

ISABELLA DI LENARDO

FROM *CALLE* TO *INSULA*: THE CASE OF SANTA MARIA DELLA CARITÀ IN VENICE

The histories of the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità and of the Scuola Grande della Carità are interwoven with the urban physiognomy of the extreme offshoot of the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro, the very tip of which overlooks St. Mark's basin, the island of San Giorgio Maggiore (where the Benedictine monastery lies) and the island of the Giudecca.

The history of the original founding of the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità has its beginnings on land owned by the Zulian family, on which Marco Zulian had decided to establish a place of worship surrounded by other properties owned by the family¹. The land was located along the San Vidal canal, which would eventually become the Grand Canal. The monastery had been affiliated with Santa Maria in Porto outside Ravenna since 1134, and the decision to relocate seems to have been imposed from above by Pope Innocent II, who urged the canons either to establish themselves in the assigned seat or to give it up. A few years later the new coenoby came into its own, cutting loose from the founder's family and following the Rule of St. Augustine. The monastery's next two settlements in the lagoon were San Salvador and San Clemente in Isola, the religious founding of which was promoted by Enrico Dandolo. Both were crucial parts of Venice's early urban fabric: the church of San Salvador was built upon divine revelation in the central commercial area of Rialto while the monastery of San Clemente was a resting-place for pilgrims on the island of the same name, located on the rou-

¹ See the specific study by P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità e Andrea Palladio*, Verona, Cierre Edizioni, 2005, p. 17.

te connecting the area of St. Mark's, the Lido and the mouths of the lagoon. The complex of the Trinità, located near the abbey of San Gregorio and thus connected to the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità, was another transit point for pilgrims en route to the Holy Land².

The families who lived around the monastery – the Ziani, the Polani, the Badoer, the Da Mula and so on – became actively involved in the coenoby's life, granting it land and a few salt works and thereby contributing to the institution's economic soundness and territorial expansion. As a result of this and of the acquisition of some land assets, the monastery became part of the surrounding urban fabric, the tissue of which was characterised by a few *pi-scine* [water basins], such as the 'Viliaca' located at the mouth of the rio della Carità, now Terà, which, along with the rio di Sant'Agnese, represented one of the natural boundaries to the east and to the west of the *insula* (Fig. 1). The area in which the canons had acquired property was characterised by 'plots of land with houses' and vegetable gardens. The section where the monastery itself lay was actually just a few lots with scattered buildings of little value. In contrast, the closest parish, that of San Trovaso, which defined the western borders of the canon's holdings, was home to the Contarini and Barbarigo palazzos; that of San Vio, towards the Dogana [customs house], included the palazzos of the Da Mula and Venier families. All of these buildings were privately owned and of considerable worth³; thus the area of the monastery itself was hardly representative of the wider area's residential use and the opulence of its buildings.

To the north, the Grand Canal provided a natural communication route with St. Mark's basin; to the south, the monastery was delimited by a *calle* '*per quem itur ad Sanctam Agnetem*', documented from as early as 1411 (Fig. 2). This *calle*, in fact, was the element around which centuries of urban and architectural transformations would be negotiated and take shape, at first through the efforts of the monks and later those of the lay confraternity of the Scuola Grande della Carità.

The *calle* was vital to the city's viability as it made it possible to reach the

² E. CONCINA, *Venezia nell'età moderna. Struttura e funzioni*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1989, p. 96.

³ See the study by J.C. RÖSSLER, *I palazzi veneziani. Storia, architettura, restauri. Il Trecento e il Quattrocento*, Venezia, Scripta ed., 2010, pp. 21; 49; 161-163.

