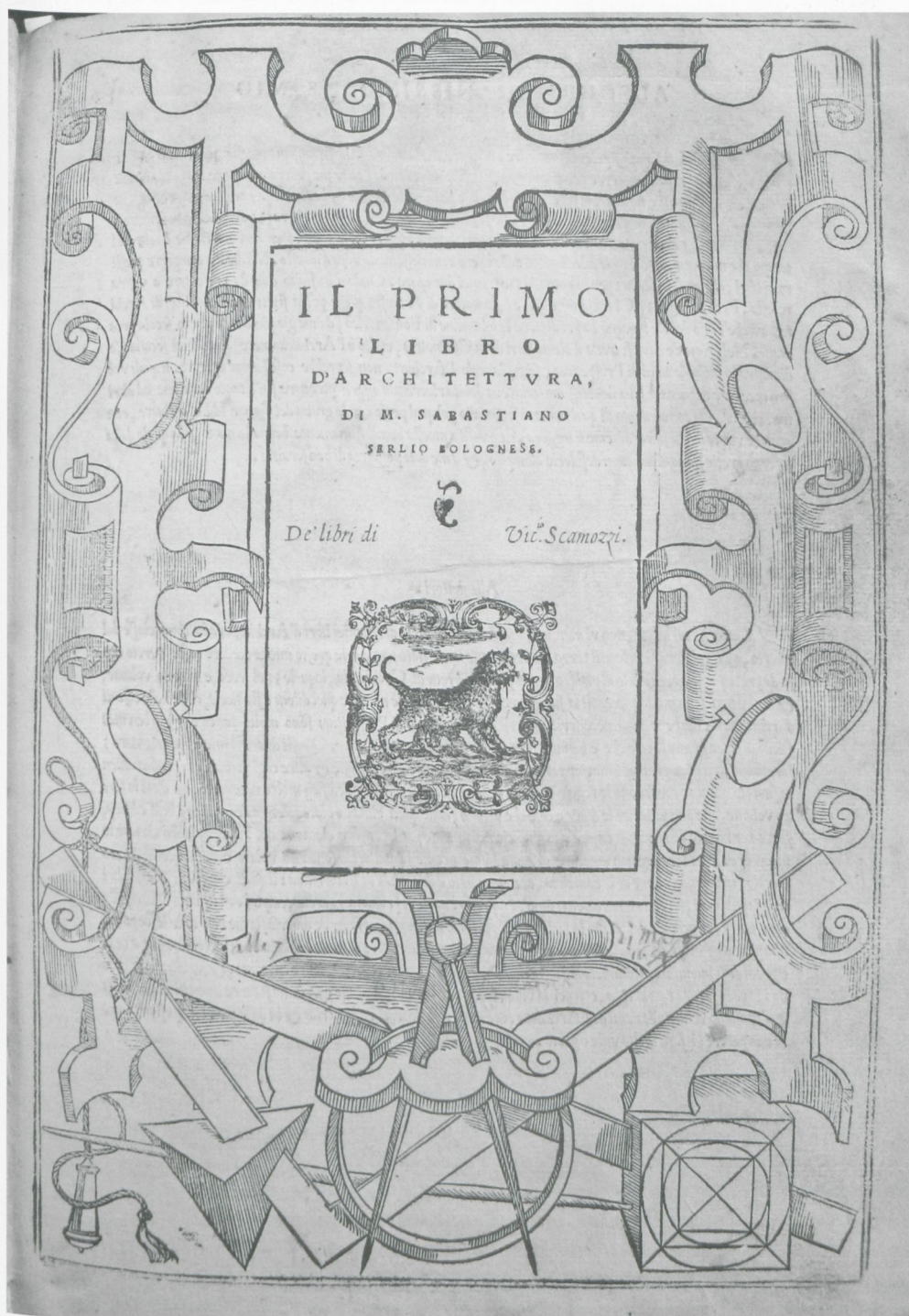


Vincenzo Scamozzi comments on the architectural treatise of Sebastiano Serlio



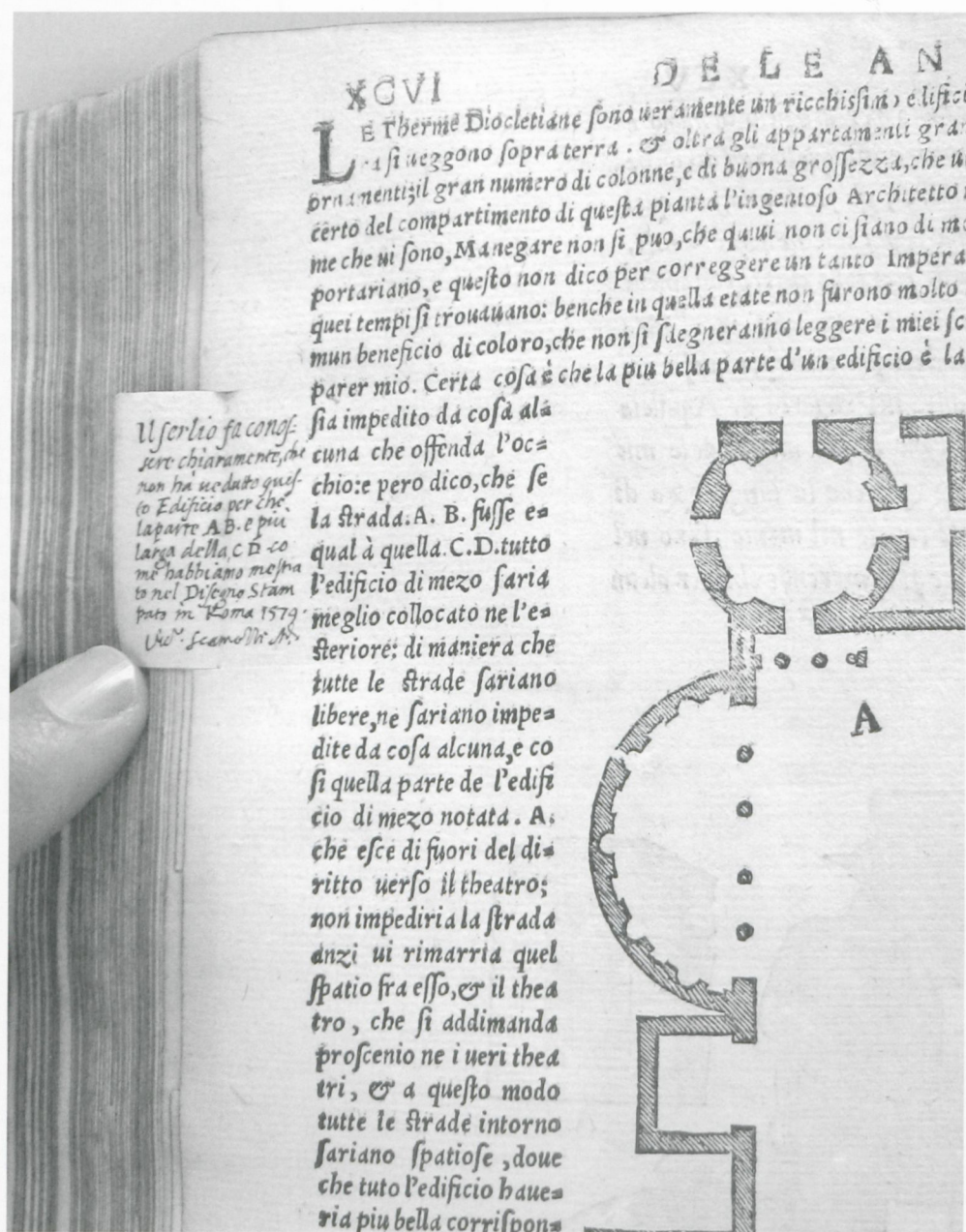
1. Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, exemplar with the glosses by Vincenzo Scamozzi, title page with exlibris by Scamozzi.

Our contribution treats a copy of the architectural treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, wherein Scamozzi has written annotations by his own hand. He has indicated on its title page: "De' libri di Vic.o Scamozzi" and signed one of the glosses (ills. 1-2). I came across the volume in 2011 at the Antiquarian Book Fair in the Grand Palais

in Paris where it was offered by Bonnefoi Livres Anciens and thereupon the Ernst von Siemens Foundation has acquired it for the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich¹. It attracts particular interest as Scamozzi has edited the treatise of Serlio.

Serlio published his treatise gradually in individual books². The work had a huge success. It appeared in many editions and various languages throughout Europe. First were printed the two crucial books, both by Francesco Marcolini in Venice: in 1537 the doctrine of the orders of columns as the *Fourth Book* and in 1540 the presentation of ancient buildings in Rome and throughout Italy as *Third Book*. The columns doctrine remained instrumental until the early 20th century, although it had been modified in details and the principles on which it is based had changed. The book on ancient buildings remained unique up to 1682 when Antoine Desgodetz had published *Les édifices antiques de Rome* on behalf of the French Academy. After Serlio had left Venice and entered the service of the king of France, appeared in Paris three smaller books on the geometric basics of architecture, perspective and church design. In 1551 the Venetian publisher Cornelio Nicolini launched the five books hitherto published in a representative collection in folio format – as was the original format. The publisher has changed hardly anything on the books; the old title pages and dedications are maintained; there is not even a special preface or a dedication. In a copy of this edition Scamozzi has written his notes.

From 1566, the Venetian publisher Francesco de' Franceschi & Johann Kruger took charge of editing Serlio's treatise. 1566 he brought out his first edition of Serlio's books, 1569 a Latin translation. The same publisher has published since 1556 also Daniele Barbaro's comment on Vitruvius that was exemplary for the Renaissance. The new Italian edition of Serlio's treatise is dedicated to Daniele Barbaro. It is considerably altered. While the Latin translation maintains the original folio format, it is, as Franceschini puts it in the dedication, "reduced in convenient form", that is reduced to Quarto format. So the publisher takes into account Serlio's demand, to reach a wide audience. For the smaller format all illustrations had to be completely remade. To the first five books is added the *Libro Extraordinario*, which had appeared meanwhile. The title pag-



2. Sebastiano Serlio's *Collectio* edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, exemplar with the glosses by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Third Book, signed gloss by Scamozzi at the representation of the baths of Diocletian.

es are largely changed, the old dedications are deleted, in spite of the diminishment the illustrations are not markedly changed, the texts are reset, but only quite superficially revised.

After the antiquarian Jacopo Strada had published in 1575 posthumous Serlio's *Seventh Book* in Frankfurt, Francesco de' Franceschi & Johannes Kruger in 1584, 1600 and 1618/19 brought out new editions in Quarto format in which it is added (ill. 3)³. In the edition of 1584 the dedication to Barbaro is maintained, even though he had died in 1570; in the following editions, it is deleted. The newly attached *Seventh Book* is dedicated to Vincenzo Scamozzi, who is addressed like a potent magnate as "molto magnifico sig. mio osservandissimo". Franceschi emphasises in the dedication how much cure and work he had invested in the edition, as he "wanted to satisfy his antiquarian and right desire with it".

The new editions also contain an unusually detailed index that does not simply list the keywords, but partly appends observations and

comments reflecting on special items. Many books of the Renaissance have indices, such as, for example, Barbaro's comment on Vitruvius. So comprehensive indices are rare, but there are similar ones, usually in books by ancient authors, as the index with explanations of the terms, that Francesco Durantino has added to his Vitruvius edition of 1535, or Francesco Sansovino's translation of the *Lives* of Plutarch, edited in 1564 by the Venetian publisher Vincenzo Valgrisi, "con le Tavole delle cose notabili copiosissime [...], con sommarij & utili Postille, che dichiarano i luoghi Oscuri de 'testi per via di discorsi".

