11

UT POESIS ARCHITECTURA

TECTONICS AND POETICS IN ARCHITECTURAL CRITICISM CIRCA 1570

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RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTS' ENCOUNTER with antiquity meant an encounter with fragments. Like their peers who wrestled with the task of reassembling broken statues, washed-out traces of frescoes, and fragments of texts, they too had to confront an incomplete image. As such, their experience was typical enough of the adventure in interpretation that cultural appropriation entailed. However, what singled architecture out among the visual arts in this process of recuperation was the simple fact that it did not depend upon two (admittedly uneasily overlapping yet nonetheless continuous) frames of reference – Antiquity and nature – but only one: the former. Unlike the landscape, animal, or human body represented in a fresco or sculpture fragment that could be understood and judged against one external referent when the other failed, scattered entablatures, capitals, and brackets could not; nor could shattered walls and caved-in roofs indicate anything of a building's former splendor. It is true that Vitruvius' *De architectura* – the only virtually complete treatise on any visual art to be preserved – and the occasional intact building such as the Pantheon seemed to suggest a firm foothold on the antiquity that was available. Yet they soon proved to have made a fallacious promise. The ruins did not correspond to the text, and the text itself was a perennial enigma. Associating an image (form) with its name proved difficult, for not only did such a process require substantial linguistic expertise, but the very act of connecting sign and signifier – "epistylium" or "aechinus" with the appropriate bit of carved stone – often called for a leap of the imagination. Indeed, Francesco di Giorgio's eccentric nomenclature and "mistaken" capitals in his various treatise versions carry the full flavor of a Magritte visual/verbal conundrum (Fig. 37).[1]

More important perhaps, the physical act of reassembling a broken architectural sequence of forms (in drawings or in deed) precipitated the realization that an entablature or a cornice *was* an assemblage of discrete parts, that is, a compound of profiles stacked one upon another, and that some logic necessarily controlled this arrangement.[2] The ruins offered little help in retrieving that logic, for they displayed such variety that their evidence was deemed to be inconclusive; no more did Vitruvius, although he had dissected the temple elevation in just such a fashion, member by member and profile by profile.[3] Yet, both understanding the ancient vocabulary of forms and assimilating it (creatively) required that due attention be paid to the issue of assemblage as composition of (new) ornament. Indeed, the impulse to confront it was that much stronger as it concerned ornament: as the most visible sign of artistic ingenuity and independence on the one hand, and of cultural allegiance to antiquity on the other, ornament was inevitably the site where the consequences and paradoxes of appropriation were most palpably felt, and thus was a natural condensation point for theory.[4]

In time, the question of how the ancients rationalized their compound architectural forms and the even more critical question of how to invent new ones became theoretical twins, two sides of the same recuperation-cum-interpretation coin.[5] In this process, alongside Vitruvius, the reference point par excellence, other often tangential bodies of theory were called into service to supply what he lacked. One very interesting proposal is made by Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Although he offers no explicit theory of invention, he makes one unexpected and revealing statement. When he faithfully recounts Vitruvius' story of the Corinthian capital – the story of the sculptor accidentally coming upon a young girl's tomb marker in the shape of a basket containing her few possessions, around which an acanthus plant has picturesquely un-

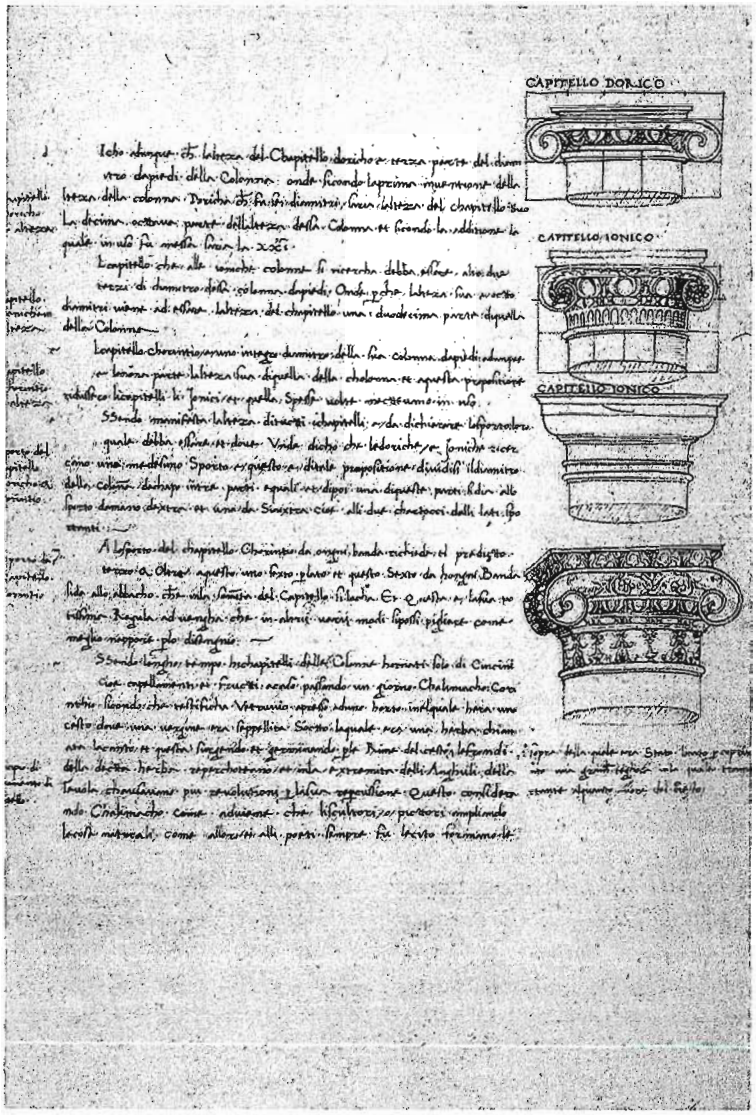

Figure 37. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Capitals of the Orders, fol. 33r, Codice Magliabechiano II.I.141, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

furled its leaves – he presents Callimachus' distillation of an architectural form from this sight as similar to the procedure followed by "sculptors and painters who, developing a *cosa naturale* as is always permitted to painters and poets, form an artificial one that is more ornamented."[6] This insertion may seem like a casual aside, yet it occurs in a most significant location, that is, inside the paradigmatic story of architectural invention, indeed, the *only* one sanctioned in *De architectura*. Moreover, even if elliptically, it adduces an important body of theory to explicate it: Horace's famous simile *ut pictura poesis* or, more accurately, his opening lines in the *Ars poetica*.

> If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse, and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there, so that what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish, could you, my friends, if favoured with a private view, refrain from laughing? Believe me, dear Pisos, quite like such pictures would be a book whose idle fancies shall be shaped like a sick man's dreams, so that neither head nor foot can be assigned to a single shape. "Painters and poets," you say, "have always had an equal right in hazarding anything." We know it: it is licence we poets claim and in our turn we grant the like; but not so far that savage should meet with tame, or serpents couple with birds, lambs with tigers.[7]

The passage Francesco alludes to is clearly dense with theoretical innuendo; yet he does not seem to be concerned with Horace's injunction to avoid incongruity –

his principal purpose in this section – and thus with a way to translate it into architectural terms, but is clearly drawn to one part of the analogy only, the licence all artists can enjoy. More importantly, perhaps, Francesco's words suggest that architectural ornament is the result of "picture making," of sketching from nature and assembling parts into a pleasing whole – that is, the result of the same process as making a poem or a painting. Responding to Vitruvius' latent invitation (after all, Callimachus is a sculptor not an architect), he thus describes an architectural invention process that is essentially pictorial (or poetic), and he perceives no obstacles to the transfer of a(ny) *cosa naturale* into the world of architectural artifice. And, very logically for the period, he turns to poetic theory to explicate it.

Roughly one hundred years later Palladio offers another reading of ornament in which figures again a principal category of poetic and artistic theory, the notion of the *verisimile*.[8] No direct reference to Horace occurs in the *Quattro libri*, yet his notion that ornament should imitate nature so that what the viewer sees, even if it is not true, may seem convincing and cause pleasure carries a halo of associations to the theory of poetic *imitatio*. Thus Palladio declares:

> Similarly, volutes (*cartocci*) should not be made to project out of entablatures; since it is necessary that all the parts of the cornice be made toward some effect (*effetto*), and are like demonstrators (*dimostratrici*) of that which would be visible if the work were made of wood, and in addition, since it is appropriate that in order to support a weight something hard and able to resist it is required, there is no doubt that these volutes are entirely superfluous, since it is impossible that a beam or any other member could produce the effect (*faccia l'effetto*) they represent, and feigning to be soft and tender (*fingendosi teneri e molli*), I don't know with what reason they could placed under something hard and heavy.[9]

The passage, contained in a short chapter on abuses from Book I, is neither so localized as to be inconsequential nor so critical as to alert us to a dogmatist's vision of rules and conventions. The cornice with *cartocci* or *mensole triglifate* was a well-known Renaissance ornamental device popularized by two period "best-sellers," Serlio's Book IV on the orders (1537) and Vignola's *Regola* (1562) (Fig. 38, 39).[10] Yet, even though this and the subsequent examples focus on error and abuse, throughout his books Palladio acknowledges, indeed recommends invention.[11] Though presented in a backhanded way, what we have in this chapter, then, is a sophisticated theory of ornament formation.

