

Andrew Hopkins

Introduction

Lost and Found in Translation: Citation and Quotation

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

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

1 https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/1470/11_06-Kenneth_Dover.pdf [accessed 18.06.2024]; <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/mar/08/sir-kenneth-dover-obituary> [accessed 18.06.2024]; <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/14/books/14dover.html> [accessed 18.06.2024]; Kenneth Dover, *Marginal Comment: a memoir* (London, 1994), esp. chaps 4 and 9.

2 Stephen Halliwell, ‘Kenneth Dover and the Greeks’, available online at https://www.academia.edu/2581374/Kenneth_Dover_and_the_Greeks [accessed 18.06.2024]. See also, Stephen Halliwell and Christopher Stray eds, *Scholarship and Controversy: Centenary Essays on the Life and Work of Sir Kenneth Dover* (London, 2023).

hinder; applied variously to parts of a flower or inflorescence.
Postil (pò-stil), *sb.* Now only *Hist.* late ME. [- OFr. *postille* :- med.L. *postilla*, conjectured by Du Cange to be L. *postilla* (sc. *verba*) after those words, i.e. of the text, used as a direction to the scribe.]
1. A marginal note or comment upon a text of Scripture or upon any passage. **2.** A series of such comments; *spec.* an expository discourse or homily upon the Gospel or Epistle for the day, read or intended to be read in the church service 1483. **b.** A book of such homilies 1566. **3.** *attrib.* 1635. So †**Po-stil**, †**Po-stillate vbs. trans.** to write comments or marginal notes on. †**Po-stiller.**
Postilion, postillion (postil-yən). 1565. [- Fr. *postillon* - It. *postiglione* post-boy, f.

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

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

Handwritten notes:
 c'è di lui
 posto
 al posto di
 in place of
 in qualche parte
 somewhere or other
 — letto,
 (hospital) bed
 piano
 avere il tempo
 ad. presto giuoco

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 Hemsoll, *Emulating Antiquity*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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