and capital and close-ups of the carved ornamental details. A similar treatment is given to the Aurelian column, usually bound in with the views of Trajan's column. This publication also includes the set illustrations of the recently excavated base of the Antonine column with its decorations of the apotheosis of Antonino and Faustina. The plates in this series are sometimes dry and mechanical, closer to the documentary graphic works produced by engravers associated with the contemporary publications of the Accademia Ercolanese (see cat. 1). Their graphic style illustrates clear continuity with Piranesi's engravings of architectural details in his earlier *Antichità romane*.

The *Differentes vues . . . de Pesto*, published posthumously in Rome in 1778 and comprised of a title page and twenty plates, appears to open yet another aspect of Piranesi's work, despite the fact that it was his last completed series and coauthored with his son Francesco. Monumentally repetitive and consistent, without any attempt to vary the kinds of illustration, this volume contains only large views, many composed on the diagonal, populated with buffalo and their overscaled herders. Wilton-Ely (1994) considers this publication one of Piranesi's commanding statements in architecture, which "had a profound effect on the appreciation of the monumental austerity of Greek architecture," and his last burst of graphic skill. The problems of authorship related to this volume are considerable, as Piranesi visited the site of Paestum in the last year of his life when already battling his fatal illness. The plates were completed by Francesco Piranesi, who strained to reproduce the kind of figures his father drew but without complete success. His figures are both more finished than Piranesi's gesticulating raggy figures and more plodding; they do not perform a broad range of activities. Altogether the illustration of the site is less varied than in other such important publications by Piranesi, where for each archaeological site he had provided plans, sections, details of found objects, as well as the large *vedute*. The individual plates are nonetheless

very effective, extraordinarily textured and dramatically lit. Significantly, the interior views of the temples at Paestum, with broken cella walls and overgrown roofless porticoes, are more eloquent than the slightly more open exterior views where Piranesi appears to know more and thus “see” less of the local landscape. The discovery of Paestum’s temples in c. 1750 had been as great a surprise as the slightly earlier discovery of Pompeii.

In addition to his major works on the archaeological reconstructions of ruins and the documentation of contemporary Rome, Piranesi also made a fundamental contribution to the development of the decorative arts. He published several works, related in part to his own interests as a restorer and a dealer in antiquities, which had a great influence on interior decoration, industrial production of ceramics, carriage design, clocks, and furniture.

The *Diverse maniere d’ornare i cammini*, published at the end of the 1760s, continued in part Piranesi’s polemical eclecticism. His proposal was to adopt the decora-

tive details of an imaginary Egyptian and Greek style, mingling it with Roman- and Etruscan-derived compositions. The accompanying trilingual text (Italian, French, and English) to the sixty-seven illustrations offered an apology in favor of Egyptian and Tuscan architecture posited as a parallel development to the traditional Greek and its Roman derivatives. A handbook for stone carvers and decorators, the plates offered models for fireplace designs, as well as side tables, chairs, clocks, and light fixtures. Over a vast stretch of time, Piranesi was following up a fertile path first opened by Sebastiano Serlio in his *Libro Extraordinario* (see cat. 126), where he had designed thirty-six mantelpieces intended to demonstrate the correct adoption of the classical orders for a function nonexistent in antiquity. While Serlio domesticated the orders for new functions,

Francesco Piranesi. *Sciographia quatuor templorum*. Title page. 1983.49.66



Piranesi proposed additional architectural styles that could be plundered for the novelty of their ornamental details, thus broadening further the eclecticism of his predecessor.

Piranesi's publication devoted to ancient urns and candelabra is also part of his contribution to the decorative arts. The spectacular title page for *Vasi, candelabri, cippi* is composed of two plates attached at their short sides, resulting in a wide horizontal spread, unusual also in that there is a legend identifying the original site of all the pieces as well as their current location. Published as an entity in Rome with 110 plates in 1778, this volume is made up of sheets issued singly by Piranesi from 1768. These sheets were not numbered and were produced with extensive studio assistance; several sheets are signed by Piranesi's son Francesco. The subject matter reflects an aspect of Piranesi's work on which he relied more extensively after the death of his major patron, Clement XIII Rezzonico. The restoration and sale of antiquities became a distinct aspect of Piranesi's business practice from the 1760s. Many of the plates illustrate objects, made of fragments of ancient Roman marbles, that could be inspected at his Museo in the Palazzo Tomati, where his engraving business and his home were both located. The integration of ancient sculptural fragments into his restored objects allowed for flights of fancy that were criticized by Piranesi's older contemporaries but that stimulated the imagination of younger architects such as the influential French Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, who made their mark as the architects of Emperor Napoleon.

Piranesi also appears to have no difficulty in reproducing the numerous human and animal figures on the marbles that he engraved. Thus this volume works somewhat like an order catalogue, commodifying the portable remains of ancient Rome. The contemporary publication of the smaller bronze objects found in the excavations of Herculaneum may have provided some stimulation for Piranesi, since many images in this volume illustrate similar small, individual objects (see Accademia Ercolanese, cat. 1). There is an ancient Roman bronze tripod from the royal collection at Portici among Piranesi's illustrations, engraved by him after a drawing by Vincenzo Brenna (see cat. 130). It is not clear how he was allowed to publish something from the collection of the king of the Two Sicilies, since the copyright was reserved to the Accademia Ercolanese. The single best object is probably the candelabrum with three large birds (pelicans) that belonged to Roger Newdigate (now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). In the second volume of the *Vasi* there is a design after a drawing in the Vatican of a terra-cotta vase by Pirro Ligorio; another source for vases seems to be Pier Leone Ghezzi, whose vase drawings are the basis for several plates.

Francesco Piranesi

Piranesi's three children—Laura, Pietro, and Francesco—worked with him in his engraving and antiquities business. Francesco was the most distinguished of the three, completing his father's publications with additional plates, making the catalogue after Piranesi's death, and eventually moving the Piranesi calcography to Paris. After a classical education in Latin and Roman history, Francesco studied architecture with Benedetto Mori and Pierre-Alexandre Pâris, painting with Domenico Coni, landscape with Philip Hackert, and engraving with Domenico Cunego and Giuseppe Volpato (Wilton-Ely 1978). His most successful works include an etched view of the Villa Medici, an extensive series on the Pantheon, a view of Prato della Valle—the main eighteenth-century square of Padua—after a drawing by Pierre Subleyras, as well as views of Pompeii and the Vatican after drawings by Louis Desprez (published among his *Collection of Plates* [cat. 78]). He enlarged parts of his father's series after 1778, and the staffage of the Paestum views is entirely by him. Francesco completed several large plans left unfinished by his father, such as the illustrations of Pompeii and of the Villa Hadriana. But his hand is easily differentiated from that of Giovanni Battista.

Francesco's copious production of prints embraced reproductive engraving and architectural subject matter equally. He issued a set of orthogonal drawings—nine plates of plans and sections—of the recently excavated theater at Herculaneum, which is also illustrated in Berardo Galiani's edition of Vitruvius (see cat. 162). His larger publication on architecture, *Raccolta de' tempj antichi*, illustrates in forty-eight plates four ancient Roman temples, with twenty-seven plates devoted exclusively to the Pantheon. The Latin-titled version of this publication in the Millard collection, *Sciographia quatuor templorum*, does not include the text of the Italian-language edition but makes an interesting reference to the much-discussed representation of architecture. The *sciographia* of the title refers to one of the three architectural means of representation of buildings recommended by Vitruvius and extensively discussed by Serlio (see cat. 125).

While he continued to engrave after his father's death, Francesco also became an important impresario, commissioning other artists to engrave series of reproductive illustrations. Tommaso Piroli, one of his favorite graphic artists, made a set of plates illustrating Roman villas and palaces, as well as numerous reproductive engravings after works of art in Rome (see cat. 103). Francesco engraved his series on Roman statues, *Choix des meilleures statues antiques*, between 1780 and 1792 after drawings by Piroli, among others. He paid homage to his father by including an illustra-

tion of Piranesi's sepulchral monument on the Aventine, the only modern sculpture among the collection of antique statues. Of the two versions of the *Meilleures statues* in the Millard collection (cat. 77), one is bound with Gavin Hamilton's *Schola Italica Picturae* (see cat. 51), where the painted works of modern artists like Michelangelo, Correggio, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, and Raphael are illustrated in forty plates executed by a large group of engravers including Cunego, Volpato, and Antonio Capellani.

During the 1790s Francesco was engaged in various activities. In 1793 he became the art agent of Gustav III of Sweden and sold the king his father's valuable collection of marbles in exchange for a yearly pension. During the French occupation of Rome, Francesco and his brother Pietro organized a national guard, and, thus compromised, his departure for Paris after the fall of the Napoleonic kingdom became almost a necessity. The boat on which Francesco traveled to France with his artistic inheritance—his father's one thousand engraved copperplates—was captured and held by the English in Naples for two years, then allowed to go on to Paris in 1800. Francesco published a new edition of Piranesi's work in Paris, where the "Chalcographie Piranèse" achieved a certain renown, and some items in the Millard collection come from this edition. The supplementary notes in Legrand's biography of Piranesi are really a panegyric to Francesco's entrepreneurship, mentioning all the engravers employed by him (Erouart and Mosser, in Brunel 1978) and praising his contribution to the business of the arts. Francesco's publications make a small but respectable contribution to the Millard collection, supplementing its extraordinary holdings of Piranesi's work.

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Tommaso Piroli

(c. 1752–1824)

IO3

[A collection of four suites of etchings by Tommaso Piroli after paintings by Raphael, Giulio Romano, Giorgio Vasari, and others]

Paris: Calcografia Piranesi ("Les Piranesi") and Leblanc;
Rome: Tommaso Piroli, 1803–1807

1983.49.76

Broadsheet: 595 × 445 (23³/₈ × 17¹/₂)

Pagination Part 1 (1803): [4] pp., 12 [i.e., 6] etched plates

Part 2 (1803): [4] pp., 16 [i.e., 8] etched and engraved plates

Part 3 (1804): [4] pp., [13] etched and engraved plates

(Note: *Pagination* does not include plates 7 and 8 called for by Petrucci, but lacking in Millard copy)

Part 4 (1807): [9] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition of this collection

Text Part 1: pp. [1] title page: "Peintures De La Sala Borgia, Au Vatican, De L'Invention De Raphaël, Recueillis Par Les Piranesi, Et Dessinées Par Thomas Piroli." (verso blank); [3] explanation of plates (verso blank)

Part 2: pp. [1] title page: "Peintures De La Villa Lante, À Rome, De L'Invention De Jules Romain, Recueillis . . . [as part 1]" (verso blank); [3] explanation of plates (verso blank)

Part 3: pp. [1] title page: "Peintures Du Cabinet De Jules II, Au Vatican, De L'Invention De Raphaël, Recueillis . . . [as part 1]" (verso blank); [3] explanation of plates (verso blank)

Illustrations

Part 1: 12 etchings numbered 1–xii printed on 6 full-page plates (i.e., two plates per leaf). All plates unsigned, but etched by Piroli after Raphael

Part 2: 16 etchings numbered 1–16 printed on 8 full-page plates (i.e., two plates per leaf). All plates unsigned, but engraved by Piroli after Giulio Romano

Part 3: 12 etched and engraved coppers numbered 1–6, 1–6, as listed in the "Explication Des Sujets . . .," printed on 6 full-page plates (i.e., two plates per leaf); and 7 unlettered and unnumbered full-page etched

plates. All plates unsigned, but engraved by Piroli after Raphael

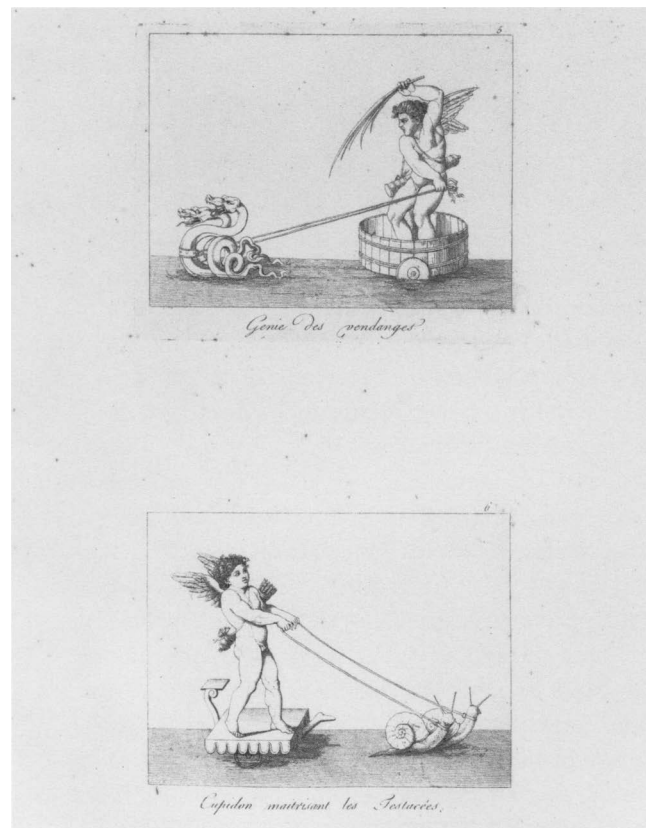
Part 4: Etched title plate: "Peintures de la Ville Altoviti, à Rome, inventées par Michelange, Peintes par Giorgio Vasari et Gravées par Thomas Piroli. Faisant partie de la Chalcographie Piranesi A Paris L'an 1807," signed "D^{lle} Vallet Scribesit"; plus 13 etchings numbered 1–13 on 8 full-page plates, all signed by Piroli as engraver ("Gravé par T. Piroli.")

Binding Contemporary quarter calf with paper-covered boards mottled in pink, dark red, and black; spine damaged. Bound (1) with G. B. Piranesi (and others), *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi da Cento detto il Guercino* (cat. 102)

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Petrucci 1039–1048, 1066–1070

Tommaso Piroli. [A collection of four suites of etchings]. *Peintures du cabinet de Jules II, au Vatican*. Part 3, plates 5–6. Two designs attributed to Raphael. 1983.49.76



Giovanni Poleni (1683–1761)

IO4

Exercitationes Vitruvianae Primae [–Tertiae].
Hoc Est Ioannis Poleni Commentarius Criticus
De M. Vitruvii Pollionis Architecti x. Librorum
Editionibus, Necnon De Eorundem Editoribus,
Atque de Aliis, qui Vitruvium quocumque
modo explicarunt, aut illustrarunt

Padua: printed by Giovanni Manfrè and sold in Venice
by Francesco Pitteri, 1739–1741

1983.49.79

Quarto: 325 × 230 (12¹³/₁₆ × 9¹/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], 360 pp.

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] title page, Part 1 (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication to Giovanni Pascalico, Lorenzo Teopolo, and Daniele Bragadeno, dated Padua, May 1739; 1–135 text, part 1, listing printed editions and manuscripts of Vitruvius' *De architectura*; [136] blank; [137] divisional title page, part 2, imprint dated 1539: "Exercitationes Vitruvianae Secundae. Hoc Est: Io. Baptistae Morgagni . . . Epistola . . . M. Vitruvii Pollionis Vita Conscripta A Bernardino Baldo Vrbinate Cum Annotationibus Ioannis Poleni. Anonymi Scriptoris Compendium Architecturae Vitruvii Cum Annotationibus Ioannis Poleni." (verso blank); 139 fly-title, Giovanni Battista Morgagni's "Epistola . . ." (verso blank); 141–146 Morgagni's letter to Poleni, dated 1737; 147 fly-title, Bernardino Baldi's "M. Vitruvii Pollionis Vita . . ." (verso blank); 149–150 preface, Baldi's "Vita"; 151–168 text, Baldi's "Vita"; [169] fly-title, "Anonymus Scriptor Vetus, De Architectura Compendiosissime Tractans, Quae Vitruvius Et Ceteri Locupletius Quidem Ac Diffusius Tradidere . . ." (verso blank); 171–176 preface; 177–215 text, "De Architectura Compendium"; [216] blank; [217] divisional title page, part 3, imprint dated 1741: "Exercitationes Vitruvianae Tertiae, Quarum Titulos Prima Post Praefationem Pagina Ostendet, Collectae Cura Et Opera Ioannis Poleni." (verso blank); 219–222 preface; 223 table of contents; [224] blank; 225 fly-title, Bernardino Baldi's "Scamilli Impares Vitruviani . . ." (verso blank); 227–256 Baldi's text; 257 fly-title, Claudio Tolomei's "Epistola" (verso blank); 259–265 Tolomei's letter to Agostino Landi, dated Rome, 18 December 1542; [266] blank; [267] fly-title, Joannes Buteo's "Ad Locum Vitruvii

Corruptum Restitutio, Qui est de Proportione inter Lapides mittendos & Balistae soramen." (verso blank); 269–273 Buteo's text; [274] blank; 275 fly-title, Jakob Ziegler's "Hemicyclium Berosi, De quo mentionem fecit Vitruvius Lib. ix. Cap. ix . . ." (verso blank); 277–281 Ziegler's text; [282] blank; 283 fly-title, Francesco Bonaventura Cavalieri's "De Echeis, hoc est, de Vasis Theatralibus, de quibus mentionem fecit Vitruvius Lib. v. Cap. v. Diatriba" (verso blank); 285–291, Cavalieri's text [292] blank; 293 fly-title, Athanasius Kircher's "De Echeis, Sive Phonismis Theatri Corinthiaci A Vitruvio descriptis Lib. v. Cap. v. Diatriba . . ." (verso blank); 295–299 Kircher's text; [300] blank; 301 fly-title, Giuseppe Salviati's "Ratio Accurate Deformandi Tuum Voltam, Tuum Capitulum Ionicum, Secundum Vitruvii Praecepta." (verso blank); 303–312 Salviati's text; 313 fly-title, Nikolaus Goldmann's "Voluta Ionica Hactenus Amissa, Restituta . . ." (verso blank); 315–324 Goldmann's text; 325 fly-title, Giovanni Battista Bertano's "Loca Obscura Et Difficilia Operis Ionici Vitruviani Perpetuo Commentario, . . ." (verso blank); 327–360 Bertano's text

Ornaments Woodcut device on title page to each of the three parts; etched initials and headpieces on pp. 1, 141, 227, 295, all signed by Antonio Visentini as etcher ("Ant. Visentini f."; "AF"); woodcut tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout part 3 only, those relating to Baldi's "Scamilli Impares" numbered 1–xxxiii. One full-page etched illustration on p. 350, signed "Ant. Visentini f."

Binding Modern quarter vellum with marbled boards. Uncut. In the Millard copy, the fly-title for Giovanni Battista Morgagni's "Epistola" is misbound before the divisional title page of part 2

References Cappelletti 1; Cicognara 612; Fowler 250; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2587; Riccardi 2: 295–296

DESPITE THE COMPETITION from Rome, Venice held the first place in European architectural culture in the sixteenth century, a reputation solidly established there through the publication of Fra Giocondo's edition of Vitruvius in 1511 and the translation, commentary, and Latin edition of Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro in 1567 (see cat. 161), among others. In



IOANNIS POLENI
COMMENTARIUS CRITICVS
DE
M. VITRUVII POLLIONIS
ARCHITECTI
X. LIBRORVM EDITIONIBVS,
NEC NON DE EORVNDem EDITORIBVS.



OSTEAQVAM in Sex. Iulii Frontini de Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ Commentario fidei antiquæ restituyendo atque explicando tirocinium quodammodo posui, & doctorum hominum edita iudicia, nec non amicorum monita excepi libens, mecumque reputavi diligenter per utroque profecturus; subijt studium tentandi quidpiam majus: cumque ante alia Libri objicerentur M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura; de iis singulari cura & diligentia edendis cogitare cœpi. Atque initio visum illud est præ cæteris necessarium, ut sedulo vestigarem, penitusque noscerem Librorum eorundem ab aliis vulgatas editiones, tum latinas, tum eas, quibus de latina in alias linguas conversi habentur, itemque complures manu exaratos Codices, ut & in eos Libros annotationes, observationes, verbo, commentaria quæcumque, quibus viri, excellentes ingenio doctrinaque, conati sunt pro virili parte Vitruvianum opus emendare, explicare, atque illustrare.

Facile enim intelligebam futurum, ut diligentia hæc mihi afferret
A non-

Giovanni Poleni. *Exercitationes Vitruvianæ*. First page of Poleni's commentary. 1983.49.79

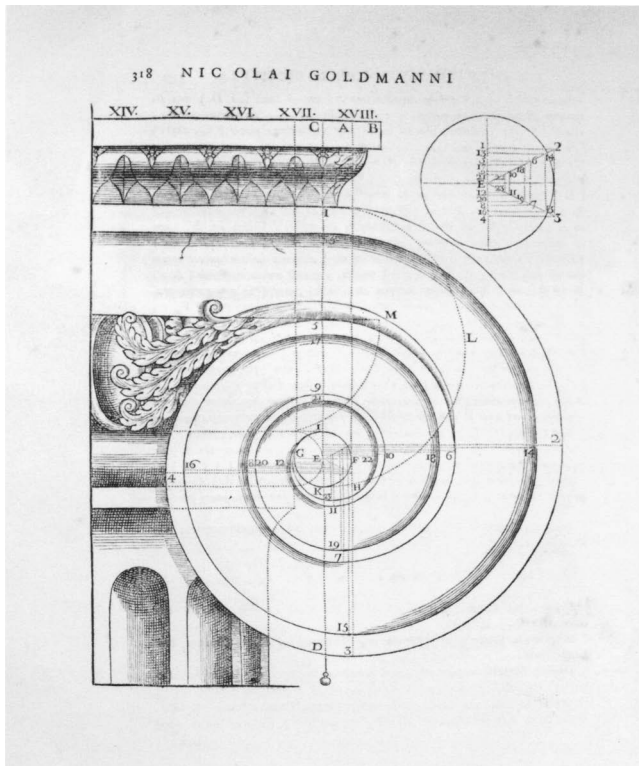
the seventeenth century, notwithstanding Vincenzo Scamozzi's treatise of 1615 and the reprints of Barbaro's and Giovanni Antonio Rusconi's editions of Vitruvius (see cats. 119–120), Venice appeared marginal. Then, in the eighteenth century, the Veneto saw an architectural revival, with the Italian edition of Claude Perrault's Vitruvius in 1711, through the publications of Giovanni Poleni, the works of Carlo Lodoli, and Andrea Memmo and the strong links with English neo-Palladianism (Fontana 1988).

The marchese Giovanni Poleni, born in Venice in 1683, was an important personality in this architectural revival. Professor of mathematics and hydraulics, he taught for almost fifty years at the University of Padua. His sizable body of publications on hydraulics and engi-

neering, including *De motu aquae mixto* (1717) and *De castelli* (1718), was crowned by his edition of Frontinus' *De aquaeductibus* (1722), in which he came out against the preceding editorial tradition, using a more reliable twelfth-century manuscript copy found at Montecassino (Dante Nardo, in Soppelsa 1988). Member of the principal scientific academies of his time (the Royal Society in London, 1710, the Prussian Academy, 1715, and the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, 1724), Poleni was closely linked to the intellectual architectural circles of northern Italy, counting Tommaso Temanza (cat. 133) and Tommaso Scalfarotto among his disciples. Poleni's major architectural study—an edition of Vitruvius—remained unfinished at his death in Venice in 1761; Simone Stratico brought the work to completion in the nineteenth century, when the edition became the fundamental text for Italian studies of the Vitruvian tradition. The *Exercitationes* was Poleni's preparatory work for this definitive version of Vitruvius and served as the theoretical foundation for his students Temanza and Scalfarotto (Fontana 1988).

Poleni brought a thorough classical education to his study of architecture. In 1737 he published his *Nova supplementa*, which collected current thought about antiquity and was intended to continue the vast studies of Graevius (*Thesaurus antiquitatum romanorum*) and Gronovius (*Thesaurus graecorum antiquitatum*), both published in Venice in 1732, accompanied by a two-volume index to the *Thesauri*. Since the publisher of the *Nova supplementa* in Venice was Giovanni Battista Pasquali, whose principal illustrator was Antonio Visentini and whose business was sponsored by the great patron of Venetian art, Consul Joseph Smith, Poleni was thereby introduced into Venetian art circles (Vivian 1963). Pursuing a rigorous research program, Poleni published a dissertation about the temple of Diana at Ephesus (Cortona, 1742), basing his study on Vitruvius, Strabo, Pliny, and Paul, as well as the contemporary travelers Jacob Spon and George Wheler (Irene Favaretto, in Soppelsa 1988).

In the *Exercitationes*, Poleni produced the first scientific study of an architectural text published after the great "renaissance season." Adopting a philological method, he provides in the first section a thorough study of the manuscript tradition (*recensio*), followed by a critical analysis of the texts to determine authenticity (*examinatio*), correcting the Vitruvian text where he considers it manifestly in error (*emendatio*). This work can also be interpreted as an examination of the publishing history of Vitruvius, starting with the *editio princeps* by Giovanni Sulpizio in 1486 and using about twenty-two manuscript codices, some of which he found and others about which he was informed by a large group of Italian and foreign correspondents (Scipione Maffei, for example, sent him a transcription



Giovanni Poleni. *Exercitationes Vitruvianae*. The Ionic capital by Nikolaus Goldmann. 1983.49.79

of a ninth-century codex in London, British Museum, ms Harleian 2767; Dante Nardo, in Soppelsa 1988).

The second section contains Poleni's correspondence with Giovanni Battista Morgagni, followed by Bernardino Baldi's life of Vitruvius, published originally in 1612 as part of Baldi's *Verborum Vitruvianorum significatione* (cat. 11), and four anonymous short essays on architecture. The third part of the *Exercitationes* contains nine essays that constitute a small harvest (Fontana 1988) of short works by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors commenting on single and obscure points in Vitruvius. These include the *Scamilli Impares* of Bernardino Baldi (1612), studies of the Ionic order by Giovanni Battista Bertano (1589; see cat. 18), works by Nikolaus Goldmann and by Giuseppe Porta (known as Salviati), and a letter by Claudio Tolomei in which the work of Rusconi is praised. But Poleni's Vitruvius was too erudite, and architects preferred the edition in Italian by Berardo Galiani (Naples, 1758; see cat. 162).

The *Exercitationes* is more elegant than the Frontinus edition as a result of the decorations by the architect Antonio Visentini. Visentini is well known as an architectural illustrator, having engraved the plates for the *Prospectus Magni Canalis* (Venice, 1735) and *L'Isolario veneziano* (Venice, 1738), and for his partnership with the painter Canaletto in *Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus* (Venice, 1742; cat. 154). The contact between Visentini and Poleni lasted for several decades, and extensive correspondence confirms the collaboration between them. Through

Temanza as intermediary, Visentini first designed and engraved plates for the edition of Vitruvius that Poleni was preparing in late 1738. These illustrations concerned the explication of Vitruvius' description of the representation of buildings, through his graphic modes of "ichnographia," "orthographia," and "scenographia." Although Visentini also decorated the texts of other scientific and historiographic publications by Poleni, he was allowed little freedom of expression, and his designs were eventually engraved by less costly practitioners (Annalia Delneri, in Soppelsa 1988).

His contribution to the development of a "science of architecture" placed Poleni at the center of the great debate of the middle of the century regarding the restoration of the dome of Saint Peter's in Rome. Poleni, who has been called the "forefather of monumental restoration" by Augusto Cavallari-Murat (in Soppelsa 1988), applied rigorous documentary research to his study of Saint Peter's, displaying awareness of all the building sciences and technologies necessary for architectural production. Poleni understood the "mechanical being" of the dome of Saint Peter's through his own experiments and by having examined the procedures of Michelangelo. But his approach is based on post-Galilean rationality rather than the intuition of Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo. Interested in the technology of construction, Poleni was more a consultant than a practitioner (Giorgio Baroni, in Soppelsa 1988). His counsel was sought on the public halls of the Rialto in Venice, the restoration of the Castello in Brescia, the completion of the facade of Brescia's cathedral, and the restoration of the facade of San Rocco in Venice, as well as the dome of Saint Peter's in Rome.

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Giovanni Pomodoro (d. before 1599) and Giovanni Scala (fl. 1596–1599)

105

Geometria Prattica Tratta Dagl' Elementi d'Euclide et altri Auttori Da Gioianni Pomodoro [sic] Venetiano Mathematico eccellentissimo descritta et Dichiarata da Gioianni Scala Mathematico. Nella quale si uede in 50 Tauole di Rame scolpito tutto quello che ad un buon Giometra s'appartiene di sapere et porre in uso. Opera non meno Vtile che necessaria, à Misuratori di terreni, di fabriche, et altri simili, mà in'oltre ancora a, [sic] Geografi, Cosmografi, Architetti Ciuili, et Militari, à Bombardieri, Soldati priuati, à Capitani, Mastri di Campo, et à qual si Voglia altra persona Virtuosa



Rome: Stefano de' Paulini, 1599

1985.61.2630

Folio: 350 × 242 ($13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{9}{16}$)

Foliation [17] leaves, 44 etched plates

(Note: The foliation includes seven leaves with etched plate on recto and text on verso)

Edition First edition, first issue

Text folios [1] recto, engraved title plate (verso blank); [2] recto, dedication by Pietro Pomodoro to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini; [2] verso, preface by Giovanni Scala; [3–10] explanatory text by Scala interspersed between plates 1–XLIV; [11–17] explanatory text on the versos of plates 1–VII bis

Ornaments Woodcut tailpieces, initials

Illustrations Title plate with title inscribed within a scrollwork border with dedicatee's coat of arms; 51 full-page engraved plates numbered 1–XLIV, 1–VII, although the title plate calls for only 50 plates; plates 1–VII bis with printed text on verso. The plates are unsigned, but the authorship is indicated by the running heads: plates 1–XLIV are designed by Pomodoro; plates 1–VII bis are designed by Giovanni Scala

Binding Contemporary limp vellum, two pairs of ties intact, traces of early lettering on spine

Provenance Five-line manuscript inscription in French at top of upper cover, faded and largely illegible; manuscript inscription on front free flyleaf, probably same hand: "Ce present Livre de Géometrie appartient à Moi René jacq / Bourdilleau arpanteur Géometre, Demeurant à Chateau Lavalliere / Department d'indre Et Loire.. 1803.. au 12." In the plates that feature landscape elements, all trees have been hand-colored green

References Mortimer, *Italian*, 394; Riccardi 1: 300

Giovanni Pomodoro and Giovanni Scala. *Geometria prattica*. Title page. 1985.61.2630

CONSIDERED BY PIETRO RICCARDI (1952) a rare and beautiful publication, this treatise is a manual of applied geometry, intended for surveyors, engineers, geographers, and military commanders. The success of the work is confirmed by several subsequent editions. Five Roman editions were published in the seventeenth century (1603, 1623, 1624, 1628, and 1667) and one in the eighteenth century. The plates, reused in the seventeenth-century editions, were thoroughly worn out, resulting in poor images in the 1667 edition. The 1772 Roman edition by Carlo Losi was issued with splendid new illustrations. This treatise on surveying was highly valued for its toponometric expertise and the precision of the illustrations, which show objects and instruments used in surveying.

In this posthumous publication, Giovanni Pomodoro offers instruction in applied geometry and the science of magnitude. This includes elementary description of the instruments used for surveying, measuring, and drafting and thirty definitions of the principles of geometry, including points, lines, and angles. He provides instruction in how to measure first regular then irregular surfaces, graduating to increasingly more complex volumes. Divided into forty-four sections, Pomodoro's text offers useful instruction on such practical tasks as drawing scaled plans and surveying an irregular fortress or the base of a mountain. He provides lessons on triangulation and the measurement of heights.

In his addition to the treatise, organized in seven parts, Giovanni Scala continues the practical lessons of Pomodoro, teaching the measurement of built forms, such as walls, bastions, and domes. The structure of his treatise is dependent on the illustrations, which are accompanied by explanatory texts of varying length. Scala's rare (Riccardi 1952) *Fortificazioni matematiche* was illustrated with fifty plates in the first edition; the second edition contains cartographic plates of strategic military sites such as La Rochelle, Macerata, and Civitavecchia.

Pomodoro and Scala's manual is dependent on the works of Girolamo Cataneo and Cosimo Bartoli (cat. 6), which had offered practical instruction in applied geometry. The earlier publication by Bartoli was in turn heavily reliant on Gemma Frisius, who was the first to treat the principles of triangulation thoroughly; on the Spanish mathematician Juan de Rojas Sarmiento, from whom he learned about the astrolabe and borrowed a table of square roots; and especially on Oronce Finé, who is Bartoli's source for the sections on plane and solid geometry, as well as the use of instruments such as the quadrant, geometric square, carpenter's square, and Jacob's staff, which was used in the measurements of heights, depths, and distances. Bartoli eventually published a translation of Finé's work in Venice in 1587.

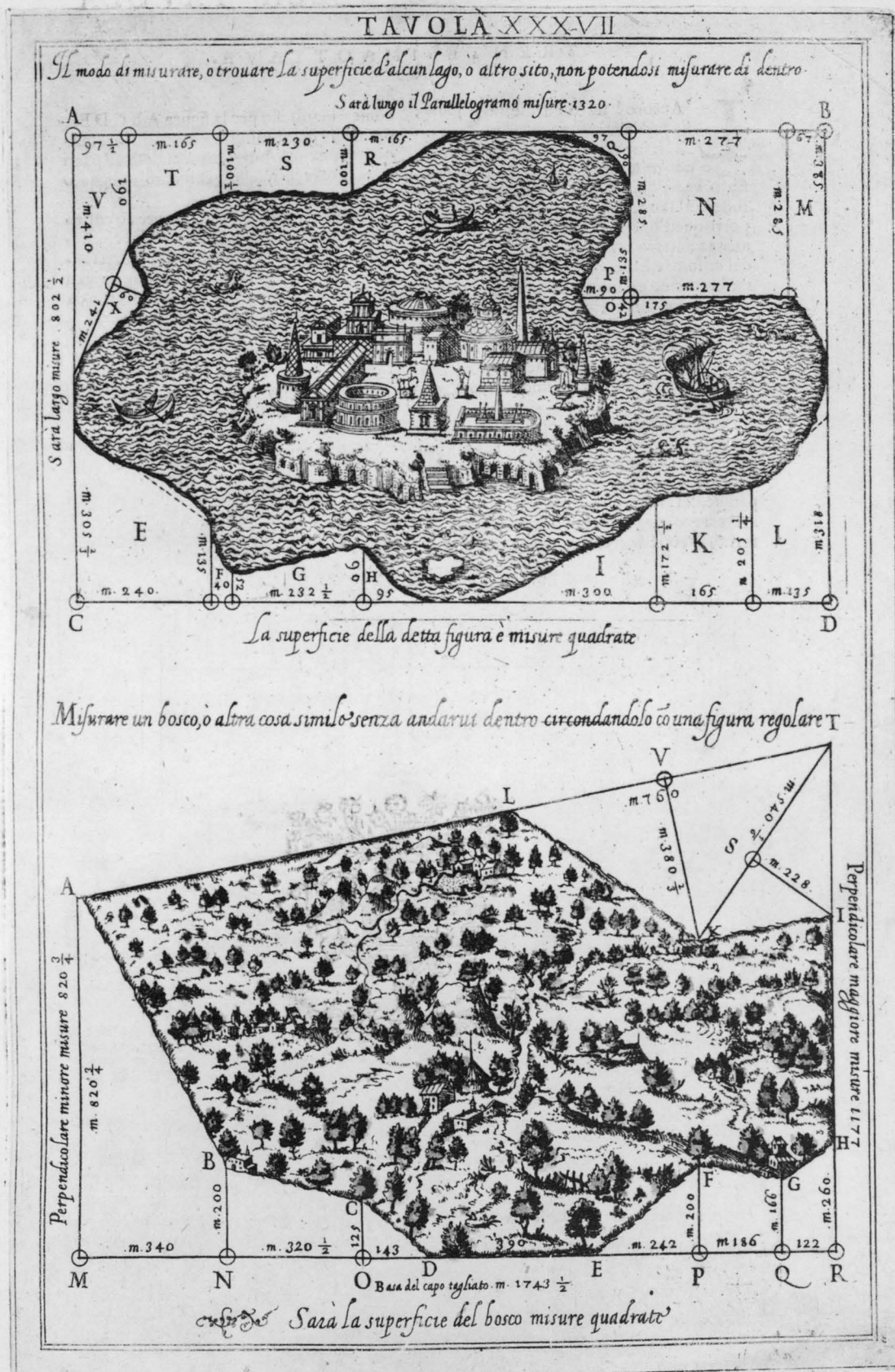
It appears that he was also preparing a translation of Albrecht Dürer's *Underweysung der Messung (Elementa geometrica)*, from which he borrows details (Bryce 1983).

Bartoli's contribution to Italian geometry and surveying was especially significant because he strove to develop a scientific vernacular equivalent to the internationally used Latin. His own instrument, combining the functions of compass and astrolabe—an early version of the theodolite—is similar to the one used by Gemma, although Bartoli was also familiar with the instruments developed by Tuscan ducal engineers such as Baldassare Lanci. A friend of Giorgio Vasari, Bartoli knew of his work with the compass for the preparation of the view of Florence under siege, painted in the Palazzo Vecchio. Since Bartoli intended his treatise for the educated courtier as well as the surveyor, the work contains both theoretical and practical sections, unlike Pomodoro's work, which seems aimed entirely at the practical surveyor.

But surveying came to be seen as a fundamental instrument of absolutist government, thus becoming a highly valued skill (Bryce 1983). It is in this context that Pomodoro and Scala's manual ought to be seen. In contrast to both Bartoli's and Cataneo's publications—comparatively austere illustrated with economical woodcuts—the *Geometria pratica* contains generous copperplate engravings, enhanced with attractive decorative detail, which in the Millard copy have been highlighted with green watercolor wash.

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Alessandro Pompei

(1705–1772)

106

Li Cinque Ordini D'Architettura Civile Di Michel Sanmicheli, Non più veduti in luce, Ora publicati, ed esposti con quelli di Vitruvio, e d'altri cinque Dal Conte Alessandro Pompei

Verona: Jacopo Vallarsi, 1735

1983.49.98

Folio: 317 × 218 (12½ × 8⅞)

Pagination 112 pp.

Edition First edition, second issue? Both the RIBA and Fowler catalogues have a variant title page ("Li Cinque Ordini Dell'Architettura Civile Di Michel Sanmicheli Rilevati dalle sue Fabriche, E descritti e publicati con quelli di Vitruvio, Alberti, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, e Vignola Dal Co: Alessandro Pompei.") and lack the portrait of Serlio added to the headpiece on p. 40. The order of the two issues, however, cannot be determined with absolute certainty (see RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2595)

Text pp. [1] frontispiece (verso blank); [3] title page (verso blank); 5–16 preface; 17–112 text and illustrations

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page with putto and drawing instruments, signed by Antonio Balestra ("AB. f."); etched headpiece (p. 5) and tailpieces (pp. 28, 112), signed by Alessandro Pompei as designer and etcher ("AP. f."; "ap. d. et. fect."); etched tailpiece (p. 35), unsigned; woodcut initial on preface (p. 5)

Illustrations Etched frontispiece with medallion portrait of Michele Sanmichele, with personification of Architecture, putto, and drawing instruments; etched headpieces with wreath inscribed "M. Vitruvio Pollione Architetto" (p. 31), and portraits of "Leonbattista Alberti Architetto Fiorentino" (p. 33), "Andrea Palladio Architetto Vicentino" (p. 36), "Vincenzo Scamozzi Architetto Vicentino" (p. 38), "Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese Architetto" (p. 40), and "Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola" (p. 42); plus 37 etched plates numbered 1–xxxvii and accounted for in pagination (pl. ix half page, remainder full page). The frontispiece and headpieces of Alberti and Vignola are signed by Antonio Balestra as etcher ("AB. in.");

"AB. f."); the headpieces for Vitruvius and Serlio are signed by Alessandro Pompei as designer and etcher ("AP. d. e f."; "AP. f."); the headpieces of Palladio and Scamozzi are unsigned; the remaining plates are signed by Gaudenzio Bellini as designer and Pompei as etcher ("GB. d.," with variants; "AP. f.," with variants)

Binding Nineteenth-century vellum, red morocco spine label, red sprinkled edges

Provenance Bookplate of "Fratelli Salimbeni" with initials "L.B"; bookplate with unicorn and initials "G.P.C"

References Berlin Cat. 2631; Cappelletti 120a; Cicognara 647; Comolli 4: 227–235; Fowler 286; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2595

THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK is the classical language of the Veronese architect Michele Sanmicheli. Like his future partner Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, he initially learned about building from his father and uncle. At sixteen, Sanmicheli went to Rome, and, having studied ancient Roman architecture by measuring and drawing the ruins, he soon acquired an important reputation in his chosen profession. He was appointed the architect of the cathedral in Orvieto in 1509, and in 1526 Pope Clement VII sent him with Sangallo to survey the fortifications of the papal state in Romagna. While in Orvieto he had opportunity to study antiquities in Todi, Spello, and Spoleto, and during his tour of Romagna he drew buildings in several towns between Rimini and Piacenza which he discussed with both Sangallo and Antonio Labacco (Pagliara 1995). Upon his return to Verona, Sanmicheli, suspected of spying, was first imprisoned and questioned, then offered employment by the Venetian government. Eventually, his architectural work in the service of the Venetian republic extended from the terra firma hinterland along the Dalmatian coast to Corfu and the islands of Cyprus and Crete. (Sanmicheli is thus the only great Renaissance architect to have seen Greek architecture.) Giorgio Vasari credits Sanmicheli with the introduction of the new classical architecture to the Venetian territories and with the invention of both flanking and forward fire from open bastion platforms, which ultimately led to the abandonment of casemates. Sanmicheli's services were widely sought after; he was offered em-

Alessandro Pompei. *Li cinque ordini*. Frontispiece with portrait of Michele Sanmicheli. 1983.49.98

ployment by both the Holy Roman Emperor Charles v and the king of France, François I.

Sanmicheli combined his expertise in the classical style of the Renaissance with his cutting-edge knowledge of fortification in the design of the gates of Verona, which Vasari praised as equal to the work of ancient Romans. Sanmicheli was also an excellent designer of civil and religious buildings. Several of his monumental private palaces survive in Venice and especially in Verona, where he also built several still extant churches and chapels. His civic buildings were constructed while he fulfilled his obligations as a military engineer in the service of the Venetian republic.

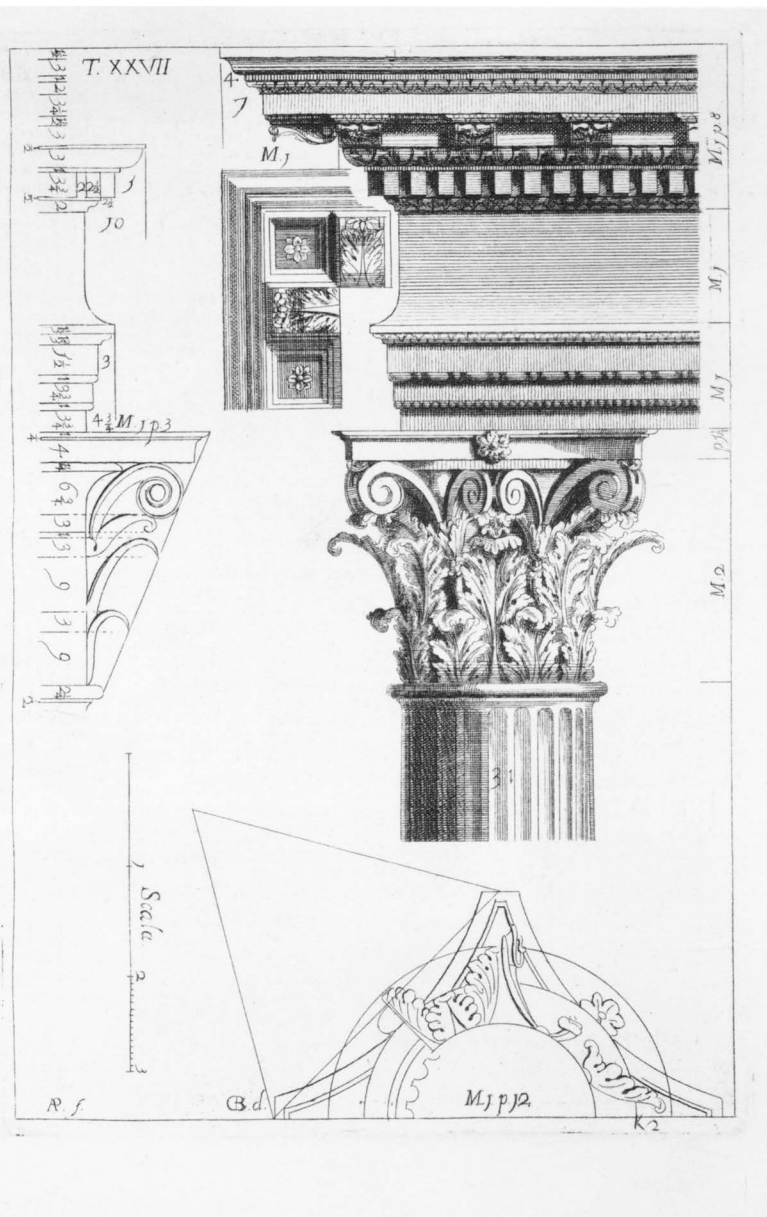
Among Sanmicheli's residential buildings in Verona is the Palazzo Pompei, owned by the family of Count Alessandro Pompei who published the first book that focused entirely on Sanmicheli. Pompei was himself a practicing architect with a respectable list of buildings to his credit. These include the Villa Pompei at Illasi (1737), the Palazzo Otri-Spolverini in Verona (1740), the customhouse in Verona (1744–1753), and the Museo Maffeiano (1744–1749). In his architectural compositions, Pompei based many details upon Sanmicheli's designs (Langenskiöld 1938). He appears to have been well versed in Vitruvianism and the history of Italian architecture and theory.

Noting the lack of extant drawings by Sanmicheli and the absence of theoretical contributions on his part, Pompei analyzed Sanmicheli's orders of architecture, comparing them with those of the most outstanding published masters, in a project that parallels closely (though on a smaller scale) the reelaboration of Andrea Palladio by Ottavio Bertotti-Scamozzi (see cats. 70–72). Despite the rhetorical and aridly generalized comparative method—there are no references to actual buildings—Pompei's study had significant consequences (Carboneri 1960), reinforcing the interest of neoclassical criticism in Sanmicheli, already nurtured in the writings of Francesco Milizia and Tommaso Temanza, and providing a foundation for Ferdinando Albertoli, Francesco Ronzani, and Girolamo Luciolli, who, by publishing measured drawings of Sanmicheli's buildings, provided the graphic means for the interpretation of Sanmicheli's work.

In the illustration of his book, Pompei was aided by Antonio Balestra and Gaudenzio Bellini. A distinguished painter, Balestra (1666–1740) was born into a prosperous merchant family in Verona. He studied in Venice with Antonio Bellucci, taught painting there at the Scuola della Carità, then went to Rome in 1690 where he worked with Carlo Maratta. In 1694 Balestra shared first prize at the Accademia di San Luca with Felice Nardi of L'Aquila for his drawing of the fall of giants; he returned to Venice in 1695, where his numerous students included Giuseppe Nogari, Pietro Longhi,

and Rosalba Carriera. His style was altered by his stay in Venice and the influence of painters such as Sebastiano Ricci and Antonio Pellegrini. For Pompei's study of Sanmicheli, Balestra engraved the frontispiece, several ornaments (a vignette with an allegorical putto, a frieze with a Vitruvian inscription, and a frieze with griffons), and several portraits (of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Leon Battista Alberti, Palladio, and Vincenzo Scamozzi, although he signed only those of Alberti and Vignola). The frontispiece is a thoroughly up-to-date composition. It features the medal portrait of Sanmicheli (shown in more advanced age than in previous portraits) in an oval medallion surrounded by a curved and richly molded niche above an altar table. This architectural frame echoes the aulic character of Enea Vico's reconstructed portraits of Roman empresses. The reverential setting is enlivened by a putto sitting on the altar table, drawing the attention of an allegorical figure of Architecture toward the great architect. She leans with her elbow on the altar, turning her head right toward the representation of Sanmicheli while crossing her left foot with the right, fashioning herself thus into a spiral. The draped figure of Architecture is evidently influenced by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's complex and irresistible figure compositions. Architectural instruments and a drawing board litter the ground in front of the altar. The frontispiece is a memorial in keeping with funeral monuments.

Pompei's text consists of a preface ("Proemio"), a discussion of the generalities of the five orders, and the biographies of the principal architects whose orders are compared in the book. In the preface, Pompei takes up the fundamental discussion about the origin of architecture. Did architecture develop naturally in tandem with man's emergence from the forests, from the humble hut, or did it have a more noble origin in God's prescriptions for the design of the Temple of Solomon, as Juan Bautista Villalpando claimed (see cat. 152)? Pompei turns quickly to what he considers to be the true origin of architecture, in Greek and Roman antiquity, whose principal inheritance—the orders—survived despite the loss of ancient writings on architecture. The middle part of the preface consists of a discussion of the talented Renaissance architects who were responsible for the revival of the classical language of architecture, singling out the contributions of the Veronese Fra Giocondo (cat. 156). Their contribution has been undermined, according to Pompei, by the decadent practices of baroque architects who deformed architecture, so that it is no longer possible to distinguish a cornice or an architrave that does not turn or bend in tortuous ways. When he compares the work of baroque architects to Virgil's serpent who "si piega, s'attorce, e si ragruppa," echoing the complaints of Scipione Maffei in his *Verona illustrata*, he associates that style with plagues



Alessandro Pompei. *Li Cinque ordini d'architettura*. Plate 27. Study of the Corinthian order. 1983.49.98

foreign to the land of Italy (*Georgics* 2.154). Indeed, his most scorching criticism of seventeenth-century architects is that they celebrated foreign art rather than appreciating their own heritage, not realizing that this foreign art was based on the earlier work of Italians. Thus the purpose of Pompei's book is clarified: he means to bring light into his own "newly dark and clueless age" by illustrating Sanmicheli's orders in comparison with Vitruvius' prescriptions and the rules proposed in the writings of five additional architects.

The second part of the book consists of an illustrated analysis of the seven parts of the orders (pedestal, base, shaft, capital, architrave, frieze, and cornice), which includes two beautiful plates of architectural patterns and moldings after Sanmicheli. There follows

a biographical section on the architects whose work is then compared to Sanmicheli's. In this section, in addition to Vasari, Pompei seems to rely on the publications of Raphael du Fresne, Scipione Maffei, and Giovanni Poleni (see cat. 104) as his main sources. Not surprisingly, Pompei focuses on the literary production of his chosen architects, praising Alberti and Palladio (cats. 5–9 and 65–72), enthusiastically defending Scamozzi (cats. 122–123), and emphasizing the importance of Vignola's (cats. 144–148) impressive commissions and circle of patrons. Of the last he says that "his book on columns is in everyone's hand."

In the third part, Pompei turns to the examination and comparison of the orders. This section is illustrated with thirty-four plates etched by Pompei after designs by Gaudenzio Bellini. The composition of the first plate for each of the orders, showing a bay with a pedimented door flanked by columns, is the same for each of the orders. It is followed by a more detailed illustration of Sanmicheli's use of that order, including the pedestal, base, shaft, and window cornice and the capital and entablature on one or two plates. These full-page illustrations of Sanmicheli's orders (drawn from his buildings) are followed by plates that illustrate pairs of the other architects' orders, Palladio coupled with Scamozzi, Alberti with Vitruvius, and Serlio with Vignola.

The singular characteristics of Sanmicheli's orders emerged after he analyzed, with the instruments learned in Rome, the antiquities of Verona. His deeply elaborated use of the order, often combining trabeated structures with arched openings, is inspired by Veronese sources, and even his choices among details of antiquities from elsewhere are consonant with local taste. Sanmicheli's interpretation of the orders is tectonic, and he does not use the column as mere ornament or articulation (Pagliara 1995). Although the effect of Sanmicheli's architecture approximates Greek architecture, especially in his use of the fluted Doric column, the Doric column without a base, and the Doric architrave with only one fascia, each element can be explained through Italian sources (Pagliara 1995). For example, the overtly simple and solid facade of the Pompei palace is modeled on Bramante's Palazzo Caprini in Rome and on the Basilica Aemilia as illustrated in Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings. Sanmicheli relegated the Ionic order to a secondary role, preferring the Corinthian, which in Verona was inspired by triumphal arches. His use of two superimposed Corinthian orders at the Cappella Pellegrini, a fusion of Bramante's Tempietto and the Pantheon with a triumphal-arch composition, was praised by Vasari as the most beautiful such work in Italy. Sanmicheli used the Composite order as a variant of the Corinthian. Unlike the treatise writers with whom Pompei tries to class him—Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio—Sanmicheli

does not define the orders as a complete system with fixed forms and proportions (Pagliara 1995). He prefers the freedom of new solutions.

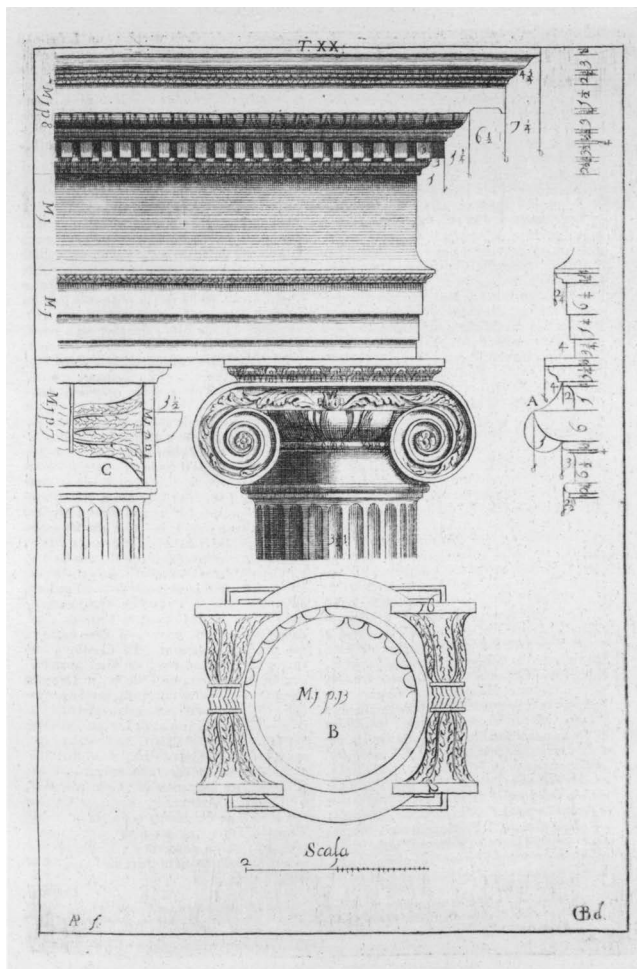
Pompei's book was highly praised by Francesco Milizia, who recognized the two parallel intentions of the publication: to raise the historical and theoretical profile of Sanmicheli and to combat the deviations from classicism among contemporary practitioners. Among the more recent critics of Sanmicheli's work, Gustavo Giovannoni and Adolfo Venturi (Carboneri 1960) provide persuasive interpretations. According to Giovannoni, who gives thorough credence to Palladio's generic evaluation, Sanmicheli is the "truest and most authentic heir of Bramante." Venturi finds that Sanmicheli's background in military architecture is of fundamental importance since when he crosses over to civic architecture he infuses it with a warlike might and solidity unlike anything that contemporaries such as Jacopo Sansovino built. Pier Nicola Pagliara (1995) proposes that the distinction of Sanmicheli's work rests in the accomplished articulation of the trabeated order juxtaposed with arcuated openings.

Sanmicheli's sophisticated use of the orders was based on his study of antiquities in Rome but also on the works of Bramante, on Giuliano da Sangallo's draw-

ings after the antique and projects for the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence, on Sanmicheli's study of Roman antiquities in Verona (after Rome the mostly richly endowed with ancient Roman ruins), and his firsthand acquaintance with ancient Greek architecture. Sanmicheli's rich ornament and the deep articulation of the membering is one of the outstanding qualities of his classicism, inspired by the abundance and vivacity of Verona's ornamental lexicon inherited from antiquity.

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Alessandro Pompei. *Li Cinque ordini d'architettura*. Plate 20. Study of the Ionic order. 1983.49.98

Andrea Pozzo

(1642–1709)

IO7

[Title in Latin] *Perspectiva Pictorum Et Architectorum Andreae Putei E Societate Jesu. Pars Prima [–Secunda]. In qua docetur modus expeditissimus delineandi optice omnia quæ pertinent ad Architecturam*

[Title in Italian] *Prospettiva De' Pittori E Architetti D'Andrea Pozzo Della Compagnia Di Gesu. Parte Prima [–Seconda]. In cui s'insegna il modo piu sbrigato di mettere in prospettiva tutti i disegni d'Architettura*

Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1702

[Vol. 2]: Rome: Giovanni Giacomo Komarek, 1700

1983.49.81–82

Folio: 415 × 273 (16⁵/₁₆ × 10³/₄)

Foliation Vol. 1: [109] leaves, etched and engraved frontispiece

(Note: Foliation does not include plate 100, lacking in Millard copy)

Vol. 2: [124] leaves, etched and engraved frontispiece, [2] etched and engraved plates

Edition Second edition of vol. 1; first edition of vol. 2

Text vol. 1: folios [1] title page, Latin (verso blank); [2] title page, Italian (verso blank); [3] dedication, Latin, by Pozzo to Emperor Leopold of Austria; [4] dedication, Italian; [5] recto, privilege, dated Rome, 7 May 1692; [5] verso, etched and engraved illustration; [6] recto, preface, Latin and Italian; [6] verso–[108] recto text, in Latin and Italian, printed on each verso facing corresponding illustrations printed on each recto (except [106] recto, blank); [108] verso, blank; [109] index, Latin and Italian (verso blank); vol. 2: folios [1] title page, Latin (verso blank); [2] title page, Italian (verso blank); [3]–[4] recto dedication to Archduke Joseph I of Hungary, Latin; [4] verso, blank; [5]–[6] recto, dedication, Italian; [6] verso, blank; [7] preface, Latin; [8] preface, Italian; [9] recto, privilege, dated Rome, 3 March 1700; [9] verso–[114] recto, text, Latin and Italian, printed on each verso facing corresponding illustrations printed on each recto (except the following leaves, which have plates on both recto and verso: [92–93], [95], [98–99], [101–104], [106],

[110], [112–113]); [114] verso, blank; [115] index, Latin; [116] index, Italian; [117–120] recto, text, Latin, “Istitutio Brevis Pingendi albarium recens.” (instructions on fresco painting); [120] verso, blank; [121–124] recto, text, Italian, “Breve Instruttione Per dipingere à fresco.”; [124] verso, blank

Ornaments Large scrolling woodcut ornament on both title pages of each volume; woodcut initials

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched and engraved frontispiece depicting classical monument and figures of masons, painters, and an architect in foreground, designed by Pozzo and engraved by Vincenzo Mariotti (signed: “Vincentius Mariotti in praxim facultatis quam ab autore dedicarat sculpsit 1693”). Printed with the letterpress, there is also an unsigned, unnumbered, etched and engraved plate with drawing instruments on a desk (fol. [5] verso); and 101 plates numbered 1–102 (i.e., “Figura Prima”–“Figura Centesimaprima,” “Figura Ultima”). Plate 100, a large folding engraved plate of the ceiling of the church of Sant’ Ignazio in Rome, is lacking in this copy. Plate 50 is signed “Thiboust Sculp,” remainder unsigned

Vol. 2 Three *hors texte* plates consisting of an etched and engraved frontispiece with basilica, statues, and human figures, signed by Teodoro ver Kruys as engraver (“Teodoro Ver Cruys Fe^t. Roma 1700”); an unnumbered, etched and engraved plate depicting drawing instruments, unsigned; and an unnumbered, etched and engraved plate showing three men preparing a wall for fresco painting, signed by Jean Charles Allet as engraver (“Io. Carlo Allet Sculp.”). The remaining illustrations are printed with the letterpress: etching on fol. [7] recto, with a draftsman and Minerva, unsigned; plus 118 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–94, [95], 96–118 on 105 leaves (26 plates printed on both recto and verso of 13 leaves). Plates 47, 81, 83, and 87 signed by Ver Kruys as engraver (“Teodoro Verkruids fe^t,” “TV.f,” with variants); plate 60 signed by Giovanni Girolamo Frezza as engraver (“Girolimo Frezza Sculp.”); plate 65 signed by Allet as engraver (“Gio. Carlo Allet Sculp.”); plates 69 and 79 signed by Domenico Mariano Franceschini as engraver (“D.M. Franceschini Sculp.”); remainder unsigned

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Contemporary vellum, green and red labels on spine

Provenance Engraved armorial bookplate of "Comte D. Boutourlin"; later woodcut bookplate of C. Girolamo Bolognetti

References Berlin Cat. 4725 (vol. 1); Fowler 251; Millard, *British Books*, 58 (later edition); Millard, *Northern European Books*, 103 (later edition); RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2607 (vol. 2), 2608; Riccardi 2: 317

CONDEMNED BY FRANCESCO MILIZIA and other architectural critics of the eighteenth century, Andrea Pozzo's contribution has recently been reexamined after considerable neglect. An artistically self-taught member of the Jesuit order, Pozzo has been seen as an autonomous talent who remained outside the artistic mainstream (Oechslin 1996). His painted architecture and publications on perspective were influential through the middle of the eighteenth century. Though he interested the following generations as a prodigious perspectivist, Antonio Visentini blamed him for his "theatralization of architecture" (Carboneri 1961) and the fragmentation of the inner logic of classical architecture. Pozzo's productive artistic career was rich in opportunities offered by his association with the Jesuit order which also protected him. His career can be divided into three parts: the period before 1681 spent in northern Italy, his Roman period between 1681 and 1702, and his work in Vienna between 1702 and 1709. The Society appreciated Pozzo's projects even after his death, and the influence of his designs was sensed as far afield as India and the Americas.

Born in Trent in 1642, Pozzo studied with the Jesuits until the age of sixteen. (His scholastic record was unimpressive, since he was always busy drawing [De Feo 1988].) He was received as a novice in 1665 and sent to study in Genoa. By 1671 he was in Milan in the college of San Fedele, where he distinguished himself with the design of a temporary structure for the canonization of Saint Francis Borgia, followed by other similar commissions in Milan and Genoa. He may have gone on study trips to Venice. He took the vows in 1675 in Genoa and transferred to the Roman headquarters of the order in 1681, where he spent twenty years and then, on his way north to Vienna, lived for two years in Florence, Montepulciano, and Trent.

Pozzo's early artistic education included acquaintance with the works of Paolo Veronese and Peter Paul Rubens, which he studied in Venice and Genoa; the *quadraturismo* of Agostino Mitelli (see cat. 62); the architecture of Andrea Palladio, Francesco Ricchini, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, and Pellegrino Tibaldi,



Andrea Pozzo. *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*. Fig. 60. Altar of Saint Ignatius, Gesù, Rome. 1983.49.81

the architect of the church of San Fedele in Milan. After his move to Rome he was a keen student of the artistic heritage of Francesco Borromini, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and Pietro da Cortona. Pozzo took the traditional saying that a good painter understands perspective and will therefore be a good architect and turned it on its head, asserting that architecture has to be studied before perspective since the former is the subject of the latter (De Feo 1988). His wall paintings and temporary

architecture for religious festivities, recorded in engravings, were embraced by eighteenth-century artists and architects in Piedmont, such as Filippo Juvarra and Bernardo Vittone, and by the architects of churches in the Germanic countries.

In addition to his designs for temporary architecture, Pozzo is best known for the theatricality and sheer voluptuousness of his extensive decorative cycles for church and secular interiors. His first large project was the commission to fresco the church of San Francesco Saverio in Mondovì in 1676, which he transformed so that the actual space seemed illusionary and the painted space appeared real. Pozzo thus defined an expressive category in which architecture and painting melded into a new and indissoluble language. After arriving in Rome he decorated the “summer” church of the order at Frascati and the corridor linking Saint Ignatius Loyola’s rooms in the Roman Jesuit headquarters, the Casa Professa. His complex illusionism implied far more than the mere interchange of real and artificial. As Vittorio de Feo (1988) has shown, his compositions evoked in the viewer a series of related psychological reactions, from immersion into the artifice, to the understanding of the composition, the conviction of its autonomy, the consent to its perfection, and the translation of that consent into belief and faith. In this interpretation, it was important for the perspectival tricks used by the artist to be unveiled eventually to the viewer in order to heighten one’s appreciation and admiration of the space and its rendering.

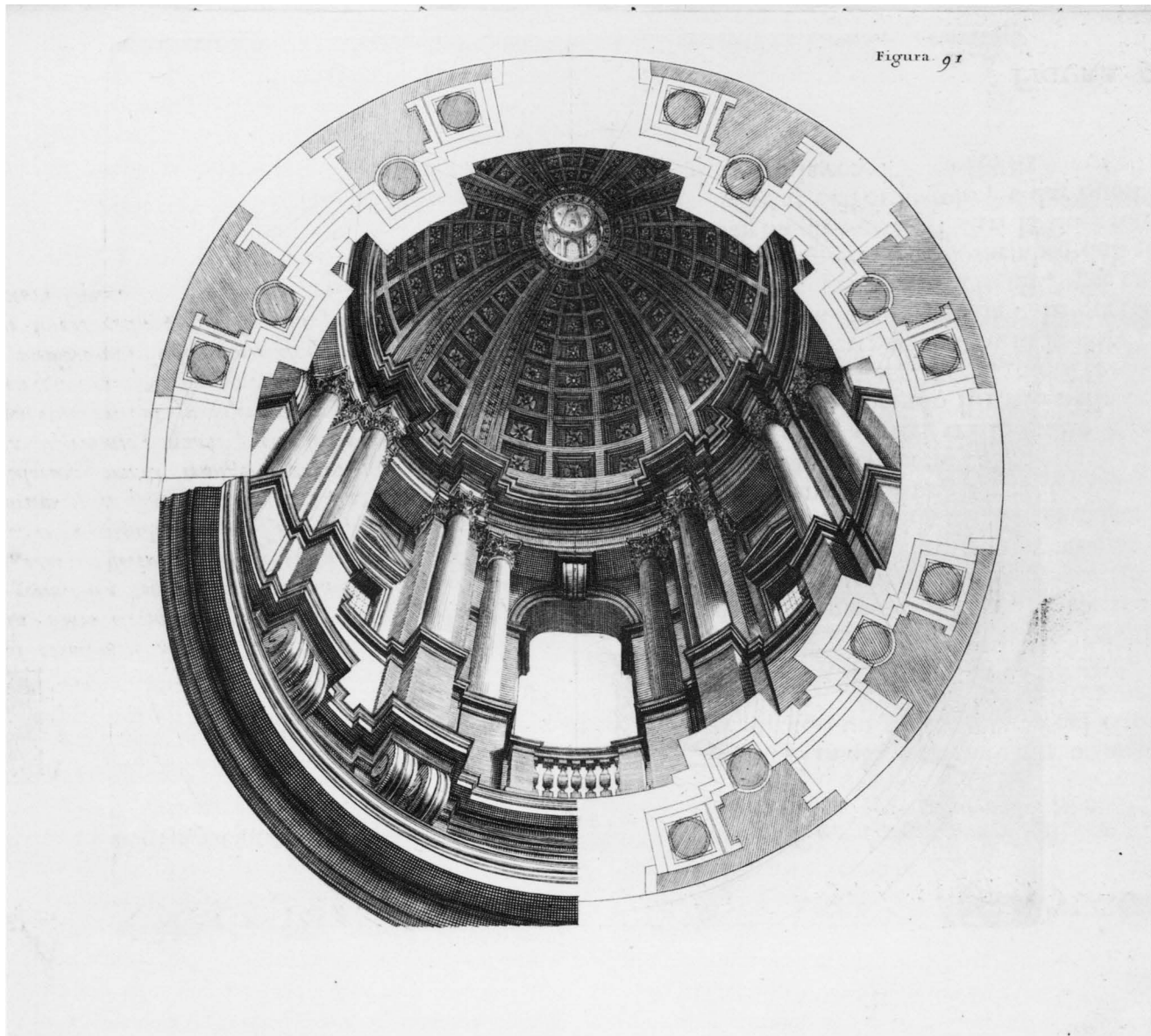
Pozzo’s most distinguished work of illusionism was the dome of the church of Sant’Ignazio in Rome. The dome was not actually built because of financial constraints and the protests of the Dominicans in the adjacent Santa Maria sopra Minerva, who claimed that the planned dome would overshadow their monastery. Instead the dome was painted on canvas in 1685. About 18 meters in diameter, it was carried out in the largest room of the Collegio Romano, then raised into place on the flat ceiling of the church. Pozzo was concerned for the longevity of the canvas and engraved the design of the false dome on copperplate so that if the canvas was damaged it could be repainted. The current version dates from the 1960s when, after a long hiatus, the tears made in 1891 in the original canvas were repaired.

Pozzo’s work at Sant’Ignazio continued from 1691 to 1694 and includes the decorations of the nave vault illustrating the triumph of the saint. In this composition Pozzo brings to its conclusion one of the principal interests of baroque ceiling painting—the illusion of an infinite sky without horizon, which extends the space of the church and is welded to it. Thus an immense illusionary building is inserted into the actual building; the concepts of the real and the imaginary are entirely

fused. Since Pozzo does not allow cornices to divide the flow of the space, the actual piers of the nave seem to support a false entablature that projects into the sky in a thoroughly confident perspectival composition.

Pozzo’s distinguished artistic position and the pedagogical interests of his religious order led him to set up a school at the Collegio Romano where he trained young men in the construction and representation of perspective. These students collaborated in the production of his treatise on perspective, lavishly illustrated with copperplate engravings. The first volume of Pozzo’s *Prospettiva*, published in 1693, appeared simultaneously with his greatest success in Rome: the completion of the decorations of Sant’Ignazio. The unchallenged master of architectural illusionism, Pozzo presented perspective as a metaphor for divine science and providence. This treatise was the last and most widely studied work on perspective published in the seventeenth century. It was translated into several languages, including Chinese, and reprinted many times. The English edition of 1707 was introduced by Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, and Nicholas Hawksmoor (Millard, *British Books*, 58). Its success is due to its clarity and avoidance of lengthy mathematical demonstrations. For Pozzo, perspective is an understanding of the techniques whose applications result in clear, exhilarating, and persuasive images.

Unlike his contemporary Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, who wrote about all aspects of architecture in his *Architettura civile* of 1711 (cat. 45), Pozzo concerned himself with the application of perspective to all branches of artistic practice, and his treatise was used widely as an educational text. (His readership included the builders of the Swiss Voralberg [Oechslin 1996].) The first volume appeared with an Italian-Latin text; the second volume was published in 1700, although parts had been issued in 1698. The 220 plates, largely engraved by his student Vincenzo Mariotti, represent a compendium of Pozzo’s teachings, built designs, and realized decorations. Thus there are many perspectival exercises in the treatise, some based on Pozzo’s actual and painted architectural projects. Among them are his projects for the facade of Rome’s cathedral, San Giovanni in Laterano, a centrally planned church, and a college with a triangular plan. Pozzo’s first design for the facade of San Giovanni in Laterano intentionally mirrored Borromini’s composition for the nave turned inside out, thus expressing his profound admiration for the baroque master. But the addition of a dome over the center of the facade, echoing earlier ciboria, thoroughly altered the effect of the design. Though Borromini and Pozzo were frequently equated by academic critics who often paired the two artists on the basis of their alleged baroque extravagances, their actual links were



Andrea Pozzo. *Prospettiva de' Pittori e Architetti*. Fig. 91. Design for false dome of Sant' Ignazio, Rome. 1983.49.82

occasional, as in this Lateran design. His second design for the Lateran cathedral was closer to Carlo Rainaldi's compositions in its strongly articulated architecture and framed empty center (Carboneri 1961).

Pozzo's proposal for a centrally planned church is eclectic—in a manner not unlike Juvarrà's eclecticism a few years later—in that it shows thorough internalization of various seventeenth-century trends. Pozzo juxtaposes a Pantheon-like plan with a triumphal-arch entry, a concentric portico, and asymmetrical ramps of stairs. He, too, probably realized the overload of architectural ideas because he presented this project as “interesting because many things happen on a small site” (Carboneri 1961). Nonetheless, this circular church, raised above a great flight of cascade stairs, with coupled columns supporting the entablature of the dome on the inside

and bell towers flanking the entry, not only resembles Cortona's Villa Sacchetti in its entry sequence, but also seems an important precursor to Juvarrà's design for the church of Superga outside Turin.

Pozzo's best architectural designs are the altars for the Gesù and for Sant' Ignazio in Rome. These were designed between 1694 and 1699 and are illustrated, with variants, in the second volume of the treatise.

The treatise was probably conceived while Pozzo was working on the vault of Sant' Ignazio between 1691 and 1694 (Salviucci Insolera 1996). There are great differences between the first volumes of the first and second editions, published respectively in 1693 and 1702. The manuscript corresponding to the first volume of the treatise was unearthed by Giuseppe Fiocco, who published his findings in 1943. Pozzo's drawings

Andrea Pozzo. *Prospettiva de' Pittori e Architetti*. Fig. 71. Perspective of festive architecture. 1983.49.82

Figura 71.



are somewhat larger than the completed engravings (39×26.2 cm rather than 32.5×21 cm). Dedicated to Leopold II, the Holy Roman Emperor, and published by a Bohemian editor in Rome, the treatise was composed in Latin and Italian, in italic and roman typefaces, respectively. The title page illustrates a circular imperial pavilion sheltering an equestrian statue. Figures in the foreground paint, carve, draw, engrave, and examine the architectural plan of the pavilion. The preface warns readers that the illustrations in the treatise are in increasing order of difficulty, and that architectural design and drawing are essential since the "perspective of buildings cannot have beauty or proportion if not from architecture." The plates are placed at the right side of each opening with text at the left. Historiated initials ornament each "caption." Only the second edition of the first volume (cat. 107) contains all the illustrations of Sant'Ignazio, since at the publication of the first edition the dome of the church was incomplete.

Pozzo's drawing for the title page of the second volume is preserved at the Uffizi with a few other sheets related to the *Prospettiva* (Salviucci Insolera 1996). The second edition of the first volume includes the dome of Sant'Ignazio in a large folded sheet engraved by Arnold Westerhout and Giovanni Girolamo Frezza. Seven plates in the second volume are signed, of which three are by Teodoro ver Kruys, including the frontispiece. This volume was dedicated to Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor, who is shown in the frontispiece as a patron of art and architecture being crowned by Fame. The illustrations are a systematic visualization of the parts of classical architecture, offering a scientific repertory of postures seen from various points of view. Here, in addition to documenting his *teatri sacri*, Pozzo offers stage designs of a court, an arsenal, a gallery, and a residential interior. Plates 97 through 105 illustrate doors and windows of Roman buildings and others invented by Pozzo, and he seems to suggest that such illustrations had not been offered before, but in truth the second part of his *Prospettiva* was issued one year after the *Studio d'architettura civile*, Domenico de' Rossi's extensive treatment of Roman doors and windows (see cat. 110).

The manuscript of the treatise clarifies Pozzo's composition of the *Prospettiva*. It is clear that he worked on one volume at a time; his principal contributions are made in the first volume. Furthermore, his drawings illustrate a deeper perspective than the etched plates, especially in the illustration of the dome of Sant'Ignazio. The octagonal tabernacle that Pozzo



Andrea Pozzo. *Prospettiva de' Pittori e Architetti*. Fig. 99.
Perspective of illusionary architecture for ceiling decoration.
1983.49.82

designed for a *Quarant'ore* festival becomes rather rococo in Mariotti's engraving; more serious errors of interpretation can be detected in Mariotti's other plates (Fiocco 1943).

The practices of the Jesuit order formed an important visual and functional background for Pozzo's principal illustrations in the treatise on perspective. During the seventeenth century, religious ceremonies became major theatrical events in Rome. The exposition of the Eucharist to laymen and clergy during the forty hours preceding Lent, the *Quarant'ore*, was a distinguished liturgical innovation of the Counter-Reformation church. The attention of the participants was focused through the *apparato*, an architectural composition of painted flats that were "complete in themselves rather than the background for dramatic action" (Weil 1974). The magnificence of the display and its costly lighting were an attempt to attract people already dazzled by the last carnival festivities, with which the *Quarant'ore* overlapped. This liturgical observance was introduced in Rome in 1550 by Filippo Neri, the founder of the Oratorian order, who celebrated the *Quarant'ore* every month. In 1592 Pope Clement VIII made the devotion permanent, to be observed in continuous succession in all Roman churches. The Jesuits first celebrated the devotion in connection with carnival in 1556 (Weil 1974). The first record of an *apparato* is a drawing of 1633 by Pietro da Cortona for the church of the Gesù. *Apparati* at San Lorenzo in Damasso, sponsored by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, vice-chancellor of the church from 1689 to 1740 and a passionate supporter of the theater, "stressed the architectural and the ornamental at the expense of the narrative" (Weil 1974); Pozzo's designs of 1685 and 1695 are the most important versions illustrating this new interest.

The design of these *teatri sacri* was an important part of Pozzo's architectural oeuvre. His stylistic development through this genre and his growing interest in northern architectural traditions are exemplified in the extraordinary designs of 1685, "the Wedding of Cana," and of 1695, the "Sitientes" (see figures). This temporary festive architecture was occasionally transformed into permanent altars. The practice of temporary decorations linked Pozzo to Bernini (Carboneri 1961), the most famed of stage designers in baroque Rome. They shared a deep theatrical sensibility, a liking for rich decoration, and an interest in the integration of architecture

with paintings, stuccoes, and metalwork. But Pozzo's strong penchant for compartmentalization of the illusionary space also echoes earlier compositions by Carlo Rainaldi. His most famous transposition of *teatro sacro* into a permanent altar is the chapel of Saint Ignatius Loyola in the Gesù, where Pozzo drew on a vast decorative vision. The architectural forms there were enhanced by a skill similar to that of a jeweler focused on the smallest details of rich materials and vivid colors.

Pozzo's compositions combined the theatrical, the sacred, and the festive into visually effective compositions that promoted a thorough interchange of architectural and theatrical themes. The fragmentation of architecture and its transformation into a decorative language and an instrument of optical illusion are Pozzo's most significant contributions. They stimulated the opening of a new architectural vision, as eventually practiced by Ferdinando Galli Bibiena and Juvarra, in the eighteenth century.

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Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817)

108

Fabbriche E Disegni Di Giacomo Quarenghi
Architetto Di S.M. L'Imperatore Di Russia
Cavaliere Di Malta E Di S. Walodimiro
Illustrate Dal Cav. Giulio suo Figlio

Milan: printed by Giovanni Pirotta for Paolo Antonio
Tosi, 1821

1983.49.84

Folio: 470 × 322 (18 ½ × 12 11/16)

Pagination 46, [2] pp., engraved frontispiece, 59 etched
and engraved plates

Edition First edition

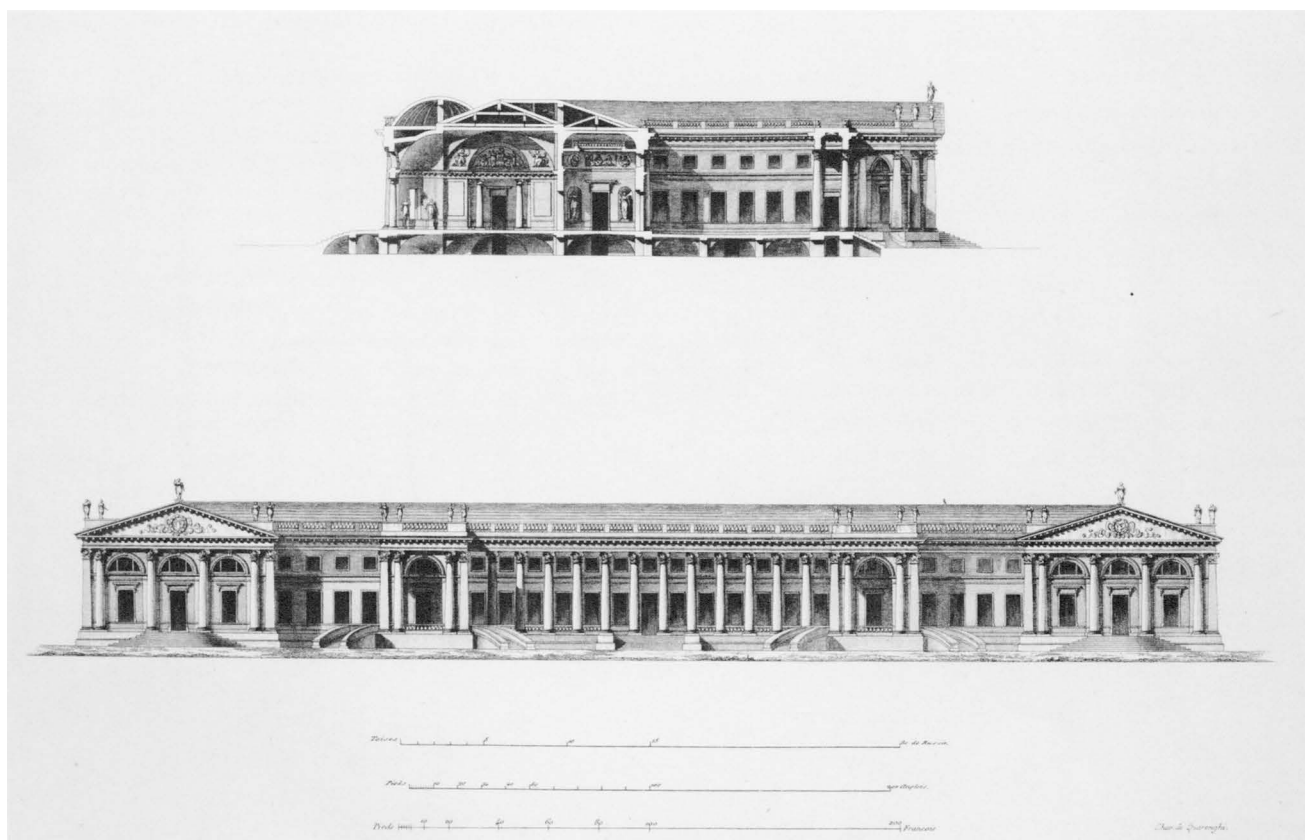
Text pp. [1] title page; [2] imprint: "Co' Tipi Di Gio-
vanni Pirotta."; [3–4] dedication by Giulio Quarenghi
to Luigi Cagnola; [5]–11 life of Giacomo Quarenghi,
written by his son, Giulio; [12] blank; 13–46 text,
describing plates; [47–48] list of subscribers: "Elenco
Alfabetico degli Associati"

Illustrations Engraved frontispiece portrait of Giacomo
Quarenghi, dated 1802, engraved by John? Sanders after
Antonio Vighi (signed: "Gravé par Sanders d'après un
Esquisse par Vighi"); 59 full-page etched and engraved
plates numbered 1–LIX (pls. LIV, LVI, and LVIII have
aquatint shading). 33 plates are signed by Quarenghi
as artist; 29 of these are also signed by Ivan Kolpakov
as engraver (1 plate signed "Calpacoff," remaining plates
signed "Kalpakof"); plate LIX is captioned in English:
"This Print engraved by Chevalier de Quarenghi as
a mark of respect . . . To the Marchioness Eufrasie de
Boisseson . . ."

Binding Contemporary quarter calf, printed paper
boards

References Berlin Cat. 2776; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2677

Giacomo Quarenghi. *Fabbriche e Disegni*. Plate 11. Elevation and
section of a palace. 1983.49.84



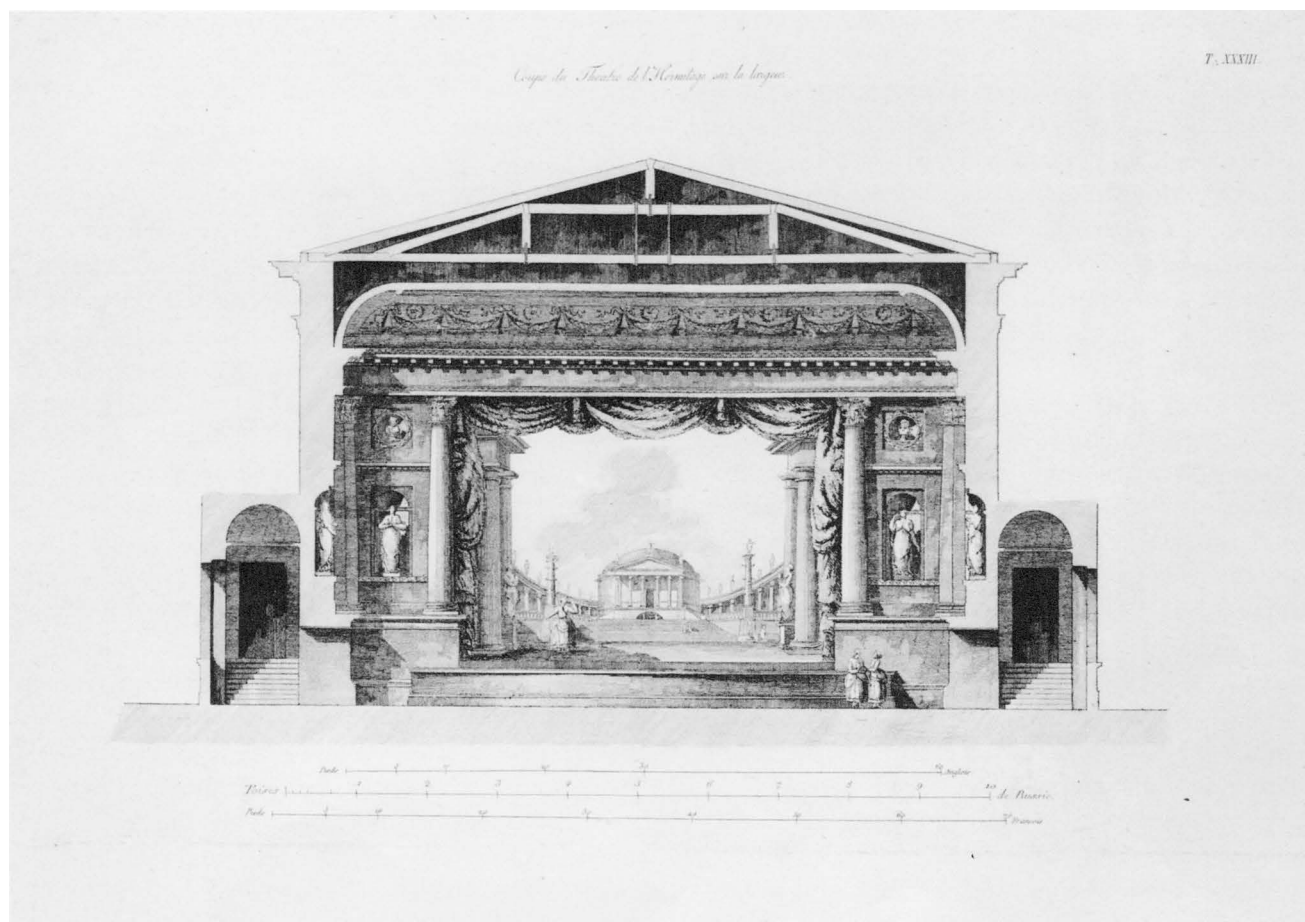
THE ITALIAN ARCHITECT AND PAINTER Giacomo Quarenghi, born into an aristocratic family near Bergamo, spent his entire architectural career in Russia. During his thirty-eight-year practice he made significant contributions to the architectural identity of St. Petersburg, the last of the great European capitals to be founded (in 1703 by Peter the Great), and to neoclassical taste. Like Bartolomeo Rastrelli, his distinguished Italian predecessor in establishing the grandeur of St. Petersburg, Quarenghi also designed projects for buildings in Moscow. His extant works include not only numerous distinguished buildings commissioned by the Russian aristocracy and by three czars (Catherine II, Paul I, and Alexander I), but also a large body of drawings (preserved in Bergamo, Venice, and London) and several publications.

Quarenghi's initial artistic education took place in Bergamo, where he studied painting with Paolo Vincenzo Bonomini and Giovanni Raggi, both closely linked to Venetian art circles. Moving to Rome, he studied antiquity in the company of other foreign visitors and students of the city; from 1767 to 1769 he studied architecture with Paolo Posi. In 1771 he received the second prize in the Concorso Clementino administered

by the Accademia di San Luca. His architectural interests had been strengthened by his friendship with Vincenzo Brenna and a seminal encounter with the treatise of Andrea Palladio (see cat. 65), followed by a study tour of Palladio's buildings in 1771–1772. He seems to have been familiar with the work of the French architects Claude Nicolas Ledoux and Charles de Wailly (his collection of drawings copied after projects by these and other architects is one of the largest owned by an eighteenth-century architect), and in Rome he acquired the reputation for erudition in classical antiquity.

Aware of the architectural discourse of his time but enthralled by architecture's ancient forebears (Vitruvius is mentioned as "Santo Padre"), Quarenghi was skeptical of contemporary theorists, referring to Francesco Milizia as extravagant and to Francesco Algarotti as visionary (Mezzanotte, in *Giacomo Quarenghi* 1994). Quarenghi's career in Rome was guided and abetted by relatives of the Venetian pope Clement XIII Rezzonico; his appointment in St. Petersburg is inexplicable without their recommendations since Quarenghi had only one building to his credit at the time, the church of the monastery of Santa Scolastica in Subiaco commissioned by Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico. This was, however, one of the earliest neoclassical buildings and subsequently became an important model. When Quarenghi accepted the invitation of Empress

Giacomo Quarenghi. *Fabbriche e Disegni*. Plate 33. Hermitage theater, view of the stage and backdrop. 1983.49.84



Catherine to go to St. Petersburg in 1779, expecting to spend three years in Russia, he took with him a thoroughly rooted artistic position and an unalterable set of architectural principles.

During his long and busy Russian career, Quarenghi designed numerous public and private buildings, including governmental and commercial buildings, churches, palaces, country houses, military installations, and triumphal arches. Five years after his arrival, Catherine II mentions, in her correspondence with Melchior Grimm, that the city is filled with Quarenghi's charming buildings, and his own letter in 1785 to Luigi Marchesi, a friend in Bergamo, inventories about fifty projects completed or under construction (Angelini 1967). His first major work was the Hermitage theater (1783–1787), followed by the stock exchange (1783–1785; demolished), the state bank (1783–1799), the state Duma (1790s), and the first shopping arcade (1797–1798). Although his privileged position and close working relationship with the monarch declined after the death of the empress in 1796, Quarenghi continued to garner imperial commissions from Czar Paul I, who knighted Quarenghi in 1800, Czar Alexander I, and especially Maria Fedorovna (dowager empress after 1801).

Fabbriche e disegni was published by Quarenghi's son Giulio seven years after the former's death. A second, enlarged edition of this publication came out in 1843 in Mantua, demonstrating continued interest in Quarenghi's Russian works. The 1821 edition contains a biography by Giulio of his father, which is actually an extended panegyric containing few facts except for the fundamental truth that Quarenghi enjoyed the committed patronage of the Russian imperial family throughout his working life. Literary descriptions of nineteen buildings designed by Quarenghi accompany the fifty-nine full-page plates in the book. In each description, Giulio states the original commissioner and the current occupant but little else about the construction history of the building.

Since fifty-eight plates related to thirty-two of his buildings were published by Quarenghi during his own lifetime, this publication is partly a reprint. The 1821 edition is made of Quarenghi's publication *Edifices construits à St-Petersbourg* (1810) enhanced with twenty-five plates illustrating eight more projects. Most of the engravings after Quarenghi's drawings were made by I. I. Kolpakov (1771–1840), one of the best Russian engravers, although Quarenghi himself apparently engraved his favorite buildings. Given the great body of realized buildings, many still extant, and the large collections of manuscript drawings by Quarenghi, the books illustrating his architecture have received scant attention.

The sequence of illustrated buildings is organized neither chronologically nor typologically. The illustra-

tions of imperial commissions include the palace at Tzarskoe Selò (no. 1), the stables in St. Petersburg (no. 5), the institute for patrician girls in the convent of Smolnyi (no. 7), the theater in the Hermitage palace (no. 10), the Catholic chapel for the Knights of Malta (no. 13), the "English" palace at Peterhof (no. 14), a shopping arcade on the grounds of the imperial ministry (no. 15), and the hospital in St. Petersburg (no. 16). These are interspersed with the commissions of Russian patricians, such as the project for the unbuilt palace of Prince Bezborodko, the prime minister of Catherine II (no. 2), the altered house of Prince Gagarin (no. 8), and the gallery and palace of Count Sheremetov (nos. 9 and 18). The collection is amplified by unrealized projects: a theater in Bassano (no. 3), a country house in Sweden (no. 4), a dining room for the archduchess in Vienna (no. 6), and stables for the king of Bavaria in Munich (no. 12).

Although together the plates succeed in persuading the reader that Quarenghi's is a colossal and coherent oeuvre, the loose structure of the book and the flat graphic style of the engraver reinforce the stylistic repetitiveness of the architectural images. Quarenghi's buildings are rarely fully expressive, and there is no considerable development in his taste. Over time, archaeological references seem to multiply, especially to the Pantheon and triumphal arches. Contemporaries noted that the general composition and the details borrowed from Palladio gave Quarenghi's buildings the appearance of giant villas (Mezzanotte, *Giacomo Quarenghi* 1994); despite alarmingly diverse functions, buildings were endowed with screens of identical columns and repeat certain forms such as the octagon. His understudied interior compositions introduce long, dark, double-loaded corridors and unlit staircases and neglect other practical aspects of life, such as the provision of services, which are often relegated to separate buildings, for example, the kitchens at Peterhof's English palace. (But his separation of service and representative functions may have merely followed the existing conventions of the czar's court.)

Quarenghi's output had been considered competent, but critics have found his designs repetitive and humdrum in their urban and interior planning. He has been censured for the "incongruity of his white neoclassical buildings, located in the Russian winter," which quickly destroyed the stucco, torn from their Mediterranean origins and placed in the gray and damp steppe, and then lampooned for "turning St. Petersburg into a boreal Palmyra" (*Giacomo Quarenghi* 1994). His details have not escaped criticism, especially the short and potbellied Corinthian order he favored, though Russian supporters have concurred that Quarenghi successfully adapted Palladian forms to Russian requirements. But Quarenghi's works reflect the search to unify the



Giacomo Quarenghi. *Fabbriche e Disegni*. Plate 54. Elevation of a triumphal arch in St. Petersburg and view of its surroundings. 1983.49.84

various levels of the architectural enterprise based on the confidence and authority of the Palladian compositional method, as purified through English neo-Palladianism and the pragmatic approach of Venetian architectural theory.

Among Quarenghi's most interesting experiments, however, are not his large imperial buildings but his garden pavilions. He was asked to provide small buildings for a broad range of requirements (bathhouses, coffeehouses, latrines, a dovecote) and to disperse them in the imperial parks. In keeping with an important area of architectural exploration in the eighteenth century, Quarenghi designed several structures whose exterior compositions utterly mask the intended function. Still thoroughly neoclassical, they elaborate contemporary forms developed by Ledoux in the house of Mlle. Guimard in Paris and revisit such standard sources as Bramante's Tempietto in Rome.

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Ragguaglio delle nozze

109

Ragguaglio Delle Nozze Delle Maestà Di
Filippo Quinto, E Di Elisabetta Farnese,
Nata Principessa Di Parma Re Cattolici Delle
Spagne Solennemente celebrate in Parma
l'anno 1714., Ed Ivi Benedette Dall'Eminen-
tissimo Sig. Cardinale Di S. Chiesa Ulisse
Giuseppe Gozzadini, Legato A Latere Del
Sommo Pontefice Clemente Undecimo

Parma: printed by "S.A.S.," 1717 [i.e., 1718]

1983.49.85

Folio: 315 × 215 (12⁷/₁₆ × 8¹/₂)

Pagination 115, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece,
[5] folding etched and engraved plates

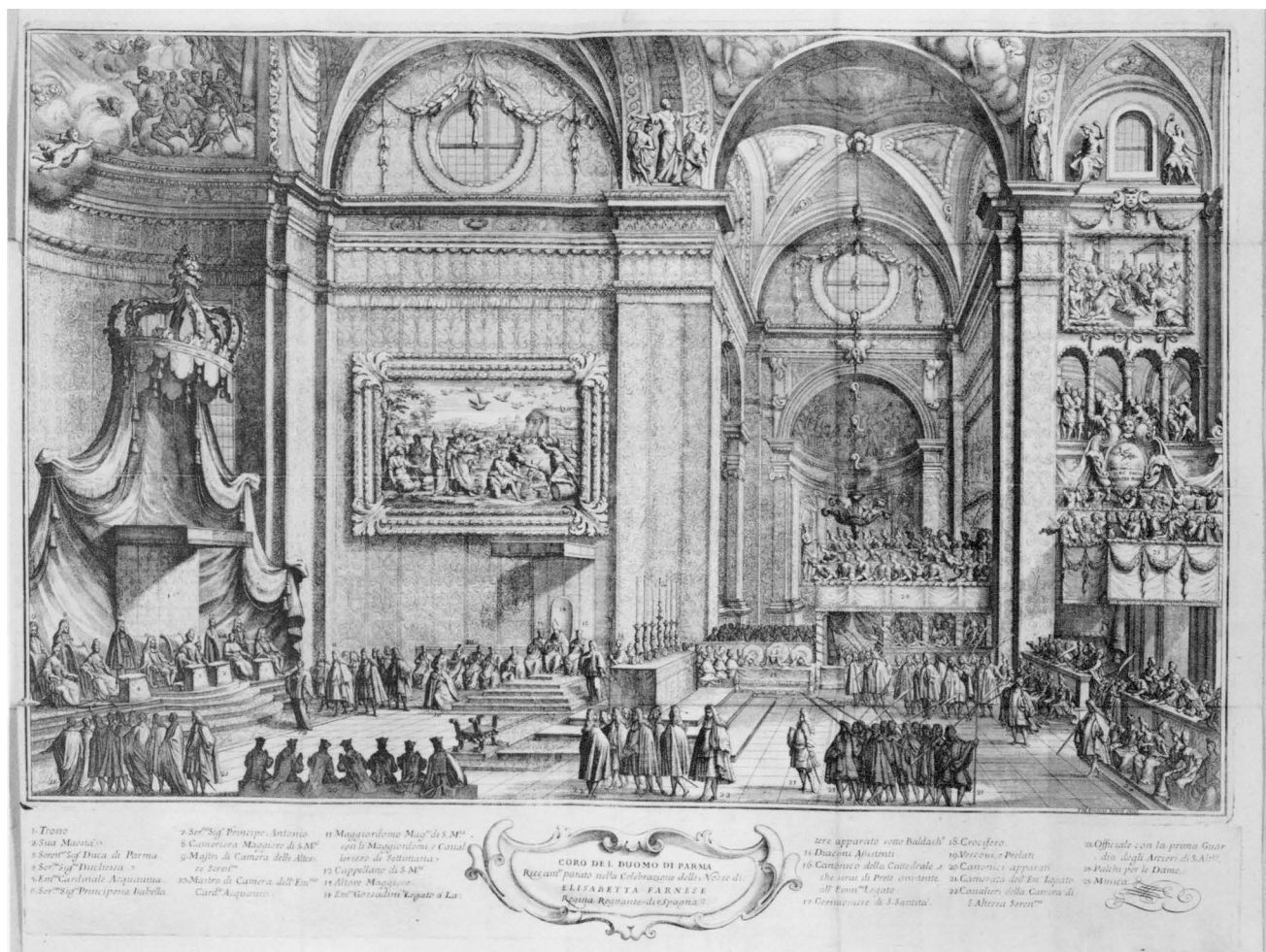
Edition First edition. Although the title page is dated 1717, the frontispiece is dated 1718

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–115 text; [116] blank

Ornaments Woodcut historiated initial (p. 3), woodcut tailpiece (p. 115)

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece showing Philip v presented with portrait of Elizabeth Farnese, surrounded by various allegorical figures, putti, and with two ships setting sail in background, signed by Ilario Spolverini as designer and draftsman and Giovanni Battista Sintes as engraver, and dated 1718 ("Ilario Spoluerino Pitor Inuent. et Delineator Gio. Batta Sintes

Ragguaglio delle nozze. The choir of the Parma cathedral decorated for the wedding. 1983.49.85



Scult. del Ser.^{mo} Sig.^r Duca di Parma Fece in Piacenza il 1718”); plus 5 unnumbered folding etched and engraved plates as follows: [1] “Ingresso Nella Città Di Parma Dell’Eminentissimo, E Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Vlissee Givseppe Gozzadini . . .” (2 sheets pasted together, including a separate etched plate with key), signed by Spolverini as designer and draftsman and Teodoro ver Kruys as engraver (“Ilario Spoluerini in. et del.”; “Teodoro Vercruyße Amstelad.^s Sculp. 1716.”); [2] “Facciata del Duomo di Parma parato riccamente delle Nozze di Elisabetta Farnese Rigna Regn.^{te} di Spagna,” signed by Francesco Domenico Maria Francia as engraver (“MFrancia inc.”); [3] “Latò interiore del Duomo di Parma parato riccamente in occasione delle Nozze d’Elsabetta Farnese Regina Regnante di Spagna,” unsigned; [4] “Cora Del Duomo Di Parma Riccam.^{te} parato nelle Celebrazione delle Nozze di Elisabetta Farnese Regina Regnante di Spagna” (2 sheets pasted together, including a separate etched plate with key), signed by Francia as engraver (“F.M. Francia Bonon. incid.”); and [5] “Pianta Del Duomo Di Parma” (2 sheets pasted together), unsigned

Binding Nineteenth-century vellum, red sprinkled edges

References Berlin Cat. 3060 (1st ed.); Cicognara 1491

THIS COLLECTION OF PLATES illustrates the wedding of Elisabetta Farnese and Philip V, the king of Spain, which was celebrated in Parma on 16 September 1714. This was a culminating event for the Farnese family’s dynastic ambitions, and its commemoration was ensured not only by this illustrated book but also by the three series of narrative paintings (small, medium, and large) that Duke Francesco Farnese commissioned from the local painter Ilario Spolverini, an important predecessor of Giovanni Paolo Panini as painter of ceremonies (Arisi 1961). Two engravings after Spolverini’s drawings are also part of the *Ragguaglio*. The illustrations in this book refer to events in Parma and the beginnings of the queen’s travels to Spain. Thus the plates display not only the architectural riches of Parma and the great magnificence of the ducal parties, but also the beauty of the landscape in the duchy.

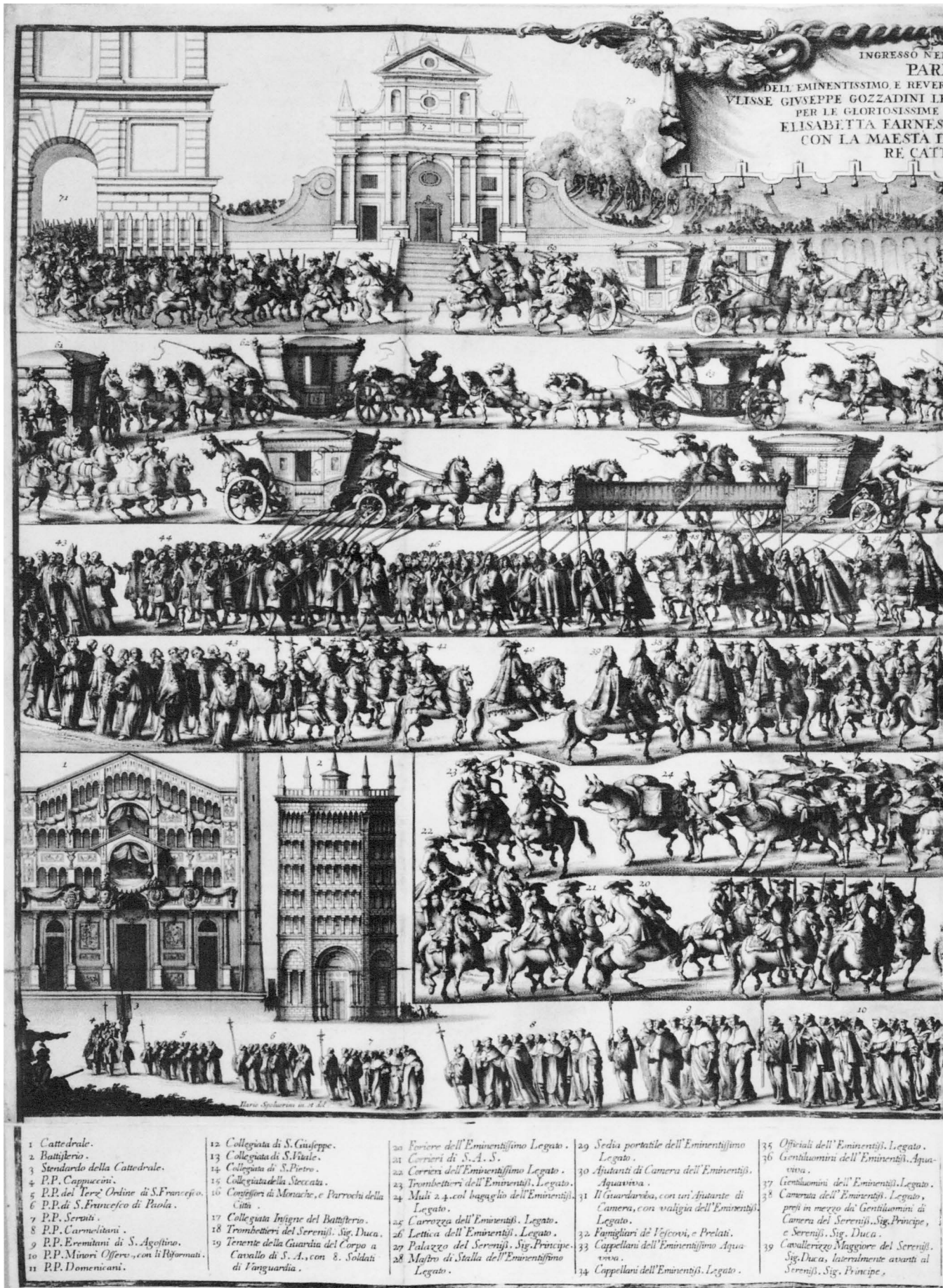
Pier Ilario Mercanti, called Spolverini (born in Parma 1657, died in Piacenza 1734), was one of the most talented students of the painter Francesco Monti, known as Brescianino, from whom he learned to crowd numerous figures into the foreground of a picture. He probably changed his name to Spolverini since “Mercanti” hinted at Jewish origins. Spolverini’s father, also a painter, had decorated two triumphal arches for the 1660 entry into Parma of Margherita Violante of Savoy, bride of Ranuccio II Farnese. Spolverini studied Borgognone’s paintings in Florence and Venice, where

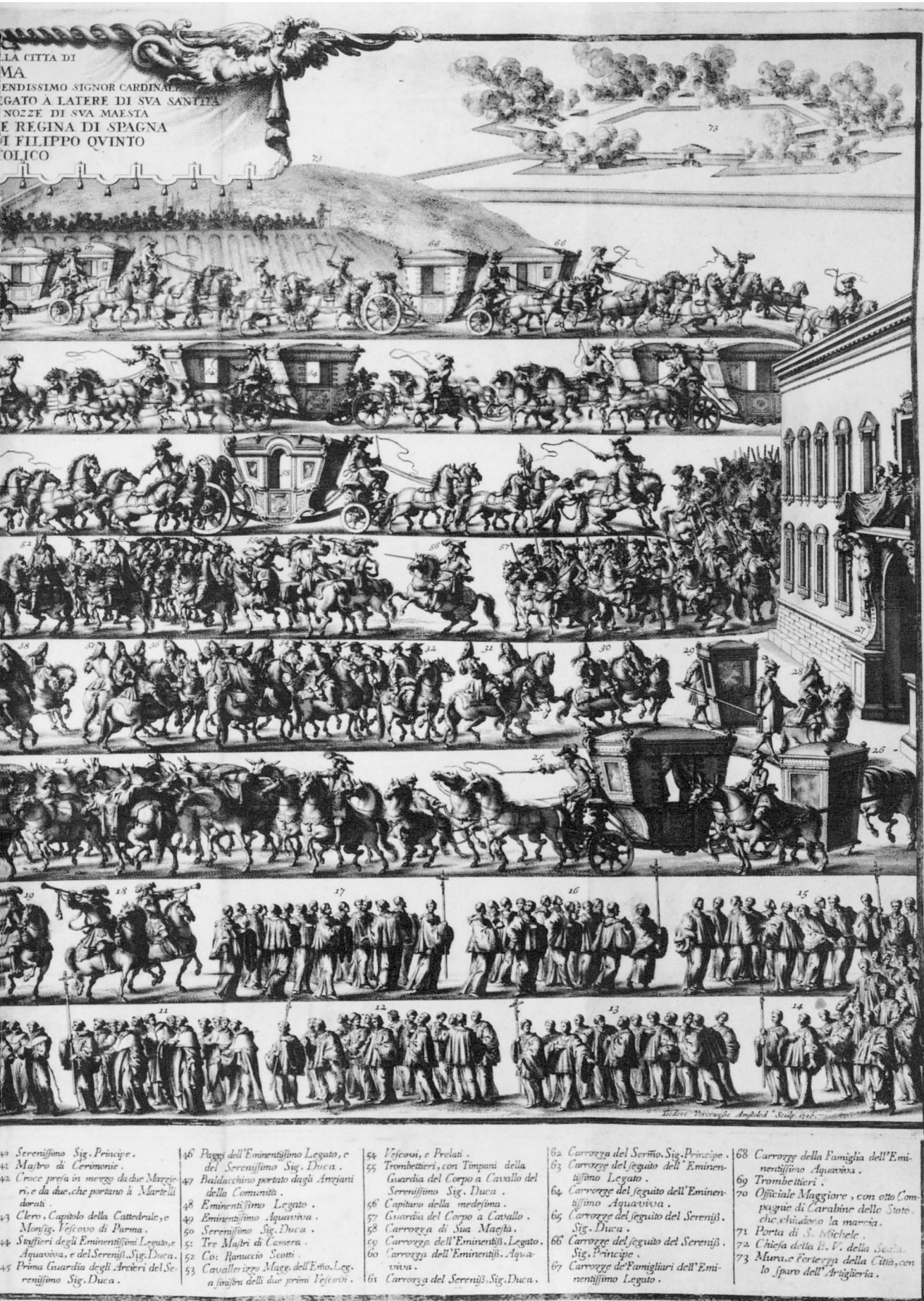
he also painted the *imprese* of the Doge Francesco Morosini, now at the Arsenal museum in Venice. As court painter from 1690, he acted as advisor for Duke Francesco Farnese’s art purchases and copied altarpieces in Parma churches by Giovanni Lanfranco and Bartolomeo Schedoni; these copies then replaced the originals appropriated by the duke for the Farnese collections. Spolverini was a master of paintings of urban ceremonies and field battles, noteworthy for his original solutions for the representation of large crowds in a topographic context (Arisi Riccardi 1979). His paintings of the battle of Fornovo are now in the Galleria Nazionale in Parma; thirty of his battle paintings were listed in an inventory made in 1700 of the Farnese palace in Piacenza.

Panini studied his genre painting for a few months in 1719, when Spolverini was completing the variously dimensioned paintings of the wedding of Elisabetta Farnese. These were intended for the ducal palaces, respectively, in Piacenza, Parma, and Colorno. The seven large paintings (285 × 415 cm) were intended for Piacenza and were completed after the oval format series intended for Colorno. All three series were taken to Naples in 1734–1735 by Elisabetta’s heir, Carlo of Bourbon. Of the seven large paintings, one is now at Caserta, two are in Piacenza, and four are at the Parma city hall (Arisi Riccardi 1979). Panini refers to Spolverini’s work in his own paintings of public festivities in Piazza di Spagna and Piazza Navona (1727, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; 1729, Paris, Musée du Louvre, respectively), and he probably used the *Ragguaglio* as a source. Spolverini drew inspiration from and used as models earlier engravings by Jacques Callot, Salvator Rosa, and Stefano della Bella. Between 1715 and 1724 Spolverini worked as court painter on the illustration of events in the life of Paul III and Alessandro Farnese as well as Elisabetta, producing his best paintings. He also illustrated the events associated with the 1690 wedding of Odoardo Farnese and Dorothea Sophia of Neuburg, probably with the collaboration of his friend Ferdinando Galli Bibiena (cats. 44–46). The grandeur and magic of his illustrative paintings are not matched by his contemporaries, except perhaps by Luca Carlevaris (cat. 29).

Text and plates describe in sumptuous detail the events related to the 1714 dynastic wedding. (The text is attributed to Giuseppe Maggiali in the University of Chicago catalogue entry.) The five etched plates illustrate the entry of the papal legate Ulisse Gozzadini into Parma, the decorated facade and the nave wall of the cathedral, the view of the cathedral’s apse during the wedding ceremony, and the plan of the cathedral with

Ragguaglio delle nozze. Processional entry of Cardinal Gozzadini in Parma. 1983.49.85





the seating arrangement for the wedding. The text is preceded by a frontispiece, designed by Spolverini and engraved by Giovanni Battista Sintes, in which Time and Fame present the portrait of Elisabetta Farnese to Philip v. The young bride (born in 1697) is further described on pages 6–7, as is her education in grammar, philosophy, geography, rhetoric, and numerous languages (Latin, German, French). The text lists the festivities that framed the signing of the marriage contract and the blessing in the cathedral. The entry of the papal representative and of the ambassador of Philip v and their entertainment provide the occasions for praising Parma and the cultural prestige of the Farnese, who displayed their art, architectural, and bibliographic collections.

The two etchings after Spolverini are the most ambitious compositions among the five plates. Spolverini's pen and ink drawing for the entry of the papal legate (the first plate), now at the British Museum (Arisi 1986), is an animated composition whose structure connects this entry to the imperial and papal processions illustrated in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints. It is a boustrophedonic composition, in which the procession is made to cross eight times the width of the plate from top left to bottom left. The procession enters the city through the triumphal-archlike gate of San Michele, passing by the church of Santa Maria in Scala, in front of the ducal palace, arriving eventually at the cathedral and the polygonal baptistry. At top right the pentagonal citadel of Parma is shown mistakenly (with six bastions) and joyously exploding in bursts of smoke, illustrating the cannon salute described in the text. The excitement of the movement is further enlivened by the baggage train of mules and by the cantering horses that pull a great collection of fancy carriages or carry elaborately attired courtiers. The principal participants—the papal legate, the royal ambassador, and the duke of Parma—are shown close to the actual center of the sheet under a baldachin.

The equally accomplished etching was executed by Teodoro ver Kruys, a Dutchman who engraved with Antonio Lorenzini the paintings in the palatine collection in Florence. He may have returned to his country in 1715 or stayed on in Florence, where in 1726 and 1727 he drew, painted, and engraved many views of the countryside. His work includes a view of the hermitage at Camaldoli, engravings after Andrea Pozzo, a portrait of Frederick August, elector of Saxony, and sixty-three small geographical maps of Europe all printed on one sheet and used for games of *dadi*. The label at the top of the plate describes the event; it is inscribed on an elaborate stagelike curtain, with the fringe echoing the baldachin at Saint Peter's in Rome. A seventy-three-item legend, listing the sites and the participants in the procession, is attached to the bottom of the plate.

The thoroughly male procession is watched by two lone females, presumably the bride and her mother, from the balcony of the ducal palace. Even though the text underlines the presence of great crowds of bystanders, who were prevented from crossing the path of the procession by infantry that lined the road from entry gate to the cathedral, the plate omits them. Among these observers, incidentally, was the British architect William Kent, who witnessed the wedding ceremony and sketched the church interior in his diary.

The second plate after Spolverini is the illustration of the wedding ceremony in the apse of the cathedral, etched by Francesco Domenico Maria Francia (Bologna, 1657–1735). The pendentives of the great dome decorated by Correggio are barely visible; the fresco decor of the apse by Girolamo Mazzola is more distinct. More significant for the wedding party are the temporary decorations illustrating actual Farnese sites, such as palaces and gardens, which were placed in the arches of the side chapels. Temporary seating in the apse, the transept, and the head of the nave is filled with a large and animated crowd, which turns to and discusses the ceremonial event acted out in the apse where the papal legate and the royal bride occupy competing thrones. Both the label and twenty-five-item legend for this plate are placed below the view of the interior. This composition closely echoes representations of papal ceremonies associated with the church of Rome, such as canonizations, papal elections, and imperial visits.

Significantly, the wedding festivities were not accompanied by specific architectural or artistic interventions. Although the facade and interior of the cathedral were decorated with dynastic and ceremonial paintings, the events illustrated gained their social prestige from the rank of the participants and their social association with royalty and papacy.

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Domenico de' Rossi
(fl. 1679–c. 1724)

110

Studio D'Architettura Civile sopra gli Ornamenti di Porte e Finestre tratti da alcune Fabbriche insigni di Roma con le Misure Piante Modini, e Profili . . . Parte Prima

[Part 2] Stvdio D'Architettvra Civile Sopra uarj
Ornamenti di Cappelle, e diuersi Sepolcri Trattti
da più Chiese di Roma Colle loro Facciate,
Fianchi, Piante e Misure . . . Parte Seconda

[Part 3] Stvdio D'Architettura Civile Sopra
varie Chiese, Cappelle di Roma, Palazzo di
Caprarola, et altre Fabriche con le loro
Facciate, Spaccati, Piante, e Misure . . .
Parte Terza

Rome: Domenico de' Rossi, 1702–1721

1983.49.88-89

Folio: 476×348 ($18\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$)

Foliation Part I (1702): [2] leaves, [141] etched and engraved plates (12 double page)

Part 2 (I711): 62 etched and engraved plates (3 double page)

Part 3 (1721): 83 etched and engraved plates (26 double page)

Edition First edition

Text part 1: folios [1] preface foliated "3"; [2] index of artists and works foliated "143"

Illustrations

Part 1: 141 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–2, 4–142 (12 double page, remainder full page). Plate 1 is the title plate, including dedication to Clement XI, within double-line border; plate 2 is the dedication to Clement XI within elaborate architectural framework, signed by Alessandro Specchi as designer and engraver and by Antonio Barbey as calligrapher (“Aless.^o Specchi inventò e intag.”; “A. Barbey Scrip.”). 77 plates signed by Alessandro Specchi as draftsman and engraver (“Diseg.^{ta} e Intag.^{to} da Aless. Specchi Architetto,” with variants); 56 plates signed by Carlo Quadri as draftsman (“Diseg.^{ta} da Carlo Quadri Architetto,” with variants) and engraved by Barbey (33 plates), Francesco Bartoli (18 plates), Carlo (i.e., Jean Charles) Allet (3 plates), Pietro Santi Bartoli (1 plate), Quadri (1 plate); 3 plates signed only by Barbey as engraver; 3 plates unsigned

Part 2: 62 etched and engraved plates (3 double page, remainder full page). Plate 1 is the title plate including dedication to Cardinal Francesco Acquaviva d'Aragona, within double-line border. According to the explanation beneath the scale at the foot of the title plate, the works were designed by Alessandro Specchi and engraved by Francesco Aquila ("Palmo Architetonico Romano . . . s'è seruito il Signor Alessandro Specchi illustre Architetto nel misurare esattamente le opere stessa, intagliate in acque forte dal Signor Francesco Aquila"). Plate 32 signed by Nicolas Dorigny as draftsman and engraver ("N. Dorigny delin. et Sculp."); plates 59–62 from a



Domenico de' Rossi. *Studio d'architettura civile*. Part 2, plate 46.
Altar of Saint Agnes, Sant'Agnese. 1983.49.89

series of engravings by Cornelis Cort (pl. 59 signed "Cor. Cort fe."; pl. 60 signed "Corne Cort. fe."); see Hollstein (Dutch), nos. 198–201

Part 3: 83 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–83 (26 double page, including pls. 80–82 here pasted together to form large folding plate). Plate 1 is the title plate including dedication to Cardinal Bernardino Scotto with dedicatee's coat of arms and female allegorical figures. Plates 11, 12, and 39 signed by Carlo Quadri as draftsman and Vincenzo Franceschini as engraver ("Carlo Quadri delin."; "Vincenzo Franceschini Sculp."); plate 14 signed by Alessandro Specchi as draftsman and Filippo Vasconi as engraver ("Alessandro Specchi disegnó"; "Filippo Vasconi Incise"); plate 31 signed by Vasconi as engraver and dated Rome, 1717 ("Philip. Vasconus Sculp. Rome 1717."); plate 50 signed by Carlo Fontana as designer and engraver and by Specchi as engraver ("Eques Carolus Fontana Inuent, et Delin."; "Alexan. Speculus Sculp"); plate 51 signed by Fontana as designer ("Eques Carolus Fontana inuen."); plate 54 signed by Specchi as engraver ("Alex:^r Spec:^{us} Sculp."); plates 58–69, 71–73 signed by Gabriele Valvassori as draftsman and Filippo Vasconi as engraver ("Gabrielle Valuassori delin."; "Filippo Vasconi Sculp."); plate 70 signed by Valvassori as draftsman as above; remainder unsigned

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Contemporary mottled calf, gilt borders, gilt spine

References Berlin Cat. 2681; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 88–89

H EIR OF THE PROLIFIC Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi who had adopted him in 1679, Domenico continued his benefactor's project of celebrating the artistic and architectural wealth of Rome in prints that could be easily bought and taken home by foreign visitors to Rome. Domenico maintained the publishing business from 1691 until his own death in c. 1724; his son sold the entire stock of copperplates to Pope Clement XII in 1738, who used them as the core of the papal collection, the *Calcografia Camerale*, which now forms the nucleus of the *Calcografia di Stato* in Rome.