Vincenzo Scamozzi's father Gian Domenico has created the index to Serlio's treatise, the comments reflect "the opinion" of Vincenzo Scamozzi about Serlio's statements. A special case is how much the index is trumpeted. Unlike ordinary indexes, its authors are mentioned and in addition, two effusive "sonnets on the index of Gian Domenico" are added. The editions of 1600 and 1618/19 include also a "Discourse on the parts of architecture" by Gian Domenico that Vincenzo has shortly supplemented in some places. The book is opened by a letter from Lodovico Roncone, a friend of Vincenzo Scamozzi, to Francesco de' Franceschi, containing an exuberant and lengthy obituary of the late Gian Domenico who had died two years ago and a eulogy to Vincenzo. Roncone submits here also that it was him who had the manuscripts of Gian Domenico found between the papers of Vincenzo and made sure that they were included in the editions. All this happened, as he emphasizes, commissioned by Vincenzo.

There is little known of Vincenzo's father⁴. Roncone attaches to him "unique value in the profession of the buildings". Contemporary documents describe his profession as *carpentario*, *falegname* or *marangon* (carpenter). He is never called an architect, but he worked as such. He once is referred to as *mercante di legname* (merchant of timber). The trade apparently brought him enough wealth to afford an elitist antiquarian training for his son. Roncone and Francesco Sansovino's *Guide of Venice* assign an interest in architectural theory to him⁵. There is no conclusive reason to doubt that Gian Domenico possessed the mental capacity for that, though he did not rise to high fame. He has written a striking number of architectural expertises. The necessary measurements presuppose that he was trained in mathematical terms. First of all, he was apparently a clear mind, because this should be, besides integrity, particularly important for expertises. Many Italian architects, who became not so prominent that they attract much attention nowadays, emerged from the craft, pursued their craft in addition to the tasks of the architect and operated trading building materials and the like⁶. Generally comparable with Gian Domenico are Andrea Palladio as one of the few famous architects who emerged from the craft, or Giovanni Battis-

Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura
DI SEBASTIANO SERLIO
BOLOGNESE;

*Donde 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.



IN VENETIA, M D LXXXIIII.
Presso Francesco de' Franceschi Senese.

3. Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'Opere
d'Architettura*, Venice 1584, title page.

4. Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'Opere
d'Architettura et Prospetiva* [sic], Venice
1600, Third Book, comparison
of measurement units.

ta Bertani, who demonstrated on the facade of his house in Mantua, how to construct the Ionic order as described by Vitruvius, and behind the house operated a brickyard factory.

The copy of Serlio's treatise in which Vincenzo has written, probably constitutes an heirloom from his father because Vincenzo was only three years old, when it appeared. At what time Vincenzo has written its annotations, is uncertain. At one point he refers to the "memory of my father" (p. 52). As Gian Domenico died in 1582, one might suppose that the postils served to prepare the edition of 1584. But it is possible that they emerged at different times. If they should have helped to prepare the copy of 1584, it would have made more sense to use the former edition of the same publishing house (of 1566). Anyway, they surely did not serve to prepare Vincenzo's comments in the index. Parallels between the two are very rare. Perhaps part of the glosses served for a supplement that was actually necessary for the Quarto editions: in the title page of the *First book*, which serves as title of the whole 1566 edition and of some exemplars of the later editions, is indicated: "with new addition of measures..." (ill. 3). This applies to the book on antiquities in which Serlio indicates the dimensions

Questo Tempio di Bacco è molto antico, & è assai intero, & ricco di lauri, & di belle, & di uerse pietre, & di musaichi, sì nel pavimento come nelle mura, & ancora nel cielo di mezzo, & nelle botte che gira intorno, & è di opera composita. Tutto il diametro d'entro da muro a muro è palmi cento, & il corpo di mezzo vicino delle colonne è palmi cinquanta, nelli spazii da colonna a colonna ci trono gran differenzia dall'uno all'altro: per cio che il spatio di mezzo all'entrare dello antiporto è palmi noue, & minuti trenta, & l'altro all'incontro è palmi noue, & minuti noue: quelli all'incontro de i nicchi maggiori sono palmi otto, & minuti trent'vno: gli altri quattro restanti sono alcuni palmi sette, & minuti otto, & alcuni palmi sette, & minuti dodici. La larghezza dell'antiporto, & così quella della capella all'incòtro risponde allo spatio fra le colonne: & il medesimo fanno i due nicchi maggiori, gli altri nicchi minori sono palmi sette, & minuti cinque. Le misure del portico si possono pigliare da quelle del Tempio, il qual portico è voltato a botte, dauanti del quale ci era vn cortile in forma ouale, il quale era lungo palmi cinquecento & ottantaotto, & era in larghezza palmi cento & quaranta, & per quanto si veggono le restigie, era molto ornato di colonne, come si può comprendere nella seguente figura.

Perche questi Edificij Antichi sono stati misurati alcuni a Palmi Antichi, altri a Piedi, & a Braccia assai differenti; perciò ne è parso bene à metter tutte queste misure, trasportate con molta diligenza; acciò che con maggior facilità i studiosi se ne possano seruire.

La metà del Palmo Romano diuiso in oncie xij. nominato a Fac. 50.

La quarta parte d'un Braccio Comune diuiso in oncie 14. nominato a Fac. 59. t.

La metà del Piede Romano diuiso in oncie vi. e dita xviii. nominato a Fac. 69. t.

La Terza Parte d'un Braccio Comune diuiso in xx. minuti: nominato a Fac. 58. t.

La metà del Piede Moderno, ouero Venetiano diuiso in oncie vi. e minuti xxx. nom. a Fac. 71. t.

of the buildings. Therefore he illustrates scales and explains them in the text. The circumstance that five different units are used hampers the understanding of the measurements. In the Quarto edition, the scales are of course reduced, but unfortunately the texts are only partially adapted to their new length. In the edition of 1551 Scamozzi has added a striking number of explanations of scales and of new scales and at the very outset he specifies how the Roman *palm* and *piede* is converted in the Venetian *piede* (ill. 5, 19). All this, in contrast to the other glosses, is written in calligraphy. These supplements could well have been intended for the print. However, only in the edition of 1600 an overview of the units of measures is inserted, and this is otherwise predisposed than the glosses are (ill. 4).

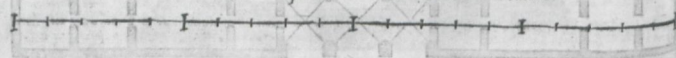
None of the writings accompanying the new editions indicate what has particularly attracted the publisher and the two Scamozzi to Serlio's treatise. There is no eulogy on the author as was otherwise common. For Gian Domenico might have been appealing, next to the seminal importance of the work, Serlio's intent to convey the science of architecture to a broad audience. Therefore Serlio has written the text in a simple and easily understandable manner and chosen



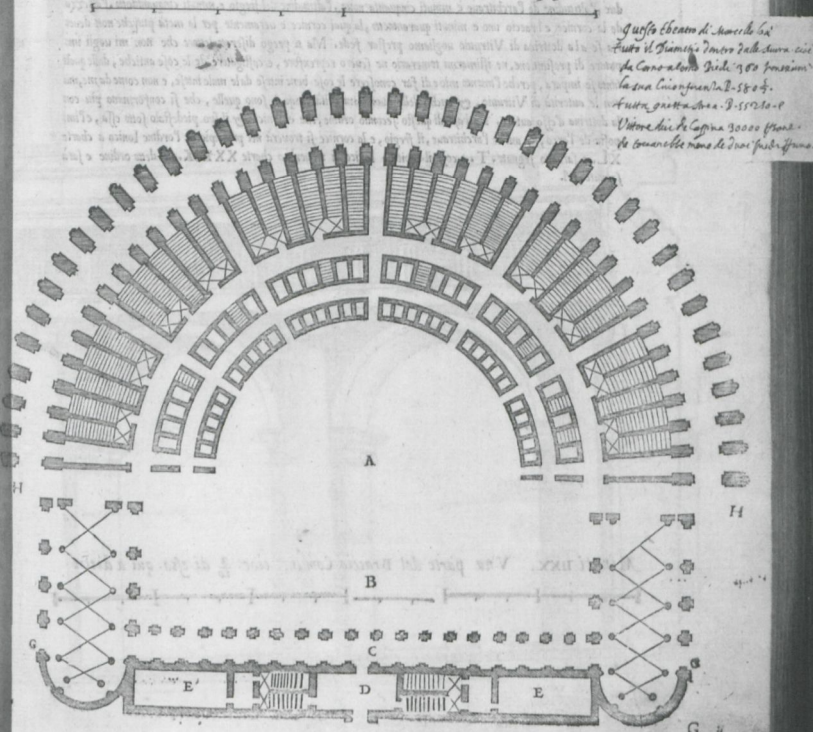
Vestio theatro fece fare Augusto sotto il nome di Marcello suo nepote, e però se gli dice il theatro di Marcello, et è in Roma del quale si vede ancora una parte in pietre, cioè de la parte del portico di fuori, et è solamente di due ordini, cioè Dorico et Ionico, opera veramente molto lodata, benché le colonne Doriche non hanno le sue basi, ne anche la sua cinta di sotto, ma posano sopra il piano del portico così semplicemente senza cosa alcuna sotto.