Palladio's departure point is clearly Vitruvius' origin story of the *ornamenta* above the columns (4. 2.1–5), where the temple's entablature and pediment are described as stone *simulacra* of wooden structure: rafters and purlins, beams and spacers, become sculpture through their representation as triglyphs and metopes, architraves and dentils.[12] However, Palladio takes this one-to-one equivalence a step further and hints at a "story" carried by the stacking of ornament that describes not only structure as it exists but also its (fictive) behavior. Since in his view rafters-as-triglyphs would never deflect naturally in the manner of volutes, such forms disrupt the logical illustration of the structural system that the elevation seeks to present, and are necessarily faulty. The implication is that *had* such behavior been possible, as in the case of the base, its representation would have been welcome, even necessary.[13] Of course, Palladio knows full well (as do his readers) that these members are carved and applied to the facade; that whether cut flat (like triglyphs) or curving (like volutes) their *actual* role within the wall assembly will be the same, that is, negligible from a structural point of view. However,

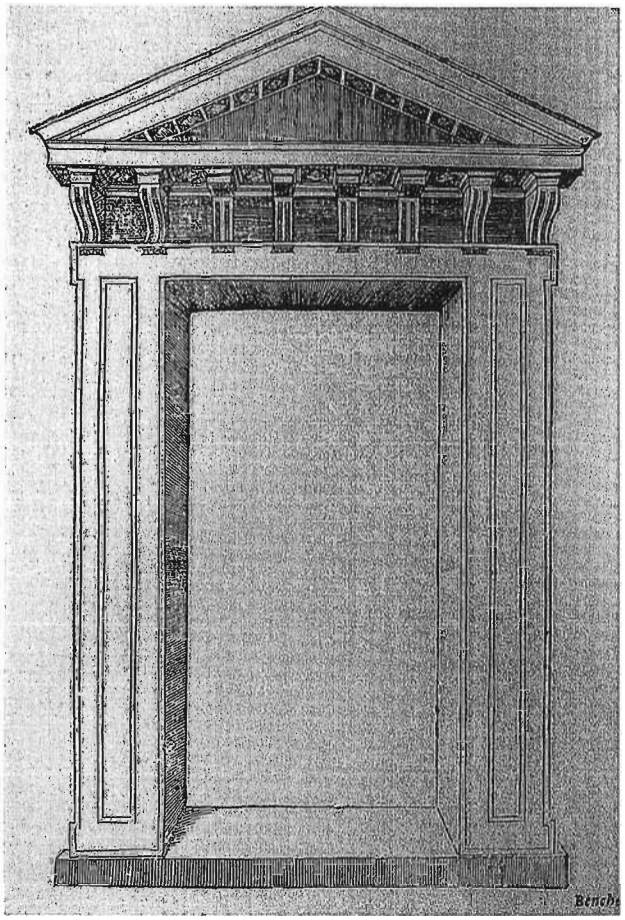

Figure 38. Sebastiano Serlio, Doric Door, *Il Quarto Libro di Sebastiano Serlio* (Venice, 1537).

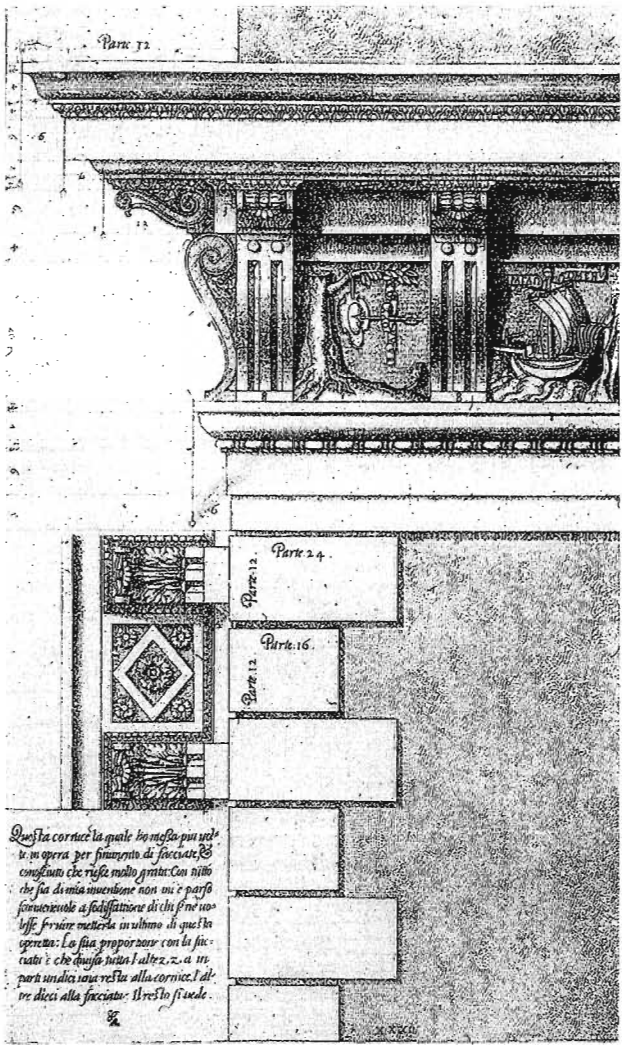

Figure 39. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Details of Cornice, *La Regola delli cinque ordini* (Rome, 1562).

what does concern him is the *appearance*, the "story" narrated through the assemblage of ornament; and, for him, to be convincing, this story must be rooted in nature (the trabeation system and its behavior), and if not factually true, must be probable, that is, *verisimile*.[14]

However, Palladio takes this conception of an eloquent, "discursive" ornament one step further. As he describes it, the representation of the tectonic system and its behavior causes pleasure. Architectural ornament acts upon the viewer through *effetto* achieved by way of *imitatio* of real and imagined states; when the stone reference system offers a convincing approximation of such possible natural effects, the viewer receives pleasure; when this is not the case, the result is *confusione*.[15] Palladio does not take this line of reasoning – so familiar from contemporary poetics treatises – any further. The pictorial assemblage of ornament that Francesco di Giorgio proposed is also missing, for although Palladio records a visual phenomenon and his strategy is indeed mimetic, the notion of a *system* prevails, and its reference points are "technical" (mechanics-based) principles.[16] Still, however different their theories of invention might be, both architects call attention to a sympathy between literary and architectural production, and hence between their respective bodies of theory. After all, it is important to stress that "technical" though he is, Palladio does not deal with the representation of reality but extends it into the domain of metaphor and fiction: his *cartocci*, his "squeezed" and "swelling" friezes and column bases, would never deflect like this in any real construction material, with the possible exception of wax.[17] His ornament, then, exists in a world of *istoria* specific to architecture (Fig. 40).

Seen together then, these two analyses show that, though different in many ways, both Francesco and Palladio hint at a place of convergence between literary and architectural theories of invention and imitation. Moreover, since these texts are not randomly chosen but constitute virtual bookends to the textual/recuperative activity of the Renaissance, they also show that this locus remains operative throughout the period. Given such evidence then, we can return to the issue this chapter initially raised and ask the question with greater clarity: were the language arts, the traditional purveyors of fiction production-and-response theory, a factor in the formation of an architectural discourse concerned with understanding the past and making some room for the present, that is, with imitation and invention? And, to take this question one step further, did the shift from Francesco's attitude (tantalizing though essentially suspended) to Palladio's very lucidly expressed position owe something to such a gradual imbrication of discourses over time? Finally, to bring these questions into the larger arena of issues this volume debates, can we identify language and its theory as one of the submerged elements in the transumption process whereby architecture creatively assimilated antiquity?

