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MESCOLARE, COMPOSTI AND MONSTERS IN ITALIAN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY OF THE RENAISSANCE *

In 1562, in his *Regola delli Cinque Ordini* Vignola described the process whereby he arrived at his version of the columnar orders as follows: «A talche, non come Zeusi delle vergini fra Crotoniati ma come ha portato il mio giudizzio ho fatta questa *scelta* de tutti gli ordini, cavendogli puramente dagli antichi tutti insieme» [1]. As may be inferred from this passage then, his orders are mixtures or *mescolanze* from various ancient exemplars and fragments, which he arrives at after a process of selection. In fact, this is Vignola's apology for his *regola*, that is, for the proportional relationships he posits, and it may seem as if it concerned this aspect alone. However, his captions to the detailed presentation of the orders show them to be formal composites as well, and thus indicate that eclecticism is a strategy that underpins his attitude to antiquity more generally [2] (Fig. 1).

But why should Zeuxis' anecdote, the story of a painter and the prime topos of ideal imitation in the Renaissance, occur here in an architectural context? Why does Vignola feel the need to insert if only to reject it, in his notoriously pithy text, known for its theoretical reti-

[1] Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, "La regola delli cinque ordini", in Pietro Cataneo and Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Trattati*, eds. Elena Bassi and Maria W. Casotti (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1985), p. 516. All emphases in this and subsequent quotations are my own.

[2] "Questa cornice Corintia è cavata da diversi luoghi di Roma, ma principalmente della rotonda, et dalle tre colonne che sono nel foro Romano". "Quest'ordine Composito, cioe capitello, architrave, fregio, et cornice è pur cavato da diversi luoghi fra le antiquità di Roma, e ridotto a proportione come fu deto del Corintio". Vignola, *Regola*, pp. 524-5.
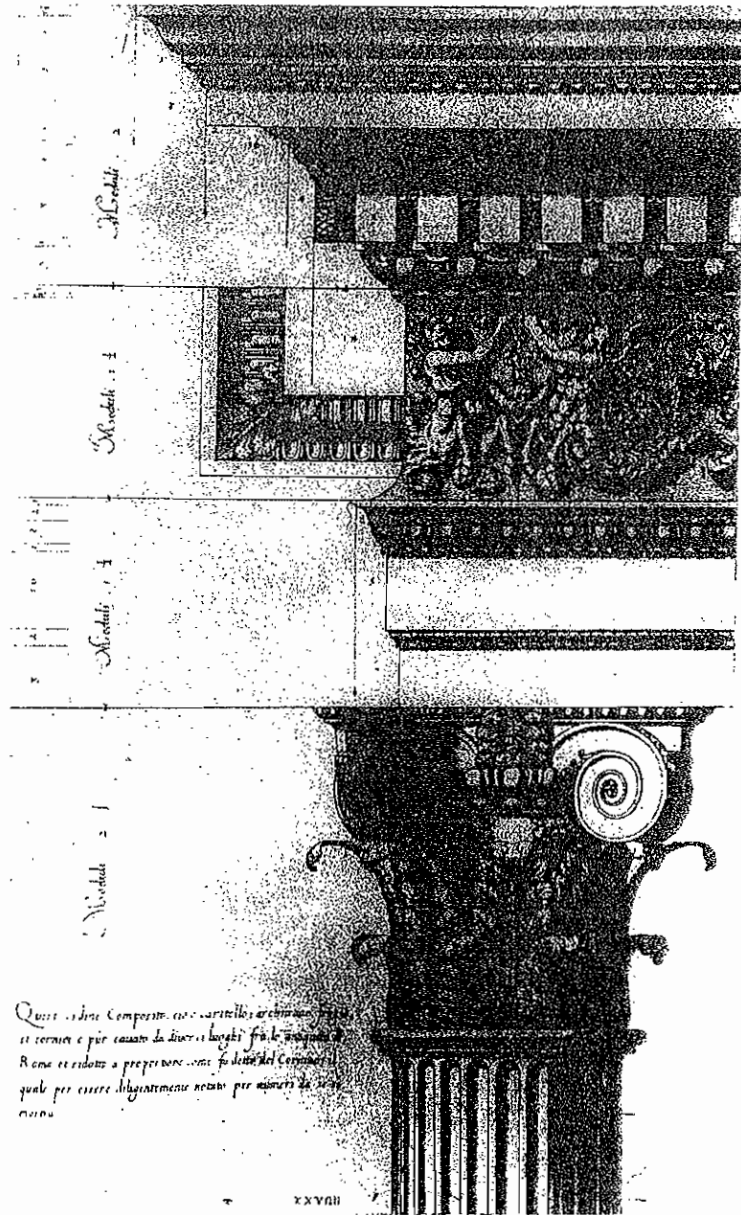
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Fig. 1. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Composite Order, *La Regola delli cinque ordini* (Rome, 1562).

cence? Is it simply a gesture towards the humanist world he inhabits, or does this negative inscribe itself in a more significant way in the network of texts, topoi, references and allusions that make up the grid upon which architectural thinking was laid in the Renaissance?

1. The story of Zeuxis and its variants

To answer this question we should recall the story. Though it received various recensions from Cicero, Pliny, through Dionysius of Halicarnassus to their Renaissance commentators, its essential core and structure remained unchanged: Zeuxis selects the best parts of the most beautiful Crotonian maidens in order to fashion an image of divine Hera [3]. In this process he imitates nature, yet he does so selectively for he brings together individually beautiful components into another, superior – or ideal – whole. Thus this topos about imitation concerns also the tension between the ideal and natural orders, the selection process it provokes and the artistic judgement this process depends upon. Furthermore, it validates eclecticism as strategy, since the combination of elements from various sources into one raises the issue of seamless mixing [4].

Renaissance readers made the most of this topos which they saw as a fragment of a theory of artistic behaviour in antiquity [5]. They also

[3] The likeness Zeuxis is reported to have produced is variously reported: in some texts it is Hera, in some Helen, in others Venus. Some of the most often cited ancient sources are: Cicero (*De inventione* II,1,1), Pliny the Elder (*Historia naturalis*, XXXV.64), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De priscis script. cens.* 1); see also Seneca the Younger (Letters); Xenophon (Memorabilia III.10, 1-6). For discussions of the story see J. von Stackelberg, "Das Bienengleichnis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Imitatio", *Romanische Forschungen* 68 (1956), 271-93; and most recently Eleanor Irwin, *Phoenix*, 1995.

[4] For a Renaissance discussion of eclecticism associated with the Zeuxis story see Lomazzo who proposes an imaginary painting of Adam and Eve by Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian and Correggio. Giampaolo Lomazzo, *Idea*, ed. R. Ciardi (Florence: 1973), p. 294. The feasibility of an eclectic ideal beauty did not go unquestioned. See Francesco Scanelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura (1657)*, (Bologna: Nuova alfa editoriale, 1989 repr.), pp. 68-71.