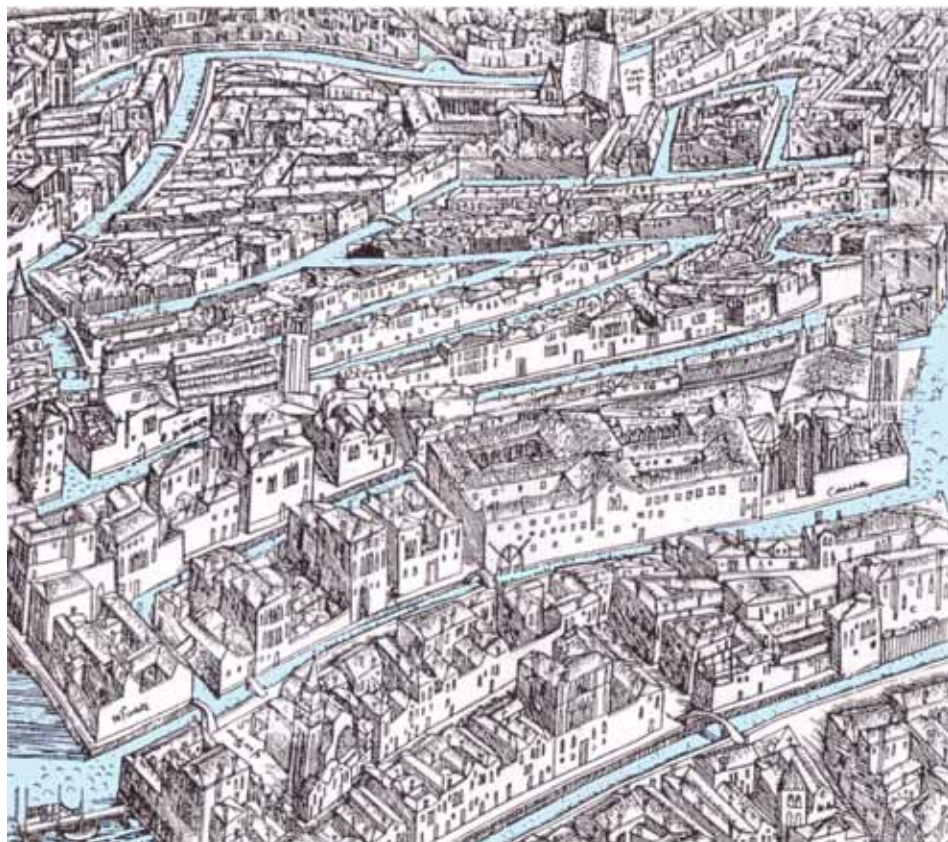


Fig. 1 - Jacopo de Barbari, *Venetie MD*, Venezia, Museo Correr, detail of the insula of Santa Maria della Carità with water ways in evidence.

very tip of Dorsoduro by land. From the fourteenth century on, this part of Dorsoduro was one of the urban areas in Venice whose development was predominantly characterised by public facilities, such as the Magazzini del Sale and the Dogana da Mar⁴, and by industries processing raw materials: lum-

⁴ The nine large public salt warehouses were built in the fourteenth century and were re-defined in their current form around 1531. About the Dogana da Mar and the Spedale degli Incurabili see E. CONCINA, *Venezia nell'età moderna. Struttura e funzioni*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1989, p. 65; D. CALABI, *Magazzini, fondaci approdi*, in A. Tenenti, U. Tucci (eds.), *Il Mare (Storia di Venezia)*, Venezia, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani,



Fig. 2 - Domenico Margutti, *Tratto del Canal Grande da San Vidal al rio di San Moisè, nel lato sinistro, e dal campo della Carità al rio della Carità al rio della Salute nel lato destro*, attached to the report of 1721, overlaid by Palladio's project for the Carità and with long *calle* in evidence (SEA, Relazioni, b. 54, dis. 33).

beryards, brickyards and land allocated to working stone. The tip of Dorsoduro was also home to important religious centres and charitable organisations, such as the abbey of San Gregorio, the church of the Santissima Trinità with its adjacent convent and school (which were demolished in 1631 to make room for the construction of the basilica of the Salute) and the Spedale degli Incurabili, the city's earliest and most emblematic major hospital⁵.

This area, along with those in the more northern and eastern parts of the city and, later on, the Fondamente Nove, accommodated various activities related to lumber: the docking of barges carrying logs from the Brenta and their processing. More generally, it can be defined as a warehousing district whose structures were used primarily for storing goods. It was clearly peripheral and would remain so until the mid-nineteenth century, when the construction of the Accademia bridge made it possible to redefine the relationship with the

1991, pp. 789-817; D. SELLA, *Commerci e industrie a Venezia nel secolo XVII*, Venezia-Roma, Istituto per la collaborazione Culturale Venezia-Roma, Firenze, 1961.