It is fair to say that literary theory remains an insufficiently charted and even acknowledged affluent of architectural theory and is thus worth a closer look. Indeed, even a cursory reading of the intellectual map of the Renaissance shows not only that architecture developed a verbal domain of extraordinary intensity in this period, but that intersections and opportunities for exchange with the language arts were significant and justify such a question. Humanists, their methods, language, and issues, created the textual and lexical context within which architectural theory was possible at all.[18] Literary notables like Claudio Tolomei, Giangiorgio Trissino, Daniele Barbaro, Alvise Cor-

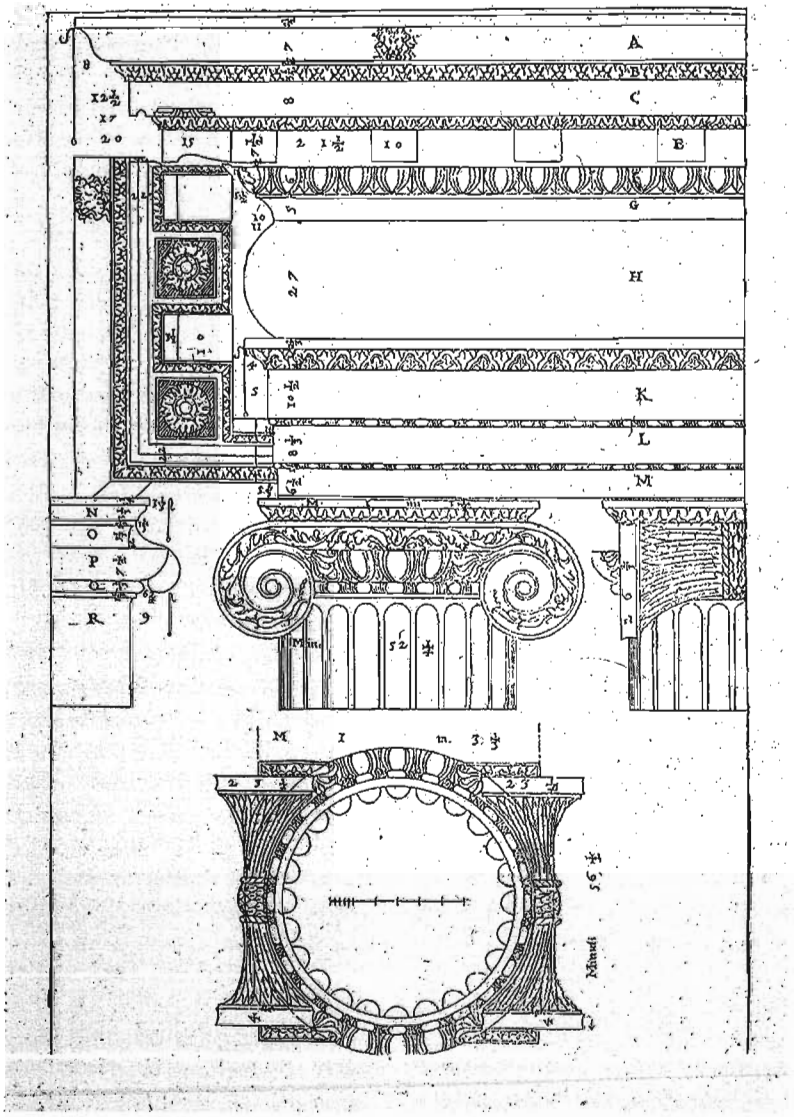

Figure 40. Andrea Palladio, Details of the Ionic Entablature, *I Quattro Libri* (Venice, 1570).

naro, Angelo Colocci, Guillaume Philandrier, and others had significant ties to the architectural world through academies, joint archaeological and (Vitruvian) exegetical projects, patronage, and so on – that is, they were active at the very heart of the interpretation/appropriation process specific to architecture. As such, they were obvious conduits for transfers of issues and language from the currently raging literary debates – on *imitatio*, on the *questione della lingua*, and so on – to the burgeoning world of architectural criticism and theory; or, put another way, they were the bees of theoretical discourse that facilitated cross-disciplinary pollination.[19]

One very interesting and so far little explored oeuvre that inscribes itself in this web of exchanges and allows us to examine it closer is that of the Florentine Gherardo Spini. As a literary personality Spini has left relatively little behind: some *rime*, sonnets, and other poems included in the typical Renaissance *raccolte* published in honor of a great personage or to commemorate a death.[20] However, his activity did not stop there, for he was not only politically engaged as secretary to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici but an active member of the Accademia Fiorentina, friend and correspondent of Laura Battiferri Ammannati, Varchi, Bronzino, and others, and entertained close contacts with *letterati* such as Giovanni della Casa, to whose *Le rime, le orazioni e il Galateo* of 1564 he had written a preface, Paolo del Rosso (who wrote *Regole sopra lo scrivere correttamente la lingua toscana*, 1545), Scipione Ammirato (historian at the Medici court), and others.[21] The opportunities to en-

gage in various discourses that such artistic and literary milieux offered were complemented by those arising from Spini's scientific preoccupations. Author of the *Annotationi intorno al trattato dell'astrolabio et del planisfero universale del r. p. Ignatio Danti* (1570), he was a friend of the "cosmografo del duca," to whom he dedicated this work as well as that of the mathematician Anton Maria del Pazzi, the would-be author of a treatise on fortifications and war machines.[22] However, most important for us, he wrote on architecture. His projected five books on the theory of ornament were never completed, but the *Primi tre libri sopra l'istituzioni intorno agl'ornamenti* (c. 1569) has been preserved, and the presence of dedicatory sonnets and preface by his literary friends indicates that the project was being pushed to completion.[23] Substantial though it is, this is not Spini's only venture into the world of art criticism and theory, for he was also the author of the *rimaneggiamenti* to Cellini's treatises on sculpture and goldsmithing, which the latter had sent him to critique and improve, thus acknowledging his expertise on the subject to the same degree he had acknowledged Varchi's, to whom he had sent his *Vita* for similar reasons.[24]

Spini's treatise on ornament is a dense and focused analysis of the role and derivation of ornament that may be inscribed in a tradition that goes back to Alberti (in whose *De re aedificatoria* Books 6–9 had been explicitly dedicated to the treatment of *ornamentum*), though one that had never before dedicated it such a single-minded and theoretical exposition.[25] As Spini treats it, architectural ornament explicitly claims a theoretical domain all its own, much like the category ornament in the language arts, rhetoric, and poetics. That a *letterato* rather than an architect should conceptualize ornament as a distinct theoretical environment and bring this clarity to an existing if submerged discourse is perhaps not surprising given the formidable apparatus that it claimed in the language arts. Moreover, such intimations were already apparent and embedded in the reception of Vitruvius, most notably in Barbaro's commentary, where he made several proposals that either directly or by implication appended the theory of language to architecture. The most explicit is his equation of the *maniere del dire* with the *maniere del edificare*:

> Another type (*ragione*) of sentences, artifice, words, *figure*, parts, numbers, compositions, and terms are used when one wants to be clear, pure, and elegant in speaking, another when one wants to be great, vehement, rough, and severe, and yet another seeks the *piacevolezza*, beauty and ornament of speech. Similarly, in the *idee delle fabriche*, other proportions, other arrangements, other orders are required, when stature or veneration are called for in the building than when beauty or delicacy or simplicity are demanded; and because the nature of things which come to form an *idea dell'oratione* allows that those which form one can be put together with those which form another, therefore in purity we can have greatness, in greatness ornament, in ornament simplicity, in simplicity splendor, indeed this is the greatest virtue of the orator, and it is done *mescolando* the numbers of one form with the words, *figure*, or artifice of another, as is manifest to the true architects of speech. Thus I say that, in buildings, *mescolando* with good judgment the proportions of one *maniera*, or composing them, or omitting them, can result in a beautiful *forma di mezzo*.[26]

Such a swift passage from the theory of speech to the theory of architecture was reinforced elsewhere, for even if Barbaro did not again propose such an out-and-out-equivalence, he did collect under the umbrella of *De architectura* a number of issues of great currency in the language arts: thus he adduced the theory of new word formation,[27] he translated *decor* with *decoro*,[28] and he absorbed the vocabulary and Horatian arguments of the contemporary literary debate on licence/*imitatio* when he turned to Vitruvius' famous locus on Pompeian wall painting.[29] But more importantly perhaps, he introduced the notion of an architectural *verisimile* when he recounted the story of the Doric *ornamenta* ("Vitruvius says we must not do anything that does not have *del verisimile*").[30]

A less obvious yet, precisely for that reason, a more powerful vehicle for the transfer of concepts across disciplines was undoubtedly the shared vocabulary of emerging (literary, architectural, and artistic) criticism. Many opportunities were offered by the project to translate Vitruvius that joined architects and humanists in what amounted to the production of *the* language in which architecture was thought and written about. But crossovers also occurred independently of *De architectura*. For example, Serlio's vocabulary for the description of ornament and its effects includes terms such as *soda* (solid), *semplice* (simple), *schietta* (plain), *dolce* (smooth, gradual), and *morbida* (softly textured) for good architecture; and *debole* (weak), *gracile* (slender), *delicata* (delicate), *affettata* (mannered), *cruda* (roughly textured), *oscura* (obscure), *confusa* (confused, disordered) for bad.[31] All these terms recall epithets traditionally used to define literary and rhetorical styles, and like the term *licentia*, which Serlio put on the map of architectural language, offered so many bridges to the theories of these arts.[32] Whether he coined the terms that Aretino (a known friend of Serlio's) used in his art criticism, as Onians contends,[33] or whether the pattern of influ-

ence was more complex, and Serlio himself was appropriating the language of the literary world (which he knew and frequented in Bologna, Rome, and Venice) and reconstituted it for criticism of the visual arts, this linguistic permeability of the vocabulary suggests open avenues across which issues and whole theoretical structures could unobtrusively travel.[34]