[5] The literature on the story and its role in Renaissance culture is vast. See especially Erwin Panofsky, *Idea. A Concept in Art Theory* (New York and London: Icon Editions, Harper and Row, 1968; 1st ed. 1924); Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W.W. Norton & Comp., 1967). For intersections with literary theory see August Buck ed., *Die Dichtungslehre der Romania aus der Zeit der Renaissance und Barock* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972); Thomas Green, *The Light of Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). For most recent discussions see also G.W.

identified a rival topos, or better still, an alternative topos in classical literature: the poet/bee analogy. Like the Zeuxis story it also absorbed a variety of readings from Plato, through Seneca the Younger to Petrarch and Castelvetro [6]. Yet here too the core remained stable: bees collect pollen from a variety of (beautiful) flowers to produce honey; however, unlike Zeuxis who culls beautiful human limbs to produce a better albeit still a human form, bees transform pollen into a different substance.

A variant of this story, used both by Petrarch and Castelvetro to heighten the reference to originality, is that of the silk-worm: he produces his silk thread without the aid of external agents such as the pollen provided to the bees by the flowers or, *mutatis mutandis*, the visual referent provided Zeuxis by the Crotonian virgins [7]. Although the silkworm, like the bee, transforms food (mulberry leaves) into a new substance as part of a biological process, the story elides any relationship between input and output in favour of a quasi-miraculous production of a noble material [8]. This then is a story where the artistic act is presented as an act of transformation in which the imitative moment is reduced: the external referent disappears in the bee's output; the silkworm never had one. Imitation thus recedes before invention.

Vignola makes no reference either to bees or to silk-worms and he openly rejects Zeuxis. Given the currency of these stories in Renaissance artistic literature their implied and stated irrelevance seems singular. Yet Vignola's confrontation of Zeuxis' "method" for imitation with his own, raises the question of the presence of an unspoken other model for artistic behaviour. Was there a metaphor specific to architecture that absorbed and distilled in one image the process of imitation, selection and invention that guided his choices? Such a question is of more than local relevance. In this passage more is at stake than Vignola's process of sifting and culling from ancient fragments and ruins so as

Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), pp. 1-32 and papers presented by James Ackerman and Leonrad Barkan at the conference "Antiquity and Antiquity Transumed", Toronto March 1994.

[6] Plato (*Ion, 534b*); Seneca the Younger (*Letters*, 84, Letter to Lucilius); Petrarch (*Le familiari*, I, 8); Lodovico Castelvetro, *La poetica di Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposta*, Poetiken des Cinquecento, vol.I (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1967).

[7] Castelvetro *La Poetica*, p. 37.

[8] Castelvetro is emphatic about the independence of the silkworm and states: "per se senza prendere di fuori cosa alcuna da altrui fa proprio lavoro". Castelvetro, *La poetica*, p. 37.

to arrive at his own language of forms; what he describes is his encounter with antiquity, an antiquity additionally problematic because heterogenuous [9]. Given this context then, the reference to Zeuxis concerns a deeper cultural dilemma: the Renaissance artist's realization of a dialectic between imitation (of the ancients) and invention. If not Zeuxis (or the bee and silkworm) what then constituted for Vignola and others like him the reference point for a theory of appropriation?

2. *Comporre* as strategy for "good" licence

In his *Vite* of 1550, alone amongst his contemporaries, Giorgio Vasari both names this tension between past and present and lifts it to the status of positive aesthetic category he calls *licenzia*. This term occurs in theoretical and critical literature both before and after, but only Vasari makes it act as an index of accomplishment for his culture [10]. Particularly interesting here is that Vasari develops his argument with reference to architecture. To be sure, he is not the first to do so, for the term is already conspicuously frequent in Serlio's books on the orders and antiquities of 1537 and 1540 respectively [11]. Yet Vasari is the first who gives *licenzia* an explicit structural role in his aesthetics.

There are two significant locations for Vasari's discussion of architectural licence: the first in his Introduction to architecture, and the second in his discussion of Michelangelo's inventions at the Laurenziana and Medici Chapel. In both instances he describes the activity of

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[9] The ancients' departures from Vitruvius and discrepancies from each other were a recurrent motif amongst his contemporaries and galvanized the intensive archaeological activity that characterized the 16th century. On Vignola's *regola* as a means to open up variations rather than limit them see C. Thoenes, "Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini*", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XX (1983), pp. 345-76.

[10] On the discourse on licence see Alina Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. For Vasari's use of the term as aesthetic category see the *Proemio* to Part III in Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino Firenze 1550*, ed. Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), pp. 540-4. There is not sufficient space here to chart the philological and notional path of *licenzia*. Suffice it to say that it occurs in both positive (eg. Quintilian, *Istitutio oratoria*, IX, 27; X,1,28; X,1,31; for a similar Renaissance use see Giason Denores, *Breve trattato dell'oratore*, 1574) and pejorative contexts (associated with excess, ignorance and the lowest kind of audience – the *vulgo*.) For the latter see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 76 n. 13.

[11] Serlio, *Tutte le opere*, Book IV, Venice, 1537.

architecture as that of configuring coherent and original ornamental ensembles from both a traditional and an invented kit of classical parts. Michelangelo leads the way:

> Elli [Michelangelo] ... vi fece dentro *un ornamento composito* nel piu vario e piu nuovo modo che per tempo alcuno gli antichi et i moderni maestri abbino potuto operare ... La quale *licenzia* ha dato grande animo a quelli che [h]anno veduto il far suo di mettersi a imitarlo, e nuove fantasie si sono vedute poi all[a] grotesc[a] piú tosto che a ragione o regola, a'loro ornamenti. Onde gli artefici gli hanno infinito e perpetuo obligo, avendo egli rotti i lacci e le catene delle cose, che per via d'una strada comune eglino di continuo operavano [12].

Set up in a dialectical relationship to *regola* and *ordine*, licence thus seems to operate for Vasari in the domain of assemblage, of the *composto*. As the Romans' and Michelangelo's site for original elaboration and artistic triumph, the Composite capital becomes his paradigm for successful and licentious architectural assemblages; it is also his promise for an artistic future: «Credendo questo che se i Greci et i Romani formarano que primi quattro ordini e gli ridussero a misura e regola generale, che ci possino essere stati di quegli che abbino fin qui fatto nell'ordine composto e *componendo da se*, delle cose che apportino molto piu grazia che non fanno le antiche» [13]. Thus, with his emphasis on *comporre, composto* and *componimento* Vasari identifies a strategy that breaks the «*lacci e catene*» of common practice and offers hope for the younger generations of artists weighed down by tradition.