Like other publications with the de' Rossi imprint, this three-part volume makes a contribution to the accurate recording and documentation of Rome's modern architecture and topography. Each part deals with a specific and closely defined typology, doors and windows, chapels and funeral tombs, and the decoration of various Roman buildings, respectively. The technical-professional character of these books shows that they were clearly intended for architects. The correspon-

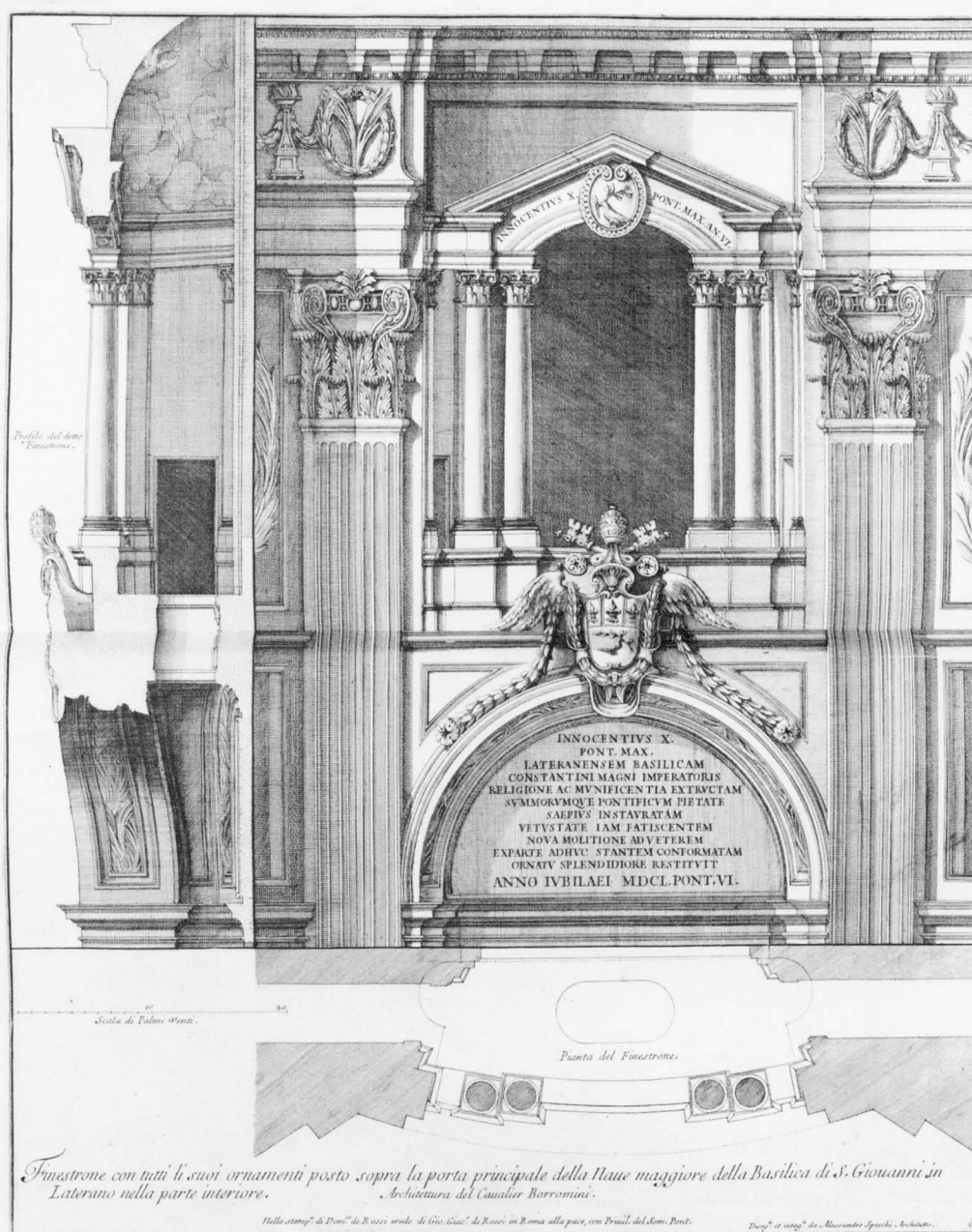
dence between the content of the *Studio* and the requirements of the Accademia di San Luca competitions is also quite clear. The subjects of these books reflect the teaching method of the architecture school of the Accademia, as Hellmut Hager (1984) has shown, in the choice of building parts and building typologies that mimic the curriculum and the competition topics at the architecture school. For instance, niches, altars, portals, and facades were among the problems set for the third class (the lowest class) from 1702. Indeed, it has been suggested that students may have used this de' Rossi publication as a crib, sparing themselves an actual visit to the building site. Thus, even more than the earlier treatises that proposed the best versions of the Doric, Ionic, or of ancient Roman buildings, de' Rossi's illustrations of modern Roman buildings became an integral part of the education of the architect. For students of architecture outside Rome, the books became instruments of analysis and dissemination of the baroque style, and above all served to reevaluate the standing of Francesco Borromini's influence.

The link with the architecture school in these eighteenth-century publications also has a practical aspect. Several of the artists involved in the preparation of the plates as draftsmen and engravers, such as Gabriele Valvassori and Filippo Vasconi, had been among the best students of the architecture school. Among the other artists who sign the pages of the collection as either designers or engravers are Carlo Quadri, Pietro Santi Bartoli, Francesco Aquila, and Carlo Fontana. Bartoli and Aquila had earlier been associated with Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's firm. Bartoli had engraved the illustrations for the *Colonna Trajana* (commissioned from 1665), while Aquila was known for his engraved renderings of the frescoes in the Galleria Farnese.

The illustrations in these volumes have several sources. Many were partially reedited from the earlier publications by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi (cats. 112 and 113) on churches and chapels of Rome, which in turn seem to have been based on the drawings of Cirro Ferri, the Florentine artist who served as adviser to Giovanni Giacomo, but who does not receive credit as delineator (Morolli 1987).

Credit for most of the illustrations in these volumes goes to the Roman architect Alessandro Specchi (Rome, 1666–1729), a student of Carlo Fontana and important contributor to the late baroque urbanism of his native city. Although eventually he became a successful architect (he held the office of architect to the Camera Apostolica from 1708 and was appointed architect of Saint Peter's after 1715), he pursued an intensive activity

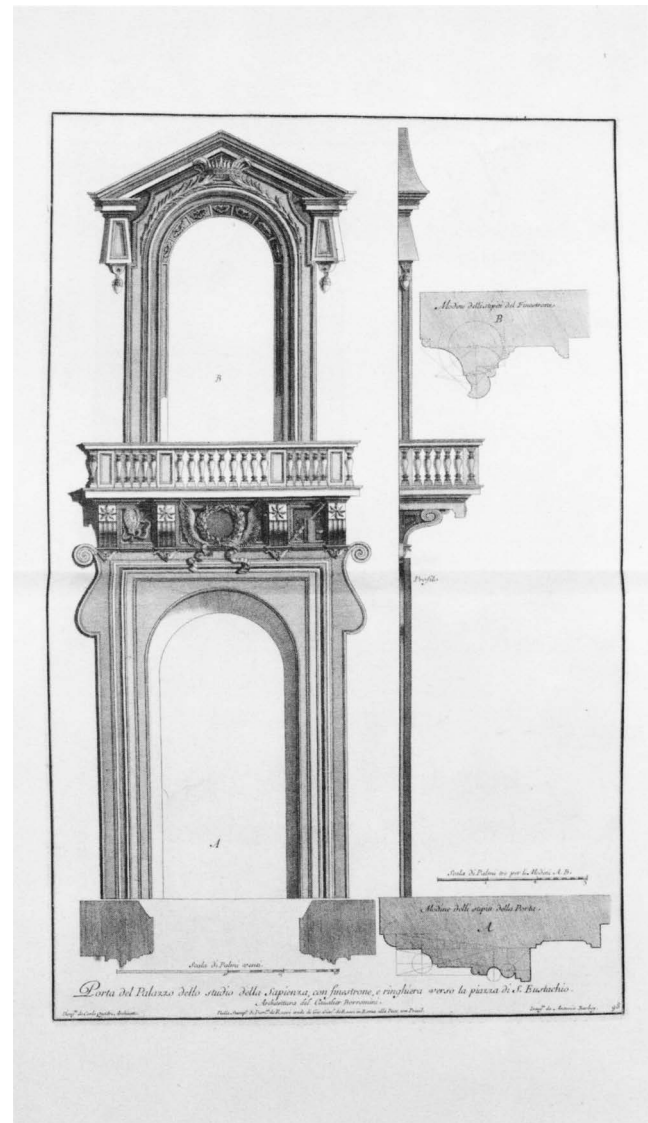
Domenico de' Rossi. *Studio d'architettura civile*. Plate 64. Window above the main door, San Giovanni in Laterano. 1983.49.88



as engraver from 1684, illustrating Carlo Fontana's book on the history of Saint Peter's and working with Falda on the *Nuovo Teatro*, published by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi (1685). His major work as an architect was the design of the Porto di Ripetta, the wharf in the Campo Marzio area that permitted food to be brought to the heart of the city (Marder 1980). The curving, wavelike steps he designed allowed the unloading of boats no matter what the height of the Tiber; the dynamic forms of the port enlivened the area and evoked the great architectural works of the baroque style. He participated in the competition for the staircase of Santa Trinità dei Monti, and although he did not win the commission, the design ultimately adopted for the sweeping site—a series of great steps interrupted by broad landing areas like viewing terraces—was influenced by Specchi's project and his Ripetta design (Lotz 1969). Specchi also designed the highly visible pontifical stables on the Quirinal hill. Thus his architectural design made an important contribution to late baroque urbanism following in the footsteps of Carlo Fontana, while his work as an illustrator made his name even more ubiquitous among the buyers of architectural books and views of Rome.

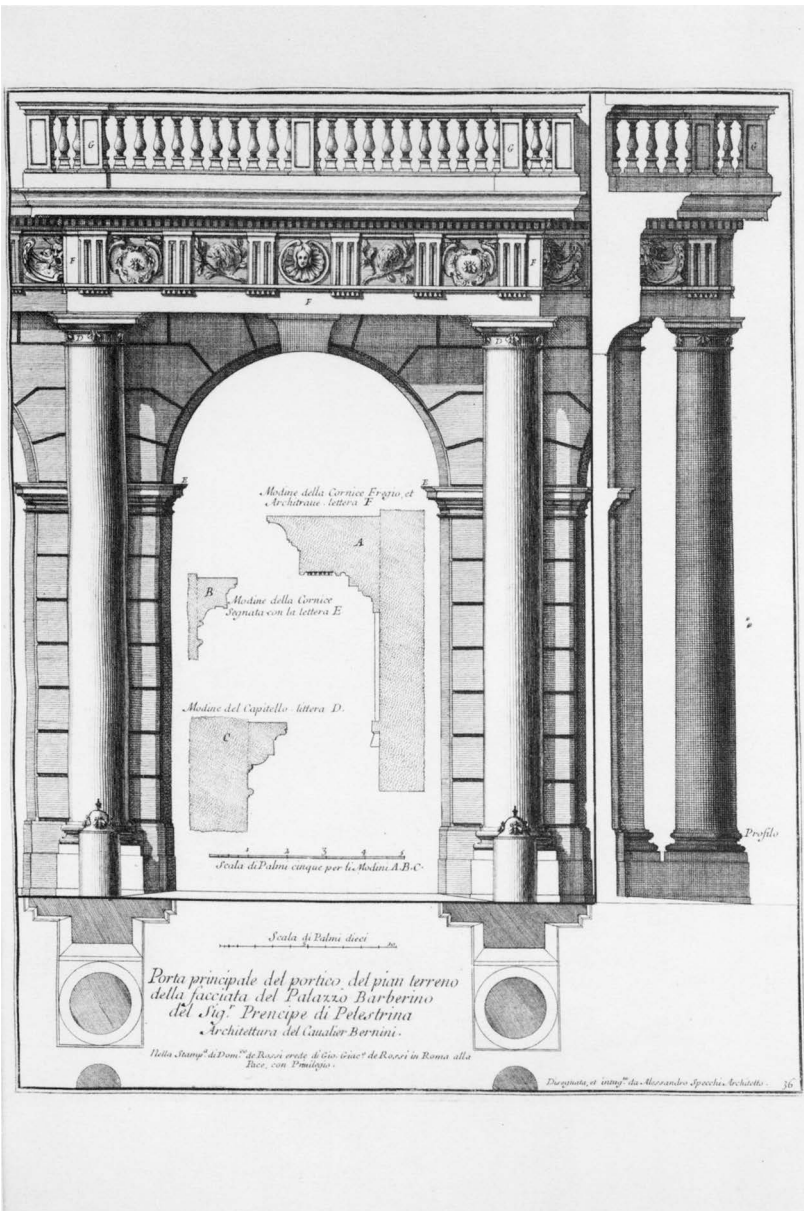
The illustrations drawn by Specchi for these three publications were engraved not only by him but also by an extensive team of artists that included Antonio Barbey (forty-five plates), Valvassori (sixteen plates), Vincenzo Franceschini (four plates), and Vasconi (seventeen plates). Vasconi (Rome, c. 1687–1730), a nephew of Carlo Fontana, competed in the Concorsi Clementini of the Accademia di San Luca in 1705, 1706, and 1707, winning the first prize each time. He also provided the designs for Giovanni Branca's *Manuale di architettura* (Rome, 1718). Franceschini was a Roman etcher best known for his illustrations of Anton Francesco Gori's *Museo Etrusco* and for engravings after Pier Leone Ghezzi (Ciofetta 1992).

In addition to its function as a teaching text for the Roman architecture school and the architecture school of the French Academy in Rome, the *Studio civile* seems to have found a wide audience abroad. Motifs from this publication have been traced in Thomas Archer's work for the duke of Shrewsbury and in Francis Smith's designs for country houses in England. In "all cases the originals have been amended with panache and wit" (Gomme 1992), and, even more interestingly, window details originally designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Borromini for ecclesiastical and public buildings have been unself-consciously claimed for secular residences. The *Studio civile* thus became one of the earliest examples, albeit unwittingly so, of pattern books that inspired builders not educated in the classical and monumental traditions of architectural design.



Domenico de' Rossi. *Studio d'architettura civile*. Plate 98. Doorway of the Sapienza. 1983.49.88

There are only two pages of text in the first volume on doors and windows, both essentially indices. The prefatory dedication to the "lovers of art" presents the publication as evidence of "the industry with which I have endeavored to illustrate in my prints the most beautiful things in Rome" (fol. 3v) and includes a long list of de' Rossi publications, which updates the earlier *Indice delle stampe* (1700). This index includes prints of ancient and modern Rome, as well as prints after the great wall-painting cycles by Raphael at the Vatican and the Farnesina, by Annibale Carracci at the Palazzo Farnese, by Michelangelo at the Sistine chapel, and all the Roman wall paintings of Pietro da Cortona (Palazzi Barberini, Pamphili, Borghese, Saint Peter's, and the Chiesa Nuova). The second index (fol. 143) is a catalogue of the architects and buildings represented in this first volume. It is in alphabetical order, whereas the actual



Domenico de' Rossi. *Studio d'architettura civile*. Plate 36. Doorway of Palazzo Barberini. 1983.49.88

plates are in chronological order of construction and importance. Thus four of Michelangelo's architectural works are illustrated first, with thirty-one plates, then seven buildings by Borromini are shown in forty-three plates. These are followed by much more modest displays of Bernini's and Cortona's works and of lesser baroque masters. Among the latter, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi's work is lavishly shown in twelve plates, an editorial selection that may well have been influenced by the fact that he was related to the publisher.

The editorial emphasis, giving prominence to Michelangelo and Borromini, is thus focused on the expressive quality of the baroque and the Renaissance, what Simonetta Ciofetta (1992) has called "borrominismo regolarizzato." The illustrations are all scaled,

and the emphasis is on sections. De' Rossi's representations of seventeenth-century buildings (and their details) suggest that he had already grasped an important feature of contemporary architectural theory and practice—that baroque architects were primarily interested in moldings, in contrast to the Renaissance preoccupation with the orders (and their constituent elements). This interest is demonstrated also in the insistent illustration of molding sections or *modani*, which were useful for the study as well as the practice of architecture. The *modani* had been adopted already in the fifteenth century as a communication tool between architects and stone carvers, but it is only here that they enter the intellectual and theorized language of architectural design, helping to unveil the mysteries of classical composition.

Parts 2 and 3 of this series, on Roman chapels and churches respectively, are enlarged sets of illustrations first offered by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi in the 1680s (cats. 112 and 113). The prints have been recut or reworked by Francesco Aquila, whose results are superior to those of Giovanni Francesco Venturini, but the idea of offering a graphic compendium of Roman places of worship is not novel. Evidently de' Rossi had inherited the earlier copperplates with the assets of the publishing firm and was merely expanding on an existing print type. Nonetheless, the series on chapels offers important and extensive documentation of church interiors. Most distinguished is the impressive series on tomb sculpture, plates 29–53, illustrating the monuments of popes and cardinals at the Vatican, the Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, and lesser Roman churches.

The third part, providing a dazzling gallery of illustrations of church facades and plans, is a precious document of the desired appearance of Roman churches in the second decade of the eighteenth century. More miscellaneous than the previous two parts, with two papal family villas lavishly illustrated at the end (Farnese and Pamphili), this set of prints is nevertheless dominated by the churches, equally divided between conventual, parish, and basilical establishments.

This three-part publication is thus consistent with the publication policy established by Domenico de' Rossi's predecessor, Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, whose editorial method it faithfully continues. The 122 plates of the 1684 publications on chapels and churches compare favorably with the 145 plates of the 1711 and 1721 editions, especially if one considers that the last thirty plates of the 1721 edition illustrate papal villas and other miscellaneous, secular buildings. The *Studio civile* goes further than two earlier de' Rossi publications, Pietro Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma* (cat. 37) and Giovanni Battista



Falda's *Nuovo teatro*, and provides details of architectural features. The novelty is in the window and door details of the 1702 issue, which responds brilliantly to the new pedagogic methods adopted by the French and Italian architecture schools in Rome, and to the enlarged readership, swollen by foreign visitors to Rome, for documents of postclassical architecture. The books spread knowledge of Roman baroque design throughout Europe and played an important role in the "creation of international Baroque in the early eighteenth century" (Blunt, in de' Rossi 1972).

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Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi (fl. 1638–1691)

III

Vrbis Romae Sciographia Ex Antiquis Monvmentis Accvratiss Delineata

Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, [c. 1650?]

1985.61.2652

Folio: 530 × 355—525 × 415 (20⁷/₈ × 13¹⁵/₁₆—20⁵/₈ × 16⁵/₁₆)

Foliation [12] leaves of etched and engraved plates

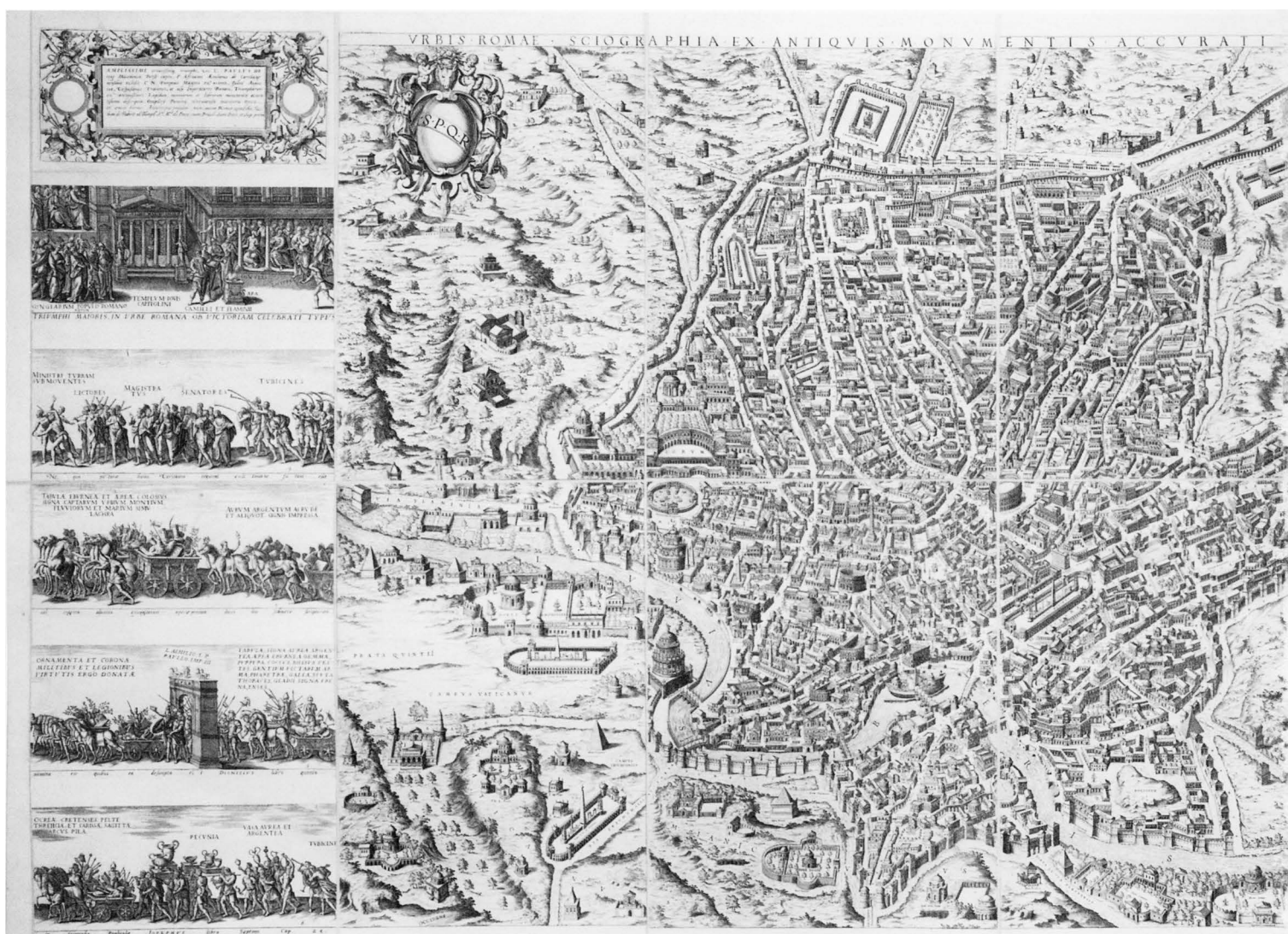
(Note: According to Frutaz, the publisher, de' Rossi, numbered some of the chief monuments of the *Urbis Romae*, adding an extensive key of his own devising. These numbers are present in the Millard copy; however, the key is not included)

Edition First combined edition of Etienne Dupérac's *Urbis Romae* (first published: Venice, 1574) and Onofrio Panvinio's *Amplissimi ornatissimique triumphi* (first published: Antwerp, c. 1560)

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows:

Urbis Romae: 8 plates numbered [2–3], 4, [5], 8–11

The *Urbis Romae* is a reconstruction of ancient Rome and its monuments and consists of 8 plates arranged horizontally in two rows of four. The numbering of the plates of Dupérac's map indicates the intended arrangement of all 12 sheets in two rows of six with

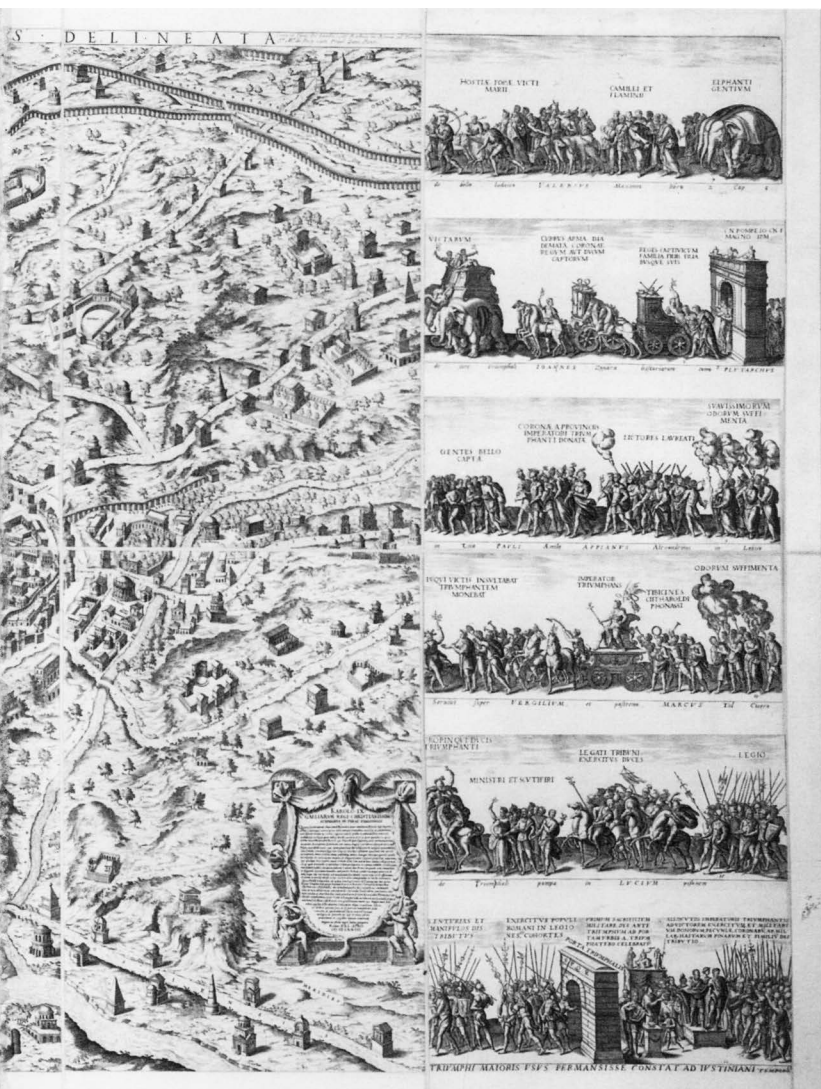


Panvinio's plates being placed to either side of the map (i.e., [1], [6], [7], and [12] according to the numbering of the *Urbis Romae*). The series of plates by Panvinio, however, still retains its original numbering

The title of the *Urbis Romae* spans the top of the four upper plates (i.e., plates [2–5]); plate [2] bears the insignia "S.P.Q.R." in oval and cartouche with strapwork ornaments; plate 11 contains Dupérac's dedication to King Charles IX of France inscribed on a wolfskin supported by two putti, with 34 lines of text in Latin and dated: "April [MD]LXXIII," as well as de' Rossi's imprint on a pedestal beneath

Amplissimi ornatissimique triumphi: 12 plates (155 × 355 mm) numbered 1–12 on 4 leaves (i.e., 3 plates per sheet)

Plate 1 of the *Amplissimi ornatissimique triumphi* contains the title, description, and privilege inscribed within a strapwork cartouche, the whole surrounded by a border patterned with crossed spears, arms and armor, horns, streamers, and other attributes of war and fame; plates 2–12 depict Roman triumphal processions



Binding Mounted on linen (1058 × 1558 mm) and preserved folded in a cardboard portfolio

References Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (Rome, 1962), 1: 67–68, 2: pls. 37–49

II2

Insignivm Romæ Templorum Prospectvs
Exteriores Interioresque A Celebrrioribvs
Architectis Inventi Nunc Tandem Svis Cvm
Plantis Ac Mensuris

Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, 1684

1983.49.90

Folio: 475 × 361 (18³/₄ × 14¹/₄)

Foliation 72 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. 72 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–72, including title plate (pls. 9–10 pasted together to form a large folding plate, remainder full page). The title plate bears a dedication to Cardinal Domino Gaspari inscribed on a cloth held by three putti beneath the dedicatee's arms; it is signed by Jacques Blondeau as engraver. Plate 2 is an allegorical frontispiece, depicting Saint Peter performing his first miracle, and is signed by Giovanni Battista Manelli as designer and engraver ("Io. Bapta Mannellius Inven. et del."). The remaining plates are signed by the following as draftsmen: Francesco Bufalini (9 plates); Lorenzo Nuvolone (7 plates); "DR" (2 plates). Engravers include: Giovanni Francesco Venturini (11 plates, including one signed by him as both draftsman and engraver); Jean Collin (8 plates); Nicholas Bellin (2 plates); Nicolas Laigniel (1 plate); Vincenzo Mariotti (1 plate); Valérien Regnart (1 plate); 1 plate signed by Dominique Barrière as both draftsman and engraver ("Dominique Barrière Marsilien delin. et sculp.")

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, gilt borders, gilt spine, raised bands, gilt inside covers, red sprinkled edges. Bound (1) with the publisher's *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle*

Provenance Eighteenth-century engraved bookplate of Cullen House Library (i.e., library of the earls of Seafeld)

References Berlin Cat. 2672; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 79; Brunet 4: 1406; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2845

Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. *Urbis Romae*. Plan of Rome. 1985.61.2652

II3

Disegni Di Vari Altari E Cappelle Nelle Chiese
Di Roma Con Le Loro Facciate Fianchi Piante
E Misvre De Piv Celebri Architetti

Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, [but after 1691]

1983.49.90

Folio: 475 × 361 (18¾ × 14¼)

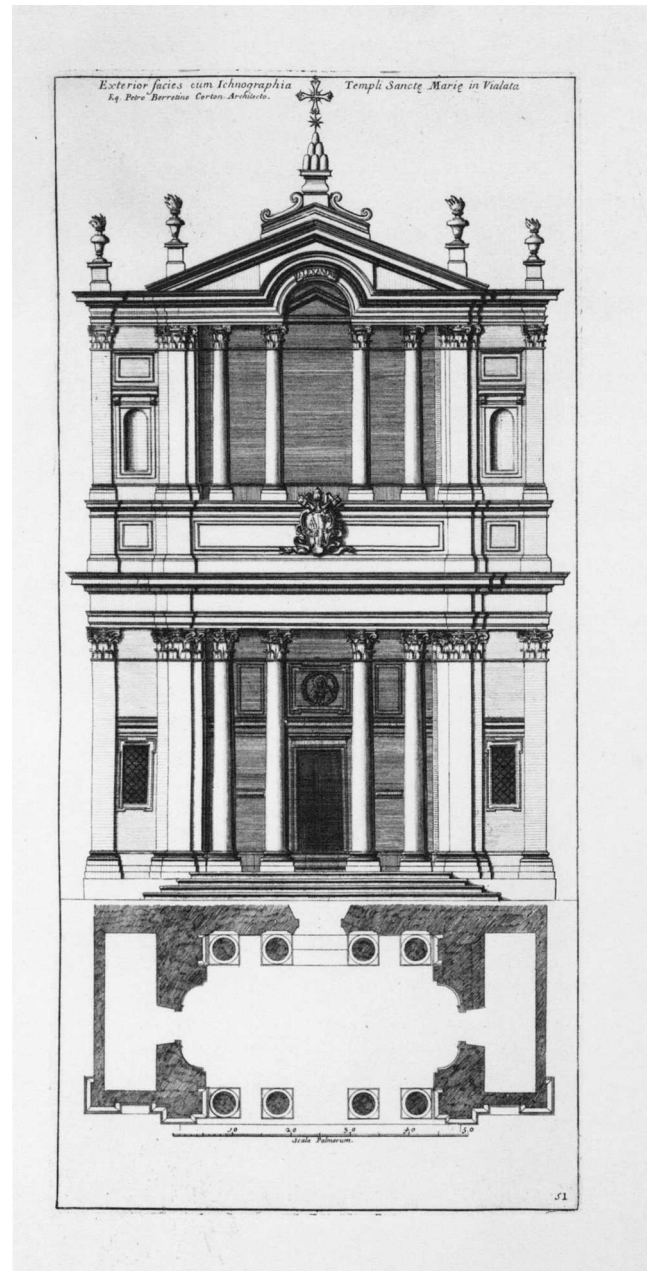
Foliation 50 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition, later issue (first published c. 1687).
RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, records an earlier state of
this edition with an alternate form of address to the
dedicatee

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. 50 etched
and engraved plates numbered 1–50, including title
plate. The allegorical title plate includes a dedication
to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani and is signed
“Ciro Ferri inuent” and “Pietro Antonio de Pitri sculp.”
3 plates are signed by Alessandro Specchi as draftsman
and engraver; 1 plate is signed by Giovanni Francesco
Venturini as draftsman and engraver; 5 plates are signed
by Vincenzo Mariotti as engraver; the remaining plates
are unsigned. Plates 48–50 bear the imprint of Giovanni
Giacomo de' Rossi's heir, Domenico de' Rossi, who
inherited the business in 1691

Binding Bound (2) with the publisher's *Insignium Romae
templorum prospectus exteriores interioresque* (cat. 112)

References Berlin Cat. 2673; Brunet 4: 1406; RIBA, *Early
Printed Books*, 2844



Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. *Insignium Romae Templorum*.
Plate 51. Elevation and portico plan of Santa Maria in Via Lata.
1983.49.90

II4

Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi and
Domenico de' Rossi

[Views of Rome]

Rome: Domenico de' Rossi, [after 1691]

An untitled collection of previously published suites of
etchings relating to Roman architecture, statuary,
fountains, and ruins. A nearly identical but larger collec-
tion is described by Olschki, who cites further extant
copies as evidence that the collection was intentionally
assembled by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi (and/or,
as the Millard copy demonstrates, his heir Domenico
de' Rossi). The present collection consists of:

[1] Pietro Ferrerio (c. 1600–1654) and Giovanni Battista
Falda (1643–1678)

Palazzi Di Roma De Piv. Celebri Architetti Disegnati
Da Pietro Ferrerio Pittore et Architett.^o

[2] Philippe Thomassin (1562–1622)

Antiq.^{r(um)} Statvar[um] Vrbis Romae Liber Primvs. . . .

[3] Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi

Nova Racolta Degl'Obelischi Et Colonne Antiche,
Dell Alma Citta Di Roma Con Le Sve Dichiaratione

[4] Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi

Nvova Racolta Di Fontane Che Si Vedano Nel Alma
Citta Di Roma Tivoli E Frascati

[5] Domenico de' Rossi

[Ville, Giardini, Palazze]

[6] Gilles Sadeler (1570–1629)

Vestigi Delle Antichità Di Roma Tivoli Pozzvollo Et
Altri Lvochi

1985.61.572

Oblong folio: 225 × 405 (10 × 15^{15/16})

Foliation [1]: [41] etched and engraved plates

[2]: 50 [i.e., 18] etched plates

[3]: [9] etched plates

[4]: [25] etched plates

[5]: [9] etched plates (1 folding)

[6]: [1], 50 etched and engraved plates

Illustrations [1] Etched and engraved throughout. Unsigned and undated title plate with title and Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's imprint inscribed on pedestal supporting personifications of Painting and Architecture bearing drapery inscribed with de' Rossi's dedication to Cardinal Antonio Barberini and the Barberini arms, set against architectural background; plus 40 unnumbered full-page etched and engraved plates. Most plates signed by Ferrerio as draftsman ("Disegnato da Pietro Ferrerio," with variants)

[2] Etched throughout. 50 small unsigned etched plates, including title plate, numbered 1–50 and printed on 17 leaves (all plates printed three per leaf, except 40 and 44, which appear on the same leaf); plates measure 123 × 79–81 mm. Title plate signed by Philippe Thomassin as etcher and publisher of all plates ("Philippus Thomassin sculpsit, excuditq[ue], Romae . . .") but Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's later, undated imprint added bottom right

[3] Etched throughout. 18 unnumbered etched plates, including title plate with Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's undated imprint, printed on 9 leaves (i.e., two per leaf); plates measure 213 × 157 mm. Allegorical title plate with dedication to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna at head. 1 plate signed by Louis Rouhier as etcher ("Louis Rouhier Diuionensis Sculpsit"); 1 plate signed by Jean Maius as etcher ("Ionnes Maivs F."); remainder unsigned

[4] Etched throughout. 46 unnumbered etched plates, including title plate (title beneath dedication to Andrea Corsini), printed on 25 leaves (18 leaves with 2 half-page plates each, 2 unnumbered plates cut and mounted on verso of plate [13], 1 plate cut and mounted on verso

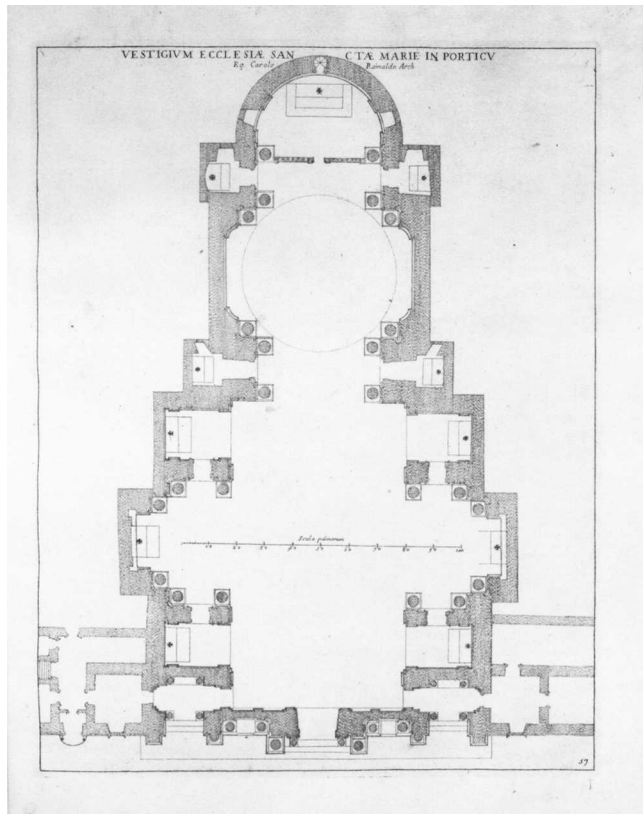
of plate [24]). Plates measure 193–232 × 137–181 mm (half page); 191–218 × 270–364 mm (full page). 5 plates signed by Giovanni Maggi as etcher ("Ioannes Maggus Ro inci . . .," with variants, including 2 dated 1618); 2 plates signed by Francesco Cordoba as draftsman and etcher ("Eques Franc. Corduba deli & Sculpsit"); 2 plates signed "F.C. F.R."; 1 plate signed by Louis Rouhier as etcher ("Ludouicus Rouhier Sculp. Romae . . ."); 1 plate signed with monogram "B. . . ." 3 plates bear Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's imprint as publisher; 2 plates with Gottefried de Scaichi as publisher ("Gotfrid: de Schachij Excu."; "Goefr de Scachis form."); remainder unsigned

[5] Etched throughout. 8 unnumbered full-page etched plates; plus 1 folding plate with map of Frascati. Plates measure 237–259 × 347–389 mm, except for folding map, 436 × 565 mm. 1 plate signed by Mattheus Greuter as etcher ("M. Greuter fe . . ."); 1 plate signed "Franciscus Corduba Fecit." 3 plates with Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's imprint (including folding map) but another 3 plates have Domenico de' Rossi's later imprint (i.e., "Domenico" replaces "Giacomo" in the original imprint line)

[6] Etched and engraved throughout. Title plate with title inscribed on wolf skin nailed to architectural surround, flanked by male term, and allegorical figures of Fame and Time; plate [1] dedication to Matteo Wackhero da Wackhenfels etched on large stone block with putti above supporting coat of arms, and flanked by obelisks with Egyptian hieroglyphs; and 49 full-page plates numbered 2–50 depicting views of Roman ruins with captions in Italian (plates 2–9, 11–38 reduced and extensively reworked copies of the plates in Etienne Dupérac's *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma*, cat. 35). Plates measure 156–159 × 267–271 mm. All plates signed by Marco Sadeler as publisher ("Marco Sadeler excudit") and the title plate retains his original imprint "Stampata in Praga Da Ægidio Sadeler Scultore Di Essa Mae. [M] DC. VI"

Binding Contemporary vellum, manuscript title on spine: "Vedute di Rome & C.," recent ties. The plates of suite [6], Sadeler's *Vestigi delle antichità di Rome*, are cut and mounted on the rectos of leaves with the 40 plates of Etienne Dupérac's *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma* (cat. 35) mounted on versos, so that the two series of plates correspond *face à face*

References Olschki 17887 ("Ce volume n'est pas factice."); see also [1] RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 1056; [2] Fowler 116, note, p. 98; [6] Thomas Ashby, "Le diverse edizioni dei 'Vestigi dell'Antichità' di Stefano Du Pérac," *La bibliofilia* 16 (1915): 414; Berlin Cat. 1855 (1st ed., 1st issue: Prague, 1606); Fowler 283; Cicognara 3871 (1st issue); Olschki 18018



Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. *Insignium Romae Templorum*. Plate 57. Plan of Santa Maria in Campitelli. 1983.49.90

THESE TWO ALBUMS and the plan are part of the extensive collection of prints representing the buildings, squares, fountains, and gardens of Rome published by the prolific workshop of Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi between 1647 and 1691, many of which were protected by privileges granted by Popes Alexander VII, Clement X, and Innocent XI. Giovanni Giacomo pursued an aggressive publishing program, as documented in his catalogue of 1677, following in the footsteps of his father, Giuseppe de' Rossi, and his brother, Giovanni Domenico. He commissioned new engravings from artists working in Rome, as well as buying existing copperplates from other publishers and heirs of artists. Among the artists whose plates he purchased were Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, Pietro Testa, Pietro Santi Bartoli, and Pietro Aquila. He invested in the artistic education of Giovanni Battista Falda (cat. 36), who became his most prolific engraver. After the death in 1679 of Falda, whom he had adopted as his son and heir, he brought into his shop a printer from Lucca who, as Domenico de' Rossi (cat. 110), inherited the business in 1691 (Consagra 1988).

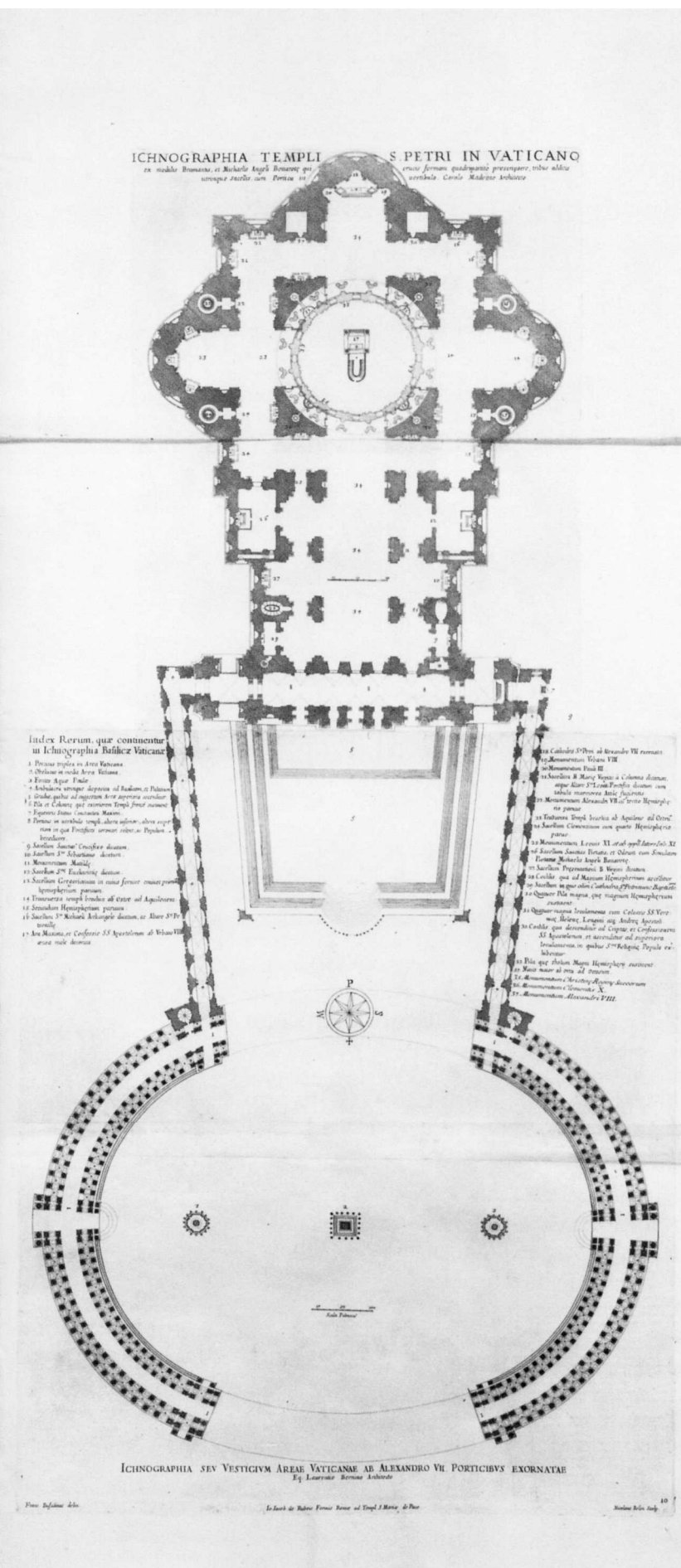
The plates of Roman churches in *Insignium Romae templorum* show the buildings in orthogonal architectural representation (plan, section, and elevation), with the exception of only a few plates in the collection that are perspective views. This manner of representation

was recommended by the architectural school in Rome and had been first proposed by Raphael in his letter to Leo X (1515), written with Baldassare Castiglione, about the documentation of the quickly vanishing ruins of ancient Rome. The two albums on Roman churches and chapels are part of an important kind of publication that flourished in Rome in the seventeenth century. They not only documented the modern classical architecture of Rome since the Renaissance but presented these buildings as architectural models, grouping them, as in this case, by building types. This typological approach had been initially formulated by Sebastiano Serlio in his books on ancient Roman and Renaissance buildings (cat. 125). But Serlio's modern solutions were not limited to any one site, whereas these publications by de' Rossi, like the earlier volume on the palaces of Rome by Pietro Ferrerio (cat. 37), wedded a panegyric approach, inspired by local guidebooks, to the pedagogical thoroughness of the architectural manual. This collection of drawings, accurately drawn and scaled, could be used in teaching modern classical architecture to young students and quickly became an instructional tool. The lack of text, beyond labels identifying the building and its architectural designer and illustrator, meant that the images took pride of place and that the choice of buildings to be illustrated constituted the sole editorial and programmatic contribution of the author and the publisher.

The striking aspect of the collection, then, is the balanced choice of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century masters, which includes High Renaissance and mannerist precursors, designs by the stars of the baroque, and many more by their students and by minor baroque masters. Thus the distinguished Renaissance architects Michelangelo and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola are represented by one significant building each (Saint Peter's and the Gesù interior), while Giacomo della Porta—critically less regarded today—has five of his churches illustrated (the Gesù facade and San Luigi dei Francesi among them), and Gian Lorenzo Bernini only one church (Sant'Andrea al Quirinale). This results, nonetheless, in an almost even number of illustrations of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings.

In *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle*, however, the great contributors to baroque architecture in Rome dominate, with Bernini leading over all others. The two parts of the publication form a program of reconciliation between Renaissance and baroque, attempting to reduce the dramatic contrast between the approach and the resulting buildings of the two centuries, proposing instead, through the choice of buildings to be celebrated, a unified view of Roman artistic culture in an architecture based on classicism.

While the original authors of the architectural and sculptural works were listed on each sheet, one impor-



tant contributor is not formally acknowledged (Morolli 1987). Fourteen of the actual illustrations in the first part are based on drawings by Cirro Ferri, a student of Pietro da Cortona and a Florentine painter active in Rome. He was probably Giovanni Giacomo's artistic adviser and technical director in the conceptualization of a series of publications whose intention was to document Rome through the academic modes of orthogonal representation, and of which these albums form a part. Thus Ferri's and de' Rossi's great idea was to produce a graphic instrument that was academically correct and that just as impeccably propagated the magnificence of modern Rome, all the while promoting through its editorial choices the continuity of a high level of classical culture without falling into an obsequious adulation of the cinquecento masters. The publications of the de' Rossi provided a counterpart to the architectural treatises of the previous century. Rather than teaching through rules, they created a new kind of treatise that educated through examples, providing models rather than principles for the architect and the patron of architecture.

Numerous engravers were employed in the realization of this large collection of prints. The title page was engraved by Jacques Blondeau (Langres, 1639–1692), who is best known for his engravings after Cortona's frescoes and paintings in Florence and for his portraits of Roman prelates. Among the other engravers, Giovanni Francesco Venturini (Rome, born 1619) stands out as the closest disciple of Falda, whose work on the documentation of fountains he continued by making twenty-eight sheets of Roman fountains and twenty-nine sheets of the fountains in Tivoli, as well as engraving such accomplished sheets as the title page for Filippo Bonanni's treatise on shells, *Recreazione dell'occhio*. His engravings of the facades of Sant'Agnese, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, and others are strongly modeled. Nicholas Bellin was a disciple of the talented artist Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi; Vincenzo Mariotti studied perspective with the architect Andrea Pozzo and engraved the illustrations for Pozzo's treatise of 1693 on the subject (cat. 107). But the most distinguished among the contributors to this publication was Dominique Barrière, whose work parallels the style of Stefano della Bella. Born in 1622 in Marseilles, he had studied in Florence with Giulio Parigi, Jacques Callot's teacher, and then went on to work in Rome. Part of the distinguished team that illustrated Giovanni Battista Ferrari's *Hesperides*, he also worked with Giovanni Maggi on forty-four sheets of fountains, published in 1647 by Giuseppe de' Rossi.



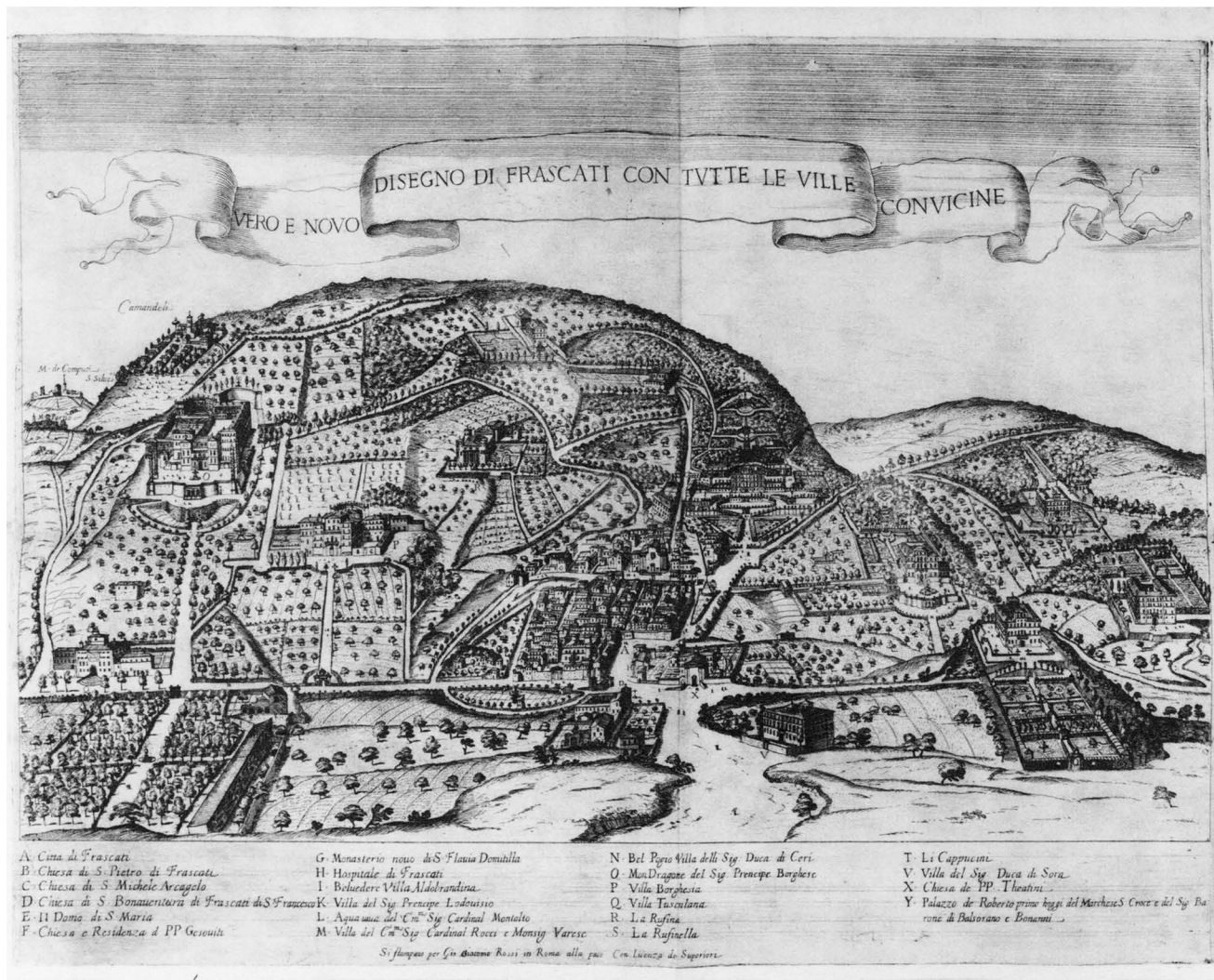
Among his other works published by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi were the sheets of statues and views of Villa Pamphili, views of Frascati, especially the seven views of Villa Aldobrandini (1649), as well as engravings after paintings by Pietro da Cortona and Domenichino. Among his liveliest plates is that of Piazza Navona during the Easter festivities of the Jubilee Year of 1650, engraved after Carlo Rainaldi's design of temporary structures, decorations, and fireworks.

The *Urbis Romae sciographia*, a plan of ancient Rome, was reprinted by Giovanni Giacomo in 1649 from copperplates that had been previously owned by Francesco Villamena and Lorenzo da Vaccaria (the original publisher). There were no original archaeological maps of Rome engraved in the seventeenth century, but only reprints and copies of sixteenth-century reconstructions (Hülßen 1933), and only one large plan of contemporary Rome. When, in the fall of 1665, Alexander VII asked Giovanni Giacomo to supply a wide range of maps for the gallery in the papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo, the publisher/print dealer could provide 176 mounted prints—received and appraised by Carlo Fontana—only two of which were Roman (Consagra 1988). Though Rome evidently was not a flourishing cartographic center, the papal interest in

Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. *Disegni di vari altari*. Plate 72. Santa Maria della Pace. 1983.49.90

maps perhaps encouraged Giovanni Giacomo to undertake the costly project for a new plan of the city, eventually engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda and published by de' Rossi in 1676.

The *Sciographia* reconstructed the plan of ancient Rome, first published in 1574, engraved by the French artist Etienne Dupérac after his own drawings and dedicated to King Charles IX of France. Dupérac's reconstruction was explicitly dependent on the fragments of the Forma Urbis, the marble fragments excavated in 1562 by Giovanni Antonio Dosio and studied by Dupérac with the permission of the owner, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (Hülßen 1933). The influence of Pirro Ligorio's plan of ancient Rome (1561) is also evident, especially in the eastern orientation of the plan. Dupérac's first dated work is a view of a tournament held in the Belvedere court at the Vatican (1565); his best-known works are the collection of thirty-nine views of Roman ruins titled *Vestigi* (1575) and the title page for Antoine Lafrery's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, a kind of floating signifier since the sheets collected behind the title page varied from album to



Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi and Domenico de' Rossi. [Views of Rome]. Suite [5], plate [9]. Villa Frascati and environs. 1985.61.572

album. Even more important for architectural history, in 1569 Dupérac engraved four sheets that showed Saint Peter's and the Capitoline buildings according to Michelangelo's designs, significant documents since those designs were altered during construction (Ashby 1914–1915).

De' Rossi's edition of the plan of ancient Rome engraved by Dupérac is further enhanced by four sheets, illustrating an ancient triumph, attached to each side of the map, one above the other like a column. These illustrations are taken from Onofrio Panvinio's *De Triumphis* (cat. 73), first published in Antwerp in 1600 as part of his history of Roman rituals and institutions. It has been suggested, however, that Panvinio may have chosen Dupérac as his engraver. The antiquarian and the engraver overlapped briefly during their stay in Rome since Dupérac arrived a few years before Panvinio's early death in 1568, and their association may help explain the sophistication and ambition of Dupérac's subsequent engravings.

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Luigi Rossini (1790–1857)

II5

[Le Antichità Romane]

Rome: Luigi Rossini ("presso l'Autore . . . e Negozio Scudellari"), 1823

1985.61.2653

Broadsheet: 540 × 746 (21 1/4 × 29 3/8)

Foliation 101 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition, first issue

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. 101 full-page plates numbered 1–101, with captions in Italian. Plate 1 is the frontispiece, which bears an inscription describing the contents: "Frontespizio Delle Antichità Romane Divise in Cento Tavole diseguate ed inc^e da Luigi Rossini Arch. Ravennate." All plates are signed and dated by Luigi Rossini as draftsman and engraver ("Luigi Rossini inv. dis. inc."; "Rossini dis. e inc."), with dates ranging from 1819 to 1823. The horizontal plates measure 360–526 mm × 461–695 mm; the vertical plates measure 453–614 mm × 360–482 mm

Binding Contemporary three-quarter vellum gilt with blue paste-paper covered boards, blue sprinkled edges

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes

References Berlin Cat. 1916 (2d issue, 1829); Petrucci 311–314; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2848 (2d issue)

II6

Le Antichità Dei Contorni Di Roma Ossia Le Piv Famose Città Del Lazio Tivoli Albano Castel Gandolfo Palestrina Tvscolo Cora E Ferentin^{&.} Raccolte Descritte Diseguate Ed Incise Da Lvigì Rossini Architetto Ravennate Già Pensionato Del Regno Italico Raccolta Del Tvttò Nvova Per La Scelta Dei Pvniti Di Vista E Per La Rivnione Di Tvtti Li Monvmenti Piv Interessanti Delle Vicinanze Di Roma Contenente N.º 73 rami, e corredata di una storica illustrazione

Rome: printed by Vincenzo Poggioli for Luigi Rossini, 1824–1826

1985.61.2654

Broadsheet: 539 × 744 (21 1/4 × 29 1/4)

Foliation [5] leaves, 73 etched plates

Edition First edition, second issue? The plates of the RIBA copy are numbered irregularly, suggesting an earlier issue in parts (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2847)

Text folios [1] half-title (verso blank); [2] preface (verso blank); [3]–[5] recto, explanation of the plates, ending with imprint: "Roma Dalla Tipografia Di Vincenzo Poggioli . . . 1826"; [5] verso, privilege, dated 16 September 1826, and imprimaturs

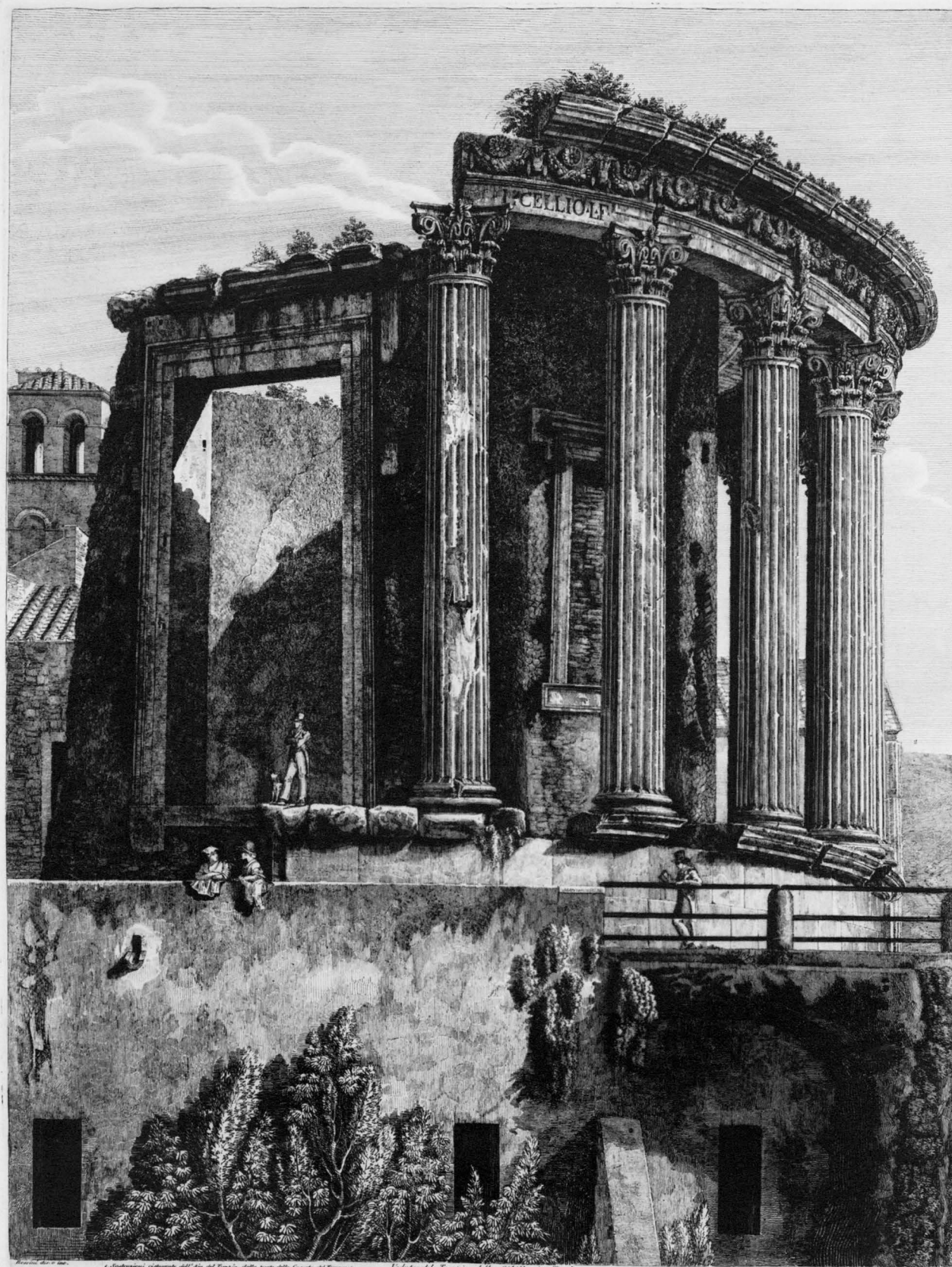
Illustrations 73 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–73, including title plate and 3 divisional title plates (pl. 1 is a general title plate with vignette; pl. 41, divisional title plate: "Antichità Di Cora"; pl. 49, divisional title plate: "Antichità Di Albano E Castel Gandolfo"; and pl. 64, divisional title plate: "Le Antichità Di Preneste E Del Tvscvlo"). Plates 39 and 40 are placed *face à face* to form together a large plan of Tivoli; plate 39 is signed by Rossini as draftsman and dated Rome, 1826 ("L. Rossini dis. dir. e terminò. Rome 1826"), and plate 40 is signed by L. Ricciardelli as engraver ("L. Ricciardelli inc."). The remaining plates are signed by Rossini as draftsman and engraver, and bear dates ranging from 1824 to 1826. Horizontal plates measure 342–483 × 462–730 mm; vertical plates measure 550–669 × 435–503 mm

Binding Contemporary half-vellum gilt with blue marbled boards, blue sprinkled edges

References Berlin Cat. 1917; Petrucci 314–318; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2847

ALTHOUGH NOT ROMAN, Luigi Rossini is considered the most important graphic illustrator of Rome in the nineteenth century. In 1830 he was distinguished enough to be included in an encyclopedic biography of graphic artists for which he contributed a brief autobiography. The impoverished, hard-working artist emerges fully from this autobiography. Born in

Luigi Rossini. *Le antichità dei contorni di Roma*. Plate 1. Temple of Sibyl at Tivoli. 1985.61.2654



Ravenna, he studied in Bologna from the age of sixteen as the apprentice of Antonio Basoli (see cat. 15), the distinguished stage and graphic designer. His mentors at the Accademia Nazionale di Belle Arti (which had replaced the Clementina in 1804) in Bologna included Giovanni Antolini, who went on to teach architecture at the Brera in Milan. While studying he supported himself as a decorative painter—moderating the grandiose manner of his teacher Basoli—alternating periods of work with study.

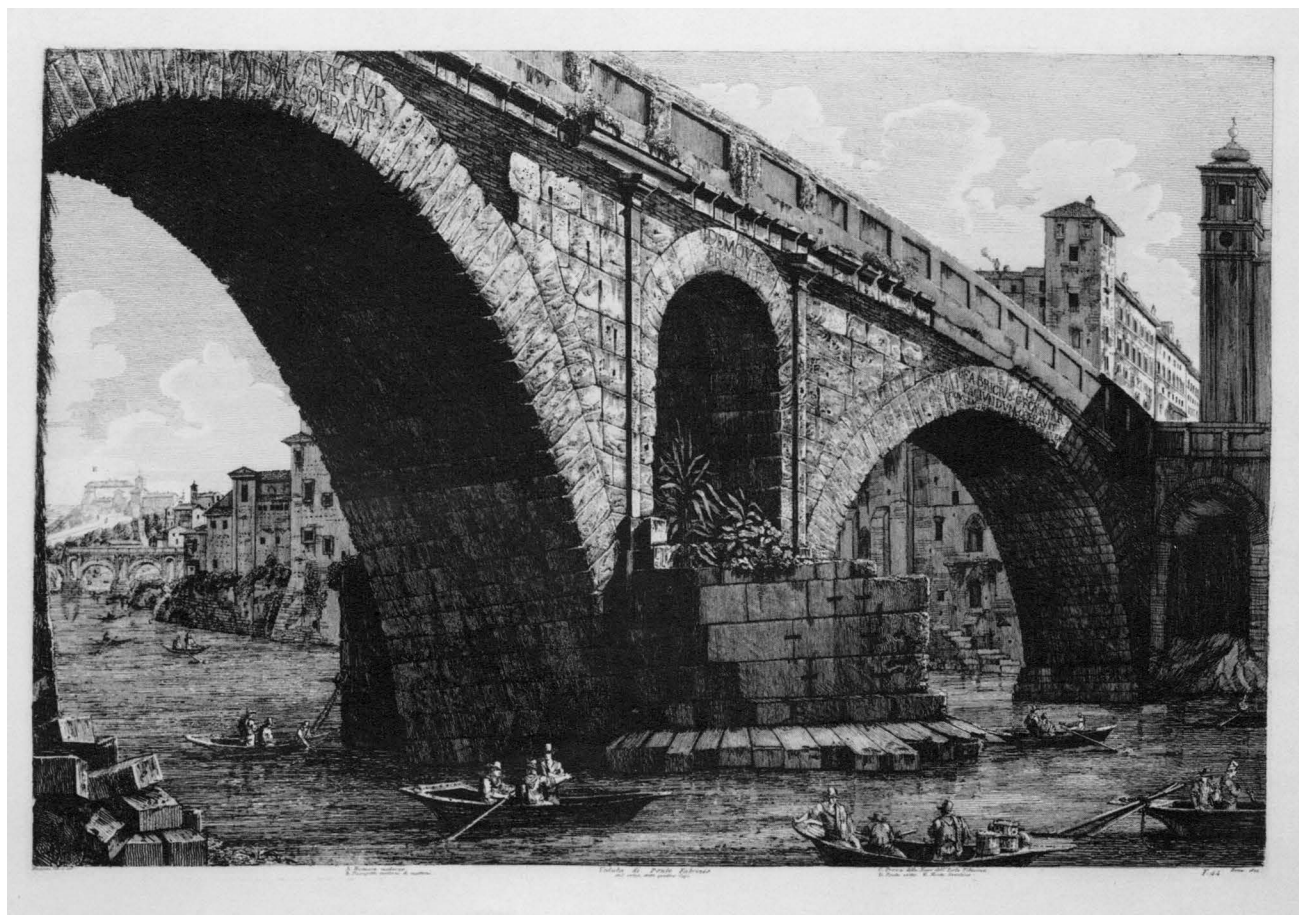
After completing the course of study at the Accademia and winning the highest prizes, Rossini participated in a competition in Rome, where in 1813 he won a fellowship sponsored by the Napoleonic government, soon lost with the fall of the puppet kingdom. Though his fellowship was reinstated, thanks to the intervention of the sculptor Antonio Canova, Rossini spent four years of intense misery studying architecture. During this time his work was included in the annual competitions, and his projects for a fishery, a bath, and a country house of 1816 were judged favorably by such distinguished architects as Pietro Camporesi and Raffaello Stern (Pirazzoli 1990). Rossini's attempts to obtain architectural work failed, despite an early commission from Canova for a drawing of the temple at Possagno, and he turned to topographical engraving,

openly following in the path of the “great Piranesi.” By 1830 he was both successful and prosperous as a graphic artist (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982).

Like Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Rossini was an observant topographer but also a scrupulous archaeologist; like Carlo Labruzzi (see cat. 52), he was also a neoclassicist. In Rossini's pictures the suffering humanity of Piranesi's views has disappeared. From Piranesi, Rossini takes precise topographic information, the understanding of ancient building materials, and knowledge of places. Piranesi's method of archaeological research is Rossini's principal cultural and artistic reference. Thus Rossini borrows from his predecessor the *sotto-in-su* views, and like Piranesi he assembles fragments of Roman architecture and inscriptions in an imaginative agglomerate. But Rossini also benefits from the extraordinary archaeological activity carried out by Giuseppe Valadier (cat. 138) and others. The freshly uncovered monuments offered additional subjects to the topographic artists working in Rome.

Rossini populated his views of Rome with scenes of contemporary life designed by Bartolomeo Pinelli, who had also worked with other *vedutisti*. Their substantial

Luigi Rossini. *Le antichità Romane*. Plate 44. Fabrizio bridge. 1985.61.2653



association, which commenced in 1817 and lasted until Pinelli's death in 1835, has been examined by Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta (1956). In the *Antichità romane*, Pinelli's figures enliven 81 of the 101 plates. In the *Antichità dei contorni di Roma*, Pinelli's etched figures are included in fifty of the seventy-three plates that comprise the collection. Like Labruzzi's figures, Pinelli's defined the new *verismo*, and after 1840 Rossini himself inclined toward a *verismo borghese* (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982). In addition to his considerable contribution to these two sets of prints in the Millard collection, Pinelli's figures are also included in Rossini's *Sette colli*, *Porte e mura*, *Antichità di Pompeii*, and *Archi antichi trionfali*.

Like his avowed model Piranesi, Rossini was a prodigious worker; moreover, he confronted intense competitors. Rossini's immense oeuvre is partly catalogued in the inventory of the Roman Calcografia (the Regia Calcografia had bought his plates in 1909). His extraordinary lifetime output amounts to more than one thousand engravings; between 1820 and 1840 alone he appears to have completed 616 plates. Recognized and honored for his contributions, in 1835 Rossini was elected a member of the Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia; in 1837 he became a member of the Accademia di San Luca, where he was appointed *professore di merito* in 1847. His work in Rome took place within a large community of *vedutisti*, including Domenico Amici, Achille Parboni (*Nuova raccolta delle principali vedute antiche e moderne di Roma*, 1830), Alessandro Moschetti (*Nuova raccolta delle principali vedute antiche di Roma*, 1848), Gaetano Cottafavi (*Raccolte delle principali vedute di Roma*, 1843), Ippolito Caffi, and Camille Corot. They, and the numerous other artists in Rome, were busy producing illustrations of contemporary Roman life and small artworks that the growing numbers of visitors eagerly took home (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982). In 1835, in addition to the Calcografia, there were twenty-two shops in the city that sold views of Rome. Under Giuseppe Valadier's directorship of the Calcografia, between 1814 and 1839, a catalogue was compiled and published.

The "eruditismo accademico" of the distinguished abbots around Pope Gregory XVI—Melchior Missirini, Francesco Cancellieri, and Gaetano Moroni—promoted continued interest in archaeological excavations and the preservation of monuments, as witnessed by the foundation of the two Gregorian museums, the Etruscan in 1837 (see cat. 62) and the Egyptian in 1839. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of fervid archaeological excavations in Rome itself. Following papal decrees on conservation, archaeology became an independent discipline. Uncannily like a vindication of Piranesi's earlier unaccepted ideas of Roman hegemony,



Luigi Rossini. *Le antichità dei contorni di Roma*. Plate 18. Plate with doorway. 1985.61.2654

the promotion of excavation and restoration was no longer a private act of personal magnificence but part of a political program seeking to establish the historical and ideological significance of Rome (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982).

Through the French-supported efforts of excavation and restoration concentrated in the Roman forum, between the Capitoline and the Colosseum, from 1809 to 1815, the concept of the archaeological garden was developed and used to unify the historic monuments slowly emerging from the debris that had collected around and above them during centuries of neglect. Numerous Roman ruins were thus "freed," almost as a result of Piranesi's "anatomizing" earlier illustrations. It was as though he had X-rayed the Roman ruins, exposing them to view and providing his successors with the knowledge of building sites and foundations. Thanks in part to Piranesi's efforts, nineteenth-century archaeologists knew where and especially what to dig. The new museums founded by Gregory XVI were furnished in part with the findings of these excavations. He conferred university status on the Accademia Pontificia di Storia e Archeologia and, similarly to the

earlier control and monopoly of the Accademia Ercolanese (see cat. 1), he granted the exclusive right to publish archaeological finds to the papal academy.

The intense interest in archaeological excavations provided Rossini with fresh subjects and materials for his collections of Roman views. He also profited from the void in the market for prints left by the departure of the Calcografia Piranesi, taken to Paris by Piranesi's son Francesco and returned only in 1839 after Pope Gregory XVI purchased the plates from the Firmin-Didot company for the Calcografia Camerale. Furthermore, Rossini also profited from the growing taste in the first half of the nineteenth century in Italy for the production of graphic printed works. This remarkable growth is documented by the numerous catalogues published in this period, especially in Milan. The widespread diffusion of graphic art gave birth to a new form of middle-class collecting linked to interior decoration (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982). Rossini's works were sold in collections or single sheets by the dealer Giovanni Scudellari in via Condotti, Rome's tourist center. Early on in his career, Rossini began to include in each collection a catalogue of his available works with the corresponding price list, and, in a clever form of self-advertisement, he also listed his works in progress. Ten volumes of plates, individually and collectively priced, are listed in his French-language catalogue of 1852. The price of Rossini's works remained remarkably stable over time; they cost less than reproductive prints from the same period, and less than the works of the more traditional, earlier topographer Giuseppe Vasi (see cat. 141) or of the admired engraver Giovanni Volpato.

Nullò Pirazzoli (1990) has insisted that archaeology and restoration are well served in Rossini's *Antichità romane*, which illustrate the excavations going on in Rome at the time, by showing that Rossini's illustrations are reliable documents. Thus Rossini's work should be interpreted from this point of view rather than as painterly or graphic works of art, even though Rossini drew watercolor preparatory sketches for his views of Rome. The excavations and their graphic "restoration" were the subject of the academic curriculum of the architecture students at both the French and Roman academies during the entire nineteenth century, with the French architects sending their "envoi" from Rome to Paris between 1788 and 1924. In his reconstruction, Rossini combined accurate survey and clarity of representation. He eventually liberated himself from Piranesi's model to achieve a coherent and autonomous stylistic personality (Pirazzoli 1990). His contribution has a strong didactic aspect and, as he strove to fill historical lacunae, is less given to polarizing or dramatic compositions.

In the preface to his *Antichità dei contorni di Roma*, Rossini refers to the archaeologists Antonio Nibby and

Carlo Fea as his living sources for the historical background of his illustrations. The volume is divided into four parts corresponding to the sites depicted. Thus there are forty plates of Tivoli, eight plates of Cora, fifteen plates of Albano and Castel Gandolfo, and ten plates of Praeneste and Tuscolo. This is the first publication in which Rossini includes a brief introduction and a list of illustrations with extended captions. Several of the plates are based on his own surveyed and measured drawings. He claims that what he is offering, in contrast to other topographic artists in Rome, is a painterly perspective view ("prospetticamente alla pittorica") and that his drawings are accurate and based on historical documentation.

His formal adherence to Piranesi is still evident in the accentuated chiaroscuro, the choice of subjects and the ways in which they are framed, and the composition of the part-title pages in which architectural and archaeological fragments are mixed in apparent disorder. However, both the quality and the quantity of the light in his views counters the darker Piranesian approach in its quest for a contemporary reality. This greater reality is enhanced by his frontal viewpoints, which are more expository than Piranesi's, and the presence of Pinelli's Roman folk who concretize and render mundane the monumentality of the architecture. Rossini's staffage occasionally takes on sources other than Pinelli. In the view of the thermal hall in Hadrian's villa, there are echoes of Poussin in one woman being attacked by a serpent and the silent scream of another approaching at a run. Often Rossini puts himself inside his pictures, in coat and hat carrying a portfolio and a folding chair. His smooth stones are stylistically consistent with the late empire costumes of his figures, and his vegetation is entirely different from Piranesi's, lush rather than recently incinerated.

Rossini's view of the temple of the Sibyl in Tivoli offers a captivating inventory of his personal means of representation. He illustrates textured travertine, smooth marble, and crumbling rubble masonry sprouting vegetation in the diffused light of early afternoon. It is a quiet and thoughtful picture that includes local women chatting by the parapet, a studious male visitor, and a domineering guardlike figure in the shadow of the colonnade. The fluting of the Corinthian columns' shafts provides the strongest lines, surrounded by the varied textures of exposed rubble masonry, stained stones, tiles, and broken marble ornaments. His part-title page for the section on Albano shows antiquities piled in front of an opus quadratum wall, with the text inscribed in the lintel of an elaborately carved door case. Marble fragments and vegetation are gently stacked together, rather didactically illustrating by juxtaposition the sources of ancient ornamental forms. Though the statue aids the gaze by pointing,

and the various portrait and metaphorical figures appear vision-endowed, this is an orderly, static composition, more like a storehouse than a dangerous, unexpected find.

The *Antichità romane* marks a direct confrontation with Piranesi. In this work Rossini emancipates himself entirely while precisely quoting his predecessor in his title as well as in some of his captions. His reinterpretation of the weighty inheritance has been referred to as a “transcription in prose of Piranesi’s fantastic and poetic language” (Cavazzi and Tittoni 1982). Moreover, despite the ambitious publication, with numerous large plates, complex spatial descriptions, and diagonal compositions, Rossini’s plates show occasional uncertainties of perspective and coarseness of line.

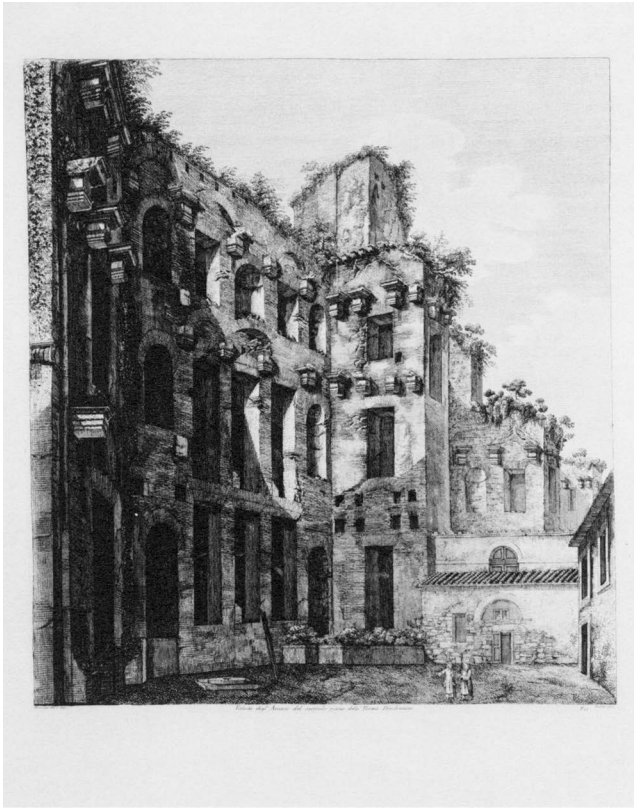
As in the *Antichità dei contorni*, novelties include newly excavated sites or newly damaged buildings. Entirely new are the views of the destroyed San Paolo fuori le Mura, burned in the fire of 15 July 1823. Although the church had been restored numerous times, its destruction by fire marked the effective demise of

the last of the Constantinian basilicas in Rome. Rossini’s plates of San Paolo constitute an important document of the extent of the destruction caused by the calamity. The damaged roof of the nave, the ceiling and glazing of the side aisles, and the collapse of part of the nave’s wall and columns are clearly shown by Rossini, who is evidently applying the same interpretive and documentary principles that he brought to bear upon his views of ancient ruins. But while the ruins of antiquity have been successfully ordered and integrated in the landscape of the city, the views of San Paolo are filled with the confusing debris of the recent catastrophe.

Rossini’s antiquities, in contrast, are remarkably tidy and complete. The Antonine column, for example, is not only fully excavated and replete with its base, but is also shored up with corner bollards. Though more atmospheric, Rossini’s view of the Pantheon lovingly depicts the fully lit, bone-dry stones of the pediment and the elaborate iron grille between the columns. The midday glance into the Pantheon’s interior is reinforced by the somber ornaments that surround the entry portal. The view from the Quirinal to Saint Peter’s is not new in its framing, but the shading of the palace’s facade helps guide the eye toward the serene

Luigi Rossini. *Le antichità Romane*. Plate 98. Interior view, San Paolo fuori le mura. 1985.61.2653





Luigi Rossini. *Le antichità Romane*. Plate 49. Ruins of Diocletian's bath. 1985.61.2653

view of the western hills, and also promotes the recent arrangement of the colossal horse-tamers flanking the obelisk.

A superior wistfulness is achieved by Rossini in such nearly abstract compositions as the view of Diocletian's bath, where his delicate use of the etching needle is reminiscent of Charles Meryon's romantic views of Paris. Rossini's interest in texture transforms the inescapable diagonal composition he borrows from earlier *vedutisti* (Piranesi, but also Luca Carlevaris [see cat. 29] and Vasi) when framing the Fabrizio bridge leading to the Tiber island. This is a relatively small bridge, dramatized by the low angle and the cut-off left-hand arch. The great arch he carves out underneath the right-hand tower further multiplies the curved shapes that leap through and across the composition of this picture. His temple of Concord in the Roman forum becomes

a screen of giant columns through which we can observe Pietro da Cortona's church (belonging to Rossini's own Accademia di San Luca) and the tidy surroundings of the forum, no longer the cow pasture of early modern Rome. Rossini's view of Constantine's arch shows it fully excavated and restored, its reemerged base surrounded by a new retaining wall, thanks to the sponsorship of Pius VII, the reigning pontiff in 1823 when the *Antichità Romane* was published. Thus Rossini's antiquities assume a freshness that persuasively represents the focused archaeological project at the heart of papal urban policy in Rome in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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Pietro Rossini (fl. 1693)

II7

Il Mercurio Errante Delle Grandezze di Roma, tanto antiche, che moderne . . . In questa settima Edizione migliorato, ed accresciuto, con l'aggiunta delle fabbriche fattevi fin' al presente Diviso in due Parti La Prima contiene Palazzi, e Chiese, La Seconda Ville, Giardini, Terme, Acque, Teatri, Cerchi, Archi Trionfali, Guglie, Sepolcri, ed altre Antichità, e cose singolari di Roma

Rome: printed by Generoso Salomoni for Fausto Amidei, 1750

1985.61.2655

Duodecimo: 157 × 91 (6³/₁₆ × 3³/₁₆)

Pagination Part 1: [x], 192 pp., [12] folding etched and engraved plates

Part 2: [ii], 146, [8] pp., [8] folding etched and engraved plates

Edition Seventh edition (first published: Rome, 1693)

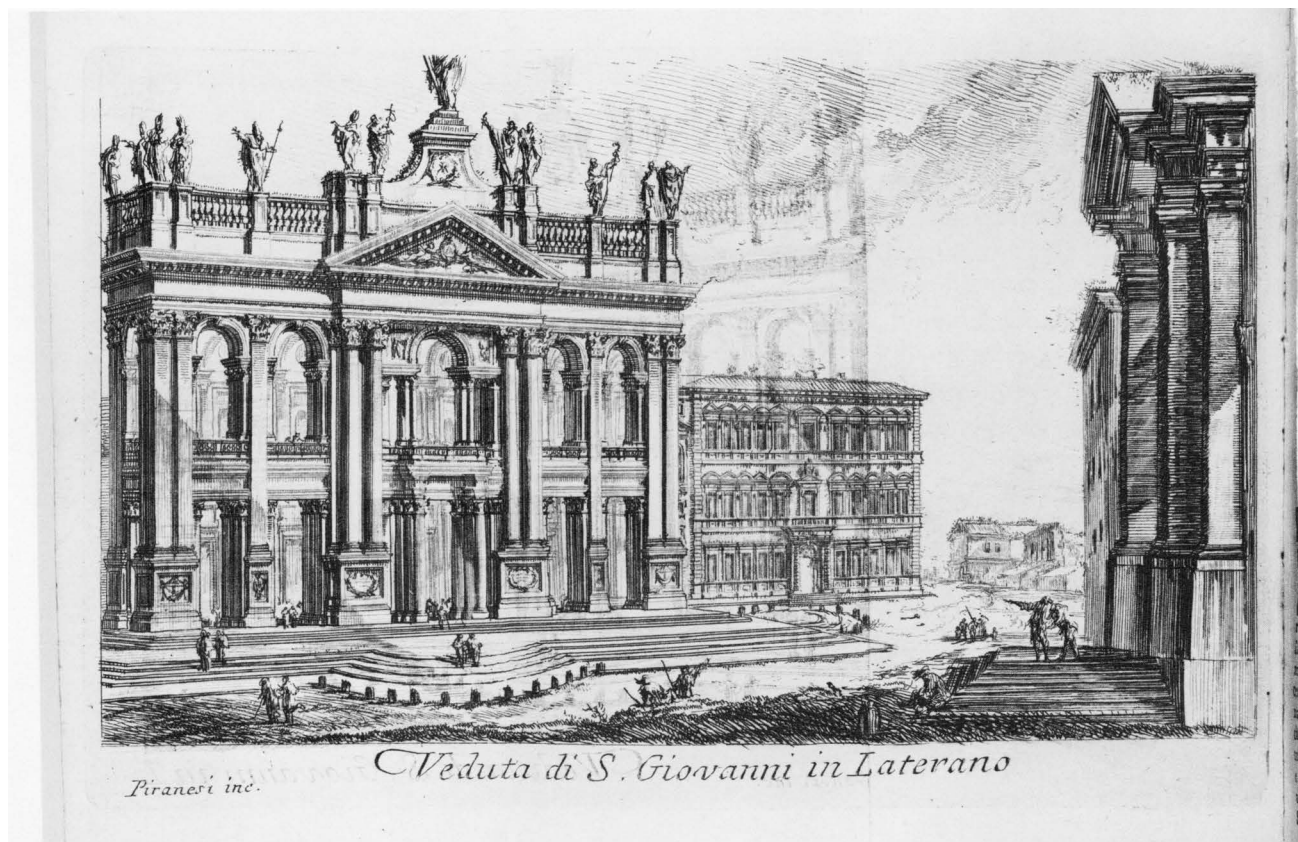
Text part 1: pp. [i] half-title: "Il Mercurio Errante." (verso blank); [iii] title page (verso blank); [v–ix] dedication by Amidei to Felice Conti, dated Rome, 16 May 1750; [x] reimprimatur; 1–192 text; part 2: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); 1–142 text; 143–146 index, part 1; [147–154] index, part 2

Ornaments Woodcut ornaments on both title pages, woodcut initials

Illustrations

Part 1: 12 unnumbered, folding etched and engraved plates. 4 plates signed by Jean-Laurent Le Geay as draftsman and engraver ("J. L. LeGeay del. et Sculp.," with variants); 3 plates signed by Giovanni Battista Piranesi as engraver ("Piranesi inc."; "Piranesi fe."); remaining plates unsigned

Pietro Rossini. *Il Mercurio errante*. San Giovanni in Laterano. 1985.61.2655



Part 2: 8 unnumbered, folding etched and engraved plates. 5 plates signed by Piranesi as engraver; 1 plate signed by Philothée-François Duflos as draftsman and engraver ("F.P. Duflos del. et scul."); remaining plates unsigned

Binding Contemporary vellum, contemporary manuscript title on spine, red and blue sprinkled edges

Provenance Library stamp of the "Petit Seminaire de Metz. Montigny" on half-title; illegible ownership inscription on title page

References Hind, *Piranesi*, 77; *Piranesi Complete Etchings*, 90; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2564, note; Schudt 294

PIETRO ROSSINI, AN ANTIQUARIAN from Pesaro and a professional guide for foreign visitors in Rome, first published *Il mercurio errante* in 1693. The guidebook quickly became very successful: ten more editions were published before 1788 (including editions in 1704, 1715, 1739, 1750, 1760, 1771, and 1776), according to Ludwig Schudt (1930). The structure of the book, divided into three parts focused respectively on palaces, villas and ancient Roman ruins, and Christian churches, remained unchanged through the 1715 edition, which was expanded and revised by the author's son, Giovanni Pietro Rossini. While the overall structure remained constant, successive editions were updated, like a Baedeker guide. For example, new palaces are included, and the current owners are identified for palaces that have changed hands. In the 1715 edition the buildings of Innocent XII are recorded in a separate chapter. Rossini's description of palaces is richer than those by his competitors, and his expanded history of Roman private art collections is of greater importance. The discussion of antiquity is especially interesting for art historians since the transformation of ancient buildings into Christian churches is carefully charted. The nine principal churches are also dealt with in a separate chapter in the third part of the guide. The examination of current restorations makes Rossini's book an important document for archaeologists as well.

Schudt (1930) has shown how each successive edition offers additional material. The 1739 edition is important for the buildings sponsored by Clement XII; the second part includes not only the principal churches but also fifty more. In the 1750 edition the section on churches is further expanded, including observations on Sant'Apollinare, San Niccolò dei Lorenesi, and San Lorenzo in Damaso, as well as valuable information regarding the Lambertini pontificate. The 1760 edition adds further information about the pontificate of Benedict XIV, describes the coffeehouse in the Quirinal Palace,

and includes Villa Albani. The ninth edition (1771) contains a description of the Capitoline museums.

In the 1776 edition the old organization is altered: the programmed visit is divided into ten days of sight-seeing. The tour begins at the Capitoline museum, with its collection of antiquities, the literal and artistic heart of the city, and ends with an appendix of villas around Rome. In this edition the book, which had started as principally an inventory of palaces and villas, has evolved into a complete compendium of Roman attractions. The last edition, 1788 according to Schudt (1930)—though both the Getty Research Center and the Biblioteca Apostolica at the Vatican list copies published in 1789—includes a description of the sacristy at Saint Peter's commissioned by Pius VI and an ample description of the Museo Pio Clementino.

The third edition (1715) was corrected and enlarged by the author's son, Giovanni Pietro Rossini, who added a section on buildings in and near Rome, sponsored by Popes Innocent XII and Clement XI and dedicated the edition to Cardinal Filippo Antonio Gualtieri, who employed him as a librarian. The guide is still divided into three parts, with part I focused on palaces, part 2 on villas and gardens, and a third generous section that includes ancient Roman ruins, churches, and Roman topography.

The 1750 edition of the *Mercurio errante* is rendered exceptional by the inclusion of a collection of remarkable illustrations. The authors of the plates are Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Jean-Laurent Legeay, and Philothée-François Duflos. Piranesi's contribution includes views of the Belvedere at the Vatican, seen from an unusual angle that includes the casino of Pius IV, San Giovanni in Laterano, which looks like a stage set, an atmospheric Castel Sant' Angelo, and the fountains of Trevi and of Acqua Paola on the Janiculum hill. Legeay illustrates the Quirinal and Montecitorio palaces, the new Spanish Steps and the church of Santa Trinità dei Monti, the arch of Titus, and Piazza Navona. The plates of Rome's port at Ripa Grande and of Trajan's column are signed by the French graphic artist Duflos. Additional unsigned plates of Saint Peter's, the Pantheon, the Capitoline Hill, and the Colosseum do not match the charm and quality of the signed etchings.

The structure of the guide in the 1750 edition is in two parts, each divided into two books. The first book, on palaces, begins with a discussion of the foundation of Rome, indelibly linked with the Capitoline whose palaces are the first to be described. Then follows the description of the Vatican beginning with the impressive statistics of the palace (12,522 rooms) and the library (35,000 volumes; 1,900 manuscripts from the collection of Christina, the queen of Sweden, bought by Alexander VIII), and a more detailed examination of the painted wall decorations moving on to art objects,

whose origin and subsequent movements are often and usefully traced. Thus the bronze pineapple in the hemicycle of the Belvedere villa is traced to its previous locations in the atrium of Saint Peter's and on top of Hadrian's tomb, now the fortress of the Vatican.

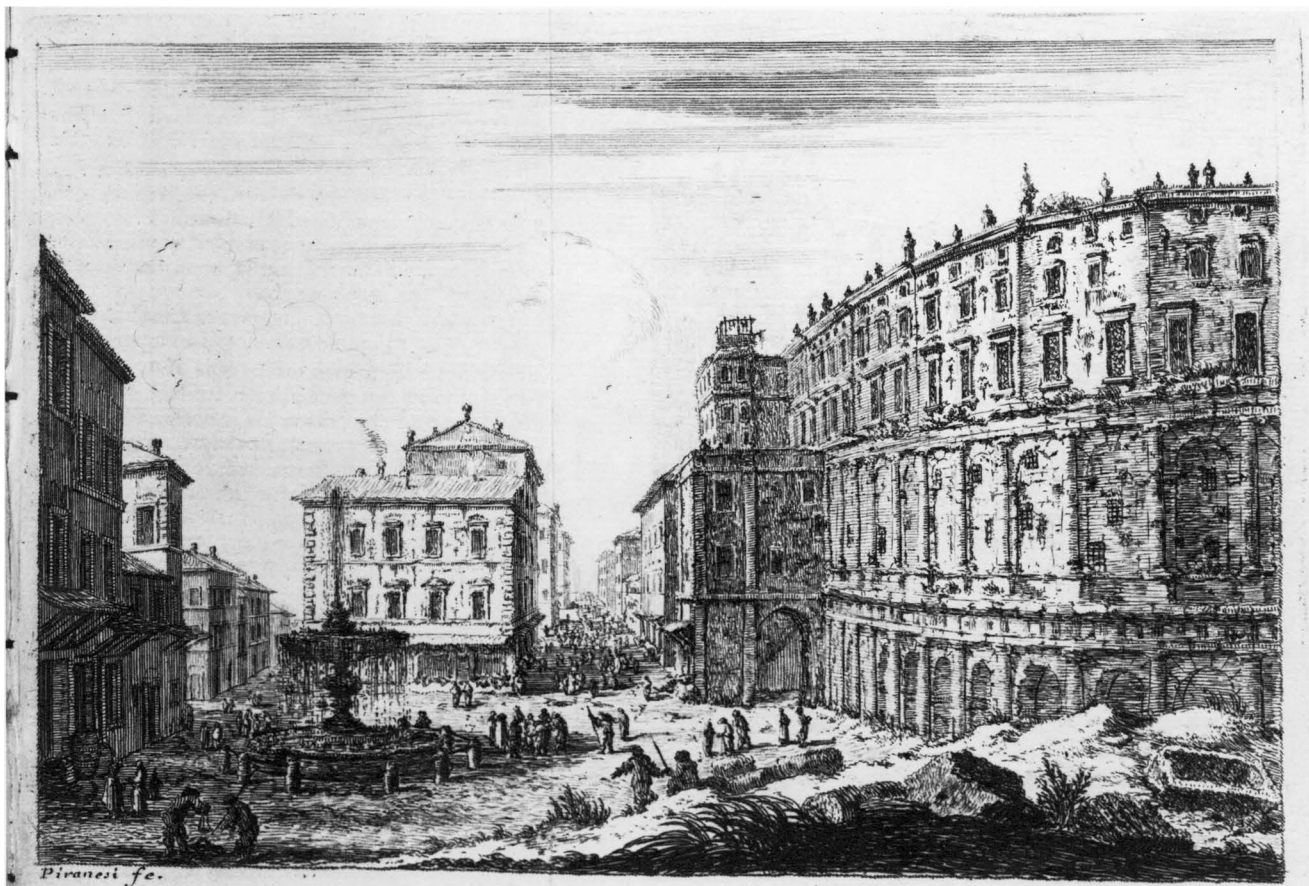
The sequence of palaces described does not follow any apparent order. However, since the first one is the Palazzo Odescalchi, the family palace of Innocent XI, one could assume an attempt on Rossini's part to flatter the pope that was reigning when he began the composition of his guide to Rome. The painting collection in the Odescalchi, bought from the heirs of Queen Christina, was complemented by the family's distinguished collection of marble statues. Next Rossini examines the two residences of the duke of Parma in Rome, the Farnesina villa and the Farnese palace, both considered supreme examples of their building type, architecturally and in their extraordinary decorations. Rossini explicitly appreciates the cornice of the Palazzo Farnese, fashioned by Michelangelo from travertine taken from Vespasian's amphitheater, the Colosseum. The Palazzo Giustiniani is distinguished by the largest art collection in Rome, with its 1,867 statues and 636 paintings. The Altieri palace across the street from the Gesù church, another papal family residence, is praised for its staircase and library. The Borghese palace is singled out for its seventy-two walnut doors and its one hundred columns of oriental granite supporting the

porticoes of the ground floor, as well as its collection of 1,700 paintings. Rossini occasionally provides the price of a decorative object. He singles out the Chigi family palace for its design by Gian Lorenzo Bernini; the Colonna palace for its gallery paved in Sicilian jasper and *giallo antico* columns; the papal palace on the Quirinal for its superlative view; and the Barberini palace for its ten separate apartments, the vault frescoed by Pietro da Cortona, Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* (which he considers the most beautiful painting in Rome), and the silver furniture designed by Cortona.

From these heights of papal family houses and hill-tops, Rossini descends to the Corso and the Campo Marzio. He enjoys the staircase of the Palazzo Ruspoli, the bibliophilic collections of the Palazzo Gualtieri (eventually administered by his own son as librarian), the paintings by Gentileschi then in the Palazzo Verospi, and the gallery of Prince Pamphili frescoed by Cortona, and mentions that the palace of the French Academy contained plaster copies of all the principal statues of Italy.

This dazzling tour of urban residences is followed in the third book by an equally impressive group of country houses located near Rome. The Villa Borghese, just outside the city's walls, is accorded the longest

Pietro Rossini. *Il Mercurio errante*. Part 2: Theater of Marcellus. 1985. 61.2655



entry, detailing the attractive grounds, the grotto, the flower garden, and aviary, as well as the highly ornate building by the mannerist architect Giovanni Vasanzio. Rossini claims that the Villa Borghese is richer and more beautiful than any ancient equivalents; he offers vivid anecdotes about the history of the collections. For example, he explains that Cardinal Scipione Borghese obtained one of the two famed hermaphrodite statues found in the foundations of the new Santa Maria della Vittoria by paying for the facade of the church in exchange for the statue.

Like the palaces, the villas were veritable museums of ancient and modern statuary. At the Villa Ludovisi was Bernini's *Rape of Proserpina* (now in the Borghese collection). A statue of Neptune by the same artist decorated the Villa Montalto's fish farm, while the Villa Mattei on the Celium had the largest number of marble urns with ancient inscriptions. The Farnese gardens on the Palatine Hill housed a triumphal arch, in parts, which was raised for every papal *posse* at a cost of 3,000 scudi each time; the gardens of the Villa Pamphili were (and still are) the largest in Rome, surrounding a building that housed an armory with enough equipment for five hundred men. Rossini describes the much-admired Aldobrandini wedding, the ancient fresco that had been found in the baths of Titus (now in the Vatican museum), the battle of Lepanto frescoed by Antonio Tempesta in the Villa Medici, and the view of Castro destroyed by Innocent x at the Villa Pamphili. The third book concludes with a section on villas further from Rome, such as the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, and the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati.

The fourth book, dealing with the antiquities of Rome, is in some ways the most traditional. Reiterating the story of Rome's foundation, Rossini now turns in the other direction, to discuss the ancient public center of the city in the forum, which at the end of the seventeenth century was still largely a handful of unexcavated ruins. In Rossini's time the arch of Septimius Severus, for example, was half buried, but considered beautiful nonetheless, since contemporaries understood that there was more to the monument than was visible. Rossini renders past glory vividly. In his account of the temple of Peace, he explains that it had been the safe deposit for the property of the aristocrats, serving as a storehouse for the spoils from the Temple of Solomon, and when the Roman temple burned, the great quantity of gold and silver melted and flowed like water from the fire. For Rossini, the Colosseum of Vespasian, named after the colossal statue of Nero that stood on the site, was another imposing symbol of Roman conquest since it had been built by the twelve thousand Hebrews taken in slavery after the destruction of Jerusalem. As the reader of the first book on palaces would

remember, the Colosseum in turn served as a quarry for construction materials used in various Renaissance palaces, such as the Cancelleria and the Farnese.

From the forum and its adjacent areas, Rossini turns to a discussion of the hills of Rome, providing an etymological history of each site and its most distinguished associations. Beyond the seven traditional sites, he also includes the smaller Vatican, Gianicolo, Pincio, Citorio, Testaccio, Giordano, and Savelli hills, largely associated with postclassical events and settlers. The topographic discussion of Roman hills concludes with a section on tombs and bridges, connected through the Castel Sant' Angelo (citadel and burial mound linked by the bridge over the Tiber to Rome).

The next large group of ancient buildings unified by type and discussed by Rossini are the baths, which provide another opportunity to bandy large numbers about. Thus Rossini claims that the baths of Diocletian were built by forty thousand Christian slaves, thirty thousand of whom perished during construction, and that thirty-two hundred people could bathe there simultaneously. He continues with an extensive accounting of the forty-two obelisks of ancient Rome and a history of Rome's triumphal arches, gates, fountains, and streets. Bringing to a close the 1750 edition is a chapter on the sacks of Rome, with the cemeteries and sites of Christian martyrdom.

In the 1750 illustrated edition there is a separate section on churches. Previously included in the third part of the guide that discussed antiquities, the Christian monuments now occupy the second book, placed between palaces and villas. This discussion of churches is thus more substantial than in the previous editions, with extensive sections on the nine principal basilicas followed by shorter entries on other churches arranged in alphabetical order, and was perhaps prompted by the Jubilee Year. It includes a catalogue of the most beautiful places of worship in Rome. A breathtaking compendium, Rossini's transformed book is more like a cultural history of the contemporary city than a mere topographical vade mecum to be used on visits through Rome.

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Ferdinando Ruggieri (1687–1741)

II8

Scelta Di Architetture Antiche E Moderne Della Città Di Firenze Opera Già Data In Luce, Misurata, Disegnata, Ed Intagliata Dal Celebre Ferdinando Ruggieri Architetto Fiorentino Edizione Seconda Pubblicata, Ed Ampliate in Quattro Volumi Da Giuseppe Bouchard . . . Tome Primo [–Terzo] nel quale si contengono gli Ornamenti di Porte, e Finestre, colle misure, Modini, e Profili, tratte da alcune Fabbriche insigni di Firenze, erette col disegno de' più celebri Architetti

[Vol. 4, part I] Piante Ed Alzati Interiori Ed Esterni Dell'Insigne Chiesa Di S. Maria Del Fiore Metropolitana Fiorentina, Misurati E Delineati Dal Senatore Gio.

Batista Nelli Mattematico Ed Architetto; Ed in Diversi Rami Intagliati Dal Sig. Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli Ingegnere Fiorentino Con La Spiegazione De' Medesimi Composta Da Gio. Batista Clemente Nelli Il Giovane . . . Tomo Quarto Parte Prima Da Aggiungersi Alle Opere Di Ferdinando Ruggieri Seconda Edizione . . .

[Vol. 4, part II] La Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana Architettura Di Michelagnolo [sic] Buonarroti Disegnata E Illustrata Da Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi Architetto Fiorentino Tomo Quarto Parte Seconda . . .

Florence: Giuseppe Bouchard, 1755

1983.49.91–94

Folio: 460 × 364 (18 1/8 × 14 3/8)

Pagination Vol. 1: [xii] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 80 etched and engraved plates

Vol. 2: [iv] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 80 etched and engraved plates

(Note: *Pagination* of vol. 2 does not include preface, lacking in Millard copy)

Vol. 3: [vi] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 78 etched and engraved plates (4 double page)

Vol. 4, part I: [ii], xxxiv pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, etched and engraved portrait, [19] etched and engraved plates (17 double page)

Vol. 4, part II: [vi], xxxiii, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, etched and engraved portrait, folding etched and engraved map, 22 etched and engraved plates (3 double page)

Edition Second editions of three separate works: vols. 1–3 first published Florence, 1722–1728 (originally titled *Studio d'architettura civile sopra gli ornamenti di porte, e finestre* . . .); vol. 4, part I first published Florence, 1733 (originally titled *Descrizione e studj della insigne fabbrica di S. Maria del Fiore* . . .); vol. 4, part II first published Florence, 1739. This is the first combined edition of these three works

Ferdinando Ruggieri. *Scelta di architetture*. Vol. 1. Frontispiece. 1983.49.91



Text vol. 1: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [iii] preface (verso blank); [v–vi] note to reader; [vii–ix] dedication by Giuseppe Bouchard to Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor; [x] blank; [xi] list of architects and works included in vol. 1; [xii] blank; vol. 2: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [iii] list of architects and works included in vol. 2; [iv] blank; vol. 3: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [iii–iv] preface; [v] list of architects and works included in vol. 3; [vi] blank; vol. 4, *part I*: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); i–viii preface; [ix]–xxxii explanation of plates; xxxiii errata; xxxiv addenda, ending with imprint: “In Firenze, MDCCCLV. Nella Stamperia Moëckiana.”; vol. 4, *part II*: pp. [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [iii–vi] preface by Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi; i–xxxiii explanation of plates; [xxxiv] blank

Ornaments

Vol. 1: Vignette on title page with view of Florence and a river god, etched by Giovanni Filippo Ciocchi (signed: “Gio Filippo Ciocchi del.”); large headpiece on dedication with portrait of dedicatee, engraved by Carlo Faucci after Giuseppe Zocchi (signed: “Joseph Zocchi del.” and “Carol. Faucci Sculp.”); pictorial initial on dedication with a lion and dedicatee’s arms, also etched by Faucci after Zocchi (signed: “J.Z.d.”; “C.F.s.”); woodcut initial on preface (p. [iii]) and note to reader (p. [v])

Vol. 2: Etched vignette on title page, as in vol. 1

Vol. 3: Etched vignette on title page, as in vol. 1; woodcut initial on preface (p. [iii])

Vol. 4, part I: Etched vignette on title page, as in vol. 1; headpiece with view of the cathedral of Florence, etched by Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli (signed: “B.S. Scrolli fecit”); pictorial woodcut initial on preface and beginning text (p. i, [ix]); wood engraved initials beginning each text section; woodcut ornaments

Vol. 4, part II: Vignette on title page, repeated on p. i, with view of Laurentian Library etched by Giuseppe Papini after Giovanni Filippo Ciocchi (signed “G: Filippo Ciocchj Iñ:e Del”; “Ios: Papinj Sculp.”); etched vignette on preface (p. [iii]), as in title page of vol. 1; pictorial initials on preface and beginning text (pp. [iii], i) designed by Ciocchi and etched by Papini and Sgrilli; wood-engraved initials beginning each text section

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched and engraved frontispiece with general title inscribed in attic of triumphal arch: “Studio D’Architettura Civile,” surrounded by allegorical figures, and several groupings of men engaged in design and construction; plus 80 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–80, all depicting buildings in Flor-

ence. The frontispiece is signed by Ferdinando Ruggieri as designer, Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli as engraver, and Teodoro ver Kruys as engraver of the figures (“Ferd: Rug. inuen.”; “Bernard: Scrollius incid.”; “Teod: Ver: incid: figur.”); the remaining plates (except pl. 34, which is unsigned) are signed by Ferdinando Ruggieri as designer and engraver (“Disegnata et intagliata da Ferdin: de Rug:ⁿⁱ Architetto,” with variants)

Vol. 2: Etched and engraved frontispiece as in vol. 1; plus 80 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–80, all depicting buildings in Florence. The plates are signed by Ruggieri as artist and engraver as above (except pls. 6, 47, and 48, which are unsigned)

Vol. 3: Etched and engraved frontispiece as in vol. 1; plus 78 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–78 (pls. 1, 4, 5, and 78 double page, remainder full page), all depicting buildings in Florence. The plates are signed by Ruggieri as draftsman and engraver as above, except for plate 78, which was added to this edition and is signed by Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli and dated 1754 (“B. Sgrilli fece l’Anno 1754”)

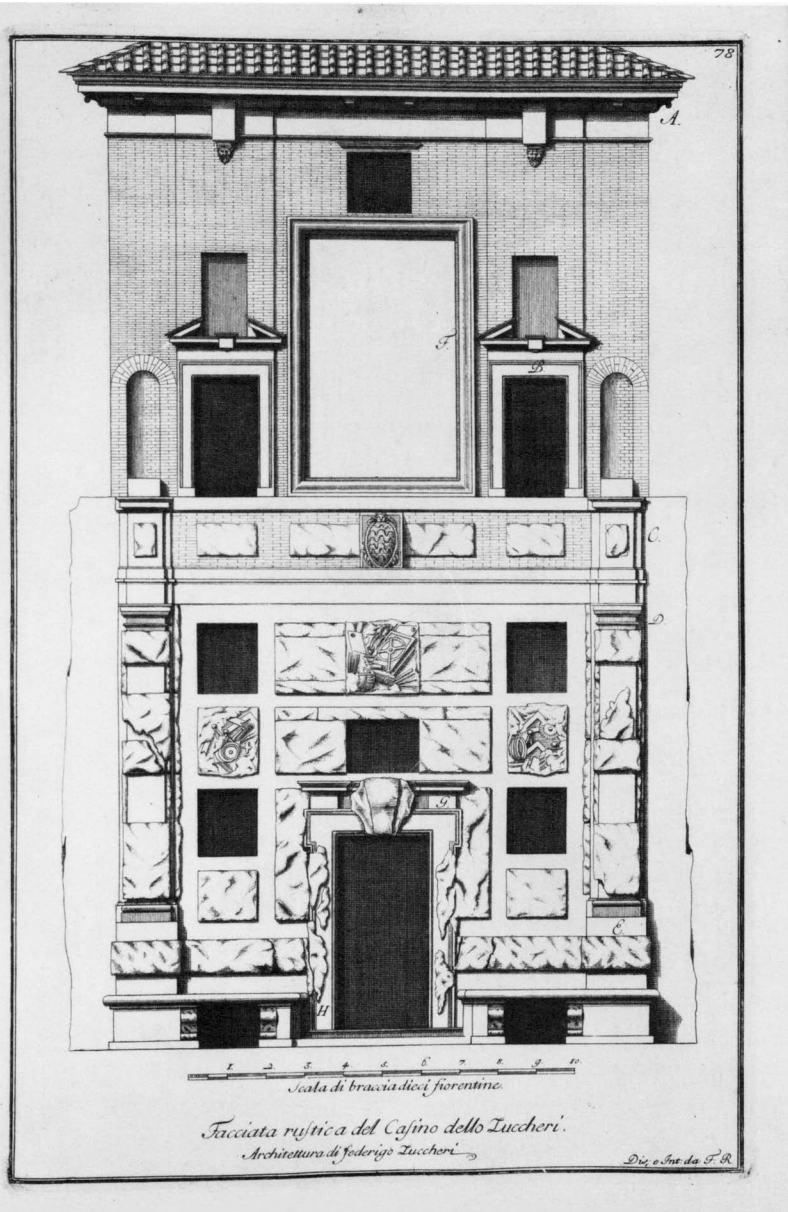
Vol. 4, part I: Etched and engraved frontispiece as in vol. 1; etched and engraved portrait of Giovanni Battista Nelli with caption: “Ioan. Bapt. Nellius Senat. Flor Aet an. LXIII”; and 19 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–vii, viiiB, ix–xii, xiiiA–xiiiC, xiv–xvii (pl. vii also includes fig. viiiA; pls. viiiB, xiiiC full page, remainder double page), all depicting the cathedral of Florence. The portrait of Nelli is signed by Giovanni Domenico Ferretti as designer and Vincenzo Franceschini as engraver (“Io. Dom. Ferretti del.”; “Vin. Franceschini Sculp.”); plates ii–vii, ix–xiiiA are signed as designed after the work of Nelli and engraved by Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli (“Studium Ioanni Baptistae Nelli Senatoris”; “Bernardus Samson Sgrillius Sculpsit,” with variants); plate viiiB is credited to Filippo Brunelleschi as designer and draftsman and by “JVC” as engraver (“F. Brunelleschi inv. et del.”; “JVC Sc.”); plate xiiiB is signed by Sgrilli as engraver and Giuseppe Zocchi as engraver of the figures and dated 1755 (“Bern. Sgrilli Sculp. 1755”; “Ios. Zocchi Sculp. Figur.”); plates xiv–xvi are signed as measured and drawn by Vinceslaus Ramponi (“Vincelaulaus Ramponi men. et del.”) and by Sgrilli as engraver; plate xvii signed by Nelli as designer and dated 1755 (“Io: Ba: Clemens Nelli delin. an. 1755”) and by Sgrilli as engraver; plates i and xiiiC are unsigned

Volume 4, part II: Etched and engraved frontispiece with bust of Michelangelo set against a Doric monument with attic inscribed: “Michelagnolo Buonarruoti [sic] Fiorentino Pittore Scultore Architetto Insigne” inscribed in pediment; etched and engraved portrait of Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi dated 1727; 22 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xxii (pls. i–iii double page, remainder full

page), all depicting the Laurentian Library in Florence; plus a folding etched and engraved map of Florence with caption: "Pianta Del: La Città di Firenze . . .," and imprint along bottom: "Appresso Giuseppe Bouchard in Firenze 1755." The frontispiece is signed by Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi as designer and Carlo Gregori and Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli as engravers ("G.I. Delrosso inv."; "C. Gregori Scul."; "B. Sgrilli scol."); the portrait of Rossi is signed by Gregori as engraver ("Carol. Gregori Sc."); the remaining plates are all signed by Rossi as designer and by the following engravers: Sgrilli (18 plates), Vincenzo Franceschini (3 plates), and Gregori (1 plate)

Binding Bound in 4 vols. Contemporary brown half calf with dark brown mottled paper boards, mottled edges.

Ferdinando Ruggieri. *Scelta di architetture*. Vol. II. Elevation of Casino Zuccari, Florence. 1983. 49.92



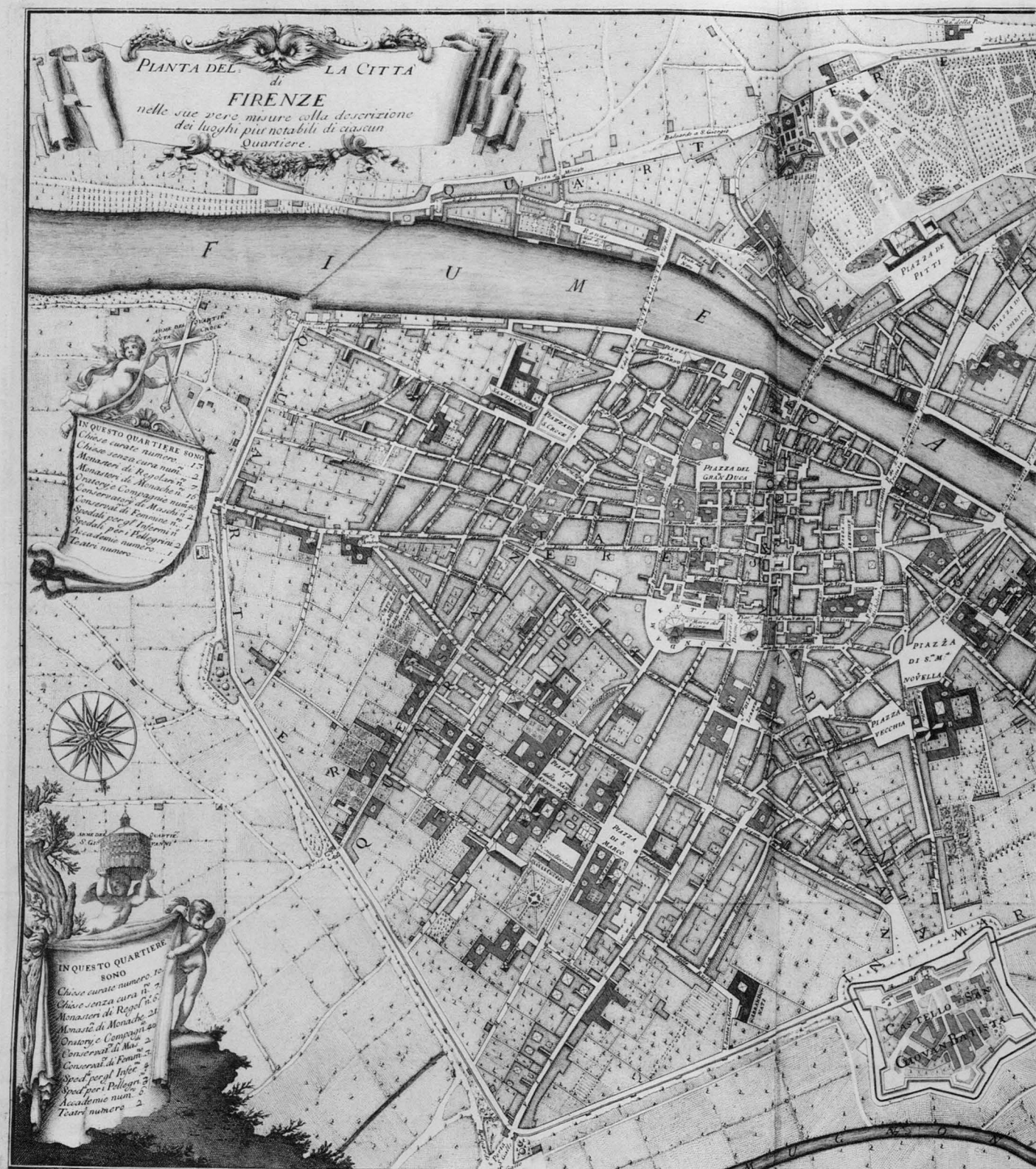
Text and plates mounted on guards throughout. The map bound following vol. 4, part II is usually found in vol. I (cf. RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2877, 2878). Vol. 4 bound (I) with Lodovico Ughi's *Iconografia* (cat. 136)

References Berlin Cat. 2690; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2878

THIS IS THE POSTHUMOUS edition of *Studio d'architettura civile*, a collection of illustrations of Florentine architecture first published by Ferdinando Ruggieri in three volumes between 1722 and 1728. The three volumes originally contained 237 plates, drawn and engraved by Ruggieri, who had also surveyed the buildings illustrated. Ruggieri's map of Florence, published first in 1731 and then many times after, was the first original work since Stefano Buonsignori's plan of 1584 (Mori and Boffito 1926). Approximately 1:5,500 in scale, this is an accurate plan and was dedicated to the last Medici sovereign, the Grand Duke Gian Gastone. Oriented south, this large plan (684 × 510 mm) presented an appealing Medicean image of Florence. Divided into four sectors, the plan places the pentagonal northern fortress in the foreground; at the top center are the grand-ducal Pitti palace and the large Boboli gardens (*Gli ultimi Medici* 1974).

Among Ruggieri's other works are three engravings of Santa Maria Novella, an elevation and two plans. These illustrate Ruggieri's own designs for the festivities that commemorated the death of Luis I of Spain. Ruggieri also designed and engraved the triumphal arch built in Livorno for the reception of Don Carlos in 1721 and the funeral decorations and catafalque in San Lorenzo for the funeral of Gian Gastone in 1737. The illustrations of the Laurentian library by Giovanni Filippo Ciocchi were first published in 1722 as part of Ruggieri's *Studio d'architettura*, then by themselves in 1739, then again in Ruggieri's *Scelta* in 1755 (Mori and Boffito 1926).

Ruggieri was the most distinguished architect of Florence at a time when almost no new building took place and the greater talents, such as Ferdinando Fuga and Alessandro Galilei, had left to work elsewhere. Born in Florence in 1687, Ruggieri studied with Giovanni Battista Foggini in Florence, then surveyed and drew in Rome the most outstanding ruins of antiquity. In Rome he also participated in the competition for the facade design of San Giovanni in Laterano. His correspondence with Giovanni Bottari (cat. 24) shows the discussions and intrigues behind the competition, revealing that the supposed anonymity of the competitors was a farce (*In urbe* 1992). From 1718 Ruggieri was a member of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno; in 1732 he was the deputy of Alessandro Galilei as court architect and then in 1737 became chief architect after





Galilei's death. His most distinguished contribution is the facade of San Firenze, an important structure strategically located between the Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello in the center of Florence.

Ruggieri was a member of a generation of artists who attempted to revive a specifically Florentine tradition (Cochrane 1973). Architectural research in Florence at the beginning of the eighteenth century was based on the principle of analytic science, and the architectural inheritance was seen as a resource that could be clarified and recorded. This approach was influenced by Galilean ideas and the practices of the Accademia del Cimento (La Tosa 1990). The Tuscan school of antiquities focused on recording the architectural patrimony, which led to a cult of the old buildings that had made the fame of Florence in the Renaissance. According to the Accademia del Disegno, the achievements of Florentine style were not only distinguishable from that of other cities but also classifiable in two distinct historical stages, High and neo-Renaissance (Cochrane 1973). The academy's priority of draftsmanship, a distinct local approach to architectural design, was supported by Ruggieri's 1728 *Studio* even though it proposed nothing more than designs copied from Bernardo Buontalenti, Giorgio Vasari, and Michelangelo. Ruggieri's work pays homage to the greatness of Florence in which all the protagonists of the city are involved. Since Ruggieri's intention was to help revive good architecture through emulation, his work is in large measure a contribution to architectural pedagogy (La Tosa 1990) and provides the foundation for a history of local architecture.