It is undoubtedly true that as a keen reader of Barbaro (whom he likes) and Serlio (whom he likes less), Spini responds to such proposals when, in his table of contents, he unequivocally states beside the category *ornamenta*: "et similitudo inter ornamentum poeticum et architectonicum."[35] However, Spini takes this and his predecessors' analogies much further and formulates them into a coherent theory of architectural invention. His point of departure (like Francesco's) is the poet–artist (read architect) analogy. "E in ciò far si deve come fanno i Poeti," he states: the architect must follow the poet's example when he invents, for he can commit similar errors. Thus, like "the *grazia* of the word's sound," which is insufficient to satisfy the *intendenti*, "the *grazia* that appears to our eye in ornament" speaks only to the animal instinct of the *vulgo*.[36] The pleasure that the viewer expects from architectural display must be of a higher order, one that fuses mind and body (the sensual eye) into one aesthetic response. Thus the good architect must make *imitatione, corrispondenza, invenzione*, and *decoro* the cardinal points of his activity; "from here derives the similitude between the architect and the poet, for both delight with the same means in general," he concludes.[37] Thereafter Spini deals almost exclusively with *imitatio*, which thus becomes the de facto subject matter of his treatise and could earn it the title of "de imitatione architettonica" in the manner of the familiar "de imitatione poetica" of authors like Delminio, Pico/Bembo, Cinzio, Partenio, or Borghini.[38] Thus the choice of genre itself signals that a prevailing literary criticism vehicle, the debate on *imitatio*, takes over center stage in an architectural context.

Regardless of the poetic anchoring of his argument, Spini's jumping-off point for the exposition that follows is inevitably Vitruvius. It is true that Vitruvius did not seek to formulate a theory of invention, upon which in any event he did not look with much sympathy.[39] Yet despite this position his category *decor* opens two avenues for such a discussion: whatever else he may have addressed (and its exegesis was rife with interpretation), for a reader concerned with invention it could easily translate into a prescription theory for the invention of new forms.[40] *Statio* and *consuetudo* were its two most pertinent subcategories: one implied (more than stated) that ornament, specifically the orders, should be calibrated to the personality and appearance of a building's dedicatee; the other asserted the binding law of convention by forbidding mixtures (Ionic with Doric, etc.) between classes of ornament (*genera*).[41] Both were tied (again implicitly) into a group of imitation stories that followed later on in the text: one to the invention of column types from the human form and its apparel (such as the Corinthian story), the other to the invention of the Doric and Ionic entablature and pediments from different wood trabeation systems.[42]

This two-pronged basis for a theory of invention was not without its problems: though both options were based on *imitatio*, one tended to favor a pictorial approach based on the imitation of varying visible characteristics and details (such as the imitation of body shape, hairstyle, even movement and habitat, etc.); the other took its cue from underlying principles of construction. What complicated matters still further was the fact that Vitruvius had not explicitly defined the "orders" as a string of interconnected members from base to acroteria (as we do today); yet, neither had he eliminated the possibility of such a reading: although the two imitation stories – of bodies and structure – split the order in half (column versus entablature/pediment), in Book 3 his exposition of the "orders" overlaps with that of the temple, one member leading to the next as part of an inevitable consecutive string.[43] As a result, much of what was written before Spini tended to swing uncertainly between the two paradigms, and indeed, Palladio's is the first published text to make an overt choice between them.

So does Spini, and like Palladio, he too concentrates on the construction paradigm. His reasoning for this choice is clearly Aristotelian:

> Imitation is the representation and similitude of something that has been first produced by Nature or by Art. . . . And indeed imitation has great force to move man to pleasure and delight, given that his nature is intellectual; because while he recognizes through the means of the work which is being represented the intention of the artist, he feels delight above anything else, as there is no pleasure that equals that of the intellect and of learning . . . it will suffice that in imitating something the architect gives another the opportunity to recognize it, and who recognizes learns and concludes what everything is, as human beings naturally find pleasure in recognizing the things that they see.[44]

Clearly, the basis for Spini's choice is his equation of the trabeation system with nature. Such a connection had been intimated by earlier writers, but what is unique here is that for the first time the discussion

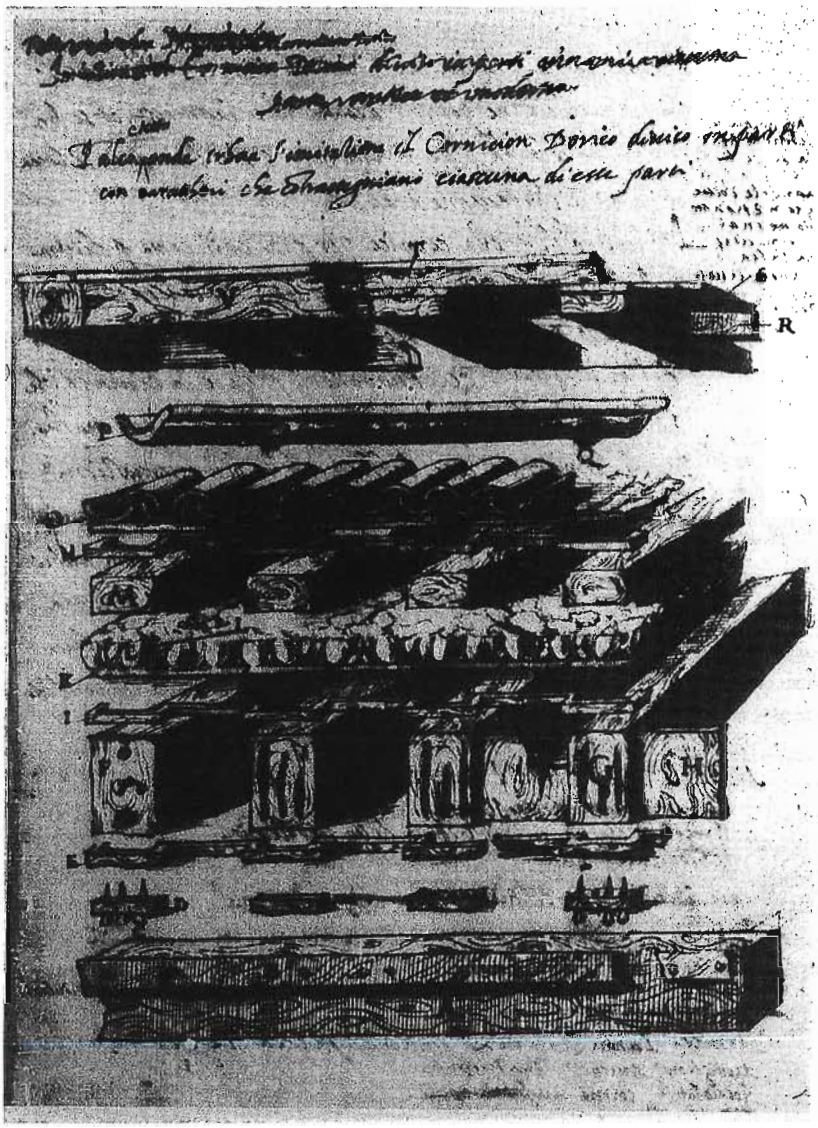

Figure 41. Gherardo Spini, Derivation of Egg-and-Dart, fol. 112v, "I tre primi libri sopra l'istituzioni intorno agl'ornamenti," Ms. It., IV, 38, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

turns to the question of what constitutes pleasure for the viewer, particularly to how imitation elicits it through recognition. This is where architecture and poetry meet: if the architect adequately imitates nature so as to produce a *verisimile* image, the viewer (evidently familiar with this "nature" and enchanted with its re-presentation as artifact) will experience pleasure.