De la pianta di questo theatro non se ne hauea troppo notizia, ma non è molto tempo che i Nafumi pittori Romani volendo fabricare una casa il sito de la quale uenuea ad essere sopra una parte di questo theatro, et essendo la detta casa ordinata da Baldassarre Senese raro Architetto, e facendo casare i fondamenti; si trovarono molte reliquie di corniciamenti diversi di questo theatro; e si scopre bene indico de la pianta, e Baldassarre per quella parte scoperta comprese il suo, e così con buona diletta lo misurò, e lo pose in questa forma, che nella carta seguente si dimostra et io, che nel tempo medesimo mi trouai a Roma, uidi gran parte di quei corniciamenti, et hebbi comodità di misurarli, e ueramente io ci trouai così belle forme; quanto uedeuasi mai ne le ruine antiche, e massimamente ne i capitelli Dorici, e ne l'ingiosse de gli archi, le quali mi pare che molto si conformino con i scritti di Vitruuio, e così anche il fregio, i triglyphi, e le mepae corrispondono assai bene. Ma la cornice Dorica, quantunque ella sia vicinissima di membri e ben lauorata; nondimeno io la trouai molto lontana da la dottrina di Vitruuio, et assai differente di membri, e di tanta altezza che a la proportion de l'Architrave, e del fregio, i due terzi di tale altezza saranno a bastanza. Ne mi pare perciò, che con la licenza de l'esempio di questa, o di altre cose antiche che alcuno Architetto moderno debba errare (e uero intendo il fare contra i precetti di Vitruuio) ne essere di tanta profusione che faccia una cornice, o altra cosa appunto di quella proportion, che egli l'ha uelata e misurata, e pot metterla in opera spertiche non basta dire io lo posso fare, che anche l'antico l'ha fatto, senza considerare altrimenti se ella sia proportionata al rimanente de l'edificio. altra di ciò è quello Architetto antico fu licentioso; non debbiamo essere noi, i quali, mentre la ragione non ci persuade altrimenti, hauemo da tenere la dottrina di Vitruuio come guida e regola infallibile; perche da i buoni antichi per fino a la nostra età meno si uede che de l'Architettura habbia scritto meglio e più dottamente di lui. E se in ciascuna arte uogliamo essere un primo, al quale è attribuita tanta autorità, che a i suoi detti si presta piena et indubitata fede; chi negherà, se non è temerario et ignorante, che Vitruuio ne l'Architettura non sia nel supremo grado? e che i suoi scritti (dove altra ragione non ci sia) debbano essere sacrosanti et inuincibili; e credergli più che ad alcune opere de i Romani; i quali benché da Greci imparassero il loro ordine de l'edificare; nondimeno poi come de i Greci dominari forse alcuni di loro ne diuennero licentiosi, e certamente chi potesse uedere le marauigliose opere che fecero i Greci, le quali sono quasi tutte estinte et abbattute, dall'impeto e da le guerre; giudicherebbe le cose greche di gran lunga superare le Romane. Si che tutti quegli Architetti che dannarono i scritti di Vitruuio, e massimamente in quelle parti che s'intendono chiaramente, come l'ordine Dorico, di ciò io parlo, saranno heretici ne l'Architettura negando quell'autore, che da tanti anni in qua è stato approvato, et è ancora da giubbonimi sapienti. Hor hauendo fatto questo discorso, che era necessario a beneficio di coloro, che per lo studio non hanno considerato, tornando al proposito d'ico, che questa pianta fu misurata col piede antico Romano, e prima la parte di mezzo notata. A detta orchestra è per diametro piedi cento nouantatquattro, et è di mezzo circolo, da l'uno a l'altro angolo de i corni notati. H. i sono piedi quattrocento e dissette, la parte notata. B. detta proferta è tutta spatiofa, e dove è la lettera C. è il portico de la scena, nel mezzo del quale era il pulpito, la parte segnata. D. era un vestibolo con le scale da le due bande che andauano a i luoghi segnati. E. detta è l'orchestra, quei portici da le bande segnati. G. si usauano per passeggiare, e si dicono uersure, le quali cose non si ueggono più sopra terra per esser coperte di altri edifici, de le misure più particolari si de la scena, come del theatro e de i gradi non mi estenderò più, perche ne l'Amphitheatro detto il Colosseo, io ne trattarò più minutamente, dal quale si potrà comprendere come siano questi, ma la parte di fuori, che giraua intorno il theatro, la dimostrerò ne la carta seguente. Et è misurata prima di questa pianta con un braccio comune, il quale è qui sotto, il braccio e disio in parti di dieci detti once, et ogni once e cinque minuti, e questo è la terza parte di un braccio.

Terza parte d'un Braccio Comune



Questo è la metà del Piede Antico Romano, col quale è misurato questa Pianta.



5. Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, exemplar with the glosses by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Third Book, theatre of Marcellus, ground plan.

the form of a picture book. In academic circles Serlio's approach was at once subjected to criticism⁷, but it was certainly sympathetic to a craftsman, as was Gian Domenico. In the "Discourse", he demands along the lines of Vitruvius a broad theoretical education of the architect, but according to his social status he treats the practical tasks of architects and especially of building tradesmen in detail.

Moreover, Gian Domenico seemingly had a certain personal attachment to Serlio. Vincenzo notes to Serlio's remark that he had the measures of the theatre of Pola by a foreign designer, "from which is clearly recognized that Serlio has measured neither these nor other buildings, but had his drawings from special people, as assured to me the memory of my father, who knew him in his youth" (p. 52)⁸.

The occasion on which Gian Domenico met Serlio came certainly, when Serlio in 1539 visited Vicenza to set up a wooden theatre in the courtyard of the Palazzo Porto. Gian Domenico probably helped as an apprentice there. Although he was then only 13 years old, the theatre might have particularly impressed him. Vincen-

zo boasts the scene in the index as "the greatest that was ever made until then".

Vincenzo has never brought himself to value Serlio's merit. If his glosses are always taken literally, he would have had little respect for Serlio's intellectual capacity. In his copy of Serlio's treatise for example, he comments the description of the orders of the Colosseum: "Serlio speaks here beside the point, he mixes the general things with the details, as he always does" (p. 68)⁹.

But Scamozzi's comments should be seen in a broader context. In many of his postils he gives negative opinions on Renaissance architects. Even for his idol Palladio he could not bring himself to pronounce much praise. Scamozzi's blanket condemnation of Serlio's logic can be compared with glosses by other authors and contemporary commentaries on Vitruvius. It was at that time quite widespread, to speak badly about Vitruvius, although there was hardly anyone who denied seriously his fundamental importance for architectural theory. Scamozzi disparages in his glosses Vitruvius as lump-sum as Serlio. Inigo Jones dismisses in his glosses to Palladio's *Quattro Libri* Scamozzi similarly powerful: he cited there



Serlio's wise statement on the "extravagance", as Scamozzi says in a commentary to it, that the upper entablature of the Colosseum has the consoles for once set into the frieze instead of the cornice, and comments: "this secret Scamozzi being purblind understoode nott"¹⁰.

In the index Scamozzi specifies his note that Serlio had not measured himself the buildings presented in his book on antiquities to the effect "that Serlio had large parts of the antiquities from others"; in the editions of 1600 and 1619, he adds: "they say that he had also the works of Baldassare Peruzzi, see Vasari in the Life of Baldassare"¹¹, and in his copy of Vasari's *Lives*, he comments on the statement: "he began a book on the antiquities of Rome and to comment Vitruvius": "this book is perhaps the one that now appears under the name of Serlio"¹². Scamozzi's references may be put in the context of the criticism, which immediately rose to Serlio's treatise. Torello Sarayna warned on the title page of his book on the antiquities of Verona (1540) of Serlio's *Third Book*, which had just appeared, as there would be much in words and pictures misrepresented because Serlio had not seen the buildings in Verona and copied them unmindful from foreign models. Guillaume Philandrier complained in his commentary on Vitruvius of 1544 about the *Third Book*: "would he have merely written what he has seen himself, rather than to accept what others have measured"¹³.

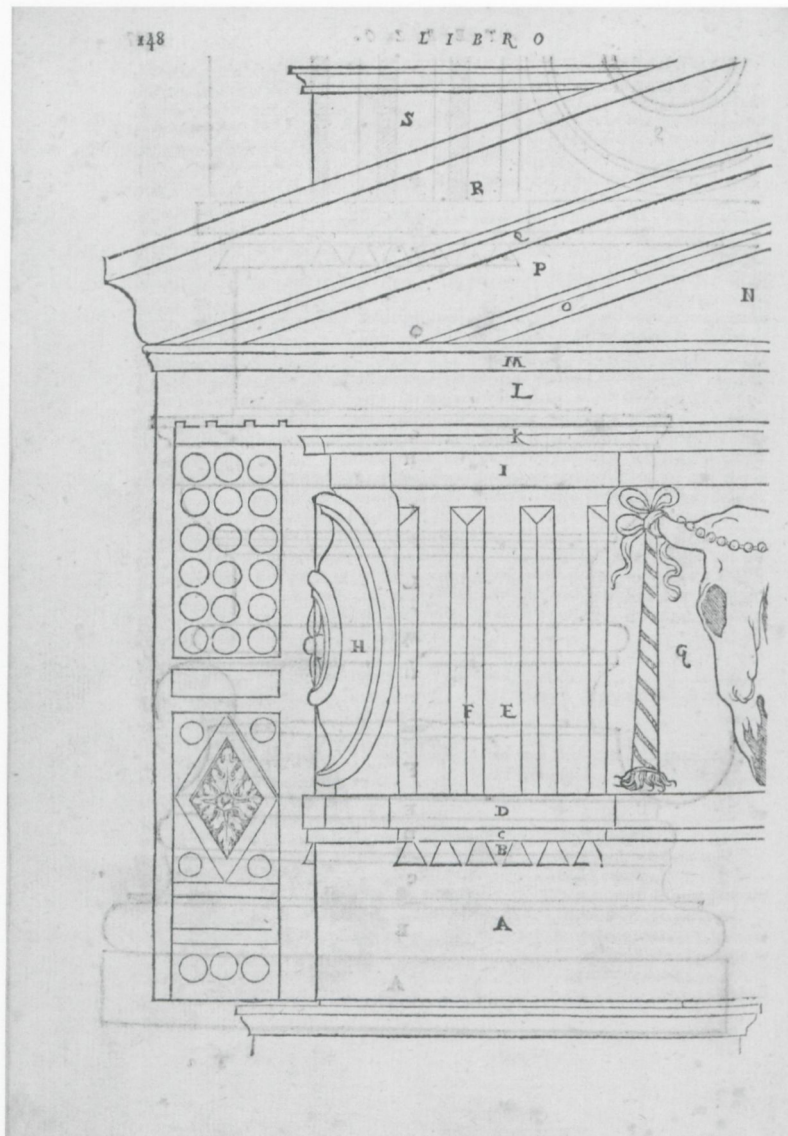
However, as Scamozzi drew up his note, the situation had changed: on the one hand, it is likely to have gradually transpired, that such a comprehensive book on antiquities as that of Serlio could hardly be made otherwise than by using foreign architectural surveys. Scamozzi should

have noticed how complex it was to survey the buildings. Although he has underlined time and again how thoroughly he had studied antiquity himself, he had apparently only a few buildings measured by himself. His notes to Serlio show, that he had not even measured the Arco dei Gavi in Verona, although it was important for the theorists, because it had often been attributed to Vitruvius. Also Palladio has used for his book on ancient temples foreign architectural surveys. On the other hand, the critics of Serlio meanwhile went overboard with excessive polemic. It spread to assert that Serlio had plagiarized his entire treatise from Peruzzi. This is demonstrably false. By contrast, Scamozzi's note, "that Serlio had large parts of the antiquities from others" is nothing else than objectively true.

Vincenzo had probably learned from his father also to appreciate Serlio's intention to spread the architectural knowledge for a wide audience. He emphasizes beyond measure how comprehensive his formation was and how necessary was the formation of a good architect, but he also calls for practical experience. He seems to have temporarily worked in his youth with his father as a craftsman and evaluator. In 1575 he is listed in a building document together with his father and they are both referred to as *carpentarii*. In the index he opposes the architects who were not trained in building practise: "according to Scamozzi, all the works of architects who have long been a painter before, without studying the materials, are always weak, dry and often disproportionate and difficult to execute, because they project a lot of unnecessary things without taking into account the importance of tectonics, and invent dreams and chimeras, because they have no practical experience with the quality of the materials"¹⁴. This polemic concerns the "pillars devised by Bramante under the dome of St. Peter, damaged and cracked in several places". Likewise, one might relate it to the collapse of the vault of the Libreria Marciana built by Jacopo Sansovino, the state builder of the Republic of Venice, who was trained as a sculptor. The reproval applies to most of the prominent architects of Italy, because they were usually trained as visual artists.