Dedicated by the publisher Giuseppe Bouchard to Emperor Francis I, the 1755 version is composed of four distinct parts. The frontispiece for the first section is Ruggieri's original title plate, engraved by Teodoro ver Kruys and Bernardo Sgrilli. It represents a triumphal arch with the allegorical figure of Empire, flanked by Geometry and Sculpture, hovering above various groups of artists busy carving, drawing, and discussing a design. The first part is provided with a long index of Florentine architects that includes Bartolomeo Ammannati, Buontalenti, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Vasari, Michelangelo, and Matteo Nigetti. The eighty plates of the first part illustrate the Laurentian library (pls. 1–15), other works by Michelangelo (pls. 16–20), the Uffizi by Vasari and Buontalenti (pls. 26–37), and works by Ammannati (pls. 22–24), Buontalenti (pls. 43–46, 52–57, 78–80), Dosio (pls. 47–51), and the sculptor Giambologna.

The part-title page and frontispiece for the second and third volumes recapitulate the design of the first

title page, followed in each case by an index. In volume 2, plates 1–14 illustrate Michelangelo's chapel for the Medici in San Lorenzo, here referred to as the "sagrestia vecchia." Plates 15–35 are details of the Palazzo Strozzi, 36–40 are plates of the Casino Corsini, 41–45 are details of Palazzo Vecchio, 46–50 illustrate the Mercato Nuovo, 51–60 are illustrations of Palazzo Giugni, 61–65 are Palazzo Vernaccia, 66–72 illustrate Palazzo Rannuccini, 73–75 are Raphael's Palazzo Pandolfini, and 78–79 are of Casino Zuccheri (Zuccari), by far the most "modern" of the facades illustrated. The seventy-eight plates in volume 3 are devoted to private and secular architecture. These include the Palazzo Pitti (pls. 1–28), Palazzo Capponi (pls. 32–39), Palazzo Strozzi (pls. 52–58), Palazzo Marucelli (pls. 63–68), and Palazzo Niccolini (pls. 71–74). The last plate, illustrating the Santa Trinità bridge in an engraving by Sgrilli dated 1754, is clearly a later addition to Ruggieri's volume.

The fourth part is given to the representation of the cathedral of Florence; although the design of the frontispiece and the title page is repeated again, the text is new. The introduction by Giovanni Battista Nelli provides an early history of the cathedral, followed by a discussion of the nineteen plates. A subsection of this part has a part-title page and returns to the Laurentian library, illustrated in a further twenty-two plates.

This publication resembles in many ways the earlier *Studio d'architettura civile*, a collection of plates issued by Domenico de' Rossi in 1699–1702 in Rome (see cat. 110). De' Rossi's publication had been intended as a record of Rome as an architectural treasury, an educational tool for the architecture students of the revitalized Accademia di San Luca, and the secular counterpart of the illustrations of churches and chapels published earlier by the de' Rossi publishing family. Ruggieri echoed de' Rossi's book in its title, in its emphasis on local building traditions, its praise of the architectural cohesiveness and talent of Florentine architects, and, most significantly, its subdivision of building into its constituent parts as taught in the architecture courses at the academy (doors, windows, chapels, facades, and plans

in ascending order of scale and difficulty). Another likely source for Ruggieri would have been the series of Roman palaces engraved by Pietro Ferrerio and Giovanni Battista Falda (cat. 37) in the mid-seventeenth century, as well as the more recently published *Vitruvius Britannicus* of Colen Campbell (1716), and Antonio Visentini's engraved series on Venetian palaces (see cat. 153).

The publication of these plates made the buildings widely known at a time when a visit to Florence was part of the education of aristocrats in western Europe and especially in Britain. Ruggieri's *Studio* and *Scelte* provided visitors with suitably portable souvenirs of their visit. They also made it possible for the buildings to be copied without the inconvenience of visiting them. Thus designs of Florentine and Roman windows originally designed for palaces and even chapels appeared in far-flung German and English country houses, and architecture students could confidently study composition, proportion, and details of favorite buildings in the comfort of their studios.

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Giovanni Antonio Rusconi (c. 1520–1587)

II9

Della Architettura Di Gio. Antonio Rvsconi, Con Centosessanta Figure Dissegnate dal Medesimo, Secondo i Precetti di Vitruuio, e con chiarezza, e breuità dichiarate Libri Dieci . . .

Venice: I Gioliti (i.e., Giovanni and Giovanni Paolo Giolito de' Ferrari), 1590

1983.49.95

Folio: 298 × 204 (11¹/₁₆ × 8)

Pagination [xii], 143, [I] pp.

Edition First edition, second issue. The first issue has a blank final page, which is replaced by the errata in the second issue

Text pp. [i] title page; [ii] second title page, with amplified contents; [iii–iv] dedication by Giovanni Giolito to Francesco Maria di Montefeltro della Rovere II, duke of Urbino; [v–vi] address to the reader; [vii–ix] index; [x–xii] index to illustrations; 1–143 text, books 1–x, including woodcut illustrations; [144] errata

Ornaments Woodcut architectural title border with the Gioliti's "Jove" device and two allegorical figures; woodcut headpieces with biblical scenes; woodcut tailpiece, grotesque ornaments; woodcut historiated initials in two sizes

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. Although the first title page indicates there are 160 woodcut illustrations, the second title page gives the number of illustrations as 160 and more ("Con centosessanta, e più figure . . .")

Binding Eighteenth-century paneled vellum, gilt spine, two red morocco labels, sprinkled edges

Provenance Engraved bookplate of the duke of Northumberland dated 1687, with motto "Esperance en Dieu"

References Avery's Choice 25; Berlin Cat. 2602; Cicognara 640; Fowler 280; Mortimer, *Italian*, 551; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*, 2880; Riccardi 2: 405

Giovanni Antonio Rusconi. *Della Architettura*. Title page.
1983.49.95

I20

I Dieci Libri D'Architettura Di Gio: Antonio Rvsconi. Secondo i precetti di Vetruuio [sic], nouamente ristampati, & accresciuti della Pratica degl'Horologi Solari

Venice: printed by Francesco Valvasense for Nicolini [i.e., Francesco Nicolini], 1660

1983.49.96

Folio: 292 × 200 (11¹/₂ × 7⁷/₈)

Pagination [xii], 148 pp.

Edition Second edition, with addition of Bernardino Stramegioli's chapter on sundials, "Horologi Solari"

Text pp. [i] title page; [ii] second title page, with amplified list of contents, dated 25 June 1660; [iii–iv] dedication by Salustio Piobicci to Sophie, duchess of Brunswick and Luneburg; [v–vi] address to the reader;



[vii–ix] index; [x–xii] index to illustrations; 1–143 text, books 1–x, including woodcut illustrations; [144]–147 text, “Horologi Solari”; 148 final illustration, and colophon: “In Venetia per Francesco Valvasense 1660. Adi 25. Maggio.”

Ornaments Woodcut title border based on the 1550 Florentine edition of Cosimo Bartoli’s translation of Alberti (cat. 6), but copied from the reversed and slightly altered version of the title border, first appearing in Bartoli’s *Del modo del misurare* (Venice, 1564). Pictorial woodcut headpiece with female saints beginning each text (pp. 1, 144); composite typographic and woodcut headpieces; woodcut tailpieces, including one signed “S.P.” [= Salustio Piobici?] (p. [xii]); woodcut and typographic ornaments; woodcut historiated and ornamental initials in several sizes

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts were printed using the same woodblocks as first edition (cat. 119), with the following exceptions: p. 4, a new, single image of caryatids replacing two separate woodcuts; p. 26, lower illustration and corresponding text omitted; p. 41, lower illustration and corresponding text replaced by large woodcut ornament; p. 111, previous woodcut replaced by a repetition of woodcut on p. 107; p. 139, bottom, redesigned. The three illustrations of sundials on pp. 145–146 are newly added, as is the final illustration of a water clock, p. 148. In addition, elaborate allegorical woodcuts with Latin inscriptions are added throughout the text

Binding Early nineteenth-century Italian marbled boards, green morocco spine, gilt

Provenance Ownership inscription of Pellegrino Piona

References Berlin Cat. 2603; Fowler 281; Riccardi 2: 405

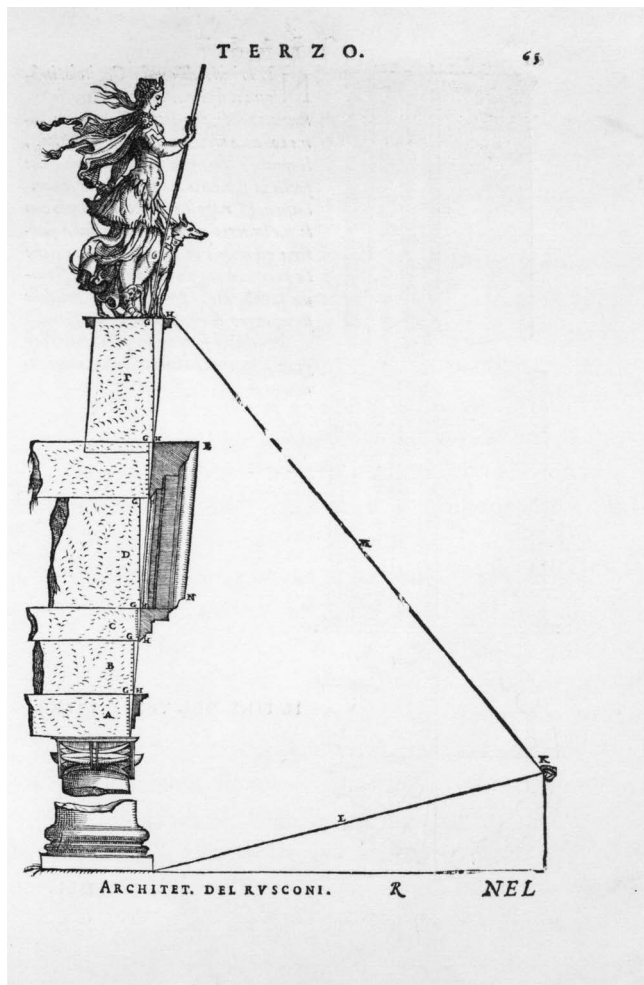
PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY, the 1590 edition of Giovanni Antonio Rusconi’s treatise on architecture was dedicated by the publisher to the duke of Urbino; the second edition of 1660 was dedicated to the duchess of Brunswick and Luneburg by Salustio Piobici and contained an additional chapter on sundials by Bernardino Stramegioli. There is a facsimile edition of the 1590 edition (Farnsborough, 1968). The text is a mere summary of the contents of Vitruvius’ ten books on architecture; these brief abstracts were unfinished at the time of Rusconi’s death in 1587, but nonetheless his publisher went ahead with the book since the illustrations were complete. Rusconi began his work on the manuscript text and commentary, now lost, in the early 1540s; considered nearly completed, the translation was praised by Claudio Tolomei in 1553, and the publisher



Giovanni Antonio Rusconi. *I Dieci Libri d'Architettura*. Title page. 1983.49.96

was accorded a publication privilege by the duke of Tuscany in March 1553. The run of the 1590 edition was probably small; it is very rare, but copies of the second edition in 1660 can be found in numerous architectural collections.

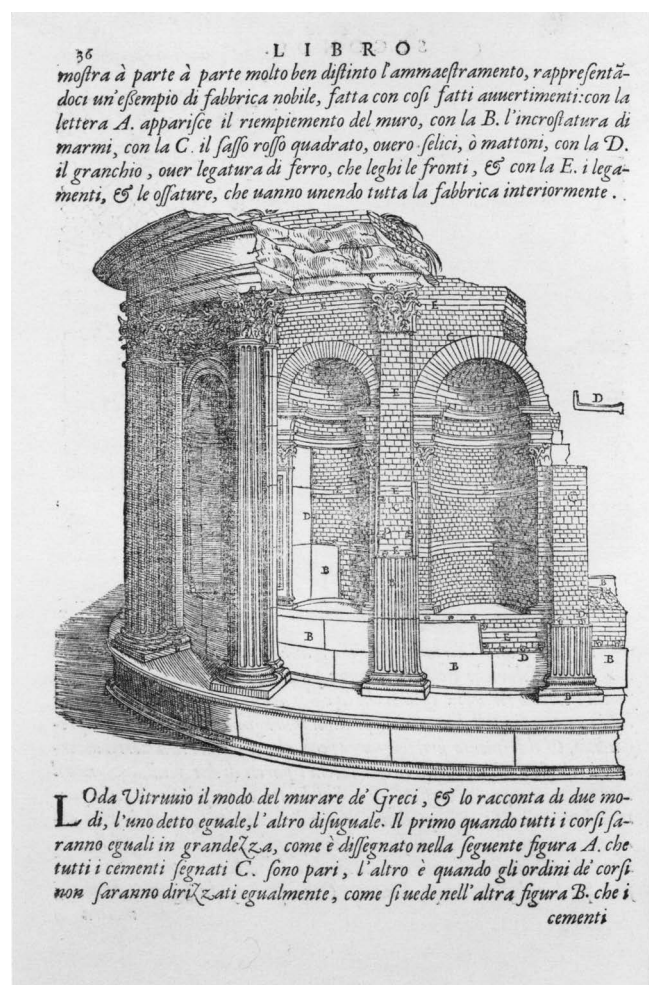
Rusconi’s book is an unusual publication in the architectural literature of the sixteenth century in that a remarkably effective group of illustrations was married to an underelaborated text. Since both editions are posthumous, there is the additional difficulty of sorting out Rusconi’s authorship. For instance, although the illustrations of the 1660 edition follow closely those of the 1590 edition, the blocks were recut in some instances, according to Fowler. Furthermore, there is reuse of previously published illustrations such as the woodcut decorations of the title page, which are the same as those employed in the 1550 Torrentino edition of Leon Battista Alberti and in Daniele Barbaro’s edition of Vitruvius of 1584; the caryatids on page 4 in the 1660 Rusconi edition are the same as those on page 16 of the 1584 Vitruvius. Nonetheless, Rusconi’s search for a unique solution to the problem of representation of architectural construction results in several highly



Giovanni Antonio Rusconi. *Della Architettura*. Illustration of optical perception of elevation. 1983.49.95

accomplished images and pictorial vocabulary.

The book has the layout of a treatise—title, frontispiece, and introduction lead one to imagine that one is dealing with the author's architectural theory—but in reality this is only a summary of Vitruvius, and the commentary is lost (Hajnoczi 1988). Rusconi chose subjects for visual examination without offering a synthetic argument, and thus his work is more illustrative than theoretical. The text is merely a series of captions accompanying the plates. But Rusconi knew Vitruvius' text and moved in intellectual circles where his studies could have been enhanced. His association with the renowned mathematician Niccolo Tartaglia, whose *Quesiti et inventioni diversi* Rusconi may have illustrated, is referred to in the *Quesiti*; while practicing architecture in the Veneto his possible collaboration with Andrea Palladio—who in his turn assisted Barbaro in the 1556 edition of Vitruvius—would have provided Rusconi with important opportunities for exploring the Vitruvian inheritance. Nonetheless, only the illustrations are securely Rusconi's, while the published text was probably put together by the publisher as an Italian paraphrase of Vitruvius (according to Hanno-Walter Kruft 1994).



Giovanni Antonio Rusconi. *Della Architettura*. Monumental masonry building. 1983.49.95

Like other Renaissance architects before him, Rusconi considered existing translations—in their textual renderings and illustrations—unsatisfactory. Disliking Cesare Cesariano's visual and textual gloss (cat. 158), he decided to make his own Vitruvius. Woodcuts for Rusconi's edition were being prepared from 1552, but Barbaro's eagerly expected translation and his journey to Rome with Palladio to make illustrations for his version (cat. 160), eventually published in 1556, may have discouraged Rusconi or his publisher Giovanni Giolito. The commentaries to the illustrations published by Giolito's heir in 1590 were probably not by Rusconi, but the publisher may have desired not to waste the investment made in the already cut illustrations (Bedon 1983). These illustrations are faithful to existing traditions in the case of caryatids, wind towers, and religious building types (Hajnoczi 1988). In others Rusconi creates new graphic solutions for the mechanical arts, engineering works, instruments, and trees. But Cesariano was doubtless one of Rusconi's sources, especially where other models were lacking (such as the wind tower of Athens and the Vitruvian figures), though Rusconi modernizes Cesariano. For example, where the latter

illustrates the cathedral of Milan, Rusconi shows a centrally planned church. Like Cesariano, Rusconi had no experience of the ancient Roman ruins, he probably never went to Rome, and he based his own style on his contemporaries' drawings rather than archaeological research (Hajnoczi 1988).

In the first book, the author makes the Vitruvian link between history and the decorative program of a building and then discusses the disposition of architecture through the plan as “abozzamento,” the elevation as “crescimento,” and sectional perspective as “congiunta perfettione.” This interpretation of the three modes of architectural representation as plan, elevation, and section is quite up to date, but the proposed terms are old-fashioned, unlike Barbaro's distinct categories expressed in persuasive Latin. There are large blank spaces on many pages in both editions, suggesting that the historiated initials and the head- and tailpieces were added as a way of filling out a rather meager publication. It is curious, then, that the 1660 edition is missing several paragraphs, although the pagination is otherwise identical with the earlier edition. Throughout, the Vitruvian examples are paralleled by contemporary evidence such as Jacopo Sansovino's caryatids at the entry to the library in Venice, Pope Gregory XIII's wind tower (mentioned with the description of the equivalent structure in Athens), the Doric door of the Farnese palace in Rome by Antonio da Sangallo, and the pulleys used to move the Vatican obelisk in 1586 (something that Rusconi could not have seen). The author refers constantly to Renaissance architectural theorists, such as Palladio, Barbaro, Sebastiano Serlio, and Cesariano, turning the book into an extended discourse with a knowledgeable audience. Indeed, the author himself recognizes that the sketchlike quality of his publication disqualifies it as a fundamental teaching tool for architecture (p. 143: “poiche manco il fine e l'intention nostra è stata mai d'insegnarla con queste poche annotationi”).

This author's main contribution is in the quality of the images. Employing the “revolutionary new method of axonometric projection” (Kruft 1994), the illustrations show both contemporary buildings and reconstructions of ancient monuments. Most interesting is Rusconi's handling of the primitive hut, which is transformed from the golden-age hut of the Vitruvius of Cesariano, Giambattista Caporali, and Walther Ryff into the rustic Venetian house, or the Polish or Swiss village habitation (Fontana 1978). Rusconi's splendid plates provide an extensive survey of the technical possibilities of many materials and building methods, such as timber frame construction, half-timbering, and masonry, reviewing house building techniques in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and Poland (Kruft 1994). His illustrations display an unusual degree of independence from

that of earlier commentaries on Vitruvius, revealing a marked anticlassical attitude demonstrated in his close consideration of the Venetian building traditions, which neither Palladio nor Barbaro had explored. Thus in Rusconi's book experience and technique take their place next to the art of building. The mixed reactions of later critics to Rusconi—for example, by Antonio Visentini who disliked him and Giovanni Poleni who appreciated him—can be explained in part by the fact that neither realized that Rusconi's plates were probably intended to illustrate an original treatise (Fontana 1978).

The lively woodcut title page consists of the text block in the center framed by brackets and flanked by Pallas at left and Victory at right. These allegorical figures are standing on a platform that is in turn supported by brackets. On a cornice above the title block hovers Jove in his cloud with eagle, scepter, and thunderbolt. The illustrations of the Persian and caryatid porches are handsome; the octagonal wind tower of Athens occupies an entire page; and the Vitruvian man is shown not only in a circle, and separately in a square, but also stretched across an orthogonal grid. The illustrations are crisp, handsome, and well crafted. Rusconi's architecture is thoroughly appealing visually, as is the italic typeface used for the text of the treatise. The 1660 edition is printed on thinner paper, the images are darker and muddier, and many of the spaces left blank in the earlier edition are filled in with incongruous ornamental detail; tailpieces are used randomly, not only at ends of chapters. The last treatise of the Renaissance published in the sixteenth century, Rusconi's book did not achieve the recognition accorded to Barbaro's interpretation of Vitruvius nor the lasting influence of Palladio's acclaimed and more personal publication. The question of Rusconi's influence is as vexed as that of Vincenzo Scamozzi, whose treatise was published in 1615; the two authors also share their eclectic interest in regional building methods and housing types, spurred by Palladio's writings and architectural practice and by their own travels.

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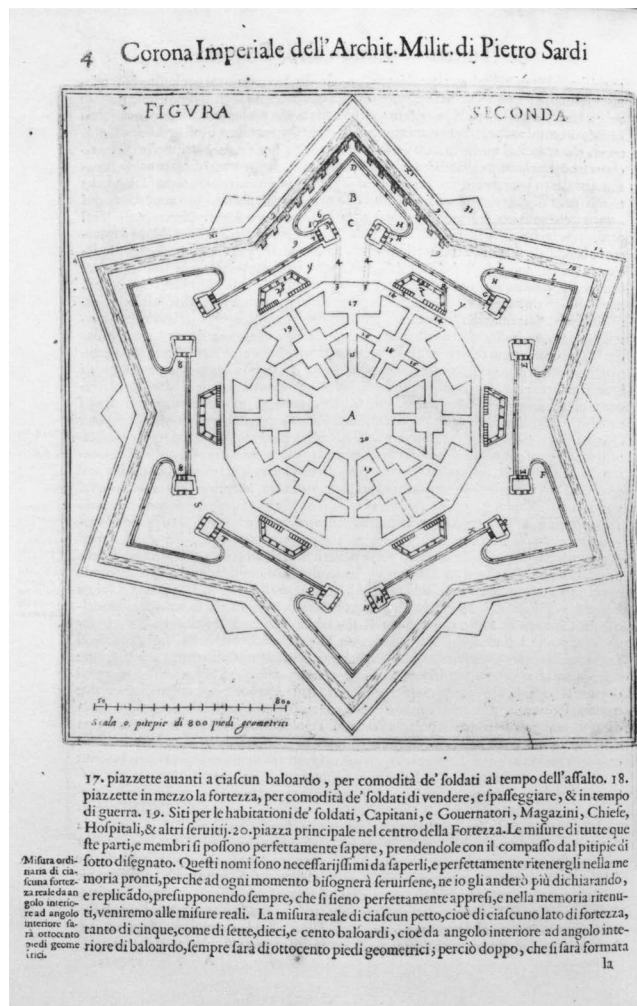
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Pietro Sardi

(c. 1560–c. 1643)

I2I

Corona Imperiale dell'Architettura militare. Di Pietro Sardi Romano. Diuisa in due Trattati. Il Primo contiene la Teorica. Il secondo contiene la Pratica. Il Primo Trattato si diuide in sette libri. Il Primo libro tratta de' Fini. Il Secondo dei siti. Il Terzo delle offese. Il Quarto delle Forme. Il Quinto delle Materie. Il Sesto del modo di presidiare, monitionare, e Vettouagliare il sito fortificato. Il Settimo del modo di difendere la Fortezza. Il Secondo Trattato della Pratica dimostra in figura il modo di formare con somma facilità ogni genere di Fortezze, loro Perfettioni, et imperfettioni . . .



Venice: printed by Barezzo Barezzi for Pietro Sardi, 1618

1985.61.2673

Folio: 350 × 244 (13³/₄ × 9⁵/₈)

Pagination Part 1: [xxviii], 299, [1] pp.

Part 2: 83, [1] pp., [3] engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text part 1: pp. [i] engraved title plate (verso blank); [iii–vii] dedication; [viii–x] preface; [xi] imprimatur, dated 17 November 1618; [xii] blank; [xiii–xxii] index to part 1; [xxiii–xxvi] index to part 2; [xxvii] errata; [xxviii] blank; [1]–299 text, ending with woodcut printer's device and colophon; [300] blank; part 2: pp. [1]–83 text and illustrations; [84] blank

Ornaments 1 engraved plate as headpiece; 6 pictorial woodcut headpieces (3 different designs); ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations

Part 1: Engraved title plate (p. [i]), with title, table of contents, and list of dedicatees inscribed between two allegorical figures standing on pedestals and holding aloft the titular crown, with two putti bearing four coats of arms above, and bust of the author below, signed by Gaspare Grispoldi as engraver ("Gaspar. Grispoldi fecit")

Part 2: 46 engraved plates numbered "Figura Prima"–"Figura Trigeseima Settima" (i.e., 1–37), "Figura Prima"–"Figura Quarta" (i.e., 1–4). The first plate 3 occurs three times and the first plates 2 and 5 are reprinted *hors texte* on separate leaves. Plate 5 printed on both recto and verso of a single leaf

Binding Modern calf, paneled in blind, imitating a seventeenth-century binding

References Pollak 52; Riccardi 2: 423

Pietro Sardi. *Corona imperiale dell'architettura militare*. Book 2: Hexagonal fortress. 1985.61.2673

THE ROMAN PIETRO SARDI WROTE *L'artiglieria* (1621), *Corno dogale della architettura militare* (1639), the book-length chapter "Il capo de bombardieri esaminato" in *Fucina di Marte* (1641), and *Discorso sopra la necessità et utilità dell'architettura militare* (1642), in addition to *Corona imperiale*. Parts of a 1629 edition of *L'artiglieria* were translated into English and published in Henry Stubbe's *Legends, No Histories* (London, 1670), while *Corona imperiale* was published in French and German editions in Frankfurt in 1622 and 1623 (the translations, both by Jacob de Zetter, were respectively titled *Couronne impériale de l'architecture militaire* and *Corona Imperialis: das ist gründlicher Bericht von der Fortification und Befestigung*).

In the preface to the *Corona* of 1618, Sardi claims to have completed thirty-eight years of study and military service. He asserts that during this period he traveled in Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Spain. He was in imperial service in Brussels in c. 1600, where he provided the design for the hydraulic system of the garden of the Coudenberg palace, realized by the German iron founder Georg Müller and Salomon de Caus after 1601. His portrait was engraved by Gaspare Grispoldi, the engraver of the title page of *Corona*, who was active in Venice in the early seventeenth century, and who also engraved the portrait of Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII. This portrait is reused in the frontispieces of *L'artiglieria* and the *Corno dogale*, with changes only in the age of the author (from fifty-eight to seventy-nine). The three title pages are also composed similarly: two verticals (cannon shafts for the *Artiglieria*, Saint Mark and Theodoric for *Corno*, Mars and Bellona for *Corona*) flank the text of the title and the bust portrait of Sardi. He was still alive when his last publication was issued in 1642.

Sardi dedicates the *Corona* to four Genoese patri-cians, who may have studied military architecture with him during the four years he spent in Genoa; engravings after four designs attributed to them appear in the second part of the *Corona* (figures 19–22). Sardi extols the impenetrable site of Genoa, naturally fortified, and eulogizes its military leaders, just as he would do for Venice in his dedication of the *Corno* to the doge, praising it as the only part of Italy free from foreign rule. Sardi made the drawings from which the illustrations were engraved for his book to his apparent satisfaction. This satisfaction was not the rule: later in the seventeenth century, Alessandro Capra (cats. 27 and 28) was not able to afford copperplate engravings and constantly felt the need to apologize to the reader for the low quality of the images in his book.

Corona imperiale is the only treatise in the Millard collection of Italian books entirely devoted to military architecture (though parts of Pietro Cataneo's book [cat. 31] and Capra's book also deal with this subject)

and descends from an important Renaissance tradition. It is part of a *trattatistica* parallel to that of civil architecture, but with a history of its own and a much more significant publishing history in the seventeenth century. This literary genre is concerned with the art of war, specifically focused upon a fortification system based on polygonal bastions that were developed in the sixteenth century in response to the use of firearms, especially cannon. The early seventeenth-century theorists of military architecture, such as Errard de Bar-le-Duc (Millard, *French Books*, 68), combined the humanistic themes of the Renaissance (aesthetic principles and the revival of antiquity) with the new scientific and mathematical approach, codifying a series of problems that became the commonplaces of the discourse on permanent fortification. The principal concerns of this discourse are the mathematical conception, form, and representation of the bastioned trace, strategies for attack and defense of fortified cities, their siting, and the internal distribution of their streets and squares, which connect the military and civil domains.

Sardi addresses most of these themes in *Corona imperiale*. The work is divided into two main parts, on theory and on practice, respectively. Theory is subdivided into seven sections and takes up two-thirds of the entire book. The *raison d'être* of fortification is to allow a small army to defend itself against a more numerous enemy (book 1). Fortification should be scaled to the strength of possible enemies, and its aim should not be total impregnability because all fortresses have to surrender given a large enough siege. The requirements for the site echo the Vitruvian admonitions for healthy air and clean water, adding elements associated with the strategy of defense (the site should not be dominated by hills and should be near a navigable river). The preparations for laying siege involve the management of the army, its provisioning and ammunition (book 3), while the actual strategy of offense is based on drawn-out siege—essentially the starving out of the enemy within the fortified town whose civilian population will begin to be uncomfortable after only two weeks and eventually revolt against the military commander.

In the design of the fortress or fortified city, Sardi proposes an analogy with the human body, echoing a traditional juxtaposition captivatingly illustrated by Francesco di Giorgio Martini in the fifteenth century, but here the fortress becomes the entire human body rather than merely its head. The arms are the bastions flanking and protecting the body, its head is the "cavaliere" placed at the center of the curtain wall to sight the enemy from a distance. The bastions are the heirs of the towered projections that protected the walls of the ancients, and the layered defense (wall, moat, covered street) is a reflection of the triple-layered fortification that Vegetius had suggested. This author is only one

of the many Latin writers, such as Livy, Suetonius, and Polybius, that Sardi quotes extensively in the original and then paraphrases in Italian. These extensive Latin quotations have a great visual impact on the page since they are printed in italic; they, and the surrounding Italian text in roman typeface, are paragraphed throughout.

Sardi clearly wanted to appeal to a learned elite (a principle explicitly stated in the 1642 *Discorso*), whom he flattered into being interested in strategic fortification by evoking the example of famous military leaders from antiquity. The peculiarity of this approach is that his examples, all drawn from antiquity, have little in common with the material aspects of postcannon fortification, which revolutionized military practice from the sixteenth century on. Still, some practices continue along ancient patterns and may have given meaning to the contemporary military enterprise, such as the naming of bastions, which follows Herod's practice of naming the towers along the wall. Sardi's antiquarian approach leads him to condemn the practice of fortification in depth (book 4), which became the prevalent trend after the mid-seventeenth century as military commanders such as Blaise Pagan and Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban attempted to increase the distance between the fortress and the enemy with layers of outworks. The chapter on materials adheres more closely to the traditional Vitruvian approach (book 5). Book 6 provides an inventory on the contents of the fortress and the typology of buildings to store them. Book 7 meshes ancient siege practices (the encampment before the siege, the making of the breach in the wall of the fortress and its assault) with the thoroughly modern activities of trench-making, bombing, and mining that are based on the use of gunpowder.

It is in the second part that Sardi demonstrates practically, through diagrams, the principles discussed in

the first part. Here he abandons the bilingual approach and faces the reality that errors made in the construction of the defense are paid for in blood, not just inconvenience. This is the only illustrated part of the treatise. Despite the sharpness of the engraved drawings, Sardi warned readers—explicitly in his *L'artiglieria*—that their dimensions are falsified in the printing process (since the paper shrinks as it dries). Nevertheless, he repeats several key illustrations for readers to use as the model upon which to develop their own designs. Showing how the parts of the bastioned trace are calculated and designed, Sardi provides designs for the hexagonal fortress: its streets are radial, its central square mimics the outline of the fortress with the same number of sides, there are secondary squares along every second radial street, and squares face each bastion. The result is a formidable, perfect geometrical form, that carries to scientific conclusion the earlier diagrams by Pietro Cataneo (cat. 31) and Bonaiuto Lorini, which had not been so rigorously worked out, while paralleling closely those of the near-contemporary Errard de Bar-le-Duc. It also demonstrates the close affiliation between military architecture and ideal city planning.

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Vincenzo Scamozzi

(1552–1616)

I22

Discorsi Sopra L'Antichità Di Roma Di Vincenzo Scamozzi Architetto Vicentino Con XL. Tauole in Rame

Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1582

1983.49.99

Quarto: 276 × 193 (10⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈)

Pagination [36] pp., 40 double-page etched plates

(*Note:* Foliation does not include errata and final blank leaf, lacking in the Millard copy. Explanations for the plates are printed on the versos: plates 2, 8, and 24 have text on both verso pages; the remainder have text on the first verso only)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [1] etched and engraved title plate (verso blank); [3–4] dedication by the editor, Girolamo Porro, to Giacomo Contarini, dated 20 November 1581; [5–19] index; [20] blank; [21–32] text; [33–36] description of plate 1

Ornaments Woodcut headpieces and ornaments; typographic tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate (p. [1]) depicting Roman ruins seen through a Corinthian aedicule and title inscribed within its segmented pediment, with flanking personifications of Geometry and Architecture, and Ziletti's device below; 40 double-page etched plates numbered 1–40, except for plate 8 which is engraved. The versos of the plates are printed with text. Plates 1–7, 9–39 signed by Giovanni Battista Pittoni as engraver ("Batista P"; "Batista P.V.F.," with variants), with plate 3 also monogrammed "GPM[?];" title plate, and plates 8 and 40 unsigned. Two plates dated 1561, and 13 plates dated 1581. Pittoni's plates were first published in his *Praecipua aliquot Romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monimenta* of 1561 (see Mortimer, *Italian*, 466). Here, in addition to the alterations to the dates, the plates show signs of wear and abrasion, and many reveal traces of earlier captions and numbering

Binding Late seventeenth-century cat's paw calf, spine gilt with floral ornaments in compartments. In the Millard copy, the leaves of signature B (i.e., pp. [5–20]) have been bound before signature A (i.e., pp. [21–36])

References *Avery's Choice*, 22; Berlin Cat. 1849; Cicognara 656 (2d issue: Venice, 1583) Fowler 291 (1583 issue); Mortimer, *Italian*, 466

I23

L'Idea Della Architettura Vniversale, Di Vincenzo Scamozzi Architetto Veneto Diuisa in x. Libri. Parte Prima [–Seconda]

Venice: [printed by Giorgio Valentino for] Vincenzo Scamozzi, 1615

Folio: 345 × 230 (13³/₈ × 9¹/₁₆)

1983.49.100

Pagination Part 1: [xvi], 90, [7], 96–128, 125–193, [2], 194–218, [iv], 219–352, [34] pp.

Part 2: [xii], 172, [iv], 173–232, 235–[269], [v], 271–370, [22] pp.

(*Note:* Part 2, p. 269 misnumbered 279. Many other mispaginations throughout)

Edition First edition

Text part 1: pp. [i] engraved title plate (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Scamozzi to Maximilian, archduke of Austria, dated Venice, 6 August 1615; [v–x] preface and table of contents; [xi] title page, book 1; [xii] "Argumentum"; [xiii–xvi] eulogies; 1–90 text and illustrations, book 1; [i–ii] blank leaf; [91] title page, book 2; [92] "Argumentum"; [93–94] dedication by Scamozzi to Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy, dated Venice, 15 August 1615; [95] printer's note to the reader; 96–218 text and illustrations, book 2; [1] title page, book 3; [ii] "Argumentum"; [iii–iv] dedication by Scamozzi to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, dated Venice, 20 August 1615; 219–352 text and illustrations, book 3; [353–354] blank; [355–385] index, part 1, ending with colophon: "In Venetia. MDCXV. Per Giorgio Valentino."; [386] blank; part 2: pp. [i] engraved title plate (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Scamozzi to Cosimo de' Medici, dated Venice, 6 August 1615; [v–viii] table of contents; [ix] title page, book 4; [x] "Argumentum"; [xi–xii] preface; 1–172 text and illustrations, book 4; [i] title page, book 5; [ii] "Argumentum"; [iii–iv] dedication by Scamozzi to Francesco Maria II, duke of Urbino, dated Venice,

8 September 1615; 173–[269] text, book vii; [270] blank; [i] title page, book viii; [ii] “Argumentum”; [iii–iv] dedication by Scamozzi to the members of the Accademia Olimpica in Vicenza, dated Venice 15 September and 8 December 1615; 271–370 text and illustrations, book viii; [371] printer’s note and register; [372] blank; [373–392] index, part 2, ending with colophon: “In Venetia. MDCXV. Per Giorgio Valentino.”

Ornaments Woodcut printer’s device on title page for each book; woodcut headpieces with mythological or biblical scenes; woodcut tailpieces; ornamental and historiated woodcut initials in several sizes

Illustrations

Part 1: Etched and engraved title plate with title inscribed in attic of a Composite order monument listing contents of part 1 between four female allegorical figures and portrait of Scamozzi flanked by personifications of Theory and Practice. Book 1: 2 full-page

woodcuts included in pagination; book ii: 6 full-page woodcut illustrations (1 double page, remainder full page), and 4 double-page etched and engraved plates included in pagination; book iii: 28 woodcuts (2 double page, remainder full page) included in pagination. All plates and most woodcuts are signed by Scamozzi (“Vinc. Scamozzi Arch.,” with variants); the woodcuts on pp. 248–249 are dated 1602

Part 2: Etched and engraved title plate, as in part 1 except with descriptive contents above portrait of Scamozzi replaced by a second copper inserted to read “Parte Seconda. Dell’ Esquisitezza De’ Cinque Ordini. . . .” Book vi: 40 etched and engraved plates (1 double page, remainder full page) included in pagination; book viii: 6 full-page woodcuts included in pagination. All plates (excluding title plate) and two of the woodcuts are signed by Scamozzi; the woodcut on p. 314 is dated 1614

Binding Contemporary vellum, ties lacking, spine with early manuscript title: “Scamozzi / Architettura”

Provenance Early manuscript annotations to each of the tables of measurement on p. 73, giving German translations of the measurements; bookplate of Charles Frederic Mewes, with his stamp below the title plate

References *Avery’s Choice*, 54; *Berlin Cat.* 2605; *Besterman, Old Art Books*, 93; *Cicognara* 651; *Fowler* 292; *Millard, British Books*, 73; *Millard, French Books*, 151; *Pollak* 54

ANOTHER COPY

1981.70.7

Folio: 350 × 230 (13^{13/16} × 9^{1/16})

Binding Contemporary vellum, early manuscript title on spine: “Scamozzi / Architettura T. I II.” In this copy the printer’s note and register (i.e., part 2, pp. [369–370]) are bound at the end of part 2, following the index

Provenance British Museum copy, with stamp “Duplicate For Sale 1769”

THESE ARE THE TWO literary contributions of Vincenzo Scamozzi, who in his old age “enjoyed an undisputed international reputation and provided a direct link with Palladio for Bernini’s generation” (Wittkower 1983, 26), and also connected “the Palladian tradition to the greater inventions of his pupil Longhena” (Lewis 1977, 45). Scamozzi had been the student and assistant of Andrea Palladio, many of



Vincenzo Scamozzi. *Discorsi sopra l'antichità di Roma*. Title page. 1983.49.99

whose works he completed after 1580, including the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza; his own reputation, in the critical literature, has suffered from this close association, preventing the fair assessment of his contribution (Lewis 1977; Barbieri 1952). He was highly cultivated and well traveled, spending time in Rome and Naples between 1578 and 1580, and joined the Venetian delegation sent to congratulate Sixtus v upon his election as pope in 1585. His journey in 1600 through France, Lorraine, Germany, and Hungary in the suite of Venetian ambassadors is documented in an extant manuscript diary. He is distinguished among sixteenth-century Italian architectural theorists in having also produced a large body of surviving architectural works. These include the Procuratie Nuove (1581–1598) in Venice and the design of the town of Sabbioneta, on which his claim to interest as an urbanist must be based. Scamozzi was involved with two of the major engineering projects of his time: in 1585 he made a proposal for the moving of the Vatican obelisk (he referred to it as “sasso così stravagante” in the *Idea*), but Domenico Fontana’s (cat. 40) proposal prevailed; Scamozzi also proposed two designs—with one and three arches, respectively—for the Rialto bridge in Venice, but Antonio da Ponte’s project was chosen.

Scamozzi, along with Sebastiano Serlio, Palladio, and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, was the most distinguished theorist of the Renaissance; like them he belongs to the artistic culture of northern Italy (Bologna and Vicenza specifically [Schlosser-Magnino 1956, 406]). Celebrated and inventive and greatly in demand as an artist, Scamozzi wrote a complex and large treatise, the *Idea*, which has been called the “testo sacro e fatale dell’architettura neoclassica” (Barbieri 1952, 55–68). The last, the longest, and the most ambitious of the Renaissance treatises on architecture, the *Idea* constitutes a *summa* of Renaissance thought. It is firmly anchored within the critical context provided by Gian Paolo Lomazzo’s and Federico Zuccari’s writings and the “dominant intellectualism of artistic literature at the end of the sixteenth century” (Barbieri 1952). In the *Idea*, Scamozzi, an “architectural philosopher” (Hersey 1976, 8), presents his conception of architecture as an intellectual form and the building as a scientific construct that resides in the mind of the architect. Through his father, Vincenzo was connected to current architec-

Vincenzo Scamozzi. *Discorsi sopra l’antichità di Roma*. Plate 2. View of the Roman forum. 1983.49.99



tural publishing; the elder Scamozzi had edited the first pocketbook edition of Serlio's treatise published in Venice in 1584. It reinforced Scamozzi's idea that art is a universal knowledge, while experience is made of particular accidents; in keeping with Renaissance conceptions, he believed, therefore, that architects who know art through theory are more esteemed than those who know it only through experience (Puppi 1967, 320).

A gentleman-artist, Scamozzi was classically educated. The text of the *Idea*, disparaged and exalted in turn by modern criticism, is learned, punctilious, and lengthy, permeated with a "mixture of pride and self-pity" (Kruft 1994, 98). Scamozzi's acquaintance with ancient texts is proudly displayed in the marginal references in this treatise and is further supported by his manuscript notes, which document his reading program during a six-month period in 1586 (Fabrizzi 1976). His studiousness is apparent from his substantial collection of books, including manuscript copies of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's and Filarete's treatises; some of his books, such as Giovanni Battista Bertano's study of Vitruvius, *Gli oscuri et difficili passi* (cat. 18), were later owned by Tommaso Temanza.

Scamozzi settled in Venice in 1581 after an extensive stay in Rome and Naples, where he excavated, measured, and drew architectural ruins and studied mathematics (Temanza 1779, 4). In Venice he was asked by the publisher Girolamo Porro to compose the text of the *Discorsi sopra l'antichità di Roma*. His contribution consisted of forty brief commentaries and three chapters about Roman antiquities (on the building of Rome, the hills of Rome and their etymology, and the regions of Rome). These were intended to accompany a collection of forty topographic engravings by Giovanni Battista Pittoni, who had published the illustrations earlier under the title *Praecipua aliquot Romanae Antiquitatis Ruinarum Monimenta* (Venice, 1561). Twenty-four of these forty plates had been put on the market in 1551 by Hieronymus Cock, with the same title, in Antwerp (Pittoni's plates are reversed from Cock's). Complicating issues of authorship, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau also published twenty-five of these plates—smaller than Pittoni's—with the identical title (Fowler, p. 233). In fact, eighteen plates here correspond exactly, though in reverse, to Cock's Roman ruins (pls. 1, 4, 10–12, 15–16, 18, 20–23, 25–26, 28, 30–31, 38); most of these corresponding plates show erasures in both the text and the numbering, and plate 18 is dated 1561. These views seem to have been popular and available: Konrad Oberhuber (1968) finds their influence in Veronese's frescoes at Villa Maser, though Temanza concluded earlier (in his *Vita* of Scamozzi [1779]) that the *Discorsi*, though rare, was not highly valued.

The plates are of varying quality. Plates I–VII illustrate the temples of the Roman Forum; plates VIII–XXIII

illustrate whole views and details of the Colosseum; plates XXIV–XXV show the Septizonium; plates XXVI–XXX show the Palatine Hill; plates XXXI–XXXIV illustrate the Antonine and Diocletian baths; plate XXXV is of the horse-tamers on the Quirinal hill; plates XXXVII–XXXVIII are the Tiber island and bridges; plate XXXIX shows Pozzuoli; the last plate illustrates vaults. Each plate occupies a full opening of the book. The building is often located in the middle ground, with rough terrain in front of it and a good deal of sky above it. Some of the backgrounds illustrate imaginary mountains, and the horizon line is placed low, promoting large buildings. Overall the landscape is sparsely inhabited, silent, overgrown from neglect. The illustrations offer a fragmentary view, without a clear vision of Rome, that suggests, appropriately, a city reduced to ruins, with only a few dramatically large structures that recall its former glory.

The text is printed in roman and italic typefaces in alternating chapters. The title page, as in Giovanni Antonio Dosio's earlier publication of 1569 (cat. 34), consists of a triumphal arch through which the subject of the book is adumbrated in perspective. Its architectural purpose is underlined by the presence of the allegorical female figures representing architectural practice and theory: Practice leaning on the piers of the arch at left holding surveying instruments, while Theory on the right holds rule and right angle.

Along the way, Scamozzi provides various pieces of information about ancient Rome and weaves in his private opinions and enthusiasms. For example, he maintains that the weakness of Roman architecture, and especially of the Colosseum, is due to the use of numerous arches. Further, he believes that the Septizonium was not seven stories tall, and certainly not taller than its ruin. Among the authorities he refers to for his study of the neighborhoods of Rome and the buildings in them is Publio Vittore (Fabrizzi 1976), the putative author of *Notitia regionum urbis Romae*, published in 1505, but actually written by Pomponio Leto (also reprinted in Onofrio Panvinio's *Reipublicae Romanae*, Frankfurt, 1597). Julius Schlosser (1956) does not mention this book in his discussion of Scamozzi's contribution to the literature of art, but in it Scamozzi praises Rome enthusiastically. Later, in the *Idea*, he refers to the city as "l'archivio delle cose meravigliose del mondo" (p. 61), writing in a style that, according to Jannaco (1976), compares favorably with the best scientific prose of the seventeenth century.

This publication, together with Dosio and Cock's earlier works, is part of the limited topographic representation of Rome in the sixteenth century. Although the illustrations of Roman antiquities are not truly distinguished, they are an important contribution to the project of documenting the ruined ancient buildings

of the city that had started earlier in the century and continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Scamozzi began to work on his *Idea* in 1591, but he had started to plan it in 1582 after he completed the text for the *Discorsi*. Scamozzi had planned to compose twelve chapters, which were then reduced to ten; of these, only six were published. They cover the history and theory of architecture, fortification and town planning, palaces and villas, building materials, and methods of construction. Most recently some historians have concluded that its influence has been negligible despite the testimony of numerous reeditions (Italian: Piazzola 1687, Venice 1694, 1697, 1714, Perugia 1803, Milan 1838; German: Amsterdam 1664, Nuremberg 1678; Dutch: Amsterdam 1662 (1686); French: book 6, Paris 1685, Leiden 1713, The Hague 1736, Paris 1764; English: London 1690, 1708 [Schlosser-Magnino 1956]). Lewis (1977), concurring with Temanza in his critical evaluation of the influence of Scamozzi's *Idea*, finds that the publication is filled with erudite passages, mostly out of place, that the missing four books aggravate the situation, and that book 6 is excellent—an evaluation confirmed in the intervening two hundred years since it was republished numerous times—but that otherwise the influence of the book was nil.

According to Horst de la Croix (1963, 35), Scamozzi is the last Renaissance treatise writer to integrate both civic and military architecture in one study. (Pietro Cataneo [cat. 31] had been the first to publish an integrated study of civic and military architecture, since Francesco di Giorgio Martini's treatise, which included both aspects, had remained in manuscript, as had Serlio's book on military architecture.) For example, in book 2 of part 1, Scamozzi's discussion of the urban building site includes the dimensions of great cities, the qualities of good ports, the layout of streets and principal buildings of a city, and the form and constituent elements of fortification. His instructions cover the entire range of urban considerations, including the width of streets (which should not be wider than the height of flanking buildings in order to maintain optimal temperatures), their pavement (which should not be of stone because it is too noisy), the design of the five proposed squares of the city, and the perimeter of the city (5 km long and surrounded by a military street).

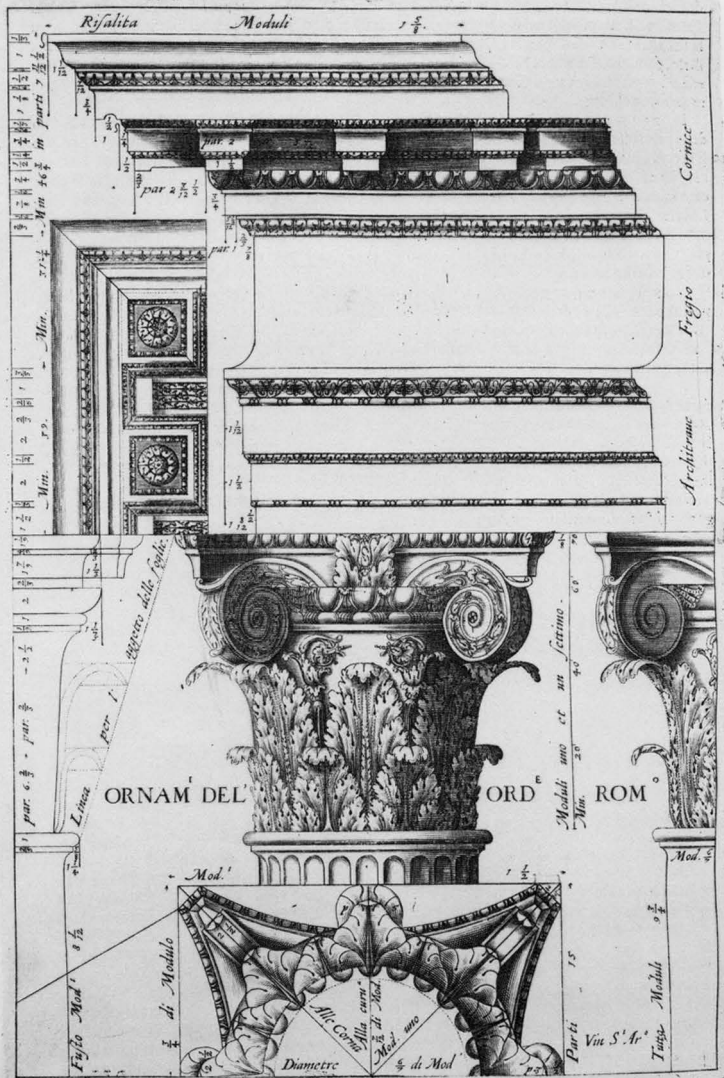
The *Idea* is firmly founded on Scamozzi's readings of ancient authors as well as on his firsthand study of Roman ruins. Scamozzi quotes the Bible, and Greek and Latin writers, in keeping with his stated belief that the student of architecture must know the ancient authors as well as ancient buildings. As a record of his own reading he compiled "Sommari," of which 237 pages of manuscript survive including an index of the Latin writers Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, Cicero,

Columella, Virgil, Terence, Ovid, Martial, Seneca, and Vegetius. The Greek writers Scamozzi cites include Archimedes, Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates, Plato, Strabo, and also Pausanias, Plutarch, Pindar, Homer, Origen, and Herodotus. He also mentions his Italian, French, and German predecessors in architectural theory (Filarete, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Alberti, Serlio, Hans Blum, Philibert de l'Orme, Hans Vredeman de Vries, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Vignola, and Palladio), various theorists of art (Dürer, Vasari, Lomazzo, and Bertano), as well as the editors of Vitruvius (Fra Giocondo, Cesare Cesariano, Giovanni Battista Caporali, Daniele Barbaro, Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, and Bernardino Baldi [Fabrizzi 1976]). His copious notes on Tacitus, for example, show that while the historian was interested in the life of men, Scamozzi was focused on the life of buildings and the ancient city.

The book, paid for by Scamozzi, is lavishly produced and laid out. The text and marginal notes are in roman typeface, with the numerous Latin quotations printed in italic. On each page the lines are numbered, from 10 to 50, every ten lines. The pages are paragraphed, with up to three first words of each paragraph in capitals. Each chapter begins with a historiated letter. The title of each chapter has the first line in capitals, the second and following lines in italics. It comes as a surprise that such a lavish publication is enriched with relatively few illustrations.

Contrary to Vitruvius who defines architecture as concerned with buildings, solar clocks, and machines (cats. 155–161), Scamozzi divides it into four aspects: architecture as humanist discipline, building, decoration, and preservation. In book 1 he elaborates on his axiom that architecture is a science and thus teachable. He is concerned with architectural ideas as the property of the architect and advises that one's designs and models should be kept close by, and that the architect should dispose of his drawings as he sees fit. In addition to the Vitruvian requirements for the architect's education, Scamozzi maintains the importance of the architect's honor and the patron's dignity and is among the first to recognize and "formulate the political ambivalence" of the architect's position (Kruft 1994).

Hersey has shown that "Scamozzi attributes hermetic virtues to drawings" (1976). Thus the architect's plans, tools, elevations, and sections convey definitive knowledge about a building, and *disegno* becomes a form of magic, the grid for the plan made of "occult" lines. Following Marsilio Ficino's idea of architecture, "Scamozzi elaborates its central notion that the architect 'reduces' matter to form" (Hersey 1976). Yet his theoretical principles are sprinkled throughout with pragmatic suggestions. Thus he suggests using watercolor in the making of architectural drawings, and tells of a wood model of Piazza San Marco in Venice



Vincenzo Scamozzi. *L'idea della architettura universale*. Details of the Composite order. 1983.49.100

(p. 52) he made in 1582 while working on his design for the procurators' building.

Following this lengthy introduction, in book 2 Scamozzi turns to a discussion of cities. He praises the cities of Italy, which have advantages of site, size, and climate beyond all others. His range includes a general chapter on how to survey and draw a plan or a view of the city, but also commentary on specific recent events, such as the flood of Rome in 1598 (pp. 130–131). He discusses actual ports, hill towns, and capital cities, then takes up the “universal” city. His dissertation includes elaborate examination of streets, fortification, provision of water, paving, siting of principal buildings

and squares. His probable design for the Venetian town of Palmanuova exists in the form of his well-known ideal city (Kruft 1994), the most reproduced of the full-page illustrations in the treatise. This has an orthogonal grid of streets, with a central square and several secondary ones, clearly dependent on earlier ideal-city models such as those of Cataneo. He divides streets into several kinds, but gives Frontinus as his source, preferring an ancient classical source to the more immediate precepts of his own master, Palladio (cat. 65). Scamozzi's city is fortified according to the modern manner with polygonal bastions and a wet moat connected across town by a stream. Even though his discussion includes the defense and preparedness of the city for siege, Scamozzi refuses to engage and refer directly to the numerous writers on military architecture, claiming that their works are too quickly outdated (p. 183).

In book 3 Scamozzi provides an extensive survey of the reasons for building, and the methods of construction employed in various countries, before proposing universal principles for the design of the private house. Scamozzi discusses Roman, Greek, and contemporary houses, then goes on to compare lovingly palaces in Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan, and Venice. The palaces of Spain, France, Germany, and Poland fare less well: Spanish palaces have little ornament, lacking not materials but talented architects; Parisian houses cover and enclose too much ground without there being an actual body of building, and many buildings there remain incomplete because of the nature of the French, who, as Strabo says, are vivacious but not stable; and German houses have almost no majesty because their heating with stoves requires low ceilings. Since Scamozzi does not differentiate sufficiently between his examples of actual buildings and his proposed universal principles for the design of the private house, this third book is filled with redundancies.

Although extensive, the book on houses is firmly based on earlier treatises, including both Palladio's and Rusconi's (cats. 119–120). Throughout his long discussion of the villa as housing type and of actual Italian examples, Scamozzi does not mention any architects by name. He does, however, develop Palladio's ideas about the house, anthropomorphizing them. Thus staircases become a palace's “veins and arteries,” and Scamozzi devises a set of “sumptuary laws” for the ornament of houses. His principal new formulation is the idea that “great” rooms should be “served” by secondary rooms (Hersey 1976, 160). Here, again, Scamozzi does not merely reproduce the tradition but enlarges the discussion of the private house, weaving in modern ideas with inherited Vitruvian and Palladian principles. Thus he examines the typology of rooms according to function—alert, for instance, to the gallery that had become fashionable in Rome and Genoa and that he considers,

accurately, as an import from France, and to the sheltered place of the women's apartments within a large house. Another novelty in his discussion of the private house is the attention he pays to artistic and bibliophilic collections, listing the contents of several Venetian collections and libraries, including that of Daniele Barbaro (cat. 12).

Book 6 deals with columns but is fundamentally flawed by the lack of chapters on secular and religious buildings to which Scamozzi refers as though they have been written and made available to the reader. (Books 4 and 5 had likewise been projected but never written.) Critical of his predecessors, in this section of the treatise Scamozzi discusses proposed designs by Caporali, Cataneo, Vignola, and Palladio by name rather than through veiled allusions. He establishes his own modular system for the dimensions of the orders, giving proportions not only for columns but also for intercolumniations, doors, windows, and niches. Scamozzi is critical of twisted columns, like those on the facade of the cathedral of Arezzo, overwrought applied decoration, like that on the second floor of the library of Saint Mark's in Venice, and open, broken, or multiple pediments. His unease with undulating lines, layered surfaces, and figurative architectural ornament have been seen as a rejection of architectural design at the end of the sixteenth century. Despite these shortcomings, book 6 appealed to a broad northern European audience; translated by Augustin Charles d'Aviler, it became the best-known part of the *Idea*.

Book 7 is an inclusive discussion of building materials ranging from marble and brick through lime, plaster, and bitumen to wood, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead. It contains the "most lucid treatment of the connection between construction means and form in the entire Renaissance" (Kruft 1994). Scamozzi developed the Vitruvian concept of *oconomia*, and sensibly advises that local construction materials should be given preference when building.

The last part, book 8, concerns several subjects that Scamozzi had taken up previously in the treatise, including foundations, scaffolding, vaulting, roofs, street paving, and drainage, but here he approaches them from a pragmatic angle, providing practical advice through a comparative method as well as keying in the aesthetic foundation. For example, he explains that in Milan, Florence, and Naples, palace windows are large but not numerous, in order not to allow too much heat in the summer or too much cold in the winter to enter the building. But equally important is that there should not be too many windows of medium size, in order not to weaken the elevations ("per non snervar le mura," p. 315).

The architect should design forms according to scientific and mathematical criteria, based on abstract

geometrical constructs. The core of the treatise is that the "idea" of the architect rests on basic geometrical forms rather than the imitation of nature practiced by figurative artists. Offering a vast architectural horizon, both geographically and historically, Scamozzi articulates an eclectic use of the history of architectural theory and practice. Ironically, his literary taste ran counter to the classicizing tendency of his architectural ideals. The weighty erudition, the title echoing works by Zuccari and Lomazzo, the ample, even prolix, style of writing, tormented by repetitions and sophisms, the pedantic catechism of the "true architecture" of the five orders firmly situate this treatise in the literature and among the theories of the seicento that it inaugurates.

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Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650)

I24

Christophori Scheiner E Societate Iesv
Germano-Svevi, Pantographice, Sev Ars
Delineandi Res Qvaslibet Per Parallelo-
grammvm Lineare Sev Cavvm, Mechanicvm,
Mobile; Libellis duobus explicata, &
Demonstrationibus Geometricis illustrata:
quorum Prior Epipedographicen, siue
Planorum, Posterior Stereographicen, seu
Solidorum aspectabilium viuam imitationem
atque proiectionem edocet

Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1631

NGA Lib. Rare Book: NCI920S34

Quarto: 238 × 167 (9³/₈ × 6⁷/₁₆)

Pagination [x], 108 pp., etched frontispiece

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Ars Nova Delineandi" (verso blank); [iii] title page; [iv] approbation, dated 15 March 1631, and imprimaturs, dated 1 April 1631; [v–vii] dedication by Scheiner to Prince Paolo Sabello Albani, dated Rome, 17 July 1631; [viii–x] table of contents; 1–2 introduction ("Argumentum"); 3–108 text, divided in two parts, including engraved illustrations

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page; woodcut strip-ornament headpieces; typographic tailpieces; ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched frontispiece, depicting an apse with busts and statues of saints, with title, dedicatee, and author inscribed on frieze ("Pantographice Ad Pavlvvm Sabellvm Albani Principem etc. Christophorvs Scheiner Soc. Iesv."), dedicatee's arms supported by cherubs at top, and, in foreground, a cherub drawing at a table and disembodied arm drawing at an easel; 27 small etched plates throughout text, with figures numbered 1–40, plus 2 etched plates with unnumbered figures (pp. 20, 72)

Binding Old half sheep, vellum label, sprinkled edges

Provenance Early ownership inscription on title page (shaved, illegible); another early inscription and annotation inside front cover: "C.T. Gerla . . . Bauer bibl. libr. rar. I. IV. p. 35"

References Cicognara 658



Christoph Scheiner. *Pantographice*. Frontispiece. NCI920S34

Sebastiano Serlio

(1475–1554)

I25

[Books I–II] Il Primo [–Secondo] Libro D'Architettvra, Di M. Sabastiano Serlio Bolognese

Venice: printed by Cornelio de' Nicolini da Sabbio for Marchio [i.e., Marchione] Sessa, [1551]

[Book III] Il Terzo Libro Di Sabastiano Serlio Bolognese, Nel Qval Si Figvrano, E Descrivono Le Antiqvita Di Roma, E Le Altre Che Sono In Italia, E Fvori D'Italia. Con noue additioni, come ne la Tauola appare

Venice: printed by Pietro de' Nicolini da Sabbio for Marchione Sessa, 1551

[Book IV] Regole Generali Di Architettvra Di Sabastiano Serlio Bolognese Sopra Le Cinque Maniere De Gli Edifici, Cioe, Thoscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, E Composito, Con Gli Essempi De L'Antiqvita, Che Per La Maggior Parte Concordano Con La Dottrina Di Vitrvvio. Con noue Additioni, & castigationi, dal medesimo Autore in questa terza editione fatte: come ne la seguente carta è notato

Venice: printed by Pietro de' Nicolini da Sabbio for Marchione Sessa, 1551

[Book V] Qvinto Libro D'Architettvra, Di Sabastiano Serlio Bolognese, Nel Qvale Si Tratta Di Diverse Forme De Tempii Sacri Secondo Il Costvme Christiano, & al modo antico. A La Serenissima Regina Di Navarra

Venice: printed by Pietro de' Nicolini da Sabbio for Melchione [i.e., Marchione] Sessa, 1551

1983.49.107

Folio: 354 × 253 (13^{15/16} × 9^{15/16})

Foliation Book I: 16 leaves

Book II: 31, [1] leaves

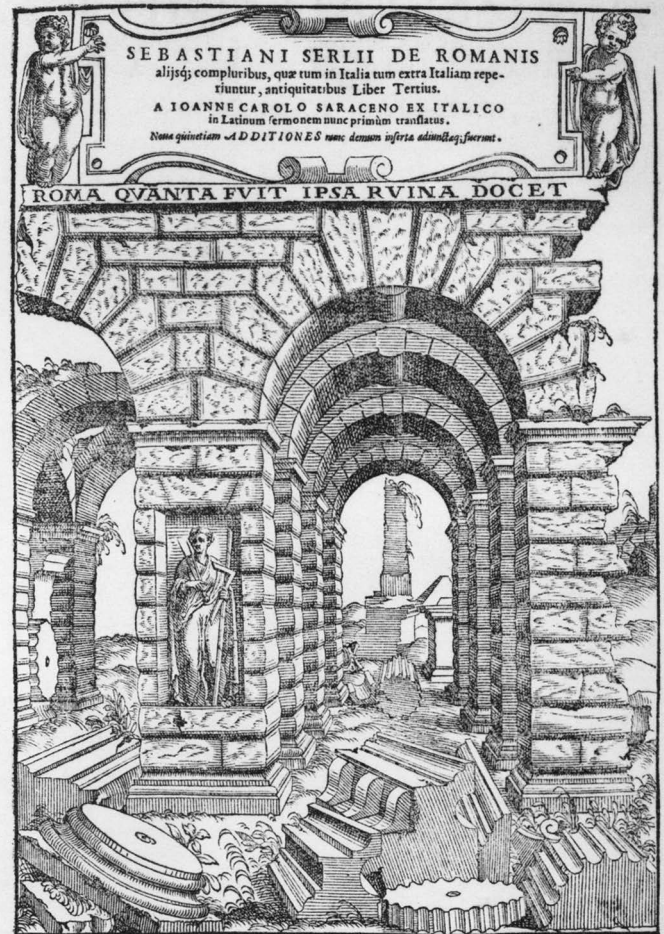
Book III: 155, [1] pp.

Book IV: 76 leaves

Book V: 18 leaves

Edition Printed for Marchione Sessa by either Cornelio (books I–II) or Pietro (books III–V) de' Nicolini da Sabbio, the four units making up this volume (i.e., books I–II, book III, book IV, book V) form a coherent collection, comprising the undated but first edition published

Sebastiano Serlio. *De Architectura*. Book III. Part title page: "Roma quanta fuit." 1983.49.109



VENETIIS,

Apud Franciscum de Francis Senensem, & Ioannem Chriger.

M D LXXIII.

in Italy of books I and II (1st ed., with text in Italian and French, Paris, 1545); the third Italian edition of book III (1st ed., Venice, 1540); the fourth Italian edition of book IV (1st ed., Venice, 1537); and the first edition published in Italy of book V (1st ed., with text in Italian and French, Paris, 1547)

Text *book I*: folios [I] recto, title page; [I] verso, dedication by Serlio to Francis I, king of France, and preface; 2–16 text and illustrations; *book II*: folios 1–31 text and illustrations, caption title on fol. 1 recto: “Il Secondo Libro Di Perspettiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese”; [32] recto, blank; [32] verso, printer’s device and colophon; *book III*: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [III]–III dedication and list of additions to the second edition; v–CLV text and illustrations, ending with note to the reader; [CLVI] register, printer’s device, and colophon; *book IV*: folios [I] recto, title page, printed in red and black; [I] verso, dedication by Francesco Marcolini to Alvise Cornaro, dated Venice, 1 January 1544, followed by note on additions and emendments to the third edition; II dedication by Serlio to Alfonso D’Avalos; III preface; III–LXXVI recto, text and illustrations; LXXVI verso, register, printer’s device, and colophon; *book V*: folios [I] recto, title page, printed in red and black; [I] verso, dedication by Serlio to Marguerite, queen of Navarre; [I] verso–18 recto, text and illustrations; 18 verso, register, printer’s device, and colophon

Ornaments Woodcut title page, book I, with strapwork border and measuring instruments, copied from the first edition but omitting the salamander of Francis I at top and incorporating printer’s device; woodcut title page, book III, with title inscribed on cartouche above landscape with architectural ruins, printed using same woodblock as in first and second editions; woodcut title page, books IV and V, with architectural border and terminal figures; woodcut printer’s device repeated on final pages of books II–V; woodcut initials

Illustrations

Books I–II: Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts are close copies of those in the first edition (Paris, 1545)

Book III: Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts were printed using the same woodblocks as in the previous editions published by Francesco Marcolini da Forlì in Venice in 1540 and 1544

Book IV: Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts were printed using the same woodblocks as in the previous editions published by Marcolini in Venice in 1537, 1540, and 1544

Book V: Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodblocks are close copies of those in the first edition (Paris, 1547)

Binding Contemporary limp vellum, repaired, ties intact, author’s name lettered on spine and lower edge. In the Millard copy, pp. [III]–III are incorrectly bound following pp. XI–[XII]

References Fowler 304 (books I–II); Fowler 311 (book III); Fowler 319 (book IV); Fowler 322 (book V); Millard, *French Books*, 152; Millard, *British Books*, 74; Riccardi 2: 440

I26

Sebastiani Serlii Bononiensis De Architectura Libri Qvinque, Quibus cuncta ferè Architectonica facultatis mysteria doctè, perspicuè, vberimeq[ue] explicantur, À Ioanne Carolo Saraceno ex Italica in Latinum linguam nunc primùm translata atque conuersi. In quibus, præter orationis perpetuam continuatamq[ue]; seriem, et propriæ ædificiorum mensuræ, & consentaneæ quoque structurarum omnium designationes perquàm, eleganter insertæ accommodatæq[ue]; fuerunt. Necnon extraordinarius quinquaginta portarum libellus in operis calce adiunctus hic demum conspicitur

Venice: Francesco de’ Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger, 1569

1983.49.109

Folio: 323 × 215 (12¹¹/₁₆ × 8⁷/₁₆)

Pagination [xxii], 1–224, 227–448, [2] pp.

(*Note*: The Millard copy lacks the blank leaf described in the Fowler copy: pp. [xxiii–xxiv])

Edition First edition, second issue, of the Latin translation of books I–V and the *Libro Extraordinario*. This issue includes the translator’s preface

Text pp. [i] general title page (verso blank); [iii–xviii] preface by the translator, Giovanni Carlo Saraceno, addressed to Giovanni Delfino; [xix–xx] Serlio’s dedication; [xxi] Serlio’s preface; [xxii] note regarding book I; 1–448 text and illustrations, books I–V, and “Extra Ordinem Liber,” with divisional title pages, all dated 1568, for books III (p. [75]), IV (p. [221]), V (p. [361]), and “Extra Ordinem Liber” (p. [395]); [449] errata; [450] blank

Ornaments Woodcut borders for each divisional title page: the woodcut title page of book III is a reduced copy of the title designed for Francesco Marcolini’s first

edition; the title pages for books iv, v, and the “Extra Ordinem Liber” bear different woodcut architectural borders, the third of these incorporating Franceschi’s “Pax” device; printer’s device on general title page, and title page for “Extra Ordinem Liber”; woodcut historiated initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts are reduced copies of those in the Marcolini and Sessa editions. The same woodblocks had been used previously in the quarto Italian language edition of books i–v, *Libro Extraordinario*, published by Franceschi and Chrieger, Venice, 1566

Binding Modern vellum

Provenance Early annotations in Italian on flyleaf and in margins of several pages

References Brunet 5: 305; Cicognara 672; Fowler 328; Mortimer, *Italian*, 476; Riccardi 2: 440

I27

Tutte l’Opere d’Architettura Di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese; Doue si trattano in disegno, quelle cose, che sono più necessarie all’Architetto; Et Hora Di Nvovo Aggiunto (oltre il libro delle porte) gran numero di case priuate nella Città, & in villa, Et Vn’Indice Copiosissimo Raccolto per via di considerationi Da M. Gio. Domenico Scamozzi

Venice: Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1584

1983.49.II0

Quarto: 237 × 170 (9⁵/₁₆ × 6¹¹/₁₆)

Foliation/Pagination Books i–v: [xxiv], 219, [i] leaves

Libro Extraordinario: 27, [i] leaves

Book vii: [viii], 243, [i] pp.

Edition First collected edition of books i–v, *Libro Extraordinario*, book vii. Although the *Libro Extraordinario* and book vii are paginated independently in this edition, they were not issued separately

Text books i–v: folios [i] general title page (verso blank); [ii]–[iii] dedication by Lodovico Roncone to Francesco de’ Franceschi, dated Vicenza, 15 April 1584; [iv] recto, sonnet by Lodovico Roncone; [iv] verso, sonnet by Marco Stecchini; [v]–[xxiii] index; [xxiv] errata; i–219 text and illustrations, with divisional title pages for book i (fol. [1]), book ii (fol. [17]), book iii (fol. [49]), book iv (fol. [125]), book v (fol. [201]); [220] blank. *Libro Extraordinario*: folios [i] divisional title page (verso blank);

2 recto, preface; 2 verso–27 text and illustrations; book vii: pp. [i] divisional title page, book vii (verso blank); [iii–iv] summary of contents; [v–vi] dedication by Francesco de’ Franceschi to Vincenzo Scamozzi, dated Venice, 1 March 1584; [vii–viii] blank; 1 preface; 2–243 text and illustrations, book vii; [244] printer’s device and colophon

Ornaments Woodcut architectural borders for each divisional title page; woodcut printer’s device on general title page and final page of book vii; woodcut headpieces on Roncone’s dedication and sonnets; woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The same woodblocks for books i–v and the *Libro Extraordinario* had been used in the quarto edition of 1566 and the Latin edition of 1569 (cat. 126), both published by Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger; the woodblocks for book vii are reduced copies of the folio edition of book vii (Frankfurt, 1575)

Binding Eighteenth-century vellum, morocco label, yellow edges

Provenance Small ownership stamp on final page, below colophon: coat of arms with initial “M”

References Berlin Cat. 2572; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 96; Fowler 333; Riccardi 2: 441

I28

Tutte L’Opere D’Architettura, Et Prospettiva [sic], Di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, Doue si mettono in disegno tutte le maniere di edificij, e si trattano di quelle cose, che sono più necessarie a sapere gli Architetti. Con la aggiunta delle inuentioni di cinquanta Porte, e gran numero di palazzi publici, e privati nella Città, & in Villa, e varij accidenti, che possono occorrere nel fabricare. Diuiso in sette Libri. Con vn’Indice copiosissimo con molte Considerationi, & vn breue Discorso sopra questa materia, raccolto Da M. Gio. Domenico Scamozzi Vicentino. Di nuouo ristampate, e corrette

Venice: Heirs of Francesco de’ Franceschi, 1600

1983.49.III

Quarto: 238 × 170 (9³/₈ × 6¹¹/₁₆)

Foliation/Pagination Books i–v: [xxiv], 219, [i] leaves

Libro Extraordinario: 27, [i] leaves

Book vii: [viii], 243, [i] pp.

Edition Second collected edition of books I–V, *Libro Extraordinario*, book VII

Text books I–V: folios [i] general title page (verso blank); [ii]–[iii] dedication by Lodovico Roncone to Francesco de' Franceschi, dated Vicenza, 15 April 1584; [iv] recto, sonnet by Lodovico Roncone; [iv] verso, sonnet by Marco Stecchini; [v]–[xxiii] recto, index; [xxiii] recto–[xxiv] discourse by Giovanni Domenico Scamozzi; 1–219 text and illustrations, with divisional title pages for book I (fol. [1]), book II (fol. [17]), book III (fol. [49]), book IV (fol. [125]), book V (fol. [201]); [220] blank. *Libro Extraordinario*: folios [1] divisional title page (for the first time described on title page as “Il sesto libro”); 2 recto, preface; 2 verso–27 text and illustrations; *book VII*: pp. [i] divisional title page, book VII (verso blank); [iii–iv] summary of contents; [v–vi] dedication by Francesco de' Franceschi to Vincenzo Scamozzi, dated Venice, 1 March 1584; [vii–viii] blank; 1 preface; 2–243 text and illustrations, book VII; [244] blank

Ornaments Woodcut architectural border for each divisional title page; woodcut printer's device on general title page; woodcut and typographic headpieces; woodcut initials

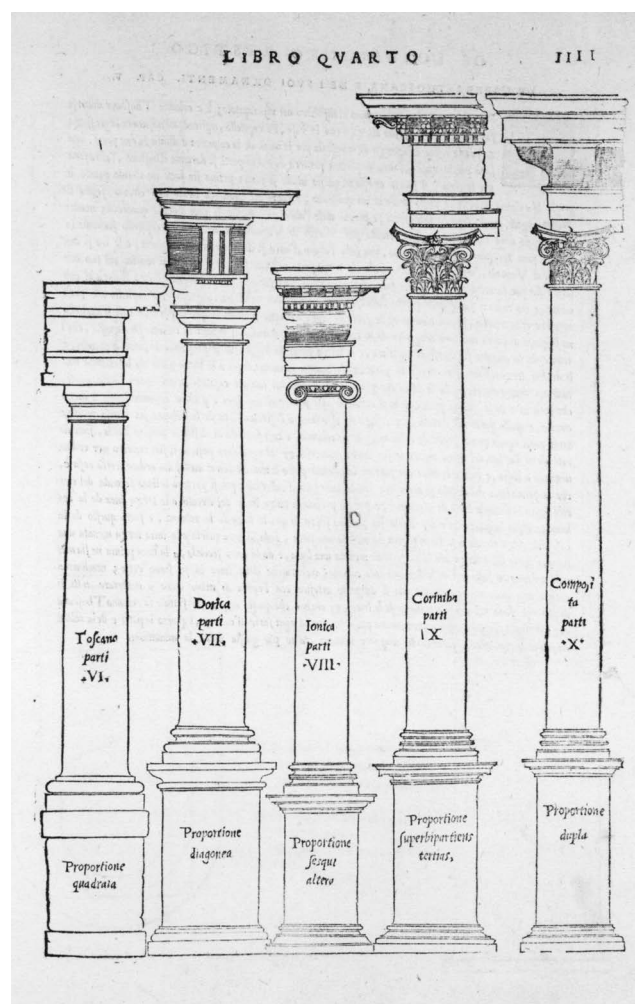
Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The same woodblocks had been used in the quarto edition of books I–V with the *Libro Extraordinario* in 1566 published by Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger; the Latin edition of 1569 (cat. 126), also published by Franceschi and Chrieger; and in the first collected edition of the seven books, published by Franceschi in 1584 (cat. 127)

Binding Contemporary vellum, paneled in blind, small armorial device stamped in center of both covers, manuscript title and shelf number on spine

Provenance Early ownership inscription of “Thom: Dischingbune” (?) on title page; eighteenth-century etched armorial bookplate of “Sr. Archibald Grant of Monymuske Bart.” on inside front cover, with his inscription on title page

References Fowler 334; Mortimer, *Italian*, 477; Riccardi 2: 441

SEBASTIANO SERLIO IS ONE OF THE four Renaissance authors, with Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Andrea Palladio, and Vincenzo Scamozzi, who surpassed in importance Vitruvius and his sixteenth-century commentators. The first to publish an original and illustrated architectural treatise in Italian, Serlio was a painter and architect from Bologna. Older than Raphael, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo, he was an exact contemporary of Michelangelo. In



Sebastiano Serlio. *Regole generali*. “Family portrait,” the five orders of architecture. 1983.49.107

his influential treatise, Serlio offered practical rules for architectural design, which were intended for the ordinary reader rather than the elite humanists and ruling aristocrats for whom Leon Battista Alberti had written (see cat. 6). Serlio avoided theorizing and provided direct aid through woodcut illustrations. Giorgio Vasari's decision to place him among the engravers of architecture may be due to Serlio's departure from Albertian and Vitruvian studies, transforming the architectural treatise with a series of illustrations of ancient and modern buildings.

Serlio has been reproached for “derivativeness, plagiarism, and lack of critical judgment” (Kruft 1994). However, his systematic approach to particular kinds of buildings and his typological organization of architecture are the basis for his immediate success and enduring international following. He was the most influential architectural writer on actual building practices. His single principal contribution is that he broke architectural theory up into distinct and separate themes, which were then taken up individually by subsequent writers. But his influence has been reevaluated only recently.

According to Giulio Carlo Argan (1932) his contemporaries felt Serlio distant from their problems. There is little mention of him in the publications by Palladio, Vignola, and Scamozzi, while Vasari is indifferent, Benvenuto Cellini is diffident, and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo is downright contemptuous. Argan sees Serlio's point of departure as intuitive and his evaluations unsystematic, considering his approach empirical rather than scientific. Principally, Serlio does not feel that poorly concealed dislike for Venetian taste, which is one of the main motifs of sixteenth-century Italian criticism in art, as promoted by Vasari, Cellini, and Lomazzo. Serlio brings to architecture a "landscapist" sensibility borrowed from Venetian artists and an interest in regional architecture brought about by his travels through Italy and central France (Argan 1932).

Despite the aloofness of contemporary theorists, the treatise was an immediate success and remained so for a long time after Serlio's demise, although it received keen competition from the published works of Vignola and Palladio that followed in 1562 and 1570. Stylistically, Serlio's text is very pleasant to read, fresh and graceful; it raises the question of where he learned to write with such skill and persuasion. He effortlessly communicates the delight he feels in working on buildings and in looking at them. Conceptually, Serlio's work marked an important watershed in architectural publication. Serlio seems to have had no all-embracing theoretical system and no absolute values. His work is no longer conceived under the shadow of Vitruvian studies, but constitutes the published foundation of the new Renaissance architectural practice. For Vitruvius, architectural theory was the way of passing on the experience collected in architectural practice; for Alberti, this knowledge included antiquity and its buildings, but for Serlio the ancient Roman ruins were the evidence of a formal system whose rules he wants to teach us, like the grammar of a language.

Though Serlio's treatise is the first modern work on architecture to be published, it is influenced by earlier studies. He emerges out of a visual approach to architectural education first proposed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, whose extensively illustrated manuscripts remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. Serlio may have been aware of Francesco's work through extant manuscripts and the teaching of Baldassare Peruzzi, Sienese like Francesco di Giorgio Martini, and a confessed model for Serlio's publishing ambitions. Because Peruzzi himself had prepared drawings and sketches for an architectural treatise, and because of his avowed closeness to this master, Serlio was accused already in the sixteenth century of having plagiarized the younger man's work and ideas. Like Cesare Cesariano, the editor and commentator of the first vernacular

and extensively illustrated edition of Vitruvius (1521), Serlio was also influenced by the high architectural standards and composition of Donato Bramante. Like Cesariano, moreover, Serlio allows local and regional architectural elements to contaminate the purified classical language developed by Bramante, and later by Raphael, in designs for buildings in Rome.

Serlio's treatise is image-based, providing the first compendium of exempla that the architect could literally use in designing buildings. Furthermore, Serlio establishes the agenda for architectural concerns for the rest of the century. With his fourth book, published first, Serlio established the theory of the orders as the common patrimony of all western Europe. His publications encouraged the unequivocal display of architectural dilettantism flourishing at the time. He succeeds in this enterprise by transforming the principles of Vitruvian theory into typological categories. The treatise is intended for the education of the architect, providing the instruments and principles for architectural composition. In a thoroughly radical departure from contemporary conventions, Serlio's discourse focuses on the external appearance of architecture, ignoring its material substance. But he has received little credit for this novel approach, with scholars turning instead to Peruzzi as the inspiration for this innovative abstraction.

Although part of the generation that brought Renaissance architecture to its highest development, Serlio is an artist without a biography (Thoenes 1989). His education seems to have been more elaborate than expected (he was the son of a Bolognese craftsman), implying youthful contacts with intellectual and aristocratic circles in Bologna. After leaving Bologna, he was in Pesaro from 1510 until 1514, where he probably met Girolamo Genga and saw the latter's work in Urbino. His meeting with Peruzzi certainly took place during his stay in Bologna between 1520 and 1523, although they may have met as early as 1515. Richard Tuttle (in Thoenes 1989) has suggested that Serlio worked with Peruzzi on drawings of San Petronio and then went with Peruzzi to Rome, returning to Bologna in 1525, when he is documented as taking an apprentice for three years. Thus he was not in Rome during the sack of the city in 1527, and did not run from there to Venice, as scholars have asserted.

Serlio was certainly in Venice by 1528, when he petitioned for a copyright to publish nine engravings of the orders. These engravings probably represent the first stage in the evolution of Serlio's treatise, as William Dinsmoor (1942) had suggested and Deborah Howard (1973) has confirmed. In the copyright petition, Serlio refers to himself as "professor di architettura," that is, as an expert rather than as a teacher. His petition of 1537 for copyright on his "Regole generali di architettura,"

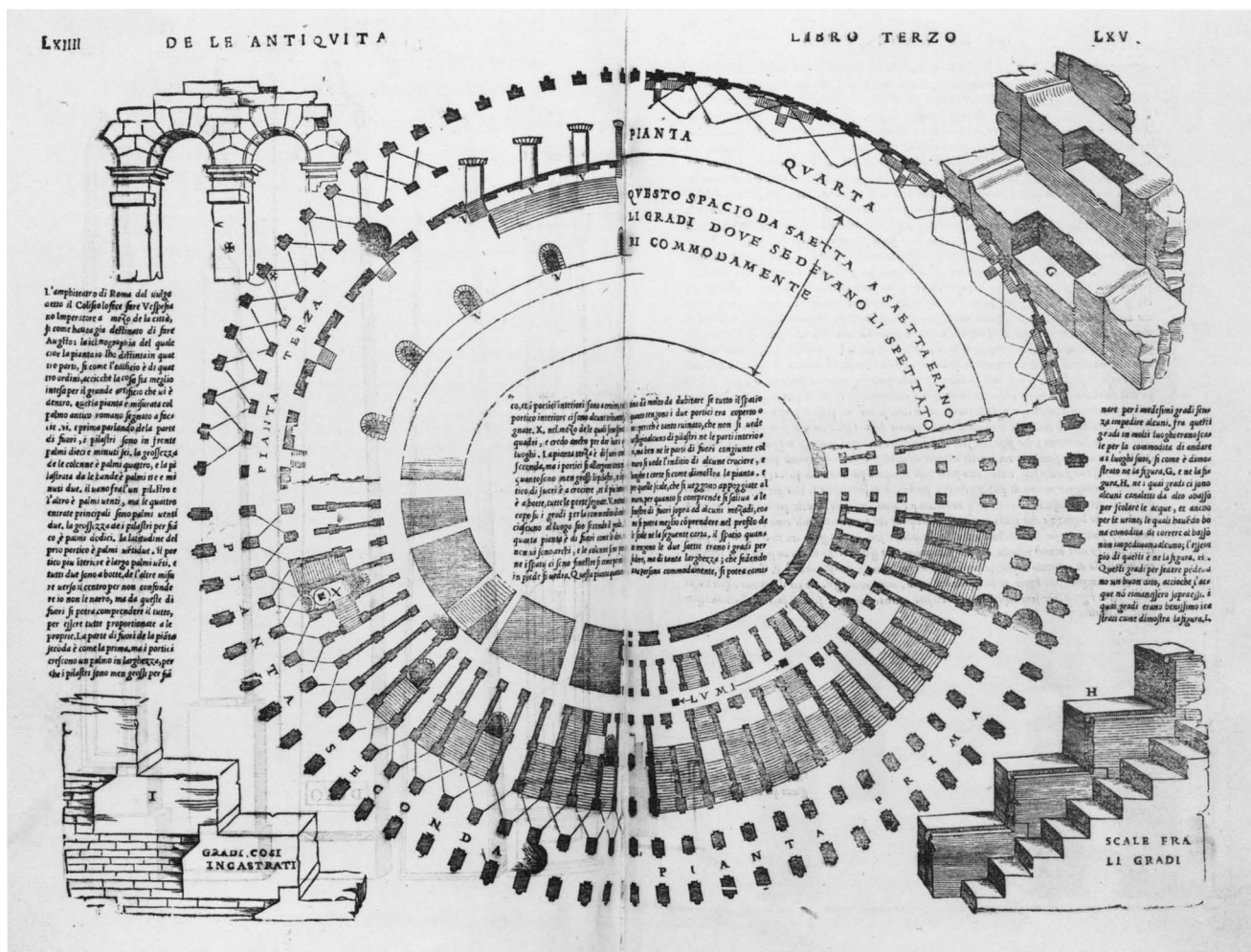
which eventually became book 4, shows further the importance of the illustrative material for his conception of the book. When in 1541 Serlio accepted an invitation to move to France, he was already sixty-five years old; he remained in Fontainebleau and Lyon until the end of his life in 1554, publishing some of his book and overcoming the bitterness of a failed architectural career.

Serlio's fragmented professional career and extensive travels are closely mirrored in the complex publication history of his treatise. The treatise was published in parts that took a long time to emerge and sort themselves out. The chronological order of publication of the parts was not followed in the eventual organization of the completed treatise. The publication history is further complicated by the existence of various manuscripts, sold by Serlio in old age to Jacopo Strada, a Mantuan dealer of antiquities, only parts of which were published as intended.

Serlio had initially planned his treatise in seven parts, but left nine different books. His plan for the entire work was set out in the preface of the first part to be published (book 4). Of these, only books 1–5 and the “extraordinary” book were published in his lifetime,

between 1537 and 1554. Books 6–8 were sold by Serlio to Jacopo Strada, who published book 7 in 1575. Book 4, *Regole generali di architettura*, on the orders, was thus the first to be published, in Venice in 1537. Book 3, *Antichità di Roma*, on ancient Roman antiquities in the Italian peninsula, was published next in Venice in 1540. Books 1 and 2, *Libro primo d'architettura* and *Secondo libro di prospettiva*, on geometry and perspective, were published together in French and Italian, in Paris in 1545. Book 5, *Quinto libro di tempî sacri*, on churches, was published next, also in a bilingual edition, in Paris in 1547. This was followed by the publication in Lyons of the unnumbered book, *Libro straordinario*, on gates, in 1551. Book 7, on “accidents,” was published by Strada in Frankfurt in 1575 in a bilingual Latin and Italian edition. Finally, book 6 was published in Milan in 1666 and in a facsimile edition in New York in 1978. Book 8, on military architecture and planning, has been published recently (Fiore 1994). Serlio's four extant manuscripts are preserved at the Avery Library of Columbia University, New York, and the Staatsbibliothek in Munich; recently a fifth

Sebastiano Serlio. *Le Antichità di Roma*. Roman amphitheater. 1983.49.107



manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek in Augsburg has been persuasively attributed to Serlio by Johannes Erichsen (Thoenes 1989).

Serlio's published books 1–5 were pirated in his own lifetime, translated almost immediately into Dutch, Flemish, German, as well as French editions by Pieter de Coeck, his distinguished if unauthorized publisher in Antwerp. The combined edition of books 1–5 and the “extraordinary” book was first published in Venice in 1566 by Francesco de' Franceschi and dedicated to Daniele Barbaro (see cat. 12). The second of the Millard copies follows this arrangement of the book, in a Latin edition from de' Franceschi, published in 1569 (cat. 126). The complete edition of books 1–5, the “extraordinary” book, and book 7 was first published together as a volume in 1584, edited by Giandomenico Scamozzi, Vincenzo Scamozzi's father, who added a copious index that some scholars have attributed to Vincenzo (see cats. 122 and 123). The third Millard copy of Serlio is this edition. With only slight changes, this version with Scamozzi's index was reprinted in 1600 and 1619. The fourth Millard copy (Venice, 1600) is the first edition in which the “extraordinary” book becomes book 6, as separate book subtitles are dropped in favor of books numbered in sequence, 1–7. The 1600 edition includes a brief treatise by Scamozzi père dealing with various aspects of architectural practice and client relations. The index of 1584 and the added text for the edition of 1600 are the earliest occurrences of what John Bury (in Thoenes 1989) has referred to as the process of agglutination, by which later editors enlarged the original work with addenda. The earliest Millard copy and the only lifetime edition in this catalogue (Venice, 1551) is comprised of books 1–5, printed by Cornelio de' Nicolini and his successor, Pietro de' Nicolini, and then bound together into one volume. Of the four Millard versions, the earliest volume is closest to the character of the publication as envisioned initially by the author.

Serlio considered the *Regole*, his fourth book (1537), the most important, and it forms the nucleus of his doctrine. The first edition was dedicated to Ercole II, duke of Ferrara; the second (1540) was offered by Serlio to Alfonso d'Avalos, marchese del Vasto, ambassador of Emperor Charles V in Venice. In it, on the first illustrated page, the columns of the five orders are shown persuasively together for the first time. (Although Cesariano had presented the columns earlier, his plate was graphically less emphatic.) This family “mugshot” originated the codified proportional system associated with the Renaissance orders, which had been unknown in classical antiquity or the quattrocento. The suggested succession—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, composite—shows the columns becoming increasingly more elegant as their shafts become taller, progressing from 6 to 10 diameters in height, and richer in form (Günther,

in Thoenes 1989). This book on orders began a genre subsequently reinforced in innumerable books on the columns, of which Vignola's treatise of 1562 was the most significant representative. More sober and pedantic, Vignola's study of the orders—which Julius Schlosser considers “lifeless beyond belief”—achieved by far the greatest commercial success of all Renaissance treatises (see cat. 144). In 1528 Serlio had published a series of nine prints (engraved by Agostino Veneziano) dedicated to the three Greek orders in which their bases, capitals, and trabeations were illustrated without explanation or measurements. In the 1537 publication, the illustrations are larger and there is an accompanying text explaining the forms and dimensions of the constituent elements of the columns. The three orders were increased to five with the addition of the Tuscan and the composite. Serlio “Christianized” the columns, associating the individual orders with Christ and with male and female saints of the Christian pantheon. Apologizing for Vitruvius' omission of the composite order, Serlio presents it as the most important of the Roman inventions, the richest and the one to be placed highest on a building.

Serlio's canon of the orders is based on Vitruvius, the extant works of antiquity, and the inherent systematic structure of the orders (Hart, in *Sebastiano Serlio* 1996). From Vitruvius he borrows the ordering of the columns and the proportions. Serlio uses the extant remains of Roman buildings as confirmation of Vitruvius' text, though they offer details not mentioned in Vitruvius and occasionally even contradict the ancient Roman writer. The doctrine of the orders endows architecture with scientific character. Alberti had developed the first theory of the orders distinguished from Vitruvius', and in his wake quattrocento architects perceived the orders only as a proportional system. The layering of columns was first practiced by Bramante in his staircase at the Villa Belvedere, and Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo* wall painting in the Vatican palace (1514) illustrates the orders programmatically.

The Tuscan order was described only briefly and without its own trabeation by Vitruvius and not mentioned at all by Alberti, but Antonio da Sangallo insisted that it was a version of the Doric and appropriated the Doric trabeation for it. Serlio abandoned the triglyphs and metopes, believing the Tuscan to be a simplified version of the Doric. Serlio describes the version of the Doric adopted by Bramante, who based his own composition on Alberti's elaborate version. The Ionic was used as seldom in the Renaissance as in antiquity since the design of the volute, based on the spiral of Archimedes, posed a mathematical problem. A construction of half-circles, inexact and with graceless results, was used by Alberti, and Serlio designs it in the same way. Vitruvius had described a method based on

quadrants, illustrated by Fra Giocondo and Antonio da Sangallo, and later by Philander (see Millard, *French Books*, 165). In the design of the Corinthian capital, Serlio follows Vitruvius with only minimal changes (Günther, in Thoenes 1989).

Alberti had discovered that the Romans mixed elements from different orders, and in the sixteenth century this came to be called the composite order. Although Antonio da Sangallo, pursuing an archaeological interpretation of Vitruvius, showed that one order was born from the previous one, successively borrowing elements and adding new details, Serlio's fourth book reflects the earlier doctrines held at the beginning of Leo x's reign. However, with the codification of the composite order, Serlio differentiates himself from Bramante's circle. Once the composite order becomes individuated, its presence modified the proportions of

the other orders. Thus Serlio reduces the Doric to 6 diameters. The term *composite* exists in Serlio's copyright petition of 1528, but it is meant literally composed of several manners. Serlio's sources for this order have not been further identified, but Hubertus Günther (in Thoenes 1989) had signaled a manuscript in Vienna, possibly a lost work of Peruzzi's dated 1529, that anticipates Serlio's fundamental conception in the fourth book, the canon of the five orders, including the composite, distinguished from one another in all of their parts. Serlio's fourth book unites the elitism of the Roman High Renaissance—whose members had raised architecture to the status of a scientific enterprise by making it beautiful and difficult—with the populism of the Sienese contribution, which continued the building practices of the fifteenth century (Günther, in Thoenes 1989).

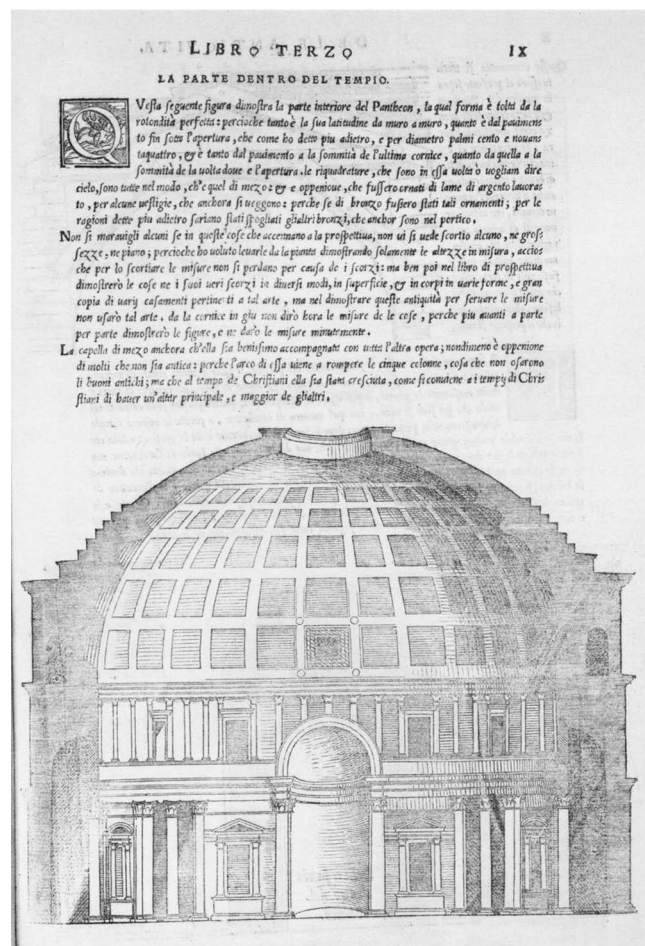
Serlio intentionally published the fourth book first, hoping to draw a large reading public with his attractive and novel illustrations. In the preface to book 4, he out-

Sebastiano Serlio. *Il Primo libro d'architettura*. Design for tragic stage set. 1983.49.107



lined the entire treatise and referred to the illustration of the five orders as introducing the “players” of the book as at the theater. The book includes several subjects not broached by Vitruvius, such as the design of fireplaces, of which no traces have been found in ancient buildings, and the decoration of house facades as well as interiors with wall painting. Serlio advises the representation of sculpture in marble and bronze, pointing out that Peruzzi had painted some Roman palaces with histories and architecture that enriched them and rendered them visually stronger, and mentioning the chiaroscuro decorations of Polidoro da Caravaggio. He also refers to construction materials as “pietre cotte” and “pietre vive” (baked and live stones), which are respectively the flesh and the bones of the building. Serlio’s licentious title page for the *Regole* consists of two herms supporting a pediment, with the architrave replaced by an opening through which one can see a series of moldings and sections of cornices and column drums. These resemble closely the *modini* first made in the sixteenth century as templates to guide stone carvers and construction workers.

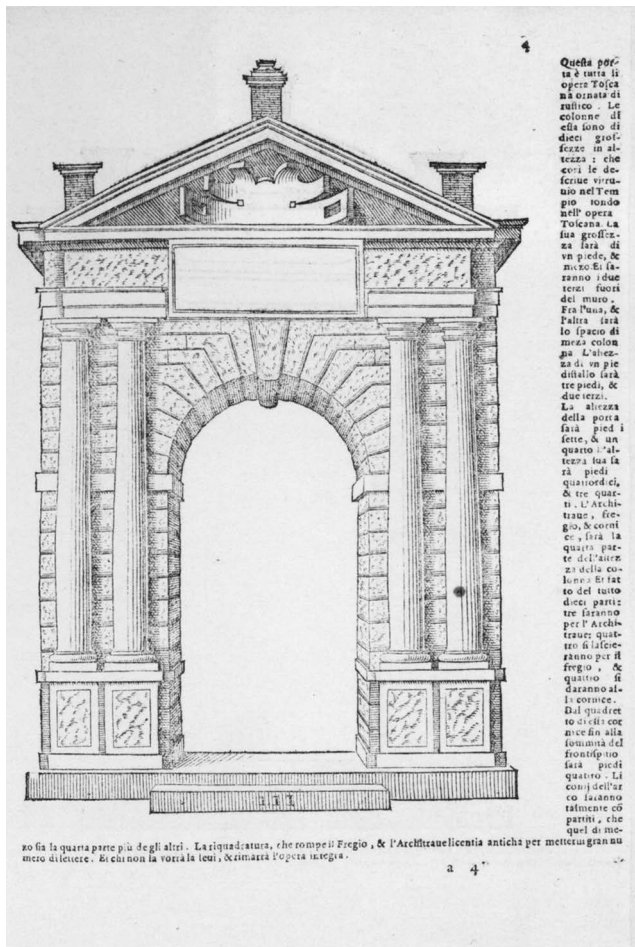
The third book (1540) was the first coherent publication on classical architecture and was supposed to have been the first published by Serlio. It reflects the double roots of Renaissance architectural theory, in Vitruvius and in the ruins of Roman monuments. While for Alberti these had been the two sides of the same medal, the two approaches had parted ways in the later fifteenth century, reconverging in the work of Raphael, who devoted himself to an exegesis of Vitruvius (using Fra Giocondo’s edition of 1511) and a graphic reconstruction of ancient Rome. Although Serlio’s seems to be a historical work, the book on antiquities is in fact pedagogical. Serlio had many distinguished predecessors to refer to, such as Giuliano da Sangallo, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo, who had all made large collections of drawings illustrating details, fragments, and reconstructions of Roman ruins. These collections were based on an unexamined belief in the exemplary nature of the buildings of antiquity. Thus Serlio’s *Antichità* is inspired by the recording efforts of his predecessors, especially Raphael’s greater project. But Serlio also included information about buildings he did not see, such as the pyramids described to him by Marco Grimani. His editorial contribution consists of elevating the Pantheon to the status of the most beautiful building of antiquity, and of lifting the Roman buildings of Bramante to the status of exempla by including them in this section of the treatise. His illustrations of Bramante’s Tempietto and cloister at San Pietro in Montorio and the Belvedere court at the Vatican offer precious documentary information about the unrealized site plan. But Serlio’s sojourn in Rome is only one episode in a long life, and the



Sebastiano Serlio. *Le Antichità di Roma*. Section of the Pantheon, Rome. 1983.49.107

same can be said of the place occupied by antiquity in his thinking (Thoenes 1989).

In a persuasive analysis of the title page to the third book, Thoenes (1989) has demonstrated how by subtly altering the traditional motto *Roma quanta fuit sola ruina docet* Serlio shows that his book offers to reconstruct ancient Rome. The pessimistic idea that “Only the ruins can teach how great Rome was” becomes “*Roma ipsa docet*,” the very ruins can teach us. The title page is the only illustration of ruins: only reconstructed whole buildings or coherent parts are shown inside the book. Precursors for the design of the title page include Michele Sanmichele’s Porta Nuova in Verona, Giulio Romano’s Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, and Peruzzi’s painting of the presentation of the Virgin in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome. The image is not framed, and the portico seems to be placed in open space, as in Vasari’s design for Cosimo Bartoli’s edition of the treatise by Alberti (1550; see cat. 6). Serlio’s title page resurrects the ancient ruins rather than giving an elegiacal description of them; thus the ruins are made to seem alive again, rather than so many broken leftovers. The stones in the foreground are not crumbling but cleanly



Sebastiano Serlio. *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*. Tuscan order gate. 1983.49.III

cut, resembling the masonry models in the frontispiece of the *Regole*, and thus emphasizing the optimistic and pedagogical tone.

The great innovation of Serlio's third book is that only graphic illustration can guarantee the pedagogical efficacy of the study of antiquities. Dedicated to François I, the king of France who invited him to Fontainebleau and granted Serlio the title of "première peintre et architecte," the book is illustrated with numerous woodcuts. Fifty-three monuments are illustrated in seven groups arranged by function. These are temples, contemporary churches, theaters, amphitheaters, baths, triumphal arches, and contemporary residential architecture. In addition, there are single examples such as Trajan's column and the Septizonium. In this scheme the Pantheon becomes the model for the definition of graphic representation in architecture, plan, section, and elevation, although Serlio does not specifically take up the question of terminology as Raphael had done. But Serlio was inconsistent in the representation of the fifty-three monuments, probably due to the heterogeneity of his own graphic sources. Many of the illustrations from the third book were

reproduced in guides to Rome, such as Bartolomeo Marliani's 1544 edition of *Urbis Romae Topographia* (Dittscheid, in Thoenes 1989).

The layout of the pages in book 3 varies greatly. The most attractive are occupied entirely by one or several images, such as page xxxi illustrating a centrally planned temple with variously shaped excrescences projecting from the main space, page xxxvii with the longitudinal plan of Saint Peter's normally attributed to Raphael and Fra Giocondo, or page lxxxv devoted to elevations and sections of the temple of Mars Ultor. In contrast, the pages that combine illustrations with text vary wildly. Thus the section of the Pantheon occupies the lower half of the page, with a column of text, of almost the same width as the section, above it. The text on page xl, with combined illustration of section and elevation of Bramante's design for the dome of Saint Peter's, has two columns of text of uneven length and width awkwardly flanking the lantern of the dome. The text is similarly residual in appearance on pages lxiii–lxv, where it is tucked between details of the Colosseum whose plan is stretched across the gutter of the opening, and on page cxl where it wraps around the project- ing cornice of a ravishing composite order.

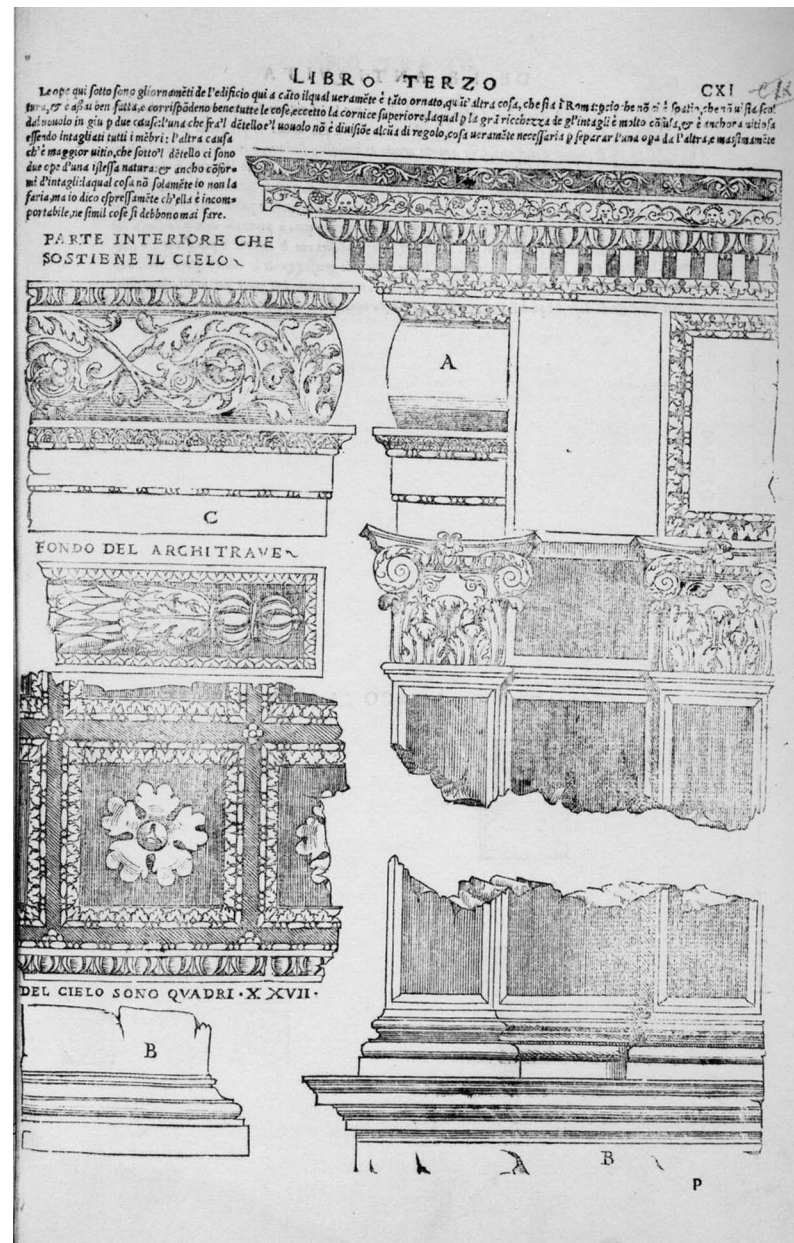
Books 1 and 2 offer practical lessons for the architect and underline Serlio's concept of a visually perceived architecture. The proclamation of the connections between painting, perspective, and architecture continues the well-established Florentine/Urbinate claim for a pictorial approach to architecture and relies specifically on concrete examples from Peruzzi's scenographic architectural trompe l'oeil compositions at the Villa Farnesina in Rome. But Serlio does not discuss the conceptual core of proportions. His famous and most influential illustration of perspective follows Vitruvius in dealing with three stage sets. The tragic scene sets the stage for noble, classical buildings, the comic scene consists of contrasting styles of architecture, and the rustic scene is the first theorized opportunity for the architect to design a countrified landscape setting. Serlio's association of perspective and stage sets launched a long series of perspective studies culminating in the publications of Andrea Pozzo (see cat. 107) at the end of the seventeenth century.

Serlio succeeds in offering an economical compendium of lessons in applied geometry based on Euclidian studies perhaps derived from Leonardo da Vinci. He does not use mathematical formulas but relies on graphic diagrams obtained through the use of the right angle and the compass. His emphasis on problems of construction is also similar to Albrecht Dürer's method, and Serlio refers specifically to the German painter's published books. Serlio's is a pragmatic conception using the simplest forms in order to build up the more complex forms. His construction of perspective uses

distance points and shows awareness of the perspective treatise published by Jean Pelerin Viator in 1505, but Serlio succeeds in constructing a perspective with fewer operations. This principle of operative economy is fundamental for his intuitive approach, avoiding theoretical concerns in favor of rapid methods of construction and a final correction dependent on the eye. This confident approximate approach is based, however, on a fundamental grid, the visual “cage” of the pavement pattern whose use Serlio urges as the first step in constructing a correct visual perspective.

Book 5 is concerned with churches, many of which are centrally planned, and particularly rotundas. Concurring with Alberti (though it is not certain that Serlio would have read him since the first Italian edition of Alberti’s treatise dates from 1546), he argues that the circle is the most perfect form and also suggests that it should be raised above its immediate surroundings. But unlike Alberti, who had suggested this for reasons of representation, Serlio is prudently reacting to what experience had taught him, that the surrounding ground will rise around the building in the course of time.

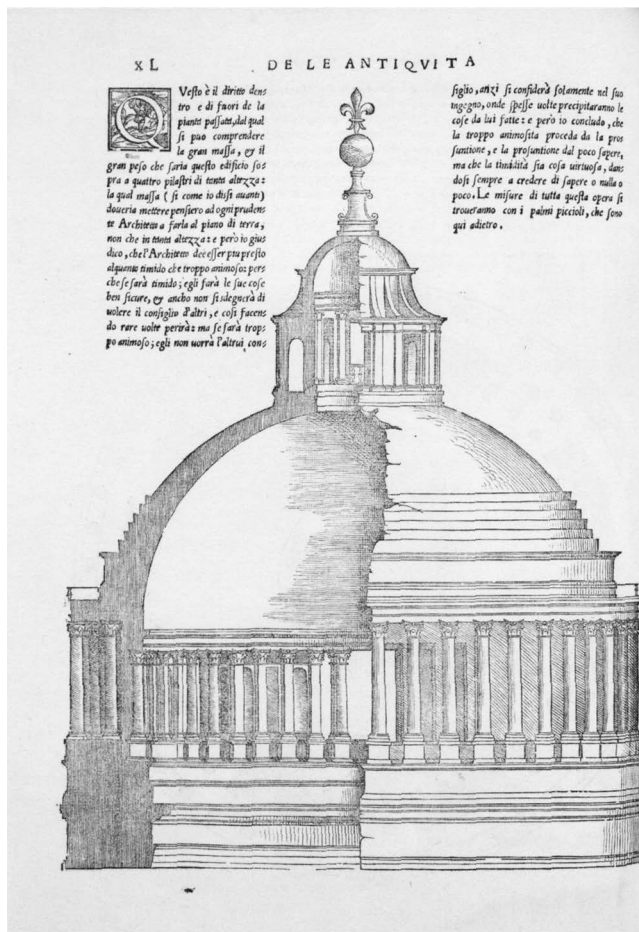
The “extraordinary” book is the most pattern-book-like of all the parts of the treatise. Serlio confesses to having composed it for his own diversion, during an inactive and solitary period in an isolating northern winter in Fontainebleau. Recently a manuscript copy of this section of the treatise, consisting of twenty-seven leaves with pen and ink drawings, has been discovered in the Staatsbibliothek in Augsburg. The book was first published in Lyons in 1551, then again in 1558 and 1560, with copperplate engravings of Serlio’s gates. The first gate illustrated is that of the “Grand Ferrare,” the house designed by Serlio for Cardinal Ippolito d’Este in Fontainebleau. (Serlio resided at length in this building, where he may have been employed as “conciierge” [Erichsen, in Thoenes 1989].) Serlio composed this book soon after the death of François I while seeking to interest Henri II in continuing his employment at court, and the sumptuous Augsburg manuscript may have been intended for the king. The “extraordinary” book illustrates Serlio’s response to his encounter with the work of Giulio Romano and to questions regarding inventiveness, architectural principles, and license, as well as the employment of the rustic order. These concerns link the “extraordinary” book to the fourth book, where Serlio had illustrated a fireplace that could also be adopted for the design of a portal. The “extraordinary” book documents Serlio’s interest in variety and ingenious inventiveness at the expense of rigidly formulated principles, which he knows would please more than the “regular” compositions. In the preface of the published version, Serlio masks the aesthetic experimentation carried out in the illustrations, where parts of



Sebastiano Serlio. *Le Antichità di Roma*. Study of details. 1983.49.107

various orders are mixed together with licentiousness. His personal discovery that aesthetic pleasure is independent of compositional principles, and his concern with architectural appearance rather than its essence, liberate him from the Vitruvian rules. This part of the treatise was in fact the one published the most times.

In the examination of book 7, “on accidents”—an omnibus volume whose heterogeneity was recognized in Serlio’s title—the study of Serlio’s treatise comes to parallel the problems encountered in the publication histories of Vitruvius and Alberti. Since the author did not supervise the publication of the book, the intervention of the later editor has to be examined. Book 7 was first published in 1575 in Frankfurt by Andreas Wechel, using the manuscript and plates bought by Jacopo



Sebastiano Serlio. *Le Antichità di Roma*. Section and elevation of Bramante's dome for Saint Peter's. 1983.49.107

Strada from Serlio. The plates were cut in Venice, perhaps using woodblocks on which Serlio had drawn directly. Strada had bought Serlio's manuscripts and drawings partly in the hope of publishing them himself; Strada made two attempts to become a publisher in 1555 and 1557 when he issued books in Lyon and Venice, and as late as 1575 composed a catalogue listing works in his possession that he still planned to publish. Strada's architectural activities, as collector of drawings, student of antiquities and modern architecture, and as designer, seem to guarantee that he brought a certain ability to his work as editor of Serlio.

In 1574 Strada obtained an imperial privilege for the publication of the "Settimo libro"; this privilege included Serlio's book on military architecture, which he called "Ottavo libro." The published book differs substantially from the manuscript of the book in Vienna. The text was partly rewritten and edited by Strada. The illustrations differ from the manuscript as well but, since it is now known that Serlio himself designed the woodblocks, it can be assumed that the illustrations of book 7 represent his own last alterations. The numerous woodcuts of book 7 illustrate a conglomerate of villas, palaces, windows, and suggestions

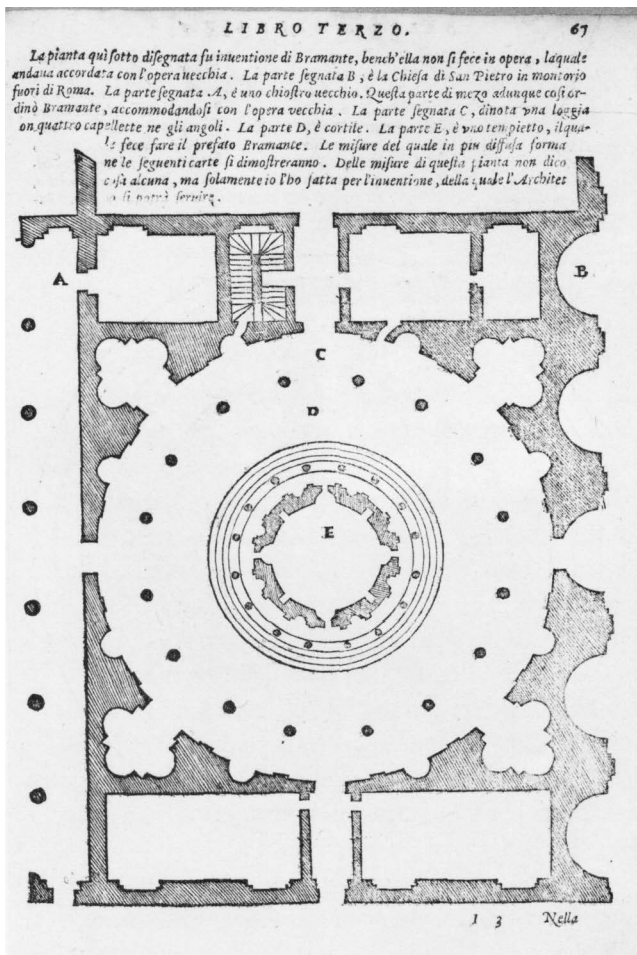
for the restoration of medieval houses. Offering many designs, Serlio installs symmetry as the principal virtue and compositional tool of Renaissance architecture.

Book 6, not published until the twentieth century, is the first systematic exploration of the problem of the private house, despite some earlier attempts by Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Filarete, who had not been interested in the housing of lower levels of society. By contrast, Serlio actually begins at the bottom of the social level, rising gradually in his house designs, from the abode of the humblest artisan to royal palaces. His ideal plans offer many complex configurations, sometimes with circular courts.

In books 5, 7, and the "extraordinary" book, Serlio made major innovations in the format and quality of the illustrations. According to Myra Rosenfeld (in Thoenes 1989), Serlio standardized the layout of the images and the text by connecting text and illustration within the same opening, with illustrations opposite their descriptive text. (This is well illustrated in the parchment presentation copy of book 6, now in Munich.) Serlio implemented another innovation in the layout of the "extraordinary book" by placing the letterpress text together at the beginning followed by the gallery of engraved plates.

Book 8—whose manuscript and plates though owned by Strada were not published—examines Polybius' description of temporary and permanent military encampment, Marco Grimani's description of a Roman colonial city, Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra*, and Dürer's treatise on fortification. Serlio deals with the fortified town rather than with the technicalities of fortification, and this book is really concerned with the design of the contemporary city. Serlio did not mention this book on military cities in his description of the overall treatise published in the fourth book, issued as the first installment of his project in 1537. Strada first mentioned the military part of the treatise in the preface to the "Settimo libro," which he published in 1575, referring to it as the eighth book. The manuscript was probably composed by Serlio in 1546 in Fontainebleau, as Dinsmoor (1942), Paolo Marconi, and Francesco Paolo Fiore (both in Thoenes 1989) have concurred, when Pietro Strozzi, chamberlain of François I, was studying Polybius at the house of Cardinal d'Este. Thus this manuscript takes its place in the broader area of Renaissance ideal city planning (Kruft 1994), linking architecture and urban design, as discussed earlier by both Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Filarete, and by Pietro Cataneo in his treatise published in 1554 (see cat. 31).

The editions of Serlio's treatise in the Millard collection are particularly useful in documenting the dissemination of this work. Successive publishers altered title pages, replacing their predecessors' devices or using a



Sebastiano Serlio. *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*. Bramante's design for the Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio. 1983.49.110

composition entirely different from the original. They reduced illustrations, used worn woodblocks, and diminished the format, offering portable versions of the book. Thus the perennially popular treatise increasingly acquired, through the process of transformation and agglutination, an even more varied form than Serlio himself had intended.

Through his published treatises, Serlio made several original contributions to Renaissance architectural knowledge. His most important contribution is to have isolated the principal architectural problems for ordinary practitioners. He provided the first coherent publication on classical architecture. He wrote and planned to publish the first systematic exploration of residential architecture at all social levels. He furnished practical rules for the proportional system of columns, which he presented for the first time as interrelated elements of classical architecture. Finally, he was the first Italian architect to publish an illustrated manual for the con-

struction of perspective and the composition of stage sets. Each one of the architectural themes identified by Serlio was subsequently taken up by numerous later architectural theorists, thus continuing his influence through the eighteenth century. Serlio's architectural pedagogy—based on the architectural drawings of plan, section, and elevation theorized by Raphael—continues to be the principal method of conveying architectural ideas.

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Lorenzo Sirigatti (fl. 1593–1596)

I29

La Pratica Di Prospettiva . . .