⁵ E. CONCINA, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, cit., pp. 64-65.

opposite side of the canal, from which St. Mark's Square or Rialto could be reached by passing through Campo San Vidal⁶.

Like the vast eastern outskirts of the city where the large Arsenale complex invigorated the urban fabric with port and maritime activities and everything related to them, the area around San Gregorio had become key in Venetian port operations. The monastery of the Carità rose as a sort of barrier between this sparsely populated, productive area and the one that, starting at San Trovaso, was characterised by a much denser and more valuable urban fabric that extended into the heart of Dorsoduro and by the large, powerful Franciscan complex of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (Fig. 3).

Jacopo de Barbari's *Venetie MD* (Fig. 1) gives an idea of the physical form and appearance of the monumental complex of Santa Maria della Carità after the first major reconstruction in 1441⁷. It was then that Bartolomeo Bon, who had just completed the Porta della Carta at Palazzo Ducale, accepted the commission for the main portal, the only remaining fragment of which is the decorative bas-relief depicting the *Incoronazione della Vergine*⁸ [Coronation of the Virgin] now conserved in the antesacristy of Santa Maria della Salute.

The scope of the work and the effort Bon put into the sculptural decoration demonstrate the building's prestige and value. Like the churches of Sant'Antonio di Castello and San Michele in Isola, Santa Maria della Carità had a stone *Barco*⁹ against which, as Francesco Sansovino recalls, there were four altars, each attributed to one of its patron families – the Zorzi, the Da Molin, the Vettori and the Dolfin.

Though the church had many altars for private devotion, the most grandiloquent were the two large tombs that, until 1807, decorated the two respective walls of the nave: the tomb of Doge Nicolò da Ponte (who died in 1585) and that of the Barbarigo family (in particular, the doges Marco

⁶ Particularly emblematic in this respect is the plan, concomitant to the discussion of the projects for the bridge, in which the networks of routes connecting to the crucial areas of the city are delineated. The drawing was published in G.D. ROMANELLI, *Venezia Ottocento*, Roma, Albrizzi ed., 1977, pp. 206-207, fig. 1199.

⁷ E. BASSI, *Il Convento della Carità*, Vicenza, Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andra Palladio, 1971, pp. 13-14; A. ZORZI, *Venezia scomparsa*, Venezia 1972, p. 522.

⁸ P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità*, cit., pp. 54-62.

⁹ Architectural structure that separates the nave from the apse.