The real driving force behind Spini's choice of paradigm and theoretical justification is his (implicit) recognition that ornament functions visually as an ensemble, that is, as a large "picture," and he emphasizes its need to be "read" and therefore to respond to the same prescriptions as written (or painted) images. Thus Spini refers all members of the orders and their pertaining ornaments, without exception, to the trabeation system and its behavior; indeed, it is imperative for him that this equivalence be demonstrated as systematically and exhaustively as possible so as to bear out his theoretical position. In his extensive catalogue of architectural *imitatio* that follows, not only are the columns, architraves, and friezes referred to posts, beams, and rafters, but usually neglected details such as the egg-and-dart become key signs for whole the system (Fig. 41). Picking up a passage from Alberti (whose references were not systematic but sought to offer visual analogues in a book that had no illustrations), Spini describes this profile as the representation

of gravel pushing through mortar under the weight of the floor assembly; for this reason, he goes on (independently of Alberti now), this profile should never be included in roof ornaments, where it would be nonsensical, but only where a floor (*palco*) might be reasonably imagined behind the facade.[45] This pointed development of a tradition is accompanied by other innovations remarkable for their boldness: for example, to preserve consistency, Spini declares the floor (*palco*) assembly to lie at the origin of the orders and to have caused their specific characteristics, not the column/capital, as everyone since Vitruvius had argued. For him, the type of weight (heavy, moderate, and light) that the respective assemblies represent requires a particular type of column to bear it; the columns were merely a response to these needs, and so became the (manly, strong) Doric, the (womanly, median) Ionic, and the (maidenly, graceful) Corinthian.[46]

Spini's presentation of the material reinforces the assemblage conception that underlies his theory and choice of paradigm: the members are dealt with across the orders, by families of function/type (e.g., all cushioning devices – bases, capitals; all support devices – architraves, columns; all loading devices – roofs, floors, etc.), not vertically, as part of discrete stylistic units (e.g., all Doric, all Ionic members, etc.). Moreover, even his drawings, a primitive form of exploded elevation/axonometric, subliminally drive home the notion of ornament as stacked profiles from a kit of (classical) parts and signal the judgment such compositions involve (Fig. 42). Tectonic behavior is not neglected; indeed, it plays a significant role in his exposition: like Palladio's, Spini's key ornaments swell, deflect, or resist weight, that is, they punctuate the system's narrative and explicate it. Thus, the bases are described as representations of muscles under stress,[47] the curved Ionic frieze as a consequence of its loading,[48] and the capitals – evident points of junction between weight (architrave) and support (column) – as "squeezed" (*schiacciatti*).[49] Integrated within a system, these moments of architectural eloquence constitute so many *figure*, which communicate its logic and make it palpably clear. What emerges is an invention theory based on imitation of real and imagined states: like Palladio's, Spini's visual representation of structure crosses the border between fact and fiction.

If the *Poetics* makes an appearance to justify an attitude to imitation, the *Ars* is not far behind. Its entrance into an architectural text is facilitated by the fact that Spini, following upon implications latent in Vasari's *Vite* and Barbaro's commentary, transforms Vitruvius' Pompeian painting vignette into a prescriptive passage on architecture.[50] In this story – included in Book 7, on wall treatments – Vitruvius had deplored contemporary painting practices on the basis

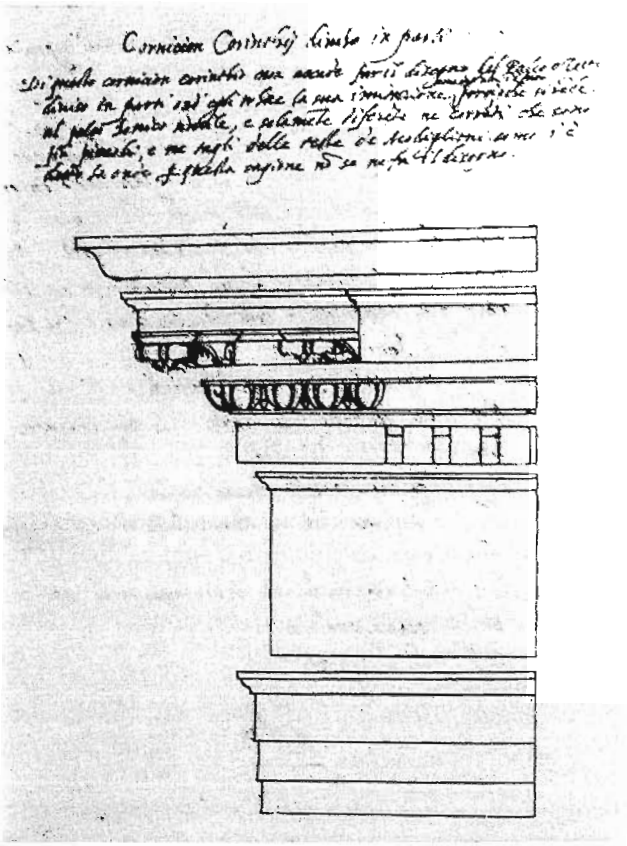

Figure 42. Gherardo Spini, Exploded Elevation of Ionic Entablature and Cornice, fol. 137v, "I tre primi libri . . . ," Ms. It., IV, 38, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

of their departure from the *verisimile*: in language that echoed the *Ars*, he concentrated his attack on impossible representations of structure (spindly supports for heavy temples, buildings resting on delicate tendrils, etc.). "Such things" he declared with an evident feeling for drama, "neither are (*nec sunt*), nor can be (*nec fieri possunt*), nor have been (*nec fuerunt*)."[51] Thus, essentially revolving around the description of support, this passage became an obvious counterpart to the tectonics theory he intimated elsewhere and allowed Spini (who had seized upon this issue like no other critic before him) to detach it from its pictorial context (where Barbaro had left it, too); moreover, it also allowed him to adduce Horace's theory of congruity and collate it with Aristotle's theory of (architectural) pleasure:

> [the Gothic] consisted in part of *grottesche*, since they placed heavier members over lesser ones, composing ornament from broken members, and located leaves and twistings of columns wrongly and placed them on the heads of statues and the backs of lions as Vitruvius writes that Apatussio the architect had done . . . and they ridiculously placed crickets and

> snails and other animals, and sometimes little boys, instead of the members and leaves of their ornament; and from this manner as from a contagious infirmity, our present century has not been able to free itself, as in different parts of their buildings ignorant architects are seen everyday to mix (*mescolare*) such imperfections.[52]

Such results lead him later on to warn against faulty assemblages, which, he adds, "occur often to inexperienced architects whose works can be likened to those to which Horace compares the disordered and licentious poem, which he says is like a monster whose head and face appear to be those of a beautiful maiden, yet whose neck is that of a horse, the bust that of a bird, and the remainder a fish."[53]

Clearly, for Spini, the succession of structural members – whether real or fictive – must submit to the same laws of congruence as Horace's poem. Both authors turn to organisms (as harmonious appearance *and* functioning totality) to illustrate congruity and justify the need for such a prescription. Yet, Spini's paradigmatic "organism" is no longer the human body (as it had been for his predecessors), but the structural system. This is so because, unlike the human paradigm, it is the only one that offers a coherent mimetic string from base to acroteria and at the same time recognizes the assemblage-based nature of ornament. Where the human paradigm *can* remain is in the proportional system, in the world of abstract numerical relationships – that is, outside of the actual mimetic process.[54]

We have become accustomed to regard tectonics, that is, the discourse concerned with the relationship between form and structure, as an invention of modern times, one that gathered momentum from 1753 onward.[55] Yet it is an old issue and has received various formats over time. Here we have one resolution that emerges from within the poetics/rhetoric-oriented culture that Giambattista Vico so perceptively defined and reflected upon from his location on its edge.[56] In this culture, structure and ornament did not overlap, nor did they compete. This was a moment of equilibrium, when the two existed side by side and were tied together by a thread of representation and *verisimile*, of discursiveness and hence of eloquence. To be sure, the impact of literary theory was limited, for it did not inform architecture as to its objects – what to imitate and how – except perhaps insofar as it reinforced the imperative to turn to nature, as it had for all the other arts. However, what was in its gift was a language and metaphors (images), and through them concepts and theory that, once absorbed into architecture, would create a discourse peculiar to that art. What Spini demonstrates then, is the midwifely role of the literary world, which adds to, modifies, reinforces, and communicates ways of absorbing the imitation and *istoria* aesthetic of the figural arts and constitutes a bridge between them and architecture. The pictorial imitation of Francesco di Giorgio gives way to the tectonics of Palladio, yet both inhabit the domain of narrative, of eloquent imaginary (though plausible) phenomena that engage the viewer and explain architecture.

However, there is no known connection between Spini and Palladio, or between him and any other architectural theorist of the period. Thus it could be argued that, isolated from the mainstream of architectural thinking, his work was a freak of its time. Yet freaks – if this is indeed what he is – have their uses, for they point to that which lies about (in the work of Bembo, Pico, Castelvetro or Trissino, of Vasari, Barbaro, or Serlio) and is available to be picked up – that is, they alert us to latencies in the discourse that conduct and inform it below the surface, piercing it unexpectedly, even randomly, here and there like sparkling icebergs. What Spini articulates, then, is the closeness between the discourses of language and form, and the commonality they had reached by 1570. Faced with the enigma of its past, architecture could construct itself in this "Republic of Theory" as a mimetic art and respond to the *imitatio*-based visual culture that surrounded it. In this process, Vitruvius was absorbed across Horace and Aristotle, and the rough-hewn wooden structure of the ancient Greeks receded behind the poetic veil of ornament.