Venice: Bernardo Giunti, 1625

1985.61.2678

Folio: 422 × 296 (16⁵/₈ × 11¹¹/₁₆)

Foliation 4 leaves, engraved title plate, 65 full-page engraved plates

(Note: The copy described by Cicognara is dedicated to Ferdinando de' Medici as in the first edition, whereas the Millard copy is dedicated to Prince Ladislaw of Poland and Sweden)

Edition Second edition

Text folios [i] recto, dedication to Prince Ladislaw Sigismund of Poland and Sweden, dated 12 March 1625; [i] verso–[ii] recto, preface; [ii] verso–[iii] recto, table of contents; [iii] verso, blank; [iv] recto, colophon and printer's device; [iv] verso, blank; text, printed on the versos of plates 1–19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29–33, 35–42

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device; woodcut and typographic headpieces; historiated and ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations Engraved title plate with architectural border; 65 full-page engraved plates numbered 1–65. Plates 1–43 comprise book I; plates 44–65 comprise book II (pl. 44 is an engraved divisional title plate)

Binding Contemporary vellum

References Berlin Cat. 4700 (1st ed.: Venice, 1596); Cicognara 861; Comolli 3: 157–158 (1st ed.); Fowler 336 (1st ed.); Mortimer, *Italian*, 479 (1st ed.); Riccardi 2: 460; Vagnetti, *Prospettiva*, 334

THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS book, published in Venice in 1596 by Girolamo Franceschi, was dedicated to Ferdinando de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany; this second Venetian edition is dedicated to the king of Poland by the publisher. Leopoldo Cicognara (cited by Riccardi 1952) praises the work as the most elegant on perspective, distinguished by the suggestion of a method for the transformation of certain curves that bears a strong resemblance to that employed by Isaac Newton for the same purpose. Unlike the earlier treatises on perspective published in the sixteenth century, such as those by Albrecht Dürer, Sebastiano Serlio, Daniele Barbaro, and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (cats. 125, 12, and 149, respectively), Lorenzo Sirigatti's perspective is not predominantly artistic or architectural, since it is not intended only for painters or architects. Nevertheless, he does make contributions to theater design. Sirigatti's *Prospettiva* gives precise dimensions for his inclined stage. He is the first to mention that the full effect of the perspective frame, for instance in a stage set, can be enjoyed only by those

Lorenzo Sirigatti. *La Pratica di Prospettiva*. Title page. 1985.61.2678



sitting along the main axis. This is a fundamental aspect of absolutist theater that no doubt had been noticed by designers of princely entertainments earlier, but is first commented on in print by Sirigatti, whose observations were taken up more extensively by Pietro Accolti (1628).

Little is known about Sirigatti. He was a member of the Medici court and connected to artistic Florentine circles through his family relations with the painter Domenico Ghirlandaio. Sirigatti was a founding member of the Accademia del Disegno and thus doubtless well acquainted with Giorgio Vasari. Though the year of Sirigatti's birth is not known, he appears to have lived until 1596 or 1597. The coat of arms at the foot of the border of the title page is Sirigatti's own. Among his distinguished students was Giorgio Vasari the younger, who prepared a study of perspective in 1593 dedicated to his teacher (but which remained in manuscript). Sirigatti was interested in the project promoted by the members of the Florentine Accademia—Cosimo Bartoli's work provides a parallel example—to broaden the uses of the vernacular (for a more extensive discussion of Bartoli, see entry on Alberti [cat. 6]). Thus his book on perspective, like Bartoli's on surveying, does not merely provide a textbook on this scientific/artistic subject, but broadens the subjects that had been treated up to that time in the Tuscan vernacular. Through the publications of the Florentine academicians, vernacular Tuscan was shown to be an appropriate language for the dissemination of available scientific and literary knowledge.

This work is among the last publications on perspective before the turn of the seventeenth century, when the core of perspective—as seen in the works of Guidobaldo del Monte, Simon Stevin, and Girard Desargues—came to rely on geometrical and optical sources. Perspective eventually evolved beyond the competence and interests of artists, as the science of artificial perspective in picture-making was seen as only a practical and limited manifestation of abstract theorems in descriptive geometry. Sirigatti refers to the work of Guidobaldo del Monte, which was known before its publication in 1600. With the professional mathematizing of perspective after the turn of the seventeenth century, the subject was no longer monopolized by artistic concerns.

The title page of Sirigatti's book is a lavish architectural frame, with Corinthian columns flanking the bay that contains the text of the title. Geometry and Architecture sit at the base of the columns, turning away from the center, in a contrapposto manner. In the center of the pedestal is Sirigatti's own coat of arms, richly surrounded with a cartouche and wreaths. At the top of the broken pediment, held by two putti propped up on tasseled pillows, is the coat of arms of Sigismund of Poland, which replaces the original Medici arms of the

first edition. Behind the putti, two regular geometrical solids (an icosahedron on the right and a dodecahedron on the left), composed in the fashionably elaborate *ars tornandi* method, hint at the true interests of the manual. The device of the publisher, Bernardo Giunti, active in a firmly grand-ducal Florence, is inserted between books 1 and 2: in an oval frame the figure of Tuscany, crowned, sceptered, and ermined, holding a lily, is surrounded by the figures of Pisa, Perugia, Lucca, and Siena. This replaces the device in the first edition, the allegorical figure of Peace with a lion, of Girolamo Franceschi. Giunti's dedicatory text to Sigismund makes two significant claims. According to Giunti, the treatise by Sirigatti had been so successful that the book had become rare and difficult to find. His motive for reprinting the book and for offering it to Sigismund is that the subject touches on mathematics and thus has an interest for military art.

This manual on perspective is enlivened by the immediacy and remarkably high quality of its plates, which nonetheless contain some conceptual errors that have been criticized. It is an album of accomplished engravings, accompanied by a brief text at the beginning of the first book. The preface is a discussion of the contrast between the theory and practice of perspective, followed by an alphabetical index of forty-three chapters, each of which consists of one page of text and one full-page illustration, so that each opening offers a chapter and its accompanying illustration. The second book contains a gallery of plates, numbered 45 to 65, which illustrate architectural details of the orders in perspective, a vaulted bay, a building facade, and the Tempietto by Bramante in plan and view. Plates 53–65 are spectacular polyhedra in perspective, faceted and shaded, and in increasing order of complexity.

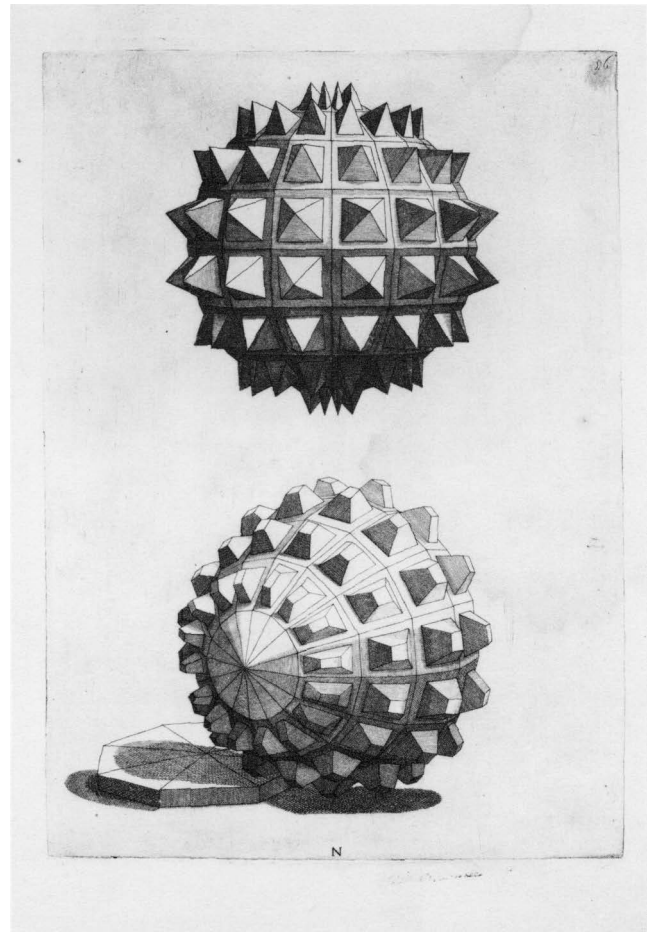
In the first part of the manual, Sirigatti offers what had become standard instruction on the projection of multifaceted solids, illustrated with forty-two diagrams. Proceeding from elementary to increasingly more complex problems, Sirigatti discusses distance points, the pyramid of vision, and the construction of geometrical forms: his more challenging forms include staircases, arches, crossvaults, columns, the lute, and the *mazzocchio*, part of the virtuosic display in perspective studies by painters earlier in the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries but quite commonplace in Sirigatti's time. The second part consists of twenty plates illustrating the orders of columns and the problems of representing the shadows of complex solids, including the *mazzocchio* (also discussed by Barbaro). Samuel Edgerton (1991) suggests that Galileo studied Sirigatti's remarkable illustrations of shaded spheres with both raised protuberances and recessed cavities, perhaps training his eye to perceive eventually the craters and mountains on the moon. Sirigatti's geometrically faceted spheres show

awareness not only of Barbaro's less complex configurations, but also of the intricate plates published by the Nuremberg jeweler Wenzel Jamnitzer in *Perspectiva corporum regularium* (1568; see Millard, *Northern European Books*, 45).

Sirigatti's publication makes an estimable contribution through its numerous, handsome, and reliable illustrations and the well-written instructions. The authority, or at least the usefulness, of its mastery of perspective is demonstrated by the existence of the second edition. Qualitatively, Luigi Vagnetti (1979) places Sirigatti's contribution in an intermediary position between the works of Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and Hans Vredeman de Vries.

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Lorenzo Sirigatti. *La Pratica di Prospettiva*. Complex regular polyhedra. 1985.61.2678

Franciszek Smugliewicz (1745–1807) and Vincenzo Brenna (1745–1820)

I30

Vestigia Delle Terme Di Tito E Loro Interne
Pittvre

Rome: Ludovico Mirri, [1776–1778?]

1985.61.2679

Broadsheet: 594 × 704 (23³/₈ × 27⁵/₈)

Foliation 61 etched and engraved plates (8 folding,
1 double page)

Edition First edition. A commentary by Giuseppe
Carletti, *Le antiche camere delle terme di Tito e le loro
pitture*, was published separately by Mirri in 1776

Illustrations 61 etched and engraved plates of varying
sizes numbered 1–61. Plate 1 is a full-page etched pref-
ace, labeled “Parte Prima,” and includes headpiece with
papal miter and coat of arms against ornamental swag
of foliage; plate 2 is the title plate with title inscribed
on fallen masonry; plates 3–4 are labeled ground plans;
plates 5–61 depict paintings in the baths of Titus
(pls. 24–27, 43–45, and 61 folding, remainder full page).
All plates signed either by Franciszek Smugliewicz
(“Franc. Smugliewicz Pit. Polacco disegnò,” with vari-
ants), or by Vincenzo Brenna (“V. Brenna Architetto
disegnò,” with variants), singly or jointly, as draftsmen,
and by Marco Carloni as engraver. All plates bear
Ludovico Mirri’s imprint

Binding Contemporary half calf with dark brown
paste-paper covered boards, restored

References Berlin Cat. 3950; RIBA, *Early Printed Books*,
557 (with text)

THE PUBLISHER OF THIS BOOK, Ludovico Mirri, obtained the permit to excavate the site of the baths of Titus on the Esquiline hill, hired the team of artists to survey, draw, and engrave the excavated rooms, and published their findings. The publication is part of the intense interest in the second half of the eighteenth century in secular antiquities, avoiding temples in favor of baths and residential sites. This impulse was undoubtedly inspired by Lord Burlington’s editions of Palladio and the great findings at Herculaneum and Pompeii, published to great acclaim and public interest between 1757 and 1786. The three artists

employed by Mirri were Vincenzo Brenna, Franciszek Smugliewicz, and Marco Carloni. Brenna was a painter, architect, and decorator (born in Florence 1745, died in Dresden 1820). While collaborating in the 1770s with Smugliewicz on this book published by Mirri, he drew some of the illustrations for the 1781 folio *Novus thesaurus gemmarum veterum*, with 200 plates engraved by Giovanni Maria Cassini. Brenna had studied painting with Stefano Pozzi between 1766 and 1768 in Rome, then studied antiquities. Like Carlo Labruzzi in the 1780s (see cat. 52), Brenna was retained in 1767–1768 as a draftsman by the British grand tourist Charles Townley, whom he accompanied to Naples. At Paestum, Townley and Brenna surveyed the largest temple; later Brenna made pen and wash drawings and cork models of the site and sent them to Townley in England. Together with the nine reconstruction drawings of the Colosseum that Brenna also made for Townley, they are now at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Brenna’s view of the Colosseum shows the amphitheater fully occupied and covered over with a broad awning, with the emperor installed at center-front flanked by the senate and the praetorian guard. This reconstruction continues an interest originating with Pirro Ligorio, whose Vatican drawings (copied for Cassiano dal Pozzo’s paper museum) Brenna may have known (Wilton 1996). In a similar antiquarian assignment, between 1777 and 1778, he made reconstruction drawings of Pliny’s Laurentian villa for the Polish Count Stanislas Potocki. In the early 1780s Brenna went to Poland, where he provided designs for interior decorations for palaces and villas in and near Warsaw.

Following an invitation from the heir to the Russian throne, later Czar Paul I, Brenna went to St. Petersburg in 1783, where he first worked with Charles Cameron on the palace at Pavlovsk and then with Giacomo Quarenghi (see cat. 108). In 1787 he replaced Cameron as estate architect in charge of construction and decorated the principal apartments of the palace, producing “conspicuously luxurious rooms in a lavish imperial style of antiquity” (Shvidkovsky 1996, 127). The Greek Hall at Pavlovsk was decorated with sixteen carved wood columns painted to resemble green marble, turning it into a hypostyle hall. These columns were not structural, supporting a purely ornamental beam. The splendid stucco ceiling of this room, worthy of the best

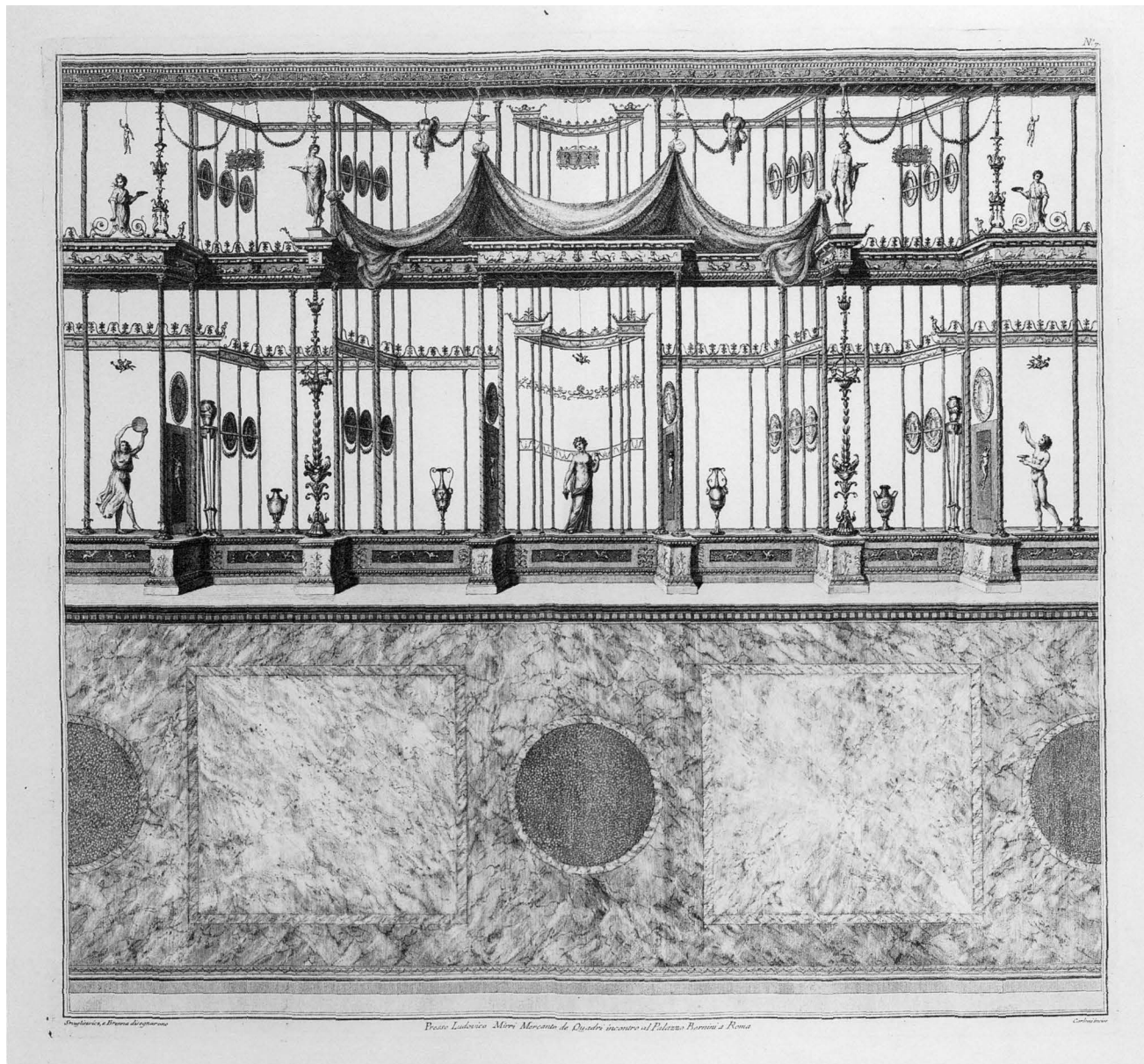
architectural ornament of the period, is among the few parts of Brenna's work that survived a devastating fire in 1803. He decorated the chapel and Cameron's painting gallery, curiously composed as an annular space. After Paul's accession ten years later, Brenna enlarged the palace by adding side colonnades that dwarfed Cameron's pavilion. He also built a neo-Gothic fortress called Bip (1795–1798), on the grounds of the Pavlovsk estate, that fulfilled the function of an enlarged garden folly.

The decorations of the Gatchina palace made by Brenna in the 1790s—the throne room and the dining room with elaborate stuccowork and freestanding columns—are among the finest works of Russian architectural decorative art, according to V. K. Shuysky

Franciszek Smugliewicz and Vincenzo Brenna. *Vestigia delle terme di Tito*. Plate 7. Baths of Titus, wall decorations. 1985.61.2679

(1986), the Russian biographer of this Italian artist. The high point of Brenna's work in Russia is the Mikhaylovsky castle (1797–1800) built on the site of Empress Elisabetta Pavlovna's wooden summer palace, replacing Bartolomeo Rastrelli's building of 1741–1745 (Cuppini, in *Gli architetti* 1996, 219–231). The fortress was intended to personify the majesty of imperial authority and to protect the monarch, but the czar was assassinated inside it in 1801. Before leaving Russia in 1802, Brenna completed the cathedral of Saint Isaac, begun in 1768 (and rebuilt again later in the nineteenth century). Concluding a curious career, he seems to have dedicated himself to painting in France and in various Germanic principalities between 1802 and 1820.

The Polish painter Smugliewicz was one of five brothers, all artists; his father was royal painter in Warsaw. He worked together with his older brother Antoni; both collaborated with the Italian architect

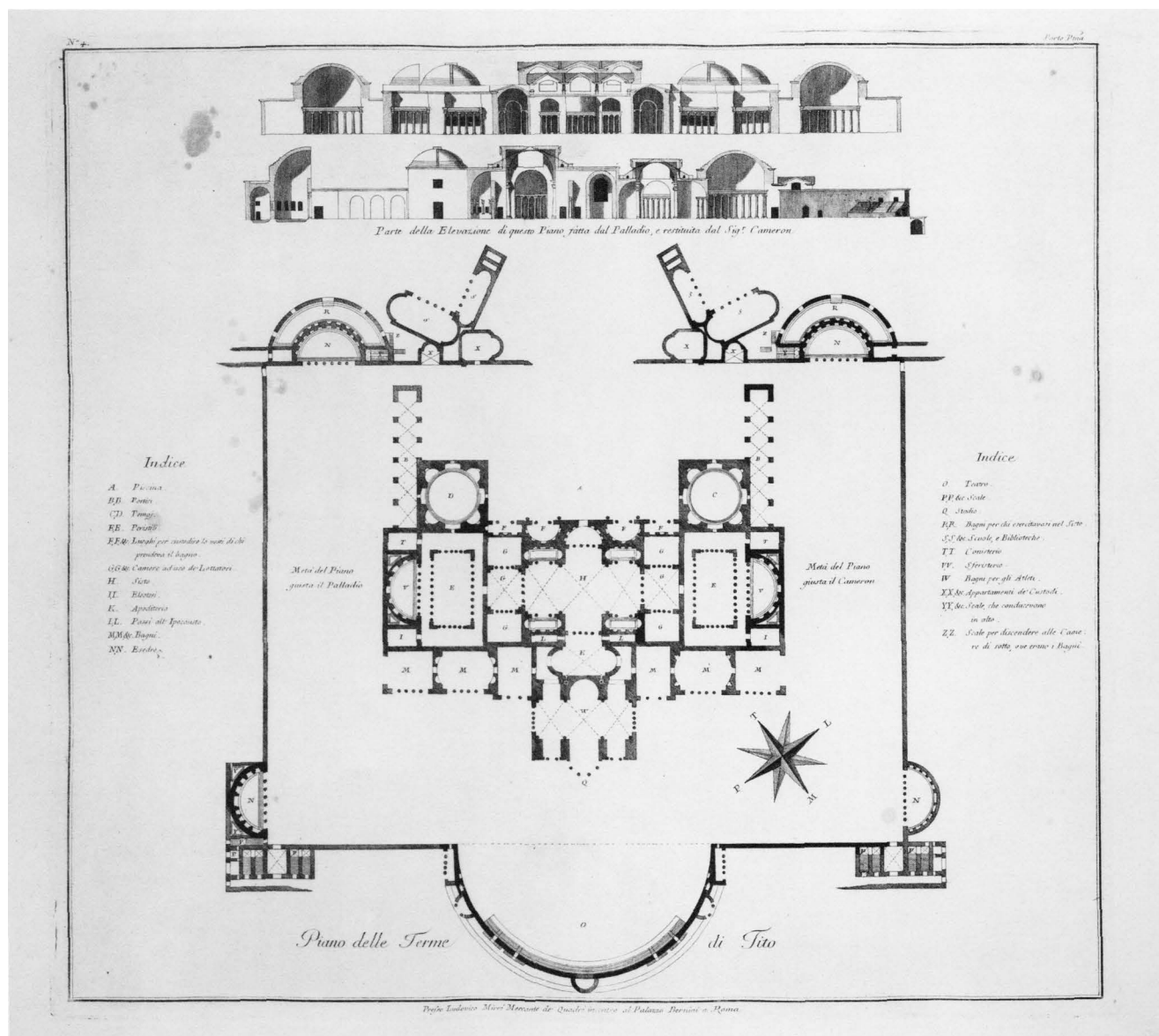


Carlo Spampani, Antoni in construction and Franciszek in the illustration of the 1770 edition of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (see cat. 146). In Rome, Smugliewicz was sponsored by the king of Poland, Stanislas Augustus. The artist frequented the Accademia di San Luca, where in 1766 he carried off the first prize of the first class. Attracted to the neoclassical ideals discussed in the city during this period, he seems to have worked as an art procurer and fulfilled numerous commissions from Poland to find ancient statues and vases (Loret 1929). He returned to Poland in 1784, where he worked until 1797, becoming an important contributor to Polish neoclassicism. There are about 150 drawings by him in the collections of the University of Warsaw (107 from the royal collection) and numerous altarpieces throughout Poland; his letters are preserved at the Czartov library in Cracow. Although Smugliewicz and Brenna worked in Warsaw and briefly overlapped in St. Peters-

burg later in the century, there is no evidence of joint projects after the *Vestigia delle terme di Tito*.

At the invitation of Mirri, an antiquarian and art dealer, Brenna and Smugliewicz participated in an excavation campaign in 1774 in the Esquiline grottoes, considered to have been the baths of Titus, but recognized later as Nero's Domus Aurea. This was a fashionable enterprise, simultaneously artistic and archaeological (Loret 1929), and associated with the greatest find of the early modern period, since the Laocoön had been found in the baths of Titus in 1506. But their assignment was quite difficult, since it involved the actual removal of the excavated earth. All three—Brenna, Mirri, and Smugliewicz—left graffiti signatures in the Domus Aurea (documented in Nicole Dacos' extensive study

Franciszek Smugliewicz and Vincenzo Brenna. *Vestigia delle terme di Tito*. Plate 4. Plan and section, Baths of Titus. 1985.61.2679



[1969]); Brenna's signature, reproduced on plate 12 as "aperuit et delineavit," claims that he "opened" one of the rooms (room 34) that had not been seen in the Renaissance. The earliest excavations on this site dated to 1488; the Domus Aurea was much visited during the Renaissance, and the remains of the wall decorations spawned an entire system of interior decoration and Renaissance taste. By an interesting coincidence, Charles Cameron—Brenna's rival in St. Petersburg—excavated there in the eighteenth century and published his findings in *The Baths of the Romans / Les bains des romains* (London, 1772, bilingual English-French edition). Cameron based his publication not only on his primary sources but also on publications by Andrea Palladio and Lord Burlington (see cats. 65–69 and Millard, *British Books*, 9).

Brenna's drawings fed the desire for new sources of decorative motifs and challenged the dominance of the illustrations after Raphael's *loggia*, popular in the eighteenth century. Brenna and Smugliewicz executed sixty renderings of the paintings found in sixteen rooms. Twenty-two of these drawings colored by Marco Carloni (watercolor and gouache) are in the collections of the Russian Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg. Carloni (1742–1796) was a highly appreciated Roman engraver. In 1765 he engraved the frontispiece for the Perugia edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. In 1771 he contributed a plate of the pyramid of Caius Cestius for the third edition of Famiano Nardini's *Roma antica* (see cat. 63). His principal work is his contribution to this *Vestigia*, a series of sixty plates of paintings in the baths of Titus, engraved after drawings by Smugliewicz and Brenna. Carloni continued to work for the publisher Mirri after this successful commission. In 1779 he engraved and colored a series of twelve plates illustrating paintings found in excavation under the Palazzo Rospigliosi, built on the former baths of Constantine. In 1786 Carloni engraved fourteen plates for Francesco Cancellieri's *De Secretariis basilicae vaticanae* (Rome, 1788).

Brenna later used his sheets from the Domus Aurea as inspiration for his Russian interior designs. These designs have been recognized as "pre-empire" by recent critics (Cuppini 1996). They show Brenna's acquaintance with the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, which unearthed extensive quantities of Roman wall painting. His colors especially suggest the Pompeian influence and seem to be part of the confluence of sources from both the Domus Aurea and the newly found Campanian cities. The two artists shared the work of documenting the Esquiline site: Smugliewicz was responsible for the mythological scenes and the grotesque ornaments, while Brenna provided the topographic plan, the architectural layout, and the ornaments. They are jointly responsible for twenty plates; independently Smugliewicz drew thirty-two additional

sheets, and Brenna appears to have made five sheets alone (Loret 1929).

This "baths of Titus" excavation project and its subsequent publication, evidently conceived in the wake of discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum, generated a public interest bordering on sensationalism. The *Vestigia* was dedicated to Pius VI by the publisher Mirri; exhibited at the Vatican in 1776, it was visited by the pope and the college of cardinals. The scientific commentary on the plates, written by Giuseppe Carletti, was published separately by Mirri, also in 1776, as *Le antiche camere delle terme di Tito e le loro pitture*. Townley commissioned copies of the colored drawings of the baths of Titus from Brenna as well, but Mirri took legal steps to prevent the artist from undermining the exclusivity of the publication copyright. In 1777 Mirri broke into Brenna's house accompanied by policemen to confiscate his drawings of the baths of Titus. (Since Brenna's drawings survive in Russian collections today, it would appear that Mirri's police raid was not a thorough one.) Despite this contretemps, the *Vestigia* established the scholarly credentials of the artists and greatly helped their careers outside Rome. (Cameron likewise had been invited to Russia by Empress Catherine II after his own research in Rome was published.) Brenna and Smugliewicz were rewarded with the highest accolades an artist could hope for at the time: one was called to work for an emperor and the other for a king.

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Suntuosa illuminazione

I3I

[Title in Italian] La Suntuosa Illuminazione Della Città Di Torino Per l'Augusto Sposalizio Delle Reali Maestà Di Carlo Emmanuele Re Di Sardegna E Di Elisabetta Teresa Principessa Primogenita Di Lorena Con l'aggiunta della pubblica Esposizione Della Santissima Sindone Descritta In Lingua italiana, e francese Co' Disegni delle più ragguardevoli Vedute

[Title in French] Description De Ce Qui S'Est Passé De Plus Remarquable A Turin, à l'occasion du Mariage de L.L.M.M. Charles Emmanuel Roy De Sardaigne, Et Elisabeth Therese Princesse Ainée De Lorraine, Avec la Relation De L'Exposition Du S. Suaire

Turin: Giovanni Battista Chais, 1737

1983.49.115

Folio: 357 × 236 (14 1/16 × 9 5/16)

Pagination xxvii, [1], xviii pp., etched frontispiece, 14 etched plates (4 folding, 10 double page)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [1] title page, Italian, printed in red and black (verso blank); iii–xxvii text, Italian; [xxviii] blank; [1] title page, French (verso blank); iii–xviii text, French

Ornaments Woodcut ornaments on both title pages, repeated as tailpieces; composite typographic headpieces

Illustrations Etched frontispiece with allegorical representation of royal union, with joined coats of arms of Carlo Emmanuele III and Elisabetta Farnese held by heraldic lions, designed and engraved by George Kaspar Prenner, and dated Turin, 1737 (signed: "Geo: Cas: de Prenner del: et fecit con aqua forte Turin 1737."); 14 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–14 (4 folding, 10 double page). Plate 2 signed by Ignazio Mazzoni as designer and Giovanni Maria Maltese as engraver, and dated Turin, 1737 ("Ignativs Massonvs Architect. ornavit"; "I.M.M. Sculp. Tavrini. 1737."); plate 3 signed by Jean Antoine Belmont as engraver, and dated Turin, 1737 ("Gio. Ant. Belmondo sculpi in Torino. 1737"); plates 4, 5, and 8 signed by Jean-Louis Daudet as engraver ("Daudet Sculp. Lugd."); plate 6 signed by Pren-

ner as engraver, and dated Turin, 1737; plates 9 and 10 signed by Mazzoni as designer and Prenner as draftsman and engraver, and dated Turin, 1737; plate 11 signed by Bernardo Vittone as architect, Giuseppe Maria Pirovani as draftsman, and Gaetano Bianchi as engraver, and dated 1737 ("Bernardus Vittonus Architect. Inventor."; "Joseph Maria Piovanus Architect. delin."; "Cajetanus Blancus Sculp."); plate 12 signed by Antoine Hérisset as engraver ("Herisset sculpsit"); plate 13 signed by Ignazio Agliaudo as draftsman and Belmont as engraver, and dated Turin, 1737 ("Ignatius Agliaudus Architect. ornavit"; "Ioan. Ant. Belmondus sculpsit. Taurini 1737"); plate 14 signed by Bartolomeo Giuseppe Bernardi as architect, Giovanni Battista Borra as draftsman, and Belmont as engraver, and dated Turin, 1737 ("G. Bernardi Architect. Inu."; "Ioan. Bora Architect. corexic. et delin."; "Gio. Ant. Belmondo sculp. in Torino 1737")

Binding Modern vellum, paneled in gilt, gilt spine

Provenance Manuscript initials and shelf number on French title page: "F:D: 61D"

References Berlin Cat. 3072; Ada Peyrot, *Torino nei secoli: vedute e piante, feste e cerimonie nell'incisione del Cinquecento all'Ottocento: bibliografia, iconografia, repertorio degli artisti*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1965), 1: 222–232

THESE ENGRAVINGS RECORD THE festivities for the third wedding of Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy, who reigned between 1730 and 1773. Born in 1701, he was the only progeny of Anne of Orleans (died 1728) and Victor Amadeus II to survive to maturity. His sister Marie-Louise (died 1714) was married to Philip V, the king of Spain; after her death the king announced his decision to marry Elisabetta Farnese, heiress of the duchy of Parma (see cat. 109). His father, who had obtained the royal title of king of Sicily (later Sardinia) in 1713, after the Wars of the Spanish Succession, abdicated in his favor in 1730, and Carlo Emanuele inherited a "country with enhanced international standing in which the ruler's will was strictly obeyed and foreign influences were largely excluded" (Symcox 1983). He was first married as prince of Piedmont in 1722 to Anna Christina of Bavaria-Sultzbach, and that party was illustrated with eight engravings after the decorations designed by the architect Filippo Juvarra. The illustrations

Fig. N° 8.



*Vue de la Place S^t Charles et de la Porte neuve en
doiguement, avec l'illumination marquée d'un seul côté.*

*VEDUTA DELLA PIAZZA S. CARLO E DELLA PORTA NUOVA,
CON L'ILLUMINAZIONE SEGNATA DA UN LATO*

Suntuosa illuminazione. Piazza San Carlo. 1983.49.115

for this 1737 wedding draw heavily upon the festivities of 1722, reused also for the decorations of the second wedding of Carlo Emanuele in 1724 when he had married Polixena of Hesse-Rheinfels.

This *festa* book, intended to commemorate the wedding, documents one of a long series of public festivities, which in Turin are almost all connected to dynastic celebrations. More important, the book allowed for a thorough survey of the architectural and urbanistic riches of Turin. Indeed, where the architectural transformation of the city was incomplete, the decoration for the festivities allowed for an imaginary completion. The most remarkable examples of this approach can be seen in Juvarra's completion of Palazzo Madama, where he clad the medieval building with an eighteenth-century enclosure that was first realized in canvas and only later in stone. Engraved representations of temporary facades looked as substantial as real buildings, especially in the minds of those reading the party book at a great remove from Turin. For each successive Savoy dynastic event, the festivities appropriated additional parts of the city.

The book is in three parts: a French and Italian text, respectively in eighteen and twenty-seven pages, followed by a gallery of fourteen plates. The plates illustrate the city from the eastern Po gate; the Contrada di Po, which connects the eastern entry gate to the center of the city; the royal castle from the eastern approach; the fireworks in the main square, Piazza Castello; the castle from the western approach; the illuminated royal pavilion; the facade of the Palazzo Reale, the main residence; the square of San Carlo oriented toward the twin churches of Santa Cristina and San Carlo; the city hall; the facade of the church of Corpus Domini; the illuminated corner of the Ghetto building; the royal pavilion with the display of the Holy Shroud; the villa of the Vigna della Regina; and the illuminated garden at Venaria Reale, the western royal suburban residence.

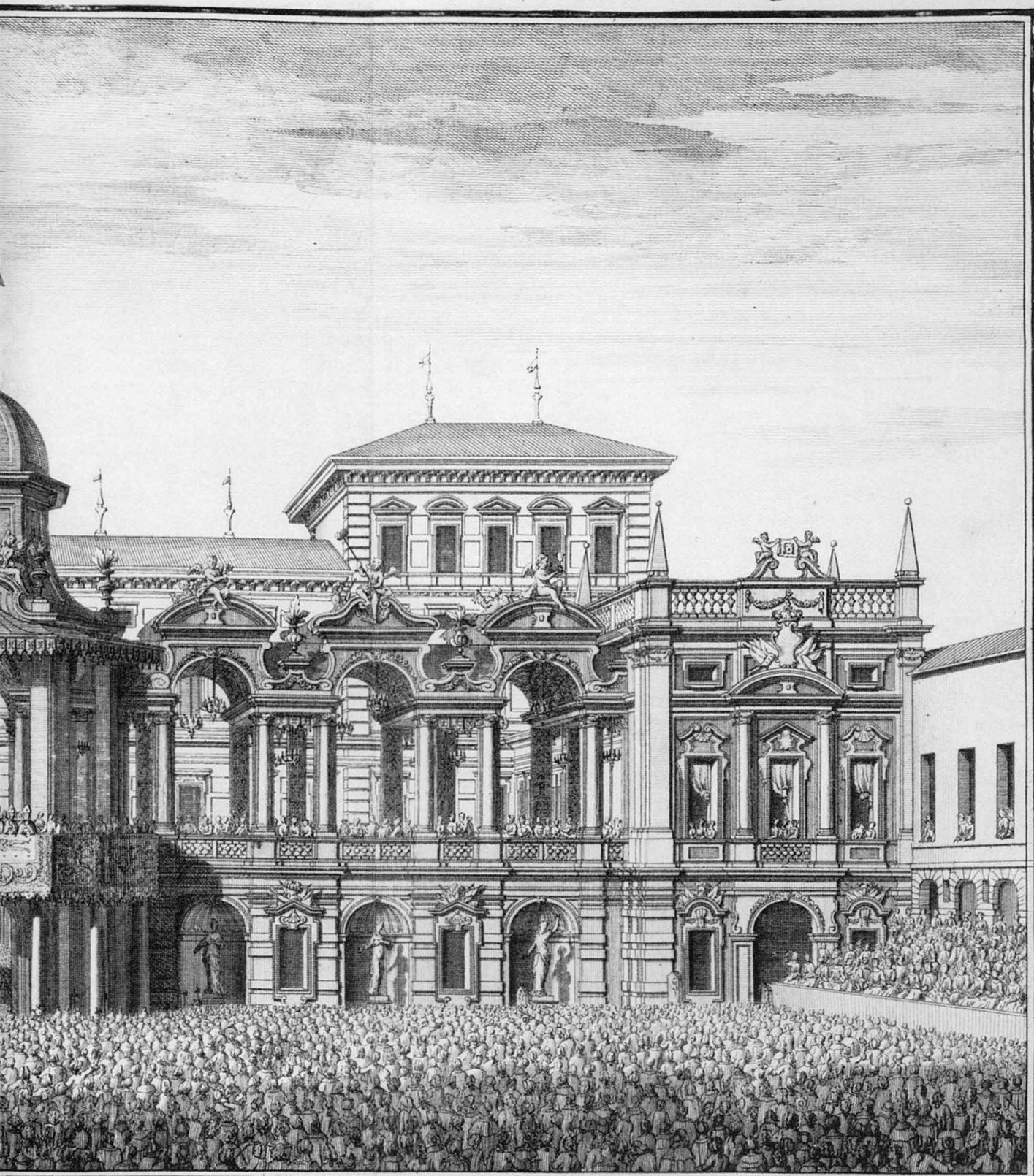
Two specific elements distinguish the 1737 festivity from previous weddings: the inclusion of the Jewish Ghetto among the festive sites and the construction of the fireworks machine in the Piazza Castello rather than

Suntuosa illuminazione. Fig. 12. The royal pavilion in Piazza Castello, during the display of the Holy Shroud. 1983.49.115



Vue du Pavillon Royal orné pour l'exposition du S^t Suaire

Fig. N^o. 12.



Heris et sculpsit

Veduta del Padiglione Reale ornato per l'esposizione della
SS.^{ma} Sindone

the square in front of the city hall. The decoration of the Ghetto was not an urbanistic need—the building had been completed according to the design of Bernardo Vittone, a graduate of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome and a distinguished local architect—but the self-presentation of a social group. The corner tribunes, whose elaborate architecture represented the entry towers of the heavenly Jerusalem, were used by the musicians and singers. The fireworks machine had been present in the Piazza Castello only once before, in 1713 for the celebration of Victor Amadeus II's coronation as king of Sicily. In its 1737 version designed by Antonio Felice De Vincenti, this machine represented the great mountain of Monviso, which in turn stood in for the kingdom, while the four colossal atlases carrying globes intended to explode in fireworks were allegories of the regions of Piedmont, Savoy, Lorraine, and Sardinia (reflecting the exchange of Sicily for the lesser island made by Victor Amadeus II in 1720). The fireworks were so powerful that they aroused not only wonder and joy but also fear and terror.

The illumination of the city, of which the fireworks were only one part, was a very important theme in the official festivities, reflected in the title of the book commemorating the event, *Suntuosa illuminazione*. Part of the urbanistic and architectural program of the dukes of Savoy—as we learn from numerous documents—this illumination was used to underline the architectural features of Turin and focus on parts of the city closely linked to the formation of its structure and image. Thus the *illuminazione* can be interpreted as a further gesture of enlightenment provided by the sovereigns for the edification of their subjects.

The plates for the 1737 party book closely mimic those of the 1722 wedding. Juvarrà's architectural contributions are distinctly highlighted in both. Thus his design for Palazzo Madama is realized for both events in temporary wood and canvas, as is the twin facade of San Carlo, in the eponymous square, modeled on the facade of the realized Santa Cristina. The twinning of the two churches in this square, initially laid out in 1636, had been proposed in earlier representations of the city, such as the 1682 *Theatrum Statuum Regiae* published by Joannes Blaeu in Amsterdam for the dukes of Savoy. Plates 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 12 are based entirely, or very closely modeled, on the plates for the 1722 wedding and on views of Turin published after Juvarrà's drawings in 1721. Plates 9, 10, and 13 are based on plates in the *Theatrum Statuum*. The decorations of the illuminated garden at the villa of Venaria Reale in plate 14 seem

quite close to illustrations in *Plaisirs de l'isle enchantée* festivities at Versailles (1664), but many other models were available by this time. Thus only plates 5, 6, and 11 are newly prepared for this publication. Nonetheless, the villas are new additions in that they had not previously been part of wedding celebrations, and they thus expand the visual language of the dynastic event.

The wedding party was thoroughly appreciated and led to the publication of this illustrated book. The text singled out the regularity of Turin's streets and buildings, the majestic porticoes of Piazza San Carlo, and its uniform palaces continued on even larger scale in Contrada di Po. The cornices of all buildings were covered with burning candles for the entry of the sovereign, and candelabra hung from the arches of porticoes. For this event the castle, Palazzo Madama, had been liberated by the demolition of surrounding buildings so that one could go around the entire building unimpeded—another important instance of a festivity that permanently altered the urban form. Complementing the illumination of the city was the singular event of the display of the Holy Shroud. This took place on the specially built pavilion separating Palazzo Reale from the Piazza Castello, with thousands of people filling the spaces flanking the pavilion. The two major events that accompanied the wedding—the fireworks and the exhibition of the Sindone—were thus enhanced by spectacular effects that this publication replicated with lavish description: the richly costumed courtiers who were present throughout and the illumination of the city's principal buildings and public spaces.

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Giovanni Stern (c. 1734–1794)

I32

Piante Elevazioni Profili E Spaccati Degli
Edificj Della Villa Suburbana Di Giulio III
Pontefice Massimo Fuori la Porta Flaminia
Misurati E Delineati Da Giovanni Stern
Architetto Romano

Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1784

1985.61.2689

Atlas folio: 883 × 560 (34³/₄ × 22)

Pagination 115 [i.e., 55], [1] pp., 30 etched plates

Edition First edition

Text p. [1] title page (verso blank); 3–4 dedication to Pius VI, dated 28 August 1784; 5–7 preface; [8] privilege and imprimaturs, dated 14 August 1784; [9] blank; 10–113 text (descriptions of plates), and plates 1–xxx; [114] blank, verso of final plate; 115 index; [116] blank

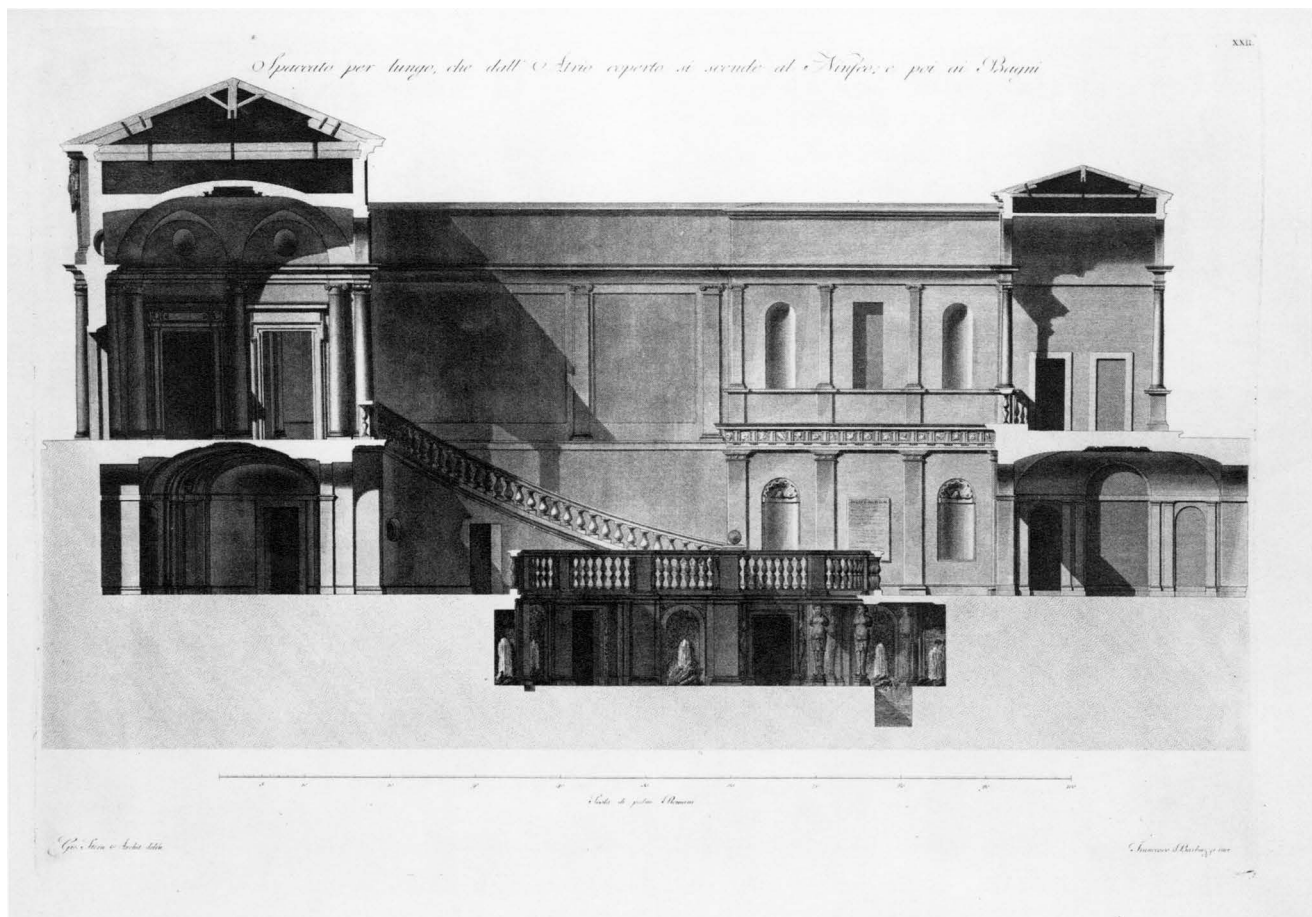
Illustrations 30 full-page etched plates numbered 1–xxx, *hors texte* but accounted for in pagination. All plates signed by Giovanni Stern as draftsman (“Gio. Stern Archit. delin.,” with variants) and by Francesco Barbazza as engraver (“Francesco Barbezza incise.,” with variants)

Binding Modern half calf, marbled paper boards

References Berlin Cat. 2730; Cicognara 3887

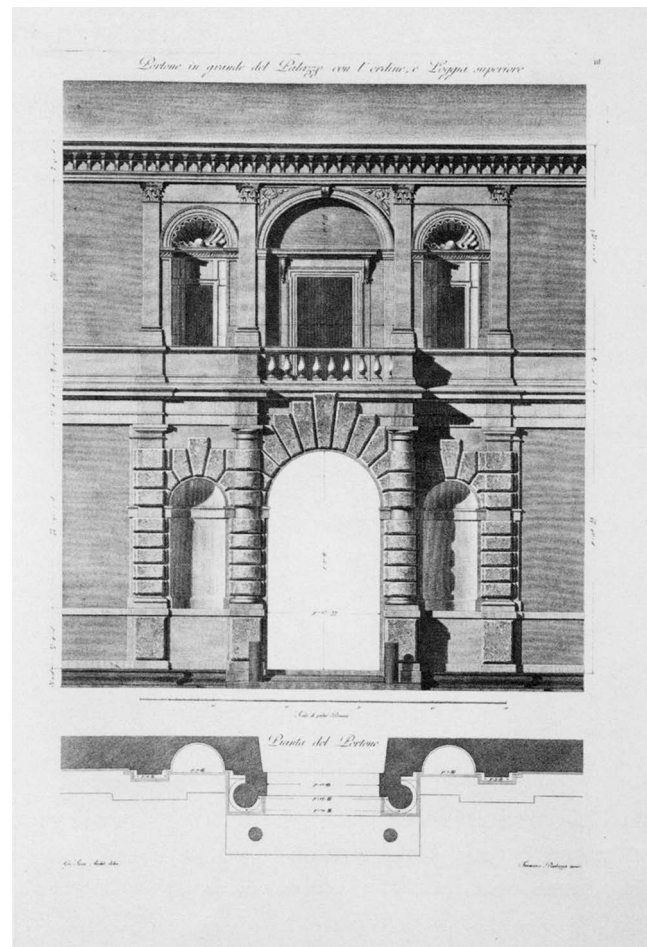
COMING TO ARTISTIC MATURITY in the 1750s, Giovanni Stern, descendant of a Bavarian artist who settled in Rome and father of the better-known architect Raffaello Stern, was part of a talented group of Italian architects and art critics in Rome who

Giovanni Stern. *Piante Elevazioni Profili e Spaccati*. Plate xxii. Section through nymphaeum. 1985.61.2689



together changed the course of European architecture (Noack 1920). Although a relatively minor player, Stern is recognized by Carroll L. V. Meeks, in his *Italian Architecture 1750–1914* (New Haven, 1966), among the group formed by Antonio Asprucci and Pietro Camporese, which was influenced by Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Architect of papal palaces from 1758, Stern also worked for the Chigi and Altieri families in Rome and the Ricci in Rieti. More important, in light of the growth of the Roman population during the second half of the eighteenth century, Stern was active as a designer of rental apartment buildings. His architectural style, in accordance with the urgings of the Roman Accademia di San Luca for “more order, less fire,” shows great pragmatism but also distinctly strong classicizing ideals (Debenedetti 1994–1995). Like many architects working in Rome, he inevitably encountered the remains of antiquity when trying to build. Thus in 1778, during excavations for the foundations of a house he was building in via della Stelletta, a colossal column of ancient cipollino was unearthed, and is illustrated by Stern among his drawings (Incisa della Rochetta 1952). His architectural commissions and beliefs are reflected in his extant drawings and in the text he composed to accompany the collection of copperplates by Francesco Barbazza illustrating measured drawings of the Villa Giulia in Rome.

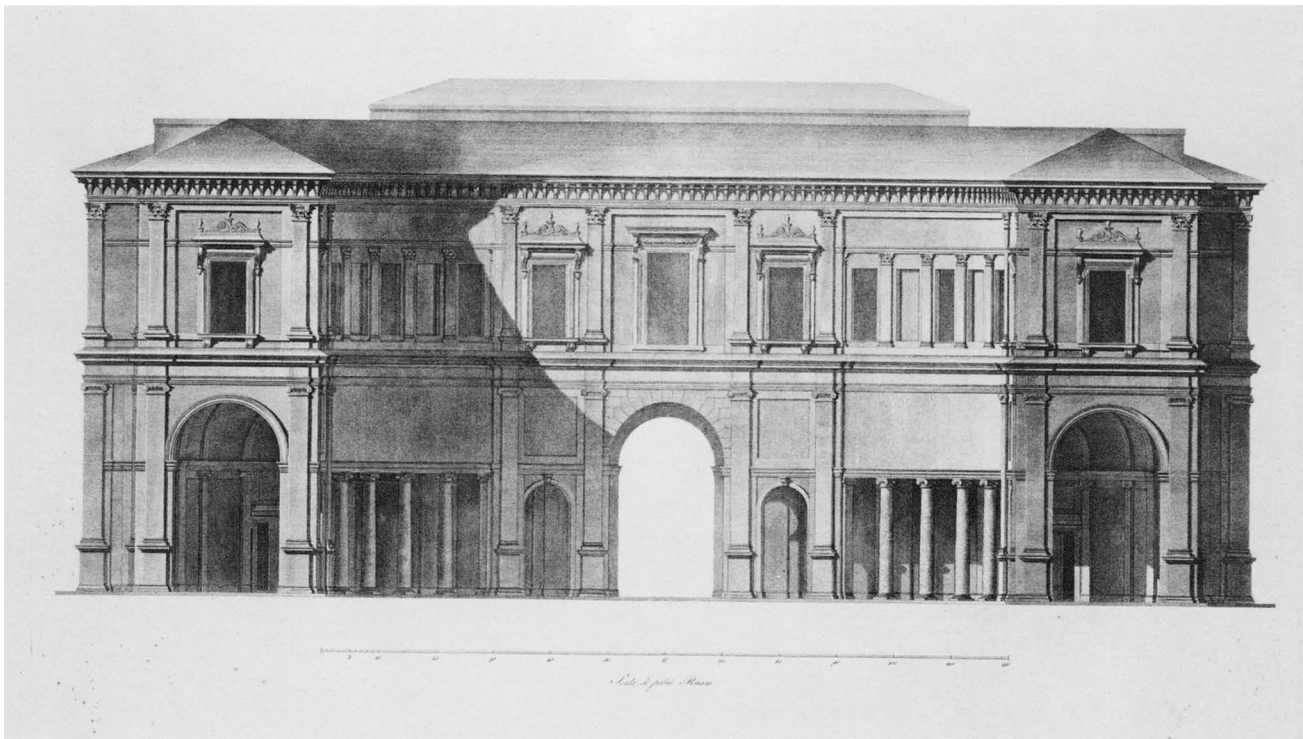
The Villa Giulia was among the earliest Roman works of Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Commissioned by Pope Julius III, it stands along the via Flaminia just outside the Porta del Popolo, the northern gateway to Rome. Its suburban location along the entry route to the city partly explains the composition of its facade as a triumphal arch, since it was meant to receive important visitors to Rome prior to their formal entry into the city. The somber two-story facade conveys nothing of the two great curved concentric forms inside the grounds of the villa, and thus shelters an aesthetic surprise similar to the later one at Caprarola where Vignola offered a circular court inside the pentagonal perimeter of the Farnese palace (cat. 151). The first great curved form is a portico, the principal part of the villa’s architecture, which directs the visitor toward the great court enclosed by freestanding walls. This is separated from the singular nymphaeum, built above the waters of the Acqua Vergine aqueduct, by a pavilion whose design is also based on a triumphal arch composition. The pavilion and nymphaeum were built by Bartolomeo Ammannati, with whom Vignola shared the commission for the villa. The axial layout of the building and gardens as eventually built is reinforced by the leitmotif of the triumphal arch—present also in the rhythmical arrangement of the bays of the great curved entry portico—and echoes the composition of the Belvedere garden at the Vatican, designed by Donato



Giovanni Stern. *Piante Elevazioni Profili e Spaccati*. Plate III. Plan and elevation of entry gate. 1985.61.2689

Bramante at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while the details of the facade recall Vignola’s earlier Palazzo Bocchi and Palazzi dei Banchi in Bologna.

Dedicated to Pope Pius VI, this collection of thirty plates is accompanied by Stern’s extensive commentary. His introduction describes the restoration of the Villa Giulia, begun under Clement XIV and completed in 1778 by Pius VI. The building had fallen into decay soon after the death of Julius III; the collection of ancient marble sculptures was removed (the great porphyry *tazza* in the center of the main court and the sarcophagi that adorned the back wall of the court are now at the Vatican), and the grounds were used for a hospital and later leased to private tenants. Throughout his discussion Stern proposes minor changes in the composition of the building, suggesting that he is merely ventriloquizing Vignola’s intentions. Stern’s admiration for Vignola’s architecture, based on a close study of the villa, is evident in both the text and illustrations. His analysis is based on evident study not only of Vignola but also of Vitruvius’ and Alberti’s principles and familiarity with the concept of imitation described by Winckelmann (White 1987). Though seemingly analo-



Giovanni Stern. *Piante Elevazioni Profili e Spaccati*. Plate v. Garden elevation of the villa. 1985. 61.2689

gous to Giuseppe Vasi's publication on Caprarola (see cat. 151), in that they both lavishly illustrate buildings by Vignola, Stern's book is intended not only for enlightened visitors but also for architects and art educators.

The publication offers a systematic visual description of the villa in detailed measured drawings of every part of the compound in plates 1–26. Proceeding from the entrance facade through the entry wing to the multiple interior courts, Stern flags every compositional and decorative aspect of Vignola's design and later additions. Thus the villa is illustrated in one overall plan as well as numerous detailed larger plans of the individual parts. The section through the building is enhanced by sections of the separate wings. In addition to elevations, Stern also provides generous illustrations of the numerous orders employed by Vignola throughout the building, praising Vignola for the variety of his composition and the way in which he integrated the courts and the building while reusing older column shafts. In the process Stern reveals changes made to Vignola's design that altered the relationship of the parts, but without mentioning the work of the Florentine Ammannati, who completed the interior courts of the villa probably on Vignola's plans. More significant recent changes, according to Stern, include the demolition of walls linking the four columns along the rear of the main court, which exposed the secret nymphaeum beyond. Originally paved in *pietre dure*, the nymphaeum was also stripped of its authentic fountains and statues of river

gods, which have been replaced with poorly made stucco approximations. Ammannati is mentioned as the author of the caryatids who, as Naiads, are the guardians of the Acqua Vergine, which appears first here before entering Rome. Stern returns to his exegesis of Vignola's architecture in plates 27–29, which illustrate the church of Sant'Andrea, considered part of the villa. This oval domed church was built to commemorate the liberation of Pope Clement VIII on 30 November (the feast of Saint Andrew) from the soldiers of Emperor Charles V, who had held him hostage during their occupation of Rome in 1527. The last plate reproduces the original Latin inscription placed above the entry to the villa, revised by the librarian of the Vatican, Ennio Quirino Visconti. Thus the claims for the building as a *locus amoenus* above the Acqua Vergine and as monumental entry to Rome are reiterated in the conclusion of the book which, by association, assumes the same role of introduction to the Eternal City.

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Tommaso Temanza (1705–1789)

I33

Vite Dei Più Celebri Architetti, E Scultori
Veneziani Che fiorirono nel Secolo
Decimosesto . . . Libro Primo [–Secondo]

Venice: printed by C. Palese, 1778

NGA Lib. Rare Book: NAI12IV4T4

Quarto: 294 × 203 (11⁹/₁₆ × 8)

Pagination xiv, [2], 550, [2] pp.

Edition First edition

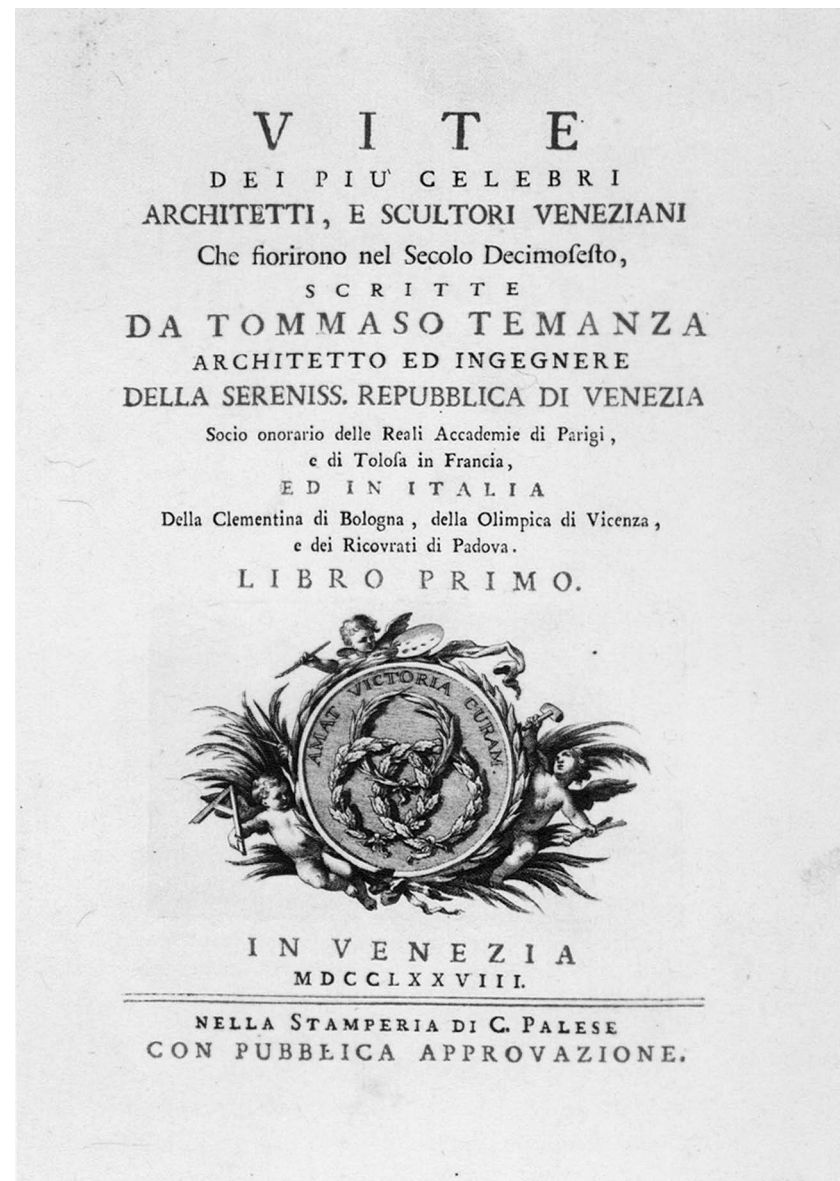
Text pp. [i–ii] blank; [iii] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [v–vii] dedication by Temanza to Girolamo Ascanio; [viii] privilege, dated 14 March 1778 and registered 17 March 1778; ix–xiv prefaces; [xv] quotation from Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*; [xvi] contents, book 1; 1–146 text, book 1; 147 divisional title page, book 2 (verso blank); [149] epigraph in Latin; [150] contents, book 2; 151–528 text, book 2; 529–550 index; [551–552] blank

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page; wood-engraved tailpieces, initials

Illustrations 6 small unnumbered illustrations in text comprising 2 woodcuts (pp. 29, 43) and 4 etchings (pp. 112, 220, 297, 455)

Binding Unpressed in contemporary parchment boards. Uncut

References Cicognara 237; Comolli 2: 276–279; Fowler 346



Tommaso Temanza. *Vite dei più celebri architetti*. Title page.
NAI12IV4T4

Girolamo Teti (fl. 1641)

I34

Aedes Barberinae Ad Qvirinalem À Comite
Hieronymo Tetio Descriptæ . . .

Rome: printed by Vitale Mascardi for Filippo de'
Rossi, 1647

1983.49.118

Folio: 405 × 268 (15¹⁵/₁₆ × 10⁹/₁₆)

Pagination 195, [25] pp., etched and engraved frontis-
piece, [50] etched and engraved plates (7 folding,
7 double page)

(*Note:* The Millard copy appears to be extra-illustrated
with material from the first edition, as noted below)

Edition Second edition

Text pp. [1] added etched and engraved title plate (verso
blank); [3] title page (verso blank); [5–6] dedication by
Carlo Teti to Cardinal Antonio Barberini; [7–8] preface
by Filippo de' Rossi; [9] privilege; [10] blank; 11–195
text and illustrations, printed within double-line border
throughout; [196] large pictorial tailpiece; [197] text
(verso blank); [199–206] inscriptions in Latin and Greek;
[207–208] dedication by Girolamo Teti to Antonio
Barberini (inserted from first ed.?); [209–220] index

Ornaments Etched vignette on letterpress title page
with Barberini emblems (bees, laurel tree); etched ar-
morial headpiece on dedication (p. [5]) including putti
with cardinal's hat and papal miter; etched tailpiece on
publisher's preface (p. [8]) with sunburst, Barberini bees,
and laurel branches; etched head- and tailpiece on privi-
lege (p. [9]); 7 etched emblematic and pictorial head-
pieces, including several with emblems of the fine arts
(pp. 11, 43, 59, 83, 97, 107, [209]); 13 etched pictorial and
emblematic tailpieces (pp. 41, [42], 46, 48, 50, 54, 58, 82,
96, 106, 195, [199], [220]); large etched tailpiece on p.
[196], signed by Pietro da Cortona as draftsman and
Cornelis Bloemaert as engraver; etched initials
(pp. [5], [7], 11, 43, 83, 97, 107)

Illustrations Added etched and engraved title plate
(p. [1]) with seated female figure inscribing "Aedes
Barberinae" on panel held up by putto, and Barberini
palace in background, signed by Guidobaldo Abbatini as
designer and Camillo Cungi as engraver ("Guidus Vb^s.
Abbatinus Tifernas Inuentor"; "Camillus Cungi



Girolamo Teti. *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*. Frontispiece.
1983.49.118

scul."); 4 etched medallion portraits of Barberini cardi-
nals and 3 etched plates with Latin verses framed by
laurel branches in text (pp. 67, 71, 73, 75, 113, 116, 117);
etched and engraved frontispiece *hors texte* showing
the pope being presented a book, signed by Andrea
Camassei as draftsman and Johann Friedrich Greuter
as engraver ("Andreas Camass. delin."; "Io. Federic.
Greuter incid."); and 12 unnumbered etched and
engraved plates *hors texte* (7 folding, 5 double page),
1 plate signed by Camillo Cungi as engraver ("C.
Cungius Sculp."); 2 plates signed by Pietro da Cortona
as designer and Cornelis Bloemaert as engraver
("Petrus Berrettin: Corton: inuen:."; "Cornelis

Bloemaert sculp."); 1 plate signed by Andrea Sacchi as designer and Michele Natalis as engraver ("Andreas Sacchj Romanus Inuentor"; "Michael Natalis Leodius Fecit Romae"); remainder unsigned

These are followed by 14 etched and engraved plates of antique sculptures lettered A, B, B bis, C, [D–E], F–I, L–O, (I, L double page, remainder full page; B bis is an earlier, unsigned state of C, and, like several other plates, has been cropped and mounted for binding); 1 full-page plate of the garden facade of the Barberini palace; 3 unnumbered full-page plates with etched tables of inscriptions. 7 of the plates of antique sculpture are signed by Salvio Castellucci as draftsman ("Salv. Castellucc. delin.," with variants), with 4 of these also signed by Camillo Cungi as engraver ("Camillus C. Scul.," with variants), and 3 also signed by Cornelis Bloemaert as engraver ("C. Bloemaert sculp."); plate [E] signed by Cungi only as engraver

A third series of plates consists of 20 full-page etched and engraved plates given odd numbers [1], 3, [4], 5–35, [37] as though blank versos were included in sequence. Plate [1] is a divisional title plate: "Pvrpvrei Cygni" (printed in sanguine); plate 3 is a dedication that continues on a second, unnumbered plate on verso dated 1644 (i.e., plate [4]); plates 5–33 are etched portraits of cardinals in architectural settings; plate 35 is repeated from the printed dedication to Antonio Barberini, pp. [5–6]; plate [37] is blank except for a large etched vignette (cut to platemark and mounted) with sunburst, captioned: "Exverit Silvestrem Animum." All portraits signed by Philippe Galliard as engraver ("Philip^s. Gagliard^s del."); dedicatory headpiece on plate 35 signed by Pietro da Cortona as designer and Cornelis Bloemaert as engraver ("Petrus Berretin^o delineavit" and "C. Bloemaert incidit")

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, paneled in gilt, gilt cipher of Queen Christina of Sweden in six compartments on spine, sprinkled edges. 6 plates in part 1 and 11 plates in part 2 inlaid on contemporary sheets; back free endpaper inlaid with first edition privilege dated 9 August 1642

Provenance Etched eighteenth-century pictorial bookplate of Anna Damer, signed: "Agnes Berry inv.^t et del.^t Londini 1793"; "Francis.^{cus} Legat Sculp."; bookplate of Baron Northwick; bookseller's ticket of Lucien Goldschmidt, New York; annotations in pencil on two plates bound between pp. 52–53 and pp. 56–57: "Watermark of 1st ed."

References Berlin Cat. 2662 (1st ed.: Rome, 1642); Cicognara (1st ed.)

THIS LAVISH, ILLUSTRATED BOOK was produced for the celebration of the family house of Maffeo Barberini, who, as Pope Urban VIII, reigned from 1624 to 1644. Composed in Latin, with illustrations engraved after the fresco and statuary decorations of the Barberini palace on the Quirinal hill, the book was intended for what has been called the "most prodigiously artificial court"—entirely male, with Latin as its main language (Fumaroli 1980, 208). This social organization mingled the traits of a royal court, where politics and private life are mixed, with those of the humanist academy (with its theatricality and its literary concerns), and those of a monastery whose existence, despite worldliness, follows the rhythms of the Christian calendar (Fumaroli 1980). This pontifical life is portrayed in *Aedes Barberinae*, one of the most beautiful "art books" of the seventeenth century, first published in 1642 by Count Girolamo Teti.

Thus the book takes us to the center of "Roman ecclesiastic academicism and the oratory rituals through which it veils itself from the external world, and renders bearable to itself the conflict inherent in a humanist and Christian culture and in a political and religious power" (Fumaroli 1980). Dedicated to the pope's nephews, the gallery of engraved plates is followed by a set of Latin and Italian poems entitled "Purpurei Cygni," encomia offered to the pope by the cardinals—the purple swans—in the curia. The book is a "monument of aulic flattery" (Fumaroli 1980), in which Teti describes the Barberini palace as the "Palace of the Sun," and everything within it represents a symbolic universe to which the author is the guide.

Teti describes the interior of the palace and some of the anecdotes associated with its rituals. Thus he tells about the celebrated moment when Urban read aloud from the apocryphal book of Wisdom while dining in the room decorated by Andrea Sacchi with an allegory of Divine Wisdom, providing his audience, as Marc Fumaroli shows (1980, 207), an elaborate rhetorical lesson. The multiple libraries of the palace receive attention from Teti, who singles out the many excellent librarians—Gabriel Naudé, Leone Allacci, and Lucas Hollstein, the pope's librarian at the Vatican—associated with the Barberini. Even though Teti wrote a decade after the completion of the decorations by Sacchi, he appears versed in the correct meanings of the work (or at least the official interpretation of its imagery, questioned by Montagu 1971 and Scott 1991). He emphasizes the dynastic role of the Barberini and their diplomatic missions as represented in the pervasive solar imagery of the palace decorations and theatrical events.

Although intended to help the visitor understand the meaning of the Barberini decorations (shorter versions were also offered as guides), Teti's work is



Girolamo Teti. *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*. Plate 13. Garden elevation of Palazzo Barberini. 1983.49.118

not a guidebook but a folio-sized publication that was frequently given as a present in sumptuous binding decorated with the coat of arms of the distinguished visitor to whom the book was offered. (The Millard copy once belonged to Queen Christina of Sweden.) Lavishly illustrated with foldout engravings of the painted and sculptural decorations of the palace, the book was used as a presentation gift and indicates an “interest in the propagandistic dissemination of the palace imagery” (Scott 1991, 103).

The illustrations can be grouped in three parts: engravings of the painted fresco decoration of various rooms in the Barberini palace, pictorial records of the ancient statues that decorated the Barberini interiors, and a suite of cardinals’ portraits (not always present in extant copies). The publisher of the book, Filippo de’ Rossi (active 1631–1656), was part of the second generation of de’ Rossi publishers, sons of Giuseppe de’ Rossi the elder, and a shorter-lived brother of the more successful Giovanni Giacomo de’ Rossi (see cats. III–II4).

The title page was engraved by Camillo Cungi (born in Rome c. 1604) after a drawing by Guidobaldo

Abbatini, an artist associated with Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s Cornaro chapel at Santa Maria della Vittoria. It consists of a seated female figure engraving *AEDES BARBERINAE* onto a stone tablet in the foreground, the entry facade of the palace in the background, the edge of a building framing the picture at the right, and a bay of composite columns at the left. These framing devices provide a dramatic enclosure for the engraving and are entirely fictional. The writing on stone performed by the female figure refers to allegories of eternity, as popularized in the writings of the Jesuit Emanuele Tesauro, one of the great wits of the seventeenth century (Sparrow 1969). Camillo Cungi had earlier engraved sheets for the *Galleria Giustiniana*, an important graphic project in Rome in the 1630s that documented the Giustiniani art collection, as well as contributing to the illustrations of Giovanni Battista Ferrari’s 1646 *Hesperides*, an influential treatise on citrus with an important collection of botanical images. In the *Aedes*, Cungi also signs the sheet with the fall of giants, illustrating a fragment of Pietro da Cortona’s fresco decorations in the vault of the Barberini *salone*, and five of the sheets documenting the ancient marble statues and busts in the palace.

Another significant illustration in this book is the portrait of Pope Urban VIII, shown with his male grandchildren. Engraved by Johann Friedrich Greuter (born in Rome c. 1600) after the painting by Andrea Camassei, this copperplate dazzles with the virtuoso rendering of costly fabrics. The pope and the children are swathed in embroidered velvet and lace, and surrounded by embossed leather, satin upholstered wall-hangings, tasseled silk ropes, and landscape views through the dramatically draped open window. Like Cungi, Greuter was part of the team of illustrators for the *Hesperides* and the 1633 *Flora* by Ferrari; his prints are based on the works of the most important Roman painters of the baroque, such as Guido Reni, Andrea Sacchi, Domenichino, and Simon Vouet. For this book, Greuter also engraved several sheets illustrating Cortona’s fresco decorations, probably plates 3–7, although they are not signed by him.

The best of the *salone* illustrations—plates 10 and 11, richly rendered landscape and night scenes—were engraved by Cornelis Bloemaert. Born in 1603 in Utrecht, Bloemaert was a student of Crispin de Passe and received early acclaim and artistic recognition. His great talent is distinguished by a fluidity and evenness of line and his ability to follow closely the painterly manner of the artists whose works he was engraving; his work appears painted rather than engraved. A busy and prolific artist, he too had worked for Marchese Giustiniani’s *Galleria* and Ferrari’s *Hesperides*, and he had illustrated Francesco Barberini’s *Documenti d’amore*, the *Poemata* of Urban VIII, Ignatius Loyola’s *Esercizij*

spirituali, and Cardinal Bentivoglio's history of Flanders.

Another member of this elite team of engravers was Michele Natalis, responsible for engraving the Divine Providence fresco by Andrea Sacchi, which is hermetic and silent, inhabited by self-involved female figures. Natalis, born c. 1589, was the son of a professor in Liège. Like Bloemaert, he had lived in Paris and then in Rome, where the art critic Joachim von Sandrart subsidized his studies. Among the artists whose work he engraved are Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, Nicolas Poussin, Peter Paul Rubens, Annibale Carracci, and Pietro da Cortona; his work too is part of the *Galleria Giustiniana*.

In addition to the full-page and folded-in illustrations, this book is further enriched by sumptuous ornamental head- and tailpieces, some engraved by Bloemaert after Cortona's drawings. These are all extremely sharp and richly wrought, surpassing in consistently high quality even some of the large plates. Some plates are accompanied by a "Pictuarum Index" on the facing page, consisting of a compasslike needle pointing to successive numbers. The Latin text is printed in large roman typeface, with marginal notes in italic; paragraphs are rare and marked by small indents. While the plates illustrating the painted decoration of the palace are on large sheets of uneven size, all the sculptures are illustrated on sheets that are bound

in uniformly with the text pages. These are followed by the exceptional "Purpurei Cygni"—the gallery of cardinals' portraits.

The teamwork of the engravers reflects the artistic cohesion through which the decoration of the palace had been realized. It is significant that the architecture of this building—in whose design Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, and Carlo Maderno had been employed—receives only minimal attention. In addition to the entry facade, the palace as an architectural artifact figures only on plate 3, where the garden elevation of the palace, with its triumphal archlike composition, occupies the center of a rather undramatic composition.

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Fernando de la Torre Farfán (1609–1677)

I35

Fiestas De La S. Iglesia Metropolitana, Y
Patriarcal De Sevilla, Al Nveuo Cvltto Del Señor
Rey S. Fernando El Tercero De Castillo Y
De León . . .

Seville: widow of Nicolas Rodriguez, 1671 [i.e., 1672]

1983.49.18

Folio: 284 × 197 (11³/₁₆ × 7³/₄)

Pagination [viii], 343, [1] pp., etched title plate, [2] etched frontispiece portraits, [18] etched plates (9 folding)

Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] printed title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] privilege; [v] approbation, dated 12 March 1672; [vi–viii] three further approbations, ending with errata; 1–343 text, beginning with dedications to Charles II, king of Spain, and Clement x; [344] blank

Ornaments Typographic border on title page; woodcut head-, tailpieces, initials; typographic ornaments

Illustrations Added etched allegorical title plate with triumph of Saint Ferdinand; etched medallion portrait of Ferdinand III; etched allegorical frontispiece including portrait of Charles II as a child, with coat of arms at foot; [18] etched plates (9 folding, remainder full page), including 4 full-page plates with 16 figures numbered 1–16 (i.e., four per plate), 4 full-page plates with 6 unnumbered figures each, and 1 full-page plate with 4 unnumbered figures. Title plate signed by Francisco de Herrera (the younger) as designer and Mathias Arteaga y Alfaro as etcher (“D. Fr. de Herrera ynv.”; “Mathias Arteaga sculp.”); medallion portrait signed by Arteaga after Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and dated 1672 (“Bartolomeo murillo pins.”; “Mathias Arteaga sculp. et xculd. A 1672”); frontispiece signed by Herrera (“D. Fr. de Herrera F.”); 7 folding plates signed by Mathias Arteaga as etcher, including 1 also signed by Bernardo Simon de Pineda as draftsman; 4 plates signed by Juan Valdés Leal as etcher (two dated 1672); 2 plates signed by Francisco de Arteaga as etcher (“Fran dearteaga F. Año de 1671,” with variant); 2 plates signed by Luisa Morales (one dated 1671; one dated 1672); several plates with signatures abraded or illegible

Binding Contemporary full red morocco, paneled in gilt, inner panel with gilt corner ornaments, gilt crest on front cover, gilt monogram on back cover, gilt spine, red and blue sprinkled edges

Provenance Engraved armorial bookplates of Archibald Philip, earl of Rosebery (1847–1895) and John Roland Abbey (1896–1969), the latter signed “J.F. Badeley 1920”; small stamp on printed title page: “Barnsoulle Castle Catalogue”

References *Bibliografía de arquitectura* 1723; *Bibliografía española* 67; Palau 23: 354–355

THIS BOOK WAS PUBLISHED to commemorate the festivities sponsored at the cathedral of Seville for the celebration of the canonization of King Ferdinand III (1199–1252), held on 30 May 1671. Ferdinand had recaptured large portions of the Iberian peninsula from the Muslims, including the conquest of Córdoba in 1236 and of Seville in 1248, and his canonization was a significant Spanish victory since it endowed the monarchy with a saint and reinforced the faith by offering the population a new national cult. Dedicated to Carlos II and his widowed mother, the regent Mariana of Austria, descendants of the sainted king, this publication documents the joyous events of 1671.

The book is endowed with a broad range of figurative and architectural images. The title plate presents the triumph of Saint Ferdinand, who is shown standing on an orb, flanked by representations of Seville and Faith and the figures of Hercules and a Roman warrior representing Castille and León, the king's home states. The Spanish ruling house is represented through the portraits of the new saint and the ruling monarch. The portrait of Ferdinand was etched by Mathias Arteaga y Alfaro (born in Villanueva de los Infantes, he was a member of the brotherhood of the Santísimo del Sagrario from 1666 and died in 1703) after the expressive painting by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, now in the cathedral of Seville. The portrait of the young king Carlos II, flanked by the allegorical figures of Piety and Peace, perhaps the best of the illustrations in the book, praised for its “remarkable softness” by Jonathan Brown (1966), was etched by Francisco de Herrera (the Younger, or el Mozo). Herrera also provided the design for the title plate etched by Arteaga.

Nine architectural plates, which illustrate the cathedral's interior and exterior, are interspersed throughout the text. Most were engraved by Arteaga, first mentioned in 1656 as a master painter in Seville who came under the influence of Murillo. The famous Giralda bell tower, shown in a splendid foldout plate, is awash

with banners and streamers hung from the top of its five stages. The tower, considered one of the masterpieces of Maghrebian architecture, was the most distinguished symbol of Seville. The masterpiece of the Moroccan architect Jeb̄r, who also built the minaret of the Kutubiyya in Marrakech (1169–1184) and of Hassan at Rab̄t (1178–1184), the Giralda was constructed between 1184 and 1196. Unlike Jeb̄r's minarets, the Giralda is built in brick, is richly patterned with Mudejar and Islamic details, and is topped with four Sicilian copper balls. Ferdinand III, whose canonization is celebrated in this book, felt so strongly about the tower that when he "captured the city he threatened to annihilate the entire Muhammadan population if one brick of the Giralda was loosened" (Bevan 1938). An extant low relief in the cathedral, probably of the fifteenth century, shows the original design of the tower before Christian alterations. An upper stage and gyrating bronze statue of Faith were added in 1568 by Fernando Ruiz, giving the tower its name. The Giralda occupied a significant place in Seville's iconography since it had been introduced to a wide public in 1565, when Franz Hogenberg published a print made after Joris Hoefnagel's drawing. The tower is also known through Murillo's celebrated painting (now in Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes), where it is flanked by two saints, Justa and Rufina, native Christian martyrs, in what had become the standard iconography of the city.

The cathedral of Seville, 140 m long and 90 m wide, is the largest Gothic church in the world and the first "national" Gothic church in the peninsula (Bevan 1938). In Torre Farfán's book it is illustrated with a plan engraved by Arteaga. Begun in 1402, and perhaps designed by a foreign architect, the cathedral has no obvious antecedents in Spain, but neither does it slavishly follow French models. Among its later architects was Alfonso Rodríguez, who in 1514 designed the cathedral of Santo Domingo. The clustered columns of the nave rise to a prodigious height (the nave is 40 m tall) since the nave wall has no triforium. The church is a huge rectangle with spacious ambulatory, five aisles, and side chapels. The immense interior is richly decorated with chapels and ornaments, added later. Juan de Arfe's design for the main tabernacle, or *custodia*, in the cathedral of Seville (1580–1587) was illustrated by him in his *De varia commensuración para la escultura y arquitectura*. Arfe successfully appropriated the status of architecture for the *custodia*, establishing the strong Spanish "connection between architecture and metalworking" (*Philip II* 1990, 53). A member of a distinguished family of Spanish silversmiths, Arfe was a successful artist whose works include the tabernacles in the cathedrals of Avila (1564–1571) and Valladolid (1587–1590) and the royal tombs at the Escorial (1596; see cat. 49). His architectonic emphasis successfully counters the criticism implicit in the

term *plateresque*, ascribed since the seventeenth century to Renaissance architectural decoration influenced by silverwork.

The exterior is less effective due to several local circumstances. Since direct light had to be restricted, the clerestory windows were small and the roofs flat. Although very large, the original church is difficult to see behind the protruding chapterhouse and sacristies, which were built in the sixteenth century when Seville became the center of trade with the Americas. Among these accretions is the Sagrario, the parish church that projects from the north aisle of the cathedral.

The south and west facades of this Gothic church are illustrated in *Fiestas* without specific ornament, which is concentrated, however, around the separately illustrated main portal of the church. There, a triumphal arch was raised facing the exuberantly canopied balconies of private residences across the street. The painted decorations of the main portal are illustrated in detail in a separate sheet. The plan of the church marks the placement of the interior decorations, which consist of a pavilion, the decorated royal chapel, and the decorated Sagrario, each shown in elevation on separate plates.

The temporary architecture and painted decorations for the canonization of Saint Ferdinand were designed by the architect Bernardo Simon de Pineda and the painters Murillo and Juan Valdés Leal. These were realized in ephemeral materials, but their designs may have had more immediate influence through the engravings published in Torre Farfán's book. Pineda's monument for the triumph of Saint Ferdinand, placed in the crossing of the cathedral, was a domed pavilion supported by four buttressed piers surmounted by massive scrollwork, with stepped countercurves topped by a plinth holding the statue of the saint. George Kubler's suggestion (1959, 27) that these "tortured" and overscaled details were drawn from printed northern sources such as Wenzel Dietterlin, as well as from Italian scenographic designs, points to the eclectic architectural composition. In contrast, Duncan Kinkead (1978) has examined this structure closely and considers it "largely unique." Pineda adopted a similar composition for the retablo of the high altar in the Sevillian church of the Caridad. In the etching, signed by Pineda as designer and Valdés Leal as etcher, and dated 1671, the pavilion is surrounded by a swirling frame of wreaths; dozens of streamers enhance the excitement of the religiously fervid interior. This monument, referred to as "el triunfo," was devised by Pineda and Valdés Leal in twelve days and constructed rapidly, but expensively, for 10,000 ducats. Rising to 32 m, it was considered a great success,

Fernando de la Torre Farfán. *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia. Giralda belltower*. 1983.49.18



and the cathedral chapter remunerated Valdés Leal and Pineda with an extra thousand ducats for their design and rapid execution (Kinkead 1978). Valdés Leal also etched the view in the book of the cathedral's gate, adjacent to the Giralda, decorated as a triumphal arch. The decorations of the sacristy altar show again the potent combination of architecture and decoration, where luxurious ornament often dominates over structure and form. Nonetheless, the colossal eagles mounted on the side walls of the sacristy chapel, though realized out of decorative jewel-like pieces, convey a powerful idea of empire.

Nine additional plates record the illustrated *impres*e conceived for the celebration, which were hung in the interior of the nave. Made up for the occasion by the canons of the cathedral, they are textual and visual constructs, typical representations of seventeenth-century culture, that proclaim the miracles of the new saint, the monarchy, and the Spanish version of the Catholic faith.

The text and images of this book, though not conceived typographically as one entity, enhance each other usefully. The plates are merely folded in, while the text is framed by a border on each page. The author's "baroque prose" offers a thorough description of the cathedral of Seville, the permanent building as well

as the temporary decorations of the event. Particular attention is devoted to the documentation and discussion of the *impres*e. Proceeding from the inside out, the author then takes the reader through the city by describing its streets and squares, showing how the celebration of the new cult of Saint Ferdinand spilled out of the cathedral, taking over the entire city.

The illustrations were made by several graphic artists, all members of the academy of design, which had been founded in Seville in 1660 and which met in the Lonja. Murillo and Francisco de Herrera were the founding directors; Valdés Leal was a member, as was Arteaga. The cathedral's chapter subsidized the ephemeral architectural decorations and the book, published in 2,000 copies, to commemorate the party (Kinkead 1978). Although Torre Farfán's appointment to the project is not dated, the success of his earlier publication on the *fiestas* at Santa Maria la Blanca probably played a role in his selection.

The festivities for the canonization of Ferdinand III constitute the swan song of the entire liturgical tradition of the cathedral of Seville, and the published illustrations are considered to be the greatest collection of Spanish baroque graphic work. Although funeral spectacles honoring the Spanish royal house continued to be celebrated, together with the religious holidays of the church calendar, the set pieces of previous parties were reused and eventually the festive occasions were reduced to lighting candles and bell ringing.

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Fernando de la Torre Farfán. *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia*. Title page. 1983.49.18

Lodovico Ughi (fl. 1729)

I36

Iconografica Rappresentatione Della Inclita
Città Di Venezia Consacrata Al Regio
Serenissimo Dominio Veneto

Venice: Lodovico Furlanetto, 1729

1983.49.94

Folio: 460 × 364 (18 1/8 × 14 3/8)

Foliation [I3] etched and engraved plates (11 double
page)

(Note: Millard copy imperfect: wanting 1 plate)

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: [1] full-page explanatory text divided into four parts; [2] full-page plate with middle of title in two sections; [3] double-page explanatory text divided into four parts titled: "Succinte Annotazioni Della Qui Sopra Delineata Città," with large ornamental vignette at left; [4] double-page plate with beginning and end of title divided into two parts, and dedication to Doge Alvise Mocenigo dated 1729; [5–11] double-page plates comprising the map of Venice divided into 7 sections; [12–13] double-page plates, each with eight vignette-size views of notable sights of Venice. Plate [5] also features a 21-line etched dedication by Lodovico Ughi, privilege, and imprint: "Appresso Lodovico Furlanetto Sopra il Ponte de' Baretteri," plate [6] includes a group of allegorical figures on the right with a personification of Venice, mermaids, mermen, dolphins, and putti; plate [11] has a large coat of arms with emblems of war, fame, and architecture at foot. The map was intended to be assembled horizontally in two rows of four (one plate is missing) with title along top, explanatory text along bottom, and views of Venice along each side

Binding Bound (2) with vol. 4 of Ferdinando Ruggieri's
Scelta di architettura antiche e moderne (cat. 118)

References Thieme-Becker 33: 546 (with 14 pls.)



Lodovico Ughi. *Iconografica Rappresentatione*. Plate [5].
Dedicatory plate. 1983.49.94

Giuseppe Valadier (1762–1839)

I37

Giuseppe Valadier and Citeroni

Raccolta Di diverse invenzioni di N.º 24.
Fabbriche Contenenti Chiese Ospedali Palazzi
Casini Di Campagna Ed Altre Incise a bulino
in N.º 24 Tavole con le loro rispettive piante,
e spaccati

Rome: Vincenzo Feoli, and Bouchard and Gravier
("Presso L'Incisore Vincenzo Feoli Si trova ancora
presso i Sig^{ri} Bouchard, e Gravier al Corso"), [c. 1796]

1985.61.475

Quarto: 278 × 199 (10¹⁵/₁₆ × 7⁷/₈)

Foliation Etched title plate, 24 etched plates

Edition First edition, first? issue. Another undated issue
with imprint "Presso Agapito Franzetti a Torsanguigna"
is held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, and
listed in the Berlin Catalogue

Illustrations Etched throughout as follows: title plate
with allegorical figure of Architecture; 24 full-page
etched plates numbered 1–24. The plates were engraved
by Vincenzo Feoli as indicated on the title plate; plates
2, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 20 are signed by Valadier as
draftsman ("G. Valadier inv."); the remainder are signed
by Citeroni as draftsman ("Citeroni inv.")

Binding Original boards, printed label on spine

Provenance Bookplate of Ugo Ojetti; pencil sketch of
bearded man in tall hat with umbrella, standing in
profile on verso of plate 16

References Berlin Cat. 2647 (with imprint "Presso
Agapito Franzetti")

I38

Giuseppe Valadier and Francesco Saponieri
(1788–1867)

Raccolta Delle Più Insigni Fabbriche Di Roma
Antica E Sue Adjacenze Misurate Nuovamente
E Dichiarate Dall'Architetto Giuseppe Valadier
[parts VI–VII: Francesco Saponieri] Illustrate
Con Osservazioni Antiquarie Da Filippo
Aurelio Visconti Ed Incise Da Vincenzo Feoli.
I [–VII] . . .

Rome: printed by Mariano de' Romanis and sons,
1810–1826

1985.61.2708

Folio: 593 × 429 (23³/₈ × 16⁷/₈)

Pagination Part I (1810): [ii], 14 pp., 9 etched plates

Part II (1813): [ii], 12 pp., 10 etched plates

Part III (1813): [ii], 11, [I] pp., 5 etched plates

Part IV (1818): [ii], 15, [I] pp., 8 etched plates

Part V (1818): [ii], 16, [ii], 14 pp., [13] etched plates

Part VI (1822): [ii], 14 pp., 7 etched plates

Part VII (1826): [ii], 16 pp., 11 etched plates

Edition First edition

Text *part I*: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); 1–14 text,
"Tempio Di Antonino E Faustina"; *part II*: pp. [i] title
page (verso blank); 1–12 text, "Tempio Detto Della
Sibilla In Tivoli"; *part III*: pp. [i] title page (verso blank);
1–11 text, "Tempio Detto Di Vesta In Roma"; [12] blank;
part IV: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); 1–15 text, "Tempio
Detto Di Giove Statore"; [16] blank; *part V*: pp. [i] title
page (verso blank); 1–16 text, "Tempio Di Giove To-
nante"; [i] divisional title page "Colonna Onoraria Di
Foca Imperatore Eretta In Roma Da Smaragdo Patrizio
Ed Esarco D'Italia" (verso blank); 1–14 text; *part VI*: pp.
[i] title page (verso blank); 1–14 text, "Teatro Di Mar-
cello"; *part VII*: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); 1–16 text,
"Tempio Detto Di Marte Ultore"

Illustrations

Part I: 9 full-page etched plates numbered 1–ix, all
signed by Giuseppe Valadier as draftsman and Vincenzo
Feoli as etcher ("Giuseppe Valadier misuró e dis.,"
with variants; "Vincenzo Feoli inc.," with variants)

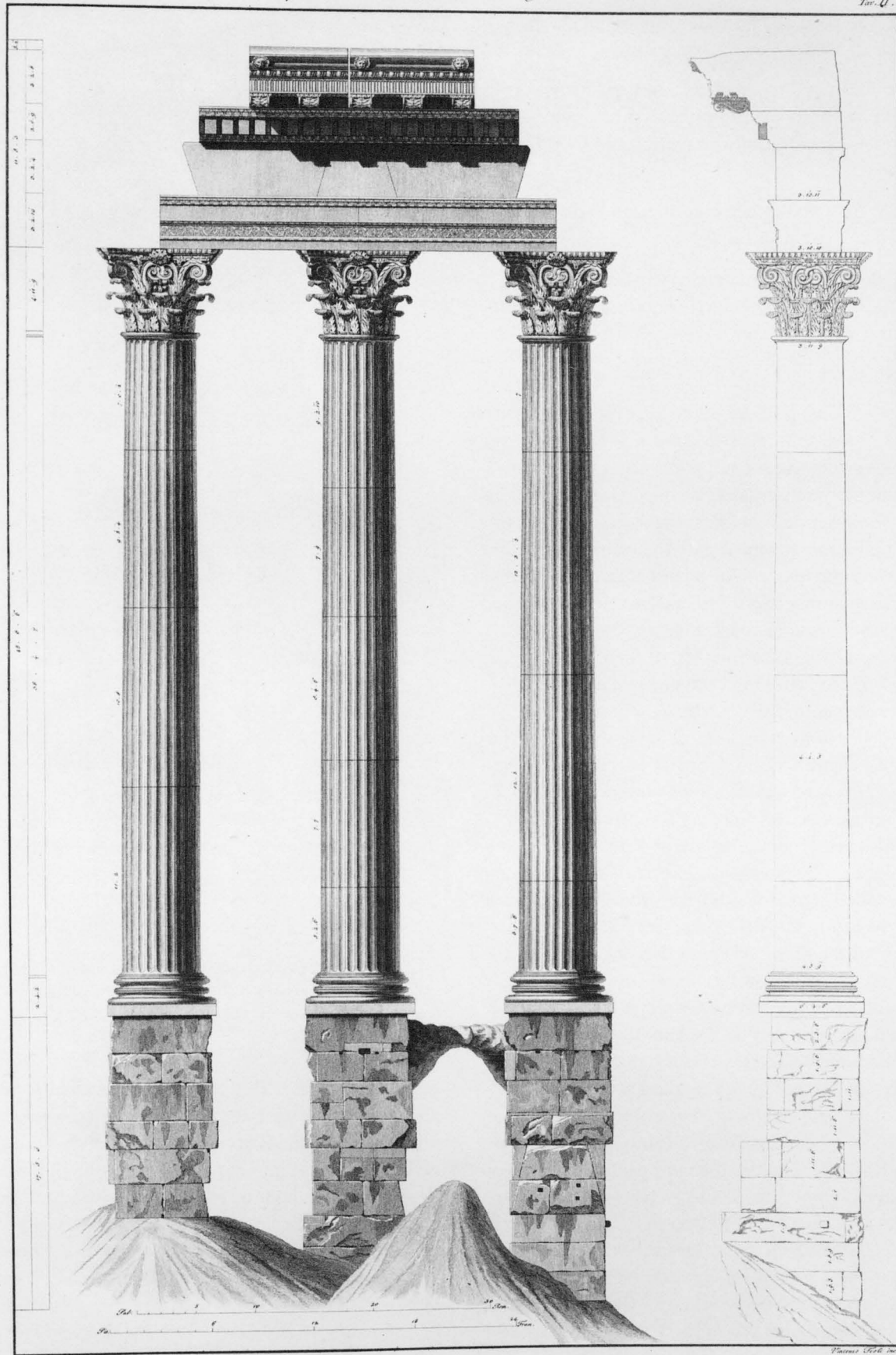
Part II: 10 full-page etched plates numbered 1–x,
all signed by Valadier and Feoli as above

Part III: 5 full-page etched plates numbered 1–v,
all signed by Valadier and Feoli as above

Giuseppe Valadier and Francesco Saponieri. *Raccolta delle più
insigni fabbriche*. Book IV, plate II. Ruins of the temple of Jupiter
Stator. 1985.61.2708

Avanzi del fianco del Tempio detto di Giove Statore in Roma

Tav. II.



Part IV: 8 full-page etched plates numbered I–VIII, all signed by Valadier and Feoli as above

Part V: 13 full-page etched plates numbered I–X, I–III, all signed by Valadier and Feoli as above

Part VI: 7 full-page etched plates numbered I–VII, all signed by Francesco Saponieri as draftsman (“Francesco Saponieri misuró e dis.”) and by Feoli as above

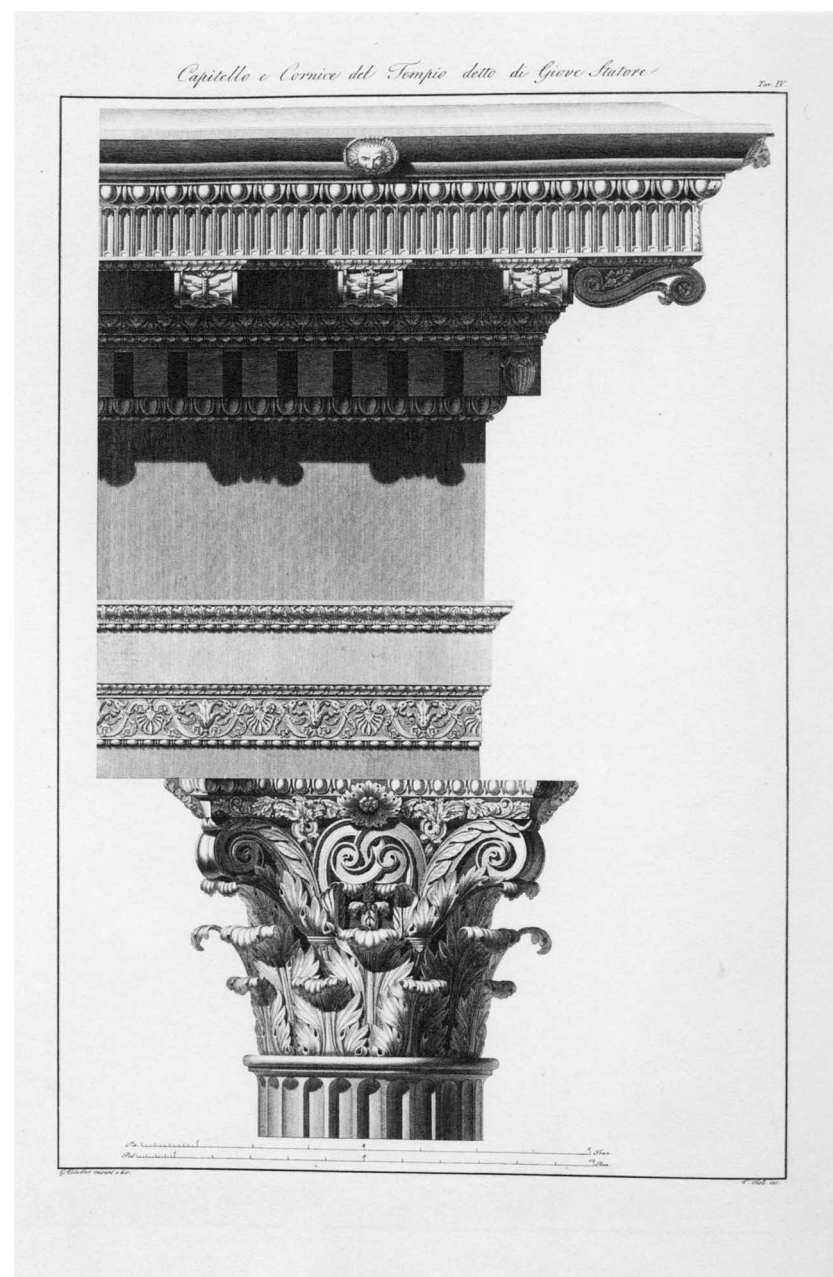
Part VII: 11 full-page etched plates numbered I–XI, all signed by Saponieri and Feoli as above

Binding Recased in contemporary mottled paper boards, new endpapers, new morocco spine, contemporary red morocco label

References Cicognara 3894 (parts I–IV only)

THIS SEVEN-PART PUBLICATION was issued over a fifteen-year period. It belongs to the second half of Giuseppe Valadier’s career, when he became increasingly more involved with the restoration of antiquities and the teaching of architectural theory. Most of Valadier’s architectural projects involved the remodeling or restoration of older buildings (Debenedetti 1985), but his focus after the turn of the eighteenth century on old crumbling bridges, ancient buildings, and vanishing antiquities can be closely related to the upheavals in Roman political life at the end of the eighteenth century. One of the major representatives of Italian neoclassicism and the architect who founded the modern science of architectural preservation, his work raises important questions about the uses of history and the techniques of architectural restoration.

Giuseppe Valadier was born in Rome into an artistic family. His mother was the daughter of a Florentine artist; his father, Luigi, of French origin, was the official silversmith of the Apostolic palace from 1770 on and was protected by the relatives of Pope Pius VI Braschi. Conferring great honor on the family, the pope annually visited the huge Valadier workshop in the via del Babuino (approximately 160 workers were employed there in the 1770s), deigning to examine the cases being made for the Museo Profano Vaticano. Giuseppe was expected to collaborate in the family business, and consequently his precocious interests in architecture were honed in an atmosphere of opposition and “clamorous conflict” (Debenedetti 1985). This opposition appears mythologized, especially in light of the fact that Giuseppe openly participated in the 1775 Concorso Clementino of the Accademia di San Luca, where he carried off the first prize for the design of the facade of San Salvatore in Lauro. By 1781 he was architect of the *Sacri Palazzi*, an appointment aided by the papal favor



Giuseppe Valadier and Francesco Saponieri. *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche*. Book IV, plate IV. Cornice and capital of the temple of Jupiter Stator. 1985.61.2708

his father enjoyed. This position may well have been a sinecure since he is not credited with any work for the next five years and is known to have traveled during this period to northern Italy, to study Giuseppe Piermarini’s works in Milan, and to southern France. Giuseppe was also trained in metalworking of all sorts and aware of the international taste in decorative arts. This served him well when in 1786 he was obliged to take over the family silversmith shop, after Luigi committed suicide by jumping into the Tiber. Carrying through his father’s commissions with the help of his extended family of cousins, Giuseppe sold the silversmith business only in 1817.

Valadier's long career was not slowed down by the political reversals the papal states underwent during his lifetime. In 1786 he was appointed *architetto camerale* by the pope, and in that capacity he rebuilt the cathedral of Urbino after the catastrophic earthquake that shook Romagna, the Braschi's homeland. There he worked with Camillo Morigia; they were both taken with Giacomo Quarenghi's neo-Palladianism, which was exhibited in the recent design for Santa Scholastica in Subiaco (see cat. 108). In 1790 Valadier contributed a design project in the competition for the Palazzo Braschi in Rome, the last of the great papal family palaces to be built in the city, which was characterized by an eclectic decorative system derived from neo-baroque, ancient Roman, and Egyptian architecture. Although he did not obtain the commission, in the same year he was named coadjutant architect at the Vatican, filling the vacancy left at Carlo Marchionni's death. In 1798 he became a member of the Accademia di San Luca. With brief hiatuses (1799 and 1811–1814, respectively), Valadier was also director of the Calco-grafia Camerale from 1786 until the end of his life.

Valadier was associated with several substantial architectural, engineering, and urbanistic projects in Rome. With the return of the papacy in 1800, he was commissioned to strengthen the shores of the Tiber, and also began a seventeen-year association with Prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, whose villa in via Flaminia he built. His commissions for restoration projects are also linked with the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1800 Valadier was charged with the overhaul of the Ponte Milvio, a venerable relic of both imperial Rome and early Christianity and thus of considerable cultural value. He turned the bridge into a prominent entry into Rome. After the annexation of the papal state in 1809, he was appointed director of an agency established by the French government for public enterprises in architecture. In that capacity he made suggestions for the restoration of monuments (including the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and Trajan's column), and was involved in "urban renewal" projects throughout Rome that involved the Trevi fountain, Piazza Colonna, and the Piazza della Rotonda facing the Pantheon.

Valadier's proposal for the Trevi square would have thrown it open by endowing it with a majestic approach, thus depriving it of the great theatrical surprise the site still offers. His tendency to open narrow public spaces and isolate buildings worked much better in the Piazza del Popolo, his most successful experiment in urban design. His project combined nature and architecture and offered a transversal axis to the dominant axis linking the city gate to the Corso through the central obelisk that had been raised at the end of the sixteenth century. The final design, with elements inspired by both the Place de la Concorde in

Paris and Saint Peter's square, included adjustments made by the French architect Louis Berthault (who had never been in Rome before he arrived in 1813 to critique the projects for the square). Valadier's numerous drawings regarding Piazza del Popolo include various designs for the surrounding buildings and the ornamentation of the obelisk.

While the urban and restoration proposals were made under the French government, the actual commissions to excavate and restore that Valadier undertook after 1818 were intended to regain and foreground the architectural inheritance of the state as part of the cultural politics of Pius VII. As inspector of the art council charged with the Fabbriche Camerali, Valadier supervised numerous excavation and restoration campaigns, and the weight of his interventions increased as he became professor of architecture at the Accademia di San Luca (1821), a member of the council on antiquities and fine arts (1822), and knight of the Légion d'Honneur (1824; Debenedetti 1985).

The seven parts of the *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma antica* record in close detail the archaeological excavation and restoration of six temples (those of Antonino and Faustina, the Sibyl, Vesta, Jupiter Stator, Jupiter Tonans, and Mars Ultor) and the theater of Marcellus. The introductory text for each fascicule is by Filippo Aurelio Visconti (1754–1831), son of the antiquarian Giovanni Battista and brother of the better-known Ennio Quirino who became the director of the Musée Napoléon in 1799, commissioner of antiquities during the Napoleonic government, and member of the Accademia di San Luca. He worked at the Louvre in Paris as commissioner of antiquities, catalogued the collection of ancient statuary in the Museo Pio-Clementino, and published, with Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, the catalogue of the Chiaramonti antiquities at the Vatican (1808). The notes are by Valadier, while the plates were drawn by him and engraved by Vincenzo Feoli. These archaeological publications are not the only nor the earliest ones by Valadier. He had contributed various designs for buildings as part of a publication by Citeroni in 1796, and in 1822 he reported on the restoration of the arch of Titus, where he had continued the work of Raffaello Stern (see cat. 137).

This publication is the delayed outcome of an earlier archaeological project. In 1804 Valadier began excavations meant to confirm the plans of buildings published by Antoine Desgodetz (Millard, *French Books*, 62) (issued in 1682 and 1779) and provide contemporary illustrations. The initial archaeologist associated with Valadier was Carlo Fea (the foremost representative of papal antiquarian interests). Fea was replaced by Visconti, who returned to favor during the Napoleonic government. Feoli completed the project alone during the Restoration and dedicated the last volumes to

Louis XVIII. The new Desgodetz edition was eventually completed by Carlo Fea and published in 1822 with recut plates made by Feoli.

These enterprises were distinguished in that they were sponsored by the government. The French government was involved because the excavations—implying demolition and expropriations—required legal backing, and because the restoration of the ancient monuments was seen as a vital part of the provision of public services. For Rome's French governor, Camille de Tournon, the archaeological enterprises were part of the entire urban renewal of the city, one responsibility among others of the local government regarding roads, provision of water, and the building of marketplaces (La Padula 1958).

Each of the buildings excavated in this collection is analyzed meticulously by Visconti ("Osservazioni antiquarie") and described in text and scaled illustrations (in French feet) by Valadier ("riflessioni architettoniche"). Visconti claims that his times saw the most extensive restoration work accomplished in Rome, even though research on ancient monuments had gone on for three centuries. The temple of Antonino and Faustina, considered one of the most beautiful remains of Roman architecture by Valadier, is large, beautifully proportioned, and elegantly crafted. The cella and its decoration had disappeared, and the temple was buried to about one-third of its height. The ten-column pronaos, built in *pavonazzetto* or *cippollino* according to Visconti, is compared by him to the waves of the sea. Visconti offers a history of the temple, dedicated to the philosopher-emperor and his spouse, displaying a thorough acquaintance with ancient and modern authors, medals, and previous reconstruction efforts. He explains the meaning of the griffons in the frieze; sacred to Apollo and guardians of precious objects, they are here flanking the vases and candelabra dedicated to the empress.

The temple of the Sybil in Tivoli offered many ruins of architecture that will always be considered important for students, according to Visconti, and that had often been illustrated previously. Though ruined by time, the temple is very picturesque, perhaps beautified by its ruin. In a complex discussion of various earlier interpretations of the temple, which had been assumed to be the temple of Hercules or a great tomb, Visconti tentatively identifies this tholos as the temple of Vesta Mater. Valadier, resorting to Vitruvius (scrupulously cited in Berardo Galiani's edition, cat. 162), refers to the temple as a peripteral type and illustrates the ruin as it is, with only ten of the original eighteen columns standing.

The temple of Vesta in Rome is another building without inscription or decisive symbols attributing it to a precise deity. Visconti reviews the five suggestions

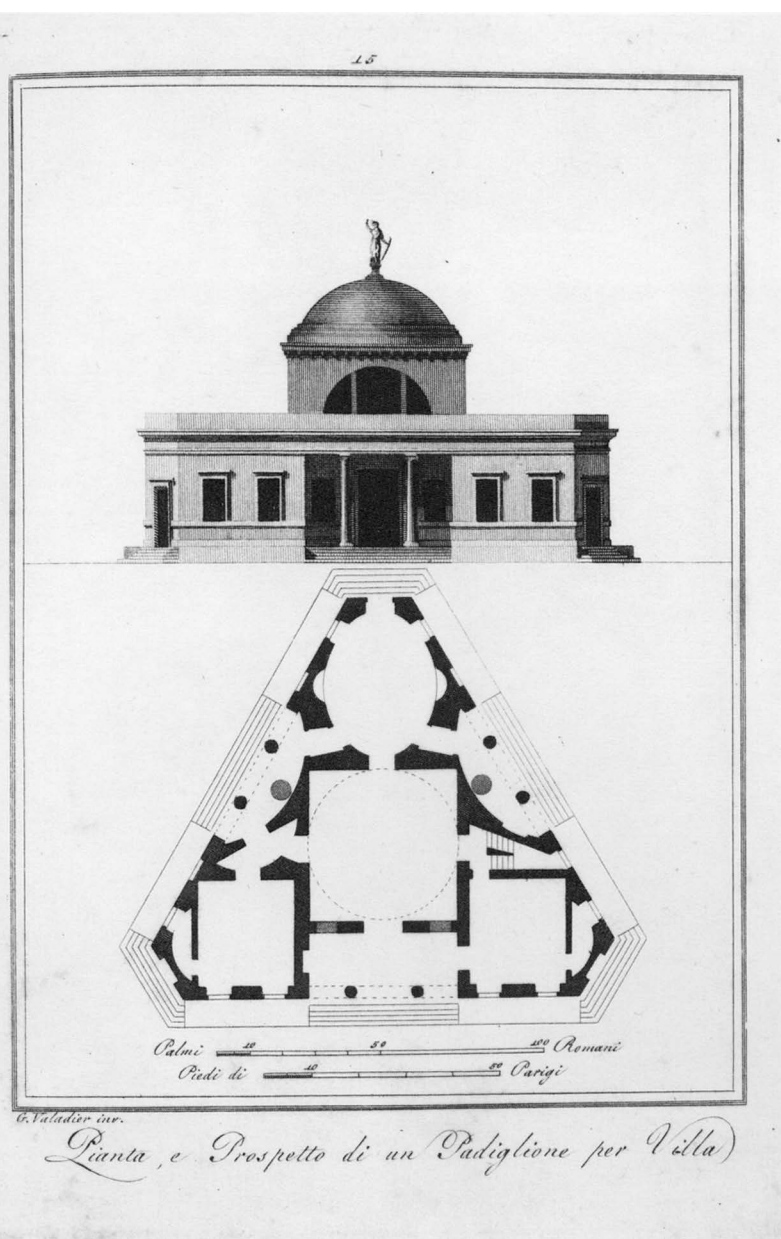
made by antiquarians that he considers likely possibilities: Portumnus, the god of ports and houses, proposed by Pirro Ligorio; Matuta, the goddess of the morning, proposed by Pomponio Leto; Hercules according to Andrea Fulvio; the goddess of voluptuousness Volupia according to Famiano Nardini (see cat. 63); and Vesta, Vesta Mater, or Cybele, suggested by Flavio Biondo. The only building in Rome of this form, it had been illustrated by Andrea Palladio (cat. 65) while it still had its roof, though this was entirely missing in Valadier's time. Surrounded by nineteen fluted Carrara marble columns (of the original twenty), the building also had a half-standing travertine cella. Critics considered the illustrations of this building especially fine and luminous.

The only remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator are the three great columns, already recognized as such by Alessandro Donato, despite attempts to posit this as the portico of Caligula that linked the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. Antonio Labacco, following Francesco Albertini, thought it was the temple of Vulcan, as did Palladio and Pomponio Leto, while Giovanni Battista Piranesi had suggested the temple of Castor and Pollux. Visconti, identifying it as either the Curia Julia or the Comitium, considers this building one of the most excellent examples of ancient Roman architecture. According to Valadier, the building, constructed of Greek marble, faced the Roman forum, and he too assumes that it was the temple of Castor and Pollux, comparing his own findings with the illustrations in Galiani's Vitruvius. His evaluation of the column capital as the most sublime and most gracefully elegant version of the order is eloquently borne out in the detailed illustrations.

Vincenzo Feoli (c. 1760–1831), one of Rome's most talented and prolific graphic artists and topographical draftsmen, engraved the plates after Valadier's drawings. His engraving technique is refined but dry and part of the widely adopted graphic style in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century. This technique appropriated the virtuosic etching style elaborated by the Venetians (especially Piranesi). His works include a series of twenty-four plates on the spaces of the Museo Pio-Clementino (c. 1795) at the Vatican (the staircase, the Greek cross vestibule, the room of the muses, the gallery of Cleopatra, the octagonal court, and the round hall). Made after drawings by Francesco Costa and Francesco Miccinelli, they illustrate in detail the new additions by Michelangelo Simonetti and Pietro Camporese and the way in which the statuary was integrated with the architecture. Feoli engraved a series on the interiors of Roman churches (1790s), a map of Ostia in 1804 for Carlo Fea, the plan of the villa of Maecenas at Tivoli in 1812, and the first two volumes

of *Ruines de Pompéi* by François Mazois (1812).

Feoli's association with Valadier began in 1794 when he engraved the architect's initial project for the Piazza del Popolo. In 1796 Feoli engraved Valadier and Citeroni's plans and sections for a series of buildings in *Raccolta di diverse invenzioni di 24 fabbriche* (cat. 137). Like Valadier, Feoli was linked to the Napoleonic transfer of artworks from Rome to Paris following the Treaty of Tolentino of 1797; under the Napoleonic government, he maintained a high profile in both engraving and publishing. Valadier and Feoli jointly signed an engraving illustrating the monument to be built on the Pincio in Rome celebrating the defeat of Napoleon by the allied coalition. Feoli's other royalist works included the illustration of catafalques raised in Rome for the obsequies of the Princesses Maria Luisa of Bourbon Parma and Maria Isabella Braganza.



In Valadier and Feoli's *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche*, the buildings and building fragments are shown with mathematical precision and incisively drawn lines. The clarity of the line and the subject illustrated, excising everyday intrusions, and the sense of dissection conferred by the anatomical plans and sections, make the excavated and restored ruins appear scientifically correct. In this sense Valadier's publications continued to perform the traditional role of architectural treatises, where the description of ancient Roman buildings was intended not merely as the study of the principles of classical architecture but also as offering the best examples for further emulation.

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Giuseppe Valadier and Citeroni. *Raccolta di diverse invenzioni*. Plan and elevation of a pavilion for a villa. 1985.61.475

Francesco Valesio (fl. 1611–1643)

I39

Raccolta De' Disegni Et Compartimenti
Diversi Trattati da Marmi, e Bronzi de gli antichi
Romani. Et Dedicate All'Ill.^{mo} Sig.^r Georgio
Maynwaringe Cap.^{no} Eng.^{se} Franc.^o Valesio D.D.

[Early seventeenth century]

1985.61.2709–2729

Oblong octavo, not bound: 120–126 × 175–178
(4³/₄–5 × 6⁷/₈–7)

Foliation [21] etched plates

Edition First? edition

Illustrations Etched throughout as follows: title plate with border of dolphins, sea-monsters, sea-horses, and a crab; plus 20 unnumbered full-page etched plates. All plates unsigned

Binding Modern red morocco box, paneled in gilt. Leaves trimmed at or within plate mark

Provenance Collector's stamp of A. Castagnari (Romulus and Remus with she-wolf, and initials "AC" on base: Lugt 86a), on verso of title plate; collector's stamp of "Collezione Guideth (or Guideza?)" on verso of all plates



Francesco Valesio. *Raccolta de' disegni et compartimenti*. Female group framed by strapwork. 1985.61.2712



Francesco Valesio. *Raccolta de' disegni et compartimenti*. Female profile in architectural frame. 1985.61.2712

Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773)

I40

Dichiarazione Dei Disegni Del Reale Palazzo Di Caserta Alle Sacre Reali Maestà Di Carlo Re Delle Due Sicilie E Di Gerus Infante Di Spagna Duca Di Parma E Di Piacenza Gran Principe Ereditario Di Toscana E Di Maria Amalia Di Sassonia Regina &c &c

Naples: Royal press ("Nella Regia Stamperia"), 1756

1985.61.2730

Folio: 668 × 477 (26¼ × 18¾)

Pagination [vi], xix, [1] pp., 14 double-page etched and engraved plates

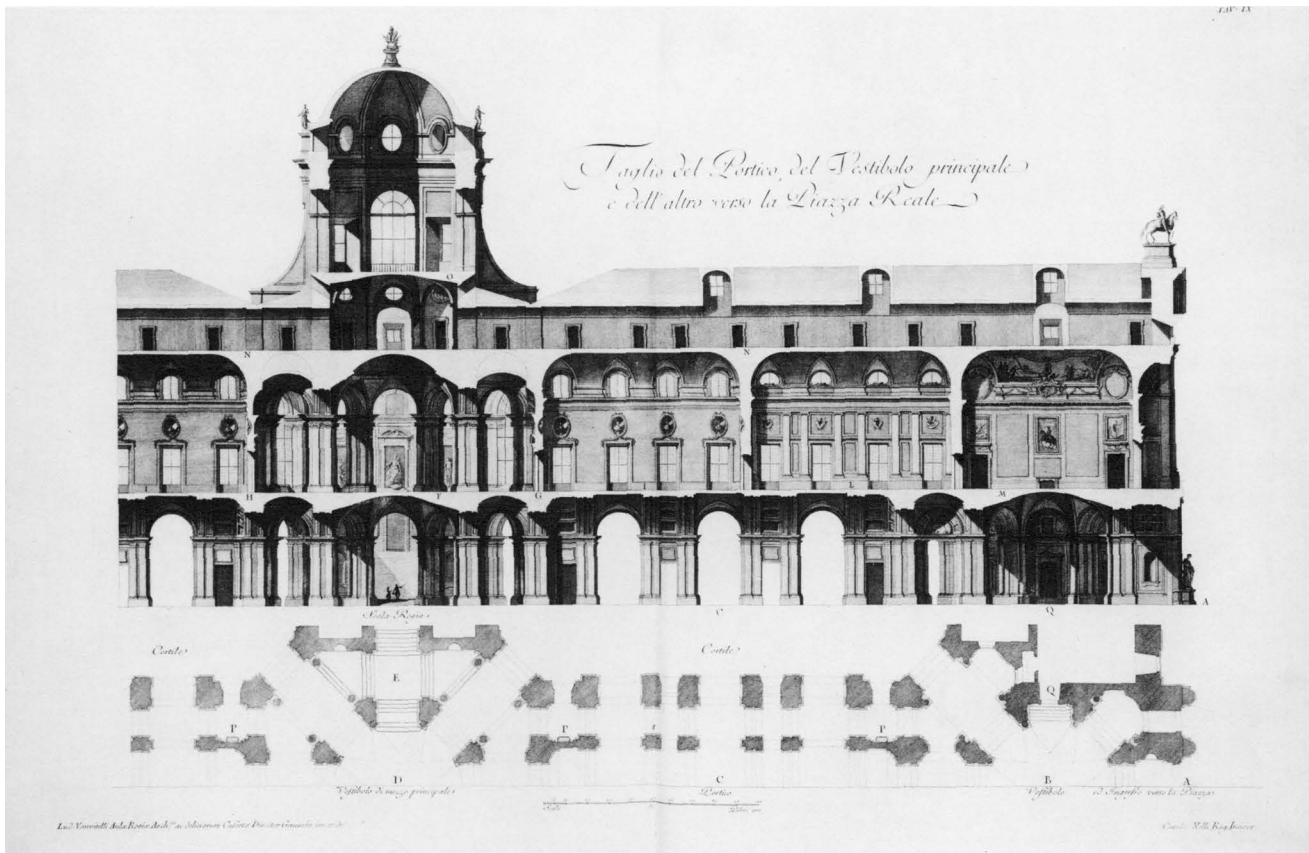
Edition First edition

Text pp. [i] half-title: "Dichiarazione Dei Disegni Del Reale Palazzo Di Caserta." (verso blank); [iii] engraved title page (verso blank); [v–vi] dedication by Vanvitelli to Charles III; 1–v text; [vi] blank; vii–xix explanations and keys for plates; [xx] blank

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page, with two putti and royal emblems, signed by Vanvitelli as draftsman and Rocco Pozzi as engraver ("L. Vanvitelli inv. e del."; "R. Pozzi inc."); large etched armorial headpiece on dedication signed by Vanvitelli as above and by Filippo Morghen as engraver ("F. Morghen sculp"); large etched headpiece on p. 1, and tailpiece on p. v, both signed by Vanvitelli as above and by Pozzi as engraver ("Roccus Pozzi Reg. Incisor"); etched pictorial initials on dedication and p. 1, both signed by Carlo Nolli as engraver ("Nolli S")

Illustrations 14 double-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xiv, all signed by Vanvitelli as draftsman ("D' Luigi Vanvitelli Arch.º Ing.º di Corte di S. M: e Direttore Gen.º delle Reali Fabbriche, e Giardini di Caserta inv. e del.," with variants). Plates 1, v, vii–x,

Luigi Vanvitelli. *Dichiarazione dei disegni*. Plate ix. Section of Palazzo Reale, with vestibule and internal "street" linking entry and garden facades. 1985.61.2730



and XII–XIV signed by Nolli as engraver (“Carlo Nolli Reg. Incisore,” with variants); plates II–IV signed by Niccolò Orazi as engraver (“Nicola d’Orazi Reg. Inc.”; “Nicola d’Orazi Reg. Incisore”); plates VI and XI signed by Rocco Pozzi as engraver (“Roccus Pozzi Reg. Incisor”; “Roccus Pozzi Regius Incisor”)

Binding Contemporary vellum

References Berlin Cat. 2706; Cicognara 4105; Fowler 348

THIS ALBUM OF FOURTEEN large folio plates, preceded by a brief explanatory text, illustrates the buildings and park of the royal palace at Caserta, southeast of Naples. The engravings were made after drawings by Luigi Vanvitelli, the architect of the palace, garden, and town of Caserta. Vanvitelli was commissioned by Charles III Bourbon, king of the Two Sicilies and the future king of Spain, to design the entire royal settlement. The engravings were made between February 1752 and July 1756 by three artists associated with the Portici royal school of engraving, from finished drawings by Vanvitelli that have been preserved in the archive at Caserta (Garms 1974, 138). These engravers were: Carlo Nolli, the son and assistant of the architect and cartographer Giambattista Nolli, who in 1748 had published his famous map of Rome (cat. 64); Rocco Pozzi, son of a Roman ivory worker, student of Girolamo Frezza, and engraver of Pietro Bracci’s statues; and Niccolò Orazi, who worked with his brother Carlo. They were part of an army of artists simultaneously involved with the immense project of documenting the findings made at Herculaneum, the publication of which, *Le antichità di Ercolano*, began in 1757 (cat. 1). A fourth graphic artist, Filippo Morghen, carried out the sumptuous decorative etchings in the dedication—a rococo composition of draperies, acanthus leaves, roses, and putti surrounding the royal coat of arms—the headpieces, such as the foundation medal with royal portraits and the view of the Caserta palace at the beginning of the chapter “Descrizione del sito,” which establishes the history of the site, and the tailpieces, such as the putto on a globe drawn by two doves at the end of this “Descrizione.”