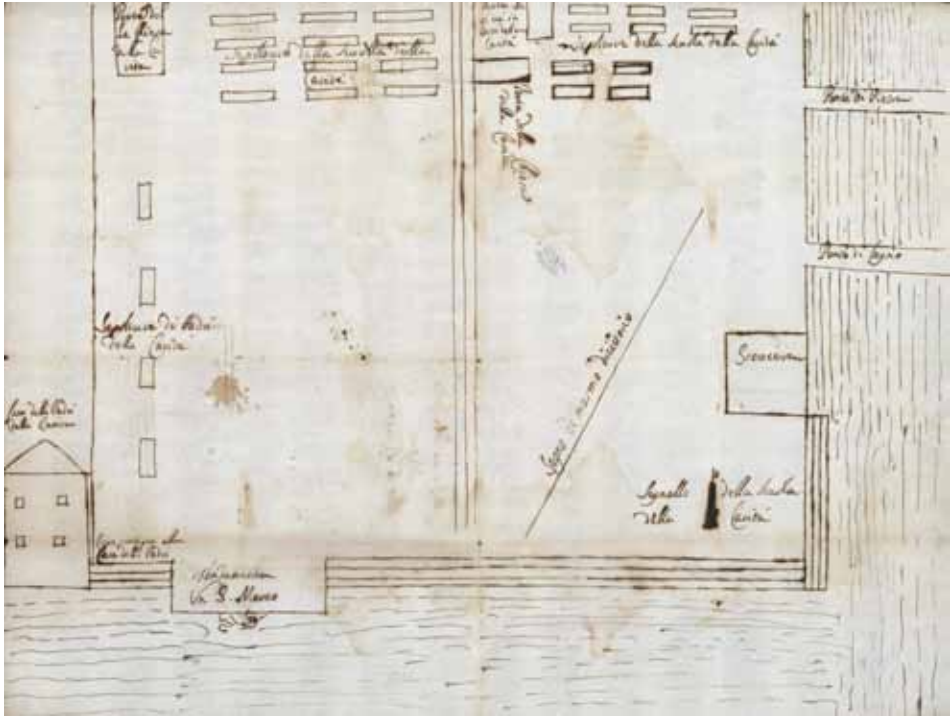


Fig. 3 - Domenico Piccoli, *Mappa della zona a destra del Canal Grande dal rio di S. Pantaleone a quello di S. Agnese, a sinistra dalla calle del Remer a San Vidal* attached to the report of 1723, (ASVe, S.E.A., b. 54, dis. 48)

and Agostine, who died, respectively, in 1486 and 1501). The first was by Vincenzo Scamozzi, who was assisted by Alessandro Vittoria in completing the decoration of the sculptural display. The second is attributed to Mauro Codussi. The church had always been shared by families and religious confraternities but, in the second half of the thirteenth century, it was also used for the ceremonies of the Scuola Grande devoted to Santa Maria della Carità, which, thanks to a concession by the chapter of canons, had established itself on the land adjacent to the monastery.

During the fourteenth century the Scuola had more than five hundred members, and little by little on various occasions they enlarged their original location by taking advantage of moments that were financially difficult for the canons. Among the most significant annexations was the acquisition, in 1381, of the space above the entrance to the monastery's courtyard, which is one of the rooms that has retained its original appearance. It is here that they set up the *sala dell'albergo* decorated, in 1446, by Giovanni Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna's *Madonna in trono col bambino e angeli fra i dottori della Chiesa* [Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and the Doctors of the Church] and later, in 1538, by Titian's *Presentazione di Maria al tempio* [Presentation of Mary in the Temple]. The members of the confraternity established a hospital on the site and occupied, as can be from seen Jacopo de Barbari's aerial view, the buildings located towards the rio della Carità and the corner with the small passageway to the south, towards the *insula* of the Gesuati, documented as the '*strada comune di lo spidal di la carità*' [the public street of the hospital of the Carità]¹⁰. As can be seen in part from de Barbari's aerial view, the layout of the complex around 1500, after the fifteenth-century reconstruction and restoration, took on the typical form of a monastery: four cloisters, one of which was used as a vegetable garden, located between the wing used as a dormitory and the dividing wall to the west, with the public *calle*. This plan, characterised by the smaller courtyard and the vegetable garden that were, in part, adjacent to the Laterans, remained this way even after Andrea Palladio's intervention in the 1560s and was still evident in 1794 in a "disegno d'avviso"¹¹ [a drawing of the existing building conditions] (Fig. 4) that describes the spaces and the uses of the rooms belonging to the Scuola and the canons. The lay confraternity was firmly established in the buildings adjacent to the convent's property but, from at least 1460 on¹², its residential space was no longer adequate. Redefining the use of the upper floors of the building adjacent to the Scuola, which also housed the refectory and the kitchens, did not meet the need created by the increasing number of confra-

¹⁰ This is how it was in the eighteenth-century plan that was probably taken from the original made in the last quarter of the fourteenth century: ASVe, *Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità*, b. 231: P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità*, cit., pp. 98-99.

¹¹ In ASVe, *Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità*, b. 231, dis.1.

¹² P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità*, cit., p. 98.

ternity members,¹³ so the canons began to try to enlarge the monastery to the south on land located towards the complex of the Gesuati by purchasing houses located beyond the public *calle*. For nearly a century they also tried to acquire, but did not succeed in obtaining, the *calle* separating the monastery from the adjacent block in which they had already bought a few houses and a vineyard. So in 1497 they built an elevated passageway connecting the new complex to the earlier structure.