Vasari is not alone in signalling and naming this strategy. Serlio, for instance, has frequent references to *mischiare* and *composto*. As Onians has noted, *mistura* is in fact the very essence of the architectural language he proposes, for he argues that «Tal volta una *mescolanza* ... torna piu grata per la diversità a riguardanti che una pura semplicità» [14], and elsewhere that «la prudentia dell'artefice dee essere tale che secondo il bisogno dee spese volte ancora delle predette semplicità far

[12] Vasari, *Vite*, p. 901.
[13] Vasari, *Vite*, p. 34. These good mixtures require *ingegno* and accumulated experience. Indeed Vasari criticizes the architects of the *seconda età* for their "ornamenti confusi e molto imperfetti", because they did not observe "quella misura e proporzione che richiedeva l'arte, nè distinsero ordine che fusse piú dorico che corinto o ionico, o toscano, ma *a la mescolata* con una regola senza regola...". Vasari, *Vite*, p. 210.
[14] Serlio, *Tutte L'opere*, Book IV, 146v; John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning. The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988).

una *mescolanza»* [15]. Indeed, Serlio goes much farther than Vasari – who probably depended on him for some of his own ideas on this score – in his proposed method for assembling architectural ornament; here, texture (degree of rustication), sequence of profiles and interpenetration of members produce an almost infinite number of permutations that convey a finely tuned narrative about client (character, social position, occupation etc.) and commission [16] [Fig. 2]. Serlio himself may be developing here an idea already current in Raphael's circle [17]; yet, compared to its almost casual mention in the famous letter to Leo X, his approach is systematic. Indeed, the central role of the *mescolanza* in his theory of architecture is confirmed by the fact that Serlio is the first Renaissance writer to give the visually distinctive "Composite" capital this name [18]. To earlier attempts by Alberti, Francesco di Giorgio and

[15] Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, Book IV, 183 ʳ.

[16] "È stato parer de gli antichi Romani mescolar col Rustico non pur il Dorico: ma il Ionico, e'l Corinthio ancora; il perchè non sarà errore se a'una sola maniera *si farà una mescolanza*, rappresentando in questa parte opera di natura, & parte opera di artefice... la qual *mistura*, per mio aviso, è molto grata al'occhio, & *rappresenta in se gran fortezza*". Serlio, *Tutte L'opere*, Book IV, p. 133 *r*. For social implications of Serlio's hierarchy of the orders see Onians, *Bearers*.

[17] "Et troverannosi ancora molti edificii composti di più maniere, come da ionica et corintha, dorica et corintha, toscana et dorica, secondo che più parse meglio a l'artefice per concordar li edificii apropriati a la loro intentione, et maxime ·nellé templi". From the transcription of Raphael's letter to Leo X in Ingrid Rowland, "Raphael, Colocci, and the Orders", *Art Bulletin*, 74 (1994), p. 103. See also C. Frommel, "Raffaello e gli ordini architettonici", in *L'emploi des ordres a la Renaissance*", ed. J. Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1992) pp. 119-36.

[18] On Serlio's Composite as the "order of free invention" see Onians, *Bearers*, pp. 274-5 and 307. It is clear from the passage "Dell'Opera Composita" from Book IV that not only is Serlio coining a new term, but that he derives it from his discussion of *mescolare*: "nondimeno ho io voluto accompagnare alle predette una quasi quinta maniera delle dette semplice *mescolata*, mosso dall'autorita delle opere de' Romani, che con l'occhio si veggono." Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, 183r. For other contemporary attempts to deal with the Composite see Cesariano who calls the order *"atticurgo"*. Giovanni Battista Sangallo makes no mention of it in his manuscript illustrations of Vitruvius from the 1530s; neither does Caporali in his translation of *De architectura* – both probably following Vitruvius' text. After Serlio the term becomes accepted (though Vasari offers a variation with his *"ordine composto"* and much later Scamozzi resists it and prefers *"heroe"* or *"romano"*). On Serlio's use of the orders and ornament see C. Thoenes and H. Günther, "Gli ordini architettonici: rinascitá o invenzione?", in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, ed. M. Fagiolo (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985) pp. 261-71 and essays in Christoph Thoenes ed., *Sebastiano Serlio* (Milan: CISAP and Electa, 1989): C. Frommel, "Serlio e la scuola romana", pp. 39-49; H. Günther, "Serlio e gli ordini architettonici", pp. 154-68. On the Composite and its use see essays in Guillaume ed., *L'emploi des ordres*, especially A. Bruschi, "L'antico e il processo di identificazione degli ordini nella seconda metà del Quattrocento", p. 13 and F.P. Fiore, "Gli ordini nell'architettura di Francesco di Giorgio", pp. 59-60. Most relevant is also Yves Pauwels, "Les origines de l'ordre composite", *Annali di architettura*, 1 (1989), pp. 29-46.

DELL'ORNAMENTO RVSTICO

Le prime opere Rustiche furono fatte in questo modo, cioè pezzi di pietre abbozzate così grossamente: ma le sue commessure sono fatte con somma diligentia.

Dipoi con alquanta più delicatezza compartirono i quadri con questo piano che gli divisi facendogli con più diligentia lavorati, & appresso gli aggiunsero questi spigoli incrociati per più ornamento

Altri Architetti volendo imitare diamanti lavorati, fecero in questo modo lavorandogli con più pulitezza.
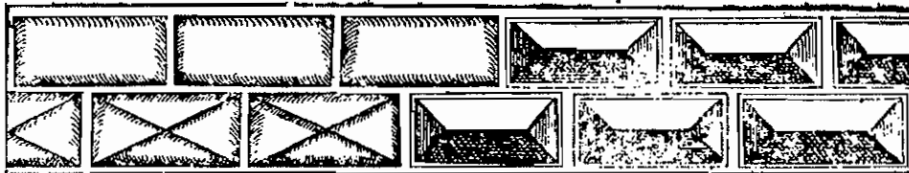
Et così ad età in età si è venuto variando tal opera: quando ad imitatione di diamanti in lavor'e piana, & quando con maggior rilievo, sì come si vede qui sotto disegnato.
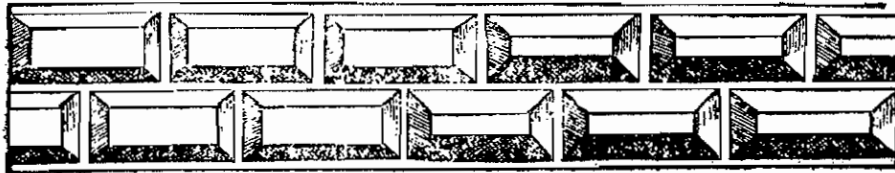
Alcuni altri Architetti hanno voluto usare maggior delicatezza, & più ordinato compartimento: nondimeno tutta tal'opera ha havuto origine dall'opera Rustica, ancora che communemente si dice a punte di diamante.
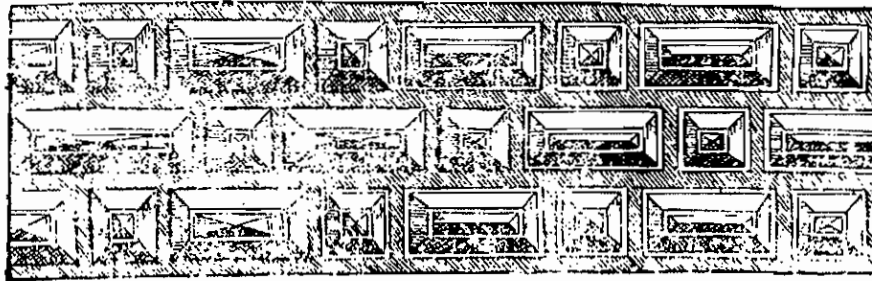
FINITO L'ORDINE TOSCANO ET RVSTICO, INCOMINCIA IL DORICO.

FIG. 2. Sebastiano Serlio, Rustication Pattenrs, *Il Quarto Libro di Sebastian Serlio* (Venice 1537).