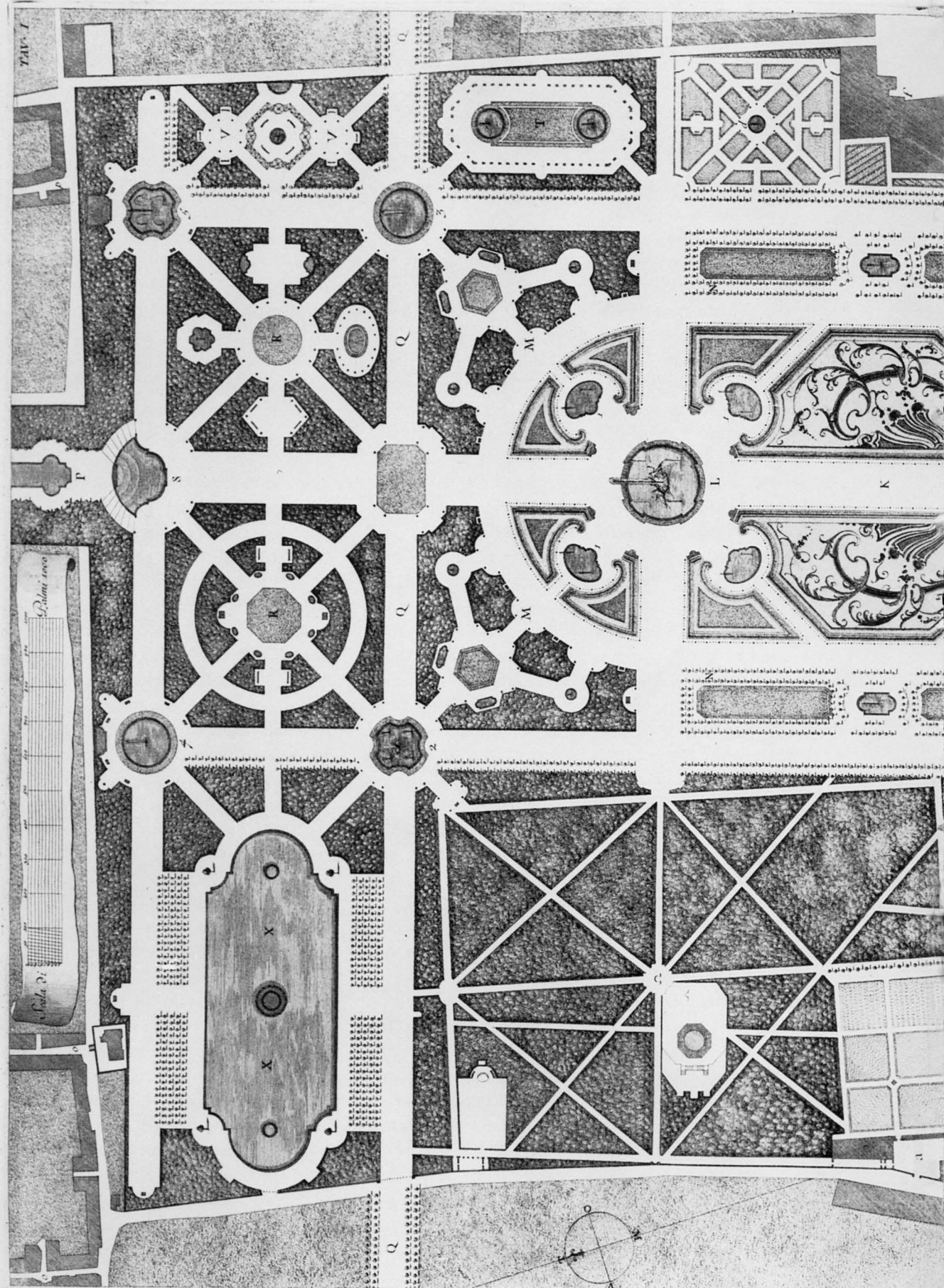
Vanvitelli knew from the beginning that engraving his drawings would be an immense undertaking, as his correspondence shows: “Si aspettano li due intagliatori di rame da Portici per intagliare li disegni, Pozzi et un’altro; vederemo caderli le braccia in terra, perché il lavoro è immenso, massimamente nelle due prospettive” (Strazzullo 1976, 1: 101). The engravings were made as large as Vanvitelli’s drawings (Strazzullo 1976, 1: 104). The eminent Sicilian engraver Giuseppe Vasi had been suggested to the king by Vanvitelli, but because the artist had unbecomingly demanded too high a remuneration,

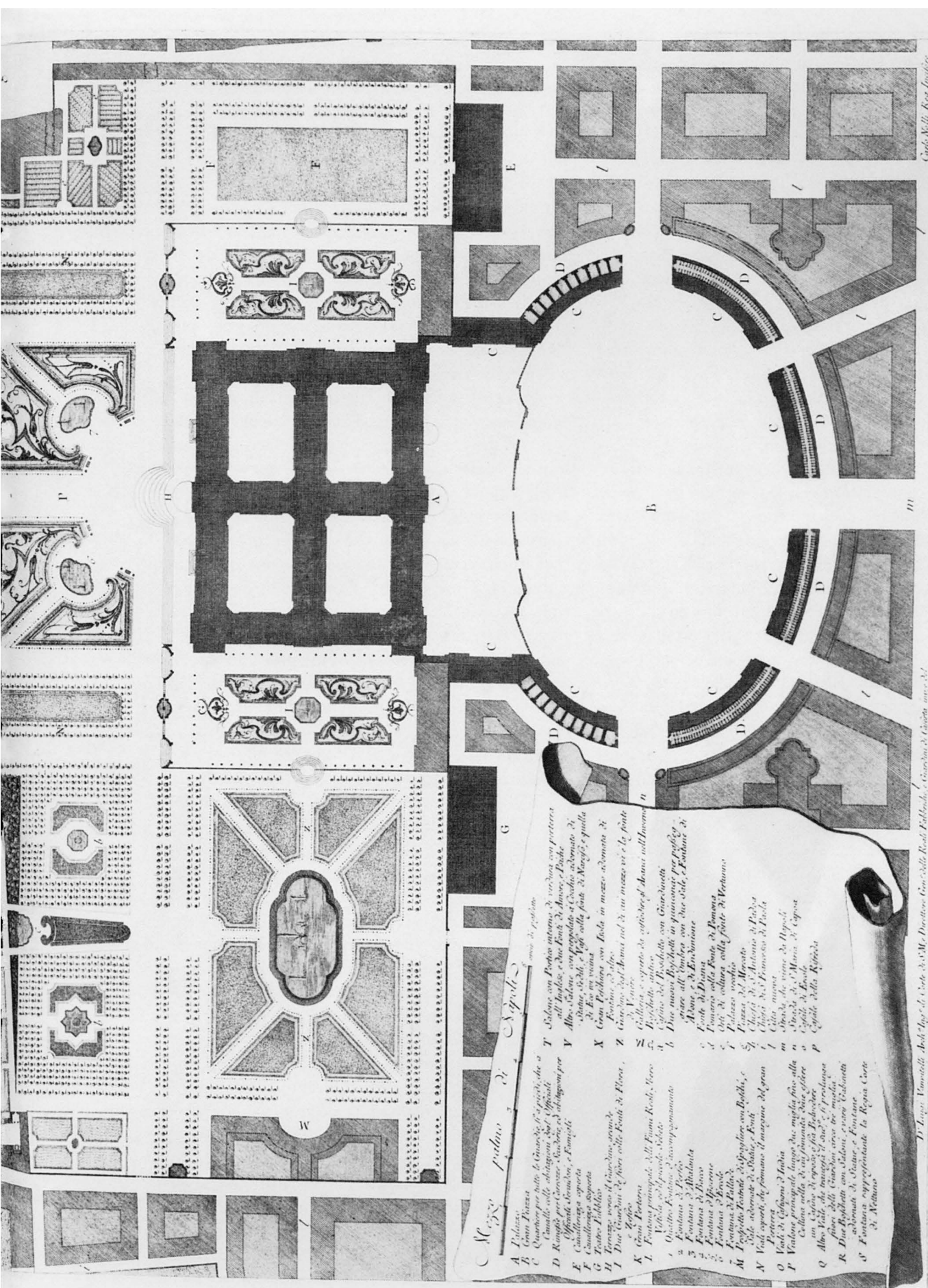
his candidacy was immediately squelched (Strazzullo 1976, 1: 118). In the following four years, Vanvitelli’s pleasure in Carlo Nolli’s work recurs in his letters to his brother in Rome as the engraver worked steadily through the Caserta assignment. Then in November 1756 Vanvitelli reports that he has finally seen two copies of the finished book magnificently bound; he is, moreover, persuaded that the 1,000 copies ordered to be bound will surely not suffice (Strazzullo 1976, 1: 617).

When Vanvitelli was called to Naples from Rome in 1750 by Charles of Bourbon, his reputation was very high, despite the fact that he had never built a structure entirely his own. His renown was based on his beautiful designs for the facade of the Lateran church and the Trevi fountain, although he was beaten out in the two competitions by Florentine architects. His personal dislike of what he called the “Tuscan party,” which included Alessandro Galilei and Ferdinando Fuga, two of his main competitors for architectural commissions in Rome, was his way of expressing dissent with the new rigorist classicism theorized and proposed by Giovanni Bottari (de Seta 1978, 42). He gained further notoriety, and the ire of the polemicist Giovanni Poleni, for successfully shoring up Michelangelo’s dome of Saint Peter’s (which had begun to crack), transforming the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli (which Michelangelo had carved out of Diocletian’s thermal complex), and expanding Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s Chigi palace. Vanvitelli thus brought an eclectic background to his Neapolitan appointment, which prevented him from becoming a neoclassicist who selects and uses antiquity as the only possible source of inspiration. He worked very quickly, and by 1751 the designs for Caserta were complete. While he was still in Rome in 1750, his preparation for this commission had been clarified by the composition of an unillustrated program entitled “Idea for the plan of a royal residence for monarchs” (now in Caserta). The foundation stone for the construction was ceremonially laid on the king’s birthday in January 1752.

The *Dichiarazione* is an accurate document of Vanvitelli’s design for the building complex on which his fame rests. Caserta’s elevations resemble early Georgian English designs as published in Colen Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–1721; Millard, *British Books*, 10), especially John Vanbrugh’s Castle Howard. The “diagnostic elements,” according to George Hersey (1983), are the use of the dome on a tall drum in a domestic building, utter symmetry, and the arched rusticated ground entry level beneath a main floor colonnade, though Hersey is not entirely justified in labeling Caserta a “domestic” complex. Caserta

Luigi Vanvitelli. *Dichiarazione dei disegni*. Plate 1. Plan of the royal palace and gardens at Caserta. 1985.61.2730





was to be, Versailles-like, the public residence of an absolute monarch surrounded by the offices of his governing agencies, executive, military, and diplomatic. The king may have actively participated in the design of the palace as its facades were also influenced by Robert de Cotte's composition for the Buen Retiro of 1712–1714, with which the king was doubtless familiar. The entry gate of Caserta bears striking similarity to the 1667 design for the Louvre's east facade by Claude Perrault (Hersey 1983), and further French influences are found in the layout of the formal garden. Distinct Roman sources, such as the square of Saint Peter's, are evident in the design of the elliptical piazza that was planned to connect the palace to the city of Caserta Nuova. Although Versailles often crops up as a suggested model for Caserta, reference to this superseded model would probably not have pleased King Charles III. Nonetheless, the details of the parterre were probably influenced by Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (1709), published in a new edition in 1747 (Chigiotti 1985, 184). But Vanvitelli had an open and empty site to work with, and his building at Caserta has a unity and compactness lacking at Versailles (where older buildings had to be incorporated) and in most royal palaces in Europe, which had developed over time (Blunt 1979, 69).

The fourteen plates represent the palace and garden of Caserta in plan, section, elevation, and perspective. They are preceded by fourteen long and elegantly printed captions that function as legends to the fourteen plates. There are four plans, of the site, the ground, the "royal" floor, and the top floor. The site plan illustrates the palace located between the urban square and the landscaped garden and park. The parterre is very beautifully rendered, as is the forested park. The urban square is framed by the oval carriage houses and stables of the guard. The artist Carlo Nolli used a great variety of stippling, hatching, and line weights to represent the variety of planted surfaces and built structures, and his illustration occupies the entire surface of the copperplate.

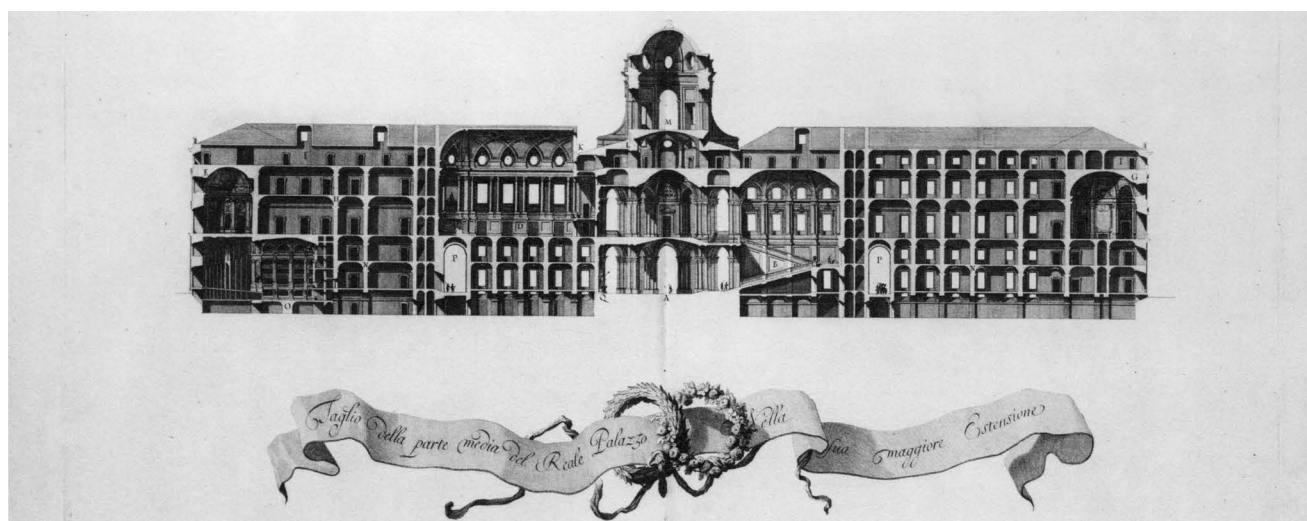
The ground floor is illustrated in strictly horizontal orthogonal section; the strong symmetry of the composition, the extensive use of enfilade in the planning of rooms, and the stupendous conception of the corridor that connects the city front with the garden elevation through the center of the building are persuasively depicted. The *piano reale* has the larger rooms oriented toward the exterior of the building, but the most magnificent rooms are in the central wing on both sides of the monumental vestibule, and they constitute the reception rooms of the king's and queen's nearly twin apartment suites. Smaller twin apartments are at the other side of the complex, intended for the royal heir and his family. The plan of the top story consists of

long, double-loaded corridors throughout, with numerous identical rooms that turn this level into a barrack. The lengthy corridors are lit by evenly spaced skylights; the area above the monumental vestibule has been frugally set aside for six communal kitchens.

There are two separate elevations of the palace, one of its long city side and the other of the garden facade. The corners and center of the city facade are composed as triumphal arches raised above a rusticated base; quoining, parapets, a domed center, and an equestrian statue over the entry provide additional decoration for this immensely long architectural surface (about 600 m). The four statues planned for the entry—allegories of four royal prerogatives: magnificence, justice, clemency, and peace—were separately described in the index to the plates.

Plates VIII–X show four large-scale longitudinal sections through the palace building. Plate VIII illustrates some of the principal parts that reconfigure the palace into a veritable city; these are the theater on the ground level, with the gallery above it on the *piano reale*, the vestibules on the ground and main floors, the royal chapel on the main floor, the main reception hall of the prince's apartment, and the immense loggia under the central dome. Plate IX is a section through the central wing, which contains the heroic sequence of royal reception spaces separated by the domed vestibule and the equally impressive ground-level corridor which, majestically vaulted, was larger, straighter, and broader than most streets in Naples. The main staircase and the chapel are separately illustrated, in plan and in section. While the chapel is said to have been inspired by its counterpart at Versailles, the composition of the stairhall and the vestibule at the top of the staircase establish Vanvitelli's distinctive ability to handle large spaces, to forge a dialogue with Italian architectural history, and to demonstrate his understanding of contemporary theatrical perspective. The perspective is drawn specifically on Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's invention of the *scena per angolo*, as well as the earlier optical innovations of Baldassare Longhena in his interior of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice. The staircase has no precedents in Italy for its scale, though Filippo Juvarra's staircase for the Palazzo Madama in Turin offers some competition for the sumptuous materials, brilliant lighting, and magnificence of composition.

After the breathtaking tour of the building where no effort or ambition was spared in the architecture or its representation, the two perspectival views of the palace and garden and of the palace and city of Caserta—considered by Vanvitelli to be the most difficult illustrations in the collection—are not as lively. The view of the garden suffers from its inconclusive appearance: this large collection of fountains, planted areas, architectural details, and sculptures still requires a shaping idea



Luigi Vanvitelli. *Dichiarazione dei disegni*. Plate VIII. Section of the Palazzo Reale with stairhall, vestibule, and chapel. 1985.61.2730

to clarify the overall arrangement (a problem later solved with a powerful axial composition). In the other view, the town of Caserta is an orthogonal grid of streets defined by uniform three-story buildings of no distinct quality, though the intention, expressed in late baroque typologies, is clearly to illustrate a future ideal city. Some clouds and skyline appear in these two views (pls. XIII and XIV), though limited by the required high horizon line allowing more of the palace, city, and garden to be depicted.

With the preparation of the *Dichiarazione* under way, Vanvitelli concentrated on the actual construction of the Caserta palace. The work proceeded slowly, and Vanvitelli had occasion to complain that his Caserta projects, actual and representational, were undermined by the simultaneous attention that the excavations at Herculaneum were receiving that took money away from his own parallel enterprises (de Seta 1978). Pompeii and Herculaneum put him in the shade; little interested in the archaeological find of the century, Vanvitelli missed the opportunity to place himself at the center of the international debate between Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the Neapolitan academy (de Seta 1978, 45). Despite his scarce antiquarian interest, Vanvitelli designed the initials for the first volume of the *Antichità di Ercolano*, published simultaneously with the *Dichiarazione* (1756) and engraved by an overlapping group of artists.

The palace as documented in the *Dichiarazione* is nearly identical to the actual building with the exception of the corner pavilions and the central dome. The actual facades of the palace courts were modified from more complex earlier compositions (Hersey 1983). After the king's departure for Spain in 1759, work slowed considerably. Nonetheless, at Vanvitelli's death in 1773 the palace's 1,200 rooms were substantially built and

roofed. The decoration of the upper and lower vestibules was complete, as were the stairhall, the chapel, and the theater. It is the appearance of the garden and park, as realized first by Vanvitelli's son Carlo, that differs considerably from the plates in the *Dichiarazione*. Work was not started in the park until the 1770s; the areas nearest the palace were part of the construction site of the royal palace (Chigiotti 1985). The main feature of the park, the great water axis, is due to Carlo, who refined his father's ideas and brought them to fruition. He provided the models of the avenue's fountains for the sculptors to work from, and, rejecting his father's pavilion at the top of the hill, conceived the waterfall that linked this park to earlier Italian gardens such as Villa Lante, or to the Italian-designed Wilhelms-höhe near Kassel (Chigiotti 1985). The final section of the park with the characteristic waterfall is thus missing from the *Dichiarazione*. Although Luigi Vanvitelli's main concern with the park had been his search for water, the waterway itself had only been vaguely considered in the preparatory design.

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Giuseppe Vasi (1710–1782)

I4I

Delle Magnificenze Di Roma Antica E
Moderna Libro Primo Che Contiene Le Porte
E Mura Di Roma . . . Dedicate Da Giuseppe
Vasi e dal medesimo fedelissimamente
disegnate ed incise in Rame . . .

Rome: Chracas, 1747

[Book 2] . . . Libro Secondo, Che Contiene
Le Piazze Principali Di Roma Con Obelischi
Colonne, Ed Altre Ornamenti . . .

Rome: printed by Apollo for the heirs of [Giovanni]
Barbiellini, 1752

[Book 3] . . . Libro Terzo, Che Contiene
Le Basiliche E Chiese Antiche Di Roma . . .

Rome: Apollo, 1753

[Book 4] . . . Libro Quattro Che Contiene
I Palazzi E Le Vie Più Celebri Di Essa . . .

Rome: Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini, 1754

[Book 5] . . . Libro Quinto Che Contiene
I Ponti E Gli Edifizj Sul Tevere . . .

Rome: heirs of [Giovanni] Barbiellini, 1754

[Book 6] . . . Libro Sesto Che Contiene
Le Chiese Parrocchiali . . .

[Book 7] . . . Libro Settimo Che Contiene
I Conventi E Case Dei Chierci Regolari

[Book 8] . . . Libro Ottavo Che Contiene
I Monasteri E Conservatorj Di Donne . . .

[Book 9] . . . Libro Nono, Che Contiene
I Collegj, Spedali, e Luoghi Pii . . .

[Book 10] . . . Libro Decimo Che Contiene
Le Ville E Giardini Più Rimarchevoli . . .

[Books 6–10] Rome: Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini,
1756–1761

1985.61.2732–2734

Oblong folio: 279 × 407 (11 × 16)

Pagination Book 1 (1747): LXXXVIII, [2] pp., etched
dedication, etched frontispiece, 20 etched plates

Book 2 (1752): LII, [2] pp., [21] etched plates

Book 3 (1753): XLII [i.e., L] pp., [20] etched plates

(*Note:* Page L misnumbered “XLII”)

Book 4 (1754): LII pp., [21] etched plates

Book 5 (1754): XLVIII pp., [14] etched plates

(*Note:* In the Millard copy, a duplicate of plate “81”
replaces plate “83”)

Book 6 (1756): LIV pp., [20] etched plates

Book 7 (1756): LXXV, [1] pp., [21] etched plates

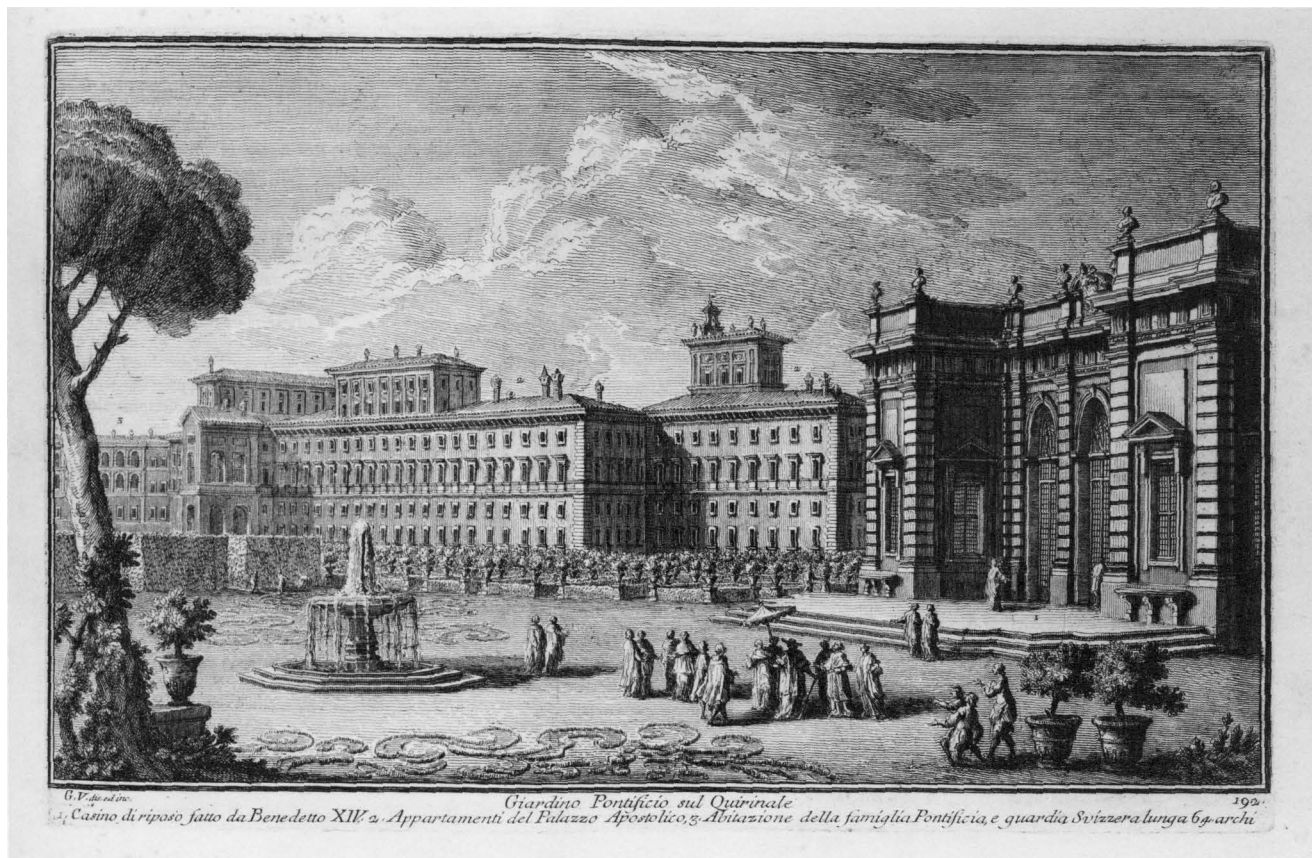
Book 8 (1758): XLVIII pp., [20] etched plates

Book 9 (1759): LII pp., [21] etched plates

Book 10 (1761): [ii], XLVIII pp., [20] etched plates

Edition First edition, issue uncertain (plates vary
according to issue)

Text book 1: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); iii note
to reader; iv preface; v–LXXXVIII text and illustrations;
[LXXXIX] list of distances between gates of Rome
(“Indice Primo”); [xc] list of plates (“Indice Secundo”);
book 2: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); iii–iv dedication
by Vasi to Maria Amelia, queen of the Two Sicilies,
dated Rome, 10 July 1754; v–vi note to reader; vii–viii
preface, ending with privilege, dated Rome, 25 Septem-
ber 1752, and imprimaturs; ix–LII text and illustrations;
[LIII–LIV] index; book 3: pp. [1] title page (verso blank);
iii–iv dedication by Vasi to Benedict xiv, dated Rome
17 August 1753; v–vi preface, ending with privilege,
dated 15 April 1753, and imprimaturs; vii–XLVIII text
and illustrations; XLIX–L (misnumbered “XLII”) index,
ending with errata; book 4: pp. [1] title page (verso
blank); iii–iv dedication by Vasi to Elisabetta Farnese,
queen of Spain, dated Rome, 20 March 1754; [v–vi]
preface, ending with privilege, dated 23 December 1753,
and imprimaturs; vii–L text; LI–LII index, ending with
errata; book 5: pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv]
dedication by Vasi to Filippo Borbone, prince of the
Two Sicilies, dated Rome, 24 November 1754; v–vi pref-
ace, ending with privilege dated 23 January 1754, and
imprimaturs; vii–XLVII text and illustrations, ending



Giuseppe Vasi. *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*. Garden and "Caffehaus" at the Quirinal palace. 1985.61.2734

with errata; XLVIII index; *book 6*: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); [III–IV] dedication by Vasi to Cardinal Henry of York, dated Rome, 6 March 1756; [v–vi] preface, ending with privilege, dated 10 March 1756, and imprimatur; VII–LII text and illustrations; LIII–LIV index; *book 7*: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); [III–IV] dedication by Vasi to Cardinal Carlo Vittorio Amedeo delle Lanze, dated Rome, 1 September 1756; [v] preface, ending with privilege, dated 10 September 1756; [vi] blank; VII–LXXII text and illustrations; LXXIII–LXXV index, ending with errata; [LXXVI] blank; *book 8*: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); [III–IV] dedication by Vasi to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, dated Rome, 30 November 1757; [v–vi] preface, ending with privilege, dated 1 December 1757, and imprimatur; VII–XLVI text and illustration; XLVII–XLVIII index; *book 9*: pp. [I] title page (verso blank); [III–IV] dedication by Vasi to Cardinal Neri Corsini, dated Rome, 1 July 1759; [v–vi] preface, ending with privilege, dated 5 September 1759, and imprimatur; VII–L text; LI–LII index; *book 10*: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [I–II] dedication by Vasi to Cavalier Domenico Orsini d'Aragona, dated Rome 20 January 1760; [III–IV] preface, ending with privilege, dated 10 February 1761, and imprimatur; [v–vi] list of patrons ("Insigni E Chiarissimi Mecenati Dell'Opera"); VII–XLVI text and illustrations; XLVII–XLVIII index

Ornaments

Book 1: Etched vignette on title page depicting Minerva, signed by Vasi as designer and etcher ("G. vasi di. sc."); ornamental and pictorial woodcut initials

Book 2: Etched vignette on title page depicting the Piazza del Popolo; pictorial woodcut initials on dedication, (p. III), note to reader (p. v), and preface (p. VII); woodcut tailpiece on preface (p. VIII), signed "Rodi"

Book 3: Etched vignette on title page with putti and papal emblems; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. III) and preface (p. v)

Book 4: Etched vignette on title page with straw hut captioned "Domus Romuli"; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. III) and preface (p. v)

Book 5: Etched vignette on title page with bridge captioned "Ponte Lucano," signed by Vasi as designer and etcher ("G.V. dis. ed inc."); etched headpiece on preface (p. v) with river god representing the Tiber and Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. III) and preface (p. v)

Book 6: Etched vignette on title page with Romanesque church; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. III) and preface (p. v)

Book 7: Etched vignette on title page with a group of men standing among Roman ruins; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. III) and preface (p. v)

Book 8: Etched vignette on title page with convent; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. iii) and preface (p. v)

Book 9: Etched vignette on title page with building captioned “Spedale di S. Gallicano”; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. iii) and preface (p. v)

Book 10: Etched vignette on title page with Roman ruins; pictorial etched initials on dedication (p. i) and preface (p. iii)

Illustrations

Book 1: 4 small etched plates in text (pp. xxvi, lxvii, lxx, xc); etched dedication to Charles, king of the Two Sicilies, dated Rome, 3 November 1744; etched frontispiece with river god representing the Tiber; and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 1–20. Dedication unsigned; frontispiece signed by Sebastiano Conca as designer and Vasi as etcher (“Caval Sebastian Conca inven.”; “Giuseppe Vasi incise.”); remaining plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher (“G. Vasi dis. sc.,” with variants)

Book 2: 6 small etched plates in text (pp. xx, xxii, xxiv, xxx, xliv, xlvi); 1 unnumbered full-page etched plate; and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 21–40. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 3: 6 small etched plates in text (pp. xx, xxiv, xxvi, xxxiii, xli, xlvi); and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 41–60. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 4: 1 unnumbered full-page etched plate; and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 61–80. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 5: 13 small etched plates in text (pp. xii, xiii, xvi, xx, xxii, xxiii, xxvi, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv, xli, xliii, xlvi), 5 of these plates also numbered 84 (p. xiii), 89 (p. xxxiii), 95 (p. xxxv), 98 (p. xli), and 99 (p. xliii); and 14 full-page etched plates numbered 81, 82, 81 (duplicate, replacing 83, in Millard copy), 85–88, 90–92, 94, 96–97, 100. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 6: 20 full-page etched plates numbered 101–120. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 7: 5 small etched plates in text (pp. xiii, xvii, xxi, xxxix, lv); 1 unnumbered full-page etched plate; and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 121–140. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 8: 1 small etched plate in text (p. xxv); and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 141–160. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 9: 1 unnumbered full-page etched plate; and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 161–180. All plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Book 10: 4 small etched plates in text (pp. xii, xv, xxxi, xlii); and 20 full-page etched plates numbered 181–200. Plates on pp. xii, xv unsigned; remaining plates signed by Vasi as designer and etcher as above

Binding Bound in 3 vols. Uniform late eighteenth-century diced russia, gilt borders, rebacked preserving original gilt and blind-tooled spine, edge rolled, gilt turn-ins, marbled edges

References Berlin Cat. 1880; Olschki 18186; Luisa Scalabroni, *Giuseppe Vasi (1710–1782)* (Rome, 1981), 57–87; Schudt 306

I42

Itinéraire Instructif De Rome En Faveur Des Étrangers Qui souhaitent connoître les Ouvrages de Peinture, de Sculpture & d'Architecture, & tous les Monumens Antiques & Modernes decette Ville. Avec une Description de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable aux Environs. Par Le Chevalier Joseph Vasi. Cinquième Édition, Corrigée, Augmentée & Enrichie de Planches Par Mariano Vasi. Tome Premier [–Second]

Rome: printed by Louis Perego Salvioni for Mariano Vasi, 1786

1981.61.2735

Duodecimo: 165 × 90 (6½ × 3⅞)

Pagination [4], iv, 315, [1], [ii], 317–605 [2], 638 pp., [15] etched plates (2 folding)

Edition Second French language edition (first published in Italian: Rome, 1763; 1st French ed.: Rome, 1773). Both title pages have a printed ticket with Mariano Vasi's address pasted beneath the preceding imprint: “Chez l'Auteur dans la nouvelle maison Barazzi, pres la rue de la Croix . . .”

Text pp. [1] half-title: “Itineraire Instructif De Rome” (verso blank); [3] title page, vol. 1 (verso blank); i–iv preface; 1–18 introduction, ending with chronological list of popes; 19–315 text and illustrations, vol. 1; [316] blank; [i] divisional title page, vol. 2 (verso blank); 317–605 text and illustrations, vol. 2; 606–610 list of sights of Rome, ending with approbation dated Rome, 8 May 1786; 611–634 index; 635–638 catalogue of works by Giuseppe Vasi, ending with imprimaturs

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page, vol. 1, with Romulus, Remus, and the she-wolf; etched vignette on title page, vol. 2, with Minerva seated; woodcut initials

Illustrations 46 small, unnumbered etched plates printed within text (vol. 1: 22 plates; vol. 2: 24 plates); plus 2 folding etched maps of Rome, and 13 unnumbered full-page etched plates *hors texte* paginated according to location in text (vol. 1: 10 coppers on 7 plates; vol. 2: 9 coppers on 6 plates). One of the maps is signed by Giuseppe Vasi as etcher ("Joseph Vasi inc.")

Binding Contemporary paper-covered boards, sheep back, vellum corners; brown and green morocco labels

Provenance Erased monogram on first free endpaper and half-title; text annotated in a contemporary hand, marking sites visited

References Olschki 18189; Schudt 336

I43

Itinéraire Instructif De Rome Ancienne Et Moderne Ou Description Generale Des Monumens Antiques Et Modernes, Et Des Ouvrages Les Plus Remarquables En Peinture, Sculpture, Et Architecture De Cette Celebre Ville Et De Ses Environs Par Marien Vasi . . . Tome Premier [-Second]. Nouvelle édition augmentée et enrichie de toutes les observations modernes et de plusieurs Planches

Rome: Mariano Vasi, 1804

NGA Lib. Rare Book: DG804V3514

Duodecimo: 170 × 95 (6¹¹/₁₆ × 3³/₄)

Pagination XII, 29, [I], 30–31, 31–432, [ii], 433–834, 841–883, [I] pp., engraved frontispiece, [98] etched plates (2 folding)

Edition Fifth? French language edition

Text pp. [1] half-title: "Itinerarie Instructif De Rome Ancienne Et Moderne Et De Ses Environs" (verso blank); [iii] title page (verso blank); v–viii dedication to Pius VII; ix–xi preface; xii approbation, dated Rome, 20 February 1804, and imprimaturs; 1–19 introduction; 20–29 chronological lists of emperors, popes, and artists; [30] blank; 30 *bis*–31 table of contents; 31 *bis*–432 text, vol. 1; [i] title page, vol. 2 (verso blank); 433–834 text, vol. 2; 841–876 index; 877–879 list of plates; 879–883 catalogue of works by Giuseppe Vasi and others; [884] blank

Giuseppe Vasi. *Itinéraire instructif de Rome*. San Marcello on the Corso. 1985.61.2735

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece portrait of the dedicatee, unsigned; 2 unnumbered, folding etched maps of Rome, one signed by Giovanni Bruni ("Gio: Brun"); plus 96 unnumbered, full-page etched plates, all unsigned

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Contemporary printed paper wrappers, contemporary printed tickets on spines

References Schudt 339

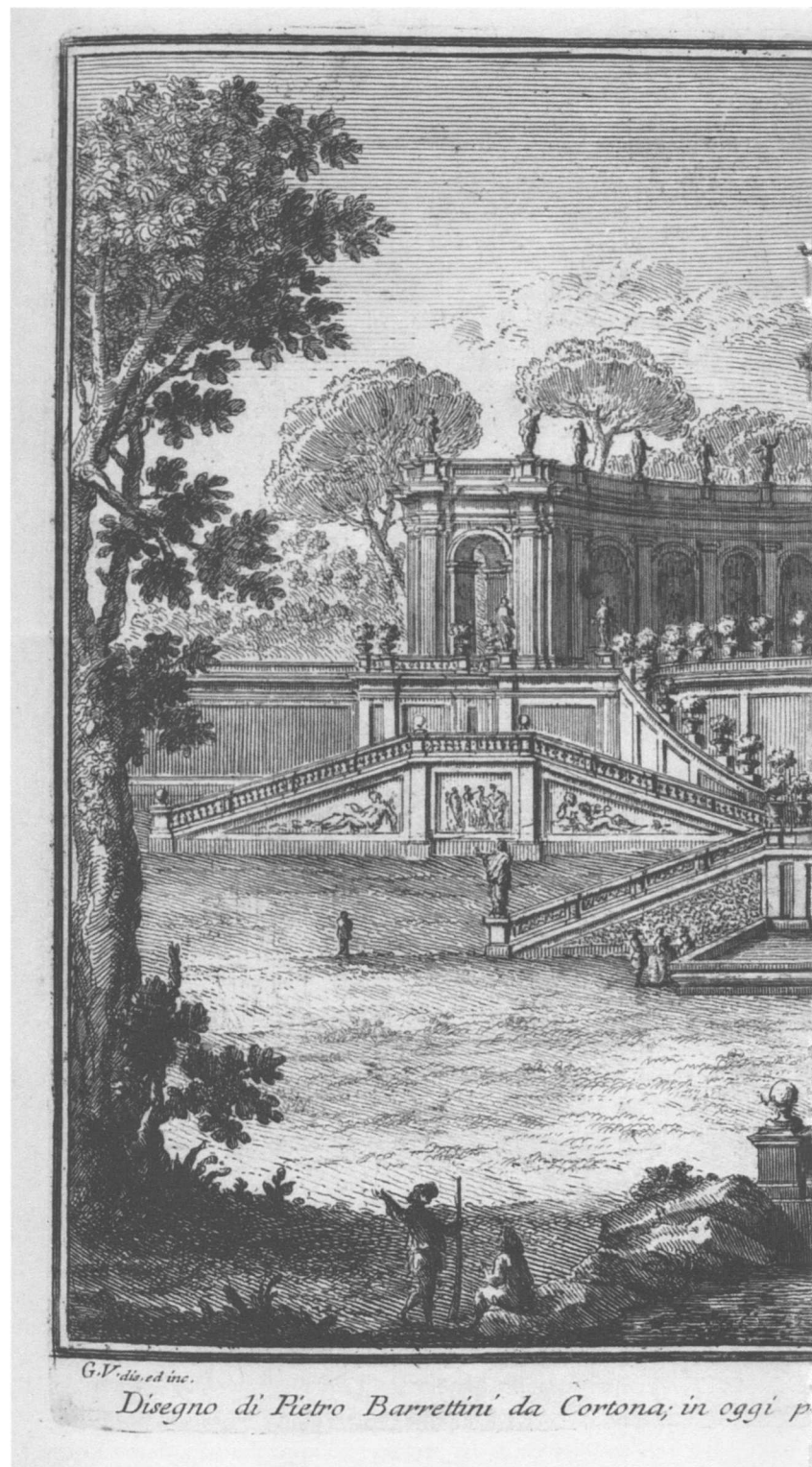
ONLY TEN YEARS OLDER than his main competitor, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Giuseppe Vasi came to Rome from Palermo in 1736. Of well-to-do family and classically educated, for his entire career Vasi enjoyed the high patronage of the Neapolitan aristocracy, the Spanish monarchs, and a succession of popes. His official commissions included the engraving of the China festivities, a yearly pageant sponsored by the ambassador of Naples in Rome marked by distinguished fireworks and temporary structures. He



made numerous illustrations for the publications of the Calcografia Camerale, the papal publishing house established in 1738 by Pope Clement XII. In Rome, Vasi was protected by the Neapolitan ambassador Cardinal Troiano Aquaviva d'Aragona, through whom Vasi met the artists Sebastiano Conca, Luigi Vanvitelli (cat. 140), and Ferdinando Fuga. As chamberlain of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies, Vasi set up his workshop in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. This distinguished address (despite the notoriously crowded conditions in the palace, referred to as the Ghetto Farnese, filled with the lower-class retainers of the king; Scalabroni 1981), and the fact that he monopolized the Roman visual records of the monarch Charles III, put Vasi in an advantageous position for a graphic artist offering engraved views of Rome to aristocratic visitors on their Grand Tour of the city. In 1747 Vasi was nominated royal engraver, and by 1763 he was knighted by his monarch.

Born in Corleone near Monreale, Vasi was the son of a prosperous vase maker (hence the name), brick-maker, and kiln owner. He was educated at the Collegio Carolino, and by the Jesuits in Latin and Greek, then apprenticed as a painter. Teaching at the Collegio included architectural design and engraving in copper, which was considered its indispensable complement (Petrucci 1946). In 1736 Vasi contributed ten copperplate engravings to the *Reggia in Trionfo*, written by Pietro La Placa, chancellor of the Palermo senate, which celebrated the coronation of Charles III (Millon 1978). He signed three of the ten plates as *Clerico*, indicating that he may initially have planned to enter the priesthood. Two of these plates illustrated a large procession peopled by hundreds of figures, which showed Vasi's good training in figure drawing. His teachers in Palermo may have included the architect Niccolo Palma, Antonino Bova, and Francesco Cichè. Both Bova and Cichè contributed to the *Reggia in Trionfo*; they were both familiar with the etching method of serial bites invented by Federico Barocci. This method allows for graduation of different levels according to distance from the foreground. As Alfredo Petrucci (1946) has shown, Cichè was even able to represent depth within one level, as in the scenes depicted in the tapestries hung in the foreground of his view of the Palazzo Giovanni Normando in the *Reggia*.

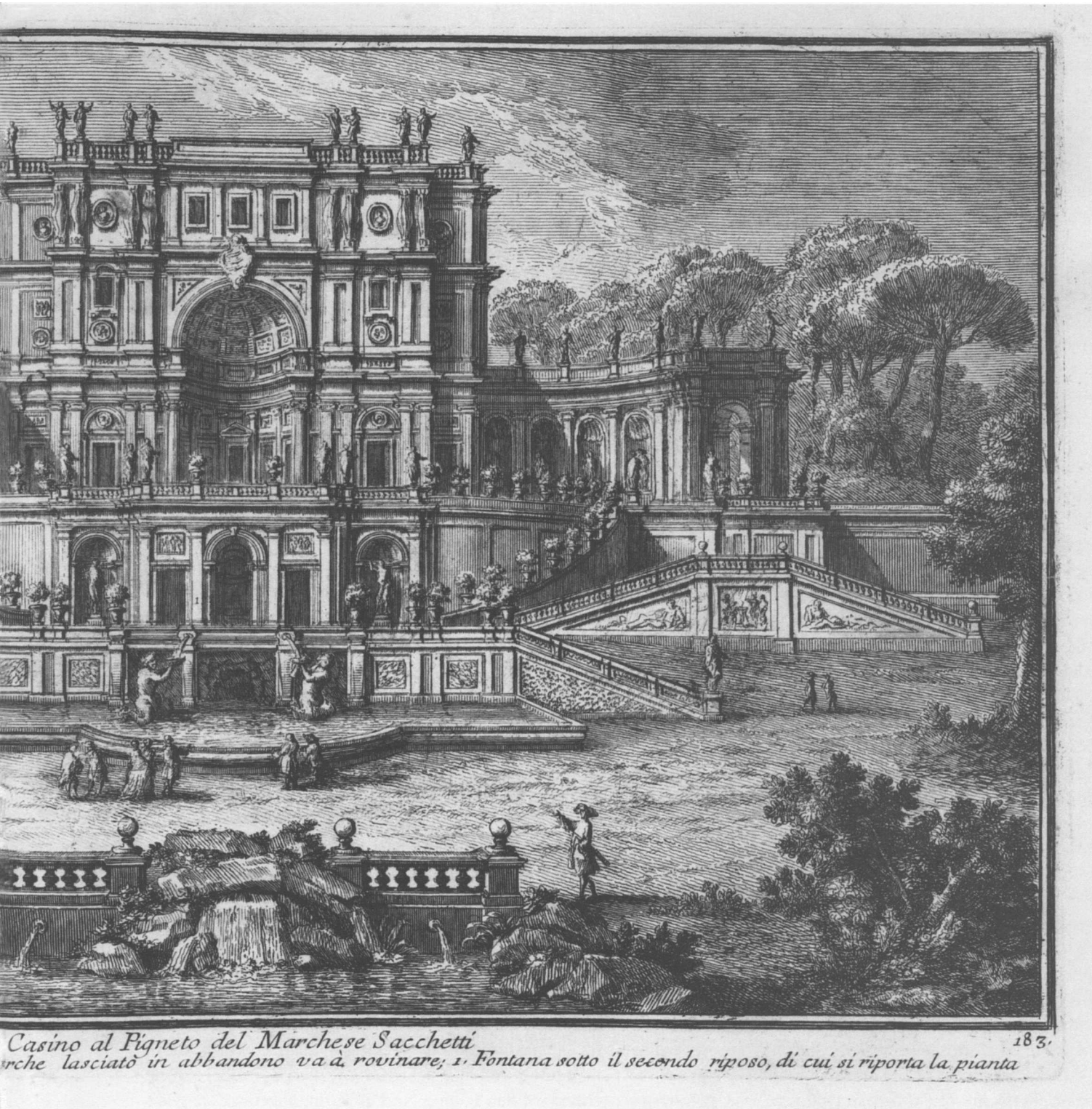
After the success of these early engravings, Vasi went to Rome; later he wrote that he had been drawn to the city by its ancient monuments. Unlike Piranesi, whose brother wrote to him about the exciting opportunities in papal Rome, Vasi's enthusiasm derived from his studies of Roman poetry and history. In Rome he could not have become anyone's student—he was already twenty-six years old—although he enjoyed the friendship of older artists such as Conca, and he set up on his own. He refers to several of these artists (Fuga,



Giuseppe Vasi. *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*. Villa Sacchetti, by Pietro da Cortona. 1985.61.2734

Paolo Posi, and Vanvitelli) in the long list of protectors whom he thanks in the last volume of the *Magnificenze* in 1761 (Petrucci 1946).

Given the distinguished position he enjoyed in his own lifetime, Vasi has received relatively little critical attention, although his uneasy relationship with



Piranesi, the greatest graphic artist of the eighteenth century, has been closely explored and their works compared to Vasi's disadvantage. Piranesi worked for about six months in Vasi's shop immediately upon his arrival in Rome in 1740. According to Henry Millon (1978), the *Vedute del Tevere* were made with Piranesi's contribution, though Vasi signed all the views; Piranesi may have taken some of the copperplates when they parted after an open argument during which, reportedly, Piranesi threatened to kill Vasi. Vasi found the

younger man's etching style too painterly, while Piranesi reproached his teacher for withholding the secrets of his engraving technique. Piranesi then scooped the older artist with his *Varie vedute* of 1745 (cat. 84), which anticipated the first set of Vasi's *Magnificenze* by two years (Millon 1978).

The hallmark of Vasi's style is the even handling of the burin and needle, without modulation of line. His "single cut" technique is efficient and picturesque but lacks the vigorous tone of Piranesi's work (Scalabrioni

1981). The acid bath used by Vasi for his etchings—a mixture of Parma vinegar, copper sulphate, ammonia salts, and alum—penetrated less deeply than the traditional (and Piranesi's) nitric acid solution, and produced evenly bitten lines in the copperplate. Thus Vasi's own recipe for the acid was not as violent and "adventurous" as the usual nitric acid. This solution respected the design, engraving neatly and scrupulously, without altering the details (Scalabroni 1981). Piranesi had chosen Vasi in order to learn this technique from him and then broke with him for the same reason.

The result of this etching technique is a topographic image with an atmospheric placidity partly brought about by the undifferentiated middle and background space in Vasi's views, without Piranesi's painterly quality. Although Henri Focillon (see Petrucci 1946) calls Vasi a poet of ancient and modern Rome, he nonetheless considers his technique poor and monotonous, while Petrucci (1946) finds the second levels in Vasi's engravings somewhat light and disembodied. Vasi has been seen as a follower of the work of Stefano della Bella, Giovanni Battista Falda, and Alessandro Specchi—the seventeenth-century engravers of processions and Roman views—even though Vasi developed a much greater urbanistic horizon and learned from the contemporary Venetian *vedutisti* Giuseppe Zocchi and Giovanni Paolo Panini.

Vasi's production in Rome may be divided into three parts: the illustrations of Charles III's enterprises in Rome, which Vasi performed throughout his career in his capacity as royal etcher; the representation of Rome in the *Magnificenze* (published 1747–1761), in the great panorama (1765), and in the guidebooks (1763); and other commissions, many for the papal court.

As royal etcher (from 1747), he was paid a stipend for life and, from 1748, lodged in the Palazzo Farnese, where he also performed the functions of a chamberlain (*guardaroba*). It is probably because of this official position that Vasi does not include the address with his signature in his prints, not because of professional vanity as attributed to him by Petrucci. The mainstay of his royal commission was the graphic representation of the yearly event of the *chinea*, which he recorded in prints twenty-one times (in 1751, 1752, 1754, 1755, 1759–1767, 1769–1773, 1775, 1776, and 1778) after the designs of Posi and Giuseppe Palazzi. The *chinea* was the white mule offered every year by the Neapolitan government to the reigning pope as a sign of continued vassalage. The Neapolitan ambassador's cavalcade through Rome to the Vatican with this important gift and the ceremonial reception of the *chinea* by the pope were enthusiastically attended pageantries; these formal events were followed by popular entertainments, normally extravagant fireworks shot from elaborate temporary

structures set up in the square in front of the Palazzo Farnese, or the Palazzo Colonna when Lorenzo Colonna became the ambassador of Charles III.

Vasi's other works in royal employ included the engraving in 1740 of the catafalque for Clement XII designed by Fuga and in 1741 the triumphal arch raised in honor of Benedict XIV's election to the papacy. Both of these temporary structures had been ordered by Charles III (Millon 1978). Then, between 1746 and 1748, Vasi engraved five plates of the Farnese palace at Caprarola, another important sixteenth-century building that Charles III had inherited from his mother, Elisabetta Farnese (see cat. 151), commissioned by Cardinal Acquaviva, the king's ambassador in Rome. In 1747 Vasi etched nine of the fifteen plates that illustrated the *Narrazione delle solenni reali feste*, commemorating the birthday of Charles III's heir, a party that was celebrated in Naples.

Vasi's papal commissions similarly concentrated on special events and on architectural patronage. The 1740 plates for the funeral of Clement XII and Benedict XIV's accession are among his earliest representations of papal ceremonies. In 1741 he etched a view of the newly completed facade of the Lateran basilica designed by Alessandro Galilei. In 1742 he documented the new facade of Santa Maria Maggiore, designed by Fuga, and made three plates of the port of Ancona enlarged by Vanvitelli (Luisa Scalabroni [1981] predates the Ancona views to 1738). In 1744 he etched a plate of the Trevi fountain, eventually completed under papal sponsorship (John Pinto in *The Trevi Fountain* [1986] dates it to 1739, since the fountain is illustrated without its statuary). His 1752 engravings of the papal palace and basilica in Loreto also commemorate architectural contributions made by Vanvitelli, who restored these buildings for Benedict XIV. In 1756 Vasi produced a plate illustrating the new granaries in Civitavecchia, the principal port of the papal states.

Additional engravings link Vasi to the most talented Italian architects of the eighteenth century. In 1739 he engraved three plates after drawings by Filippo Juvarra for the mausoleum of the king of France, while in 1758 he made seven engravings after Juvarra's model for the church of San Filippo Neri in Turin. Niccolò Zabaglia's *Castelli e ponti* (first edition 1743; see cat. 166), published initially by the Fabbrica di San Pietro, contained five plates made by Vasi. In 1741 he engraved the title page of the *Museo Capitolino* by Giovanni Bottari (cat. 24), the papal official who signed off on the publication permit for Vasi's *Magnificenze*. In 1744 he contributed a plate to Giuseppe Zocchi's *XXIV delle più belle vedute di Firenze* (see cat. 170). Together with the painter Panini, Zocchi is probably the most important inspiration for Vasi. Panini, Vasi, and Zocchi shared an urbane aristocratic



Giuseppe Vasi. *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*. Bridge and Castel Sant'Angelo, with Saint Peter's in the background. 1985.61.2733

vision of the eighteenth-century city, inhabited by an elegant and pageantry-loving population.

The ten-volume *Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* is Vasi's most important and largest work, published between 1747 and 1761. The preparations may have started as early as 1740, and Vasi claims in his introduction that he formed the plan for this immense undertaking immediately upon his arrival in Rome. Although the *Magnificenze* were announced publicly as ready in 1746, they were published piecemeal over a fourteen-year period. The reason for this delay, and the seemingly small production of original prints in the 1740s, may have been Vasi's official service for Charles III. As royal engraver, Vasi did not merely make the plates but also printed them in his workshop. The large numbers of the *china* prints (Mario Gori Sassoli [1994] has found that approximately 3,500 prints were pulled from plates for the 1722 *china* party) may well have taxed the production ability of the artist, who thus became a busy printer. Despite the title, *Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, the emphasis in this series is on views of modern Rome and, in particular, on the buildings of Catholic institutions. Addressing the visi-

tors to the city, Vasi illustrated Rome's buildings, streets, and squares as a placid, elaborate, and richly varied urban environment.

The approximately 245 plates of the *Magnificenze*, a set of calm and detailed illustrations of largely contemporary Rome, form the largest segment of Vasi's oeuvre (catalogued at 437 sheets by Scalabroni [1981]). The plates are grouped in ten parts, organized by building type and published separately. The first book (1747) illustrates the city's ancient Roman fortifications, its gates and walls. It is dedicated to Charles III, whose army is shown in its bivouac outside the eastern Porta Pia, with a lengthy descriptive and analytic text by Giuseppe Bianchini, an Oratorian in Rome. Bianchini was supposed to provide the text for the subsequent volumes, and his dilatoriness may have been one of the reasons for the delayed publication of the second volume. The second volume, dedicated to Maria Amelia, queen of the Two Sicilies, is focused on Rome's squares (1752), and the short, accompanying text was prepared by Giovanni Orlandi. Subsequent volumes were accompanied by Vasi's own text (Petrucci 1946).

The third volume of the *Magnificenze* (1753), on basilicas, was dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV. The fourth volume (1754), on palaces and streets, was dedicated to Elisabetta Farnese, the king's mother and an important art patron. The fifth volume (1754) illustrates the shores

and bridges of the Tiber and was dedicated to Philip, prince of the Two Sicilies. This is a problematic volume: it contains the oldest prints, it was published separately as *Vedute del Tevere*, and may contain uncredited plates by Piranesi, as Millon (1978) has shown. The sixth volume (1756), on parish churches, is dedicated to Cardinal Henry of York; the seventh (1756), dedicated to Cardinal Vittorio Amedeo delle Lanze, records convents (for men); the eighth (1758), dedicated to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, illustrates monasteries (for women); the ninth (1759) is dedicated to Cardinal Neri Corsini and shows seminaries and hospitals; the tenth volume (1761), dedicated to Domenico Orsini d'Aragona, illustrates a thorough collection of Roman villas and their gardens.

In a further conceit, Vasi presents the first five volumes and volume 10 as illustrating the “exterior” of Rome, and volumes 6 through 9 as illustrating its “interior.” Although both parts show buildings from the outside, the emphasis varies from one on public space to a focus on more private or cloistered places. An example of what this contrast might be is suggested by the basilicas (vol. 3), which are part of the “exterior” of Rome, whereas the parish churches are suggestive of the “interior” (vol. 6; Petrucci 1946). Vasi’s typology, as Italo Insolera (in Vasi 1989) has shown, falters occasionally, especially with the introduction of the squares, which are surrounded by palaces, parish churches, and monasteries. Furthermore, in volumes 7–9, the building that gives the title to the individual plate does not necessarily dominate the illustration, and it often has a secondary role in the composition. Critics have seen this tendency in Vasi’s compositions as turning the city into the background for papal events and royal processions. But Vasi’s intention is to illustrate the institutions of the church and to show their origin, antiquity, function, and use (Petrucci 1946), rather than offer historical reconstruction or artistic evaluation of Rome’s architecture (Insolera, in Vasi 1989).

While the plates were pulled in Vasi’s own workshop, the text that accompanied them was produced by three different printers. Francesco Chracas printed the text for volume 1, the Barbiellini heirs published volumes 2, 3, and 5, and Niccolo and Marco Pagliarini printed volumes 4 and 6 through 10. On a separate problematic issue, Scalabroni (1981) and Petrucci (1946) concur that the numerical sequence of the plates does not correspond to their stylistic progress or date of production. Though not confirming Millon’s attribution to Piranesi, Scalabroni concurs with Petrucci that fifteen of the plates of volume 5 (1754), on views and bridges of the Tiber, are the oldest in the collection. Scalabroni found a copy of *Vedute sul Tevere* (made up of fifteen plates, with numbers erased), used also in volume 5. The plates in volume 5 can thus be used to propose a history of execution of *Magnificenze* different from

the publication sequence (Scalabroni 1981). Plates from volumes 2 and 5 are earlier than those of volume 1. The last volume, on villas and gardens, was also published separately as *Raccolte di Ville* c. 1763, when Vasi had already been knighted.

When the last of the volumes of the *Magnificenze* was published in 1761, Vasi realized that by serving the Neapolitan and papal courts he had lost to Piranesi the competition for the project to illustrate Rome. In 1763 Vasi published a cross-indexed summary of his *Magnificenze* titled *Itinerario istruttivo*, which became one of the most popular pocketbook guides to the city. Divided into a visit of eight days, the guide supplanted the works of Bernardo Gamucci, Giacomo Mascardi, and Girolamo Francini. Five additional editions were published in Vasi’s own lifetime (1765, 1770, 1771, 1773, and 1777), and his son Mariano (also an etcher) updated the two editions of 1786 and 1804. There were numerous further editions before Mariano’s death (de Mattei 1973) and after, such as the 1817 edition revised by Antonio Nibby and bilingual French and Italian editions in 1830 and 1834. English versions were published in 1828 and 1843. This guidebook can be seen as a successful effort to regain some of the popularity in topographical publication that Vasi had lost to Piranesi.

The serial publication of the views of Rome was crowned by an immense panoramic view of the entire city published by Vasi in 1765, but announced in the preface of the first volume of the *Magnificenze*. In this huge view (256 × 1000 cm) taken from the Villa Corsini at the gate of San Pancrazio on the Janiculum hill, Vasi attempted to offer a faithful image of the eighteenth-century structure of Rome, as he had done in his individual views. (The distinguished French print collector Pierre-Jean Mariette refused to purchase the panorama since it was too large.) Intended as a wall-sized illustration, the grandeur of the view was enhanced by four additional plates, two of which were published only in 1771. Illustrating the principal basilicas of Rome, the four views provided a Christian frame for Rome. This view is unlike any other previous illustrations of Rome. The point of view, suggested by the Roman poet Martial, is novel in Roman cartography. Oriented east, it does not privilege secular or religious Rome, leaving Saint Peter’s off to the left side and offering a homogenized depiction of the buildings in the Tiber’s bend. One building stands out in a thoroughly unusual manner: at the center of the foreground, Vasi depicts in great size and detail the Palazzo Corsini on the Janiculum side of the Tiber. Vasi seems to have been acquainted with Marchese Neri Corsini, whose palace he illustrated in 1751, and to whom he dedicated the ninth volume of the *Magnificenze*.

The panorama is further distinguished for the large area of the plate given over to sky, fields, and hills



beyond the city, reminiscent of Zocchi's views of Florence. Vasi seems to see too much, too well, and too far in this panorama. The large view suffers from its programmatic approach, intentionality, virtuosity, pedagogy, and courtly manner; its homogenized vision of contemporary Rome, where time has stopped to Vasi's bidding, "veils itself lightly in grey" (Petrucci 98). Unlike Piranesi, Vasi is not invested with a heroic sentiment, and he is not a champion of ancient Rome. His sophisticated technique hides itself and obliterates expression and effects, allowing at most a veiled transition, almost like the blush on a face, to pass over his views.

A further homogenizing aspect in both the views in the *Magnificenze* and the panorama comes from showing Rome, contrary to reality, without emphasizing its domes. Throughout, Vasi is curiously reticent in the illustration of this dominant detail of Rome's skyline. His domes, such as those of Santa Maria della Pace, Santa Maria in Valicella, or Santa Maria dei Miracoli, are all alike. In the view of the Palazzo Pio, he downplays the size of the immense dome of Sant'Andrea della Valle, while he diminishes greatly the height of the buildings that shield the palace from the church. Occasionally Vasi seems to frame his compositions deliberately so as to distance the domes or put them out of the picture altogether, as in the view of the Piazza del Popolo taken from the unusual via della Ripetta side.

Giuseppe Vasi. *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*. Piazza Navona, flooded, in August. 1985.61.2732

Vasi offers a peaceful and pleasant view of Rome; his slightly raised point of view keeps the viewer hovering above the picture, at the safe distance of an observer separated from the life of the city.

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Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola

(1507–1573)

I44

Regola Delli Cinque Ordini D'Architettvra Di
M. Iacomo Barozzio Da Vignola

[Rome, c. 1563?]

1983.49.119

Folio: 393 × 267 (15½ × 10½)

Foliation 32 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition, early issue. The watermarks in the Millard copy correspond to Briquet 7558, datable to the mid-1560s

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout. 32 full-page plates numbered [I], II–XXXII as follows: plate [I] title plate including portrait of Vignola set within niche of Corinthian aedicule, with Farnese arms atop pediment, title inscribed in base, flanking female allegorical figures with measuring instruments, and two Archimedean polyhedra (rhombicuboctahedra) hanging above; plate II privilege granted by Pius IV; plate III dedication to Cardinal Farnese and preface; plates IIII–XXXII illustrations of the five orders of architecture, including text in italic on each plate. All plates unsigned. Plates [XI], [XIII] numbered in ink

Binding Eighteenth-century mottled cat's paw calf, blind paneled, edges rolled in gilt, rebacked, red morocco spine label. Gray wash applied to title plate portrait. Old paper repairs to margins of some leaves

Provenance Bookplate of the architect Hippolyte Destailleur. Rear endleaves with nineteenth-century artist's brush caricatures and inscription "Pannier est un [illegible] Bonhomme." Some plate versos with pencil notations in German

References Avery's Choice, 14; Berlin Cat. 2578; Cicognara 416; Comolli 4: 89–140; Fowler 351

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Due regole della prospettiva*. Title page with portrait of the author. 1983.49.126

I45

[Part 1] Regola Delli Cinque Ordini D'Architettvra Di M. Iacomo Barozzio Da Vignola. Libro Primo, Et Originale

[Part 2] Alcune Opere D'Architettvra Di Iacomo Barotio Da Vignola Raccolte et poste in luce da Francesco Villamena Lanno MDCXVII

Rome: Giovanni Battista de' Rossi, [1619 or later]

1983.49.120

Folio: 395 × 258 (15¾ × 10¼)

Pagination Part 1: [37] etched and engraved plates

Part 2: [18] etched and engraved plates (2 folding)

Edition Revised edition, late issue with addition of Francesco Villamena's *Alcune opere d'architettura*. Although the divisional title plate is dated 1617, one of the plates in part 2 is dated 1619

Illustrations

Part 1: Etched and engraved throughout. 37 full-page plates numbered [I], I–XXXVI, including reprints of plates [I], II–XXXII of the first edition, with alterations to the numbering of plates II–III, renumbered I–II to accommodate a new plate III showing all the orders of architecture. The title now ends "Libro Primo, Et Originale" and the imprint to part 1 reads "Si Stampa in Roma da Gio: Batta de Rossi Milanese in piazza navona"

Part 2: Etched and engraved throughout. 18 unnumbered plates (2 folding, remainder full page), consisting of title plate and 17 plates with plans, elevations, and details of Il Gesù, the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, San Andrea, and the Ionic capitals from Michelangelo's Campidoglio. Plate [16] with Villamena's imprint and dated 1619; plates [17–18] also with Villamena's imprint and dated 1617

Binding Early vellum, blue sprinkled edges

Provenance Ownership inscription on front free endpaper: "P.1.14 / T. Kerrick / M.C.C. / 1811"

References Berlin Cat. 2655; Fowler 356

I46

Il Vignola Illustrato Proposto Da Giambattista Spampani, E Carlo Antonini . . .

Rome: Marco Pagliarini, 1770

1983.49.127

Folio: 350 × 243 (13¾ × 9⅞)

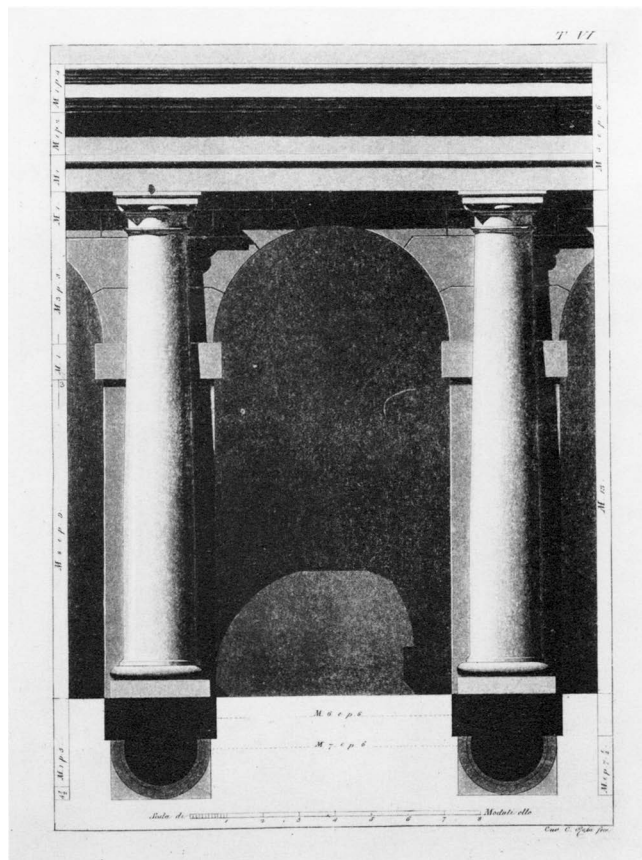
Pagination [x], 58, xxviii pp., etched title plate, etched frontispiece, [56] etched plates

Edition First edition edited by Spampani and Antonini

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Spampani and Antonini to Clement xiv; [v–vii] preface; [viii] privilege; [ix–x] contents; [1]–13 introduction; 14–18 life of Vignola; 19–20 preface by Vignola; 21–58 text, “De Cinque Ordini d’Architettura”; 1–xviii text, “Prospettiva Pratica del Vignola”; xix–xxviii glossary

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page with putto and arms of Clement xiv; engraved pictorial tailpiece (p. 18), signed by Franciszek Smugliewicz as designer and Carlo Antonini as engraver; half-page etched plate as tailpiece (p. 20), unsigned; woodcut headpiece signed “R.U.” and “I.L.S.” (p. 21); woodcut tailpieces, initials

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *I cinque ordini d’architettura*. Plate vi. Design for the Doric order. 1983.49.125



Illustrations Etched title plate with bust of Vignola on pedestal honored by Minerva and other allegorical figures with pyramid and classical ruins in background; etched frontispiece portrait of Clement xiv; plus 56 full-page etched plates as follows: four plates numbered 1–iv (and also lettered A–D); 42 plates numbered 1–xxxix (pl. xxxi repeated); 1 unnumbered plate depicting seated statue of Clement xiv; 6 unnumbered plates with figures numbered 1–28, and 3 plates numbered 1–3. Title plate signed by Franciszek Smugliewicz as designer and draftsman and by Carlo Antonini as etcher (“Fran. Smugliewicz Polonus inv. et del.”; “Carolus Antonini sculp.”); frontispiece signed by Antonini as etcher and dated 1770 (“Carol Antonini Inc. 1770.”); remaining plates unsigned

Binding Nineteenth-century marbled boards, vellum spine; uncut

Provenance Small armorial ownership stamp on frontispiece and title page; recent ownership inscription of “Eleanor K. Mardi” on front free endpaper

References Berlin Cat. 2639; Fowler 380; Riccardi 1: 380

I47

Reglas De Los Cinco Ordenes De Arquitectura De Vignola, Con un orden Dórico de Posidonia, y un apéndice que contiene las lecciones elementales de las sombras en la Arquitectura, demostrados por principios naturales. Por C. M. Delagardette Arquitecto . . . Dibuxado en mayor tamaño, y grabado al agua fuerte por Don Fausto Martinez de la Torre, y concluido á buril por Don Joseph Asensio . . .

Madrid: printed by Manuel Gonzalez, 1792

1983.49.124

Quarto: 299 × 204 (11¾ × 8)

Pagination [vi], 42 pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [65] etched plates

Edition First edition of this translation. Although the first Spanish language version of Vignola’s *Regola delli cinque ordini d’architettura* appeared in 1593, this is the first Spanish translation of Claude Mathieu Delagardette’s French edition published in Paris in 1786

Text [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–vi] prefaces; 1–21 text and explanation of plates 1–44; [22] blank; [23] divisional title page: “Appendice Á Las Reglas De Arquitectura De Vignola” (verso blank); [25–26] preface to appendix; 27–42 text and explanation of plates 1a–21 bis

Ornaments Metalcut letters on title page, divisional title page

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece with angel holding laurel over bust of Vignola; plus 65 full-page etched plates numbered 1–44, 1a, 2–21 bis. All plates unsigned, but described on title page as designed by Don Fausto Martinez de la Torre and etched by Don Joseph Asensio

Binding Contemporary mottled calf, spine with gilt floral ornaments and triple fillets; marbled endpapers. Extra illustrated with a folding etched plate showing details of the five orders from another edition of Vignola (captioned: “Promptuario de los cinco Ordenes de Arquitectura segun Jacobo de Vignola; con una Tabla que comprehende los intercolumnios, y los Porticos.”), signed “Compuesto y dibuxado por B.C. Martin.”; “Gravado por V.L. Enguidanos.”

References Bibliografía Española 187; Palau 27: 13–14

I48

I Cinque Ordini D'Architettura Di Giacomo Barozzi Da Vignola

Florence: Giuseppe Tofani, 1806

1983.49.125

Folio: 303 × 227 (11¹⁵/₁₆ × 8¹⁵/₁₆)

Pagination iv, 17, [1] pp., 30 etched plates

Edition First? edition prepared by Cosimo Rossi

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); iii–iv dedication by Cosimo Rossi to Giulio Orlandini; i introduction; 2–3 preface; 4–[18] text, including explanations of plates iii–xxx

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page depicting both sides of a medal with bust of Vignola on one side and the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola on the other

Illustrations 30 full-page plates numbered 1–xxx (pls. i, ii, xvi, xxi, xxvii, and xxx etched; remaining plates etched and aquatint). Plates i, iii–xxx signed by Cosimo Rossi (“Cav. C. Rossi fece,” with variants)

Binding Contemporary quarter red calf (corners missing), with red glazed paper-covered boards, gilt spine title and neoclassical ornaments, signed at base by Simier (with his printed ticket on verso of front free endpaper), marbled edges; marbled endpapers

Provenance Eighteenth-century engraved armorial bookplate of the Bibliothèque de Rosny; later bookplate of the library of the Congregation de Notre Dame, Maison des Oiseaux

I49

Le Dve Regole Della Prospettiva Pratica Di M. Iacomo Barozzi Da Vignola Con i comentarij del R.P.M. Egnatio Danti dell'ordine de Predicatori Matematico dello Studio di Bologna

Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1611

1983.49.126

Folio: 352 × 238 (13⁷/₈ × 9³/₈)

Pagination [viii], 145, [7] pp.

Edition Second edition (1st ed.: Rome, 1583)

Text pp. [i] etched and engraved title plate (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Hieremia Guelfi to Marcantonio Borghese; [v–vii] life of Vignola by Egnazio Danti; [viii] preface, ending with contents; 1–145 text and illustrations; [146–149] index, ending with annotations; [150] register, printer's device, and colophon; [151–152] blank

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device with initials “AB”; woodcut head- and tailpieces; woodcut initials in several styles and sizes

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate with Ionic monument with title inscribed on attic, bust of Vignola on pedestal, and dedication to Borghese in base below; 120 woodcut diagrams and 28 etched and engraved plates (including 7 full page) throughout text, all accounted for in pagination. Title plate only signed by Cherubino Alberti (“Cherubinus Albertii f.”); all illustrations from the first edition of 1583, except for title plate with dedication and imprint altered accordingly

Binding Modern vellum

Provenance Early manuscript ownership inscription on title page: “Collgii. Socii. Jesu . . . 1649”; small library stamp at bottom of title page of “Sem. Prov. Belg. S.J.”; stamp of “Michel Kieffer” inside front cover

References Berlin Cat. 4695; Cicognara 810; Fowler 387; Mortimer, *Italian*, 538 (1st ed.); Riccardi 1: 387

I50

Le Dve Regole della Prospettiva Practica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola Con i Comentarij de R.P.M. Egnatio Danti dell'ordine de Predicatori Matematico dello Studio di Bologna

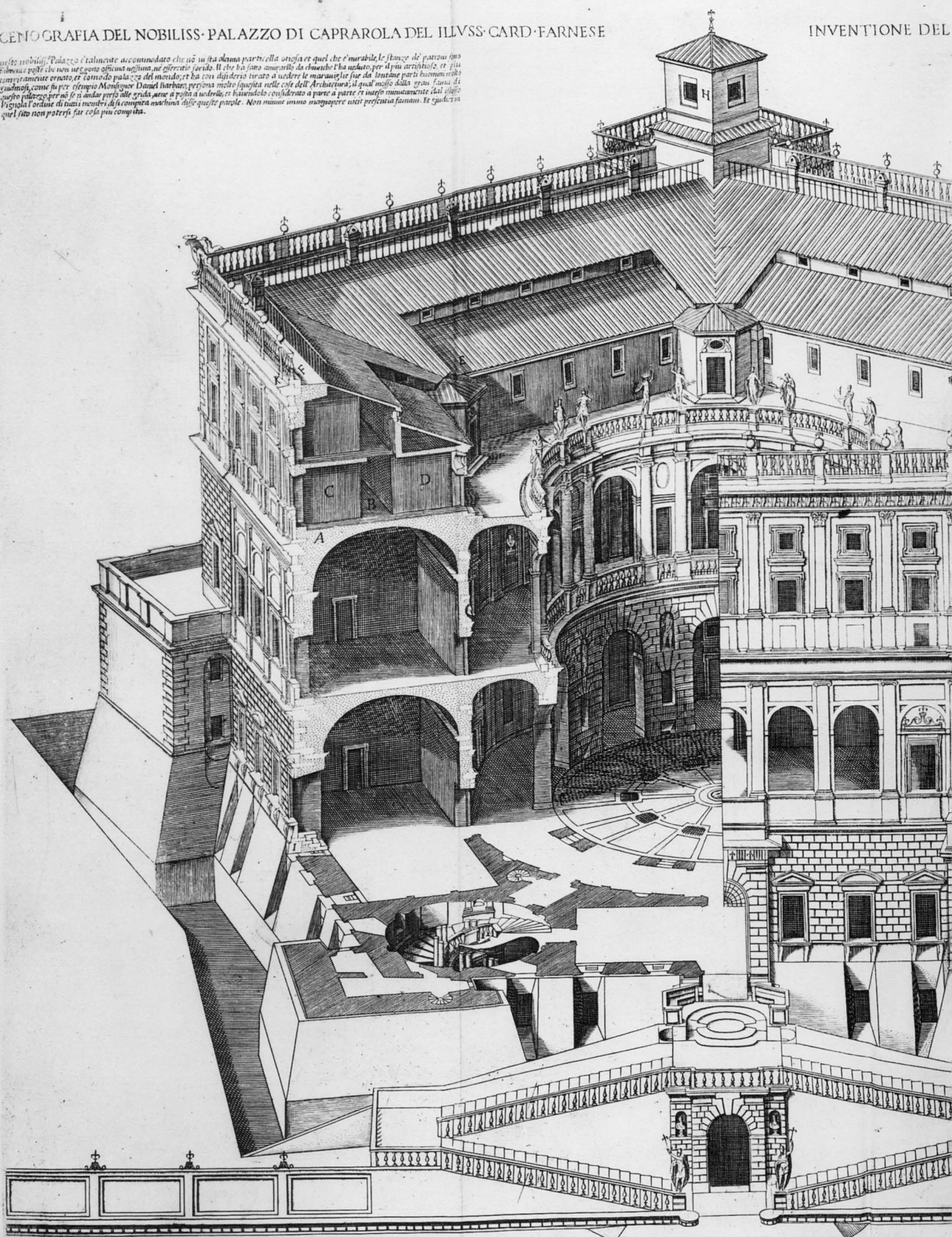
Rome: printed by Vitale Mascardi for Filippo de' Rossi, 1644

1983.49.127

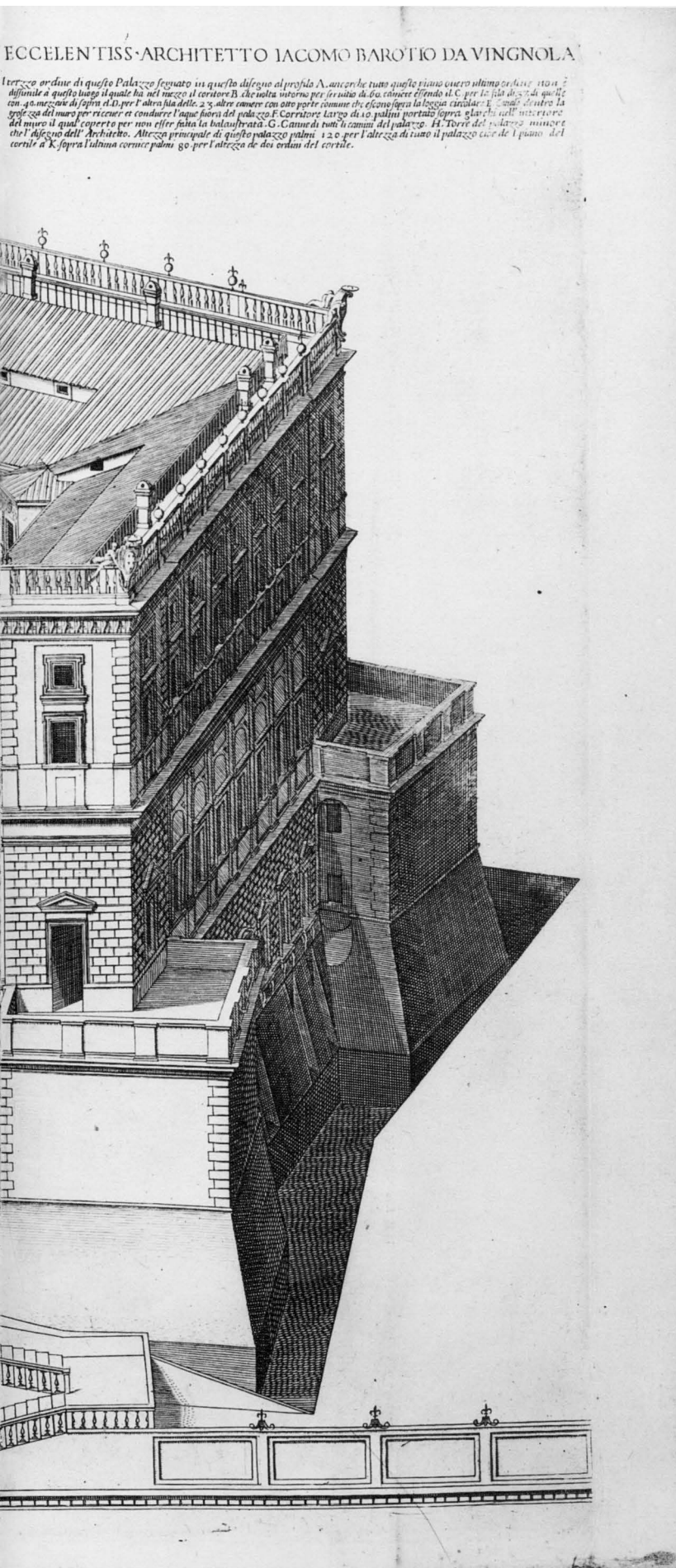
SCENOGRAFIA DEL NOBILISS. PALAZZO DI CAPRAROLA DEL ILVSS. CARD. FARNESE

INVENTIONE DEL

*Questo nobiliss. Palazzo è talmente accomodato che in su sta d'una parte ella orofa et quel che è mirabile le stanze de' patroni sono
fornite di tutti i commodi officij ad ogni uso di vita. Il che ha fatto questo da quando l'ha veduto per il più arduo et più
temperato ornato, et tal modo palazzo del mondo; et ha così desiderato di vedere le maraviglie sue da lontane parti buonan redden
quasi come fa per esempio Montaigne David barbare, persona molto spaziosa nelle cose dell'Architettura; il qual mosso dalla gran fama di
questo palazzo per sé si andò verso alle grida, come a posta a vederlo; et hauendolo considerato a parte a parte et inteso minutamente dal disegno
l'ordine di tutti i membri, di questa compita macchina disse queste parole. Non minus unum magnopere uti profectus sumus. Et quidem
quod sit non potest fieri ceteris più compita.*



F. Villamagna F. Roma Anno 1617. cum Privilegio Summi Pont. et Superioris licentia



Folio: 331 × 231 (13¹/₁₆ × 9¹/₁₆)

Pagination [x], 145, [5] pp.

(Note: Pagination does not include half-title, lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition Third edition

Text pp. [i–ii] etched and engraved title plate (verso blank); [iii–iv] dedication by Filippo de' Rossi to Camillo Panfilio; [v–vii] Egnazio Danti's biography of Vignola; [viii–ix] preface; [x] table of contents and note; 1–145 text and illustrations, including Danti's commentary; [146–149] index; [150] colophon (dated 1642) and printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device; woodcut and typographic head- and tailpieces; ornamental woodcut initials in several styles and sizes

Illustrations Etched and engraved title plate (pp. [i–ii]) and 120 woodcut diagrams and 28 etched and engraved plates throughout text, all accounted for in pagination; all illustrations as in 1611 edition (cat. 149), except for title plate with dedication and imprint altered

Binding Modern vellum. Title plate damaged and repaired

References Cicognara 811; Fowler 388; Mortimer, *Italian*, 538 (1st ed.); Riccardi 1: 388

I5I

[Piante e Prospetti del Real Palazzo di Caprarola]

Rome, c. 1748

1985.61.2737

Folio: 530 × 334 (20⁷/₈ × 13¹/₄)

Foliation [5] etched and engraved plates (4 folding, 1 double page)

Edition First edition. The plates were also published in Federico and Ottaviano Zuccari's *Illustri fatti farnesiani coloriti nel real palazzo di Caprarola* (Rome, 1748) in which they were the only architectural illustrations

Illustrations 5 unnumbered etched and engraved plates as follows:

[1] "Pianta geometrica della Palazzina, e Giardino grande del Real Palazzo di Caprarola," folding: 718 × 480 mm. Signed by Giuseppe Vasi as draftsman and

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Regola delli cinque ordini*. Perspectival section and elevation of Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola. 1983.49.120

engraver, and dated 1746 (“Architettura di Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola”; “Disegnata, ed incisa in Roma da Giuseppe Vasi . . . 1746”)

[2] “Pianta geometrica del secondo Appartamento Nobile del Reale Palazzo di Caprarola,” double page: 582 × 429 mm. Signed by Vasi as [1] above (without date)

[3] “Prospetto principale del celebre Palazzo di Caprarola . . .,” folding: 500 × 722 mm. Signed by Vasi as [1] above

[4] “Spaccato geometrico del Regio Palazzo . . .,” folding: 484 × 705 mm. Signed by Vasi as engraver and dated 1748 (“Giuseppe Vasi incise in Roma l’anno 1748”)

[5] “Pianta generale del Reale Palazzo di Caprarola,” folding: 710 × 477 mm. Signed by Vasi as [1] above

Binding Recased in contemporary Roman red morocco binding richly gilt in rococo style incorporating large rococo coat of arms and paneled with multiple roll-tool borders including floral motifs and arabesques, later spine with label: “Palazzo di Caprarola/Zuccari”

Provenance Coat of arms of a cardinal of the Orsini family on covers as described above; bookplate of the earl of Derby at Knowsley Hall; the Stonor Park copy

References Berlin Cat. 2702; Cicognara 3443 (as part of the *Illustri fatti farnesiani* . . .)

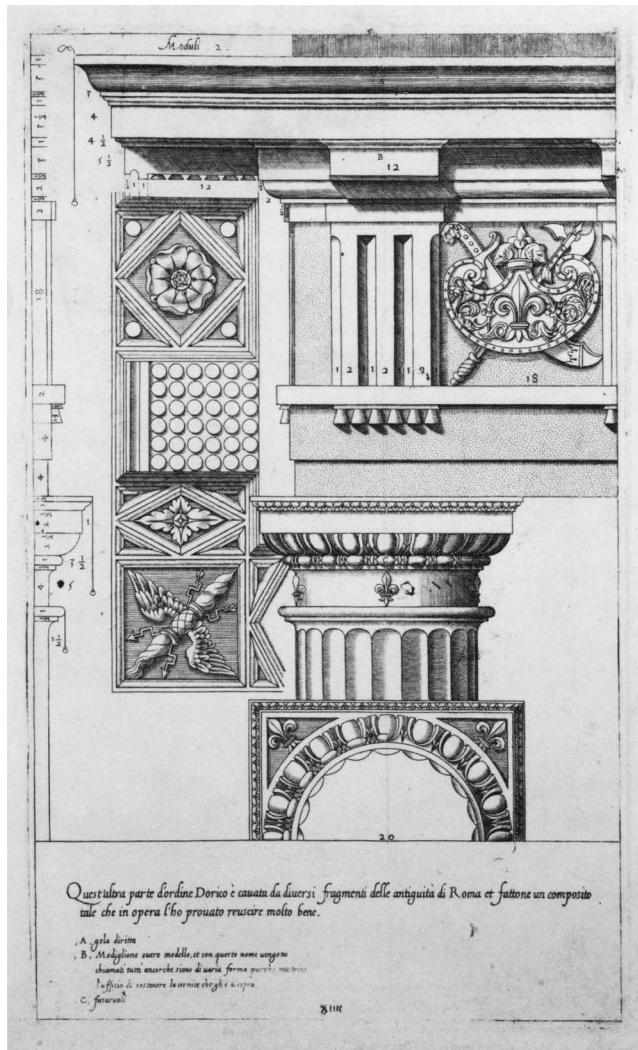


ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED Italian architects of the Renaissance, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola is also, as the author of two far-reaching and influential treatises, one of the four most successful architectural theorists of the Renaissance, together with Sebastiano Serlio, Andrea Palladio, and Vincenzo Scamozzi. His *Due regole* on perspective was edited by Egnazio Danti, who published the work after Vignola's death, while the *Regola delli cinque ordini* on the architectural orders was published in two slightly varying editions in Vignola's own lifetime.

Vignola devoted himself early to artistic studies. Born Giacomo Barozzi in 1507 and orphaned early, he moved to Bologna to study painting. There he quickly developed a predilection for drawing and turned to the study of architecture and perspective, acquiring recognition for the “rules” that he developed. Francesco Guicciardini, then governor of Bologna, sponsored Vignola's stay in Florence where he learned intarsia, moving on to Rome where he earned his living by painting. While in Rome, Vignola measured and drew all the antiquities of the city for the members of the Accademia dell'architettura, who included Marcello Cervini (then briefly pope as Marcellus II) and Alessandro Mazzuoli. In the early 1540s Vignola left Rome for France with the Bolognese painter Francesco Primaticcio, where they were employed by King François I. In Rome and Fontainebleau, Vignola helped Primaticcio with the casting of bronze statues copied after Roman sculptures and made perspective designs for the decorations of the royal château at Fontainebleau. Upon his return to Bologna, Vignola provided designs for the church of San Petronio, but, despite the support of Giulio Romano and Cristofano Lombardi, his projects were rejected.

Vignola returned to Rome for the most fruitful two decades of his career. He was commissioned by Pope Julius III to complete the eponymous villa outside the Porta del Popolo, which became a study in the use of classical details and architectural landscape (see cat. 132). For his most important patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Vignola built the palace at Caprarola, widely and instantly admired as the most skillful in design and most accomplished in ornament and comfort of any palace in the world. This building diffused Vignola's fame as a great talent, each visitor claiming favorite details, such as the spiral staircase so well designed that it seemed “poured,” according to his biographer Egnazio Danti, or the “masterly” arches of the circular loggia. Despite his fame, Vignola lost the commission for the facade of the Gesù in Rome to Giacomo della Porta (Danti's biography wrongly ascribes it to Vignola,

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Due Regole della prospettiva*. Plate facing page 61. 1983.49.126



Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Regola delli cinque ordini*. Plate XIV. Details of the Doric order. 1983.49.119

perhaps because he had designed the church). After the death of Michelangelo, Vignola assumed the directorship of the construction of Saint Peter's, then still the highest distinction for an Italian architect. Vignola's work is characterized by compositional clarity and vigorous control of visual effects, qualities that are also fully apparent in his two publications.

Vignola's work on perspective was almost certainly conceived and composed before Serlio's, in the 1530s, and completed between 1542 and 1545 (Vagnetti 1979), when the author was still a young man employed in preparing designs for perspectives carried out in wood intarsia. It was during this long period of gestation that the designs eventually used for the twenty-eight copper-plate engravings were prepared by Vignola. The imminent publication of the treatise on perspective was eventually announced in the preface of the treatise on columns. Vignola's concern in this work on perspective was to demonstrate both the Albertian method of "intersection" and the distance point, or "bifocal," technique, showing the basic harmony between them.

But, rather than providing geometrical proof, Vignola offered visual intuitions.

When the *Due regole* appeared, it was "the first specialized treatise on perspective by a professional artist to appear in Italy" and "the most intelligent, useful, and thoroughly informative book on perspective" ever published (Kemp 1990). Danti's text and Vignola's theorems were "more original and searching than Daniele Barbaro's pleasing compendium" (Kemp 1990). The work of Serlio and Vignola ran in parallel directions, and both were influenced by Baldassare Peruzzi's Sala delle Prospettive in the Villa Farnesina in Rome, but Serlio committed a number of errors (as Danti points out in his edition of the *Due regole*). At the same time, an artist could concentrate on the illustrations of the two rules and draw practical lessons from them. The example of an illusionistic ceiling in the *Due regole* (dated 1562 in the plate)—a vanished work by Tommaso Laureti that shows the use of an architectural system for the creation of apparent space—exerted a huge influence on seventeenth-century ceiling painting.

Danti enhanced both Vignola's text and illustrations extensively, in the process outweighing them. He added lengthy discussion to each of the architect's terse points and about 120 relatively coarse but perfectly clear woodcuts. Bringing a thorough knowledge of geometry and the most advanced optics to bear on Vignola's procedures, Danti attempts to reconcile pictorial and Euclidean standards of perspective. Thus, even though his text and illustrations are distinguished typographically from Vignola's words and plates, there is tension between the succinct practice of Vignola's original and the intellectualism of Danti's complex diagrams and lengthy analyses. The resulting treatise is one of the most distinguished early publications on the subject, especially the second book, which deals with the use of distance points, previously known but not as clearly explicated before.

The *Due regole* has been considered a bridge between the quattrocento studies of artistic perspective carried out by painters and the scientific perspective of seventeenth-century geometers. In his preface, Danti offers an outline of the history of research on perspective, in the process providing also a clear view of the tenuousness of intellectual property. He cites Piero della Francesca's original discoveries, Daniele Barbaro's transcription (or plagiarism; see cat. 12) of Piero's work, Serlio's published principles culled from Baldassare Peruzzi, the contributions of Giacomo Andreotti dal Cerchio (Jacques Androuet du Cerceau) and Jean Cousin, and the similarity between the methods of Pietro Cataneo and Pietro dal Borgo (the latter's work published by Luca Pacioli under his own name). He praises the basic principles of perspective as discussed by Leon Battista Alberti, Albrecht Dürer, Leonardo,

and Wenzel Jamnitzer, rhetorically dismissing Jean-Pelerin Viator with faint praise (“more pictures than words”) and relegating Federico Commandino to “illustrated perspective” in order to establish the scientific sovereignty of Vignola’s method.

Born into an aristocratic Perugian family in 1536, Carlo Pellegrino Danti became the Dominican friar Egnazio Danti in 1555. While in the service of Cosimo de’ Medici, grand duke of Tuscany from 1562, he executed the geographic maps used to decorate the ducal apartment in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and taught mathematics. Among his publications are *Sette tavole del trattato della sfera* (1567), *Trattato dell’uso e la fabbrica dell’astrolabio* (1569), and *La prospettiva di Euclide* (1573). After Cosimo’s death, Danti moved to Bologna where in 1576 he was offered the university chair in mathematics. In the service of Cardinal Paleotti, an important figure for Counter-Reformation artistic theory, Danti built various astronomic instruments. While in Bologna he published his *Scienze matematiche ridotte in tavole* (1577) and made maps of the countryside around Perugia (1577). In papal service after 1578, he made maps of Umbria, Romagna, and Bologna. As the pope’s cosmographer and mathematician, Danti worked on the reform of the calendar; his meridian built in the Torre dei Venti at the Quirinal palace helped recover ten days for the new Gregorian calendar put into effect in October 1582. His best-known works are the forty maps in the Galleria Geografica at the Vatican palace, commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII and frescoed by artists chosen by Danti. His decorative programs for papal rooms may have inspired his compatriot Cesare Ripa, who in his *Iconologia* of 1593 attributes six figures to Danti. Egnazio Danti became bishop of Alatri and member of the Accademia di San Luca in 1583, the year in which he published Vignola’s *Due regole*.

The two editions in the Millard collection, the second and third respectively, are identical, except for publishers and dedicatees. The title page by Cherubino Alberti, part of the first edition, is repeated in both books. The architect’s bust portrait (quite similar to the earlier portrait in the *Regola*) is raised on a pedestal set on a gridded pavement between two parallel rows of five Ionic columns. These are connected by sail vaults that spring above entablature blocks forming the perspective view that frames the portrait. The title block is set into the pediment, almost completely masked by the putti supporting it. This perspective of columns is raised above a pedestal that contains the dedication, to Marcantonio Borghese in 1611 and to Camillo Panfilio in 1644. The title page is an important example of an architectural frame combined with the author’s portrait. Vignola’s title page portrait in the *Regola* was among the earliest such illustrations of

the author, and it is the only one to illustrate the artist, although this became common practice later.

In the first edition of 1583, the copperplate engravings in the book were made by Cherubino Alberti after Vignola’s designs, whereas the woodblock cuts were designed by Danti. Cherubino (born 1553 in Borgo San Sepolcro, died in Rome 1615) was the most successful of the three talented sons of the distinguished artist and military architect Alberto Alberti. Author of more than 180 original and interpretive engravings, Cherubino was a member of the Accademia di San Luca from 1593; in 1594 he lectured on decorum and was elected *principe* in 1613. His brother Giovanni was an expert on perspective design and is praised by Danti in his commentary on Vignola. In addition to engraving, where he appropriated the “swelling burin” of his teacher Cornelis Cort in order to create chiaroscuro effects, Cherubino worked with his brothers on several wall painting commissions. Together they decorated the canons’ sacristy at the Lateran, the Sala Clementina at the Vatican, and the Aldobrandini chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, among other distinguished projects. The Clementina ceiling was an important source of inspiration for Pietro da Cortona. The detailed figurative engravings by Cherubino seem to have been based directly on Vignola’s drawings (Kitao 1962).

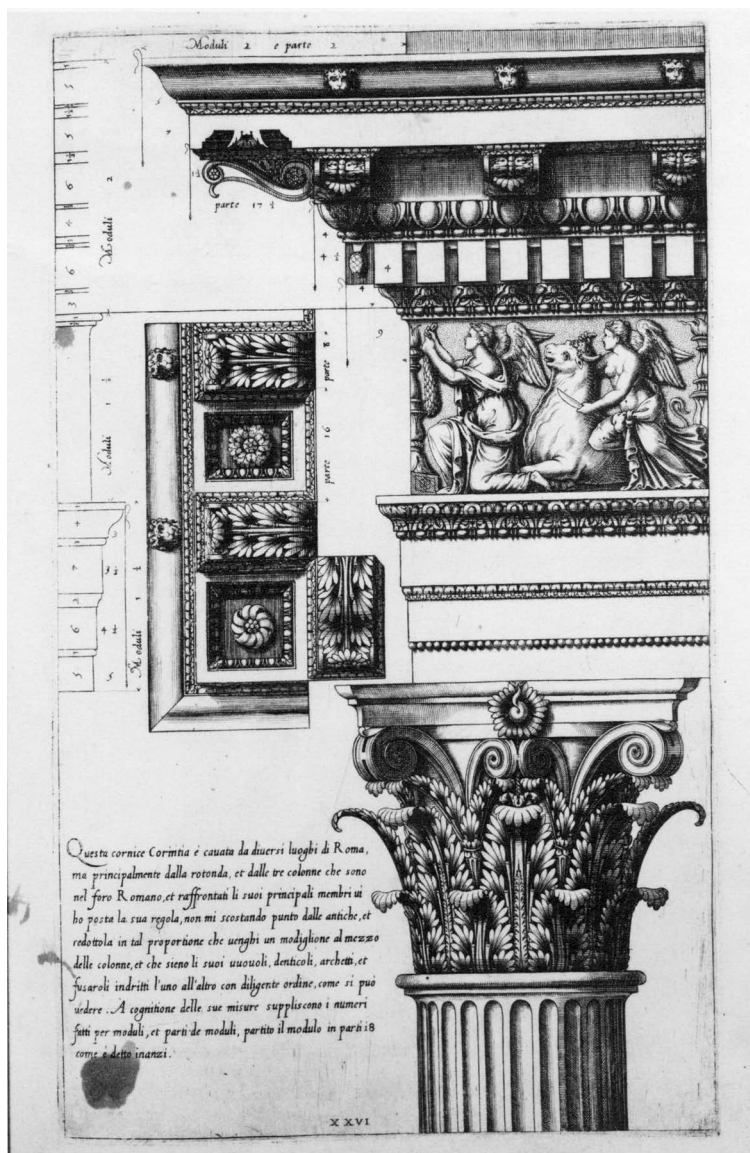
There were sixteen Italian editions in the 250 years following the publication of this treatise, some free-standing, some published with Vignola’s book on columns or as part of compendia. It has been suggested, nonetheless, that the book’s success is largely due to the great fame of its author rather than to the actual practical usefulness of the complex text or abundant illustrations, and that the reactionary message of the treatise set back perspective studies rather than advancing them. But the treatise shaped an important aspect of Roman baroque art, contributing significantly to the refinement of ceiling painting, and several of its points were reiterated in Andrea Pozzo’s publication on perspective (see cat. 107).

Vignola’s buildings received equally close attention, and measured plans, sections, and elevations became part of architectural education and culture. His most distinguished building, the Farnese palace in Caprarola (Falci 1981), was documented in five thoroughly accomplished plates engraved by Giuseppe Vasi, bound together in *Piante e prospetti* (cat. 151). They were part of a larger publication intended to celebrate this Farnese property, which constitutes Vignola’s most compelling and commanding architectural work. Vasi’s illustrations are dedicated to Elisabetta Farnese, the queen of Spain, whose wedding festivities in Parma in 1714 are illustrated in the sumptuous *Ragguaglio* (cat. 109). Vasi (born in Corleone 1710, died in Rome 1782), only ten years older than Giovanni Battista Piranesi, was his

main competitor in the production of *vedute* of the city of Rome. Vasi's earliest etchings, of 1739, are after drawings by the architect and stage designer Filippo Juvarra. Vasi contributed etchings to the *Calcografia Camerale Apostolica* founded in 1738 and made etchings of the temporary decorations built for the *chinea* parties in Rome between 1745 and 1778. Appointed chamberlain of the Palazzo Farnese by Carlo III, viceroy of Naples, Vasi established his workshop in the building. Vasi's most important achievement is the series of etchings, collected in ten volumes, entitled *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* and published between 1747 and 1761 (see cat. 141).

Plate 1 of *Piante e prospetti* illustrates in plan the approach to the palace and houses that flank it, the ground floor of the palace, the two formal "secret" gardens accessible from the *piano nobile* apartments, and the beginnings of the large park, the "giardino grande."

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Regola delli cinque ordini*. Plate xxvi. Details of the Corinthian order. 1983.49.119



A twenty-six-item legend on two trompe l'oeil scrolls provides information on the specific function of parts of the building and grounds, aided by plentiful labels. The pentagonal fortress that forms the origin and foundation of the palace is clearly revealed and dominantly sited in the center of the plate.

The brilliant composition of the palace is further revealed in plate 2, illustrating a section through the main building and one of its bastions. The terraced location with external and underground access ramps for horses and carriages is clarified, as is the military quality of the large trapezoidal piazza in front of the building, in thrall to the ramps, staircases, moats, and the building itself. The core of the palace is a great circular court, surrounded by a loggia composed on two levels as a continuous enclosure of triumphal arches. Two large rooms face the entry from the square at both ground and *piano nobile* levels, while the bastion appears to enclose three levels of ample spaces, not evident from the plan.

This towerlike protrusion is not visible in plate 3, a view of the entry elevation of the palace, which in this image looks entirely orthogonal. The extensive ramps, trapezoidal piazza, and staircases occupy the lower half of the plate. They rise diagonally to the palace's entry, separated from the last staircase by a deep moat. The palace seems further hoisted aloft by its residual corner bastions, with only two fenestrated main floors projecting above them. The overall effect is that of a great pyramidal composition, while the terracing recalls the siting of ancient Roman sanctuaries, such as Palestrina, which became the country palace of the Barberini family in the seventeenth century. The central five windows at the main level, corresponding to a great room from which one could see the straight road arriving at the palace from Rome, cut through the village by Farnese order, were originally open as a belvedere. The two levels of rooms tucked under the roofline, which seem like cliff dwellings in the section, do not disturb the three-part composition of the main facade.

A fourth plate illustrates the plan of the *piano nobile*, where the rectangular central room is flanked by two circular spaces: one occupied by a spiral staircase, the other by the chapel. The great achievement in the layout of this floor (also realized on the entry level) is that all the rooms are orthogonal despite the pentagonal perimeter and circular center of the palace. The two apartments on each of the main levels emanate from the two circular spaces, diminishing in size toward the fifth bastion oriented toward the gardens, so that a run of five great spaces extends to the left and seven rooms stretch out to the right, the belvedere being a shared hall, with the chapel in its customary position adjacent to it. A sixteen-item legend on a broad trompe l'oeil

scroll is again supplemented by labels placed directly on the larger spaces. Thus the labels give the names of the rooms according to the main story illustrated in the painted decorations, while the legend identifies the specific artists who made the decorations. The plans, section, and the view of the palace faithfully convey the magnificence of the building.

The suite of illustrations concludes with the site plan of the two-story garden house surrounded by its own formal gardens and reached through a series of monumental allées enhanced with fountains, statuary, terracing, ramps, and staircases. The twenty-one-item legend identifies the principal delights of the garden, including the chain of dolphins that leads to the *palazzina* and the hippodrome that extends the compositional axis on the other side of the building.

The palace was first illustrated in 1617 (with the exception of a view from the 1580s by Joris Hoefnagel and Franz Hogenberg, inaccurate in several significant details) in a print by Francesco Villamena, included in the 1619 Roman edition of the *Regola*, discussed below. The palace at Caprarola had been commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese from Vignola, who was obliged not only to work with the foundations established earlier by Antonio da Sangallo for Pope Paul III, but saw his designs critiqued by Francesco Pacciottio, a distinguished military engineer in Farnese service (Partridge 1970). The overall plan, pentagonal with a circular court, is of military origin, and Pacciottio's two fortresses in Turin and Antwerp of the 1560s echo it closely. The architectural design and wall paintings of the building constitute the most comprehensively conceived and realized decorations of a Renaissance palace that survive today.

Although Serlio was the first to single out the orders in his *Regole generali* of 1537, Vignola's column book *Regola delle cinque ordini* provided the definitive guidelines for the new approach to the classical language of architecture (Thoenes 1983). The book also definitively shifted the ratio between text and illustration. In this sense, too, of increased reliance on illustrations, Serlio had been the first architectural author to put emphasis on the visual rather than a descriptive approach to architectural discourse. Serlio's book is very much a set of illustrations with captions, and he was, according to critics like Erik Forssmann (1956), the first to teach architecture through pictures. This extensive reliance on pictures makes Christof Thoenes (1983) question whether the *Regola* is indeed a treatise, since Vignola writes tersely, deferring to his images ("Il resto si vede"), and seems loath to transcribe them into verbal analysis.

The first architectural books to be illustrated with copperplates rather than with woodcuts and movable type were published by Serlio (1551), Antonio Labacco

(1552), and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (1559–1561). Stretching this mode of production further, Vignola's *Regola* is made entirely of engravings, the illustrations and the text being both engraved into the plate. This places his treatise at the outer perimeter of the book proper, and it is equally definable as a series of prints. Because of this means of production, the dating of the book, as brilliantly suggested by Thoenes (1983), becomes more a matter of identifying states rather than editions.

There are thirty-two plates in the original edition of Vignola's column book. Every sheet is included in the pagination: title plate, copyright/privilege, dedication/preface, and twenty-nine plates with captions. Each of the five orders is presented in five plates: colonnade, arcade, arcade with pedestal, pedestal and base, capital and entablature. Plates 30–32 are dedicated to special problems. The rest of the plates, which illustrate Farnese buildings, may have been prepared by Vignola for an enlarged edition. They are not numbered and do not seem to have been thoroughly thought out. This hurried publication may have been caused by the pirated edition that appeared upon the expiration of the ten-year copyright that Vignola had obtained for the first edition. In the pirated edition, the privilege page is missing, replaced by a "summary" of the five orders inserted between the preface and the Tuscan colonnade, keeping the total of thirty-two plates unchanged.

There were some slight changes in the pirated edition, but these went unrecognized until recent scholarship and were reiterated forcefully, in 1983, by Thoenes. He showed that the recut title page of the pirated edition is recognizable by the altered form of the putti's wings at the top of the pediment and by a coffer in the right corner of the ceiling left unhatched; a spelling error in the original is corrected on plate VIII. In the interest of defending Vignola from the charges of ossification and petrification of Renaissance architecture brought against him by historians like Hans Willich (1906) and Julius Schlosser, Thoenes (1983) pursues closely the editorial history of the *Regola* during Vignola's own lifetime.

Vignola's *Regola* is part of the practical direction of Renaissance architecture, which has often been compared to the more theoretical interests of the quattrocento. A brief comparison between Alberti's treatise and Vignola's column book shows how much more focused are the ambitions of the latter. Vignola's method for the design of the five orders can be accused more justly of having produced uneducated architects than Serlio's easy and simple method (as Julius Schlosser has argued, turning around Lomazzo's severe judgment of Serlio's contributions). But it is precisely the limited scope that is the probable foundation of Vignola's success, according to Maria Walcher Casotti (1985). Because

of his narrower horizon, Vignola's book is more reliable than the more complicated personal approaches of Serlio or Palladio. The advantages of Vignola's work are the clarity of the material, the methodical order, the precise measurements for all the details (the "specs" in architectural parlance), and the elimination of all but the essential content.

But how did Vignola arrive at this condensed material? His association with the Vitruvian academy in Rome is well documented, and his *Regola* can be seen as the practical result of the academy's theoretical and archaeological interests. The clarity of the *Regola*, its limitation to one argument, the mathematical solutions, and the orderly search for a universal proportion made it an ideal pedagogical instrument. But its significance is largely educational. It is useless, according to Walcher Casotti (1985), to search in it for a poetics that may have pointed the way to new developments in architectural language, nor does it explain the aesthetic theories of the writer.

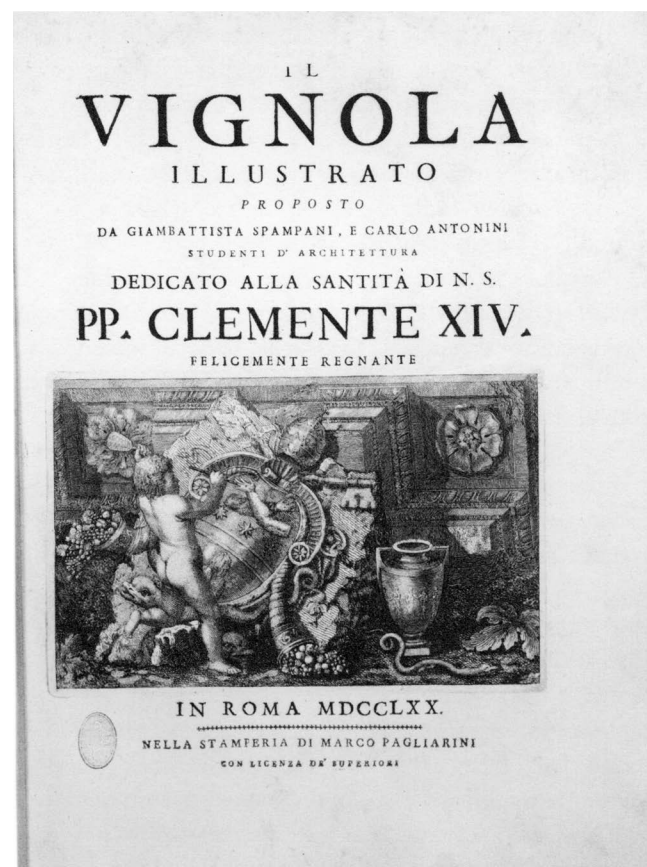
Of the 514 editions of Vignola's *Regola* listed in the important critical study published by Walcher Casotti (1985), which she warns is not definitive, 198 are Italian imprints. It is not entirely Vignola's fault if the architectural profession embraced his book with such devotion, turning it into a "catechism" of architectural doctrine. The book's success is due in large part to its elementary quality, being neither a humanist study in the manner of Alberti nor an archaeological corpus like the one that Raphael had planned to publish. Thoenes (1983) successfully shows that Vignola is not as dry or *cretino* as has been imputed. While recognizing that the repetition of colonnades and arcades is quite pedantic, Thoenes points out that the inscribed numbers change. Affirming that the *Regola* is illustrated in picture and number but not in words, he shows that Vignola provided an empirical counterpart to Serlio's earlier principles, replacing the variable measurements practiced in different towns and regions with a module.

Vignola's treatise on the columns may originally have been thought of as the complement to the much more ambitious project of the Vitruvian academy to publish a clear Latin edition of Vitruvius. But Vignola's logical abstractions and a persuasive command of visual imagery led him, as Anna Maria Orazi (1982) has shown, to develop an entirely new system of architectural composition. He abandoned the anthropomorphic tradition of the early and High Renaissance in favor of a modular system of proportions. This proportional system aligned Vignola with modern thought in abstract mathematics and underlined the necessity of theoretical awareness. As the author suggests, the *Regola* was not conceived as a pedagogical tool, even though that is exactly how it was used for almost three centuries, but was the result of the architect's long

experience placed at the disposal of friends and colleagues. Despite the title, Vignola did not attach any prescriptive values to his work, and the dogmatic character that the book acquired over time is due almost entirely to the interpretations of subsequent readers and theorists. (As late as 1935, Le Corbusier urged an audience of students not to become the slaves of any rule, "neither the rule of Vignola nor that of Le Corbusier.") His invention was meant to propose a set of principles for the composition and combination of the constituting elements of classical architecture, a system of relationships and a method of architectural design. Vignola's success, then, is based on his ability to express the aspirations to rationality of humanist architecture. In his work, architecture is emancipated from the principles of composition in painting and oriented firmly toward its intrinsic laws. Vignola's *Regola* successfully posits the internal core of architectural design, the aspect of architectural conception separate from other forms of art.

The *Vignola illustrato* of 1770 is a good example of the way in which Vignola's celebrity in architectural circles continued to inspire plagiarism and appropriations. The authors, Spampani and Antonini, reproduce Vignola's plates, some in reverse, separating the text from the illustrations. Their volume includes the book

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Il Vignola Illustrato*. Title page. 1983.49.127



on perspective as well as the book on columns. However, they delete Danti's contributions, replacing them with the comments of one P. Gaudio, a mathematics teacher working in consultation with Francesco Panini, the son of the famous view painter.

The authors briefly dismiss previous comparative publications (the so-called "Parallel"), such as those by Roland Fréart de Chambray, Jacques-François Blondel, and Alessandro Pompei, pointing to their disagreements, and claim to base their own comparative approach on an original reading of the treatises by Palladio, Serlio, and Scamozzi and on Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius; in each case, they compare the author to Vignola. Their book is divided into two parts. Part 1 is on geometry and the orders. It is divided into eight chapters and embellished with forty-one illustrations. The second part covers perspective in twenty-one chapters and four plates. The essay on geometry is composed in fifty-two numbered paragraphs grouped into three chapters. Spampani and Antonini reproduce Danti's life of Vignola, though without crediting their source. Vignola's preface is also included. Their parallel comparison of columns is illustrated with thirty-four plates, followed by six plates on portals and one window. The last plate illustrates Pope Clement XIV as a statue enthroned under a dome. The entire publication bears several references to this patron of the arts to whom it is dedicated.

The illustrators are the key to this lavish publication by the Roman publisher Marco Pagliarini. In addition to Antonini, the team also included the artist Franciszek Smugliewicz (1745–1807), considered the chief representative of neoclassicism in Poland. He made, together with the artist Vincenzo Brenna, the preparatory drawings for the *Vestigia delle terme di Tito e loro interne pitture* (Rome: Ludovico Miri, 1776; see cat. 130) engraved by Marco Carloni (1742–1796).

The success of Vignola's column book was due eventually not only to fellow architects, but to its appeal to aristocratic amateurs. The *Regola* became the equivalent in architecture of a "galateo" (conduct manual) for court life and, like Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo* (1541), became the leavening for an entire civilizing process in architecture (Thoenes 1983). Since Vignola wrote for his colleagues, he never thought to show what the orders actually are. The portrait of the five orders included in the first pirated edition and in most subsequent editions shows the pedagogical need for this illustration.

The numerous posthumous editions of Vignola's *Regola*, which have turned it into one of the highest best-sellers among architectural books, have obscured the elegant clarity of the original edition. The form of the original edition has been ardently debated in print by Thoenes (1988) and Walcher Casotti (1985). Their disagreements concern the additional plates that illus-

trate some aspects of Vignola's realized architectural designs and the plate that illustrates the five orders together as a "family portrait."

The title plate of the *Regola* has been thoroughly analyzed by Thoenes (1983). Designed jointly by Vignola (who provided the framework) and Federico Zuccari, whose preparatory drawing for the figures survives, parts of the composition were adopted for the decoration of a ground-floor room in the Farnese palace in Caprarola. The title page of Labacco's treatise, published in 1552, with an aedicule by Francesco Salviati, was a source for Vignola; the aedicular composition for a title page had first been used by Serlio for his *Regole generali* of 1537. The putti holding the coat of arms were borrowed from Perino del Vaga; Vignola's posture, with his elbow projecting over the sill of the aedicule, is quoted from an earlier double-portrait of the Zuccari brothers. The capital of the composite order in Vignola's title plate is illustrated in plate xxx of the *Regola*. The volutes on the upper part of the aedicule were used for the design of the fireplace in the *salone* of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome only two years later.

The "outer" architecture of Vignola's title plate is unusual. The aedicule and figures are closely surrounded. Vignola is placed in a white aedicule, but the back wall enclosing the architecture is black, causing ambiguous readings of the space suggested by the composition. As Thoenes (1983) has suggested, Vignola's expression and attitude are reminiscent of Melancholia, reinforced by the presence of geometrical polygons hanging from the ceiling. The monumental figure of the author facing the reader is entirely new, and there are no references to antiquity. The polyhedrons were illustrated and described in Luca Pacioli's treatise. The instruments of architecture were first illustrated in the title page for the 1536 edition of Vitruvius by Giambattista Caporali (cat. 159). The two figures on Vignola's title page represent Theory and Practice as the two columns of architecture. These flanking figures were much imitated, for instance by Lorenzo Sirigatti (see cat. 129) and Giulio Ballino (*De' disegni delle più illustri città et fortezze del mondo*, Venice, 1569).

The 1619 edition of the *Regola* published by Giovanni Battista de' Rossi includes illustrations of Vignola's buildings by Francesco Villamena (c. 1566–1626). A prolific engraver and publisher connected to papal artistic circles at the turn of the century, Villamena seems to have been a collector and dealer. At his death, thirty-five pieces of antique sculpture were bought from his widow by Cardinal Aldobrandini; in 1618 he supplied three antique marble heads for the duke of Savoy (Trinchieri Carniz 1994). He produced several hundred engraved sheets of devotional images, city maps and views, thesis title pages, and panegyrics. In his axonometric drawing of Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola,

which is one of his most distinguished engravings, Villamena offers a compelling graphic representation of this singular building. The building is seen straight on, but by removing the left corner, Villamena was able to show the plan of the ground level, a partial view of the court, and the section through the left-hand wing of the building. In its combination of plan, section, and elevation, this drawing demonstrates how thoroughly the lessons of Raphael and Serlio have been incorporated into architectural representation.

The de' Rossi edition includes also a part-title plate by Villamena, with text inscribed on a scalloped drapery hung within a pedimented niche of dubious architectural quality. The 1619 edition illustrates well the liberties taken by publishers with Vignola's book. Here, although the section on columns is present and closely resembles the original plates, Vignola's celebrity demands the illustration of his realized and projected buildings as well as of his theoretical principles.

In the Florentine edition of 1806, Vignola's plates were reproduced by Cosimo Rossi, who updated them stylistically to suit contemporary neoclassical taste.