NOTES

All translations from the Italian are my own. All emphases are also mine.

1. "Onde [me] è stato necessario per molte circostanzie e per considerare le opere delli antichi Romani e Greci optimi scultori et archiettori, concordando el significato col segno, retrovare quasi come di nuovo la forza el parlare di più antichi autori, massimamente di Vetruvio, delli altri più autentici riputato. . . . E questa mia fatioga tanto meno grave parea, massime avendo io concordato edifici e sculture che per Italia sono rimaste, delle quali io stimo avere visto e considerato la

maggiore parte. . . ." Francesco di Giorgio, *Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Trattati di architettura ingegneria e arte militare*, Classici italiani di scienze techniche e arti. Trattati di architettura, ed. and intro. C. Maltese and L. Degrassi Maltese (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1967), 2:295–96.

2. On the prominence of the issue of assemblage and composition of ornament for Renaissance architects, see Alina Payne, "*Mescolare*, *composti* and Monsters in Italian Architectural Theory of the Renaissance," in *Disarmonia, brutezza e bizzarria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Istituto di Studi Umanistici Francesco Petrarca (Florence: F. Cesati, 1998), 273–94; ideur, "Creativity and *bricolage* in Architectural Literature of the Renaissance," *RES Anthropology and Aesthetics*, Fall 1998.
3. For Vitruvius' dissection of the temple piece by piece starting with the stylobate to the acroteria, see *De architectura* 3. 4–5. For an interpretation of this procedure as a record of the temple building process, itself see J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work: Problems of Structure and Design* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977).
4. For this issue, see Alina Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
5. In his texts of the 1490s Francesco di Giorgio consistently referred invention to the architect's aesthetic latitude or *beneplacito* (and left it at that), even though he claimed the lead among architect-archaeologists of the Renaissance. Like Francesco, Alberti acknowledged the value of invention, yet he neither attempted to define or contain it except inasmuch as his categories *numerus, finitio, collocatio*, and the overarching *concinnitas* applied to ornament as well as to all other aspects of the building. The twinning of the issues, like the concern with exactitude and licence, becomes evident (at least in published works) from Serlio onward. For a discussion of the issue and relevant bibliography, see Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*.
6. "A caso passando uno giorno Calimaco da Corinzio, secondo che testifica Vitruvio, apresso un orto [. . .] la quale considerando Calimaco – *come avviene che li scultori o pittori ampliando una cosa naturale, come a loro et a li poeti sempre e licito, formano una artificiale più ornata* – considero tutto quello cesto insieme con le reflesse e ritorte frondi possere essere similitudine d'uno ornato capitello." Di Giorgio, 2:379–80.
7. Horace. *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, ed. and trans. H. R. Fairclough (London: William Heinemann, and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).
8. Achieving the *verisimile* was a well-known imperative for poets ever since Aristotle's *Poetics*. For a source contemporary to Palladio, see Minturno who, responding to this tradition, associated it to *decoro* and highlighted its importance: "di qui nasce il decoro; di qui stabil'e saldo fondamento e il necessario e il verosimile, come nell'imitatione delle cose istesse." Alessandro Minturno, *L'arte poetica* (Venice: Giovanni Andrea Valvassori, 1563).
9. "Medesimamente non si farà nascer fuori dalle cornici alcuni di questi cartocci; percioché, essendo dibisogno che tutte le parti della cornice *a qualche effetto siano fatte*, e siano come *dimostratrici* di quello che si vederebbe quando l'opera fosse di legname, et oltre a ciò essendo convenevole che a sostenere un carico si richiegga una cosa dura et atta a resistere al peso, non è dubbio che questi tali cartocci non siano del tutto superflui, perché impossibile è che trave o legno alcuno *faccia l'effetto* che essi *rappresentano*, e *fingendosi* teneri e molli non so con qual ragione si possano metter sotto ad una cosa dura e greve." Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, ed. L. Magagnato and P. Marini, intro. L. Magagnato (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1980), 68.
10. "But Baldassar da Siena, expert in antiquities, had perhaps seen some such vestiges, or with his beautiful judgment he himself was the inventor of this *varietà*, placing *correnti* over the wall because they bear less weight: the brackets over the *sodo* of the pilasters, which support the whole weight of the frontispiece: & this, in my view, serves the *decoro*, and is *gratiosa all'occhio*." Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice: Giacomo de Franceschi, 1619), Book 4, p. 146v.
11. Indeed, Palladio intends to show "come si debba e possa variare senza partirsi da' precetti dell'arte, e quando simil variazione sia laudabile e graziosa" (Palladio, p. 250). For a genuinely dogmatic view, see Cataneo, who vituperates against modern practices: "Si trovano alcuni altri che facendo l'intelligente dell'architettura, ordinando e componendo di lor propria auttorità nuovi modani, vanno deviando dagli scritti di Vetruvio e buone proporzioni antiche, dicendo che Vetruvio fu un uomo come essi, e così si fanno inventori di nuovi modani. E da questi tali, i quali io non so s'io mi debbia imputar più di poco sapere che d'arroganza, si veggano esser variati tai membri dal buono ordine antico. . . ." Pietro Cataneo, "L'architettura," in Pietro Cataneo and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Trattati. Con l'aggiunta degli scritti di architettura di Alvise Cornaro, Francesco Giorgi, Claudio Tolomei, Giangiorgio Trissino, Giorgio Vasari*, ed. E. Bassi and M. Walcher Casotti (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1985), 348.
12. "In all buildings timbering, called by various names, is used in the upper parts; as in name, so in practice, it has uses for various things. Beams are placed on columns, pilasters, and responds. In floors there are joists and planks. Under roofs, if the spans are considerable, both crosspieces and stays; if of moderate size, a ridge piece with rafters projecting to the edge of the eaves. Above the principal rafters, purlins; then above, under the tiles, rafters which overhang so that the walls are covered by the eaves. 2. So each scantling (*res*) preserves its proper place (*locus*) and style (*genus*) and arrangement (*ordo*). In view of these things and of carpenter's work generally, craftsmen imitated such arrangements in sculpture when they built temples of stone and marble. For they thought these models worth following up." Vitruvius, 4. 2.1–2.
13. "Medesimamente, perché è molto convenevole che quelle cose sopra le quali qualche gran carico èposto si *schizzino*, posero sotto le colonne le base, le quali con quei loro bastoni e cavetti *paiano per lo sopraposto peso schizzarsi*." Palladio, 67.
14. "Dico adunque che, essendo l'architettura (come anco sono tutte le altre arti) *imitatrice della natura*, niuna cosa patisce che aliena e lontana sia da quello che essa natura comporta [. . .]." Palladio, 67. See also "non si può se non biasimare quella maniera di fabricare la quale, partendosi da quello che la natura delle cose ci insegna [. . .] quasi un' altra natura facendosi, si parte dal vero, buono e bel modo di fabricare." Ibid.
15. When referring to errors, he states: "Per la qual cosa non si dovrà invece di colonne o di pilastri che abbino a tor suso qualche peso, poner cartelle, le quali si dicono cartocci, che sono certi involgimenti i quali agli intelligenti fanno brutissima vista, et a quelli che non se ne intendono apportano più tosto confusione che piacere, né altro effetto producono se non che accrescano spesa agli edificatori." By implication, correct representation of structure and its effects cause pleasure. Ibid., 67.
16. An integral part of this redirection is also the absence of the

Corinthian capital story and, perhaps more important, that of the human analogy from *De architectura*.