Luca Pacioli to retain a consistent geographical/ethnic reference in the names of all the orders – hence their proposals for Italic, Latin and Tuscan – Serlio responds with an emphasis on artistic process (*compor-re/composito*) [19]. Such a label highlights assemblage as the core of a Roman attitude to invention of new ornament and thus lends it the authority of the ancients.

Though less systematic, others endorse Serlio's position on the positive value of the *mescolanza*. Thus, when Antonio Labacco illustrates the Basilica Aemilia in his *Libro appartenente all'architettura* of 1552 he praises «un bel tempio *d'ordine mescolato* ... e con tutto questo non disforma alcuna cosa, anzi e gratissimo ai riguardanti per esser variato da l'altri ordini» [20]. Benvenuto Cellini in his *Discorso* on architecture refers to the Composite as *mescolanza* and to Peruzzi's encounter with antiquity as a «scelta secondo il suo giudizio» that echoes Vignola's description of his own approach [21]. Though critical, Pietro Cataneo identifies «ordinando e *componendo* nuovi modani» as the most common practice of the modern architect and his potential liability [22]. Indeed he may be referring to Vignola himself who not only illustrated the entablature of the Theatre of Marcellus – anathemized by Vitruvius for its mixture of Doric and Ionic elements – but also stated: «Quest'altra parte d'ordine Dorico è cavata da diversi fragmenti delle antiquità di Roma et fattone un *composito* tale che in opera l'ho provato reuscire molto bene» [23]. Finally, Scamozzi in his *Idea dell'architettura universale* of 1615 makes *precedenza* and *sussequenza* of members a recurring

[19] Alberti praizes the Composite very highly, though for different reasons from Serlio's; indeed, the order is conspicuously popular in 15th century architecture. See supra, n. 18. For a different reading of Alberti see David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 158.

[20] Antonio Labacco, *Libro appartenente all'architettura* (Rome: by the author, 1559; 1st ed. 1552), p. 17.

[21] Benvenuto Cellini, "Discorso sopra l'architettura", in *I trattati dell'Oreficeria e della Scultura*, ed. Carlo Milanesi (Florence: Sansoni, 1893), pp. 816-17.

[22] "Non mancano nondimeno degl'ignoranti assai che... non discernendo il buono dal cattivo, ... mettono dipoi tai modani da lor cavati confusamente in opera, ne causano infiniti errori. [...] 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 [...] E ciò sia detto a confusione dei temerari e indotti, che ...formano nuova architettura, e così incorgano in grandissimi errori." Pietro Cataneo, "L'architettura", in *Trattati*, ed. E. Bassi and M. W. Casotti (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1985), p. 348.

[23] Vignola, *Regola*, p. 520. (Caption to plate XIV).

motif, thereby inferring that assembling (*comporre*) is the act which imparts meaning to ornament [24].

A similar emphasis may be felt in the treatises of non-architects: in his commentaries to Vitruvius Daniele Barbaro identifies *composti* and *mescolanze* as the objects of architectural production («la bella mescolanza diletta») and on this basis feels justified in entering upon an extended analogy between architecture and rhetoric on the basis of the *figura* of mixtures of styles [25]. The poet and humanist Gherardo Spini presents *comporre* as the most critical activity of the architect and proceeds to set up a theoretical framework for its deployment based on the theory of poetic imitation in his treatise on ornament of the 1560s [26]; likewise, when in his *Trattato* of 1584 he turns to architecture, Lomazzo argues that only superior artists «sono quelli a quali e concessa la facolta di variar gli ordini e *comporre* cio che voglino» [27]. Even

[24] "Et essendo, come dice Vitruvio, che ogn'una d'esse [sacome] imitaráno qualche cosa nello edificio, peró cercaremo di dimostrare con qualche evidente ragione il proprio luogo loro, e la precedenza che deono tenere tra essi, e poi la proportione delle loro altezze, e le particolari forme, che doveranno havere, tutte cose importanti". Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Ridgewood, New Jersey.: The Gregg Press, 1964), p. 51.

[25] "Ma non si deve credere, che solamente habbiano ad essere tre maniere di opere, perche Vitruvio ne habbia tre sole numerate... è in potere d'uno circonspetto & prudente Architetto di *componere* con ragione di misure molte altre maniere, servando il Decoro, & non servendo a suoi capricci". Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi & Giovanni Chrieger Alemano Compagni, 1567), p. 35. On the analogy rhetoric/architecture see Barbaro, *Vitruvio*, pp. 65-6.

[26] "Deono adunque porre diligentissimo studio in questa parte degl'ornamenti procurando in essi di trovare invenzion grata et conveniente con non essere confusi [...]. Insomma che si regoli con ragione i detti ornamenti et che ponendosi una cosa con l'altra non si ammassino et multiplichino senz'osservanza et superfluamente". Yet he warns: "[moderni artefici] presuppondendo – ignorantemente – che l'imitazione consista nel mutar a capriccio suo l'ordine delle membra alterano non pur le maniere delle specie Dorica Ionica et Corinthia mettendo questa dove quell'altra dovrebbe collocarsi, ma benespesso sopra le colonne Doriche mettono 'l Cornicione Ionico [...] facendovi oltra ciò tante multiplicazioni di membra che non meno muove a riso gl'intendenti che se uno dipingessi un viso con più nasi et con una moltitudine di menti." Gherardo Spini, "I tre primi libri sopra l'istituzioni intorno agl'ornamenti", ed. Cristina Acidini, in *Il disegno interotto. Trattati medicei d'architettura*, 2 vols, ed. Franco Borsi et al. (Florence: Gonnelli, 1980), p. 62 and 69-70.

[27] "Io non dubito che non sia possibile (lasciando cicalar quelli che non la intendono) che in ciascuno ordine di edificare non si possano trovar nuove compositioni di membri da colui, il quale intendendo la sua natura,... comprende la varietà de i membri suoi, che poi tirano tutti ad uno. [...] Et questa non è opera senon di periti designatori e che hanno pronte le mani à delineare e mostrare in figura quanto concepiscono nella sua idea di fare...". Giampaolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (facs. ed. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968), p. 406-7.

an outsider such as Castelvetro who looks at architecture from the vantage point of the literary critic sees the architect's real artifice to lie in his assemblage of parts and materials [28].

In none of these instances does the reference to mixtures occur either in isolation or innocently of its implications vis-a-vis *licenzia* and the axis *"buona antichità"*/invention. Rather, *mescolare(anze)* and *comporre(sti)* consistently mark a neutral middle point between the negative *vitii, abusi, capricii* and the positive *varietà, giudizzio, elezione*; as such, all these terms are part of a complex linguistic grid and exist in a state of elastic tension and reflexivity from which it would be both difficult and wrong to detach them. All revolve around the attitude to appropriation.

3. Ancient referents: Horace, Ovid, Vitruvius

Although he acknowledges the story's relevance to a discussion of eclecticism Vignola does not turn to Zeuxis to justify his own practice of *mescolare*. Nor do any of Vignola's colleagues. Instead Horace echoes in the background of Renaissance architectural treatises. Indeed, the *Ars poetica* offered another powerful *locus* on mixtures and, moreover, connected it explicitly to the notion of artistic freedom that so preoccupied Renaissance architects. Lines 1-15 set up the parameters for the discussions:

> 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? ... '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 [29].