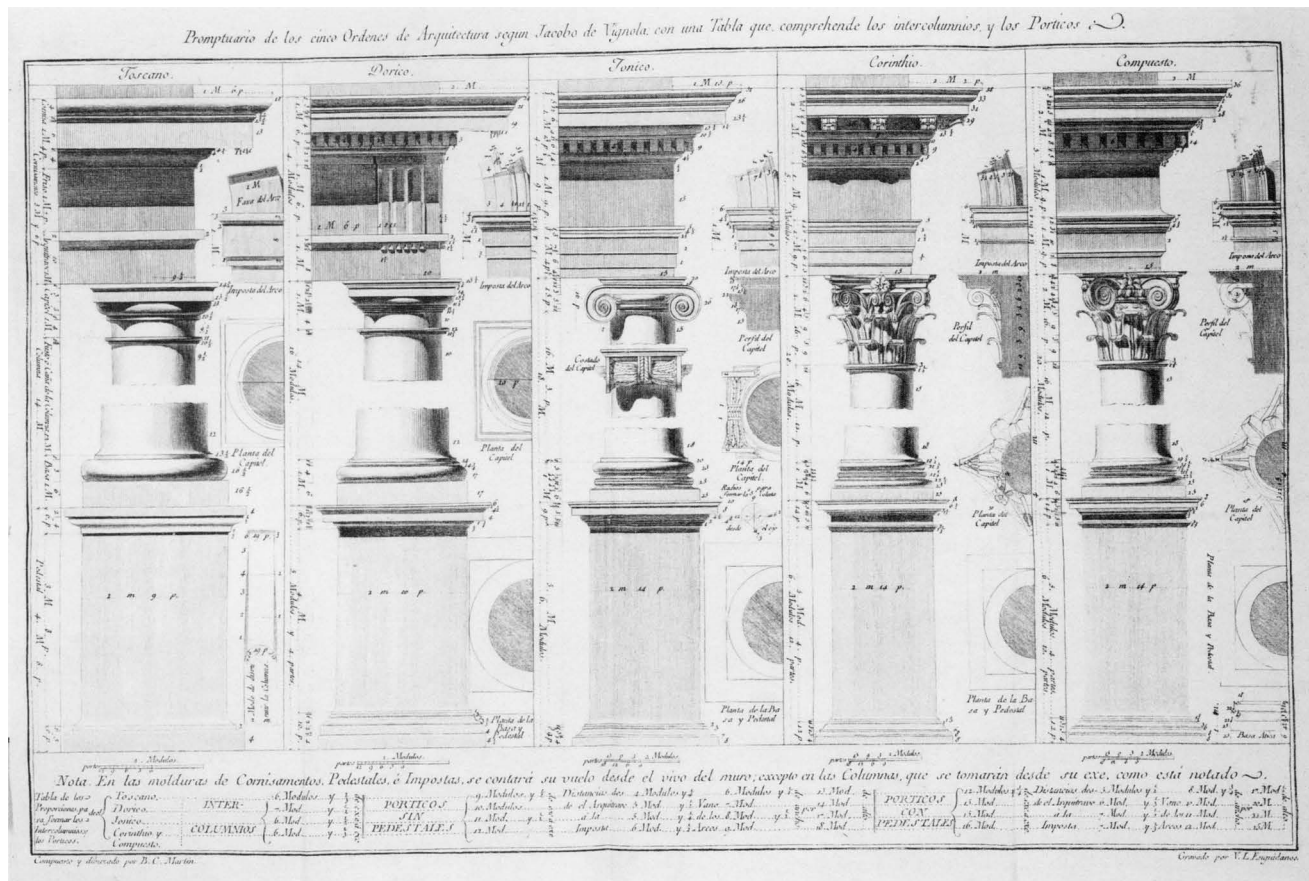
Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Regola delli cinque ordini*. Title page by Francesco Villamena. 1983.49.120



Rossi adopted a dry and simplified line drawing for ornamental details, such as plate II, while for the illustration of the orders, such as the Doric arcade (pl. VI) and the Doric colonnade (pl. XI), he mixed copperplate engraving and aquatint. The aquatint resembles drawings washed in watercolor that were widely disseminated through the illustrations of archaeological studies published in the eighteenth century. Like these earlier publications, Rossi's illustrations have a neoclassical purity and clarity of detail inspired by reconstructions of Greek architecture. His reductive approach is also evident in the separation of the explanatory text from the plates, which results in a conventional graphic layout for the book.

The late eighteenth-century Spanish edition of Vignola in the Millard collection was published in Madrid, doubtless dependent on the earlier Spanish edition, among the earliest translations (Patricio Cavexi, Madrid 1593 and 1630) and the French edition from which it is translated. The engravings are by Don Joseph Asensio after drawings by Don Fausto Martinez de la Torre. They closely follow Vignola's original illustrations for the individual parts of the columns, providing a rather faithful set of images with architectural terms translated into Spanish. The "family portrait" of the five orders introduced first in the pirated Italian edition of Vignola's *Regola* is replaced by an original "promptuario." This large foldout plate consists of the elevation of each order. The shafts of the columns are omitted, but the proportions are numerically and graphically illustrated. Thus this plate offers in one glance the essential elements of the classical language of architecture and a synthetic overview of their relation to one another.

Vignola's treatise on columns enjoyed the greatest publication success among books of its kind. This success was due to the accessibility of the treatise—relatively small in size—and its clarity, sobriety, and adaptability to varying visual interpretations over time. It was far more popular than the treatises of Serlio, Palladio, and Scamozzi, despite their greater celebrity. Adopted as a pedagogical text in Italian architecture schools, it was translated into numerous languages, including an American edition by William Ware, the founder of the first school of architecture in the United States. The first Russian edition was sponsored by Peter the Great, and the last appeared as late as 1939 (Walcher Casotti 1985). The graphic presentation and the format of these later editions vary along a broad range, from sumptuously lavish folios to cheaply made pocketbook editions. Transformed, enlarged, and denatured, these editions are evidence of the continued hold of Vignola's *Regola* on architectural conceptualization. As late as 1875, the future architect of modern skyscrapers Louis Sullivan, then an American architecture student in Paris,



Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. *Reglas de los cinco ordenes de arquitectura*. The five orders of architecture. 1983.49.124

used a French edition of Vignola to learn to draw the curve of the Ionic volute. It is only with the recent demise of the traditional pedagogy of the Beaux-Arts school in Paris that Vignola's teachings are no longer part of the architecture curriculum.

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Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608) and Jeronimo Prado (1547–1595)

I52

Hieronymi Pradi Et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi E Societate Iesv In Ezechielem Explanationes Et Apparatus Urbis, ac Templi Hierosolymitani. Commentariis Et Imaginibus Illustratus Opus Tribus Tomis Distinctum Quid vero singularis contineatur, quarta pagina indicabit

[Vol. 1] Rome: printed by Aloyse Zanetti, 1596

[Vols. 2–3] Rome: printed for Carlo Vullietto, "Typis Illelsoni Ciacconij," 1604–[1605]

1985.61.2738–2740

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Pagination Vol. 1: xv, [5], 360, [iv], 104 pp.

(Note: Pagination of vol. 1 does not include final leaf of book 1 [i.e., pp. [361–362], lacking in the Millard copy)

Vol. 2: [xx], 655, [1] pp.

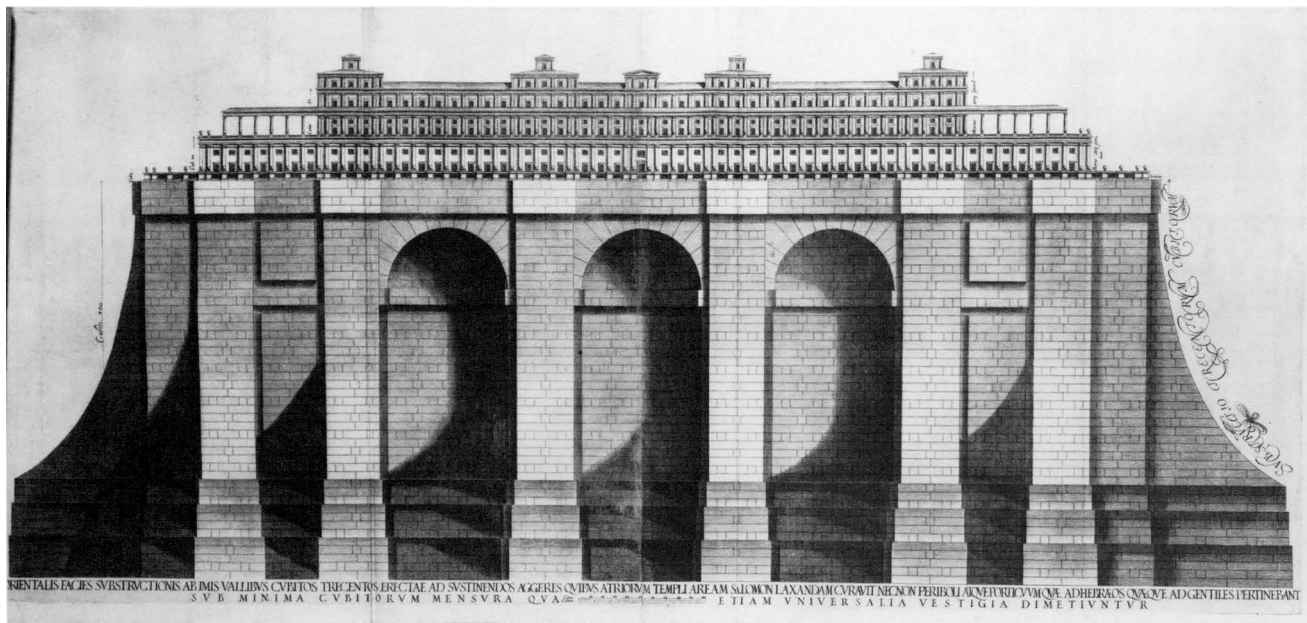
Vol. 3: xvi, 500, [4], 503–529, [2], 530–598, [6] pp.

(Note: In vol. 3, pagination includes 5 double-page and 3 folding printed tables paginated on rectos only with versos accounted for in pagination, so that each is accorded 4 pages. Pages [599–603] are misnumbered 569–573)

Edition First edition

Text vol. 1: pp. [1] etched and engraved general title plate (verso blank); [iii] dedication by Villalpando to Philip II, king of Spain; iii contents, vols. 1–3; v–viii dedicatory epistle by Villalpando addressed to Philip II, dated Rome, March 1596; ix–xiii, address to reader; xiii address by M. Vestrius Barbianus to Pope Clement VIII, dated Rome, 9 May 1594; xv divisional title page, book 1: "Tomus Primus In Ezechielem Hieronymi Pradi Biacensis E Societate Iesv Explanationes Et Commentariores In Priora Sex, Et Viginti Capita.," with imprint: "Romae. Ex Typographia Aloysij Zannetti . . . MDXCVI" (verso blank); [xvii–xviii] contents; [xix] blank; [xx] frontispiece; 1–328 text and illustrations, book 1; 329–360 index, ending with errata; [i] divisional title page, book II, part 1: "Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi Cordubensis E Societate Iesv Tomi Secvndi Explanationvm Ezechielis Prophetæ Pars Prima In Tredecim Capita Svbscquentia . . ." (verso blank); [iii–iv] preface; 1–2 contents; 3–84 text; 85–104 indices, ending with register and colophon: "Romae Carolus Vulliettus. Typis Illelsoni Ciacconij. MDCIV.,"; vol. 2: pp. [i] etched and engraved title plate: "De Postrema Ezechielis Prophetæ

Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jeronimo Prado. *In Ezechielem Explanationes*. Eastern elevation of the temple of Jerusalem and its substructure. 1985.61.2739





Visione Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi Cordvbensis
E Societate Iesv Tomi Secvndi Explanationvm Pars
Secvnda In qua Templi, eiusque uasorum forma, tum
commentarijs, tum æneis quamplurimis descriptionibus
exprimitur.,” with imprint dated 1604 (verso blank);
[iii] dedication by Villalpando to Philip III; [iv] privilege
and imprimatur, dated Rome, 10 March 1605; [v–x]
dedicatory epistle by Villalpando addressed to Philip III,
dated Rome, March 1605; [xi–xvii] address to reader;
[xvii–xx] table of contents; 1–86 text, book II, part 2;
87 note to reader; 88 list of illustrations; [89–144] illus-
trations, book II, part 2; 145–595 text, book II, part 2;
[596] blank; 597–655 indices, ending with register and
colophon: “Romae . . . Typis Illelonsi Ciacconij, Excude-
bat Carolus Vullietus . . . Anno Domini MDCV.”;
[656] blank; vol. 3: pp. [I] etched and engraved title plate:
“Tomi III Apparatus Urbis Ac Templi Hierosolymitani
Pars I Et II Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi Cordvbensis
E Societate Iesv Collato Studio Cvm H. Prado Ex
Eadem Societate . . .,” with imprint dated 1604 (verso
blank); III dedication by Villalpando to Philip III, king
of Spain; IIII privilege and imprimatur, dated Rome,
29 March 1602; v–VIII dedicatory epistle by Villalpando
to Philip III, dated Rome, January 1603; IX–XII address
to reader, ending with papal privilege dated 9 May 1604;
XIII privileges from Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor,
dated Prague, 15 April 1599; Henry IV, king of France,
dated Paris, 4 August 1601; and Doge Marino Grimani,
dated Venice, 3 August 1602; XIII–XVI contents; 1–549
text, illustrations, and tables; [550] blank; 551–[603]
indices; [604] errata, register, and colophon:
“Romae, Typis Illelonsi Ciacconij Excudebat Carolu
Vullietus. MDCII.”

Ornaments Woodcut head-, tailpieces, ornaments, and
initials in several styles and sizes throughout

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched and engraved title plate (p. [I]) with
Ezekiel’s vision of the divine chariot, and coat of
arms above; etched and engraved frontispiece (p. [xx])
with standing figure of Ezekiel; and 4 double-page
etched and engraved plates accounted for in pagination
(pp. [13], 14–15, [16]; [27], 28–29, [30]; [291], 292–293,
[294]; [295], 296–297, [298]). All illustrations unsigned

Vol. 2: Etched and engraved title plate (p. [i]) with bib-
lical figures standing against architectural monument,
and coat of arms in entablature; small woodcut dia-
grams throughout text; 10 etched and engraved plates
(1 double page, 7 full page [including 3 with text on
verso], 2 half page) accounted for in pagination (pp. 186;
[281–282]; 335–[336]; [355–358]; 388; 419–[420]; 421–[422];

488; 492; 587); and 15 etched and engraved plates num-
bered 1–xv on 14 leaves (II and III on one leaf; 2 double
page, 7 folding). Although plates 1–xv vary in size and
format, the plates are accounted for in pagination as
fourteen double-page plates, with each accorded 4 pages
(i.e., pp. [89–144]). All illustrations unsigned

Vol. 3: Etched and engraved title plate (p. [I]) with alle-
gorical figures standing in front of circular temple with
God in heaven above, and putti bearing coats of arms;
small woodcut diagrams throughout text; woodcut
map of Jerusalem (p. 17); folding engraved plan of Jeru-
salem, and 3 double-page etched and engraved plates
accounted for in pagination (pp. [69], 70–71, [72]; [315],
316–317, [318]; [379], 380–381, [382]; [501–504]). All illus-
trations unsigned

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Crumlouij.[?] Catalogo inscriptus W.S. Anno 1643”;
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References *Avery’s Choice*, 52; *Bibliografía de arquitectura*
181; *Bibliografía Española* 25; Palau 14: 62–63, 27: 138

MEMBERS OF THE JESUIT ORDER, Juan Bautista
Villalpando and Jeronímo Prado were spon-
sored by King Philip II of Spain in their re-
search and production of this study of the Temple of
Solomon. The authors agreed on two basic premises
that shaped the structure of their treatise: that the
Temple of Solomon and the Temple of the Prophet
Ezekiel were one and the same, and that the order
of the temple and the Vitruvian norms of architecture
were identical (Ramirez 1991). Their negation of the
Herodian temple and the conflation of Ezekiel’s and
Solomon’s temples draw on a tradition of exegesis go-
ing back to the Middle Ages. Villalpando was a student
of Juan de Herrera, a distinguished architect who as-
sisted Juan Bautista de Toledo on the construction of
the Escorial, and the chaplain of Philip II. Hermetic
influences are evident in Villalpando’s writing as well as
in the conception of the Escorial. Significantly, the anti-
hermetic position of the Society of Jesus was reversed
by this commentary on the prophecy of Ezekiel pub-
lished by Prado and Villalpando in 1596 (Taylor 1972).

This voluminous study, organized in three folio
volumes, had a troubled publication history. The
twenty-six chapters of commentary on Ezekiel in the

first volume were composed by Prado and completed after his death by Villalpando. The second volume contains the illustrations for the reconstruction of the temple, and the third volume consists of explanatory notes on the reconstruction as well as illustrations of Jerusalem. The two authors probably met in Baeza, Prado's birthplace, in 1583. Born in 1547, Prado entered the Jesuit order in 1572 and was appointed prefect of studies in Córdoba in 1587; after a stay in Seville between 1589 and 1592, he went to Rome, where he died in 1595. Thus Villalpando completed the crucial second and third volumes alone, publishing them ten years after the demise of his coauthor. Villalpando was born in Córdoba in 1552 and studied mathematics with Juan de Herrera, presumably obtaining an architectural education as well. He joined the Jesuit order in 1575 and by 1583 was already a priest.

Villalpando and Prado were drawn together by their shared interest in the Temple of Solomon. By 1587 their work was far advanced; after a stay in Seville, they transferred to Rome in 1592 for the benefit of their research. Once in Rome, Prado attempted to impose an alternative reconstruction, but Villalpando had already been given 3,000 scudi by Philip II to have his reconstruction drawings engraved. Recently, a manuscript by Prado directed to Philip II has come to light (Houghton Library, Harvard University) which was perhaps sent from Rome in 1593 or 1594 as an alternative to Villalpando's text (Ramirez 1991). By early 1594 the relationship between the two priests had deteriorated, jeopardizing the project. Among other opposition, Villalpando's work ran counter to the theories of Benito Arias Montano, the librarian of the Escorial and friend of Erasmus, whose reconstruction of the temple was published in his polyglot Bible of 1572 and then separately in 1593. Furthermore, Villalpando's orthodoxy was examined by an inquisitorial commission appointed by Pope Sixtus V, and although Villalpando was cleared of suspicions of heresy, the inquest caused the delay in publication of the second and third volumes (Taylor 1972).

When the second and third volumes were published, they caused an international stir. Villalpando showed that the dimensions and measurements of the temple recorded in holy writ concurred with the canons of Vitruvius since classical architecture stemmed from the Temple of Solomon. In particular, Villalpando demonstrated that the five orders had derived from the divine order of the temple. Thus Villalpando reconciled Vitruvius and Ezechiel as others had reconciled Christianity with the pagan *prisca theologia* (Taylor 1972). Although Villalpando insisted that a "realistic representation of the temple was essential in order to grasp the inner meaning of Ezechiel's vision, the symbolic significance of the temple as model for the Christian

church clearly far outweighed the reality of its existence" (Hermann 1967). Reconciling the Bible with humanism, Villalpando married the perfect building of divine origin with classical style, the only style capable of perfection.

Villalpando's study is an important source for the work of seventeenth-century erudites such as Anastasius Kircher and Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz. But it sparked a great debate, and its unhistorical approach was immediately criticized. His complex buildings were found to have exceeded the actual area of the Temple Mount, and his reconstruction was criticized by Claude Perrault as lacking in historical truth and excessively influenced by Jesuit taste for lavishness; ultimately the study was not influential on actual building (Hermann 1967).

Historians have demonstrated that the Temple of Jerusalem can be seen as quadripartite: the original Temple of Solomon built from 959 B.C., the Temple of Ezechiel, the second temple built from 521 B.C., and the Temple of Herod built from 20 B.C. The Temple of Ezechiel was the subject of a vision of the prophet, who had been carried into Babylonian captivity after Jerusalem was taken in 597 B.C., and in 572 B.C. imagined Israel restored and the temple raised again. Ezechiel's temple was a whole in itself, and unlike Solomon's temple, it was separated from the palace and the holy city. The enclosure was a great square 500 cubits on each side (about 250 m). There were three fortified gateways past which no uncircumcised person could pass, and two concentric courts. The three chambers of the sanctuary, each 100 cubits long, were reached by a stairway, and the altar was in the shape of a ziggurat, 18 cubits per side (Parrot 1954).

Villalpando's temple shares many similarities with the Spanish royal palace of the Escorial. Herrera's image of the palace in his *Estampas* is formally and stylistically close to Villalpando's plates, and he may have influenced and even directed Villalpando (Wilkinson Zerner 1994). Like the temple, the Escorial was simultaneously *domus sacerdotum*, *domus domini*, and *domus regia* (Taylor 1967). Villalpando devoted extensive discussion to the graphic techniques necessary for achieving harmony in architecture. Positing a "divinely inspired draftsmanship," Villalpando rejects the postulate that the arts share graphic techniques, proposing that geometrical truth underlies real architecture, thus endowing orthogonal projection and perspective with ideological significance (Wilkinson Zerner 1994).

This treatise is lavishly illustrated with magnificent engravings. Villalpando's designs are far above contemporary or earlier architectural publications in quality, consistency, and architectural soundness. The title page of the 1596 volume alludes to Ezechiel's vision of the divine chariot, recognizable in the large paired wheels



Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo Prado. *In Ezechielem Explanationes*. Title page, volume 3. 1985.61.2740

on each side of the title label, resembling those of festival float carriages. The paired cherubim above form the “temple” order. The four plates in the first volume (Prado’s commentary on Ezechiel) illustrate the vision of God drawn by cherubim, a scene of sacrifice, and two dinner scenes of Christ and his apostles. The plates in the second volume, folded in between pages 88 and 145, illustrate Villalpando’s biblical reconstruction of the temple and reinforce the argument for architecture as the only art. The first plate is a plan of the first sanctuary, while on plate 2 are the second and third sanctuaries. Plate 3 illustrates the three-story facade of the

temple, decorated with Corinthian orders. Plate 4 shows the side elevation of the temple, plate 5 is the west facade of the temple, and plate 6 is a section through the temple looking toward the holy of holies. On plate 7 is the view of the core of the sanctuary, inhabited by cherubim, while plate 8 offers the complete plan of the first temple of Jerusalem, organized around nine courts, one of which is occupied by the sanctuary. Plate 9 illustrates the foundation plan of Solomon’s temple; plate 10 shows the foundation of the second temple. Plate 11 is one of the best known from the treatise: three-quarters of the plate is occupied by the buttressed substructure of the Temple Mount, with the buildings hovering above. Plate 12 is the plan of the temple with its atrium, and plate 13 is the elevation of the temple compound (an enlarged detail of the upper part of plate 11). The gallery of illustrations concludes with plate 14, a section through the temple compound, including the entry facade of the shrine. Dispersed through the remaining text are illustrations of the vestibule, altar, various decorations and architectural details, diagrams explaining the relation between the layout of the temple and the sixteen tribes of Israel, and finally the Roman triumph with the treasures of the sanctuary being carried off.

The third volume contains only two significant plates, both illustrating the city of Jerusalem, in plan and axonometric projection. Here, too, Villalpando makes an important contribution to the visual representation of a then-unreachable city, which was consequently difficult to illustrate accurately. His sources, like Antonio Tempesta’s and Jacques Callot’s (cat. 10), included literary descriptions and earlier attempts to interpret the structure of the city, published by Christian van Adrichen and Hartmann Schedel.

This treatise established the divine genealogy of architecture and, in the seventeenth century, was considered the most important work of divine geometry and the origin of the Masonic tradition. It provided the best apologia for the Escorial, which had been conceived as the royal seat of government but also as a monastery/sanctuary and an embodiment of the Temple of Solomon. The typology of the Escorial, associated with royal residence and centralized imperial Catholic government, became an important model for the next two centuries. Villalpando’s intent was to reveal the metaphysical and transcendent order of architecture by providing the ultimate example.

Despite claims for the crucial centrality in architectural discourse of the main points in Villalpando’s treatise made by critics such as René Taylor (1952) and Alberto Perez-Gomez (1994), the treatise was not translated into a vernacular language until the recent Spanish edition. There were, however, numerous other attempts, such as Claude Perrault’s, to reconstruct

the Temple of Jerusalem. These reconstructions are predominantly in the style of the authors' preferences in contemporary architecture. Like Villalpando's reconstruction based on Herrera's architectural designs for the Escorial, which turned his treatise into a theoretical justification of Herrera's architecture, other reconstructions contained the seeds of nascent national architectural styles.

Villalpando sees the temple as a "visual theology," imagined in the context of the Jesuit practices of visualization as part of personal discipline and worship. This amounts to "the divinization of the architect" (Perez-Gomez 1994), leading to a qualitative transformation of the nature of architectural practice and theory, and places Villalpando in the role of the "architectural ventriloquist" (Wilkinson Zerner 1994). Villalpando further associates divinely ordered architecture with the mystical body of Christ. This image was more hauntingly interpreted by his opponent Arias Montano, who provides an indelible image in his illustration of Noah's Ark, the first building in the sacred genealogy of architecture, as the coffin of Christ.

More than twenty reconstructions of the Temple of Solomon were published between 1650 and 1720 (Watkin 1990), culminating in the architectural treatise of Johann Fischer von Erlach. These historicizing reconstructions should be viewed in the context of European appropriation of architectural literature, including as they did numerous reconstructions of Pliny's villa, of which only the historian's description had survived. Solomonic imagery is also prominent in Gian Lorenzo Bernini's baldachin over the tomb of Saint Peter and in Francesco Borromini's decorations for the chapel of Sant'Ivo at the university of Rome (see cat. 22).

The importance of Villalpando's work is founded, then, in his claim to have established the divine origin of the orders of architecture (Watkin 1990). He provided an alternative for the myths of origin spun by sixteenth-century Vitruvianists, destabilizing the recently established classical conventions based on theories of Greek and Roman origins. Thus he not only offered a spiritually compelling alternate source but, more importantly, opened the possibility of alternative interpretations.

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Antonio Visentini (1688–1782)

I53

Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus Celebriores, Ex Antonii Canal Tabulis xxxviii. Aere Expressi Ab Antonio Visentini. In Partes Tres Distributi. Pars Prima [–Tertia]

Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1742

1985.61.450

Oblong folio: 343 × 497 (13½ × 19½)

Foliation Part 1: [ii] leaves, added etched title plate, etched frontispiece, 14 etched plates

Part 2: [i] leaf, 12 etched plates

Part 3: [i] leaf, 12 etched plates

Edition First edition

Text part 1: folios [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); [ii] list of plates, parts 1–3 (verso blank); part 2: folio [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank); part 3: folio [i] title page, printed in red and black (verso blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette on title pages, signed by Visentini as designer, draftsman, and etcher (“Ant. Visentini Inu. Del. Et Sculpsit.”)

Illustrations

Part 1: Added etched and engraved title plate with allegorical figures within an architectural setting and variant title: “Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum, addito Certamine Nautico et Nundinis Venetis: Omnia sunt Expressa ex Tabulis xiv. Pictis ab Antonio Canale, in Aedibus Josephi Smith Angli, Delineante atque Incidente, Antonio Visentini Elegantius recusi, Anno MDCCXLII.”; etched and engraved frontispiece with portraits of Canaletto and Visentini; and 14 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xiv. Title plate designed and engraved by Visentini and lettered by Angela Baroni (signed: “Ant: Visentini Inv. Del. Et Sculpsit.”; “Angela Baroni Lit. Sculpebat.”); frontispiece drawn and engraved by Visentini after a monochrome by Giovanni Battista Piazzetta as engraver (signed: “Ex Monochromate Io. Bapt. Piazzetta.”; “Ant. Visentini Inv. Del. et. Sculp.”); plates 1–xiv unsigned, but described on title page as engraved by Visentini after Canaletto

Part 2: 12 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–12; all unsigned, but engraved by Visentini after Canaletto

Part 3: 12 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xii; all unsigned, but engraved by Visentini after Canaletto

Binding Nineteenth-century straight-grained blue morocco, multiple gilt and blind-tooled borders, gilt title on cover, edge rolled, gilt turn-ins, gilt edges. Extra illustrated with a plate from Michele Marieschi’s *Magnificentiores selectioresque urbis venetiarum prospectus*, cut within the platemark and mounted on contemporary paper (bound between pls. xii and xiii of part 1)

Provenance Manuscript book label of M. J. Sheridan, Tramore; bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes, with his stamp on first title page and added title plate

References Berlin Cat. 2695; Cicognara 4113 (1751 issue)

I54

Osservazioni Di Antonio Visentini Architetto Veneto Che Servono Di Continuazione Al Trattato Di Teofilo Gallaccini Sopra Gli Errori Degli Architetti

Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1771

1983.49.23

Folio: 345 × 247 (13⅝ × 9¾)

Pagination viii, 141, [1] pp., etched frontispiece

Edition First edition

Contents pp. [i] title page (verso blank); iii–vii index; [viii] blank; 1–141 text and illustrations; [142] blank

Ornaments Engraved printer’s device on title page

Illustrations Etched allegorical frontispiece captioned “La Perfezione” (“Perfection”), with seated female figure tracing a circle in circular surround with signs of the zodiac; 61 unnumbered and unsigned full-page etched plates included in pagination

Binding Bound (2) after Teofilo Gallaccini’s *Sopra gli errori degli architetti*, Vicenza, 1767 (cat. 43)

References Berlin Cat. 2640; Brunet 2: 1464 (dated 1772); Cicognara 514 (dated 1772); Comolli 4: 257–258 (dated 1772); Fowler 390



SELF-STYLED AS PAINTER, architect, and engraver, Antonio Visentini enjoyed a long career in Venice, where he was connected to the Accademia and to the artistic and publishing circle centered around Consul Joseph Smith. Briefly the apprentice of the painter Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini, before the latter went to England in 1708, Visentini painted *capricci* and interior decorations based on neo-Palladian buildings with Francesco Zucarelli. Hundreds of drawings by his hand survive in the British Museum and the Museo Correr (Bassi 1980) where his numerous manuscript writings are also preserved, in addition to those in the Vatican Library. The etchings in this series are part of his extensive graphic production. He produced many book illustrations for the elaborately ornamented editions of the Pasquali press during the 1740s and 1750s. Through his teaching of perspective at the Accademia, between 1772 and 1778, he also made an important contribution to the theory of architecture, and among his more distinguished students was the architect Gian Antonio Selva. He was clearly connected to the new ideas of the Enlightenment, discussed in Venetian intellectual circles, and open to cultural developments elsewhere of which he was informed in Consul Smith's house.

Visentini often worked with other artists, producing oil and fresco paintings, in which each was responsible

Antonio Visentini. *Prospectus*. Title page. 1985.61.450

for a specific part. Visentini's and Zucarelli's view of the bridge at Wilton, whose design was based on Andrea Palladio's unsuccessful proposal for the Rialto bridge, is an interesting example of the kind of commission proposed by Consul Smith. Part of a series of eleven paintings (or ten, according to John Harris 1984) commissioned in 1745–1746, it was intended to complement thirteen paintings by Canaletto executed the previous year. Canaletto's series of the architecture of Palladio and the monuments of Venice were to be matched by views of neo-Palladian buildings in England by Visentini, whose work—with the exception of the Wilton view and a triumphal arch dedicated to George II—was based on Colen Campbell's plates in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1721; see Millard, *British Books*, 10). Thus these overdoors can be considered “the trophy of the English Palladian revival,” and they form an extraordinary set of images to install in Venice since they introduced an architectural reform that had taken place in England and that was considered by Smith to be suitable for Venice and the Veneto. Among Visentini's other works is the wall painting of the guesthouse at the Villa Valmarana ai Nani in Vicenza, where he worked with Giandomenico Tiepolo and Girolamo

Mengozzi-Colonna in 1757. In 1777 Visentini painted perspectives and landscapes in the Villa Giustiniana at Noventa Padovana. In each of these collaborations, Visentini was responsible for the architectural illustrations that were his specialty, leaving landscape and figures to his colleagues.

Visentini's early series on Saint Mark's, published in 1726, showed his talent for architectural drawings and perspective. *The Iconografia della Ducal Basilica*, etched by Vincenzo Mariotti, a pupil of Andrea Pozzo—a distinguished contributor to the theory of perspectival projections—is a collection of eight large plates with eleven plans and sections of the church. These sheets were reissued in 1761 by Antonio Zatta in *L'augusta ducale basilica*, without mention of Visentini or Mariotti. Visentini was the designer of the headpieces with views of the islands in the Venetian lagoon, initial letters with small views of Venice, and decorative endpieces for Giambattista Pasquali's 1736 edition of *Della istoria d'Italia* by Francesco Guicciardini. This is considered one of the most beautiful books of eighteenth-century Venetian typography. The headpieces are especially attractive in their horizontal proportions and richly wrought rococo frames. Visentini's preparatory drawings are preserved in the royal collection at Windsor; the etchings were published separately by Teodoro Viero in 1777 as the *Isolario veneto*. Tommaso Temanza's *Le antichità di Rimini*, published by Pasquali in 1741, was also illustrated by Visentini.

Visentini has left behind many publications as well as numerous unpublished manuscripts. In 1775 he produced a manuscript treatise on the five orders of architecture and perspective composed in verse. Another study focused on the buildings of Palladio, who was upheld as having perhaps the best understanding of ancient Roman architecture. But even Palladio is often not Palladian enough, and his works are occasionally severely criticized by Visentini. In his parallel between "virtuous architecture and ignorance" (1761) and his "masked architecture," Visentini criticizes the contemporary heirs of Michelangelo, especially Andrea Pozzo whose ideas summarize, according to him, the abyss into which architecture has fallen. Among Visentini's publications is the *Osservazioni che servono di continuazione al trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini*, where he expanded the ideas of the seventeenth-century Siennese physician (see cat. 43). In this book, his numerous theories, dispersed throughout the earlier manuscript writings, are conclusively treated (Bassi 1988). Visentini underlines the difference between neoclassicism and the baroque, locating it in the taste for scenographic architecture, a design concept that he considered intolerable. He declared that the illusionistic treatment of materials could no longer be condoned, that stone must be allowed to look like stone rather than wood or fabric.

Visentini's *Osservazioni*, divided into two parts, seem to be in agreement with Gallaccini. He first criticizes Roman architecture, finding fault with Saint Peter's, then disapproving of the 1747 restoration of the Pantheon by Paolo Posi during which the whitewashing of the interior had been considered, and moving on to Andrea Pozzo's works and Bernardo Vittone's treatise. According to Visentini, Vittone, Posi, and Pozzo "ruined everything in architecture" (Bassi 1988). After Pozzo, architects gave themselves over to "veritable seminars of errors." These "pernicious errors" were perpetrated by "mad architects," "far from reasonable thinking" or "starved of any architectural knowledge" (pp. 3, 8). Visentini peppers his treatise with phrases like "can't understand what the architect had in mind," "was there a mind at work?," "how is it possible to perpetrate such?," and "where has so much distorted thinking come from?" (p. 29).

Having ranted in this manner about the errors of Roman architects whose work he considers rife with licenses and silly jokes, Visentini turns to Venice. As in his writing about Rome, he criticizes numerous details, including the abuse of spiral columns. In Venice he singles out for particular criticism the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Michele Sanmichele's palace for the Grimani, and all of Baldassare Longhena's work. His principal *bête noire* is Giorgio Massari, which allows him to refer wittily to other architects who have fallen into error as "Massarino." Even neo-Palladian stalwarts like Antonio Gaspari and Andrea Tirali do not escape his accusations. Thus Venetian architects are seen in two camps: a few, like Giorgio Massari, who followed and deformed the teachings of Pozzo, Francesco Borromini, and Vittone, and a larger group whose fundamental reference continued to be Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi.

In this Venetian section, Visentini's contempt is expressed in a stream of adjectives evaluating particular details of portals, windows, and altars. Thus the main altar of the Jesuits' church is "chimerical, foolish, and irregular," the Carmelites' altar is "deformed and incorrect," an altar at San Pietro in Castello is "incoherent, monstrous, and irregular." He singles out for derogatory attention the pillows on the shoulders of the Moors that support the Pesaro family monument in the Frari church because the "weight" is not represented. Generally he does not like projecting architectural elements, niches, or windows framed by columns and finds spiral columns "merely" theatrical.

Visentini's *Osservazioni* brought together his dispersed earlier theories, previously taken up in various unpublished manuscripts, most important of which is the illustrated "Contra-Rusconi," now at the Museo Correr in Venice. His published and manuscript works, despite their doctrinaire approach to architecture,

were nonetheless widely studied among Venetian architectural students and helped form the taste for the neoclassical.

Visentini's architectural works were accomplished in the service of Consul Smith. Visentini's design of 1751 for the restructuring of Smith's house, a building he bought on the Grand Canal, is preserved in the Houghton Library at Harvard. Visentini's neo-Palladianism lacked the rigorous authority found in contemporary buildings in England, according to John Harris (1984). Nonetheless, Visentini and his studio assistants produced numerous measured architectural drawings presented to traveling British aristocrats, who did not often realize that Visentini had "corrected" the errors he found in individual buildings.

The etchings in the *Prospectus* series were also commissioned by Consul Smith. Visentini was asked to etch the suite of fourteen canvases by Canaletto in Smith's possession in the early 1730s. The series then expanded to two more suites of twelve etchings each. Even though the first suite of views was completed by 1735, the complete collection was not published as an entity until 1742. Thus the Canaletto-Visentini team were scooped by Michele Marieschi's suite of Venetian views published in 1741 (see cat. 59).

Canaletto and Marieschi were the artistic heirs of a number of predecessors. Both were deeply indebted to Luca Carlevaris, the initiator of the comprehensive views of Venice that he painted and etched in the first decade of the eighteenth century (cat. 29). They also owed a debt to the Italian traditions in stage design, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century had been invigorated by the innovations of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. The tendency to differentiate sharply between background and foreground, the background corresponding to the stage cloth, as well as the concept of imaginary construction, derived from the *capricci*. Canaletto also uses the proscenium, framing the view beyond. Another important precedent was provided by Gaspar van Wittel, the Flemish painter who helped establish topographical painting in Italy. Van Wittel produced numerous Venetian views, one painted as early as 1697, which established the highlights of the city's architecture and urban design. It is van Wittel's high color, blue skies, and emphasis on local characteristics that influenced Canaletto's work. In Rome, Canaletto saw the work of ruin painters, such as Viviano Codazzi, and the idealized landscapes descended from Claude Lorrain. More immediate Roman sources for topographical illustrations of an entire city would have been the engraved series of views by Giovanni Battista Falda (cat. 36), Alessandro Specchi, and Lieven Cruyl. As William George Constable (1976) has demonstrated, Canaletto's drawing style seems to have been influenced by the technique of engraving. Carlevaris' etchings

provided him with the most detailed survey of Venice. The etchings are not necessarily accurate; they are often sketchy and diagrammatic rather than photographically reliable. Nonetheless, Carlevaris' etchings gave topography a new status in Venice, and Canaletto did not hesitate to imitate him, occasionally adopting parts of the older painter's views in his own paintings.

Despite these multiple and close influences, Visentini's etchings after Canaletto are quite distinguished in the confidence and authority of their perspectival projection and etched line. The etched suite is more spatially developed and architecturally more distinct than the earlier contribution of Carlevaris. Visentini's buildings seldom sag, and they never "sink" under their own weight into the water of the canals as they occasionally might in Carlevaris' views and even in Marieschi's. Instead, they stand beside the smooth waters, which could easily be taken as normal thoroughfares. Canaletto's compositions are quite various and are refreshingly dramatic in the contrast between the large foreground buildings and the smaller ones in the receding perspective. Visentini's elaborate frontispiece, with figures of Faith and Strength flanking the elaborately framed title, is as rococo as Marieschi's. The lion of Venice at bottom center is surrounded by the instruments of the various fine and performing arts: in addition to a palette and brushes, there are masks, a lute, drafting and measuring instruments, and tools for writing and carving. Stylized horns of plenty form the pedestals for the two allegorical figures at the two sides. The portraits of Canaletto and Visentini on the following sheet were etched by Visentini after drawings by Giovanni Battista Piazzetta.

The sequence of views in the *Prospectus* seems more coherent and predetermined than either Carlevaris' or Marieschi's. The first set is entirely focused on the Grand Canal, as promised by the original title page, *Prospectus Magni Canali*. The second set concentrates on the shores of the Grand Canal, while the third set is entirely devoted to views of *campi* and the square of Saint Mark's. Two kinds of composition dominate in the first two sets, each based on one-point perspective: views of the canal with large, frontally portrayed buildings in the left or right foreground; views of the canal with water dominating the foreground and the flanking buildings acting as wings only. In the first set of fourteen plates, only twelve are specific views of the Grand Canal; plate 13 is a view of a regatta on the canal, and plate 14 illustrates the state barge Bucentaur in the bay of Saint Mark's. The ordering of the twelve plates begins with the heart of the city at the Rialto, proceeds toward the Saint Mark's end of the Grand Canal, then redescends the canal toward the Rialto, continuing in the other direction to Cannaregio and Santa Chiara. In the second set, the orientation is more simply from one



Antonio Visentini. *Prospectus. View of the Grand Canal at Campo San Vito*. 1985.61.450

end of the Grand Canal toward the other, from Santa Chiara to the piazzetta and the Riva degli Schiavone.

The third set, of city squares, begins with the *campo* of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and concludes with two views of the square of Saint Mark's, thus connecting the site of the *scuola* of Saint Mark's with the palatine church of Saint Mark's. The nine intervening sheets illustrate San Niccolo on the Lido, the *scuola* of San Teodoro, the square of San Polo, the *scuola* of San Rocco, and the squares of Santa Maria Zobenigo, Santo Stefano, Santa Maria Formosa, and Santi Apostoli.

The first fourteen plates (of part 1) were first published in 1735; the enlarged edition dates from 1742, and its plates may have been recut, as the amended title page suggests and as Joseph Links (1971) has noted. The preparatory drawings for the thirty-eight prints, the frontispiece, and the sheet with the authors' portraits were in the collection given by George IV to the British Museum in 1823. According to Links, these drawings were probably made by Visentini, who copied them from Canaletto's paintings in the collection of Consul Smith. Another edition was published in 1751; a new edition with Italian and French captions was published

in 1833 and reprinted in 1838. These views were crucial to forming the image of Venice in the mind of its visitors.

Visentini and Consul Smith were influenced by the earlier example of Carlevaris in yet another of their projects to document Venice. In his suite of 103 etchings of Venice, Carlevaris had offered forty sheets illustrating the patrician palaces of the city. Visentini prepared a vast collection of measured drawings of the same palaces for a planned publication titled "*Admiranda Urbis Venetae*" (Bassi 1987). These drawings, divided into three volumes, are preserved at the British Museum. The three volumes contain 488 plans and elevations of Venetian buildings—palaces, churches, *scuole*, hospices, and convents—as well as details of portals, wellheads, and funeral monuments. The inventory of the drawings is in Consul Smith's hand. About half of these drawings—126 in the first volume, 91 in the second volume, and 27 in the third volume—are dedicated to Venetian palaces. Although the drawings are not always accurate or of even quality (since they were drawn by several of Visentini's students and asymmetries are often corrected), they constitute an important document of the residential architectural patrimony of Venice. The volumes also contain drawings of buildings in Padua, as well as a few sheets of

buildings in Florence and Rome. It is through Smith that Visentini was made aware of the research of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in Athens, and of the architectural works of Inigo Jones, Robert Adam, and Robert Wood. Although Stuart's, Adam's, and Wood's archaeological enterprises nourished Smith's and Visentini's strong neo-Palladian interests, pointing the way toward a purer, more honed architecture, neither could ever resist the attractions of Venetian rococo ornament.

The contribution of Consul Joseph Smith to eighteenth-century Venetian art, and to British art collections, has been studied by Frances Vivian (1971) and others. A committed bibliophile closely connected to the classicists at the University of Padua, Smith was a friend of the highly regarded Giovanni Poleni, professor of mathematics and an influential scientist, (cat. 104) for whom he acted as an intermediary in his relations with British scientific organizations. He promoted and financed the operations of the publisher Giovanni Battista Pasquali, who was considered by the late 1730s to be equal to the renowned Venetian publishers Zatta and Albrizzi. Scipione Maffei and Andrea Memmo were among the visitors to Smith's bookstore and home, since his personal library and his publishing enterprise were so closely linked. Smith was closely interested in Isaac Newton's ideas, importing his books for the Venetian public and publishing them in Italian translations. In order to publish books that interested him, despite censorship, books of the Smith-Pasquali partnership were often issued as though from London or Cologne. Among his greatest publications was the *Cyclopaedia* by Ephraim Chambers, issued in 1748 with illustrations by Visentini. This artist also illustrated books of poetry by Apostolo Zeno and Antonio Conti, an edition of Dante, and the edition of Guicciardini's Italian history mentioned earlier. In many of these books, Visentini's contribution consisted of ornamental details, such as initials, headpieces, and tailpieces. Consul Smith sold the publishing house around 1762, at the time when he sold his collections to George III. While in operation, the Smith-Pasquali publishing house provided a meeting place for native and visiting intellectuals including Francesco Algarotti and Carlo Lodoli. Though Visentini provided designs for Poleni's scientific treatises, the

latter could not afford Visentini's engravings and etchings. Smith's greatest contribution is perhaps the discovery of Canaletto and Visentini, the latter a brilliant architectural designer whose services Smith could exclusively command for more than half a century. In their close relationship, one can detect a similarity to that between Giovanni Battista Falda and his publisher Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi in seventeenth-century Rome: in both instances a publisher's vision and an artist's topographical illustrations contrived to offer a persuasive image of an important city.

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Marcus Vitruvius Pollio

I55

[De architectura. Latin. 1497]

Venice: Simone Bevilacqua, 1497

1983.49.128

Folio: 300 × 204 (11¹³/₁₆ × 8¹/₁₆)

Foliation [74] leaves

(Note: Foliation does not include 20 leaves comprising a title leaf, Cleonidæ's "Harmonicum introductorium," and Angelo Poliziano's "Panepistemon" and "Lamia," all lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition Third edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura* and Sextus Julius Frontinus' *De aquaeductibus*. The text is virtually a reprint of the Florentine second edition of 1496

Text folios [1] recto, blank; [1] verso–[2] index, *De architectura*; [3]–[64] recto, text and woodcut diagrams, *De architectura*, ending with colophon "Impressum Venetiis per Simonem Papiensem dictum Biuilaquam Anno ab incarnatione: M.CCCC.LXXXVII. Die Tertio Augusti"; [64] verso, blank; [65]–[74] recto, text, *De aquaeductibus*, ending with register; [74] verso, blank

Ornaments Two ornamental initials, beginning each of *De architectura* and *De aquaeductibus*, in this copy fully illuminated with gold and colors. Rubricated throughout in red and blue

Illustrations Woodcut diagrams on fols. [4] verso, [9] recto, and [49] recto

Binding Modern vellum

Provenance Manuscript inscription in an early hand on fol. [1] recto: "L Vitruuis Pollionis Architectura S. julius frontinus de Aquiductibus / Ambrosius iphoferius Rhetus"; another inscription beneath colophon: "Ego Ambrosius iphoferius rhetus Alamanus," with Sulpicius' address to reader, copied from first edition; marginal annotations in Latin throughout in the same hand, including textual emendations

References Cicognara 695; Fowler 392; Riccardi 1: 492, 2: 609–610; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 3

I56

[De architectura. Latin. 1511]

M. Vitrvvivs Per Iocvndvm Solito Castigator Factvs Cvm Figvris Et Tabvla Vt Iam Legi Et Intelligi Possit

Venice: Giovanni Tacchino, 1511

1983.49.129

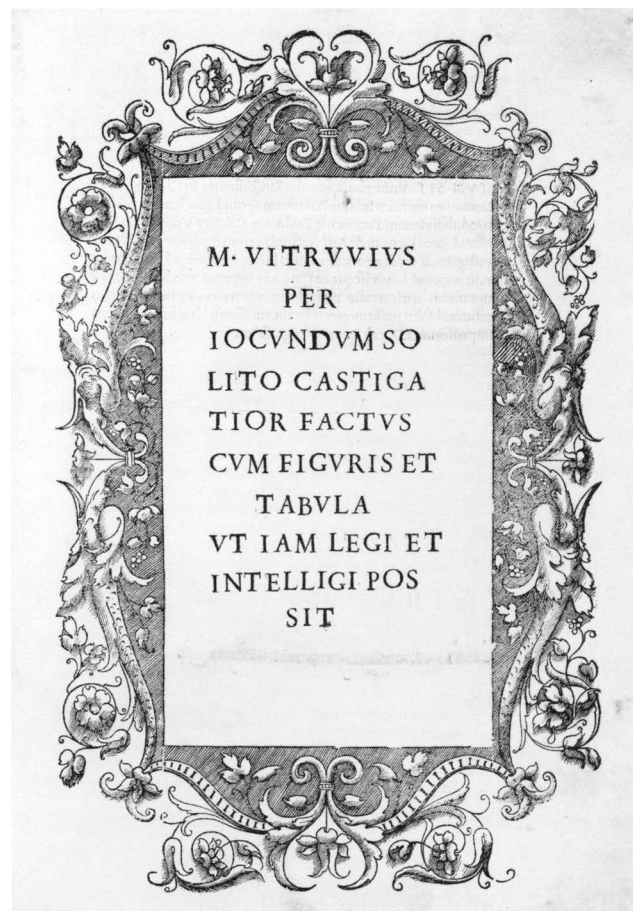
Folio: 300 × 202 (11¹³/₁₆ × 7¹⁵/₁₆)

Foliation [iv], 110, [9] leaves

(Note: The Millard copy lacks a final blank leaf)

Edition First edition edited and illustrated by Fra Giovanni Giocondo

Text folios [i] recto, title page; [i] verso, privilege; [ii] dedication by Giocondo to Pope Julius II; [iii–iv] table of contents; 1–110 text and illustrations, books 1–x; [111]–[119] recto, index, ending with register; [119] verso, privilege, colophon, and printer's device



Ornaments Woodcut title border with foliation and dolphins; woodcut printer's device with initials "Z.T."; woodcut initials in plain outline with double-line border

Illustrations 136 unnumbered and unsigned woodcut illustrations throughout text, half page and with double-line border. The woodcuts on folios 4 recto and 56 verso printed upside down

Binding Modern Italian printed paper-covered boards, calf spine

Provenance Erased ownership inscription on title page

References Berlin Cat. 1798; Cicognara 696; Fowler 393; Mortimer, *Italian*, 543; Riccardi 2: 610; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 4

I57

[De architectura. Latin. 1513]

Vitrviivs Itervm Et Frontinvs À Iocvndo Revisi
Repvrgatique Qvantvm Ex Collatione Licvit

Florence: Filippo Giunta, 1513

1983.49.130

Octavo: 160 × 98 (6⁵/₁₆ × 3⁷/₈)

Foliation [iv], 1–144, 144–187, [24], 24 leaves

Edition Revised second edition of Giocondo's illustrated edition, together with fourth edition of Sextus Julius Frontinus' *De aquaeductibus*. Although *De architectura* and *De aquaeductibus* are paginated independently, they were not issued separately

Text folios [i] recto, title page; [i] verso–[ii] recto, dedication by Giocondo to Giuliano de' Medici; [ii] verso–[iv] table of contents; 1–187 (i.e., 188) recto, text and illustrations, *De architectura*, books 1–x; 187 (i.e., 188) verso, blank; [1]–[21] verso, index; [22] errata, *De architectura*; [23]–[24] recto, errata, *De aquaeductibus*, ending with colophon and register; [24] verso, printer's device; [1] recto, blank; [1] verso, dedication by Giocondo to Giuliano de' Medici; 2–24 recto, text, books 1–II, *De aquaeductibus* ("Sexti Ivlii Frontini Viri Consvlaris De Aqveductibvs Vrbis Romae."); 24 verso, blank

Ornaments Woodcut title border with putti, dolphins, and blank coat of arms; woodcut printer's device with putti carrying fleur-de-lys; woodcut historiated and interlaced initials

Illustrations 140 woodcuts throughout text, including one repetition (fols. 55 recto, 65 recto), ranging in size from vignette to full page. The woodcuts are reduced free copies of those in the 1511 edition, with the addition of four new subjects on fols. 17 recto, 23 verso, 34 recto, and 146 recto

Binding Contemporary blind-tooled sheep, ties missing, spine repaired

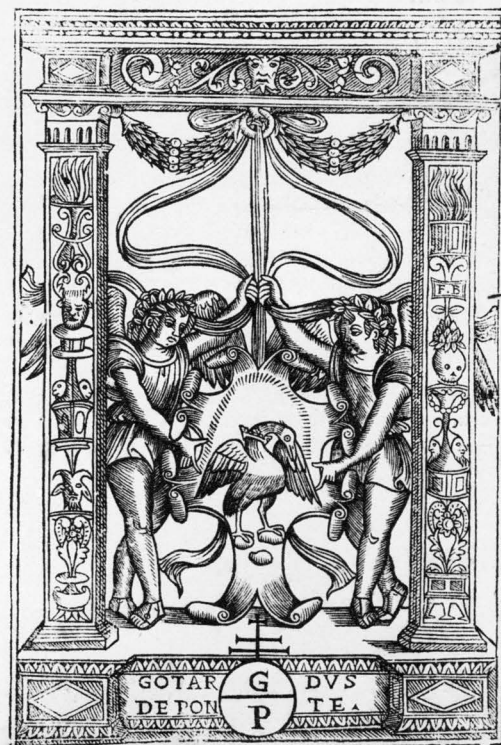
Provenance Partially erased ownership inscription on title page: "Caroley Ambrosiney" (?); printed library ticket of F. S. Ferguson; later bookplate of Sigurd and Gundrun Wandel

References Berlin Cat. 1799; Cicognara 697; Fowler 394; Riccardi 1: 493, 2: 610; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 5

Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1521]. Title page. 1983.49.131

DI
Lucio
Vitruiuo
Pollione de
Architectura Li-
bri Dece traducti de
latino in Vulgare affi-
gurati: Cōmentati: & con
mirando ordine Insigniti: per il
quale facilmente potrai trouare la
multitudine de li abstrusi & reconditi Vo-
cabuliall'i soi loci & in epla tabula con sum-
mo studio expofiti & enucleati ad Immenfa utili-
tate de ciafcuno Studiofo & beniuolo di epla opera.

¶ Cum Gratia & Priuilegio.



158

[De architectura. Italian. 1521]

Di Lucio Vitruuio Pollione de Architectura Libri Dece[m] traducti de latino in Vulgare affigurati: C[om]mentati: & con mirando ordine Insigniti: per il quale facilmente potrai trouare la multitudine de li abstrusi & reconditi Vocabuli a li soi loci & in epsa tabula con summo studio expositi & enucleati ad Immensa utilitate de ciascuno Studioso & beniuolo di epsa opera

Como: printed by Gottardo da Ponte for Agostino Gallo and Luigi Pirovano, 1521

1983.49.131

Folio: 399 × 265 (15⁵/₈ × 10⁷/₁₆)

Foliation [viii], CLXXXIII, [I] leaves

Edition First edition of Cesare Cesariano's translation, illustrations, and commentary

Text folios [i] recto, title page; [i] verso, privileges of Leo x, dated 23 June 1521, and of Francis I, king of France, dated 5 June 1521, granted to Agostino Gallo; [ii–vi] index; [vii] table of contents; [viii] recto, salutation by Luigi Pirovano ("Oratio Patriccis Populo: Mediolanensi Aloisius Pirouanus Salutem plurimam dicit."); [viii] verso, preface; 1–CLXXXIII recto, text, illustrations, books 1–x, with Cesariano's commentary, ending with colophon; CLXXXIII verso, register and printer's device; [CLXXXIV] recto, errata, followed by a note from the publishers, Gallo and Pirovano; [CLXXXIV] verso, blank

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page depicting swan and shield within aedicule, signed "FB"; woodcut printer's device on folio CLXXXIII verso, with da Ponte's initials set within orb and cross; historiated woodcut initials in several sizes

Illustrations 117 woodcuts (including one repetition, fols. xi recto, cli recto) throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page

Binding Modern paneled calf

Provenance Several old marginal annotations in Italian

References Berlin Cat. 1802; Besterman, *Old Art Books*, 104–105; Cicognara 698; Fowler 395; Mortimer, *Italian*, 544; Riccardi 2: 610–611; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 6

159

[De architectura. Italian. 1536]

Architettvra Con Il Svo C[om]mento Et Figvre Vetrvvio [sic] In Volgar Lingva Raportato Per M. Gianbatista Caporali di Pervgia

Perugia: Giano Bigazzini, 1536

1983.49.132

Folio: 288 × 205 (11⁵/₁₆ × 8¹/₁₆)

Foliation [iii], 131 leaves

Edition First edition of Giovanni Battista Caporali's translation and commentary, books 1–v only

Text folios [i] recto, title page; [i] verso, privilege granted by Clement VII, dated 10 January 1533; [ii] dedication by Caporali to Giano Bigazzini, dated Perugia, 1 November 1532; [iii], 1–131 recto, text, illustrations, and commentary, books 1–v; 131 verso, woodcut inscription and colophon

Ornaments Woodcut title border with Doric arch, personification of architecture above, the whole surrounded by an ornamental border (dated 1536) with symbols of Literature, Painting, Mathematics, and Music at the corners, a medallion portrait of Caporali, and his coat of arms; woodcut initials in several styles

Illustrations Woodcut full-length portrait of Bigazzini above dedication; woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. With the exception of eight new subjects, the woodcuts are derived, and in some cases copied exactly, from those in Cesare Cesariano's 1521 edition

Binding Contemporary vellum, contemporary manuscript title at top of spine: "Vetruvio Volgar," with date and Caporali's name added in later hand. Title page misbound following the dedication

Provenance Four early ownership inscriptions on dedication page. The earliest, in Latin, partially illegible: "Huc est . . . petry fauilla de rooca bismotis oris pr~." The second, in Italian, reads: "Questo libro è di frè Agostino d Campagna ord:is prad:is donatoli da la Sra Hersilia orsina." The third, in French, reads: "Je suis a monsieur montagny Eleve de David." Finally, there are initials "OA" with the number "639"; the same number is repeated inside the back cover with the name "Oskar Albrecht" (?). Bookseller's ticket of Robert Wölfle, Munich. Extensive marginal annotations in Italian and written in an eighteenth-century hand throughout, commenting on the text; on leaf 131 verso, beneath the colophon, the annotator has written "Del Caporali non abbiamo che solo I cinque primi libri dunque

quest' opera è compita questi die Bernardo Galiani pure Traduttore del Vitruvio"

References Berlin Cat. 1805; Cicognara 706; Mortimer, *Italian*, 546; Riccardi 2: 612; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 12

I60

[De architectura. Italian. 1556]

I Dieci Libri Dell'Architettura Di M. Vitruvio Tradutti Et Commentati Da Monsignor Barbaro Eletto Patriarca D'Aquileggia. Con due Tauole, l'una di tutto quello si contiene per i Capi nell'Opera, l'altra per dichiarazione di tutte le cose d'importanza

Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556

1983.49.136

Folio: 406 × 273 (16 × 10¾)

Pagination 274 [i.e., 284], [18] pp.

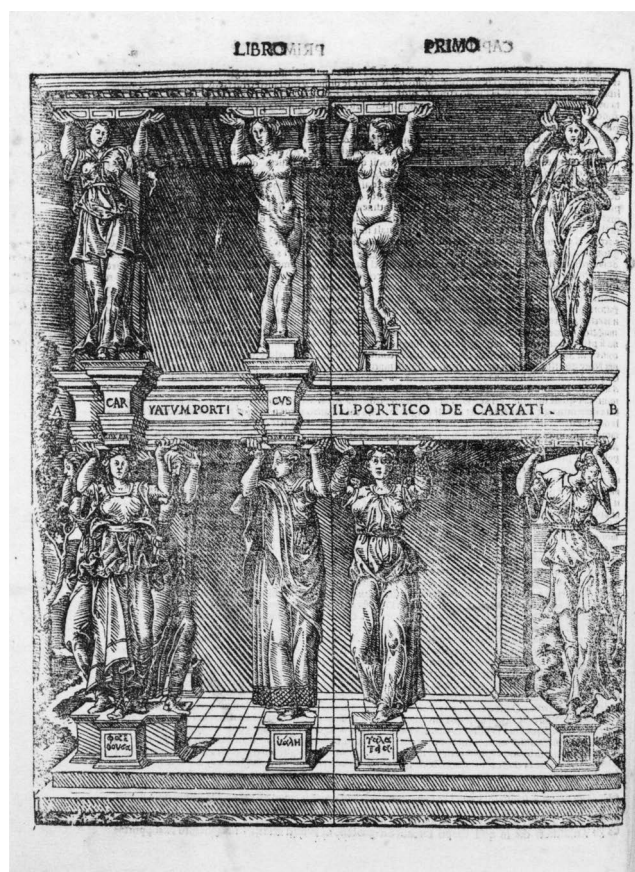
(*Note:* There are several errors in the pagination: pp. 39–40 repeated; two leaves paginated cxxv–cxxviii inserted between pp. 124 and 125; p. 133 occurs three times; between p. 156 and p. 160 are five pages numbered 156, 157, 167, 168, and 169)

Edition First edition of Daniele Barbaro's translation, illustrations, and commentary

Text pp. [1] title page (verso blank); [3] dedication by Barbaro to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, dated Venice, 1556; [4] allegorical woodcut, incorporating a blank cartouche; 5–[284] text and illustrations, books 1–x, with Barbaro's commentary; [285] table of contents; [286–294] index; [295] errata; [296] additional note on the Ionic capital; [297] woodcut of Ionic capital; [298–299] additional note on theaters, with two woodcuts; [300] errata for the astronomical tables in book ix; [301] allegorical woodcut repeated from p. [4] with register added in cartouche; [302] printer's device and colophon

Ornaments Woodcut architectural title border, with title inscribed in the attic of triumphal arch between personifications of Poetry, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, with figure of Architecture standing below and flanked by allegorical figures; woodcut printer's device; ornamental woodcut headpieces with putti and arabesques in book ix, astronomical tables, and on errata page (p. [300]); five large woodcut initials with views of cities; historiated woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging from vignette to double page. The woodcuts on pp. 39, 69, 71, 78, cxxv, and cxxvii have pasted extensions. The woodcut on p. 21 is a full-page pasted cancel,



Vitruvius. *Architettura* [1536]. Caryatid portico. 1983.49.132

including headline and signature mark; there are also pasted cancels on pp. 72 and 85. The woodcut of a quadrant on p. 228 has a volvelle pointer. The illustrations of the theaters of Curio on pp. [298] and [299] (which are repeated from pp. 154 and 168 of book v) have the same blocks reprinted as volvelle parts in order to demonstrate how theaters can be used to form an amphitheater

Binding Seventeenth-century sheep, spine repaired, red morocco label, red sprinkled edges. One leaf from the preface (pp. 11–12) is misbound following the title leaf (pp. [1–2])

Provenance Illegible ownership inscription on title page; neat marginal annotations in Italian throughout, written in sepia ink, in Italian; bookplate of Harvard College Library, Charles Sumner Bequest Fund, with release stamp

References Berlin Cat. 1814; Brunet 5: 1330; Cicognara 713; Fowler 407; Mortimer, *Italian*, 547; Riccardi 2: 614; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 31

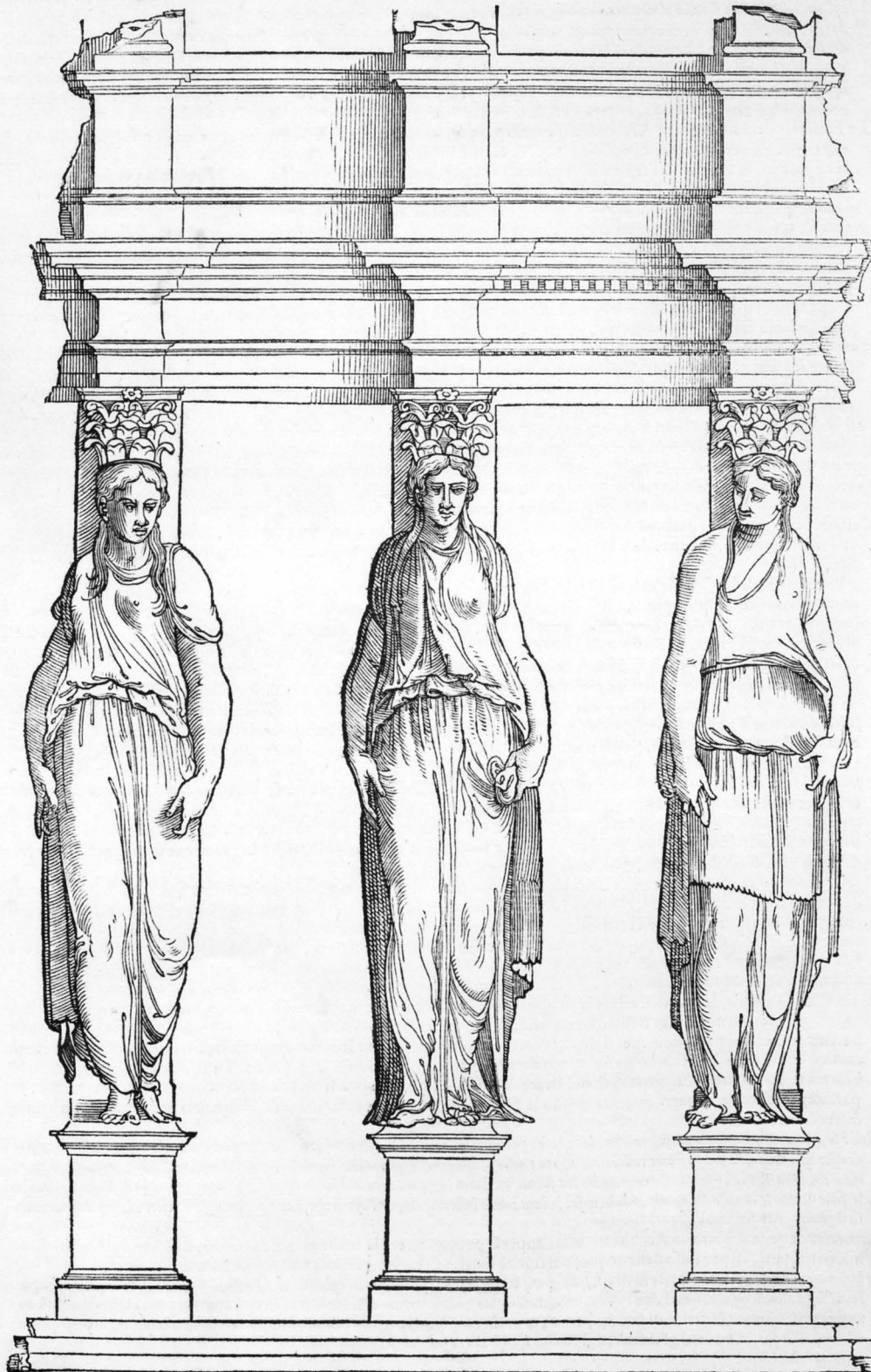
Vitruvius. *Dieci libri dell'architettura* [1556]. Caryatid portico. 1983.49.136

P R I M O.

17

che è come un bellissimo giardino, che con la bella ueduta delle herbe, & de fiori ristora gli occhi de gli affaticati dal lungo uiaaggio, così lo interporre delle hystoriche narrationi tra i difficili precetti d'alcuna arte, ricrea la mente stanca dal pensiero delle cose difficili, & ascosse. Di tai consolationi in Vitru. ne haueremo assai, non lontane pero da i propositi delle cose, che egli ce insegna, accioche con la dolcezza della uarietà porti la consideratione de suoi ammaestramenti nell'animo nostro. Seguita adunque il disegno delle Cariatidi, che dopo i Persiani a bello studio è stato poslo. Benche questo importi poco nelle cose facili, nelle quali forse siamo stati negligenti, come nella descriptione della Torre & della muraglia a pante 32 doue la muraglia tra le chiau deue mostrare terreno, & non pietra, & deue esser alta al pari di quelle traui, che si staccano dalla Torre ne i bisogni, come hauemo auuertito nel detto luogo.

p. 171



La Filosofia

I61

[De architectura. Latin. 1567]

M. Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura Libri Decem, Cvm Commentariis Danielis Barbari, Electi Patriarchae Aquileinensis: Multis Aedificiorvm, Horologiorvm, Et Machinarvm Descriptionibvs, & figuris, unà cum indicibus copiosis, auctis & illustratis

Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi and Giovanni Chrieger, 1567

1983.49.138

Folio: 297 × 198 (11¹¹/₁₆ × 7¹³/₁₆)

Pagination [xx], 375, [1] pp.

Edition First edition with Daniele Barbaro's commentary in Latin (published in Italian, Venice, 1556), published simultaneously with the second Italian edition

Text pp. [i] title page; [ii] frontispiece; [iii–vi] dedication by Barbaro to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle; [vii–viii] table of contents; [ix–xix] index, errata; [xx] blank; 1–363 text and illustrations, books 1–x, with Barbaro's commentary; 364–375 astronomical tables, ending with register; [376] printer's device

Ornaments Woodcut printer's device on title page, repeated on final page; large historiated woodcut initials on dedication and at beginning of each book; small ornamental woodcut initials

Illustrations Woodcut frontispiece; woodcut illustrations throughout text, ranging in size from vignette to full page. The frontispiece is a reduced copy of the title border of the 1556 edition. The illustrations are reduced copies of those in the 1556 edition (cat. 160), with the exception of several omissions, alterations, combinations of subjects, and introduction of new subjects. The woodcuts on pp. 37, 261, 327, and 328 were printed using the original woodblocks

Binding Contemporary vellum, paneled in gilt, gilt center and corner ornaments, spine with blind-tooled ornaments in compartments, contemporary manuscript spine title, ties missing. Recent endleaves

Provenance Early ownership inscription of the Library of the Convent of Friars Minor, Brussels ("Bibliotheca fratris mino: Bruxellae") on title page; later ownership inscription on flyleaf of "Dr. N. Vonteilgel"; book-seller's ticket of Robert Wölflé, Munich

References Berlin Cat. 1815; Cicognara 716; Fowler 409; Mortimer, *Italian*, 550; Riccardi 1: 610; Vagnetti, *Vitruvio*, 39

ANOTHER COPY

1983.49.137

Quarto: 302 × 202 (11⁷/₈ × 7¹⁵/₁₆)

Binding Eighteenth-century mottled calf, spine with gilt bands, gilt compartments, red morocco label, edges rolled in gilt, marbled endpapers

I62

[De architectura. Latin and Italian. 1758]

L'Architettura Di M. Vitruvio Pollione Colla Traduzione Italiana E Commento Del Marchese Berardo Galiani . . .

Naples: printed by the Stamperia Simoniana, 1758

1985.61.2742

Folio: 388 × 255 (15¹/₄ × 10)

Pagination [vi], xxxii, 462, [2] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, 25 double-page etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition of Berardo Galiani's translation, commentary, and illustrations

Text pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–v] dedication to Charles, king of the Two Sicilies by Galiani, dated Naples, 1 October 1758; [vi] blank; 1–xiv Berardo's preface; xv–xx Berardo's plan of Vitruvius' theory of architecture; xxi–xxiv life of Vitruvius; xxv–xxvi privileges, dated Naples, 10 September 1758, 23 September 1758, 26 August 1758, and 25 September 1758; xxvii–xxx table of contents, Latin and Italian, printed in two columns; xxxi–xxxii bibliographical note and errata; [1] half-title: "M. Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura Libri Decem. / Dell'Architettura Di M. Vitruvio Pollione Libri Diece."; 2–3 preface, Latin and Italian on opposite pages; 4–445; text, books 1–x, Latin on each verso and Italian on each recto, and commentary in Italian at foot; 446 index of Greek words; 447–462 index; [463] blank; [464] list of plates

Ornaments Etched vignette on title page with angels carrying measuring instruments; etched headpiece on dedication with medallion portrait of dedicatee surrounded by allegorical figures, signed by Francesco la Marra as designer and etcher ("F. La Marra In. et. Sculp."); etched initial on dedication; woodcut initials with scenes of classical ruins beginning each book; woodcut tailpieces with measuring instruments or classical ruins ending each book; typographic rules separating chapters

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece with allegorical figures representing architecture, science, and the liberal arts; plus 25 double-page etched and

engraved plates numbered 1–xxv, each with a full-page plate on right and printed explanation on left. Frontispiece signed by Berardo Galiani as designer and Francesco la Marra as draftsman and engraver (“M.B. Galiani inv.”; “F. la Marra dis. e inc.”); remaining plates signed by Galiani as designer and draftsman and Francesco Cepparoli as engraver (“M. Galiani inv. delin,” with variants; “Franc. Cepparoli Inc. Nap.,” with variants)

Binding Contemporary vellum, gilt spine title, red sprinkled edges. Each double-page plate mounted on extension leaves

References Berlin Cat. 1820; Cicognara 773; Fowler 424; Riccardi 2: 618

Vitruvius. *L'Architettura* [1758]. Frontispiece. 1985.61.2742

Vitruvius and His Text

DE ARCHITECTURA is the only text of Greco-Roman architecture that has survived from antiquity. Composed by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (c. 90–c. 20 B.C.) in ten chapters, or book rolls, the work was completed when the author was old and defeated. Vitruvius was a “builder, engineer, and scholar,” born into a family of old Latium, Campanian, and African descent, prosperous and known already in the fourth century B.C. Apprenticed to his relatives, Vitruvius was educated by them; he appears to have seen buildings in Asia, Greece, and the Italian peninsula. He was especially acquainted with Hellenistic sanctuaries and admired antiquated building materials such as sun-dried brick and clay tiles. Since the sixth century B.C., Greek architects had occasionally written accounts of extraordinary buildings; Vitruvius may have seen these in the library at Pergamon, and perhaps he was inspired by them to write his own treatise. He certainly visited Athens, and he makes a reference to the Areopagus. Vitruvius was probably involved in designing residential structures, as the materials he discusses concern largely domestic architecture, and he praises Roman apartment buildings in the early part of the treatise.

Also trained as an engineer and builder of war engines and artillery, Vitruvius enrolled in Julius Caesar’s staff for the Gaul campaign; he mentions Gallic fortifications in his discussion of the ideal city. Between 58 and 44 B.C. he worked as a military architect; in 46 B.C. he was in Africa with Caesar. While on these military campaigns, Vitruvius did not keep up with developments in the capital, and the Ides of March left him unemployed. Upon his return he found the new architecture, such as the Basilica Julia and Caesar’s forum, overly monumental and ornamented. Vitruvius may have accompanied Octavia, Octavius’ sister, in her travels between Rome and Athens in the early 30s B.C. as she was taking supplies and reinforcements to her brother and her husband, Marc Antony. Under Agrippa, Octavius’ assistant, Vitruvius was involved in the repairs to Rome’s water system in 30 B.C. This is gleaned from Frontinus’ *De aquaeductibus urbis Romae*, composed in A.D. 100, which constitutes the only ancient Roman confirmation of Vitruvius’ existence.

Based on Vitruvius’ own experience and dedicated to Octavius, the treatise was the result of two separate writing campaigns. Vitruvius affirms that he spent thirty-five to forty years on the composition of his treatise, compiling the ten books. There is a sixty-three-item bibliography, which is the only reference we have to Vitruvius’ ancient sources on architecture. Ten or twelve sketches accompanied the text at the end of six of the books, but these have not survived copying. Vitruvius refers to his illustrations in the text as



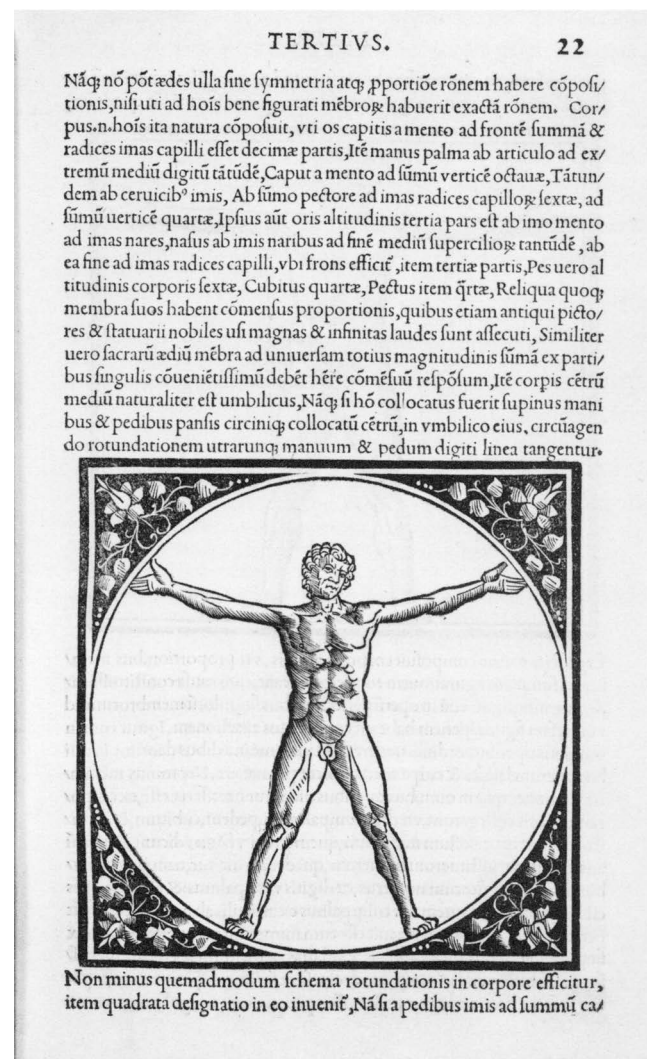
*... A. Galiani inv. ... F. la Marra dis. e inc. ... Cum ergo tanta hac disciplina sit condecorata et abundans orationibus variis ac pluribus, non puto posse nisi re-
pente se proferri Architectos, nisi qui ab etate puerili his gradibus disciplinarum ascendendo, scientia plurimum
literarum et artium nutriti, pervenerint ad summum Templum Architecturae. Vit. Cap. 1. lib. 1.*

“forma,” “schema,” “diagramma,” and “exemplar” (Gros 1988). These lost illustrations most likely represented a wind rose and the street layout of a town, the convex curve of a column (*entasis*), the horizontal curves of a temple, the volute of the Ionic capital (*scamilli impares*), the musical scale of Aristoxenus, the geometrical schemes of the Roman and Greek theaters, a surveyor’s trestle-level, Plato’s doubling of the square, Pythagoras’ theorem, and Archimedes’ screw (Brown 1981). Pierre Gros (1988) has suggested that “the passage from ‘graphisme’ to writing is probably one of Vitruvius’ principal means of raising architecture to the level of a liberal art,” helping it become a historically aware activity and structured by a system of rules as clear as those of rhetoric.

Vitruvius “was inspired by the polymath Terentius Varro to establish a system of liberal arts for architects” (Brown 1981). Varro was the first Roman to conceive of what became the standard curriculum, based on Greek models, in the liberal arts. His “Nine Books,” composed in c. 30 B.C., established the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music), with medicine and architecture as separate studies. Vitruvius used the curriculum to tie together the theoretical study with the actual practice of architecture. Each of Vitruvius’ books offers a series of “digressions—historical, anthropological, physical, and biological” (Brown 1981)—meant to seduce the reader. Among his persuasive anecdotes, for example, are the history of the figures known as the Caryatids and the Persians, the uses of brick illustrated by the story of Mausolus and Artemisia of Halicarnassus, and the sophisticated myths of origin of the three Greek orders.

It is evident that the treatise was written over a considerable period. The first six book rolls, without prefaces and additions, were an entity concerned only with architecture. This part was composed as a “visualization of the construction of an entire contemporary town or colony” (Brown 1981). The prefaces, “concerned mostly with Vitruvius himself and his principles and practices,” were probably written last, as Frank Brown has asserted.

In the first book, Vitruvius discusses the elements of architecture, the siting of the town, its fortifications, its streets, and the location of its principal buildings. Book 2 is devoted to building materials but also explores the origin of buildings and the characteristics of the four natural elements. Books 3 and 4 are concerned with temples; in an earlier version they probably formed one book. At the beginning of book 3, Vitruvius offers his fundamental anthropomorphic proportional system for architecture. He discusses temple types, columns and intercolumniations, foundations, and the Ionic order. The Corinthian order, the origin of orders, and the



Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1511]. “The Vitruvian Man.” 1983.49.129

proportions of the Tuscan order are among the subjects of book 4. In books 5 and 6, Vitruvius shifts attention toward the interior of buildings, and from sacred to functional structures. Thus in book 5 he explores the major public buildings and spaces of the Roman city, which include the forum, the basilica, the curia, the baths and gymnasia, and harbors. He compares the Greek and Roman theaters in a passage that became invaluable for Renaissance readers. Book 6, on private dwellings, is a fundamental part of the treatise. Here Vitruvius examines Roman and Greek houses, setting out their principal rooms, their proportions, exposure, size, and embellishments. These six books may have formed the original treatise in its first arrangement, which Vitruvius offered to Julius Caesar.

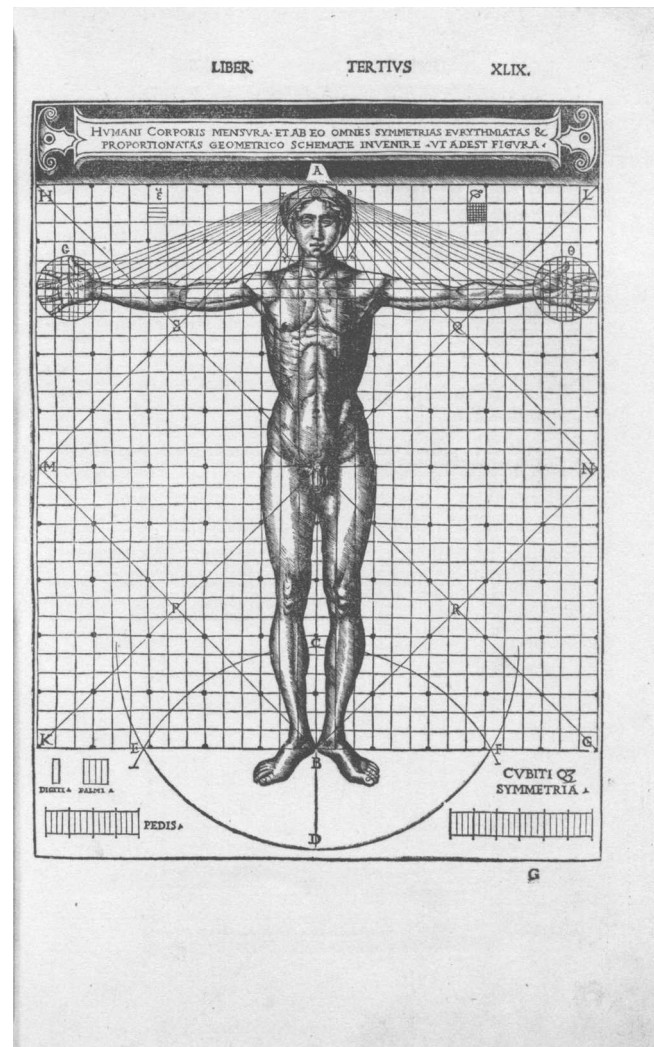
The remaining four books were composed subsequently. Book 7 deals with the cladding of buildings, the finishing materials for floors, walls, and ceilings, including a discussion of decorations appropriate to wall painting. The last three books deal with technical matters; concerned respectively with hydraulics, timepieces,

and machinery, they seem most distant from our own interpretation of the discipline of architecture. In book 8, Vitruvius displays his great practical experience in finding, conducting, and taming water. In book 9—the least susceptible to updating of the entire treatise—Vitruvius amplified his discussion of clocks extensively with “irrelevant lore” concerning the planets and the phases of the moon, the constellations, complicated sundials, and water clocks. Frank Brown (1981) believes that books 8 and 9 were written last and that Vitruvius may have been padding. Book 10 is the longest chapter, “crowded with Vitruvius’ experience” in engineering. This book is an essential textbook of contemporary technology, to be used in peace and war. Vitruvius first considers the principles and vocabulary of mechanics. He then examines various pieces of machinery such as pulleys for hoisting, wheels and bucketchains for raising water, sluices and millstreams, the endless screw, the force-pump, the water organ, and the odometer for the measurement of land and sea travel. Among his war engines are catapults and ballistae, battering rams, towers, and armored sheds.

Vitruvius’ influence before the fifteenth century was not extensive. Pliny the Elder refers to “*De architectura*.” One of the last of the great scholars who clung to the diminishing culture of the ancient world, Bishop Isidore of Seville, mentioned Vitruvius in the seventh century A.D. After 850, Vitruvius’ treatise was copied for recipes for materials and pigments and for instructions on finding water. He was also read as an authority on fortifications and for his great range. Despite the much-trumpeted discovery of Vitruvius’ manuscript in 1414 by Poggio Bracciolini, which helped to reinforce the hegemony of Florentine humanism, the text had in fact been widely known during the Middle Ages, as Carol Krinsky (1967) has demonstrated in her study of the extant manuscripts, found in monastic libraries throughout central Europe and central Italy. Although he endeavored to explain fully the architectural terms he employed, Vitruvius was accurate in fearing that they would seem obscure and outlandish to his readers. His precepts were examined as valuable instruction and dependable theory for architecture in the Renaissance, when—searching for an ancient Roman source—humanists and architects became interested enough to sort out his text.

Vitruvius in the Renaissance

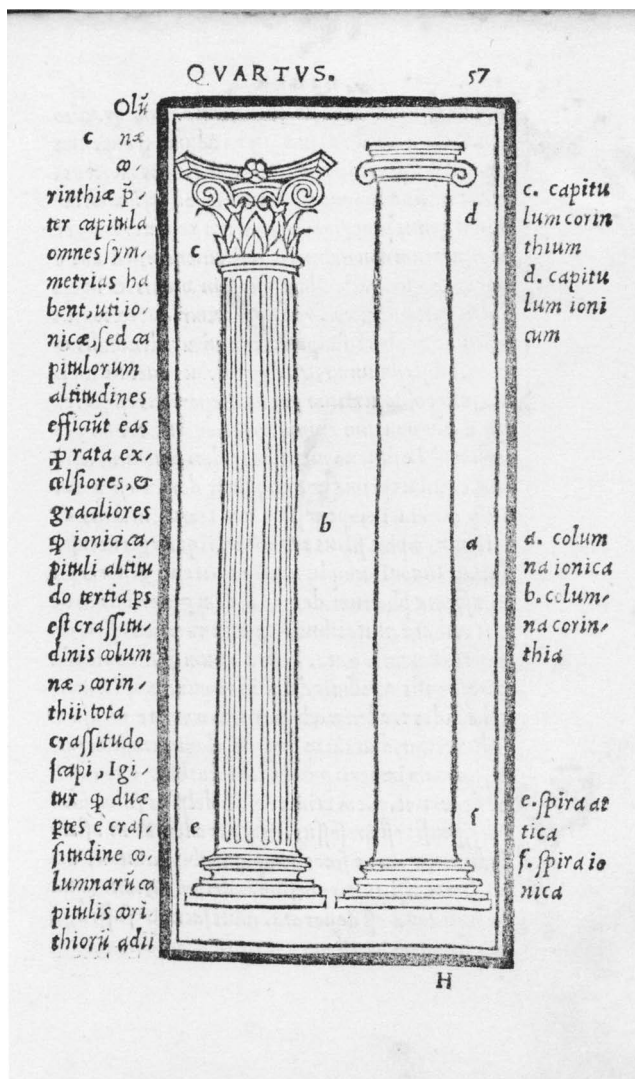
The Vitruvian text as inherited by the architects of the early Renaissance posed seemingly insurmountable problems. The drawings had disappeared, and the text was filled with errors and lacunae. There were no extant architectural works by Vitruvius that would have helped to decode some of the difficult passages. There



Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1521]. “The Vitruvian Man.” 1983.49.131

was no measurable contemporary witness to success in Vitruvius’ career, since he is not accompanied by the praise that Roman and Greek philosophers, poets, and historians lavished on each other. Nonetheless, the Vitruvian treatise became the foundational Urtext of architectural theory and practice, with a huge afterlife.

Although it remained the sole extant literary contribution of ancient architecture, Vitruvius’ text presented both philological and archaeological difficulties. Leon Battista Alberti was the first to publish his disappointment with the text, and both he and Raphael were disillusioned to find the great and irreducible distance between the precepts of *De architectura* and the concrete witness of ancient Roman ruins (Gros 1988). The numerous errors that had crept into the Vitruvian manuscripts (and which would be replicated in the early printed Latin texts) were especially harmful given the extensive use in this architectural language of numbers and proportions. To overcome this problem, the correcting eye of the archaeologically trained architect-painter became as significant in eliminating incon-



Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1513]. Types of columns. 1983.49.130

sistencies as the philological erudition of the Latinist. These issues were compounded by errors of interpretation caused by simply not knowing certain places and names, such as, for example, Cesare Cesariano's apparent ignorance of Fano, and his incomprehension of Vitruvius' description of the basilica there (Vitruvius' only realized building) and the diversity of Vitruvius' commentators.

The Vitruvian text became for Renaissance architecture what biblical studies had been for theology. Echoing this belief in Vitruvius' position in relation to the discipline of architecture, Frank Granger (1931) has quipped that "anticipating the four gospel writers, Vitruvius never mentions his own name." Readers attempted to understand the rules and extrapolate the principles of architecture that could guide their designs. But the text became worshiped only in the sixteenth century. Earlier, quattrocento architects, especially Alberti, wished to make a critical comparison between

the Urtext and archaeological remains of antiquity; this open-minded comparative approach seems free of the inferiority complexes later felt by sixteenth-century architects, enthralled by Vitruvianism.

Vitruvius' treatise was fundamental for the two main research interests in Roman architecture in the first decades of the sixteenth century: the archaeological verification of the Renaissance architectural style through the theory of the classical orders, and the elaboration or creation of new urban housing forms. Books 4 and 6 thus received particularly intense commentary. Other extensively studied passages in the text included the discussion of the modes of graphic representation of architecture, the origin of human shelter, the anthropomorphic proportional system of classical architecture, and the ideal planning of cities. Furthermore, each commentator on Vitruvius attempted to situate the text so as to verify current practices and architectural composition, thus using the authority of the text to justify personal or regional practices. Vitruvius became an important guide to the understanding of the archaeological remains of Rome, but a problematic one, since his descriptions often clashed with the reality of imperial Roman architectural ruins strewn about the Renaissance city.

The troubled relationship of the most talented Renaissance architects with Vitruvius was well summarized by Raphael, who, in his revealing memo to Pope Leo x describing how he would go about documenting the buildings of antiquity, writes that "me ne porge una gran luce Vitruvio, ma non tanto che basti." He, and most quattrocento architects, required transitional elements to help connect the reality of the ruins with the principles of Vitruvius (Pagliara 1986). Raphael also planned to draw the missing illustrations for a translation of Vitruvius made by his friend Fabio Calvo, though their project, like several such attempts, remained in manuscript (Fontana 1975).

The ambivalence of the authors whose commentaries remained in manuscript can be interestingly compared to the total devotion felt by others who managed to shepherd their writings into print. Thus at the end of the sixteenth century, Vincenzo Scamozzi is persuaded that everything that one needs for architectural knowledge is in Vitruvius, because he has dealt with all the most difficult concerns of the profession. Moreover, since the study of Vitruvius was by then linked to the definition of architectural identity, one could not pretend to be an architect, in Scamozzi's view, without close readings of the original sourcebook. Thus the study of the published Vitruvian editions of the sixteenth century require constant confrontation with the aborted efforts that were probably equally influential on their contemporaries. Given the vehemence with

PRIMVS

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



QVIA diuina mens tua; & numen Imperator Caesar imperio
potiretur orbis terrarum: inuictaq; uirtute cunctis hostibus
stratis triumpho uictoriaq; tua ciues gloriarentur: & gentes
omnes subactae tuū spectaret nutum. P. Q. R. & Senatus
liberatus timore amplissimis tuis cogitationibus: consiliisq;
gubernaret: nō audebam tantis occupationibus de Archite-
ctura scripta: & magnis cogitationibus explicata adere: metu-
ens ne nō apto tempore interpellās subirem tui animi offen-
sionem. Quū uero attenderem te non solū de uita cōmuni
omnium curam. P. Q. rei constitutionē habere: sed etiam de oportunitate: publicorū
aëdificiorum: ut ciuitas per te nō solum provinciis esset aucta. Verum etiam ut maiestas
imperii publicorum aëdificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates. Nō putauī prae-
termit-
tendum quin primo quoq; tempore de his rebus ea tibi aderem: Ideoq; q̄ primū; pa-
renti tuo q̄ de eo facerem notus: & eius uirtutis erat studiosus. Quū autem conciliū
caelestium in sedibus immortalitatis eum dedicauisset: & imperium parentis in tua; po-
testatem transfuisset: illud idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens in te cō-
tulit fauorem. Itaq; cū; M. Aurelio: & P. Numidico: & CN. Cornelio ad prae-
parationem balistarum & scorpionum reliquorumq; tormentorum refectionē fui praesto: &
cum eis semper cōmoda acceperim: quā cum mihi primo tribuisti: cognitionem per foro-
ris cōmendationem seruasti in animo. Quū ergo eo beneficio essem obligatus: ut ad
exitum uitae non haberem inopiae timorem: hāc tibi scribere cœpi: q̄ animaduerti te
multa aëdificauisse: & nunc aëdificare. Reliquo quoque tempore & publicorum & pri-
uatorum aëdificiorum pro amplitudine rerum gestarum: ut posteris memoriā traderē
tur: curam habiturum: Conscripti praescriptiōes terminatas ut eas attendens & ante fa-
cta & futura qualia sint opera per te nota posses habere. Namq; his uoluminibus aperui
omnes disciplinae rationes.

De Architectis Instituendis

Caput Primum.

Architecti est scientia pluribus disciplinis & uariis eruditionibus ornata: cuius
iudicio probantur omnia quae a ceteris artibus perficiuntur opera, ea nasci-
tur ex fabrica & ratiocinatione. Fabrica est continuata ac trita usus meditatio
quae manibus perficitur: & materia uniuscuiusq; generis opus est ad propositum de-
formationis. Ratiocinatio autem est quae 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 auctori-
tatem. Qui autem ratiocinationibus & litteris solis confisi fuerunt: umbram nō rem
persequuti uidetur. At qui utrumq; perdidicerunt: uti omnibus armis ornati citius cum
auctoritate, quod fuit propositū sunt affequenti. Cum in oibus enim rebus: tū maxime
in architectura haec duo insunt quod significatur: & quod significat. Significatur pro-
posita res de qua dicitur. hanc autē significat demonstratio rationibus doctrinarū expli-
cata quare uidetur utraq; exercitatus esse debere qui se architectum profiteatur. Itaque

Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1497]. Folio [3] recto. Dedicationary page.
1983.49.128

which the Vitruvian text was appropriated and glossed in the sixteenth century, the Renaissance editions—actual and planned—of Vitruvius are still among our most important sources in understanding the research pursued in Italian architecture in the sixteenth century. The Vitruvian text thus fulfills the function of ideal source, historical confirmation, and method of design.

Constant interest in Vitruvius was demonstrated in the Renaissance, then, by a seemingly endless stream

of published commentaries and by several ambitious aborted projects to reconstitute the ancient Roman treatise and the ruins of ancient Rome. Among the numerous Vitruvius-inspired publications are not only the books of Antonio Labacco (1552), Pietro Cataneo (1554; cat. 31), Giovanni Battista Bertano (1558; cat. 18), Giovanni Antonio Rusconi (1590; cat. 119), and Bernardino Baldi (1602; cat. 11), but also the extremely popular treatises on particularized subjects, such as the orders and the private dwelling, by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1563; cat. 144) and Andrea Palladio (1570; cat. 65). Thus the Vitruvius-influenced publications of the sixteenth century may be divided into two kinds: editions of Vitruvius proper (translation, commentary, and illustration of the Latin text), and treatises that examine one or more Vitruvian subjects.

The individuation of the subjects had been cleverly editorialized by Sebastiano Serlio, whose serial publication dealt in turn with the major Renaissance interests as culled from Vitruvius. Among other themes, he isolated the orders of architecture (which then became the core internal subject of classical architecture), the house, the city, and the theater. Vignola achieved equal renown though he only considered the orders of architecture in his treatise/pattern book, while Bertano isolated an even more arcane question in Vitruvius, the meaning of the crucial phrase *scamilli impares*. These separate studies share, however implicitly, the Vitruvian theory of the human body as the model of perfection and as microcosm. While the editors of Vitruvius' treatise attempt to deal evenhandedly with it as a text requiring philological elucidation, the writers of the individuated studies construct a canon of Vitruvianism, codifying aspects of the ancient writer's theory, and establishing rules. Vignola's *Regola* is the most blatant example of this trajectory, sharply focused with the help of visual models. The printed images, in both kinds of Vitruvian publications, become the principal means through which the vocabulary of classical architecture is made available to a broad readership.

While Renaissance architectural theory devoted itself to Vitruvian studies, the Vitruvian text was not abandoned with the passing of humanism. In his study of the treatise's publication history, Bodo Ebbardt (1918) lists 255 editions of Vitruvius published before 1918. A more recent contribution by Luigi Vagnetti (1978), entitled "Two Thousand Years of Vitruvius," underlines the continued longevity of the architectural Urtext. Vagnetti examines the massive impact of Vitruvian thought on western architecture by tracing the publishing fortunes of the book, listing 166 distinct editions. Both studies clarify the lessening architectural interest in the Vitruvian treatise, as either text or canon, after the end of the seventeenth century.

The Publication of Vitruvius

Fifteenth-Century Editions

The 1497 Venetian edition of Vitruvius published by Simone Papiense, known as Bevilacqua, is one of the three unillustrated Latin editions of Vitruvius published in the fifteenth century. The folio *editio princeps* was issued in Rome between 1484 and 1487 by an unknown printer (perhaps Georg Herolt or Eucharius Silber), and edited by the grammarian Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli (born between 1430 and 1440), possibly with the collaboration of Pomponio Leto, one among the scholars who in 1480 began to study Vitruvius. In his dedicatory letter to Cardinal Raffaello Riario, Sulpizio urged him to build a permanent version of the theater he had raised in Rome for a temporary performance (Rowland 1998; Tafuri 1978). Sulpizio, who corrected only a few of the many errors in the Vitruvius manuscript that he published, was the author of numerous publications, including *Opus grammaticum*, *De constructione verborum*, *De versuum scansione*, *De syllabarum quantitate*, and *De componendis et ornandis epistolis*, reissued several times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Born in the village of Veroli, near Frosinone, Sulpizio taught at the University of Perugia (1470–1475), then operated a school in Rome where he acquired renown for his interpretation of Virgil. It is the dedication to Riario that persuaded Giovanni Poleni (see cat. 104) to suggest a publication date of 1486. Sulpizio's approach is that of a philologist: his intention is to reconstruct the ancient text as accurately as possible. The merit of his edition is that it provided the foundation for the numerous subsequent editions of Vitruvius.

The Florentine edition of 1496 is not less correct than the *editio princeps*, though with many typographical errors (Ciapponi 1984). Like the *editio princeps*, the Florentine edition is accompanied by Frontinus' study of aqueducts. In addition, there are also two brief literary studies by Angelo Poliziano, who edited Alberti's treatise in 1485 (see cat. 4). The folio Venetian edition in the Millard collection follows the Florentine one closely, though it has some Greek characters. (But all three fifteenth-century editions have blank spaces in book 8 where the Greek epigrams belong.) It has been suggested that the Venetian edition was edited by Giorgio Valla, Fra Giocondo, and Vittor Pisano; normally in this edition there is an added introduction by Giorgio Valla. In these early editions the philological interest seems to prevail over architectural or antiquarian concerns.

Fra Giocondo

The 1511 edition of Vitruvius was the first one to be thoroughly illustrated. The revised text by Fra Gio-

condo benefited from his vast erudition in architectural antiquity as well as Latin, offering an improved version of the Vitruvian treatise that superseded that of Sulpizio and pointed the way toward a professional use of the text. Fra Giocondo has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest.

Fra (Frate) Giovanni Giocondo was one of the most distinguished architectural theorists and practitioners of his time. During his long career he served three kings—Ferrante of Naples, Charles VIII, and Louis XII of France—the Venetian republic, and the papacy. He was born in Verona in 1433, rather than in 1435 as previously believed, since when he died in July 1515 he is referred to as more than eighty years old. Luca Pacioli believed that he was a Franciscan friar, whereas Giorgio Vasari thought he was a Dominican; the confusion about his affiliation may have been exacerbated by the fact that he seldom stayed in his order's monasteries, preferring to live uncloistered on his own. In Rome between 1478 and 1484 he collected ancient epigraphs for Lorenzo de' Medici and reported to him on the increasingly ruinous condition of the city. Sulpizio, the editor of the Vitruvian *editio princeps*, was part of his circle, which may have included Angelo Colocci; Fra Giocondo also seems to have been in correspondence with Poliziano. Fra Giocondo owned one of the few Byzantine manuscript treatises on military strategy (*poliorcetica*), now in the Vatican Library, where he saw illuminated drawings that inspired the woodcuts for his own Vitruvius edition (Fontana 1988).

During his stay in Naples, Fra Giocondo met several distinguished Renaissance architects and humanists and began his work on Vitruvius. In c. 1489 he may have contributed to the engineering project to bring water to Poggio Reale and to the moats of Naples; he overlapped with Giuliano da Sangallo, whom he met again at the end of their lives in Rome at the construction site of Saint Peter's. In 1492 he is recorded as taking an apprenticeship in Naples for five years. That year he may also have worked with Francesco di Giorgio Martini on a translation and illustration of Vitruvius, which Francesco offered to the duke of Calabria. Among his friends Fra Giocondo also counted the distinguished Neapolitan poet Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, who celebrated Giocondo's bridges in verse; together they visited antiquities near Naples. Jacopo Sannazaro was another learned companion on archaeological trips to Pozzuoli, Mola, and Gaeta (Ciapponi 1961). During a brief visit to Rome in 1491–1492, Fra Giocondo may have made the acquaintance of Ermolao Barbaro, who refers to Fra Giocondo in his *Castigationes pliniana*.

After the invasion of Naples by the French army, Fra Giocondo was invited back to France by Charles VIII; he is documented in France in 1498 and was there perhaps as early as 1495. In 1500 he built the bridge of Notre

Dame in Paris, considered by Vincenzo Scamozzi as the first classical bridge of the Renaissance, probably based on his studies of the Rhine bridge described by Julius Caesar in his commentaries on the war in Gaul; Alberti had insisted on the architectural importance of this bridge, despite Vitruvius' neglect of the subject. Fra Giocondo found in France a manuscript of Caesar's history, which was then published in Venice by Aldo Manuzio. Fra Giocondo's presence in Paris marks the beginning of Vitruvian studies in France; the public and private lectures that he offered are documented by the notes of his pupil Guillaume Budé (Fontana 1988).

Fra Giocondo passed from French royal service into the service of the Venetian republic, where he worked as hydraulic and military engineer between 1506 and 1514. This change in employment was preceded by extensive negotiations with officials in Venice and eased by the espionage services rendered to the Venetian ambassador by Fra Giocondo. In this capacity he traveled to Corfu, Zante, and Cefalonia, reporting on the fortifications of the colonies. He also worked on the improvements of the port of Venice, threatened by deposits of the Brenta river. In 1509 he was on an inspection tour of Treviso, Padua, Cremona, Legnano, and Monselice, where his fortification projects were based on gleanings from Naples, France, and Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Although the inhabitants of Treviso deplored his intervention, since he ordered the demolition of numerous buildings, towers, chapels, and cloisters, Fra Giocondo's fortifications were admired later by Emperor Charles V and the duke of Alba (Brenzoni 1960). His demolition of houses and uprooting of trees offered the artillery clear sight lines, fundamental for the defense of the city.

During his stay in Venice, Fra Giocondo often worked as proofreader and editor of ancient texts for the publishers Aldo Manuzio, Filippo Giunta, and Giovanni da Tridino (Tacuino). In 1513 Fra Giocondo edited Aldo's version of Caesar's commentaries on the war in Gaul, adding a plan of Gaul and the reconstruction of the Rhine bridge. In 1514 Fra Giocondo made a design for the Rialto bridge and surrounding buildings in Venice in the form of a Roman forum. In the same year he revised Columella's *De re rustica* and dedicated it to the newly elected pope, Leo X, in the edition published by his friend Aldo (Ciapponi 1961).

Fra Giocondo's publication of his edition of Vitruvius in 1511 is the best remembered of his Venetian projects. It was dedicated to Pope Julius II, at a time when Venice was making its peace with the papacy, and Fra Giocondo may have envisaged his own, eventually realized, move to Rome. Fra Giocondo's claim for his edition is that he reconciled the reconstituted Latin text with the extant ancient Roman ruins. Although Manfredo Tafuri (1978) criticizes his Latin edition as less rigorous than the *editio princeps* of Sulpizio, and

Francesco Pellati (1931) considers his assertive interventions worthy of a translator rather than an editor, Lucia Ciapponi (1984) has shown that Fra Giocondo's corrections and filling of lacunae were based on manuscripts unknown to the earlier editor. Fra Giocondo had distinguished counselors in Venice, including Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Lascaris, and Giovanni Marco da Landinara, an expert in optics, who assisted him with the illustrations. The graphic segment is in fact the great breakthrough of Fra Giocondo's edition. Although seemingly coarse and diagrammatic, the illustrations are logical and clear. The woodcut illustrations, based on drawings probably prepared by Fra Giocondo himself, are assumed to have been made by the publisher.

The 1511 Venetian Vitruvius, a great commercial and critical success, was republished in 1513 in Florence, accompanied by Frontinus' treatise on the aqueducts of Rome, and dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici. The twinning with Frontinus became the standard publication form for Italian editions of Vitruvius. The other changes included smaller format and the addition of four more woodcuts. The 1522 edition was not as faithful to Fra Giocondo, while the 1523 edition was a pirated version published in Lyon.

Fra Giocondo's stellar career was crowned by appointment to papal service in 1513, when he was nominated architect of Saint Peter's upon the death of Donato Bramante. He occupied this position with Raphael and with Giuliano da Sangallo, with whom he also shared a great interest in architectural theory and archaeology. Lavishly salaried and provisioned by the pope, Fra Giocondo was encouraged to live well and remain in good physical condition; but he was already eighty. Raphael believed that Fra Giocondo was "given to him by the pope" to learn his architectural secrets; in fact they talked every day about the building of Saint Peter's, where they probably focused on stabilizing the foundations of the basilica (Brenzoni 1960).

Fra Giocondo's Vitruvius is an attractive small folio with 136 woodcuts, a Vitruvian glossary, and a table of mathematical symbols. It is the first time that the reader is helped to understand the text in this way. The edition constitutes a reconstructed Vitruvian text and a resource for architects and engineers. In Ciapponi's evaluation (1984), neither Alberti nor Sulpizio, author and editor of the two available architectural texts at the end of the fifteenth century, had the "range of Fra Giocondo's expertise as field archaeologist and practicing architect."

Fra Giocondo made substantial changes to the text, filling in lacunae in the principal manuscript with readings from lesser manuscripts; the division into chapters of each of the ten books is also due to him. Scholars now distinguish five families of Vitruvian manuscripts, descended from one archetype, the ninth-century

Harleian ms 2767 in the British Library, and the rarer versions descended from the eleventh-century northern Vitruvian manuscript in Wolfenbüttel's Herzog August Bibliothek. The most interesting feature of Fra Giocondo's edition, according to Ciapponi (1984), is his own substantial editorial interventions. While Sulpizio sought to offer a grammatically correct text, Fra Giocondo compared "Vitruvius' words with remains of ruins and ancient buildings." Fra Giocondo did not compose a separate commentary but silently emended and corrected Vitruvius' technical lexicon and mathematical symbols. Through his colleague Giovanni Lascaris, with whom Fra Giocondo overlapped in Paris and Venice and who was close to the Medici, Fra Giocondo probably learned of the complete text of Vitruvius' Greek epigrams, which had been found by Poliziano in a manuscript brought to Lorenzo de' Medici from Greece. This manuscript was unknown to editors of Vitruvius before Fra Giocondo.

Fra Giocondo's illustrations have not been conclusively examined. The oriental costumes of the figures were probably influenced by the Venetian painter Giovanni Bellini and others. The technical diagrams in book 10 show the influence of the ancient author on Fra Giocondo's engineering projects. Fra Giocondo used the tympanum and the water screw for the foundations of the bridge of Notre Dame in Paris. Fra Giocondo's plates constitute the point of departure of the graphic illustrations later referred to as the "Venetian family" (Ciapponi 1984). He based his drawings on extensive archaeological research conducted during his entire career. The numerous extant drawings attributed to him are preserved in the Uffizi collections in Florence, and the three former Destailleur albums in St. Petersburg and Berlin (according to Geymüller [1891] but not found by Ciapponi [1961]). While his illustrations eliminated the problems created by the loss of the Vitruvian illustrations, Fra Giocondo could be said to have substituted the authority of images for the authority of the text. His edition of Vitruvius has been seen as an attempt to "manualize" the treatise, converting it into a useful model and pattern book for contemporary architects who could rely on it to provide precise norms as well as clearly graspable principles.

Cesare Cesariano

The first edition of Vitruvius in Italian, edited by Cesare Cesariano, is also the first edition in any vernacular language, further distinguished by an elaborate set of illustrations that testify to the complicated relation between contemporary and ancient architecture at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Cesare Cesariano (or Ciseriano) lived in Lombardy between 1475 and 1543. Descendant of a patrician family, he practiced as an

architect, military engineer, and painter. Cesariano is the first published translator of Vitruvius into Italian and only the second to publish an illustrated version of the Vitruvian text. Associated with the court of the duchess of Milan, Bona di Savoia, through his father who was a chancellor, Cesariano stayed at court and frequented Bramante, whom he names as his *preceptor*, praising his contributions as poet and painter as well as architect. Cesariano probably knew Leonardo and mentions his students extensively.

Leaving Milan in 1490, or perhaps in 1493, Cesariano worked throughout northern Italy painting and providing designs for parties and theatrical machinery for Duke Ercole d'Este. After 1507, he was in Parma, where he painted various works between 1508 and 1512, including the sacristy of the monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista (Tafuri 1978).

Cesariano's checkered career continued after his return to Milan in 1513, when he took minor orders. His most significant architectural work is the atrium of Santa Maria presso San Satiro. When the city was taken by the army of François I in 1515, Cesariano barely managed to escape—with the manuscript of his Vitruvius edition, as he mentions in the text. In 1518 he was working in Asti on a hydraulic project that he would later discuss in his commentary on book 8 of Vitruvius. It was at this time that he found the sponsors for his publication in Luigi Pirovano and Agostino Gallo. In a notarial act of 11 April 1521, the conditions for the publication are set out. Gallo and Pirovano were to pay for the production of an edition of 1,300 copies, and the designated printer was Gottardo da Ponte. Cesariano reserved the right to proofread and revise illustrations; he moved to Como where he stayed at the house of Gallo's brother for the duration of the printing process. As book 9, on clocks, was being printed Cesariano was denied his contractual right to proofread printed leaves of the book. He precipitately left Gallo's house, taking with him the remaining manuscript and copperplates, though these were taken by force from him shortly after, and Cesariano was thrown into prison. Upon his release, he went to Milan and sued his former partners. Nonetheless, they completed printing without him, omitting his name from the colophon. Cesariano is mentioned only toward the end of the book as having abandoned the publishing project (Tafuri 1978).

The exceptional graphic layout and illustration of the text deserve particular esteem. The designs were, with a few exceptions, Cesariano's own. The design of the Vitruvian man, whose limbs reach out to touch both the circle and the square, is by an obscure Milanese patrician, Pietro Paolo Segazone. It is one of many illustrations influenced by Luca Pacioli and Leonardo, whose vastly more appealing interpretation of the Vitruvian passage—now one of the best-known icons



of the Italian Renaissance—remained in manuscript.

The commentary that surrounds the illustrations is a summary of contemporary architectural knowledge, rather poorly written in a Latinized vernacular filled with Latin and Greek quotations, with many abbreviations, typographical errors, and irregular punctuation. Though difficult to imagine in an artist who had never been to Rome, Cesariano seems to have had an extensive Greek and Latin culture, and was attempting to invent a new architectural language, rather than merely translating the Vitruvian text. In his writing he relied on ideas gleaned from scholars, aristocrats, and ancient texts to make his book on architecture, still considered a craft, welcome in the libraries of the wealthy.

Cesariano's text is also significant for an understanding of contemporary artistic contexts. He discusses several different schools of painting; besides Bramante and Leonardo, he mentions artists such as Andrea Solari, Bernardino Luini, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, Andrea Mantegna, Lorenzo Costa, Michelangelo, Giovanni Bellini, Perugino, Piero della Francesca, and Raphael. He also discusses the great patricians of his time at the Sforza court. Indeed, in the mid-1520s (when Francesco II Sforza returned to Milan), Cesariano is listed among the Milanese engineers working on the fortifications of the Castello Sforzesco. The *tenaglia* he built for the citadel in 1527 was destroyed by the enlargements made after 1546.

The judgment on Cesariano's suit against his sponsors was eventually rendered in 1528. He was then awarded one-third of the value of the 1,312 copies that had been printed. His fortification of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan was lauded, and his personal career was further crowned by his appointment as architect and surveyor of Milan in 1533 and by his work on the completion of the cathedral. In 1536 he received the dubious tribute of plagiarism, in Gianbattista Caporali's edition of Vitruvius. Sebastiano Serlio, who held him in great esteem, refers to Cesariano in his publication of 1540 issued in Venice (see cat. 158). The judgment of Claudio Tolomei, the erudite convener of the Roman Vitruvian Academy, was wholly negative, however; he accused Cesariano of being less comprehensible than the Latin original (Tafuri 1978). Cesariano's position was not clarified by Vasari, who has him precede Bramante, while Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo accords him only a brief mention. Cesariano's worth was fully appreciated only in the eighteenth century, though even then his translation was never favorably accepted. Giovanni Poleni reproached him for "terms that were neither Latin nor Italian," implying that Cesariano's was more a transliteration than a translation of Vitruvius (see cat. 104). Carol Krinsky (1971) finds a fundamental misunderstanding of Vitruvius in the Como edition, which made it impossible for the Renaissance to use it as a manual of

classical building. In her estimate, the book shows the "extent to which many architects of the sixteenth century relied on the legacy of the middle ages to supplement their knowledge of ancient art."

While the text of Cesariano's *Vitruvius* was rendered obsolete by Daniele Barbaro's edition of 1556, the illustrations were an important influence on the design of contemporary buildings, serving as models in the less classicizing northern context. Cesariano relied on Fra Giocondo's suggestions for subjects to be illustrated. According to Krinsky (1969), he may have used the smaller and cruder 1513 Florentine edition. But Cesariano combined several pictures into one plate, and the sparse linear drawings of Fra Giocondo were thoroughly transfigured by him with richly shaded and detailed renderings. His own additions to the repertory of illustrations are the view of Halicarnassus, the map of Italy, the allegory of his own life, and the historiated initials. Cesariano illustrates the plan of the cathedral of Milan, constructing it in the German manner of triangulation and *quadratura*, implying that it was the method used by the Romans. Cesariano's illustrations are, contrary to Fra Giocondo's, models and examples.

The 1521 *Vitruvius* demonstrates the excellence of its printer Gottardo da Ponte, who, between 1504 and 1533, produced a series of distinguished books. The translation and the commentary are printed in typeface of different size and spacing, creating strong patterns of varied grays, with judiciously placed woodcuts breaking up the text. The front and back of the book, printed after Cesariano's departure from the project, make no mention of his name. They fully acknowledge instead the contribution of Gottardo, Pirovano, and Gallo, who thus appropriate legal credit for the production, dedication, and copyright of the treatise. The preface by Gallo is dedicated to François I, the king of France. Among the unnumbered pages, there are seven leaves of an architectural dictionary compiled by Bono Mauro, a humanist brought into the project by Pirovano, in which Cesariano is mentioned negatively. It is the first numbered page, printed first and costly to reprint, that declares the true author of the book. Translation, commentary, and illustrations have an internal coherence and unity that clearly demonstrate the overall supervision by Cesariano.

The translation of a classical text into a vernacular language accompanied by a commentary was a novel idea in the early sixteenth century. Following Fra Giocondo's edition of Vitruvius published in 1511, which restored the Latin text considerably as well as illustrating it, Cesariano's project constituted an ambitious but logical step in the updating of the classical text. Furthermore, his project was paralleled by the similar (though unpublished) enterprise pursued in Rome under the aegis of Raphael and Fabio Calvo. The Sforza

and Visconti courts had earlier sponsored extensive architectural research, not only in Bramante's and Leonardo's work, but also that of the sculptor Filarete, whose manuscript treatise provided the earliest architectural and urbanistic utopia, defining the forms and principles of the quattrocento ideal city. Another source for Cesariano, though probably not a direct acquaintance, was the work of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, who as early as 1477–1480 had announced that he was working on a translation of Vitruvius for which he had already prepared interpretive illustrations. Cesariano may have known of this project through Leonardo, who owned a version of Francesco's manuscript treatise, and from Luca Pacioli's publication on proportion (*De divina proportione*, 1509), which borrowed extensively from Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Cesariano's grammatical and linguistic sources are amply discussed in Alessandro Rovetta's introduction to his recent edition (1996) of Cesariano's first chapter. Rovetta situates Cesariano in Milanese cultural and social circles in an attempt to render him and his overambitious project somewhat less implausible.

In his commentary, Cesariano refers to several other ancient texts, using recent Venetian editions. His most frequent reference is to Pliny the Elder, whose natural history helps explicate numerous questions of terminology and personalities only cryptically dealt with by Vitruvius. Aristotle is another frequently cited ancient philosopher, used by Cesariano in his attempt to provide a philosophical foundation for his architectural treatise. Other more current sources are Luca Pacioli, whose commentary on Euclid Cesariano relied on for his discussion of geometry, which also draws heavily on the German method of modules.

Cesariano was not well acquainted with ancient Roman architecture and did not survey ancient monuments. Although he traveled in northern Italy before his commentary was written, he makes no mention of firsthand experience with ruins, and probably did not visit Verona or Rome, although Vasari believed he had. He appears to know nothing about Bramante's Roman years. Besides Pliny, Cesariano relies on Livy, Varro, Ptolemy, Frontinus, Cicero, Publius Victor, and Sallust for his information about Rome. This reading may have led Cesariano to believe that certain ancient Roman buildings were still standing, although they had disappeared long before. Thus his list of *thermae* includes several vanished baths. His list of triumphal arches is derived from the medieval *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, and his meager pictures of aqueducts come from Fra Giocondo. Although there were some Roman antiquities in Milan, such as old walls, isolated capitals, and fragments of friezes, the Roman buildings Cesariano knew were all early Christian. Their arched and vaulted construction posed problems in understanding Vitru-

vius' emphasis on trabeated architecture (Krinsky 1971). Even more than in Rome, the distance between the Vitruvian text and the archaeological remains was difficult to bridge.

Cesariano shows no familiarity with Renaissance architectural theory, such as Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings and Francesco di Giorgio Martini's reconstructions. His caryatid and Persian porches resemble late medieval and fifteenth-century tombs such as the Colleoni monument in Bergamo and the Mocenigo monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. He was unable, according to Krinsky (1971), to imagine freestanding columns, or columns standing in front of walls, and thus he did not understand the Pantheon.

Cesariano's project is part of the cultural ambition of the Milanese Sforza court, spearheaded by Leonardo and Pacioli, to produce a Lombard Vitruvius, in direct competition with similar attempts in Rome. Both Lombard and Roman Vitruvian projects have been interpreted by Tafuri as political enterprises intended to counter the hegemony of Florentine artistic discoveries and contributions. Cesariano illustrates his commentary on classical building with references to drawings of buildings in Milan, thus fusing the Vitruvian city with the image of Milan, proposing the cathedral as a prototypical building. This is part of Cesariano's enterprise to update the Vitruvian text and contextualize it in contemporary north Italian building practice. Cesariano offered a valuable direction for subsequent translators of Vitruvius, such as Walter Ryff, who provided similar regional interpretations of Vitruvius.

Cesariano's Lombard taste for repetition of elements instead of rhythmic groupings and for lavish ornament mark him as a northern architect. His publication reflects similar local and contemporary trends, and thus it is valuable for the information it offers about Milanese events and projects. Krinsky (1971) makes a persuasive analogy between Cesariano's Vitruvius and the facade of the Certosa at Pavia as equivalent representatives of Renaissance style in the Po valley. They "both use scattered ideas from antiquity to form a handsome ensemble but not a coherent unity."

Recent scholarship indicates that Cesariano probably based his translation on Fra Giocondo's Latin edition of Vitruvius, and although he probably also used the earlier Venetian edition published in 1497 by Simone Bevilacqua (as Krinsky [1969] has suggested) and the *editio princeps* probably published in Rome in 1486 by Sulpizio, he did so only secondarily. The text is weighed down, however, by Cesariano's inability to explicate numerous Vitruvian terms, his recourse to a northern, dialectal version of the vernacular Italian, and his overall limited literary ability. In his text, Latin and the Lombard dialect, with its inherited earlier writing methods (such as abbreviations and antiquated

spelling), are married together but fail to give birth to a new architectural expression.