17. See notes 9, 13, and 15.
18. For a recent opposing view, though more broadly aimed, see Hope and Elizabeth McGrath, "Artists and Humanists," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 161–88.
19. For a development of this issue, see Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*. For a survey of the literary scene, see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).
20. For the collection of sonnets and *rime* in which Spini participated, see: *Rime di diversi eccellentissimi autori: B. Varchi, L. Battiferri, G. Spini et al. fatte a la morte dell'ill. et eccell. duchessa di Fiorenza* (Ferrara, 1563); *Componimenti latini e toscani da diversi suoi amici composte nella morte di M. Benedetto Varchi* (Florence: P. della Stufa, 1566); [Rime del Bronzino pittore con componimenti responsivi del Varchi, di M. Laura Battiferri, Benvenuto Cellini, del Lasca, di G. Spini..], Ms. Mgl. Cl. 15 209, Bibl. Nazionale, Florence; Giovanni della Casa's *Le rime, le orazioni e il Galateo* (Florence, 1564); translation of Pietro Bargeo Angeli, *Epitalamio* (Florence, 1567). For biographical information on Spini, see Acidini's introduction to Gherardo Spini, "I primi tre libri sopra l'istituzioni intorno agl'ornamenti," ed. Cristina Acidini, in *Il disegno interotto. Trattati medicei d'architettura*, ed. Franco Borsi et al., 2 vols. (Florence: Gonnelli, 1980), 18–30.
21. All three wrote dedicatory sonnets to Spini's own works and were contributors to the same collections of *rime* as Spini was.
22. Spini's familiarity with the Dantis can be inferred from this commentary, as well as from the brothers' presence at the Accademia del Disegno and their ties with the Accademia Fiorentina. On this, see Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later 16th Century," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 557; for biographical data, see Vincenzo Palmesi, "Ignazio Danti," *Bollettino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 5 (1899): 81–125. I am grateful to Nicola Courtright for drawing these sources to my attention.
23. Gherardo Spini, [Degli'ornamenti dell'architettura di Gherardo Spini], Ms. It., IV, 38 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; idem, "I primi tre libri sopra l'istituzioni intorno agl'ornamenti," ed. Acidini, 30–201.
24. On the relationship between Cellini and Spini, see Antonio Altamonte's introduction to Benvenuto Cellini, *Due trattati* (Modena: Ed. Aldine,), 22. For his relationship to Dossio, see his in-text reference to him ("non piace al Dossio") which suggests both familiar relations and an ongoing dialogue on architectural issues between the two.
25. Serlio's and Vignola's books on the orders are examples of a similar concentration on ornament; however, though they spell out many rules, neither of the two authors attempts to construct a coherent theoretical system that governs it.
26. "Altra ragione di sentenze, di artificij, di parole, di figure, di parti, di numeri, di compositioni, & di termini si usa volendo esser chiaro, puro, & elegante nel dire, altra volendo esser grande, vehemente, aspro, è severo, & altro ricerca la piacevolezza, altro la bellezza, & ornamento del parlare. Similmente nelle idee delle fabriche altre proportioni, altre dispositioni, altri ordini ci vuole, quando nella fabrica si richiede grandezza, ò veneratione, che quando si dimanda bellezza, ò delicatezza, o semplicità; e perche la natura delle cose, che vanno à formare una Idea dell'Oratione fa, che quelle possono esser degnamente insieme con quelle, che vanno à formarne un'altra. Laonde nella purità si può havere del grande, nella grandezza dell'ornato, nell'ornamento del semplice, nella semplicità dello splendido, anzi questo è somma lode dell'Oratore, & *si fa mescolando* i numeri d'una forma con le parole, ò figure, ò arteficij d'un altra, come è manifesto à i veri Architetti dell'Oratione. Però dico che mescolando ragionevolmente nelle fabriche le proportioni d'una maniera, & componendole, ò levandole, ne può risoltare una bella forma del mezzo." Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradotti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556), 65/6 (unchanged in *Vitruvius 1567*, 115). Barbaro clearly draws on Cicero here, who recommended mixtures of styles as were appropriate to enhance the various moments of the speech: "it is certainly obvious that totally different styles must be used, not only in the different parts of the speech, but also that whole speeches must be now in one style, now in another" (Cicero, *Orator* 13.74). Horace also allows mixtures of styles "to touch the spectator's heart" (Horace, *Ars poetica* 90–95).
27. When deploring the fragmentary state of ruins and of the poverty of words to express architectural ideas, Barbaro asks rhetorically: "Et in questo luogo come in altri, haveno a dolerci prima della poca felicità della lingua, che non habbia vocabuli proprij, ò facile la compositione de quelli. Dapoi della malvagità de i tempi, che non ci ha lasciato gli essempi delle fabriche citate da Vitr. ne meno i disegni, & le figure dello autore. Ma perche non è lecita formarne de nuovi, perche come, & le voci, & le cose ci sono levate, ecci tolto la honesta licenzia di formarne alcuna da noi? bisogna che l'uso ammolisca la durezza delle parole. . . ." Barbaro, *Vitruvius 1556*, 66.
28. "Io espono decoro per le cose che segueno, ma in vero Vitr. abbraccia sotto nome d'ornamento & bellezza quando egli dice, aspetto pulito di tutta l'opera, & la seconda si riferisce al decoro; quando dice, composta con autorità di approvate cose" (Barbaro, *I dieci libri 1556*, 25). Compare to his later translation: "Io esponero decoro per le cose che segueno, ma in vero Vitr. lo abbraccia sotto nome di ornamento, quando egli dice, {aspetto senza menda,} benche nella seconda parte si tenga al decoro, quando dice, {provato per le cose composte con autorita}" (Barbaro, *I dieci libri 1567*, 34). Elsewhere Barbaro continues the analogy between language and architecture: "*Come le maniere del parlare*, che si chiamano idee, sono qualità dell'oratione conveniente alle cose, & alle persone, *così le maniere de gli edificij* sono qualità dell'arte conveniente alle cose, & alle persone." Subsequently, the basis for the analogy between architecture and rhetoric is described by Barbaro as follows: "[. . .] & si come a formare una idea dell'oratione otto cose sono necessarie, cioe la sentenza, che e l'intendimento dell'huomo; lo artificio, col quale come con certo instrumento si leva il concetto; le parole che esprimono i concetti; la compositione di quelle, con i colori, & figure; il movimento delle parti, che numero si chiama; & la chiusa & il fine della compositione: cosí per ispedire una maniera delle arti, sei cose sono necessarie, & queste gia quasi tutti havemo ispedite. Resta solamente la distributione [. . .]." (ibid., 36); Barbaro, *I dieci libri 1556*, 26 (with small variations at the end of the paragraph). With respect to effects of architecture, Barbaro likewise laterally draws on the language of literary style theory: "diversi effetti o di dolcezza, & bellezza, o di grandezza & severità, si come fano gli spacij delle voci nelle orecchie: però che quello che è consonanza alle orecchie, è bellezza a l'occhio" (ibid., 61). The Albertian

analogy between music and architecture is unmistakable, yet Barbaro's language is so close to that of writers on rhetoric that an equally strong impact of style theory comes through here.