Thus Horace sets up a binary structure of good and bad licence, of

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[28] Castelvetro, *La poetica*, p. 323-4.

[29] Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, trans. H. R. Fairclough (London: William Heinemann and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 451.

freedom but also of boundaries, of invention that leads to coherent wholes on the one hand and (implicitly) to monsters on the other. In fact, he offers the monster as *image* for the unsuccessful *mescolanza*, though he certainly entertains the notion of good *mescolanze* as desirable artistic practice. Even so Horace's failed mixtures are not truly alien, but belong to a recognizable class that include centaurs, chimaere, syrens and scyllas [30]. Thus his poetical ellipse warns that "monsters" must be identified and dismissed not from what is truly impossible but from what appears almost right, even appealing, for this alone threatens to infiltrate and corrupt common practice [31].

Horace was not alone in showcasing the metaphoric potential of the monsters/mixtures axis and fostering a "monster-mentality" in matters pertaining to aesthetics. Indeed, the ancient literary corpus that consti- tuted the lense through which Vitruvius and the material culture of Antiquity was read offered many more examples of its use [32]. Thus alongside Horace, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* gave the metaphor even greater currency in a culture deeply committed to its reading, for here the concern with multiple beings, with human, vegetal and animal simultaneity and the act of passage from one realm of being into another, through layers of existence, borders on fascination [33]. Moreover, Ovid and Ovid-related literature signalled a richer, more

[30] Ellen Oliensis "Candida, Canicula, and the Decorum of Horace's *Epodes*", *Arethusa* 24 (1990), pp. 107-135.
[31] This classification (monsters that can be recognized, hence are admissible, authorized versus those that are impossible) goes back to a 13thc gloss on the *Ars* (Ms in Magdalen College, Oxford). See Claudia Villa, "Dante lettore di Orazio", in A. Iannucci ed., *Dante e la 'bella scuola' della poesia*, (Ravenna: Lungo, 1993) p. 103.
[32] Lucretius', *De rerum natura* (*editio princeps* Brescia 1473) offered another wellknown discussion on the production of monsters. Horace borrowed from him the notion of *duplex natura* as an impossibility. See particularly 5.837-848; 5.890-899. For the issue of preserving the unity of the species see 5.915-924: "For although there were many seeds of things in the soil at the time when first the earth poured forth the animals, that is nevertheless no proof that creatures of mixed (*mixtas*) growth could be made, and limbs of various creatures joined into one; ...but each thing proceeds after its own fashion, and all but fixed law of nature preserve their distinctions." Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, trans. W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 451.
[33] The *editio princeps* was available from 1468-1475, produced as part of a major publishing campaign of classical texts by Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome. On the publication of the classical corpus in the Renaissance see Ch. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner eds., *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 376. On the Renaissance fascination with Ovid see Green, *The Light in Troy*, and Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

nuanced context for reading heterogenous mixtures for his metamorphic beings and monsters constitute the origin of things [34].

This broader understanding of monsters and fascination with them was certainly present in Renaissance discourse. To cite only one example, in 1548 Benedetto Varchi attempted a taxonomy of monsters in his *Lezzione: della generazione delli mostri* presented to the Florentine Academy. Alongside the usual monsters – men with two heads, or half man half beast – he included women (as «mostri necessari»), «cose favolose» and even positive monsters of excess such as Pontano, Cosimo I and Michelangelo whose remarkeable (excessive) qualities threw them out of the ordinary [35].

For a Renaissance architect Vitruvius' *De architectura* both vindicated mixtures and offered the link to the monsters of classical literature. In IV, 1, 8-10 he describes the invention of the Corinthian capital: Callimachus the sculptor, we are told, comes across a young girl's tomb-marker in the shape of a basket containing her few possessions covered by a tile; around this, due to an accident of placement, an acanthus plant has unfurled its leaves. Delighted by the delicacy and novelty of the composition Callimachus takes it as *exemplum* for the form and *symmetria* of a new capital. This, bye the bye, leads to a Corinthian *genus* of buildings. Condensed into a tight narrative is a story of an invention (of a new capital) that is also an imitation (of objects, and, more distantly, of the girl); a story of a deliberate artistic act by an artist not by a quasi mythical figure like Doron who caused the Doric to come into being (IV, 1, 1-6). But it is also a story about a *mescolanza*, for vegetal, stone and handmade objects are transformed by the artist into a new architectural member. Furthermore, just as its capital is a *composto* of heterogenuous objects, so is the Corinthian order itself, with its members borrowed from the Doric and Ionic, a *mescolanza*. The story of Callimachus then is a story about artistic production that sanctions and codifies a strategy for invention of new forms. Mor-

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[34] Note that in classical myth centaurs – one of Horace' questionable mixtures – can be good (upright whole human bodies with horse attachement that cannot be seen from the front and their limbs are not interchanged and retain their species discreteness) and bad (half man/half horse). See G.S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, Mx: Penguin, 1974), p. 195ff.

[35] Benedetto Varchi, *Opere*, vol. 1 (Milan: Niccolò Bettoni et comp., 1834), pp. 146-167.

eover, it occurs in a most prominent context, that is, in the narration of the origin of a canonic "Ur-order", a far more memorable *locus* than Vitruvius' more explicit though non-committal reference to mixtures in IV, 1, 12 [36].

This is Vitruvius' good mixture story; however, he cautions against "bad" mixtures in two other locations. In I, 2, 5 (where he defines *decor*, specifically its subcategory *consuetudo*) he condemns the mixture of Doric and Ionic details on entablatures as constituting a break with convention. For a reader concerned with *composti* his discussion of the second style Pompeian painting converges even more powerfully towards the same injunction. Vitruvius states (VII, 5, 3):

> On the stucco are monsters (*monstra*) rather than definite things. Instead of columns there rise up stalks; instead of gables, striped panels with curled leaves and volutes. Candelabra uphold pictured shrines and above the summits of these, clusters of thin stalks rise from their roots in tendrils with little figures seated upon them at random. Again, slender stalks with heads of men and of animals attached to half the body [37].

Notwithstanding its reference to painting the structural implications in this list of errors give this passage an authority for issues pertaining to architecture and constitute it as a pendent to the story of Callimachus. To the Corinthian as good *mescolanza* Vitruvius opposes the irrational of the Pompeian grotesque, the failed *mescolanza*, the monster. And he does so in a language reminiscent of Horace.

4. Renaissance use of the monster metaphor

The potential overlays between Vitruvius and Horace were not lost on architects and critics. Francesco di Giorgio makes the first explicit connection between the two when after describing Callimachus' process of invention he adds: «come avviene che li scultori o pittori ampliando una cosa naturale, come loro et a li poeti sempre è licito, formano una

[36] Summers reads this passage as Vitruvius' strong endorsement of mixed capitals ("which surpass the named orders"). Summers, *Michelangelo*, p. 156.