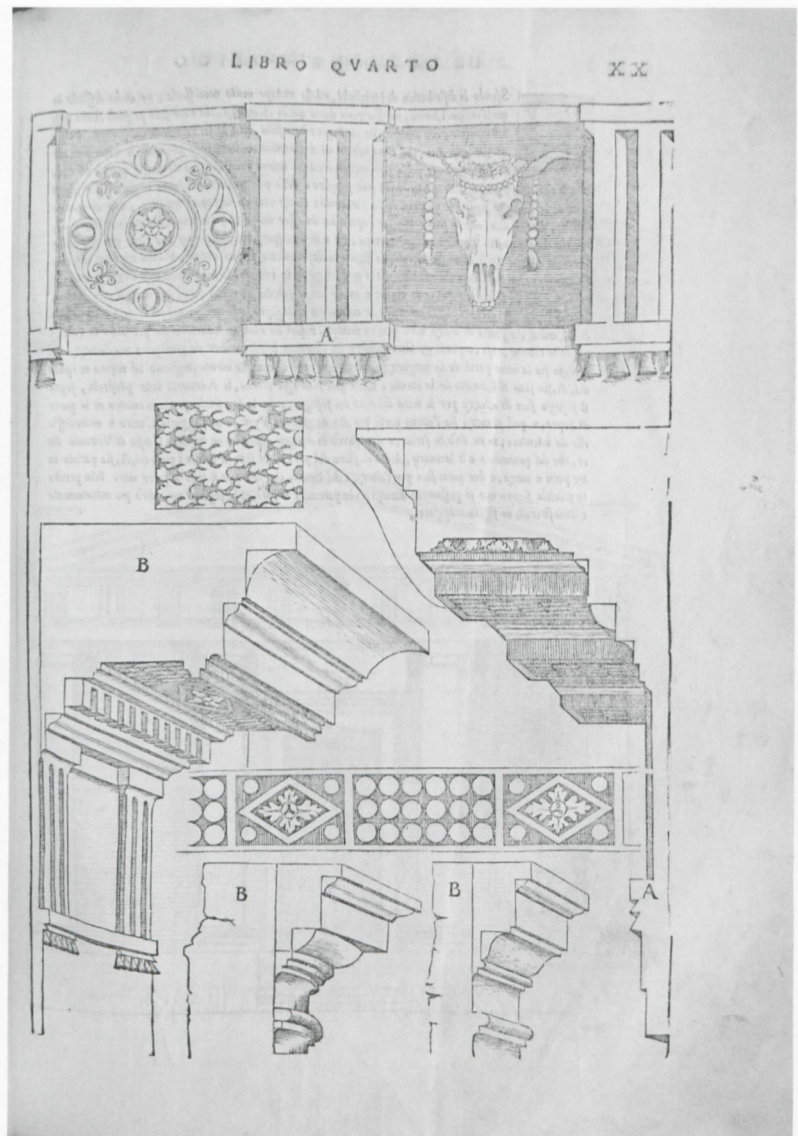
Anyway, as is well known Vincenzo was strongly influenced by Serlio. His architectural treatise testified this, and he has attentively noted in the glosses to Pietro Cataneo's architectural treatise (1567) and to Barbaro's commentary of Vitruvius, what they had adopted from Serlio's books¹⁵.

Vincenzo focused on commenting the two seminal books of Serlio, the *Fourth Book* on the orders of columns and particularly the *Third Book* about ancient buildings. The *Third Book* concerns the formal appearance of buildings. Serlio states explicitly that the history and function of the antiquities are unimportant for it¹⁶. Scamozzi accounts for this in his glosses. He keeps his



7. *Vitruvius, I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio, Tradotti et commentati da Mons. Daniel Barbaro, Venice 1567, Doric entablature.*

8. *Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, Fourth Book, Doric entablature of the theatre of Marcellus.*



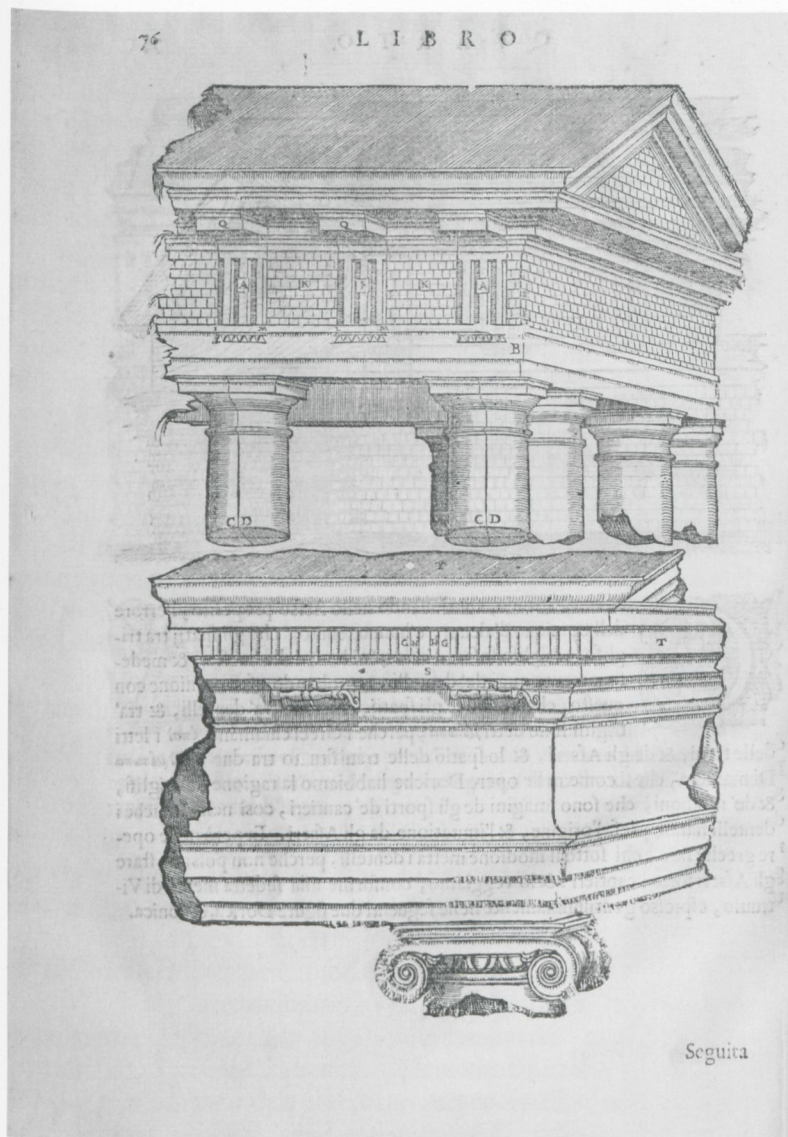
knowledge of history here largely back, although he knew at least the Roman guidebooks of Marliano and Fauno, even though he demonstrates in the *Discorsi sopra l'Antichità di Roma* (1582) his knowledge of Roman history and in his architectural treatise digresses with exuberant erudition to point out far-fetched historical circumstances and although Serlio, in the light of the knowledge of this time, already provided ample cause for corrections or complements in this field.

In the index Scamozzi corrects two out-dated informations of Serlio on the identity of buildings (temple of the Forum of Augustus, temple on the northern slope of the Quirinal). In his annotations he adds two ancient sources. His special interest in ancient theatres and arenas has also been reflected in the glosses. He tries to calculate how many spectators found space there, or to reconstruct, how the seats of the spectators were originally disposed. This argument shall not be discussed here further.

Serlio intends with the *Third Book* not only to represent the ancient buildings, but will teach mainly to distinguish between what is good at them and worthy of imitation, and what is bad and should be avoided¹⁷. This applies to the or-

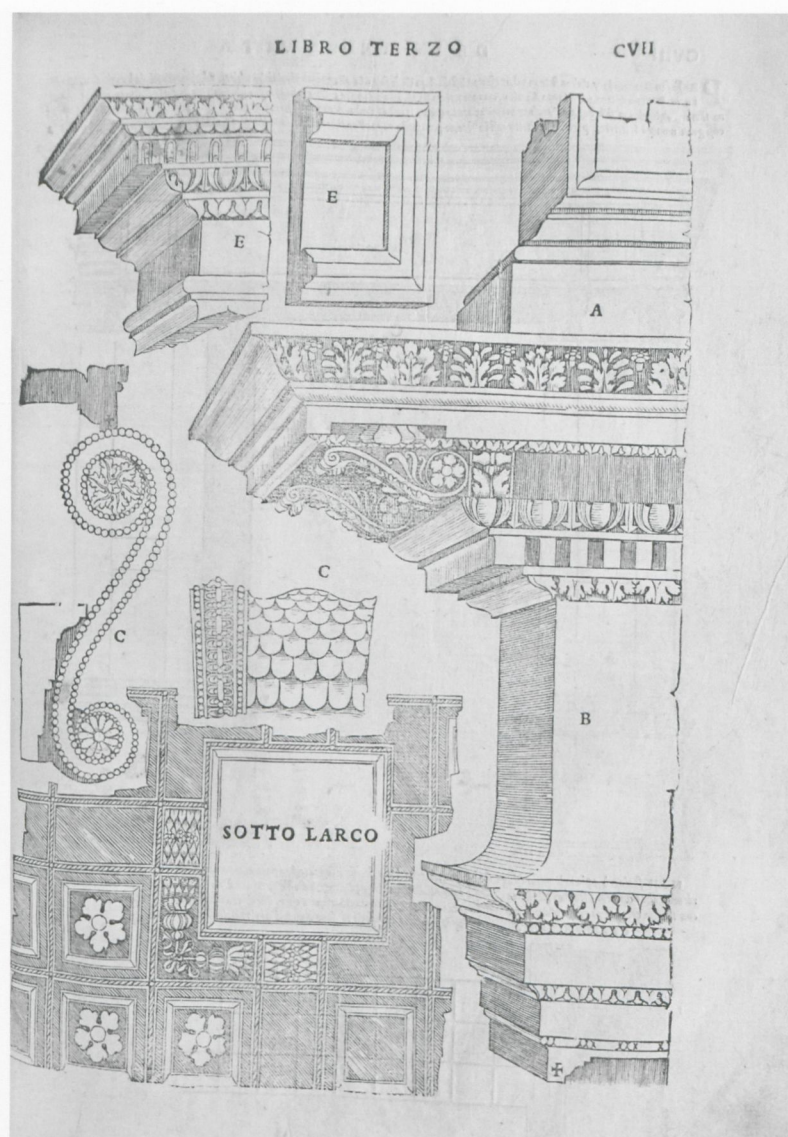
ders of columns. They were the essential part that the Renaissance took over from antiquity. They constitute not only the theme of the *Fourth Book*, but are also the focus of Serlio's comments in the *Third Book*. Scamozzi adopts in his architectural treatise the intent to teach how to distinguish between good and bad elements¹⁸. In his comments to the *Third Book* he focuses on the orders of columns. His notes are evidence of the problem, on what grounds the distinction should be established. We shall now give some examples. The point is to show how wide intellectual backgrounds resonate in the glosses, even if they sound superficially harmless.

We begin with Scamozzi's comments on Serlio's treatment of the elevation of the Theatre of Marcellus (p. 46)(ills. 5-6). During the Renaissance the theatre attracted special interest, not only because it confirms that a Roman theatre looks really similar to the description of Vitruvius, but also because its architectural members are particularly well shaped, and as it forms the best example for the otherwise rarely preserved Doric and Ionic order in Roman architecture. Therefore Serlio treats here the orders of columns in detail and gives a dedicated statement of his doc-



9. Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, *Della Architettura [...] secondo i precetti di Vitruvio*, Venice 1590, derivation of the Doric entablature from wooden construction.

10. Sebastiano Serlio's *Collected edition of the first five books*, Venice 1551, *Third Book*, Arch of Titus, entablature with dentil beneath consoles.



trine. Scamozzi reacts with many glosses to that.

Scamozzi notes on the Doric entablature: "Vitruvius makes the cornice very weak and poor of members; for that he is praised by Serlio, who likes this manner"¹⁹. That sounds superficially as if only a small difference in taste were mentioned. The cornice, which results from Vitruvius' description of the Doric entablature, seems really a bit meagre (ill. 7). This is mainly because Vitruvius excludes to insert dentil in the cornice of the Doric entablature. The Theatre of Marcellus is not adhering to this rule (ill. 8). Although Serlio highly commends its elements, he evaluates the deviation from Vitruvius as a mistake that, as he strongly warns, should not be imitated under any circumstances.