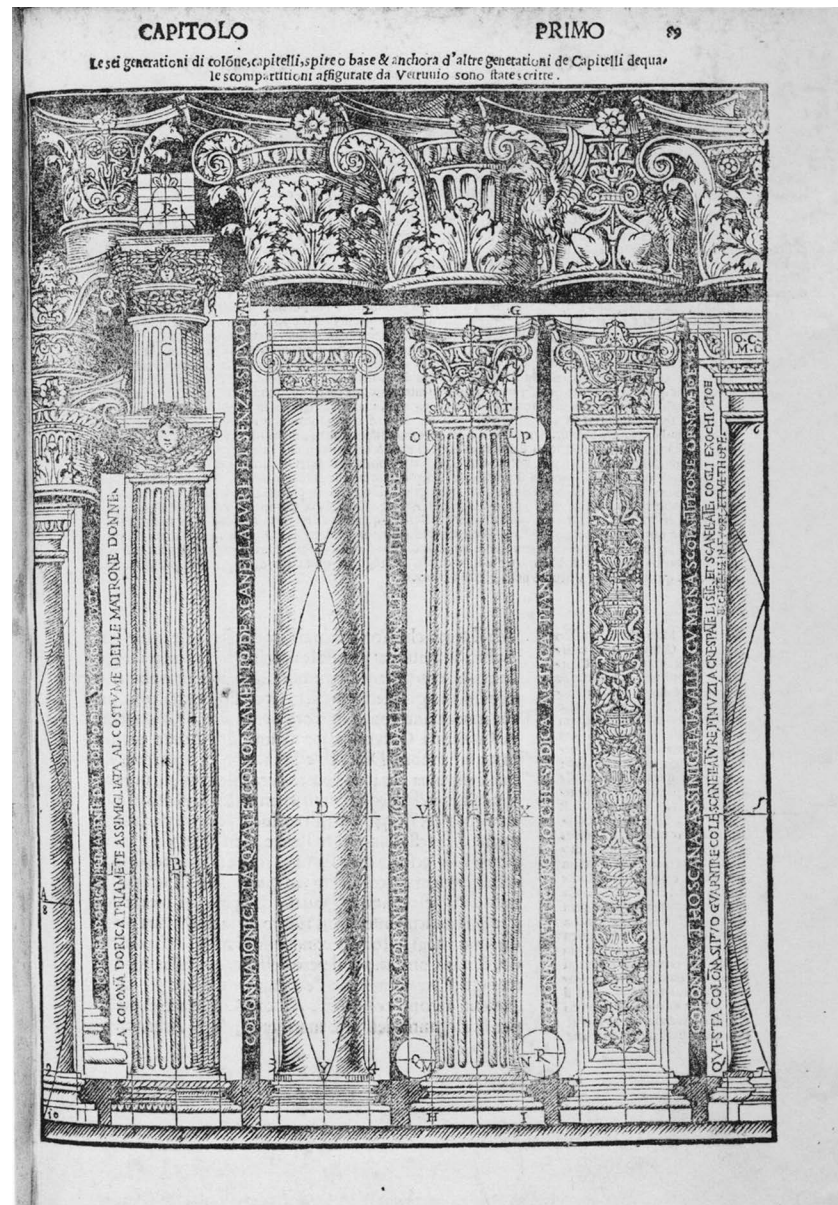
GIOVANNI BATTISTA CAPORALI

The 1536 edition by Giovanni Battista Caporali testifies to the continued commercial and cultural interest in editions of Vitruvius. Although Caporali provides a new translation and commentary on Vitruvius, he completed only the first five books of “*De architectura*.” While highly critical of earlier editions, Caporali does not scruple to borrow extensively from the Como Vitruvius, largely worsening the text in the process, as Poleni has pointed out.

Caporali (c. 1475–1555) was a Perugian poet and painter with a busy and well-documented career. Between 1508 and 1509 Caporali was probably in Rome, where he assisted Pinturicchio in painting the frescoes in Santa Maria del Popolo. In his commentary on Vitruvius he identifies Perugino as his “precettore” and describes a dinner at the house of Bramante, at which Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Luca Signorelli were also present. The stay in Rome was transformative for his architectural education. Later, he painted in the provincial towns of Panicale, Deruta, Montefalco, and Perugia and built a villa for Cardinal Silvio Passerini near Cortona.

For the 1536 edition of Vitruvius, published by the otherwise obscure Count Giano Bigazzini, Caporali designed the frontispiece, including his self-portrait with a coat of arms. (This predates Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola’s self-representation on the title page of his treatise and might be the earliest published self-portrait of an artist.) In the preface Caporali both criticizes Cesariano and uses his work for the structure of his own commentary on Vitruvius. He also appropriates numerous illustrations from the earlier editor. His own Aristotelian commentary may have, in turn, influenced Daniele Barbaro’s. Mentioned positively by Poleni (see cat. 104), Caporali was an outstanding figure in Perugia’s culture, and he may have been the first master of the distinguished architect Galeazzo Alessi.

A rusticated triumphal arch flanked by coupled Doric columns encloses the title in his frontispiece. Architecture—endowed with the instruments of both theory and practice (the compass as headpiece and the surveying instrument in her left hand)—is a female figure seated in an aedicule above the entablature and flanked by griffins. Additional instruments for design and construction are in the pedestals of the coupled Doric columns that frame the arched opening. Music, Painting, Literature, and Mathematics, represented by identifying tools, occupy the four corners of the embroidered patterned frame. Caporali’s profile portrait as a bearded, balding man looks in toward the right of



Vitruvius. *Architettura* [1536]. Six orders of columns. 1983.49.132

the frame, where his coat of arms is suspended. The triumphal arch with its theatrical box at the top seems to occupy space in a landscape; trees are suggested at left and right, and clouds hover behind Architecture’s shelter. It is a busy composition with ambitious claims that jostle one another.

The illustrations are stylistically consistent with the title page; the figures and the architectural details seem to be carved out of a dark ground. The plate on folio 89 illustrates the orders of architecture and is plagiarized from Cesariano, whose Latin captions are here rendered in Italian. There is no consistent graphic layout for the entire book. On pages where images and text share the space, the proportion of text to image varies wildly. Like Cesariano, Caporali employs differently sized type-faces but the effect is quite different: the text is in larger letters, but the smaller-faced commentary now smoth-

ers it in awkward and irregular embraces. Caporali adds further to the confusion by introducing captions in uppercase letters. Since even on facing pages the illustrations vary in size, it must be assumed that the liveliness of this confusion is a conscious decision. Some images are subdivided, offering alternative solutions for the same composition, as in the design of the portico of caryatids.

Like Caporali's, Francesco Lutio Durantino's edition of Vitruvius (Venice, 1524) is in fact only a slightly transformed copy of Cesariano's treatise. Durantino made spelling corrections and used Fra Giocondo's illustrations. He published the first five books of Cesariano's Vitruvius in smaller format with spelling changes, incorporating a few pictures based on Fra Giocondo; he also translated Cesariano's Latin captions into Italian and added several references to central Italian places and people for his own provincial audience. Fra Giocondo's and Cesariano's works were mined for other editions of Vitruvius in the first half of the sixteenth century. The 1523 Lyons edition of Vitruvius included a dozen illustrations from Cesariano's volume, while Jean Martin's edition (Paris, 1547) borrowed designs from both Fra Giocondo and Cesariano (who inspired ten of the illustrations designed by Jean Goujon).

DANIELE BARBARO

The 1556 Venice Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro is widely considered to be the most significant Italian edition of the treatise. This translation and commentary authoritatively renewed the Italian contribution to Vitruvian critical studies, expanded by Spanish, French, and German commentators in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, while the illustrations provided by Andrea Palladio, among others, are the most persuasive architectural illustrations associated with the Vitruvian text.

Daniele Barbaro, born in Venice in 1514, is the most distinguished Italian translator and commentator of Vitruvius in the sixteenth century. Member of a conspicuous Venetian patrician family, he probably studied in Verona and then at the University in Padua, where his teachers included the classicist Benedetto Lampridio, the mathematician and astronomer Federico Delfino, the physician Giambattista Montano, and the philosopher Vincenzo Maggi. Barbaro had an extensive social and intellectual network among Renaissance humanists. Among his friends at the university were Giovanni della Casa and Benedetto Varchi; he frequented social and intellectual circles, such as the notable meetings hosted by Beatrice degli Obizi, where he met Sperone Speroni and Pietro Bembo, among others. He was a founder of the Paduan Accademia degli Infiammati in 1540 and a protector of the poet Bernardo Tasso. In his first letter,

in what became an extensive and ambiguous correspondence with Pietro Aretino, Barbaro declares himself convinced of the moral value of Aretino's writings. He was also linked to Alvise Cornaro, the Venetian aristocrat whose influential writings and commissions were focused on architecture.

Barbaro enjoyed numerous and influential public positions. In 1545 he was appointed by the Venetian government to direct the construction of the botanical garden in Padua, a project meant to develop experimental materials for medical research and comparable to similar gardens founded contemporaneously in Pisa and Rome. In 1548 he was appointed Venetian ambassador to England; of his diplomatic correspondence, only his debriefing *relazione* has survived, where he astutely notes the weakened position of a changeable religion in the lives of the inhabitants. Despite accusations of heterodoxy leveled at him after his ambassadorship, Barbaro was appointed patriarch of Aquileia in 1550. What might have been a very distinguished position in the Venetian church was complicated by the presence of Giovanni Grimani, the patriarch who had chosen Barbaro as his successor, but who kept significant prerogatives that prevented Barbaro's rise to the cardinalate, and who eventually survived Barbaro. Between 1561 and 1563, Barbaro participated actively in the last sessions of the Council of Trent, where he intervened on the subjects of censorship, the reform of the church calendar, and the residence requirements for the offices of high prelates.

But Barbaro's life was dedicated principally to the cultural activities of Italian humanism, which in his case took the form of publications on a wide range of subjects, and the patronage of artists and architects. Manuscripts pertaining to his published works are preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. His publications include editions of works by his uncle Ermolao Barbaro, a treatise on eloquence, and a treatise on perspective (see cat. 12).

His most significant literary contributions are the Italian edition of Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* of 1556 and the slightly altered Latin and Italian editions of Vitruvius of 1567. He comments on the Vitruvian text in a medieval manner, glossing each sentence, but succeeds in presenting the work as a systematic composition, based on logical Aristotelian principles and leavened by concepts derived from Pythagoras and Euclid. Barbaro attributes great importance to mathematical laws, which he sees as fundamental for architecture. His mathematical cosmology, already presented in the treatise on eloquence, presupposes a numerical order implicit in the organization of the world from which he derives his concept of eurhythm as the fundamental principle of all the arts, best realized in architecture. His close involvement with artists and architects pre-

vented his writings from becoming mere academic exercises. Superseding previous editions, his commentary on Vitruvius was an unqualified success (Pagliara 1986); reprinted in various editions until the seventeenth century, it was only replaced by the commentary of the French physician and architect Claude Perrault.

Barbaro was an important patron of painters and architects. His portrait was painted by Paolo Veronese and twice by Titian. Palladio designed for him, and for his brother Marc'Antonio, the splendid villa at Maser, decorated with sculpture by Alessandro Vittoria and with wall paintings by Veronese—the fullest attempt to recreate Vitruvius' prescription for villa wall painting. Palladio also assisted Barbaro in preparing the illustrations for the two Vitruvius editions. In preparation for the completion of this ambitious enterprise, Barbaro and Palladio traveled to Rome together, where they studied and drew the remains of Roman antiquities (Forssman 1966).

Barbaro mentions in the body of the Vitruvian treatise that he started work on the commentary in 1547 after the trip to Rome with Palladio, but the translation of the text probably was begun after his return from England in 1550. He thanks Palladio not only for making the most important illustrations, but also for his help in interpreting the most difficult technical passages. It has been suggested that Barbaro may also have had help from Giuseppe Porta (Salviati) and from Giovanni Antonio Rusconi; both were talented painters, and Rusconi was also preparing an edition of Vitruvius, sidetracked by Barbaro's more erudite work and published only posthumously (see cat. 117).

The title page of the 1556 edition is a great Corinthian triumphal arch that surrounds the heroic allegorical figure of maidenly Architecture. She is very large and raised on a tall pedestal that appears to stand in front of the arch, rather than within its enclosure. In the attic stand female allegorical representations of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astrology, the four subjects of the quadrivium. Theory and History occupy niches in the side bays of the triumphal arch. An even more famous illustration, on the verso of the title page, shows an old architect (perhaps Vitruvius) surrounded by architectural fragments, pulleys, scientific instruments, solar clocks, and ancient Roman war equipment. The title page and plates in this edition, which illustrate buildings in orthogonal plan, section, and elevation, isolating them on the white page, share a luminous beauty and clarity that have been likened to Raphael's drawings.

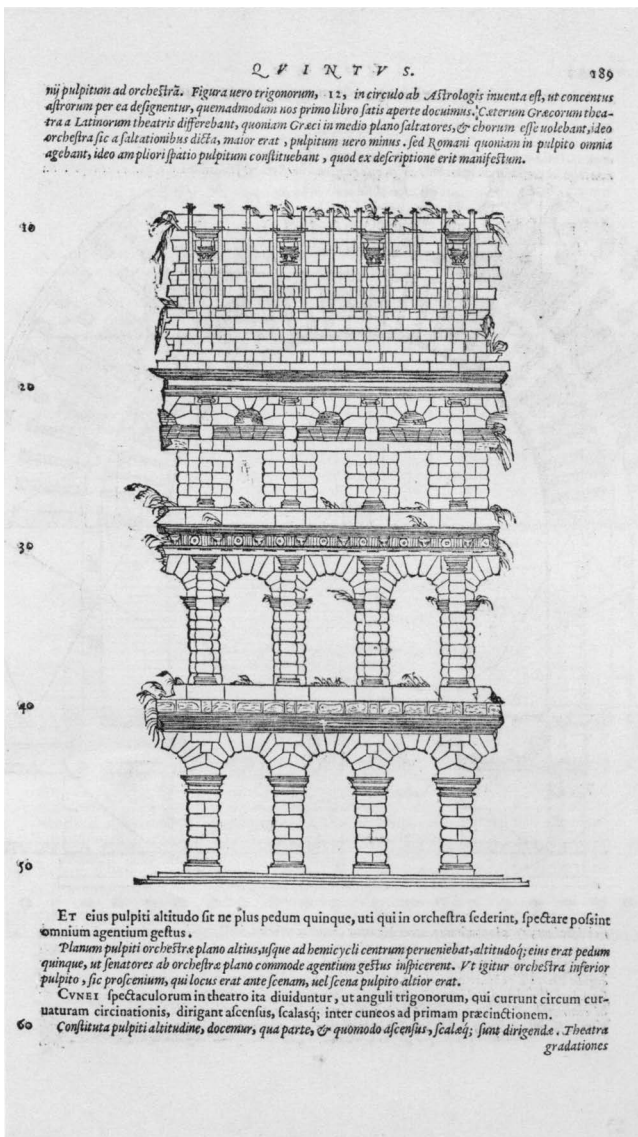
In the ninth and tenth books, Barbaro concentrates on his favored subjects of astronomy and geometry, including a self-standing chapter on the construction of solar clocks. For this chapter Barbaro and Palladio seem to have relied on Porta's 1552 treatise on the subject, which the author dedicated to Barbaro. For Barbaro



Vitruvius. *Architettura* [1536]. Title page with portrait of Giovanni Battista Caporali. 1983.49.132

this edition of the Vitruvius text is an offering to his patrician compatriots, so that they could better build their own palaces and villas, and he assumes that Vitruvius wrote for a similar audience rather than for other architects. In Barbaro's interpretation, Vitruvius is an instrument toward universal scientific knowledge.

Despite the splendid typographic production provided by the publisher, Francesco Marcolini, there were errors and *pentimenti*—directly corrected in the printed page—erroneous pagination, and many single plates. Marcolini, from Forlì, was active in Venice from 1535 until 1559. During this time, being friends with Titian, Tintoretto, Aretino, and Doni, he was among the most outstanding figures in Venetian artistic and cultural circles. The problems of the 1556 edition were largely made good in the 1567 Italian edition, and in the Latin text of the same year, published by Francesco de'



Vitruvius. *De architectura* [1567]. Elevation of an amphitheater (the Colosseum?). 1983.49.138

Franceschi with the recut plates by Giovanni Chriegher. The Latin edition contains a plan of Venice and a description of Venice's arsenal, as well as praise for the Senate's work in the environmental protection of the city from the encroachments of land and sea into the lagoon. The 1567 Italian edition was more widely circulated, perhaps because of its more practical format and larger print run. Vincenzo Scamozzi's copy, amply annotated and now in the Vatican Library, was part of the 1567 edition. Franceschi reissued the 1567 Italian version of Barbaro's Vitruvius in 1584; additional Venetian reprints were published in 1629, 1641, and 1854. Marcolini and Franceschi were also Serlio's publishers (see cats. 126–128), as well as Porta's and Barbaro's.

Barbaro dedicated the 1556 and the 1567 Italian editions of Vitruvius to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, the dedicatee of Serlio's "Extraordinary Book of Architecture," and owner of the Grand Ferrare manor house

at Fontainebleau designed by Serlio. The cardinal was a distinguished patron of architecture, best known for the stupendous building and gardens at his villa in Tivoli, designed for him by the renowned antiquarian architect Pirro Ligorio. Barbaro and Palladio were apparently the guests of the cardinal at Tivoli during their Roman sojourn, and the projects for the extensive hydraulic works in the garden may have inspired the nymphaeum of the Barbaros' villa at Maser. The publishers of the 1567 Latin edition were the well-known Franceschi and his German partner, Chriegher, the latter also known as a cartographer from Piedmont, and the dedicatee was Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, also a former student at the University of Padua. For the Latin edition, Barbaro relied on the text published by Philander (Lyon, 1552; see Millard, *French Books*, 165) and by Fra Giocondo. In the 1567 edition there were more illustrations, though of lower quality than those of the first edition and executed by Chriegher, some of which were published in Andrea Palladio's *Quattro libri* in 1570 (see cat. 65). The Latin version of the 1567 edition contains a plan of the house of the ancient Greeks, which Palladio used in chapter ix of his book 2.

Barbaro's celebrated translation overshadowed all preceding editions. But did he succeed in creating a new Italian architectural language, in the sense of early linguistic contributions of the humanists Bembo and Baldassare Castiglione? (The creation of an architectural language was the intention behind translating Vitruvius into Italian.) What he doubtlessly accomplished was the refinement of the distinct tools available to architects for the representation of buildings. Barbaro clarified the fraught questions of *ichnographia*, *orthographia*, and *scenographia*, extensively and inconclusively discussed by Vitruvius. By altering the last to read *sciagraphia*, he proposed the orthogonal plan, section, and elevation as the principal means through which an architect could accurately illustrate the design of buildings. He thus eliminated perspective from the acceptable means of representation, showing that, by being linked to optical perception rather than logical abstraction, it belonged to an epistemologic domain different from those of the plan, section, and elevation.

BERARDO GALIANI

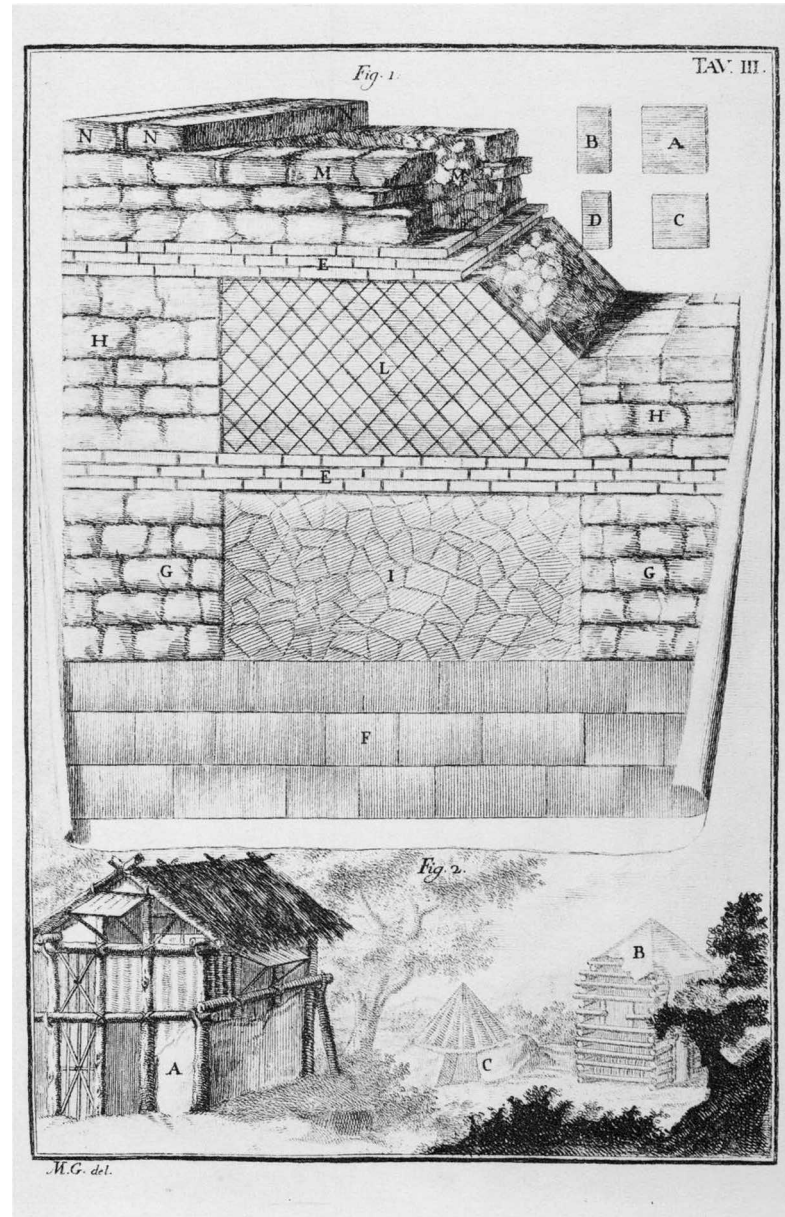
The Neapolitan edition by Berardo Galiani is associated with the highest cultural achievements in Naples under the reign of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies. The edition was received favorably in Italian intellectual circles and was reissued six times (Naples 1790, Siena 1790, Milan 1823, 1832, and 1844, Venice 1854). The antiquarian Galiani, the brother of the better-known diplomat Ferdinando Galiani, had been educated by the distinguished Giambattista Vico. Galiani published

his lavish bilingual (Italian-Latin) folio edition of Vitruvius' treatise, embellished with twenty-five engraved figures, first in Naples in 1758. He also collected materials and prepared extensive notes and drafts for a separate study of architecture that, however, remained incomplete. According to Ebhardt (1918), Galiani had access to the best manuscripts of Vitruvius at the Vatican and to the Latin *editio princeps*. The Millard copy of the Caporali *Vitruvius* apparently belonged to Berardo Galiani, who annotated the text.

As a member of the Accademia Ercolanese, Galiani was associated with the archaeological excavations of Herculaneum, where a number of discoveries about Roman architecture had been made. But he could not refer to any of this important new material when interpreting or illustrating the Vitruvian text, since the copyright over the materials found in this excavation had been assigned by the king to the Accademia Ercolanese (see cat. 1). He was constrained by the same royal edict that prohibited publication of antiquities before they appeared in the Accademia's official publications. Thus Galiani could make only passing reference to the royal excavations even though they had been under way for seventeen years, incurring the contempt of scholars outside Naples. Galiani's introduction included reference to Herculaneum, but his intention was to use Vitruvius to shed light on the ruins rather than the other way around. This was a missed opportunity since comparison between the architectural remains and the text would have distinguished his commentary from others, elucidating difficult passages in Vitruvius.

The illustrations of Galiani's *Vitruvius* benefited from parallel publication enterprises in Naples that were contemporary with his. A sizable school of draftsmen and engravers was being trained to illustrate the books published by the Accademia Ercolanese and the immense folio documenting Luigi Vanvitelli's design for the royal palace at Caserta (see cat. 140). The frontispiece of Galiani's edition of Vitruvius is a dramatic diagonal composition in which a young student is shown by his military preceptress the allegorical figures of Sculpture—who has just finished carving the coat of arms of the king—and Painting crouched at the knees of a pregnant Architecture, who is holding a plan of an elaborate vestibule while standing in front of a porticoed building with an open door. We are being invited to enter this paper world of architecture.

The entire book has been carefully designed. The copperplate engravings (except the frontispiece) are by Francesco Cepparoli after drawings by Galiani. Each opening contains a numbered full-page illustration at right with its accompanying text at left. The illustrations and their extended captions follow the bilingual text of Vitruvius' treatise. In his illustrations of the early Roman and Greek house and of the theater, Galiani



Vitruvius. *L'Architettura* [1758]. Roman construction in concrete and bricks; and the vernacular house. 1985.61.2742

relies on the Vitruvian tradition of illustrations, rather than updating them with his newly acquired knowledge from the excavations at Herculaneum. Nor does he allow the drama of Piranesi's rendering of ancient Roman ruins to influence his interpretation, offering instead soberly attractive renderings of Roman masonry techniques. The nearly contemporary polemics of the abbé Laugier's primitive hut, which Galiani would have doubtless known through his brother's Parisian circle of *philosophe* friends (Nicolini 1903), are also ignored in favor of a stagey thatched cottage worthy of Marie-Antoinette's *hameau* at Versailles, rendered in the safe and unheroically appealing style of Giuseppe Vasi, the most famous illustrator for the royal publishing enterprises in Naples.

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Joseph Wagner (1706–1780)

I63

[Prospetti sei di altrettanti templi di Venezia]

Venice: Joseph Wagner, [between 1755 and 1765]

1998.7.1–6

Broadsheet: 488–492 × 656–664 (19¼–19¾ × 25⅞–26⅞)

Foliation 6 etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition. Title supplied by Constable, *Canaletto*. Undated, the views are often incorrectly ascribed to 1742 (see *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon* 9:222)

Illustrations Six *capricci*, all views of Venetian churches after Canaletto, etched and engraved in reverse by Joseph Wagner (1–2, 4, 6) or Fabio Berardi (3, 5), and all published by Wagner with his stock numbers “N°. 57. 1(–6)” bottom left. Captions as follows:

1. “Veduta del Prospetto della Chiesa di S. Giorgio Maggiore. con alcune adiacenze a capriccio.”

2. “Prospetto della Chiesa di S. Simeone Appostolo, con alcune fabbriche d’invenzione del pittore.”

3. “Veduta del Prospetto della Chiesa del S.S.^{mo} Redentore. Architettura del Palladio colle accessorie ideale del Pittore.”

4. “Prospetto della Chiesa del S.S.^{mo} Rosario detta de’ Gesuati. Architettura di Giorgio Massari.”

5. “Prospetto della Chiesa del SS.^{mo} Salvatore. Architettura di Jacopo Sansovino.”

6. “Veduta del Prospetto della Chiesa di S. Francesco della Vigna. Architettura del Palladio con alcune aggiunte d’invenzione.”

Binding Disbound. In the Millard copy, each caption has an added contemporary ink annotation “in Venezia” (or similar)

References Constable, *Canaletto*, 2:680

Fabio Berardi. *Prospetti*. View of Il Redentore. 1998.7.3



Johann Joachim Winckelmann

(1717–1768)

I64

Monumenti Antichi Inediti Spiegati Ed illustrati
Da Giovanni Winckelmann Prefetto Delle
Antichità Di Roma Volume Primo [–Secondo]

Rome: printed by Marco Pagliarini for Johann Joachim
Winckelmann ("A Spese Dell'Autore"), 1767

1985.61.2757–2758

Folio: 388 × 266 (15¼ × 10½)

Pagination Vol. 1: xxiv, ciii, [1] pp., 208 [i.e., 67] etched
plates (60 double page)

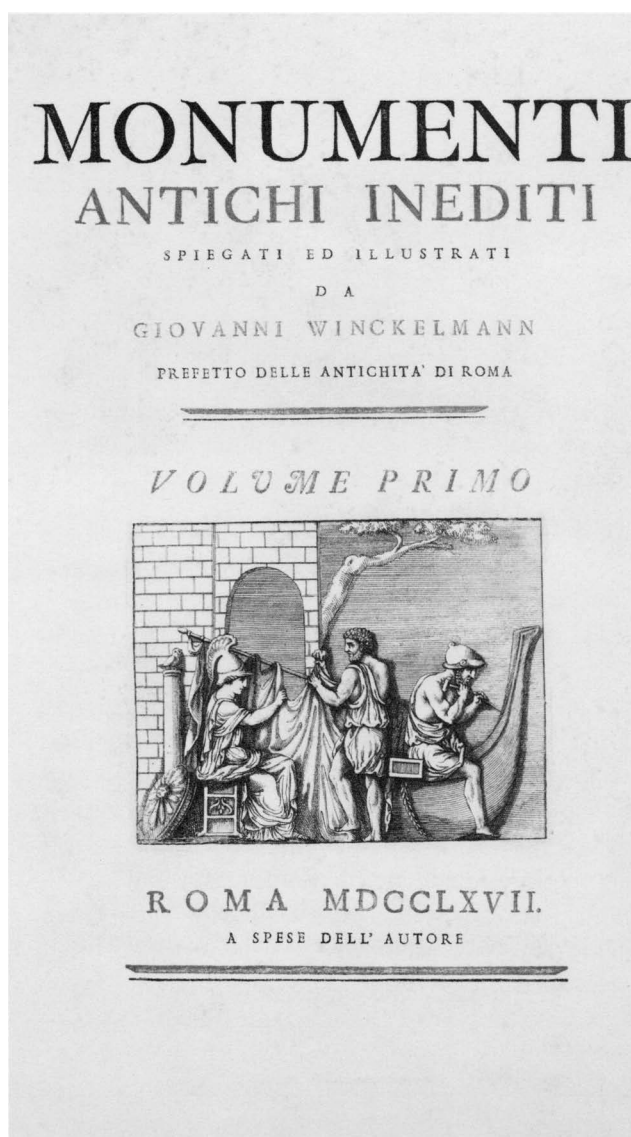
Vol. 2: [viii], 368, [2] pp.

Edition First edition

Text vol. 1: pp. [1] half-title: "Monumenti Antichi Inediti"
(verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and black
(verso blank); [v–vii] dedication by Winckelmann to
Cardinal Alessandro Albani; [viii] etched plate; [ix]–xiii
descriptions of head- and tailpieces; [xiv] etched plate;
[xv]–xxiv preface; [1] fly-title: "Trattato Preliminare
Dell'Arte Del Disegno Degli Antichi Popoli" (verso
blank); iii–viii contents; [ix]–ciii text; [civ] etched and
engraved plate; vol. 2: [i] half-title: "Monumenti Antichi
Inediti" (verso blank); [iii] title page, printed in red and
black (verso blank); [v–viii] contents; 1–283 text; [284]
etched plate; [285] divisional title page: "Indice" (verso
blank); 287–290 index of works cited; 291–297 annotated
index of authors cited; 298–354 general index; 355–368
annotated index of ancient monuments, ending with
colophon: "In Roma MDCCLXVII. Nella Stamperia Di
Marco Pagliarini . . ."; [369] errata and imprimaturs;
[370] blank

Ornaments Etched and engraved vignettes on both title
pages, dedication (p. [v]), and used throughout both
volumes as ornaments, head- and tailpieces (vol. 1: pp.
[viii], [ix], xiii, [xv], [ix] bis, xiv bis, xxv, xxxv, cii, [civ];
vol. 2: pp. v, 108, 238, 284); etched initial on dedication
(p. [v]); woodcut tailpieces, initials

Illustrations Vol. 1: 208 etched plates numbered 1–208
on 67 leaves (60 double page, remainder full page). Plate
180 signed by Nikolaus Mosman as draftsman and Nic-
colò Mogalli as etcher ("N. Mosman delin."; "N. Mogalli
Sculp."); remaining plates unsigned



Johann Joachim Winckelmann. *Monumenti Antichi*. Title page.
1985.61.2757

Binding Bound in 2 vols. Contemporary French full red
morocco, gilt borders, gilt spine, black morocco labels,
edge rolled, gilt turn-ins, gilt edges, blue silk endpapers

Provenance Bookplate of Charles Edouard Mewes in
both volumes

References Cicognara 2506 (with a third volume consist-
ing of seven short works by various scholars)

I65

Storia Delle Arti Del Disegno Presso Gli Antichi Di Giovanni Winkelmann Tradotta Dal Tedesco E In Questa Edizione Corretta E Aumentata Dall'Abate Carlo Fea Giureconsulto Tomo Primo [–Terzo]

Rome: printed by Marco Pagliarini, 1783–[1784]

1985.61.2761–2763

Quarto: 267 × 190 (10½ × 7½)

Pagination Vol. 1: [iv], xcvi, 451, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [21] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 2: 427, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [12] etched and engraved plates

Vol. 3: xii, 604, 40 pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, [23] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition with Carlo Fea's emendations in vol. 3; second Italian edition (first published in German: Dresden, 1764; 1st Italian ed.: Milan, 1779)

Text vol. 1: pp. [1] half-title: "Storia Delle Arti Del Disegno." (verso blank); [iii] title page; [iv] quotation from Virgil; [i]–iv dedication by Carlo Fea to Giuseppe Niccolo de Azara; [v]–xvi preface by Fea, dated Rome, 16 September 1783; [xvii]–xxii preface by the Milanese editors (the Cistercian monks of Sant'Ambrogio Maggiore); [xxiii]–lx preface by the Viennese editors (from the second German edition, Vienna, 1776); [lxi]–lxxxii eulogy of Winckelmann by C. G. Heyne; lxxxii–xcvi table of contents, vols. 1–3; [1]–451 text, books 1–vi; [452] approbation, dated Rome, 15 August 1783, and imprimatur; vol. 2: pp. [1] half-title, as in vol. 1 (verso blank); [3] title page; [4] quotation from Cicero; [5]–427 text, books vii–xii; [428] blank; vol. 3: pp. [1] half-title, as in vol. 1 (verso blank); [iii] title page; [iv] quotation from Cornelius Severus; [v]–xii preface by Fea; 1–14 preface by Winckelmann for "Osservazioni Sull'Architettura Degli Antichi."; 15–16 contents, "Osservazioni Sull'Architettura"; [17]–128 text, "Osservazioni Sull'Architettura," and "Osservazioni Sull'Antico Tempio Di Girgenti"; [129] divisional title page, "Lettera Sull'Origine Ed Antichità Dell'Architettura . . .," dated Rome, 1784 (verso blank); 131–186 text, "Lettera Sull'Architettura"; 187–266 text, "Lettere Di Winkelmann"; 267–416 text, "Dissertazione Sulle Rovine Di Roma"; 417–514 explanation of plates, vols. 1–3; 515–536 index of ancient monuments; 537–551 index of authors cited; 552–555 bibliography of works consulted; 556–602 general index; 603–604 addenda; [1] divisional title page: "Risposta Dell'Abate Carlo Fea Giureconsulto Alle Osservazioni Del Sig. Cav. Onofrio Boni Sul Tomo III. Della Storia

Delle Arti Del Disegno Di Giov. Winkelmann"; [2] quotation from Horace; [3]–40 text

Ornaments

Vol. 1: Etched vignette on title page, signed by Giacomo Bossi as engraver and dated 1782 ("Giac. Bossi inc. Roma 1782"); [33] small etched plates used as head- and tailpieces, 3 signed by Luigi Cunego as engraver ("Cunego inc."), 30 signed by Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Bossi inc.")

Vol. 2: Etched vignette on title page, signed by Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Bossi inc."); [19] small etched plates used as head- and tailpieces, 1 signed by Mochetti as engraver ("Mochetti incl."), 1 signed by Girolamo Carattoni as engraver ("Girol. Carattoni inc."), and 1 signed by Francesco Belli as designer and Pietro Bombelli as engraver ("Fra.^{us} Belli Rom. del."; "Pet.^{us} Bombelli Rom. sculp.")

Vol. 3: Etched vignette on title page, signed by Girolamo Carattoni as engraver ("Carattoni inc."); etched vignette on divisional title page, unsigned; engraved initial on dedication, signed by Stefano Piale as designer and Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Piale dis."; "Bossi inc."); [8] small etched plates used as head- and tailpieces

Illustrations

Vol. 1: Etched and engraved allegorical frontispiece; 2 full-page etched and engraved plates *hors texte* and labeled with page numbers "116" and "117," according to their placement in the text; and 19 engraved or etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xviii (pl. iv with 2 engravings). Frontispiece signed by Adam Friedrich Oeser as designer and Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Oeser inv."; "Bossi inc. Roma 1783"); plates "116" and "117" signed by Giovanni Battista Calandrucci as draftsman and by Girolamo Rossi as engraver ("Io: Bapta Calandrucci delin."; "Hieronymus Rossi Sculp."); plates 1–iii, vi–xviii signed by Stefano Piale as designer and by the following as engravers: Mochetti (4 plates), Giacomo Bossi (2 plates), Girolamo Carattoni (2 plates), Luigi Cunego (2 plates), Carlo Baroni (1 plate), Petrini (1 plate), M. di Pietro (1 plate), Francesco Rastaini (1 plate), Cristoforo? Silvestrini (1 plate), Camillo? Tinti (1 plate); plate iv (both images) signed by Perini only as engraver; plate v signed by Antonio de' Domenici as designer and by Carmine Pignatari as engraver

Vol. 2: Etched and engraved frontispiece portrait of dedicatee, Giuseppe Niccolo de Azara; 1 folding etched and engraved plate and 11 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xi *hors texte*. Frontispiece signed by Anton Raphael Mengs as artist, Bonaventura Salesa as draftsman, and Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Eq. Ant: Raph: Mengs pinx."; "Bonav: Salesa del."; "Iac: Bossi



Johann Joachim Winckelmann. *Storia delle arti del disegno*.
Portrait of Antinous. 1985.61.2762

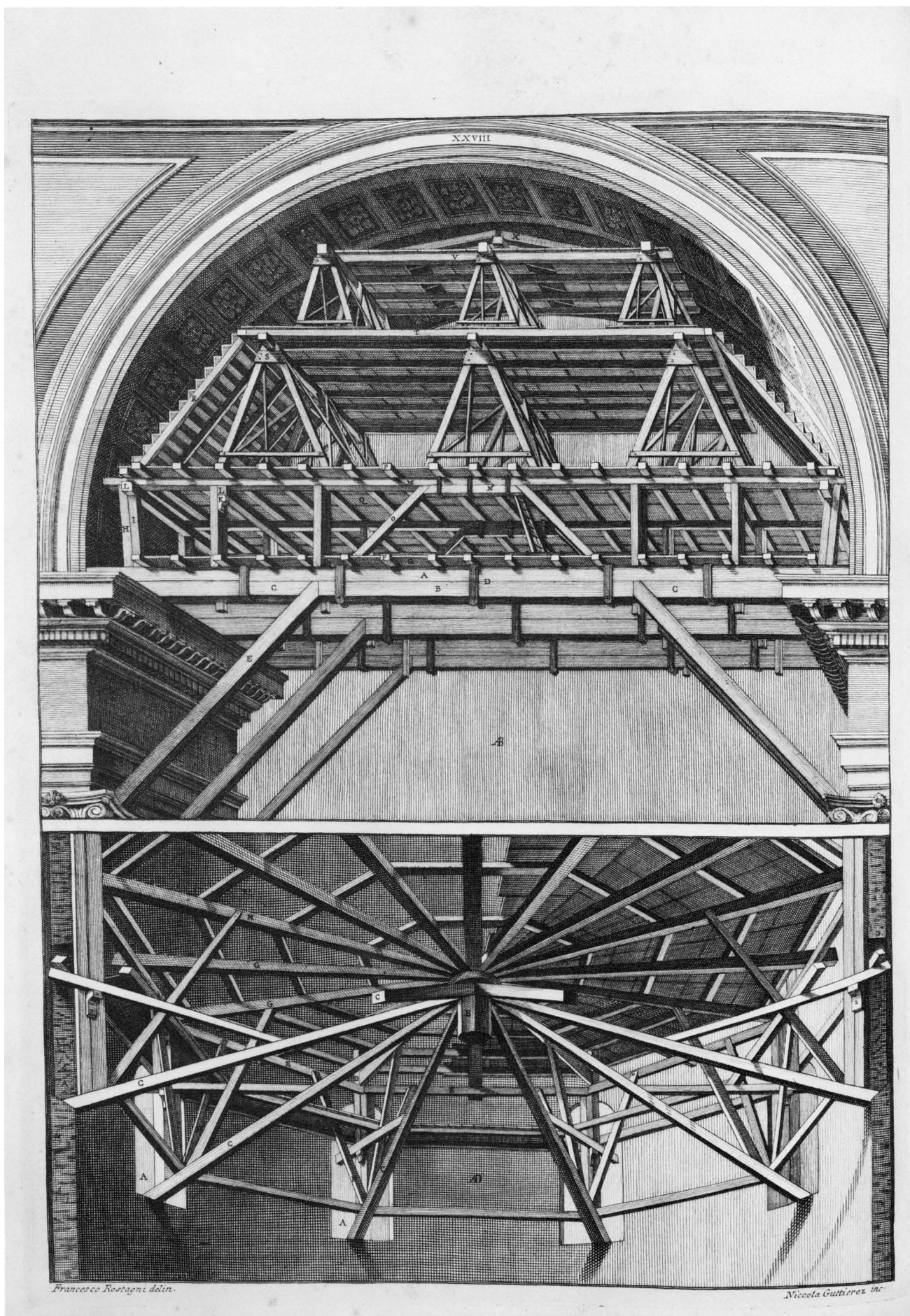
Sculp. Rome 1784"); folding plate signed by Pompeo Girolamo Batoni as designer and Michele Sorelló as engraver ("Pompeius Hierony. Batoni delin."; "Michael Sorellò scul. Rome"); plates III–X signed by Stefano Piale as draftsman and by the following as engravers: Girolamo Carratoni (4 plates), Mochetti (2 plates), Bossi (1 plate), and Giovanni Battista Dassori (1 plate); plate XI signed by Dassori only as engraver; remaining plates unsigned

Vol. 3: Etched and engraved frontispiece portrait of Winckelmann; 3 small woodcut diagrams on p. 212; and 28 engraved plates printed on 23 full-page leaves numbered II, II–XXIII (pl. XIX with 4 engravings labeled A–D; pl. XX with 3 engravings labeled A–C). Frontispiece signed by Anton? von Maron as designer and Girolamo Carattoni as engraver ("Maron pinx."; "G. Carattoni inc. Rome"); plate II signed by Francesco Faccenda as engraver ("Franc. Faccenda inc."); plate XVIII signed by Vincenzo Dolcibeni as designer and Carattoni as engraver ("Vinc. Dolcibeni dis."; "Gir. Carattoni inc."); plate XXIII signed by Stefano Piale as designer and Giacomo Bossi as engraver ("Piale dis."; "Bossi inc."); remaining plates (mostly plans and diagrams) unsigned

Binding Bound in 3 vols. Contemporary vellum, gilt spine, yellow edges

Provenance Engraved eighteenth-century bookseller's ticket inside front cover of vol. I: "On trouve chez Bouchard, Libraire, Place d'Espagne, N° 69, un assortiment de livres francais, Italiens et Anglais: des Miniaturs, des Vues de Rome a l'acquarella; des Gravures d'apres les ouvrages de Mr. Canova, de Morghen, de Volpato et d'autres excellens burins . . ."; manuscript ownership inscription on title page of vol. I: "Bibliotheca FF Min. Conventus Pontauens. 1895," with library stamp of the same order

References Millard, *French Books*, 172 (Paris, 1793–1802 edition); *Northern European Books*, 144 (Leipzig, 1781 edition)



Nicola Zabaglia (c. 1664–1750)

I66

[Title in Italian] Castelli, E Ponti Di Maestro Nicola Zabaglia Con Alcune Ingegnose Pratiche, E Con La Descrizione Del Trasporto Dell' Obelisco Vaticano, E Di Altri Del Cavaliere Domenico Fontana

[Title in Latin] Contignationes, Ac Pontes Nicolai Zabaglia Una Cum Quibusdam Ingeniosis Praxibus, Ac Descriptione Translationis Obelisci Vaticani, Aliorumque Per Equitem Dominicum Fontana Susceptæ

Rome: Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini, 1743

1983.49.147

Folio: 454 × 362 (17⁷/₈ × 14¹/₄)

Foliation [iv] leaves, 21 double-page leaves, etched engraved frontispiece, 54 etched and engraved plates (4 folding)

Edition First edition. Text by Lelio Cosatti

Text folios [i] title page, Italian (verso blank); [ii] recto, preface, Latin; [ii] verso, privileges, dated Rome, 1 May 1743, and imprimaturs; [iii] title page, Latin (verso blank); [iv] preface, Italian (verso blank); 1–21 explanation of plates, parallel Latin and Italian (versos blank)

Ornaments Etched vignette on both title pages; prefaces, and privilege printed within double-line border; woodcut tailpieces; woodcut initials

Illustrations Etched and engraved frontispiece depicting author seated at his work table; plus 54 etched and engraved plates numbered 1–LIV (pls. 34–36, 50 folding, remainder full page). Plates XXXVIII–XXXIX, XLI–XLVII, XLIX–LII are from Carlo Fontana's *Il Tempio Vaticano* (cat. 38) and also retain original numbering, all signed by Fontana as designer and Alessandro Specchi as engraver. Frontispiece signed by Pier Leone Ghezzi as draftsman and by Girolamo Rossi as engraver ("Ca.^r Pietro Leone Ghezzi delin."; "Girolamo Rossi inc."), 27 plates signed by Francesco Rostagni as draftsman and by the following engravers: Martin Schedel (5 plates), Giuseppe Vasi (5 plates), Francesco Rostagni (4 plates),

Philothée-François Duflos (3 plates), Paolo Pillaja (3 plates), Angelo Guiducci (2 plates), Niccola Gutierrez (2 plates), Francesco Mazzoni (2 plates), and Michele Sorelló (1 plate)

Binding Eighteenth-century green vellum sides, contemporary calf spine gilt in compartments. Text bound as folding leaves. Extra illustrated with five folding plates, all depicting the scaffolding designed by Pietro (pl. [1–3]) and Tomasso (pl. [4–5]) Albertini for construction or repair work in the Vatican: "Prospetto interno del Tempio Vaticano, con veduta del Ponte . . . seguito il giorno 26. Novembre dell'Anno 1773. . . ."; "Veduta laterale del Cornicione . . ."; "Prospetto dell'intiero Ponte . . ."; "Ponte da erigersi nella gran Cupola . . ."; "Ponte fatto nel Voltone. . . ." The first three of these additional plates are signed "Giacomo Sangermano delin e sculp."

References Berlin Cat. 2755; Cicognara 968; Riccardi 2: 642

THIS IS THE FIRST PUBLICATION to present engineering solutions for the raising and transportation of building materials, and it is characteristic of eighteenth-century interest in everything connected with technology. Niccola Zabaglia was the celebrated Roman carpenter, whose brilliant solutions for the construction of scaffolding, especially at Saint Peter's church in Rome, are published in this lavishly illustrated book (with Italian and Latin text); a second edition was published in 1824 and contains a biography of the author by Filippo Maria Renazzi. Zabaglia's fame is based especially on the structure of the scaffolding used in 1748 to reerect the obelisk of Augustus found behind the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and on the scaffolding suspended from the lantern of Saint Peter's dome that was used in 1743–1744 to inspect and repair the cracks in the cupola. Zabaglia was known in circles related to the French Academy in Rome and is mentioned for having transported sculptures. Filippo Titi (1763) praises him for having safely removed Domenichino's altarpiece illustrating the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian from its wall in Saint Peter's and taken it to the church of the Certosa (Santa Maria degli Angeli in the tepidarium of the former Diocletian's baths), an early instance of wall-

painting preservation. The art critic Antonio Francesco Gori (in a 1748 letter to the abbot Giacomo Martorelli) writes that, although Zabaglia cannot read, he is an excellent mechanic without knowing the scientific reasons for what he does. The frontispiece portrait of Zabaglia is by the artist Pier Leone Ghezzi, best known in Roman and English circles as a caricaturist, and engraved by Girolamo Rossi, who specialized in portraits. A painter, Ghezzi (1674–1755) also worked as an engraver of *pietre dure* and was knighted by the duke of Parma. Rossi engraved the series of artists' self-portraits in the grand-ducal gallery in Florence, the Grand Masters of the Order of Malta, the kings of Portugal, and the portrait of Pope Pius v. Other contemporary representations of Zabaglia, such as Jacques Saly's full-figure drawing and portraits by Jean Barbault and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, attest to the recognition he earned through his transformation of scaffolding into a scientific system.

The book, which cost 2,000 scudi to publish, was sponsored by Pope Benedict xiv, who had been interested in its publication since 1719 when he was a canon of Saint Peter's. He paid for the drawing and the engraving of the models for machines by Zabaglia that were kept at the Vatican palace. The models were dispersed and the copperplates were stolen in 1741. Putting together what remained and making new plates did not add up to a sizable book, so plates on masonry construction and on various machines were added. The addition of the plates on the transportation of the Vatican obelisk further confused the initial purpose of the book. The text was composed by the abbot Lelio Cosatti and translated into Latin following Pope Benedict's wish (Roversi Monaco, in *L'immagine* 1983).

Although the fifty-four illustrations in this book were drawn and engraved by a large team of artists, they are stylistically and technically consistent. The twenty-seven plates designed by Francesco Rostagni were etched and engraved by eight different engravers. Martin Schedel, who engraved plates 1, 2, 5, 6, and 13, was known for his 1738 portrait of Maria Teresa, archduchess of Austria and grand duchess of Tuscany, later empress of Austria and queen of Hungary. Plate 1 is an inventory of carpentry and scaffolding instruments, which was surely seen by the illustrators of the *Encyclopédie*; plate 2 illustrates pulleys and knots while showing the moving of a statue; plate 5 shows the trussed scaffolding of an arch, while plate 6 illustrates capstans and the sled used for sliding heavy construction materials; plate 13 illustrates exterior scaffolding. Niccola Guttierrez, the engraver of plates 9 and 28—respectively illustrating long ladders propped up against external walls and very complex bridge and wheel construction—had earlier engraved the sculpture of Camillo Rusconi.

Giuseppe Vasi engraved plate 11, a vertically movable external platform (like today's window-washing platform), plate 19, the illustration of the removal of Domenichino's wall painting in Saint Peter's (Sorensen 1994), and plate 29, of scaffolding solutions for a barrel vault. Vasi is probably the most prolific and successful among the engravers for this book. His prodigious output includes views of Rome, views of buildings designed by Luigi Vanvitelli in Ancona, and the representations of fireworks displays in Piazza Farnese designed by Paolo Posi. François Duflos, who had made etchings after the paintings of Charles Le Brun and views of ancient Rome, engraved plates 14, 16, and 17, which illustrate, respectively, a quarry of travertine, carts for the transportation of variously sized blocks of stone, and scaffolding for the transport of an urn and a fragment of an obelisk. Francesco Mazzoni's plate 15 illustrates the unloading of quarried stone in an urban context, and plate 24 shows the multileveled scaffolding in front of a pendentive area. Mazzoni engraved the portrait of Senator Filippo Buonarroti inserted in a book on Michelangelo of 1746.

Michele Sorellò, the engraver of plate 20, which shows the scaffolding of a domed niche, was involved in the huge project of illustrating the paintings of excavated Herculaneum (see *Le antichità di Ercolano*, cat. 1) and engraved the Vatican tapestries made after Raphael's designs. Paolo Pillaja engraved some of Zabaglia's most complex hanging and projecting scaffolds in plates 25–27. Earlier he had engraved statues at Saint Peter's and views of the ruins of Bolsena. There are seven unsigned plates, including the spectacular plate 10 of a movable "castle" that closely resembles ancient Roman siege towers and plate 23 of scaffolding resting on a projecting cornice, cantilevered over the void. These twenty-nine plates illustrate increasingly more daring scaffolding solutions, with complex wood-joining and doweling, truss systems, and knots.

This book is further ornamented with thirteen plates by Carlo Fontana and Alessandro Specchi that initially illustrated Fontana's *Templum Vaticanum* (see cat. 38) and had been in turn copied from Domenico Fontana's earlier book on the transportation of the Vatican obelisk (see cat. 40). Zabaglia's enterprise is evidently based on the foundations laid out by Domenico Fontana; continuing the emphasis on architectural engineering promoted by Fontana and the interest raised by Fontana's great achievement in the moving of the obelisk, Zabaglia isolates scaffolding as a specific aspect of construction. His "bridges" and "castles" (*ponti e castelli*) extend the etymology of building to the typologies of construction technology. His series of solutions constitute a pre-*Encyclopédie* system that elevates scaffolding to a science of construction and technique.

The importance of the science of scaffold construction cannot be underestimated for Renaissance and baroque church building, especially for those with large open spans, whether barrel vaults or domes. It was the impossibility of creating a large enough scaffolding that resulted in the structurally novel solution of the double-shelled dome, invented by Filippo Brunelleschi for the cupola of the cathedral of Florence, which in turn served as the model for Michelangelo's solution for the dome of Saint Peter's that later inspired the dome of Val de Grâce in Paris by François Mansart and the dome of Saint Paul's cathedral in London by Christopher Wren.

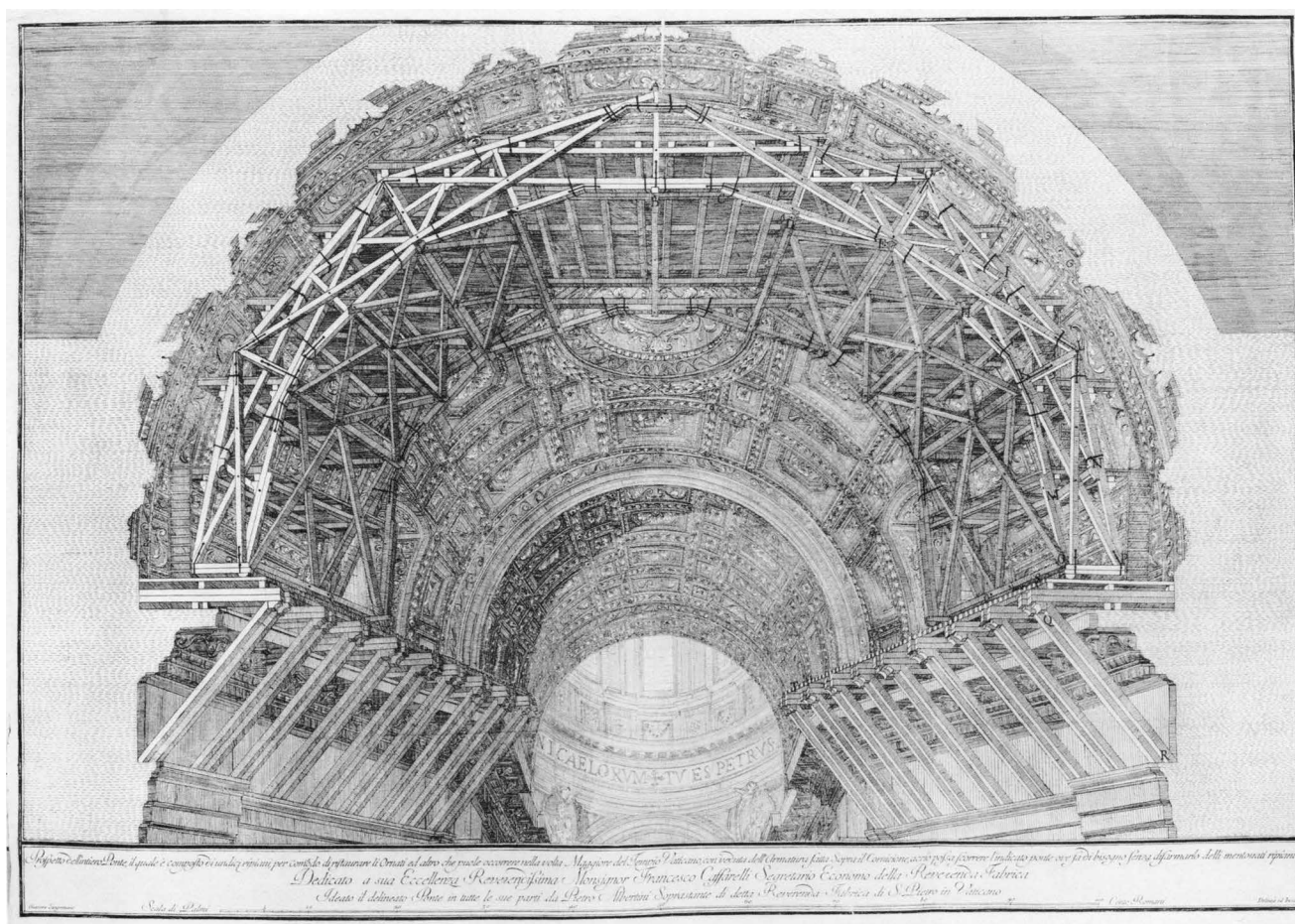
Linked with the construction of ancient Roman war machines (attack towers used in sieges), that were illustrated by strategists such as Roberto Valturio, scaffolding had a respectable architectural pedigree fully recognized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Philibert de l'Orme, in his *Nouvelles inventions* of 1561, had illustrated timbering techniques for the vaulting of large spaces, effectively producing the first scaffolding manual (Millard, *French Books*, 104). Extensive seventeenth-century French publications on carpentry, such as Mathurin Joussée's *Théâtre de l'art de charpentier* (1627), dealt with the problems of building in wood, a tradition continued in the extremely popular carpenters' manuals published in England in the eighteenth

century, such as the often reprinted *British Carpenter or a Treatise on Carpentry* by Francis Price (1733). However, in French and English contexts, carpentry was intended for long-term residential construction, rather than the temporary skeleton used in the construction of public buildings. Zabaglia's work establishes scaffolding as the necessary technique for vaulting large structures, thus ennobling it. This reevaluation of building technique receives a kind of apotheosis in his publication, which, through its vast compendium of exempla, is aesthetically pleasing and structurally daring, and confers a new status on scaffolding as a scientific and artistic discipline.

Bibliography

- Kieven, Elisabeth. *Ferdinando Fuga e l'architettura romana del settecento*. Exh. cat. Rome, 1988: 116, 273
- Monaco, Valeria Roncuzzi Roversi, ed. *L'immagine del antico fra Settecento e Ottocento: Libri di archeologia nella Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio*. Bologna, 1983: cat. 26
- Sorensen, Bent. "Some Drawings by Jacques Saly." *Master Drawings* 32 (1994): 252–261
- Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*. Rome, 1763

Nicola Zabaglia. *Castelli e ponti*. View of the scaffold at Saint Peter's. 1983.49.147



Gioseffe Viola Zanini

(c. 1599–1631)

I67

[Book 1] Della Architettura Di Gioseffe Viola Zanini Padouano Pittore, & Architetto, Libri Dve . . . Aggiuntoui di nuouo il modo di leuar il Fumo alli Camini, sì fatti, come da farsi Da Andrea Minorelli Perito Publico della Mag. Città di Padoua . . .

[Book 2] Della Nvova Simmetria Degli cinque ordini d'Architettura Di Gioseffe Zanini Viola Padovano Pittore, & Architetto . . . Libro Secondo . . .

Padua: Giacomo Cadorino, 1678

1985.61.2770

Octavo: 206 × 146 (8 1/8 × 5 3/4)

Pagination Book 1: [viii], 176 pp.

Book 2: [ii], 191, [9] pp.

Edition Second edition, second issue (1st ed.: Padua, 1629)

Text book 1: pp. [i] title page (verso blank); [iii–vi] dedication by Francesco Bolzeta to Albertino Migliara, dated 24 March 1629; [vii] dedication by Giacomo Cadorino to Antonio Migliara, dated 6 January 1678; [viii] note to reader; 1–176 text and illustrations, book 1; book 2: pp. [i] title-page (verso blank); 1–5 introduction; 6–186 text and illustrations, book 2; 187–[192] text and illustrations, Andrea Minorelli's "Noua aggiunta inuentata, & sperimentata . . . per rimediar, e leuar il fumo alli Camini . . ."; [193–200] index

Ornaments Woodcut vignettes on both title pages; woodcut head- and tailpieces, ornaments, and initials

Illustrations

Book 1: 23 unnumbered, full-page woodcut illustrations included in pagination

Book 2: 71 unnumbered full-page woodcut illustrations, plus 1 woodcut vignette, included in pagination

Binding Eighteenth-century vellum, red label, red sprinkled edges. Bound (1) with Ludovico Martinelli's *Theoremata ex universo philosophia atque elementa architecturae civilis et militaris*, Rome, 1762 (cat. 60)

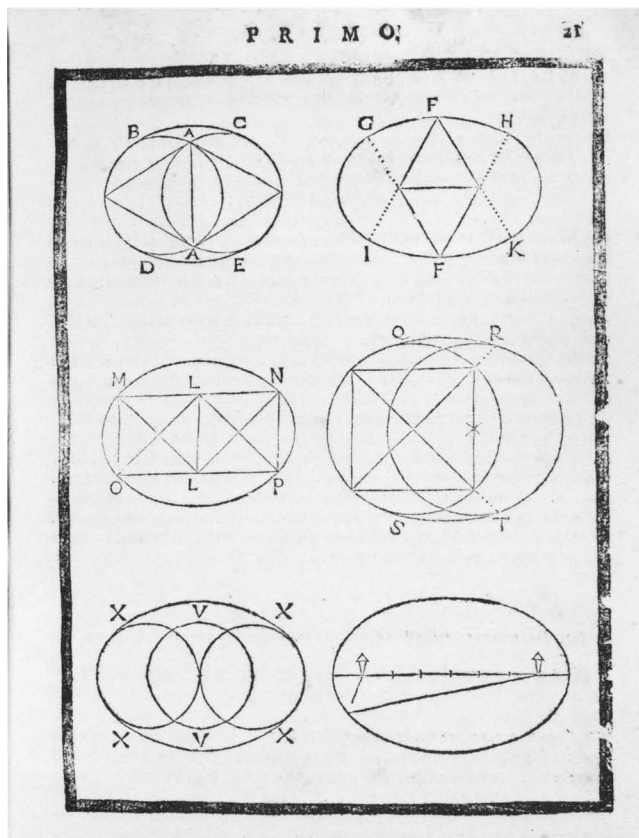
Provenance Early etched bookplate with a cardinal's coat of arms pasted on title page

References Berlin Cat. 2615; Fowler 448

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1629, Gioseffe Viola Zanini's treatise on architecture is distinguished by its regional focus. Aimed at a local audience, Zanini's ideas were exemplified through buildings and works of art predominantly drawn from Padua and nearby north Italian cities (the closest parallel would be the publications of Alessandro Capra; see cats. 27 and 28). Another distinguishing feature of this book is that its author was a decorative painter rather than a practicing architect, and thus was interested in architecture as a support system for his chosen art form. Zanini's main contribution is that he provides the first formal discussion in an architectural treatise of the principles of *quadratura* ceiling painting, a subject explored in great depth by other seventeenth-century authors, such as Agostino Mitelli (cat. 62).

This posthumous edition is substantially identical to the first edition of 1629, although the publisher has changed and a short essay on the design of chimneys has been added. The original publisher was Francesco Bolzeta, a bookseller of the Paduan Accademia in 1593 and a consultant on books for the Monte di Pietà on numerous occasions between 1593 and 1642. Bolzeta published medical, theological, and philosophical works, and a few of his editions have Venice imprints since Venetian books were the most valued in Italy. His most visual publication is a 1612 book of models for embroidery and lace designed by Gaspare Crivellari and delicately engraved. According to Bolzeta's introduction, Zanini's book was recommended to him by Vincenzo Dotto, a mathematician, topographer (his plan of Padua was published in 1627), and dilettante architect. Dotto, the designer of the Monte di Pietà (built 1612–1618) and the staircase in the Palazzo del Capitaniato in Padua, was an important model for Zanini and was a member of the Paduan "school" of architecture, parallel to the more famous school of painting.

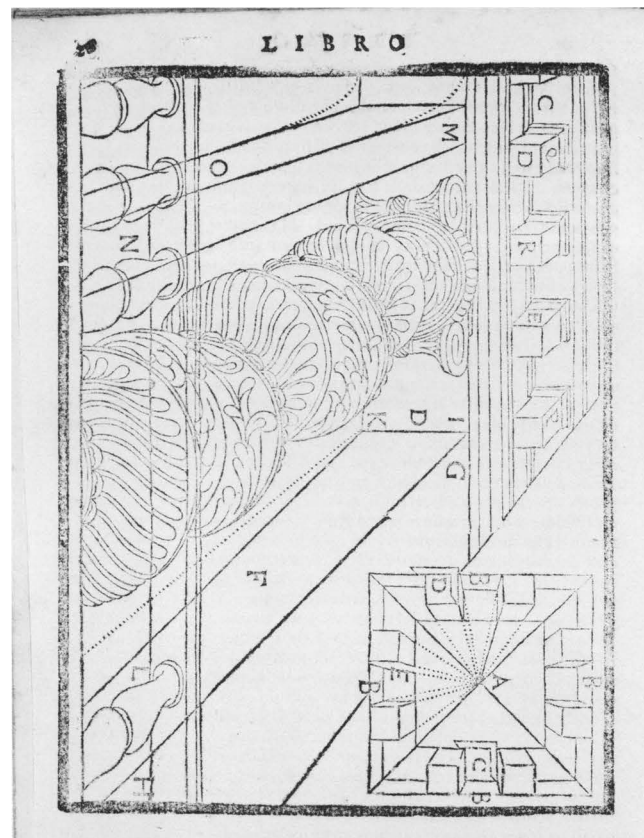
This large work is divided into two books. Zanini's and Bolzeta's identical prefaces flank the helpful alphabetical index of subjects. The three sections of the first



Gioseffe Viola Zanini. *Della Architettura*. The construction of the ellipse. 1985.61.2770

book deal with the origins of architecture, building materials, and the "elements" of architecture. The second book is devoted entirely to the five orders of architecture. In the "Origins," Zanini deals with the definition of geometrical principles, subdivisions of regular polygons, and artificial perspective, concluding with a discussion of *sotto in su* ceiling perspectives. In the second section the author discusses the preparations necessary before building, such as choosing the site, foundations, building materials (varieties of stone and marble, brick, lime, gravel, mortar, metals and wood), techniques for working stone, and the characteristics of trees, revealing a close knowledge of sixteenth-century treatises such as Pietro Cataneo's (see cat. 31). The third section of the first book concerns the harmony of parts and decoration of buildings, but also the layout of buildings and their orientation, instructions for finding water, winds, and the zodiac, among many other subjects not integrally linked to one another, but ultimately derived from Vitruvius.

The second book is thoroughly focused in its discussion of the orders of architecture. After asking himself and the reader why the ancients decorated architecture, Zanini discusses each order in turn, from the Tuscan to Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and composite orders. His examination of each order is consistent throughout, including the diminution of the column shaft, the swelling of the shaft, the base and the capital,



Gioseffe Viola Zanini. *Della Architettura*. Perspective design for ceiling painting. 1985.61.2770

the cornice, intercolumniations, and arches. The text is lavishly illustrated with full-page woodcuts. These are somewhat crude, not only in the design of the individual parts of the order but also in the layout of the individual plates.

This treatise was first published during the low ebb of seventeenth-century Italian *trattatistica*, while the literary genre still largely followed the lead of sixteenth-century writers. Revisions of earlier works, treatises dealing with obsolete and abstract problems, such as *ut pictura poesis*, and empirical treatises with practical ends and purposes proliferated and passed on a domesticated and impoverished tradition. The explicit educational-pragmatic purposes of Zanini, also clarified in the works of Capra and Carlo Cesare Osio, imply a substantial reduction in the philosophical reach of Italian architectural theory discourse during this period.

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- Di Paolo, Paola. "L'architettura civile del Guarini e la trattatistica architettonica del XVII secolo." *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. 3, 2 (1972): 311-350.
- Puppi, Lionello. *Ritratto di una città*. Vicenza, 1973.

Giampietro Zanotti (1674–1765)

I68

Le Pitture Di Pellegrino Tibaldi E Di Niccolò Abbati Esistenti Nell'Istituto Di Bologna Descritte Ed Illustrate Da Giampietro Zanotti Segretario Dell'Accademia Clementina

Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1756

1983.49.148

Elephant folio: 559 × 418 (22 × 16⁷/₁₆)

Pagination [iv], 45, [1] pp., etched and engraved frontispiece, etched and engraved title plate, [43] etched and engraved plates

Edition First edition

Text [i] note to reader; [ii–iii] letter from Giampietro Zanotti (“Lettera del Sig. Zanotti Diretta ad un Amico suo carissimo”), dated Bologna, 14 November 1755; [iv] table of contents; [1]–3 introduction; [4] blank; [5]–10 text, “Dicharazione Delle Pitture”; [11]–17 text, “Vita Di Niccolò Abbati”; [18] blank; [19]–29 text, “Vita Di Pellegrino Tibaldi”; [30] blank; [31]–39 text, “Dissertazione Sopra La Maniera Del Tibaldi”; [40] blank; [41]–45 text, “Esposizione Dei Fregi E Di Ogni Altro Ornamento Dell’Opera”; [46] colophon and printer’s device

Giampietro Zanotti. *Le Pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi*. Plate xi. Perspective design for ceiling painting. 1983.49.148



Ornaments Etched armorial headpiece on introduction (p. [1]), signed by Giovanni Battista Moretti as designer and Bartolomeo Crivellari as engraver ("G.B. Moretti dis."; "Bart. Crivellari int."); etched armorial tailpiece on introduction (p. [3]), signed by Sebastiano Gamma as designer and Crivellari as engraver ("G. dis."; "B. Crivellari int."); 2 etched ornamental initials on prefaces (pp. [i], [ii]), unsigned; 6 large etched and engraved pictorial initials with exteriors or interiors of notable buildings of Bologna on pp. [1], [5], [11], [19], [31], and [41]: p. [1] signed by Angelo Carboni as designer and Giovambattista Brustolon as engraver ("Ang. Carboni dis."; "G.B. Brustolon int."), p. [41] signed by A. Raffi as designer and Brustolon as engraver ("A. Raffi dis."; "G.B. Brustolon int."); 5 large etched headpieces on pp. [5], [11], [19], [31], and [41]: pictorial headpieces on pp. [5] and [19] with notable buildings in Bologna signed by Carboni as designer and by Crivellari as engraver ("Pell. Tibaldi architetto"; "Ang. Carboni dis."; "Bart. Crivellari int."), pictorial headpiece on p. [11] with building signed by Brustolon as engraver ("Pell. Tibaldi architetto"; "G.B. Brustolon int."), portrait headpiece on p. [31] signed by Gamma after Tibaldi and by Crivellari as engraver ("Ritratto inv. e dip. da P. Tibaldi"; "G. dis."; "Int. da B. Crivellari"), armorial headpiece on p. [41] signed by Gamma as designer and Brustolon as engraver ("G. dis."; "Giō. Battā Brustolon int."); 5 etched tailpieces on pp. 10, 17, 29, 39, and 45: armorial tailpieces on pp. 10, 17, and 29 signed by Gamma as designer and Crivellari as engraver ("G. dis."; "Bart. Crivellari int."), portrait tailpiece on p. 39 signed by Gamma after Tibaldi and by Crivellari as engraver ("Ritratto inv. e dip. da P. Tibaldi"; "G. dis."; "Int. da B. Crivellari"), ornamental tailpiece on p. 45 signed by "N.N." as designer and draftsman and by Brustolon as engraver ("N.N. Inven. e Disegno."; "Gio. Battā Brustolon int.")

Illustrations Etched and engraved allegorical frontispiece; etched title plate with vignette; etched and engraved portrait of Benedict XIII; etched and engraved portrait of Pellegrino Tibaldi; and 41 full-page etched and engraved plates numbered 1–xxxxi, ranging from 201–496 mm. in height and 137–516 mm. in width. Frontispiece signed by Giovanni Battista Moretti as designer and Bartolomeo Crivellari as engraver ("Jo.

Baptista Moretti del."; "Barth. Crivellari inc."); title plate by Antonio Maria Zanetti after Lodovico Carracci and by Crivellari as engraver ("L. Carracii invento"; "A.M. Zanetti q.^m Al. dis."; "Bart. Crivellari int."); portrait of Benedict XIII signed by Gaetano Gandolfi as designer and Joseph Wagner as engraver ("Cajetanus Gandolfi delin."; "Ioseph Wagner incid."); portrait of Tibaldi signed by Giovanni Domenico Ferretti as designer and Wagner as engraver ("Giō. Dom.^{co} Ferretti diseg.; Giosepe Wagner int."); plates I–III signed by A. Raffi as designer and Giambattista Brustolon as engraver ("A. Raffi dis."; "G. B. Brustolon int."); plate IV signed by Angelo Carboni as designer and Brustolon as engraver ("Angelo Carboni dis."; "G. Battā Brustolon inc."); plate V signed by Tibaldi as designer and Crivellari as engraver ("Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e fece"; "Bartolommeo Crivellari int."); plates VI–XIV signed by Domenico Fratta after Tibaldi and by Crivellari as engraver ("Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e dip.; "Domenico M. Fratta dis."; "Bartolommeo Crivellari int."); plates XV–XXII, XXIV–XXXI, XXXIII–XXXIV signed by Sebastiano Gamma after Tibaldi and by Crivellari as engraver (signed: "Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e dip."; "Sebastiano Gamma dis."; "G. dis."; "Bartolommeo Crivellari int."); plate XXIII signed by Carboni as designer and Brustolon as engraver ("Angiolo Carboni dis."; "Gio B.^a Brustolon int."); plate XXXII signed by Gamma after Tibaldi and by Brustolon as engraver ("Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e dip."; "G. dis."; "Gio. B.^{ta} Brustolon int."); plate XXXV signed by Luigi Balugani after Tibaldi and Brustolon as engraver ("Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e dip."; "Luigi Balugani dis."; "Gio: Batt.^a Brustolon int."); plates XXXVI–XXXIX signed by Gamma after Nicolò dell' Abate and Crivellari as engraver ("Niccolò Abate inv. e dip."; "Sebastiano Gamma dis."; "Bartolommeo Crivellari int."); plates XXXX–XXXXI signed by Gabriel Söderling after Tibaldi and by Crivellari as engraver ("Pellegrino Tibaldi inv. e dip."; "Gabriel Söderling dis."; "Bartolommeo Crivellari int.")

Binding Contemporary tree calf, gilt Greek key borders, gilt spine, red morocco label

Provenance Small armorial ownership stamp (crown) on frontispiece; manuscript inventory number on flyleaf

References Berlin Cat. 4080; Cicognara 3464

Giuseppe Zocchi (1711–1767)

I69

Vedute Delle Ville, E D'Altri Luoghi
Della Toscana

Florence: Giuseppe Allegrini, 1744

1983.49.149

Oblong folio: 379 × 564 (14¹⁵/₁₆ × 22³/₁₆)

Foliation [51] etched plates

(Note: Foliation does not include etched list of plates,
lacking in the Millard copy)

Edition First edition

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: title plate with Maria Theresa of Austria seated upon a lion, itself lying on a pedestal that bears the title, and three putti at foot of pedestal revealing a medallion portrait of Zocchi, with measuring instruments and scroll bearing dedication by Zocchi to Andrea Gerini in foreground, and flanked by Ceres and a river god representing the Arno on the left, and a bust of Gerini on the right, and Gerini's villa properties in the background; plus 50 unnumbered plates, depicting villas and their surroundings. The title plate is signed by Giuseppe Zocchi as designer and draftsman and by Johann Gottfried Seutter as etcher ("G.Z. inv. e del."; "Gio. Gottofredo Seuter scolpi in Firenze"); the 50 plates are signed by Zocchi as draftsman ("G. Zocchi del.," with variants) and by the following etchers: Filippo Morghen (9 plates), Giuseppe Benedetti (7 plates), Pietro Monaco (7 plates), Joseph Wagner (6 plates), Marc'Antonio Corsi (4 plates), Giuseppe Filosi (4 plates), Niccolò Mogalli (3 plates), Philothée-François Duflos (2 plates), Michele Marieschi (2 plates), Giuseppe Zocchi (2 plates), Vincenzo Franceschini (1 plate), Giuliano Giampiccoli (1 plate), Johann Sebastian Müller (1 plate), and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1 plate)

Binding Contemporary Florentine red morocco, richly paneled in gilt, gilt spine, gilt turn-ins, gilt edges

Provenance The William Beckford, Hamilton palace, and earl of Rosebery copy, with the engraved bookplate of Archibald Philip, earl of Rosebery (1847–1895)

References Hind, *Piranesi*, 75; Rainer Michael Mason, ed., *Vues de Florence et de Toscane d'après Giuseppe Zocchi* [exh. cat., Cabinet des Estampes, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire] (Geneva, 1974), 189

I70

Scelta Di xxiv Vedute delle principali
Contrade, Piazze, Chiese, e Palazzi della Città
di Firenze . . .

Florence: Giuseppe Bouchard, 1754–[1755]

1985.61.2771–2797

Broadsheet: 493 × 677–514 × 706 (19³/₈ × 26³/₈–20¹/₄ × 27³/₄), except for dedication 583 × 364 (22⁷/₈ × 14⁵/₁₆)

Foliation [27] etched plates

Edition First edition, second issue (first published
Florence, 1744)

Illustrations Etched and engraved throughout as follows: [i] title plate with title inscribed on pedestal supporting a river god representing the Arno, an allegorical figure of Faith, and a figure bearing the dedicatee's arms, and flanked by Apollo, the Graces, Minerva, Jupiter, and Mercury on the left and personifications of Florence, Pisa, and Siena receiving homage on the right; [ii] dedication plate with 20-line dedication by Andrea Gerini addressed to Maria Theresa of Austria, medallion portrait of the dedicatee, and allegorical figures of Justice, Fame, Peace, and Good Government; [iii] map of Florence with arms of Maria Theresa and imprint dated 1755 ("Appresso Giuseppe Bouchard in Firenze 1755."); plus 24 plates numbered i–xiv, xiv, xvi–xxiv, all depicting views of Florence, with captions in Italian. The title plate design is based on a fresco by Mannozi ("Questo Frontespizio dato ora in Luce per La prima volta, è preso dalla Pittura originale a fresco fatta dal Mannozi detto Giovanni da San Giovanni nel Prospetto di una Casa posta in Firenze in faccia alla Porta Romana") and is signed by Giuseppe Magni as draftsman and Johann Gottfried Seutter as etcher ("Giuseppe Magni del."; "Joh. Gottfred. Seuter Sculps."); the dedication plate is signed by Giuseppe Zocchi as designer and draftsman and Filippo Morghen as etcher ("G. Zocchi inv. e del."; "F. Morghen Scol."); the map of Florence is unsigned; and the 24 views of Florence are signed by Zocchi as draftsman ("Ioseph. Zocchi delin Floren.," with variants) and by the following etchers: Bernardo Sansone Sgrilli (4 plates, including 3 with figures by Zocchi), Carlo Gregori (3 plates), Johann Sebastian Müller (3 plates), Vincenzo Franceschini (2 plates), Pietro Antonio Pazzi (2 plates), Johann Andreas Pfeffel (2 plates),

Giuseppe Vasi (2 plates), Marc'Antonio Corsi (2 plates), Baldassare Gabbuggiani (1 plate), Michele Marieschi (1 plate, with figures etched by V. Franceschini), Pietro Monaco (1 plate), and Giuseppe Papini (1 plate)

Binding Washed, pressed, and stored loose in a modern portfolio binding

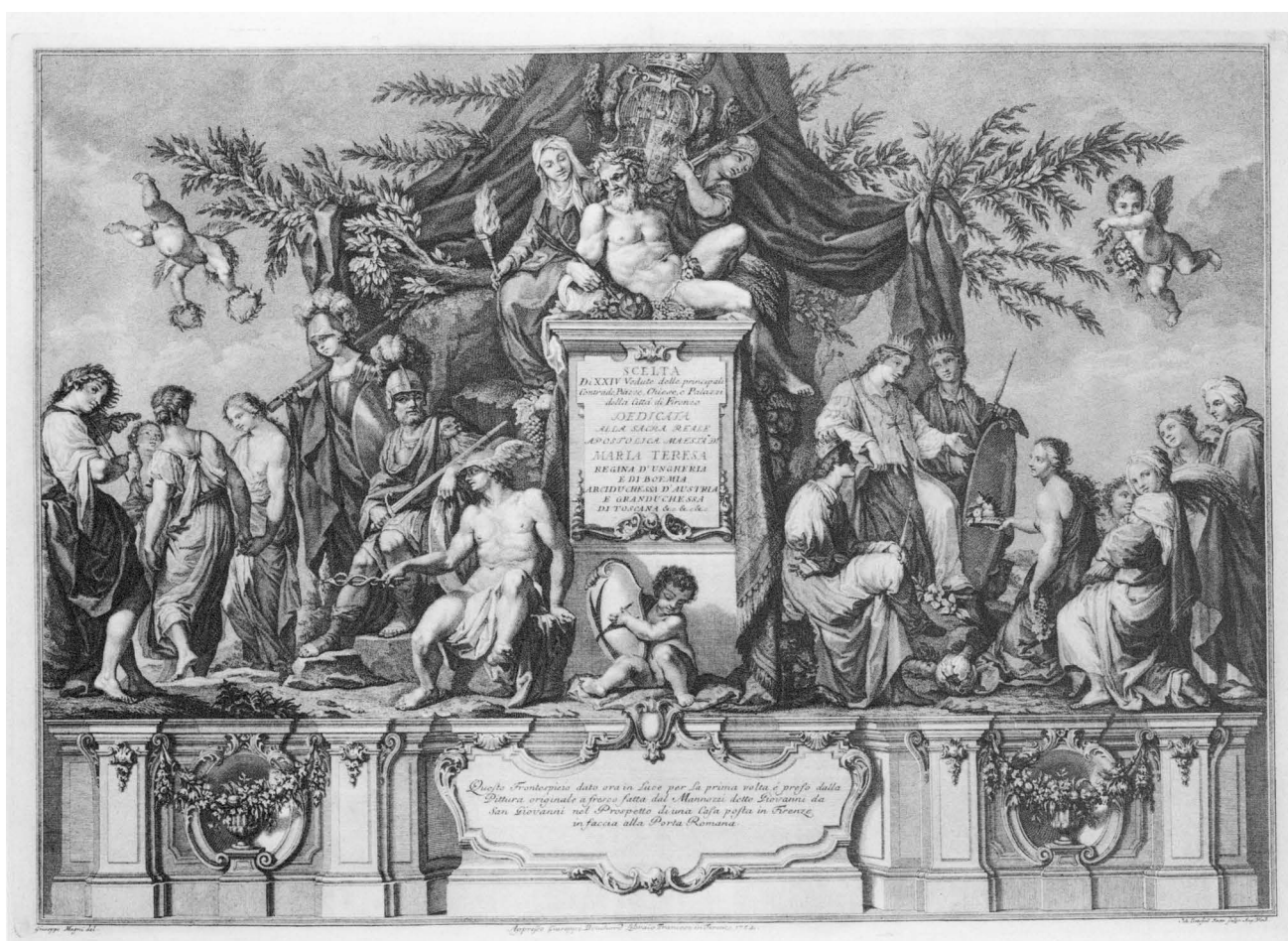
References Rainer Michael Mason, ed., *Vues de Florence et de Toscane d'après Giuseppe Zocchi* [exh. cat., Cabinet des Estampes, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire] (Geneva, 1974), 186

THESE PRINT ALBUMS ARE CONSIDERED the most comprehensive record of Florentine monuments, street life, and surroundings in the eighteenth century. The publication of *Vedute delle ville* occurred during a period of crisis in Florentine political history. After the death of the last Grand Duke Gian Gastone without an heir, in 1737 the duchy devolved, through an intricate series of treaties and complex intrigues, to a regency ultimately under imperial command. The imperial sovereigns visited Florence only once, in 1739, and were received with a great triumphal arch that was eventually transformed into solid stone and decorated with marble statues (it is illustrated in the frontispiece of Ferdinando Ruggieri's *Scelta di*

architetture; see cat. 118). To honor the sovereigns, the traditional local public event, the Festa del Calcio, was organized for the last time in the Piazza Santa Croce and commemorated in the last plate of Giuseppe Zocchi's series of prints on Florence, *Scelta di xxiv vedute*.

Despite this flattering display, the new rulers dealt with Tuscany and especially the Medici inheritance as in a corporate takeover, melting down treasures and alienating property in order to finance wars elsewhere. The very last Medici, Gian Gastone's widowed sister Anna Maria Ludovica, was obliged in her testament of 1743 to bestow the family's art collections officially upon the city of Florence in order to prevent the dismantling of the accumulated Medici art capital. It was during this period that Zocchi's plans for both print series were being laid out. Sponsored by the Florentine aristocrat Andrea Gerini, the views were published during a void in art patronage that paradoxically contributed to the modernization and renewal of Florentine art. According to the dedicatory plate, the views were intended to fill a gap of representation keenly felt by foreign visitors. But the views formed a noteworthy and synchronous parallel to Anna Maria Ludovica's last testament: similar to her stewardship of the Medici inheritance,

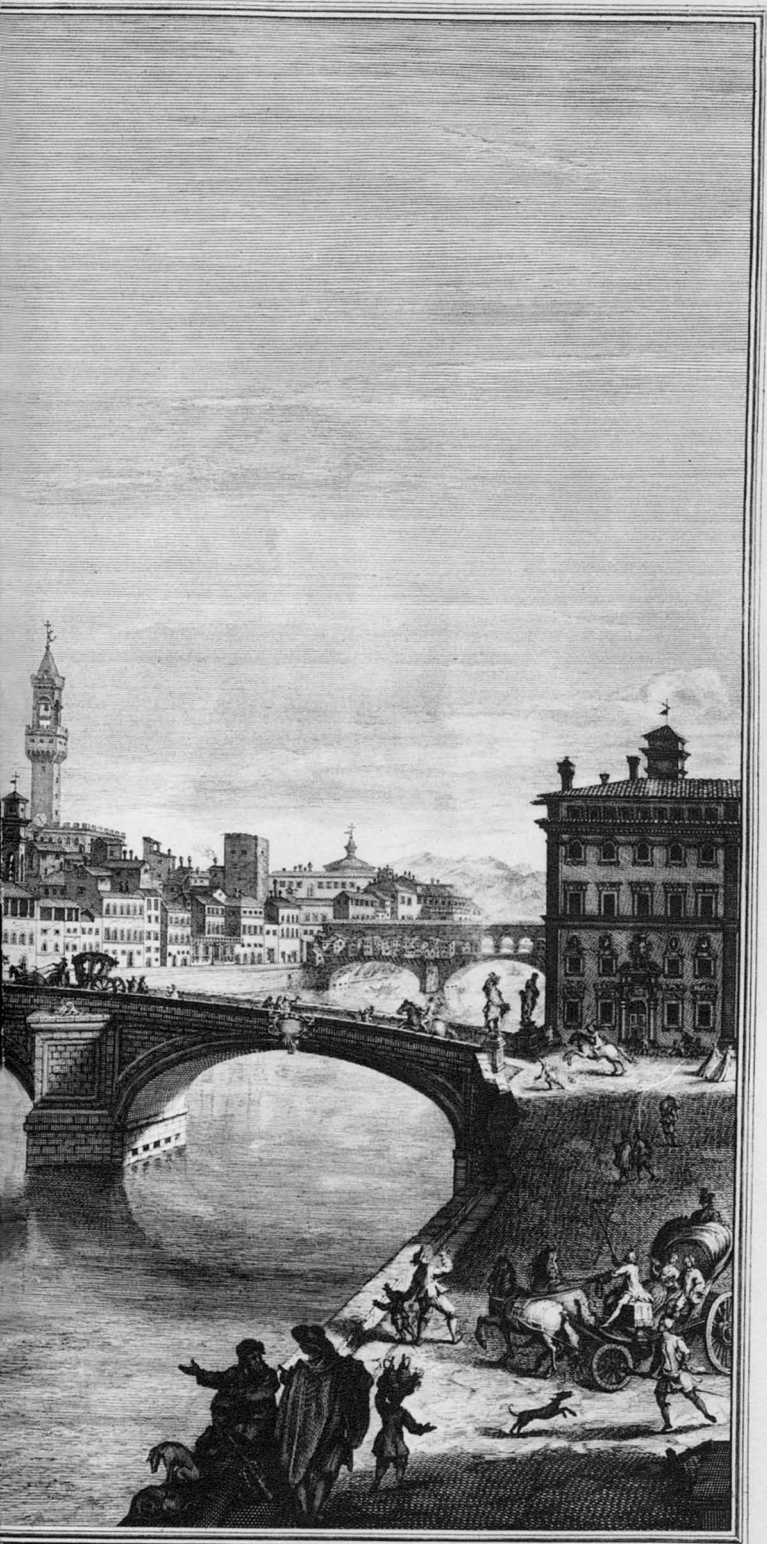
Giuseppe Zocchi. *Scelta di xxiv Vedute*. Title page. 1985.61.2772





Io. Zocchi del.

Veduta di una parte di Lung'Arno, e del Ponte a S. Trinità presa dal Palazzo



1720 del Sig. March. Ruberto Capponi
TIV

the views are a stocktaking of Florentine architecture and Tuscan villas during this difficult period of change.

The commissioner of the two series of prints, Marchese Andrea Gerini (1691–1766), came from a family in Pontassieve that had been ennobled by the Medici in 1640. In 1751 Gerini sponsored the publication of a set of prints illustrating the paintings of the former Medici collections titled *Pitture del Salone Imperiale del Palazzo di Firenze, del salone e cortile di Villa Imperiale della Petraia e del Poggio a Caiano, opere di vari, celebri pittori fiorentini*. Zocchi also supervised the publication of a series of prints (1759) illustrating Gerini's own painting collection. The villa prints were reprinted in two later editions, 1754 and 1757, both in Florence by the publisher Giuseppe Bouchard.

Giuseppe Zocchi, a painter, draftsman, and etcher, was the protégé of Gerini, who paid for his artistic education in Rome, Bologna, and Lombardy. Zocchi may also have studied painting in Venice with Jacopo Amigoni and Joseph Wagner. In 1741 he was a student at the Academy in Florence; between 1754 and 1760 he was a painter of the Bottega delle Pietre Dure, a government-supported artistic institution. Although he painted easel and mural paintings, his oeuvre is richest in drawings and prints. He prepared drawings to be engraved for the illustration of several distinguished editions, such as the *Aeneid* of Virgil (Paris, 1760) and the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (Paris, 1762 and 1767, respectively).

A brief comparison with the work of his better-known contemporaries producing *vedute*—Antonio Canaletto (1697–1768), Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), and Giovanni Battista Piranesi—clearly shows Zocchi's Tuscan roots. Canaletto's paintings were exhibited in Florence in 1729; an earlier and perhaps formative contribution to *vedutismo* in Florence was made by Gaspar van Wittel, who painted views of the city in the 1710s and 1720s. Antonio Visentini's views of the Grand Canal published in the 1730s and Michele Marieschi's views of Venice of 1741 were also undeniably important precedents for Zocchi (see cats. 153 and 59). Given the political context of the region and the Austrian and German engravers involved in the project, a certain acquaintance with northern prints can also be assumed. Thus Zocchi probably knew of Salomon Kleiner's immense series of prints on Vienna, published between 1724 and 1737 by Johann Andrea Pfeffel (Millard, *Northern European Books*, 48), the official typographer of the imperial court.

Zocchi is interested in clarity, a certain simplicity, and is inclined toward realism, especially in his rendering of the staffage. But *vedutismo* was not entrenched in Florence in the eighteenth century, partly because

after the middle of the century the city was no longer an important or fashionable place to visit (in 1786, for instance, Goethe stayed only one day). Thus, although there is a promotional aspect to Gerini's sponsorship of the two print series, there are no consistent models or markets for Zocchi to strive toward. The two print series are also differentiated from Venetian and Roman counterparts by the fact that they were not etched through the patient, lengthy work of one artist, but are the result of a team of collaborating artists.

Seventy-seven drawings by Zocchi, preserved at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, show his technique of drawing in ink. Elaine Evans Dee (1968) and Richard Harprath (1989) concur that these preparatory drawings survived because of the elaborate copying method practiced by the engravers and etchers, which preserved the original and resulted in prints that are not reversed as was customary when cutting directly through the prepared drawing. Zocchi took about five years to complete these drawings. They do not have the liberty and ease of Canaletto and Francesco Guardi, "nor the heavy breath of Roman landscapists or of Piranesi," as Rainer Michael Mason (1974, 14) puts it, but Zocchi seems to have assimilated both lessons. In his views of Florence, he does not disdain the old-fashioned older buildings, and his style echoes that of Michele Marieschi, while his villa views may have a Venetian source in Vincenzo Coronelli's (1710) and Gianfrancesco Costa's (1750) prints of villas. Zocchi's method of dividing the composition into four levels is consistent in most of his designs: the first level acts as a dark *repoussoir* framing a second field that emphasizes the building, which forms the third level with a large, though rarely dramatic, sky above. This horizontal equilibrium results in a serene atmosphere, even during brilliant popular events. He may have used the *camera ottica*, perhaps with a wide-angle lens, but his views also show an intelligent conception of the image (Mason 1974). These views are always in good weather, mostly at midday, thus eliminating shadows.

The unity of interpretation among the etchers was due to the constancy of these preparatory drawings, the discipline of the workshops, and the coordination of the etchers. This coordination was perhaps provided by Johann Gottfried Seutter (1717–c. 1800), an artist from Augsburg who himself etched the frontispieces for both print series. The team of twenty-four etchers involved in the production of the villa and Florence series came from diverse backgrounds and worked in five different towns (Bologna, Florence, Nuremberg, Rome, and Venice).

The principal etchers of the *Vedute delle ville* were Giuseppe Benedetti, Pietro Monaco, Filippo Morghen, and Joseph Wagner. Benedetti (1707–1782) was a reproduction engraver from Bologna and made plates

10–12, 15, 22, 31, and 41. Monaco (1707–1775) was from Belluno but worked in Venice as an engraver and mosaicist; he made plates 2, 16, 20, 24, 29, 42, and 50. Morghen (1730–1807) was the Florentine father of the better-known Raffaele Morghen. Filippo provided plates for the *Antichità di Ercolano* (Naples, 1757–1762; see cat. 1), forty plates for the *Antichità di Pozzuoli, Baja e Cuma* (Naples, 1769), and fifteen plates for *Antiquities of Magna Graecia* (London, 1807). He etched the dedicatory plate and plates 6, 13–14, 19, 32–33, 37, and 48–49. Wagner (1706–1780) was a painter and engraver who had studied in Munich and then in Paris, then worked in London and Venice, where he founded an etching school that Zocchi may have attended. He etched plates 5, 21, 40, 43, and 45. Among the better-known contributors to the series were the Venetians Michele Marieschi (1696–1743), who in 1741 published his own series of views of Venice, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), who in the 1740s published his *Prima parte di architettura e prospettive*, the *Carceri*, and the first installment of the extensive *Vedute di Roma* (see cat. 86).

Harprath (1989) has convincingly divided the villa series according to themes and intentions. The subsections are royal villas and villas owned by Florentines, chapels and monasteries, bridges, fortifications, activities of the natives, travel illustrations with important visitors, and aristocratic life during *villeggiatura*. The designation *villa reale* was significant in light of the change in ruling dynasties. In 1691 Cosimo III Medici had obtained from the emperor the right to be addressed as "Altezza Reale." The grand-ducal crown was consequently altered and is illustrated on the head of the allegorical Tuscany in the frontispiece of the print series. The "reale" title also could refer to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, who was also queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The insistence on this title, rather than the adoption of an imperial title, was in some way a return to the true meaning of these buildings, which under the new rulers were neglected or rented out for profit but no longer considered cultural capital.

The focus on private villas, which dominate the series, was probably an attempt to regain the inner meaning of the residences of former court members. The Catholic function and meaning of the religious institutions that covered the countryside were sure to be influential at the imperial Catholic court. The bridges were meant to illustrate the good transportation network of Tuscany and, together with the country roads that draw the viewer deeply into the countryside, display an appealing rural landscape. The fortifications, hovering mostly in the background, were in turn to illustrate—despite their relative antiquity—the security of the land. The activities of the natives, which take place mostly along the shores of



Giuseppe Zocchi. *Scelta di xxiv Vedute*. View of the Badia Fiorentina and the Bargello. 1985. 61.2791

the Arno, are intended to show the industriousness and peacefulness of the inhabitants and the prosperity of Tuscany. Serenity and country life among the aristocrats are intended as worldly illustrations of a social life that would recall famous visitors and great parties. In this narrowly Florentine interpretation of Tuscany—there are no villas from the surroundings of Pisa or Siena—the print series was a diplomatic balancing act between the court at Vienna, the resident government in Florence, and the local owners of the villas.

The villa print series is an architectural history of these buildings, defining the representation and self-fashioning of a building type. In contrast with the villas of the Veneto, it is astonishing how few of the elements of classical architecture, such as porticoes, columns, pediments, or parapets with statues, are in use. The difference between urban and country residences is strongly polarized in the Tuscan context, more than anywhere else in Italy. Although just as blocky in its massing as the three-story urban palace, the villa has only one or two main floors raised above ground on a terrace or basement level. Large undecorated wall

areas are broken only by windows and doors, even the stringcourse-cum-windowsill so pervasive in Florentine palaces is abandoned in the country. Among the villas there are several with “modernized” window treatments that consist of elaborate framing devices in the late baroque and rococo style. There is often a belvedere tower, suggesting the military origins of the country house, and the main facade is often the garden elevation. Given the strong continuity in the architectural definition of the villa, the names of the actual designers do not seem necessary.

First published in 1744, simultaneously with the villa series, the series of twenty-four prints on Florence was etched by a team of twelve artists after Zocchi’s designs. As in the villa series, Zocchi engraved some of the figures, which are very imaginatively and carefully delineated in his preparatory drawings. The most distinguished of the contributing etchers is Giuseppe Vasi, a well-known and active topographic engraver working from Rome (see cat. 141). Johann Andreas Pfeffel from Vienna, who contributed two plates, was also a distinguished artist, earlier associated with publications by Johann Fischer von Erlach. Three additional artists provided several plates. Bernardo Sgrilli from Florence had previously engraved the plates for the series on



the cathedral of Florence, published by Senator Giovan Battista Nelli. Carlo Gregori (also from Florence) etched three plates, and Johan Sebastian Müller provided another three plates. Müller (1715–1785) was from Nuremberg but from 1744 worked in London, where he provided 214 plates for the *Illustratio systematis sexualis* (1770–1777) by Linnaeus.

Surprisingly, the Florence series is dedicated to Archduchess Maria Theresa (in a plate that is often found in the villa series as well). This may be due to her higher rank as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, whereas her spouse, Francesco Stefano, grand duke of Tuscany since 1737, was elected Holy Roman Emperor only the following year (1745). The dedication by Gerini shows that he had commissioned the Florence print series as well as the villa series. The title plate illustrates a fresco painting by Mannozi (Giovanni di San Giovanni) drawn by Giuseppe Magni and etched and engraved by Seutter. At the top of the pedestal, inscribed with the dedication and title, is an allegorical representation of the Arno as a river god. He is flanked by a figure of Faith and a putto carrying the imperial arms of Maria Theresa. To the left of the pedestal are Mercury, Jupiter, and Minerva attending three muses accompanied by Apollo. To the right is the allegorical figure of Florence wearing the chain and cross of the order of Saint Stephen

Giuseppe Zocchi. *Scelta di xxiv Vedute*. View of Palazzo Vecchio and Piazza della Signoria. 1985.61.2796

founded by Cosimo I de' Medici (this figure is more elaborately developed in the title page of the villa series), flanked by the figures of Pisa and Siena and together receiving homage. This pyramidal composition of figures, with a background of rocks and a baldachinlike awning, rests upon a terrace with an elaborately articulated architectural edge. This title plate is less programmatic than that of the villa series, where both Zocchi and Gerini are portrayed, with the tools of his trade for the former and villa properties and claims to interest in antiquity for the latter.

While the villa series of prints could be considered an illustration of Tuscan country life and its landscape, the *Scelta di xxiv vedute* constitutes a visual record of the historical architecture and urbanism of Florence. The four most important public squares of the city are shown during a significant festivity. These views are so indelibly linked to the tradition of party representations first illustrated by Jacques Callot that they have been posited by Mina Gregori (1994) as the earliest views that Zocchi made for this series. The cathedral is seen free-standing in a large open space (that does not correspond to the actual square), in an imaginary wide-angle per-



Giuseppe Zocchi. *Vedute delle Ville*. Villa Corsini. 1983.49.149

spective, surrounded by the Corpus Domini procession and great crowds of onlookers. Similarly, the chariot race in Piazza Santa Maria Novella, the ceremonial ball game in Piazza Santa Croce, and the festival of homage in Piazza della Signoria, Florence's principal secular square, illustrate performative events in the life of the city. The racers, the ballplayers, and the military representatives of all the Tuscan cities are attended by large groups of Florentines whose activities are recorded in detail. These were traditional festivities in Florence (the *calcio* in Piazza Santa Croce was revived for the last time during the first visit of the grand-ducal couple in 1739), and had been illustrated earlier with greater human variety if perhaps less loving architectural detail by Jacques Stella, Jacques Callot, and Stefano della Bella.

Zocchi maintains the four-part horizontal composition he adopted in the villa print series: in a shaded *repoussoir* foreground, large figures lead the eye to the theatrical open field of the event, framed by a crescent of buildings forming a stagelike backdrop against a large sky occupying a third of the plate's surface. This schematic organization is complicated in the view of the cathedral, where the church occupies a protagonist's

position rather than becoming background, and in the view of the Piazza della Signoria where the centrality of the arched Loggia dei Lanzi framing the sovereign's throne provides a vanishing point for the one-point perspective.

The variety of points of view and composition makes one suppose that they were made at different times and that Zocchi drew inspiration from many different sources. Using Canaletto and Marieschi's "platform" composition, which opens like a fan in an orthogonal perspective, Zocchi modernized the Florentine view and often combined it with a centralizing perspective, as in the view of the Palazzo Pitti, thus reining in the audaciousness of the Venetian compositions. His views of moments of action contain a pedagogical intent that has common roots with genre painting although it shares the optimism of the Enlightenment in that Zocchi's descriptive talent is in response to the requirements of a documentary exactness. His sources include the aerial views of Stefano della Bella's sieges and the Florentine and Viennese stage designs of Callot and Ludovico Burnacini.

The broadest depictions of the city are offered in the six views structured around the Arno, which offered the sites of Florentine picturesqueness. These display uses of the river, the splendid old bridges that cross it,

and the great number of beautiful buildings and pleasant hills that are sited along the two shores. The much-maligned Arno is revealed to be as flatteringly reflective as the Grand Canal in Venice. In Zocchi's livelier compositions, the river occupies a diagonal swath on the sheet, drawing the viewer deeply into the space and on to the next bridge.

The other views can be divided between secular spaces, the squares of religious institutions, or a mix of the two. Thus former Medici properties and present residences of the sovereigns are illustrated alone, as in the view of the Palazzo Pitti, or together with an adjacent church, as the Palazzo Medici. The two Strozzi palaces, the Uffizi, and the Corsi palace are allowed to dominate their sites, as are the churches of the Ognissanti, San Pier Maggiore, and the Annunziata. Santa Trinità, despite its great age, just manages to balance the venerable Spini palace, while San Michele towers grandly over the Palazzo Antinori across the street, in a relationship vastly dramatized by the etcher Giuseppe Vasi but that results in a very effective *veduta*. Vasi's translation of the view into the Uffizi court looking toward the Palazzo Vecchio successfully enhances the pleasant shadows under the barrel vault, summarizing the essence of Florence in its telescopic juxtaposition of the Uffizi, the Palazzo Vecchio, and the distant dome of the cathedral. Vasi exaggerates the dimension of the statues in the Piazza della Signoria, thus rendering them legible from the river's shore; his view dramatically combines deep one-point perspective with the great presence of articulated architecture.

Among the other contributors to both series, Vincenzo Franceschini (1680–after 1744), who also engraved plates for Antonio Francesco Gori's *Museum Etruscum*, provides two transcendent etchings. One is a view of the city from the shores of the Arno with the Trinità bridge as the main item; the other is a view of the Bargello and the Badia Fiorentina where the space is endowed with an extraordinarily theatrical quality, partly due to the large numbers of people and their enormous range of activities (including begging, soliciting a prostitute, brawling, and watching the suffering of a criminal punished by the *estafado* method). This view and one of the Santa Trinità square vividly echo seventeenth-century stage designs by Giulio Parigi as commemorated in Callot's etchings.

Two very important topographic illustrations precede the Florentine *vedute*. Zocchi's broad view of Florence laid out along the horizon line east to west (from left to right), silhouetted against the hills to the north, shows the major buildings of the city seen behind its fortified walls, distantly placed from the viewer across farmed fields. The artist and his mentor are illustrated

in the lower left corner looking with us at this serene landscape with the cloudless sky occupying more than half of the plate's surface. The other illustration, inserted in the second edition by the publisher Giuseppe Bouchard, is borrowed from a set of prints on Florence's buildings by the architect Ferdinando Ruggieri (see cat. 118). Ruggieri's map of Florence, published first in 1731 and then many times after, was the first map of the city that was not a reproduction of Stefano Buonsignori's plan of 1584. Approximately 1:5,500 in scale, this is an accurate plan and was dedicated to the last Medici sovereign, the Grand Duke Gian Gastone. Unusual in its orientation to the south, this large plan (684 × 510 mm) presented an appealing Medicean image of Florence. Divided into four neighborhoods, the plan places the pentagonal northern fortress into the foreground, while the top center is occupied by the grand-ducal Pitti palace and the large gardens. Zocchi's and Ruggieri's views, both oriented south, work unexpectedly well together in highlighting the two fortresses, Basso and Belvedere, and the Pitti palace between them. The three structures, witnesses of bygone Medici glory, are adjacent to one another in the compressed space of Zocchi's view and meaningfully framed by the city's church domes and towers.

The two print series are effective in impressing the reader with a great collection of buildings and a lively population. Consistently celebrative and accomplished, this collection shows a country and a city striving to maintain a placid and prosperous appearance; Zocchi's limpid vision, similar to Carlevaris' and Visentini's interpretations of Venice, endows the city and countryside with cohesion and serenity.

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Appendix of Works Purchased since 1999

Antonio Basoli

Compartimenti di Camere per uso degli Amatori e Studenti delle Belle Arti

1827

1999.134.1

Giacomo Quarenghi

Fabbriche e Disegni, vol. I

1821

1999.73.1

Giacomo Quarenghi

Fabbriche e Disegni, vol. II

1844

1999.73.2

Luigi Rossini

Delle Antichità di Roma divise in 40 vedute

1817

1999.127.1

Lorenzo Ruggi

Raccolta inedita di cinquanta scene teatrali

c. 1836

1999.62.1

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola

Le due regole della prospettiva pratica

1583

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44v68A3

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio

De architectura

1586

NGA Lib. Rare Book: N44v85A3

INDEX

This is an index to persons, buildings, and sites mentioned in the introduction and essays. It is also an index to the titles of the works described in the catalogue, and to the names of persons and institutions mentioned in the bibliographic descriptions (authors, artists, engravers, publishers, former owners, et al.). The subjects of illustrations are also indexed.

Boldface numbers indicate catalogue entries; italic numbers indicate illustrations; and the names of principal authors are noted in capitals.

N.B. The qualifying term "as publisher" is here used in its broadest sense to include all names mentioned in the imprint except printers. The term "engraver" covers all intaglio processes.