While the fifteenth-century interventions were based on a notion of partial improvement, Palladio's project provided the opportunity for the systematic reconstruction of the wing overlooking the rio di Sant'Agnese and the reorganisation of the cloisters, replacing the one closest to the church with the '*atrio antico*' that was unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1630¹⁴. The design sought to go beyond the *calle*, architecturally backing the canons' will to expand past the highly coveted and contested public thoroughfare, as the project concept documented in Andrea Palladio's *Quattro libri* emblematically illustrates. The refectory, the kitchen, as well as the '*corte da Galline, luogo da legne, da lavare i panni, et un giardino assai bello*' [the courtyard for hens, a place for wood, for washing clothes and a lovely garden] were to have been housed in the expansion '*oltra la calle*' [beyond the *calle*]¹⁵ that, unfortunately, continued to represent a real physical limit to Andrea Palladio's project, which, in part, remained ideal.

For other reasons as well, including the financial difficulty into which the congregation had fallen as a result of the debt incurred because of the works and the indecision of prior Gregorio Barbarigo, who swung back and forth between the most strenuous supporters of the new project and the battles over the expansion, the work was never completed. Palladio managed to reformulate the spaces between the church and the convent, namely the atrium, the sacristy-tablinum and the oval stairway, but the construction of the group of buildings '*oltra la calle*' remained outstanding. The Memmo family adamantly refused to sell their property to the canons, keeping the ideal project

¹³ See again the drawing in ASVe, Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità, b. 231, dis.1, and the reconstruction of events regarding the enlargement of the kitchens and the upper cells, in P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità*, cit., pp. 97-98.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ A. PALLADIO, *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura*, II, 6.

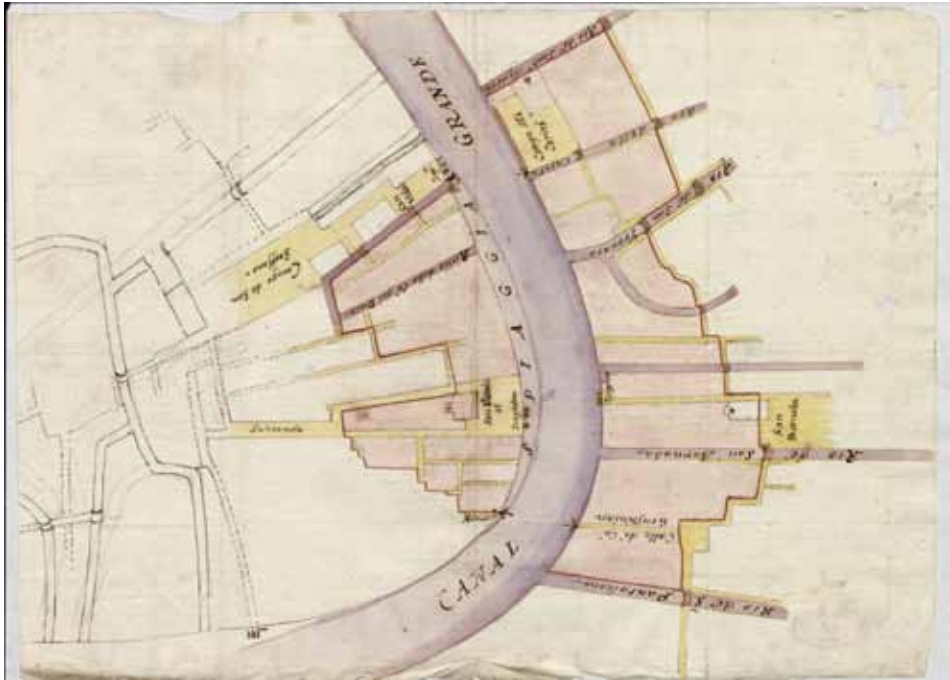


Fig. 4 - “Disegno d’avviso” of the ground floor, 1794, (ASVe, *Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità*, b. 231, disegno 1).

from being built as it appears in Andrea Palladio’s design. The western side of the cloister as well – the one located alongside the buildings belonging to the Scuola – was not completed, and the project remained caught between the unavoidable reality of the site and the aspirations of perfect architecture. Civic reasons and the need to keep the *calle* – the only public thoroughfare between the parish of San Trovaso and the *insula* of Sant’Agnese – won out over religious concerns.