Serlio judges here so categorically because he abides in principle by Vitruvius "as a leader and infallible rule" and as nobody else had written better about architecture. "Even if an ancient architect has been licentious, then we may by no means be like that". Vignola takes in his book on columns the opposite position: he declares the ancient buildings rather decisively. Scamozzi represents a mediating position similar to Palladio. He thinks both are needed, Vitruvius and

the ancient monuments, to form the orders of columns in an appropriate way.

Scamozzi follows the principle that the appeal to authorities does not create any meaningful justification for an issue. This attitude was an essential driving force for the spiritual revolution of the Renaissance against the Middle Ages as a whole. The ratio was expected to constitute the decisive criterion for the right choice. Therefore he responds to Serlio's assurance, that Vitruvius constitutes the highest authority, as categorically: "the ratio must prevail over all ancient authorities and examples"²⁰. In the index he opposes to the "opinion of Serlio that one should give full faith on the observations of Bramante": "to Scamozzi it seems that one should observe all things that are done with reason, and not the authority of anyone"²¹.

There was a *consensus omnium* throughout the Renaissance, that the ratio of architecture and all art is ever determined by nature. Vitruvius deduces the orders of column from wooden constructions, and that was the theoretical basis for architecture in the eyes of the Renaissance. The entablature of stone reflects the elements previously made of wood²²: the architrave emerged



11. Venice, Libreria Marciana.

from the transom above the columns, the triglyphs from the beams of the ceiling above, consoles in the cornice from the roof beams, the dentil from the slats above. So the dentil by its very nature must not be attached beneath consoles, as Serlio repeatedly emphasizes in the *Third Book*. Giovanni Antonio Rusconi has represented this relationship in his architectural treatise (1590) (ill. 9). Nevertheless dentil under consoles is a very common motif in ancient entablatures (ill. 10), and that was often imitated in the Renaissance; a prominent example in Venice forms Sansovino's Libreria Marciana, which is clearly influenced by the Theatre of Marcellus (ill. 11). Unimpressed by this, Serlio reaffirms, many would cry out against the attitude of Vitruvius because so many architects after Vitruvius have arranged the dentil beneath consoles that one may assume in this case what occurs in antiquity; but there precludes that all is turned upside down when the principles are negated²³.

As Scamozzi regards the derivation from timber as the *ultima ratio* of architecture, he also takes it more important than ancient buildings and rejects dentil beneath consoles as Serlio does (ill. 12). He criticizes the opulence of the entablatures by Vignola and Sansovino, he even wanted to alter the Ionic entablature of the first floor of the Libreria Marciana according to his own principles²⁴. But from Vitruvius' deduction of architecture from wooden construction does not follow conclusively why the dentil should not to be attached in the Doric entablature. On the contrary, by this same reasoning it has a good sense there. Apparently therefore Scamozzi as Vignola does not follow Vitruvius at this point, but adheres to the Theatre of Marcellus and adapts the dentil in the Doric cornice (ill. 13). He refers to that by the note: "Vitruvius makes the cornice very weak and poor of members".

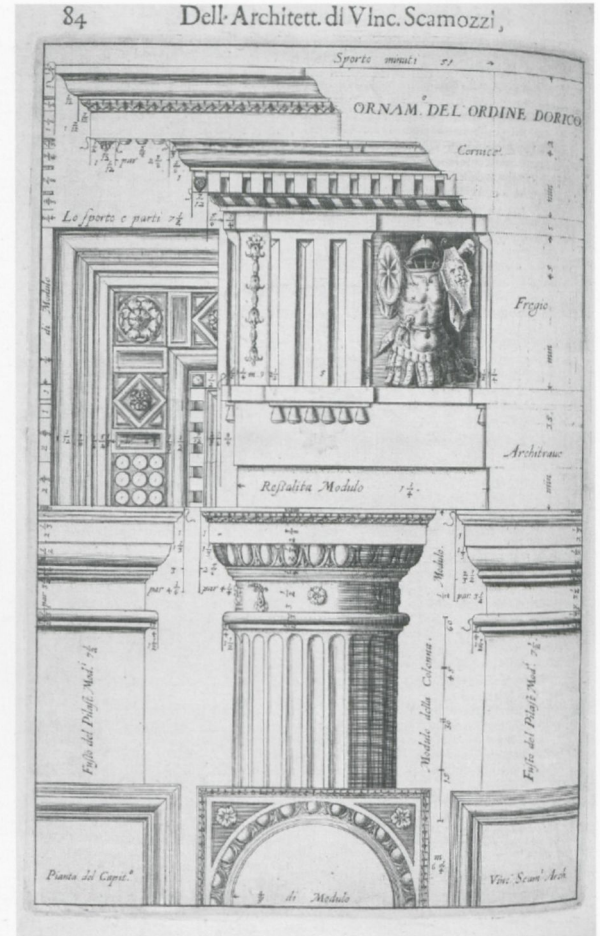
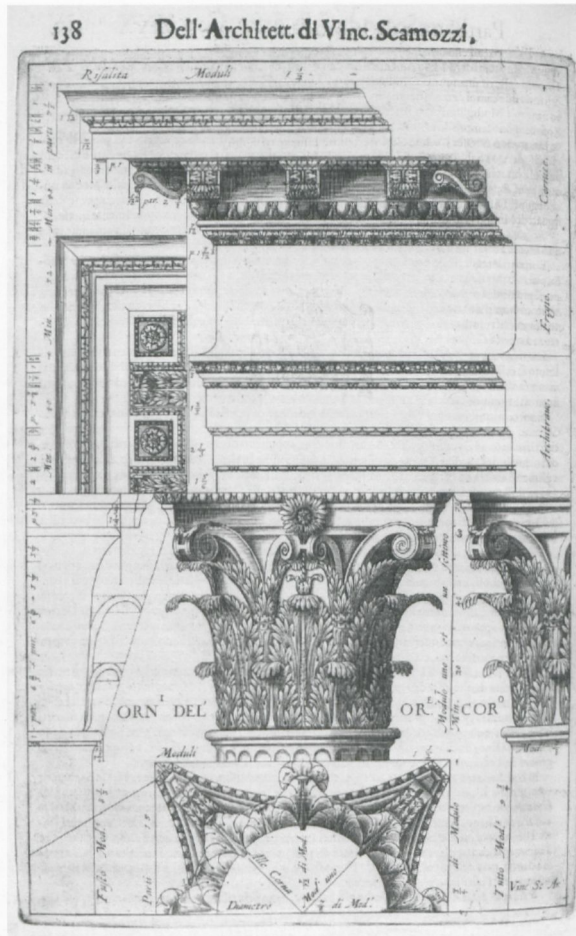
Scamozzi has much to complain about the rules of Vitruvius for entablatures, therefore he says sweepingly to the following directive of Serlio, that one must generally abide by the proportions that Vitruvius specifies for the entablature: "Vitruvius has described no forms of cornices and the other (parts of) entablatures, which might be called good style; but he always speaks about the things in this way"²⁵. In the *Idea della Architettura Universale* Scamozzi reveals in detail what he considers inappropriate in Vitruvius' description of entablatures.

In Scamozzi's eyes the text of Vitruvius is flawed not only because it does not consistently adhere to the ratio, but also because it is incomplete. This touches Serlio's indication that the capitals and imposts on the ground floor of the Theatre of Marcellus would conform to Vitruvius. Here Serlio speaks beside the point. The capitals are different from Vitruvius; Serlio himself does not like how Vitruvius describes the Doric capitals – therefore he believes that the ancient text was corrupted over time. By means of that reasoning, he advises in the *Fourth Book* to give the Doric capitals a more ample projection than Vitruvius indicates, thus to form them more like those of the Theatre of Marcellus²⁶. Scamozzi passes over this inconsistency, but he corrects: "Vitruvius wrote neither on imposts nor on other elements of arcades"²⁷. That's right, Vitruvius really does not write anything about it, and this deficiency was severe for the Renaissance, because arcades were then an essential element of architecture, much more important than the porticos with freestanding columns that Vitruvius deals with in detail. Since Vignola the gap in the doctrine of columns was usually filled, also by Scamozzi.

Similarly, other parts had been added which are absent in Vitruvius, but now were essential, as particularly the pedestals. Scamozzi comments on them in a gloss to the *Fourth Book* (fol. 6r). Serlio admits there that Vitruvius does not treat

12. Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, Venice 1615, Part Two, Sixth Book, Corinthian entablature.

13. Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, Venice 1615, Part Two, Sixth Book, Doric entablature.



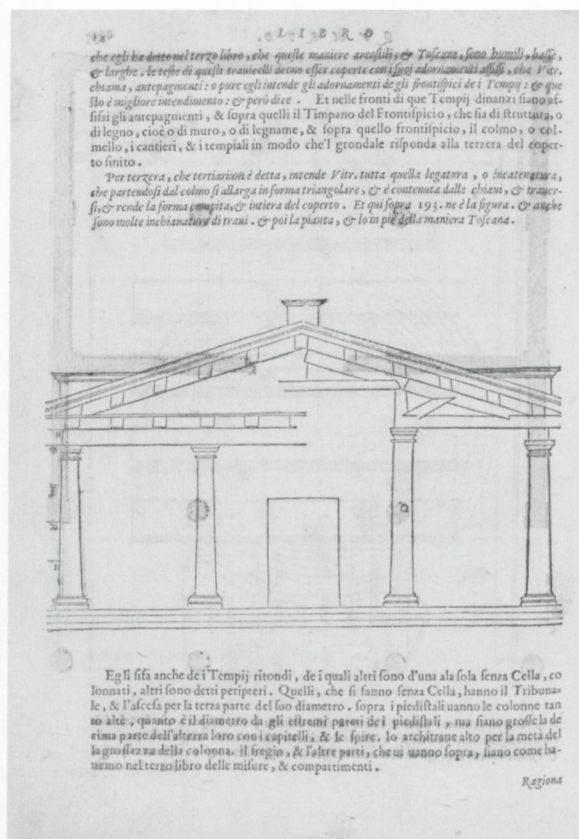
pedestals and therefore he had supplemented them on his own. In ancient buildings pedestals are rare, but the Renaissance, because of its strict sense of order, needed them to mediate between columns and wall. Serlio designs the pedestals according to the triumphal arches as the most prominent of the few ancient examples of the element. There he finds, however, only a model for the Corinthia and Composita. He invents the other pedestals according to the principle that all orders generally must have the same types of elements and are increasing in richness and elegance in the sequence of Tuscan, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, Composita. As usual in the Renaissance, Scamozzi adheres to this classification. In his gloss, he compiles passages of Vitruvius and other ancient authors with the aim to justify the supplement of pedestals.

Notwithstanding its apodictic reference to Vitruvius, Serlio breaks several times the rules. In the *Fourth Book* he prescribes to form the Corinthian capital as Vitruvius indicates²⁸, but in the *Third Book*, he prefers, as it had long been common in this case, to give the Corinthian capital a more elegant appearance, that is to enlarge its height along the lines of many esteemed ancient monuments like the Pantheon or the Arch of Trajan in Ancona²⁹. The contradiction with Vitruvius is again justified by the assumption that the text is corrupt. Scamozzi has a gloss on this text suggesting that Serlio contradicts himself here³⁰. This is more than a detail, even though the note draws

attention only to a minimal discrepancy. Here becomes evident that the rules of Vitruvius generally do not form secure maxims, not even for Serlio, and that it is necessary therefore to consider the good ancient buildings as well.