A

"AB," as engraver, **1**

Abate, Nicolò dell', as artist, **168**

Abbati, Pietro Giovanni, as artist and engraver, **44**; 167, 169, 423

Abbatini, Guidobaldo, as artist, **134**

Abbey, John Roland, as owner, **135**

Abbiati, Giovanni, as engraver, **50**; 178

Academies, degli Affidati, **36**; Albertina, **48**; Arcadi, **63**; dell'architettura, **460**; di Belle Arti, **48**, **362**; Cimento, **375**; Clementina, **48**, **167**, **170**, **362**; Concordi, **63**; della Crusca, **83**; Florence, **20**, **48**, **159**, **373**, **375**, **406**, **519**; Filomati, **161**; French (in Rome), **8**, **42**, **143**, **299**, **348**, **369**, **509**; Infecondi, **63**; dei Infiammati, **39**, **499**; Innominati, **36**; degli Intronati, **161**; Madrid, **176**; Naples, **443**; degli Ortolani, **20**; Padua, **512**; Perugia, **188**; Pontificia di Archeologia, **363**; Prussian, **319**; Royal Society, **319**; St. Petersburg, **319**, **411**; di San Luca, **37**, **48**, **63**, **136**, **186**, **188**, **190**, **303**, **326**, **337**, **346**, **348**, **363**, **366**, **376**, **410**, **416**, **432**, **433**, **462**; degli Umidi (Fiorentina), **22**; Venice, **48**, **162**, **259**, **476**; Vitruvian, **496**

ACCADEMIA ERCOLANESE DI ARCHEOLOGIA, *Antichità di Ercolano*, **1**; **225**, **313**, **315**, **502**

Acciaiuoli, Donato, **20**

Acqua, Cristoforo dall', as engraver, **19**, **70**; **258**, **259**

Adam, Robert, **302**, **312**

Adrichen, Christian van, **32**

Aedes Barberinae (Teti), **134**

Agliardo, Ignazio, as artist, **131**

Agrippa, Camillo, **151**

"AGS," as engraver, **24**

Alamani, Niccolo di Lorenzo, as publisher, **4**

Albani, Cardinal Annibale, **37**, **64**, **238**

Albani, Francesco, as artist, **51**

Albano, **302**, **305**, **364**

Alberti, Bernardo, **20**

Alberti, Cherubino, as engraver, **149**; **462**

ALBERTI, GIUSEPPE FRANCESCO ANTONIO,

Giochi numerici fatti arcani palesati, **2**;
Pirotechnia o sia trattato dei fuochi d'artificio, **3**

ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA, *De re aedificatoria*, **4**; *Dieci libri de l'architettura di Leon Battista de gli Alberti*, **5**; *Architettura di Leonbattista Alberti*, **6**, **7**; *Della architettura libri dieci di Leon Battista Alberti*, **8**; *Pittura di Leonbattista Alberti*, **9**; ix, x, xii, xiv, **59**, **112**, **114**, **144**, **162**, **251**, **326**, **327**, **395**, **396**, **398**, **400**, **402**, **418**, **461**, **489**, **490**

Albertolli, Ferdinando, **326**

Albotto, Francesco, **214**, **215**

Albrecht, Oskar, as owner, **159**

Albrizzi, Giambattista, **87**

Alciati, Andrea, **144**, **203**

Alcubierre, Roque de, **10**, **11**

Alcune opere d'architettura (Vignola), **145**

Aldobrandini, Carlo, **84**

Aldobrandini, Pietro, **53**

Aldrovandi, Count Ulisse, **48**

Aldrovandini, Mauro, **167**

Alegre, Manuel, as engraver, **49**; **176**

Aleotti, Giovanni Battista, **165**, **227**

Alessi, Galeazzo, **498**

Alexander VII, Pope, **54**, **70**, **133**, **230**, **313**, **354**, **356**, **358**

Alexander VIII, Pope, **117**, **368**

Alfarano, Tiberio, **70**, **86**, **118**, **120**, **144**, **145**, **264**

Algardi, Alessandro, **70**

Algarotti, Count Francesco, **166**, **238**, **259**, **337**, **480**

Allegri, Antonio *see* Correggio

Allegrini, Giuseppe, as publisher, **169**

Allet, Jean Charles, as engraver, **21**, **107**, **110**; **69**

Alloja, Giuseppe, as artist and engraver, **1**

Alloja, Raffaello, as engraver, **1**

Alto, Giovanni *see* Gross, Johann

Alvarez, Thomas, as engraver, **1**

Amaduzzi, Giovanni Cristofano, **108**

Ambrogini, Angelo *see* Poliziano

Ambrosiney, Caroley, as owner, **157**

Amici, Domenico, **363**

AMICO, BERNARDINO, *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa*, **10**; **xv**

Amidei, Fausto, as publisher, **84**, **117**; **308**

Amigoni, Jacopo, **519**

Ammannati, Bartolomeo, **151**, **375**, **418**, **419**

Amplissimi ornatissimique triumphii (Panvinio), **111**

Ancona, port of, **450**

Andrea, Lelio, **48**

Andrea del Sarto, as artist, **51**

Andreoli, Francesco, as author, **63**; **231**

Andreoli, Giovanni, as printer, **63**

Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques, **136**, **387**, **407**, **461**, **464**

Anesi, Paulo, as engraver, **84**, **85**; **42**

Angaran, Giacomo, **251**

Angeles, Secondo de, as engraver, **1**

Angeletti, Pietro, as artist, **77**

Angeli, Antonio degli, **29**, **32**

Angelini, Annibale, as artist, **61**

Anne of Austria, **98**

Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo (G. B. Piranesi), **94**

Antichità dei contorni di Roma (L. Rossini), **116**

Antichità di Cora (G. B. Piranesi), **95**

Antichità di Ercolano (Accademia Ercolanese), **1**

Antichità di Roma (Palladio), **68**

Antichità Romane (G. B. Piranesi), **80**, **88**, **42**

Antichità Romane (L. Rossini), **115**

Antiq[ua]r[um] statuar[um] urbis romae (Thomassin), **114**

Antiquae urbis splendor (Lauro), **54**

Antiquae urbis splendoris complementum (Lauro), **54**

Antiquitatum urbis liber secundus (Lauro), **54**

Antiquitatum urbis vestigia (Lauro), **54**

Antonini, Carlo, as editor, **146**; as engraver, **146**; **464**, **466**

Aosta, arch, **308**

Apollo, as printer, **141**

Appian Way *see* Via Appia

Appolloni, G., as artist and engraver, 61
 Aquila, Francesco, as engraver, 11, 110; 37, 346, 349
 Aquila, Pietro, 37, 356
 Aragona, Cardinal Inigo d'Avalos d', 36
 Aragona, Domenico Orsini d', 452
 Aragona, Don Carlo d', 95
 Archer, Thomas, 348
Architettura de André Palladio de Vicence (Palladio), 69
Architettura civile (Galli Bibiena), 45
Architettura civile (Guarini), 50, 100
Architettura con il suo commento et figure Vetruiuo in volgar linguo (Vitruvius), 159
Architettura d'Andrea Palladio (Palladio), 68
Architettura della basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano (Costaguti), 32, 69, 144
Architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino (Palladio), 69
Architettura di Leonbatista Alberti (L. B. Alberti), 6, 7
 Aretino, Pietro, 20, 39, 499
 Arezzo, cathedral, 390
 Arfe, Juan de, 158, 426
 Argoli, Giovanni, as author, 73; 265
 Arias Montano, Benito *see* Montano, Benito Arias
 Aringhi, Paolo, as translator, 24; 81, 83, 84
 Arisi, Francesco, 94, 100
 Aristotle, 497
 Arteaga y Alfaro, Francesco de, as engraver, 135
 Arteaga y Alfaro, Mathias, as engraver, 135; 425, 426, 428
 Arthenay, d', 8
 Asensio, Don Joseph, as artist, 147; 467
 Ashby, Thomas, xviii, 188–190, 301
 Assisi, views of, 202; temple of Minerva, 251
 Athens, tower of the winds, 379, 380
 Augustus, Emperor, 23
 Augustus II, king of Poland, 144
 Augustus III, king of Poland, 8
 Aureli, L., as engraver, 61
 Aureli, Niccolò, as engraver, 61; 225
 Avanzino, Santi, 84
 Averlino, Antonio *see* Filarete
 Aviler, Augustin Charles d', 390
 Azzerboni, Giuseppe, as engraver, 1

B

Badeley, Henry John Fanshaw, as engraver (bookplate), 135
 Badiale, Giacomo, as author, 21, 38
 Baglione, Giovanni, 69, 211
 Bagnaia, Villa Lante, 443
 Baiae, 6
 Baianus, Andreas, as author, 54

Baiardi, Mercurio, 264
 Baiardi, Ottavio Antonio *see* Bayardi, Ottavio Antonio
 Baionius, as engraver, 24
 Balbus, Nonius, 6
 BALDI, BERNARDINO, *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*, 11; as author, 104; xv, 58, 320
 Balestra, Antonio, as artist, 20, 102; as engraver, 106; 65
 Balestra, G., as engraver, 61
 Ballino, Giulio, 466
 Balugani, Luigi, as artist, 168
 Baptista the Sicilian, as author, 4
 Barbari, Jacopo de', 104
 BARBARO, DANIELE, *Pratica della prospettiva di Monsignor Daniel Barbaro*, 12; as editor, 160, 161; xiv, xvii, 36, 59, 248, 249, 251, 254, 379, 380, 390, 398, 407, 461, 499–501
 Barbaro, Ermolao, 482, 499
 BARBAULT, JEAN, *Plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*, 13; *Plus beaux edifices de Rome moderne*, 14; as engraver, 84, 88; 302, 310
 Barbazza, Francesco, as engraver, 132; 418
 Barberini, Cardinal Antonio, 137, 202
 Barberini, Cardinal Francesco, 53, 84, 85
 Barberini, Maffeo *see* Urban VIII
 Barbey, Antonio, as engraver, 37, 110; 348
 Barbianus, M. Vestrius, as author, 152
 Barbiellini, Giovan Lorenzo, 308
 Barbiellini, Giovanni, heirs of, as publisher, 141
 Barca, Pietro Antonio, 100
 Barezzi, Barezzo, as printer, 121
 Barnsoucle Castle, as owner, 135
 Barocci, Federico, as artist, 51; 36, 221, 448
 Baroni, Angela, as engraver, 153
 Baroni, Carlo, as engraver, 165
 Baronio, Cesare, 85
 Barozzi da Vignola, Giacomo *see* Vignola, Giacomo Barozzi da
 Barrera, Carlo, as artist, 72
 Barrière, Dominique, as artist and engraver, 112; 74, 357
 Bartly, A., as owner, 15
 Bartoli, Cosimo, as translator, 6, 7, 8; 20, 21, 22, 23, 322, 400
 Bartoli, Ercoliano, as printer, 26
 Bartoli, Francesco, as engraver, 110
 Bartoli, Pietro Santi, as engraver, 21, 55, 110; as artist, 102; 69, 70, 203, 204, 346, 356
 Bartolommeo, Fra, as artist, 51
 Bartolozzi, Francesco, as engraver, 102
 Basa, Domenico, as publisher, 40
 BASOLI, ANTONIO, *Raccolta di prospettive serie, rustiche, e di paesaggio*, 15; xvii

Basoli, Francesco, as engraver, 15; 48
 Basoli, Luigi, as engraver, 15; 48
 Bassano, theater, 338
 Bassano, Jacopo, as artist, 51
 Bassi, Martino, 58, 249
Bâtiments et les desseins de André Palladio (Palladio), 70, 71
 Batoni, Girolamo, as artist, 165
 BAYARDI, OTTAVIO ANTONIO, *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti dissotterrati dalla scoperta città di Ercolano*, 16; 8, 11
 Beccafumi, Domenico, 111
 Beckford, William, as owner, 169
 Bella, Francesco, as artist, 165
 Bella, Stefano della, 133, 229, 341, 450, 523
 Bellay, Joachim du, 36
 Belle, Alexis-Simon, as artist, 11
 Bellicard, Jérôme Charles, as engraver, 84, 85; 8, 46
 Bellin, Nicolas, as engraver, 112; 357
 Bellini, Gaudenzio, as artist, 106
 Bellini, Giovanni, 496
 Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, 69
 Belmont, Jean Antoine, as engraver, 131
 BELTRAMI, FRANCESCO, *Forestiére instruito delle cose notabili della città di Ravenna*, 17; ix, xv
 Bembo, Bernardo, 51
 Bembo, Pietro, 39, 493
 Benedetti, Giuseppe, as engraver, 53, 169; 192
 Benedetti, Ignazio, 235
 Benedict XIV, Pope, 64, 83, 86, 207, 235, 368, 451, 510; triumphal arch for, 450
 Bentivoglio, Marchese Ezio, 227
 Bentivoglio family, 192, 193
 Berard, A., as owner, 44
 Berardi, Fabio, as engraver, 163
 Bergamo, Colleoni monument, 497; plan of, 257
 Bernardi, Bartolomeo Giuseppe, as architect, 131
 Bernardini, Count Bernardino, 238
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, 66, 70, 72, 84, 100, 118, 120, 133, 133, 136, 140, 144, 145, 148, 180, 203, 330, 335, 348, 356, 369, 370, 424, 439, 474
 Berno, Pierantonio, as printer, 20
 Berrettini, Pietro *see* Cortona, Pietro da
 Berry, Agnes, as artist (bookplate), 134
 BERTANO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA, *Oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*, 18; as author, 104; 36, 320, 387, 491
 Berthault, Louis, 433
 Bertholin, R., as owner, 73
 Berti, Gaspare, 84
 Bertolini, Gaetano, 258
 Bertoni, P., as engraver, 61
 BERTOTTI-SCAMOZZI, OTTAVIO, *Forestiére*

- istruito delle cose più rare di architettura, 19; as editor, 70, 71, 72; xv, xviii, 250, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 326
- Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, 29; tomb of Rachel, 29
- Bettalli, Gioachimo, as publisher, 23
- Bevilacqua, Simone, as publisher, 155
- Bianchi, Gaetano, as engraver, 131
- Bianchi, Giuseppe, as artist and engraver, 61; 225
- BIANCHINI, FRANCESCO, *Palazzo de' Cesari*, 20; as author, 11; xviii, 36, 37, 189, 208, 310
- Bianchini, Giuseppe, as publisher, 20; 65, 451
- Bianconi, Giovanni Lodovico, 108, 301
- Bibiena *see* Galli Bibiena
- "Bibliotec: S E. M E Novelle" [Biblioteca of Santa Maria Novella, Florence], as owner, 24
- "Bibliotheca FF Min. Conventus Pontauens," as owner, 165
- Bigazzini, Giano, as publisher, 159; 498
- Billy, Niccolò, as engraver, 1
- Biondi, Lorenzo, as artist and engraver, 1
- Biondo, Flavio, 203, 233
- Bishop, Rev. H. H., as owner, 82
- Blaeu, Joannes, 157, 416
- Bloemaert, Cornelis, as engraver, 134; 69, 423
- Blondeau, Jacques, as engraver, 112; 69, 357
- Blondel, Jacques-François, 300, 466
- Bødtker, Johannes Seiersted, as owner, 73
- Boilly, Ludovico, as engraver, 1
- Bolgi, Andrea, 70
- Bologna,
 - churches*: S. Bartolommeo di Porta Ravennana, 227; S. Petronio, 460
 - cloisters*: Benedictine, 192; S. Giovanni in Monte, 192
 - fountains*: Neptune, 192, 196
 - palazzi*: archbishop's, 192; dei Banchi, 418; Bentivoglio, 193, 194–195; Bocchi, 418; Comunale, 228; Giustizia, 48; Malvezzi, 167, 193; Rosselli del Turco, 48; [Ruini-]Ranuzzi, 167, 193, 193, 229; Sanguinetti, 48
 - plans*: 193
 - towers*: 151
 - views*: 48, 88
 - other*: gates, 192; mint, 192; pilgrim's hospice, 192; Palazzo delle Scienze, 192; Portico dei Bianchi, 192
- Bolognetti, C. Girolamo, as owner, 107
- Boltraffio, Giovanni Antonio, 496
- Bolzeta, Francesco, as author, 167; 512
- Bomarzo, 224
- Bombelli, F., as artist, 61
- Bombelli, Pietro, as engraver, 165
- Bonacina, Cesare, 100, 101
- BONANNI, FILIPPO, *Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani*, 21; 117, 118, 204, 264, 357
- Bonanni, G., as engraver, 61
- Bonassi, A., as artist, 61
- Bonassi, G. A., as artist, 61
- Bonavera, Domenico, 192–193, 196, 229
- Boniface IV, Pope, 85
- Bonifazio, Natale, as engraver, 40; 32, 118, 144, 152
- Bonnervè, Giovanni Giuseppe, as translator, 38
- Bordini, Giovanni Francesco, 152
- Borghese, Carlo, 117
- Borghese, Marcantonio, 462
- Borghese, Scipione, 370
- Borghi, Bartolomeo, as printer, 2
- Borghini, Raffaello, 83
- Borgo, Pietro dal *see* Dal Borgo, Pietro
- Borgominieri, Camillo, as publisher, 12
- Borgominieri, Rutilio, as publisher, 12
- Borgonio, Tommaso, 178
- Borra, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 131
- Borromeo, Federico, 85, 86
- Borromeo, Saint Charles, 53
- BORROMINI, FRANCESCO, *Opera del caval. Francesco Boromino*, 22; xv, 53, 84, 100, 140, 145, 151, 168, 180, 203, 299, 330, 331, 346, 348, 349, 424, 474, 477
- Bosio, Antonio, as author, 24; 81, 83, 86, 133, 144
- Bosse, Abraham, 32
- BOSSI, BENIGNO, [Collected etchings], 23
- Bossi, G., as artist, 61
- Bossi, Giacomo, as engraver, 165
- Bossi, S., as artist and engraver, 61
- BOTTARI, GIOVANNI GAETANO, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*, 24; ix, 308, 439
- Bouchard, libraire (ticket), 165
- Bouchard, Giovanni, as publisher, 80, 85; 43, 44, 307; *see also* Bouchard and Gravier
- Bouchard, Giuseppe, as engraver, 13; as publisher, 118, 170; 375, 519
- Bouchard and Gravier, as publisher, 13, 14, 56, 88, 137
- Boul, Joannes Paulus L. B. de, as owner, 57
- Bourdilleau, René Jacques, as owner, 105
- Boutourlin, Comte D., as owner, 107
- Bova, Antonino, 448
- Bracci, Cesare, 70–72
- Bracci, Pietro, 66
- Bracciolini, Francesco, 29
- Bracciolini, Poggio, 233, 489
- Bramante, Donato, 70, 114, 251, 327, 328, 339, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 406, 418, 496, 498
- Branca, Giovanni, 100, 348
- Braun, Georg, 32, 157, 202
- Brenna, Vincenzo, as co-author, 130; as artist, 101; ix, xviii, 108, 260, 315
- Brescia, Castello, 320; cathedral, 320; Palazzo della Loggia, 94
- Bridges, Fabrizio, 366; Notre Dame, 492–493, 494; Rhine, 493; Rialto, 106, 256, 386, 476, 493
- Bronzino, 58
- Brunelleschi, Filippo, as artist, 118; 18, 20, 128, 511
- Brunetti, Giovanni, as engraver, 102
- Bruni, Giovanni, as artist and/or engraver, 143
- Brunswick and Luneburg, duchess of, 378
- Bruschus, B., as author, 73
- BRUSTOLON, GIAMBATTISTA, [*Feste ducali*], 25; as engraver, 168; ix, xvii, 215, 218
- Buagni, Giovanni Francesco, as publisher, 39
- Bufalini, Francesco, as artist, 112
- Bufalini, Leonardo, 95, 128, 235
- Bufalino, L., as artist, 13
- Buffagnotti, Carlo Antonio, as engraver, 44; 169
- Bullica, R., as engraver, 61
- Buonamici, Antonio, as artist, 88
- Buonamici, Gianfrancesco, 53, 54
- Buonaventuri, Piero, 22
- Buonsignori, Stefano, 373, 524
- Buontalenti, Bernardo, 375
- Buratto, Giovanni Battista, as engraver, 102
- Burlington, Lord, 260, 408, 411
- Burnacini, Ludovico, 523
- Bute, earl of, 258
- Buteo, Joannes, as author, 104
- ## C
- Cacchiattelli, P., as engraver, 61
- Caccianiga, Carlo Federico, as engraver, 33
- Cadorino, Giacomo, as publisher, 167
- Caere *see* Cerveteri
- Caesar, Julius, 249
- Caffi, Ippolito, 363
- Calandrucci, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 165
- Calcografia, Camerale Apostolica, 346, 364, 433, 448, 463; Nazionale, 128, 235; Regia, 303, 363; di Stato, 346
- Calcografia Piranesi *see* Piranesi, Calcografia
- Callot, Jacques, as artist, 10; xv, 28, 29, 32, 69, 132, 133, 299, 341, 473, 523, 524
- Calvin, Jean, 20
- Calvo, Fabio, 266, 490, 496

- Camaldoli, hermitage at, 344
 Camassei, Andrea, as artist, 134; 423
 Camera Apostolica *see* Vatican
 Cameron, Charles, 258, 260, 408–409, 411
 Camillo, Giulio, 20
 Cammilli, G., as artist and engraver, 61
 Campagna, Agostino di, as owner, 159
 Campana, Ferdinando, as engraver, 1
 Campana, Gianpietro, 108
 Campana, Pietro, as engraver, 1, 64
 Campana, Vincenzo, as artist and engraver, 1
 Campanari, Carlo, 222
 Campanari, Domenico, 222
 Campanari, Secondiano, 222
 Campanari, Vincenzo, 220–221, 222
 Campanella, Angelo, as engraver, 51, 56
 Campbell, Colen, 136, 376, 439, 476
 Campi, Antonio *see* Campo, Antonio
 Campi, Giulio *see* Campo, Giulio
 Campi Phlegraei, 6
 CAMPO, ANTONIO, *Cremona fedelissima*, 26; xvii
 Campo, Galeazzo, 94
 Campo, Giulio, 58–59, 94
 Camporese, Pietro, 434
 Camposcala *see* Vulci
Campus martius (G. B. Piranesi), 91
 Canaletto, Antonio, as artist, 25, 163; 88, 89, 91, 92, 105, 106, 162, 214, 218, 298, 320, 476, 478, 479, 479, 519, 523
 Cancellieri, Francesco, 264, 363, 411
 Canina, Luigi, 189, 222, 224
 Capasso, Giambattista, 11
 Capellani, Antonio, as engraver, 51
 Capo, R., as artist, 61
 Caporali, Giovanni Battista, as editor, 159; 380, 390, 496, 498–499
 Cappeli, Giuseppe, 169
 Cappello, Bianca, 22
 Capponi, marchese, 235
 CAPRA, ALESSANDRO, *Nuova architettura familiare*, 27; *Nuova architettura militare d'antica*, 28; xv, 382
 Caprara, Count, 229
 Caprarola, Palazzo Farnese, xvii, 44, 64, 136, 137, 138–139, 193, 202, 348, 369, 370, 380, 418, 419, 448, 450, 458–459, 460, 462–464, 466
 Caraffa, Giovanni, duke of Noia, 239
 Carampello, Bartolomeo, as publisher, 66, 67; 255
 Caratti, Girolamo, as owner, 62
 Carattoni, Girolamo, as engraver, 78, 165
 Caravaggio, as artist, 51, 102
 Caravaggio, Polidoro da, 128, 204, 400
 Carazzari, Ludovico, as artist, 77
 Carboni, Angelo, as artist, 168
 Carcagni, Pasquale, 11
Carceri (G. B. Piranesi), 82
 Carletti, Giuseppe, 411
 CARLEVARIS, LUCA, *Fabriche, e vedute di Venetia*, 29; xvii, 123, 214, 215, 341, 478, 479
 Carlo Emanuele [I], duke of Savoy, 202
 Carlo Emanuele II, duke of Savoy, 179
 Carlo Emanuele III, duke of Savoy, 169, 412–413
 Carloni, Marco, as engraver, 130; 411
 Carmona, Manuel Salvatore, 176
 Caro, Antonio, 127
 Carpioni, Giulio, as artist, 23
 Carracci, Agostino, as artist, 51, 102; as engraver, 26; 94, 95, 98
 Carracci, Annibale, as artist, 51; 348
 Carracci, Lodovico, as artist, 51, 102, 168
 Casaletti, Arcangelo, as printer, 56
 Casanate, Cardinal, 204
 Casanova, Domenico, as engraver, 1
 Casanova, Giovanni, as artist, 1; 11
 Caserta, royal palace and gardens, xvii, 8, 66, 439–443, 440–441
 CASSINI, GIOVANNI MARIA, *Nuova raccolta delle migliori vedute antiche, e moderne di Roma*, 30
 Castagnari, A., as owner, 139
 Castelgandolfo, 358, 364
Castelli e ponti (Zabaglia), 166, 37, 42, 144
 Castelucci, Salvio, as artist, 134
 Castiglione, Baldassare, 36, 356
 Castiglione, Giovanni Benedetto, 356
 Castlemaine, Lord, 69
Catalogo degli antichi monumenti dissotterrati dalla scoperta città di Ercolano (Bayardi), 16; 11
Catalogo delle opere (G. B. Piranesi), 79
 Cataneo, as engraver (bookplate), 1, 16
 Cataneo, Aniello, as engraver, 1
 Cataneo, Girolamo, 322
 CATANEO, PIETRO, *Quattro primi libri di architettura*, 31; xv, 38, 382, 383, 389, 390, 403, 461
 Catherine, empress of Russia, 337–338
 Cattaneo, Danese, 23
 Cavalieri, Francesco Bonaventura, as author, 104
 Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista de', as publisher, 34; as engraver, 34; 128
 Caylus, Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, *comte de*, 300
 Cecconcelli, Pietro, as publisher, 10
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 396
 Cenni, Rinaldo, as owner, 34
 Cepparoli, Francesco, as engraver, 1, 162
 Cerato, Domenico, 258–259
 Cerceau, Jacques Androuet du *see* Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques
 Ceroni, Luigi, as engraver, 61; 225
 Cerveteri, 224
 Cervini, Cardinal, 266
 Cesarano, Niccolò, as engraver, 1
 Cesaretti, Felicio, as publisher, 21
 Cesariano, Cesare, as editor, 158; ix, xiv, 59, 102, 114, 379, 380, 396, 490, 494–497, 498
 Chacon, Alfonso, 83, 85
 Chais, Giovanni Battista, as publisher, 131
 Chambers, Ephraim, 480
 Chambers, Sir William, 49
 Chambray, Roland Fréart de *see* Fréart de Chambray, Roland
 Chantelou, Paul Fréart de *see* Fréart de Chantelou, Paul
 Charlemont, Lord, 304, 310
 Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies, 6, 7, 8, 451
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 64, 95, 98, 156, 157, 159, 267
 Charles VI, of Austria, 165
 Chippendale, Thomas, 302
 Chiusi, 224
Choix des meilleures statues antiques (F. Piranesi), 77
 Choul, Guillaume du *see* Du Choul, Guillaume
 Chracas, Francesco, as publisher, 141
 Chrieger, Giovanni, as publisher, 126, 161, 501
 Christina, queen of Denmark, 98
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 134 (binding); 203, 368
 Ciacconi, Illelonsi, as printer, 152
 Ciartres, publisher, 229
 Cibrario, Luigi, 180
 Cichè, Francesco, 448
 Cignarolli, Giambattista, 65
 Cicognara, Leopoldo, 405
Cinque ordini d'architettura (Vignola), 148
Cinque ordini d'architettura civile di Michel Sanmicheli (Pompei), 106
 Ciocchi, Giovanni Filippo, as artist and engraver, 118
 Citeroni, as co-author, 137; 433, 435
 Civitavecchia, granaries, 450; military site, 322
 Classe, basilica of S. Severo, 55; basilica of S. Apollinare, 55; tomb of Theodoric, 51, 54, 55, 55
 Claudius, Emperor, 51
 Clement VII, Pope, 325
 Clement VIII, Pope, 83, 335, 419
 Clement IX, Pope, 117
 Clement X, Pope, 148, 356
 Clement XI, Pope, 36, 37, 62, 63, 231
 Clement XII, Pope, 36, 37, 54, 83, 208, 238, 346, 368; catafalque of, 450
 Clement XIII, Pope, 312, 313, 315, 337

- Clement xiv, Pope, 313, 466
 Clérisseau, Charles-Louis, 49, 299
 Cleter, G., as engraver, 61
 Cocchi, Francesco, as artist, 15; 48
 Cochin, Charles-Nicolas, 8, 42
 Cock, Hieronymus, xvii, 58, 128, 387
 Codazzi, Niccolo, 132
 Codazzi, Viviano, 478
 Coeck, Pieter de, 398
 Cofonci, Michele, as artist, 44
Collection de diferentes vistas del magnifico templo y real monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial (Gómez de Navia), 49
 [Collected etchings] (Bossi), 23
 [Collection of four suites of etchings] (Piroli), 103
 [Collection of plates] (F. Piranesi), 78
 College of the Society of Jesus, as owner, 149
 College of the Society of Jesus, Moravsky Krumlov, as owner, 152
 Collignon, François, 69
 Collin, Jean, as engraver, 112
 Colocci, Angelo, 492
 Colonna, Angelo Michele, 227, 228, 229
 Colonna, Cardinal Girolamo, 452
 Colonna, Francesco, 36, 55
 Colonna, Girolamo Mengozzi-, 476–477
 Colorno, ducal palace, 167, 341
 Colt Hoare, Sir Richard *see* Hoare, Sir Richard Colt
 Commandino, Federico, 38, 462
 Conca, Sebastiano, as artist, 141; 448
 Congregation de Notre Dame, Maison des Oiseaux, as owner, 148
 Congregazione della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, 142, 143, 145
 Consorti, B., as engraver, 61
 Consorti, C., as engraver, 61
 Constantinople, circus, 266
 Contarini, Giulio, as engraver, 17
 Conti, Antonio, 480
 Conti, Torquato de', 127
Contignationes ac pontes (Zabaglia), 166
 Contini, Francesco, 84
 Convent of Friars Minor, Brussels, as owner, 161
 Copenhagen, royal theater, 48
 Cora, 302, 305, 364; temple of Hercules, 312
 Cordemoy, Jean Louis de, 300
 Cordoba, Francesco, as artist and engraver, 114
 Cordoba, Gonzalez da, 101
 Cornaro, Cardinal Alvisé, 39, 251, 499
Corona imperiale dell'architettura militare (Sardi), 121, 100
 Coronelli, Vincenzo, 54, 104, 520
 Corot, Camille, 363
 Correggio, as artist, 23, 51; 37, 59, 69, 344
 Corsi, Marc'Antonio, as engraver, 169, 170
 Corsini, Cardinal Nero, 83, 452
 Cort, Cornelis, as engraver, 110
 Cortona, Etruscan academy, 224; Villa Passerini, 497
 Cortona, Pietro da, as artist, 134; 37, 66, 100, 133, 203, 204, 228, 330, 332, 335, 348, 357, 358, 369, 423, 448–449
 Cosatti, Lelio, as author, 166
Cose maravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma (Marcucci), 57
 Cossa, 224
 Costa, A., as engraver, 61
 Costa, Gianfrancesco, 520
 Costa, Lorenzo, 496
 COSTAGUTI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA, *Architettura della basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 32; 117, 145
 Costaguti senior, Giovanni Battista, as editor, 32
 Costaguti, Vincenzo, 117
 Cottafavi, Gaetano, 363
 Cotte, Robert de, 442
 Cousin, Jean, 461
 Cremona, baptistry, 94, 95; bell tower, 95; castle, 95; cathedral, 94, 95; citadel, 95; fortifications, 95; Palazzo Vidoni, 94; plan of, 94, 95, 96–97; Torri Pallavicini, 94; triumphal arch, 95
Cremona fedelissima (Campo), 26
 Cremonesi, Lorenzo, as engraver, 61
 Crescenzi, Giovanni Battista, 156, 157
 Crescimbeni, Giovanni Mario, 37
 Crivellari, Bartolomeo, as engraver, 168
 Croce, Francesco, 122
 Cruyl, Lieven, 133, 478
 Cruys, Teodoro *ver see* Ver Kruys, Teodoro
 Cullen House Library, as owner, 112
 Cumae, 6
 Cunego, Domenico, as engraver, 51, 99
 Cunego, Luigi, as engraver, 165
 Cungi, Camillo, as engraver, 134; 423
 Curti, Girolamo, 227
- ## D
- Dal Borgo, Pietro, 461
 Dall'Acqua, Cristoforo *see* Acqua, Cristoforo dall'
 Dalla Volpe, Lelio *see* Volpe, Lelio dalla
 DAL RE, MARC-ANTONIO, *Maisons de plaisance ou palais de campagne de l'état de Milan*, 33; xvii
 Damer, Anna, as owner, 134
 Danti, Egnazio, as editor, 149, 150; 38, 460, 461, 462
 D'Arthenay *see* Arthenay, d'
 Dassori, Giovanni Battista, as engraver, 165
 Daudet, Jean-Louis, as engraver, 131
 Dauphin, Charles Claude, 178
De aquaeductibus (Frontinus), 155, 157
 [De architectura] (Vitruvius), 155 (Latin 1497); 156 (Latin 1511); 157 (Latin 1513); 158 (Italian 1521); 159 (Italian 1536); 160 (Italian 1556); 161 (Latin 1567), 38; 162 (Latin and Italian 1758)
De architettura libri cinque (Serlio), 126
De bronzi di Ercolano (Accademia Ercolanese), 1
 Delagardette, Claude Mathieu, as translator, 147
 De la Torre, Don Fausto Martinez *see* Martinez de la Torre, Don Fausto
 Delfino, Federigo, 39
Della architettura (Rusconi), 119
Della architettura (Zanini), 167, 100
Della architettura libri dieci di Leon Battista Alberti (Alberti), 8
 Dell' Abate, Nicolò *see* Abate, Nicolò dell'
Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani (G. B. Piranesi), 99
Della nuova simmetria degli cinque ordini (Zanini), 167, 100
 Della Robbia, Luca *see* Robbia, Luca della
Della trasportatione dell'obelisco Vaticano (Fontana), 40, 144
 Della Vaccheria, Lorenzo *see* Vaccheria, Lorenzo della
Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna (Vasi), 141
 De l'Orme, Philibert *see* L'Orme, Philibert de
 De los Santos, *Fra* Francisco *see* Francisco de los Santos, *Fra*
 Del Re, Sebastiano, 128
De ludis circensibus (Panvinio), 73, 65
 Denel, C., as engraver, 61
 Dennis, George, 222
 Derand, François, 183
 Derby, earl of, as owner, 151
De re aedificatoria (Alberti), 4 (Latin 1485), 5 (Italian 1546), 6 (Italian 1550), 7 (Italian 1565), 8 (Italian 1833)
 Desargues, Girard, 183, 406
Descripcion del real monasterio de San Lorenzo de el Escorial (Francisco de los Santos), 42
Descripcion del real monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial (Francisco de los Santos), 41
Description de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable a Turin, 131
Descrizione e disegno dell'emissario del Lago Albano (G. B. Piranesi), 92
 Desgodetz, Antoine, 44

- Desprez, Louis, as artist, 78; 315
 Destailleur, Hippolyte, as owner, 144
Dichiarazione dei disegni del Reale Palazzo di Caserta (Vanvitelli), 140, 66
Di due spelonche ornate dagli antichi alla riva del Lago Albano (G. B. Piranesi), 93
Dieci libri d'architettura (Rusconi), 120
Dieci libri de l'architettura di Leon Battista de gli Alberti (Alberti), 5
 Diego, Bernardo de Villa *see* Villa Diego, Bernardo de
 Dietterlin, Wenzel, 426
 Dietzenhofer, Johann, 125
Differentes manieres d'orner les cheminées (G. B. Piranesi), 100
Differentes vues de quelques restes (G. B. Piranesi), 97
Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri decem (Vitruvius Pollio), 158
Direzione della prospettiva teorica (Galli Bibiena), 46
Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile (Galli Bibiena), 46
 Dischingbune, Thomas, as owner, 128
Discorsi sopra l'antichità di Roma (Scamozzi), 122
Disegni delle scene (Galli Bibiena), 44
Disegni di vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma (G. G. de' Rossi), 113
Disegni diversi (Giardini), 47
Diverse maniere d'adornare i camini (G. B. Piranesi), 100
Divers Manners of Ornamenting Chimneys (G. B. Piranesi), 100
 Dolcibeni, Vincenzo, as artist, 165
 Domenichi, Lodovico, as translator, 9; 20
 Domenichino, as artist, 51; 358, 423
 Domenici, Antonio de', as artist, 165
 Donatello, 20
 Donati, Alessandro, 44, 144, 230, 231, 233
 Doni, Anton Francesco, 20
 Donia, Francesco, as engraver, 143
 Donnini, Alfonso, 68
 Dorigny, Nicolas, as artist, 110; as engraver, 78, 110
 DOSIO, GIOVANNI ANTONIO, *Urbis romae aedificiorum*, 34; xii, xvii, 95, 211, 358, 375, 387
 Dotto, Vincenzo, 512
 "DR," as artist, 112
 Dubois, Nicolas, as author, 69
 Du Cerceau, Jacques Androuet *see* Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques
 Duchet, Claude, 202, 266
 Du Choul, Guillaume, 203
Due regole della prospettiva pratica (Vignola), 149, 150; 38
 Dürer, Albrecht, 38, 40, 59, 168, 322, 401, 403, 461
 Duflos, Philothée-François, as artist, 85, 117; as engraver, 84, 85, 117, 166, 169; 42, 46
 Du Fresne, Raphael, 327
 DUPÉRAC, ETIENNE, *Vestigi dell' antichità di Roma*, 35; as artist and engraver, 73, 111; xii, xvii, 95, 128, 173, 175, 266, 267, 311, 358–359
 Duquesnoy, Francesco, 70
 Durantino, Francesco Lutio, 499
- ## E
- Ecole Sainte Geneviève, as owner, 24
 Edwards, Peter, 259
 Elboeuf, Prince, 8
 Elisabetta of Valois, 98
 Elisabetta Pavlovna, empress of Russia, (summer palace), 409
 Ely Cathedral Library, as owner, 152
 Emanuele Filiberto, duke of Savoy, 158, 251
 Enguïdanos, Tomás López *see* López Enguïdanos, Tomás
 Enguïdanos, V. L., as engraver, 147
 Enrici, E. M., as artist, 61
 Ephesus, temple of Diana, 114, 319
 Erba, Jacopo, 101
 Ercolano *see* Herculaneum
 Ercole, Domenico Antonio, as printer, 21
 Erlach, Johann Fischer von *see* Fischer von Erlach, Johann
 Errard de Bar-le-Duc, Jean, 382, 383
 Escorial, 41, 42, 49; xvii, 156–160, 156, 157, 176–177, 177, 202, 426, 472, 473, 474
 Este, Beatrice d', 98
 Este, Cardinal Ippolito d', 64, 251, 402, 501
 Este, Lionello d', 20
 Estrades, abbé d', 178
 Euclid, 18, 38, 182, 401, 497, 499
 Eugene, prince of Savoy, 8, 124–125
 Evelyn, John, 32
Exercitationes vitruvianae (Poleni), 104, 58
 Ezechiel, 471, 472–473
- ## F
- Fabbri, Girolamo, 54
Fabbriche e disegni (Quarenghi), 108
Fabbriche e i disegni (Palladio), 70
 Fabri, Umberto, as editor, 67
Fabrice, e vedute di Venetia (Carlevaris), 29
 Faccenda, Francesco, as engraver, 165
 Fagan, Robert, 189
 Falcetti, Giovanni Battista, 227
 Falconetto, Gian Maria, 251
 Falconieri, Ottavio, as author, 63; 230
 FALDA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA, *Fontane di Roma*, 36; as co-author, 37, 114; as engraver, 63; x, xvi, xvii, 70, 104, 106, 144, 235, 299, 348, 349, 357, 358, 376, 450, 478, 479
 Faleti, Bernardo, 127
 Fano, basilica, 490
 Fanshawe, Richard, 157
 Fantetti, Cesar, as artist and engraver, 36
 Farfán, Fernando de la Torre *see* Torre Farfán, Fernando de la
 Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro, 64, 263, 266, 341, 358
 Farnese, Duke Francesco, 341
 Farnese, Elisabetta, queen of Spain, 341, 412, 451, 462
 Farnese, Ranuccio, duke of Parma, 202
 Farnese family, 7, 127, 165, 341
 Farsetti, Antonio Francesco, 255
 Farsetti, Archbishop, 53
 Farsetti, Vincenzo, 255
 Faucci, Carlo, as engraver, 118
 Fava, *fratelli*, publishers, 54
 Payneau, Giovanni, as engraver, 50; 178
 "FB," as woodcut artist, 158
 Fea, Carlo, as author, 165; 189, 364, 433–434
 Félibien, André, 257
 Felice, Simone, as artist and engraver, 37
 Feoli, Vincenzo, as publisher, 137; as engraver, 138; 433, 434, 435
 Ferdinand I, king of Naples, 98
 Feretti, Giuseppe, 225
 Feretti, Lodovico, 225
 Ferguson, F. S., as owner, 157
 Ferrabosco, Martino, as artist, 32; 70, 72, 117, 118, 120, 144, 145
 Ferrari, Carlo Francisco, as owner, 50
 Ferrari, Giovanni Battista, 357, 423
 Ferrari, Ludovico, 59
 Ferrari, Paolo, 202
 Ferrario, Vincenzo, as printer, 8
 Ferratini, Gaetano, as engraver, 50
 FERRERIO, PIETRO, *Palazzi di Roma*, 37, 114; xvii, 106, 134, 144–145, 349, 356, 376
 Ferretti, Giovanni Domenico, as artist, 118, 168
 Ferretti, Giuseppe, as engraver, 61
 Ferretti, Lodovico, as engraver, 61
 Ferri, Cirro, 346, 357
 [Feste ducali] (Brustolon), 25
 Ficino, Marsilio, 388
 Ficoroni, Francesco, 189
Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla (Torre Farfán), 135
 Filarete, 18, 112, 387, 403, 497
 Filosi, Giuseppe, as engraver, 20, 169; as publisher, 3
 Finazzi, Giovanni Battista, 104
 Finé, Oronce, 322
 Fioravanti, Aristotele, 151
 Fiorillo, Nicola, as engraver, 1
 Firmin-Didot, printers, 301, 364

- Fischer, Arthur, as owner, 67
 Fischer von Erlach, Johann, 49, 125, 136, 474
 Fiske, John Safford, as owner, 70, 72
Fisionomie possibili (Bossi), 23
 Flaxman, John, 298
 Florence, 517–524;
 churches, etc.: Annunziata, 524; Badia Fiorentina, 521, 524; cathedral, 183, 376, 522; S. Lorenzo, 328, 373, 376; S. Maria del Fiore, 127; S. Maria Novella, 20; S. Michele, 524; Ognissanti, 524; S. Pier Maggiore, 524; abbey of the Tre Fontane, 512; S. Trinità, 524
 palazzi: Antinori, 524; Capponi, 376; Corsi, 524; Giugni, 376; Marucelli, 376; Medici, 524; Niccolini, 376; Pandolfi, 376; Pitti, 227, 228, 229, 373, 376, 523, 524; Podestà, 521; Rannuccini, 376; 522; Spini, 524; Strozzi, 376; Uffizi, 375, 524; Vecchio, 23, 322, 376, 462, 522, 524; Vernaccia, 376
 piazze: S. Croce, 517, 523; S. Maria Novella, 373, 523; della Signoria, 522, 523, 524
 plans: 373, 374–375
 other: Bargello, 524; Boboli gardens, 373; Casino Corsini, 376; Casino Zuccari (Zuccari), 373, 376; fortress, 373, 524; Laurentian library, 373, 375, 376; Mercato Nuovo, 376; S. Trinità bridge, 376, 518–519
 Florimi, Matteo, 202
 Folli, Sebastiano, as artist and engraver, 24
 Folo, P., as engraver, 61
 Fontaine, Pierre-François-Léonard, as owner, 22; 315
 Fontainebleau, 401, 402, 460; Grand Fer-rare manor house, 402, 501
 FONTANA, CARLO, *Templum Vaticanum*, 38; *Utilissimo trattato dell'acque*, 39; as artist and engraver, 110; xvii, 44, 69, 70, 72, 122, 348, 358
 FONTANA, DOMENICO, *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco Vaticano*, 40; as artist, 166; xvi, xvii, 118, 140, 144, 145, 157, 310, 510
 Fontana, F., as artist, 61
 Fontana, Francesco, as artist, 91
 Fontana, G., as engraver, 61
Fontane del giardino estense in Tivoli (Falda and Venturini), 36
Fontane delle ville di Frascati (Falda and Venturini), 36
Fontane di Roma (Falda and Venturini), 36
Fontane ne' palazzi e ne' giardini di Roma (Falda and Venturini), 36
 Fontebasso, Francesco, as artist, 69
Forestiere instruito delle cose notabili della città di Ravenna (Beltrami), 17
Forestiere instruito delle cose più rare di architettura (Bertotti-Scamozzi), 19
 Formigine, Andrea Marchesi da, 227
 Fossati, Domenico, 302
 Fossati, Giorgio, as editor and engraver, 69; 255, 256, 257
 Frambotti, Paolo, as publisher, 73
 Francesca, Piero della *see* Piero della Francesca
 Franceschi, Domenico de', as publisher, 65
 Franceschi, Francesco de', as publisher, 7, 126, 127, 161; 22, 398, 500–501
 Franceschi, Girolamo, 405, 406
 Franceschi, heirs of Francesco de', as publisher, 128
 Franceschini, Domenico Mariano, as engraver, 107
 Franceschini, Vincenzo, as engraver, 20, 110, 118, 169, 170; 66, 348, 524
 Francesco di Giorgio Martini, xii, 37, 111, 112, 114, 249, 250, 382, 387, 396, 403, 492, 497
 Francesco Maria, duke of Parma, 64
 Francia, Francesco Domenico Maria, as engraver, 109
 Francini, Girolamo, 452
 FRANCISCO DE LOS SANTOS, FRA, *Descripcion del real monasterio de San Lorenzo de el Escorial*, 42; *Descripcion del real monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial*, 41; 159–160, 176
 François I, king of France, 401, 496
 Franzini, Girolamo, 209
 Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini, 358, 359, 370; Villa Pamphili, 134, 203, 349, 370
 Fratta, Domenico, as artist, 168
 Fréart de Chambray, Roland, 112, 256, 466
 Fréart de Chantelou, Paul, 100, 180
Freggi dell'architettura (Mitelli), 62
 Freicenet, as engraver, 13, 14
 Fresne, Raphael du *see* Du Fresne, Raphel
 Frezza, Giovanni Girolamo, as engraver, 21, 63, 107; 66, 69, 70, 231, 334
 Frezza, Isidoro, as engraver, 1
 Frisius, Gemma, 322
 Frontinus, Sextus Julius, as author, 155, 157; 312, 320, 493
 Fuga, Ferdinando, 235, 373, 389, 439, 448, 450
 Fullius, Sebastianus *see* Folli, Sebastiano
 Fulcaro, Francesco, 84
 Fulgoni, Antonio, as publisher, 132
 Fulvio, Andrea, 58, 144, 203, 231, 266
 Furlanetti, Giuseppe, as engraver, 1
 Furlanetto, Lodovico, as publisher, 136; 87, 88
 G
 "G," as artist (bookplate), 16
 Gabbuggiani, Baldassare, as artist and engraver, 20, 170
 Gagnereau, Bénigne, as artist, 77
 Gale, T., as owner, 6
 Galestruzzi, Giovanni Battista, 357
 Galiani, Berardo, as artist and translator, 162; 8, 11, 315, 320, 501–502
 Galiani, Ferdinando, 10
 Galilei, Alessandro, 208, 373, 439, 450
 Galilei, Galileo, 148, 406
 GALLACCINI, TEOFILO, *Trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini sopra gli errori degli architetti*, 43; xv, 475, 477
 Galliard, Philippe, as engraver, 134
 Galli Bibiena, Alessandro, 165, 168
 GALLI BIBIENA, FERDINANDO, *Architettura civile*, 45; *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile*, 46; *Disegni delle scene*, 44; xvii, 48, 125, 192, 196, 305, 335, 341, 442
 Galli Bibiena, Francesco, 168
 Galli Bibiena, Giuseppe, 165, 168
 Gallo, Agostino, as publisher, 158; 494, 496
 Galouzeau, L. E., as owner, 40
 Gamma, Sebastiano, as artist, 168
 Gamucci, Bernardo, 127, 128, 452
 Gandolfi, Gaetano, as artist, 168; 48
 Garcia Infançon, Juan *see* Infançon, Juan Garcia
 Gaspari, Antonio, 477
 Gatchina, palace, 409
 Gatti, P., as engraver, 61
 Gaudio, P., 466
 Gaultier, Pierre Jacques, as engraver, 1
 "GB," as woodcut artist, 26; as owner, 12
 Geneva, plan of, 257
 Gennarelli, Achille, 222
Geometria prattica (Pomodoro and Scala), 105
 Geri, Carlo, as engraver, 1
 Gerini, Marchese Andrea, 517, 519, 520, 522
 Gerla, C. T., as owner, 124
 Ghezzi, Pier Leone, as artist, 11, 166; 37, 69, 315, 348, 510
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 18, 20
 Ghiselli, Ippolito Gamba, 54
 Ghisi, Giorgio, 58, 59
 Giacomino, Marc'Antonio, as engraver, 1
 Giambologna, 375
 Giampiccoli, Giuliano, as engraver, 169
 Giampiccoli, Sebastiano, as engraver, 70
 Gianfattori, Carlo Ferrante, 117, 118, 120
 Giani, Felice, 48
 Gianni, Costantino, as engraver, 8; 20
 Giannini, Sebastiano, as publisher, 22; 74
 GIARDINI, GIOVANNI, *Disegni diversi*, 47
 Ginanni, Francesco, 54, 55

Giochi numerici fatti arcani palesati
(G. F. A. Alberti), 2
Giocondo, *Fra Giovanni*, as editor, 156,
157; 59, 318, 326, 399, 400, 401, 492–493
Giolito, Gabriel, as publisher, 9; 20
Giolito de' Ferrari, Giovanni and Gio-
vanni Paolo, as publishers, 119; 379
Giomignani, Francesco, as engraver, 1
Gionino, G., as artist, 102
Giorgione, as artist, 51
Giovanna Battista, duchess of Turin, 178
GIOVANNOLI, ALOISIO, *Vedute degli antichi*
vestigi di Roma, 48; xviii, 104, 202
Giovio, Paolo, 95
Giraud, as engraver, 14
Girometti, Pietro, 221
Giulio Romano, as artist, 51, 103; 57, 58, 59,
128, 204, 400, 402, 460
Giunta, Filippo, as publisher, 157
Giunti, Bernardo, as publisher, 129; 406
Goding, James, as owner, 55
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 259, 298,
520
Goldmann, Nikolaus, as author, 104; 320
Goldschmidt, Lucien, as owner, 33, 94, 134
Gomes, as owner, 4
GÓMEZ DE NAVIA, JOSÉ, *Collecion de dife-*
rentes vistas del magnifico templo y real
monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial,
49; ix, 176
Gonzaga, Cardinal Ercole, 58–59
Gonzaga, Ferrante, 34
Gonzaga, Gianfrancesco, 20
Gonzaga, Luigi Valenti, 53
Gonzalez, Manuel, as publisher, 147
Gori, Antonio Francesco, 87, 348, 510
Goujon, Jean, 499
Gozzadini, Giovanni, 227
Gozzadini, Ullisse, 341
“G.P.C.,” as owner, 106
“GPM,” as engraver, 122
Grado, Filippo de, as engraver, 1
Graevius, Joannes, 230, 319
Grandezze della città di Roma antiche &
moderne (Marcucci), 58, 128
Grant, Sir Archibald, as owner, 128
Grantham, Lord, as owner, 84
Gravier, Jean *see* Bouchard and Gravier
Gregori, Carlo, as engraver, 118, 170
Gregory XIII, Pope, 95, 151, 266
Gregory XVI, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 301,
363, 364
Greuter, Johann Friedrich, as engraver,
134; 423
Greuter, Mattheus, as engraver, 114; 120
Grignani, Lodovico, as publisher, 57, 124
Grilli, Filippo, 117
Grimaldi, Giacomo, 85, 118, 144, 145
Grimani, Giovanni, 39

Grimani, Marco, 400, 403
Grispoldi, Gaspare, as engraver, 121; 382
Gronovius, Jacobus, 319
Gross, Johann, as author, 54; 202, 204
[*Grotteschi*] (G. B. Piranesi), 81
Gualandi, Michelangelo, as owner, 26
Gualdo, Paolo, 84
Gualtieri, Cardinal Filippo Antonio, 368
Guardi, Francesco, 88, 89, 214, 218
GUARINI, GUARINO, *Architettura civile*, 50;
xv, 100, 228
Guasco, Francesco, 211
Guattani, *abbé*, as author, 102
Guelfi, Hieremia, as author, 149
Guenotto, Francesco, as engraver, 50; 178
Guercino, as artist, 23, 51, 102
Guerra, Giuseppe, as engraver, 1
Guerra, Giovanni, 32, 152
Guicciardini, Francesco, 88
Guideth (or Guideza?), as owner, 139
Guiducci, Angelo, as engraver, 166
Gurlitt, Cornelius, 180
Gutierrez, Niccola, as engraver, 166
“G.Z.,” as engraver, 1

H

Hadrian, 32
Halicarnassus, 496
HAMILTON, GAVIN, *Schola italica picturae*, 51
Hamilton, Sir William, 7
Harris, John, as owner, 23
Harvard College Library, as owner, 160
Hawksmoor, Nicholas, 331
Helena, Saint, 29
Henri II, king of France, 95, 402
Henry of York, Cardinal, 452
Herbert, Lord, 186
Herculaneum, 1, 6; ix, xii, 6–8, 9, 10–11, 10,
225, 258, 315, 439, 408, 411, 443, 502;
basilica, 6, 8; theater, 6, 8, 11, 315; Villa
dei Papyri, 6
Hérisset, Antoine, as engraver, 131
Herod, 383
Herrera, Francesco de (the younger), as
artist, 135; 425, 428
Herrera, Juan de, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 176,
472, 474
Heureux, Jean l' *see* L'Heureux, Jean
Heyne, Christian Gottlob, as author, 165
High Legh Hall Library, as owner, 94
Hoare, Sir Richard Colt, 89, 186, 188, 189
Hoefnagel, Joris, 426
Hofer, Philip, as owner, 82
Hogarth, William, 302
Hogenberg, Franz, 32, 157, 202, 426
Hooghe, Romeyn de, 124, 125
Hopfer, Daniel, 229
Horthemels, Marie Nicole, as engraver, 11

I

Iconografica rappresentazione della inclita
città di Venezia (Ughi), 136
Ide, John Jay, as owner, 43, 70, 72
Idea della architettura universale (Scamozzi),
123, 151
I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio
(Vitruvius), 160
Illasi, Villa Pompei, 326
“I.L.S.,” as woodcut artist, 146
In Ezechielem explanationes (Villalpando
and Prado), 152, 74, 145
Infançon, Juan Garcia, as printer, 42
Innocent VIII, Pope, 70
Innocent X, Pope, 70, 72, 370
Innocent XI, Pope, 142, 356
Innocent XII, Pope, 143, 368
Innocent XIII, Pope, 37
Insignium romae templorum (G. G. de'
Rossi), 112
Isabella of Aragon, 98, 98
Isidore of Seville, 489
Isola Bella *see* Isola Borromeo
Isola Borromeo, 122, 124, 125
Itinéraire instructif de Rome ancienne et
moderne (Vasi), 143
Itinéraire instructif de Rome en faveur des
étrangers (Vasi), 142

J

Jamnitzer, Wenzel, 407, 462
Jaucourt, Louis de, 8
“J.B.C.,” as engraver, 20
Jebîr, 426
Jerusalem, church of Calvary, 27; church
of the Virgin, 32; “David’s Tower,” 32;
fortress of Antonia, 32; Holy Sepul-
cher, 28, 29, 32; house of Annas, 29;
house of Caiaphas, 29; mosque, 29,
32; palace of Herod, 32; palace of
Pilate, 29; plan of, 32, 473; Temple of
Herod, 472; Temple of Jerusalem,
xv, 469, 474; Temple of the Prophet
Ezekiel, 471, 472; Temple of
Solomon, xvii, 74, 114, 118, 144, 145,
159, 370, 471–474; Via Dolorosa, 29;
views of, 31–31, 32
Jesuit Seminary, Belgium, as owner, 149
João V, king of Portugal, 192
Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor, 334
Joussée, Mathurin, 511
Julius II, Pope, 69, 151, 208
Julius III, Pope, 418
Juvarra, Filippo, 66, 167, 302, 305, 331, 332,
335, 412, 413, 416, 450, 463
“JVC,” as engraver, 118
K
Karca, Vinc. M., as owner, 1, 16

- Kassel, Wilhelmshöhe, 443
 Kent, William, 344
 Ker, John, as owner, 82
 Kerrick, T., as owner, 145
 Kieffer, Michel, as binder, 39, 66, 149
 Kircher, Athanasius, as author, 104
 Kleiner, Salomon, 519
 Kolpakov, Ivan, as printer, 108; 338
 Komarek, as printer, 13, 14
 Komarek, Giovanni Giacomo, as publisher, 107
 Kruys, Teodoro ver see Ver Kruys, Teodoro
- L**
 Labacco, Antonio, 128, 325, 464, 466
 LABRUZZI, CARLO, *Via Appia illustrata*, 52, 362, 363
 Labruzzi, Pietro, 186
 Ladislaw Sigismund, king of Poland and Sweden, 405, 406
 La Fage, Raymond, as artist, 102
 Lafrery, Antoine, 58, 128, 136, 151, 202, 266, 358
 Laigniel, Nicolas, as engraver, 112
 Lallemant, Jean-Baptiste, 43
 La Marra, Francesco see Marra, Francesco la
 Lanci, Baldassare, 40, 322
 Lanciani, Rodolfo, 301
 LANDI, GIUSEPPE ANTONIO, *Racolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e cortili . . . di Bologna*, 53; xvii, 53, 193, 229
 Landinara, Giovanni Marco da, 493
 Lanfranco, Giovanni, 341
 Lanti, as artist, 8
 Lanze, Cardinal Vittorio Amedeo delle, 452
Lapides capitolini (G. B. Piranesi), 90
L'architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione (Vitruvius), 162
 La Rochelle, 322
 La Rue, Louis Félix de, as artist, 23
 Lascaris, Giovanni, 493
 La Torre, Don Fausto Martinez de see Martinez de la Torre, Don Fausto
 Laude, David de, as engraver, 26; 94, 95
 Laughlin, Irwin, as owner, 59
 Laugier, Antoine, 162, 300
 Laureti, Tommaso, 461
 LAURO, GIACOMO, *Antiquae urbis splendor*, 54; *Romanae magnitudinis monumenta*, 55; xviii, 173, 211
 Lauro, Pietro, as translator, 4; 20, 21
 "L.B.," as artist (bookplate), 106
 Leal, Juan Valdés see Valdés Leal, Juan
 Leblanc, as publisher, 103
 Le Corbusier, 464
 Ledoux, Claude Nicolas, 337, 339
 Legat, Francis, as engraver (bookplate), 134
 Legeay, Jean-Laurent, as artist, 85, 117; as engraver, 84, 85, 117; 42, 46, 368
 Legrand, Hippolyte-Hyacinthe, 301
 Le Lorrain, Louis-Joseph, as artist, 80
 Lenardi, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 21
 Leo x, Pope, 238
 Leo xi, Pope, 70
 Leonardo da Vinci, as artist, 51; xi, 19, 24, 112, 168, 401, 461, 496, 497
 Leoni, Giacomo, 255
 Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, 334
 Lepri, Gioacchino, as engraver, 61; 225
 Le Roy, Julien David, 299–300, 309
 Leto, Pomponio, 86, 233, 387, 492
Lettere di giustificazione (G. B. Piranesi), 98
 L'Heureux, Jean, 85
 Liani, Francesco, as artist, 1
 Liberali, C., as engraver, 61
Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana (Ruggieri), 118
Libro extraordinario (Serlio), 126, 127, 128
 Ligorio, Pirro, xii, 65, 66, 84, 95, 127, 144, 203, 210, 265, 266, 267, 315, 358, 408, 501
 Limpach, Maximilian Joseph, as engraver, 47
 Lindenow, Jacob, 266
 Livorno, triumphal arch, 373
 Lizargarte, Pedro, 156
 Locatelli, Antonio, 259
 Lodoli, Carlo, 319, 480
 Lodoli, Pietro, 300
 Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo, 386, 396, 496
 Lombardi, Cristofano, 460
 Lombardy, villas: Belgioioso, 124; Brignano, 122, 124, 125; Castelazzo, 122, 123, 124; Cernusco, 122; Cinisella, 122–123, 125; Comazzo, 124; Merate, 124; Omate, 122; Oreno, 124, 125; Orio, 122; Robecco, 125
 Longhena, Baldassare, 92, 477
 Longhi, Martino, 144–145
 Longhi, Pietro Ignazio, as artist, 53
 Lonsdale, Lord, as owner, 69
 Lonsing, François, as engraver, 51
 López Enguádanos, Tomás, as engraver, 49; 176
 Lorenzini, Antonio, 344
 Lorenzo Alamani, Niccolò di see Alamani, Niccolò di Lorenzo
 Loreto, basilica, 450; papal palace, 450
 Lorini, Bonaiuto, 383
 L'Orme, Philibert de, 183, 238, 511
 Losi, Carlo, 322
 Los Santos, *Fra Francisco de see Francisco de los Santos, Fra*
 Louis, *Dauphin*, as owner, 21
 Louis XIII, 211
 Louis XIV, 178
 Louis XV, 65
 Lovisa, Domenico, as publisher, 68; 255
 Loyola, Ignatius, 331
 Lubomirski see Rzewuski-Lubomirski
 Lucchesi, Matteo, 311
 Lucchesini, Ignatio, as engraver, 24
Lucerne ed i candelabri (Accademia Ercolanese), 1
 Luciolli, Girolamo, 326
 Ludovica, Anna Maria, 517, 519
 Luduasio, as engraver, 1
 Lugano, Lake, plan of, 257
 Luini, Bernardino, 496
 Luis I, king of Spain, 373
 Lysippus, 66
- M**
 "M.," as owner, 127
 Macerata, military site, 322
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 114, 403
 Macigni, Matteo, 39
 Maderno, Carlo, 69, 70, 120, 136, 140, 144, 145, 150, 151, 424
 Madrid, Pantheon, 156, 157
 Madrid, Nicolas de see Nicolas de Madrid
 Maecenas, 186
 Maffei, Scipione, 44, 319, 326, 327
 Maggi, Giovanni, as engraver, 114; 132, 140, 173, 202, 357
 Maggiali, Giuseppe, 341
 Magini, P. L., as engraver, 84
 MAGNAN, DOMENICO, *Ville de Rome*, 56; xii
 Magnani, Giorgio, as owner, 62
 Magnasco, Alessandro, 302
 Magni, Giuseppe, as artist, 170
Magnificentiores selectioresque urbis Venetiarum prospectus (Marieschi), 59
Magnificenze di Roma (G. B. Piranesi), 80
 Mairesse, Gianfrancesco, as publisher, 50
 Maison des Oiseaux see Congregation de Notre Dame, Maison des Oiseaux
Maisons de plaisance ou palais de campagne de l'état de Milan (Dal Re), 33
 Maius, Jean, as engraver, 114
 Malatesta, Sigismundo, 55
 Mallio, Pietro, 118
 Malta, views of, 202
 Maltese, Giovanni Maria, as engraver, 131
 Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, 94
 Mancini, Francesco, as engraver, 1
 Mancini, Giulio, 161
 Mancini, P. L., as engraver, 1
 Manelli, A., as engraver, 61
 Manelli, Giovanni Battista, as artist and engraver, 112
 Manfré, Giovanni, as printer, 104
 Mannelli, A., as engraver, 61
 Mannozi, Giovanni di San Giovanni, as

- artist, 170; 522
 Mantegna, Andrea, 496
 Mantua, S. Barbara, 58; cathedral, 57;
 ducal palace, 58, 400; house of G. B.
 Bertano, 58; Palazzo del Tè, 204;
 theater, 58; views of, 259
 Manuzio, Aldo, 38, 98, 111
 Manuzio, Aldo, sons of, as publishers, 31
 Maratta, Carlo, 37, 65
 Marchetti, A., as engraver, 61
 Marchi, Giuseppe, 222
 Marchi, Vincenzo, as artist, 61
 Marcolini, Francesco, as author, 125; as
 publisher, 160; 500
 MARCUCCI, GIACOMO, *Cose maravigliose
 dell'alma città di Roma*, 57; *Grandezze
 della città di Roma antiche & moderne*,
 58; xii, 128
 Mardi, Eleanor K., as owner, 146
 Maria Amelia, queen of the Two Sicilies,
 451
 Maria Clementina, catafalque of, 215
 Mariano il Taccola, Jacopo *see* Taccola,
 Jacopo Mariano il
 Maria Theresa, archduchess of Austria,
 520, 522
 MARIESCHI, MICHELE, *Magnificentiores
 selectioresque urbis Venetiarum prospec-
 tus*, 59, 153; as engraver, 169, 170; xvii,
 88, 89, 478, 519, 523
 Mariette, Pierre-Jean, 28, 300, 452
 Marigny, Abel-François Poisson de, 8, 42
 Marino, Giovanni Battista, 34, 53
 Mariotti, Vincenzo, as engraver, 107, 112,
 113; 331, 335, 357, 477
 Marliani, Bartolomeo, 128, 144, 203, 230,
 231, 266, 401
 Maron, Anton von, as artist, 165
 Marot, Daniel, 305
 Marra, Francesco la, as artist and
 engraver, 162
 Marroni, S., as engraver, 61
 Martin, Jean, 499
 Martin v, Pope, 70
 MARTINELLI, LUDOVICO, *Theoremata ex
 universo philosophia selecta*, 60
 Martinez de la Torre, Don Fausto, as
 artist, 147, 467
 Martini, Francesco di Giorgio *see*
 Francesco di Giorgio Martini
 Martini, Giuseppe, 70
 Martorelli, Giacomo, 8
 Masaccio, 20
Mascarade à la grecque (Bossi), 23
 Mascardi, Giacomo, as publisher, 58; 452
 Mascardi, Vitale, as printer, 134, 150; as
 publisher, 54; 200, 202
 Maser, Villa Barbaro, 251, 259, 387, 499, 501
 Massari, Giorgio, 477
 Massimi, Cardinal Camillo, 137
 Massini, Giovanni Pietro, as engraver, 11;
 37
 Maurizio, cardinal of Savoy, 202
 Mauro, Bono, 496
 Mausoleum of Porsenna, 221
 MAXIMIS, FRANCIS XAVIER DE, *Musei etrusci*,
 61; x
 Mazzocchi, Alessio, 11
 Mazzola, Girolamo Francesco Maria *see*
 Parmigianino
 Mazzoni, Francesco, as engraver, 166
 Mazzoni, Ignazio, as artist, 131
 Medici, Cosimo I de', 20, 21, 22, 23, 98, 127,
 128
 Medici, Cosimo II de', 28, 29, 161
 Medici, Ferdinando de', 151, 405
 Medici, Francesco de', 22, 98, 111
 Medici, Gian Gastone de', 373, 524
 Medici, Giovanni de', 22
 Medici, Giuliano de', 21, 493
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 20, 21, 492, 494
 Medici, Piero de', 20, 21
 Memmo, Andrea, 259, 319
 Memmo, Marcantonio, 36
Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino
 (Baldi), 11, 64
 Menestrier, Claude, 85
 Mengozzi-Colonna, Girolamo *see*
 Colonna, Girolamo Mengozzi-Mengs,
 Anton Raphael, as artist, 165
 Mercanti, Ilario *see* Spolverini
 Mercati, Michele, 144, 151, 152
*Mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma,
 tanto antiche che moderne* (P. Rossini),
 117
 Meryon, Charles, 106, 366
 Mewes, Charles Edouard, as owner, 1, 13,
 14, 16, 26, 44, 54, 61, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80,
 81, 83, 86, 87, 90, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101,
 103, 115, 154, 164; as artist (bookplate),
 13
 Mewes, Charles Frederic, as owner, 6, 23,
 31, 91, 123
 Michelangelo Buonarroti, as artist, 51, 103;
 21, 66, 69, 70, 118, 120, 128, 140, 142, 150,
 151, 152, 159, 162, 208, 233, 299, 312, 320,
 348, 349, 356, 359, 369, 375, 376, 439, 496
 Miglionico, Paolo de, 32
 Miguët, Charles, as owner, 21
 Milan, Castello Sforzesco, 496; cathedral,
 58, 249, 380, 496; citadel, 114; S. Maria
 presso S. Satiro, 494; tower, 151
 Milano, Aureliano, as artist, 33; as
 engraver, 102
 Milizia, Francesco, 180, 260, 301, 326, 328,
 330, 337
 Minorelli, Andrea, as author, 167
 Mirri, Ludovico, as publisher, 130; 408,
 410, 411
 Missirini, Melchior, 363
 MITELLI, AGOSTINO, *Freggi dell'architettura*,
 62; 165, 330
 Mitelli, Giovanni, 227
 "M.L.," as engraver, 1
 Mocenigo, Doge Luigi, 104
 Mochetti, as engraver, 165
 Mochi, Francesco, 70
 Mogalli, Niccolò, as engraver, 84, 164, 169
 Mogliano, villa of Joseph Smith, 162
 Monaco, Francesco, as engraver, 64
 Monaco, Pietro, as engraver, 169, 170
 Monaldini, Venanzio, as publisher, 30, 56;
 109
 Mondovi, S. Francesco Saverio, 331
 Moneta, N., as engraver, 61; 225
 Montagny, as owner, 159
 Montagù, Domenico, as engraver, 13, 14;
 43, 44
 Montano, Benito Arias, 159, 472, 474
 Monte, Guidobaldo del, 34, 40, 152, 406
 Montefeltro, Federico da, 20, 37
 Montelupo, Raffaello da, 127
 Montfaucon, Bernard de, 44
 Monti, Giacomo, as publisher, 27, 28
 Monti, Paolo, as printer, 45
 Montiroli, G., as artist and engraver, 61
Monumenti antichi (Winckelmann), 164; 11
 Moraldi, N., as artist and engraver, 61
 Morales, Luisa, as engraver, 135
 Morelli, A., as artist, 61
 Morelli, Cosimo, 53
 Morelli, S., as artist and engraver, 61
 Moretti, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 168
 Morgagni, Giovanni Battista, as author,
 104; 320
 Morghen, Filippo, as engraver, 1, 140, 169,
 170; 11, 439
 Morghen, Giovanni Elia, as artist, 1, 24;
 as engraver, 24; 11
 Morghen, Guglielmo, as engraver, 1
 Morigia, Camillo, 54, 55, 56, 433
 Morigia, Giuseppe Carlo, as artist, 17
 Moroni, Gaetano, 363
 Mosca, Giovambattista Vendramini, as
 publisher, 19
 Moschetti, as binder, 61
 Moschetti, A., as engraver, 61
 Moschetti, Alessandro, 363
 Mosman, Nikolaus, as artist, 164
 Moya, Giuseppe, as engraver, 1
 Müller, Johann Sebastian, as engraver,
 169, 170
 Munich, stables for the king of Bavaria,
 338
 Murator, Giulian Cassani, as owner, 18
 Muratori, Lodovico Antonio, 100
 Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, as artist, 135;

- 176, 426, 428
Musei etrusci (Maximis), 61
 Muttone, Giacomo, 122
 Muttoni, Francesco, as editor, 69; 255, 256, 257, 258, 260
M. Vitruvii Polionis de architectura libri decem (Vitruvius), 161
M. Vitruvius per locundum solito castigatior factus (Vitruvius), 156
- N**
 Nalli, C., as engraver, 61
 Naples, S. Martino, 127; Palazzo Giovanni Normando, 448; plan of, 7, 239
 Napolini, Angelo, 143
 NARDINI, FAMIANO, *Roma antica*, 63; 44, 144; xii, xviii, 411
 Natalis, Michele, as engraver, 134; 424
 Natoire, Charles, 42
 Navia, José Gómez de *see* Gómez de Navia, José
 Nelli, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 118; 376
 Neri, Cardinal Filippo, 85, 335
 Nero, Emperor, 114, 189
 Nerva, Lucius Cocceius, 186
 Nevay, Giacomo, as engraver, 102
 Newdigate, Sir Roger, as artist, 80; 308, 315
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 63, 405, 480
 Nibby, Antonio, 189, 223, 230, 364, 452
 Nicholas v, Pope, 20, 32, 69, 151
 Nicolas de Madrid, 157
 Nicoletti, Francesco, as artist, 20; 66
 Nicolini, Francesco, as publisher, 120
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Cornelio de', as printer, 125
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Pietro de', as printer, 125
 Nicolli, N., as artist, 61
 Nigetti, Matteo, 375
 "N.N.," *architect*, *see* Muttoni, Francesco, 69
 "N.N.," as artist, 168
 Nocchi, Bernardino, as artist, 77
 Nogara, Bartolomeo, 224
 Noia, Giovanni Caraffa, duke of *see* Caraffa, Giovanni, duke of Noia
 Nolli, Carlo, as artist, 13; as engraver, 1, 64, 140; 11, 235, 312, 439, 442
 NOLLI, GIAMBATTISTA, *Nuova pianta di Roma*, 64; as artist, 86; 207, 312
 Northumberland, duke of, as owner, 119
 Northwick, baron, as owner, 134
Nova raccolta degl'obelischi et colonne antiche dell'alma città di Roma (G. G. de' Rossi), 114
Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani (Bonanni), 21
Nuova architettura familiare (Capra), 27
Nuova architettura militare d'antica (Capra), 28
Nuova pianta di Roma (Nolli), 64
Nuova raccolta delle migliori vedute antiche, e moderne di Roma (Cassini), 30
Nuova raccolta di fontane che si vedano nell'alma città di Roma (G. G. de' Rossi), 114
Nuovi disegni dell'architetture, e piante de' palazzi di Rome (Ferrerio and Falda), 37, 104, 134, 144–145
 Nuvolone, Lorenzo, as artist, 112
- O**
 Oeser, Adam Friedrich, as engraver, 165
 Ogetti, Ugo, as owner, 137
Opera del caval. Francesco Boromino (Borromini), 22
Opere varie (Bossi), 23
Opere varie (G. B. Piranesi), 80, 83
 Orazi, Bartolomeo, as engraver, 1
 Orazi, Carlo, as engraver, 1; 11
 Orazi, Niccolò, as engraver, 1, 140; 11, 439
 Orlandi, Giovanni, 451
 Orme, Philibert de l' *see* L'Orme, Philibert de
 Orsi, Count Guido Ascanio, 192
 Orsini, Fulvio, 264, 265
 Orsini family, as owner, 151; 148
 Orsolini, Carlo, as engraver, 59
 Orte, 224
 Ortelius, Abraham, 157
 Orvieto, plan of, 202
Oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio (Bertano), 18
 Osio, Baldassare, 100
Osservazioni di Gio. Battista Piranesi sopra la lettre de M. Mariette (G. B. Piranesi), 99
Osservazioni . . . sopra gli errori degli architetti (Visentini), 154
 Ottaviani, Giovanni, as engraver, 102
 Ottoboni, Cardinal Pietro, 62, 117, 335
- P**
 Pacciotto, Francesco, 34, 159, 464
 Pacioli, Luca, 461, 466, 494, 497
 Pacciotto, Sebastiano, 266
 Paderni, Camillo, as artist, 1, 16; 8, 10, 11
 Padua, botanical garden, 39, 64; Prato della Valle, 258, 315; university of, 34, 259; views of, 259
 Paestum, 300, 313–314, 315, 408
 Pagan, Blaise, 383
 Pagliarini, Marco, as printer, 164, 165; as publisher, 24, 141, 146
 Pagliarini, Niccolò, as publisher, 24, 141
 Pagliarini, Niccolò and Marco, as publishers, 166
 Palagi, Pelagio, 48
Palazzi di Roma (Ferrerio and Falda), 37, 114, 134, 144–145
Palazzo de' Cesari (Bianchini), 20
 Paleotto, Cardinal Gabriele, 128
 Palese, C., as publisher, 133
 Palestrina, casino, 84; sanctuary, 66; temple of Fortune, 204
 PALLADIO, ANDREA, *Architettura d'Andrea Palladio*, 68; *Architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino*, 69; *Batimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 71; *Fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio*, 70; *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, 65, 66, 67; *Terme dei Romani*, 72; as author, 58; xii, xiv, 38, 39, 44, 58, 60, 87, 113, 128, 136, 162, 170, 182, 210, 211, 212, 239, 251, 256, 299, 326, 327, 330, 337, 338, 379, 380, 389, 390, 396, 408, 411, 476, 477, 499, 500, 501
 Pallotta, Cardinal Guglielmo, 108
 Palma, Giovanni, as artist, 51
 Palma, Niccolo, 448
 Palmanuova, 389
 Palmer, William, 188
 Panciroli, Guido, 203
 Panfili, Pio, 48
 Panfilio, Camillo, 462
 Panini, Francesco, 466
 Panini, Giovanni Paolo, 42, 43, 46, 298, 299, 341, 450
 Pannier, as owner, 144
Pantographice, seu ars delineandi (Scheiner), 124
 Pantoja, Juan, 98
 PANVINIO, ONOFRIO, *De ludis circensibus*, 73; as artist, 111; xii, xiv, 65, 66, 118, 128, 144, 202, 203, 210, 230, 231, 233, 356, 359, 387
 Papini, Giuseppe, as engraver, 118, 170
 Paradossi *see* Troili, Giulio
 Parboni, Achille, 363
 Parboni, Pietro, 188, 190
 Parentucelli, Tommaso *see* Nicholas v
 Paribeni, as publisher, 21
 Parigi, Giulio, 28, 32
 Paris, bridge of Notre Dame, 492–493, 494; house of Mlle. Guimard, 339; Louvre, 66, 203; plan of, 239; St. Anne, 178, 179, 180
 Parma, baptistry, 344; cathedral, 340, 341, 344; citadel, 344; ducal palace, 341, 344; museum of antiquities, 64; S. Antonio Abbate, 167; S. Maria in Scala, 344; S. Michele, 344; 342–343
 Parma, duke of *see* Francesco Maria, duke of Parma; Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma
 Parmigianino, as artist, 23, 51, 102; 344
 Paroletti, Modeste, 180
 Pasinelli, Angiolo, as publisher, 69
 Pasquali, Giambattista, as publisher, 43,

- 154; 87, 162
 Pasquali, Giovanni Battista, as publisher, 153, 168; 319, 479
 Passeri, Giovanni Battista, 108, 109
 Patrini, Giuseppe, as engraver, 23
 Pattachia, Carlo, as artist, 21
 Paul II, Pope, 151
 Paul III, Pope, 69, 151, 233, 341
 Paul V, Pope, 69, 70, 117, 118, 120, 173, 175, 211
 Paulini, Stefano de', as publisher, 105
 Pavia, Certosa, 202, 497
 Pavlovsk, Bip, 409; palace, 408–409
 Pazzi, Pietro Antonio, as engraver, 170
 Pecci, Giovanni Antonio, as author, 43; 161
 Pedrali, Giovanni Maria, 104, 214
 Penna, Agostino, as artist and engraver, 61; 225
 Penna, Girolamo, 227
 Penni, Luca, 42
 Peiresc, Claude Fabri de, 84
 Pellegrini, Giovanni Antonio, 326, 476
 Pellegrini, Pellegrino, 95
 Percier, Charles, 315
 Peretti, Cardinal, 150
 Perini, Giuseppe, as engraver, 51, 56
 Pernié, E., as engraver, 61
 Perrault, Claude, 59, 180, 319, 442, 472, 473, 500
 Perret, Pedro, 158, 176
Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum (Pozzo), 107
 Perugini, G., as engraver, 61
 Perugino, 496, 498
 Peruzzi, Baldassare, 70, 74, 111, 114, 140, 151, 396, 399, 400, 401, 168, 461
 Peterhof, "English" palace at, 338
 Petitot, Ennemond-Alexandre, as artist, 23; ix
 Petit Seminaire de Metz, as owner, 117
 Petrini, as engraver, 165
 Pezzini, F., as artist, 61
 Pfeffel, Johann Andreas, as engraver, 170; 521
 Philander, Guillaume, 36, 59, 399, 501
 Philip, Archibald *see* Rosebery, earl of
 Philip, prince of the Two Sicilies, 452
 Philip II, of Spain, 95, 98, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 471, 472
 Philip IV, of Spain, 156, 157, 159, 229
 Philip V, of Spain, 341
 Piacentini, Giovanni Battista, 196
 Piacenza, citadel, 114; ducal palace, 341
 Piaggio, Pierantonio, as engraver, 16
 Piale, Stefano, as artist, 165
Piante ed alzati interiori ed esterni dell'insigne chiesa di S. Maria del Fiore (Ruggieri), 118
Piante elevazioni profili e spaccati degli edifici della villa suburbana di Giulio III pontefice (Stern), 132
Piante e prospetti del Real Palazzo di Caprarola (Vignola), 151
 Piazzetta, Giovanni Battista, as engraver, 153; 65
 Piccino, Gaetano, as engraver, 11; 37
 Piccoli, C., as artist and engraver, 61
 Piccolomini, Enea, 111
 Picenardi, Senator, 94
 Pico da Borgo San Sepolcro, Ottavio, 84
 Piene, Antonio de, 178
 Pienza, 114
 Piermarini, Giuseppe, 432
 Piero della Francesca, 19, 38, 461, 496
 Pietrasanta, Carlo Federico, 122
 Pietro, M. di, as engraver, 165
 Pigafetta, Filippo, 152
 Pignatari, Carmine, as engraver, 1, 165
 Pillaja, Paolo, as engraver, 166
 Pineda, Bernardo Simon de, as artist, 135; 426, 428
 Pinelli, Bartolomeo, 362–363, 364
 Pinelli, Niccolo, as author, 73; 265
 Pinturicchio, 498
 Piobicci, Salustio, as author, 120; as woodcut artist, 120; 378
 Piona, Pellegrino, as owner, 120
 Piranesi, Calcografia, as publisher, 103; 303, 316, 364
 PIRANESI, FRANCESCO, *Choix des meilleures statues antiques*, 77; [Collection of plates], 78; *Raccolta de' tempi antichi*, 74; *Sciographia quatuor templorum veterum*, 75; *Teatro d'Ercolano*, 76; as artist, 87, 101; as engraver, 87, 96, 97, 101; as publisher, 51, 79, 81, 86, 87, 101, 102; 12, 301, 303, 304, 308, 312, 313, 315–316, 364
 PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA, *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo*, 94; *Antichità di Cora*, 95; *Antichità Romane*, 80, 88; *Campus martius*, 91; *Carceri*, 82; *Catalogo delle opere*, 79; *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani*, 99; *Descrizione e disegno dell'emissario del Lago Albano*, 92; *Di due spelonche ornate dagli antichi alla riva del Lago Albano*, 93; *Differentes vues de quelques restes*, 97; *Diverse maniere d'adornare i camini*, 100; [Grotteschi], 81; *Lapides capitolini*, 90; *Lettere di giustificazione*, 98; *Magnificenze di Roma*, 80; *Opere varie*, 80, 83; *Osservazioni di Gio. Battista Piranesi sopra la lettre de M. Mariette*, 99; *Prima parte di architetture*, 80; *Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi*, 102; *Raccolte di varie vedute di Roma sì antica che moderna*, 85; *Rovine del castello dell'acqua Giulia*, 89; *Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto*, 87; *Trofeo o sia magnifica colonna coclide di marmo*, 96; *Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna*, 84; *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne ed ornamenti antichi*, 101; *Vedute di Roma*, 86; as artist, 64, 78; as engraver, 64, 78, 117, 169; ix, x, xvii, xviii, xix, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 66, 189, 214, 235, 239, 364, 365, 367, 369, 449, 450, 452
 Piranesi, Laura, 315
 Piranesi, Pietro, 315
 Piroli, L., as engraver, 61; 225
 PIROLI, TOMMASO, [A collection of four suites of etchings], 103; as artist, 77, 78; as engraver, 102; 315
Pirotechnia o sia trattato dei fuochi d'artificio (G. F. A. Alberti), 3
 Pirotta, Giovanni, as printer, 108
 Pirovani, Giuseppe Maria, as artist, 131
 Pirovano, Luigi, as publisher, 158; 494, 496
 Pisano, Vittor, 492
 Pisarri, Carlo, as engraver, 53; 193
 Pistocchi, Giuseppe, 54
 Pistolesi, Erasmo, 224
 Pistolesi, S., as engraver, 61; 225
 Pitteri, Francesco, as publisher, 104
 Pitteri, Marco Alvise, as engraver, 20; 65
 Pittoni, Giovanni Battista, as engraver, 122; 387
Pittura di Leonbattista Alberti (Alberti), 9
Pitture antiche d'Ercolano (Accademia Ercolanese), 1
Pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi e di Niccolò Abbati (Zanotti), 168; 88
 Pius II, Pope, 21, 111, 175
 Pius IV, Pope, 266
 Pius VI, Pope, 64, 108, 368, 411, 418
 Pius, VII, Pope, 366
 Pius VIII, Pope, 64
 Placidia, Galla, 51, 54
 Platina, Bartolomeo, 263
 Platt, Frank H., as owner, 63
 Pliny the Elder, 6, 44, 489, 497
 Pliny the Younger, 6; villa of, 408
Plus beaux edifices de Rome moderne, Les (Barbault), 14
Plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne, Les (Barbault), 13
 Poggioli, Antonio, 188, 190
 Poggioli, Vincenzo, as printer, 116
 Poggio Reale, 114
 Poisson de Marigny, Abel-François *see* Marigny, Abel-François Poisson de
 Polanzani, Felice, as engraver, 69, 80, 88, 102
 POLENI, GIOVANNI, *Exercitationes vitruvianae*, 104; 36, 58, 59, 162, 256, 319, 320, 327, 380, 439, 480, 496

- Poliziano, Angelo, as author, 4; 20, 21, 492, 494
- Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, 70
- Polybius, 403
- Pomarede, Silvio, as engraver, 17
- Pomi, Giacomo Antonio, as owner, 18
- Pommersfelden, 125
- POMODORO, GIOVANNI, *Geometria prattica*, 105; xvii
- POMPEI, ALESSANDRO, *Cinque ordini d'architettura civile di Michel Sanmicheli*, 106; 466
- Pompeii, 6, 7, 10, 258, 313, 315, 408, 411
- Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, 492
- Ponte, Gottardo da, as printer, 158; 494, 496
- Ponti, Antonia Suardi, as owner, 21
- Pontremoli, cathedral, 101
- Porro, Girolamo, as editor, 122; 128, 387
- Porta, Giacomo della, 74, 140, 145, 151, 356, 460
- Porta, Giuseppe *see* Salviati, Giuseppe
- Portici, 6, 8, 315; villa, 8
- Posi, Paolo, 42, 477
- Possagno, temple at, 362
- Poussin, Nicolas, 37, 204, 364, 369
- Pozzi, Rocco, as artist, 20; as engraver, 1, 20, 64, 140; 11, 66, 235, 439
- Pozzi, Stefano, as artist and engraver, 64; 235
- Pozzo, Cassiano dal, 84–85
- POZZO, ANDREA, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*, 107; xvii, 69, 168, 169, 229, 344, 357, 477
- Pozzuoli, 387
- Prado, Jerónimo, as co-author, 152
- Praeneste, 364
- Prague Royal Academy Library, as owner, 152
- Pratica della prospettiva di Monsignor Daniel Barbaro* (Barbaro), 12
- Pratica di prospettiva* (Sirigatti), 129
- Prenner, George Kaspar, as artist and engraver, 131
- Price, Francis, 511
- Prima parte di architettura* (G. B. Piranesi), 80
- Primaticcio, Francesco, 460
- Primo [–secondo] libro d'architettura* (Serlio), 125
- Pritz, Prof. A., as owner, 12
- Priuli, Cardinal Marino, 259
- Pronti, Domenico, as engraver, 56
- Prospectus magni canalis venetiarum* (Visentini), 153
- Prospetti sei di altrettanti templi di Venezia* (Wagner), 163
- Prospettiva de' pittori e architetti* (Pozzo), 107
- Puccinelli, A., as engraver, 61
- Pythagoras, 499
- ## Q
- Quadri, Carlo, as artist, 37, 110; as engraver, 110
- QUARENGHI, GIACOMO, *Fabbriche e disegni*, 108; 58, 259, 260, 408
- Quarenghi, Giulio, as author, 108; 338
- Quattro libri dell'architettura* (Palladio), 65, 39, 113
- Quattro primi libri di architettura* (Cataneo), 31
- Quinto libro d'architettura* (Serlio), 125
- ## R
- Raccolta de' disegni et compartimenti diversi tratta da marmi e bronzi de gli antichi romani* (Valesio), 139
- Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma antica* (Valadier and Saponieri), 138; 56
- Raccolta de' tempi antichi* (F. Piranesi), 74, 75
- Raccolta di alcuni disegni del Barberi* (G. B. Piranesi), 102
- Raccolta di disegni originali di Fra.co Mazzola detto il Parmigianino* (Bossi), 23
- Raccolta di diverse invenzioni di no. 24* (Valadier and Citeroni), 137
- Raccolta di prospettive serie, rustiche, e di paesaggio* (Basoli), 15
- Raccolta di teste* (Bossi), 23
- Raccolte di varie vedute di Roma si antica che moderna* (G. B. Piranesi), 85
- Raccolta di alcune facciate di palazzi e cortili . . . di Bologna* (Landi), 53
- Raffi, Antonio, as artist, 168
- Ragguaglio delle nozze delle maestà di Filippo quinto e di Elisabetta Farnese*, 109; xvii
- Raimondi, Marcantonio, 58
- Rainaldi, Carlo, 332, 335, 358
- Rainaldi, Francesco, 70
- Rainaldi, Girolamo, 140
- Ramponi, Vincenslaus, as artist, 118
- Ramsay, Allan, 299
- Raphael, as artist, 51, 78, 102, 103; xi, 37, 69, 128, 204, 229, 250, 251, 254, 317, 348, 356, 376, 396, 398, 400, 401, 404, 489, 490, 493, 496
- Rastaini, Francesco, as engraver, 165
- Rastrelli, Bartolomeo, 337, 408
- Ravenna, churches: S. Apollinare Nuovo, 54; baptistry, 54; church of the Benedictines, 54; cathedral, 53, 54; church of the Capuchins, 54; S. Croce, 54–55; S. Giovanni della Catene, 54; S. Giovanni della Sagra, 54; S. Giustina, 53, 54, 55; church of the Jesuits, 54; chapel of Madonna del Sudore, 54; S. Maria in Porto, 54; S. Stefano, 54; S. Vitale, 54, 55
- fortresses: Brancaleone, 54
- palazzi: archbishop's palace, 54; Fantuzzi, 54; Rasponi, 54
- piazze: Maggiore, 53, 54; piazzetta dell'Aquila, 54
- plans: 52–53, 54
- statues: of Pope Alexander VII, 54; of Pope Clement XII, 54
- theaters: 54
- tombs: of Dante Alighieri, 51, 54, 55–56; of Galla Placidia, 51, 55
- other: Collegio dei Nobili, 54, 167; Museo Lapidario, 54; seminary, 54
- Re, Marc' Antonio dal *see* Dal Re, Marc' Antonio
- Re, Sebastiano del *see* Del Re, Sebastiano
- Real Calcografia, Madrid, as printer, 49
- Recchi, Giovanni Paolo, 178
- Recurti, Giambattista, as publisher, 3
- Reggia Stamperia, Naples, as printer, 1, 16, 140
- Reglas de los cinco ordenes de arquitectura* (Vignola), 147
- Regnart, Valérien, as engraver, 112
- Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* (Vignola), 144, 145
- Regole generali di architettura* (Serlio), 125
- Rembrandt, 28, 301
- Rem-Picci, Agostino, 188
- Renazzi, Filippo Maria, 509
- Reni, Guido, as artist, 51, 102; 69, 423
- Resina *see* Herculaneum
- Restout, Jean, 42
- Revett, Nicholas, 300, 309
- Rezzonico, Cardinal Carlo, 337
- Rezzonico, Giovanni Battista, 207
- Rhetus, Ambrosius Ippoforius, as owner, 155
- Ribera, Jusepe, 176
- Ricaldi, Giovanni Battista, as artist, 33; 121–122, 124
- Ricchini, Francesco, 330
- Ricci, Marco, 215
- Ricci, Sebastiano, as engraver, 102; 326
- Ricciardelli, L., as engraver, 116
- Righi, Francesco, 74
- Rimini, church of S. Francesco, 55
- Ripa, Cesare, 462
- Roach, Frederick, as owner, 55
- Robbia, Luca della, 20
- Robert, Hubert, 299
- Rocchegiani, Lorenzo, as artist, 77
- Rochechouart, Jean-François de, 43
- Rodríguez, Alfonso, 426
- Rodríguez, Nicolas, widow of, as publisher, 135

Rojas Sarmiento, Juan de, 322
Roma antica (Nardini), 63
 Romagnoli, A., as engraver, 15
Romanae magnitudinis monumenta
 (Lauro), 55
 Romanis, Mariano de', and sons, as
 publishers, 138
 Romano, Giulio *see* Giulio Romano
 Rome (ancient),
arches: Constantine, 44, 129, 208, 304,
 366; Domitian, 129; Drusus, 188, 189;
 Marcus Aurelius (Portogallo), 313;
 Septimius Severus, 44, 45, 127, 370;
 Titus, 44, 74, 129, 368, 433
basilicas: Aemilia, 327; of Constantine,
 69, 70, 117, 118, 119, 120, 142, 144, 145,
 264; Ulpia, 310
baths: Agrippa, 260; Antonine, 203, 387;
 Caracalla, 175, 189, 207, 207, 210; Con-
 stantine, 36, 411; Diocletian, 175, 207,
 210, 304, 366, 366, 370, 387; Titus, 370,
 408, 409, 410, 410, 411
bridges: Hadrian, 311; Milvio, 433
catacombs: 81, 83, 85, 86
circuses: Maxentius, 7; Maximus, 66,
 262, 264–265, 265, 266, 267; Nero, 70,
 142, 144, 145
columns: Marcus Aurelius (Antonine),
 204, 208, 235, 313, 365; Trajan, 74, 204,
 210, 233, 313, 368, 401, 433
fora: Nerva (Augustus), 44, 46, 172, 203,
 251, 304; Romanum, 64, 189, 200–201,
 210, 233, 312, 386, 387; Trajan, 233, 310
gates: Porta Maggiore, 303; 418
palaces: Augustus, 65, 199; Caligula, 65;
 Domitian, 66; Flavian, 65; Justinian,
 45; Nero (Domus Aurea), 203, 258,
 410–411; Palatine, 62–63, 64–65, 66, 266;
 Tiberius, 65
plans: 95, 127, 128, 174, 202, 233, 266,
 286, 297, 310, 358; *Forma Urbis*, 128, 235,
 266, 310, 313
temples: Antonino and Faustina, 44,
 129, 433, 434; Apollo, 65; Bacchus, 207;
 Concord, 44, 366; Fortuna Virilis, 129;
 Jove, 266; Jupiter Stator, 46, 431, 432,
 433, 434; Jupiter Tonans, 46, 433; Mars
 Ultor, 401, 433; Minerva (Forum Ner-
 vae), 232; Minerva Medica, 73, 308;
 Pantheon, 24, 36, 44, 59, 74, 86, 207,
 208, 210, 230, 238, 252–253, 254, 260, 315,
 327, 338, 365, 368, 400, 400, 401, 433, 477,
 497; Peace, 370; Quirinus, 211; Sun, 175;
 Vesta, 433, 434
sarcophagi: of S. Costanza, 84; of
 S. Helena, 84
theaters: Marcellus, 44, 128, 175, 198,
 203, 311, 313, 369, 433; Pompei, 207,
 210, 312

tombs: of Augustus, 36, 175, 207; of
 Caius Cestius, 44, 230, 411; of Cecilia
 Metella, 298, 310; of Claudia Semne,
 189; of Hadrian, 118, 203, 207, 311, 369;
 of retainers of Augustus, 65; of retain-
 ers of Livia, 189; of Romulus, 118
villas: of Maxentius, 189
other: Acqua Giulia, 311, 312; Acqua
 Vergine, 418, 419; Campo Marzio, 42,
 113, 151, 233, 286, 302, 312; Capitoline,
 58, 231, 238, 284–285, 312, 359; cemetery
 of Domitilla, 83; Colosseum, 44, 58,
 74, 145, 175, 207, 210, 256, 308, 368, 369,
 370, 387, 401, 408, 433, 501; Curia Hos-
 tiliæ, 129, 175; nymphæum, 417, 419;
 Portico of Octavia, 128, 173, 304; Septi-
 zonium, 387, 401
 Rome (modern) *see also* Vatican,
arches: Farnese, 370
bridges: Fabrizio, 362, 366; S. Maria,
 128; Ponte Rotto, 36, 128; Ponte Sisto,
 134
churches, etc.: S. Agnese, 84, 86, 207,
 345, 357; S. Andrea al Quirinale, 356,
 357; S. Andrea della Valle, 44, 453;
 Annunziata, 212; S. Apollinare, 368;
 Aracoeli, 211; S. Bartolomeo, 58, 59;
 S. Carlo ai Catinari, 117; S. Carlo alle
 Quattro Fontane, 74, 357; S. Cecilia,
 86; Chiesa Nuova, 348; S. Clemente,
 189; S. Costanza, 44, 302; S. Croce, 175,
 207, 212; S. Dorothea, 235; Gesù, 32,
 44, 330, 332, 335, 356, 369, 460; S. Gio-
 vanni in Laterano, 29, 44, 46, 64, 84,
 108, 118, 207, 208, 211, 212, 238, 239, 251,
 308, 331, 347, 349, 367, 368, 439, 450, 462;
 S. Ignazio, 330, 331, 332, 332, 334; S. Ivo
 della Sapienza, 73, 73, 74, 75, 76, 348, 474;
 sanctuary of SS. John and Paul, 129;
 S. Lorenzo in Damaso, 127, 335, 368;
 S. Lorenzo in Miranda, 129, 207,
 312; S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, 212;
 S. Luigi dei Francesi, 356; S. Marcello,
 447; S. Maria degli Angeli, 62, 208, 439;
 S. Maria dei Miracoli, 453; S. Maria
 della Pace, 350, 358, 400, 453; S. Maria
 della Vittoria, 370, 423; S. Maria del
 Popolo, 212, 498; S. Maria del Prio-
 rato, 312; S. Maria Egiziaca, 129;
 S. Maria in Campitelli, 356; S. Maria in
 Trastevere, 212; S. Maria in Valicella,
 453; S. Maria in Via Lata, 313, 354;
 S. Maria Maggiore, 63, 66, 207, 212,
 349, 450; S. Maria Sopra Minerva, 331,
 462; S. Niccolò dei Lorenesi, 368;
 Oratory, 74; S. Pantaleone, 56; S. Paolo
 fuori le Mura, 46, 211, 212, 365, 365;
 St. Peter's *see under* Vatican; S. Pietro
 in Montorio, 400; S. Prassede, 29, 86,

211; S. Pudenziana, 211; Quattro
 Coronati, 175; S. Sebastiano, 46, 212;
 monastery of S. Susanna, 84; Tempi-
 etto (at S. Pietro in Montorio), 114,
 251, 327, 339, 400, 406; abbey of the
 Tre Fontane, 212; S. Trinità dei Monti,
 368
fountains: Acqua Acetosa, 134; Acqua
 Paola, 43, 46, 134, 203, 211, 368; Giani-
 colo, 134; Moses, 134; Trevi, 235, 312,
 368, 439, 450
gardens: Orti Farnesiani, 64, 370
gates: Porta Pia, 162, 451; Porta del
 Popolo, 36, 239, 418, 460; Porta di
 San Paolo, 36
palazzi: Altieri, 369; Alessandrino, 137;
 d'Aste, 137; Barberini, xvii, 84, 207, 348,
 349, 349, 369, 422–424, 423; Borghese,
 137, 348, 369; Braschi, 433; Cancelleria,
 62, 211, 370; Cesi, 137; Caprini, 136, 327;
 Chigi, 369, 439; Colonna, 137, 369, 450;
 dei Conservatori, 312; della Consulta,
 309; Corsini, 208, 235, 452; Crescenzi,
 137; Falconieri, 137; Giustiniani, 137,
 369; Gualtieri, 369; Lancellotti, 137;
 Maccarani, 136; Madama, 137; Medici,
 137; Mellini, 137; Montecitorio, 207,
 368; Nerli, 137; Nuovo, 235; Odeschal-
 chi, 369; Pamphili, 348, 349; Pio, 453;
 Quirinale, 58, 118, 137, 140, 211, 229,
 368, 369, 445, 462; Rospigliosi, 411;
 Ruspoli, 369; Santo Spirito, 137, 140;
 Silvestri, 137; Spada, 137, 227, 228;
 Tomati, 315; Venezia, 44; Verospi, 369
piazze: Barberini, 133; Colonna, 207,
 208, 238; Farnese, 309, 369; S. Ignazio,
 46; Montecitorio, 238; Navona, 133,
 211, 341, 358, 368, 453; di Pietra, 233;
 del Popolo, 151, 239, 433, 435, 453;
 Quirinale, 309; di Spagna, 143, 341,
 368; Trevi, 433
plans: 86, 95, 127, 128, 134, 173, 175,
 206, 207, 235, 236–237, 239, 238, 239, 312,
 352–353, 358
ports: Ripa Grande, 279, 368; Ripetta,
 69, 143, 309, 310, 348
theaters: Teatro Argentina, 48
towers: Torre dei Venti, 380, 462
views: 49, 88, 126, 128, 132, 140, 173, 200,
 307, 358–359, 363, 364
villas: Albani, 207, 235, 368; Belvedere,
 210, 368, 400; Casino Borghese, 188;
 Casino of Pius IV, 221, 368; Farnesina,
 348, 369, 401, 461; Giulia, xvii, 418–419,
 419; Ludovisi, 370; Mattei, 370; Medici,
 36, 175, 211, 315, 370; Montalto, 175, 370;
 Poniatowski, 433; Sacchetti, 137, 332,
 448–449
other: asylum of S. Michele, 279; Avi-

- arum, 203; Capitoline museum, 368;
Casa Millesi, 210–211; Museo Profano
Lateranese, 221; Casa Professa, 331;
cemetery at S. Agnese, 86; Collegio
Romano, 67, 137, 211; obelisk of
Augustus, 509
- Roncone, Lodovico, as author, 127, 128
- Ronzani, Francesco, 326
- Rosa, Cristoforo, 228
- Rosa, Salvator, 299, 302, 341
- Rosa, Stefano, 228
- Rosaspina, Francesco, as engraver, 102
- Rosebery, Archibald Philip, earl of, as
owner, 135, 169
- Rosny, Bibliothèque de, as owner, 148
- Rospigliosi, Giovanni, 108
- Rossellino, Bernardo, 111
- Rossi, Andrea, as engraver, 77
- Rossi, Antonio de', as publisher, 24, 107
- Rossi, Bartolomeo, 202
- Rossi, Cosimo, as editor, 148; 467
- Rossi, Davide, as artist and engraver, 70;
258
- ROSSI, DOMENICO DE', *Studio d'architettura
civile*, 110; as publisher, 37, 55, 113, 114;
xvii, 140, 143, 200, 202, 204, 312, 334, 376
- Rossi, Filippo de', as publisher, 134, 150;
423
- Rossi, Giovanni, as publisher, 71
- Rossi, Giovanni Battista de', as publisher,
145; 133, 136
- Rossi, Giovanni Domenico de', 356
- ROSSI, GIOVANNI GIACOMO DE', *Disegni di
vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma*,
113; *Insignium romae templorum*, 112;
Urbis romae sciographia, 111; [Views of
Rome], 114; as publisher, 36, 37; xvii,
117, 128, 133, 134, 136, 140, 173, 229, 267,
346, 349, 423, 479
- Rossi, Girolamo the younger, as engraver,
20, 88, 165, 166; 66, 510
- Rossi, Giuseppe de', 173, 356, 357, 423
- Rossi, Giuseppe Ignazio, as artist, 118
- Rossi family, publishers, xvii, 148
- Rossini, Giovanni Pietro, 368
- ROSSINI, LUIGI, *Antichità dei contorni di
Roma*, 116; *Antichità Romane*, 115; 188,
190, 310
- ROSSINI, PIETRO, *Mercurio errante delle
grandezze di Roma, tanto antiche che
moderne*, 117; 208
- Rostagni, Francesco, as artist and
engraver, 166
- Rota, Joannes Matthius, as owner, 46
- Rotari, Pietro, 66
- Rotili, Angelo, as printer, 88
- Rouhier, Louis, as engraver, 36, 114
- Roveri, Antonio, as publisher, 17
- Rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia
(G. B. Piranesi), 89
- Roxburghe, 3d duke of *see* Ker, John,
3d duke of Roxburghe
- Roy, Julien David le *see* Le Roy, Julien
David
- Royal Society of Literature, as owner, 20
- "R.U.," as woodcut artist, 146
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 69, 106, 136, 196, 330
- Rucellai, Bernardo, 20, 233
- Ruffinello, Venturino, as publisher, 18
- Ruggeri, Giovanni, 122, 125
- RUGGIERI, FERDINANDO, *Scelta di architettura
antiche e moderne della città di
Firenze*, 118; xvii, 524
- Ruiz, Fernando, 426
- RUSCONI, GIOVANNI ANTONIO, *Della architettura*, 119; *Dieci libri d'architettura*,
120; 114, 320, 389, 500
- Rusticucci, Cardinal, 264
- Ryff, Walther, 380
- Rzewuski-Lubomirski, as owner, 13
- S**
- Sabbatini, Nicola, 168
- Sabbio, Cornelio de' Nicolini da *see* Nicolini da Sabbio, Cornelio de'
- Sabbio, Pietro de' Nicolini da *see* Nicolini da Sabbio, Pietro de'
- Sablet, François, as artist, 78
- Sacchetti, Franco, 83
- Sacchi, Andrea, as artist, 134; 422, 423, 424
- Sadeler, Gilles, as author, 114
- Sadeler, Marco, as publisher, 114
- St. Petersburg, cathedral of Saint Isaac,
409; chapel of the Knights of Malta,
338; convent of Smolnyi, 338; gallery
and palace of Count Sheremetov, 338;
Hermitage theater, 337, 338; hospital,
338; house of Prince Gagarin, 338;
Mikhaylovsky castle, 409; palace of
Prince Bezborodko, 338; shopping
arcade, 338; stables, 338; state bank,
338; state Duma, 338; stock exchange,
338; triumphal arch, 339
- Salandri, E., as engraver, 61
- Salimbeni, fratelli, as owners, 106
- Salesa, Bonaventura, as artist, 165
- Salomoni, Generoso, as printer, 74, 76, 85,
89, 90, 99, 100, 117; 308
- Salviati, Francesco, 466
- Salviati, Giuseppe, as author, 104; 23, 320,
500
- Salvioni, Giovanni Maria, as publisher, 11,
24
- Salvioni, Louis Perego, as printer, 142
- Sanders, John, as engraver, 108
- Sangallo, Antonio da, 69, 70, 72, 151, 320,
325, 380, 399, 464
- Sangallo, Giuliano da, xii, 74, 114, 128, 151,
327, 328, 492, 493, 497
- Sangeni, F., as engraver, 61
- Sangermano, Giacomo, as artist and
engraver, 166
- Sangiorgi, N., as engraver, 61
- San Giovanni, Giovanni di *see* Mannozi
- San Jerónimo, Juan de, 158
- Sanmicheli, Michele, 325–328, 325, 400, 477
- Sannazaro, Jacopo, 492
- Sanquirico, Alessandro, 48
- Sansovino, Jacopo, 23, 328, 380
- Santalmassi, G., as engraver, 61
- Santalmassi, S., as engraver, 61
- Santini, Angelo, 84
- Santini, Paolo, as engraver, 70
- Santos, *Fra* Francisco de los *see* Francisco
de los Santos, *Fra*
- Saponieri, Francesco, as co-author, 138
- Saraceno, Giovanni Carlo, as translator,
126
- SARDI, PIETRO, *Corona imperiale dell'architettura
militare*, 121; xv, 100
- Sarmiento, Juan de Rojas *see* Rojas
- Sarmiento, Juan de
- Sarti, Ignazio, as engraver, 15
- Sarto, Andrea del *see* Andrea del Sarto
- "S.A.S.," Parma, as printer, 109
- Sassuolo, Palazzo d'Este, 228, 229
- Savelli, Cardinal, 264
- Saverelli, Gaetano, as artist, 102
- Savier, William, as owner, 63
- Savoy, duke of *see* Carlo Emanuele I,
II, III; Emanuele Filiberto; Victor
Amadeus II; Vittorio Emanuele
- Scaichi, Gottefried de, as publisher, 114
- Scala, Giovanni, as co-author, 105
- Scalfarotto, Tommaso, 319
- Scamozzi, Giovanni Domenico, as author,
128; 398
- Scamozzi, Ottavio Bertotti *see* Bertotti-
Scamozzi, Ottavio
- SCAMOZZI, VINCENZO, *Discorsi sopra l'anti-
chità di Roma*, 122; *Idea della architettura
universale*, 123; xiii, xiv, 60, 101, 129,
151, 203, 257, 258, 259, 326, 327, 380, 387,
396, 490, 501
- Scarpati, Vincenzo, as engraver, 1
- Scelta di architetture antiche e moderne della
città di Firenze* (Ruggieri), 118
- Scelta di xxiv vedute delle principali contrade,
piazze, chiese, e palazzi della città di
Firenze* (Zocchi), 170
- Schedel, Martin, as engraver, 166
- Schedoni, Bartolomeo, 341
- SCHEINER, CHRISTOPH, *Pantographice, seu
ars delineandi*, 124
- Schola italica picturae* (Hamilton), 51
- Schulenberg, Field Marshall, 214
- Schutzenberger, F. N. J. Edouard Ferry, as

- owner, 13
Sciographia quatuor templorum veterum (F. Piranesi), 75;
 Scolari, Giuseppe, as engraver, 20; 66
 Scotti, Domenico, as artist, 44
 Scotto, Andrea, 51, 53
 Scudellari, negozio, as publisher, 115
 Scudellari, Giovanni, 364
 Scudéry, Georges de, 32
Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma (Bottari), 24
 Seafeld, earls of, as owner, 112
Seconda parte de' tempi antichi (F. Piranesi), 74
Secondo libro dell'architettura (Palladio), 65
 Segazone, Pietro Paolo, 494
 Segoni, Vincenzo, as engraver, 1
 Segui, C., as engraver, 61
 Sella, C., as engraver, 61
 Selva, Antonio, 259, 476
 Semper, Gottfried, x
 Serafino, Giovanni, as engraver, 56
 SERLIO, SEBASTIANO, *Primo* [–secondo] *libro d'architettura*, 125; *Quinto libro d'architettura*, 125; *Regole generali di architettura*, 125; *De architettura libri cinque*, 126; *Terzo libro*, 125; *Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio*, 127; *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*, 128; xii, xiv, 39, 40, 59, 111, 114, 128, 136, 170, 255, 257, 314, 315, 356, 380, 387, 461, 464–465, 491, 496, 501
 Sesone, Francesco, as engraver, 1
 Sessa, Marchione, as publisher, 125
 Settari, Gregorio, as publisher, 56
 Seutter, Johann Gottfried, as engraver, 169, 170; 520
 Severani, Giovanni, as editor, 24; 81, 84, 86
 Seville, cathedral, 425, 426, 428; Giralda bell tower, 425–426, 427; Sagrario, 426
 Sforza, Gian Galeazzo Maria, 98
 Sgrilli, Bernardo Sansone, as engraver, 118, 170; 521
 Sheridan, M. J., as owner, 154
 Sigismund III, king of Poland, 202
 Signorelli, Luca, 498
 Sigonio, Carlo, 203
 Sigüenza, José de, 158
 Silvestre, Israel, as artist, 80; 144, 308
 Silvestrini, Cristoforo, as engraver, 165
 Simelli, C. B., as engraver, 61
 Simier, as binder, 148
 Simonetti, Michelangelo, 434
 Simoniana, as printer, 162
 Sinclair, Lord, as owner, 66
 Sintes, Giovanni Battista, as engraver, 109
 SIRIGATTI, LORENZO, *Pratica di prospettiva*, 129; 40, 466
 Sirletti, F., as engraver, 61
 Sixtus V, Pope, 69, 70, 72, 150, 151, 152, 212
 Smith, Consul Joseph, 162, 214, 215, 319, 476, 478, 479, 480
 Smith, Francis, 348
 Smith-Pasquali, publishers, 480
 Smugiewicz, Antoni, 409
 SMUGLIEWICZ, FRANCISZEK, *Vestigia delle terme di Tito*, 130; as artist, 146; 409–410, 411, 466
 Sobieski Stuart, Maria Clementina see Stuart, Maria Clementina Sobieski
 Söderling, Gabriel, as artist, 168
 Solari, Andrea, 496
 Solimena, Francesco, 42
 Soncino, Scipione Barbuò, 98
Sontuosa illuminazione della città di Torino, 131; xvii
 Soranzo, Giacomo, as owner, 11
 Sorelló, Michele, as engraver, 1, 165, 166
 Soriano, Pietro Campana da, 235
 Soufflot, Jacques-Germain, 8, 42
 Spada, Virgilio, 74, 145
 Spampani, Giambattista, as editor, 146; 464, 466
 Specchi, Alessandro, as artist, 21, 110, 113; as engraver, 21, 38, 39, 110, 113, 166; 37, 69, 134, 143, 144, 299, 346, 348, 450, 478
 Specchi, Michelangelo, 235
 Speroni, Sperone, 39
 Spolverini, Ilario, as artist, 109; 167, 168, 341
 Spon, Jacob, 319
 Squanquerillo, C., as artist, 61
 Stamperia Camerale, as publisher, 149
 Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, Vatican, as publisher, 24, 32, 61
 Stamperia Mouckiana, as printer, 118
 Stanislas Augustus, king of Poland, 410
 Stecchini, Marco, as author, 127, 128
 Stella, Jacques, 523
 STERN, GIOVANNI, *Piante elevazioni profili e spaccati degli edifici della villa suburbana di Giulio III pontefice*, 132
 Stern, Raffaello, 433
 Stevin, Simon, 406
 Stonor family, as owner, 151
Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi (Winckelmann), 165
 Strada, Jacopo, 397, 402–403
 Stramegioli, Bernardino, as author, 120; 378
 Stratico, Simone, 319
 Strina, Ferdinando, as engraver, 1
 Strozzi, Pietro, 403
 Stuart, James, 300, 309
 Stuart, Maria Clementina Sobieski, 214
 Stubbe, Henry, 382
Studio d'architettura civile sopra gli ornamenti di porte e finestre . . . di Roma (D. de' Rossi), 110
Studio d'architettura civile sopra varie chiese, cappelle . . . di Roma (D. de' Rossi), 110
Studio d'architettura civile sopra vari ornamenti di cappelle e diversi sepolcri . . . di Roma (D. de' Rossi), 110
 Subiaco, monastery of S. Scholastica, 337, 433
 Subleyras, Giuseppe, as artist, 78
 Subleyras, Pierre, 42, 315
Suite des vases tirée du cabinet de Monsieur du Tillot (Bossi), 23
 Sullivan, Louis, 467
 Sulpizio, Giovanni da Veroli, 319, 492
- T**
 Taccola, Jacopo Mariano il, 23, 37
 Taccuino, Giovanni, as publisher, 156
 Tanucci, Bernardo, 8, 10, 11
 Tarquinia, 224; Regolini-Galassi tomb, 224
 Tassi, Agostino, 229
 Tasso, Bernardo, 39
Teatro d'Ercolano (F. Piranesi), 76
 TEMANZA, TOMMASO, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani*, 133; 58, 87, 259, 319, 320, 326, 387, 388
 Tempesta, Antonio, 28, 29, 32, 133, 202, 370, 473
Tempio Vaticano (Fontana), 38, 69
Templum Vaticanum (Fontana), 38, 69
Terme dei Romani (Palladio), 72
Terzo libro (Serlio), 125
Terzo libro dell'architettura (Palladio), 65
 Tesauero, Emanuele, 423
 Tesi, Mauro, 302
 Testa, Pietro, 356
 Testolini, Gaetano, as artist, 70; as engraver, 70, 72
 Teti, Carlo, as author, 134
 TETI, GIROLAMO, *Aedes Barberinae*, 134
Theoremata ex universo philosophia selecta (Martinelli), 60
Thermes des Romains (Palladio), 72
 Thiboust, as engraver, 107
 Thomassin, Philippe, as author, 114; 28
 Thorvaldsen, Bertel, 223
 Tibaldi, Domenico, 193
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino, as artist, 102, 168; 58, 88, 330
 Ticiani, Gasparo, as artist, 69
 Ticozzi, Stefano, as editor, 8; 20, 22
 Tiepolo, Giandomenico, 476
 Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, 308, 326
 Tinti, Camillo, as engraver, 51, 165
 Tintoretto, as artist, 51; 263
 Tirali, Andrea, 477
 Titi, Filippo, 509
 Titian, as artist, 51; 39, 254, 500
 Titus, Emperor, 6

- Tivoli, 224, 357, 364; ruins at, 309; temple of the Sibyl, 304, 309, 361, 364, 433, 434; views of, 134, 202; Villa d'Este, 64, 66, 134, 137, 251, 370, 501; Villa Hadriana, 74, 84, 309, 315, 364; villa of Maecenas, 434
- Tofani, Giuseppe, as publisher, 148
- Tognato, Giovanni, 143
- Toledo, Alcazar, 229
- Toledo, Juan Bautista de, 157, 159, 471
- Tolomei, Claudio, as author, 104; xi, 320, 496
- Tomba, Giulio, as engraver, 15
- Torelli, Giacomo, 166
- Torelli, Stefano, 167
- Torre, Carlo, 94
- Torre, Don Fausto Martinez de la see Martinez de la Torre, Don Fausto
- TORRE FARFÁN, FERNANDO DE LA, *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla*, 135; xvii
- Torrentino, Lorenzo, as publisher, 6; 20, 22
- Torri, Giuseppe Antonio, 196
- Toscanella, 224
- Toscanelli, Oratio, 210
- Tosi, Paulo Antonio, as publisher, 108
- Townley, Charles, 408, 411
- Trapas, Stephen, as owner, 67
- Trattato delle pieante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Amico), 10
- Trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini sopra gli errori degli architetti* (Gallaccini), 43
- Trevisano, Angelo, as artist, 59
- Triachini, Bartolomeo, 193
- Trissino, Giangiorgio, 248, 251
- Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto* (G. B. Piranesi), 87
- Trofeo o sia magnifica colonna coclide di marmo* (G. B. Piranesi), 96
- Troili, Giulio, 38, 167, 228
- Tromba, Ippolito, as printer, 26
- Troy, Jean-François de, 42
- Tullius, Servius, 231
- Turin, city hall, 413, 416; Ghetto building, 413, 416; Porta di Po, 180, 413; royal castle, 413; royal pavilion, 413; Villa Valentino, 203
- churches, etc.*: S. Carlo, 413, 416; Corpus Domini, 413; S. Filippo Neri, 180, 450; S. Lorenzo, 178, 180; S. Cristina, 413, 416; Sindone chapel, 178, 180, 180, 181; Superga, 332
- palazzi*: Carignano, 180; Madama, 413, 416; Reale, 413, 413, 416, 438, 443
- piazze*: S. Carlo, 413, 416; Castello, 413, 414–415, 416, 443; Reale, 413
- villas*: Venaria Reale, 413, 416; Vigna della Regina, 413
- Tuscany, Villa Corsini, 452, 523
- Tuscolo, 364
- Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio* (Serlio), 127
- Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* (Serlio), 128
- Twisden, Sir Thomas, 256
- Tzarskoe Selò, palace at, 338
- U
- UGHI, LODOVICO, *Iconografica rappresentazione della inclita città di Venezia*, 136
- Ugonio, Pompeo, 69, 83, 85
- Ungarelli, Alvise Maria, 222
- Urban VIII, Pope, 70, 72, 118, 137, 161, 182, 203, 212, 382, 422, 423
- Urbino, cathedral, 56, 433; ducal palace, 35, 36, 36, 64
- Urbino, duke of, 378
- Urbis romae aedificiorum* (Dosio), 34
- Urbis romae sciographia* (G. G. de' Rossi), 111
- Urbis venetiarum prospectus celebrioris* (Visentini), 153
- Utilissimo trattato dell'acque* (Fontana), 39
- V
- Vacca, Flaminio, as author, 63; 230, 233
- Vaccheria, Lorenzo della, as publisher, 35; 358
- Vaga, Perino del, 466
- VALADIER, GIUSEPPE, *Raccolta di diverse invenzioni di no. 24*, 137; *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma antica*, 138; xviii, 56, 132, 186, 221, 223, 302, 362, 363
- Valadier, Luigi, 432
- Valdés Leal, Juan, as engraver, 135; 426, 428
- Valenti, F., as engraver, 61
- Valentino, Giorgio, as printer, 123
- Valeri, Antonio, 143
- Valeriani, Giuseppe, 298
- Valesi, Dionisio, as engraver, 20; 65, 66
- VALESIO, FRANCESCO, *Raccolta de' disegni et compartimenti diversi tratta da marmi e bronzi de gli antichi romani*, 139
- Valgrisi, Vincenzo, as publisher, 5
- Valla, Giorgio, 492
- Vallarsi, Jacopo, as publisher, 106
- Valsecchi, Bagetti, 124
- Valturio, Roberto, 37
- Valvasense, Francesco, as printer, 120
- Valvassori, Gabriele, as engraver, 110; 346, 348
- Vanbrugh, Sir John, 331, 439
- Vanni, Niccolò, as artist and engraver, 1; 10
- Vanvitelli, Carlo, 443
- VANVITELLI, LUIGI, *Dichiarazione dei disegni del Reale Palazzo di Caserta*, 140; as artist, 1; 8, 11, 66, 448, 450
- Varchi, Benedetto, 39, 83
- Varese, Sacro Monte, 123
- Varie vedute di Roma antica e moderna* (G. B. Piranesi), 84
- Varro, Terentius, 488
- Vasanzio, Giovanni, 370
- Vasari, Giorgio, as artist, 6, 103; 22, 23, 58, 69, 83, 128, 251, 300, 327, 375, 395, 396, 400, 496
- Vasconi, Filippo, as artist, 68; as engraver, 68, 110; 255, 346, 348
- VASI, GIUSEPPE, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, 141; *Itinéraire instructif de Rome ancienne et moderne*, 143; *Itinéraire instructif de Rome en faveur des étrangers*, 142; as artist, 151; as engraver, 151, 166, 170; xvii, 42, 43, 121, 123, 235, 299, 306, 364, 419, 439, 462, 463
- Vasi, Mariano, as publisher, 142, 143; 452
- Vasi, *candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne ed ornamenti antichi* (G. B. Piranesi), 101
- Vatican, 368–370; *Saint Peter's*: xvii, 42, 44, 68–72, 72, 117–120, 142–148, 150–152, 356; baldachin, 474; bell tower, 72, 136, 144, 145; criticism of, 477; cupola, 183, 320, 401, 403, 439, 451, 509–511; decorations, 204, 348; designs for, 128; facade, 115, 127, 150, 211; interior, 23, 46; piazza, 66, 120, 143, 148, 151, 175, 211, 299, 303, 315, 357; as pilgrimage site, 212; plan of, 119, 142, 357, 401; sacristy, 368; scaffolding, 511; study of, 264; views of, 175, 203, 211, 238, 359
- other*: Belvedere, 210, 358, 368, 369, 398, 400, 418; Borgo Leonino, 118, 175; Castel S. Angelo, 36, 44, 128, 144, 145, 175, 203, 210, 368, 370, 451; Egyptian museum, 221, 363; Etruscan museum, 222, 223, 224, 363; fountains, 117, 118, 143, 145, 148, 211; library, 264; monuments of popes and cardinals, 349; Museo Pio Clementino, 368; Museo Pio-Cristiano, 86; necropolis, 84, 86; obelisk, 36, 70, 118, 143, 144, 146–147, 149, 150–152, 150, 153, 310, 366, 380, 386; palace, 69, 71, 72, 118, 120, 211, 264, 462, 510; Casino of Pius IV (palazzetto), 221; plan of, 118, 120; Sala Clementina, 462; Scala Regia, 72; Sistine chapel, 348; theater, 120
- Vauban, Sebastien Le Prestre de, 383
- Veccherlin, Ridolfo, 202
- Vedute degli antichi vestigi di Roma* (Giovannoli), 48
- Vedute delle ville e d'altri luoghi della Toscana*

- (Zocchi), 169
Vedute di Roma (G. B. Piranesi), 86
 Vega, Francisco de la, as artist, 1
 Vega, P. de la, as artist, 1
 Vegetius, 382
 Veggio, Maffeo, 118
 Velázquez, Diego, 157, 176, 229
 Velsler, Marcus, 36
 Venaria Reale, 413, 416
 Veneto, villas: Giustianiana, Noventa Padovana, 477; Godi, 256
 Venice,
 bridges: Rialto, 106, 255, 256, 386, 476, 493
 campi: SS. Apostoli, 479; S. Basso, S. Maria Formosa, 215, 218, 479; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 479; S. Maria Zobenigo, 479; S. Polo, 479; S. Rocco, 213; S. Stefano, 479; S. Vito, 479
 canals: Cannaregio, 106, 218; Giudecca, 106; Grand Canal, 106, 107, 215, 216–217, 218, 478, 479
 churches: S. Chiara, 479; S. Geminiano, 106, 218; S. Giorgio Maggiore, 92, 105, 218; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 479, 497; church of the Jesuits, 477; S. Marco (Saint Mark's), 89, 91, 104, 105, 215, 218, 390, 477, 478, 479; S. Maria dei Miracoli, 477; S. Maria della Salute, 87, 91, 92, 105, 106, 218; S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, 215, 477; S. Niccolo, 92, 479; palatine church, 105; S. Pietro in Castello, 477; Redentore, 92, 105, 256, 257, 504; S. Rocco, 215, 320; S. Zaccaria, 91, 92
 palazzi: Balbi, 107, 215; doge's palace, 89, 91, 92, 105, 218; Foscari, 215; Mocenigo, 103; Joseph Smith, 162; Pisani, 218; Vendramin, 106; Zenobio, 107
 piazze: S. Marco, 54, 89, 89, 92, 104, 105, 215, 388; piazzetta S. Marco, 88, 89, 92, 105, 214, 218
 plans: 257, 501
 views: 87, 88, 104, 202, 214
 other: Arsenal, 91, 218, 501; Bucentaur, 91; Camerlenghi building, 106; customhouse, 105, 106; library, 105; mint, 105; Mocenigo monument, 497; port, 91, 493; prisons, 105; Procuratie Nuove, 105, 215; Procuratie Vecchie, 92, 105, 218; public halls of Rialto, 320; Riva degli Schiavone, 92, 479; Sala del Collegio, 92; *scuola* of S. Teodoro, 479; *scuola* of S. Rocco, 479
 Venier, C., as artist and engraver, 61
 Venturini, Giovanni Francesco, as co-author, 36; as artist and engraver, 36, 112, 113; 68, 134, 349, 357
 Verga, Antonio, 178
 Ver Kruys, Teodoro, as engraver, 107, 109, 118; 334, 344
 Verniquet, Edmé, 239
 Veroli, Giovanni Sulpizio da *see* Sulpizio da Veroli, Giovanni
 Verona, antiquities in, 328; Cappella Pellegrini, 327; customhouse, 326; gates, 326; Museo Maffeiano, 326; Palazzo Otri-Spolverini, 326; Palazzo Pompei, 326, 327; Porta Nuova, 400; views of, 259
 Veronese, Paolo, as artist, 51; 39, 330, 387, 500
 Versailles, 416
 Verus, Lucius, 189
 Vesalius, Andrea, 58
 Vespasian, Emperor, 6, 189
Vestigia delle terme di Tito (Smugliewicz and Brenna), 130
Vestigi dell' antichità di Roma (Dupérac), 35
Vestigi delle antichità di Roma, Tivoli, Pozzuolo et altri luochi (Sadeler), 114
 Via Appia, 186–190
Via Appia illustrata (Labruzzi), 52
 Viator, Jean Pelerin, 38, 402, 462
 Vicenza, basilica, 256; fortifications, 256; Monte Berico sanctuary, 256; Palazzo da Porto, 258; Palazzo Repeta, 256; views of, 259; Villa Rotonda, 246, 254, 256; Villa Valmarana ai Nani, 255, 255, 477
 Vichi, Gaetano, as artist and engraver, 70; 258
 Vico, Andrea de, as artist and engraver, 61
 Vico, Enea, 326
 Vico, Giambattista, 11
 Victor Amadeus II, king of Sicily, 416
 Viero, Teodoro, as publisher, 25; 89
 [Views of Rome] (G. G. de' Rossi and D. de' Rossi), 114
 Vighi, Antonio, as artist, 108
 Vigna Casali, tomb, 185, 189
 VIGNOLA, GIACOMO BAROZZI DA, *Alcune opere d'architettura*, 145; *Cinque ordini d'architettura*, 148; *Due regole della prospettiva pratica*, 149, 150; *Piante e prospetti del Real Palazzo di Caprarola*, 151; *Reglas de los cinco ordenes de arquitectura*, 147; *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, 144, 145; *Vignola illustrato*, 146; viii, xii, xiv, 38, 40, 58, 100, 140, 152, 168, 193, 248, 255, 257, 266, 326, 327, 330, 356, 390, 396, 410, 418, 419, 454, 491
Vignola illustrato (Vignola), 146
 Villa Albani, 207, 235, 368
 Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, 358, 359, 370
 Villa Barbaro, Maser, 251, 259, 387, 501
 Villa Belgioioso, 124
 Villa Borghese, 207, 369, 370
 Villa Brignano, 122, 124, 125
 Villa Castelazzo, 122, 123, 124
 Villacastin, Antonio de, 158
 Villa Cernusco, 122
 Villa Cinisella, 122–123, 125
 Villa Comazzo, 124
 Villa Corsini, 452, 523
 Villa Diego, Bernardo de, as printer, 41
 Villafranca, Pedro de, as artist and engraver, 41; 156, 157, 157, 159
 Villa Giustiniana, Noventa Padovana, 477
 Villa Godi, 256
 Villa Lante, Bagnaia, 443
 VILLALPANDO, JUAN BAUTISTA, *Hieronymi Pradi et Ioannis Baptistae Villalpandi e Societate Iesu in Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis*, 152; 74, 145, 159, 326
 Villa Ludovisi, 370
 Villa Maser *see* Villa Barbaro
 Villa Mattei, 370
 Villa of Maxentius, 189
 Villa Medici, 36, 175, 211, 315, 370
 Villamena, Francesco, as author, 45; 358, 464, 466, 467
 Villa Merate, 124
 Villa Montalto, 175, 370
 Villa Omate, 122
 Villa Oreno, 124, 125
 Villa Orio, 122
 Villa Pamphili, 134, 203, 349, 358, 370
 Villa Passerini, Cortona, 498
 Villa Poniatowski, 433
 Villa Robecco, 125
 Villa Rotonda, 246, 254, 256
 Villa Sacchetti, 332, 448–449
 Villa Salzdahlum, 125
 Villa Valmarana ai Nani, 255, 476
 Villa Vigna della Regina, 413
Ville de Rome (Magnan), 56
Ville di delizia o siano palaggi camparecci nello stato di Milano (Dal Re), 33
 [Ville, giardini, palazze] (D. de' Rossi), 114
 Vincenti, Antonio Felice de, 416
 Visconti, Ennio Quirino, 419, 433
 Visconti, Filippo Aurelio, 433, 434
 Visconti, Pietro Ercole, 222, 223
 VISENTINI, ANTONIO, *Osservazioni . . . sopra gli errori degli architetti*, 154; *Urbis venetiarum prospectus celebriores*, 153; as artist, 43; as engraver, 43, 104; xvii, 88, 106, 107, 162, 214, 215, 319, 320, 330, 376, 379, 477, 519
Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani (Temanza), 133
 Vitta, Giuseppe, as artist and engraver,

61; 225
 Vittone, Bernardo, as editor, 50; as architect, 131; 178, 180, 331, 416, 477
 Vittore, Publio, 387
 Vittoria, Alessandro, 23, 500
 Vittorio Emanuele, prince of Piedmont, 178
Vitruvius iterum et Frontinus à Iocundo revisi (Vitruvius), 157
 VITRUVIUS POLLIO, MARCUS, [De architectura], 155; *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus*, 156; *Vitruvius iterum et Frontinus à Iocundo revisi*, 157; *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura libri decem*, 158; *Architettura con il suo commento et figure Vetruvio in volgar linguo*, 159; *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio*, 160; *M. Vitruvii Polionis de architectura libri decem*, 161, 38; *L'architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione*, 162; x, xi–xii, xiv, xv, 19, 23, 24, 36, 58, 59, 102, 158, 170, 182, 249, 257, 300, 315, 318, 319, 320, 327, 337, 378, 379, 380, 390, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 418, 472
 Volpato, Giovanni, as engraver, 51; 364
 Volpato, M., as artist, 61
 Volpe, Lelio dalla, as publisher, 46
 Volterra, Guarnacci museum, 224
 Volterra, Daniele da, as artist, 78
 Vonteilgel, Dr. N., as owner, 161
 Vouet, Simon, 423
 Vredeman de Vries, Hans, 407
 Vulci, 220, 221, 224
 Vullietto, Carlo, as publisher, 152

W

WAGNER, JOSEPH, *Prospetti sei di altrettanti templi di Venezia*, 163; as engraver, 168, 169; 104, 214, 215, 259, 298, 519
 Waltier, Giovanni, 143
 Wandel, Sigurd and Gundrun, as owners, 157
 Ware, William, 467
 Weber, Karl, as engraver, 1; 11
 Wechel, Andreas, 402
 Westerhout, Arnold van, as engraver, 21, 91; 68, 69, 70, 334
 Wharnccliffe, Lord, 186
 Wheler, George, 319
 Wilton, bridge at, 476
 WINCKELMANN, JOHANN JOACHIM, *Monumenti antichi*, 164; *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, 165; 8, 10, 11, 300, 418
 Winghe, Filippo van, 85
 Wittel, Gaspar van, 104, 478, 519
 Wölffe, Robert, as owner, 159, 161
 Wolfenbüttel, Villa Salzdahlum, 125
 Wortley, Lady Caroline Stuart-, 186

Wren, Sir Christopher, 331
 Wright, Joseph Michael, 69

X

Xavier, William *see* Savier, William
 Xavier de Maximis, Francis *see* Maximis, Francis Xavier de

Z

ZABAGLIA, NICCOLA, *Castelli, e ponti*, 166, 144; xvii, xviii, 42
 Zaballi, Antonio, as engraver, 1
 Zamberti, Bartolomeo, 38
 Zamberti, Giovanni, 38
 Zanaboni, *Calcografia*, as printer, 8
 Zanetti, Aloisio, as publisher, 152
 Zanetti, Antonio Maria, as engraver, 168
 ZANINI, GIOSEFFE VIOLA, *Della architettura*, 167; 100, 114, 228
 ZANOTTI, GIAMPIETRO, *Pitture di Pellegrino Tibaldi e di Niccolò Abbati*, 168; 88
 Zatta, Antonio, 87
 Zeloni, L., as artist, 61
 Zempel, Johann, as printer, 60
 Zeno, Apostolo, 480
 Zenobio, Gaetano, as printer, 63
 Zetter, Jacob de, 382
 Zezion, as engraver, 1
 Ziegler, Jakob, as author, 104
 Ziletti, Francesco, as publisher, 122
 ZOCCHI, GIUSEPPE, *Vedute delle ville e d'altri luoghi della Toscana*, 169; *Scelta di XXIV vedute delle principali contrade, piazze, chiese, e palazzi della città di Firenze*, 170; as artist and engraver, 118; xvii, xx, 123, 450
 Zuallardo, Giovanni, 32
 Zuccarelli, Francesco, 476
 Zuccari, Federico, 221, 386, 466
 Zucchi, Antonio, 257
 Zucchi, Federico, as engraver, 69; 257