Public or semi-public spaces were usually contested spaces, in which private citizens’ demands about property restrictions and customary uses of long forgotten memory conflicted with public use, decorum and welfare. Cemeteries, in particular, which were often located near the perimeter of religious buildings, became disputed areas and, for hygienic reasons, were continuously being altered. After 1854, the year in which the Accademia bridge

was completed, the Campo della Carità became a key transit point¹⁶. The presence of the bridge and the filling of the rio di Sant'Agnese (1863) gave the Campo a new centrality with respect to the viability of Dorsoduro and, more generally, its role in the dynamics of mobility from the Zattere, and thus also from the Giudecca, all the way to Campo San Vidal and from there to St. Mark's Square. Prior to this time the Campo had not been the crossroads of the Dorsoduro's east-west axis but a sort of 'dead-end' space belonging to the Lateran Canons and the confraternity of the Scuola Grande.

Antonio Quadri's *Veduta* of 1828 (Fig. 5) clearly demonstrates the appearance of the perimeter of the apse towards the Campo before the construction of the bridge, the filling of the *rio*, and the demolition of the small buildings belonging to the Laterans, among which there was a lime pit that blocked the view of the eastern portion of the rio di Sant' Agnese. Before the construction of the bridge the two sides of the Grand Canal and the Campo della Carità, with its bank facing the Marciana area, had been linked by boat. The half of the Campo towards the apse was raised a few steps and, between the apse and the Grand Canal along the rio di Sant'Agnese, was the '*cimiterio*', which was accessed by a door located in the left apsidal chapel that led into an '*andavino*', an open space on a small bank that skirted the apses (Fig. 6).

The Campo also housed numerous tombs of the Scuola della Carità; floor tombs that were especially concentrated alongside the Scuola's façade and the perimeter of the church¹⁷. Before the rebuilding of the Campo's banks, visible in a project drawing that can be dated back to around 1718¹⁸ (Fig. 7), the Campo also housed a '*scoacera*', a rubbish dump, facing the rio della Carità. This can also be seen in Canaletto's *Veduta del Campo della Carità* [View of the Campo della Carità] (Turin, Pinacoteca Giovanni e Marella Agnelli), dateable to 1728, in which the church bell tower, which collapsed shortly after 1744, is still standing.

Thus, before the radical redefinition that brought about the nineteenth-century transformation of the church and everything immediately adjacent, namely the cemetery and the chapels jutting out on the northern perimeter,

¹⁶ G.D. ROMANELLI, *Venezia Ottocento*, cit., pp. 204-216.

¹⁷ The '*disegno d'avviso*' of 1794 shows a plan that indicates the '*Arche di rag.[ion]e della Scuola della Carità*'.

¹⁸ ASVe, S.E.A. *Relazioni*, b. 139, disegno 24.

the Campo had been the celebratory and ceremonial space of the Laterans and the members of the Scuola. The most representative historical event that had taken place here was the meeting between Doge Sebastiano Ziani and Pope Alexander III, who was received in Campo della Carità. As evidenced by the iconographical sources commemorating the event – the anonymous painting of *Alessandro III che benedice il doge Sebastiano Ziani davanti alla chiesa della Carità* [Alexander III Blesses Doge Sebastiano Ziani in front of the Church of the Carità], (Gallerie dell'Accademia) and the painting by Carlo and Gabriele Caliari, *Il doge Sebastiano Ziani incontra Alessandro III davanti alla chiesa della Carità* [Doge Sebastiano Ziani encounters Alexander III in front of the Church of Carità], (Venice, Palazzo Ducale) – the space of the Campo was characterised by its public nature and its use as a stage for ceremonies and occasions by both the canons and the members of the Scuola Grande.

The presence of the convent and the Scuola had conditioned the changes in the urban fabric over the centuries. In particular, the public *calle*, which ran alongside the complex and remained intact until the early nineteenth century, had prevented the convent from expanding towards the monastery of the Gesuati. But the building of the Accademia bridge and filling of the two *rii*, that of the Carità and that of Sant'Agnese, defined a completely new role for the area of the complex and its extent, most probably following the reallocation of the Scuola, the church and the convent as the site of Accademia di Belle Arti.

The Venice Accademia was officially founded in 1750 and, in 1807, before the *rii* were filled and the bridge was built, the monumental complex of the Carità was chosen to house this institution¹⁹. The decision, however, was highly controversial because the site was considered peripheral and much too isolated²⁰. That same year, however, saw the founding of the Gallerie, a

¹⁹ R. CODELLO, *Progettare un museo*, Milano 2005, pp. 11-19.