[37] Vitruvius, Marcus Pollio, *De architectura*, trans. F. Granger (London: Wm. Heinemann and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 107.

artificiale più ornata» [38]. By a sleight of hand Francesco thus fuses Vitruvius' story of artistic invention with Horace's opening passage on licence. However, he draws on the *ut pictura poesis (architectura)* analogy rather than the monstruous mixture, for nowhere in his treatise does he see dangers attached to the architect's use of *benplacito* to compose and invent new forms [39].

Alberti expressed no concern for monsters either. He referred to monsters, to be sure, but they were not of ornamental compositions but of line, number, angles, surfaces; he adopted a Horatian tone when he discoursed on incongrous mixtures, but he did so with reference to city and building (facade) layout not ornament [40]. In fact, he accepted (even delighted in) some quite outlandish forms (snake capitals, tree columns, interlacing shafts etc.) provided they were located appropriately [41].

However, in the 16th century, the frequency with which the monster metaphor occurs in architectural writings is striking. It is particularly revealing that this phenomenon accompanies the similarly growing interest in *comporre/mescolare* as invention strategy [42]. The Vitruvian re-

[38] Francesco Di Giorgio, Martini, *Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Trattati di architettura ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. Corrado Maltese and Livia Degrassi Maltese, 2 vols. (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1967), p. 380. The passage occurs in the Magliabecchianus version of Francesco's treatise, dated c. 1490-1500. For dating and chronology see Massimo Mussini, "La trattatistica di Francesco di Giorgio: un problema critico aperto", in *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, ed. Paolo Fiore and Manfredo Tafuri (Milan: Electa, 1993), pp. 358-79.

[39] References to *benplacito* can be found in Di Giorgio, *Trattati*, p. 382, 383, 396, 398, 401, 406. On Francesco's attitude to infinite invention see Martin Kemp, "From *Mimesis* to *Fantasia*: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts", *Viator*, VIII (1977), pp. 347-398.

[40] "It will be equally pleasing to have some members defined by straight lines, others by curved ones, and still others by a combination of the two, provided, of course, that the advice on which I insist is obeyed, and the mistake is avoided of making the building appear like some *monster* with uneven shoulders and sides". (I, 9) "When even the smallest parts of a building are set in their proper place, they add charm; but when positioned somewhere strange, ignoble, or inappropriate, they will be devalued if elegant, ruined if they are anything else; look at nature's own works: for if a puppy had an ass's ear on its forehead, or if someone had one huge foot, or one hand vast and the other tiny, he would looked deformed *(informis)*". (IX,7) Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, N. Leach, R. Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1988), p. 24; p. 310.

[41] Alberti, *Ten Books*, p. 293 (IX,1).

[42] David Summers has admirably called attention to the relevance of Horace's monster to the discourse on composition "a la grottesca". However, his primary concern is with *disegno* and *fantasia* in general terms, with the role of fantastic doodling for arousing the imagination, and with the rise and fall of interest in *grotteschi (bizzarrie)* as it relates to Counter-Reformation moods, rather than with appropriation/imitation metaphors and assemblage strategies in architectural discourse. See Summers, *Michelangelo*, pp. 144-63.

ception signals this association between a method to invent and a metaphor that both describes and warns against it. In his definitive commentary to *De architectura* Barbaro picks up the Horatian implication of the Pompeian painting story. Not only does he refer to monsters and *deformità* but he draws into the discussion of mixtures a much more developed apparatus of classical references that includes Lucretius and Pliny[43]. In his 1536 translation of Vitruvius Caporali (like Cesariano, though in more readable Italian) had already defined variants of the three orders as «cose *monstruose* fatte rapezatamente & divisate» that the architects had conceived «secondo a gli ochi lo e piaciuto»[44].

Once encoded in the Renaissance Vitruvius, the monster and composite metaphors – both as term and as visual referent – sweep the treatise literature. Thus, for Serlio, the self-admitted licentious and «*bestiale*» assemblies of his *Libro Extraordinario* (1551) are an inevitable consequence of his emphasis on the *mescolanza* as the mandate of the modern architect. Even if he does not name them, he contrives "monsters"; but these are defensible ones. What makes them so is the psychological and mimetic continuity with the patron, the location and the function of the comission. Thus the psychological dimension of Ovid's monsters finds a visual echo here: with his *prima* and *seconda forma* where two different superimposed ornamental assemblies slide in and out of each other Serlio brings metamorphosis before our very eyes[45] [Fig. 3].

Vasari is even more explicit in using the monster/assemblage axis. Thus he accepts the good *mescolanza* in the shape of the Composite («l'ordine composto») and its off-shoots – and he berates Vitruvius for classifying it implicitly as «un corpo che rappresentasse piutosto *mostri*

[43] Barbaro, *Vitruvio*, p. 321.

[44] Giovanni Battista Caporali, *Architettura, con il suo comento et figure Vitruvio in volgar lingua raportato* (Perugia: Stamparia del conte Iano Bigazzini, 1536), f. 22v.