In his treatment of the theatre of Marcellus Serlio observes that the Romans had learned the art of architecture from the Greeks, but later had become licentious, and rhapsodises: "Who could see the wonderful works of the Greeks, who are nearly all wiped out and destroyed by time and wars, would surely judge that the Greek things rise far above the Roman". Scamozzi comments dryly: "As the works of the Greeks do no longer exist, you can not compare them with those of the Romans or appreciate them higher than those"³¹. That's logic. Despite the fact that the Parthenon at the time stood upright still completely preserved, there was virtually nothing of the Greek architecture firsthand known in the West. Only, in view of the impressive ancient reports on Greek buildings one can easily comprehend Serlio's expectation. But Scamozzi does not operate here pure casuistry. Actually, his fundamental problem is again the question of to justify either the priority of Vitruvius before ancient buildings or the priority of ancient buildings before Vitruvius.

Serlio takes the view at his time widely held, that good architecture arose among the Greeks, from whom the Romans inherited it since Augustus, but over the empire it lost in quality as



well as the visual arts. The design of the Baths of Diocletian is no longer appropriate for him. He points out similar serious malformations even at the supposed Temple of Peace erected by Vespasian (currently considered the Basilica of Constantine), although Pliny boasts it as one of the most beautiful buildings, which have ever existed. Vitruvius wrote his architectural treatise in the golden era of Augustus. He dedicated it to the Emperor as a sort of guideline for the renewal of Rome acclaimed by Suetonius of a primitive city of brick to a gleaming metropolis of marble. He oriented himself clearly at the ornate architecture that the Greeks had developed. That is what Serlio addresses in his explanations to the Theatre of Marcellus, and what Scamozzi refuses in his gloss.

Scamozzi assumes a development of architecture that follows a universal historical law. In the *Idea*, he invents the metaphor of natural growth for it: as was generally supposed, the architecture was born in the Middle East, in Egypt and Babylon, and grew up then juvenile in Greece, but only among the Romans, in the late period of the Republic and under the “good emperors”, as he says, it gradually attained maturity³². From that follows: with the Greeks it had not yet reached the quality level of Vitruvius, and it came to its full artistic maturity only after Vitruvius. The Roman buildings from the time of the “good emperors” surpassed therefore those of the Greeks, as Scamozzi expressly states – even though he knew those of the Greeks as little as Serlio did. In his opinion the ratio is in the Roman buildings of the early imperial period more

evident than with Vitruvius, as the most prominent of them emerged after Vitruvius. This version of development counters Scamozzi in his index against Serlio: “According to Scamozzi, the good architecture was in the last days of the Republic and in the time of the good emperors, previously there was not that knowledge and afterwards grew the bad habit so, that it blocked the path to reason [...]”³³.

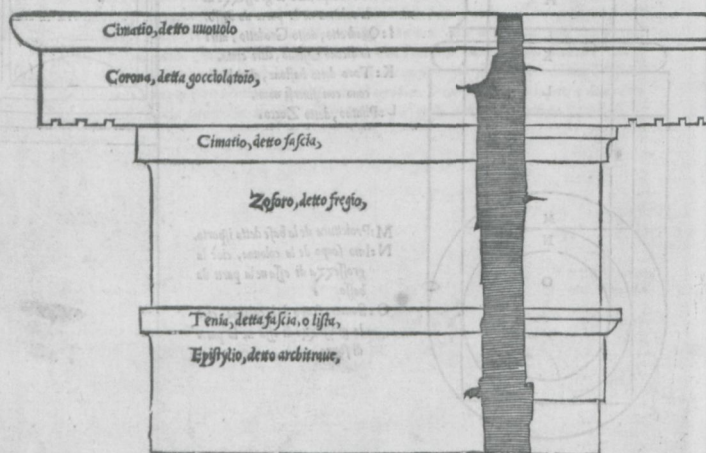
Moreover Scamozzi addresses for once the issue, how much Vitruvius could have seen of Roman architecture. He contradicts several times Pietro Cataneo by arguing that Vitruvius had not experienced the best Roman architecture, as it were represented at first by the Pantheon and other buildings³⁴. In his glosses to Barbaro’s edition of Vitruvius and Bertani’s treatise on *L’opera Ionica di Vitruvio* (1558), he points out that Vitruvius had apparently not even seen the construction of the Pantheon³⁵. Thus he explains why Vitruvius did take no building in the kind of the Pantheon into account, although it ranked as the culmination of Roman architecture in the eyes of the Renaissance. At that time the present building was presumed to be identical to that Agrippa had built in honour of Augustus. The further advancement of architecture in the period after Vitruvius made Scamozzi understand why the architectural elements of buildings as magnificent as the Pantheon differ from Vitruvius.

But even these magnificent buildings did not meet constantly the ideals of the Renaissance. In the case of the Pantheon for example, there bothered the arcade over the main niche, because it cuts abruptly in the pilasters of the tambour. This was explained by the fact reported in ancient writings that the Pantheon was altered later on³⁶. In the index, Scamozzi discusses with Serlio the question of what has been changed, the Arcade or the pilasters. Even if the Doric entablature was accepted as well formed, the Theatre of Marcellus in the eyes of the Renaissance, Scamozzi included, despite all the admiration had an error: the Doric columns missing bases. According to the principle of a uniform set of elements, all columns needed bases in the Renaissance. For their absence at the Dorica of the Theatre of Marcellus Scamozzi found the explanation: “The reason why some things of the buildings are altered is, because they are composed of the spoils of other buildings”³⁷.

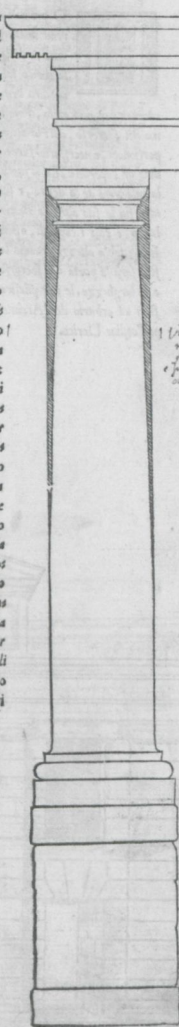
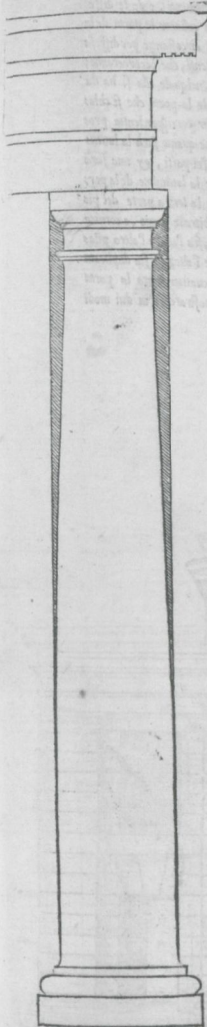
In the *Idea* Scamozzi also deals with the emergence of architecture before its youthful bloom among the Greeks. Serlio’s *Third Book* once gives him opportunity to comment this topic. Serlio deviates there from his unhistorical attitude and quotes *in extenso* the then famous report of Diodorus Siculus about ancient Egypt as a basis for the presentation of the Pyramid of Cheops and the Sphinx according to the report of Marco Grimani who had visited and surveyed them. At this point Scamozzi demonstrates his immense



Ompita la colonna con la sua base et il capitello; sopra esso è d'accollocar l'architrave, fregio, e cornice. L'architrave sia di tanta altezza, quanto il capitello, e la sesta parte di esso sarà la fascia, il fregio sia d'altre tanta altezza, e similmente la cornice con i suoi membri, e fatte di essa quattro parti; una sarà per lo suo Vuuolo e due per la corona, e la parte restante si darà a la fascia sotto essa il sporto del tutto sia almeno quanto l'altezza sua; e nel fondo de la corona si hanno a fare alcuni canaletti minori e maggiori secondo le opere, ad arbitrio de l'Architetto. Ma per esser qu'opera molto sorda, e semplice di membri, potrà ben al parer mio lo Architetto prender licentia di aggiungerli alcuni membri, li quali paiono nati con tal specie, e questo sarà quando l'opera si vorrà far più dilicata, si come si uede ne la parte separata qui sotto, lo lodo anchora quelle corone che hanno maggior sporto del suo quadrato, per che le pietre siano atte a sostenerse ne gli edifizii li quali sporti prestano commodità, e decoro, commodità, se sopra esse accaderanno ambulationi, perche sarà più spaziosa, et ancho conseruata le opere da le acque, presterà decoro perche a la sua debita distanza l'opera si mostrerà più grande, e due mancherà la pietra per la sua sottigliezza; supplirà lo sporto maggiore in apparenza.



Enche io habbia detto qui di sopra che la colonna Tuscana, quanto al testo di Vitruuio dee essere di sette parti con la sua base, e l'capitello la qual proportion, e forma è certamente buona, et appropriata; nondimeno perche la prima colonna furono fatte di sei parti, pigliando questa misura dal pie de l'uomo, che è la sesta parte d'esso e per che anchora le colonne Doriche saranno di sette parti, hauendo gli antiqui a quelle; per darle più asceso, aggiunta una parte; a me par che per tali autorità, e per esser questa colonna di più robusta maniera, che ella si debbia far di più bellezza in se che la Dorica, il perche per mio auiso si farà di sei parti con la sua base e l'capitello; e tutto sia per regola generale, offeruando il rimanente delle misure, che habbiamo detto ne la prima sala colonna, e ne i suoi ornamenti. Et perche ne Vitruuio ne altro Architetto, per quanto ho ueluto, non ho mai dato alcuna regola de i stiliati, detti piedestali; perche ne l'antiquità, per quanto si uede, queste tali cose furono fatte dagli Architetti secondo gli loro accidenti e bisogni, o per essaltation de le colonne, o per ascension a i portici con i grati, o per altri loro accompagnamenti; giudicarsi; mentre che non siamo altro da necessita, si disse a ciascheduna maniera di colonne il suo accomodato piedestalo, con alcune ragioni probabili. Manifesta cosa è che'l piedestalo usual esser almen quadrato, intendo del nero, senza la base, e la cima. Essendo adunque la colonna Tiboscana la più sorda di tutte l'altre sarà il suo piedestalo di quadrato perfetto, la fronte del quale dee esser quanto il zocco de la base de la colonna, e l'altezza sua sia diuisa in quattro parti; et una parte si aggiungerà per il zocco da basso, et altrettanto si darà a la cima, li quali membri sian senza intaglio alcuno, e così essendo la colonna di sei parti, il piedestalo sarà in se di sei parti proportionato a la cima.



15. Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, exemplar with the glosses by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Fourth Book, Tuscan order of columns.

education as it were, in competition with Serlio (p. 94). He complements Serlio's sources on ancient Egyptian monuments and quotes a report of 1516 about it that Serlio has escaped.