²⁰ Pietro Edwards, Diedo, Giannantonio Selva and Almorò Pisani were against locating the institution in the complex Santa Maria della Carità, not only because the site was peripheral, especially when compared to that of the Fondaco della farina in St. Mark's, but also because the space was not sufficient to house all of the Accademia's activities. G. FOGOLARI, *La Chiesa di Santa Maria della Carità di Venezia*, Venezia, Regia Deputazione veneto-tridentina di storia patria, 1924, p. 58; S. MOSCHINI MARCONI, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1955, I, p. X; P. MODESTI, *Il convento della Carità*, cit.,

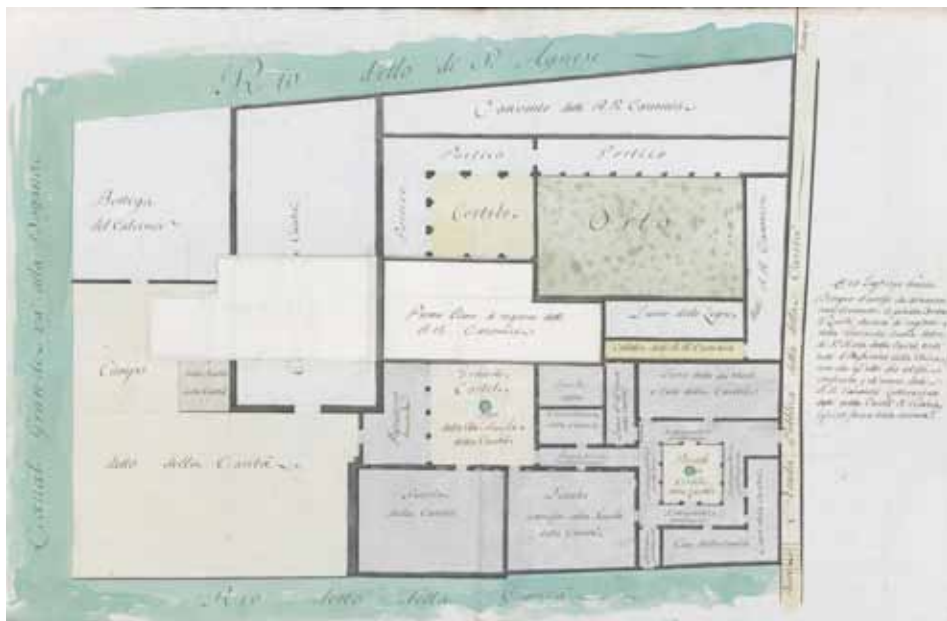


Fig. 5 - Antonio Quadri, *View of the Campo della Carità*, 1828.

museum deemed necessary for training artists and, at the same time, a political museum born of the will to define the artistic identity of Venice and the Veneto.

Over the course of the eighteenth century the life of the Lateran monastery had abated and, in 1792, the religious institution was closed for good. Five years later, the end of the Republic sanctioned the closing of the Scuola Grande as well. It was then that the complex was profoundly transformed – as far as the destination of the works of art were concerned, under the wise and cultured supervision of Pietro Edwards – following everything that happened after Napoleon’s suppression of the large religious complexes. Giannantonio Selva, who was an architect, but even more symbolically had been named first a fellow and later an academician of San Luca, completely redesigned the spaces of Santa Maria della Carità. Before he took on the job, however, Selva



Fig. 6 - Map drawing of the Campo della Carità (ASVe, *Santa Maria della Carità*, b. 29, disegno 5).

had had the opportunity to address the Palladian cloister of the Carità within its urban context. His appointment as academician had come about through a project on Antonio Canova's 'sculpture studio', a private milieu as well as an 'establishment for youth' devoted to teaching, located between the rio d'Ognissanti and the Zattere. In particular 'the Doric façade towards Ognissanti' had a direct relationship with the cloister of the Carità, reinterpreted here by Selva with 'truly Grecian simplicity'²¹. Perhaps Selva had demonstrated the