[45] "Discretissimi lettori, la cagione perche io sia stato *cosi licentioso* in molte cose, horave le dirò. [...] Tal volta ho rotto un Frontispicio per collocarvi una riquadatura, o una arme. Ho fasciate di molte colonne, pilastrate, & supercilij rompendo alcuna volta de gli Fregi, & de' Triglifi, & de' fogliami. Le quai tutte cose levate via, & aggiunte delle Cornici, dove sono rotte, & finite quelle colonne che sono imperfette, le opere rimaranno intere, & nella sua prima forma". Serlio, "Libro straordinario", *Tutte l'opere*, p. 1. On the psychological component of Ovid's stories see Charles Martindale ed., *Ovid Renewed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 17; for its Renaissance reception, Barkan, *Gods*, p. 207. On Serlio's "psychologism" see Onians, *Bearers*, p. 286.
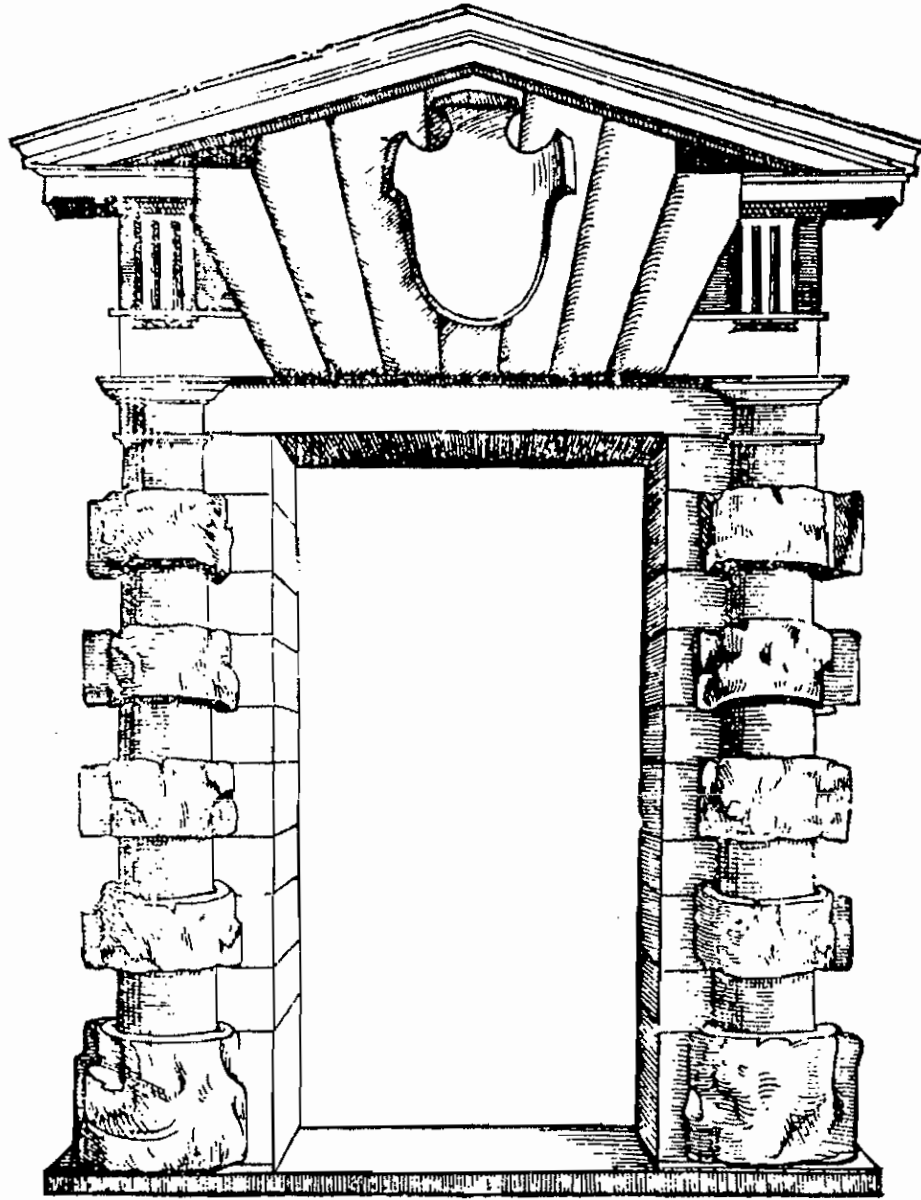
FIG. 3. Sebastiano Serlio, Doric/Rustical Portal, *Il Quarto Libro di Sebastian Serlio* (Venice 1537).

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che uomini» with a back-handed reference to Horace [46]. The order's logic of proportion and forms earns it the accolade of good invention that opens the way to other good inventions. He also accepts a second group to which belong «vergini, satiri, putti et altre sorti di *mostri*». These monsters cause him no alarm either: they are *bizzarrie*, a recognizable class of ornament with its own established logic [47]. The true, bad monster for Vasari, is Gothic work («*mostruoso et barbaro*»); this is his paradigm for «*confusione et disordine*», that is, for badly assembled components [48]. There may be an echo of Serlio in this implicit distinction between good and bad monsters, good and bad *mescolanze*, for though he did not use the monster metaphor much, when he did, it was with categorical forcefulness so as to distinguish between assemblage strategies that produced *architettura giudiciosa* and those that did not [49].

Gherardo Spini, who refers to monsters frequently, draws Horace's castigation of licence explicitly into his argument when he develops a theory of assemblage: «Quegli adunque che cercheranno di schifare simili inconvenienti ... s'appresseranno alla vera et sincera bellezza, et non alla superflua confusa et irregolata, ma più tosto le cui opere si possono agguagliare a quella che *Orazio* assimiglia l'inordinato, et licenzioso poema dicendo esser simile a un *mostro*» [50]. On this basis he proposes the *debito luoco* as guiding principle in the formation of larger ornamental units. Such assemblages must have *membri semplici*, without *superfluità* or excesses; above all they must offer a faithful imitation of the wood structure that Vitruvius placed at the origin of the architectural *ornamenta* (IV, 2, 1-6). Like Vasari, he refers monstruous assemb-

[46] Vasari, *Vite*, p. 34.

[47] Vasari, *Vite*, p. 35. I differ here from Summers whose definition of the grottesque is much broader. Summers, p. 149-54.

[48] Vasari, *Vite*, p. 35.

[49] "Et perche queste ragioni non sono così bene intese da coloro, che non hanno acuto giudiccio d'Architettura, io porrò loro davanti una comune comparazione naturale. Sarà per esempio una bella & ben formata donna, che oltra le sue bellezze, sarà ornata di ricchi vestimenti: ma più gravi che lascivi, & haverà in fronte un bello gioiello, & all'orecchie due belli & ricchi pendenti: le quale cose tutte aggiungono ornamento alla bella & ben formata donna. Ma se gli metessero di molti gioielli nelle tempie, & sopra le guancie, & in altri luoghi *superfluamente*, ditemi di gratia, non sarà ella *mostruosa*? sì, certamente. Ma se la bella & ben disposta donna, oltra la sua bellezza sarà ornata, come io dissi da prima, sarà sempre lodata da giudiciosi". Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, Book VII, p. 126.

[50] Elsewhere he adds: "Avvenga che se egli [l'artefice] prendesse libertà da se stesso, et che se egli anteponesse l'ordine delle membra, [...] uscirebbe dalla natura dell'imitazione et farebbe una *mostrosa fantasia et chimera*". Spini, *Ornamenti*, p. 62; p. 70.

lies to the *opera tedesca* which he despises precisely because it does not imitate nature (construction), but dwells in the realm of *capricii* and *grottesche* [51]. In fact Spini, like Vignola, refers to the Zeuxis anecdote (which he attributes to Apelles) and, unlike him, tries to apply the notion of ideal imitation to architecture by analogy: like the Crotonian maidens, no ordinary wooden structure can be the model for stone ornament just as no ordinary human body can be the purveyor of ideal proportions [52].

In a contemporary work Vincenzo Danti spells out a fundamental connection between *composto*, *mostro* and architecture that recalls Vasari's own definition of licence:

> Il [disegno] puo fare *novi composti* e cose che quasi parranno tal volta dall'arte stessa ritrovate: come sono le chimere sotto le quali si veggino tutte le cose in modo fatte che, quanto al tutto di loro, non sono imitate dalla natura, ma sè bene composte parte di questa, parte di quella cosa naturale, facendo un tutto nuovo per sé stesso. Le quali *chimere* intendo io che sieno come un genere sotto cui si comprendono tutti le specie di grottesche, di fogliami, d'ornamenti di tutte le fabriche che la architettura compone ... Ma e da sapere che questo sì fatto modo d'imitare, se bene è stato messo in uso da altre arti, nondimeno niuna mai ha recato tanto utilità, vaghezza et ornamento al mondo in generale et agli huomini privatamente, quanto le cose che nascono dall'architettura ... Anzi e da credere che dall'architettura, come da loro principale obietto, la maggior parte dell'altre arte abbiano preso esempio [53].