29. "come potremo dire che stia bene quello, che nelle Grottesche si vede? come sono animali, che portano Tempij, colonne di cannuccie, artigli di mostri, difformità di nature, misti di varie specie: Certo si come la fantasia nel sogno ci rappresenta confusamente le imagini delle cose, & spesso pone insieme nature diverse: così potemo dire, che facciano le Grottesche, le quali senza dubbio potemo nominare sogni della pittura. Simil cosa vedemo noi nell'arti del parlare . . . il Sofista fa cose mostruose, & tali quali ci rappresenta la fantasia, quando i nostri sentimenti sono chiusi dal sonno. Qunato mò, che sia da lodare un sofista, io lascio giudicare, a chi sa fare differenza tra il *falso*, e'l *vero*, tra il vero e il *verisimile*." Barbaro, *Vitruvius 1567*, 321.
30. Ibid., 171.
31. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*, Book 7, fol. 120.
32. On the architectural discourse on *licentia*, see Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*.
33. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 299–301.
34. For Serlio's relationship with the *letterati*, see Loredana Olivato, "Con il Serlio tra i 'dilettanti di architettura' Veneziani della prima metà del '500. Il ruolo di Marcantonio Michiel," *Les Traités d'architecture de la renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1988), 247–54. On Serlio's relations with the humanist Fortunio Spira and B. Partenio, and generally on gatherings in the *casa* Serlio, see Hubertus Günther, "Studien zum venezianische Aufenhalt Sebastiano Serlio," *Münchner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst* 32 (1981): 44. For Serlio's involvement with the Bolognese humanist world of Antonio Urceo Codro, Camillo Renato, Marcantonio Flaminio, and its impact on his anticanonical *forma mentis*, see Anna Maria Matteucci, "Per una preistoria di Sebastiano Serlio," in *Sebastiano Serlio*, ed. C. Thoenes (Milan: CISAP and Electa, 1989), 19–29. Carpo has argued for a structural impact of Delminio's treatise on Serlio. See Mario Carpo, *Alberti, Raffaello, Serlio e Camillo* (Geneva: Droz, 1993).
35. Spini, "I tre libri," 31.
36. Ibid., 72.
37. Ibid., 68.
38. G. B. Giraldi Cinzio, "Super imitatione epistola, 1532," in Weinberg, *Trattati*, 1:199 ff.; Vincenzo Borghini, "De imitatione commentariolum," in Barocchi, *Scritti*; Partenio, *De imitatione poetica* (1560); Giulio Camillo Delminio, *Due trattati: l'uno delle materie, che possono venir sotto lo stile dell'eloquente: l'altro della imitatione* (1544); Bartolomeo Ricci, *De imitatione libri tres* (1541). On these treatises, see Weinberg, *Literary Criticism*, 100–105.
39. On Vitruvius' canonic conception of architecture, see Hans-Karl Lücke, "Alberti, Vitruvio e Cicerone," in *Leon Battista Alberti*, ed. J. Rykwert and A. Engel (Milan: Olivetti/Electa, 1994), 70–95.
40. On this issue as it refers to Vitruvius' *decor*, see Alina Payne, "Between *giudizio* and *auctoritas*: Vitruvius' *decor* and Its Progeny in Sixteenth Century Italian Architectural Theory" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1992). More generally on *decor*, see Alste Horn-Oncken, *Über das Schickliche. Studien zur Geschichte der Architekturtheorie I*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, no. 70 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967); John Onians, "Style and Decorum in Sixteenth Century Italian Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1969).
41. "*Decor* demands the faultless ensemble of a work composed, in accordance with precedent, of approved details" (Vitruvius, 1.2.5). On *statio*: "To Minerva, Mars and Hercules, Doric temples will be built; for to these gods, because of their might (*virtus*), buildings ought (*decet*) to be erected without embellishments. Temples designed in the Corinthian style (*genus*) will seem to have details suited to Venus, Flora, Proserpine, Fountains, Nymphs; for these goddesses, on account of their gentleness (*teneritas*), works constructed with slighter proportions and adorned with flowers, foliage, spirals and volutes will seem to gain in just decor. To Juno, Diana and Father Bacchus, and the other gods who are of the same likeness, if Ionic temples are erected, account will be taken of their middle quality (*ratio mediocritas*); because the determinate character of their temples will avoid the severe (*severitas*) manner of the Doric and the softer manner of the Corinthian" (ibid., 1.2.5). On *consuetudo*: "Again, if, in Doric entablatures, dentils are carved on the cornices, or if with voluted capitals and Ionic entablatures, triglyphs are applied, characteristics are transferred from one style (*genus*) to another: the work as a whole (*aspectus*) will jar upon us, since it includes details foreign to the order (*ordo consuetudinis*)" (ibid., 1. 2. 6).
42. Vitruvius, 4. 1. 6–8, and 4. 2. 1–5. See above, n. 12.
43. On this issue see Christoph Thoenes and Hubertus Günther, "Gli ordini architettonici: Rinascita o invenzione?" in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, ed. M. Fagiolo (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), 261–71.
44. "L'imitazione è rappresentare, et simigliare alcuna cosa che prima sia fatto o della Natura, o dall'Arte. [. . .] Et di vero grandissima forza la imitazione per muovere l'huomo al piacere e al diletto, essendo egli di natura intellettuale; perciochè mentre che egli riconosce per mezzo dell'opera che gli si rappresenta l'intenzione dell'Artefice sente diletto sopr'ogn'altro, non essendo piacere che agguagli quello dell'intelletto et dell'imparare.[. . .] basterà ch'egli [l'architetto] imitando alcuna cosa porga altrui occasione di riconoscerla, et chi la riconosce impara et fa conclusione ciò che sia ciascuna di esse, essendo che gl'huomini naturalmente si rallegrano nel riconoscere le cose che essi veggono" (ibid., 68–69). Cf. Aristotle: "Speaking generally, poetry seems to owe its origin to two particular causes, both natural. From childhood men have an instinct for representation, and in this respect man differs from the other animals in that he is far more imitative and learns his first lessons by representations. What happens in actual experience proves this, for we enjoy looking at accurate likenesses of things which are themselves painful to see, obscene beasts, for instance, and corpses. The reason is this. Learning things gives great pleasure not only to philosophers but also in the same way to all other men, though they share this pleasure only to a small degree. The reason why we enjoy seeing likenesses is that, as we look, we learn and infer what each is, for instance, that is so and so" (*The Poetics* 3.4).
45. "Above this there is a plank, two units thick, its lineaments those of a channel. In its thickness there extends a pavement – as I might describe it – three units wide, its ornament of small eggs based, unless I am mistaken, on the stones that stand out from the mortar in paving" (Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavernor [Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1988], 212). Continuing where Alberti left off, Spini appends to this passage an explication of the darts: "alcuni pezzetti di cimenti di mattoni posti fra una frambola et l'altra" (Spini,

70). This attempt at consistency is part of his overall philosophy, for he argues that: "ogni minima pietricella che in quelli [cornicioni] si ritrovi habbia principalmente per fondamento l'immitazione et non a beneplacito vi sia collocata" (ibid., 134).

46. Spini, 74–75.
47. "muscoli nervosi che in alcun membro escano in fuori come nel petto del cavallo"; "sportando nella Colonna i Tori in guisa di muscoli, né dimostrand'essi nella Basa se non fortezza atta a sostenere il peso della Colonna" (ibid., 84).
48. Spini accepts the "swollen frieze (*fregio gonfio*)" (or "*pulvinato*"), although Vitruvius does not mention it; according to him, it shows a "*non so che* of strength, but less than the Doric" (ibid., 163).
49. The Ionic capital is referred to as a "pillow (*piumaccio*)" and is elsewhere described as an "imitazione della scorza dell'albero che pendeva attorta dalle bande dello stile le volute che cuoprono la tazza schiacciata et senza piede" (ibid., 126 and 116). The entasis is also defined in such terms as "gonfiamento che si conviene alle Colonne a cui è sopraposto gran pesi" (ibid., 100–110).
50. Barbaro clearly draws on both Horace and Lucretius to develop Vitruvius' passage: ". . . come potremo dire che stia bene quello, che nelle Grottesche si vede? come sono animali, che portano Tempij, colonne di cannuccie, artigli di mostri, difformità di nature, misti di varie specie: Certo si come la fantasia nel sogno ci rappresenta confusamente le imagini delle cose, & spesso pone insieme nature diverse: così potemo dire, che facciano le Grottesche, le quali senza dubbio potemo nominare sogni della pittura. Simil cosa vedemo noi nell'arti del parlare . . . il Sofista fa cose mostruose, & tali quali ci rappresenta la fantasia, quando i nostri sentimenti sono chiusi dal sonno. Qunato mò, che sia da lodare un sofista, io lascio giudicare, a chi sa fare differenza tra il *falso*, e'l *vero*, tra il vero e il *verisimile*" (Barbaro, *Vitruvius 1567*, 321). Vasari's reference is more elliptical, though clearly drawing on the monster metaphor: he describes Vitruvius' reading of the Composite as of a "corpo che rappresentasse piutosto mostri che uomini," with a backhanded reference to Horace (Vasari, *Vite*, 34). On the monster metaphor in Renaissance architectural theory, see Payne, "*Mescolare.*"
51. Vitruvius, 7. 5. 3–4.
52. "la quale in parte consisteva in grottesche essendo che essi ponevono le maggiori grossezze sopra le minori componendo gl'ornamenti di membra recise, et facendo nascere fogliami e storcimenti di colonne inconvenientemente quelle facendo posare sopra l'capo delle statue e sopra l'dorso de' lioni come scrive Vitruvio che avesse fatto Apatussio architetto . . . e ponevano ridicolosamente grilli, chiocciole et altri animali talhora piccoli fanciugli per ogni membretto et foglia di loro ornamenti delle quali maniere come da contagiosa infermità non s'è potuto liberare il presento secolo, essendo che in diverse parti delle loro Fabriche gl'imperiti Artefici si veggono ogni giorno mescolare simili imperfezioni." Ibid., 59.
53. Ibid., 68.
54. "ma non havendo le proporzioni delle Colonne sì che con regol' et bellezza fusser'atte a sostenere i pesi che sopra vi s'imponessero ricorsero alle proporzioni dell'huomo" (ibid., 79). Elsewhere he states: "le membra saranno sempre con perfetta proporzione"; "atte ad eseguire gl'ufficij a fin de' quali son fatte dalla Natura" (ibid., 71). For the connections to Danti's *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, see Payne, *The Architectural Treatise.*
55. For the modern discourse on tectonics, see Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996).
56. Donald Philip Verene, *Vico's Science of Imagination* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981).

ANTIQUITY AND ITS INTERPRETERS

Antiquity and Its Interpreters examines how the physical and textual remains of the ancient Romans were viewed and received by writers, artists, architects, and cultural makers of early modern Italy. The importance of antiquity in the Renaissance has long been acknowledged, but this volume reconsiders the complex relationship between the two cultures in light of recent scholarship in the field and a new appreciation and awareness of the act of history writing itself. The case studies analyze specific texts, the archaeological projects that made "antiquity" available, the revival of art history and theory, the appropriation of antiquities to serve social ideologies, and the reception of this cultural phenomenon in modern historiography, among other topics. Demonstrating that the antique model was itself an artful construct, *Antiquity and Its Interpreters* shows that the originality of Renaissance culture owed as much to ignorance about antiquity as to an understanding of it. It also provides a synthesis of seminal work that recognizes the reciprocal relationship of the Renaissance to antiquity.

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