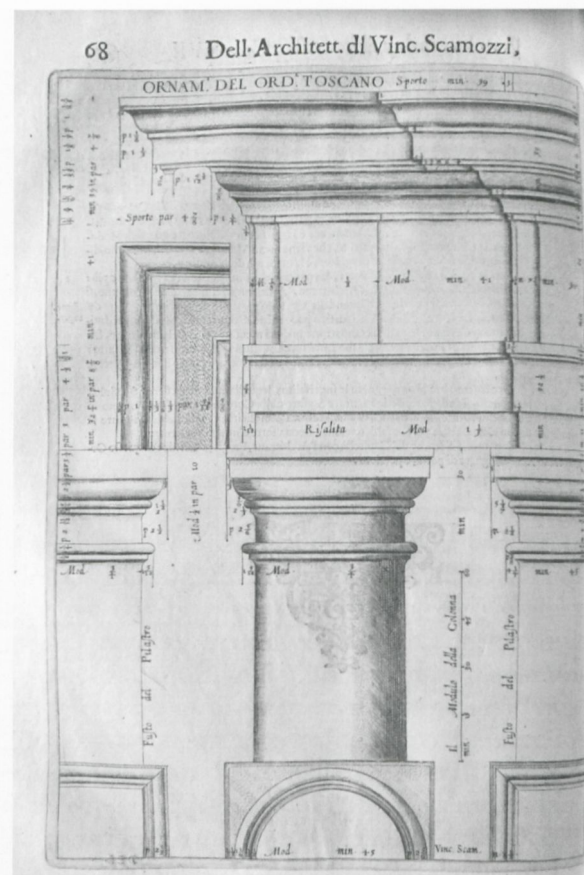
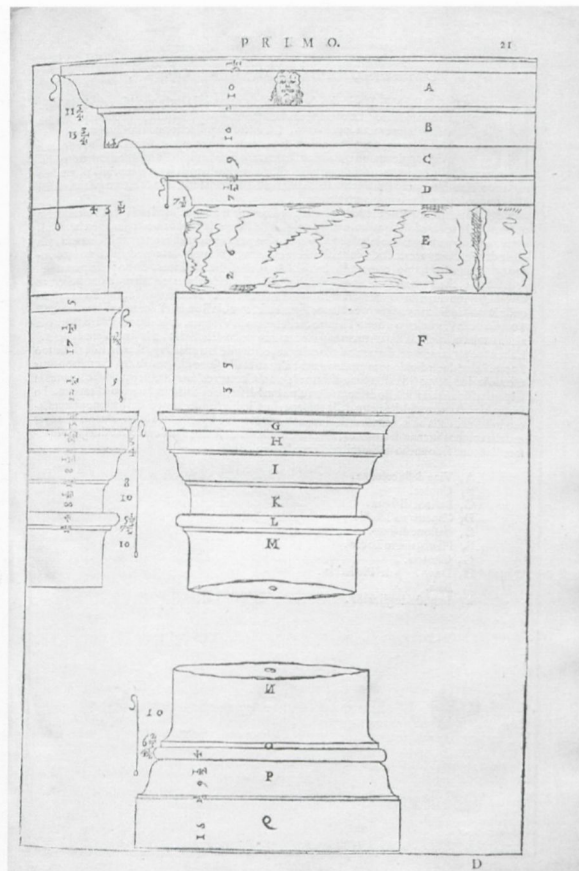
Scamozzi states in the *Idea*, that Italy was dominated by the Etruscans from the Deluge until the Roman era³⁸. They had built there only with the Tuscan order of columns or with the Rustica as the Egyptians. Afterwards the Greeks had invented the classical orders Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. The similarities between Tuscan and Doric order derive therefore most likely from the fact that the Greeks imitated the Etruscans. The Greeks are also said to have taken over the disposition of their temples from the Etruscans. Here evidently Italian patriotism determined the line of reasoning. Similarly, French humanists including Jean Lemaire de Belge had even previously turned the historical conditions upside down for the glory of their nation³⁹.

No example of the order of columns of the Etruscans had been preserved in the Renaissance. There was Vitruvius's description of a typical Etruscan temple, but this was only a wooden construction (ill. 14). Serlio has designed the

Tuscan order as a free simplified version of the Dorica (ill. 15). This idea came up before him in Rome, then went down into a number of comments or illustrations to Vitruvius and has determined the idea of the Tuscan order up to the early 20th century⁴⁰. Nevertheless, Palladio deviates in his architectural treatise from the usual simple form⁴¹. Instead, he forms the Tuscan order with multiplex profiles taking them over, as he explicitly confirms, from the Arenas of Verona and Pola, which are very similar to each other in the style of their decor (ill. 16). Scamozzi approximates in the *Idea* the Tuscan order even further to the Dorica by inserting metopes and triglyphs as derivatives from the primitive wood construction (ill. 17)⁴². But he remains as Palladio in rich profiling the elements following the example of the Arenas of Verona and Pola. He does not justify his attitude at all. He contends that there were still many remains of Etruscan buildings. But what he enumerates then, is a conglomeration of literary reports, rusticated buildings of all kinds, Tuscan buildings from later periods or rudiments that were irrelevant for the orders of columns.

16. *Andrea Palladio, I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura, Venice 1570, First Book, Tuscan order of columns.*

17. *Vincenzo Scamozzi, L'Idea della Architettura Universale, Venice 1615, Part Two, Sixth Book, Tuscan order of columns.*



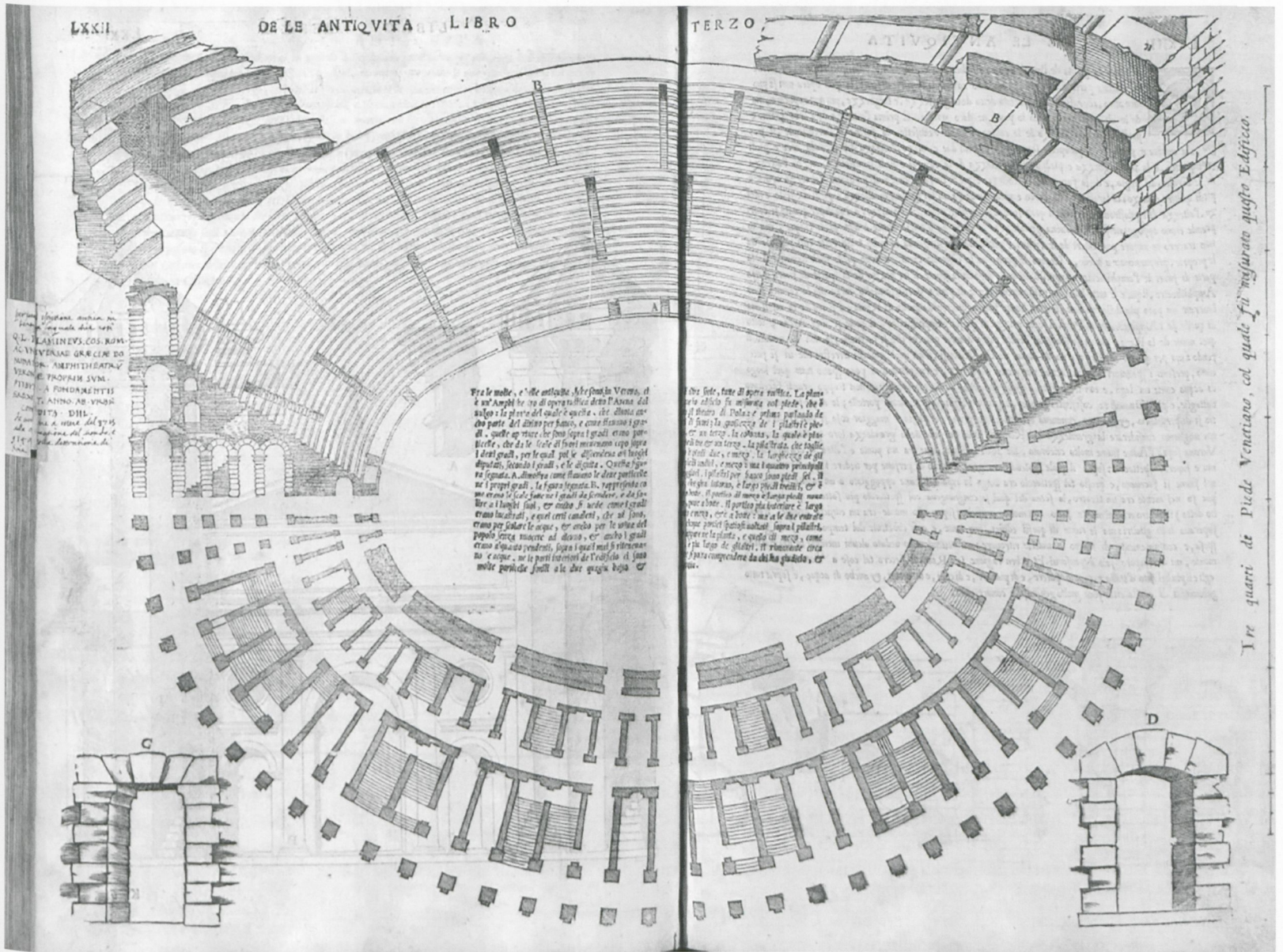
An apostil of Scamozzi makes evident, why he and Palladio took the Arenas of Verona and Pola as model for the design of the Tuscan order. In Serlio's presentation of the Arena of Verona (p. 72) Scamozzi copies an inscription indicating that the building had been built 503 years after the founding of Rome, that is, as was then calculated, 250 B.C. (ill. 18). The inscription was – as far as I know – for the first time published in 1550⁴³. Previously, the arena was usually dated to the golden era of Augustus and even often attributed to Vitruvius, because he was assumed to be from Verona.

Scamozzi adds just how long, according to the inscription, after the creation of the world and after the conquest of Troy the arena had been built. But it is already obvious what follows from the date: Serlio criticizes the Arenas of Verona and Pola as excessively coarse (ill. 19). Obviously, the enormously old age explained now in the eyes of Palladio and Scamozzi the primitiveness. The early Italians or the Etruscans mastered the art of architecture naturally not yet as good as the Romans did later. For Palladio resulted apparently that in the Veneto there were the only buildings, which are characterized by the original Italian style, while other regions had only buildings whose style follows the foreign import from Greece. This meant a definite appreciation of the Venetian antiquities. The new version of the Tuscan style, advantageous as it was from the patriotic perspective, had little significance for the building practice. There Palladio and Scamozzi preferred Serlio's principle of simpli-

fication. In the 18th century it had already been revealed that the inscription is a forgery. The construction of history according to one's own ideological guidelines by means of a forgery had tradition in the Venetian Renaissance. The dating of San Giacomo di Rialto into antiquity as the foundation monument of Venice was based on a forged document, too⁴⁴.

Besides Ratio, patriotism is an essential basis of Scamozzi's thoughts on architecture. In his glosses to Vasari's *Lives*, time and again he opposes it against the patriotism of Vasari: he rejects the bad assessment of his compatriot Fra Giocundo, he finds nothing good in Alberti's facade of Santa Maria Novella, in Vasari's Uffizi and in Michelangelo's entire buildings⁴⁵. Vasari's proud claim that the dome of Florence Cathedral was made better than all the domes of ancient constructions, including even the Pantheon, he calls "the nonsense that the Florentine show-offs like to say..."⁴⁶. And when Vasari boasts, that antiques buildings had never reached such a height as the dome of Florence Cathedral, he counter-holds, "we see only a small part of their buildings"⁴⁷. We have already seen this kind of arguing, but here it is used purely casuistic.