By mid-century then, the metaphor is something of a commonplace. Indeed, it services both ends of the *licenzia* debate: at the other pole, Pietro Cataneo, who does not share Danti's tolerance and fulminates against licentiousness, also draws on the (bad) monster metaphor:

> ornamenti che hanno più membri che lor non si conviene, e questi assomoglieremo a un uomo che abbia più d'un naso, più di due occhi, più d'una bocca. Altri modani si ritrovano ... che hanno alcuni membri fuor del debiti loro

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[51] "I quali accattando hora a un edificio, hor da un'altro nuove maniere, et quelle sproporzionatamente insieme congregando vengono a generare *mostri* infelici, et a rinnovare la ridicol' Architettura Tedesca ripiena di major fatica, et di minor vaghezza, et in tutto irregolata et falsa." Spini, *Ornamenti*, p. 41.

[52] Spini, *Ornamenti*, p. 71.

[53] Vincenzo Danti, "Il Primo libro del trattato ddelle perfette proporzioni" (1567), in Paola Barocchi ed., *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), p. 1766.

luoghi, e tali assomigliaremo a quelli che in luogo della bocca avessero il naso, o in luogo del naso gli occhi; et altri vi si vegano mancar di qualche membro, dove tutt'e tre queste sorte si spossono giudicar *mostruose*[54].

Finally, Scamozzi, equally concerned with the possibility of monsters and «*corpi stropiati*» develops a species theory from this premise and recommends that the architect imitate nature which «mantiene sempre di grado in grado la propria specie ... ne mai confondera una specie con l'altra»[55]. In this he echoes Lomazzo who turned to the Horatian metaphor to set boundaries for invention and advised his readers that: «nel comporre insieme cotali ordini, & suoi memberi il tutto importa à sapere la natura loro, e secondo quella procedere, seguendo sempre la bellezza della cosa, con fuggire l'estremita, & *non accopiar insieme cose che tra loro non sono amiche*»[56]. For Scamozzi, like Lomazzo then, the architectural assemblage is rooted in an order of nature which to break would produce monsters. The architect must imitate «le cose prodotte della natura»; he must seek «la homogeneità, e corrispondenza nel corpo humano» because «altrimenti sarebbe cosa *mostruosa*, e ingrata da vedere»[57]. Indeed the Gothic (again) exemplifies the *composto* gone wrong: «alla fine quei tali edifici, cosi desordinati, e mal composti, paragonati con quelli, de gli antichi (si come habbiamo considerato tante volte) si rassomigliano piu tosto ad animali brutti, e *mostruosi*, riescendo senza alcun termine d'architettura che stia bene»[58].

In the early 17th century the polymath and architectural critic Teofilo Gallacini offers an interesting coda for the perpetuation of these topoi in his treatise on the errors of the architects: monsters, the *debito luoco*, *licenzia* now form a tightly conceived and explicit set of coordi-

[54] Cataneo, *Trattati*, p. 347.

[55] Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 31; regarding the orders he states: "acciochè il corpo riesca del tutto intiero, compiuto, e perfetto ... altrimenti sarebbe errore, & abuso grandissimo, e le opere riuscirebbere *stropiate*." Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 9.

[56] Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 412.

[57] Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 69. This applies to all profiles: "In tutte le Sacome per picciole, che si siano non vi debbono mancare le membra principali; come le Gole, & i Giocciolatoi nelle Cornici: i Plinti, e Tori nelle Basi, e così de gli altri: Perche questi sono membri essentiali; come gli occhi, la bocca, il naso, e l'orecchie nelle teste de gli animali; e quando fussero senza allhora parerebbono *mostri di natura*". Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 157.

[58] Scamozzi, *L'idea*, p. 58.

nates that guides his criticism [59]. At last, the reference to Ovid (even if negative) is also explicit:

> ... sarebbe riuscita un'*opera mostruosa*, e un novello caos, e una mole totalmente rozza, come dice *Ovidio nelle Transformazioni* ... Così, quando nel formar l'Uomo, avesse posto la testa nel luogo de'piedi, o gli occhi nel petto, invece d'essersi formato un Uomo, ne sarebbe risultato *un mostro* [60].

With this work Gallacini brings to a form of closure a discourse spanning more than a century; his work remained unpublished and was not "rediscovered" till the 18th century. Though the concern with errors (and monsters) does not go dormant in the century that follows, its language, parameters and images have entered the domain of the rhetorical *topos*, of a common patrimony of theoretical formulas, and as such, though used, remain virtually unchanged. This is so because the anxiety of appropriation and its theoretical off-spring that marked the 16th century discourse so deeply mutates into other, related though ultimately different debates – of rule versus genius, of art versus nature, of academy versus individuality – which mark the intellectual horizon of the Baroque [61].

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Faced with the act of interpretation involved in the assimilation of antiquity architects increasingly conceive their art as one of imitation and look to natural constructs (human body, trees, building logic) for paradigms. Yet the Zeuxis anecdote which galvanizes much of the imitation discourse in the figural arts has little to offer an architectural audience as Vignola well knows. The Zeuxis topos is unsatisfactory for

[59] Indeed Gallacini has an entire chapter on "Degli errori degli architetti nel collocar le cose *fuor el lor luogo*". Elsewhere he connects the notion of *debito luoco* with the monster metaphor: "...imperoché oltre che fanno l'opere in tutto imperfette & *mostruose* levano a ciascuna il fine proportionato e naturale". Teofilo Gallacini, "Trattato sopra gli errori degli architetti", Ms. King's 281, British Museum, 59r. He also argues that *troppa licenza* leads to "costume barbaro, a grottescamenti, a ghibirizzi, ed alle fantasie degli orefici, e degli argentieri, de maestri di legname, degli intagliatori, degli stuccatori, é de pittori", that is, to work that does not respect the conventions of building/architecture. Gallacini, *Errori*, 65r.

[60] Gallacini, *Errori*, in Antonio Visentini, *Osservazioni di Antonio Visentini architetto veneto, cher servono di continuazione al trattato di teofilo Gallacini sopra gli errori degli architetti*, (Venice: Pasquali, 1771), p. 38.

[61] Joseph Connors, *"Ars tornandi*: Baroque Architecture and the Lathe", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53 (1990), pp. 217-36.

it is not sufficiently strong to carry the implications raised by architectural mixtures: Zeuxis looks to the same species even if he improves upon it; architects conflate them. In addition, and despite Spini's effort, architects know that for them there is no ideal referent in nature: infinite combination and permutation of members is conceivable and must therefore be rationalized.

Thus Horace's monster (with its implied human, or at least organic analogy) becomes the governing metaphor for a theory of imitation and invention in architecture because it offers a far more eloquent and layered referent for the process of assemblage, selection and *mescolare* that lies at the very root of architectural production. In addition, the primarily negative implication of the term expresses the anxiety (and the likelihood) of error so pertinent to architecture where inventions cannot be corrected with direct reference to nature. This phenomenon of metaphorization is particularly noticeable in the 16th century when architects acknowledge and confront the tensions involved in culling, assimilating and interpreting – that is, appropriating – the world of ancient forms [62]. The terminological density that circumscribes the discussion of licence thus finds its visual outlet in the image of the monster. In so doing, that is, in evading Zeuxis, the bees and the silk-worm and concentrating on the monster architects problematized the appropriation process specific to their art.

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[62] For a parallel phenomenon in the literary arts see Thomas Green, *The Light in Troy*, and Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh*.