²¹ The description of the projects in a letter written by Antonio Canova to Selva in 1810: see *Lettere familiari inedite di Antonio Canova e di Giannantonio Selva*, Venezia, G. Antonelli ed., 1835, pp. 69-70; reference to the project is also made in G.D. ROMANELLI, *Venezia Ot-*

caution and understanding ideal for Palladio's intervention at the Carità, but in the actual readaptation of the complex, and in particular the church, which was partitioned and divided into two floors, he showed little respect for one of the most beautiful examples of gothic architecture in all of Venice. The architectural measures he took aimed at multiplying the interior spaces, as he too had run into the limits the site imposed on any further enlarging of the complex. In Selva's drawing of 1812 the *calle* to the south, which had always resisted and thwarted any systematic attempt at expansion, had already been covered by an overhead passageway on the first floor and the block '*oltra la calle*' had been redefined by creating a large hall and other spaces. In 1828, when Francesco Lazzari took over the direction of the works, the *calle* was finally closed and its route shifted further south, making it possible to create the large galleries, completed in 1834, to host the plaster sculptures of *Ercole e Lica* [Hercules and Lica] and *Teseo e il Centauro* [Theseus and the Centaur])²².

One of the last architectural transformations of the complex, which did not, however, introduce new elements on an urban scale, was the creation of a new wing between 1845 and 1856. The project reshaped the spaces between the Scuola and the two new galleries to the south, which, just as the '*disegno d'avviso*' of 1794 had explained in detail, included a small courtyard with a well around which a '*sottorportico promiscuo*' [porch] opened and, inside, the '*case della Carità già "luoco detto dei morti"*' [the house of the Carità formerly 'a space for the dead'], which had perhaps been a cemetery belonging to the members of the confraternity of the Scuola Grande. With the definitive filling of the *rii* that had run alongside the complex, the last of which was that of Sant'Agnese in 1863, what had originally been three *insulae* – the Carità, the Gesuati and Sant'Agnese – became one, forever altering the characteristic appearance of this extreme offshoot of Dorsoduro. The area had originally been crossed from north to south by parallel *rii* and, in 1519, for practical reasons of trade, the long dock on the Zattere was created, connecting the Punta della Dogana with the western boundary of the city, the convent of Santa Marta, and as far as the church of Santa Chiara, which joined the first section of the Grand Canal.

to cento, cit., p. 72.

²² G. NEPI SCIRÉ, *Le Gallerie dell'Accademia. Storia di una dispersione e di una riaggregazione*, in R. CODELLO, *Progettare un museo*, p. 11

new maritime and rail commercial hub'²³. The new proposals grew out of the intuition that the Punta della Dogana and the church of the Salute were the most strategically opportune places from which to link to San Moisè and the area of San Marco with the Giudecca. This is what Vincenzo Coronelli had also sought to achieve when he proposed building two new bridges: one connecting the Giudecca to the Dogana, the other connecting the Dogana with the area of San Marco²⁴.

In the Gallerie themselves throughout the twentieth century, the logic behind the most suitable installation was based on specific museological criteria and went hand in hand with the architectural adaptation of the spaces. It is in this light that one must approach the project by Carlo Scarpa. Though never implemented, the project foresaw further expansion towards the south through the rooms connected to Lazzari's two large galleries²⁵. This would have improved the chronological criterion that characterised the installations and that will now, with the opening of the newly restored Gallerie, be profoundly challenged. The railway and the utopian projects for bridges to St. Mark's were not to be, but it can be said that this extreme offshoot of Dorsoduro lost its industrial and port character. The Gallerie dell'Accademia that grew out of the complex of Santa Maria della Carità, the contemporary art centre at the Punta della Dogana that opened in 2009, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Palazzo Venier dei Leoni on the Grand Canal since 1949 and the exhibition spaces in the former Magazzini del Sale demonstrate how this area of Dorsoduro has been upgraded over the centuries by allocating sites representative of its original identity to the preservation of valuable works of Venetian, Italian and European artistic heritage.

²³ G.D. ROMANELLI, *Venezia Ottocento*, cit., pp. 394-395, fig. 270.

²⁴ ID., 'Vincenzo Coronelli: proposal for a bridge between San Marco and the Giudecca', in L. Puppi (ed.), *Le Venezia possibili: da Palladio a Le Corbusier*, Milano 1985

²⁵ R. CODELLO, *Progettare un museo*, Milano, Electa, 2005, p. 14, fig. 4.