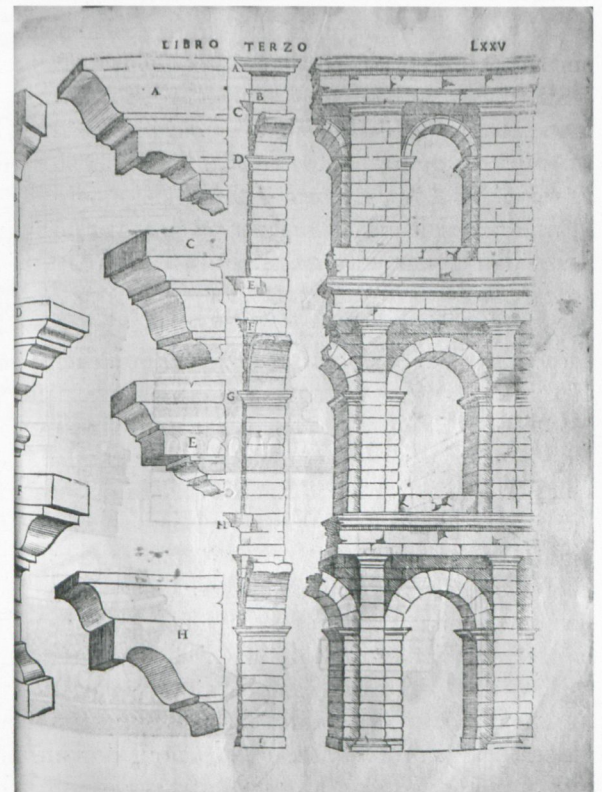
Scamozzi's glosses may sometimes seem quite minimalistic, but they are typical of the architectural theory of the Renaissance and even of the way of thinking in the Renaissance as a whole. Just remember how great humanists feuded hotly on behalve of the spelling of some individual letters etc. Specific issues were then often taken more important than strained philosophical superstructures. Scamozzi con-



18. Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, exemplar with the glosses by Vincenzo Scamozzi, Third Book, Arena of Verona, ground plan.

19. Sebastiano Serlio's Collected edition of the first five books, Venice 1551, Third Book, Arena of Verona, elevation.

firms this expressly for himself in the *Idea*. This attitude of mind distinguishes the Renaissance from the Middle Ages. It marks the beginning of modern times and modern sciences. Scamozzi's judgments about tiny details express finally basics of architectural theory, albeit sometimes only indirectly. Consequent rationalism was considered of top priority, although some of the standards at which the Ratio was oriented, from the temporal distance seem less natural as was believed at that time. Mainly the systematology of the doctrine of columns was imposed on antiquity, contrary to reality. It resulted from rigorous order thinking that was rather inherited from the Middle Ages. The line of argument did not as consistently follow abstract logic, as it claimed for itself, but was also animated by human feelings, as often from the devotion to one's own country. The claims or requests that arose there from were reshaped for the construction of historic circumstances. This applies not only for Scamozzi but for the Renaissance overall. Thus the glosses may provide a little insight into the history of modern science.



1. "RIHA Journal", Special Issue "Vincenzo Scamozzi: Lektüren eines gelehrten Architekten", Nov. 2012. <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-oct-dec/special-issue-scamozzi>.
2. S. Deswarte-Rosa (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et Imprimerie*, I-II, Lyon 2004. M. Vène, *Bibliographia serliana*, Paris 2007.
3. *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548-1616*, exhibition catalogue (Vicenza, Palazzo Barbarano, 7 September 2003-11 January 2004), eds. F. Barbieri and G. Beltrami, Venezia 2003, pp. 245-249.
4. F. Barbieri, *Vincenzo Scamozzi*, Vicenza 1952, pp. 41-45; G. Zorzi, *Rivendicazione di alcuni scritti giovanili di Vincenzo Scamozzi*, in "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti. Cl. Scienze Morali e Lettere", 113, 1954-1955, pp. 139-208; Id., *La giovinezza di Vincenzo Scamozzi secondo nuovi documenti 1-2*, in "Arte Veneta", 10, 1956, pp. 119-132 and 11, 1957, pp. 119-128; Id., *La verità su Gio. Domenico Scamozzi, architetto valtellinese del sec. XVI imitatore del Palladio*, in "Arte Lombarda" 6, 1961, pp. 20-40; A.M. Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi and the Choreography of Early Modern Architecture*, Farnham 2014, pp. 4-8.
5. Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Città Nobilissima et Singolare...*, Venezia 1604, fol. 432v.
6. H. Günther, *Der Beruf des Architekten zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, in R. Johannes (ed.), *Entwerfen. Architekturausbildung in Europa von Vitruv bis Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte, Theorie, Praxis*, Hamburg 2009, pp. 215-275; Id., *Der Architekt in der Renaissance*, in *Der Architekt. Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Berufsstandes*, exhibition catalogue (München, Pinakothek der Moderne, 27 September 2012-3 February 2013), ed. W. Nerdinger, München-London-New York 2012, I, pp. 59-80.
7. H. Günther, *Das geistige Erbe Peruzzis im vierten und dritten Buch des Sebastiano Serlio*, in *Les Traités d'Architecture de la Renaissance*, papers of the colloquium (Tours, 1st-11 July 1981), ed. J. Guillaume, Paris 1988, pp. 227-245.
8. "dal che si comprende benissimo che il Serlio non misurò ne questo ne altri edifici; ma hebbe i Disegni da persone particolari: come mi accertò la memoria di mio padre, il quale giovanetto lo conobbe".
9. "Il Serlio in questo luogo parla assai fuori di proposito; confondendo le cose generali con le particolari, come fa sempre".
10. I. Jones, *Inigo Jones on Palladio being the notes by Inigo Jones in the copy of "I quattro libri dell'architettura" di Andrea Palladio 1601, in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford*, ed. B. Allsopp, New Castle upon Tyne 1970, at Palladio, I, p. 50.
11. "che il Serlio hebbe d'altrui gran parte dell'antichità, come si dice che hebbe anco le fatiche di Baldassare da Siena, vedi Vasari nella vita di Baldassare".
12. "questo libro è forse quello, che hora va fuori sotto nome del Serlio Bolognese". L. Collavo, *L'esemplare dell'edizione giuntina de "Le Vite" di Giorgio Vasari letto e annotato da Vincenzo Scamozzi*, in "Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte", 29, 2005, pp. 1-213, no. 194.
13. Guillaume Philandrier, *In Decem Libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes*, Romae 1544, fols. 137v-138r.
14. "secondo lo Scamozzi, tutte l'opere de gli architetti, che furono prima lungo tempo pittori, senza studio delle materie, sono sempre debili, secche & molte volte spoprotionate & difficili da fare: come quelli, che non considerano l'importanza de' pesi, disegnano molte cose superflue & non havendo in pratica la qualità della materia & le proportioni, fanno inventioni quasi come sogni e chimere".
15. K. Isard, *Architectural criticism in late sixteenth-century Italy: Vincenzo Scamozzi's Annotations to Pietro Cataneo's L'Architettura (1567)*, in "Annali di architettura", 25, 2013, pp. 135-154, at p. 111 line 32, p. 116, line 25, p. 118, line 42, p. 128, line 3 and then often for geometrical matters. B. Mitrović, V. Senes, *Vincenzo Scamozzi's Annotations to Daniele Barbaro's Commentary on Vitruvius' De Architectura*, in "Annali di architettura", 14, 2002, pp. 195-213, at Vitruvius, *I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio, Tradotti et commentati da Mons. Daniel Barbaro*, Venice 1567, pp. 173, 184, 185.
16. H. Günther, *Sebastiano Serlios Lehrprogramm. Spuren von architektonischen Leitlinien im dritten und vierten Buch, in Fund-Stücke Spuren-Suche. Festschrift für George Descoedres*, eds. A. Boschetti et al., Berlin 2011, pp. 495-518.
17. Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, Venezia 1551, pp. XLVI, CVI.
18. Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, Venezia 1615, I, I, XXII, pp. 66-67; II, Proemio.
19. "Vitruvio fa la cornice assai debole, e secca di membra, e perciò è lodato dal Serlio, il quale ferme quella maniera".
20. "[la] ragione debbe prevalere a tutte le (aut)orità et esempj antiche".
21. "Opinione del Serlio, che si debba prestar piena fede all'osservationi di Bramante: allo Scamozzi pare, che si debba osservare tutte le cose, che sono fatte con ragione & non all'autorità d'alcuno".
22. Vitruvius, IV.2.
23. Con forza speciale Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, cit. [cf. note 17], pp. CXVI (arco di Traiano, Benevento) and CXXXII (arco dei Gavi, Verona).
24. Scamozzi, *L'Idea...*, cit. [cf. note 18], II, VI, XVIII, p. 70 (lib. 6.7). *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548-1616*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 216, no. 12b.
25. "Vitruvio non scrisse alcuna forma di cornice o altro ornamento, che si possi dire di buona maniera; ma tratta così universalmente delle cose".
26. Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Quarto Libro*, Venezia 1551, fol. XVIIIr.
27. "Vitruvio non scrisse d'imposte ne d'altra cosa per uso degl'Archi[tetti]".
28. Serlio, *Il Quarto Libro*, cit. [cf. note 26], 1551, fol. XLVIIIr.
29. Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, cit. [cf. note 17], 1551, p. CXXIII.
30. "questo capitello riesce bassissimo o et il Serlio fa contra a quello, che egli loda nell'Arco di traiano [di Ancona] fac. 124".
31. "Non essendo in stato le opere de' Greci elle non si possono paragonare o far superiori a quelle de' Romani".
32. Scamozzi, *L'Idea...*, cit. [cf. note 18], I, I, II, p. 9, and I, I, XVII, pp. 55-57.
33. "Romani impararono da' Greci il vero edificare, ma alcuni di loro divennero licentiosi: secondo lo Sc. la buona architettura fu nell'ultimo della Repubblica & nel tempo de i buoni impera. prima non vi era il sapere & poi crebbe tanto il vitio, che otturò la strada alla ragione & oggi per gli imperiti, pur hora levati dalle arti manuali, si fanno le cose licentiose molto più delle antiche".
34. Isard, *Architectural criticism...*, cit. [cf. note 15], glosses to p. 111 line 1, and page 120, line 3.
35. Mitrović, Senes, *Vincenzo Scamozzi's Annotations...* cit. [cf. note 15]; Vitruvius, *I Dieci Libri...*, cit. [cf. note 15], p. 124; T. Temanza, copy of Scamozzi's glosses, Venice, Biblioteca del Seminario, Ms. 388, int. 29; *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548-1616*, cit. [cf. note 3], p. 504, note 14.
36. T. Buddensieg, *Criticism and praise of the Pantheon in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, in *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500-1500*, proceedings of an international conference (Cambridge, King's College, April 1969), ed. R.R. Bolgar, Cambridge 1971, pp. 259-267.
37. "la causa, che alcune cose de gli edifici sian alterate, è perche furono composti de spoglie d'altri edifici". Apostille at Serlio's treatment of the theatre of Marcellus.
38. Scamozzi, *L'Idea...*, cit. [cf. note 18], II, VI, V, p. 15.
39. H. Günther, *Die Salomonische Säulenordnung. Eine unkonventionelle Erfindung und ihre historischen Umstände*, in "RIHA Journal", Jan-Mar 2011, <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2011/2011-jan-mar/guenther-salomonische-saeulenordnung>.
40. H. Günther, *Gli ordini architettonici: rinascita o invenzione? II*, in M. Fagiolo (ed.), *Roma e l'Antico nell'Arte e nella Cultura del Cinquecento*, Roma 1985, pp. 272-310.
41. Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, Venezia 1570, I, pp. 16-21.
42. Scamozzi, *L'Idea...*, cit. [cf. note 18], II, VI, XV-XVII, p. 53-67.
43. Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, Bologna 1550, fol. 413r.
44. H. Günther, *Geschichte einer Gründungsgeschichte. San Giacomo di Rialto, San Marco und die venezianische Renaissance*, in *Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam. Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen*, ed. A. Amberger, St. Ottilien 1997, pp. 229-258.
45. Collavo, *L'esemplare dell'edizione giuntina...*, cit. [cf. note 12], nos. 200, 184, 53, 60,
46. "queste sono pazzie che sogliono dire i fiorentini milantatori". *Ibid.*, no. 162.
47. "non vediamo se non la minima parte delle opere loro". *Ibid.*, no. 174.